# Achievement Value-Orientation and Alienation: A Comparative Study Between Puerto Rican and Foreign-Born Mexican Migrants and a White, Native-Born Population in One Community in Chicago 

James Lorente<br>Loyola University Chicago

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses
Part of the Sociology Commons

## Recommended Citation

Lorente, James, "Achievement Value-Orientation and Alienation: A Comparative Study Between Puerto Rican and Foreign-Born Mexican Migrants and a White, Native-Born Population in One Community in Chicago" (1966). Master's Theses. 2159.
https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/2159


#### Abstract

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.


## 

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License. Copyright © 1966 James Lorente

ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION AND ALIENATION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN PUERTO RICAN AND FOREIGN-BORN MEXICAN MIGRANTS AND A WHITE, NATIVE-BORN POPULATION IN ONE COMMUNITY

IN CHICAGO
by
James Lorente, S.J.

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

June
1966

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Robert E. Lammers for his help in the development of this study and under whose guidance and encouragement this study was undertaken and completed; to Reverend Jerome Joerger, O.P., of Saint Pius Parish, for his kind cooperation in granting the writer access to the parish files; to Mr . Donald Tippmann, of the Urban Progress Center and Mr. Lester Hunt, of the Bishops' Committee for the Spanish-Speaking, for their help and orientation in locating the Spanishspeaking groups for this study; to my fellow-Jesuit Louis E. Busemeyer, S.J. for his most helpful assistance in the computation of data; and finally to my Spanish-speaking fellowJesuits Luis M. Uriarte, Emilio V. Castañeda, Santiago de la Fuente, Nicolás Zalba, Teodoro Sanz del Río, Juan M. de Posadas and Iván Restrepo for their cooperation in the process of interviewing the Spanish-speaking samples of this study.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Page

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ii
LIST OF TABLES . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . vi
INTRODUCTION . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1

Chapter
I. RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

Cultural Values of Mexico and Puerto Rico
Cultural Values of the Continental United States
Cultural Integration
Achievement Value-Orientation of the SpanishSpeaking Migrants
Alienation of the Migrant
II. THEORETICAL FRANEWORK . . . . . . . . . . . . . 32

Theory
Operational Definition of Terms
Hypotheses
III. RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE . . . . . . . 42

Community Studied
Sample of the Study
Interview Schedule
Interviews
Achievement Value-Orientation Scale
Alienation Scale
Socio-Economic Status Scale
Cultural Integration Scale
Controls
Limitations of the Interview Schedule, Interviews and Sampling Procedure
IV. FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA ..... 53

The Relationship Between Ethnicity and Achievement Value-Orientation
The Relationship Between Ethnicity and Socio-Economic Status
The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Achievement Value-Orientation Achievement Value-Orientation and Controls The Relationship Between Alienation and Ethnicity, Socio-Economic Status, and Achievement Value-Orientation
The Relationship Between Cultural Integration and Achievement Value-Orientation, SocioEconomic Status, and Alienation
V. CONCLUSIONS ..... 96

Hypotheses Supported or Not Supported Relevance to Theory Suggestions for Further Research
APPENDICES . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . -

## LIST OF TABLES

## Table

> Page

1. A Comparison of the American Control Sample
and the Spanish-Speaking Sample on Achievement
Value-Orientation
2. A Comparison of the American Control Sample and the Puerto Rican Sample on Achievement ValueOrientation
3. A Comparison of the American Control Sample and the Mexican Sample on Achievement Value- Orientation ..... 56
4. A Comparison of the Mexican Sample and the Puerto Rican Sample on Achievement Value-Orientation . ..... 57
5. A Comparison of the American Control Sample and the Spanish-Speaking Sample on Socio-Economic Status ..... 58
6. A Comparison of the American Control Sample and the Puerto Rican sample on Socio-Economic Status ..... 59
7. A Comparison of the American Control Sample and the Mexican Sample on Socio-Economic Status . . ..... 60
8. A Comparison of the Mexican Sample and the Puerto Rican Sample on Socio-Economic Status ..... 61
9. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Statusand Achievement Value-Orientation for theTotal Sample Population62
10. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Achievement Value-Orientation for the American Control Sample ..... 64
11. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Achievement Value-Orientation for the Spanish-Speaking Sample ..... 64
12. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Achievement Value-Orientation for the Puerto Rican Sample
13. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Achievement Value-Orientation for the Mexican Sample
14. A Comparison of the Puerto Rican Sample and the Mexican Sample on Achievement Value-Orientation when Socio-Economic Status is Controlled.
15. A Comparison of the Mexican Sample and the Puerto Rican Sample on Achievement ValueOrientation when Age is Controlled
16. A Comparison of the Mexican Sample and the Puerto Rican Sample on Achievement Value-Orientation when Time Lived in the Continental United States is Controlled
17. A Comparison of the Mexican Sample and the Puerto Rican Sample on Achievement ValueOrientation when Urban-Rural Origin is Controlled
18. A Comparison of the Mexican Sample and the Puerto Rican Sample on Achievement ValueOrientation when Income of the Household Head is Controlled
19. A Comparison of the Mexican Sample and the Puerto Rican Sample on Achievement ValueOrientation when Self-Judged Religiosity is Controlled
20. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Achievement Value-Orientation for the Miexican Sample when Age is Controlled . . . . 76
21. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Achievement Value-Orientation for the Mexican Sample when Time Lived in the Continental United States is Controlled
22. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Achievement Value-Orientation for the Mexican Sample when Urban-Rural Origin is Controlled
23. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Achievement Value-Orientation for the Mexican Sample when Income of the Household Head is Controlled
24. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Achievement Value-Orientation for the Mexican Sample when Self-Judged Religiosity is Controlled
25. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status
and Achievement Value-Orientation for the
American Control Sample when Age is Controlled.
26. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Achievement Value-Orientation for the American Control Sample when Income of the Household Head is Controlled . . . . . . . .
27. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status
and Achievement Value-Orientation for the
American Control Sample when Self-Judged
Religiosity is Controlled . . . . . . . . . 84
28. A Comparison of the American Control Sample and
the Spanish-Speaking Sample on Alienation . . 86
29. A Comparison of the Miexican Sample and the Puerto Rican Sample on Alienation . . . . . . 87
30. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Alienation for the Total Sample Population . . . . . . . . . . . .88
31. The Relationship Between Alienation and Achievement Value-Orientation for the Total Sample Population . . . . . . . . . . . . . 89
32. The Relationship Between Alienation and Achievement Value-Orientation for the Puerto Rican Sample
33. The Relationship Between Alienation and Achievement Value-Orientation for the American Control Sample
34. The Relationship Between Alienation and Achievement Value-Orientation for the Mexican Sample
35. The Relationship Between Cultural Integration and Socio-Economic Status for the SpanishSpeaking Sample
36. The Relationship Between Cultural Integration and Achievement Value-Orientation for the Spanish-Speaking Sample . . . . . . . . . . 94
37. The Relationship Between Cultural Integration and Alienation for the Spanish-Speaking Sample. 95

## INTRODUCTION

The present thesis is a sociological study of migrant problems. The general topic, as a whole, is of special interest for sociologists and much has been written on it.

The writer has, so to speak, a vested interest in the Spanish-speaking migrants. Perhaps due to the fact that his native tongue is Spanish, the writer has developed a keen interest in the migrant groups studied in this thesis--Mexican and Puerto Rican--growing out of the informal social work that he has done with them in the past few years. ${ }^{1}$

But most important, the topic of this thesis appears to be timely. The Federal Government of the United States is again opening the doors of this nation to peoples living abroad. Consequently, the former problems of immigrants' assimilation and acculturation to the American milieu will be encountered again, this time with the experience of the past. Furthermore, it is a time when civil rights legislation has been passed but

ITechnically, Puerto Ricans are not immigrants, for they are U.S. citizens. Many people called "Mexicans" are also citizens. They are "in-migrants" or simply "migrants." However, the present thesis deals only with Mexican nationals, and not Americans of Mexican descent. In conclusion: in this study, Puerto Rican and Mexican minorities consist of those households whose male head was born either in Mexico or in Puerto Rico and who sometime in his life migrated to the continental United States and established his place of residence in one community of Chicago which is under study.
still is subject to public debate. The success that present and future immigrants will achieve in their task greatly depends on the way they assume their civil rights while at the same time fulfilling their civil obligations in the new country.

From a different standpoint, the topic of this thesis, dealing with achievement value-orientation of the Spanishspeaking people, is timely if a still broader perspective is taken. The future of Latin America depends on the very present. The problem is complex. In oversimplified terms, it can be reduced to the question of whether the Latin American countries will finally join the more technologically advanced nations of the world--of whether the Spanish-speaking peoples of the American continent possess the cultural, organizational, and personality features that are necessary for such advancement, as advancement has been understood and experienced in the United States.

In Chicago the two major Spanish-speaking groups consist of the Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants. ${ }^{2}$ The recent "open door" policy by which Premier Castro has allowed many Cubans to exile themselves has undoubtedly affected Chicago. Yet the number of Cubans in this city is still too small and their
$2_{\text {According to the information given to the writer by the }}$ Cardinal's Committee for the Spanish-speaking of the Archidiocese of Chicago, there are 80,000 Puerto Ricans and 125,000 Mexicans and Mexican-Americans living in Chicago as of April, 1966.
residence too scatered to include them in the present study.
In concrete terms, the present thesis is an attempt to relate achievement value-orientation to other variables among a selected group of foreign-born Mexican and island-born Puerto Rican migrants in one community in the city of Chicago. The results will be contrasted with the findings of a group of white, American-born population, used as a control group.

According to a widespread stereotype as well as some scientific works, the Spanish-speaking minorities in the United States do not achieve as much as the average American does. Studies have been conducted in which the achievement and aspiration level have been related to other variables, such as socio-economic status (or actual achievement) and ethnic background. Still other studies have pointed out that lack of access to actual achievement and achievement value-orientation is found among groups in which lack of cultural integration and alienation are present. ${ }^{3}$

Cultural integration is understood in the present study as the preferences for institutional participation of the migrant in the dominant culture of the continental United States, or in the ethnic subculture, or in both.

Hopefully, this "middle range" study, with its limited perspective, will permit some generalization to broader principles of social interaction or general theory.

[^0]
## CHAPTER I

## RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

It is necessary, first of all, to explain the concept of culture as it is used in the present thesis. Kluckhohn and Kelly give the following definition of culture: "historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men. ${ }^{1}$

These created designs are maintained by means of the socially provided institutions. It is argued that society, in order to carry out its major pursuit of self-maintenance and self-perpetuation, provides its members with clusters of stable and enduring patterns of action organized according to needs. These clusters are the social institutions--familial, economic, educational, political, religious, and recreational.

Since both migrant groups under study in the present thesis--the Mexican and the Puerto Rican--live in the midst of two cultures--the dominant culture of the continental United States and their own ethnic culture--it is necessary to contrast, very superficially, the relevant culturally institutionalized
${ }^{l^{C l y d e}}$ Kluckhohn and William Kelly, "The Concept of Culture, " in Ralph Linton (ed.) The Science of Man in the World Crisis (New Iork: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 97.
values of the continental United States.
The use of Kluckhohn and Kelly's definition of culture in this thesis means focusing on the attitudes of the migrant groups under study toward the social institutions of the dominant culture of the continental United States and/or the respective ethnic subculture. It should be emphasized that the present thesis does not attempt to deal with the levels of participation in these social institutions. Rather an attempt is made to unravel the attitudes toward participation in the social institutions of either or both sultures, which would indicate anticipatory participation patterns.

In regard to the analysis of the cultural values of the migrant groups under study, an effort will be made to treat each ethnic group separately, since the writer has observed much prevailing confusion due to the fact that both ethnic groups, Mexican and Puerto Rican, speak Spanish. This stereotype cannot be farther from the truth. Their language is very similar, although by no means is the same in idiomatic expressions, intonation and pronunciation. Similarity in language, however, does not account for other similarities. ${ }^{2}$

Mexico differs from some Latin American countries in that the majority of its population speak Spanish, including the

2 The writer still has not seen, for example, British and Australians being dealt with under the same labels because both speak English!
people in the rural areas. Only a few, scattered, primitive groups maintain their centuries-old dialects? Puerto Rico, being much smaller, has a still greater unity of language. The influence of the continental United States on language used is evidenced only by the establishment of English as a discipline to be studied in school. ${ }^{4}$

Language, together with physical traits, is perhaps the most "visible" characteristic of any minority ethnic group, rather easily perceived by the majority population. 5

Although being a most visible characteristic, language is by no means the least superficial. ${ }^{6}$ It has been noted that migrant groups name themselves by language rather than by place of origin. This is clearly the case among the Spanish-speaking

3Encyclopedia Americana (New York: The Americana Co., 1954), Vol. XVIII, p. 750.

4 Peter I. Rose. They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States (New York: Random House, 1963), pp. 43-45. See also Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. XXII, p. 791.
${ }^{5}$ Rose, pp. 43-45. Ethnicity in this thesis refers to cultural identification; differences in racial, physical traits are not accounted for.
${ }^{6}$ Language allows the individual to participate symbolically in the life of the group, and thereby acquire the meanings and goals that are central to its life. Without knowledge of the language, the individual remains definitely outside the meaningful existence of the adopted society. Its standards have no significance, its goals have no relevance, and its values have no importance for the individual if he cannot communicate with other members of the group." Francis E. Merrill and Handford W. Eldredge. Culture and Society (New York: PrenticeHall, 1952), p. 509.
groups of this study. They often refer themselves, both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, as "hispanos" or "latinos." But this phenomenon occurs only in the continental United States, and not in their island or country of origin. 7

The writer has observed that Mexicans living in rural areas of the United States maintain, as would be expected, the Spanish language more than those living in urban settings. In the latter, children speak English more fluently with increased outside contacts: school, peer groups, etc. This fact creates serious strains in the family relationships, since parents, mainly the mother, can no longer communicate so confidently with their offspring. ${ }^{8}$

It is estimated that forty to fifty per cent of the Puerto Ricans know English upon arrival to the continental United States. English has been for many a compulsory subject in gramman and high schools during their residence on the island. ${ }^{9}$

Regarding the family patterns of both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans the following observations are to be made. As a whole, the Spanish-speaking family tends to be an extended one, definitely patriarchal, and the main carrier of socialization. 10

7Sister Mary Frances J. Woods, Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups (New York: Harper, 1956), p. 51.
$8_{\text {George E. Simpson }}$ and Milton J. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities (New York: Harper, 1958), p. 357.

9Rose, p. 45.
10 Sister Mary Immaculate, "Mexican Cultural Patterns," in

The English-speaking observer often rejoices at the discovery of the "compadre" institutions, which basically consists of the godparents selected by the parents for their children on the occasion of Baptism and First Communion. The "compadre" enjoys an intimate relationship with the family of the assigned child and often assists the child in case of death or inability of the parent. 11

In the country to which they have migrated--or the mainland to which they have come-namely, the continental United States, endogamy is almost universally practiced. Mexicans marry Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans marry Puerto Ricans. In some isolated instances a Mexican or Puerto Rican male might marry a girl outside the Ahnic group, but very seldom does a Mexican or Puerto Rican girl marry a man that does not belong to her ethnic group. Both Mexican and Puerto Rican parents-as was observed by the writer--show no objection to having their children marry outside the ethnic group, but all would prefer that their children not do so. 12

As for educational cultural values, it should be noted that there is as much variation as there are social classes.

Institute of Cultural Patterns of Newcomers (Chicago: Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 1964), pp. 42-46. Joseph Monserrat, "Cultural Values and the Puerto Rican, " ibid., pp. 64-65.
$11_{\text {Simpson }}$ and Yinger, p. 356.
12 Ibid.

Both Mexico and Puerto Rico enjoy centers of study whose origin goes back several centuries. This influence, however, is not fully felt in the rural areas, or in the poorer sections of the cities. Puerto Rico has perhaps advanced more than Mexico: its geographical barriers far less insurmountable; its population more concentrated, aid from the continental United States--all have played a role in educational advancement. 13

Mexican parents very often need to be coerced, at least in the rural areas, to send their children to school. As a rule, however, education is deemed to be more necessary for a boy than it is for a girl. Most boys look forward to the time when they will not have to go to school. 14

Education is and has been of crucial importance for all the irmigrants to the United States. "Those [early immigrants] who accepted the public school not only acquired valuable skills from it but also values which stressed the importance of the climb upward. ${ }^{15}$ Thus education is one of the cultural elements that plays a decisive role in acculturation and assimilation. Attitudes toward education evolve as time lived in the United States increases. Appraisal of the American school system and

13 Oscar Handlin, The Newcomers (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday and Co., 1962), p. 27. See also Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday and Co., 1963), pp. 84-85, 90-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& 14_{\text {Woods, p. }} 138 . \\
& 15 \text { Handlin, p. } 118 .
\end{aligned}
$$

the necessity of schooling to better one's lot in life were often heard by the writer from Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants.

McDonagh and Richards offer several reasons for the poor school achievement and attendance of the Mexicans in the United States: frequent shifting back and forth to Mexico, high physical mobility, poor medical care and illness, low wages that force the entire family to work and, finally, a somewhat futile attitude toward school. 16

There is some basis to indicate that this state of affairs is changing. ${ }^{17}$

The Puerto Ricans would prefer to see their offspring well educated, according to the testimony of Glazer and Moynihan. But school is often a frustrating experience, mainly on account of the shift to the new language. There are poor attendance, high and early drop-out rates. On the other hand, there is a
$16_{\text {Edward McDonagh and Eugene S. Richards, Ethnic Relations }}$ in the United States (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953), reprinted in Milton L. Barron (ed.) American Minorities (New York: Knopf, 1957), p. 330.

17nIn recent years, however, many changes have taken place which together are resulting in the improvement of the level of Spanish-speaking [Mexican] people. Urbanization is bringing more of them where educational facilites are accesible, educational achievement suitably rewarded, and there is less expectation that the child of school age will work to hel maintain the family . . The rise in economic status has been accompaned by a general change in attitude toward education." Lyle Saunders, Cultural Differences and Medical Care, The Case of the Spanishspeaking People in the Southwest (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), p. 67.
sizable Puerto Rican leadership composed of educated persons concerned with raising the levels of education among fellowPuerto Ricans. In New York, for example, and organization, "Aspira," has been established which works with parents and students alike, attempting to take all possible advantage of educational opportunities. ${ }^{18}$

Political participation, at least in its ultimate expression of voting, is greatly related to educational level. In Mexico the voting activity is restricted mainly to the literate urban population. In Puerto Rico, as education expands, so does the active involvement of the people in political affairs. 19

Differences are to be noted concerning political activity between the two Spanish-speaking groups when considered as newcomers to the continental United States. Most Mexicans cannot vote, since the majority of them are not citizens of the United States. Puerto Ricans, on the contrary, are citizens of this country by birth. Hypothetically, therefore, all of eligible age could vote. In practice, however, only about thirty per cent are eligible to vote. They are eliminated mainly by literacy tests and language tests. Of that thirty per cent who are eligible, registration and voting rates are generally low in the

18 Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1964), pp. 127-29.

19simpson and Yinger, pp. 316-17. Lipset, pp. 84-85; 90-91.
continental United States. 20
Roman Catholicism is the official religion in both Mexico and Puerto Rico. However, the recurrent religious practices are not widespread in either country. 21

In the continental United States one out of thirty Mexicans is Protestant, compared to one out of two hundred in Mexico. Estimations about this proportion on the part of the Puerto Ricans could not be ascertained on a national basis. In New York, however, about five per cent of the Puerto Ricans belong either to a major Protestant denomination or, more frequently, to a store-front Pentecostal sect. 22

Glazer and Moynihan see in religious and racial identification the focus of the restructuring of ethnic loyalties. "Religion and race seem to define the major groups into which American society is evolving as the specifically national aspect of ethnicity declines. ${ }^{23}$

Among many immigrant groups, religion has been a factor
$20_{\text {Simpson }}$ and Yinger, pp. 316-17.
$21_{\text {The }}$ writer prefers to leave this point as it is. It is his contention that in few other areas is there so much confusion as in the attempt to evaluate the religiosity of the Latin American people. A discussion of this topic would take the problem too far afield.
$22_{\text {Simpson }}$ and Yinger, p. 407.
23 Glazer and Moynihan, p. 314.
keeping the foreign language alive among the native-born. 24 This hardly has been the case for the Catholic immigrants since the official ceremonies have unfortunately been, and to a great extent still are, in Latin. Since the changes of language in religious services have been introduced but a year ago (at the time of writing this thesis), it is hard to evaluate the new impact of religion upon the Spanish-speaking minorities of this study.

The recreational institutions of both Spanish-speaking groups are intimately connected with social and familial activities. The fiesta is the outstanding example of recreation and may be considered one of the highest expressions of community life. Clubs and formal organizations are practically unknown in the rural areas, since the community plays the role of formal organization. This pattern is maintained in the continental Unites States. ${ }^{25}$

In the continental United States, in addition to this familial pattern applicable to both Spanish-speaking groups, there are new technical facilities available to them for recreational purposes. Television is the main one. 26

24Woods, p. 51.
${ }^{25}$ Sister Mary Immaculate, pp. 46-48.
26 There was no Mexican or Puerto Rican home visited by the writer which did not have a television set--and which did not have it "on." Many television sets possess the special UHF converter mainly with the purpose of reaching the Spanish-spoken programs broadcast by the two UHF stations in Chicago.

The continental United States and, for this thesis, the city of Chicago, has become the place of residence for the Spanish-speaking migrants. It is therefore necessary to study the migrant problem in the context of cultural value patterns of the continental United States. A qualification should be made at once, regarding the danger inherent in any sweeping generalization about general cultural patterns. This qualification should also apply to the Mexican and Puerto Rican values presented above: "It is risky to attribute a national character to any people. ${ }^{27}$ Yet for the purpose of this thesis it seems helpful to attempt "to grasp . . . the pattern and inner meaning of contemporary American civilization. ${ }^{28}$

Dynamism appears as a broad and most inclusive approach in the American tradition, which is concretely seen in the emphasis on practicality, prosperity and material well-being. The underlying motivation is the success system which, as a whole, stresses achievement and includes prestige, money, power and security. 29 "For the ordinary American the test of an idea is in the end product of action, and the proof that something is valid lies in its being effective." 30

27Max Lerner, America as a Civilization (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1959), p. 68.
${ }^{28}$ Ibid., p. xi.
${ }^{29}$ Ibid., pp. 47,68. 30 Ibid., p. 690.

Woods agrees that success is the primordial American value, but she gives it an economic interpretation. "The acquisition of material goods and the status attached thereto are measures of a man's accomplishment. ${ }^{31}$

With a socio-psychological approach, McClelland has attempted to present some reasons for economic growth, a characteristic fact of contemporary American culture. After testing some hypotheses on the basis of empirical research he concludes that the achievement motive is in part responsible for economic growth. ${ }^{32}$

Work, as a value, is intimately related to the success drive and ranks high in the estimation of the average American. "Making money appears to be the thing Americans do best, and it appears to be an interest as much for what it is as for what it brings. ${ }^{33}$

In his Detroit study, Lenski attempted to examine the relative importance of various work-related values. Nearly half of the respondents, regardless of religion, ranked first the value that work is important and gives a feeling of accomplishment; and two thirds of the respondents selected either the above alternative or the one that conceives of work as a

## $31_{\text {Woods, }}$ p. 94.

32 David C. MicClelland, The Achieving Society (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1961), chap. 2. See also his book Talent and Society (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1958).

33woods, p. 96.
chance for advancement. 34
Finally, education is increasingly becoming the sine qua non for upward mobility. Great sacrifices are expected of the high school graduates to acquire a college education. Eckland studied the interrelated effects of class origin, academic ability, and college graduation on occupational achievement. He found that although all three variables were associated with occupational achievement, graduation from college was the dominant factor. 35

Whether education is evaluated in terms of its own instrinsic value, or whether education is simply thought of as a channel for upward socio-economic advancement is hard to determine. "Americans receive many years of schooling, though the purpose for which they are being educated is often hazy. 36

To summarize, a brief sketch of the cultural values of the Mexican and Puerto Rican population and those of the American population has been presented. In doing so, the writer has not attempted to offer an exhaustive prospectus on culture. His intention has merely been the presentation of a few, perhaps overriding, cultural values, with the hope that they might serve

34Gerard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1963), pp. $89-90$.

35 Bruce K. Eckland, "Academic Ability, Higher Education and Occupational Mobility," American Sociological Review, XXX (October, 1965), 735-46.

36Woods, p. 344.
as a background as well as a contrast among the three different sample populations of the present study.

In concluding this section on culture a question of value judgment arises: Is the amalgamation of all groups a valid ideal, or should we strive to maintain as much diversity and cultural pluralism as possible? Pluralism--at least cultural and religious--is to the writer the obvious reality in the continental United States today and it is unlikely that this will be changed in the foreseeable future.

Fitzpatric seems to think that pluralism is the advisable avenue, at least during the acculturation period: "The perpetuation of their old [ethnic] culture is not a threat to American society. It is rather a basis of strength and security for them which will enable them to adapt themselves to American culture more steadily and peacefully. 37
C. Wright Mills, when analyzing the majority's reaction toward subcultural groups, offers a clue for the characteristic commitment of the newcomer to his ethnic subculture. A rather

37Joseph Fitzpatric, "Cultural Pluralism and Religious Identification, $\mathrm{n}^{\text {Social Analysis, XXV (Summer, 1964), 129-34. }}$ Allport goes still farther: "For those who wish to assimilate, there should be no artificial barriers placed in their way; for those who wish to maintain ethnic integrity, their efforts should be met with tolerance and appreciation... Democracy demands that the human personality in its course of development should be allowed to proceed without artificial forces or barricades ... In this way the nation will achieve, at least for a long time to come, a desirable 'unity in diversity.'" Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday and Co., 1958), p. 480.
clear-cut pattern is the poverty of the newcomers; hence they are forced into the least desirable section of the city. As a reaction they form ethnic enclaves in which the ethnic subculture is able to be maintained. "The new group huddles together for comfort in mutual misery, and then is accused of 'clannishness.1438

Thomas and Znaniecki, in their classic book The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, describe the role of commitment to the ethnic subculture. Despite the background of the Polish peasants and their lack of participation in the dominant culture of Poland before migrating to the United States, despite the hostile attitudes and conditions they often had to face in the New World, nevertheless they "have almost succeeded in uniting themselves into one cultural body and in creating institutions which are indubitably factors of progress."39 The Polish were thus able to achieve acculturation to American society by creating their own institutions.

In the present study culture has been understood as institutional designs for living and Mexican and Puerto Rican participation in a culture, either the dominant, or the ethnic, or both, is defined in terms of their attitudes toward partici-
${ }^{38} \mathrm{C}$. Wright Mills, Clarence Senior and Rose K. Goldsen, The Puerto Rican Journey, reprinted in Milton I. Barron, American Minorities (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1957), p. 335.

39william I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918T, p. 1825.
pation in the respective institutions. 40 In this light, the maintenance of ethnic identity would be manifested, on the part of the Spanish-speaking migrants, by the desire to maintain separate institutions with an implicit unfavorable attitude toward participation in the institutions of the dominant culture. 41 Under these circumstances, acculturation would be very difficult.

The desire to assimilate would be manifested by favorable attitudes toward the values and participation in institutions of the continental United States resulting, in general, in a loss of ethnic identity.

A third possibility of cultural integration, "unity in diversity," as it has been called by Allport, or acculturation without assimilation, would be manifested in the attitudes which harmonize major features of both the culture of the continental United States and the ehnic subculture. This course would seemingly result in the most facile and effective transition from newcomer status to full-fledged participation in the dominant culture.

This third possibility is by no means easy to achieve.
40 See pp. 4-5 for the explanation of the concept of culture. It must be emphasized that attitudes toward institutional participation may not predict eventual or even existing participation patterns. Actual participation, as a measure, however, would present difficulties for the use of the concept of cultural integration developed below.

41 The empirical indicators of the combinations of attitudes are explained later.

The United States is a country that has placed on a little island off its Eastern shore the symbolic Statue of Liberty. It is a country, furthermore, that has received between the years 1820 and 1961 40,298,109 immigrants from 26 different countries. 42 As a consequence, and contrary to the situation prevailing in most European countries, practically every American can talk about "his" ethnic origin.

Yet there is the paradox which many Americans have described regarding the attitude of their fellow countrymen toward the newcomers. Thomas and Znaniecki described the society of the New World as "usually indifferent, often contemptuous, sometimes even hostile. ${ }^{4} 43$ C. Wright Mills and the co-authors of The Puerto Rican Journey affirm that "always with each new wave there has been such a cry of antagonism against the newcomer. As a whole, American historians of older stock have taken a belligerant attitude, declaring for the superiority of the 'Anglo-Saxon,' maintaining that the immigrant 'somehow constituted a threat to what they had held dear, ideologically and materially. ${ }^{174}$

Lerner has expressed it forcefully: "One of the paradoxes
 $120, \mathrm{p} .98$.

43Thomas and Znaniecki, p. 1825.
44Mills, Senior and Goldsen, in Barron (ed.), p. 334.
of American life has been the simultaneous passion for equality among 'insiders' and the almost equally passionate rejection of the 'outsider.' $1{ }^{4} 45$

Attention of this thesis will now turn to the analysis of achievement of the Spanish-speaking newcomers. Earlier in this study achievement--actual and desired-was characterized as being one major and typical phenomenon of present-day American culture. 46

Handlin, speaking of the recent arrivals in New York, with special emphasis on the Puerto Ricans, affirms that "they have in the very act of migration often defined their own goals of improvement. 147

45Lerner, p. 502. Merton has observed the hostile sentiments freely expressed toward the ethnic minorities in the United States, and their destructive function. See his Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), p. 436. See also Allport, pp. 33ff,237ff.
$46_{\text {See pp. }} 14-16$.
47 Handlin, p. 73. It should be noted that the concern of this thesis is achievement value-orientation. This is different from actual achievement. The former is the attitude or readiness to improve one's lote in life. The latter is socioeconomic position as measured in this study in terms of education and occupation. Actual achievement will of necessity be touched upon but only insofar as it bears a relationship to achievement value-orientations.

Rose, speaking on the goals of improvement, states: "Like other newcomers to the city, many Puerto Ricans have found themselves relegated to the worst and most overpriced neighborhoods; their children attend over-crowded schools; they often hold the lowest status jobs; they frequently suffer 'winter temperatures and more chilling social contacts. Yet, in many ways they have come better prepared for life in the United States than other ethnic minorities and, as a group, are climbing the ladder of

Glazer and Moynihan describe the curious phenomenon of the Puerto Ricans in the island of St. Croix, one of the American Virgin Islands. There the Puerto Ricans have been economically successful. nThe newcomers work harder and produce more than the natives. ${ }^{48}$ As the authors point out, any New Yorker reading about the Puerto Rican phenomenon in St. Croix may wonder and "conclude that 'success' and 'failure' are relative matters, and depend on the challenge that is presented and the grading of the context. 149

Obviously, the outlook is not so bright when the setting is other than the island of St. Croix. Clarence Senior, in analyzing Puerto Rican culture from the viewpoint of the Puerto Rican of New York, affirms that the Puerto Rican at birth is ascribed a status from which he seldom emerges. It is, for the most part, a statie society. 50

Sister Francesca McGarray studied the Mexicans in San Antonio, Texas. Regarding their employment patterns and their achievement value-orientations she presents the following findings:
social mobility at a more rapid pace." Rose, p. 44 .
48Glazer and Moynihan, pp. 110-11.
${ }^{49}$ Ibid., p. 111.
50 Clarence Senior, "The Puerto Rican in the United States, " in Joseph B. Gittler (ed.) Understanding Minority Groups (New York: Science Editions, John Wiley and Sons, 1964), p. 117.

First Generation

1. Satisfied with work.
2. Present work does not offer wage raise or positional advancement.

Second Generation
Unsatisfied but do not know how to raise status.

Present work does not offer wage raise or positional advancement.

Third Generation
Unsatisfied with work, desire to raise status through education.

Will seek occupation with possibilities for advancement. 51

Bullock ${ }^{52}$ found in his study low achivement valueorientations and, as a result, low socio-economic status among Mexicans in the United States. Using 1960 census data, results of surveys by the UCLA Institute of Industrial Relations and community spokesmen, Bullock investigated the reasons for excessive concentration of Mexicans in low-skill categories and the general failure of this group to obtain significant benefits from ongoing governmental and private programs. He emphasized conflicts between the Mexican and Anglo cultures, deficiencies in the educational system and slowness of the Mexican subcommunity to organize itself as major sources of this problem. Bullock found that neither the Mexican family structure nor the existing Anglo-oriented school system encourages effective educational progress for the young person who is, in effect,
$5 I_{\text {Sister }}$ Francesca McGarray, "A Study of the Variations of Cultural Patterns Among Three Generations of Mexicans in San Antonio, Texas," unpublished M. A. thesis, Our Lady of the Lake College, Wordon School of Social Service, 1957, p. 56.

52 paul Bullock, "Employment Problems of the MexicanAmerican," Industrial Relations, III (May, 1964), 37-50.
between two cultures. The Mexican is in an anomalous position, because he is neither fully accepted nor fully rejected by the dominant Anglo majority. In terms of the present thesis, therefore, it can be concluded from Bullock's study that both actual achievement and achievement value-orientations are related to ethnicity, as the latter is one cause of marginality.

Rosen 53 also studied the relationship between ethnicity and achievement orientation. The groups studied and the findings for achievement orientation in scale form ${ }^{54}$ are as follows:


The conclusion of Rosen's study is that "social class and ethnicity interact in influencing motivation, values, and aspirations; neither can predict an individual's score. Ethnic differences persist when social class is controlled, but some of the differences between ethnic groups in motivations, values, and aspirations are probably also a function of their class composition. ${ }^{* 55}$

Finally, Simpson and Yinger conclude that some basic

53 Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity and Achievement," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), 47-60.

54 The scale ranges from 0 to 7. For details about the scale, see below, pp. 46-7.

55Rosen, p. 60.
generalizations can be drawn from the current evidence for achievement value-orientations:
(1) class is more important than race or ethnic group in determining the strength of achievement motive; (2) an important line of demarcation can be drawn between the lower-lower and upper-lower class; and (3) the desire for achievement is not always accompanied by the expectation of achievement--and their separation is a strategic fact. 56

For confirmation of the third generalization Simpson and Yinger mention the study of Stephenson who found that among a thousand ninth-graders, Negro lower-class students had aspirations as high as white students from the same class, but their plans--their expectations--were uniformly lower. ${ }^{57}$

Clarence Senior has observed the contrast in cultural values between the continental United States, on the one hand, and Puerto Rico, on the other. When the Puerto Rican comes to the continental United States he finds a hard, competitive fight for status. But his "[Puerto Rican] background is far less acquisitive and competitive . . . It stresses more the enjoyment of life through poetry, music, dancing, and the esthetic generally, rather than through accumulation of money." 58 The references cited in this chapter describing the values of

56 Simpson and Yinger, p. 139. In contrast to this study, "expectation of achievement" is not being included in the present
thesis.

57Richard Stephenson, Mobility, Orientation and stratification of a Thousand Ninth-Graders," American Sociological Review, XXII (April, 1957), 204-212.

58Senior, in Gittle (ed.), p. 117.

Mexican culture indicate that the same assessment could be applied to Mexican culture.

The social status of the Mexican immigrant is probably
in the lower quartile of a representative list of ethnic groups. His "official" legal status seems to be equal to the majority group, inasmuch as the Mexican is defined since the 1930 census as "white, 459 but he is reputed by the dominant white American to be déclassé, as was indicated by Bogardus with his social distance scales. According to Bogardus, the traits ascribed to Mexicans are: (1) low moral standards; (2) will steal; (3) dirty; (4) help to keep wages low; (5) are spreaders of diseases. 60

The Puerto Rican migrant, although enjoying similar status to his Mexican counterpart, differs considerably. One of the factors affecting his social status is the fact that two-thirds of the migrants are, by Puerto Rican standards, colored and one-third, Negro.

These latest arrivals [Puerto Ricans and Negroes in New York] diverged from that earlier experience because color prejudice and the social and economic conditions they encountered impeded their freedom of movement, both in space and in social and economic status. That divergence

59McDonagh and Richards, in Barron (ed.), p. 332. Prior to the 1930 census, Mexicans were separately listed.

60 Daniel Katz and Kennetz W. Braly, "Verbal Stereotypes and Racial Prejudice," in Eleonor E. Maccoby, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley (eds.) Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1958), pp. 40-46.
in experience need not be more than temporary, however. ${ }^{61}$ A second fact distinguishing the Puerto Rican from the Mexican is that the former is a citizen of the United States, as it has been noted earlier. 62

Regarding the occupation patterns and income of both Spanish-speaking groups, C. Wright Mills comments by saying "that they enter a social order in this country with a declining rate of upward mobility, so that they have less chance than previous migrants. ${ }^{\text {" } 63}$

Mexican migrants still hold, to a great extent, farming occupations (migratory labor) either in the South and Southwest of the United States or throughout various states. 64 On the contrary, Puerto Rican groups tend to move to large urban settings of the continental United States. There they are concentrated in unskilled and semiskilled jobs, mainly in manufacturing and service industries. Furthermore, a typical characteristic of the Puerto Rican migration is a disproportionate number of
$61_{\text {Handlin, }}$ p. 118. "Coloted" refers to the pure and/or mixed indigenous race of Puerto Rico; "Negro," however, has the same meaning as in the continental United States. As was noted above, these differences in racial characteristics are not controlled in the present thesis (see footnote 5, p. 6).
$62_{\text {See }}$ footnote $1, p .1$.
$63_{\text {Mills, Senior a }}$ and Goldsen, in Barron (ed.), pp. 337-40.
64Simpson and Yinger, p. 265. See also Robert A. Reicher, nA Study of Assimilation Patterns Found Among Former Agricultural Families of Mexican Descent," unpublished M. A. thesis, Loyola University, 1962, passim.
women. In New York they outnumber the men about three to two. Consequently women find less occupational opportunity and therefore they are likely to remain concentrated occupationally in the low-skilled jobs. 65

The concepts of anomie and marginality have been dealt with extensively by practically every writer on immigration problems. However few studies of anomie are concerned with particular ethnic groups. 66

Handlin has meaningfully described the newcomers as "the uprooted" ${ }^{7} 7$ and Lerner as "alienated from the culture they have left and from one that has not yet wholly welcomed them and that they did not understand, and alienated finally from themselves. ${ }^{1768}$

Poblete and O'Dea have analyzed the alienated Puerto Rican migrant in the city of New York. They conclude that the formation of small, front-store Church-type religious organizations is mainly attributable to the lack of sense of belonging that
${ }^{65}$ Mills, Senior and Goldsen, in Barron (ed.), pp. 73, 337-40.

66See Allport, chap. 25 and Simpson and Yinger, p. 72. The present trend in studying anomie has emphasized a relation to prejudice and authoritarian personality. This particular relationship, however, has not been chosen for this study and therefore it will not receive any further attention.

670scar Handlin, The Uprooted (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1952).

68Lerner, p. 87.
the Puerto Rican migrants experience not only in their religious (Catholic) membership, but on other cultural levels as well. 69 Middleton studied the relationship among alienation, race and education. ${ }^{70}$ In his study, a simple random sample of 306 adults from a small city of Florida were interviewed in the summer of 1962. Five characteristics of alienation (powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, social estrangement and estrangement from work) were found to be highly correlated, but a sixth, cultural estrangement, was not closely related to others. The hypothesis that alienation is related to disabling social conditions which limit or block the attainment of culturally valued objectives was tested regarding two such conditions: deprived racial status and low educational attainment. The hypothesis was generally supported except for cultural estrangement. ${ }^{71}$

Meier and Bell have analyzed the relationship between anomie and achievement of life goals. 72 A post factum analysis
${ }^{69}$ Renato Poblete and Thomas F. O'Dea, "Anomie and the Quest for Community: The Formation of Sects Among the Puerto Kicans of New York," The American Catholic Sociological Review, XXI (Spring, 1960), 18-36.
$70_{\text {Russell Middleton, "Alienation, Race and Education, }}$ " American Sociological Review, XXVIII (December, 1963), 973-77.
$71_{\text {Middleton }}$ suggests that this lack of correlation between cultural estrangement and other variables may be due to the lower educational levels of the sample population. In the present thesis no attempt has been made to analyze this relationship.

72 Dorothy L. Meier and Wendell Bell, "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1963), 189-202.
leads to a single generalization, namely, that anomia results when individuals lack access to means for the achievement of life goals. Lack of opportunity to achieve life goals follows, mainly as a result of the individual's position in the social structure as determined by numerous factors: socioweconomic position (occupation and education), income, age, clan, marital status and religious preference. Each of these factors is related to anomia. A multidimensional Index of Access to Means for the Achievement of Life Goals was constructed by the authors using the above variables. Of those individuals receiving an index of 7 (high access) only 10 per cent have high anomia scores; whereas of those persons receiving an index score of O (low access), all have high anomia scores. In terms of the present thesis, it appears that there will be a positive relationship between anomia and lack of access to the achievement of life goals or cultural values. This lack of access to achievement is attributed by Meier and Bell mainly to socioeconomic status and other related factors which in the present thesis are introduced as controls.

In summary, the cultural values of the three cultures of the two countries with which the present study deals have been presented. This succinct prospectus has served several purposes: (1) it has offered a contrast between the two indigenous cultures of the migrants and the dominant culture of the United States; (2) it has specified the alternatives of
assimilation, acculturation or non-acculturation that the ethnic cultures might undergo when they become subcultures, and (3) it has served as an introduction to the concept of cultural integration. 73

Secondly, this chapter offered a brief analysis of achievement value-orientation in connection with the Spanishspeaking migrants. The relationship between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation will constitute one of the two major concerns of this study.

Thirdly, this chapter has treated the socio-economic position of the Spanish-speaking migrants. The relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation will constitute the second of the two major concerns of this thesis.

Finally, the concepts of anomie and alienation were presented. The possible relationship between alienation and the other major variables selected in this study will also be of concern in this study.

73 See pp. 4-5, 17-21 for the reasoning behind cultural integration and Appendix A (p.105) for the construction of the cultural integration scale.

## CHAPTER II

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It is necessary to deduce now a theoretical framework for the present thesis from the theoretical and research conclusions spelled out in the previous chapter. Recapitulating, the major conclusions from these studies that are most relevant for this thesis can be summarized:

1. Lerner and Handilin stress the notions that the immigrant is a marginal person, standing between two cultures and completely commited to neither (see p. 28).
2. Senior, McGarray and Bullock and others indicate that the cultural values differ for migrant Spanish-speaking groups from the dominant "American" culture; the migrant stresses esthetic values, not the established American economic and competitive values generally (see pp. 22-23).
3. Handlin et al. indicate that the Puerto Rican migrant has definite advantages over the Mexican migrant: his native culture is more oriented to American vaiues and structural patterns (see footnote 47, p. 21 and pp. 26-27). Conversely, McDonagh and Richards stress the difficulties of the Mexican migrant: rural origin, high physical mobility, lower evaluation of education (see p. 10). On the other hand, the Puerto Rican
often suffers from the color bar that does not "officially" discriminate against the Mexican (see p. 26).
4. Eckland, Rosen, Simpson and Yinger, Bullock and others have found that low achievement value-orientation and actual achievement are related to socio-economic status (see pp. 23-25).
5. Rosen, Simpson and Yinger indicate that ethnicity is important in determining achievement orientation and motivation (see pp. 24-25).
6. Middleton, Meier and Bell found that alienation results from disabling conditions in the social structure (see pp. 29-30).
7. Thomas and Znaniecki found that for the Polish immigrant commitment to his ethnic subculture was crucial for acculturation to American life. Therefore acculturation was possible without assimilation; and this would seem to be the best solution for involvement in the cultural and structural life of the society, overcoming the marginality barriers (see p. 18).

Merton's theory of lack of congruence of means-ends integrates these findings. Merton says that when the desirability of specific cultural goals without corresponding emphasis on institutionalized means is stressed, disorganization and anomie result; ultimately, the integration of the society or subculture becomes tenous. American culture is a case which "apfears to
approximate the polar type in which greater emphasis upon certain success-goals occurs without equivalent emphasis upon instrtutionalized means. ${ }^{1}$

The newcomer is directly confronted with this dilemma. He carries within himself the goals provided by his native culture and his patterns of participation in social institutions which facilitate the achievement of those goals. However, when the newcomer migrates to the continental United States where different cultural goals are prevalent and where corresponding institutionalized means are not likely to be applicable to this accustomed patterns of participation, he is forced to either abandon his native values and patterns of institutional participation, resist the pressure from the dominant culture to abandon these values and patterns, or adapt these to the dominant culture. The last alternative is the one most feasible for acculturation to the dominant culture. The obstacles presented by his ethnic and socio-economic status, however, with the alienation that is likely to accompany his status, present serious problems for this assimilation of the dominant cultural values and patterns of institutional participation.

In the dominant culture of the continental United States the achievement drive appears to be one of the most salient
$I_{\text {Merton, pp. 132-33. See also chaps. } 4 \text { and } 5 \text { of Social }}$ Theory and Social Structure for his notions on anomie.
cultural goals. Since the migrants studied in the present thesis experience difficulty in adapting their cultural goals and patterns of institutional participation to the new culture, a relationship is expected to be found between ethnic status and lower achievement value-orientation. Also, since the firstgeneration migrant is usually found in the lowest socio-economic stratum, the relationship found by Rosen, Simpson and Yinger and others between lower socio-economic status and lower achievement value-orientation is also expected to be found in this study, since the relationships between lower socio-economic status and less participation in the institutions directed to the realization of cultural goals is a commonplace observation in sociology.

Since Middleton, Meier and Bell et al. found that alienation ${ }^{2}$ results from disabling structural conditions, this relationship is also expected to be found in this study as a result of the effects of ethnicity and lower socio-economic status.

The effect on achievement value-orientation by disabling social conditions in addition should be intensified by the

2Given the multidimensional connotation of the term "alienation" in present-day sociological theory, it is contended here that no distortion of significant value is made by using the above term instead of "anomie," in the sense used by Merton. See Lewis Feuer, "Alienation: The Career of a Concept, "in Maurice Stein and Arthur Vidich (eds.) Sociology in Trial (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 127-47.
migrants: own unfavorable attitudes toward assimilation and/or acculturation. ${ }^{3}$ It has already been observed that the Polish immigrants were best able to become acculturated to American society by creating and adapting their own institutions to the new culture. 4 In order to discover whether attitudes toward institutional participation are related to socio-economic status, alienation, and achievement value-orientation, the concept of cultural integration is used in this study to indicate preferences toward institutional participation. 5

The preference for participation in the institutions of their own subculture, with an implicit rejection of participation in the institutions of the dominant culture, is interpreted to indicate a lack of identification by the migrants with the dominant culture, especially with the value of achievement, and thus a severe lack of cultural integration. A preference for

3 See pp. 18-19 of this thesis.
4 See p. 18 of this thesis.
5 See pp. 18-19, 39, and Appendix A (p. 105) for the operationalization of the concept of cultural integration. There is a difficulty in using attitudes toward institutional participation since attitudes do not always predict actual participation nor even expected participation. It is considered important, however, to obtain the migrants ${ }^{\text {i }}$ predilections for institutional participation. It may not be possible for migrants to actually participate in the institutions of the dominant culture and the subculture at the same time and the participation in the institutions of the dominant culture by first-generation migrants, most of whom are likely to be in a lower socio-economic stratum, is problematic. Attitudes, therefore, are used not so much to predict actual participation, but to indicate the readiness of the migrants to become acculturated to the goals and means of the new culture.
participation in the institutions of the dominant culture, with an implicit rejection of those of the ethnic subculture, is interpreted to mean a rejection of ethnic identity, which again would indicate strains on the integration of cultural values; but since such a choice would indicate an explicit choice of the values of the dominant culture, the lack of cultural integration is not expected to be as severe or durable as in the former case. If a preference for institutional participation in either the dominant or ethnic culture is not made by the migrants, this alternative is interpreted to indicate an identification (or non-identification?) with both the dominant and ethnic cultures, making adaptation to the new culture and to the migrant status most likely, and therefore revealing the greatest amount of cultural integration.

It is argued that society, in order to carry out its major pursuit of self-maintenance and self-perpetuation, provides its members with clusters of stable, enduring patterns of action organized according to needs. These clusters are the social institutions--familial, economic, educational, political, religious and recreational. Since the ethnic group under study lives in the midst of two cultures--the dominant culture and its own ethnic subculture--it is necessary to determine which loyalty (or loyalties) the ethnic group members manifest.

Before stating the hypotheses formally, it is necessary to present an operational definition of the various terms and
concepts used in the present thesis.
As stated at the beginning of this study (see p. 1), Puerto Rican and Mexican minorities consist of those households, born either in Puerto Rico or in Mexico, who sometime in their lives migrated to the continental United States and established their place of residence in one community of the city of Chicago which is under study in the present thesis. Only the male heads of the households were interviewed.

The American control sample in the present thesis consists of those English-speaking households, the parents of which were born in the continental United States, and who established at some time or other their place of residence in the community studied.

One community of Chicago was selected for the study since it would have been impossible to carry out a comprehensive study in terms of the entire city. This area is fully described at the beginning of chapter III (see pp. 42-3).

Regarding ethnicity the following considerations should be borne in mind: First, ethnicity consists of the culture of origin for the various categories of the population under study. In the present thesis there are three such categories: the American control sample, the Mexican sample, and the Puerto Rican sample. Secondly, ethnicity does not mean the racial or herediteary traits of the population under study. ${ }^{6}$

[^1]Hollingshead's criteria for socio-economic status are used: the "position individuals occupy in the status structure of our society. ${ }^{n} 7$ Socio-economic status is measured in terms of occupation and education. "Occupation is presumed to reflect the skill and power individuals possess as they perform the many maintenance functions in the society. Education is believed to reflect not only knowledge, but also cultural ties. ${ }^{1}$ 8

The concept of alienation is derived from Russell Middleton, namely, a state in which six characteristics can totally or in part be present in one individual: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, self-estrangement and cultural estrangement. 9

By cultural integration is meant favorable attitudes toward participation in institutions either in the dominant culture of the continental United States or in the ethnic subculture (Mexican or Puerto Rican). Still a third and most im-

7 August B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Station, 1965), mimeographed copy, p. 2. Hollingshead bases his index upon three presuppositions: "(1) the existence of a status structure in the society; (2) positions in this structure are determined mainly by a few commonly accepted symbolic characteristics; and (3) the characteristics symbolic of status may be scaled and combined by the use of statistical procedures so that the researcher can quickly, reliably, and meaningfully stratify the population under study."

$$
{ }^{8} \text { Ibid. }
$$

9Middleton, pp. 973-77.
portant alternative is the attitude of no preference toward participation in either the dominant American culture or the ethnic subculture. ${ }^{10}$

Achievement value-orientation is the first cultural element of Bernard C. Rosen's achievement syndrome, which he defines as "meaningful and effectively charged modes of organizing behavior" or "principles that guide human conduct." 11 The hypotheses examined in this study are the following: 1. There will be a significant relationship between ethnicity (Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants), conceived as an independent variable, and lack of achievement value-orientation, conceived as the dependent variable.
2. There will be a significant relationship between lower socio-economic status, conceived as a second independent variable, and lower achievement value-orientation, again the dependent variable.
3. Alienation will be related to ethnicity and lower socio-economic status on the one hand, and achievement valueorientation on the other. It may also function as an intervening variable between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation and between socio-economic status and achievement value-
$10_{\text {See }} \mathrm{pp}$. 18-19, 35-37 for the significance of these three different possibilities and Appendix A (p. 105) for the computation of the relative degree of cultural integration.
$11_{\text {Rosen }}$ p. 58.
orientation.
4. In the case of the Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants, cultural integration will be related to socio-economic status, achievement value-orientation, and alienation.

CHAPTER III

## RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

Fon purposes of facilitating the research as well as of assuring satisfactory results, a community in Chicago with significant numbers of foreign-born Mexican, island-born Puerto Rican and native, third-generation, white American population was desired.

The Cardinal's Committe for the Spanish-speaking People (1300 S. Wabash, Chicago, Ill.) and the Urban Progress Center (1935 S. Halsted, Chicago, Ill.) provided the general information for the location of the desired community. Saint Pius Parish (1909 S. Ashland, Chicago, Ill.) was approaced, and the conditions of the neighborhood were found satisfactory, although with certain limitations. ${ }^{\text { }}$

The territory of the Parish is located between 16 th Street to the North; Cermak Road and Blue Island to the South; Western Avenue to the West and Throop Avenue to the East. ${ }^{2}$

This territory is an old section of the city of Chicago. Its population formerly, in the first quarter of this century, was constituted by Bohemian ethnic groups which at present have
$I_{\text {These }}$ limitations are described on pp. 44, 49-51.
$2_{\text {See map in }}$ Appendix B (p. 111). It is to be noted that Blue Island Avenue is diagonal, running NE to SW .
moved out to other sectors of the city. At the present time the major English-speaking contingent is formed by descendants of former Polish peasants who immigrated to this country a generation ago or more. ${ }^{3}$ The number of Mexican population has also increased considerably during the past few decades, and finally the Puerto Kicans have moved in as well in recent years.

There seems to be little segregation regarding housing, yet enclaves are often found along ethnic line; the writer has the general impression that each ethnic group maintains a rather clear-cut separation from the other. This includes a separation between Spanish-speaking Mexicans and Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans.

The physical appearance of this neighborhood is one of a somewhat deteriorated area. General facilities were not missing in the homes visited by the writer, yet the general impression was that, except for a few, the homes were poor. This is more clearly the case for the Spanish-speaking population. A regular-interval (with substitution) sample of 102 people from this population, divided as follows, was selected: (1) 34 Mexican-born male heads of households; (2) 34 Puerto
${ }^{3}$ As a result, most of the English-speaking respondents in this study were Polish in origin. No record has been kept as to what generation they belonged. This fact should be borne in mind, for the control group of this study is constituted by a quasi-immigrant group. The impression of the writer is that about half of the American sample population was second-generation and the remaining half was third-generation or older.

Rican-born male heads of households, and (3) native, white male heads of households, used as the control group.

The parish files of Saint Pius were used because those files have a complete and up-to-date profile of the total population in the area described above. ${ }^{4}$

Since not all the requirements demanded by the regularinterval sample were provided by the parish files or the summer census, ${ }^{5}$ and, furthermore, on account of the high physical mobility of the Spanish-speaking population, second and often third choices had to be used.

The schedule was constructed in English and then translated into Spanish. In the translation an attempt was made to convey

4 The parish has just completed during the summer months of 1965 a census of the Spanish-speaking population. This census is now in the process of being incorporated into the general parish files.

For the selection of the English-speaking sample the cumulative parish files were used. Every "nth" card was drawn according to the ratio between total number of cards and the number of the respondents desired. In case that a certain subject could not be interviewed for valid reasons, the next card in the file was used. In case this second failed, the next card was selected. The Spanish-speaking sample was drawn from the newlymade census, and the same procedure as above was followed.

5 The files do not distinguish between Mexican or Puerto Rican among the Spanish-speaking. Therefore the writer had to make a guess according to the last names, which turned out to be correct in nearly every instance. The files do not distinguish, furthermore, between second-, third (or older)-generation Americans. Since the original criterion of selecting only thirdgeneration Americans met with too many difficulties, a new criterion had to be established whereby any English-speaking white male head of household selected in the sample could be interviewed as long as he had been born in the continental United States.
the idea as precisely as possible in corresponding Spanish terms while at the same time using expressions similar to those in the English text without distorting the idea.

The interviews took place at the respondent's place of residence. The language used was English for the American-born control sample, and Spanish for the Spanish-speaking samples of this study. The respondent held a copy of the schedule, while the interviewer ${ }^{6}$ filled-in the proper responses on a different copy of the same schedule. 7

Two different sets of the last page of the Spanish form of the interview schedule were made (questions 19-a to 19-h) changing the word "Mexican" for "Puerto Rican" according to the ethnicity of the respondent. Provision was also made to omit those questions which did not pertain to the American-born population of the study. ${ }^{8}$
${ }^{6}$ On two occasions, the writer was aided by five Spanishspeaking fellow-Jesuits in the interview work among the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. Three of them have long interviewing experience as they worked for the War on Poverty Program in Aurora, Ill. The others have been part of the program since the fall of 1965. All five interviewers had a preliminary session with the writer in which the object of the study as well as the meaning of the schedule were explained in great detail, in order to assure a common understanding by all of them. Furthermore, a rewording of the most difficult items was prepared in advance for the same purpose. These interviewers obtained 37 interviews; the remaining 65 were conducted by the writer. Copies of the schedule are found in Appendix C, pp. 113-124.

7Most respondents, however, did not care to follow the questions in the copy they were holding while being interviewed. $8_{\text {From }}$ question 15 on.

The research techniques used in the present study are: Rosen's Achievement Value-Orientation Scale (items 4-a to 4-g); Middleton's Alienation Scale (items 5-a to 5-f); Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position (questions 6 to 10), and a series of questions measuring integration into the dominant American culture, or ethnic subculture, or integration into both the dominant American culture and ethnic subculture.

The Achievement Value-Orientation Scale was created and used by Bernard C. Rosen in several studies relating achievement to social stratification, ethnicity and socialization. 9 This scale measures one of the cultural elements of the Achievement Syndrome, namely, Achievement Value-Orientation. The scale is composed of seven statements. The respondent answers to those statements by agreeing or disagreeing. Responses which indicate an activistic, future-oriented, individualistic point of view (the answers "disagree" with those items) are considered those which reflect values ${ }^{10}$ most likely to facilitate achievement

9See his articles: "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review, XXI (April, 1956), 203-11; "Race, Ethnicity and Achievement, "American Sociological Review, XXIV' (February, 1959), 47-60, and "Socialization and Achievement Motivation in Brazil," American Sociological Review, XXVII (October, 1962), 612-24. It is of special interest to note that a similar version of Rosen's scale was translated into Portuguese for the study in Brazil mentioned above.
${ }^{10}$ These values need not be exclusively American. Rosen's implicit contention is simply that those values are most conducive to achievement, regardless of culture. This fact seems to be proven by the translation of the scale into Portuguese.
orientation and social mobility. These items, according to Rosen are used to form a value-index regarding achievement, and a score is derived for each subject by giving a point for each disagreement or achievement-oriented response. The scores, therefore, may range from 0 (lowest achievement value-orientation to 7 (highest achievement value-orientation).

Middleton used his own alienation scale in connection with subordinate racial status among ather variables. It is for this reason that Middleton's alienation scale was considered suitable for the present study. 11

In this scale, alienation is regarded as a personal state of the individual in which all or some of six characteristics are present: (1) powerlessness (item l); (2) meaninglessness (item 2); (3) normlessness (item 3); (4) cultural estrangement (item 4); (5) social estrangement (item 5); (6) estrangement from work (item 6).

Each agreement is taken as an indication of alienation. These items are used to form an alienation index, and a score is derived for each subject by giving a point to each agreement or alienation-oriented response. The scores may range from 0 (no alienation) to 6 (highest alienation). 12

## $\mathrm{ll}_{\text {Middleton, }} \mathrm{pp}$. 973-77.

$12_{T}$ find a sound statistical device to measure alienation is no easy task. In the present state of social sciences there seems to be a prevalent confusion as to the operational definition of alienation as well as to its statistical use. See Feuer, in Stein and Vidich (eds.), pp. 127-47.

Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position "was developed to meet the need for an objective, easily applicable procedure to estimate the positions individuals occupy in the status structure of our society.ril3

The factors of occupation and education are combined by weighting the individual scores obtained from the scale positions. The weight for occupation is 7, and the weight for education is 4. To calculate the Index of Social Position Score for an individual the scale value for occupation is multiplied by the factor weight for occupation, and the scale value for education is multiplied by the factor for education. The possible range of scores on a continuum is from a low of 11 (highest socio-

13 Hollingshead, p. 2. Occupation and education are the two factors utilized to determine social position. Each of these factors is scaled according to the following system of scores:
A. The Occupational Scale:

1. Higher Executives, Proprietors of Large Concerns, and Major Professionals.
2. Business Managers, Proprietors of Medium Size Businesses, and Lesser Professionals.
3. Administrative Personnel, Small Independent Businesses, and Minor Professionals.
4. Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners of Little Businesses.
5. Skilled Manual Employees.
6. Machine Operators and Semi-skilled Employees.
7. Unskilled Employees.
B. The Educational Scale:
8. Graduate Prof essional Training.
9. Standard College or University Graduation.
10. Partial College Training.
11. High School Graduates.
12. Partial High School.
13. Junior High School.
14. Less than Seven Years of School.
economic status) to a high of 77 (lowest socio-economic status). ${ }^{14}$
The series of questions intended to measure what in the present thesis has been labeled "cultural integration" are arranged to ascertain attitudinal preferences in (a) identification, (b) social relationships, and (c) participation in social institutions, with an emphasis on the last. 15

The following controls were incorporated in order to determine whether any of them account for the hypothesized relationships:

1. Age (item 13)
2. Religious preference (item 11)
3. Self-judgment of religiosity (item 12)
4. Narital status (item 2)
5. Length of time lived in the continental United States (item 15)
6. Length of time lived in this community (item 3)
7. Main reason for coming to the continental United States (items 16 and 17)
8. Urban-rural background (item 18)
9. Income (item 9)16
lh Hollingshead distinguishes five social classes: I (11-17); II (18-27); III (28-43); IV (44-60); V (61-77).
${ }^{15}$ In order to form an uni-dimensional scale, the items regarding identification and social relationships had to be eliminated because of their lack of scalability (see p. 106). Therefore, the scale is based entirely on attitudinal preferences for involvement in institutions.
$16_{\text {Phese }}$ were the controls incorporated into the schedule. Color (or race), although being a very important control, was not included in this thesis. An accurate racial analysis of the mixed races of the Mexican and Puerto Rican samples is of such a complexity that it was not feasible in this study. Marketable skill, likewise, is a very important factor which was not included in the present thesis.

Not all of the controls mentioned in the text were used in the computation of data. Here is a list of those controls

A final word is necessary regarding the limitations found in the schedule, interviews, and sampling procedure.

It was very difficult to convey the same meaning in terms of two different languages, although the writer and those who aided hom in the interviews spoke Spanish fluently. Because of the differences in idiomatic expressions, the items in Rosen's and Middleton's scales were especially troublesome. The items had to be read two and three times, and still a rewording of the items was necessary in a few instances. This was particularly the case among the Spanish-speaking with little or no education.
which were not used for computation purposes and the reasons for not being used:
\#l. Feligious preference: Nearly all respondents were Catholic. Only two Protestants and one Spiritist appeared in the regularinterval sample. Ten non-Catholics refused to cooperate in what they thought was a parish project. Thus there is an inherent control for religion which cannot be separated.
\#2. Marital status: all the respondents were, according to the regular-interval sample selected, heads of households. Divorced and/or separated respondents were found practically impossible to locate.
\#3. The length of time lived by the Spanish-speaking respondents in this community is practically equal to the length of time lived in the continental United States. In other words, the Mexican and Puerto Rican samples of this study chose the city of Chicago and this particular community as their first place of residence upon arrival to the continental United States. Therefore, there is no need of computing the two controls (numbers 5 and 6 above) separately.
\#4. I'he main reason for coming to the continental United States is in practically every instance economic--better jobs and better pay. Other reasons like the pull exerted by the relatives already in the continental United States or the desire of freedom were too few to be used meaningfully in the computation of data. This variable, as with religious preference, is thus controlled throughout. It is interesting to note that in so far as the sample represents the Spanish-speaking migrant, he comes to the continental United States either with high economic aspirations or perhaps with the desire to escape dire poverty.

However, the writer is convinced that the meaning of the items was conveyed to the respondents even if the wording had to be slightly changed in a few instances. 17

Certain obstacles were found by the writer of this thesis in the process of interviewing. Given the generally low socioeconomic position of the neighborhood, the respondents felt very suspicious of a stranger walking into the house. The Roman collar worn by the writer and the other interviewers caused distrust in some interviewees. ${ }^{18}$ This problem had to be solved by asking the parish for a card of recommendation by way of credentials (see Appendix C, p. 112). This dissolved most of the distrust, but undoubtedly introduced new biases. These are clearly seen in the answers given to item 5, c ("In order to get ahead in the world today, you are almost forced to do some things which are not right") and to question 11 ("Do you consider yourself a religious person?").

The home environment also caused some difficulties.
Among these were: (1) the presence of the wife who often tried to "help out" the husband in giving responses. The wife's

## 17 Another difficulty with little practical consequence

 was the letter of introduction at the beginning of the questionnaire. Very few respondents understood the meaning of Master's Degree, University, etc. Fortunately this limitation offers no handicap for the interpretation of the results of this study.$18_{\text {The }}$ writer realizes post factum that the interviews should not have been done in clerical garb.
presence particularly handicapped the answer to item 5,e ("I often feel lonely"); (2) the presence of children and television sets presented some distractions. 19

Finally, it is necessary to present the statistical device used in the computation of data in the present study. The relationships hypothesized among the variables and various controls are to be computed by means of the Chi-square ( $X^{2}$ ) as a test of significance. 20
${ }^{19}$ It is the judgment of the writer, however, that these limitations did not significantly distort the reliability of the answers in general or to any particular question.
${ }^{20}$ In the case of tables in which frequencies of 5 or below in one or more cells were found, Yates correction had to be applied.

## CHAPTER IV

## FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

A. The Relationship Between Ethnicity and Achievement ValueOrientation.

It will be recalled that the first hypothesis suggested a significant relationship between ethnicity (Mexicans and Puerto Ricans) and lower achievement value-orientation. ${ }^{1}$

The first step in the test for this relationship which has been hypothesized, therefore, involves a comparison between the American control sample and the total Spanish-speaking population sample, i.e., first generation Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants.
$1_{\text {See p. }}$ 40. Because each of the three subsamples contained the relatively small number of 34 cases each, or a total of 102 in the entire sample, and because it was observed that the results of the achievement value-orientation scale revealed a break between total scores of $0-3$ and 4-7, in this study 0-3 indicates low achievement value-orientation and 4-7 high achievement value-orientation.

## TABLE I

## A COMPARISON OF THE AMERICAN CONTROL SAMPLE AND THE SPANISH-SPEAKING SAMPLE ON ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION

| Sample | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| American Control | 24 | 10 | 34 |
| Spanish-Speaking | 37 | 31 | 68 |
| Total | 61 | 41 | 102 |
| $x^{2}=2.43^{2} ; P>.10^{3}$ |  |  |  |

Contrary to the expected result, one of the major hypotheses of this study is not confirmed. Spanish-speaking migrants of this study have lower achievement value-orientation scores than Americans, but the difference is not significant, although it comes close to being significant. ${ }^{4}$
$2_{\text {The criterion }}$ used in this study is that at least two units must appear in every cell and the Yates' correction is used when the number of units in each cell is less than five.
${ }^{3}$ In this study the judgment is made that a significant relationship exists when $P($ probability $)=.10$ or $<.10$.

4 An attempt was made to discover a significant difference by breaking down achievement value-orientation scores into categories $0-2,3-4$, and 5-7. Less significant differences were found. Therefore the original breakdown in achievement valueorientation scores will be retained throughout.

This conclusion is in disagreement with Rosen's study
(cont'd)

It remains to be seen, however, whether this difference holds true for both Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.

By observing the data it was discovered that Mexicans scored lower on achievement value-orientation than Puerto Ricans. Therefore, it is possible that there may be significant differences between Mexicans and the American control sample on achievement value-orientation. Consequently, the American control sample will be compared to both the Puerto Rican and Mexican samples.(Tables II and III).

As suggested, the differences between the American control sample and the Mexican sample was significant.

Finally, a test was made between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans on achievement value-orientation (Table IV).
who found that ethnicity was more important than socio-economic status for achievement value-orientation. Rosen's study, however, did not include Spanish-speaking migrants (see p. 24).

Bullock also found significantly low achievement valueorientation for Mexicans (see p. 23).

The conclusions of this study, it should be remembered again, are limited by the small size of the sample, the fact that the sample was drawn from one rather small area in Chicago and the fact that the control sample, the Americans, consisted primarily of second- and third-generation Polish-Americans (who, incidentally, tend to remaind behind in an older neighborhood whereas other Polish-Americans have already moved).

## TABLE II

## A COMPARISON OF THE ANERICAN CONTROL SAMPLE AND THE PUERTO RICAN SAMPLE ON ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION

| Sample | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| American | 24 | 10 | 34 |
| Puerto Rican | 20 | 14 | 34 |
| Total | 61 | 41 | 102 |
| $\mathrm{X}^{2}=1.03 ; P>.10$ |  |  |  |

## TABLE III

A COMPARISON OF THE AMERICAN CONTROL SAMPLE AND THE MEXICAN SANPLE ON ACHIEVENENT VALUE-ORIENTATION

| Sample | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
|  | 24 | 10 | 34 |
|  | 17 | 17 | 34 |

## TABLE IV

A COMPARISON OF THE MEXICAN SANIPLE AND THE PUERTO RICAN SAMPLE ON ACHIEVENIENT VALUE-ORIENTATION

| Sample | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
|  | 17 | 17 | 34 |
|  | 20 | 14 | 34 |
| 31 |  |  |  |

There is a significant difference between the Puerto
Rican and the Mexican samples on achievement value-orientation. A tentative conclusion can be drawn, namely, that ethnicity is significant for the Mexican sample on achievement value-orientation but not for the Puerto Rican sample. ${ }^{5}$
B. Ethnicity and Socio-Economic Status

Rosen found that social class and ethnicity are correlated
5 This conclusion for the Mexican sample agrees with Sister McGarray's finding that first generation migrants were satisfied with lower class occupation (see p. 23). This study also substantiates Bullock's finding that Mexicans have lower achievement value-orientation (see p. 23). This also confirms Rose's suggestion that Puerto Ricans are well prepared for life in the continental United States (see footnote 47, p. 21).
with achievement value-orientation. Going beyond Rosen, Simpson and Yinger maintain that race and ethnic group are less important than class in determining the strength of achievement motivation. Therefore, a test of the relationship between ethnicity and socio-economic status on the one hand and socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation on the other should be made. 6

## TABLE V

A COMPARISON OF THE AMERICAN CONTROL SAMPLE AND THE SPANISH-SPEAKING SAMPLE ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

| Sample | Socio-Economic Status |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Upper-Iower | Lower-lower | Total |
| American Control | 27 | 7 | 34 |
| Spanish-Speaking | 29 | 39 | 68 |
| Total | 56 | 46 | 102 |

6
Hollingshead's socio-economic scale is used to indicate socio-economic status. As noted above (see footnote 14, p. 49), Hollingshead distinguishes five classes. According to the cutting-oof points of his scale, the overwhelming majority of all cases, including the American control sample, fall into classes IV and $V$. In view of the fact that only 9 out of the total of 102 in the total sample fell in Hollingshead's middle class III the respondents were separated into two classes with scores ranging from 33 to 63 for the upper-lower class and 64 to 77 for the lower-lower class. Computations were also made using Hollingshead's cutting-off points and the results were not

In contrast to the results discovered between the American control sample and the Spanish-speaking sample on achievement value-orientation, it is found that there is a significant relationship between ethnicity and socio-economic status. It is also necessary to see whether the comparisons of socio-economic status between the Anerican control sample and the Spanishspeaking sample and the Puerto Rican subsample and Mexican subsample follow the same patterns as discovered for the relationship between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation.

## TABLE VI

A COMPARISON OF THE ANERICAN CONTROL SAMPLE AND THE PUERTO RICAN SAMPLE ON SOCIO-ECONONIC STATUS

| Sample | Socio-Economic Status |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Upper-1ower | Lower-lower | Total |
| American Control | 27 | 7 | 34 |
| Puerto Rican | 10 | 24 | 34 |
| Total | 37 | 31 | 68 |

affected. Therefore, the two class interpretation will be used throughout this study. It should be noted again that any conclusions drawn are limited by the fact that in this study there are comparisons between the lowest two of five social classes according to Hollingshead's scale. Simpson and Yinger, however, indicate that a line of demarcation exists between the lowerlower and upper-lower classes for immigrant groups (see p. 25).

The difference between the American control sample and the Puerto Rican sample is significant, whereas it was not for the relationship between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation (see Table II, p. 56).

The difference between the American control sample and the Mexican sample is significant just as it was for achievement value-orientation (see Table III, p. 56).

TABLE VII
A COMPARISON OF THE AMERICAN CONTROL SAMPLE AND THE MEXICAN SAMILLE ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

| Sample | Socio-Economic Status |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 27 | 7 | Total |

Table VIII (p. 61) reveals a significant difference
between Puerto Rican and Mexican samples for socio-economic status. One is tempted to conclude, therefore, that socio-economic status and ethnic position may mutually support each other in their relationship to achievement value-orientation. By observing the
data in Table VIII, however, it is discovered that the Mexican sample does not have lower socio-economic status scores than the Puerto Rican sample, in conformity with the lower achievement value-orientation scores of the former, but that the Mexican sample has significantly higher socio-economic status scores. 7

## TABLE VIII

A COMPARISON OF THE NEXICAN SAMPLE AND THE PUERTO RICAN SAMPLE ON SOCIO-ECONONIC STATUS

| Sample | Socio-Economic Status |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Upper-lower | Lower-lower | Total |
| Mexican | 19 | 15 | 34 |
| Puerto Rican | 10 | 24 | 34 |
| Total | 29 | 39 | 68 |

This result would seem to indicate therefore that socioeconomic status is negatively related to achievement value-orientation for the Mexican sample. An attempt will be made to see

7 This is a most striking factor. As suggested earlier (see p. 59) any conclusions drawn regarding socio-economic status are limited by the fact that only the lowest two of five social classes--in Hollingshead's scale--appeared in the sample population of the present thesis.
if this is actually the case by testing the relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation. ${ }^{8}$
C. The Relationship Between Socio-Economic Status and Achievement Value-Orientation

Simpson and Yinger indicate that socio-economic status is more important than race or ethnicity in determining the strength of achievement value-orientation (see p. 25). It is necessary to test this by comparing socio-economic status with achievement value-orientation, first of all, without distinguihing ethnic groups.

## TABLE IX

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE POPULATION

| Socio-Economic <br> Status | High | Low | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 40 | 16 | 56 |
|  | 21 | 25 | 46 |

$8_{\text {The }}$ findings for the Mexican sample do not conform to Rosen's finding that lower socio-economic status is related to ethnicity in the influence on achievement value-orientation (see p. 24). The findings in this study for socio-economic (cont'd)

It was previously found that, although the direction of the data indicated a relationship of ethnicity to achievement value-orientation, the difference between the American control sample and Spanish-speaking migrant groups was not significant. Here, however, a significant relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation is found, i.e., the higher the socio-economic status, the higher the achievement value-orientation. 9

It is necessary to see if the significant relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation is maintained for all of the three samples.
status raises the possibility that Hollingshead's socio-economic status scale may have to be revised when applied to firstgeneration immigrant groups. Observing the relationship between occupation and education, the writer found no consistent pattern. For example, although occupation has a weight of 7 and education 4 in the scale, it was found that education predicted final socio-economic status equally as often as occupation. In addition, in many cases, neither one predicted final socioeconomic scores. However, these observations have to be again qualified by the fact that only the lowest two of five social classes are represented in this study.
${ }^{9}$ This finding is different from Rosen's, who found that ethnicity continue to influence achievement value-orientation significantly even when socio-economic status was held constant (see p. 24). The conclusion of this thesis also in part confirms Eckland's finding that class origin, academic ability and educational achievement are all related to occupational achievement (see p. 16).

## TABLE X

## THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONONIC STATUS

 AND ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THP AMERICAN CONTROL SAMPLE| Socio-economic Status | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| Upper-lower | 21 | 6 | 27 |
| Lower-lower | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Total | 24 | 10 | 34 |
| $X^{2}=1.80 ; ~ P>.10$ |  |  |  |

TABLE XI
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS
AND ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE SPANISH-SPEAKING SAMPLE

| Socio-economicStatus | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| Upper-lower | 19 | 10 | 29 |
| Lower-lower | 18 | 21 | 39 |
| Total | 37 | 31 | 68 |

TABLE XII
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ACHIEVEINENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE PUERTO RICAN SAMPLE

| Socio-Economic <br> Status | High | Low | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 7 | 3 | 10 |
|  | 13 | 11 | 24 |
|  |  |  |  |

## TABLE XIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE MEXICAN SAMPLE

| Socio-Economic <br> Status | High | Low | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 12 | 7 | 19 |
|  | 5 | 10 | 15 |

The relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation for the American control sample is not, but nearly, significant. Since, however, it has been found already that a significant relationship between socioeconomic status and achievement value-orientation for the total sample exists, and since the American control sample was significantly higher than the Puerto Rican and Mexican samples on socio-economic status, it is possible that the reason here for the lack of significance is affected by the small sample, although this cannot be confirmed.

There is a significant relationship between socioeconomic status and achievement value-orientation for the Spanishspeaking groups combined and for the Mexican sample. However, there is not a significant relationship for the Puerto Rican sample. This finding was not completely unanticipated since it was already found that the Puerto Rican sample has a significantly lower socio-economic status than the American control sample (see Table VI, p. 59) and Mexican sample (see Table VII, p. 60).
However, it was also found that the Puerto Rican sample had significantly higher achievement value-orientation (see Table IV, p. 57), and therefore the hypothesized relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation is substantially in doubt for the Puerto Rican sample.

The problem in interpreting the results for the Mexican sample, however, is even greater, at least at first giance. As
suggested in the preceding section, a possible negative relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation was belatedily anticipated, since the Mexican sample has significantly lower achievement value-orientation scores and significantly higher socio-economic status scores than the Puerto Rican sample. In fact, Table XIII (p. 65) indicates that there is, for the Mexican sample, a positive relationship between higher socio-economic status and higher achievement value-orientation. 10 By comparing Puerto Rican and Mexican results, it can be concluded that the significantly higher relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation for the Mexican sample remains true, despite the control for ethnicity. The fact that, in the relationship between socioeconomic status and achievement value-orientation, the Mexican sample approaches the pattern of the American control sample, indicates that socio-economic status is significantly related to achievement value-orientation, and that ethnicity may not be related, despite the fact that a smaller number in the Mexican sample has higher achievement value-orientation scores.
$10^{10}$ The discussion concerning possible limitations in applying the socio-economic status scale to migrants should be recalled (see footnote 8, pp. 62-3). Beyond that, however, it may be the case that the Puerto Ricans, because of the color barrier, experience futility when they try to rise in the class structure; then they come to feel that further ability is beyond their control or does not depend on individual initiative.
D. The Relationship Between Achievement Value-Orientation and Controls.

The Puerto Rican sample was found to have significantly higher achievement value-orientation scores than the Mexican sample and, contrary to the hypothesis, did not have significantly lower achievement value-orientation scores than the American control sample, whereas the Mexican sample had significantly lower scores than the American control sample (see Table IV, p. 57, and Tables II and III, p. 56). To state that the relationship between ethnicity and lower achievement valueorientation, compared to the scores of the American control sample, for the Mexican sample was significant (see Table III, p. 56) does not mean that control for socio-economic status is included. It is necessary now to see of the controls, included socio-economic status, may account for the relationships between ethnicity and lower achievement value-orientation for the Mexican sample, in contrast to the Puerto Rican sample, and whether the relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation for the Mexican sample remains significant when controls are introduced.

First, therefore, differences in the discovered relationships between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation for the Puerto Rican and Mexican samples are compared when socio-economic status, age, time lived in the United States, rural-urban background, income and self-judged religiosity are controlled.

TABLE XIV ${ }^{11}$
A COMPARISON OF THE PUERTO RICAN AND MEXICAN SAMPLES ON ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION WHEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IS CONTROLLED

Upper-lower Socio-Economic Status

| Sample | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
|  | 12 | 3 | 10 |

Lower-lower Socio-Economic Status

| Puerto Rican <br> Mexican | 13 | 11 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 5 | 10 | 24 |
|  | 18 | 21 | 39 |

$$
\left.x^{2}=1.61 ; P\right\rangle .10
$$

${ }^{11}$ In the use of Chi-square for the controls, it must be recalled again that there are few frequencies in each cell. In many cases the Chi-square test is not applicable, using the criterion of at least two frequencies in each cell.

## TABLE XV

## A COMPARISON OF THE PUERTO RICAN AND NEXICAN SAMPLES ON ACHIEVENENT VALUE-ORIENTATION WHEN AGE IS CONTROLLED

Younger Age (Less than 45 Years)

| Sample | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
|  | 14 | 5 | 10 |
|  | 19 | 5 | 19 |
| $\left.X^{2}=1.63 ; P\right\rangle .10$ |  |  | 29 |


| Older Age (45 Year or More) |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mexican | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Puerto Rican | 6 | 9 | 15 |
| Total | 18 | 21 | 39 |
| $\mathrm{X}^{2}=.37 ; \mathrm{P}>.10$ |  |  |  |

TABLE XVI
A COMPARISON OF THE PUERTO RICAN AND NEXICAN SAMPLES
ON ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION WHEN
TIME LIVED IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES IS CONTROLLED

| Sample | Six Years or More |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| Mexican <br> Puerto Rican <br> Total | 12 | 15 | 27 |
|  | 15 | 12 | 27 |
|  | 27 | 27 | 54 |
| $\mathrm{x}^{2}=.08 ; \mathrm{P}>.10$ |  |  |  |
| Less than Six Years |  |  |  |
| Mexican <br> Puerto Rican | 5 | 2 | 7 |
|  | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| Total | 10 | 4 | 14 |
| $x^{2}=0 . ; P>\cdot 10$ |  |  |  |

TABLE XVII
A COMPARISON OF THE PUERTO RICAN AND MEXICAN SAMPLES ON ACHIEVENENT VALUE-ORIENTATION WHEN RURAL-URBAN ORIGIN IS CONTROLLED

| Sample | City or Small Town Origin |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| Mexican <br> Puerto Rican | 16 | 16 | 32 |
|  | 10 | 4 | 14 |
| Total | 26 | 20 | 46 |
| $\mathrm{X}^{2}=1.05 ; \mathrm{P}>.10$ |  |  |  |

Rural Origin

| Mexican <br> Puerto Rican <br> Total | 10 | 1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 110 | 2 |
| $\mathrm{X}^{2}$ is not applicable |  |  |

## TABLE XVIII

A COMPARISON OF THE PUERTO RICAN AND NEXICAN SAMPLES ON ACHIEVELENT VALUE-ORIENTATION WHEN INCOME OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEAD

IS CONTROLLED

More Than \$ 5,000 a Year

| Sample | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| Mexican | 9 | 8 | 17 |
| Puerto Rican | 11 | 3 | 14 |
| Total | 20 | 11 | 31* |

Less Than \$ 5,000 a Year

| Mexican | 7 | 8 | 15 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Puerto Fican | 9 | 5 | 14 |
| Total | 16 | 13 | $29 *$ |
| $\mathrm{X}^{2}=.37 ; \mathrm{P}>.10$ |  |  |  |

*Two were unemployed, two were retired, two were ill, one was on relief, and one refused.

TABLE XIX
A COMPARISON OF THE PUERTO RICAN AND NEXICAN SAMPLES ON ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION WHEN SELF-JUDGED RELIGIOSITY IS CONTROLLED

Religious Persons

| Sample | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| Mexican | 15 | 14 | 29 |
| Puerto Rican | 17 | 14 | 31 |
| Total | 32 | 28 | 60 |

Undecided or Non-Religious

| Mexican <br> Puerto Rican | 2 <br> Total | 3 <br> 0 | 5 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $x^{2}$ is not applicable |  | 8 |  |
|  |  |  |  |

Since no one of these tests for controls produced significant results, it can quite confidently be concluded that the previously found significant relationship between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation for the Mexican sample was spurious. ${ }^{12}$

Now it is necessary to see if the discovered relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation for the Mexican sample holds up by controlling for the same variables. It should be recalled that in section $C$ (see pp. 62-67) it was found that the relationship continued to be significant when ethnicity was held constant.
$12_{\text {The fact }}$ fhat the relationship between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation broke down completely when socioeconomic status was controlled does not support Rosen's finding that ethnicity was more important that socio-economic status in its.relationship to achievement orientation, and tends to support Simspson and Yinger's conclusion that class is more significantly related than ethnicity to achievement motivation (see p. 24-25).

## TABLE XX

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE MEXICAN SAMPLE WHEN AGE IS CONTROLLED

Younger Age (Less Than 45 Years)

| Socio-Economic <br> Status | High | Low | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 5 | 3 | 8 |
|  | 0 | 2 | 2 |

Older Age ( 45 Years or More)

| Upper-lower <br> Lower-lower <br> Total | 7 | 4 | 11 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 5 | 8 | 12 |
| $X^{2}=.67 ;$ P $>.10$ |  |  |  |

## TABLE XXI

## THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE MEXICAN SAMPLE WHEN TIME LIVED IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES IS CONTROLLED

Six Years or More

| Socio-Economic Status | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| Upper-lower | 9 | 6 | 15 |
| Lower-lower | 3 | 9 | 12 |
| Total | 12 | 15 | 27 |

Less Than Six Years

| Upper-lower <br> Lower-lower | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- |
|  | 2 | 1 | 3 |
|  | 5 | 2 | 7 |

## TABLE XXII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE MEXICAN SAMPLE WHEN URBAN-RURAL ORIGIN IS CONTROLLED

City or Small Town Origin

| Socio-Economic <br> Status | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |

Rural Origin

| Upper-lower | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lower-lower | 1 | 1 | 2 |
|  | 1 | 1 | 2 |

## TABLE XXIII

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONONIC STATUS AND } \\
\text { ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE MEXICAN } \\
\text { SAMPLE WHEN INCOME IS } \\
\text { CONTROLLED }
\end{gathered}
$$

| Socio-Economic Status | More Than \$ 5,000 a Year |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| Upper-lower <br> Lower-lower <br> Total | 2 | 4 | 6 |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|  | 3 | 6 | 9* |
| $\mathrm{x}^{2}$ is not applicable |  |  |  |
| Less Than \$ 5,000 a Year |  |  |  |
| Upper-lower | 10 | 3 | 13 |
| Lower-lower | 3 | 7 | 10 |
| Total | 13 | 10 | 23* |
| $\mathrm{X}^{2}=3.33 ; \mathrm{P}<.10$ |  |  |  |

## TABLE XXIV

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { THE REIATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND } \\
\text { ACHIEVEMENT VALUE -ORIENTATION FOR THE MEXICAN } \\
\text { SAMPLE WHEN SELF-JUDGED RELIGIOSITY } \\
\text { IS CONTROLIED }
\end{gathered}
$$

| Socio-Economic Status | Religious Persons |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| Upper-lower | 10 | 5 | 15 |
| Lower-lower | 5 | 9 | 14 |
| Total | 15 | 14 | 29 |
| $X^{2}=2.78 ; P<.10$ |  |  |  |

Undecided or Non-Religious Persons

| Upper-lower <br> Lower-lower <br> Total | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 0 | 1 | 5 |

It is to be observed that, for those tables with sufficient frequencies for Chi-square tests, the hypothesized relationship between socio-economic status and achievement valueorientation for the Mexican sample is confirmed with the followind controls: income lower than $\$ 5,000$ a year and for the selfjudgment of high religiosity. In addition, the hypothesis tends to be supported by observing the direction of the data for the following controls: age, both, younger and older; more than six years lived in the continental United States; and city or small town and rural origin. Consequently, although no firm conclusions can be made, it appears that for the Mexican sample socio-economic status is related to achievement value-orientation. 13

To discover whether socio-economic status is related to achievement value-orientation for the American control sample also, it would be interesting to compare socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation for that American control sample when the relevant controls are introduced.

13 Again, Simpson and Yinger's conclusion that class is more important that ethnicity in its relation to achievement motivation tends to be supported, while Rosen's finding that ethnicity was more important than class tends not to be supported (see pp. 24-25).

## TABLE XXV

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { THE REIATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND } \\
\text { ACHIEVENENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE AMERICAN } \\
\text { CONTROL SAMPLE WHEN AGE IS CONTROLLED }
\end{gathered}
$$

| Socio-Economic Status | Younger Age (Less Than 45 Years) |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| Upper-lower | 11 | 3 | 14 |
| Lower-lower | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Total | 12 | 4 | 16 |

Older Age (45 Years or More)

| Upper-lower <br> Lower-lower <br> Total | 10 | 3 | 13 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| $\mathrm{X}^{2}=.86 ; \mathrm{P}>.10$ |  |  |  |

## TABLE XXVI

> THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE AMERICAN CONTROL SAMPLE WHEN INCOME OF THE HOUSEHOLD HEAD IS CONTROLIED

| Socio-Economic Status | More Than \$ 5,000 a Year |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| Upper-upper | 18 | 5 | 23 |
| Lower-lower | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Total | 19 | 7 | 26* |
| $X^{2}$ is not applicable |  |  |  |

Less Than \$ 5,000 a Year

| Upper-lower <br> Lower-lower | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 0 | 1 |  |
|  | 3 | 1 | $4^{*}$ |

*Two were retired, one was unemployed and one refused.

## TABLE XNIL

> THE RELATICNSHIP BETWEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ACHIEVEMENT VALIE-OKEMTATION FOR THE SMERICAN CONTROL SAMPLE WEN SELF-UUDED REIIGIOSIVY IS CONTROLIED

## Religious Persons

| Socio-Economic <br> Status | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 16 | Low | Total |
| Hotal | 1 | 5 | 21 |

$$
X^{2} \text { is not applicable }
$$

-.

Undecided or Non-Religious Persons

| whr-wer | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lower-1ower | 2 | 1 | 9 |
| Total | 7 | 2 | 9 |

$$
Y^{2} \text { is rot arghecte. }
$$

Despite some extremely low frequencies in each table, the direction of the data tend to indicate that socio-economic status is related to achievement value-orientation for the American control sample with the following controls: age, both older and younger; high income; and self-judged religiosity, both high and low. A very tentative conclusion could be drawn, namely, that for both the Mexican sample and the American control sample socio-economic status tends to be related to achievement value-orientation when age, income and religiosity are controlled. This gives some greater support for concluding that socio-economic status is related to achievement value-orientation. although this is not the case for the Puerto Rican sample.

## E. Alienation ${ }^{14}$

The reader will recall that a relationship was hypothesized between higher alienation and ethnicity (Mexican and Puerto Rican), and between higher alienation and lower achievement value-orientation (see p. 40). Tests will first be made between alienation and ethnicity.

14 Because of the relatively small sample and because the writer observed a break between total scores of 3 and 4 , in the analysis of the data scores of 0-3 indicate lower alienation and scores of $4-6$, higher alienation. It will be recalled that Middleton's alienation scale is used in this study.

## TABLE XXVIII

## A COMPARISON OF THE ANERICAN CONTROL SAMPLE AND THE SPANISH-SPEAKING SAMPLE ON ALIENATION

| Sample | Alienation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
|  | 34 | 22 | 34 |
|  | 46 | 34 | 68 |

The above table shows that there is no significant difference between the American control sample and the Spanishspeaking sample on alienation. However, the trend of the data indicates that with larger samples a significant difference between the American control sample and the Spanish-speaking might result. ${ }^{15}$

In view of the finding that the Mexican sample has significantly higher socio-economic status scores than the Puerto Rican sample, it is necessary to see whether the former experiences significantly less alienation.
${ }^{15}$ This conclusion, although tentative, tends to support the general contention that migrants experience alienation upon entering an alien society.

## TABLE XXIX

## A COMPARISON OF THE MEXICAN SAMPLE AND THE PUERTO RICAN SAMPLE ON ALIENATION

| Sample | Alienation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| Mexican | 22 | 12 | 34 |
| Puerto Rican | 12 | 22 | 34 |
| Total | 34 | 34 | 68 |
| $\mathrm{X}^{2}=5.88 ; \mathrm{P}<.10$ |  |  |  |

The results show a significant difference for the Puerto Rican sample and the Mexican sample; however, contrary to the expectation of this study, the Mexican sample has significantly higher alienation scores than the Puerto Rican sample. Since it was already found that the originally established relationship between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation for the Niexican sample was probably spurious (see p. 75), the differences in alienation between them cannot be linked to ethnicity as defined in this thesis.

In view of the finding that the Mexican sample had a significantly higher socio-economic status than the Puerto Rican sample (see Table VIII, p. 61), which was generally substantiated
when the controls were introduced (see pp. 76-80), it is necessary to see whether there is a significant relationship between socio-economic status and alienation.

## TABLE XXX

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND ALIENATION FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE POPULATION

| Socio-Economic <br> Status | Alienation |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |

Here it is discovered that alienation is not significantly related to socio-economic status. 16 When the same test was made for each of the three subsamples, no significant relationships were found. Since there was not found a significant relationship
${ }^{16}$ It must be stressed that this conclusion is limited by the very low socio-economic statuses in the sample. It is also probable that family solidarity is a strong factor for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in forestalling alienation. This may be very significant since both Middleton and Meier and Bell found a significant relationship between socio-economic status and alienation (see pp. 29-30).
between alienation and socio-economic status for the total sample (see Table XXX, p. 88), the finding that the Mexican sample had significantly higher alienation scores than the Puerto Rican sample (see Table XXIX, p. 87), despite having a significantly higher socio-economic status (though still lower than the American control sample) probably indicates that alienation is not related to socio-economic status for the Mexican sample.

It remains to be seen whether alienation is significantly related to achievement value-orientation.

TABLE XXXI
THE RELATIONSHIP BETVEEN ALIENATION AND ACHIEVEIENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE POPULATION

| Alienation | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| High | 20 | 26 | 46 |
| Low | 42 | 14 | 56 |
| Total | 62 | 40 | 102 |
| $\mathrm{X}^{2}=10.53 ; \mathrm{P}<.10$ |  |  |  |

A significant relationship was found, i.e., the more alienation, the lower the achievement value-orientation. This
relationship is significant for the Puerto Rican sample, not significant for the Nexican sample, and not significant, but nearly significant for the American control sample.

TABLE XXXII
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ALIENA TION AND ACHIEVENENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE FUEETO RICAN SAMPLE

| Alienation | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| High | 4 | 8 | 12 |
| Low | 16 | 6 | 22 |
| Total | 20 | 14 | 34 |
| $\mathrm{X}^{2}=3.48 ; P<.10$ |  |  |  |

## TABLE XXXIII

## THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ALIENATION AND ACHIEVEIENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE AMERICAN CONTROL SAMPLE

| Alienation | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| High | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Low | 18 | 4 | 22 |
| Total | 24 | 10 | 34 |
| $X^{2}=2.40 ; P>.10$ |  |  |  |

TABLE XXXIV
THE RELATIONSHIP BETVEEN ALIENATION AND ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE MEXICAN SAMPLE

| Alienation | Achievement Value-Orientation |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| High | 9 | 13 | 22 |
| Low | 8 | 4 | 12 |
| Total | 17 | 17 | 34 |
| $\mathrm{X}^{2}=1.22 ; \mathrm{P}>.10$ |  |  |  |

Since it was tentatively established that the findings of a relationship between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation for the Mexican sample was spurious (see pp. 75 and 87), and since, despite the fact that the Mexican sample had a significantly higher socio-economic status than the Puerto Rican sample (see Table VIII, p. 6I), socio-economic status was not found to be related to alienation for the total sample or in each of the three subsamples, no definite conclusions can be drawn about the relationship of alienation to either of the Spanish-speaking samples. However, since it was found that ethnicity is probably significantly related to alienation (see Table XXVIII, p. 86) and alienation is significartly related to achievement value-orientation (see Table XXXI, p. 89), it would be interesting to see whether alienation might be functioning as an intervening variable between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation. This cannot be done for the present thesis, however, because it has been already found that the Puerto Rican sample was not significantly different from the American sample in achievement value-orientation (see Table II, p. 56), and, secondly, because alienation was not significantly related to achievement value-orientation for the Mexican sample (see Table XXXIV, p. 91). 17

17 See Patricia L. Kendall and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, nproblems of Survey Analysis," in Merton and Lazarsfeld (eds.) Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier" (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950),

F. Cultural Integration ${ }^{18}$

The remaining major hypothesis to be tested is that a significant relationship is expected to be found between cultural integration (or attitudinal acculturation) on the one hand, and socio-economic status, achievement value-orientation and alienation on the other for the Spanish-speaking samples (see p. 4l). The theoretical reasons for these expected relationships have been already discussed. ${ }^{19}$
intervening variable, the indicated intervening variable must be related to both the independent variable and the dependent variable, and the independent variable must be related to the dependent variable. The test for the intervening variable, alienation, could not be made in this study since the Puerto Rican sample was not significantly different in achievement valueorientation from the American control sample, and since alienation was not related to achievement value-orientation in the case of the Mexican sample.

18 See Appendix A (p. 105) for the information concerning the construction and use of the "cultural integration scale." Because it was observed that the results of the cultural integration scale revealed a break between total scores of $4-8$ and 0-3, in this study 0-3 indicates low cultural integration and 4-8 high cultural integration. A logical difficulty, however, arises: 0-3 has four possible scores, and 4-8, five possible scores. Although this is admittedly an arbitrary assighment that may constitute a bias, the writer had to proceed in the above manner to avoid three-fold Chi-square tables which would have been impossible to work out because of the small samples.

$$
19_{\text {See pp. }} 4-5,17-21,33-4 .
$$

TABLE XXXV
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULIURAL INTEGRATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS FOR THE SPANISH-SPEAKING SAMPLE

| Socio-Economic <br> Status | High | Low | Total |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 10 | 6 | 16 |
|  | 27 | 25 | 52 |

TABLE XXXVI
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL INTEGRATION AND ACHIEVEMENT VALUE-ORIENTATION FOR THE SPANISH-SPEAKING SAMPIE

| Achievement ValueOrientation | Cultural Integration |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |
| High | 21 | 17 | 38 |
| Low | 16 | 14 | 30 |
| Total | 37 | 31 | 68 |
| $\mathrm{x}^{2}=.03 ; \quad P>.10$ |  |  |  |

## TABLE XXXVII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CULTURAL INTEGRATION AND ALIENATION FOR THE SPANISHSPEAKING SAMPLE

| Alienation | Cultural Integration |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | High | Low | Total |

The fact that no significant relationships are found is especially surprising in view of the scalability of the items included in the scale. 20
${ }^{20}$ It might be suggested, after having interviewed the persons in this study and observed their rather low educational level, that attitudes toward even concrete questions of personal involvement in institutions were very difficult to obtain; it is the writer's contention that, given the assumption that reliable research procedures produce valid information about attitudes, the oral transmission of those attitudes to others--and unknown others, like the interviewers--and their impact on action may be even more difficult to assess. Major limitations of this study should also be recalled: (a) small sample size; (b) lack of clear-cut differences in ethnic and socio-economic positions; (c) the use of attitudes as an index of cultural integration. Despite these limitations, however, the writer's judgment is that the concept of cultural integration would be useful in further research and as a theoretical tool.

## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSIONS

Robert Merton's specification of lack of correspondence between cultural goals and institutionalized means in American society has been the basic sociological theory that served as a guideline for the present thesis as well as for the integration of findings in the related literature and this study (see pp. 33-4). Merton contends that a lack of congruence between ends and means, that is, the existence of specific cultural demands without corresponding emphasis on institutionalized means for achieving those goals leads to disorganization and anomie.

In the context of the present study, the confrontation by migrant groups with the dominant culture of the continental United States, certain relationships were hypothesized in terms of Merton's specified incongruence between cultural goals and institutionalized means. These relationships included the goal of achievement value-orientation and the difficulties in achieving that goal related to ethnicity, lower socio-economic position, alienation, and relative lack of cultural integration.

A word of caution should be mentioned so that the conclusions of the present study might be seen in the proper perspective. The three different groups studied are the Americans born in the continental United States, the Americans born in

Puerto Rico (referred to, in the present thesis, as simply "Puerto Ricans") and the foreign-born Miexicans. Because of obvious obstacles of time and budget, the writer was forced to study only 34 persons in each of the three groups, that is, a total of 102 persons. Consequently, it should be kept in mind that the conclusions below apply to those 102 persons interviewed and should not be generally applied to all Puerto Rican migrants or the foreign-born Mexican migrants.

Furthermore, the conclusions of the present thesis are limited by the fact that the sample was drawn from one rather small area in Chicago and the fact that the control sample, the Americans born in the continental United States, consisted primarily of secon- and third-generation or older PolishAmericans.

The first major hypothesis indicated a significant relationship between ethnicity (Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants), conceived as an independent variable, and lack of achievement value-orientation, conceived as the dependent variable (see p. 40).

A significant difference, however, was not found between ethricity and achievement value-orientation, although the direction of the data indicated differences (see p. 54). This conclusion contrasts with those of Rosen's study which indicated that ethnicity was more important than socio-economic status for achievement value-orientation (see p. 24).

In trying to discover whether this lack of significant difference holds true separately for the Mexican sample and the Puerto Rican sample, when contrasted with the American control sample, it was discovered that the Mexican sample scored lower on achievement value-orientation than the Puerto Rican sample (see p. 56). The relationship between the Puerto Rican sample and achievement value-orientation was not significant when contrasted with the American control sample, whereas the relationship between the Mexican sample and achievement value-orientation was.

The differences between the Puerto Rican and Mexican samples broke down, however, when the controls were introduced. 1 Generally speaking, therefore, for those Puerto Ricans and Mexicans studied, ethnic position did not constitute a significant barrier to the acceptance of achievement values.

The second major hypothesis of the present study was that there would be a significant relationship between lower socio-economic status, conceived as a second independent variable, and lower achievement value-orientation, the dependent variable (see p. 40).

On the basis of combining the total sample population,
$I_{\text {The controls }}$ used in the present thesis are: age, time lived in the continental United States, urban-rural origin, income of the household head, and self-judged religiosity. It should be noted that the controls of race and marketable skill could have been very important, but for the reasons mentioned above (see pp. 49-50) they were not included in the present thesis.
a significant relationship was found between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation, thus confirming the hypothesis. When the relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation was tested for each of the subsamples, a nearly significant result was found for the American control sample, a a significant result was not found for the Puerto Rican sample, and a significant relationship was found for the Mexican sample. The relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation for the American control and Mexican samples was generally maintained when the controls were introduced (see pp. 76-85). It can be concluded, therefore, that for the subjects of this study, excepting the Puerto Ricans, low socio-economic status puts structural constraints on the realization of achievement values. Simpson and Yinger's contention that racial and ethnic identity are less important than class in determining the strength of achievement motivation is confirmed by this study (see p. 25).

The third major hypothesis of the present study was that alienation would be related to ethnicity and lower socio-economic status, on the one hand, and achievement value-orientation on the other. It was anticipated that it may function as an intervening variable between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation and between socio-economic status and acrievement valueorientation (see p. 40).

No significant relationship was found between alienation
and ethnicity, either for the three subsamples individually or combined. The fact that the first part of the hypothesis was rejected may be the result of small samples, since the direction of the data do indicate differences between the American control sample and the Spanish-speaking samples combined. However, a significant difference was found between the Mexican sample and the Puerto Rican sample on alienation, with the former having the higher alienation scores (see pp. 85-87). A possible explanation of this fact is that Puerto Rican migrants in the continental United States feel more at home, since about forty to fifty per cent of them speak English well enough (see p. 7) and all of them are citizens of this country, whereas this is not the case for the Mexican migrants.

Regarding the second relationship of the third hypothesis --socio-economic status and alienation--significant results were not obtained for the total sample population (see p. 88). The same test was made for each subsample separately, and again no significant results were obtained. Low socio-economic status of the samples preventing effective comparison between status ranges, may account for this lack of significant relationship.

A significant relationship was found between higher alienation and lower achievement value-orientation for the Puerto Rican sample, but not for the Mexican or the American control samples (see pp. 90-1). Therefore, no definite conclusions can be advanced as to the relationship between alienation and accep-
tance of achievement values.
The final part of the third hypothesis suggested that alienation may function as an intervening variable between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation, and between socioeconomic status and achievement value-orientation. However, because of the lack of significant relationships between the various variables, the test for alienation conceived as an intervening variable could not be made. (see p. 92).

The fourth and last hypothesis indicated that in the case of the Mexican and Puerto Rican migrants, cultural integration would be related to socio-economic status, achievement value-orientation and alienation (see p. 41). However, these three hypothesized relationships were not supported (see pp. 93-5). This lack of relationship may be due to several factors: (a) the small sample; (b) the lack of representation of upper classes, using Hollingshead's criteria for socio-economic status; (c) the difficulties discovered in applying this scale to the Spanish-speaking migrants studied; (d) the impossibility of considering the American control sample in this thesis as representative of the population of the continental United States; (e) the use of attitudes as indicators of cultural integration. The fact that these attitudes expressed by the Spanish-speaking migrants in this study met the criteria of scalability and unidimensionality, however, seems to indicate the usefulness of the concept in further research.

Differences were found, in the computation of the major variables, between the Mexican and the Puerto Rican samples. The former (Mexican sample) had lower achievement value-orientation, higher socio-economic status, and higher alienation scores than its counterpart (the Puerto Rican sample). Whether these differences would persist in more representative samples is problematic.

In summary, therefore, socio-economic status of the variables incorporated in this study was found to be the only significant disabling structural condition for the realization of achievement values.

In light of the conclusions presented, some suggestions for further research should be indicated.

Regarding the first hypothesis, and in view of the differences found in this study for the relationship between ethnicity and achievement value-orientation from the conclusions of the studies by Rosen and Bullock, it is suggested (1) that further research be undertaken especially in large metropolitan areas; (2) the effect of physical and racial characteristics and marketable skills should be considered in future investigations; (3) that research should be conducted to discover whether, as in the present study, Puerto Rican migrans have higher achievement value-orientations than the Mexican migrants; (4) that further investigation ought to concentrate on the interconnection between socio-economic status and ethnicity, and their mutual relationship
to other variables; (5) that more research should be conducted to attempt to discover under what conditions ethnicity is significantly related to achievement value-orientation.

Regarding the hypothesized relationship between socioeconomic status and achievement value-orientation it is suggested that: (I) further research should be directed to the feasibility of applying HoIlingshead's socio-economic scale to migratn groups; (2) in view of the negative findings for the Puerto Rican sample in the relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation, a further specification ought to be made of socio-economic status and achievement valueorientation for the Spanish-speaking migrants; (3) the relationship between socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation should be further studies, especially for the lowest socio-economic strata.

Regarding the analysis of alienation, which was of concern in the third major hypothesis of the present study, (1) further research should be done on its relationship to ethnicity, socio-economic status, and achievement value-orientation; (2) Studies should be conducted to discover whether alienation may be acting as an intervening variable between these variables; (3) in view of the lack of discovered relationships between alienation and ethnicity, socio-economic status and achievement value-orientation, further research ought to be done to the selection of alienation scales, especially in view
of the admitted confusion in present-day research methodology regarding operational definitions and scales of alienation.

Finally, it is the writer's contention that the complete absence of significant relationships discovered between cultural integration and the other major variables in this study perhaps indicates that (a) attitudes toward preferential participation in social institutions of dominant and subcultures may provide a poor index of cultural integration; (2) the conventional wisdom concerning the acculturation, assimilation, or nonacculturation of newcomers into American society and their consequences should perhaps be reconsidered, assuming that attitudes do indicate important preconditions for assimilation or acculturation.

## APPENDIX A

## CULTURAL INTEGRATION

Eight questions were asked of every Spanish-speaking respondent (questions 19-a to 19-h). Each question could be answered by checking one option out of three. The three options indicated (1) integration to the dominant American culture (left column), (2) integration to the ethnic subculture (center column) and (3) integration to both or rejection of both (right column). Since the phrasing of the third column appeared somewhat ambiguous, provisions were made to record clearly the respondent's opinion. However it soon appeared clear to the interviewers that rejection of both cultures did not occur, except on two isolated instances.

For purposes of correlation it was desired to reduce the tridimensional scales into an uni-dimensional scale. In doing so, the example provided by Guttman in discussing the Cornell technique was followed. ${ }^{1}$

There are eleven steps involved in applying the above technique of scale analysis:
$1_{\text {This can }}$ be found in Louis H. Guttman, "The Cornell Technique for Scale and Intensity Analysis, " Educational and Psychological Measurement, VII (1947), 248-79. Adapted in William Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952), pp. ${ }_{105}^{105-95}$.

1. Preliminary weights are arbitrarily, but not finally, assigned as 3, 2 and 1 , with 3 standing for the response most favorable to integration to both cultures, 2 for integration to the dominant American culture and 1 for integration to the ethnic subculture.
2. Each respondent is assigned a total score on the basis of the values in 1. The possible range of scores is, therefore, from 24 to 0.
3. The respondents are ordered from highest in score to lowest in score.
4. Table I (see p. 107) is arranged accordingly.
5. Next is the test for scalability. The approximate number of errors need not be counted at this stage, since it is evidently more than 15 per cent of all 544 responses (that is, 8 items $x 68$ respondents).
6. By combining categories, minor extraneous variables can be minimized. By examining the overlapping of the x's within the columns of each question, it $c$ an be determined how best to combine the categories so as to minimize the error of reproducibility for the combinations. Items $\underline{a}, \underline{c}$ and $\underline{h}$ cannot be used 2 The reason is the lack of distribution of items. Since they do not follow the logical pattern, it is safe to
[^2]TABLE I
CULTURAL INTEGRATION

conclude that these items are not correlated with any of the three types of integration and therefore they are not scalable.

Questions $\underline{e}$ and $\underline{h}$ did not yield any 2 score. The remaining items were combined as follows:

## Item Combination

| b | $(3)$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| d | $(3,2)^{(2,1)}$ |
| e | $(1)$ |
| f | $(3)^{(1)}$ |
| g | $(3,2)(1)$ |
|  | $(2,1)$ |

Each new combined category is assigned a weight. The new weights are:

8. Each person is given a new score, which represents his second trial rank order. This is done by re-scoring his interview schedule according to the new weights.
9. Table II is prepared accordingly (see p. 109).
10. The error of reproducibility in Table II seems much smaller than in Table I. Actual errors are counted by establishing cutting points in the rank order of the people which separate them according to the categories in which they would fall if the scale were perfect.

The error over all questions should not be much more than

TABLE II
CULTURAL INTEGRATION: SECOND TRIAL


10 per cent. In fact, in the present scale, it amounts exactly to 10.00 per cent. The conclusion is, therefore, that Table II is scalable. That is, from a person's rank order, his response to each question can be reproduced in terms of combined categories and rejected items with 90.00 per cent accuracy.
11. The test of the frequency of responses to each separate question must also be taken into account, since reproducibility of all items can be artificially high because one category in each item has a very high frequency. It can be proved that the reproducibility of an item can never be less than the largest frequency of its categories. An empirical rule for judging the spuriousness of scale reproducibility has been adopted to be the following: no category should have more error in it than non-error. The scale, as indicated in Table II, meets this criterion.


## APPENDIX C

## 1. Parish Letter of Credentials.

## la IGIESIA CATOLICA dE SAN do

El Padre Santiago Lorente está autorizado pori los Padres Dominicos de San Pío para hacer un estudio de este barrio.

Favor de cooperar en dodo 10 possible en las preguntas que le naga.


## ST. PIUS CATHOLIC CHURCH

Father Santiago Lorente is authorized by the Dominican Fathers of St. Pius to make a study of this community.

We would appreciate your cooperation in answering his questions.
2. Letter of Introduction to the Interview Schedule for the American Control Sample.

James Lorente 1100 N. Laramie Ave. Wilmette, Ill.

Dear Sir,
I am interested, in conjunction with the Master's Degree Program at Loyola University which I attend in finding out some of the attitudes prevalent among the people in this neighborhood. You have been chosen for this purpose. Some of the questions, as you will notice, are very general; others, however, are a little personal. Yet I ask you to feel free to answer exactly as you think. You know, this is not a test. You really cannot give wrong answers. What you answer in this interview will be kept strictly confidential; so, again, I ask you to be candid in your answers.

Thank you.
2. Letter of Introduction to the Interview Schedule for the Spanish-speaking Sample.

Santiago Lorente 1100 N. Laramie Ave. wilmette, Ill.

## Estimado señor:

En un estudio que tengo que hacer para sacar el título en sociología en la Universidad Loyola, en la que estudio, estoy interesado en conocer las opiniones de algunas personas que viven en este barrio. Para esto le he escogido yo a usted. Algunas preguntas, como usted verá, son muy generales. Otras, sin embargo, son un poquito personales. Con todo le ruego que sea sincero y responda exactamente de acuerdo con lo que usted piensa. Las preguntas que le voy a hacer no son un examen, por lo tanto es imposible que usted dé una respuesta equivocada. Lo que usted conteste lo mantendré en riguroso secreto, por lo tanto le ruego de nuevo que sea muy sincero en sus respuestas.

Muchas gracias.
3. Interview Schedule for the American Control Sample.
I) Where you born () in the United States?
() in Mexico?
( ) in Puerto Fico?
2) Are you ( ) married?
3) How many years have you lived in this community?

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ( ) } 0-1 \\
& 2=-4 \\
& \text { ( }) 5-9 \\
& 5=1 \\
& \text { ( } 0-19 \\
& 20-29 \\
& \text { () over } 30
\end{aligned}
$$

4) Now please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:
a. All a man should want out of life in Agree Disagree the way of a career is a secure, not too difficult a job, with enough pay to afford a nice car and eventually a home of his own.
b. When a man is born, the success he is going to have is already in the cards, so he might just as well accept it and not fight against it.
c. The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way.
d. Nothing is worth the sacrifice of moving away from one's parents.
e. The best kind of job to have is one where you are part of an organization $a l l$ working together even if you don't get individual credit.
f. Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly work anyway.
g. Nowadays with the world conditions the way they are the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself.
a. There is not much that I can do about most of the important problems that we face today.
b. Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand just what is going on.
c. In order to get ahead in the world today, you are almost forced to do some things which are not right.
d. I'm not much interested in TV
5) Have you worked full-time
( ) all of last year?
) most of last year?
) only briefly last year?
about half of the time last year?
( ) none of last year?
6) Do you consider yourself a religious person?

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ( ) yes } \\
& \text { () no } \\
& \text { () undecided }
\end{aligned}
$$

12) What denomination do you belong to?
( ) Catholic
Protestant
If yes, specify
() Jewish
None
13) In what year were you born?
( $\left.)=\begin{array}{l}1880-1889 \\ 1890-1899 \\ 1900-1909 \\ \text { ( }) \\ 1910-1919 \\ 1920-1929 \\ 1930-1939 \\ 1940-1949\end{array}\right)$
14) How far have you advanced in school?
$($ (:) Graduate or professional training
Graduated from college
Some college training
( Graduated from high school
10-1l years
( $)=9$ years
() $)$ less four years than four years
[The interview schedule for the American control sample ends here. The remaining questions were asked only of the Spanishspeaking respondents. An English translation is offered here since these questions appear below only in Spanish on pp. 1234.]
15) In what year did you come to this country?

16) What was your main reason for coming to this country?
17) Have you found what you were looking for?

( ) Y yes | no |
| :--- |
| undecided |

18) In your home country, did you live in a

$$
\left(\begin{array}{l}
\text { city? } \\
\text { smali town? } \\
\text { country side? }
\end{array}\right.
$$

19) Please answer not the following questions:
a. What do you prefer to be called?
() American? ( ) Mexican? ( ) No preference?
(Puerto Rican?)
b. What people would you prefer to live with in your neighborhood?
() American? () Mexican? ( ) No preference? (Puerto Rican?)
c. If given a choice, what type of school would you prefer for your children?
( ) Mostly white () Mostly Spanish? ( ) No preference? American?
d. What kind of politician would you vote for?
( ) One who stresses( ) One who empha- ( ) No preference? the needs of all sizes the needs people, not of the Spanishespecially Spanish-speakin?
e. Some churches have services in Spanish, some in English, others in both. In which language do you prefer those religious services?
( ) English? ( ) Spanish? (') No preference?
f. Do you prefer to make close friends with
( ) Americans? () Mexicans? ( ) No preference?
(Puerto Ricans?)
g. Do you prefer radio or TV programs in
(') English? () Spanish? ${ }^{(1)}$ ()No preference?
h. Do you prefer that a Mexican (or Puerto Rican) marry
( ) Another white( )Another Nexican? ( ) Indifferent? American? (Puerto Rican?)

## 4. Interview Schedule for the Spanish-speaking Sample.

I) ¿Dónde nació usted?

> ( ) en los Estados Unidos?
> ( ) en México?
> ( en Puerto Rico?
2) ${ }_{\dot{C}}^{\text {Es }}$ usted

$$
\begin{aligned}
& () \text { casado? } \\
& \text { () viudo? } \\
& \text { separado? } \\
& \text { divorciado? }
\end{aligned}
$$

3) ¿Cuántos años hace que vive usted en este barrio?
4) Ahora dígame por favor si está de acuerdo o no con las opiniones que le voy a decir:

$$
\text { de Estoy } \frac{\text { acuerdo }}{\text { de } \frac{\text { No estoy }}{\text { acuerdo }}}
$$

a. Lo único que uno debe desear en esta vida en lo que se refiere a carrera es un empleo seguro, que no sea muy difícil, con suficiente paga como para, poder comprar un buen carro y algún día una casa propia.
b. Cuando uno nace, el porvenir ya está ( ) predeterminado. De modo que es preferible aceptar el porvenir y no luchar en contra de él.
c. El secreto para ser feliz es no esperar ( ) mucho de esta vida y quedarse satisfecho con lo que le salga a uno al paso.
d. No hay nada que valga la pena el sacrificio de dejar la casa de los padres propios.
e. El mejor empleo es aquel en donde uno
es parte de una organización, todos trabajando juntos, aun cuando no reconozcan a uno los méritos personales.
f. El planear no le hace a uno feliz, puesto que los planes que uno hace nunca resultan.
g. Hoy día, del modo como esta el mundo, una persona sensata vive el día de hoy, y no se preocupa del mañana.
5a. Yo no puedo hace casi nada por resolver los problemas con los que nos enfrentamos hoy en día.
b. Las cosas se han vuelto tan complicadas en el mundo de hoy que realmente no entiendo lo que está pasando.
c. Para progresar en el mundo de hoy uno está forzado a hacer algunas cosas que no esta bien el hacerlas.
d. Los programas de TV, películas o revis- ( ) tas que le gustan a la mayoría de la gente no me interesan a mí.
e. A menudo me siento muy solo.
f. Yo realmente no disfruto con todo el trabajo que hago, pero creo que debo hacerlo para poder conseguir otras cosas que necesito y que quiero.
6) ¿Me podría decir cuál fue el primer empleo que tuvo al ¿llegar a los Estados Unidos?
7) ¿Me podría decir cuál es su empleo actual?
8) ¿Por cuánto tiempo ha tenido este empleo?
9) ¿Podría calcular cuánto dinero gano el año pasado?

10) ¿Ha trabajado usted "full-time"?

> ( ) durante todo el año pasado? ( ) durante la mayor parte del año pasado? ( ) porante la mitad del año pasado? corto tiempo durante el año ( ) pasado? ( nunca durante el año pasado?
11) ¿Se considera usted un hombre religioso?

() sí | no |
| :--- |
| () indeciso |

12) ¿A qué denominación religiosa pertenece usted?
( ) Católica
Protestante
( ) Judía
() Ninguna
13) ¿En qué año nació usted?
14) ¿Cuántos años de educación ha recibido usted?

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ( ) educación graduada o profesional } \\
& \text { ( ) "college" acabado } \text { algo de educación en un "college" } \\
& \text { ( ) escuela ("high school") acabada } \\
& \text { (0-11 años } \\
& \text { ( } 7-9 \text { años } \\
& \text { ( }) \text { menos de } 7 \text { años } \\
& \text { ( }) 4 \text { años } 4 \text { años } \\
& 4 \text { anos }
\end{aligned}
$$

15) ¿En qué año vino usted a los Estados Unidos?

|  | 1900-1909 |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | 1910-1919 |
|  | 1920-1929 |
|  | 1930-1939 |
|  | 1940-1949 |
|  | 1950-1959 |
|  | 1960-1964 |
|  | 1964-1965 |

16) ¿Cuál fue la razón principal por la que vino a los Estados Unidos?
17) ¿Ha hallado lo que buscaba?

( ) sí | no |
| :--- |
| ( indeciso |

18) En su país de origen, civivió usted en
() una ciudad?
( ) una poblacion pequeña?
( ) en el campo?
19) Por favor, respóndame a las siguientes preguntas:
a. ¿Cómo prefiere que le llamen a usted?
() Americano? () Miejicano?
( ) da lo mismo? (Portorriqueño?)
b. ¿Con qué clase de personas prefiere usted vivir en su barrio? () Americanos? () Mejicanos? () da lo mismo? (Portorriqueños?)
c. Si le dan a elegir, cqué tipo de escuela prefiere para sus hijos?

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { (') Americana en su } \\
& \text { mayor parte ( ) Latina en su mayor } \\
& \text { parte? }
\end{aligned}
$$

d. Por qué candidato político votaría usted?
(') Uno que se (r) uno que se interesa ( ) da lo mismo?
interesa por por las necesidades
todo el mun- de los latinos?
do y no espe-
cialmente por
los latinos?
e. Algunas iglesias tienen sus ceremonias en español, otras en inglés, y otras en español y en inglés. ¿En qué leggua prefiere usted las ceremonias religiosas?
() en inglés () en español ( ) da lo mismo.
f.¿Con quién prefiere usted hacerse amigo íntimo?
( ) con America-( ) con Me jicanos?
nos?
(Portorriqueños?) () da lo mismo.
g. ¿En qué lengua prefiere usted los programas de radio y TV? ( ) en inglés ( ) en español ( ) da lo mismo.
h. ¿Prefiere usted que las personas mejicanas se casen con ( ) Americanos? ( ) Mejicanos? ( ) indiferente. (Portorriqueños?)

Muchas gracias por su ayuda.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Primary Sources

Books
Allport, Gordon W. The Nature of Prejudice. Garden City, N.Y.:
Barron, Milton L. (ed.) American Minorities. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1957.

Gittler, Joseph B. (ed.) Understanding Minority Groups. New York: Science Edition, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964.

Glazer, Nathan and Moynihan, Daniel P. Beyond the Melting Pot. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1964.

Goode, William and Hatt, Paul K. Methods in Social Research. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952.

Handlin, Oscar. The Newcomers. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1962 .

- The Uprooted. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1952.

Kendell, Patricia and Lazarsfeld, Paul F. "Problems of Survey Analysis," in Merton and Lazarsfeld (eds.) Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier." Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950.

Kluckhohn, Clyde and Kelly, William. "The Concept of Culture," in Linton, Ralph (ed.) The Science of Man in the World Crisis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.

Lenski, Gerhard. The Religious Factor. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1963.

Lerner, Max. America as a Civilization. New York: Simon and Shuster, 1957.

Lipset, Seymour M. Political Man. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1963.

McClelland. David C. The Achieving Society. Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1961.

MicDonagh, Edward C. and Richards, Eugene S. Ethnic Relations in The United States. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953.

Merrill, Francis E. and Eldredge, Handford W. Culture and Society. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1952.
Merton, Robert K. Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957.

Mills, C. Wright, Senior, Clarence and Goldsen, Rose K. Puerto Rican Journey. New York: Harper, 1950.

Rose, Peter I. They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States. New York; Random House, 1963.
Vsaunders, Lyle. Cultural Differences and Medical Care, The Case of the Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954 .

Senior, Clarence. "The Puerto Rican in the United States," in Gittler, Joseph B. (ed.) Understanding Minority Groups. New York: Science Editions, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964.
Simpson, George E. and Yinger, J. Milton. Racial and Cultural Minorities. New York: Harper, 1958.
Stein, Maurice and Vidich, Arthur. (eds.) Sociology in Trial. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963.
Thomas, William I. and Znaniecki, Florian. The Polish Peasant in Europe and America. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918.
U.S. Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstracts of the U.S.: 1962 1. $\frac{\text { ( } 83 \mathrm{rd} .}{}$ ed.), Washington, D.C., 1962, Table 120, p. 98.

Woods, Frances J. Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups. New York: Harper, 1956.

Articles and Periodicals
Bullock, Paul. "Employment Problems of the Mexican-American," Industrial Relations, III (May, 1964), 37-50.

Eckland, Bruce K. "Academic Ability, Higher Education and Occupational Mobility," American Sociological Review, XXX (October, 1963), 743-56.

Fitzpatrick, Joseph. "Cultural Pluralism and Religious Identification: A Review," Sociological Analysis, XXV (Summer, 1964), 129-34.

Guttman, Louis H. "The Cornell Technique for Scale Intensity Analysis," Educational and Psychological Measurement, VII (1947), $248-79$.

Katz, D. and Braly, K. "Racial Stereotypes of One-Hundred College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXVIII (December, 1963), 973-77.

Meier, Dorothy L. and Bell, Wendell.g "Anomia and Differential Access to the Achievement of Life Goals," American Sociological Review, XXIV (April, 1959), 189-202.

Middleton, Russell, "Alienation, Race and Education," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (December, 1963), 973-77.

Monserrat, Joseph. "Cultural Values and the Puerto Rican," Institute on Cultural Patterns of Newcomers. Chicago: Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 1964, 59-70.

Poblete, Renato and ODDea, Thomas F. "Anomia and the Quest for Cormunity: The Formation of Sects Among the Puerto Ricans of New York," The American Catholic Sociological Review, XXII (Spring, 1960), 18-36.

Rosen, Bernard C. "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review, XXI (April, 1956), 203-11.

- "Race, Ethnicity and Achievement," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), 47-60. - "Socialization and Achievement Notivation in Brazil," American Sociological Review, XXVII (October, 1962), 612-24.

Sister Mary Inmaculate. Mexican Cultural Patterns," Institute on Cultural Patterns of Newcomers. Chicago: Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 1964, 41-58.

Stephenson, Richard. Miobility Orientation and Stratification of a Thousand Ninth-Graders," American Sociological Review, XXII (April, 1957), 204-212.

Unpublished Naterial
Hollingshead, August B. Two Factor Index of Social Position. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University, 1957.

McGarray, Sister Francesca. "A Study of the Variations of Cultural Patterns Among Three Generations of Mexicans in San Antonio, Texas." Unpublished M. A. thesis, Our Lady of the Lake College, Wordon School of Social Service, 1957.

Richer, Robert Andrew. "A Study of Assimilation Patterns Found Among Former Agricultural Nigrant Families of Mexican Descent." Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Loyola University, Chicago, 1962.

## Secondary Sources

## Books

Berry, Brewton. Race and Ethnic Relations. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951.

Blumer, Herbert. Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences: An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America." New York: Social Science Research Council, 1949.

Bogardus, E. S. Immigration and Race Attitudes. Boston: Heath, 1928.

Dean, John P. and Rosen, Alex. A Manual of Intergroup Relations. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955 .

Fairchild, Henry P. Race and Nationality as Factors in American Life. New York: Ronal Press Co., I947.

Gordon, Milton. Assimilation in American Life. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Handin, Oscar (ed.) Immigration as a Factor in American 1959.
Higham, John. Strangers in the Land. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955.

McClelland, David C. The Achieving Society. Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1961.

Mcwilliams, Carey. North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States. New York: Monthly Review

Padilla, Elena. Up From Puerto Rico. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.

Ramos, Samuel. Profile of Man and Culture in Mexico. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962.

Rand, Christopher, The Puerto Ricans. Fair Lawn, N.J. Oxford University Press, 1958.

Senior, Clarence. Strangers--Then Neighbors. New York: Freedom Books, 1961.

Wilson, Colin. The Outsider. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1956. Articles and Periodicals

Adler, Haim. "Absortion of Immigrants," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXXVI (April, 1963), 386-7.

Broom, Leonard and Shevky, Eshref. Mexicans in the United States, a Problem in Social Differentiation," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVI (January, 1952), 158-ff.

Clark, John P. MMeasuring Alienation Within a Social Structure," American Sociological Review, XXIV (December, 1959), 849-52.

David, Anthony. "Alienation, Social Apperception and Ego Structure," Journal of Consulting Psychology, XIX (1955), 21-27.

Francis, E. K. "The Nature of the Ethnic Group," American Journal of Sociology, LII (1946-47), 393-400.

Humphrey, D. D. "The Changing Structure of the Detroit Mexican Family: An Index of Acculturation," American Sociological Review, IV (1944), 622-23.
Nettler, Gwinn. "A Measure of Alienation," American Sociological Review, XXII (December, 1957), 670-77.
Reicher, Robert A. MMexicans in Our Midst," The Priest, XIII (September, 1957), 680-85.

Senior, Clarence. "Migration and Economic Development," Journal of Educational Sociology, (December, 1954), 151-56.

Spiro, Melford E. "The Acculturation of American Ethnic Groups," American Anthropologist, LVII (1955), 1240-52.

Srole, Leo. "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploration Study," American Sociological Review, XXI (December, 1956), 709-16.

Taft, Ronal A. "The Shared Frame of Reference Concept Applied to the Assimilation of Immigrants," Hunan Relations, VI (1953), 45-56.

Winstock, S. Alexander. "Role Elements: A Link Between Acculturation and Occupational Status," British Journal of Sociology, XIV (1963), 144-49.

Unpublished Material
Lennon, John J. "A Comparative Study of the Patterns of Acculturation of Selected Puerto Rican Protestant and Roman Catholic Families in an Urban Metropolitan Area (Chicago)." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1963.

Polczynski, Sister Mary Theresita. "A Comparative Cross-cultural Study of Values of Chicago and Lima Children by Social Classes." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Loyola University, Chicago, 1964.

## APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Mr. James Lorente, S.J. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fullfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.


Signature of Adviser


[^0]:    Chapter ${ }^{3}$ The references to these studies will be presented in

[^1]:    For an explanation as well as for the distinction among

[^2]:    $2^{\text {Item a }}$ reads: "What do you prefer to be called?"; item c reads: "What type of school would you prefer for your chicdren?" and item h reads: Whom do you prefer that a Mexican marry...? ${ }^{*}$

