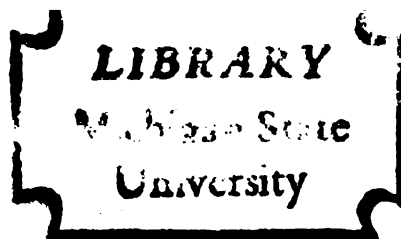A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF
SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS CHARACTERIZING
FAMILIES IN FOLK-RURAL, RURAL, AND URBAN
SUBCULTURES IN THE SAME LOCALE OF MICHIGAN

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Kamal Said Saleh
1966

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

A Comparative Analysis of Patterns of
Social Relationships Characterizing Families
In Folk-Rural, Rural, and Urban Subcultures
In the Same Locale of Michigan.

presented by

Kamal Said Saleh

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of the requirements for

_____ PhD _____ degree in _Sociology_

_____
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ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF SOCIAL
RELATIONSHIPS CHARACTERIZING FAMILIES
IN FOLK-RURAL, RURAL, AND URBAN
SUBCULTURES IN THE SAME
LOCALE OF MICHIGAN

by Kamal Saïd Saleh

Community studies conducted of the folk and urban types indicate
that the Redfield and Wirth hypotheses have serious theoretical and
empirical limitations.  These studies suggest the existence of folk
characteristics in urban settings and urban elements in folk cultures.
The alternative proposed here is that a folk society may be considered
as a part of a larger social unit, either a small community or a city.
In this case, folk and urban are not polar concepts.  Rather, they re-
present integral parts of a socio-cultural unit.  Following Foster's
conceptualization, distinction between "folk cultures" and "folk socie-
ties" was used to define types of subcultures and communities under
conditions of non-geographical isolation.

The purpose of this study was to compare the subcultures of
middle-class Protestant families residing in three different communities
in the same locale of Michigan.  Two of these communities were rural and
the sample chosen from them represents full-time farmers.  One of these
farming groups was thought to be characterized by a "folk-like" sub-
culture.  These two groups of farmers were to be compared with a third
group characterized by "non-folklike" subculture where individuals
have nonfarm occupations.  Specifically, this study investigates the
degree of cultural contact of the Mennonites viewed as a homogeneous

group, and attempts to determine the effects of cultural isolation on
their subculture and the relationships between members of the group.

The "folk-rural" community of Mennonites was hypothesized as
reflecting higher levels of cultural isolation on a series of objective
measures as compared with the rural and urban groups. If the assumption
of greater cultural isolation on the part of Mennonites is borne out, it
should follow that they will exhibit the attributes of a folk subculture.
Further, if the Mennonites were highly isolated and manifested a folk
subculture, it should follow that members of the group will exhibit
folk-like patterns of social relationships. These three general hy-
potheses were operationalized, and a number of measures was used re-
garding each of the relevant variables.

Communities selected in this study were Newark and New Haven
in Gratiot County, Bengal township, and St. Johns, Clinton County, Michi-
gan. The criteria used in the selection of the cases were: (1) child-
ren at the fourth grade level in elementary schools; (2) students at
the junior and senior garde levels in high schools; (3) full-time farmers
in both the "folk-rural" and "rural" communities; and (4) complete
families. The total number of cases from each community was 48. The
interview schedule was used, supplemented by observer as a participant.

On a series of objective measures, it was found that the Menno-
nites were not only culturally isolated but they also exhibited a high
degree of homogeneity manifested in a unified body of shared beliefs,
customs, and standardization of appearance. As a consequence of the
high degree of cultural isolation, the Mennonites held lower educational
aspirations than the control groups. Mennonites preferred farming and

the transmission of father's occupation to his sons. Housewife roles
were the roles appropriate for girls. Furthermore, the Mennonites pre-
ferred large families. The Mennonites also exhibited preference for
staying in the local community. Mennonites exhibited high frequency
in performing religious activities. Traditional traits of behavior in
children were preferred by the Mennonites in contrast to the rural and
urban groups preferring secular traits.

It was found that Mennonites not only show respect for older
persons and males, but also they tend to follow the views of older per-
sons and males on political, economic, and religious issues. The Men-
nonites had a larger number of living relatives residing both inside
and outside the local community than the control groups. Preference
for face-to-face interaction was manifested in high frequency of visit-
ing the relatives regardless of the distance of residence. The results
indicate that the Mennonite kinship network was characterized by a high
degree of "connectedness" relative to the other research groups. The
extended type was characteristic of the Mennonites. The modified ex-
tended family was characteristics of the rural group where high frequency
of interaction with relatives was maintained without much familial in-
fluence exerted. The nuclear family type was found to be characteristic
of the urban group. Relationships with relatives were maintained pri-
marily through phone contact and little familial influence was indi-
cated.

It is concluded that under conditions of non-geographic isola-
tion, non-self-sufficiency, and a money economy, groups may consciously
erect boundaries that effectively isolate them from contact with the

dominant culture. Three specific conclusions are indicated: (1) the rural and urban groups manifest greater secularization than the rural-folk group; (2) the least isolated and the most heterogeneous of the groups studied is the most individualized; and (3) the highly isolated group is organized according to principles of organization that are different from the less isolated and heterogeneous groups. That is, the non-isolated rural and urban groups do not necessarily exhibit cultural disorganization.

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF SOCIAL

RELATIONSHIPS CHARACTERIZING FAMILIES

IN FOLK-RURAL, RURAL, AND URBAN

SUBCULTURES IN THE SAME

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By


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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this introductory chapter the main ideas of the study are
introduced. The chapter consists of an introduction, a statement of
the purpose of the study, and a definition of the problem with which
this research deals. Also included in this chapter are the theoreti-
cal framework, definitions of key terms and concepts, a formal state-
ment of the hypotheses, and an outline of the expected relationships.
The last part of this chapter will include an outline of the organiza-
tion of thesis in terms of chapter content.

Introduction to the General Problem

Sociologists have long been concerned with the cultural and
social characteristics of city life as contrasted to rural life. While
sociologists have been more concerned with studies of the rural-urban
contrast within one culture, anthropologists were engaged in studies
of a wide range of small primitive communities. That much recent re-
search in many parts of the world has focused upon the small community
is too well known to be documented. Both sociologists and anthropolo-
gists have found some similarities between certain aspects of primitive
and rural cultures, and the contrast between these and the modern city.
In primitive and peasant communities, indicators of conflict and cultural

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disorganization seem to be few; these cultures may be viewed as homogeneous and traditional. Secular values and impersonal relationships seem to dominate interrelationships in the city.

These contrasting types of cultural and social organization have been analyzed by various scholars in somewhat differing frames of reference, but they do have one element in common, namely, to distinguish different types of social organization in order to establish a range within which transitional or intermediate forms can be comprehended. In this respect McKinney and Loomis say:

> Despite the age of the tradition it still has a marked vitality, and appears to be one of the fundamental approaches to sociological phenomena. Such familiar conceptualizations as Maine's status society and contract society; Spencer's militant and industrial forms; Ratzenhofer's conquest state and culture state; Wundt's natural and cultural polarity; Tonnies' Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft forms; Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity; Cooley's primary and secondary (implicit) groups; MacIver's communal and associational relations; Zimmerman's localistic and cosmopolitan communities; Odum's folk-state pair; Redfield's folk-urban continuum; Sorokin's familistic vs. contractual relations; Becker's sacred and secular societies; as well as such non-personalized but common dichotomies as primitive-civilized; literate-nonliterate; and rural vs. urban are examples of this tradition.[1]

One of the earliest important typologies designed to generate research problems and to have explanatory virtues is Robert Redfield's the "folk-urban" classification. Redfield used the concept "folk culture" and "folk society" indiscriminantely to describe relatively simple cultural types which are in the process of being modified because

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[1] John C. McKinney and Charles P. Loomis, "The Typological Tradition," in J. S. Roucek (ed.), Readings in Contemporary American Sociology, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1961, p. 557.

of modern industrial and urban forces. The focus in mainly on examining the effects of the contact between the city and the village. The folk society, (or culture) in Redfield's conception, is characterized by being small, isolated, nearly self-sufficient, and homogeneous with respect to race and custom.[2] Redfield's conception specifies that this type is characterized by an interdependent relation among some or all the mentioned characteristics. Moreover, personal relationships are face to face, technology is simple, and the division of labor is minimal.[3] The family has a major role in societal institutions, sacred sanctions are applied, piety is emphasized, and ritual which functions as an expression of the wishes and fears of the people is highly developed. Redfield continues to say that such a society is relatively immobile, change is slow, the ways of life form a single web of interrelated meanings, and habits of members tend to correspond to custom.[4]

These characteristics, mentioned in the previous paragraph, describe a hypothetical soceity; any particular real society would have most but not necessarily all of the elements. "But the more elements we add, the less possible it becomes to arrange real societies in a single order of degree of resemblance to the type, because one of the

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[2]Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," _American Journal of Sociology_, Vol. 52, (January, 1947), p. 293.

[3]"There is some or natural or interdependent relation among some or all of these characters, in that change with regard to certain of them tend to bring about or carry with it change with respect to others of them." Robert Redfield, _The Folk Culture of Yucatan_, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, p. 343.

[4]"There is so marked a tendency for some of these characteristics to occur together with others that the interrelations among them must be in no small part that of interdependent variables." Redfield, _op. cit._, p. 307.

two societies will be found to resemble the ideal type strongly in one character and weakly in another, while in the next society resemblance will lie in the latter character and not in the former."[5]

In a comparative study of the types of cultures developed, Redfield analyzed in his book The Folk Culture of Yucatan (1941), the cultural differences between an urban city and a folk culture. This book reported results of a study of four communities in Yucatan which were chosen to represent points along the path between the folk and the urban. The four communities showed an increasing amount of contact with Euro-American civilization. The four communities represented: a "tribal village," a "peasant village," a "town," and a "city" - but all extended along a geographical line. Going from the village to the city, each community was described as becoming more heterogeneous, less custom bound, more individualized and secular. The conclusions of this study were that loss of isolation and loss of cultural homogeneity which led to social disorganization were sufficient causes for the development of secularization and individualization.[6]

The "ideal urban" stands at the opposite pole with respect to characteristics. The "ideal urban" is characterized by social heterogeneity, personal individuality, secular rather than familial and religious institutions of control, complex division of labor, a money economy,

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[5]Redfield, op. cit., p. 294.

[6]"Disorganization, individualization, and secularization have not been simply copied from the city but are causally related to heterogeneity, mobility, and to one another. . ." Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, op. cit., p. 369.

and impersonality in interpersonal relationships.[7] As has been mentioned, Redfield's scheme defines an ideal type "the folk society" which is the polar opposite of "the urban society". "The ideal type is a mental construct, it is created only because through it we may hope to understand reality. Its function is to suggest aspects of real societies which deserve study, and specially to suggest hypotheses as to what, under certain defined conditions, may be generally true about society."[8]

Redfield's definition of the characteristics of the "folk type" of society regards isolation and homogeneity as the independent variable which affects or causes disorganization, secularization, and individualization (in case of lack of isolation and heterogeneity) - the dependent variables. In other words, lack of cultural isolation by exposure and interaction with others and their ideas, and increasing heterogeneity causes disorganization, secularization, and individualization. Redfield's definition of characteristics of the "urban type" bears kinship to Louis Wirth's criteris or urbanism.[9] Wirth said, "For sociological reasons a city may be defined as a large, dense, and permenant settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals ,. . . the city brought together people from the ends of the earth because they are different and thus useful to one another, rather than because they

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[7]Redfield did not describe the characteristics of the "urban type". The mentioned characteristics are drawn from his field data of "Yucatan", and they may be regarded as opposites to the elements of the "folk type".

[8]Redfield, "The Folk Society," op. cit., p. 295.

[9]Louis Wirth, "Urbanization as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology (July, 1938), pp. 1-24.

are homogeneous and like minded."[10]  Wirth's three variables were:

number, density of settlement, and degree of hetereogeneity of the urban

population.  Wirth's criteria of urbanism were supposed to explain the

characteristics of urban life and to account for the differences be-

tween cities of various types and sizes.  "Wirth advanced his criteria

of urbanism as a preliminary statement; subsequent research has shown

them to need revision even for limited application in the United States."[11]

Thus, Redfield listed the polar opposites of Wirth's urban criteria,

converting them into a linear typology, and hypothesizing that urban

influence moves outward.

Specific empirical studies.- Scott Greer summarized the results

of empirical studies made in the United States during the last one and

a half decades.  Included were studies by Komarovsky, Janowitz, Greer,

Bell, Axelrod, and Foley in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Fran-

cisco, Detroit and Rochester respectively.[12]  Greer's summary points

out that all the studies show the importance of kinship relations for

the urbanites, friendship outside the organizational context is nearly

universal in the city, the degree of interaction between neighbors

varies by local areas but the average urban resident has some informal

neighboring relations, urbanites show a wide variation in their degree

of local community identification and participation, a majority of the

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[10]Wirth, ibid., pp. 1-24.

[11]Ralph L. Beals, "Community Typologies in Latin America,"
Anthropological Linguistics, Vol. 3, No. 1 (January, 1961).

[12]Scott Greer, "Individual Participation in Mass Society," in
Young and Mack (eds.), Principles of Sociology, third edition, New York:
American Book Company, 1965, pp. 205-219.

urbanites are members of churches, and mass media is enjoyed at home

in the context of family participation.  Greer's conclusions are "that

the conjugal family is very powerful and that the individual's involve-

ment in formal organizations and work based friendship is weak; the

mass media are most important in a family context; participation with

kin and friendship circles is powerful."[13]  These findings go largely

against the Wirth and Redfield hypotheses of urban life.  The point

is that in order to analyze city's social life one has to account for

variation from area to area and from one socio-economic group to another

within the city.

It is explicit in the Wirth-Redfield criteria for urbanism that

kinship does not play a very important part in industrialized societies;

relations with kin other than the members of the nuclear family are

not considered important except in certain rural areas.[14]  But very

few studies have been conducted to examine the kinship relations in

urban areas.  Talcott Parsons has presented an analysis which is of

great importance as an interpretation of the effect of the occupational

system on the kinship system, but Parson's analysis is not based on

field research and it is confined to the kinship system of the

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[13]Greer, ibid., p. 208.

[14]See as examples:  M. Arensberg and S. T. Kimball, Family and
Community in Ireland, Cambridge, Mass.:  Harvard University Press,
1948 - J. S. Brown, "The Conjugal Family and the Extended Family Group,"
American Sociological Review, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1952, pp. 297-306 -
A. Curle, "Kinship Structure in an English Village," Man, Vol. 52, 1952,
pp. 68-69 - A. D. Rees, Life in a Welsh Countryside, Cardiff:  University
of Wales Press, 1950.

middle-class.[15]  Dotson reports that fifty members of the working-class

in New Haven had many relationships with kin but few with voluntary

associations.[16]  Firth conducted an empirical investigation of the

urban kinship system among the working-class and Italian families in

London, from which he reports that they have extensive and important

relationships with their relatives.[17]  Several studies of the relation-

ships of working-class families with their relatives have been con-

ducted by Young and Willmott (1957)[18] and Elizabeth Bott (1957)[19] in

London.  The results indicate that certain working-class families,

ethnic families, and middle-class Protestant families have a great

deal of contact with their relatives.  Relevant to this point, Bott

says,

> The elementary family does not stand alone; its members
> keep up frequent and intimate relationships with parents
> and with at least one of the siblings, uncles and aunts,
> and cousins of the husband and wife.  But, at the same
> time, it is quite clear that kinship does not provide
> the basic framework of the total social structure as it
> does in so many small-scale primitive societies, even

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[15]Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," _American Anthropologist_, Vol. 45, No. 1, 1943, pp. 22-38, and "The Structure of the Family" in R. Anshen (ed.), _The Family:  Its Function and Density_, New York:  Harper and Bros., 1949, Chapter X, pp. 173-201.

[16]F. Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association among Urban Working-Class Families," _American Sociological Review_, Vol. 16, No. 5, 1951, pp. 687-693.

[17]Raymond Firth (ed.), _Two Studies of Kinship in London_, London: Athlone Press, 1956.

[18]Michael Young and Peter Willmott, _Family and Kinship in East London_, London:  Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.

[19]Elizabeth Bott, _Family and Social Network_, London:  Tavistock Publications Limited, (Second Impression), 1964.

those with a bilateral kinship system of the same basic type as that found in Western Europe.[20]

Several studies have been conducted in the developing countries within the conceptual framework "folk-urban". Long ago Sol Tax (1939) felt that the nonfolk-like qualities of Guatemalan Indian society are nut due to recent contact with urban life, but that a stable rural social type can and does exist in which urban characteristics, as described by Redfield, are an integral part of the picture. Tax concluded that the associations found by Redfield in Yucatan were not found in the Indian communities in Guatemala.[21] Herskovits (1948) pointed out that Redfield's ideal type falls far short of explaining the folk aspects of West African urban centers ranging up to 350,000 inhabitants. "These populations have complex specialized economies exhibiting . . . the use of money and the presence of profit motivation. Yet in these cities relationships are as personal as in any folk society, and religion is the focal aspect of the culture."[22]

In his famous study of the Tepoztlan families, Oscar Lewis' (1951) data shows that commercialization is accompanied by little evidence of family disorganization. Lewis found that families who have migrated to Mexican cities continued to live under the former folk-values. Families remained strong and there was little evidence

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[20]Bott, ibid., p. 116.

[21]Sol Tax, "Culture and Civilization in Guatemalan Societies," Scientific Monthly, Vol. XLVIII, (May, 1939), pp. 463-467.

[22]Melville Herskovits, Man and His Works, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948, pp. 604-607.

of dissatisfaction with city life. There were no more separations or

divorce than in the villages. Nor was there any significant cleavage

in values and in general outlook. Still, religion was vigorous though

the form changed from Indian to Catholic.[23]

Bruener's article based on a study of North Sumatra concludes

that, "Contrary to the traditional theory, we find in many Asian cities

that society does not become secularized, the individual does not be-

come isolated, kinship organizations do not break down, nor do social

relationships in the urban environment become impersonal, superficial,

and utilitarian."[24] This study explicitly indicates that a majority

of folk characteristics can largely be well maintained in the large

cities especially when a large body of migrants occupy a particular

locality facilitating an in-group feeling and solidarity.

In the United States, an attempt to test Redfield's "folk-

urban" hypothesis was made by Neal Gross (1948).[25] Gross analyzed the

data of four published contemporary studies.[26] The communities were

all rural and they differed only in the degree and not in kind regarding:

the relation between cultural isolation and the system of interaction,

the family, religion, and education. The findings support Redfield's

hypotheses of certain relationships between cultural isolation and the

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[23]Oscar Lewis, "Urbanization Without Breakdown: A Case Study," Scientific Monthly, Vol. 75, 1952, pp. 31-41.

[24]E. M. Bruener, "Urbanization and Ethnic Identity in North Sumatra," American Anthropologist, Vol. 63, 1961, p. 508.

[25]Neal Gross, "Cultural Variables in Rural Communities," The American Journal of Sociology, March, 1948, pp. 344-350.

[26]The four communities included an Older Order Amish Community.

mentioned variables. But as Gross put it, "However, it should be noted that Redfield's concepts of organization-disorganization are subject to severe limitations. They force the analysis into an organization-disorganization framework and neglect the possibility that there may exist different levels of organization in cultures."[27] Gross makes an important observation, that is, communities may be organized on different levels or principles.

In this respect, Hostetler examined the Amish charter (or what may be called their value system)[28] and he found evidence of stress patterns manifested in: "thwarted motivations for higher education, the practice of marginal occupations, the presence of suicide behavior, and rowdyism."[29] These findings contradict the common known general-ization that the Amish[30] are a stable and homogeneous people, consis-tent in their moral values. Contrary to the common belief that the rural people are more organized than the urban people, Schroeder and Beegle found that rural males in Michigan exhibit higher suicide rates than urban males at almost all ages.[31]

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[27] Gross, op. cit., p. 350.

[28] The interpretation is mine.

[29] John A. Hostetler, "The rate of suicide among the Amish may be higher than that of the rural United States population in general - possible even as high as that for rural Michigan which exceeds that of the urban population." "Persistence and Change Patterns in Amish Society," Ethnology, Vol. III, April, 1964, pp. 185-198.

[30] The Amish are a socio-religious group with traditional social organization and they live in almost complete isolation from the larger cultural system.

[31] W. Widick Schroeder and J. Allan Beegle, "Suicide, An Instance of High Suicide Rates," Rural Sociology, Vol. 18, 1953, pp. 45-52.

The studies mentioned which analyzed patterns of social inter-action and of social life in large cities and in small communities in America, England, and in some of the developing countries make clear that while some of the Wirth and Redfield hypotheses were verified in both the developed and the developing countries, other hypotheses were not verified. Hence they need modification based on research findings. Apart from the fact that the city is essentially different from the folk village, it is also important to note that even within a large metropolis, the nature of social life varies from one locality to the other. Wirth was always concerned with the heterogeneous nature of the city and therefore did not see the importance of the homogeneous groups within it. Redfield was focusing on the influence of the city, in a one way direction from the city to the village, thus ignoring the effect of the village on the city itself. It is always evident that ethnic groups, racial groups, and the lower socio-economic strata have a strong in-group feeling within a heterogeneous population. The city society may be viewed as a compound of communities based upon locality and a "we" feeling. In such a case, then, there shall be no conflict between the two polar types of social life, folk and urban – rather they can be complementary and co-exist in the city and in the village in varying degrees.

Foster, in his important theoretical article, points out that a folk society is not a whole society and can never be viewed as such.[32] It is a "half-society" part of a larger social unit, usually a nation

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[32]George Foster, "What is Folk Culture?", American Anthropologist, Vol. 55, No. 2, 1953, pp. 159-173.

which is horizontally and vertically structured. The folk component
of this unit bears a symbiotic spatial-temporal relationship to the
more complex component which is formed by the upper classes of the pre-
industrial urban center. Viewed in this manner folk and urban are not
polar concepts but rather integral parts of the definition of a single
sociocultural unit at the center of which is the pre-industrial city.
The urban unit does not threaten the folk society but rather it is a
precondition for its existence.

To some extent Foster's analysis corresponds with Redfield's
description of "peasant societies". Foster prefers to call them folk
societies so that he can distinguish between "folk culture" and "folk
society" and that they may exist in a city or in a small community.
Foster defines a folk culture as "a common way of life which charac-
terizes some or all of the people of many villages, towns, cities
within a given area." And a folk society "may be thought of as an
organized group of individuals characterized by a folk culture."[33]
From the above statements it is evident that folk culture is not con-
terminous with folk society, and that one may find, as Lewis has found,
elements of folk cultures outside of peasant and folk societies, in
certain types of cities. The converse of this statement is not true
and folk societies cannot exist apart from folk culture.

The concepts of "folk culture" and "folk society" define types
of subcultures[34] and communities and afford a useful framework for

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[33]Foster, _ibid._, p. 170.

[34]_Subculture_ refers to the partially distinct cultural system
within a larger system.

empirical research.[35]  Foster suggests that folk cultures can be analyzed from two points of view:  their content[36] and their organic relationship to the more complex non-folk cultures.  Foster strongly disagrees with Redfield's emphasis on the criteria of the isolation of the folk society, especially if one is to examine the cultural content. Foster contends that if one is to examine the content of folk cultures the striking thing "is the importance of these elements which are there precisely because the society is not isolated."[37]

The important contribution this article makes to problems relating to the "folk-urban" continuum is the distinction between "folk culture" and "folk society", allowing for the formulation of more specific questions about the content of particular folk cultures and the extent to which some of these elements may be found in the urban component of a society.  These questions and the answers to them can then be distinguished from a different set of questions relating to the structural features of folk society.  Keeping these two variables separate and recognizing that they may vary independently of each other will allow greater specificity in the delineation of types of subcultures and communities.  And, the focus on the symbiotic relationship between folk and non-folk postulated as the key concept of folk

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[35]Foster, op. cit., p. 163.

[36]Content of a culture:  refers to the most significant elements within a culture.  The origin of these elements points up the relationships to the larger cultural system either in historical times or at the present time.

[37]Foster, op. cit., p. 164.
Cultural isolation:  refers to lack of cultural contact and was not intended by Foster to mean lack of individual mobility, in the sense of travel and geographical distance.

culture, implies that the direction of culture flow is not only from city to country but rather is a circular phenomena in which folk culture, though to a lesser degree, contributes to non-folk societies.[38]

In summary, the studies mentioned clearly indicate, based on empirical evidence from communities of the urban and the folk types in the United States, England, and in some developing countries, that the Wirth and Redfield hypotheses have serious theoretical and empirical limitations. Despite obvious differences, the folk-urban typology lumped together distinct geoups of people: from the most primitive, e.g., polar Eskimos, to the various types of peasants in Europe and Asia,[39] and to mixed rural cultures in Latin America. Communities were either inadequately analyzed or were forced into conformity with the typology. As has been shown, the studies conducted within the typological framework indicated the existence of folk characteristics in urban settings and urban elements in folk cultures. No serious attempt has been taken to define the class of phenomena involved. And, no attempt to redefine the concepts based on the research findings have been made. Moreover, evidence of disorganization in the urban type and its indices were either poorly defined or examined, suggesting that urban societies were disorganized and neglecting the fact that societies might be organized on different principles. The alternative, suggested

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[38]Foster, op. cit., p. 169.

[39]See Eric Wolf, "Closed Corporate Communities in Mesoamerica and Central Java," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 13, 1957, pp. 1-18. In this article Wolf deals with types of peasantry and not with types of communities. His major contribution to community typology is his bi-polar classification of open and closed corporate communities.

here, is that a folk society may be considered as a part of a larger
social unit, either a small community or a city. In this case folk
and urban are not polar concepts. Rather, they represent integral
parts of a sociocultural unit. The distinctions between "folk cul-
tures" and "folk societies" allows us to define types of subcultures
and communities, and it makes it easy to analyze folk cultures in rural
communities and in cities in conditions of non-isolation. This posi-
tion is supported by empirical results conducted within the folk-urban
conceptualization and the theoretical analysis provided by Foster[40]
and Lewis.[41]

## Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to compare the subcultures of
middle-class Protestant families residing in three different contemporary
communities in the State of Michigan. Two of these communities are
rural and the group membership chosen from them represents full-time
farmers. One of the two groups of farmers is thought to be character-
ized by a "folk-culture"; the second group by a "non-folk culture".
These two groups of full-time farmers will be compared with a third
group representing an urban group characterized by a "non-folk culture"
where individuals have non-farm occupations. None of the groups chosen
in this research is geographically isolated.

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[40] Foster, op. cit., pp. 159-173.

[41] Oscar Lewis, "Life in a Mexican Village," 1951, pp. 432-440.
In his conclusions Lewis cites his major criticisms of the folk-urban
continuum, and he suggests an identification of the concepts "folk"
and "rural," and his argument is largely concerned with the problem
of definition of the polar types.

The subcultures characterizing each of the three groups selected will be compared with each other in an attempt to identify the similarities and differences between them which may be a consequence of differential degrees of cultural isolation (or lack of culture contact).

## The Problem of the Present Study

The main focus of the present study is the investigation of differentials in degree of cultural isolation and homogeneity[42] among members of three groups, each characterized by a particular subculture. More specifically, this study investigates and analyses the degree of cultural contact of the Mennonite[43] families viewed as a homogeneous group, and attempts to determine the effects of cultural isolation on their subculture and the relationships between members of the group. There are three main areas of analysis into which the data of the present study can be divided:

1. Differences in the degree of participation in organizations, length and character of vacations, in-group identification, and use of mass means of communication and the degree of cultural isolation.

2. Differences in value orientations and intergenerational consensus regarding education, occupation,

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[42]*Homogeneity* refers to a group of people sharing similar norms, values, and rituals where the boundaries of the group are clearly defined for every individual and can easily discriminate between the in-group and those who belong to out-group; *heterogeneity* refers to opposite characteristics cited above.

[43]*The Mennonites*: An out-growth socio-religious group from the Amish; some of the Anabaptists come to be known as Mennonites, taking their name from Menno Simons: an early Anabaptist leader in The Netherlands and Germany. The Mennonites have their own definition of Protestantism, and specific rituals are practiced. As members of a "sect" they are conscious of their alienation from the surrounding environment, this process is emphasized by adopting distinctive patterns of behavior and compelling group endogamy.

family, migration, religion, and preferred behavioral
traits in children in the three community types.

3. Differences in patterns of social relationships with
respect to age, sex, and the kinship network in the
three community types.

The present study is limited to the study of the concept "folk
culture" and "folk society". However, it seems to have direct impli-
cations for the better understanding of solidarity groups, such as the
Mennonites, by examining the content of their subculture and their
specific patterns of social relationships. This claim is justified
by the fact that due to the design of this study, it will be possible
to make a comparison between value orientations and values of different
generational levels in each group studied. This comparison may provide
some basis for determining the norms of education, occupation, family
size, migration, and religion by identifying the mutual understandings
between different generational levels in each group. Moreover, it may
be expected to shed light on the process by which a relatively closed
system, like the Mennonites, maintains boundaries with relative stability
from generation to the other. Such a scheme would have the obvious
practical value in dealing with rural development programs, but it may
also be of significance to sociological theory.

## Theoretical Framework

Sociologists have been interested in describing, analyzing, and
explaining the nature of human bonds that contribute to achieve co-
hesion and promote equilibrium in the social system. Sociologists
believe that there are natural forces making for order and stability,
and there are other equally natural forces making for disorder and
conflict. The interest here is to examine the forces that operate in

either case: equilibrium and conflict may be viewed as two sides of the same coin.

The starting point is a social system in which norms exist and individuals are largely governed by these norms. The term "system" is important, for the conceptual framework of this study is that of interacting subsystems within the larger system of the total society. Such subsystems may include the family, the school, the church, the government, among others. In this respect Loomis and Beegle view the social system as:

> In the first place, a social system may be considered a concrete interactive social structure, such as a Farm Bureau local, a family, a church congregation, or a dairy herd improvement association. The members of such organizations interact more with members than with non-members when participating in the organization as an on-going concern. . .
>
> In the second place, a social system may be viewed as a more abstract unit, or one in which patterns of relationships prevail from generation to generation and from region to region. . .
>
> Social systems, whether studied as going concerns in the present or from a historical point of view, are composed of social interactions and the cultural factors which structure those interactions.[44]

Sociologists believe that there must be uniformities and regularities in social life. Every society must have some sort of order or its members cannot live together. People know the kind of behavior they expect from others. And individuals coordinate their activities in submission to the norms and the values of their system. People can predict each other's behavior because every society has a pattern which

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[44]Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., (third printing), 1963, pp. 1 and 2.

can be described and analyzed in terms of a social system or a social

structure. Such a strategy views norms as the governers of social

behavior, and thus escapes the problem which Hobbs asked: "Why there

is not war of all against all?" This idea also implies that there is

some consistency and harmony between the parts that make up the social

system.

Kroeber and Parsons (1958) advised that the concept of culture

may be restricted to refer to "transmitted and created content and

patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic meaningful systems as

factors in the shaping of human behavior and the artifacts produced

through behavior." On the other hand, we suggest that the term society,

- or more generally, social system, - be used to designate the speci-

fically relational system of interaction among individuals and col-

lectivities."[45] The distinction between cultural phenomena and social

phenomena has been observed by earlier thinkers, for example, by

Sorokin[46] and by Weber.[47] However, the distinction was made, especially

by Kroeber and Parsons, in order to indicate the subject matter and

concerns of both cultural anthropology and sociology and does not

ignore the interrelationships between cultural and social phenomena.

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[45]A. L. Kroeber and T. Parsons, "The Concepts of Culture and of Social System," American Sociological Review, Vol. 23, October, 1958, pp. 582-583.

[46]P. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality, New York: Harper, 1947, p. 313.

[47]Alfred Weber, "Fundamentals of Culture-Sociology," in T. Parsons et al. (eds), Theories of Society, Glencoe: The Free Press, Vol. 11, 1961, pp. 1274-1283.

Kluckhohn's definition of culture as "the distinctive way of life of a group of people, their complete design for living,"[48] and the definition proposed by Redfield, who viewed culture "as consisting of those conventional understandings, manifested in act and artifact, which characterize particular groups,"[49] will be followed in this study. The concern here will be with what Redfield called, "understanding manifested in action" where reference is made to those beliefs and assumptions which regulate the behavior of a group of people. And that any group that persists develop a distinctive set of basic norms which make up their total "design for living," as Kluckhohn put it.

The concept of subculture assumes that there is a general culture having characteristics which permeate all groups in a society. Subcultures have elements of the basic culture, plus their distinctive features which constitute the subculture. Members of a group learn their subculture, share its elements, and transmit them to their children through the process of socialization. Subcultures persist because usually members of a group live in physical proximity to each other, share common norms and values, and interact mostly with members of the immediate family, relatives, and members of the in-group. Thus, the concept subculture assumes that groups of different educational, occupational, religious, and socio-economic statuses will have different

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[48]Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Concept of Culture," in D. Lerner and H. D. Lasswell (eds.), The Policy Sciences, Stanford: University of Stanford Press, 1951, p. 86.

[49]Redfield, The Folk Culture of Yucatan, op. cit., 1941, p. 132.

norm-value systems because they interact more with groups holding

similar norms and values.

The present position will focus on the system of norms and

values which organize human behavior and bring it under their control.

Norms refer to "any standard or rule that states what human beings

should or should not think, say, or do under given circumstances."[50]

The most general hypothesis concerning the organization of human be-

havior centers on the concept consensus. Shibutani (1964) defines

consensus as "the extent to which independently motivated men are able

to coordinate their respective activities depends upon the degree of

consensus that exists among them. Consensus refers to some kind of

mutual understanding, a sharing of perspectives."[51] Men would be able

to cooperate with relative ease because ". . . they share common under-

standings as to what each person is supposed to do."[52] Shibutani was

referring to norms when he used the concept "common understanding,"

thus, when men share basic norms they also have common expectations

of one another.

The previous conception suggests that norms are explicitly de-

fined, and it also implies that people are aware of them. "Group norms

are not merely ways of doing things; they are the correct ways."[53]

Norms cover the various activities in which people engage in their day

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[50] Judith Blake and Kingsley Davis, "Norms, Values, and Sanctions," in Robert Faris (ed.), Handbook of Modern Sociology, Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964, pp. 456-484.

[51] T. Shibutani, Society and Personality, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., (fifth printing), 1964, p. 40.

[52] Shibutani, ibid., p. 40.

to day work. The totality of the norms which defines various activities of a collectivity may be referred to as the "subculture" of that group.

The concept of value orientation has been defined by Florence Kluckhohn as, "Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process - the cognitive, the effective, and the directive elements - which give order the direction to the ever flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of common human problems."[54] Three major assumptions underlie Kluckhohn's classification of value orientations. The first is that there is a limited number of common human problems for which all people at all times must find solutions. The second is that there is a limited range of variability in the solutions to problems. The third assumption is that all variations of recurring solutions are, with varying degrees of emphasis, present in all societies at all times. There will be, therefore, in every society not only a dominant value orientation for each of the common human problems, but also one or more variant value orientation for each problem.[55]

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[53]Shibutani, ibid., p. 45.

[54]Florence R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations, New York:  Row, Peterson and Company, 1961, p. 4.

[55]F. Kluckhohn has defined five common human problems for which people in any society must find solutions; these common problems concern the nature of man himself, his relation to nature and supernature, his place in the flow of time, the modality of human activity, and the relation between man to man.  She and her co-workers have gathered data on value orientations in five different cultures.  Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, ibid., pp. 10-20 and 340-344.

Thus norms and values in this study will refer to those particular and basic understandings which are learned and shared by a specific group of people. Norms and values of a particular group unite them, regulate their behavior, and characterize their distinctive way of life. These learned and shared norms and values are transmitted from generation to generation through the process of socialization within the family, the relatives, the members of the in-group, and the school. The transmission of norms and values from generation to the other is maintained with relative stability by applying sanctions which function to bring about an individual's conformity to group norms and values.

Cultural norms and values are internalized within the individual's personality through the processes of socialization.[56] It follows from the previous process that behavior will differ from culture to culture, and from one subculture to another, within a particular culture. "What people regard as morally right and wrong influences their behavior as profoundly as any other factor. The value system is expressed by and governs behavior, and therefore values and behavior can only be fully understood when considered together."[57] The simplest value orientation scheme is the dichotomy of "traditionalism" and

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[56]Parsons says in this respect, "This fact of the internalization of values was independently and from different points of view discovered by Freud in his theory of the superego and by Durkheim in his theory of the institutionalization of moral norms." in T. Parsons and E. Shils (eds.), Toward a General Theory of Action, Harper Torchbook Edition, 1962, p. 22.

[57]Lowry Nelson, C. Ramsey, and C. Verner, Community Structure and Change, New York: The McMillan Company, 1960, p. 93.

"rationality,"[58] the latter being viewed as an urban characteristic.

Becker used the term secular to describe value systems which are oriented toward change and for those oriented to resist change he used the term sacred.[59] Since men's behavior is not always rational the dichotomy which will be used in this study may be constructed as "traditional" vs. "secular" value systems.

With regard to value orientations, F. Kluckhohn's definition cited earlier, begins with the key statement: "Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles. . ." Further, she suggested three classes of determinants which exercise a major influence in accounting for variations in value orientations: culture, social structure, and behavior sphere. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck were focusing, in their book, on differences between cultures in accounting for differences in value orientation. The present research deals with differential preferences for value orientation between subcultures and social structures. Differences in value orientations will be explained, then, as differences between subcultures, with each having a different pattern of relationships. Subcultures within a culture also differ because of cultural isolation, that is, lack of cultural contact.

The functional principle that emerges in connection with the analysis of the relationships between the family as a social group, and other solidary systems, is that social solidarity may be maintained and

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[58]Nelson, et al., ibid., p. 98.

[59]H. Becker, Through Values to Social Interaction, New York: Durham, Duke University Press, 1950, Chapter 5.

the commitment greater, when the boundaries of the group are sharper.[60]

In this respect Loomis and Beegle say, "Boundary maintenance signifies activity to retain and identity, value orientation, and interaction pattern of a social system. The process of boundary maintenance requires that the system actively resist forces which tend to destroy the identity and interaction pattern."[61] Boundaries are erected and sharply defined when the world beyond a collectivity is defined as dangerous. Further, the distinction can be reinforced by defining who is a member of the in-group and who is not, thus the boundaries of a group can be clearly specified. The boundaries of the kindred are clear enough as far as ego is concerned, thus facilitating interaction with kin. And when the group share common norms, understandings, and conduct the required rituals in a collective manner, all these process define the group boundaries. The more boundaries that are erected, the more the group is isolated from other groups. And the more members of the group have similar identities and more interaction with the in-group, the more homogeneous the group becomes.

The next concern will focus on the interpersonal relations within and among families, and how they are adapted to the wider social context. Through the process of socialization, the nuclear family functions as a mediator for the acquision of group norms and values by its young members. Following Levi-Strauss, the family may be defined as a group manifesting the following organizational attributes. It finds its

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[60]Jesse Pitts, "The Structural-Functional Approach," in H. Christensen (ed.), Handbook of Marriage and the Family, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964, p. 96.

[61]Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 9.

origin in marriage; it consists of husband, wife, and children born
in their wedlock, though other relatives may find their place close
to this nuclear group; and the group is united by moral, legal, economic,
religious, and social rights and obligations.[62]

The family viewed as a social system consists of parts which
are bound together by social interaction and interdependence. Attention
will focus upon some of the internal workings of the family system,
but the basic concern will be on the relationship between the family
and other social systems. The internal activities and their functions
seem to be related to the position of the family in society. This
study will be concerned with middle-class families, excluding the
very rich and the very poor, in an attempt to control for the economic
factor.[63] And since religion is related to beliefs and norms, and as
such affects the internal activities of the family, an attempt will
be made in this study to control for religious affiliation.

The internal activities of the nuclear family must be performed
within it, so that the interchanges with the external system may be
accomplished. The family functions as the society's basic socializing
agent by interalizing the norms and values of the group within the
personalities of the young. However, there is evidence that there is
considerable variation between families in the degree of intergenera-
tional consensus on the preferred norms and values. The family may be
viewed as providing a necessary amount of norm continuity from one

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[62]Claude Levi-Strauss, "The Family," in Harry L. Shapiro (ed.),
Man, Culture, and Society, New York: Oxford University Press, 1960.

[63]The American middle-class families may be defined as those
earning annual gross income between $4,000-$12,000.

generation to another. Members of the family acquire certain expectations about the right or proper behavior. These expectations are related to more general standards, and together they constitute a system of norms and values for organizing and giving direction to various family activities. Bell and Vogel say in this respect, "This value system provides a hierarchy of goals and a body of rules for their attainment."[64] And, although the family value system is more specific and concerns only the behavior of family members, yet it is related in many aspects to the societal value orientation which covers a society's basic norms and values.

The external relationships may be viewed as a series of functional interchanges between the family system and other systems. The interrelation takes place in terms of specification of standards for behavior, compliance to those standards, and conformity. The ideals or values as sets of norms may be viewed as the major constituent of culture. Thus, the organization of norms and values will be different in different subcultures and groups. The exchange between the nuclear family and the normatives system takes place in that the normative system specifies the standards for behavior which members of the family have to accept or they will be sanctioned. Thus, the group specifies the norms which constrain the members of the nuclear family to conform to its rules. The normative system specifies what behavior is legitimate and desirable. Religion, defined broadly, fulfills a part of this function, which is distinct from many other activities that may be

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[64]Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel, A Modern Introduction to The Family, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960, p. 27.

associated with a single religious group. The basic norms of a society

may also be enbodied in the educational system. The nuclear family

either accepts or does not accept the standards presented by repre-

sentatives of both the religious and the educational system. The

nuclear family socializes its members according to the norms thought

to be proper, and which give it the required approval with other nuclear

families that make up the group. Thus, in striving to maintain a

satisfactory relationship with the group, the nuclear family yields

to the shared norms and values. Conformity to the shared norms and

values of a group is reinforced by the process of rewarding those who

conform and by punishing families who deviate from the basic norms and

values of the group.[65]

The American kinship system is differentiated from that of

other social systems. Nevertheless, both empirical and theoretical

considerations suggest significant points of continuity between kinship

and other parts of the social system.[66] Person (1954) attempted to

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[65]Durkheim, insists on the collective aspect of ritual, which
unites the group in a single locale and thus reinforces the constrain-
ing power of the collective representation upon the individuals. E.
Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, Trans. Joseph
V. Swain, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1954, pp. 230-231. For Radcliffe-
Brown, the maintenance of conformity is achieved through the transfor-
mation of important articulating events or things into sacred occasions
marked by a taboo. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in
Primitive Society, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952, pp. 136-152. To
some extent, all institutions may be viewed as having a social control
dimension which is exercised through specifying clearly the character-
istics of conforming behavior and the reinforcement of the wish to
conform through the rewarding of conformity and the punishment of the
deviance.

[66]D. M. Schneider and G. Homans, "Kinship Terminology and the
American Kinship System," American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, No. 6,
December, 1955, pp. 1194-1208.

describe social solidarity among siblings and suggested that "sibling solidarity is the fundamental kinship bond" in the bilateral system of which the American kinship system is a particular instance.[67] It is a general belief in both sociology and anthropology that kinship does not play a very important role in industrial societies. The nuclear family - father, mother, and their dependent children - is believed to stand alone. "Relations with other kin are not considered important, except in certain rural areas."[68] The recent literature on the American family includes a number of investigations of the structure of intergenerational relationships.[69] Many of these studies have used Parson's conceptual framework, examining the Parsonian proposition that the nuclear family system is the modal type and most functional in an industrial society such as the United States. These studies focused mainly on the degree of isolation and/or integration of the nuclear family units, and the relationship between the degree of isolation and vertical or horizontal mobility within the industrial system.

However, the present state of knowledge indicates that most people still maintain intergenerational relationships with considerable

[67]Robert N. Person, "Bilateral Kin Grouping as a Structural Type," University of Manila:  Journal of East Asiatic Studies, 1954, pp. 199-202.

[68]Bott, op. cit., p. 115.

[69]Marvin B. Sussman and Lee Burchinal, "Kin Family Networks: Unheralded Structure in Current Conceptualizations of Family Functioning," Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 24, November, 1962, pp. 320-332; in this article a review of the literature is presented.

variation in the type of relationships.[70] This variation may be related to such factors as education, occupation, and residence (rural or urban). The distinction between the nuclear, modified extended, and extended types of families suggested by Litwak is important to the main ideas of the present study. The concept "network" will be used here to describe social relationships with relatives.[71]

It seems obvious that the extended family is related to a particular type of occupation, that is, farming, and occupational involvement may be highly valued. It may also be related to low educational levels, and with rural residence. The contrary may be expected in professional and white collar occupations in urban areas where the nuclear type seems to prevail. In urban communities[72] characterized

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[70]Eugene Litwak, "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25, August, 1960, p. 10 - in this article Litwak differentiates between three types of families presented in the following quotation: "(the modified extended) type differs from the "classical extended" family in that it does not demand geographical propinquity, occupational involvement,* or nepotism, nor does it have a hierarchal authority structure. On the other hand, it differs from the isolated nuclear family structure in that it does provide significant continuing aid to the nuclear family." *Occupational involvement may be taken to mean continuity of occupation from father to son.

[71]J. Barnes has recently used the term "network" to mean, "Each person is, as it were, in touch with a number of people, some of whom are directly in touch with each other and some of whom are not . . . I find it convenient to talk of a social field of this kind as a 'network'. The image I have is of a net of points some of which are joined by lines. The points of the image are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with each other.", p. 43 in "Class and Communities in a Norwegian Island Parish," Human Relations, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1954, pp. 39-58.

[72]Urban and rural communities: The U. S. Bureau of the Census has used size and legal status as criteria to distinguish "urban" from "rural" communities, and has traditionally drawn the line by identifying "urban" communities as incorporated places of 2,500 or more inhabitants.

by industrialization where freedom of choice, success, and acceptance

of change[73] are highly valued, it is probably that the less demanding

collateral bonds are emphasized. Ideally, mutual dependency and mutual

aid are absent and sociability is predominant.[74]

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This definition has been a matter of administrative convention, however, the occupational criteria might be observed, that is, urban communities might be viewed as centers of manufacturing, while rural communities may be thought of as agricultural in character. Loe F. Schnore, "The Rural Urban Variable: An Urbanite's Perspective," Rural Sociology, Vol. 31, No. 2, June, 1966, pp. 131-143.

[73]Since the interest in this study focuses upon middle-class families where achievement is "so highly valued within the middle class family" as Rose Coser says in The Family: Its Structure and Functions, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964, p. xix, some studies investigating the relationship between social and economic class on the one hand, and family values on the other hand will be cited here. The main assumption of Melvin L. Kohn, "Social Class and Paternal Values," is that social classes as subcultures of the larger society, each has a relatively distinct value orientation. In this study, Kohn found that parents, whatever their social class, deem it very important that their children be honest, happy, considerate, obedient, and dependable. The second conclusion is that, whatever the reasons may be, parents' values are related to their social position, particularly their class position. [Kohn used Kluckhohn's definition of values, "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action. (C. Kluckhohn, "Values and Value Orientations," in T. Parsons and E. Shils (eds.), Toward a General Theory of Action, Harvard University Press, 1951, p. 395.)] Kohn in Coser, ibid., p. 491; the study conducted by Elizabeth Douvan where she found that middle-class children were urged to individual achievement and were taught to respond to symbolic as well as motivational rewards, "Social Status and Success Striving," The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 52, March, 1956, pp. 219-223; and the study done by Cyrus M. Johnson and Allan Kerkhoff, "Family Norms, Social Positions, and the Value of Change," Social Forces, Vol. 43, No. 2, December, 1964, pp. 149-156.

[74]Elaine Cumming and D. M. Scheinder, "Sibling Solidarity: A Property of American Kinship," American Anthropologist, Vol. 63, 1961, pp. 498-507.

Theoretical Hypotheses

This study assumes that groups possessing different educational, occupational, racial, religious and socio-economic backgrounds not only possess distinctive subcultures but also vary in degree of isolation from the larger cultural system. The folk-like Mennonite group is, of course, assumed to be more culturally isolated than the farm or urban groups located in the same geographical area. If the Mennonite group in fact is more culturally isolated than the two control groups, isolation from the dominant cultural system should be reflected by lower participation rates in voluntary social organizations, in less spatial mobility, in greater in-group identification, and by less contact with mass means of communication. Hence, the first general hypothesis is concerned with degree of cultural isolation.

General Hypothesis I. The "folk-rural" community of Mennonites, as compared with the rural and urban groups, will exhibit higher levles of cultural isolation on a series of objective measures. It is expected that members of the folk-rural group will exhibit: (1) lower participation rates in voluntary social organizations; (2) lower rates of mobility during vacation periods; (3) greater in-group identification; and (4) lower exposure to mass media and cultural themes of the dominant culture, than members of the rural and urban control groups in the same geographical area.

These propositions are operationalized as sub-hypotheses in Chapter 3.

If the assumptions of greater cultural isolation on the part of the folk-rural community of Mennonites is borne out, it should follow that they will manifest the attributes of a folk-like subculture.

Specifically, the Mennonite group should be characterized by value orientations and an intergenerational consensus that distinguish it from the rural and urban groups in the same geographical area. Value orientations derived from major institutions, and intergenerational consensus regarding these value orientations, are explored.

General Hypothesis II. The "folk-rural" community of Mennonites will possess value orientations markedly different from those of the rural and urban groups. Further, intergenerational consensus with respect to these value orientations will be greater for Mennonites than for the control group. It is expected that the folk-rural group will be markedly different from and that intergenerational consensus will be greater than the rural and urban groups in regard to value orientations to: (1) education; (2) occupation; (3) mate selection and family size; (4) migration; (5) religion and (6) preferred behavioral traits in children.

These propositions are operationalized as sub-hypotheses in Chapter 3.

If the assumptions of greater cultural isolation on the part of the folk-rural community of Mennonites indicated the manifestation of "folk-like" subculture, it should follow that members of the group will exhibit "folk-like" patterns of social relationships. Specifically, the Mennonite group should be characterized by folk patterns of relationships that distinguish it from the rural and urban groups. Attitudes toward different age and sex categories will be examined. Moreover, frequencies of interaction with relatives will be explored in order to investigate degree of connectedness of the kinship network and familial influence. Therefore, the third general hypothesis is concerned with

the nature of social relationships based upon age, sex, and the kinship network.

General Hypothesis III. The "folk-rural" community of Mennonites will exhibit patterns of social relationships markedly different from those of the rural and urban groups. It is expected that members of the folk-rural group will recognize age and sex as the basis for social relationships to a greater extent than the rural and urban groups. Further, it is expected that "folk-rural" group will manifest "closely-knit" relationships characteristic of the "extended family" type that is markedly different from that of the rural and urban groups.

These propositions are operationalized as sub-hypotheses in Chapter 3.

## Thesis Organization

An introduction to the general problem of this study has been stated in this chapter. The theoretical framework and a formal statement of the hypotheses were also part of this chapter. Chapter II deals with methodology. It includes an exposition of the selection of the communities, the sample, and the research instruments and techniques used. Also included in this chapter is a description of the methods used in analyzing the data and in testing the hypotheses. Chapter III contains the results of the comparative analysis and tests of the operational hypotheses. Chapter IV presents a discussion of the findings and draws conclusions from the results obtained.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the complete design of the study, con-
sisting of four main parts.  The first is concerned with a description
of the procedures used in the selection of the communities.  The second
presents the procedures for selecting the sample.  The third part is a
discussion and presentation of the research instruments used in gather-
ing the data, such as the interview questionnaires, the observer as a
participant, and the measurements used.  Finally, the fourth part in-
cludes a presentation of the statistical techniques and tests used in
analyzing the data and in testing the hypotheses.

Procedures for Selecting the Communities

The problem focused upon in this research required the selection
of three communities thought to possess different subcultures.  To ob-
tain a range in presumed cultural isolation, a rural community thought
to be folk-like was required.  At the other extreme a non-rural commu-
nity was needed.  Falling between the extremes, an average agricultural
community was required.  It was essential that the three communities be
located in close proximity to each other.  A major concern in the selec-
tion process was to scale down the scope of the research so that adequate
effort could be carried out in each.  The required data were intended

to be obtained mainly through interviewing which requires considerable field effort and preparation. Therefore, the number of communities selected was limited to three for theoretical as well as practical reasons. The communities, then were selected to satisfy the following criteria: (1) Folk-like subculture, full-time farming activities, middle-class, white, and Protestant; (2) Non-folk-like subculture, full-time farming activities, middle-class, white, and Protestant; and (3) Non-folk-like subculture, non-farming activities, middle-class, white, and Protestant.

One could have studied one community in depth, that is, conducting extensive interviewing and participating fully in community life. Obviously this alternative would have required an extended residence in the community. Another alternative approach to the problem of this study would have been to investigate a racial, ethnic or religious subculture and compare this system with other groups within a single city. However, it is obvious that the design of the present research attempted to control for factors such as religion, economic-status, race, and occupation. Still another alternative would have been to study the problem of this research on a cross cultural basis. But, this alternative would have been prohibitive in both time and money. Considering the alternatives, a decision was made to select three communities in Michigan.

Procedures for Selecting the "Folk-Rural" Community Thought to Possess Folk-Like Characteristics.- The literature gave evidence that the Amish,

> have special mechanisms designed for boundary mainten-
> ance. At an early age children are taught that the
> Amish are a chosen but a persecuted people and that

many types of activity involving non-Amish people are
sinful. Tales of immorality in the high schools of
surrounding communities are circulated continuously to
prevent children from wanting to attent and to prevent
adults from giving in to the state laws which require
attendance. The distinctive dress, grooming, and taboos
on travel and interaction of the Amish are all mechanisms
which assist the communities and the whole subculture in
boundary maintenance [75]

As a rural socio-religious sect., the Amish represent a way of life

which is quite different from that of other American communities. The

somewhat successful maintenance of this Amish way of life in a sur-

rounding culture of constant change offers many possibilities for the

study of certain sociological processes operative in the social system. [76]

The three largest concentrations of the Amish today are found in Ohio,

Indiana, and Pennsylvania.

Since there were no easily accessible Amish communities in Mich-

igan, a decision was made to study the Mennonites who are from the same

socio-religious stem as the Amish. [77] There is considerable variation

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[75] C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Sociology*, New York:
Prentice-Hall, 1957, p. 48.

[76] Literature and studies dealing with the *Amish*: Walter M.
Kollmorgen, "Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Older Order
Amish of Lancester County, Pennsylvania," *Rural Life Studies*, No. 4,
United States Department of Agriculture, September, 1942; John A. Hostetler,
*Amish Life*, Penn.: Herald Press, 1953; J. A. Hostetler, *Annotated Bib-
liography on the Amish*, Penn.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1951; J. A.
Hostetler, "Persistence and Change in Amish Society," *Ethnology*, 1964,
*op. cit.*, pp. 185-198; Elmer L. Smith, *The Amish People*, New York: Ex-
position Press, 1958.

[77] Literature and studies dealing with the *Mennonites*: Melvin
Gingerich, *The Mennonites in Iowa*, Iowa City: The State Historical
Society of Iowa, 1939; Henry C. Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites*, third
edition (revised and enlarged) Cornellius Krahn, Kansas: Mennonite Pub-
lication Office, 1959; Alvin J. Beachy, "The Rise and Development of the
Beachy Amish Mennonite Churches," *Mennonites Quarterly Review*, Vol. XXIX,
April, 1955, pp. 118-140; John A. Hostetler, "Religious Mobility in a
Sect Group: The Mennonite Church," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XIX, September,

within the Mennonites - from the conservative extreme which does not
encourage education beyond high school and farming is highly valued
among them, to the other extreme which pursues higher education and
professional occupations. A decision was made to select a community
from the most traditional Mennonite group.

The objective of this study was explained to a Mennonite grad-
uate student at M.S.U. who invited the researcher to attend a Menno-
nite church meeting. To gain confidence, the research objectives were
explained to the key persons as clearly as possible. However, the
Mennonite group first visited did not fit the design of this study.
Many of the members did not reside in the local community, few had
farming occupations, and many did not meet the economic criterion.

The intention of selecting a traditional group of Mennonites
was discussed with the pastor of this congregation who suggested a con-
tact with the senior pastor of a traditional group in the adjacent
county.[78] The minister volunteered to introduce the writer to the senior
pastor and an appointment was made. A trip was made to the senior pas-
tor's house[79] and an attempt was made to answer the various questions
asked by the minister and others from the religious structure who were
present. Initially, those present were suspicious of such research,

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1954, pp. 244-255; Histories of the Congregations:  The Church of God
in Christ, Publication Board, Hesston, Kansas, 1963; Harold S. Bender
and C. Harry Smith, Mennonites and Their Heritage:  A Handbook of Menno-
nite History and Beliefs, Penn.:  Herald Press, 1964.

[78]in Newark, Gratiot County, Michigan.

[79]We refer to Pastor Longnecker (of the radical Mennonites who
we first visited), Professor Beegle, and the writer. We visited Pastor
Litwiler (of the conservative Mennonites) on February 7, 1966.

especially since they themselves and members of their group, would be the object of the inquiry. This reaction was anticipated, considering the boundary maintenance activities necessary on the part of the Mennonites. However, after several hours of conversation, suspicion faded and permission was granted to conduct the study. The Mennonite community, located in Southern Gratiot County, met the criterion of a "folk-like" subculture of considerable size. At this meeting, a decision was made to accommodate the writer in the residence of the "junior pastor." This meant acceptance by the religious structure of the proposed research and virtually guaranteed its success in the community. Thus, New Haven and Newark, in Gratiot County, were selected to represent what was thought to be a folk-like rural community.

Procedures for Selecting the Rural Community.- The next concern was to select an agricultural community in the same general locality of the Mennonite community in which most of the people were engaged in farming. Census data for several counties were examined for various alternative sites. Clinton County seemed to offer several possibilities which fit the research design. This County occupies an area of 571 square miles in the south central part of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan. According to the 1960 Census, the total population was 37,969, the total urban population being 8,288 and the total rural population being 29,681.[80] The historical background of the County, its geography, and land use were reviewed. Information was also obtained about the agricultural characteristics, population characteristics, and the

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[80]United States Census of Population, 1960, pp. 24-154, 24-341.

religious composition of the different townships which make up the
County.[81] Various townships were reviewed in cooperation with the County
Agent, and Bengal was tentatively selected to represent the rural com-
munity.

The County Agent provides farmers with agricultural information
and advises in various social activities. A list of all farmers re-
siding in the County are on file in his office. A trip was made to
the County Agent[82] and an attempt was made to familiarize him with re-
search objectives. His cooperation was obtained in being introduced
to the rural community and in providing the needed records. Bengal
township, located in northwestern Clinton County met the criterion of
a typical rural community. After this meeting with the County Agent,
we moved around the boundaries of the township to identify the agri-
cultural characteristics, location of schools, and other needed infor-
mation.[83] Thus, Bengal township, in Clinton County, was selected to
represent the rural community.

Procedures for Selecting the Urban Community.- St. Johns, the
county seat of Clinton County, was chosen to represent the urban com-
munity. The social and economic characteristics of St. Johns as shown
in the 1960 Census fit the research design. Since the city is located

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[81]Ella M. Beck, Ethel L. Huot, Claribel R. Meyers, John Parker,
Helen A. Lewis, Karlene Eckert, Sister Jacinta, Earl R. Lancaster,
Gladys E. Bullard, Ardis B. Utterback, Evelun A. Wielend, and Roger N.
Shutes, "Unpublished Class Project in Rural Sociology: Clinton County,"
Sociology: 437, 1965. A paper presented to Professor Beegle.

[82]Professor Beegle and the writer visited Mr. Haus, the County
Agent on February 7, 1966.

[83]Professor Beegle and the writer.

about 20 miles to the north of Lansing, Michigan, and is near to the
other communities, St. Johns was selected to represent the non-rural
urban community. Table 1 summarizes the social and economic character-
istics of St. Johns.[84]

A trip was made to explore the social and cultural characteris-
tics of the City of St. Johns. A visit was made to the high school
where the writer was introduced to the school board.[85] The City seemed
to fit the research design and a decision was made to select St. Johns
to represent the urban community. Before starting the field work, the
writer was provided with a document from the authorities at M.S.U. to
prove his identity and his relation to the University. The author
stayed in a motel located about one mile north of the City. However,
in order to make his presence known to as many people as possible, the
researcher frequented public places in the City during his stay.

## Selection of Samples

The samples drawn in the three communities represent a rela-
tively small percentage of the total population in each of the commu-
nities studied. The samples were not random and one of the main pur-
poses of this section is to explain the procedures in selecting them.
A total of 48 cases were obtained in each of the three communities.

[84] U. S. Census, 1960, pp. 24-183.

[85] Mr. E. Lancaster, the Clinton County Superintendent of Schools,
and Mrs. Ethel Huot, Principal of Swego Elementary School at St. Johns,
were students of Professor Beegle who called both of them, recommended
the writer, explained the research objectives, and obtained permission
for the writer to examine the school records and interview students at
school.

TABLE 1.--The social and economic characteristics of St. Johns, Clinton
County, Michigan, 1960*

Total population 1960. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .   5,629

Percent foreign born . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .   2.5

Percent native of foreign or native parents . . . . . . . . . . .   11.6

Persons 25 years old and over

  Median school years completed. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .   11.3

  Percentage who completed 4 years of high school or more  . . .   46.1

Non-worker - worker ratio. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .   1.46

Females 14 years old and over - percent in labor force . . . . .   39.8

Civilian labor force - percent unemployed  . . . . . . . . . . .   3.6

Employed persons - percent in manufacture industry . . . . . . .   29.5

Families

  Median income dollars  . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . $6,606

  Percent with income of

    Under $3,000 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .   12.0

    $10,000 and over . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .   17.0

*Source:  U.S. Census 1960 - p. 24-183.

The criteria used in the selection of the cases in each community were:

1. Only those children who were at the fourth grade level in elementary schools were eligible,

2. Only those students who were at the 11th and 12th grade level in high school were eligible,

3. Only those who were engaged in full-time farming in both the Mennonite and the rural communities were eligible,

4. Only complete families, where parents had at least one child were eligible.

These criteria for case selection were established to assure degree of control of some factors assumed to be important, and to assure relative homogeneity among the cases. The following tables summarize the social and economic characteristics of the total sample.

TABLE 2.--Distribution of informants in the three community types, by sex

|  | Community Type | | | | | |
|  | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
|  | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Male | (24) | 50 | (28) | 58 | (25) | 52 |
| Female | (24) | 50 | (20) | 42 | (23) | 48 |
| Total | (48) | 100 | (48) | 100 | (48) | 100 |

As shown in Table 2, males and females were approximately equally represented in each of the three communities. The age distribution of the samples ranged from 10 to 12 for children, 16 to 18 for students, and from 25 to about 60 for the parents. The specific distribution is presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3.—Distribution of informants in the three community types, by age

| | Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Children 10-12 | (8) | 16 | (8) | 16 | (8) | 16 |
| Students 16-18 | (8) | 16 | (8) | 16 | (8) | 16 |
| Parents | | | | | | |
| 25-35 | (19) | 41 | (6) | 12 | (3) | 7 |
| 36-45 | (5) | 10 | (19) | 41 | (17) | 36 |
| 46-55 | (6) | 13 | (6) | 13 | (11) | 23 |
| 56-60 | (2) | 4 | (1) | 2 | (1) | 2 |
| Total | (48) | 100 | (48) | 100 | (48) | 100 |

Table 4 shows the distribution of the sample by religious preference. The cases selected from the community thought to be "folk-like" were all Mennonites. Approximately 54% from the "rural" community were members of the E.U.B. church and about 50% of the cases selected from the urban community were Methodists. The detailed distribution is presented in Table 4.

Table 5 shows the distribution of sample according to total annual gross income. Table 5 indicates that all cases selected from the three communities earn annual gross income that was considered to be the middle-class, i.e., where income ranges between $4,000 to $12,000 per year.

Table 6 shows the distribution of children and students in the sample by grade in school as well as the distribution of parents in terms

TABLE 4.--Distribution of informants in the three community types, by religious preference

| Religious Preference | Community Type | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Mennonites | (48) | 100 | - | - | - | - |
| Lutheran | - | - | (8) | 17 | (9) | 19 |
| E. U. B. | - | - | (26) | 54 | - | - |
| Congregational | - | - | (6) | 13 | (11) | 23 |
| Methodist | - | - | (4) | 8 | (24) | 50 |
| Baptist | - | - | (2) | 4 | - | - |
| Presbyterian | - | - | - | - | (4) | 8 |
| Christian Science | - | - | (2) | 4 | - | - |
| Total | (48) | 100 | (48) | 100 | (48) | 100 |

TABLE 5.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by total annual gross income

| Total annual gross income in dollars | Community Type | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 4,000 - 5,999 | (2) | 6 | (6) | 18 | (2) | 6 |
| 6,000 - 7,999 | (4) | 12 | (2) | 6 | (4) | 12 |
| 8,000 - 9,999 | (10) | 32 | (12) | 38 | (8) | 25 |
| 10,000 - 12,000 | (16) | 50 | (12) | 38 | (18) | 57 |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

of the highest grade of school completed. Table 6 shows that 43% of

the Mennonite parents completed grade school or less, and none of them

attended college. In contrast, 46% of the rural parents and 50% of

the urban parents completed high school. Less than 10% of these two

samples either attended or completed college.

TABLE 6.--Distribution of informants in the three community types, by
grade in school and highest grade completed by parents

| Age by grade in school | Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Children** | | | | | | |
| 4th grade | (8) | 16 | (8) | 16 | (8) | 16 |
| **Students** | | | | | | |
| 11th, 12th grades | (8) | 16 | (8) | 16 | (8) | 16 |
| **Highest grade of school completed by parents** | | | | | | |
| Grade school or less | (20) | 43 | (1) | 3 | (1) | 3 |
| Some high school - did not graduate | (11) | 23 | (6) | 13 | (3) | 6 |
| High school | (1) | 2 | (22) | 46 | (24) | 50 |
| Some college | - | - | (2) | 4 | (2) | 4 |
| Completed college | - | - | (1) | 2 | (2) | 4 |
| Total | (48) | 100 | (48) | 100 | (48) | 100 |

Table 7 shows the distribution of the parents from each commu-

nity by occupation. Table 7 indicates that fathers from the Mennonite

group have farming occupations, while mothers were housewives only.

Fathers from the rural group were farmers, most of the mothers were housewives although some have either professional or clerical occupations. None of the parents from the urban community work in farming. They worked in professional, clerical-business, or blue collar occupations. A comparable percentage of mothers from the urban and the rural communities were housewives.

TABLE 7.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by occupation

| Occupation | Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Professional | - | - | (3) | 10 | (6) | 18 |
| Clerical-business | - | - | (2) | 6 | (7) | 22 |
| Farming | (16) | 50 | (16) | 50 | - | - |
| Other blue collar | - | - | - | - | (7) | 22 |
| Housewife | (16) | 50 | (11) | 34 | (12) | 38 |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

The number of children in the family is shown in Table 8. Table 8 shows that the Mennonite families have more children than the rural or urban families. Small differences were found in family size in the latter two samples.

Different procedures were used in selecting the samples from the three communities under consideration.

The "Folk-rural" Community.- The sample comprised only Mennonites, full-time middle-class farmers, housewives, and youth living in

TABLE 8.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by number of children

| Number of Children | Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| One | - | - | (2) | 6 | (2) | 6 |
| Two | (8) | 26 | (10) | 32 | (6) | 18 |
| Three | (10) | 32 | (6) | 18 | (8) | 26 |
| Four | (2) | 6 | (8) | 26 | (10) | 32 |
| Five | (4) | 12 | (4) | 12 | (6) | 18 |
| Six | (2) | 6 | - | - | - | - |
| Seven | (2) | 6 | - | - | - | - |
| Eight | (4) | 12 | - | - | - | - |
| Nine | - | - | (2) | 6 | - | - |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

Newark and New Haven townships, Gratiot County, Michigan, in February 1966. A list of the church membership consisting of 315 members was examined. Some of the members were retired, did not have children, worked in factories, were part-time farmers, or fell below the range considered to be middle-class. A decision was made to exclude these categories from those who met the criteria. Thirty two families satisfied the criteria and they were selected accordingly. These were distributed as follows: (1) children from eight families who were at the fourth grade level; (2) students from eight other families who were at the junior and senior levels in high school; (3) sixteen families were selected: half were to be interviewed for data parallel to those of

children and students that are relevant to value orientations and
intergenerational consensus, and the second half were to be interviewed
for data regarding social relationships.

The "Rural" Community.- Records available at Harper Elementary
School in Bengal township were examined. Names of children registered
in March, 1966 were listed. A random sample of eight children was
drawn from those who met the specified criteria. All children selected
resided in Bengal township. They represented sons and daughters of
Protestant, middle-class, and while full-time farmers. Records avail-
able at St. Johns High School provided the desired information, in-
cluding father's occupation, address, and religious preference. Names
of youth living in Bengal who were in junior and senior grade levels
were listed and a random sample of eight students was drawn. The list
containing names of all full- and part-time farmers was available at
the County Agent's Office and was examined. There was no doubt that
the list containing 79 farm families in Bengal was complete. Those who
did not qualify on the criteria used were excluded. A random sample of
sixteen families was drawn from a reduced list numbering 59 full-time
farmers. Eight families were to be interviewed regarding value orienta-
tions and intergenerational consensus, and another eight for data on
social relationships.

The "Urban" Community.- The Swego elementary school at St. Johns
had the required records of children in the fourth grade. A list of
names was made and a random sample of 8 children was selected. The
St. Johns High School provided the records of students in the junior
and senior grade levels. The total list consisted of 119 students of

which 67 were Protestants. Names of the Protestant middle-class students were listed and 8 were selected randomly. Another 16 students were randomly selected whose parents were to be interviewed. Half of this sample were to be interviewed regarding value orientations and intergenerational consensus, and the second half for social relationships.

## Research Instruments and Techniques

By research instruments and techniques is meant the various means used to gather and analyze data. Interview schedules were used in conjunction with observation to generate data from informants. Techniques for measuring degree of cultural isolation, value orientations, social relationships based on age, sex, and the kinship network will be explained. The specific purpose of various measures used and their theoretical justification will be presented after reviewing the techniques used.

The Interview Schedules.- This study made use of structured interview schedules in collecting data from various respondents in each community. A copy of the schedules may be found in Appendix A. The form of the schedules was varied for each of the age and sex categories of informants. A certain degree of parallelism was built into all the questions examining content of the subcultures in terms of value orientations derived from major institutions, and intergenerational consensus regarding these value orientations.

A series of parallel questions were constructed to measure the degree of cultural isolation of the groups studied. Adults were asked to indicate their participation in various types of voluntary social

organizations both inside or outside the local community. Three questions eliciting the place, length of time, and with whom vacation time is spent were designed to measure the extent of geographical mobility. A set of questions was designed to measure the source from whom advice is sought when children, students, and parents are confronted with problems. Another series of questions was intended to measure frequency of interaction outside the local community.

A specific set of questions was designed to measure the value orientations of children, students, and parents toward (1) education; (2) occupation; (3) mate selection and family size; (4) migration; (5) religion; (6) preferred behavioral traits in children. These questions were also used in measuring intergenerational consensus regarding the mentioned value orientations and behavioral values.

The second group of parents selected was interviewed using a different set of questions intended to investigate social relationships based on age, sex, and kinship. Informants were asked to indicate their attitudes of respect for different age and sex categories both inside and outside the kinship structure. A specific series of questions was asked to investigate influence of different age and sex categories on informants' political, economic, and religious opinions. Interaction with relatives and familial influence were examined in the same questionnaire.

Before any interviewing was done, the interview schedules were pretested with children at Foster Elementary School, in Lansing, Michigan - and among graduate colleagues in the Department of Sociology, M.S.U. In the rural and the urban communities, letters were sent to informants

selected and appointments were arranged by phone. Informants residing
in the Mennonite community, however, were interviewed directly without
prior contact. While conducting the interviews, each informant was
handed a questionnaire and the researcher read the questions to them
and checked the responses. Clarifications were provided when needed,
and they were repeated identically when the same point was raised.

Interviewing in the folk-rural community occurred between
February 14, 1966, to February 21, 1966; in the rural and urban com-
munities it took place between February 28, 1966, to March 18, 1966.
Generally the writer interviewed from 9:00 a.m. until 11:00 p.m. during
the period where the field research was conducted. The children's
schedule averaged about 20 minutes per interview, the student's schedule
averaged about 30 minutes, and each parent's schedule lasted about 60
minutes. Children and students in the folk-rural community were inter-
viewed at their homes apart from the rest of the family. The children
and students in the rural and urban communities were interviewed at
their schools in separate rooms provided. When both husband and wife
were to be interviewed, each was interviewed independently but with
identical schedules except in the section dealing with occupational
involvement.

Excellent cooperation was achieved and there were no refusals.
There seemed to be no hesitancy on the part of respondents to provide
the information sought both in the structured questions and in answer
to the writer's comments. It should be pointed out that the strategy
of interviewing varied in the community types. In the folk-rural commu-
nity, interviews were first conducted with all "key" persons in the
community. One of the junior pastors accompanied the writer, visiting

with each family while interviews were conducted. Prior to the inter-
viewing in the rural and urban communities, the researcher started by
projecting slides for the children and students in their classrooms
and in the churches. The slides projected showed historical and in-
dustrial characteristics of Ancient and Modern Egypt, U.A.R. The
writer conducted interviews with parents by himself either at their
homes or at work.

### Observation as a Participant

Through observation the researcher has the opportunity of
noting facts which the people themselves may not be aware of. By
seeing, hearing, and recording various activities, it is possible to
understand why people behave the way they do. When conducting systema-
tic observations, the investigator must know what aspects of group be-
havior and activities are relevant to his research and must develop a
systematic plan for recording the observations. The type of participa-
tion used in the present study was that classified by Junker as "observer
as a participant."[86] The observer as a participant role is usually
used in studies involving visits. Basically, it calls for formal ob-
servations. However, the writer attempted to obtain informal observa-
tions as well.

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[86]Buford Junker, Field Work: An Introduction to the Social
Sciences, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960, pp. 38 and
39. Junker suggested four theoretically possible social roles for
sociologists conducting field work: (1) complete participation: in
this role the field worker's activities as such are wholly concealed,
he becomes a complete member of an in-group; (2) participant as ob-
server: in this role the field worker's observation activities are not
wholly concealed; (3) observer as a participant: in this role the ob-
server's activities as such are made publicly known at the outset;
(4) complete observer: as in laboratory studies, it removes a field
worker entirely from social interaction with informants.

Kaplan says that observation is a deliberate search which is carried out with care and foresight. "Observation is purposive behavior, directed towards ends that lie beyond the act of observation itself - the aim is to secure materials that will play a part in other phases of inquiry, like formation and validation of hypotheses."[87]

The specific data produced by this technique in the present study were in relation to cultural isolation and group homogeneity. The function of the observer was to observe as fully, intensively, and extensively as possible the existence or absence of specific tultural items, for example. Observation was systematically conducted to record various rituals performed by the groups studied. Arrangement of furniture and fashion of dress and children's toys were data obtained. Social importance of vacations and shopping outside the community were observed and recorded. All observations were recorded in a brief outline noted immediately after the interview was over. At the end of interviewing, detailed statements and observations were recorded.

In summary, the interview schedule and observer as a participant were chosen in this study as the most appropriate means of collecting data for the following reasons:

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[87]Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry, San Francisco, Cal.: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964, pp. 126-127. In this respect Claire Sellitz et al. say that observations become a scientific technique to the extent that it: (1) serves a formulated research purpose, (2) is planned systematically, (3) is recorded systematically and related to more general propositions rather than being presented as a set of interesting curiosa, and (4) is subjected to control on validity and reliability. Claire Sellitz, et al., op. cit., pp. 200-234.

1. It is doubtful whether a mailed questionnaire would have received an adequate response.

2. Since the norms, values, and opinions as well as the social relationships based on age, sex, and kinship network were of major concern, the only efficient method seemed to be to ask the informants directly, supplemented by observation.

3. Some of the questions needed clarification in order to obtain the required data.

4. The folk-rural community was a relatively closed system, consisting of a homogeneous, comparatively isolated group. Proper entree and techniques were necessary in order to obtain any responses.

5. The methods used permit the collection of additional data based on observation. The reciprocal relationship which develops during the interview between the respondents and the researcher helps to produce more data. Thus, the data were strengthened by the writer's observations of various attitudes and activities.

## Measures and Their Components

Measures of cultural isolation, value orientations, values of behavior, consensus, age, sex, and kinship network will be presented. The specific purpose of the various measures used in this study, their theoretical justification and the components of each measure are presented below.

### 1. Cultural Isolation (Independent Variable)

Groups are assumed to vary in terms of their contacts with the dominant culture. Four question areas were used to measure cultural

isolation. These include: (1) social participation; (2) mobility; (3) in-group identification in terms of (a) orientation to solving problems, and (b) orientation to friendship residing outside local community, and (4) measure of cultural items. The four measures were considered together in determining the degree of isolation of a specific subculture.

(1) Social participation.- As one dimension of cultural isolation, membership in clubs, social groups, and other types of associations were considered important. Four questions eliciting number and types of voluntary social organizations, in and outside the local community, are the components of this measure. Social participating as an index of cultural isolation can range from low to high. Low cultural isolation would be reflected in high frequencies of group membership in various types of social organizations inside and outside the local community. High cultural isolation would be reflected in low frequencies of membership in organizations.

(2) Mobility.- A second measure of cultural isolation is based upon vacation patterns. Three questions eliciting the place, length, and with whom vacation time was spent are ingredients of this measure. In the context of vacations, this measure tells us the extent of geographical mobility, and the amount of exposure to ideas outside the informants' community. Mobility, as a measure of cultural isolation can range from "low" to "high". Low cultural isolation would be reflected by long vacation periods away from the local community and apart from members of the immediate family or relatives. High cultural isolation would be reflected by short vacations, either in the local community or near to it, and with family or relatives.

### (3) In-Group Identification

#### (a) Group orientation to solving problems

Individuals who identify themselves with the in-group rather than with the larger cultural and social system, are culturally isolated and confined only to their subculture. Groups differ with respect to their attitudes toward asking advice from significant persons in their communities. Individuals who seek advice on problems from family and relatives tend to identify with the in-group and thus they are culturally isolated. The index consisted of presenting specific problems to informants concerning: education, occupation, marriage, mobility, and religion. Orientation to solving problems can range from "high" to "low". High frequencies in seeking advice on problems from family and relatives would be a manifestation of high in-group identification and consequently reflects high cultural isolation. Lower frequencies in seeking advice from family and relatives reflects lower in-group identification and reflects lower cultural isolation.

#### (b) Group orientation toward interaction with friends residing outside informant's local community

A second dimension of in-group identification is based upon maintaining interaction with friends residing outside informant's local community. Having and maintaining relationships with friends signifies participation in out-group acitivities, and exposure to ideas of the larger cultural system. This measure consists of a set of questions intended to gather data concerning the number and frequency of interaction with best friends. Thus, orientation toward having and maintaining continuous interaction with best friends residing outside local community, as an aspect of out-group identification, can range from "high" to "low". Low cultural isolation would be reflected in having

many best friends residing outside informant's local community and high
frequencies of visiting with them. High cultural isolation would be
reflected in lower frequencies on the same measure.

### (4) Presence of Cultural Items

A fourth measure of cultural isolation is based upon measuring
the existence of specific cultural items such as newspapers, radio sets,
television sets, and movie theaters. The use of mass media of commu-
nication signifies the transmission of ideas of the larger cultural
system. Thus, lack of the mentioned cultural items indicates a high
degree of cultural isolation. Existence of mass media items would
manifest a low degree of isolation from the larger cultural system.
Data relevant to this dimension were collected by means of observation
and were systematically recorded.

### 2. Value Orientations (Dependent Variable)

The value orientation measures used consisted of a series of
questions intended to ascertain respondents' value orientations toward:
(1) length of formal education; (2) occupational involvement; (3) mate
selection and ideal family size; (4) migration and (5) religious in-
volvement and activities. Value orientations toward these elements
can vary from "high" to "low" depending on the degree of isolation from
the larger cultural system. Hence, a "folk-like" subculture would be
reflected by: (1) high frequencies selecting high school or less as an
end of formal education; (2) high frequencies in selecting the same
occupation as that of the father or preference of being housewive only
as the mother; (3) high frequencies selecting mates from the same local
community, and high frequencies wanting (or having) large families;
(4) high frequencies wishing to remain in the local community; and

(5) high frequencies involved in religious activities. A "non-folk"
subculture would exhibit low frequencies in these areas.

3. Values Preferred in Children's Behavior (Dependent Variable)

The purpose of this measure was to differentiate between the
groups with respect to values preferred in the behavior of children.
Traditional values would characterize folk subcultures that are cul-
turally isolated, while secular values would be characteristic of non-
folk subcultures. The first system emphasizes compliance to the trans-
mitted way of life by means of religion; the second encourages question-
ing and achievement by means of learning. The measure consisted of a
story including certain values, namely: "obedience to parents" and
"trust in God" (considered together as representing "traditional values"),
"honesty" and "happiness" (considered together as representing "middle-
class values"), and "success and interest in school" and "curiosity"
(considered together as representing "secular values"). Preference to
traditional traits of behavior can vary from "high" to "low" depending
on the degree of isolation from the larger cultural system. Hence,
"folk-like" subculture would be reflected by high frequencies preferring
"traditional traits" of behavior in children as most desired. Lower
frequencies selecting these behavioral traits would be a manifestation
of a "non-folk-like" subculture.

4. Group Consensus (Dependent Variable)

The purpose of measuring group consensus was to differentiate
between the groups studied with respect to mutual understandings that
exist between different generational levels concerning value orienta-
tions and values constituting each subculture. In the context of inter-
generational consensus, this measure will indicate the different principles

upon which common understandings and common expectations exist in each group. The measure consisted of combining responses obtained from different generational levels regarding the mentioned value orientations. A folk subculture would be reflected in: (1) high intergenerational frequencies selecting "high school" as an end of formal education; (2) high intergenerational frequencies selecting same occupation as that of the father; (3) high intergenerational frequencies selecting (and having selected) mates from those residing in the same local community, and high intergenerational frequencies wanting (and having) large families, (4) high intergenerational frequencies selecting to stay (and having stayed) in the local community, (5) high intergenerational frequencies of religious involvement, and (6) high intergenerational frequencies selecting "traditional traits of behavior" as most desired in children. A "non-folk" subculture, manifesting characteristics of the larger culture, would reflect low intergenerational frequencies on each of the mentioned elements.

### 5. Relationships Based upon Age (Dependent Variable)

The purpose of this measure was to differentiate between the groups studied regarding their recognition of age as a basis for social relationships. Groups differ regarding the relative importance they attach to age categories depending on degree of isolation from the larger cultural system and the prevailing subculture. The measure included a set of statements to which respondents agree or disagree. The first statement was intended to elicit whether "age" by itself merits respect. The second statement was intended to indicate degree of agreement that respect and obedience for older people are important virtues that children should learn. Then, a line of statements was

designed to elicit the degree of influence of older persons on infor-

mants' political, economic, and religious opinions. Young age was

defined as ranging between 17 to 29, middle aged between 30 to 55, and

old age was defined as 56 and over. A folk group then would manifest

high frequencies selecting: (1) that "older persons" are worthy of more

respect than other age groups, (2) "respect and obedience" for older

persons are important virtues children should learn, and (3) that res-

pondents "follow" the opinions of older persons regarding political,

economic, and religious issues. A "non-folk" group would reflect "low"

frequencies on each of these elements.

6. Relationships Based upon Sex (Dependent Variable)

This measure was intended to differentiate between groups studied

with relation to their recognition of sex as a basis for social rela-

tionships. Groups differ concerning the nature of social relationships

between males and females depending on the degree of cultural isolation

and characteristics of the shared subculture. The measure used in this

study consisted of a set of statements to which respondents "agree" or

"disagree". The first statement was intended to elicit from respondents

whether they ascribe more respect to males than females. The second

statement was intended to indicate respondents' agreement "that respect

and obedience for males are important virtues that children should

learn." Also, a group of questions were designed to elicit the degree

of influence of males on informants' political, economic, and reli-

gious opinions. Hence, a "folk" group, would manifest high frequencies

selecting: (1) that "males" are worthy of more respect than "females,"

(2) "respect and obedience" for males are important virtues children

should learn, and (3) that respondents "follow" opinions of males

concerning political, economic, and religious issues. A "non-folk"

group would reflect "low" frequencies on each of these items.

### 7. Kinship Network (Dependent Variable)

The purpose of a kinship measure was designed to differentiate

between groups studied by delineating degree of "connectedness" of

each network in terms of number of relatives, frequencies of inter-

action, and familial influence. Groups differ in terms of number of

living relatives comprising each kinship network. They also differ

regarding maintenance of interaction with relatives despite the dis-

tance of their residence. Lastly, groups differ in degree of familial

influence on individuals' opinions - depending on the degree of cul-

tural isolation and the character of the subculture prevailing. The

measurement of kinship network consisting of the delineation of: (1)

number of living relatives; (2) their place of residence; and (3) fre-

quency of interaction with them. The measure also included a series

of statements to which respondents agree or disagree. The first state-

ment was intended to elicit from respondents whether individuals having

many relatives in local community were ascribed more respect than those

having fewer relatives. The second statement was intended to indicate

the degree of influence of those having many relatives in local commu-

nity on informant's political, economic, and religious opinions. Hence,

a folk group would exhibit a kinship network characterized by close-knit

relationships manifested in high number consisting informants' network,

and high frequencies of interaction with relatives residing in the local

community. A folk group would also ascribe respect to those having many

relatives residing in the local community manifested in following their

political, economic, and religious opinions characterizing the extended

family type. A "non-folk" group would reflect "low" frequencies on each of these items, characterizing either the modified extended or nuclear family types.

Methods Used in Analyzing Data and Testing Hypotheses

As the types of data and the methods by which they were collected have been varied, so also have the analytical tools used to test significance. Numerical data are presented in tabular form which compare three independent samples drawn from the three communities. Some of the tables are presented in a three by two form and they deal with simple dichotomous items. Tables which present intergenerational consensus have been collapsed from original breakdowns. The unit of comparison in these tables will be the combined responses of different generational levels. Some tables used in this presentation, combined cells of children and students; the term "youth" will be used to refer to both age groups. When cells of both fathers and mothers are combined, the term parents will be used.

The chi square test was used in all cases except where the frequencies are too small to allow expected frequencies of at least five in each cell of the three by two table.[88] Frequencies and percentages were presented in these situations. The chi square will test the hypotheses that two characteristics are related and whether the three groups differ significantly with respect to these characteristics.[89]

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[88] Sidney Siegel, <u>Non Parametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences</u>, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956, p. 46.

[89] The formula used for $X^2$ is $X^2 = \sum \frac{(f_i - F_i)^2}{F_i}$ where $f_i$ is the observed, and $F_i$ is the theoretical frequencies in a given category.

The differences is percentages will show whether the direction pre-
dicted by the hypotheses is identical to that shown by the data. How-
ever, since the criteria of random sampling, independent observations
are violated in this study, the results show a somewhat inflated (No.).[90]
Responses should be placed in one and only one category. With these
limitations the statistical inferences are not fully justified. Statis-
tical tests of hypotheses by using the chi square will be made, however,
keeping in mind that all its assumptions are not fully met. It is
perhaps unavoidable that these methodological problems will be present
in sociological research.

Summary of Chapter

The main purpose of this chapter has been the description of
the procedures and techniques used in the present research. This des-
cription covers the procedures in the selection of the communities
studied and the procedures for selecting the samples. Research in-
struments used were also presented and the techniques used in analyzing
the data and testing the hypotheses.

Communities selected for this study were Newark and New Haven
in Gratiot County, Bengal township, and St. Johns, both in Clinton

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The null hypothesis of independence or that the groups do not differ
significantly will be rejected at the .05 level, and (r - I) (c - I)
degrees of freedom. Where (r) is the number of raws and (c) the number
of columns in the contingency table. Siegel, ibid., pp. 104-107.

[90]Siegel, pp. 44 and 109 - see also Herbert M. Blalock, Social
Statistics, New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1960, for the independence
and random sampling criteria in using $X^2$, pp. 108-111 and especially
p. 110; and Wilfred Dixon and Frank Massay, Introduction to Statistical
Analysis, second edition, New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1957, pp. 224-
225.

County, Michigan. The first two townships represent the "folk-rural" Mennonite community. Bengal township represents the "rural" community where full-time farmers were found. St. Johns represents the "urban" community. Specific criteria were followed in selecting the communities: (1) folk-like subculture, full-time farming occupations, middle-class, white, and Protestant families, (2) non-folk-like subculture, full-time farming occupations, middle-class, white, and Protestant families, and (3) non-folk-like subculture, non-farming occupations, middle-class, white, and Protestant families.

The samples drawn were a fairly small percentage of the total population in each of the three communities. The criteria used in the selection of the cases were: (1) only those children who were at the fourth grade level in elementary schools were eligible for selection, (2) only those students who were at junior and senior grade levels in high school were eligible for selection, (3) only those who were engaged in full-time farming in both the "folk-rural" and the "rural" communities were eligible, and (4) only complete families, where parents had at least one child were eligible. The total number of cases selected from each community was 48. Different procedures have been used in selecting the samples from the three communities.

The main technique in producing data of this study was the interview schedule. The design intended to examine responses obtained from different age and sex categories which necessitated the construction of varied forms of schedules, but, a high degree of parallelism was observed in all the questions used. Different procedures of interviewing were used in each community which contributed to successful cooperation on the part of informants; no refusals occurred. Observation

as a participant was used to generate data regarding a specific dimension of cultural isolation and group homogeneity. This method permitted the collection of additional data which strengthened the results.

A total of seven measurements were used: (1) degree of cultural isolation in terms of four dimensions: (a) social participation, (b) mobility, (c) in-group identification reflected in orientation to solving problems and orientation to interaction with friends residing outside local community, and (d) presence of cultural items; (2) value orientations; (3) preferred behavioral values in children; (4) intergenerational consensus; (5) social relationships based upon age; (6) social relationships based upon sex; and (7) degree of "connectedness" of the kinship network. These indices were described in terms of the purpose of each, theoretical justification and its components.

The last part of this chapter dealt with the description of techniques used in analyzing the data and testing the hypotheses. From a methodological point of view the comparative framework was the main approach followed in this study. Based on the concept "folk culture" and "folk society" a number of empirically testable hypotheses were presented in Chapter I. By using specific measures the intent was to differentiate between the three subcultures and groups studied. The operational hypotheses and the comparative analysis of results and hypotheses testing will be presented in Chapter III.

CHAPTER III


ANALYSIS OF RESULTS


This chapter is reserved for a presentation of the data bearing

upon the operational hypotheses of the study. Data are presented rele-

vant to three major areas of concern delineated in this study. The

first tests the proposition that the three community groups vary with

respect to degree of cultural isolation. The second concerns the re-

lationship between cultural isolation and value orientations toward

major life situations held by members of the three communities. The

third explores the general proposition that varying degrees of cultural

isolation on the part of the communities will engender different pat-

terns of social relationships based upon age, sex, and kinship.


Comparative Analysis of Varying Degrees of Cultural Isolation

Cultural isolation in modern American society is assumed to be

incomplete. That is, one group may be viewed as relatively isolated

in comparison to another. It is assumed, based on prior studies, that

cultural isolation is relatively great for Mennonites compared with

other groups. Crucial dimensions of cultural isolation which can be

measured are: participation in organizations, length and character of

vacations, sources of advice regarding problems, visiting friends re-

siding outside the local community, and use of mass means of communication.

Greater cultural isolation of Mennonites as compared with a rural and

an urban group in the same geographic area is hypothesized for each of

the following dimensions.

A.  Participation in Organizations and Cultural Isolation

Hypothesis 1 - Members of the Mennonite group will exhibit
lower membership rates in voluntary organi-
zations both inside and outside the local
community, than members of the rural and
urban groups.

B.  Mobility and Cultural Isolation

Hypothesis 2 - Members of the Mennonite group will exhibit
shorter vacation periods than members of the
rural and urban groups.

Hypothesis 3 - Members of the Mennonite group will exhibit
less spatial mobility in vacation periods
than members of the rural and urban groups.

Hypothesis 4 - Members of the Mennonite group will more fre-
quently spend vacation periods with family
or relatives than members of the rural and
urban groups.

C.  In-Group Identification and Cultural Isolation

Hypothesis 5 - Members of the Mennonite group will more
frequently seek advice on problems from
family and relatives than members of the
rural and urban groups.

Hypothesis 6 - Members of the Mennonite group will exhibit
lower rates of visiting best friends resid-
ing outside the community than members of
the rural and urban groups.

D.  Use of Mass Means of Communication and Cultural Isolation

Hypothesis 7 - Members of the Mennonite group will exhibit
lower rates of mass media use than members
of the rural and urban groups.

Tables 9 and 10 show the frequency of memberships in voluntary

organizations, inside and outside the local community, for the Menno-

nites, rural and urban samples.  The differences with respect to frequency

of membership in local organizations were significant. The data shown

in Table 9 indicate that the "Mennonite-rural-farm-group"[91] participated

in one organization only. Only 19% of the rural and of the urban groups

participated in one organization. The data show that the differences

were in the hypothesized direction. The type of participation in

selected voluntary organizations is given in Appendix B. All parents

from the Mennonites participated in the church, while 19% from the rural

group and a similar percentage from the urban group participated in

religious organizations only. Thus, Mennonites interact more with

members sharing the same religious belief. They do not participate

in other in-community organizations characteristic of the larger cul-

tural system

TABLE 9.--Distribution of parents by number of memberships in voluntary
organizations in the local community

| Local Community Number of Organizational Membership | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| One | (16) | 100 | (3) | 19 | (3) | 19 |
| Two - three | (0) | 0 | (12) | 75 | (8) | 50 |
| Four - five | (0) | 0 | (1) | 6 | (5) | 31 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 33.56 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P = .001$$

[91]Hereafter "Mennonite-rural-farm-group" will be referred to as
the "folk-rural group", the "rural-farm-group" will be referred to as
the "rural group", and the "urban group" will be referred to as the
"urban group".

In order to extend the dimension of social participation to aspects of social life wider than the boundaries of the local community, informants were asked about membership or organizations outside their community. Table 10 shows the results dealing with membership in organizations outside local community. The differences between the groups studied were significant (at the .05 level). The results show that Mennonites held few organizational memberships outside the local community as predicted by the hypothesis. The rural group held more memberships in organizations outside the community than did the urban group, 56% as compared to 31%. Farmers and their wives often participate in farming and other social organizations located in the County seat. Members of the urban group participated in various types of voluntary organizations located more than 20 miles outside their community (see Appendix B).

TABLE 10.--Distribution of parents by number of memberships in voluntary organizations outside the local community

| Non-local Number of Organizational Memberships | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| None | (14) | 88 | (7) | 44 | (11) | 69 |
| One and more | (2) | 12 | (9) | 56 | (5) | 31 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$x^2 = 6.94$  df $= 2$  P $= .05$

Thus, the data shown in Tables 9 and 10 indicate that the Mennonite group exhibits lower rates of membership in organizations, both inside and outside the community, than the rural or urban groups. The

differences were consistent with the hypothesis and were found signi-

ficant. Hence, the hypothesis is accepted.

The results bearing on length and character of vacation periods

are shown in Tables 11, 12, and 13. Table 11 shows the results dealing

with the length of vacation periods. As shown in this table, all

members of the urban group reported vacations last year. During the

same period 25% of the Mennonite and 22% of the rural groups did not

take a vacation. The highest percentage, 38% of the Mennonites, spent

1 to 4 days in vacation; 50% from the rural group spent from 5 to 8

days in vacation; and 44% of the urban group spent 9 or more days in

vacation. Differences were highly significant.

TABLE 11.--Distribution of youth and parents (combined) in the three
types, by number of days spent in the last vacation

| Number of Days Spent | Youth and Parents,* by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 1 - 4 days | (12) | 38 | (7) | 22 | (5) | 16 |
| 5 - 8 days | (3) | 9 | (16) | 50 | (13) | 40 |
| 9 or more days | (9) | 28 | (2) | 6 | (14) | 44 |
| Did not take vacation | (8) | 25 | (7) | 22 | (0) | 0 |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

$x^2$ = 28.24        df = 6        P = .001

*Hereafter the term youth will refer to children and students of the
sample. The term parents will refer to fathers and mothers of the
sample.

Table 12 shows the results of spatial mobility during vacation periods. Table 21 shows that there are differences between the groups studied with regard to the place where vacations were spent. However, the pattern of the data was not in the direction predicted by hypothesis 3. A high percentage, 63% from the Mennonites spent their vacation periods outside the State, while only 24% of the rural and 47% of the urban groups spent their vacation outside the State. This unexpected result is due to the expansion of Mennonites in many states. Members of the sample have obligations toward their relatives which must be observed and are manifested in vacation visiting with them. Hence, it seems that Mennonites did not intend to have vacations per se. Rather, the intention was to fulfill a social duty.

TABLE 12.--Distribution of youth and parents (combined) in the three community types, by place where the last vacation was spent

| Place Where the Last Vacation Was Spent | Youth and Parents (who had vacations) by Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| In the same state | (8) | 33 | (19) | 76 | (13) | 41 |
| Out of the state | (15) | 63 | (6) | 24 | (15) | 47 |
| Out of the county | (1) | 4 | (0) | 0 | (4) | 12 |
| Total | (24) | 100 | (25) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 18.35 \qquad df = 4 \qquad P = .01$$

Table 13 shows the results dealing with whom vacation periods were spent. The data show that 92% of the Mennonites spent the last vacation with the family or with relatives. In contrast, 40% of the

rural and 44% of the urban groups spent the last vacation with family

or with relatives. Differences were highly significant:

TABLE 13.--Distribution of youth and parents (combined) in the three
community types, by whether vacation was spent with family or relatives
or not

| With Whom Vacation Was Spent | Youth and Parents (who had vacations) by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| With family or relatives | (22) | 92 | (10) | 40 | (14) | 44 |
| Not with family or relatives | (2) | 8 | (15) | 60 | (18) | 56 |
| Total | (24) | 100 | (24) | 100 | (24) | 100 |

$$X^2 = 16.98 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P = .001$$

Thus, the data shown in Tables 11, 12, and 13 indicate that the

Mennonite group differs significantly from the rural and urban groups

with respect to length of vacations, where vacations were spent, and

with whom vacations were spent. Except for hypothesis 3, differences

were consistent with the hypotheses and were found significant in the

hypothesized direction. Hence, hypotheses 2 and 4 are accepted, and

hypothesis 3 is rejected.

Table 14 shows the results bearing upon hypothesis 5 concerning

sources of advice on problems. The pattern of results in Table 14

shows significant differences between the groups. Fifty-six percent

of the responses obtained from the Mennonite group mentioned members

of the immediate family and relatives. Fifty-five percent of the rural

and 44% of the urban responses mentioned the same category. Only 8%

of the Mennonite responses mentioned non-relatives. Eleven percent

of the rural and 17% of the urban responses mentioned the same category.

The group differed significantly in the direction predicted by the

hypothesis. Therefore it is accepted.

TABLE 14.--Distribution of youth and parents (combined) in the three
community types, by categories of persons sought for advice

| Categories Sought for Advice | Youth and Parents, by Community Type* | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Nobody | (19) | 6 | (9) | 3 | (24) | 7 |
| Family or relatives | (190) | 56 | (184) | 55 | (147) | 44 |
| Non-relatives | (26) | 8 | (39) | 11 | (58) | 17 |
| Teacher | (23) | 7 | (24) | 7 | (45) | 13 |
| Minister | (78) | 23 | (80) | 24 | (62) | 19 |
| Total | (336) | 100 | (336) | 100 | (336) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 69.34 \qquad df = 8 \qquad P = .001$$

*Combined responses obtained from youth, fathers, and mothers. Each
respondent chose 3 categories out of 10 presented, regarding advice
on problems concerning education, occupation, marriage, migration,
and religion: No. = 32 from each community.

Tables 15 and 16 contain the results of testing Hypothesis 6

which bears upon the frequency of visiting best friends outside the

local community. The pattern of results in Table 15 show that 59% of

the Mennonites did not visit with their best friends residing outside

the local community. Only 22% of the rural and 28% of the urban groups

did not visit with their best friends in the past month. The differences

were significant.

TABLE 15.--Distribution of youth and parents (combined) in the three community types, by monthly frequency of visiting with best friends residing outside the local community

| Monthly Frequency of Visiting | Youth and Parents,* by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Many times | (9) | 41 | (21) | 78 | (22) | 72 |
| Not at all | (13) | 59 | (6) | 22 | (8) | 28 |
| Total | (22) | 100 | (27) | 100 | (28) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 8.06 \qquad\qquad df = 2 \qquad\qquad P = .02$$

*Responses of youth and parents who reported having best friends residing outside local community.  (See Appendix C).

The same pattern of visiting with best friends residing outside the local community was maintained as shown in the yearly frequency presented in Table 61.  Differences are shown in percentages in Table 16, where 23% of the Mennonite group did not visit with their best friends residing outside the local community in the past year.  Only 4% from the rural and 11% from the urban groups did not visit with their best friends in the same period.

Hence, results shown in Tables 15 and 16 indicate that Mennonites exhibit lower rates; measured by monthly and yearly frequencies, in visiting with best friends residing outside the local community.  The groups differed significantly in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. It is therefore accepted.

Table 17 contains the results relevant to Hypothesis 7 regarding use of mass media.  The data shown in Table 17 indicate that Mennonites lack the basic means of communication through which the ideas of the

TABLE 16.--Distribution of youth and parents (combined) in the three
community types, by yearly frequency of visiting with best friends
residing outside local community

| Yearly Frequency | Youth and Parents,* by Community Type | | | | | |
| of Visiting | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Many times | (17) | 77 | (26) | 96 | (25) | 89 |
| Not at all | (5) | 23 | (1) | 4 | (3) | 11 |
| Total | (22) | 100 | (27) | 100 | (28) | 100 |

*Responses of youth and parents who reported having best friends re-
siding outside local community. (See Appendix C).

larger culture are carried to various individuals in the society. Men-
nonites differed from the rural and the urban groups in being isolated
from the political, economic, educational, and aesthetic aspects of
the larger cultural system. The test of this hypothesis is based on
data collected by observation. Results shown in Table 17 confirm the
hypothesis, and it is accepted.

Summary of Findings Measuring Cultural Isolation

Table 18 summarizes the results of testing the hypotheses deal-
ing with relationships between social participation in voluntary organi-
zations, mobility, in-group identification, and use of mass means of
communication, and the degree of cultural isolation. Also, Table 18
presents results of the sub-hypotheses dealing with the differences
between the folk-rural, rural, and urban community types regarding
degree of cultural isolation.

TABLE 17.--Existence (+) or absence (-) of specific cultural items in the three community types

| Selected Cultural Items | Community Type | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | Rural | Urban |
| Newspapers | - | + | + |
| Magazines | - | + | + |
| Agricultural reprints | + | + | - |
| Encyclopedia Americana | + | + | - |
| Radio sets | - | + | + |
| Musical records | - | + | + |
| Television sets | - | + | + |
| Home projectors | - | + | + |
| Motion picture theater | - | - | + |

The findings yield evidence of a high degree of cultural iso-
lation by the Mennonite group relative to the other two groups studied.
Not only was the Mennonite group isolated from the larger cultural
system, but they also manifested a high degree of group homogeneity. An
individual is or is not a member of the Mennonite group. All members
of the Mennonite group belong to the same church. When men join the
Mennonite church, they start growing a beard. Men never wear neckties,
smoke, or use strong drinks. Women never wear earrings, facial orna-
ments or makeup and they dress in a uniform fashion. A sharp division
of labor exists based upon sex. Men perform farm activities and the
hard work, while women do housekeeping and rearing of children. The
pattern of arranging furniture, decorating homes, and types of utilities

TABLE 18.--Summary of acceptance (+) and rejection (-) of the hypotheses and sub-hypotheses dealing with the differences between the folk-rural, rural, and urban community types regarding degree of cultural isolation

| Hypotheses and Sub-hypotheses | | High Degree of Cultural Isolation Folk-rural | Low Degree of Cultural Isolation Rural and Urban |
|---|---|---|---|
| **A. Participation in Organizations** | | | |
| 1. Membership rates both inside and outside the local community | Folk-rural:low<br>Rural :high<br>Urban :high | +<br><br> | <br>+<br>+ |
| **B. Mobility** | | | |
| 2. Vacation periods | Folk-rural:short<br>Rural :long<br>Urban :long | +<br><br> | <br>+<br>+ |
| 3. Spatial mobility in vacation periods | Folk-rural:low<br>Rural :high<br>Urban :high | -<br><br> | <br>-<br>- |
| 4. Vacation periods were spent with family or relatives | Folk-rural:high<br>Rural :low<br>Urban :low | +<br><br> | <br>+<br>+ |
| **C. In-Group Identification** | | | |
| 5. Advice on problems was sought from family and relatives | Folk-rural:high<br>Rural :low<br>Urban :low | +<br><br> | <br>+<br>+ |
| 6. Visiting best friends residing outside the local community | Folk-rural:low<br>Rural :high<br>Urban :high | +<br><br> | <br>+<br>+ |
| **D. Use of Mass Means of Communication** | | | |
| 7. Existence of mass means of communication | Folk-rural:low<br>Rural :high<br>Urban :high | +<br><br> | <br>+<br>+ |

are standardized in Mennonite group. Mennonite children play with the same type of toys, that is, toys representing tractors, cows, trucks, etc. probably in an attempt to familiarize them with adult roles.

The samples selected from the rural and the urban communities were comprised of members of different denominations. Heterogeneity is manifested by different church membership, by different occupations (except for farmers selected from the rural community) and a wide variety in dress and in personal attitudes. Individual taste and patterns characteristic of the mass society was observed in arranging furniture, decorating homes, and utilities used by the rural and the urban groups. Both sexes cooperate in maintaining the family and sometimes in household duties. Children play with toys that attempt to familiarize them with recent advances in science and to stimulate their curiosity.

Thus, the findings based upon testing the hypotheses of cultural isolation and observing the degree of homogeneity of groups studied, show that the Mennonite group is more culturally isolated and more homogeneous than the rural and the urban groups.

### Comparative Analysis of the Three Subcultures

With regard to the dimensions explored, the Mennonite group is relatively isolated from the larger cultural system, at least in comparison to the rural and urban groups residing in close proximity to it. It is assumed that elements of the value orientations of the Mennonites which sustain this subculture, thought to be folk-like, will form an identifiable pattern and will be sharply differentiated from the rural and the urban subcultures. The general expectation is that

the isolated Mennonite subculture will differ systematically from the two other subcultures with respect to value orientations, behavioral values, and intergenerational consensus regarding these value orientations and values of behavior. Hypotheses are generated with respect to education, occupation, mate selection, ideal family size, migration, religion, and preferred behavioral traits in children.

A. Cultural Isolation and Value Orientation Regarding Education

Hypothesis 1 - The value orientation to schooling held by Mennonite youth will specify shorter formal education than those held by comparable rural and urban groups.

Table 19 contains the results bearing on the hypotheses dealing with value orientations of youth with respect to length of formal education. All Mennonite youth aspire only to a high school education. Only 19% of the rural youth and 6% of the urban youth aspire to complete high school only. Differences were highly significant in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. It is therefore accepted.

TABLE 19.--Distribution of youth in the three community types, by value orientation to length of formal education

| Value Orientation to Length of Formal Education | Youth, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| High school only | (16) | 100 | (3) | 19 | (1) | 6 |
| College only | (0) | 0 | (13) | 81 | (12) | 75 |
| Beyond college | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (3) | 19 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 38.43 \qquad df = 4 \qquad P = .001$$

Hypothesis 2 - The value orientation to schooling held by Mennonite parents will specify shorter formal education for their children (boys and girls) than those held by rural and urban groups.

Tables 20 and 21 contain the results bearing on this hypothesis. Table 20 presents data dealing with value orientations held by parents toward length of formal education for boys.  Table 20 shows that all parents from the Mennonite group wanted their boys to complete high school education only.  No parents from the rural or urban groups desired sons to complete this relatively low level of education.  Differences between the groups were highly significant in the hypothesized direction.

TABLE 20.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by value orientation to length of formal education for boys

| Value Orientation to Length of Formal Education | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| High school only | (16) | 100 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 |
| College only | (0) | 0 | (13) | 81 | (12) | 75 |
| Beyond college | (0) | 0 | (3) | 19 | (4) | 25 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$x^2$         df = 4         P = .001

Table 21 presents data dealing with value orientations held by parents from the three community types to length of formal education for girls.  The table shows that all parents from the Mennonites want their daughters to complete high school education only.  Only 6% of the rural parents and none of the urban parents desired daughters to complete this low level of schooling.  Differences were highly significant

and the percentages show that the differences were in the direction predicted by the hypothesis.

TABLE 21.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by value
orientation to length of formal education for girls

| Value Orientation to Length of Formal Education | Parents,* by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| High school only | (16) | 100 | (1) | 6 | (0) | 0 |
| College only | (0) | 0 | (14) | 88 | (15) | 94 |
| Beyond college | (0) | 0 | (1) | 6 | (1) | 6 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$$X^2 = 43.88 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P = .001$$

*Cells of "college" and "beyond college" were combined to complete $X^2$ test.

Hence, data shown in Tables 20 and 21 indicate that the Mennonite parents held value orientations toward schooling specifying shorter formal educational levels for their children (both boys and girls) than rural and urban parents. Differences were consistent with the hypothesis and it is therefore accepted.

> Hypothesis 3 - Intergenerational consensus on length of desired formal education among the Mennonites will specify shorter levels than among comparable rural and urban groups.

Results relevant to the hypothesis may be found in Appendix D and in Table 22. Appendix D presents responses obtained from three generational levels in each community type. Responses obtained from the Mennonite group indicate a sharing of almost identical values with regard to adequate length of formal education. The three generational

levels share basic values concerning the desired length of education, that is, high school or less. The data shown in the Appendix Table exhibits a greater range and a lower degree of consensus on desired schooling held by the rural and urban groups. The three generations from each of these two communities regarded college or beyond college levels of training as desired length of formal education.

Table 22 shows the comparative results on norms of desired education computed by totaling responses obtained for three generational levels. The results shown in Table 22 indicate that the Mennonite responses manifest sharing of common expectations between the three generations that high school or less is a desired length of education. Twenty-five percent of the Mennonite responses regarded "less than high school" as an ideal, and the rest regarded "high school only" as an adequate length of education. Only 16% and 9% of the rural responses considered these two educational levels, respectively, as adequate. Comparable responses from the urban group were 11% and 8%. The groups studied differ significantly and percentages show that differences were in the hypothesided direction. Hence, the hypothesis of greater intergenerational consensus on norms of desired education among Mennonites is accepted.

> Hypothesis 4 - The value orientation to schooling held by
> the Mennonites will reflect less disappoint-
> ment if children drop out of school than for
> comparable rural and urban groups.

Table 23 presents the results of this hypothesis. The results presented in Table 23 show that 25% of the Mennonite parents would be disappointed if their children did not complete high school. Ninety-four percent of the rural parents and all urban parents would feel disappointment if their children did not complete high school. Differences

TABLE 22.--Distribution of youth, parents, and parents' parents (combined) in the three community types, by consensus on desired length of formal education

| Value Orientation to Length of Formal Education | Three Generations,* by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Less than high school | (16) | 25 | (10) | 16 | (7) | 11 |
| High school only | (48) | 75 | (6) | 9 | (5) | 8 |
| College only | (0) | 0 | (43) | 67 | (44) | 69 |
| Beyond college | (0) | 0 | (5) | 8 | (8) | 12 |
| Total | (64) | 100 | (64) | 100 | (64) | 100 |

$x^2$ = 116.09         df = 6         P = .001

*Combined responses of youth, parents, and parents for their parents (See Appendix D), No. for each community is 32.

between parents from each community type were highly significant. The percentages show that the differences were in the hypothesized direction. It is therefore accepted.

TABLE 23.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by feelings toward having boys* drop out of school

| Parents' Disappointment | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Both parents will be disappointed | (4) | 25 | (15) | 94 | (16) | 100 |
| Both parents will not be disappointed | (12) | 75 | (1) | 6 | (0) | 0 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$x^2$ = 28.07         df = 2         P = .001

*Identical results were obtained regarding parents' feelings if "girls" dropped out before finishing high school.

In summary, the results presented in Tables 19 through 23 indicate significant relationship between degree of cultural isolation and value orientation regarding education. Data presented indicate that the highly isolated Mennonites subculture specified lower value orientations to length of formal education than those held by the rural and urban groups. The data indicate the existence of norms of education among Mennonites that were significantly different from norms of education shared among the rural and urban groups. Results shown support the hypotheses proposed.

B. <u>Cultural Isolation and Value Orientations Regarding Occupation</u>

Hypothesis 1 - The value orientation to occupational involvement held by Mennonite boys will specify higher rates desiring occupations similar to that of their fathers.

The results of this hypothesis are presented in Tables 24 and 25. Table 24 presents occupational aspirations of boys toward different types of occupations. Table 24 shows that 88% of the Mennonite boys wanted to be farmers. Seventy-five percent of the rural and 89% of the urban boys aspired to professional occupations. Table 25 presents value orientations of boys toward having occupations that were similar to or different from that of their fathers. Results shown in Table 25 indicate that 88% of the Mennonite youth aspired to occupations similar to their fathers. Since the sample was selected from full-time farmers, it is evident that Mennonite boys aspired to be farmers in the tradition of their fathers. This signifies a high rate of occupational involvement and probably transmission of occupation from father to son. Only 25% of the rural boys aspired to farming; the same occupation as that of their fathers. Thirty-three percent of the urban boys aspired

occupations similar to their fathers.  Differences between boys from the three community types were significant regarding value orientations to occupational involvement.  The differences were in the hypothesized direction and the hypothesis is accepted.

TABLE 24.--Distribution of youth (boys) in the three community types, by occupational aspirations

| Types of Occupations Desired by Boys | Youth (Boys) by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Professional | (0) | 0 | (9) | 75 | (8) | 89 |
| Clerical-Business | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (1) | 11 |
| White collar | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 |
| Blue collar | (1) | 12 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 |
| Farming | (7) | 88 | (3) | 25 | (0) | 0 |
| Total | (8) | 100 | (12) | 100 | (9) | 100 |

TABLE 25.--Distribution of youth (boys) in the three community types, by value orientations to occupational involvement

| Aspire to Occupations Same or Different from Father | Youth (Boys) by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Same occupation as father | (7) | 88 | (3) | 25 | (3) | 33 |
| Different occupation from father | (1) | 12 | (9) | 75 | (6) | 67 |
| Total | (8) | 100 | (12) | 100 | (9) | 100 |

$x^2 = 8.25$ $\qquad$ df = 2 $\qquad$ P = .02

Hypothesis 2 - The value orientations to occupational in-
volvement held by Mennonite fathers when
young, will specify higher rates than com-
parable rural and urban groups.

The results of this hypothesis are presented in Tables 26 and

27. Table 26 presents occupational aspiration of fathers, when young

men, toward different types of occupations. Results shown in Table 26

indicate that all Mennonite fathers, 75% of the rural fathers, and 25%

of the urban fathers aspired to be farmers when they were young men.

None of the Mennonite fathers, 25% of the rural fathers, and 50% of the

urban fathers aspired to professional occupations when they were young.

Table 27 presents responses by fathers when young men toward having

occupations that were similar to or different from that of their

fathers. Results shown in Table 27 indicate that all Mennonite fathers,

75% of the rural fathers, and only 25% of the urban fathers aspired to

occupations similar to their father. The results signify high rate

of occupational involvement due to the fact that Mennonite fathers,

being full-time farmers, have achieved their aspirational plans when

youths. The groups studied differed significantly regarding parents

value orientations to occupational involvement when they were youth.

The percentages show that the differences were in the hypothesized

direction and the hypothesis is accepted.

Hypothesis 3 - Intergenerational consensus on preferred
occupations for boys held by the Mennonites
will specify higher rates of occupational
involvement than among comparable rural and
urban groups.

Results relevant to this hypothesis may be found in Appendix E

and in Table 28. Appendix E presents responses obtained from three

generational levels in each community type. Responses obtained from

TABLE 26.--Distribution of fathers in the three community types, by occupational aspirations when youths

| Types of Occupations when Youths | Fathers, by Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Professional | (0) | 0 | (2) | 25 | (4) | 50 |
| Clerical-Business | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (1) | 12 |
| White collar | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 |
| Blue collar | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (1) | 12 |
| Farming | (8) | 100 | (6) | 75 | (2) | 26 |
| Total | (8) | 100 | (8) | 100 | (8) | 100 |

TABLE 27.--Distribution of fathers in the three community types, by value orientations to occupational involvement when youths

| Aspire to Occupations Same or Different from Fathers | Fathers, by Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Same occupation as father | (8) | 100 | (6) | 75 | (2) | 25 |
| Different occupation from father | (0) | 0 | (2) | 25 | (6) | 75 |
| Total | (8) | 100 | (8) | 100 | (8) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 10.44 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P = .01$$

the Mennonite group indicate a sharing of nearly identical assumptions between different generations regarding occupational involvement. The three generational levels share basic values concerning the desired type of occupation, that is, farming which is similar to father's

occupations. The data shown in the Appendix Table exhibits a lower degree of consensus on desired type of occupation in the rural and urban groups. The three generations from each of these two communities desired that sons may have occupations different from that of fathers.

Table 28 shows the comparative results on norms of occupational involvement computed by totaling responses obtained from three generational levels. The results presented in Table 28 show that Mennonite responses manifest sharing of common expectations between the three generational levels indicating that occupational involvement is desired. Ninety percent of the Mennonite responses aspire that boys would have same occupations as fathers. Only 27% and 28% of the rural and urban responses indicated preferences for boys to have similar occupations as that of the fathers. Differences between the groups with respect

TABLE 28.--Distribution of youth, parents, and parents' parents (combined) in the three community types, by consensus on preference for occupational involvement for boys

| Aspire to Occupations Same or Different from Fathers | Three Generations,* by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Same occupation as father | (43) | 90 | (21) | 27 | (14) | 28 |
| Different occupation from father | (5) | 10 | (35) | 63 | (36) | 72 |
| Total | (48) | 100 | (56) | 100 | (50) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 43.12 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P = .001$$

*Combined responses of boys for their parents, parents, fathers for their parents. No. is 16, 20, 17 in the Folk-rural, Rural, Urban community types respectively.

to norms of occupational involvement for sons were highly significant. The differences were in the hypothesized direction. Hence, the hypothesis of greater intergenerational consensus on norms of preferred occupations for sons is accepted.

> Hypothesis 4 - Intergenerational consensus on housewife only rules for girls held by Mennonite mothers will specify higher rates than among comparable rural and urban groups.

Results relevant to this hypothesis may be found in Appendix F and in Table 29. Appendix F presents responses from two generational levels in each community type. Responses obtained from Mennonite mothers indicate a sharing of common understanding between the two generational levels concerning preferred roles for girls. The data shown in the Appendix Table exhibits a lower degree of consensus on desired roles for girls among the rural and urban mothers. Responses from each of these two communities specified that mothers preferred girls not to be housewives only.

TABLE 29.--Distribution of parents and mothers' mothers (combined) in the three community types, by consensus on preference for housewife roles for girls

| Aspire to Preferred Roles for Girls | Two Generations,* by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Housewives only | (20) | 83 | (4) | 17 | (8) | 33 |
| Career | (4) | 17 | (20) | 83 | (16) | 67 |
| Total | (24) | 100 | (24) | 100 | (24) | 100 |

$x^2 = 23.39$          df = 2          P = .001

*Combined responses obtained from mothers, mothers for their husbands, and mothers for their mothers, No. = 8 from each community type.

Table 29 shows the comparative results on norms of preferred roles for girls computed by totaling responses representing two generational levels. The results shown in Table 29 indicate that Mennonite responses signify sharing of common expectations between two generational levels regarding preferred roles for girls. Eighty-three percent of the Mennonite responses desired girls to be housewives only. In contrast to 17% and 33% of the rural and urban responses respectively preferring girls to be housewives. Differences between the groups with respect to norms of preferred roles for girls were highly significant. Differences were in the hypothesized direction. Hence, the hypothesis of greater intergenerational consensus on norms of housewife roles for girls is accepted.

In summary, the results presented in Tables 24 through 29 indicate significant relationship between degree of cultural isolation and value orientation regarding occupation. Data presented indicate that the culturally isolated Mennonites specified higher value orientations to occupational involvement for boys that those held by the rural and urban groups. The results indicate the existence of norms of occupational involvement among Mennonites that were significantly different from those shared among the rural and urban groups. The data also indicate the existence of norms specifying the role of housewife among Mennonites which were significantly different from those shared by the rural and urban groups. Results shown support the hypotheses proposed.

C.  Cultural Isolation and Value Orientations Regarding Mate Selection and Ideal Family Size

Hypothesis 1 - The value orientation to in-community preference in mate selection held by Mennonite youth will be greater than for comparable rural and urban groups.

Table 39 contains the results bearing on this hypothesis.

Table 30 shows that 69% of Mennonite youth will be likely to select

mates from those residing in the same local community. The same per-

centage was obtained from the rural youth, but only 44% of the urban

youth will be likely to select mates residing in the same local com-

munity. Differences between the groups were not significant and the

hypothesis is therefore rejected. Preference in mate selection did

not conform to the expectation since Mennonites were located in many

states where considerable interaction is maintained. Probably many of

the youth aspire to marry Mennonite mates regardless of place of resi-

dence. It may also be that there were insufficient mates in the local

community.

TABLE 30.--Distribution of youth (boys and girls) in the three community
types, by value orientation to in-community preference in mate selection

| Will Likely Select Mate From | Youth (Boys and Girls), by Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Same local community | (9) | 69 | (11) | 69 | (7) | 44 |
| Different local community | (4) | 31 | (5) | 31 | (9) | 56 |
| Total | (13)* | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$$X^2 = 1.83 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P > .05$$

*Three "don't know" were not included.

> Hypothesis 2 - The value orientation to in-community pref-
> erence in mate selection held by Mennonite
> parents will be greater than for comparable
> rural and urban groups.

Table 31 presents the results to test this hypothesis. Table 31

shows that only 37% of the Mennonites selected mates residing in the

same local community. In contrast 67% of the rural and 42% of urban

groups selected mates residing in the same community. Differences

between the groups were significant but the percentages show that the

direction is contrary to that predicted by the hypothesis. It is there-

fore rejected. Preference in mate selection did not conform to expecta-

tion probably because Mennonites move from one state to the other seeking

good farms. Thus, colonies are found in a number of states where con-

tinuous interaction is maintained.

TABLE 31.--Distribution of parents and their parents in the three
community mates, by actual residence of mate

| Actual Residence of Mates | Parents and Their Parents,* by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Same local community | (9) | 37 | (16) | 67 | (10) | 42 |
| Different local community | (15) | 63 | (8) | 33 | (14) | 58 |
| Total | (24) | 100 | (24) | 100 | (24) | 100 |

$x^2 = 9.34$ df = 2 P = .01

*Combined responses of parents and each for his/her parents; No. for
each community type is 16.

> Hypothesis 3 - Intergenerational consensus on preference
> for mates residing in the same local com-
> munity held by Mennonites will specify
> higher rates than among comparable rural
> and urban groups.

Table 32 presents the results bearing on this hypothesis, ob-

tained from three generational levels. Results presented in Table 32

show that Mennonite responses manifest a lower degree of consensus

between the three generations indicating the absence of mutual understanding on preferénce in mate selection. Forty-nine percent of the Mennonite responses indicated the likelihood of selecting (or selected) mates residing in the same local community. Sixty-eight percent and 42% of the rural and urban responses respectively, preferred selecting (or selected) mates residing in the same local community. The data did not exhibit significant differences between the groups and the pattern is not in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. It is therefore rejected. Results obtained did not conform to the expectations probably because there are many Mennonite groups in other states sharing spiritual and kinship ties.

TABLE 32.--Distribution of youth, parents, and parents' parents (combined) in the three community types, by consensus on in-community preference in mate selection

| Residence of Mates | Three Generations,* by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Same local community | (18) | 49 | (27) | 68 | (17) | 42 |
| Different local community | (19) | 51 | (13) | 32 | (23) | 58 |
| Total | (37) | 100 | (40) | 100 | (40) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 5.39 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P \ .05$$

*Combined responses of youth, parents, and parents for their parents, No. = 32 in each community except 3 "don't know" were not included in the folk-rural community.

Hypothesis 4 - The value orientation to ideal family size held by Mennonite youth will specify larger families than for comparable rural and urban groups.

Table 33 contains results bearing on this hypothesis. Table 33 shows that none of the Mennonite youth thought that only 2 or 3 children would be an ideal number of children in a family. On the other hand, 31% of the rural and 62% of the urban youth thought that this number would be ideal. One fourth, a relatively high percentage, of the Mennonite youth considered 5 to 9 children to be ideal. Approximately 19% of the rural youth and none of the urban youth thought this number ideal. The youth from the three groups differed significantly, and the percentages show that the differences are in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. It is therefore accepted.

TABLE 33.--Distribution of youth in the three community types, by value orientation to the ideal number of children in a family

| Value Orientation to Ideal Number of Children | Youth, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 2 children | (0) | 0 | (1) | 6 | (5) | 31 |
| 3 children | (0) | 0 | (4) | 25 | (5) | 31 |
| 4 children | (12) | 75 | (8) | 50 | (6) | 38 |
| 5-9 children | (4) | 25 | (3) | 19 | (0) | 0 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$x^2 = 17.49$ \qquad df = 6 \qquad P = .01

Hypothesis 5 - The value orientations to ideal family size held by Mennonite parents will specify larger families than for comparable rural and urban groups.

Table 34 presents results to test this hypothesis. Table 34 shows that a high percentage (75%) of the Mennonite parents thought

that 5 to 9 children would be an ideal number of children in a family.

Nineteen percent of the rural and urban parents thought this number

would be ideal. Differences between the groups were significant in the

direction predicted by the hypothesis. It is therefore accepted.

TABLE 34.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by
value orientation to the ideal number of children in a family

| Value Orientation to Ideal Number of Children | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 2-3 children | (0) | 0 | (5) | 31 | (6) | 37 |
| 4 children | (4) | 25 | (8) | 50 | (7) | 44 |
| 5-9 children | (12) | 75 | (3) | 19 | (3) | 19 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 15.94 \qquad df = 4 \qquad P = .01$$

Hypothesis 6 - Intergenerational consensus on ideal family
size held by Mennonites will specify larger
families than among comparable rural and
urban groups.

Table 35 contains the results bearing on this hypothesis. The

results presented in Table 35 indicate that Mennonite responses manifest

sharing of common understanding between the two generations explored

that large families is an ideal. All responses among Mennonites re-

garded 4 or more children as an ideal number, 69% of the rural responses

and only 50% of the urban responses showed preference to this number

of children in a family. Differences between the groups studied were

highly significant and percentages show that differences were in the

hypothesized direction. Hence, the hypothesis of greater intergenerational

consensus among Mennonites on norms specifying large families is accepted.

TABLE 35.--Distribution of youth and parents (combined) in the three community types, by consensus on ideal number of children in a family

| Ideal Number of Children | Youth and Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 2 children | (0) | 0 | (2) | 6 | (6) | 19 |
| 3 children | (0) | 0 | (8) | 25 | (10) | 31 |
| 4 children | (16) | 50 | (16) | 50 | (13) | 41 |
| 5-9 children | (16) | 50 | (6) | 19 | (3) | 9 |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 27.77 \qquad df = 6 \qquad P = .001$$

In summary, the results presented in Tables 30 to 32 indicate the absence of significant relationship between degree of cultural isolation and value orientation to preference to in-community mates. Data presented indicate that the culturally isolated Mennonites did not differ significantly from comparable rural and urban groups in planning selection nor in actual selection of mates. Moreover, inter-generational responses did not exhibit higher consensus on preference for mates residing in the same local community than the rural and urban groups. Results presented in Tables 33-35 indicate significant relationship between degree of cultural isolation and value orientation to ideal family size. Mennonites specified higher value orientations to larger families than those held by the rural and urban groups. The

results indicate the existence of basic values specifying large number of children in a family which are shared among the Mennonites. These values were sharply differentiated from those shared among the rural and the urban groups.

### D. Cultural Isolation and Value Orientations Regarding Migration

Hypothesis 1 - The value orientation to leaving home community held by Mennonite youth (boys and girls) will specify less mobility than comparable rural and urban groups.

The results relevant to this hypothesis are presented in Table 36. Results presented in Table 36 show that 69% of the Mennonite youth intend to remain in the local community while the remainder were planning to migrate. Fifty-six percent of the rural youth and only 25% of the urban youth indicated intentions to stay in the local community. Youth from each community type differed significantly in the predicted direction and the hypothesis is accepted.

TABLE 36.--Distribution of youth in the three community types, by value orientation to leaving home community

| Value Orientation to Leaving Home Community | Youth, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Planning to stay after completing school | (11) | 69 | (9) | 56 | (4) | 25 |
| Planning to leave after completing school | (5) | 31 | (7) | 44 | (12) | 75 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$$X^2 = 6.48 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P = .05$$

Hypothesis 2 - The value orientation to leaving local community held by Mennonite parents will specify less mobility than comparable rural and urban groups.

Results of this hypothesis indicate that parents from the groups studied did not differ in their responses. All parents from each community type intended to remain in the local community. Therefore the hypothesis is rejected. Parents' value orientation to leaving home community did not conform to expectations probably because parents from the rural and urban groups have established occupations and have developed many relations which seem to prevent them from planning to migrate.

Hypothesis 3 - Intergenerational consensus on preference to continuous residence in the same local community (non-mobility) held by Mennonites will specify higher rates than among comparable rural and urban groups.

The results relevant to this hypothesis may be found in Table 37. Results presented in Table 37 show that the Mennonite and the rural responses were comparable. Fifty-six percent of the Mennonite responses and 63% of the rural responses have always resided in the same local community. In contrast, only 27% of the urban responses who have always stayed in the same local community. The differences were highly significant indicating high degree of mutual understanding between several generational levels exhibited in higher rates of consensus obtained from the Mennonites and the rural groups. Since these two groups were farmers they exhibited higher attachment to land by continuous residence in the same locality for several generations. Hence, the hypothesis of greater intergenerational consensus among Mennonites on norms specifying preference to continuous residence in the same local community is accepted.

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TABLE 37.—Distribution of youth, parents, and parents' parents (combined) in the three community types, by consensus on preference to reside in the local community

| Residence | Three Generations,* by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Always in the same local community | (36) | 56 | (40) | 63 | (17) | 27 |
| Has been in more than one community | (28) | 44 | (24) | 37 | (47) | 73 |
| Total | (64) | 100 | (64) | 100 | (64) | 100 |

$x^2$ = 18.89          df = 2          P = .001

*Combined responses of youth, parents, and parents for each parent; No. = 32 in each community.

In summary, the results presented in Tables 36 and 37 indicate significant relationship between degree of cultural isolation and value orientation regarding migration. Data presented indicate that the culturally isolated Mennonite youth specified higher value orientations to planning to stay in the local community than comparable rural and urban youth. Intergenerational consensus on preference to the local community among Mennonites was comparable to the rural group, but was significantly different from the urban group. The results indicated no differences between parents from each community type regarding intentions to migrate. All parents intended to remain in the local community.

E. **Cultural Isolation and Value Orientations Regarding Religious Activities and Religious Involvement**

> Hypothesis 1 - The value orientation to performing religious activities held by Mennonite youth and parents will specify higher rates than for comparable rural and urban groups.

Tables 38, 39, and 40 present results bearing on this hypothesis. Results relevant to three religious activities were delineated. The first, regarding frequency of going to church is presented in Table 30. Results presented in Table 38 indicate that Mennonites frequent their church every Sunday. Fifty-three percent of the rural group and 31% of the urban group perform this activity every Sunday. Differences between the groups were highly significant in the hypothesized direction.

TABLE 38.—Distribution of youth and parents in the three community types, by frequency of going to church

| Frequency of Going to Church | Youth and Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Every Sunday | (32) | 100 | (17) | 53 | (10) | 31 |
| Often | (0) | 0 | (9) | 28 | (13) | 41 |
| Not so often | (0) | 0 | (6) | 19 | (9) | 28 |
| Never | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 33.30 \qquad df = 4 \qquad P = .001$$

Table 39 contains results dealing with the second religious activity explored. Frequency of performing prayers before meals are presented in Table 39. The results indicate that all Mennonites say Grace before having meals. Seventy-five percent of the rural group and 56% of the urban group usually perform this activity before meals. Differences between the groups were highly significant in the anticipated direction.

TABLE 39.--Distribution of youth and parents in the three community types, by frequency of saying Grace before meals

| Frequency of Saying Grace Before Meals | Youth and Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Usually says Grace | (32) | 100 | (24) | 75 | (18) | 56 |
| Usually does not say Grace | (0) | 0 | (8) | 25 | (14) | 44 |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

$x^2 = 17.46$        df = 2        P = .001

The third religious activity concerning frequency of saying prayers before going to bed is presented in Table 40. Results shown in Table 40 indicate that 97% of the Mennonites, 69% of the rural and 66% of the urban groups usually say prayers before going to bed. The differences were highly significant in the anticipated direction.

TABLE 40.--Distribution of youth and parents in the three community types, by frequency of saying prayers before going to bed

| Frequency of Saying Prayers Before Going to Bed | Youth and Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Usually say prayers | (31) | 97 | (22) | 69 | (21) | 66 |
| Usually does not say prayers | (1) | 3 | (10) | 31 | (11) | 34 |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

$x^2 = 10.70$        df = 2        P = .01

The results presented in Tables 38, 39, and 40 indicate that Mennonites exhibited higher rates in performing religious activities than comparable rural and urban groups. Groups studied differed significantly in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. Hence, the hypothesis of higher value orientation to performing religious activities held by Mennonites manifested in higher frequencies in (1) going to church, (2) saying grace before meals, and (3) in saying prayers before bed than for comparable rural and urban groups, is accepted.

> Hypothesis 2 - The value orientation to preference for own religion held by Mennonite youth and parents will be greater than for comparable rural and urban groups.

The results of this hypothesis are presented in Table 41. Results shown in Table 41 indicate that 78% of the Mennonites think "that their church is better than other churches." Only 6% of the rural and none of the urban groups held strong value orientations to own religious denomination. Differences between the groups were highly significant in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. It is therefore accepted.

TABLE 41.--Distribution of youth and parents in the three community types, by value orientation to preference for own religion

| "My Church is Better than Other Churches" | Youth and Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Strongly agree | (25) | 78 | (2) | 6 | (0) | 0 |
| Agree | (7) | 22 | (18) | 57 | (20) | 63 |
| Disagree | (0) | 0 | (12) | 37 | (12) | 37 |
| Strongly disagree | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

$$X^2 = 77.40 \qquad df = 4 \qquad P = .001$$

Hypothesis 3 - Intergenerational consensus on preference to own religious denomination held by Mennonites will specify higher rates of religious involvement than among comparable rural and urban groups.

Tables 42, 43, and 44 contain results bearing on this hypothesis. Table 42 presents the results relevant to the denominational background of parents from each group studied. Ninety-three percent of Mennonite parents belong to same denomination as their parents. Seventy-one percent of the rural parents and only 38% of the urban parents held similar religious preference as their parents. Differences were significant in the anticipated direction.

TABLE 42.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by similarity of denominational background

| Denominational Background | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Both parents same as informant | (14) | 93 | (10) | 71 | (5) | 38 |
| Both parents different from informant | (1) | 7 | (4) | 29 | (8) | 62 |
| Total | (15) | 100 | (14) | 100 | (13) | 100 |

$$X^2 = 9.87 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P = .01$$

Table 43 presents results relevant to continuation of religious preference from parents to children. That is, whether or not parents from each group, have maintained the same religious preference transmitted from the previous generation. Table 43 shows that all Mennonite parents have always been members of their present denomination. Eighty-one

percent of the rural group and only 37% of the urban group maintained
their religious preference.

TABLE 43.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by
whether or not they have always been members of present denomination

| Membership in Present Denomination | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Always been a member | (16) | 100 | (13) | 81 | (6) | 37 |
| Has not always been a member | (0) | 0 | (3) | 19 | (10) | 63 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 16.67 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P = .001$$

Table 44 indicates further evidence for the transmission process.
Data presented in this table indicate the likelihood that youth and
parents from each group may join a different denomination than the
present preference. Results presented in Table 44 show that only 3%
of the Mennonites might think of joining another denomination different
from the present preference. In contrast to 44% of the rural group
and 37% of the urban group who may change the present preference. Dif-
ferences between the groups were highly significant in the predicted
direction.

The results presented in Tables 42, 43, and 44 indicate that
93% of the Mennonite parents belong to same denomination as their parents,
all parents have been always members of the present preference, and
97% of the youth and parents will not change their present denomination.
In contrast, 71% and only 38% of the rural and urban parents respectively

belong to same denomination as their parents. Eighty-one percent and only 37% of the rural and urban parents respectively maintained their religious preference, while 56% and 63% of the rural and urban groups respectively will not change their present denomination. Mennonites exhibited higher rates of religious involvement than comparable rural and urban groups signifying mutual understanding between several generations on religious norms. Differences between the groups were highly significant and the differences were in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. Hence, the hypothesis of greater intergenerational consensus among Mennonites on norms specifying preference to their religious denomination is accepted.

TABLE 44.--Distribution of youth and parents (combined) in the three community types, by plans to change present religious preference

| Change Religious Preference | Youth and Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| May change denomination | (1) | 3 | (14) | 44 | (12) | 37 |
| Will not change denomination | (31) | 97 | (18) | 56 | (20) | 63 |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

$x^2 = 15.14$ df = 2 P = .001

Hypothesis 4 - The value orientation to religion held by Mennonites will reflect high disappointment if children join a different denomination than for comparable rural and urban groups.

Table 45 presents the results of this hypothesis. The results presented in Table 45 indicate that all Mennonite parents will be

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disappointed if their children joined a different denomination. Sixty-three percent of the rural parents and only 50% of the urban parents will be disappointed for the same reason. Parents from each community type differed significantly. The percentages show that the differences were in the hypothesized direction. The hypothesis is therefore accepted.

TABLE 45.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by feeling if sons joined a different denomination

| Parents' Disappointment | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Both parents will be disappointed | (16) | 100 | (10) | 63 | (8) | 50 |
| Both parents will not be disappointed | (0) | 0 | (6) | 37 | (8) | 50 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 10.48 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P = .01$$

In summary, the results presented in Tables 38 through 45 indicate significant relationship between degree of cultural isolation and value orientation regarding religious activities and religious involvement. Data presented indicate that the culturally isolated Mennonites specified higher value orientations to frequency of performing religious activities than rural and urban groups. The findings indicate that Mennonites held strong value orientations to their religious denomination. The results presented show that Mennonites exhibited higher intergenerational consensus specifying preference to their denomination than for comparable rural and urban groups. Hence, the findings indicate that religion is a focal point in the Mennonite subculture.

F. Cultural Isolation and Value Orientations Regarding Behavioral
   Traits in Children

        Hypothesis 1 - The value orientation to preference for "tra-
   ditional" traits in boys' behavior held by
   Mennonites will be greater than for compar-
   able rural and urban groups.

Tables 46 and 47 present results bearing on this hypothesis.

Table 46 contains results relevant to behavioral traits that are "most

liked" and "next most liked" in boys. Table 47 contains data relevant

to behavioral traits that are "most wanted" and "next most wanted" in

boys. The results shown in Table 46 indicate that 63% of the Mennonite

responses preferred "traditional" traits as most liked in the behavior

of boys. In contrast to 29% of the rural responses and only 16% of the

urban responses indicated preferences for these traits in boys. Dif-

ferences were highly significant. The data presented in Table 46 indi-

cate that 58% of the Mennonite responses regarded "traditional" traits

as "next most liked" in the behavior of boys. Only 18% of the rural

responses and 24% of the urban responses selected "traditional" traits

as "next most liked" in boys behavior. The differences were significant.

The percentages show that the differences between the groups studied in

both "most liked" and "next most liked" behavioral traits were in the

direction predicted by the hypothesis.

      Table 47 indicates that 71% of the Mennonite responses preferred

"traditional" traits as "most wanted" in the behavior of boys. In

contrast 47% of the rural responses and only 12% of the urban responses

preferring these traits in boys. The differences between the groups

were highly significant and were in the direction predicted by the

hypothesis. The data presented in Table 47 shows also that 55% of the

Mennonites regarded "traditional" behavioral traits in boys as "next most

wanted." Twenty-one percent of the rural and 16% of the urban groups considered these traits as "next most wanted" in the behavior of boys. Differences were highly significant and were in the hypothesized direction. Hence, results presented in Tables 46 and 47 show a pattern consistent with the hypothesis dealing with preference for "traditional" traits in boys' behavior among Mennonites. It is therefore accepted.

TABLE 46.--Distribution of boys and parents in the three community types, by value orientation to "most liked" behavioral traits in boys

| Behavioral Traits in Boys | Value Orientation to Preferred Behavioral Traits in Boys | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | *Most liked No. % | **Next most liked No. % | *Most liked No. % | **Next most liked No. % | *Most liked No. % | **Next most liked No. % |
| 1. Obedience to parents | (2) 8 | (7) 29 | (1) 4 | (3) 11 | (2) 8 | (2) 8 |
| 2. Trust in God | (13) 55 | (7) 29 | (7) 25 | (2) 7 | (2) 8 | (4) 16 |
| 3. Happiness | (2) 8 | (2) 8 | (2) 7 | (8) 29 | (10) 40 | (2) 8 |
| 4. Honesty | (5) 21 | (7) 30 | (5) 18 | (7) 25 | (5) 20 | (10) 40 |
| 5. Success and interest in school | (0) 0 | (1) 4 | (4) 14 | (6) 21 | (0) 0 | (2) 8 |
| 6. Curiosity | (2) 8 | (0) 0 | (9) 32 | (2) 7 | (6) 24 | (5) 20 |
| Total | (24)100 | (24)100 | (28)100 | (28)100 | (25)100 | (25)100 |

| * | $x^2 = 20.02$ | df = 4 | P = .001 |
|---|---|---|---|
| ** | $x^2 = 12.65$ | df = 4 | P = .02 |

Frequencies in selecting behavioral traits (1),(2); (3),(4); (5),(6) were combined in computing the chi square.

TABLE 47.--Distribution of boys and parents in the three community types, by value orientation to "most wanted" behavioral traits in boys

| Behavioral Traits in Boys | Value Orientation to Preferred Behavioral Traits in Boys | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | *Most wanted No. % | **Next most wanted No. % | *Most wanted No. % | **Next most wanted No. % | *Most wanted No. % | **Next most wanted No. % |
| 1. Obedience to parents | (2) 8 | (9) 38 | (3) 11 | (2) 7 | (1) 4 | (1) 8 |
| 2. Trust in God | (15) 63 | (4) 17 | (10) 36 | (4) 14 | (2) 8 | (3) 12 |
| 3. Happiness | (1) 4 | (3) 12 | (3) 11 | (6) 22 | (9) 36 | (2) 8 |
| 4. Honesty | (5) 21 | (7) 29 | (6) 22 | (6) 21 | (6) 24 | (6) 24 |
| 5. Success and interest in school | (0) 0 | (0) 0 | (3) 10 | (7) 25 | (2) 8 | (6) 24 |
| 6. Curiosity | (1) 4 | (1) 4 | (3) 10 | (3) 11 | (5) 20 | (7) 28 |
| Total | (24)100 | (24)100 | (28)100 | (28)100 | (25)100 | (25)100 |

\*    $x^2$ = 18.44      df = 4      P = .001

\*\*   $x^2$ = 16.75      df = 4      P = .01

Frequencies in selecting behavioral traits (1),(2); (3),(4); (5),(6) were combined in computing chi square.

Hypothesis 2 - The value orientation to preference for "traditional" traits in girls' behavior held by Mennonites will be greater than for comparable rural and urban groups.

Tables 48 and 49 present results bearing on this hypothesis.
Table 48 contains results relevant to behavioral traits that are "most liked" and "next most liked" in girls. Table 49 contains data relevant to behavioral traits that are "most wanted" and "next most wanted" in girls. The results shown in Table 48 indicate that 46% of the Mennonites,

40% of the rural and 35% of the urban groups considered "traditional" traits as "most liked" in the behavior of girls. Although differences between the groups show a moderate trend in the hypothesized direction, yet they were not significant. The results probably did not conform to expectations because boys, as males, are considered important factors in perpetuating Mennonite subculture. Therefore, traditional traits of behavior were more desired in boys than in girls. Since all cases were selected from the middle-class, it seems that behavioral traits preferred in girls' behavior were nearly identical within the groups studied. The data presented in Table 48 indicate that 63% of the Mennonites preferred "traditional" traits as "next most liked" in the behavior of girls. In contrast, 25% of the rural and only 13% of the urban groups regarded these traits as "next most liked" in girls' behavior. Differences between the groups were significant and the percentages show that the differences were in the hypothesized direction.

Table 49 shows that 63% of the Mennonites, 40% of the rural and 30% of the urban groups preferred "traditional" traits as "most wanted" in the behavior of girls. Although the differences between the groups show a moderate trend in the hypothesized direction, yet they were not significant. The results probably did not conform to expectations for the same reasons cited above. Table 49 also shows that 63% of the Mennonites perferred "traditional" traits as "next most wanted" in the behavior of girls. Only 20% of the rural and 13% of the urban groups regarded these traits as "next most wanted." The differences were highly significant. The percentages show that the differences were in the hypothesized direction. Hence, results presented in Tables 48 and 49 show a pattern consistent with the hypothesis dealing with

preference for "traditional" traits in girls' behavior among Mennonites.

It is therefore accepted.

TABLE 48.--Distribution of girls and parents in the three community types, by value orientation to "most liked" behavioral traits in girls

| Behavioral Traits in Girls | Value Orientation to Preferred Behavioral Traits in Girls | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | *Most liked No. % | **Next most liked No. % | *Most liked No. % | **Next most liked No. % | *Most liked No. % | **Next most liked No. % |
| 1. Obedience to parents | (3) 13 | (9) 38 | (0) 0 | (3) 15 | (1) 4 | (0) 0 |
| 2. Trust in God | (8) 33 | (6) 25 | (8) 40 | (2) 10 | (7) 31 | (3) 13 |
| 3. Happiness | (5) 21 | (3) 12½ | (3) 15 | (4) 20 | (8) 35 | (5) 22 |
| 4. Honesty | (5) 21 | (3) 12½ | (4) 20 | (3) 15 | (4) 17 | (6) 26 |
| 5. Success and interest in school | (1) 4 | (1) 4 | (1) 5 | (3) 15 | (0) 0 | (2) 9 |
| 6. Curiosity | (2) 8 | (2) 8 | (4) 20 | (5) 25 | (3) 13 | (7) 30 |
| Total | (24)100 | (24)100 | (20)100 | (20)100 | (23)100 | (23)100 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| * | $x^2 = 2.36$ | df = 4 | P > .05 |
| ** | $x^2 = 14.56$ | df = 4 | P = .01 |

Frequencies in selecting behavioral traits = (1),(2); (3),(4); (5),(6) were combined in computing the chi square.

Hypothesis 3 - Intergenerational consensus on preference to behavioral traits in children held by Mennonites will specify higher rates of "traditionalism" than among comparable rural and urban groups.

TABLE 49.—Distribution of girls and parents in the three community types, by value orientation to "most wanted" behavioral traits in girls

| Behavioral Traits in Girls | Value Orientation to Preferred Behavioral Traits in Girls | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | *Most wanted | **Next most wanted | *Most wanted | **Next most wanted | *Most wanted | **Next most wanted |
| | No. % | No. % | No. % | No. % | No. % | No. % |
| 1. Obedience to parents | (6) 25 | (5) 21 | (1) 5 | (3) 15 | (1) 4 | (2) 9 |
| 2. Trust in God | (9) 38 | (10) 42 | (7) 35 | (1) 5 | (6) 26 | (1) 4 |
| 3. Happiness | (3) 12 | (5) 21 | (4) 20 | (4) 20 | (7) 31 | (6) 26 |
| 4. Honesty | (4) 17 | (3) 12 | (5) 25 | (3) 15 | (5) 22 | (5) 22 |
| 5. Success and interest in school | (1) 4 | (0) 0 | (0) 0 | (5) 25 | (1) 4 | (3) 13 |
| 6. Curiosity | (1) 4 | (1) 4 | (3) 15 | (4) 20 | (3) 13 | (6) 26 |
| Total | (24)100 | (24)100 | (20)100 | (20)100 | (23)100 | (23)100 |

| * | $x^2 = 5.13$ | df = 4 | P > .05 |
|---|---|---|---|
| ** | $x^2 = 18.77$ | df = 4 | P = .001 |

Frequencies in selecting behavioral traits (1),(2); (3),(4); (5),(6) were combined in computing the chi square.

The results relevant to this hypothesis are presented in Table 50. The results shown in Table 50 indicate that 60% of the Mennonite responses preferred "traditional" traits as most liked and most wanted in the behavior of children. In contrast, 30% of the rural responses and only 20% of the urban responses indicated preferences for the same traits in children's behavior. The data presented signify the greater understanding between the two generations explored among the Mennonites

with regard to preference for "traditional" behavioral traits than the rural and urban groups. The differences between the groups were highly significant in the hypothesized direction. Hence, the hypothesis of greater intergenerational consensus among Mennonites on norms specifying preferences to "traditional" behavioral traits is accepted.

TABLE 50.--Distribution of youth and parents (combined) in the three community types, by consensus on preference to "most liked" and "most wanted" behavioral traits in children

| Value Orientation to Preferred Behavioral Traits in Children | Youth and Parents,* by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Traditional traits | (115) | 60 | (57) | 30 | (38) | 20 |
| 1. Obedience to parents | | | | | | |
| 2. Trust in God | | | | | | |
| Middle-class traits | (63) | 33 | (73) | 38 | (96) | 50 |
| 3. Happiness | | | | | | |
| 4. Honesty | | | | | | |
| Secular traits | (14) | 7 | (62) | 32 | (58) | 30 |
| 5. Success in school | | | | | | |
| 6. Curiosity | | | | | | |
| Total | (192) | 100 | (192) | 100 | (192) | 100 |

$x^2 = 85.13$　　　　　df = 4　　　　　P = .001

*Combined responses of youth and parents; No. = 32 from each community type.

In summary, the results presented in Tables 46 through 50 indicate significant relationship between degree of cultural isolation and value orientation to preferred behavioral traits in children. The findings presented indicate that the culturally isolated Mennonites specified higher value orientations to "traditional" traits in the behavior of both boys and girls. Intergenerational consensus on preference to "traditional" behavioral traits in children held by Mennonites was greater than for comparable rural and urban groups.

### Summary of Value Orientation Hypotheses

Table 51 summarizes the results bearing on the hypothesis dealing with relationships between varying degrees of cultural isolation and value orientation, in the three community types. The same table presents results of the sub-hypothesis regarding differences in value orientations and intergenerational consensus between the groups studied.

TABLE 51.--Summary of acceptance (+) and rejection (-) of the hypotheses and sub-hypotheses regarding the relationship between cultural isolation and value orientations, and the differences in value orientation and intergenerational consensus in the three community types

| Hypotheses and Sub-hypotheses regarding value orientations and intergenerational consensus | Folk-rural value orientations hypothesized as reflecting greater cultural isolation than rural or urban community types | Acceptance (+) Rejection (-) of hypotheses & sub-hypotheses |
|---|---|---|
| A. Value Orientations Regarding Education | yes | + |
| 1. youth: length of schooling | yes | + |
| 2. parents: length of schooling | yes | + |

TABLE 51.--Continued

| Hypotheses and Sub-hypotheses regarding value orientations and intergenerational consensus | Folk-rural value orientations hypothesized as reflecting greater cultural isolation than rural or urban community types | Acceptance (+) Rejection (-) of hypotheses & sub-hypotheses |
|---|---|---|
| 3. intergenerational consensus on length of schooling | yes | + |
| 4. parents disappointment if children drop out of school | yes | + |
| B. Value Orientations Regarding Occupation | yes | + |
|    1. boys: occupational involvement | yes | + |
|    2. fathers when young: occupational involvement | yes | + |
|    3. intergenerational consensus on preferred occupations for boys | yes | + |
|    4. intergenerational consensus on housewives roles for girls | yes | + |
| C.I Value Orientations Regarding Mate Selection | yes | - |
|    1. youth: in-community preference in mate selection | yes | - |
|    2. parents: in-community preference in mate selection | yes | - |
|    3. intergenerational consensus on preference for mates residing in the same local community | yes | - |
| II Value Orientations Regarding Ideal Family Size | yes | + |
|    4. youth: ideal family size | yes | + |
|    5. parents: ideal family size | yes | + |
|    6. intergenerational consensus on ideal family size | yes | + |
| D. Value Orientations Regarding Migration | yes | + |
|    1. youth: leaving home community | yes | + |
|    2. parents: leaving home community | yes | - |
|    3. intergenerational preference to continued residence in home community | yes | + |

TABLE 51.--Continued

| Hypotheses and Sub-hypotheses regarding value orientations and intergenerational consensus | Folk-rural value orientations hypothesized as reflecting greater cultural isolation than rural or urban community types | Acceptance (+) Rejection (-) of hypotheses & sub-hypotheses |
|---|---|---|
| E. Value Orientations Regarding Religious Activities and Religious Involvement | yes | + |
|    1. youth and parents: performing religious activities | yes | + |
|    2. youth and parents: preference for own religion | yes | + |
|    3. intergenerational consensus on preference for own religion | yes | + |
|    4. parents disappointment if children join a different denomination | yes | + |
| F. Value Orientations Regarding Behavioral Traits in Children | yes | + |
|    1. preference for traditional traits in boys | yes | + |
|    2. preference for traditional traits in girls | yes | + |
|    3. intergenerational consensus on preference for traditional traits in children | yes | + |

The findings presented in Table 51 indicate a significant relationship between high degree of cultural isolation and the existence of "folk-like" characteristics in the Mennonite subculture. Research groups differed significantly in the direction predicted by the hypotheses. But, hypotheses dealing with value orientation regarding mate selection and the sub-hypothesis dealing with parents' value orientations to leaving the home community failed to conform to expectations. Hence, the findings presented in this section indicate the existence of "folk-like"

characteristics in the Mennonite subculture which are an attribute of high degree of isolation from the larger cultural system.

## Comparative Analysis of Patterns of Social Relationships

Findings presented in the first and second sections of this Chapter supply evidence of a highly isolated subculture of the Mennonite group manifesting "folk-like" characteristics. Therefore, by definition, a folk group may be thought of as an organized group characterized by a "folk-like" subculture. It is assumed that social relationships between members of the Mennonite group will be characterized by an identifiable pattern and will be sharply differentiated from the rural and urban patterns. The general expectation is that social relationships between the Mennonites will differ systematically from the other two groups with respect to age, sex, and kinship. Hypotheses are generated with regard to attitudes of respect ascribed to specific age and sex categories and their influence on opinions. The kinship network will be explored in terms of number and residence of relatives, and the degrees of familial influence.

A. <u>Patterns of Social Relationships with Respect to Age</u>

    Hypothesis 1 - Mennonites recognize age as basis for social relationships to a greater extent than comparable rural and urban groups.

        a. Mennonite parents will exhibit higher levels of agreement that age itself merits respect, both inside and outside kinship structure than comparable rural and urban groups.

The results relevant to this sub-hypothesis are presented in Table 52. Table 52 presents responses obtained from the three research groups with regard to ascribing more respect to older persons, both

inside or outside the kinship structure, than to otherage categories.
Results shown in Table 52 indicate that all Mennonites agreed that
older persons, both inside and outside the kinship structure, should
be shown more respect than younger persons. Ninety-four percent of
the rural responses show same attitude to older persons. Eighty-seven
percent of the urban responses indicated a belief that older relatives
should be shown more respect than younger relatives. Only 75% of the
urban parents agreed that older persons, outside the kinship structure,
should be shown more respect than younger persons. Results presented
in percentages, indicate moderate differences between the groups in
the direction predicted by the hypothesis.

TABLE 52.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by
agreement or disagreement that age itself merits respect

| Attitudes Toward Age | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| "I think that older close relatives should be shown more respect than younger close relatives." | | | | | | |
| Agree* | (16) | 100 | (15) | 94 | (14) | 87 |
| Disagree** | (0) | 0 | (1) | 6 | (2) | 13 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |
| "I think that older people in general should be shown more respect than younger people." | | | | | | |
| Agree* | (16) | 100 | (15) | 94 | (12) | 75 |
| Disagree** | (0) | 0 | (1) | 6 | (4) | 25 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

*Combined responses of "strongly agree" and "agree."

**Combined responses of "disagree" and "strongly disagree."

    b. Mennonite parents will exhibit higher levels
       of agreement that respect and obedience for
       older people, both inside and outside the
       kinship structure, are important virtues that
       children should learn, than comparable rural
       and urban groups.

Table 53 presents results bearing on this sub-hypothesis. The results shown in Table 53 indicate that all Mennonites consider respect and obedience for older people, both inside and outside the kinship structure, the most important virtues children should learn. Eighty-seven percent and 94% of the rural and urban parents respectively agreed to this statement with regard to older close relatives, but the responses reversed respectively with regard to people outside the kinship structure. The results presented in percentages show moderate differences in the direction predicted by the sub-hypothesis.

    c. Mennonite parents will exhibit higher levels
       of influence by older persons regarding
       political, economic, and religious views,
       both inside and outside the kinship struc-
       ture, than comparable rural and urban groups.

The results of this sub-hypothesis are presented in Table 54. The results presented in Appendix G indicate that 94% of the Mennonites were influenced by relatives, while 91% were influenced by members of the group on general political, economic, and religious issues. Fifty-two percent of the rural and only 25% of the urban parents indicated that relatives influence their opinions, while 60% and 50% of these two groups respectively were influenced by non-relatives. The findings presented in Table 54 indicated that 67% of the Mennonites, 60% of the rural parents and only 25% of the urban parents follow views of older relatives more than middle-aged persons on political, economic, and religious issues. Differences were significant in the direction

TABLE 53.---Distribution of parents in the three community types, by
agreement or disagreement that respect and obedience for older people
are important virtues children should learn

| Attitudes of Respect and Obedience Toward Age | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| "Respect and obedience for older close relatives are the most important virtues children should learn." | | | | | | |
| Agree* | (16) | 100 | (14) | 87 | (15) | 94 |
| Disagree** | (0) | 0 | (2) | 13 | (1) | 6 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |
| "Respect and obedience for older people are the most important virtues children should learn." | | | | | | |
| Agree* | (16) | 100 | (15) | 94 | (14) | 87 |
| Disagree** | (0) | 0 | (1) | 6 | (2) | 13 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

*Combined responses of "strongly agree" and "agree."

**Combined responses of "disagree" and "strongly disagree."

predicted by the sub-hypotheses. Sixty-nine percent of the Mennonites
in contrast to 24% and 26% of the rural and urban parents respectively
indicated that they follow views of older persons more than middle-aged
persons on political, economic, and religious issues. Differences were
highly significant in the hypothesized direction.

Hence, results presented in Tables 52 through 54 indicate
significant relationship between "folk-like" characteristics sustaining
the Mennonite subculture and recognizing age by itself as a basis for
social relationships. Mennonites believe that older persons should be

TABLE 54.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by
whether they follow views of older persons more than middle-aged persons
on political, economic, and religious issues

| Influence | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
| of Age | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| **Influence of Age Inside Kinship Structure*** | | | | | | |
| Follow views of older persons more than middle-aged | (20) | 67 | (15) | 60 | (3) | 25 |
| Do not follow views of older persons more than middle-aged | (10) | 33 | (10) | 40 | (9) | 75 |
| Total | (30) | 100 | (25) | 100 | (12) | 100 |
| **Influence of Age Outside Kinship Structure**** | | | | | | |
| Follow views of older persons more than middle-aged | (20) | 69 | (7) | 24 | (7) | 26 |
| Do not follow views of older persons more than middle-aged | (9) | 31 | (22) | 76 | (20) | 74 |
| Total | (29) | 100 | (29) | 100 | (27) | 100 |

\* $x^2 = 6.25$ df = 2 P = .05

\*\* $x^2 = 15.40$ df = 2 P = .001

These are combined responses of those who indicated that their opinions
are influenced. See Appendix G for the detailed distribution of in-
fluence of both relatives and members of the group. Mennonites do not
participate or discuss political issues, therefore their responses
regarding political issues were excluded.

shown more respect and consider respect and obedience for older people
the most important virtues children should learn. They follow views of
older persons more than middle-aged persons on political, economic, and
religious issues. The findings indicate that Mennonite attitudes toward
older persons were identical with regard to both relatives and non-
relatives. The Mennonites differed significantly in this respect from
the rural and urban groups. The percentages show that differences
were in the hypothesized direction. Therefore, the hypothesis of re-
cognition of age among Mennonites as a basis for social relationships
is accepted.

B. Patterns of Social Relationships with Respect to Sex

Hypothesis 1 - Mennonites recognize "sex" as basis for social
relationships to a greater extent than com-
parable rural and urban groups.

a. Mennonite parents will exhibit higher
levels of agreement that "sex" itself
merits respect, both inside and outside
the kinship structure, than comparable
rural and urban groups.

Table 55 presents results bearing on this sub-hypothesis. The
results shown in Table 55 indicate that 87% of the Mennonite parents
thought that males, both inside and outside the kinship structure,
should be shown more respect than females. Only 13% and 6% of the rural
and urban parents respectively thought that male relatives should be
shown more respect than females. And, only 6% of both the rural and
urban parents thought that males should be shown more respect than
females. The results presented in percentages show significant dif-
ferences between the groups regarding attitudes of respect toward sex.
Differences were in the direction predicted by the sub-hypothesis.

TABLE 55.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by agreement that sex itself merits respect

| Attitudes Toward Sex | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| "I think that close male relatives should be shown more respect than close female relatives." | | | | | | |
| Agree* | (14) | 87 | (2) | 13 | (1) | 6 |
| Disagree** | (2) | 13 | (14) | 87 | (15) | 94 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |
| "I think that males generally should be shown more respect than females." | | | | | | |
| Agree* | (14) | 87 | (1) | 6 | (1) | 6 |
| Disagree** | (2) | 13 | (15) | 94 | (15) | 94 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

*Combined responses of "strongly agree" and "agree."

**Combined responses of "disagree" and "strongly disagree."

b. Mennonite parents will exhibit higher levels of agreement that respect and obedience for older people, both inside and outside the kinship structure, are important virtues that children should learn, than comparable rural and urban groups.

The results of this sub-hypothesis are presented in Table 56.

The results shown in Table 56 indicate that 94% of the Mennonite parents, in contrast to 13% of the rural parents and 19% of the urban parents, consider respect and obedience for male relatives "the most important virtues children should learn." Eighty-seven percent of Mennonites, only 6% of rural parents, and 19% of the urban parents agreed to this statement concerning males outside the kinship structure. Hence, data

presented in Table 56 show significant differences between the three

groups in the anticipated direction.

TABLE 56.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by
agreement that respect and obedience for males are important virtues
children should learn

| Attitudes of Respect and Obedience Toward Sex | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| "Respect and obedience for close male relatives are the most important virtue children should learn." | | | | | | |
| Agree* | (15) | 94 | (2) | 13 | (3) | 19 |
| Disagree** | (1) | 6 | (14) | 87 | (13) | 81 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |
| "Respect and obedience for males are the most important virtue children should learn." | | | | | | |
| Agree* | (14) | 87 | (1) | 6 | (3) | 19 |
| Disagree** | (2) | 13 | (15) | 94 | (13) | 81 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

*Combined responses of "strongly agree" and "agree."

**Combined responses of "disagree" and "strongly disagree."

    c. Mennonite parents will exhibit higher levels of influence
by male persons regarding political, economic, and reli-
gious views, both inside and outside the kinship structure,
than comparable rural and urban groups.

The results of this sub-hypothesis are presented in Table 57.

The results presented in the Appendix G indicate the proportion of

parents from each community type who specified influence exerted on

their opinion regarding political, economic, and religious issues.

TABLE 57.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by whether they follow views of males more than females on political, economic, and religious issues

| Influence of Sex | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| **Influence of sex inside kinship structure*** | | | | | | |
| Follow views of males more than females | (30) | 100 | (20) | 80 | (7) | 58 |
| Do not follow views of males more than females | (0) | 0 | (5) | 20 | (5) | 42 |
| Total | (30) | 100 | (25) | 100 | (12) | 100 |
| **Influence of sex outside kinship structure**** | | | | | | |
| Follow views of males more than females | (29) | 100 | (21) | 72 | (19) | 70 |
| Do not follow views of males more than females | (0) | 0 | (8) | 28 | (8) | 30 |
| Total | (29) | 100 | (29) | 100 | (27) | 100 |

\* $x^2 = 12.53$      df = 2      P = .01

\*\* $x^2 = 10.24$      df = 2      P = .01

These are combined responses of those who indicated that their opinions are influenced. See Appendix G for the detailed distribution of influence both of relatives and members of the group. Mennonites do not participate or discuss political issues, therefore their responses regarding political issues were excluded.

Table 57 shows that Mennonites follow views of males, both inside and outside the kinship structure, more than females. Almost identical responses were obtained from the rural persons in this respect. Only 58% of the urban parents indicated that male relatives influence their

opinions, while 70% of their responses indicated influence of male

non-relatives. Differences between the research groups with respect

to influence of males, both inside and outside the kinship structure,

were highly significant in the hypothesized direction

Hence, the results presented in Tables 55 through 57 indicate

significant relationship between "folk-like" characteristics sustaining

the Mennonite subculture and recognizing sex by itself as a basis for

social relationships. Mennonites believe that males should be shown

more respect and consider respect and obedience for males the most

important virtues children should learn. They follow views of males

on political, economic, and religious issues, more than females. The

findings indicate that Mennonite attitudes toward males were identical

with regard to both relatives and non-relatives. The Mennonites dif-

fered significantly in this respect from the rural and urban groups.

The percentages show that differences were in the hypothesized direc-

tion. Therefore, the hypothesis of recognition of sex among Mennonites

as a basis for social relationships is accepted.

C. Patterns of Social Relationships with Respect to "Connected-
   ness" of the Kinship Network

   Hypothesis 1 - Mennonite parents will exhibit higher rates
                  in recognizing their relatives and their
                  parents' relatives residing in the same local
                  community, county, state, and out of the same
                  state than for comparable rural and urban
                  groups.

The results relevant to this hypothesis are presented in Table 58.

The results presented in Table 58 indicate that Mennonite parents recog-

nized 297 living relatives residing in the local community, county,

state, and in other states. Rural parents recognized only 150 living

TABLE 58.—Distribution of parents in the three community types, by
number of living relatives and by place of residence

| Place of Residence | Parents-Relatives,* by Community Types | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Residing in same community | (98) | 33 | (32) | 21 | (26) | 16 |
| Residing in same county | (19) | 6 | (16) | 11 | (14) | 9 |
| Residing in same state | (12) | 4 | (80) | 53 | (80) | 50 |
| Residing in different states | (168) | 57 | (22) | 15 | (39) | 25 |
| Total number of relatives | (297) | 100 | (150) | 100 | (159) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 191.99 \qquad df = 6 \qquad P = .001$$

*Included are (1) grandfather father's side; (2) grandfather mother's
side; (3) grandmother father's side; (4) grandmother mother's side;
(5) father; (6) mother; (7) uncles, father's side; (8) uncles, mother's
side; (9) aunts, father's side; (10) aunts, mother's side; (11) brothers;
and (12) sisters. No. = 16 from each community type.

relatives and urban parents recognized 159 living relatives residing

in informant's same community, county, state, and in other states.

Thirty-three percent of relatives of the Mennonites reside within

confines of informant's local community in contrast to 21% of relatives

of the rural parents and only 16% of relatives of the urban parents.

Six percent, 11% and 9% of relatives of the Mennonite, rural, and

urban parents reside in informant's same county. Only 4% of relatives

of the Mennonites reside in informant's same state in contrast to 53%

of relatives of rural parents and a similar percentage (50%) of rela-

tives of the urban parents. Results indicate that 57% of the Mennonites'

relatives reside in different states, while only 15% of the relatives

of rural parents and 25% of the relatives of urban parents reside in

other states. The data presented in Table 58 indicate that Mennonite

kinship is concentrated in the same local community as well as in other

states. Most rural and urban relatives were concentrated in the same

state. The research groups differed significantly with regard to number

of recognized living relatives and with respect to concentration of re-

latives by place of residence. The differences were in the hypothesized

direction. Therefore the hypothesis is accepted.

> Hypothesis 2 - Mennonite parents will exhibit higher rates
> of visiting relatives, regardless of their
> place of residence, then for comparable
> rural and urban groups.
>
> a. Mennonite parents will exhibit higher
>    rates of visiting their siblings and their
>    parents' siblings in the past year, re-
>    siding in same community and county, than
>    for comparable rural and urban groups.

The results of this sub-hypothesis are presented in Table 59.

Results indicate that during the past year Mennonite parents visited

94% and 89% of their relatives residing in same community and same

county respectively. In the past year rural parents have visited 92%

and all their relatives residing in same community and same county

respectively. During the same period urban parents visited 86% of

their relatives residing in same community, and only 58% of their

relatives residing in same county. Since Mennonites see their rela-

tives nearly every Sunday, the results presented show the extent of

connectedness of their kinship network manifested in high frequency of

visiting. Groups from each community type differed significantly in

the frequency of visiting relatives residing in informants same community

TABLE 59.—Distribution of parents in the three community types, by frequency of visiting siblings* and parents' siblings in the past year by siblings' place of residence

| Siblings Visited in Past Year by Place of Residence | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Total No. of Siblings in Same Community | (85) | 100 | (13) | 100 | (14) | 100 |
| Number visited many times | (80) | 94 | (12) | 92 | (12) | 86 |
| Number never visited | (5) | 6 | (1) | 8 | (2) | 14 |
| Total No. of Siblings in Same County (1) | (18) | 100 | (14) | 100 | (12) | 100 |
| Number visited many times | (16) | 89 | (14) | 100 | (7) | 58 |
| Number never visited | (2) | 11 | (0) | 0 | (5) | 42 |
| Total No. of Siblings in Same State (2) | (11) | 100 | (74) | 100 | (65) | 100 |
| Number visited many times | (7) | 64 | (50) | 68 | (38) | 58 |
| Number never visited | (4) | 36 | (24) | 32 | (27) | 42 |
| Total No. of Siblings in Other States (3) | (158) | 100 | (21) | 100 | (42) | 100 |
| Number visited many times | (81) | 51 | (5) | 24 | (12) | 29 |
| Number never visited | (77) | 49 | (16) | 76 | (30) | 71 |

(1)    $x^2 = 10.99$        df = 2        P = .01
(cells of siblings residing in informant's same community and same county were combined in computing chi square.)

(2)    $x^2 = 1.24$        df = 2        P > .05

(3)    $x^2 = 10.88$        df = 2        P = .01

TABLE 59.--<u>Continued</u> (footnote)

*The categories of siblings included in this Table were: (1) uncles,
 father's side; (2) aunts, father's side; (3) uncles, mother's side;
 (4) aunts, mother's side; (5) brothers; and (6) sisters. "Many visits"
 stand for combined frequencies of "once," "twice," and "many" visits
 made by respondents. No. = 16 in each community type.


and same county. The differences were in the direction predicted by the

sub-hypothesis.

> b. Mennonite parents will exhibit higher rates
> of visiting their siblings and their parents'
> siblings in the past year, residing in same
> state, then for comparable rural and urban
> groups.

There were no significant differences between the groups studied

concerning yearly frequency of visiting relatives residing in informant's

same state. Results presented in Table 59 indicate that Mennonite

parents visited with 64% of their relatives, rural parents visited with

68% of their relatives, and urban parents visited with 58% of their

relatives. Results shown conform to the literature indicating that

urban families maintain considerable interaction with their relatives.

The data also show that Mennonites still maintain kinship ties regard-

less of distance of relatives' residence.

> c. Mennonite parents will exhibit higher rates
> of visiting their siblings and their parents'
> siblings in the past year, residing in
> other states, than for comparable rural and
> urban groups.

Results relevant to this sub-hypothesis are presented in Table 59.

The findings indicate that in the past year Mennonite parents visited

51% of their relatives residing in other states. In contrast, rural

parents visited only 24% of their relatives and urban parents visited

only 29% of their relatives residing in other states. Differences between

the groups were highly significant in this respect and are in the anti-

cipated direction.

Results bearing on sub-hypotheses 2.a, 2.b, and 2.c, presented

in Table 59 indicate that Mennonite parents exhibited higher rates of

visiting with relatives, regardless of place of residence than the

rural and urban groups. The differences between the groups were signi-

ficant. The percentages show that differences were in the direction

predicted by the hypothesis. It is therefore accepted.

> Hypothesis 3 - Mennonite parents will exhibit lower rates
> of telephone calling relatives, regardless
> of their place of residence, than for com-
> parable rural and urban groups.
>
> > a. Mennonite parents will exhibit lower rates
> > of calling their siblings and their parents'
> > siblings in the past year, residing in same
> > community and county, than for comparable
> > rural and urban groups.

Results relevant to the sub-hypothesis are presented in Table 60.

Results presented in Table 60 indicate that in the past year Mennonite

parents called 76% and 67% of their relatives residing in same commu-

nity and same county respectively. During the same period rural parents

called 92% and 86% of their relatives residing in same community and

same county respectively. Urban parents called 64% and 42% of their

relatives residing in same community and same county respectively. The

results shown indicate that differences between the groups studied

were significant in the hypothesized direction.

> > b. Mennonite parents will exhibit lower rates
> > calling their siblings and their parents'
> > siblings in the past year, residing in same
> > state, then for comparable rural and urban
> > groups.

TABLE 60.--Distribution of parents in the three community types by
frequency of calling siblings* and parents' siblings in the past year
by siblings' place of residence

| Calling Siblings in Past Year by Place of Residence | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Total No. of Siblings in Same Community | (85) | 100 | (13) | 100 | (14) | 100 |
| Number called many times | (65) | 76 | (12) | 92 | (9) | 64 |
| Number never called | (20) | 24 | (1) | 8 | (5) | 36 |
| Total No. of Siblings in Same County (1) | (18) | 100 | (14) | 100 | (12) | 100 |
| Number called many times | (12) | 67 | (12) | 86 | (5) | 42 |
| Number never called | (6) | 33 | (2) | 14 | (7) | 58 |
| Total No. of Siblings in Same State (2) | (11) | 100 | (74) | 100 | (65) | 100 |
| Number called many times | (4) | 36 | (34) | 46 | (23) | 35 |
| Number never called | (7) | 64 | (40) | 54 | (42) | 65 |
| Total No. of Siblings in Other States (3) | (158) | 100 | (21) | 100 | (42) | 100 |
| Number called many times | (34) | 22 | (3) | 14 | (14) | 33 |
| Number never called | (124) | 78 | (18) | 86 | (28) | 67 |

(1)    $x^2$ = 8.57              df = 2              P = .02
       (Cells of siblings residing in informant's same community and
       same county were combined in computing chi square.)

(2)    $x^2$ = 1.68              df = 2              P > .05

(3)    $x^2$ = 3.62              df = 2              P > .05

*The categories of siblings included in this Table were:  (1) uncles,
 father's side; (2) aunts, father's side; (3) uncles, mother's side;
 (4) aunts, mother's side; (5) brothers; and (6) sisters.  "Many calls"
 stand for combined frequency of "once," "twice," and "many" calls made
 by respondents.  No. = 16 in each community type.

There was no significant difference between the groups studied concerning frequency of calling relatives who reside in the same state. Results presented in Table 60 indicate that Mennonite parents called 36% of their relatives, rural parents called 46% of their relatives, and urban parents called 42% of their relatives. Although results presented did not conform to the predicted difference between the groups under consideration, they show moderate trends in the hypothesized direction.

> c. Mennonite parents will exhibit lower rates of calling their siblings and their parents' siblings in the past year, residing in other states, than for comparable rural and urban groups.

There was no significant difference between the groups studied concerning yearly frequency of calling relatives residing in other states. Results presented in Table 60 indicate that Mennonite parents called 22% of their relatives, rural parents called only 14% of their relatives, and urban parents called 33% of their relatives, residing in different states in the past year. Although results presented did not show significant difference between the research groups, the tendency was very moderate in the direction predicted by the sub-hypothesis.

Results bearing on sub-hypotheses 3.a, 3.b, and 3.c, presented in Table 60 indicate that Mennonites exhibited lower rates of calling relatives, regardless of place of residence. The differences between the groups were significant with regard to calling relatives residing in same local community and same county. Differences with regard to calling relatives residing in informant's same state and in other states were moderate, but they were in the anticipated direction. Therefore, the hypothesis of lesser phone interaction of Mennonites with their relatives is accepted.

Hypothesis 4 - Mennonites recognize "having many relatives" as a basis for social relationships to a greater extent than comparable rural and urban groups.

    a. Mennonite parents will exhibit higher levels of agreement that "having many relatives in local community" merits respect, than comparable rural and urban groups.

Results relevant to this sub-hypothesis are presented in Table 61.

Results shown in Table 61 indicate that 25% of the Mennonite parents show respect to individuals having many relatives in the local community more than to individuals having few relatives. Only 6% of both rural and urban parents thought that having many relatives, itself, merits more respect. Thus, results presented in Table 61 show significant differences between the groups studied in the direction predicted by the sub-hypothesis.

TABLE 61.—Distribution of parents in the three community types, by agreement that "having many relatives in the local community" merits respect

| Attitudes of Respect and Obedience Toward Those Having Many Relatives | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| "I think that individuals who have many close relatives in my community should be shown more respect than those who have few relatives." | | | | | | |
| Agree* | (4) | 25 | (1) | 6 | (1) | 6 |
| Disagree** | (12) | 75 | (15) | 94 | (15) | 94 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

*Combined responses of "strongly agree" and "agree."

**Combined responses of "disagree" and "strongly disagree."

> b. Mennonite parents will exhibit higher level of influence by individuals having many relatives in the local community, regarding political, economic, and religious views, than comparable rural and urban groups.

The results of this sub-hypothesis are presented in Table 62.

The results shown in Table 62 indicate that 63% of the Mennonites, in contrast to only 15% and 8% of the rural and urban parents, respectively, were influenced by individuals having many relatives in the local community regarding political, economic, and religious views. Differences were highly significant in the hypothesized direction. Ninety-four percent of the Mennonite parents, in contrast to only 33% and 40% of the rural and urban parents respectively, perceived that people in their community follow views of those having many relatives. They were less likely to be influenced on political, economic, and religious views by individuals having few relatives. Differences between the research groups in this respect were highly significant in the hypothesized direction.

Hence, results presented in Tables 61 and 62 indicate that Mennonites recognized that "having many relatives" as a basis for social relationships than comparable rural and urban groups. The groups differed significantly with regard to attitudes of respect shown to individuals having many relatives and concerning influence of these individuals on political, economic, and religious views. The differences were in the hypothesized direction. Therefore the hypothesis of recognition of "having many relatives" among Mennonites as a basis for social relationship is accepted.

TABLE 62.--Distribution of parents in the three community types, by whether views of individuals having many relatives in local community were followed and by perception that people in their community follow views of those having many relatives more than they follow individuals having few relatives on political, economic, and religious issues

| Familial Influence | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| **Influence of relatives on informants opinions*** | | | | | | |
| Follow views of individuals having many relatives in local community more than those having few relatives. | (20) | 63 | (7) | 15 | (4) | 8 |
| Do not follow views of individuals having many relatives more than those having few relatives. | (12) | 37 | (41) | 85 | (44) | 92 |
| Total responses | (32) | 100 | (48) | 100 | (48) | 100 |
| **Informants perception of the influence of having many relatives on members of local community.**** | | | | | | |
| Follow views of individuals having many relatives in local community more than those having few relatives. | (30) | 94 | (16) | 33 | (19) | 40 |
| Do not follow views of individuals having many relatives in local community more than those having few relatives. | (2) | 6 | (32) | 67 | (29) | 60 |
| Total responses | (32) | 100 | (48) | 100 | (48) | 100 |

\* $x^2 = 34.59$         df = 2         P = .001

\*\* $x^2 = 31.90$         df = 2         P = .001

(See Appendix Q for detailed distribution of parents by influence.)

In summary, the results presented in Tables 58 through 62 indicate significant relationship between "folk-like" characteristics sustaining the Mennonite subculture and the "connectedness" of the kinship system. The Mennonite kinship network may be thought of as exhibiting "closely-knit" network of social relationships. "Closely-knit" kinship network are characteristic of the extended family type manifesting higher levels of familial influence. On the other hand, the rural and the urban networks may be thought of as "loosely-knit" networks. "Loosely-knit" kinship networks are characteristic of modified extended and nuclear family types manifesting lower levels of familial influence. Mennonites exhibited higher rates in recognizing their relatives and their parents' relatives than for comparable rural and urban groups. Mennonites exhibited higher rates of face-to-face interaction manifested in high frequency of visiting relatives and lower frequency of calling them - regardless of their place of residence - than for comparable rural and urban groups. The Mennonites exhibited higher levels of familial influence manifested in attitudes of respect shown to individuals having many relatives and the influence of these individuals on political, economic, and religious views, than for comparable rural and urban groups. The Mennonites differed significantly in those respects from the rural and urban groups. The percentages show that differences were in the direction predicted by the hypotheses advanced.

### Summary of Social Relationships Hypotheses

Table 63 summarizes the results bearing on the hypotheses dealing with patterns of social relationships with respect to age, sex,

TABLE 63.—Summary of acceptance (+) and rejection (-) of the hypotheses and sub-hypotheses dealing with patterns of social relationships with respect to age, sex, and the kinship network in the three community types

| Hypotheses and Sub-hypotheses regarding social relationships with respect to age, sex, and kinship | Folk-rural relationships hypothesized as characterizing a group possessing "folk-like" sub-culture | Acceptance(+) Rejection (-) of hypotheses and sub-hypotheses |
|---|---|---|
| A. Patterns of social relationships with respect to age | yes | + |
| 1. age as a basis for social relationships | yes | + |
| a. age itself merits respect | yes | + |
| b. respect and obedience for older people | yes | + |
| c. influence of older persons | yes | + |
| B. Patterns of social relationships with respect to sex | yes | + |
| 1. sex as a basis for social relationships | yes | + |
| a. sex itself merits respect | yes | + |
| b. respect and obedience for males | yes | + |
| c. influence of males | yes | + |
| C. Patterns of social relationships with respect to "connectedness" of the kinship network | yes | + |
| 1. number of living relatives by residence | yes | + |
| 2. visiting relatives | yes | + |
| a. residing in the same local community and county | yes | + |
| b. residing in the same state | yes | - |
| c. residing in other states | yes | + |
| 3. calling relatives | yes | + |
| a. residing in the same local community and county | yes | + |
| b. residing in the same state | yes | - |
| c. residing in other states | yes | - |
| 4. having many relatives as a basis for social relationships | yes | + |
| a. having many relatives itself merits respect | yes | + |
| b. influence of individuals having many relatives | yes | + |

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and kinship network in the three community types. The findings presented in Table 63 indicate significant relationship between Mennonite sub-culture possessing "folk-like" characteristics and the specific patterns of social relationships with regard to age, sex, and kinship that were found to be sharply differentiated from the rural and urban patterns. Research groups differed significantly in the direction predicted by the hypotheses. But the sub-hypotheses dealing with the frequency of visiting and calling relatives residing in the informant's same state and in different states failed to conform to expectations.

## Summary of Chapter

The purpose of this chapter was to present the findings bearing on the operational hypotheses. This chapter was divided into three sections. In the first section, four hypotheses were proposed for measuring the degree of isolation of the research groups from the larger cultural system. The results relevant to these hypotheses provided evidence of high degree of cultural isolation of the Mennonites, viewed as a homogeneous group, relative to the rural and urban groups.

It was assumed in the second section of this chapter that value orientations of the Mennonites which sustain their subculture will manifest "folk-like" characteristics sharply differentiated from the rural and urban subcultures. Six hypotheses were proposed in this section dealing with value orientation to education, occupation, mate selection, ideal family size, migration, religion, and preferred behavioral traits in children. The findings generally supported these hypotheses, except that dealing with mate selection failed to conform to expectations. The data provided evidence that the Mennonite

subculture possessed "folk-like" characteristics which differed markedly from the rural and the urban subcultures.

It was hypothesized in the third section of the chapter that social relationships with regard to age, sex, and kinship network among the Mennonite group would be characterized by an identifiable pattern sharply differentiated from the rural and urban groups. The findings confirmed the three hypotheses proposed in this section. The Mennonites may be viewed as a "folk" group exhibiting patterns of social relationships identical to groups characterized by "folk-like" subcultures. The other two groups manifested patterns of social relationships identical to that of the larger social system. Therefore, the findings presented in this chapter generally confirm the ideas proposed in this study.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

A discussion of the findings, and conclusions drawn from the
results, will be presented in this chapter. The chapter consists of
three sections. The first presents a systematic discussion and inter-
pretation of the results obtained. The second section deals with the
relevance of the findings for sociological theory. In the third section
the implications of the results for future research will be discussed.

Interpretation of the Results

This section will deal with assembling, discussing, and inter-
preting the findings with respect to cultural isolation and homogeneity
– the independent variable – and its effects on the cultural contents
and patterns of social relationships that characterize the three commu-
nity types.

Degree of Isolation

Four dimensions were investigated to ascertain the degree of
isolation of the subcultures studied.

The results obtained indicate lower rates of participation for
the Mennonites than for comparable rural and urban groups. The Menno-
nites participated in religious organizations only. Hence, the Menno-
nites interacted only with individuals who were members of the same

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religious denomination. Therefore, they were relatively immune from exposure to variant types of organizations representing several activities of the larger cultural system. The rural and urban groups, in contrast to the Mennonites, exhibited higher rates of membership in many types of organizations which allow them to be in contact with the ideology of the dominant culture.

The Mennonites exhibited shorter vacation periods than for comparable rural and urban groups. Vacation periods were spent by the Mennonites with members of the immediate family or with relatives. Hence, meanings stemming from the in-group were projected to things and events through the family. The rural and urban groups showed varying patterns of vacationing indicating contact with diverse persons and places. Therefore, the rural and urban groups were more frequently exposed to the ideology of the larger culture.

The Mennonites exhibited a higher degree of in-group identification than did comparable rural and urban groups. The Mennonites interacted little with people outside the local community. They maintained few relations with people outside their own group. Moreover, the Mennonites tended to seek advice from members of the immediate family and relatives when they were confronted with problems. Hence, the Mennonites restricted interaction largely to members of the in-group who shared the same body of beliefs and held a similar outlook. Solutions to problems were provided through the family and relatives. Therefore, the Mennonites manifested a high degree of in-group identification. The rural and urban groups maintained relatively high rates of interaction with people residing outside the local community.

Members of these two groups tended to seek advice from non-relatives with regard to problems. Therefore, it would appear that members of the rural and urban groups identified with the larger system more frequently than did the Mennonites.

The Mennonites lacked the major means for receiving messages originating from the dominant cultures. By deliberate action on their part, the Mennonites fought against exposure to the various aspects of the dominant culture. Other rural and urban groups were in continuous contact with the dominant culture transmitted by mass means of communication.

Hence, the results obtained indicate that the Mennonites have consciously erected boundaries to prevent them from coming in contact with the larger culture. Therefore, they were more culturally isolated than the rural and urban groups. The differences between the latter two groups with regard to isolation from the dominant culture is problematic. The Mennonites were not only culturally isolated but they also exhibit a high degree of homogeneity. Group homogeneity was manifested in a unified body of shared beliefs, customs, and standardization of appearance. These specific aspects of the Mennonite way of life unite them and reinforce the boundaries erected which alienate them from neighboring groups.

## Content of the Subcultures

The content of each subculture was explored with regard to value orientations and intergenerational norm consensus. The findings indicate important differences between the Mennonites' value orientations on the one hand and those of the rural and urban groups on the other

hand with regard to cultural elements derived from the basic institu-
tions. The isolated Mennonite subculture exhibited "folk-like character-
istics.

As a consequence of the high degree of cultural isolation, the
Mennonites held lower educational aspirations than the comparable rural
and urban groups. The high school level was preferred by several gener-
ational levels as an adequate length of formal education. The rural and
urban groups exhibited contrasting value orientations with regard to
education. The results indicate that both groups prefer higher edu-
cational levels.

Farming was considered by the Mennonites as the preferred oc-
cupation for boys. The Mennonites exhibited high rates of preference
for transmitting father's occupation to his sons. Housewife roles for
girls were the only roles considered appropriate. The rural and urban
groups on the other hand showed preference for professional occupations
for boys and girls were permitted to aspire to a career. Furthermore,
the Mennonites, in contrast to the rural and urban groups, preferred
large families. The Mennonites also exhibited preference for staying
in the local community. The rural and urban groups, in contrast, showed
some preference for migration.

The Mennonites exhibited a high frequency in the performance of
religious activities. Their denomination was considered the best, and
affiliation with this denomination was transmitted from one generation
to the other. The rural and urban groups exhibited lower frequencies
in performing religious activities. Religious affiliation was con-
sidered by these two groups as a personal preference and not necessarily

to be transmitted from one generation to the next. Traditional traits of behavior in children were preferred by the Mennonites in contrast to the rural and urban groups who preferred secular traits.

Preference for mates from among those residing in the same local community failed to conform to expectations. There are numerous Mennonite collectivities in many states and it is expected that mates will come from the same religious group. Hence, the question should be stated differently to elicit preference for mates: from the same denomination or from a different denomination.

The Mennonites considered high school education to be an adequate educational level appropriate to farming. For many generations, farming has been regarded the ideal occupation. It does not require a higher educational level. They rely upon the technical information provided by the Agricultural Extension Agent. Farming requires many activities which must be performed, therefore, large number of children in the family seem suitable for performing these activities where the family cooperates as a working unit. Farming encourages stability and requires non-mobility. Investments are placed in immobile goods that can be transmitted through the family line. Thus, there are moral as well as economic attachments to land. Agricultural activities provide many sources of anxiety. Rain is needed in due time, livestock must remain fit, and crops should be sold with profit. In a sense, religion functions as a safety valve for releasing the various anxieties farmers have. Therefore, the Mennonites do not consider religion in a separate compartment. Rather, it covers many aspects of social life. Hence, preference for traditional traits in children's behavior, namely,

"obedience to parents" and "trust in God" signify conformity to older
generations and hope derived from religion. These cultural aspects
specifying the Mennonites' design for living are characteristic of
isolated "folk" cultures.

The non-isolated rural and urban groups, on the other hand,
held higher education to be of value. The college educational level
was common in the aspirations of the rural and urban groups. The rural
group, being farmers, were not satisfied with this occupation for their
children, and parents of both groups desired that their children aspire
to different occupations than their own. Both groups indicated a pref-
erence for professional occupations. A small family, then, would be
suitable and encourages both horizontal and vertical mobility. Inter-
action with the out-group and the mass media provide the necessary in-
formation with regard to the occupational structure. Norms and values
of the dominant culture indicate that advancement in the occupational
sphere depends upon individual achievement. Religion, therefore, does
not function exclusively to relieve anxiety. Rather, it becomes a
matter of individual conviction or preference. Hence, the family being
aware of the basic norms and values of the larger culture, attempts to
socialize the children in harmony with success and achievement.

Patterns of Social Relationships

The Mennonites not only show respect for older persons and
males, but they also tend to follow the views of older persons and
males on political, economic, and religious issues. In contrast, the
rural and urban groups did not consider age or sex to merit respect;
nor did they follow the views of both older and male persons. Individual

characteristics were considered more important than the ascribed ones
in the rural and urban groups.

The kinship network was explored in terms of number, residence,
frequency of interaction with relatives, and familial influence. Since
the Mennonites are culturally isolated and possess a "folk-like" sub-
culture, they exhibited a kinship network which was significantly dif-
ferent from the rural and urban groups. The Mennonites had a larger
number of living relatives residing both inside and outside the local
community than the rural or urban groups. Preference for face-to-face
interaction was manifested in high frequency of visiting relatives
regardless of the distance of residence in contrast to both the rural
and urban groups. Telephone calls characterized the interaction pat-
tern of the rural and urban groups with their relatives. The results
indicate that the Mennonite kinship network was characterized by a high
degree of "connectedness" relative to the other two groups which exhibited
a lower degree of "connectedness." The extended family type was
characteristic of the Mennonites and the influence of relatives was
shown in following their political, economic, and religious views. The
modified extended family was characteristic of the rural group where
high frequency of interaction with relatives was maintained without
much familial influence exerted. The nuclear family type was found
to be characteristic of the urban group. Relationships with relatives
were maintained primarily by phone calling and little familial influence
was indicated.

### Relevance of Findings to Sociological Theory

An attempt has been made in this study to summarize specific
traits characterizing particular groups of people residing in the same

geographical area. By using the concept "folk" culture and "folk" society it was intended to differentiate between the groups studied with regard to cultural isolation. The focus was the "folk-like" Mennonite subculture in order to show that it is different from both the rural and urban neighboring subcultures to which they were compared. The differences found may be attributed to differences in the degree of isolation from the dominant culture. The theoretical idea of the study is that in large, industrialized, complex societies, folk cultures and societies can co-exist side by side with non-folk cultures and societies.

The general conclusion of this research is that under conditions of non-geographic isolation, non-self-sufficiency, and a money economy, groups may consciously erect boundaries that effectively isolate them from contact with the larger cultural system. Cultural isolation, it is argued, causes the manifestation of "folk-like" characteristics which differ significantly from non-isolated subcultures. Therefore, the Mennonites - the highly isolated and homogeneous group - is the sacred and collectivistic society. The rural and urban non-isolated and heterogeneous groups, are the secular and individualistic societies. The three groups were characterized by well organized sub-cultures, each exhibiting a high degree of consistency between its elements.

Three conclusions may now be stated. The first is that the rural and urban groups manifest greater secularization than the folk-rural group. The principal facts proposed in support of this conslusion are, in the order in which they have been presented: (1) value orientations held by the groups with regard to religious activities. The rural

and urban groups indicated the separation of religion from other means
of life.  (2) Value orientations held by the groups studied with regard
to the desired behavioral traits in children.  The rural and urban groups
indicated preference for secular behavioral traits.

The second conclusion is that the least isolated and the most
heterogeneous of the groups studied are the more individualized.  This
conclusion is supported by value orientations held by the rural and
urban groups with regard to:  (1) lengthy periods of formal education;
(2) occupational expediency;  (3) migration from the local community;
(4) individual religious preference; and (5) individual decisions on
political, economic, and religious issues regardless of age, sex, or
familial influence.

The third conclusion is that the highly isolated and homogeneous
group is organized according to principles of organization that are
different from the less isolated and heterogeneous groups.  That is,
the non-isolated rural and urban groups do not necessarily have to be
culturally disorganized.  Contrary to the traditional theory, cultures
of different community types may be thought of as being organized on
different principles or levels.  Consistency exists between elements
of every subculture but the basis of their organization may be different.
The Mennonite subculture viewed as an organization, as a design for
living, involves harmony between the selected cultural elements and
intergenerational mutual understanding.  The efficiency of the design
as a guide for conduct is increased by applying sanctions which largely
stem from religion.  The rural and urban subcultures specify a different
design for living.  The elements of the design are based upon

secularization and individualization, in harmony with the larger cultural system. In an open social structure, the efficiency of this design is increased by providing opportunities, by stimulating competition, and by rewarding achievement.

### Implications of the Results for Future Research

The utility of the concept "folk" culture and "folk" society will be discussed here with regard to its importance in explaining human behavior, in generating hypotheses, and stimulating research. The discussion will be presented with relation to the rural and urban levels in both complex and developing countries.

In complex, industrialized societies, the concept would be useful in delineating types of subcultures in metropolitan areas possessed by different occupational, racial, religious, and minority groups. Many questions with regard to the lower socio-economic stratum in city slums could be answered by using the theoretical framework provided by the concept. On the rural level, the concept generates many hypotheses with regard to solidary groups in villages and the mechanisms of maintaining their boundaries. The basic questions are: under conditions of non-isolation, how do rural people differ and why do they differ from urban people? What are the basic cultural elements of the farmer's design for living? What are the factors affecting the farmer's participation in selective voluntary organizations and its effects on their subculture?

In developing countries the concept seems to be useful in explaining the reasons for maintenance of folk-rural cultures in cities. Rural migrants moving in large numbers to cities and ports retain their

subcultures in these new places of settlement. With regard to rural

development many important questions could be answered by using the

concept of "folk" culture. Some of these questions are: How does the

village preserve its design for living despite the introduction of

industrialization in surrounding regions? If education is introduced

in the village, will the other institutions change accordingly? Is it

important to expose the new generation in the village to the advances

of the dominant culture? What are the crucial points in the village

system through which a proper entree can be made with regard to intro-

ducing technical change? How and in what way are the cultural elements

interrelated and interdependent upon each other? Can family planning

be approached through motivating the younger generation to vertical

and horizontal mobility? If we indicate cultural isolation, is it

possible to predict accurately a society's subculture? How and in what

way can the family and the school be integrated in conformity to desired

social and cultural change?

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A-1-1 CHILDREN

A-1-2 STUDENTS

COMMUNITY TYPE:_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____
PLACE        COUNTY

AGE_____ SEX_____ RELIGION_____ GRADE IN SCHOOL_____

NAME OF SCHOOL_____ LOCATION_____

DATE OF INTERVIEW_____

CHILDREN
STUDENTS

## A-1-EDUCATION

 I. 1. Do you like going to school? YES___ 'NO___ D.K.___

   2. Do you think that going to school is necessary? YES__NO__D.K.__

   3. Do you find school: EASY___ NEITHER EASY NOR DIFFICULT___
                 DIFFICULT___

 II. 4. How far do you think you will go in school?

    Finish junior high_____
    Finish high school_____
    Finish college_____
    Finish Masters or Ph.D._____
    Other (specify)_____

## A-2-OCCUPATION      BOYS

 I. 1. What kind of job (work) do you want to have (when you grow up)
    (after finishing your education)?_____

 II. 2. Do you want to have the same job (work) as your father?
    YES___ NO___ D.K.___

 III. 3. Does your father want you to have the same kind of job he has?
    YES___ NO___ D.K.___

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4. Does your <u>mother</u> want you to have the kind of job as your father?
YES___ NO___ D.K.___

IV. 5. Does your <u>father</u> want you to have a particular kind of job?
YES___ NO___ D.K.___ If yes, what?_____

6. Does your <u>mother</u> want you to have a particular kind of job?
YES___ NO___ D.K.___ If yes, what?_____

## GIRLS

I. 1. What kind of job (work) do you want to have when you grow up?
_____

II. 2. Does your mother now have a job? YES___ NO___

3. If yes, what kind of job?_____

4. If yes, does your <u>mother</u> want you to have the same kind of job she has? YES___ NO___ D.K.___

5. If yes, does your <u>father</u> want you to have the same kind of job she has? YES___ NO___ D.K.___

III. 6. If no, did your mother ever have a job? YES___ NO___ D.K.___

7. If yes, what kind of job was it?_____

8. If yes, does your <u>mother</u> want you to have the same kind of job she had? YES___ NO___ D.K.___

9. If yes, does your <u>father</u> want you to have the same kind of job she had? YES___ NO___ D.K.___

IV. 10. Does your <u>mother</u> want you to have a particular kind of job when you grow up? YES___ NO___ D.K.___ If yes, what kind of job is it?
_____

11. Does your <u>father</u> want you to have a particular kind of job when you grow up? YES___ NO___ D.K.___ If yes, what kind of job is it?
_____

## A-3-MARRIAGE

I. 1. Do you think you will <u>likely</u> marry someone from this community?
YES___ NO___ D.K.___ What makes you think that way?_____

II. 2. Do you think it is important that your parents approve of the person you marry? YES___ NO___ D.K.___ What makes you think that way?_____

III. 3. What do you think is the right (ideal) number of children in a family?_____

<u>A-4-OUTMIGRATION</u>

   I.  1. Have you always lived around here?  YES___ NO___

        2. If no, what other places have you lived?_____

  II.  3. "I think that my community is the nicest place around."
          STRONGLY AGREE___ AGREE___ DISAGREE___ STRONGLY DISAGREE___

 III.  4. (When you grow up) (After finishing your education) do you
          think you will likely stay around here? YES___ NO___ D.K.___

        5. Why?_____

<u>A-5-RELIGION</u>

   I.  1. About how often do you go to church?
          EVERY SUNDAY___ OFTEN___ NOT SO OFTEN___ NEVER___

        2. Do you usually say grace before meals? YES___ NO___

        3. Do you usually say prayers before going to bed? YES___ NO___

        4. Are you a member of a Sunday School class? YES___ NO___

        5. Do you belong to any other church groups? YES___ NO___
          If yes, what groups?_____

  II.  6. "I think that my church is better than other churches."
          STRONGLY AGREE___ AGREE___ DISAGREE___ STRONGLY DISAGREE___

 III.  7. (When you grow up) Do you think you might join a different
          church sometime? YES___ NO___ D.K.___ If yes, do you think
          it might be:  ANOTHER PROTESTANT CHURCH___
                          CATHOLIC CHURCH___

<u>B-1-VALUES OF BEHAVIOR</u>            GIRLS

     The Browns have six girls.  Their names are Susan, Jan, Phyllis,
Ann, Nancy and Barbara.  They are all nice children, but each is dif-
ferent from the other.

     The oldest, <u>Susan,</u> is known because of her honesty.  She never took
anything which did not belong to her.  <u>Susan</u> once found a $100-bill and
she give it to the Police officer who thanked her for her honesty.  <u>Jan,</u>
the second sister in the family is very interested in school.  When she
returns from school she starts doing her homework.  Her teacher likes her
very much because <u>Jan</u> always gets good grades in school.  The third daugh-
ter is called <u>Phyllis</u>.  <u>Phyllis</u> likes to ask questions because she wants
to know about everything around her.  <u>Ann,</u> the fourth daughter, always
obeys her mother and father.  She does everything that her parents want
her to do.  <u>Ann's</u> parents think she is a fine girl because she always

does what they say. The fifth daughter is called <u>Nancy</u>. <u>Nancy</u> likes to go to church. She always prays before meals and she never forgets her prayers before going to bed. <u>Nancy</u> is active in Sunday School where she loves to sing the hymns. The sixth daughter in the Brown family is called <u>Barbara</u>. <u>Barbara</u> is always happy and smiling. In the evening <u>Barbara</u> is always joking and laughing and she makes the whole family happy.

I.  1. Which child (girl) do you like best?_____
    2. Which child (girl) do you like next best?_____
II. 3. Which child (girl) would you most like to be?_____
    4. Which child (girl) would you next most like to be?_____

## BOYS

The Browns have six boys. Their names are Jim, Tom, Pat, Tim, John and David. They are all nice children, but each is different from the other.

The oldest, <u>Jim</u>, is known because of his honesty. He never took anything which did not belong to him. <u>Jim</u> once found a $100-bill and he gave it to the Police officer who thanked him for his honesty. <u>Tom</u>, the second brother in the family is very interested in school. When he returns from school he starts doing his homework. His teacher likes him very much because <u>Tom</u> always gets good grades in school. The third son is called <u>Pat</u>. <u>Pat</u> likes to ask questions because he wants to know about everything around him. <u>Tim</u>, the fourth son, always obeys his mother and father. He does everything that his parents want him to do. <u>Tim's</u> parents think he is a fine boy because he always does what they say. The fifth son is named <u>John</u>. <u>John</u> likes to go to church. He always prays before meals and he never forgets his prayers before going to bed. <u>John</u> is active in Sunday School where he loves to sing the hymns. The sixth son in the Brown family is <u>David</u>. <u>David</u> is always happy and smiling. In the evening <u>David</u> is always joking and laughing and he makes the whole family happy.

I.  1. Which child (boy) do you like best?_____
    2. Which child (boy) do you like next best?_____
II. 3. Which child (boy) would you most like to be?_____
    4. Which child (boy) would you next most like to be?_____

CHILDREN
STUDENTS

## C-1-EXPOSURE TO IDEAS

1. Are there other boys and girls about your age in your neighborhood?
   YES___ NO___

2. If yes to 1, during the last WEEK about how many times did you spend time with the other boys and girls in your neighborhood?
   ONCE___ TWICE___ MORE THAN TWICE___ NOT AT ALL___

3. If yes to 1, during the last MONTH about how many times did you spend time with the other boys and girls in your neighborhood?
ONCE___ TWICE___ MORE THAN TWICE___ NOT AT ALL___

4. Do you have best friends who live in this community but who are NOT neighbors? YES___NO___

5. If yes to 4, during the last WEEK about how many times did you spend time with the other boys and girls who are not neighbors?
ONCE___ TWICE___ MORE THAN TWICE___ NOT AT ALL___

6. If yes to 4, during the last MONTH about how many times did you spend time with the other boys and girls who are not neighbors?
. ONCE___ TWICE___ MORE THAN TWICE___ NOT AT ALL___

7. Do you have best friends who live outside this community? YES___NO___

8. If yes to 7, during the last WEEK about how many times did you visit them? ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE___NOT AT ALL___

9. If yes to 7, during the last MONTH about how many times did you visit them? ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE___NOT AT ALL___

10. If yes to 7, during the last YEAR about how many times did you visit them? ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE___NOT AT ALL___

11. If yes to 7, during the last WEEK about how many times did you call them up? ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE___NOT AT ALL___

12. If yes to 7, during the last MONTH about how many times did you call them up? ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE___NOT AT ALL___

13. If yes to 7, during the last YEAR about how many times did you call them up? ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE___NOT AT ALL___

14. Where did you spent your last vacation?_____

15. CHILDREN ONLY: If you have a problem, to whom would you go FIRST for advice? To whom would you go SECOND for advice and to whom would you go THIRD for advice?

your parents_____           your teacher_____
your brothers & sisters_____   send a letter to your newspaper
your relatives_____           editor or T.V. director_____
your neighbors_____           others (specify)_____
your best friends_____        nobody_____
your minister

*CHILDREN*

16. ~~STUDENTS~~ ONLY: If you have a problem, to whom would you go FIRST for advice? To whom would you go SECOND for advice and to whom would you go THIRD for advice?

    your parents_____              your teacher_____
    your brothers & sisters_____   send a letter to your newspaper
    your relatives_____            editor or T.V. director_____
    your neighbors_____            others (specify)_____
    your best friends_____         nobody_____
    your minister_____

### STUDENTS

17. If you have a problem concerning a permanent job (work) to whom would you go FIRST for advice? To whom would you go SECOND for advice and to whom would you go THIRD for advice?

    your parents_____              your teacher_____
    your brothers & sisters_____   send a letter to your newspaper
    your relatives_____            editor or T.V. director_____
    your neighbors_____            others (specify)_____
    your best friends_____         nobody_____
    your minister_____

18. If you have a problem concerning love and marriage, to whom would you go FIRST for advice? To whom would you go SECOND for advice and to whom would you go THIRD for advice?

    your parents_____              your teacher_____
    your brothers & sisters_____   send a letter to your newspaper
    your relatives_____            editor or T.V. director_____
    your neighbors_____            others (specify)_____
    your best friends_____         nobody_____
    your minister_____

19. If you have a problem concerning staying in _____ or moving out, to whom would you go FIRST for advice? To whom would you go SECOND for advice and to whom would you go THIRD for advice?

    your parents_____              your teacher_____
    your brothers & sisters_____   send a letter to your newspaper
    your relatives_____            editor or T.V. director_____
    your neighbors_____            others (specify)_____
    your best friends_____         nobody_____
    your minister_____

20. If you have a problem concerning religion and your faith to whom would you go FIRST for advice? To whom would you go SECOND for advice and to whom would you go THIRD for advice?

    your parents_____              your teacher_____
    your brothers & sisters_____   send a letter to your newspaper
    your relatives_____            editor or T.V. director_____
    your neighbors_____            others (specify)_____
    your best friends_____         nobody_____
    your minister_____

A-1-3 FATHERS

A-1-4 MOTHERS


NAME_____

ADDRESS_____
                    PLACE                          COUNTY

AGE_____ OCCUPATION(S)_____

TOTAL GROSS FAMILY INCOME:   1 - under $4000 a year_____
                             2 - $4000 to 5999 a year_____
                             3 - $6000 to 7999 a year_____
                             4 - $8000 to 10,000 a year_____
                             5 - $10,000 and over a year____

HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED IN SCHOOL_____NUMBER OF CHILDREN_____

AGE AND SEX OF CHILDREN_____

PLACE OF BIRTH_____

DATE OF INTERVIEW_____

<div align="center">FATHERS<br>MOTHERS</div>


## A-1-EDUCATION

  I.   1. When you were of high school age, did you like going to school?
          YES___NO___D.K.___

         2. When you were of high school age, did you think then that going
          to school was necessary? YES___NO___D.K.___

         3. When you were of high school age, did you find school:
          EASY___NEITHER EASY NOR DIFFICULT___DIFFICULT___

         4. Do you now feel that going to school is necessary for your
          children? YES___NO___D.K.___

 II.   5. Did you get any training beyond (the highest grade completed)?
          YES___NO___D.K.___ If yes, specify what kind_____

         6. Did your parents want you to continue your schooling or go to
          work? CONTINUE SCHOOLING___GO TO WORK___D.K.___

         7. If your parents wanted you to continue your schooling, did they
          want you to complete: HIGH SCHOOL___COLLEGE___BEYOND COLLEGE___
          OTHER (SPECIFY)_____

8. As far as you know now how much education do you hope your son(s) will obtain: HIGH SCHOOL___COLLEGE___BEYOND COLLEGE___ OTHER (SPECIFY)_____

9. As far as you know now how much education do you hope your daughter(s) will obtain: HIGH SCHOOL___COLLEGE___BEYOND COLLEGE___ OTHER (SPECIFY)_____

III. 10. Would you be disappointed if your son(s) dropped out of school before finishing high school? YES___NO___ Why?_____

11. If yes, what would you do if a son did drop out of school?

_____

12. Would you be disappointed if your daughter dropped out of school before finishing high school? YES___NO___ Why?_____

13. If yes, what would you do if a daughter did drop out of school?

_____

A-2-OCCUPATION                    FATHERS

I. 1. When you were of high school age, what kind of a job did you want?_____

II. 2. When you were of high school age, did you want to have the same job (work) as your father? YES___NO___D.K.___

III. 3. When you were of high school age, did your father want you to have the same kind of job he had? YES___NO___D.K.___

4. When you were of high school age, did your mother want you to have the same kind of job as your father? YES___NO___D.K.___

IV. 5. When you were of high school age, did your father want you to have a particular kind of job? YES___NO___D.K.

6. If yes to 5, what?_____

7. When you were of high school age, did your mother want you to have a particular kind of job? YES___NO___D.K.___

8. If yes to 7, what?_____

V. 9. Do any of your children at home earn any money? YES___NO___

10. If yes to 9, how? Please specify_____

VI. 11. Do you want your son(s) to have the same kind of job as you have? YES___NO___D.K.___

12. Why?_____

13. Do you want your son(s) to have any particular job?
YES___NO___D.K.___

14. If yes to 13, what kind of job?_____

15. Does your wife want your son(s) to have the same job as you have?
YES___NO___D.K.___

16. Do you have any idea why she feels that way?_____

17. Does your wife want your son(s) to have any particular job?
YES___NO___D.K.___

18. If yes to 17, what kind of job is it?_____

VII. 19. Would you be disappointed if your son(s) chose a line of work
below his abilities without talking it over with you?
YES___NO___D.K.___

20. Why?_____

21. If yes to 19, what would you do?_____

22. Would you be disappointed if your daughter(s) chose a line of
work below her abilities without talking it over with you?
YES___NO___D.K.___

23. Why?_____

24. If yes to 22, what would you do?_____

A-2-OCCUPATION                    MOTHERS

I. 1. When you were of high school age, did you think of having a
job? YES___NO___D.K.___

2. If yes to 1, what kind of a job did you want?_____

II. 3. Is your mother living? YES___NO___

4. If yes to 3, does your mother now have a job? YES___NO___

5. If yes to 4, what kind of job is it?_____

6. If yes to 3, did she ever have a job? YES___NO___D.K.___

7. If yes to 6, what kind of job was it?_____

8. Did your mother want you to be a housewife only?
YES___NO___D.K.___

9. Do you want your daughter(s) to be a housewife only?
YES___NO___D.K.___

10. Does your husband want your daughter(s) to be a housewife only? YES___NO___D.K.___

III. 11. If yes to 3 or 6, did your mother want you to have the same kind of a job she had? YES___NO___D.K.___

12. If yes to 3 or 6, did your father want you to have the same kind of a job she had? YES___NO___D.K.___

13. When you were of high school age, did your mother want you to have a particular job? YES___NO___D.K.___

14. If yes to 13, what kind of job was it?_____

IV. 15. When you were of high school age, did your father want you to have a particular job? YES___NO___D.K.___

16. If yes to 15, what kind of job was it?_____

V. 17. Do you have a job now? YES___NO___

18. If yes to 17, what kind of job is it?_____

19. Did you ever have a job? YES___NO___

20. If yes to 19, what kind of job or jobs?_____

VI. 21. If yes to 17 and 19, do you want your daughter(s) to have the same job as you have (had)? YES___NO___D.K.___

22. If yes to 21, why?_____

23. If no to 21, do you want your daughter(s) to have a particular kind of job? YES___NO___D.K.___

24. If yes to 23, what kind of job(s) is it?_____

25. If yes to 17 or 19, does your husband want your daughter(s) to have the same kind of job you have (had)? YES___NO___D.K.___

26. If yes to 25, why?_____

27. If no to 25, does your husband want your daughter(s) to have a particular kind of job? YES___NO___D.K.___

28. If yes to 27, what kind of job(s) is it?_____

VII. 29. Do any of your daughters at home earn any money? YES___NO___

30. If yes to 29, how? Please specify_____

VIII. 31. Would you be disappointed if your daughter(s) chose a line of work below her (their) abilities without talking it over with you? YES___NO___D.K.___

32. If yes to 31, what would you do?_____

33. Would you be disappointed if your son(s) chose a line of work below his (there) abilities without talking it over with you?- · YES___NO___D.K.___

34. If yes to 33, what would you do?_____

<div align="center">FATHERS<br>MOTHERS</div>

## A-3-MARRIAGE

I. 1. Did your wife (husband) come from the same community as you did? YES___NO___D.K.___

2. Was that around here?  YES___NO___PLEASE SPECIFY_____

3. Did your mother come from the same community as your father did? YES___NO___

4. Was that around here?  YES___NO___SPECIFY:  FATHER_____
                                                MOTHER_____

II. 5. What do you think is the right (ideal) number of children in a family?_____

III. 6. Before your son(s) (daughters) decides to marry, do you think it is important that he (she) talk it over with you? YES___NO___D.K.___

7. Why?_____

8. Before your daughter(s) (sons) decides to marry, do you think it is important that she (he) talk it over with you? YES___NO___D.K.___

9. Why?_____

IV. 10. Would you be disappointed if your son(s) (daughters) marries without talking it over with you? YES___NO___D.K.___

11. Why?_____

12. If yes to 10, what would you do?_____

13. Would you be disappointed if your daughter(s) (sons) marries without talking it over with you? YES___NO___D.K.___

14. Why?_____

15. If yes to 13, what would you do?_____

## A-4-OUTMIGRATION

I.  1. Have you always lived around here? YES__NO__

  2. If no to 1, what other places have you lived?_____

  3. Has your father always lived around here? YES__NO__

  4. If no to 3, what other places has he lived?_____

  5. Has your mother always lived around here? YES__NO__

  6. If no to 5, what other places has she lived?_____

II.  7. "I think that my community is the nicest place around."
    STRONGLY AGREE__AGREE__DISAGREE__STRONGLY DISAGREE__

III.  8. Do you think you will likely stay around here? YES__NO__D.K.__
    Why?_____

IV.  9. Would you be disappointed if your son(s) moved away without
    talking it over with you? YES__NO__D.K.__

  10. Why?_____

  11. If yes to 9, what would you do?_____

  12. Would you be disappointed if your daughter(s) moved away without
    talking it over with you? YES__NO__D.K.__

  13. Why?_____

  14. If yes to 12, what would you do?_____

## A-5-RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

I.  1. What is your religious denomination?_____

  2. Have you always been a member of the same denomination?
    YES__NO__

  3. If no to 2, of what other denominations have you been a member?

    _____

  4. What is (was) your father's religious denomination?_____

  5. Has he always been a member of this denomination? YES__NO__D.K.__

  6. If no to 5, of what other denomination has he been a member?

    _____

7. What is (was) your mother's religious denomination?_____

8. Has she always been a member of this denomination?
   YES___NO___D.K.___

9. If no to 8, of what other denomination has she been a member?
   _____

II. 10. About how often do you go to church?
    EVERY SUNDAY___OFTEN___NOT SO OFTEN___NEVER

11. Do you usually say grace before meals?  YES___NO___

12. Do you usually say prayers before going to bed?  YES___NO___

13. Do you belong to any church groups?  YES___NO___

14. If yes to 13, what groups?_____

III. 15. "I think that my church is better than other churches."
     STRONGLY AGREE___AGREE___DISAGREE___STRONGLY AGREE___

IV. 16. Do you think you might become a member of a different church?
    YES___NO___D.K.___

17. If yes to 16, do you think it might be:
    ANOTHER PROTESTANT CHURCH___ CATHOLIC CHURCH___

V. 18. Would you be disappointed if your son(s) joined a different
   denomination without talking it over with you?  YES__NO__D.K.__

19. Why?_____

20. If yes to 18, what would you do?_____

21. Would you be disappointed if your daughter(s) joined a different
    denomination without talking it over with you?  YES__NO__D.K.__

22. Why?_____

23. If yes to 21, what would you do?_____

### VALUES OF BEHAVIOR STORY

### BOYS

The Browns have six sons and their names are Jim, Tom, Pat, Tim, John, and David.  They are all good sons but each is different from the other.

The first, Jim, is known for his honesty.  He never took anything which did not belong to him.  Jim once found a $100-bill and he gave

it to the police officer who praised him for his honesty. Tom, the second brother in the Brown family, is very interested in school. When he returns from school he always starts doing his homework. His teacher likes him very much because Tom always gets good grades. The third son is Pat. Pat asks many questions because he wants to know about everything around him. Pat wants to discover how and why things fit together the way they do. Tim, the fourth Brown son, always obeys his mother and father. He does everything his parents want him to do. Tim's parents think he is a fine boy because he always does what they ask. The fifth son is named John. John likes to go to church. John always prays before meals and never forgets his prayers before going to bed. John is active in Sunday School where he loves to sing the hymns. The sixth son in the family is called David. David is always happy and smiling. In the evening David is always joking and laughing and he makes the whole family happy.

1. Which boy do you like best?_____
2. Which boy do you like next best?_____
3. Which boy would you most like your son to be like?_____
4. Which boy would you next most like your son to be like?_____

## GIRLS

The Browns have six daughters and their names are Susan, Jan, Phyllis, Ann, Nancy and Barbara. They are all good daughters, but each is different from the other.

The first, Susan, is known for her honesty. She never took anything which did not belong to her. Susan once found a $100-bill and she gave it to the Police officer who praised her for her honesty. Jan, the second daughter in the Brown family is very interested in school. When she returns from school she always starts doing her homework. Her teacher likes her very much because Jan always gets good grades. The third daughter is Phyllis. Phyllis asks many questions because she wants to know about everything around her. Phyllis wants to discover how and why things fit together the way they do. Ann, the fourth Brown girl always obeys her mother and father. Ann does everything her parents want her to do. Ann's parents think she is a fine girl because she always does what they ask. The fifth daughter is named Nancy. Nancy likes to go to church. Nancy prays before meals and she never forgets her prayers before going to bed. Nancy is active in Sunday School where she loves to sing the hymns. The sixth daughter in the family is called Barbara. Barbara is always happy and smiling. In the evening Barbara is always joking and laughing and she makes the whole family happy.

5. Which girl do you like best?_____
6. Which girl do you like next best?_____
7. Which girl would you most like your daughter to be like?_____
8. Which girl would you next most like your daughter to be like?_____

## C-3-EXPOSURE TO IDEAS

1. Do you have relatives who live around here?   YES___NO___

2. If yes to 1, about how many relatives (families) on your father's side who live around here?_____

3. If yes to 1, about how many relatives (families) on your mother's side who live around here?_____

4. If yes to 1, during the last WEEK about how many times did you visit with your relatives (families) who live around here?
   ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

5. If yes to 1, during the last MONTH about how many times did you visit with your relatives (families) who live around here?
   ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

6. Do you have relatives who live OUTSIDE this community?   YES__NO__

7. If yes to 6, about how many relatives (families) on your father's side who do not live around here?_____

8. If yes to 6, about how many relatives (families) on your mother's side who do not live around here?_____

9. If yes to 6, during the last WEEK about how many times did you visit with relatives (families) who live outside this community?
   ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

10. If yes to 6, during the last MONTH about how many times did you visit with relatives (families) who live outside this community?
    ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

11. If yes to 6, during the last YEAR about how many times did you visit with relatives (families) who live outside this community?
    ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

12. If yes to 6, during the last WEEK about how many times did you make long distance calls to your relatives (families) who live outside this community?   ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

13. If yes to 6, during the last MONTH about how many times did you make long distance calls to your relatives (families) who live outside this community?
    ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

14. If yes to 6, during the last YEAR about how many times did you make long distance calls to your relatives (families) who live outside this community?   ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

15. During the last WEEK about how many times did you visit with your neighbors? ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

16. During the last MONTH about how many times did you visit with your neighbors? ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

17. Do you have close friends who live in this community but who are not neighbors? YES___NO___

18. If yes to 17, about how many?_____

19. If yes to 17, during the last WEEK about how many times did you visit with your close friends who are not neighbors?
ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

20. If yes to 17, during the last MONTH about how many times did you visit with your close friends who are not neighbors?
ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

21. Do you have close friends who live OUTSIDE this community? YES__NO__

22. If yes to 21, about how many close friends do you have who live OUTSIDE this community?_____

23. If yes to 21, during the last WEEK about how many times did you visit with them?
ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

24. If yes to 21, during the last MONTH about how many times did you visit with them?
ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

25. If yes to 21, during the last YEAR about how many times sid you visit with them?
ONCE___TWICE___MORE THAN TWICE (MANY)___NOT AT ALL___

26. Where did you spend your last vacation?_____

27. If you have a problem concerning the education of your children, to whom would you go FIRST for advice? To whom SECOND? To whom THIRD?

your wife (husband)_____          your minister_____
your parents (living)_____        the teacher_____
your brothers & sisters_____      send a letter to your newspaper
relatives_____                    editor or T.V. director_____
your neighbors_____               others (specify)_____
your best friends                 nobody_____

28. If you have a problem concerning the jobs or career for your children, to whom would you go FIRST for advice? To whom SECOND? To whom THIRD?

your wife (husband)_____          your minister_____
your parents (living)_____        the teacher_____
your brothers & sisters_____      send a letter to your newspaper
relatives_____                    editor or T.V. director_____
your neighbors_____               others (specify)_____
your best friends_____            nobody_____

29. If you have a problem concerning the love affairs of your children, to whom would you go FIRST for advice? To whom SECOND? To whom THIRD?

your wife (husband)_____          your minister_____
your parents (living)_____        the teacher_____
your brothers & sisters_____      send a letter to your newspaper
relatives_____                    editor or T.V. director_____
your neighbors_____               others (specify)_____
your best friends_____            nobody_____

30. If you have a problem concerning religion and faith of your children, to whom would you go FIRST for advice? To whom SECOND? To whom THIRD?

your wife (husband)_____          your minister_____
your parents (living)_____        the teacher_____
your brothers & sisters_____      send a letter to your newspaper
relatives_____                    editor or T.V. director_____
your neighbors_____               others (specify)_____
your best friends_____            nobody_____

FATHERS-MOTHERS

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____
                    .PLACE                          COUNTY

AGE_____ HIGHEST DEGREE (GRADE) EARNED IN SCHOOL_____

OCCUPATION_____

PLACE OF WORK_____

WIFE'S NAME_____

WIFE'S AGE_____ HIGHEST DEGREE (GRADE) EARNED IN SCHOOL_____

WIFE'S OCCUPATION (IF HAVING A JOB BESIDES BEING A HOUSEWIVE_____

WIFE'S PLACE OF WORK_____

FAMILY GROSS INCOME:  1. below $4000 a year_____
                      2. from $4000 to 5999 a year_____
                      3. from $6000 to 7999 a year_____
                      4. from $8000 to 10,000 a year___
                      5. $10,000 and over a year_____

NUMBER OF CHILDREN:  MALES          FEMALES          AGE


FIRST AGE AND SEX

A. The following statements describe your opinion regarding the relation-
ships between persons who are older, same age, or younger than you. Also
we are interested in knowing the relationships between males and females.
First, let us talk about these relationships between persons who are
CLOSELY related to you.

  1. Do you have close immediate relatives who live around here (in your
     community, village or town)? YES___NO___

  2. Do you have close immediate relatives who live in the same county?
     YES___NO___

  3. Do you have close immediate relatives who live in the same state?
     YES___NO___

     If yes to 1, 2, or 3, how strongly do you agree or disagree with the
     following:

  4. I think that OLDER CLOSE RELATIVES should be shown more respect than
     YOUNGER CLOSE RELATIVES.
     STRONGLY AGREE___AGREE___DISAGREE___STRONGLY DISAGREE___

5. Respect and obedience for OLDER CLOSE RELATIVES are the most important virtues children should learn.
STRONGLY AGREE___AGREE___DISAGREE___STRONGLY DISAGREE___

6. I think that CLOSE MALE RELATIVES should be shown more respect than CLOSE FEMALE RELATIVES.
STRONGLY AGREE___AGREE___DISAGREE___STRONGLY DISAGREE___

7. Respect and obedience for CLOSE MALE RELATIVES are the most important virtues children should learn.
STRONGLY AGREE___AGREE___DISAGREE___STRONGLY DISAGREE___

8. Do you discuss elections with your CLOSE IMMEDIATE RELATIVE?
YES___NO___

9. If yes to 8, do all of your CLOSE RELATIVES (old, middle aged and young) participate in these discussions? YES___NO___
Specify_____

10. If yes to 8, do your close relatives (both male and female) participate in these discussions? YES___NO___

11. If yes to 8, do your CLOSE RELATIVES influence your opinion concerning elections? YES___NO___

12. If yes to 11, would you say that the views on elections of your OLDER CLOSE RELATIVES influence your opinion more than those of your middle-aged close relatives? YES___NO___D.K.___
Specify_____

13. If yes to 11, would you say that the views on elections of your middle-aged close relatives influence your opinion more than those of your younger close relatives? YES___NO___ Specify_____

14. If yes to 11, would you say that the views on elections of your MALE CLOSE RELATIVES influence your opinion more than those of your FEMALE CLOSE RELATIVES? YES___NO___D.K.___

15. Could you think of three close relatives who influence your opinion on political issues (e.g. elections). Please specify.

older male_____        middle-aged female_____
elder female_____      young male_____
middle-aged male_____        young female_____

16. If no to 11, does each one of your CLOSE IMMEDIATE RELATIVES decide for himself concerning elections? YES___NO___D.K.___

Now we would like to talk about views on jobs, wages, prices, taxes and the like.

17. Do you discuss these issues with your close immediate relatives?
    YES___NO___ Specify_____

18. If yes to 17, do all of your close relatives (older, middle-aged and young) participate in such discussions? YES___NO___
    Specify_____

19. If yes to 17, do your close relatives (both male and female) participate in these discussions? YES___NO___ Specify_____

20. If yes to 17, do your close relatives influence your opinion concerning such issues? YES___NO___ Specify_____

21. If yes to 20, would you say that the views on such issues of your older close relatives influence your opinion more than those of your middle-aged close relatives? YES___NO___ Specify_____

22. If yes to 20, would you say that the views on such issues of your middle-aged close relatives influence your opinion more than those of your younger close relatives? YES___NO___ Specify_____

23. If yes to 20, would you say that the views on such issues of your male close relatives influence your opinion more than those of your female close relatives? YES___NO___D.K.___ Specify_____

24. Could you think of three close relatives who influence your opinion on such issues.  Please specify:

    older male_____        middle-aged female_____
    older female_____        young male_____
    middle-aged male_____        young female_____

25. If no to 20, does each one of your close immediate relatives decide for himself concerning these issues? YES___NO___D.K.___

    Now we would like to talk about religious views, like appointing a minister, building a new church, or joining a different denomination, and the like.

26. Do you discuss these issues with your close immediate relatives?
    YES___NO___ Specify_____

27. If yes to 26, do all of your close relatives (old, middle-aged and young) participate in these discussions? YES___NO___ Specify_____

28. If yes to 26, do your close relatives (male and female) participate in these discussions? YES___NO___ Specify_____

29. If yes to 26, do your close relatives influence your opinion concerning these issues? YES___NO___D.K.___ Specify_____

30. If yes to 29, would you say that the religious views of your older close relatives influence your opinion more than those of your middle-aged close relatives? YES___NO___D.K.___

31. If yes to 29, would you say that the religious views of your middle-aged close relatives influence your opinion more than those of your younger close relatives? YES___NO___D.K.___

32. If yes to 29, would you say that the religious views of your male close relatives influence your opinion more than those of your female close relatives? YES___NO___D.K.___

33. Could you think of three close relatives who influence your opinion concerning such issues? Please specify.

    older males_____    middle-aged females_____
    older females_____    young males_____
    middle-aged males_____    young females_____

34. If no to 29, does each one of your close immediate relatives decide for himself concerning these issues? YES___NO___D.K.___

NOW THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS DESCRIBE YOUR OPINION REGARDING THE RELA-TIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERSONS WHO ARE OLDER, THE SAME AGE, OR YOUNGER THAN YOURSELF. ALSO WE ARE INTERESTED IN KNOWING THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MALES AND FEMALES. LET US TALK ABOUT THESE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERSONS WHO ARE NOT RELATED TO YOU: PERSONS WHO LIVE IN YOUR COMMUNITY. HOW STRONGLY DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING:

1. I think that older people in general should be shown more respect than younger people.
STRONGLY AGREE___AGREE___DISAGREE___STRONGLY DISAGREE___

2. Respect and obedience for older people are the most important virtues children should learn.
STRONGLY AGREE___AGREE___DISAGREE___STRONGLY DISAGREE___

3. I think that males generally should be shown more respect than females.
STRONGLY AGREE___AGREE___DISAGREE___STRONGLY DISAGREE___

4. Respect and obedience for males are the most important virtues children should learn.
STRONGLY AGREE___AGREE___DISAGREE___STRONGLY DISAGREE

5. Do you discuss elections with other people in your community?
YES___NO___

6. If yes to 5, do all people (old, middle-aged and young) in your community participate in these discussions? YES___NO___
Specify_____

7. If yes to 5, do both males and females from your community participate in these discussions? YES___NO___ Specify_____

8. If yes to 5, do the people from your community usually influence your opinion concerning elections? YES___NO___D.K.___
Specify_____

9. If yes to 8, would you say that the views on elections of older people in the community influence your opinion more than those of middle-aged people? YES___NO___D.K.___

10. If yes to 8, would you say that the views on elections of middle-aged people in the community influence your opinion more than those of the young people? YES___NO___D.K.___

11. If yes to 8, would you say that the views on elections of males in the community influence your opinion more than those of females? YES___NO___D.K.___

12. Who would you say makes decisions on political issues (e.g., elections) among the members of your community?

    older males_____          middle-aged females_____
    older females_____          young males_____
    middle-aged males_____          young females_____

13. If no to 8, does each one in your community decide for himself concerning elections? YES___NO___D.K.___

    Now we would like to talk about views on jobs, wages, prices, taxes and the like.

14. Do you discuss these issues with other people in your community?
YES___NO___

15. If yes to 14, do all people (old, middle-aged and young) in your community participate in these discussions? YES___NO___D.K.___
Specify_____

16. If yes to 14, do both males and females from your community usually participate in these discussions? YES___NO___ Specify_____

17. If yes to 14, do the people from your community usually influence your opinion concerning such issues? YES___NO___D.K.___

18. If yes to 17, would you say that the views of older people on such issues influence your opinion more than those of the middle-aged people? YES___NO___D.K.___

19. If yes to 17, would you say that the views of the middle-aged people on such issues influence your opinion more than those of the young people? YES___NO___D.K.___

20. If yes to 17, would you say that the views of males on such issues influence your opinion more than those of females?
YES___NO___D.K.___

21. Could you think of three persons who influence your opinion on such issues? Please specify.

older males_____     middle-aged females_____
older females_____     young males_____
middle-aged males_____     young females_____

22. If no to 17, does each one in your community decide for himself concerning such issues? YES___NO___D.K.___

Now we would like to talk about religious views, like appointing a minister, building a new church, or joining a different denomination, and the like.

23. Do you discuss these issues with other people in your community?
YES___NO___

24. If yes to 23, do all people (old, middle-aged and young) participate in these discussions? YES___NO___ Specify_____

25. Do both males and females from your community participate in these discussions? YES___NO___ Specify_____

26. If yes to 23, do the people from your community usually influence your opinion concerning such issues? YES___NO___D.K.___

27. If yes to 26, would you say that the religious views on such issues of the older people influence your opinion more than those of the middle-aged people? YES___NO___D.K.___

28. If yes to 26, would you say that the religious views of such issues of the middle-aged people influence your opinion more than those of the young people? YES___NO___D.K.___

29. If yes to 26, would you say that the religious views on such issues of the males influence your opinion more than those of the females?
YES___NO___D.K.___

30. Could you think of three persons who influence your opinion on such issues? Please specify.

older males_____     middle-aged females_____
older females_____     young males_____
middle-aged males_____     young females_____

31. If no to 26, does each one in your community decide for himself concerning such issues? YES___NO___D.K.___

ABOUT HOW MANY TIMES DO YOU
VISIT_____ CALL BY PHONE_____

| LIVING RELATIVES | | Number and Place of residence | | | | WEEKLY | | | | MONTHLY | | | | YEARLY | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | Same Com. | Same Co. | Same St. | Out St. | Once | Twice | Many | Never | Once | Twice | Many | Never | Once | Twice | Many | Never |
| 1. Sons | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Daughters | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Brothers | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Sisters | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. Uncles Mothers side | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. Aunts Mothers side | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Uncles Fathers side | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8. Aunts Fathers side | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

ABOUT HOW MANY TIMES DO YOU
VISIT_____ CALL BY PHONE_____

| LIVING RELATIVES | Number and Place of residence | | | | | WEEKLY | | | | MONTHLY | | | | YEARLY | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | Same Com. | Same Co. | Same St. | Out St. | | Once | Twice | Many | Never | Once | Twice | Many | Never | Once | Twice | Many | Never |
| 9. Grandad Fathers side | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10. Grandad Mothers side | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11. Grandma Fathers side | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12. Grandma Mothers side | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

ABOUT HOW MANY TIMES DO YOU
VISIT_____ CALL BY PHONE_____

| LIVING RELATIVES | | Number and Place of residence | | | | WEEKLY 1 2 3 4 | | | | MONTHLY 1 2 3 4 | | | | YEARLY 1 2 3 4 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Same Com. | Same Co. | Same St. | Out St. | Once | Twice | Many | Never | Once | Twice | Many | Never | Once | Twice | Many | Never |
| 1. Sons | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Daughters | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Brothers | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. Sisters | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. Uncles Mothers side | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. Aunts Mothers side | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Uncles Fathers side | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8. Aunts Fathers side | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

ABOUT HOW MANY TIMES DO YOU
VISIT_____ CALL BY PHONE_____

| LIVING RELATIVES | Number and Place of residence | | | | WEEKLY | | | | MONTHLY | | | | YEARLY | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | Same Com. | Same Co. | Same St. | Out St. | Once | Twice | Many | Never | Once | Twice | Many | Never | Once | Twice | Many | Never |
| 9. Grandad Fathers side | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10. Grandad Mothers side | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11. Grandma Fathers side | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12. Grandma Mothers side | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

SECOND: KINSHIP RELATIONSHIPS

1. I think that individuals who have many close relatives in my community should be shown more respect than those who have few relatives.
STRONGLY AGREE___AGREE___DISAGREE___STRONGLY DISAGREE___

2. Would you say that individuals who have many close relatives in your community generally influence your opinion concerning elections more than those who have few relatives? YES___NO___D.K.___

3. Would you say that people in your community generally follow their (those having many close relatives) opinion more than those who have few relatives? YES___NO___D.K.___ Specify_____

4. Would you say that individuals who have many close relatives in your community generally influence your opinion concerning jobs, wages, prices, taxes, and the like more than those who have few relatives?
YES___NO___D.K.___

5. Would you say that people in your community generally follow their (those having many close relatives) opinions more than those who have few relatives? YES___NO___D.K.___ Specify_____

6. Would you say that individuals who have many close relatives in your community generally influence your opinion concerning appointing a minister, building a new church, or joining a different denomination more than those who have fewer relatives?
YES___NO___D.K.___

7. Would you say that people in your community generally follow their (those having many close relatives) opinions more than those who have few relatives? YES___NO___D.K.___ Specify_____

D-1-1-ACHIEVED STATUS POSITIONS

1. I think that individuals who have a good education, a good job, and a high income should be shown more respect than those who have a lower education, a lower income and a poorer job.
STRONGLY AGREE___AGREE___DISAGREE___STRONGLY DISAGREE___

2. Would you say that individuals in your community who have a good education, a good job, and a high income generally influence your opinion concerning elections more than those who have a lower education, a poorer job and a lower income? YES___NO___D.K.___

3. Would you say that people in your community generally follow their (those having good jobs, etc.) opinions more than those who have a lower education, a poorer job and a lower income? YES__NO__D.K.__
Please specify_____

4. Would you say that individuals in your community who have a good education, a good job, and a high income generally influence your opinion concerning jobs, wages, prices, taxes, and the like more than those who have a lower education, poorer job, and a lower income? YES___NO___D.K.___

5. Would you say that people in your community generally follow their (those having a good job, etc.) opinions more than those who have a lower education, a poorer job, and a lower income? YES__NO__D.K.__

6. Would you say that individuals in your community who have a higher education, a good job and a high income generally influence your opinion concerning religious issues (e.g., appointing a minister, building a new church, or joining a different denomination) more than those who have a lower education, lower incomes, and poorer jobs? YES___NO___D.K.___

7. Would you say that people in your community generally follow their (those having good jobs, etc.) opinions more than those who have a lower education, a poorer job, and earn a lower income? YES___NO___D.K.___

8. Are you a member of any organization in your community? YES___NO___

9. If yes to 8, what organizations in your community are you a member of?_____

10. Are you a member of any organization OUTSIDE your community? YES___NO___

11. If yes to 10, what organizations outside your community are you a member of?_____

a) Distribution of parents in the three community types, by membership in varying organizations in the local community

| Type of Organization | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Religious only | (16) | 100 | (3) | 19 | (3) | 19 |
| Both religious and non-religious | (0) | 0 | (13) | 81 | (13) | 81 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$$x^2 = 28.36 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P = .001$$

b) Distribution of parents in the three community types, by membership in varying organizations in the local community

| Type of Organization | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Religious | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (1) | 6 |
| Farming | (2) | 12 | (4) | 25 | (0) | 0 |
| Non-religious and non-farming | (0) | 0 | (5) | 31 | (4) | 25 |
| None | (14) | 88 | (7) | 44 | (11) | 69 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

APPENDIX C

Distribution of youth and parents in the three community types, by having friends residing outside the local community

| | Youth and Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Have friends | (22) | 69 | (27) | 84 | (28) | 88 |
| Does not have friends | (10) | 31 | (5) | 16 | (4) | 12 |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

$x^2 = 4.07$ $df = 2$ $P > = .05$

APPENDIX D

a) Distribution of youth, parents, and parents' parents* in the folk-rural
   community, by the desired length of formal education for boys

|  | Youth, Parents, and Grandparents by Generational Level | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Youth | | Parents | | Grandparents | | Total | |
|  | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Below high school | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (8) | 100 | (8) | 25 |
| High school only | (8) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (0) | 0 | (24) | 75 |
| College | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 |
| Beyond college | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 |
| Total | (8) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (8) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

b) Distribution of youth, parents, and parents' parents* in the folk-rural
   community, by the desired length of formal education for girls

|  | Youth, Parents, and Grandparents by Generational Level | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Youth | | Parents | | Grandparents | | Total | |
|  | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No | % |
| Below high school | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (8) | 100 | (8) | 25 |
| High school only | (8) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (0) | 0 | (24) | 75 |
| College | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 |
| Beyond college | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 |
| Total | (8) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (8) | 100 | (32) | 100 |

*Responses obtained from parents

c) Distribution of youth, parents, and parents' parents* in the rural community, by the desired length of formal éducation for boys

| | Youth, Parents, and Grandparents by Generational Level | | | | | | | |
| | Youth | | Parents | | Grandparents | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Below high school | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (5) | 63 | (5) | 14 |
| High school only | (1) | 8 | (0) | 0 | (2) | 25 | (3) | 8 |
| College | (11) | 92 | (13) | 81 | (0) | 0 | (24) | 67 |
| Beyond college | (0) | 0 | (3) | 19 | (1) | 12 | (4) | 11 |
| Total | (12) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (8) | 100 | (36) | 100 |

d) Distribution of youth, parents, and parents' parents* in the rural community, by the desired length of formal education for girls

| | Youth, Parents, and Grandparents by Generational Level | | | | | | | |
| | Youth | | Parents | | Grandparents | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Below high school | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (5) | 63 | (5) | 18 |
| High school only | (2) | 50 | (1) | 6 | (0) | 0 | (3) | 11 |
| College | (2) | 50 | (14) | 88 | (3) | 37 | (19) | 68 |
| Beyond college | (0) | 0 | (1) | 6 | (0) | 0 | (1) | 3 |
| Total | (4) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (8) | 100 | (28) | 100 |

*Responses obtained from parents.

e) Distribution of youth, parents, and parents' parents* in the urban
community, by the desired length of formal education for boys

| | Youth, Parents, and Grandparents by Generational Level | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Youth | | Parents | | Grandparents | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Below high school | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (4) | 50 | (4) | 12 |
| High school only | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (1) | 12 | (1) | 3 |
| College | (7) | 78 | (12) | 75 | (3) | 38 | (22) | 67 |
| Beyond college | (2) | 22 | (4) | 25 | (0) | 0 | (6) | 18 |
| Total | (9) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (8) | 100 | (33) | 100 |

f) Distribution of youth, parents, and parents' parents* in the urban
community, by the desired length of formal education for girls

| | Youth, Parents, and Grandparents by Generational Level | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Youth | | Parents | | Grandparents | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Below high school | (0) | 0 | (0) | 0 | (3) | 37 | (3) | 10 |
| High school only | (1) | 14 | (0) | 0 | (3) | 37 | (4) | 13 |
| College | (5) | 72 | (15) | 94 | (2) | 26 | (22) | 71 |
| Beyond college | (1) | 14 | (1) | 6 | (0) | 0 | (2) | 6 |
| Total | (7) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (8) | 100 | (31) | 100 |

*Responses obtained from parents

a) Distribution of fathers* in the three community types, by perception
   of their parents value orientation to occupational involvement

|  | Fathers, by Community Type | | | | | |
|  | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
|  | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Fathers** | | | | | | |
| Same occupation as father | (8) | 50 | (7) | 44 | (3) | 19 |
| Different occupation from father | (0) | 0 | (1) | 6 | (5) | 31 |
| **Mothers** | | | | | | |
| Same occupation as father | (8) | 50 | (6) | 37 | (3) | 19 |
| Different occupation from father | (0) | 0 | (2) | 13 | (5) | 31 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$$X^2 = 16.67 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P = .001$$

*Responses of fathers and mothers were combined for computation of
chi square test; No. from each community type is 8.

b) Distribution of fathers and mothers* in the three community types, by value orientations to occupational involvement for boys

|  | Fathers, by Community Type | | | | | |
|  | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
|  | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Fathers | | | | | | |
| Same occupation as father | (7) | 44 | (1) | 6 | (1) | 6 |
| Different occupation from father | (1) | 6 | (7) | 44 | (7) | 44 |
| Mothers | | | | | | |
| Same occupation as father | (8) | 50 | (1) | 6 | (1) | 6 |
| Different occupation from father | (0) | 0 | (7) | 44 | (7) | 44 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

$x^2 = 29.45$       df = 2       P = .001

*Responses obtained from fathers; responses of fathers and mothers were combined for computation of chi square test; No. from each community type is 8.

c) Distribution of boys* in the three community types, by perception of
their parents value orientation to occupational involvement

| | Youth, by Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Same occupation as father | (6) | 38 | (3) | 12 | (3) | 17 |
| Different occupation as father | (2) | 12 | (9) | 38 | (6) | 33 |
| Same occupation as father | (6) | 38 | (3) | 12 | (3) | 17 |
| Different occupation from father | (2) | 12 | (9) | 38 | (6) | 33 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (24) | 100 | (18) | 100 |

$X^2 = 10.58$ $\qquad$ df = 2 $\qquad$ P = .01

*Responses of fathers and mothers were combined for computation of
chi square test; No. = 8, 12, 9 from the Folk-rural, Rural, and
Urban communities respectively.

APPENDIX F

a) Distribution of mothers' mothers* in the three community types, by
      value orientations to preferred roles for girls

| | Mothers, by Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Housewives only | (6) | 75 | (2) | 25 | (2) | 25 |
| May have different occupations | (2) | 25 | (6) | 75 | (6) | 75 |
| Total | (8) | 100 | (8) | 100 | (8) | 100 |

*Responses obtained from mothers regarding perception of their
mothers' value orientations; No. from each community is 8.

b) Distribution of fathers and mothers* in the three community types,
      by value orientations to preferred roles for girls

| | Mothers, by Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Fathers** | | | | | | |
| Housewives only | (7) | 44 | (1) | 6 | (3) | 19 |
| May have different occupations | (1) | 6 | (7) | 44 | (5) | 31 |
| **Mothers** | | | | | | |
| Housewives only | (7) | 44 | (1) | 6 | (3) | 19 |
| May have different occupations | (1) | 6 | (7) | 44 | (5) | 31 |
| Total | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 | (16) | 100 |

*Responses obtained from mothers regarding their own and their per-
ception of their husbands value orientations; No. from each community
is 8.

a) Distribution of parents* in the three community types, by whether or not they are influenced by opinions of relatives regarding political, economic, and religious issues

| | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Are influenced | (30) | 94 | (25) | 52 | (12) | 25 |
| Are not influenced | (2) | 6 | (23) | 48 | (36) | 75 |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (48) | 100 | (48) | 100 |

$x^2 = 36.39$ $\qquad$ df = 2 $\qquad$ P = .001

b) Distribution of parents* in the three community types, by whether or not they are influenced by opinions of members of the group regarding political, economic, and religious issues

| | Parents, by Community Type | | | | | |
| | Folk-rural | | Rural | | Urban | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Are influenced | (29) | 91 | (29) | 60 | (27) | 56 |
| Are not influenced | (3) | 9 | (19) | 40 | (21) | 44 |
| Total | (32) | 100 | (48) | 100 | (48) | 100 |

$x^2 = 11.41$ $\qquad$ df = 2 $\qquad$ P = .01

*Combined responses concerning influence of members of the group on informants' political, economic, and religious opinions. Mennonites do not participate in elections, therefore their responses regarding political issues are not included. No. = 16 from each community.