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A Comparative Cross-Cultural Study of Values of Chicago and Lima Children by Social Classes

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A COMPARATIVE CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF VALUES
OF CHICAGO AND LIMA CHILDREN
BY SOCIAL CLASSES

By

Sister Mary Theresita Polczynski, S.S.J.

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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LIFE

Sister Mary Theresita was born in Illinois on August 12, 1915. Having completed the elementary grades in Colorado and secondary education in Wisconsin, she received a Bachelor of Arts degree from DePaul University in Chicago in 1939 and a Master of Arts degree in Sociology from Loyola University in the same city in 1959.

As a Sister of St. Joseph of the Third Order of St. Francis, Sister has taught in the elementary schools of Illinois and Indiana and in the high schools of Chicago. She spent two summers participating in the work of the Chicago Friendship House, and one summer teaching Sociology in the Sister Formation College of her own Congregation.

In preparation for the research reported in the present volume, she spent four months in Quernavaca, Mexico, at the Center of Intercultural Formation studying the Latin American culture and the Spanish language. This was followed by ten weeks of field work and intensive research in Lima, Peru, South America.

As a member of the American Catholic Sociological Society, Sister read a paper in the high school section during the national convention of the Society in 1958. She has been invited to report the findings compiled in this work at the 1964 convention of the same Society in Montreal, Canada.

In response to the encouragement, advice, and direction of Dr. Paul Mundy of Loyola, Sister Theresita began to write for various periodicals in the autumn of 1959 and to date has had over 35 articles, twelve pamphlets, and a paperback published.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer expresses grateful appreciation to all who have contributed directly or indirectly to the production of the present work. Particularly deserving of thanks are the Religious Superiors without whose favorable disposition toward the project such an undertaking could not even have been initiated, Dr. Jerome Levy who graciously granted permission for the use of his test in adapted form, Dr. Salazar Romero of the Peruvian Ministry of Education whose personal interest and assistance dissolved all possible technical obstacles to the study in Lima, Marta Bisetti who translated the English version of the test into colloquial Peruvian, Dr. John Flanagan of Loyola's Psychology Department who rendered invaluable aid in the statistical part of the study, Dr. Frank Cison who devoted many hours to checking and discussing the manuscript, Dr. Paul Mundy who encouraged the choice of the field and contributed valuable suggestions, Dr. Urban Fleege of De Paul who provided practical insights into the area of values, Sister Mary Louise, S.S.J., who typed and duplicated the English copies of the test, Lorraine Anglet who typed the final copies of the manuscript, all the teachers who participated in the experiment north and south of the equator, and the very many Sisters of St. Joseph who wholeheartedly gave assistance in many ways to bring the project to successful completion.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Does the American society as a system exert greater influence over the basic values of its members than do the subsystems called social classes? Which in general takes priority when choices are made by members of both? This is the problem the present study sets out to investigate.

Parsons' interpretation of the American system in terms of the universalism-achievement (or performance) pattern, implies that the strategic subsystem is the occupational.¹ But the kind of work one does is closely related (in general) to one's income, education, and place of residence. These, in turn, are social class indices. Therefore, if social classes differ in their value systems, as Centers² found, what is the relative strength of the two value systems?

The point of concern here is not the distinguishing of the kinds of values that predominate, but rather the identifying of which set is dominant, that of the system or that of the subsystem, when the matter of applying value choices is presented to persons belonging to one of the three major subsystems called social classes in the larger cultural system.

¹Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory (Glencoe, 1954), pp. 386-439.

²Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton, 1949), p. 92.

For years students of sociology who focused on values as the field of their research provoked dissension, for from the time of its organization as a separate discipline, sociology was plagued by controversies over the approach to the study of values. Eventually two major trends emerged; representative of one is Parsons, of the other is Lundberg.

An important factor contributing toward a more willing acceptance of values as part of the sociological field was the development within the past few decades of instruments attempting to measure in an objective way a phenomenon so subjective as values. The Allport-Vernon Study of Values, first of these attempts, has been the most extensively used by investigators. With this test, more than with any other, research has been conducted to assess relationships of personal values within subsystems built around such variables as sex, major academic interest, achievement, occupation and vocational interest, friendship and marriage, religious backgrounds, discriminatory practices, rural-urban and social-class differences, and cultural similarities and differences.

Most work has been done with college and university students and other adult populations; little on the secondary school level, and less on the elementary. The question of immaturity and changing values in youth and children has complicated the problem. Studies carried out on high school students and upper grade children give evidence of a "stable and continuous development of

psychological discrimination by pupils with respect to social-motivational values functioning in the classrooms of our American culture."³ However, this research has reflected no social class differences. Likewise, inter-cultural testing has revealed little difference in values between members of different cultures.

The purpose of this chapter is to sketch the general background for the present work by stating briefly and specifically, contemporary attitudes of sociologists towards the study of values; by outlining what has been done in this field to relate values to a number of variables; and by drawing up the hypothesis followed by operational definitions of the terms to be used.

Values as the object of sociological research have aroused controversy from the early history of the discipline when Weber protested against the declaration of Comte that only that which is observable constitutes subject matter for sociology students. Weber's question was: can values be judged by overt action alone? His own answer was in the negative.

Disagreements over the issue did not abate with time. Fichter, reviewing close to a hundred years of the history of sociology, commented:

Perhaps no other subject has caused so much controversy among sociologists as the study of values. Their attempt to act as "value-free" scientists has sometimes led to the suggestion that they believe social values have no reality,

³S. L. Witryol, "Age Trends in Children's Evaluation of Teacher Approved and Teacher-Disapproved Behavior," Genetic Psychological Monograph, XLI (1950), 320.

cannot be studied without the involvement of one's personal values, or are purely psychological and ethical entities, outside the orbit of social science. At the present time, however, it is generally agreed among sociologists that values are important social facts and that they can be submitted to scientific study and analysis.⁴

In 1938, Hart, at the termination of an exhaustive inquiry, published these conclusions:

It is widely asserted by sociologists, and denied by none, as far as the present writer has discovered, that ethical valuations, ideals, approvals, and disapprovals, since they are socially conditioned, and since they influence social behavior and social change, enter in very important ways into the subject matter of sociology, are a proper concern of scientific sociology, and indeed cannot be ignored by the sociologist.⁵

However, beyond the general point of agreement that "values exist and can be studied by sociologists as social facts," dissension continues. How are values to be studied? Lundberg and Dodd and their followers hold Comte's original contention that the observable is the limit of a sociologist's research, and this can be translated into statistics and formulas which, if properly manipulated, will eventually result in laws of behavior.

On the other hand, Weber's "verstehen" approach lives on in Parsons, Merton, Furfey, and others--an approach which was succinctly verbalized by an anthropologist in 1956:

⁴Joseph Fichter, *Sociology* (Chicago, 1957), p. 293.

⁵Hornell Hart, "Value-Judgments in Sociology," American Sociological Review, III (December 1938), 866.

. . . The student of the community has two positions to assume. . . in communicating what he has learned. . . He must first take the position of the nomad or agricultural worker or citizen . . . and look out on something as that person looks out upon it. The investigator has to see the meaning, understand the valuation, and feel the feeling connected with the object or act in the mind of the native. Only when he has seen it from the native's point of view may the investigator change his viewpoint and look at that object or act--together with the meaning and the value it has for the native--as an object of scientific interest now to be described from the outside and related by the investigator to other things according to the demands of a more detached and abstract understanding.

The necessity to see the thing first from the inside and then from the outside arises in understanding anything personal or cultural.⁶

The problem of studying values took on increasing importance with the 1930's because an instrument for measuring such phenomena objectively had been constructed by Allport and Vernon⁷ early in the decade, following Thurstone's demonstration of the utility of psychophysics in studying values a few years earlier⁸, and ushering⁹ the first concrete attempt to score personal values by distribution of weights by the respondent.

The search for a means of applying a definite type of objective measure to subjective values had been begun as early as

⁶Robert Redfield, The Little Community (Chicago, 1956), p. 81

⁷G. W. Allport and P. E. Vernon, A Study of Values (Boston, 1931).

⁸L. L. Thurstone, "The Method of Paired Comparisons for Social Values," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXI (1927), 384-400.

1780 by Bentham⁹. However, sociologists and anthropologists investigating group or personal values prior to 1927¹⁰ adopted case histories, field work, and observation as their techniques. Durkheim and others had used the statistical method, but not for measuring personal values.

Research Instruments for Studying Values. The Publication of The Study of Values was followed by a spurt not only in research in the field of values, but also in the production for the market of a number of other tests of values. Among these were: Lurie's¹¹ approach to the Spranger types by the method of factor analysis; Thorndike's¹² work on individual differences as well as on the valuation of certain pains and related experiences¹³; Jacob's focus on the investigation of values held by students on the

⁹J. Bentham, An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation (New York, 1780).

¹⁰LePlay, Sumner, Ward, Znaniecki, Furfey, Benedict, Mead Malinowski, Boas, and others.

¹¹W. A. Lurie, "A Study of Spranger's Value Types by the Method of Factor Analysis," Journal of Social Psychology, VIII (January, 1937), 17-37.

¹²E. L. Thorndike, "Individual Differences in Valuation," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXXIII (1938), 71-85.

¹³E. L. Thorndike, "Valuation of Certain Pains, Deprivations, and Frustrations," Journal of Genetic Psychology, LI (1937), 227-239.

West Coast¹⁴; the concentration of Van Dusen, Wimberly, and Mosier on standardizing a values inventory¹⁵; Glaser's and Maller's specialization in measuring interest values¹⁶; Wickert's production of a test for personal goal-values¹⁷ and Cohen's for aesthetic value¹⁸; Woodruff's identification of means to relate personal values to the direction of behavior¹⁹; Harding's preparation of a generalizations test of value-types²⁰; Friedman's clarification of the foundations of the measurement of values²¹;

¹⁴G. W. Jacobs, "Investigating the Student's System of Values," California Journal of Secondary Education, XIV (1939), 339-341.

¹⁵A. C. Van Dusen, S. Wimberly, and C. I. Mosier, "Standardization of a Values Inventory," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXX (1939), 53-62.

¹⁶E. M. Glaser and J. B. Maller, "The Measurement of Interest Values," Character and Personality, IX (1940), 67-81.

¹⁷F. Wickert, "A Test for Personal Goal-Values," Journal of Social Psychology, XI (1940), 259-274.

¹⁸J. B. Cohen, "A Scale for the Measurement of Attitude toward the Aesthetic Value," Journal of Psychology, XII (1941), 75-79.

¹⁹A. D. Woodruff, "Personal Values and the Direction of Behavior," School Review, L (1942), 32-42.

²⁰L. W. Harding, "A Value-Type Generalization Test," Journal of Social Psychology, XIX (1944), 53-79.

²¹B. Friedman, "Foundations of the Measurement of Values," Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 914 (1946).

White's explanation of the nature and use of the value-analysis method²²; and Thurstone's comprehensive work on the measurement of values²³, to mention some.

Research in Values of Adult Population after 1931. Researchers interested in the field of values, provided with this variety of tools, undertook projects to such an extent that Werkmeister's statement of possibilities for sociological research, made in 1959 could have been mistaken for a summary of the areas in which investigations had been extended since Hart's²⁴ declaration twenty years earlier.

The conditions under which values arise, the specific values accepted by particular groups, the ways in which values become modified, the effects of valuations on human behavior—all these social scientists are concerned. Social studies . . . may involve attempts to determine what value judgments are actually made by a particular group and how the value commitments of one group differ from similar commitments of some other group.²⁵

All of the variables listed by Hart had been singled out for research. However, a relatively large number of them were concerned with gathering data ". . . to determine what value judgments

²²R. K. White, Value-Analysis, the Nature and Use of the Method (Gardner, 1951).

²³L. L. Thurstone, The Measurement of Values (Chicago, 1952).

²⁴Hart, p. 866.

²⁵W. H. Werkmeister, "Theory Construction and the Problem of Objectivity," Symposium on Sociological Theory, ed. L. Gross (Evanston, 1959), p. 499.

are actually made by a particular group and how the value commitments of one group differs from similar commitments of some other group."²⁶ The present study also belongs to this category. For this reason, a brief summary of investigations of this type is presented here. Although a number of methods of inquiry were used in the projects to be discussed, a majority of them used the Allport-Vernon Study of Values (college level).

Sex Differences and Similarities. The studies of Cantril and Allport²⁷, Pinter²⁸, Hartmann²⁹, Spoerl³⁰, and Triplett³¹, among others, indicated sex differences in the adult population they tested: men scored higher than women on Allport-Vernon theoretical, economic, and political values, but lower on the aesthetic, religious, and social values.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷H. Cantril and G. W. Allport, "Recent Applications of the Study of Values," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXVII (1933), 259-273.

²⁸R. Pinter, "A Comparison of Interests, Abilities, and Attitudes," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXVII (1933), 351-357.

²⁹G. W. Hartmann, "Sex Differences in Valuational Attitudes," Journal of Social Psychology, V (1934), 106-112.

³⁰D. Spoerl, "The Values of the Post-War College Student" Journal of Social Psychology, XXXV (1952), 217-225.

³¹R. J. Triplett, "Interests of Commercial Students," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXIX (1935), 409-414.

The facet of sex similarities was emphasized as an outcome of studies by Crissman³² and Skaggs³³. Hartmann, attempting to reconcile differences with similarities, arrived at the conclusion that an elemental approach de-emphasizes psychological differences between the sexes, whereas "a more comprehensive framework accentuates them, because even though the elements are identical, the organization may be different."³⁴

Major Academic Interest. In the investigations attempting to relate values to major academic interest undertaken by Whitely³⁵, Cantril and Allport³⁶, Harris³⁷, Triplett³⁸, Wickert³⁹, Barrett⁴⁰, and Golden⁴¹, commercial and business students scored above the Allport-Vernon norm for the economic value, but below the norm

³²P. Crissman, "Temporal Change and Sexual Difference in Moral Judgments," Journal of Social Psychology, XVI (1942), 29-38.

³³E. B. Skaggs, "Sex Differences in Moral Attitudes," Journal of Social Psychology, XI (1940), 3-10.

³⁴Hartmann, "Sex Differences in Valuational Attitudes."

³⁵P. L. Whitely, "A Study of the Allport-Vernon Test for Personal Values," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXVII (1933), 6-13.

³⁶Cantril and Allport, p. 265.

³⁷D. Harris, "Group Differences in Values with a University," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXIV (1934), 95-102.

³⁸R. J. Triplett, pp. 413-414.

³⁹F. Wickert, "The Interrelationships of Some General and Specific Preferences," Journal of Social Psychology, XXVIII (1933), 6-13.

⁴⁰D. M. Barrett, "Aptitude and Interest Patterns of Art Majors in Liberal Arts College," Journal of Applied Psychology, XXIX (1945), 483-492.

⁴¹A. L. Golden, "Personality Traits of Drama School Students," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXVI (1940), 564-575.

for the aesthetic. Students of literature and drama ranged above average on the aesthetic value, and those of science, on the theoretical. Medical students scored higher than those in law, business, or engineering, on the theoretical, but lower than the law students on the political. Liberal arts students' scores showed them to be more aesthetic and more theoretical than business or engineering students, but business and law students were more political than those in the liberal arts. Law students scored lower on the economic value than those in business, but higher than those in the liberal arts, these latter being higher on the economic than medical students.

Achievement. Arsenian⁴², Seagoe⁴³, and Rothery⁴⁴, in focusing on relationships between values and achievement, concluded that a positive relationship exists between the social value and both intelligence and class marks, and a negative relationship between

⁴²S. Arsenian, "The Relation of Evaluative Attitudes to Vocational Interest and Social Adjustment," Journal of Social Psychology, XVII (1943), 17-24.

⁴³M. V. Seagoe, "Permanence of Interest in Teaching," Journal of Educational Research, XXXVIII (1945), 678-684.

⁴⁴J. W. M. Rothery, "Evaluative Attitudes and Academic Success," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXVII (1936), 292-298.

intelligence and the political and economic values. Arsenian emphasized the positive nature of the findings: "Support for the observed relationship between the social value and achievement in college may be found in the significantly higher social values of those who successfully complete college, as compared to those of withdrawals."⁴⁵

Occupation and Vocational Interest. The relation of values to occupation and vocational interest is quite similar to their relation to major academic interest, as revealed by studies in the two fields. In relating values to occupation, Pugh⁴⁶, McCarthy⁴⁷, and Peters⁴⁸ found persons in religious occupations or training programs scoring unusually high on the religious value in the original Allport-Vernon test, confirming expectations.

⁴⁵ Arsenian, p. 22

⁴⁶ T. J. Pugh, "A Comparative Study of the Values of a Group of Ministers and Two Groups of Laymen," Journal of Social Psychology, XXXIII (1951), 225-235.

⁴⁷ T. J. McCarthy, "Personality Traits of Seminararians," Studies in Psychology and Psychiatry of the Catholic University of America, V (1952), No. 4.

⁴⁸ R. Peters, "A Study of Inter-Correlations of Personality Traits Among a Group of Novices in Religious Communities," Studies in Psychology and Psychiatry of the Catholic University of America, V (1952), No. 7.

Van Dusen⁴⁹, Sarbin with Berdie⁵⁰, Duffy with Crissy⁵¹, Burgemeister⁵², Ferguson with Humphreys and Strong⁵³, and others, sought to relate results of value studies to those of vocational-interest inventories. Most consistently reported relationships linked positively interest in being an office worker to the economic and social values; an artist to aesthetic; and an engineer or scientist to theoretical; a physician to theoretical, social, and religious. Negative relationships included engineer-political; office worker-theoretical; and artist-scientist-, physician-, and architect-economic.

Friendship and Marriage. In the area of friendship and marriage, significant value relationships between husband and wife and between pairs of mutual friends have been demonstrated by the findings of Schooley⁵⁴, Richardson⁵⁵,

⁴⁹A. G. Van Dusen, pp. 53-62.

⁵⁰T. R. Sarbin and R. F. Berdie, "Relation of Measured Interests to the Allport-Vernon Study of Values," Journal of Applied Psychology, XXIV (1940), 287-296.

⁵¹E. Duffy and W. J. Crissy, "Evaluative Attitudes as Related to Vocational Interests and Academic Achievement," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXXV (1940), 226-245.

⁵²B. Burgemeister, "Permanence of Interests of Women College Students," Archives of Psychology, New York, 1940, No. 255.

⁵³L. W. Ferguson, L. G. Humphreys, and F. W. Strong, "A Factorial Analysis of Interests and Values," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXXII (1941), 197-204.

⁵⁴M. Schooley, "Personality Resemblances Among Married Couples," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXXI (1936), 340-347.

⁵⁵H. M. Richardson, "Community of Values as a Factor in Friendships of College and Adult Women," Journal of Social Psychology, XI (1940), 303-312.

Reader and English⁵⁷, Mitchell⁵⁸, Precker⁵⁹, and Thompson and Nishimura⁶⁰, among others.

Religious Backgrounds and Discriminatory Practices. Woodruff⁶¹ administered his Study of Chances (not the Allport-Vernon in this case) to twelve groups of persons who differed in religious affiliations and in geographic and socio-economic background, to study the effect of religious background on value orientations. He found a wider range of variation in religious values than in any other.

⁵⁷W. Reader and H. English, "Personality in Adolescent Female Friendships," Journal of Consultative Psychology, XL (1947), 212-220.

⁵⁸P. H. Mitchell, "An Evaluation of the Relationship of Values to Sociometric Selection," Microfilm Abstract, XI (1951), 304-305.

⁵⁹J. A. Precker, "Similarity of Valuing as a Factor in Selection of Peers and Near-Authority Figures," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XLVII (1952), 406-414.

⁶⁰W. R. Thompson and R. Nishimura, "Some Determinants of Friendship," Journal of Personality, XX (1952), 305-314.

⁶¹A. D. Woodruff, "Personal Values and Religious Backgrounds," Journal of Social Psychology, XXII (1945), 141-147.

In probing the effects of discriminatory practices on values, Eagleson and Bell⁶², and Gray⁶³ found that southern white and Negro women of limited cultural advantages scored highest on religious and lowest on aesthetic values.

Rural-Urban Differences. The variable of rural-urban differences was singled out for study by Landis⁶⁴ who, however, was not able to substantiate the hypothesis that rural girls are more economic and less aesthetic than urban girls.

On the other hand, Centers⁶⁵ found a positive relationship between town size and radicalism-conservatism, although Haer's study⁶⁶ showed this to be negligible, and Kerr⁶⁷ discovered differences in certain value areas, but not in others.

⁶²E. S. Bell, "The Values of Negro Women College Students," Journal of Social Psychology, XXII (1945), 149-154.

⁶³S. Gray, "A Note on the Values of Southern College Women, White and Negro," Journal of Social Psychology, XXV (1947), 239-241.

⁶⁴P. H. Landis, "Personality Differences of Girls from Farm, Town, and City," Rural Sociology, XIV (1949), 10-20.

⁶⁵Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes, p. 95.

⁶⁶J. L. Haer, "Conservatism-Radicalism and the Rural-Urban Continuum," Rural Sociology, XVII (1952), 111-125.

⁶⁷W. A. Kett, "Untangling the Liberalism-Conservatism Continuum," Journal of Social Psychology, XXXV (1952), 111-125.

These three did not use the Allport-Vernon test.

Social Class Differences. One of the outstanding works of research in this area has been that of Centers, mentioned previously. Bergel⁶⁸, Reissman⁶⁹, Gordon⁷⁰, Cuber and Kenkel⁷¹, Hollingshead⁷², and others⁷³ have studied social class and social stratification in a general way, without concentrating specifically on its relation to values. A number of studies focusing on this variable have been carried out, however, with elementary and secondary school children. These will be mentioned later in this chapter, and discussed at greater length in Chapter II.

⁶⁸E. Bergel, Social Stratification (New York, 1962).

⁶⁹L. Reissman, Class in American Society (Glencoe, 1959).

⁷⁰M. Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology (Durham, 1958).

⁷¹J. Cuber and W. Kenkel, Social Stratification in the United States (New York, 1954).

⁷²A. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York, 1947).

⁷³The Lynds, Warner, Lenski, Hinkle, Broom, Kahl, Cox, Dollard, and others.

Cultural Differences. Although McGranahan's data⁷⁴ pointed up differences between the social attitudes of German and American youth after World War II, several other cross-cultural studies have failed to uncover significant differences between American and other-cultural value systems as expressed by the tested groups. This was true of Morris' comparison of preferences for various occupations⁷⁵ among Asians, as well as of Lo's survey⁷⁶ of Chinese college students, and Goodman's⁷⁷ and Nobechi's and Kimura's⁷⁸ testing of Japanese college population. These will be discussed more fully in Chapter II.

Using the field method and observation combined with case

⁷⁴D. V. McGranahan, "A Comparison of Social Attitudes Among American and German Youth," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XLI (1946), 245-247.

⁷⁵G. Morris, "Comparative Strength of Life-Ideals in Eastern and Western Cultures," Essays in East-West Philosophy, ed. C. A. Moore (Honolulu, 1951), pp. 353-370.

⁷⁶C. F. Lo, "Moral Judgments of Chinese Students," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXXVII (1942), 264-269.

⁷⁷M. E. Goodman, "Values, Attitudes, and Social Concepts of Japanese and American Children," American Anthropologist, LIX (1957), 957-999.

⁷⁸M. Nobechi and T. Kimura, "Study of Values Applied to Japanese Students," Psychologia, I (1957), 120-122.

studies as methodology, Benedict⁷⁹, Mead⁸⁰, Malinowski⁸¹, Redfield⁸², Spitzer⁸³, and Lewis⁸⁴, to mention a few, have conducted fruitful research relative to values in other cultures. W. Whyte used a questionnaire of his own for his study in Lima, Peru.⁸⁵

Research in Values with Secondary and Elementary School Students as Subjects. Although the Allport-Vernon Study of Values is only one of several standardized tests of values available⁸⁶ (as has been mentioned previously), it has been used by a large majority of investigators in preference to others⁸⁷. One of its

⁷⁹R. Benedict, Patterns of Culture (New York, 1934), and other works.

⁸⁰M. Mead, Growing Up in New Guinea (New York, 1930); From the South Seas (New York, 1939); and others.

⁸¹B. Malinowski, The Father in Primitive Psychology (New York, 1927); A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays (New York, 1960); and others.

⁸²R. Redfield, Chan Kom, a Maya Village (Chicago, 1934); A Village That Chose Progress (Chicago, 1950); and others.

⁸³A. Spitzer, "Notes on a Merida Parish," Anthropological Quarterly, XXXI (January 1958), 3-20; and other articles.

⁸⁴O. Lewis, Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied (Urbana, 1951); The Five Families (New York, 1959); The Children of Sanchez (New York, 1961).

⁸⁵Information from a letter to the writer from Rose Goldsen, Cornell University, February 19, 1963. W. F. Whyte's work was part of the Cornell Values-Study Research Program. Results of his work are not available yet.

⁸⁶E. Duffy, "Tests of Evaluative Attitude," Psychological Bulletin, XXXVII (1940), 597-612.

⁸⁷W. F. Dukes, "Psychological Studies of Values," Psychological Bulletin, LII (1955), 30.

advantages lies in its being the pioneer test of its type. The concentration of studies on the college and university population may be one of the consequences of this fact, since the original instrument constructed in 1931 and the revised form of 1951 were both on the college level. The revisions of 1960 were only on material in the Manual.

Rothney's adaptation⁸⁸ of the test to the high school level in 1936 yielded a reliability coefficient of only .42 and, therefore, was not adopted by other researchers to any significant degree. The only other attempt to modify The Study of Values for use at a lower than college level was that of Levy⁸⁹, present coordinator of the Staff Development Program for the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education at the University of Colorado in Boulder, Colorado. Besides making the adaptation for the twelfth grade, he further simplified the vocabulary for readability at the seventh grade level. These two tests of Levy are still in the process of standardization (1963) and have not been made available to the public for research purposes except with his personal permission. Levy's simplest form was used as the basis for the testing instrument used in the present study. For this reason it will be discussed further in Chapter III. To date, studies below the college level have generally used other tools of measurement.

⁸⁸Duffy, p. 598.

⁸⁹Jerome Levy, "Modified Form of the Study of Values," Unpublished form.

A second probable reason for the dearth of research in values of children may be the problem of changing values in a child as he matures. The age at which a child can be expected to have a system of values stable enough for testing with the confidence that the outcome will be more than a mere transitory phase in development, has not yet been ascertained. Children do, of course, have a sense of values at different ages in varying degrees. Piaget⁹⁰ held that a child is a moral realist, a result partly of his own realism in general and partly of adult restraint. He judges acts predominantly in terms of objective responsibility, that is, by material consequences, not by intentions. On the other hand, Murphy and Newcomb questioned the validity of attributing a system of values to a young child as implying more conceptualization than can be expected of him⁹¹.

Experimenters who have worked with children identify specific value patterns they have discovered. Eberhart⁹² found evidence of respect for property in six-year-olds, and a team of

⁹⁰J. Piaget, Language and Thought of the Child (New York, 1926).

⁹¹G. Murphy, L. Murphy, and T. M. Newcomb, Experimental Social Psychology (New York, 1937).

⁹²J. C. Eberhart, "Attitudes toward property: A Genetic Study by the Paired-Comparisons Rating of Offenses," Journal of Genetic Psychology, LX (1942), 3-35.

investigators⁹³ concluded that the five-to-one ratios of own-group acceptance to own-group rejections in Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant children, aged five to eight, are a possible indication of fairly well developed social scales and attitudes in young children.

Goodman's work⁹⁴ uncovered definite citizenship values and knowledge of right and wrong in four-year-olds and Hollingsworth's studies⁹⁵ indicated that ethical insight develops early in life. Arnold and Frances Gesell held that children of eight have an awareness of values: "Eight wants to be good. He is now aware of the two opposing forces of good and bad. He feels their operation when he is acting one way or the other."⁹⁶

⁹³Marian Radke-Yarrow, H. G. Trager, and H. Davis, "Social Perception and Attitudes of Children," Genetic Psychological Monogram, XL (1949), 327-447.

⁹⁴M. E. Goodman, "Study of Relevant Values of Four-Year-Olds," Childhood Education, XXXV (February 1959), 248-251.

⁹⁵H. L. Hollingsworth, Psychology and Ethics (New York, 1949).

⁹⁶Arnold and Frances Gesell, The Child from Five to Ten (New York, 1946), p. 184.

Hawkes⁹⁷ considered elementary school children sufficiently stable in values to warrant their measurement, as did Engbretson⁹⁸ whose research disclosed that the nine-, ten-, and eleven-year-old children he worked with had begun to examine values for themselves. Seven- or eight-year-olds tended to respond to problems of values by ascribing in an almost blanket manner to the values they had learned earlier, but the nine-, ten-, and eleven-year-olds showed a progressive decline in applying or acting on values without question. In studying older children, the same investigator noted that the value climate of the peer group became the dominant influence for the youngsters in the upper grades and throughout the teens. Thompson similarly identified trends in peer-acceptance and peer-unacceptance behavior among adolescents.⁹⁹

Thompson also found evidence of change in valuation with age

⁹⁷ H. Hawkes, "Study of the Personal Values of Elementary School Children," Education and Psychological Measurements, IV (1952), 654-663.

⁹⁸ W. Engbretson, "Values of Children," Childhood Education, XXXV (1959), 25-61.

⁹⁹ G. Thompson, "Age Trends in Social Values during the Adolescent Years," American Psychologist, IV (1959), 250 (Abstract).

in his study focusing on the aesthetic.¹⁰⁰ Preferences for rectangles shifted from those of width-length ratios of .70-.75 for sixth graders to those approximating the mean for adults.

On the other hand, while Turner¹⁰¹ demonstrated that social values as represented by altruism appear early, yet within the range of his sample (nine to sixteen-year-old boys), age was not found significantly related to altruism; but Witryol¹⁰², working with boys and girls in grades six to twelve, did identify the changing quality of values among the members of this category:

The findings of this investigation demonstrate rather clearly the stable and continuous development of psychological discrimination by pupils with respect to social-motivational values functioning in the classrooms of the American culture. . . . These social values are probably a product of psychological maturation and learning in a given culture. A reasonable explanation of the consistently high correlation between adjacent age and sex groups may lie in the effects of a fairly homogeneous culture, with which children have extensive contacts during the pre-adolescent and adolescent school years. . . . The result of this interaction between levels of

¹⁰⁰G. Thompson, "The Effect of Chronological Age on Aesthetic Preferences for Rectangles of Different Proportions," Journal of Experimental Psychology, XXXVI (1946), 50-58.

¹⁰¹W. D. Turner, "Altruism and Its Measurement in Children," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XLIII (1948), 502-516.

¹⁰²Witryol, pp. 271-326.

maturity and a fairly stable and homogeneous culture are reflected in the rankings and dispersions of the social values at the various age-grade levels. . . . School children progressively learn with age to make more confident and more definite appraisals of these values in our culture.¹⁰³

This is in agreement with Werner's contention¹⁰⁴ that children have a flexible scale of values which "naturally changes not only to meet demands of the current situation, but also with the age level," but his explanation that a "fairly homogeneous culture" could possibly account for the "consistently high correlation between adjacent age and sex groups" raises the question: how "fairly homogeneous" is the culture?

It is true that Cuber and Kenkel¹⁰⁵ contend that the differences in wealth, privilege, and possessions range along a continuum "with imperceptible gradation from one person to another," but Mead¹⁰⁶, Myrdal¹⁰⁷, and others have made it clear that the ideal of homogeneity is verbalized but not practiced in the

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 320.

¹⁰⁴H. Werner, Comparative Psychology of Mental Development (Chicago, 1948), p. 384.

¹⁰⁵Cuber and Kenkel, p. 13.

¹⁰⁶M. Mead, And Keep Your Powder Dry (New York, 1943).

¹⁰⁷G. Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York, 1944).

concrete. Warner¹⁰⁸, the Lynds¹⁰⁹, and Dollard¹¹⁰, among others, found concrete evidence of an American social class system, and Centers¹¹¹, focusing specifically on the psychological aspect of this problem, was able to show differences in values among the members of the various American social classes.

Building on the findings just presented: 1) that children are capable of developing a value system which tends toward adult standards of preference as the child matures, and 2) that in the culture under consideration, class consciousness including a value system is present--the logical question to raise is: what is the relation of the first to the second? In other words, is the social class system which is part of this culture reflected in the personal value systems of its children?

In searching for an answer in studies carried out to date, the writer found that Witryol's work with boys and girls from grades

¹⁰⁸W. L. Warner, "American Caste and Class," American Journal of Sociology, XLII (September 1936), 234-237; see also his Yankee City Series.

¹⁰⁹Robert and Helen Lynd, Middletown (New York, 1929).

¹¹⁰J. Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (New Haven, 1937).

¹¹¹Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes.

six to twelve¹¹² involved no control of the social class variable. Woodruff's research¹¹³ on the values of 307 children resulted in differences in relation to sex, age groups, and individual differences; no record was made of differences between socio-economic groups, although the sample included "two urban schools with different socio-economic student populations." Neglecting other factors rendered the findings of Dolger and Ginandes¹¹⁴ in this field uncertain. Steiner¹¹⁵ found evidence of socio-economic value differences in his work with high school students, testing the effectiveness of defining social class objectively and subjectively. Rothman¹¹⁶, with his design specifically geared to test differences between lower-middle and upper-lower groups of high school students, found none. "It is possible," he explains,

112Witryol, pp. 271-326.

113A. D. Woodruff, "Personal Values and the Direction of Behavior," School Review, L (1942), 32-42.

114L. Dolger and J. Ginandes, "Children's Attitudes Toward Discipline as Related to Socioeconomic Status," Journal of Experimental Education, XV (1946), 161-165. One group was from a progressive school, the other from a traditional.

115D. Steiner, "Some Social Values Associated with Objectively and Subjectively Defined Class Memberships," Social Forces, XXXI (1953), 327-332.

116Philip Rothman, "Socio-economic Status and the Values of Junior High School Students," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXVIII (1954), 126-130.

"that the two groups are a core-group and not distinct and different." This is in agreement with the continuum explanation of social class¹¹⁷ mentioned previously.

These studies focusing on the socioeconomic variable as related to social class values are discussed at greater length in Chapter II.

This review of studies involving the relation of values to various variables, and of the research carried out with children has been pursued at some length because it constitutes the background for the problem undertaken in the present study. A number of variables, when controlled, have given evidence of being related to the value systems of the subjects involved; inter-class and cross-cultural studies have failed to do this in any consistent way. Yet a clear understanding of class and cultural differences in relation to value systems is of importance to sociological theory; for, as Werkmeister says, "In social matters, explanation and prediction are impossible without reference to the basic value commitments of the agents involved. A change in those commitments may alter the whole series of events with which the social scientist is concerned. But once basic value commitments are understood, many otherwise inexplicable phenomena fall into a coherent pattern and find their explanation in their relation to those commitments."

¹¹⁷Cuber and Kenkel, p. 13.

¹¹⁸Werkmeister, p. 499.

In this light, the original problem becomes significant: American society as a system has basic cultural values; the social classes as subsystems hold specific values. What is the relative position of these two sets of values to each other? Which "commitments" exercise greater influence when choices are made? Further, because the present study was made with sixth grade children for reasons which will be explained in Chapter III, it is further important to ask: how pronounced are these values in children of elementary school age?

From the pragmatic point of view, the need for the information gathered in this kind of research must be measured against the fact that at present it is estimated that approximately 1100 persons a year from North America and Europe make their way to Latin America to offer their skills in aiding the people of that developing area.¹¹⁹ The rise of Inter-Cultural Training Centers¹²⁰ for the preparation of such persons reflects the necessity for acquiring accurate knowledge on the basis of which programs can be set up intelligently and efficiently.

Likewise, the Alliance for Progress, in listing among its

¹¹⁹Msgr. Ivan D. Illich, Executive Director of the Center of Inter-Cultural Formation at Cuernavaca, Mexico, in a lecture to the student body at that Center, February 11, 1963.

¹²⁰At present (November, 1963), there are seven under Catholic auspices: Bogata, Columbia; Cruzpatambo, Peru; Cochabamba, Bolivia; Huehuetenango, Guatemala; Cuernavaca, Mexico; and Petropolis, Brazil; and Ponce, Puertorico.

goals the elimination of illiteracy and the attainment of universal primary education, pre-supposes cross-cultural and inter-class understanding of values if the over \$1,020,000,000 sent to date to nineteen countries¹²¹, plus that which lies in future plans, is to bear results in proportion to the sums sent.

Hypothesis and Operational Definitions. For these theoretical and pragmatic reasons the present study was set up to explore the relationships between verbalized values and social class in the schools of two cultures on the levels of three social classes. This provides a test for the cultural factor as well as for the social class variable, and for both of them in relation to the educational institutions on the elementary school level.

In general terms it was hypothesized that the basic values of members of the same social class in two different cultures are more similar than those of members of different social classes in the same culture--the values of the class subsystem are expected to be dominant over those of the larger social system.

The decision as to which set of values would be expected to predominate was made on the observation of Oscar Lewis that there is a remarkable similarity in the way of life of lower class members of different cultures.¹²² Would this be true also of other social classes? Would Lewis' observation be confirmed in a

¹²¹"The Alliance for Progress," CIF Reports, II (June 1963), No. 3, pp. 100-103.

¹²²The Five Families, p. XXV. (Introduction).

controlled empirical study?

For practical purposes of testing, the general hypothesis was broken down into 12 sub-hypotheses to be applied at the sixth grade level in Chicago and Lima. These were to compare the inter-class with the cross-cultural differences in the following manner:

| | | <u>Chicago Inter-Class</u> | | <u>Lima Inter-Class</u> | |
|------------|------|----------------------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|
| | | <u>Cross-Cultural</u> | | | |
| Hypothesis | I | Middle | Upper | Upper | |
| Hypothesis | II | Lower | Upper | Upper | |
| Hypothesis | III | Upper | Middle | Middle | |
| Hypothesis | IV | Lower | Middle | Middle | |
| Hypothesis | V | Upper | Lower | Lower | |
| Hypothesis | VI | Middle | Lower | Lower | |
| Hypothesis | VII | | Upper | Upper | Middle |
| Hypothesis | VIII | | Upper | Upper | Lower |
| Hypothesis | IX | | Middle | Middle | Upper |
| Hypothesis | X | | Middle | Middle | Lower |
| Hypothesis | XI | | Lower | Lower | Upper |
| Hypothesis | XII | | Lower | Lower | Middle |

Hypothesis I: The basic values of the upper class in Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the upper class in Lima than they are to those of the middle class in Chicago.

Hypothesis II: The basic values of the upper class in Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the upper class in Lima than they are those of the lower class in Chicago.

Hypothesis III: The basic values of the middle class in Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the middle class in Lima than they are to those of the upper class in Chicago.

Hypothesis IV: The basic values of the middle class in Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the middle class in Lima than they are to those of the lower class in Chicago.

Hypothesis V: The basic values of the lower class in Chicago

are more similar to the basic values of the lower class in Lima than they are to those of the upper class in Chicago.

Hypothesis VI: The basic values of the lower class in Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the lower class in Lima than they are those of the middle class in Chicago.

Hypothesis VII: The basic values of the upper class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the upper class in Chicago than they are to those of the middle class in Lima.

Hypothesis VIII: The basic values of the upper class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the upper class in Chicago than they are to those of the lower class in Lima.

Hypothesis IX: The basic values of the Middle class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the middle class in Chicago than they are to those of the upper class in Lima.

Hypothesis X: The basic values of the middle class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the middle class in Chicago than they are to those of the lower class in Lima.

Hypothesis XI: The basic values of the lower class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the lower class in Chicago than they are to those of the upper class in Lima.

Hypothesis XII: The basic values of the lower class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the lower class in Chicago than they are to those of the middle class in Lima.

Operational Definitions. Basic values in this study are understood to include the six Spranger types incorporated by

Allport and Vernon into the testing instrument which was modified by Levy and adapted for this research: theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious. These will be explained in detail in Chapter III.

Social Class will be understood here to follow the definition of Gordon: "the horizontal stratification of the population by means of factors in some way related to the economic life of the society."¹²³ Criteria for classification will be fully described in Chapter III.

Inter-class will refer to relations between two of the three social classes with which the study will be concerned: upper, middle and lower.

Cross-cultural refers to comparisons between Chicago and Lima.

"More similar" will be interpreted to mean showing less difference in median scores. Specifically, as applied to the six values in the test, the relationship (either inter-class or cross-cultural) which registers a smaller number of statistically significant differences as measured by the Chi-square tests of significance, will be considered "more similar" than the level registering a larger number of statistically significant differences. If both levels produce the same number of statistically significant differences, median scores will be compared on both levels (i.e., inter-class and cross-cultural) for those values which do not yield

¹²³Milton M. Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology (Durham, 1958), p. 3.

statistically significant differences, and the level on which the difference is smaller in score points or fractions thereof, will be considered "more similar" than the level on which the score difference is greater. However, statistically insignificant median score differences will be given attention only under those hypotheses in which the significant differences on both levels are equal in number.

Because the study will involve the United States and Latin America, "North American" will be used in referring to that which comes from or belongs to the United States, rather than the simple "American" commonly used in the United States, except in direct quotations that use the word "American." Latin Americans resent the restriction of "American" in this way. South and Central Americans are also "American", they point out.

Summary. Chapter I has set the framework for the present study in values which consists of testing the relative strength of the values of a system as compared with those of a subsystem. A controversial area from the beginning, the field of values has attained recognition as valid material for sociological studies, although disagreement on approaches and methods still continues. The publication of the Allport-Vernon Study of Values, the first attempt to set up an instrument for measuring values objectively using a theoretical approach, ushered in numerous research projects attempting to relate values to other variables.

Cross-cultural and inter-socioeconomic class studies to date



have failed to reveal significant differences, and both areas call for further testing and investigation. Awareness of this gap has resulted in the development of the hypothesis and subhypotheses to be tested in this dissertation. A more detailed review of the literature on culture and social classes, as directly related to the hypothesis, is the subject of Chapter II.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

With the acceptance of values as phenomena for sociological study and the construction of instruments of measurement, numerous research projects were executed to relate values to many different variables. Value system similarities and differences were registered in greater or lesser degrees between different categories of persons. However, the sponsors of cross-cultural and inter-socio-economic class studies have little to show for their work. The results are rather confusing because in some cases they are contradictory and in others they reveal similarities where differences could be expected.

It remains, then, for continued inquiries to investigate further these two facets of value-research: the relationship of values to social class and to culture.

The present study undertakes to apply an adaptation of the Modified Study of Values to three social classes: upper, middle, and lower, in two cultures: North American-urban and Latin American-urban; specifically, in Chicago and Lima, Peru.

A few years ago Whetten wrote: "It seems almost axiomatic that any discipline aspiring to become a science will develop faster if it is promoted by scholars living and working under widely varying social situations. . . . It would appear that the wider the discipline of Sociology can be extended into different societies of the world, the greater will be the opportunities for

measuring, eliminating, or taking into account the influences of different types of variables."¹

As previously noted one such study was conducted by Goodman² of Tufts University, to compare values, attitudes, and social concepts of school children in Japan with those in the United States by analyzing their occupational aspirations. One thousand two hundred and fifty Japanese children of central Honshu and 3750 North American children of the Northwestern United States, in grades one through eight, were asked to write a composition on the topic: "What I want to be when I grow up and why." In classifying the choices according to sex and age groups, Goodman found that groups in both cultures when equated on these variables (sex and age) were interested in the same range of occupations. Likewise, sex differences of the same nature appeared in both cultures. However, the North American children in general showed "greater sophistication than Japanese concerning vocations characteristic of an extremely urban-technological society."³

The reasons given for choices were classified into "Others-Orientation" and "Self-Orientation." The first included a motivation related to concern for the social welfare of others or focus on satisfying some relative, frequently a parent. The second

¹N. L. Whetten, "Needed Sociological Research in Latin America," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, XXXVIII (December 1957), 207.

²M. E. Goodman, "Values, Attitudes, and Social Concepts of Japanese and American Children," American Anthropologist, LIX (1957) 957-999.

³Ibid., p. 994.

embraced five types of reasons: "I like or want"; personal pleasure; prosperity or security; travel; fame, respect, etc. Whereas approximately 40 per cent of the Japanese boys in grades 5-8 expressed self-orientation reasons, 71 per cent of the North American boys did; of the Japanese girls, 50 per cent were in this category, as compared with 69.2 per cent of the North American girls. "Others-orientation" reasons were given by close to 50 per cent of the Japanese boys but by only 24 per cent of the North American boys in grades 5-8; of the Japanese girls, close to 40 per cent were in this class, but slightly over 27 per cent of the North American girls.⁴

In concluding, Goodman generalized that although occupational aspirations of children in both cultures were markedly similar, the reasons for the choices pointed to the Japanese as being less egocentric than the North American.

Since all the children included in this study were of "urban or suburban residence and of middle class family background," no comparisons could be made on the social class variable.

Similar research was conducted by Morris⁵ in 1950 on adult Chinese and Japanese in Hawaii. When he compared the occupational choices of the Asian university students with those of North Americans in the same category, he found "no support for the stereotype of the resigned, patient, receptive Oriental and the

⁴Ibid., p. 989.

⁵C. Morris, "Comparative Strength of Life-Ideals in Eastern and Western Cultures," Essays in East-West Philosophy, ed. C. A. Moore (Honolulu, 1951), pp. 353-370.

active, aggressive American. Each national group preferred in about equal amounts paths characterized by dependence and warmth, by striving and dominance, and by detachment and passivity."

Focusing specifically on moral judgments, Lo⁶ surveyed Chinese students in China: high school, college, and university students of both sexes, in the period between 1936 and 1941, asking them to rank in order of seriousness, the fifteen vices which Brogan⁷ had used with North American students in 1925 and 1927; also, to rank the list of ideals as Hunt⁸ had asked North American students to do in 1935. This formed a basis for comparative study, although not of contemporary students in the two cultures.

In general, both North American and Chinese students regarded sex irregularity, stealing, cheating, and lying as serious offenses. Dancing, smoking were generally tolerated. In ranking ideals, both North American and Chinese students ranked honesty as the highest ideal. Other ideals considered important by both groups were courage, initiative, and cooperation.

"There was general agreement," concludes Lo, "In ranking such ideals as obedience, thrift, and reverence among the lowest and least important. The greatest differences were seen in the rankings

⁶C. F. Lo, "Moral Judgments of Chinese Students," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXXVII (1942), 264-269.

⁷A. P. Brogan, "What Is a Sin in College?" Nation, CXX (1935), 570.

⁸A. McC. Hunt, "A Study of the Relative Value of Certain Ideals," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXX (1935), 222-228.

of cleanliness and courtesy. With North American subjects, cleanliness was considered much more important than courtesy. With Chinese men and women, cleanliness was the least important of all ideals, and courtesy was ranked much higher than obedience, thrift, and cheerfulness"⁹.

A fourth study involving comparison of North American with Asian college and university students was carried out at Doshiska University in Japan in 1956. Kimura adapted the Allport-Vernon Study of Values in its original 1931 form, for Japanese use, and Nobechi followed the same pattern using the revised form of 1951.¹⁰

In both cases the results did not show any great differences between the Japanese students and those of the United States except in the religious value on which the Orientals scored lower than the North Americans, although the subjects of the study were from a Christian University and College. A second difference, although not as pronounced as that of religious value scores, was that social values were not preferred among the Japanese as much as among the North Americans. This seems contrary to the Goodman findings that Japanese children were more "others-oriented" and therefore less self-centered than North American children.¹¹

⁹Lo, pp. 268-269.

¹⁰M. Nobechi and T. Kimura, "Study of Values Applied to Japanese Students," Psychologia, I (1957), 120-122.

¹¹Goodman, p. 998.

Secondly, if the trend shown in Goodman's study were consistent, the reverse of the Nobechi-Kimura findings would be expected, for the children in the former survey showed an increase in "other-orientation" reasons for occupational aspirations with an increase in age level¹². There may be a point at which this reaches a climax and the trend is reversed. Such a possibility has not yet been explored and awaits further research.

The final cross-cultural study to be discussed here was made by McGranahan¹³ while he was on duty in Germany with the Information Control Division after World War II. It represents an attempt to obtain "comparable data on certain broad moral and social aspects of personality among German and American youth." The background information requested from the subjects was: age, sex, religion, and father's occupation. The North American sample consisted of high school students between the ages of 14 and 18, of both sexes, the three faiths, and the three social classes. The German sample, selected from the food-rationing cards, included 191 young people from Bad Homburg, of the same age bracket and sex composition as the North Americans. This group was recognized as not representative of all German youth, but was comparable to the residents of Oak Park, a suburb of Chicago, which was included in the North American sample.

¹²Ibid., p. 999.

¹³D. V. McGranahan, "A Comparison of Social Attitudes among American and German Youth," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XL1 (1946), 245-257.

From the answers given to fourteen questions, the following generalizations were drawn: differences between patterns of values of German and North American post-war youth indicated that those in the German sample valued power and subjection to the State, and despite defeat retained an attitude of national superiority over other specific groups, North Americans, excepted for obvious reasons. The North Americans, on the other hand, valued individual action, freedom of expression, and faith in the common man. McGranahan concluded that: "In both countries, the data on sex differences suggest that it is the girls who tend more to reflect the typical national pattern, while the boys tend to deviate from it."¹⁴

Although of the five cross-cultural studies discussed, this is the only one attempting a comparison with another Western culture group, it surprisingly discloses more and greater differences of values and attitudes than the studies involving subjects of Eastern and Western cultures--the reverse of what might be expected. It is noteworthy, however, that the time of the German-North American study could account for some of the differences, German youth having been exposed to Nazi indoctrination throughout practically the whole of their short lives.

Be it noted by way of summary, that of the five cross-cultural research projects reviewed, four showed more similarities than differences in value patterns. Would the same be true in studies

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 257.

studies comparing Latin Americans with North Americans? Are the cultures of the world based on the same value systems? Culture has been defined as "All those patterned ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting acquired and transmitted by social learning, including their embodiments in artifacts, and in social processes and structures."¹⁵ This includes the non-material as well as the material aspects, for these are always interdependent.

Observations and studies of the material aspects of the Latin American culture, as well as of its social and religious organizations have been made by a number of anthropologists including Parsons¹⁶, Redfield¹⁷, Gillin¹⁸, Lewis¹⁹, Davidson²⁰, and Spitzer²¹.

¹⁵A. L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn, "The Concept of Culture: A Critical Review of Definitions," Papers of the Peabody Museum (Harvard University), XLI (1950).

¹⁶E. C. Parsons, Milta: Town of the Souls (Chicago, 1936).

¹⁷R. Redfield, Tepoztlan, A Mexican Village (Chicago, 1930); The Folk Culture of Yucatan (Chicago, 1951); A Village That Chose Progress (Chicago, 1950).

¹⁸J. Gillin, "Houses, Food, and the Contact of Cultures in a Guatemalan Town," Acta Americana, I (1943), 344-359; and other articles.

¹⁹Oscar Lewis, The Five Families (New York, 1959), and other works.

²⁰W. Davidson, "Rural Latin American Culture," Social Forces, XXV (March 1947), 249-252.

²¹A. Spitzer, "Notes on a Merida Parish," Anthropological Quarterly, XXXI (January 1958), 3-20.

Gillin, on the basis of his participant observation among the Latin Americans since 1943, drew up a comparative picture of the three major ethos components in modern Latin American culture as compared and contrasted with these same or related components in the North American system of values.²² Since this work employs the cultural approach to the study of the personal values which the present study takes as a focal point, his contribution on the subject is presented here at length, in combination with the points of view of other writers in the field.

Gillin equates ethos with themes, implicit premises, values, controlling patterns. As he sees them, the three major components are: 1) those related to the concept of man as a personality; 2) those related to the concept of man in society (in relation to other men); and 3) those related to man's concept of reality--his view of the world and its purposes.

Both cultures under consideration, he points out, place a high value on the individual personality, but for different reasons. North Americans value a man because in some very important respects he is the same as others. He has the right to an equal opportunity. Latin Americans, on the other hand, value a man precisely because he is not like anyone else. He has a "soul" which makes him distinct and by his own right worthy of respect. Latin Americans refer to this as "dignidad," but contrary to North American "dignity," it is an internal matter, not connected

²²John Gillin, "Ethos Components in Modern Latin American Culture," *American Anthropologist*, LVII (1955), 488-499.

with social class or status.²³

Williams, in examining the North American concept of the individual personality, lumps together all Western society, thus combining the United States and Latin America as having a concept basically alike, but in contrast to that of the Oriental culture: ". . . in the religious tradition of Western society. . . the value of the individual has stood in close relation to the religious doctrine of the soul. . . . To be a person is to be independent, responsible, and self-respecting, and thereby to be worthy of concern and respect in one's own right. . . to be an autonomous and responsible agent, not merely a reflection of external pressures, and to have an internal center of gravity, a set of standards and a conviction of perpetual worth."²⁴

Thus far, Gillin would agree, the two cultures hold identical views; but Williams moves on to the difference. To be able to maintain such a high valuation of individual personality, he admits, is a "difficult and precarious feat," because some members of society with pronounced utilitarian interests "use" people as "tools" rather than as personalities; he concludes, ". . . an overwhelming stress on profitmaking in organized economic enterprises quite obviously would tend toward impatience with individual scruples, needs, and peculiarities and toward a calculating,

²³Ibid., p. 491

²⁴Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society (New York, 1960), p. 465.

impersonal use of others solely as a means toward the dominant end."²⁵

That is the point of difference between the North and the Latin American approach: the regarding of persons as "tools" of an economy is thus far more common in an industrialized North American setting. The Latin man sees it as the attitude accompanying industrialization which is just beginning in his part of the world, and he does not want it. This conclusion was reached by Tumin and Feldman²⁶ in their exhaustive study of certain phases of Latin American culture in Puerto Rico where the two cultures have come closer together than in any other part of the world for the obvious reason that the Island has been a possession of the United States since 1898.

Among other things, they report the serious concern that thinking Puerto Ricans express about the changes that will come with industrialization of the Island: ". . . one of the greatest sources of concern about the future frequently expressed by intelligent and sensitive Puerto Ricans is: whether Puerto Rico must become. . . in its guiding values, like certain elements in American culture where the primary interest in life seems to be in living and appearing to live in as luxurious a style as next year's income might permit. . . . Our data suggest . . . that even in those outcomes of industrialization which have occurred. . .

²⁵Ibid., p. 464.

²⁶M. Tumin and A. Feldman, Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico (Princeton, 1961), pp. 461-462.

there is a margin of freedom."²⁷

It is this which will "save" the Latin American from becoming absorbed in things rather than persons and purposes, if they can preserve this "margin of freedom" amid industrial change. Tumin and Feldman recognize the same phenomenon as Gillin: "This margin of freedom is to be found first in the values expressed in measuring man's worth. . . . also in the commitment to a set of reasonably traditional family relationships. And it is visible in the mixture of reluctance and enthusiasm with which Puerto Ricans confront the requirements of earning a living in the modern industrial fashion. For, it is possible to view the reluctance not only as a drag on the process of change, but also as a hesitation born of wisdom about some of the probable outcomes of involvement in the new modes and styles of life."²⁸

Thus the fear of being faced with what Williams has described as a "difficult and precarious feat" of maintaining a high evaluation of the individual personality in a society where utilitarian values are prominent, has caused the Latin American to hesitate to accept the North American brand of culture en toto, despite the tremendous material advantages which would be likely to accrue from such a change.

There is a difference, then, between the Latin American

²⁷Ibid., p. 456.

²⁸Ibid.

evaluation of a man's worth on the basis of what he is as a unique soul, and the North American definition on the basis of a man's equality with others.

The second point considered by Gillin is the position of man in relation to society. How do men regard each other in interpersonal relations? He realizes that the Latin American point of view is considered paradoxical by North Americans: valuing so highly the personality of each man, yet accepting social inequality. In his own words:

The peculiarly Latin American mental pattern or premise of individual worth is in fact involved in a cultural configuration that recognizes and accepts the social inequality of human beings. Latin American societies are stratified societies, and there is no question about this among the members of the populace, whether urban or rural. Every person realizes that, from the point of view of social structure, he is not equal with everyone else, either in position or in opportunity. . . . The "typical informant" . . . will readily admit that there are social categories above and below him. Yet, he, as an individual with a soul in his inner consciousness. . . does not have to pay too much attention to the unfair distribution of rights and privileges which the social system imposes upon him.²⁹

No one is blind to the fact that Latin society is hierarchically stratified, yet it is so accepted by the population in general that in spite of infiltration of Communist ideologies of a classless society and democratic indoctrinations of equal opportunities for all, there remains a surprising lack of protest from the suffering lower and sub-proletariat classes in proportion to the amount of effort expended to arouse it. Tumin and Feldman found this attitude of acceptance of conditions in Puerto Rico

²⁹Gillin, "Ethos Components in Modern Latin American Culture", p. 495.

after several decades of American democratic influence. Because their report of this phenomenon is so similar to Gillin's observations in Central and South America, it is quoted here:

In view of the obvious inequalities in life circumstances, the lowest classes express surprisingly little dissatisfaction relative to that expressed by other classes, and overall, there is a surprisingly great amount of apparent positive feeling about the past, the present, and the future of the Island. In short, though there are assymetries, they do not seem to indicate any crucial disagreement about the values of economic and social development, or any serious differences in the willingness to do what is required. Both the commitment to goals and the motivation to perform the required activities and accept the rewards seem to be fairly widespread. . . We are led unmistakably to question what it is that overcomes the possible demoralizing. . . effects of the objective differences in education, income, and style of life. We are led again to the undeniable influence exerted by the general perspectives on themselves and on their society that the less privileged peoples seem to maintain.³⁰

Two possible explanations are offered for this attitude: the rituals which are used frequently as a reminder that every segment of the population is important to the whole, creating a sense of belonging and unity, and the previously discussed conception of the personal worth of man regardless of his social position. Referring to the second, the researchers state their conviction that it is this "commitment expressed at all levels and often enough in the interaction among members of different classes" that is so powerful, yet so baffling."³¹

Gillin further states, however, that a small scale survey he

³⁰Tumin and Feldman, p. 496.

³¹Ibid.

made recently, including respondents from three sections of South America, indicated that the class system is not rigid and that there is a possibility for mobility on certain conditions. This, he hastens to add, does not apply to the Indian "castes." Because the pattern is so alien to North American thinking, Gillin's own explanation is quoted here:

. . . according to the Latin American pattern, one may rise in the social scale if he has the soul to do so; but at the same time one recognizes and accepts, at least for the time being, his position in society. He has no right to expect more. Strange as it may seem to a North American, the acceptance of the social order as given is not, for Latin Americans, inconsistent with the concept of individuality as they conceive it. At one and the same time, therefore, the average Latin American is motivated to maintain the established order and also to take advantage of it for his own personal ends with the help of friends, including kinsmen of various types.³²

Friends and relatives are extremely important from the point of view of Latin Americans, because they are the only ones who understand the "soul" of a person, and, therefore, one can trust them as one cannot trust those who are impersonal in their dealings. For this reason they find the North American business approach of contracts with impersonal company agents disturbing and not to their liking.³³

The North American position on stratification, as set forth in Warner's writings, is that social inequality is functionally

³²Gillin, "Ethos Components in Modern Latin American Culture," p. 497.

³³E. T. Hall and W. F. Whyte, "Intercultural Communication: A Guide to Men of Action," Human Organization, XIX (Spring 1960), 5-12.

necessary in complex societies like that of the United States, but channels of social mobility are kept open.³⁴

The distinction made by Williams clearly indicates the point on which North American stratification differs from that of Latin America; "In interpersonal relations, the weight of the value system is on the side of horizontal rather than vertical emphasis: peer-relations, not superordinate-subordinate relations; equality rather than hierarchy."³⁵ Latin American stratification is primarily hierarchical.

In summarizing the material on the second ethos component (man in society), it can be said that on this point North American and Latin American views differ. The former consider it possible for all (ideally) to rise higher by hard work, achievement and intelligence³⁶; the latter reconciling the position of accepting a place of inequality while at the same time using opportunities to rise with the help of relatives and friends.

In discussing the third component--man's concept of reality, his view of the world and its purpose--Gillin again portrays the Latin American as differing basically from the North American:

On the mundane level. . . Latin Americans on the whole are not primarily motivated by pragmatic, materialistic, or

³⁴W. L. Warner, *Social Class in America* (Chicago, 1949).

³⁵Williams, p. 470.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 100-101.

utilitarian considerations. This does not imply that they are not capable of learning patterns whose goals are utilitarian. For example, U. S. corporations and Point IV officials have proved that Latin Americans are quite able to learn and to follow the routines of modern mechanics, industrialization, scientific agriculture, and so forth. They learn the routines, but they are not primarily interested in or attracted by the underlying premises involved. It is true that all Latin Americans, except the millionaires, complain of their poverty. . . . but words and perhaps concepts have a higher value than things for them. The pragmatic, empirical investigation of premises and of data is not congenial or highly motivating, to the Latin American. . . . We must be clear that in stating this we do not make value judgments. Who is to say that the North American practical point of view is more valuable than that of the Latin Americans, who are primarily interested in spiritual values? Yet this is one very fundamental point which. . . . Point IV and similar programs planned to aid under-developed regions of Latin America have missed. And it is very understandable. 37

These observations, again, are in full agreement with the findings of Tumin and Feldman in Puerto Rico.³⁸

In the succeeding paragraphs of the article from which the above excerpt is taken, Gillin points out the influence of historical and geographic conditions on the formation of fundamental values of the pragmatic-utilitarian type in the United States³⁹, even as Williams does in exploring this value-orientation in the American culture⁴⁰. Both writers indicate the importance of hard

³⁷Gillin, "Ethos Components in Modern Latin American Culture," p. 497.

³⁸Tumin and Feldman, p. 456.

³⁹Gillin, p. 497-498.

⁴⁰Williams, pp. 415-424.

work and technical ingenuity as values in a culture developed when and where these characteristics were important for survival and for improvement of conditions. What Gillin censures is the North American application of the same formula to other countries. This observation is important in the present context because of the cross-cultural nature of the study for which this chapter is preparing the background. This is how a scholar, viewing the North American approach scientifically, evaluates it: "In essence, the so-called foreign aid programs applied to Latin America. . . seem to rest on the following implicit reasoning: 'if we give the Latin Americans our technical know-how, and if they will just work as hard as we did, they will enjoy the materialistic benefits these things provide for us.' . . . It is just possible that technology and pragmatism alone do not ring a bell in the Latin American culture."⁴¹

Then Gillin briefly summarizes what he considers the ethos components of the Latin American culture, pinning them to a climax which even he, as a student of the Latin way of life for many years, finds difficult to identify: "Some of the basic goals of the Latin American culture are: realization of the potentialities of the individual soul; personal adaptation to and/or manipulation of an established hierarchical social structure; and satisfying contact with something beyond this life, or mundane existence. Obviously for people conditioned to such a culture,

⁴¹Gillin, "Ethos Components in Modern Latin American Culture," p. 498.

the pragmatic and technological approaches do not, in themselves, constitute what might be called a first-order appeal. In terms of the Latin culture, they must be combined with something more."⁴²

This "Something more" varies from region to region, from social class to social class, and from one philosophy to another, but one of the general manifestations throughout Latin America, according to Gillin, is the "almost universal preoccupation with death" as transcending the bonds of life, and the fiestas, which he interprets as an attempt of the Latin American to transcend the world of every day affairs and grasp, even though momentarily, for something more.⁴³

As a final note, Gillin emphasizes the great values Latin Americans attach to words and concepts at the expense of facts and concrete action, "The yearning for the idea, the concept, the word, the creative interpretation, is for me, a definite component of the Latin American ethos. Both the goals and the means or instruments to their realization are highly valued in various ways among Latin Americans of all social stations."⁴⁴

It would be expected that in a culture thus described, the social, religious, and theoretical values predominate: the social, because man is valued for himself, not for what he has or is able to do; the religious, because the "something else" that is implied in the Latin American ethos is related to the hereafter or other-worldly point of view; and the theoretical, because one who values

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

words and ideas rather than action will prefer knowledge and thought to power and leadership. Therefore, the Latin American system of values can be expected to reveal itself in a population expressing choices in keeping with these dominating concepts.

A summary of North American values as presented by Williams on the three ethos components which Gillin had singled out for Latin America, reveals that within the United States there is an emphasis on the individual personality, but because every person has an equal right to what others have, provided that he has the same innate ability and is willing to work hard enough to attain it. In relation to society, the individual's equality is emphasized rather than his super- or sub-ordination. In its definition of reality, the culture of the United States tends to be interested in the external world of things and events, of the palpable and immediate, rather than the inner experience of meaning and effect. "Its genius is manipulative rather than contemplative," frequently justifying the pragmatic with moral reasons.⁴⁵

In a society with such values it would be expected that choices would be made predominately of what is economic and political, of what pertains to ownership of material goods, to security; to recognition and superiority.

Although the differences noted may lead one to presume that value choices will vary correspondingly in the responses of members of the two cultures, yet it must be recognized that there is

⁴⁵Williams, 469-470.

a possibility that verbal expressions of choice in concrete cases may coincide but for different reasons; in other words, the same act may hold a different meaning for persons from different cultures, for example, preference of a religious value in a given situation may hold a transcendental meaning for the Latin American, and an economic meaning for the North American whose moralistic orientation connects worldly success with God's blessing.

The question, then, is: do personal preferences in concrete cases reflect the value-orientations of a national culture? Oscar Lewis, basing his answer on at least twenty years of study of the Latin American culture, replies in the negative:

I am impressed by the remarkable similarities in family structure, the nature of kinship ties, the quality of husband-wife and parent-child relations, time orientation, spending patterns, value systems⁴⁶ and the sense of community found in lower class settlements in London, in Puerto Rico, in Mexico City slums and Mexican villages, and among lower class Negroes in the United States.

Poverty becomes a dynamic factor which affects participation in the larger national culture and creates a subculture of its own. One can speak of the culture of the poor, as it has its own modalities and distinctive social and psychological consequences for its members. It seems to me that the culture of poverty cuts across regional, rural-urban, and even national boundaries.⁴⁷

As Lewis sees it, the subculture sets the values rather than the more general national culture, and subcultures of the same social class have some universal characteristics, although he refers here only to the lower class. On this level similarities predominate. However, his further remarks designate the area

⁴⁶emphasis not in the original.

⁴⁷Oscar Lewis. The Five Families, p. xxv. (introduction).

in which differences can be expected:

. . . The most effective tools of the anthropologist are sympathy and compassion for the people he studies.⁴⁸

To understand the culture of the poor it is necessary to live with them, to learn their language and their customs, and to identify with their problems and aspirations. The anthropologist, trained in the methods of direct observation and participation, is well prepared for the job, whether in his own or in a foreign country. Unfortunately, in many of the underdeveloped countries the educated native elite generally have little first-hand knowledge of the culture of their own poor, for the hierarchical nature of their society inhibits communication across class lines.⁴⁹

Living on an entirely different social and economic level, the upper and middle classes of any culture in any country, if they neglect the tools of the anthropologist, find they have little if any understanding of their fellow-citizens of the lower strata. It is the social class subsystem, then, according to Lewis rather than the system of national culture that marks off differences not only in externals, but also in value systems.

Viewing the previously discussed inter-cultural studies in this new light of Oscar Lewis' observations, the present writer concluded that the similarities between North Americans and other cultural groups uncovered in that research might be explained on the grounds of similarity of social class, a variable that was not tested as part of any of the studies cited. The differences in the study of McGranahan in Germany can be attributed to the

⁴⁸Oscar Lewis, Children of Sanchez, p. xx (Introduction).

⁴⁹Oscar Lewis, The Five Families, pp. xxv. Emphasis not in original.

post-war period when it was made.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, this does not imply that the value systems of the various cultures are alike; the contrary has been demonstrated in the preceding pages. It may mean that the national culture (system) with its universal patterns for the nation, does not hold as much realistic and concrete meaning for the actors making choices in definite situations as do the more particularistic values embodied in the subculture (subsystem) of the more immediate social class surroundings. Lewis says as much when he states that "poverty becomes a dynamic factor which affects participation in the larger national culture and creates a subculture of its own."

To the writer's knowledge, no formal studies have thus far been made to test this possibility. However, attempts have been made to discover social class differences in values among children and youth within the North American culture. These studies are reviewed below as related to the present study which would belong in this category, but is different in that it is extended into two cultures.

As previously noted, the first of these was Woodruff's work in 1941 on directive factors in individual behavior; although not specifically designed to test the socio-economic variable, it included it in the design, for his subjects were "307 students of the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades in four varying schools--rural

⁵⁰McGranahan, p. 245.

public, rural private, two urban public with different socio-economic student populations."⁵¹ He found sex differences, individual differences, and age-group differences, but the summary of conclusions makes no mention of findings in regard to differences related to socio-economic level.

In 1946 Dolger and Ginandes⁵² proposed a direct test of this variable by selecting two groups of children, one from a relatively high, the other from a relatively low socio-economic background, and requested their response to a problem of discipline. The high group gave relatively more constructive responses, settling the problem on the basis of reason, and relatively fewer nonconstructive solutions in which appeal was made to authority or punishment mentioned. Unfortunately the groups were dissimilar on other factors as well as on the socio-economic, one of the major ones being that the high group was attending a progressive school and the low, a traditional. It remains uncertain, therefore, to what degree socio-economic status was related to the findings.

⁵¹A. D. Woodruff, "The Relationship Between Values, Concepts, and Attitudes," Educational Psychological Measurements, VII (1948), 645-659.

⁵²L. Dolger and J. Ginandes, "Children's Attitudes Toward Discipline as Related to Socioeconomic Status," Journal of Experimental Education, XV (1946), 161-165.

Six years later Steiner⁵³ studied relationships between social values and objectively and subjectively defined social class membership using 373 high school upper-classmen as subjects. The results give grounds for the generalization that "The use of subjective and objective criteria in combination with one another will define social class categories whose values differ from one another more than will be the case when only one type of criterion is employed,"⁵⁴ and in this group, evidence of differences in values between the socioeconomic groups involved was present.

In the same decade a design specifically geared to measure value-system differences as related to socioeconomic class was constructed by Rothman⁵⁵ who worked with junior high school students of the lower-middle and the upper-lower class in the same school. The 28 ninth graders in each of the two groups were selected on the basis of the Warner scale and equated for other characteristics, including I.Q., race, nationality, religion, and sex. The instruments used represented a variety of methods and types. He found no significant differences between the two groups in the areas of purpose, aspiration, attitude, interest, action, feeling, thinking, and belief, which he investigated.

⁵³I. D. Steiner, "Some Social Values Associated with Objectively and Subjectively Defined Social Class Memberships," Social Forces, XXXI (1953), 327-332.

⁵⁴Steiner's two-fold criteria were applied in choosing the subjects for the present study, as explained in Chapter III.

⁵⁵Philip Rothman, "Socio-economic Status and the Values of Junior High School Students," Journal of Educational Sociology, 126-130.

Rothman offers five possible explanations for his failure to uncover value differences between the two socio-economic groups: 1) perhaps there are no distinct value patterns for the two groups; 2) maybe the American culture is a classless culture in terms of accepted patterns of value; 3) the lower-middle and upper-lower groups in this study may be a core-group with common values⁵⁶, but other segments of the class structure may be distinct and different; 4) possibly the value differences of adults do not exist at the junior high school level; and 5) perhaps the school and other social institutions have such an influence on a child at this age that a common set of values exists there regardless of social class backgrounds.⁵⁷

The emphasis of Rothman, like that of Witryol⁵⁸ (discussed in Chapter I), who had explained the insignificant differences in his findings in terms of our "homogeneous culture," is on national culture as a major agent in the formation of value patterns. This is in agreement with other sources, despite the lack of evidence from the inter-cultural research discussed earlier in this chapter.

⁵⁶To exclude this possibility in the present study, subjects were chosen from extremes in socio-economic classes, rather than from adjacent segments, as explained in Chapter III. The middle class sample was from the middle-middle, to avoid overlap.

⁵⁷Rothman, p. 130.

⁵⁸S. L. Witryol, "Age Trends in Children's Evaluation of Teacher-approved and Teacher-Disapproved Behavior," Genetic Psychological Monograph, XLI (1950), 271-326.

Anthropologists like Redfield, Mead, and Benedict, in studying North American culture as well as that of foreign countries, contend that cultures reflect a definite "social character," and sociologists concur in insisting that cultural differences exist and that they have a bearing on the value system of the society.

An outstanding authority in this field is Williams who devotes a goodly portion of his book on American society to a discussion of values after stating the basis on which common reasoning concludes that distinctive value-orientations would of necessity have developed:

There are important grounds for expecting American culture to be characterized by a value system appreciably different from other cultures. Most obvious perhaps is the different environment--different location, physical surroundings, climate, resources, and so on. Equally impressive are the diverse cultural strains and the subsequent cross-cultural contacts within the American aggregate. Aside from these, and from any possible genetic selectivity, we know that a society separated from others by spacial and sociopolitical barriers will, over a period of time, develop a relatively distinctive culture.⁵⁹

In the pages following this elaboration, Williams underscores the values of American institutions as well as those reflected in the whole society as a system.

Other sociologists hold similar views. Fitzpatrick contends that our economic system has built-in values⁶⁰; Hutchison⁶¹

⁵⁹Williams, p. 398.

⁶⁰Joseph Fitzpatrick, "Individualism in American Industry," Values in America, ed. Donald N. Barrett (Notre Dame, 1961), pp. 91-1

⁶¹John Hutchison, "American Values in the Perspective of Faith," Values in America, ed. Donald N. Barrett (Notre Dame, 1961), pp. 121-124.

follows the reasoning of Herberg⁶² in delineating the religious values characteristic of present-day American culture; Kluckhohn⁶³, before presenting his cross-cultural study of value oppositions, states: "Values are standards which complicate the individual's satisfactions of his immediate wishes and needs. They take distinctive forms in different cultures, tend to persist tenaciously through time, and are not mere random outcomes of conflicting human desires."

In view of the authorities who maintain the position that national cultures do have definite value systems, and the relative absence of evidence to substantiate this from the limited number of cross-cultural studies discussed at the beginning of this chapter, this phase of value-research obviously calls for further exploration.

Witryol and Rothman, whose research has been discussed in this chapter, have no argument with those who hold that there is a cultural system in the United States, embodying its own values, but their research has not succeeded in uncovering evidence of differences within the system on the basis of social class. Hence they propose that this culture may be "homogeneous (Witryol) and "classless in terms of accepted patterns of value" (Rothman), yet Centers⁶⁴ found in his survey that "Nearly half the

⁶²Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew (Garden City, 1955).

⁶³Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Study of Values," Values in America, ed. Donald N. Barrett (Notre Dame, 1961), pp. 17-45.

⁶⁴Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton, 1949).

population thinks that the most important thing to know about a person from the standpoint of membership in its class is (other than occupation) the way the person 'believes and feels about certain things.'

"There is a wealth of implication in such a finding," continues Centers, "for it is just the possession of common ideologies, attitudes, values, and interests that are commonly supposed to be basic for the formation of class consciousness. The conception of classes as interest groups is clearly not unfounded in terms of this evidence. . . ."⁶⁵

In explaining further the results of his survey, he emphasizes the importance of a value system as part of class consciousness: "The primacy of beliefs and attitudes as a criterion of class membership is general. It is the first criterion of every class. . . and it is likewise first with every occupational stratum. Other criteria vary from class to class."⁶⁶

Centers' findings point to a difference in values among the social classes, or at least to a different emphasis on the same or similar values in varying degrees.

It is obvious from the inconclusive or contradictory data on social class and cross-cultural values that some attention should be given to examining "other segments of our class system", as Rothman suggested, than those which have yielded only similarities. Within the culture of the United States it may be that "the lower-

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 92.

⁶⁶Ibid.

middle class and the upper-lower class have become or are a common or core group."⁶⁷ Or perhaps "value differences of adult society do not exist at the junior high school level" or at the elementary school level. Some of the research reviewed in Chapter I tended to support the belief that quite young children do have a system of values which continues to develop with age. The question, then, is: is it the culture or the "common social institutions, especially the school",⁶⁸ that serves as a major influence in eliminating the differences in the verbalized values of youth? This awaits testing.

It is evident, therefore, that there is a pressing need for research to uncover the level at which differences exist, in view of the work done to date in this field. Differences in value-orientations of the cultures exist, yet the cross-cultural studies reviewed have failed to identify personal value differences on any significant scale in the samples tested in Oriental-American comparative studies. Oscar Lewis has recognized similarities of values in widely different cultures, but on the same social class level--specifically, the lower. Would other social classes in the same culture reveal different value systems? Centers' study gives an affirmative answer. The area, then, which calls for concentrated attention includes both culture and social class; the effects

⁶⁷Rothman, p. 130.

⁶⁸Ibid.

of each can be recognized only by controlling both, other things being equal.

The following hypothesis initiates one attempt to stage the test: the basic values of members of the same social class in two different cultures will be more similar than those of members of different social classes in the same culture.

Chapter III sets forth the reasons for the choice of field, institution, and instrument used in the present study; the criteria for the selection of the sample; and the methodology.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH

Chapter I designated the problem area of the present research: the study of the relationship between the values of a national system and those of a social class subsystem. Secondly, it summarized briefly the work done in this field by sociologists and psychologists in attempting to relate values to different variables. Finally, it pointed out that because the Allport-Vernon Study of Values has been used by most researchers whose subjects were adults, the majority of the studies reviewed were those in which this particular testing instrument had been used. An additional reason for interest in this test was the fact that its modified, adapted form served as the instrument in the present study.

Chapter II examined in greater detail the particular studies concerned with the two variables of culture and social class as related to values, arriving at the conclusion that there is need for testing further in both of these areas. The chapter terminated with a general hypothesis and twelve subhypotheses embracing both variables.

The present chapter proposes to cover four major areas: 1) a statement of the reasons for the writer's choice of cultural area, social institution, level of testing, and instrument used; 2) a description of the testing instrument and the procedure by which it was adapted for cross-cultural purposes; 3) a delimitation of the sample and statement of the criteria of selection;

and 4) an account of the testing procedure and the processing of the data.

A statement of Reasons for Choices. The need for intercultural studies has been demonstrated in Chapter II by means of a relatively detailed presentation of the failure of past cross-cultural research to uncover value differences, and the conclusion that the social class subculture, as suggested by Oscar Lewis,¹ has greater motivational value in the immediate situation for personal choices than the broader, more general system of cultural values. This was true, he claimed, for the culture of poverty among the lower classes. This was good reason for choosing a cross-cultural study, but the question is: why was the Latin American culture chosen, rather than some other, for this study? This was done for theoretical as well as for pragmatic reasons.

The theoretical reasons stem from the fact that the vast majority of published sociological cross-cultural studies of values of the objective type have by-passed Latin America, as was obvious from the review of literature in the field. Lewis, Gillin, Redfield, Davidson, and others who did concentrate on Latin America approached their work from the anthropological point of view rather than the sociological, and it is they who emphasize the need for work by sociologists in the cultures of the Western Hemisphere south of the United States.

¹Oscar Lewis, The Five Families, p. xxv (Introduction).

Davidson, for example,² at the conclusion of his enumeration of the material characteristics of the Latin culture, adds: "For too long the question of the Latin American culture has been neglected. . . . Latin American culture cannot be identified with any other contemporary culture and. . . therefore it is a cultural entity and must be isolated, identified, and characterized." He then proceeds specifically to designate four fields in which work at present is urgently needed, one of these being values.

Whetten³ has already been quoted as stressing the advantages that will accrue to the discipline of sociology if the work of measuring various variables is extended into different cultures. He terminates the passage quoted previously with the statement: "For this reason it seems appropriate to examine briefly the development of sociology among our southern neighbors in the Latin American republics," and moves on into the area himself, inspiring in his readers an interest in Latin America.

It was the work of Oscar Lewis, however, which served as the strongest theoretical influence on the choice of Latin America, for it is he who made the observation about the similarities rather than the differences among people of the lower class in such diverse cultures as the English, Puerto Rican, Mexican, and North American. The possibility of discovering universal elements in a culture of poverty is intriguing to a sociologist.

²Davidson, p. 251.

³Whetten, p. 207.

A pragmatic reason was also expressed by Lewis: "It seems to me that the material in this book has important implications for our thinking and our policy in regard to the underdeveloped countries of the world and particularly Latin America. It highlights the social, economic, and psychological complexities which have to be faced in any effort to transform and eliminate the culture of poverty in the world. It suggests that basic changes in the attitudes and value systems of the poor must go hand in hand with improvements in the material conditions of living."⁴

Lewis, Whetten, and Davidson point in the same direction. They are a few among many.

The second pragmatic reason is the large number of North Americans who are offering their services in the program of aiding Latin American development. At the end of November, 1962, there were 1111 members of the Peace Corps in twelve countries of Latin America; by June, 1963, there were 2250, "making Latin America the region of highest concentration of its efforts."⁵ March of 1963 found 177 Papal Volunteers from 48 dioceses of the United States working in 12 countries.⁶ In January, 1963, there were 3205 United States priests and Religious in Latin America according to a report sent Pope John by this nation's Episcopal

⁴Lewis, Children of Sanchez, p. xxx (Introduction).

⁵CIF Reports, II (June 1963), 390.

⁶Ibid.

Commission for Latin America. This was an increase of 675 in the 17 months since August, 1961, when the Holy See had appealed to the American Church for aid south of the border.⁷ A large number of Religious Congregations of men and women in the United States have pledged to send ten per cent of their able-bodied personnel into the field within the ten year period beginning in 1961, in response to the Holy Father's appeal.

These statistics do not include the workers from Canada and the countries of Europe, nor volunteers in non-denominational or Protestant programs.

Compared with the total population of Latin America, these figures are insignificant, indeed, but each year they increase. In view of the fact that even one person who understands a foreign culture can accomplish incomparably more in his "mission" than a number of those who lack this depth, it stands to reason that with the limited human resources available for this work, every effort must be made to prepare adequately all personnel before they proceed into the field. Effective training programs can be constructed only on accurate information; research is one means of obtaining this.

In a lecture during the Sister Formation Conference in the summer of 1963, Msgr. Ivan D. Illich, Executive Director of the Center of Intercultural Formation in Mexico, startled his audience

⁷Ibid., p. 132.

by bluntly stating that "the Latin Americans shudder at the thought of so many North Americans coming down there without understanding them and their culture, and consequently trying to make them into Spanish-speaking North Americans."⁸

Finally, Latin America was chosen for this work because of the writer's deep personal interest in it and its people.

The designation of Lima, Peru, as the specific location for the Latin American part of the study was the result of two factors: first, it is a large city containing the three social classes roughly approximating Chicago's population, which was the North American city most accessible to the researcher; secondly, Lima is to be the place in which the writer's Congregation will open its first foreign mission schools (after Puerto Rico) and where it intends to establish a base from which eventually to radiate into other Latin American countries. These reasons dictated the choice.

The research design was planned for application in the educational institutions because the question of the relation of the influence of schools to values had been raised by Witryol⁹, Rothman¹⁰, and others, and because of the experience and interest of the writer in teaching.

⁸Recounted to the writer by a member of the audience.

⁹Witryol, p. 320.

¹⁰Rothman, p. 130.

The test was given at the sixth grade level because the Peruvian educational system indicated that as the grade best suited for the purpose. Kindergarten followed by six years of grammar school constitute the elementary grades; then secondary education begins at the level of the North American Junior High School, and includes not only (in North American terms) grades seven, eight, and nine, but also two more, bringing the high school to a total of five years beyond the grammar school, but one year short of the North American senior high school.

Children of the lower social class do not attend high school for economic reasons: 1) even the smallest contribution to the support of the family by each member is necessary for survival, and children go to work frequently for a pittance or for "room and board" away from home before completing the elementary school, since there are no compulsory education laws; 2) the poor cannot afford the books, uniforms and transportation required by public as well as by private schools--elementary and high schools. Some lower class children do not attend school at all because poverty does not permit the purchase of these necessary articles.

A second reason for non-attendance of school is the tragic shortage of adequate facilities--classrooms, desks, teachers--to accommodate the rapidly increasing population. In April, 1963, when the school year opened in Lima,¹¹ one-half million children

¹¹The school year in Lima extends from April 1 to about December 23, with a 10-day vacation for patriotic celebrations from July 27-August 10. Since Lima is south of the Equator, these are the autumn-winter-spring seasons.

of school age in that city were not able to attend because of these deficiencies.¹² Altogether it has been estimated that 53 per cent of Peru is illiterate.¹³

Against the background of these deplorable facts, one can readily recognize that the high school population, even in its first year, is selective; and the college population, very selective. Only about 3 per cent of the people of Peru attend college.¹⁴

Dr. Salazar Romero, Director of Planning for Education and Pedagogical Consultant at the Peruvian Ministry of Education, who wholeheartedly approved the present project and was of invaluable aid in executing it, observed that the last year of the elementary school is already selective, because many children drop out before reaching it. However, because of the nature of the test (requiring the making of judgments), a lower grade could not be feasible unless drastic revisions would have to be made in the instrument. This was not desirable because the test selected follows as closely as possible the Levy "Modified Study of Values" adapted for secondary school use from the Allport-Vernon Study of Values, and simplified by a language revision to the seventh grade level.¹⁵

¹²La Prensa, Lima's daily paper, front page with a picture illustration, April 9, 1963.

¹³La Prensa, April 25, 1963, page 4.

¹⁴"The University in Latin America," CIF Reports, II (May 1963), p. 53.

¹⁵Jerome Levy, "Modified Form of the Study of Values," Unpublished form.

For these reasons the choice of Latin America, Lima, the school system, and the sixth grade was made for the present study.

Preparing the Testing Instrument. Three pages of questions on personal information prefaced the test of values (see Appendix A). These were included primarily as an aid to matching the samples of Chicago and Lima, and secondarily to provide objective and subjective criteria for identifying the social class of the subjects.

The questions concerning the birth place of the subject and his parents made it possible to exclude those of foreign birth whose socialization would have been influenced by the values of another culture (Questions 1,2, and 4).

Inquiries were made about age, religion, language and race, as these were the variables on which the subjects were matched (Questions 3,12,15 and 18). Only ten- and eleven-year-olds were accepted, Catholics, and in Lima, Spanish-speaking; in the United States the Spanish speaking were excluded to avoid an overlap of culture. In Lima only whites were sampled, but in Chicago a sufficient number of all-white lower class children could not be found clustered in any four Catholic schools, and Negroes were used. Nevertheless, the question was useful for recording this fact.

Inquiries concerning self-identification of social class membership, amount of family income, size and social status of family, plans for "after you finish school", and father's present

occupation were included as aids in classification of subjects into social classes (Questions 5,6,7,11,13 and 17).

Question 16, concerning the father's occupation at the time of the subject's birth, together with Questions 17 and 14--father's present occupation and the subject's occupational aspiration--were intended as possible indicators of mobility, but little was obtained from the first question, for few knew what their father had been doing at the time of their birth. However, the father's occupation was a major help as an objective criterion of social class, and the subjects' occupational aspirations revealed a direct relationship to the median value scores, a discovery which had not been anticipated. A full explanation of this phenomenon will be given in Chapter V.

The Values Test. A sample of the "Modified Form of the Study of Values" by Dr. Jerome Levy, revised to the seventh grade readability level, was sent by its author to the present writer on request. Permission was generously granted for adapting, translating, duplicating, and applying it in the present cross-cultural study. It was chosen because, to the writer's knowledge, this is the only objectively scored study of values on the elementary level that has reached the point of standardization. It is obviously an advantage to use a modified form of an instrument undergoing standardization than to attempt to construct an original one.

The Levy modification follows closely the 1951 edition of the

Allport-Vernon Study of Values, requiring, like the college-level test, a total of 120 answers, 20 of which refer to each of the six values. Further simplification to the sixth grade reading level carefully preserved this same balance.

One of the objections to this type of test is that the subject must divide his points on the basis of his choice, so that whatever he gives to one type of value will be subtracted from some other. However, it seems to the present writer, that that is the way value choices are made in actual situations. What is given of time, thought, or material things to one, cannot be also given to another, and it is in making the decision to whom or to what we will give what we have, that we exercise our value system.

The Allport-Vernon Study of Values which Levy modified and which this study adapted, aims to measure the relative prominence of six basic interests or motives in personality: the theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious. This is based directly on Edward Spranger's Types of Men¹⁶. Spranger held that a person is understood not by his actual achievements, but by his intentions and interests. The following brief explanations of what characterizes each type is based on the Allport-Vernon Manual for the Study of Values¹⁷ and on an explanation given by

¹⁶Eduard Spranger, Types of Men, trans. P. J. Pigors (New York, 1928).

¹⁷G. W. Allport and P. E. Vernon and G. Lindsey, Study of Values. Manual of Directions (New York, 1960).

Welsand¹⁸ which summarize Spranger's original descriptions:

The theoretical man is dominated by the desire to discover truth. He is the thinker, the theorist, the scientist, the philosopher. He is not interested in applying his knowledge, but simply in discovering it. He tends to be impersonal, objective, scholarly, logical, analytical, intellectual, and systematic. He avoids becoming emotionally involved, as this would interfere with his objectivity. He does not seek recognition for his discoveries.

The economic man is thoroughly practical in the sense of the American business man: interested in accumulation of material goods, physical security, and self-preservation through the satisfaction of bodily needs. Utility is the criterion against which he measures the value of anything. His conservatism keeps him from taking unnecessary risks. He is efficient, thrifty, profit-minded, conscientious, industrious, and safety-conscious.

The aesthetic man has as the chief goal of his life free expression of himself. His dominant desire is to translate experience into beauty and harmony as he conceives them. Consequently he is inclined to the harmonious, poetic, ceremonious, emotional, creative, non-conforming, graceful, and self-sufficient. Logical analysis is distasteful to him, and he prefers to go along with a project without planning ahead, so that he can enjoy every minute as he lives it. The artist or musician is an example of

¹⁸Eugene H. Welsand, "The Usefulness of the Spranger Values in the Determination of Basic Values," Unpublished Doctor's Thesis (Loyola University, Chicago, 1959), pp. 160-163.

an aesthetic man.

The social man has love as his highest goal; a deep concern for human welfare permeates his desires. He lives first for others, then for himself. Exemplified by the devoted teacher or loving mother, he is cooperative, forgiving, friendly, altruistic, self-sacrificing, sociable, and compassionate. Neither the scientific attitude nor the accumulation of property interest him except insofar as they might contribute to solidifying human relations.

The political man desires power over others, with its accompanying status, recognition, and superiority. The achiever or striver living primarily for success, is aggressive, competitive, autocratic, authoritarian, dominant, persevering, and legalistic. He cannot conceive of living in obscurity without directing affairs and giving orders.

The religious man centers his life around the value of unity, which means ordering his life according to the pattern set by God, his ultimate destiny. He lives in the world, but does not have the worldly spirit. Inclined to be ascetical, contemplative, mystical, and submissive, he sees everything in this world not as valuable in itself, but as a means to an end--the purpose of his life.

These are ideal types, as Spranger explained; and men are of mixed types, but with most, one type predominates. The purpose of administering the Study of Values to anyone is to discover how

these values are combined in his personality, and which predominates, if any.

The purpose of administering this test in the present study was to make an attempt to discover which types predominate in each of the two cultures and in each of the social classes within the cultures. The differences would provide a means for testing the hypothesis.

Adapting the Test for Use in Lima. Because it was necessary to adapt the test not only to the reading level of sixth graders, but also to the cultural background of the subjects in Lima, three teachers with experience in teaching the sixth grade in Lima, one of whom was a Peruvian, were consulted concerning the problem. After changes had been made in the test according to their advice and suggestions, the first Spanish copies were printed and the same teachers administered the pre-test and noted further alterations which might be advisable. In every case, whenever modifications were made, the same values were retained in necessary substitutions as those contained in the Levy form which had, in the same way, followed the Allport-Vernon 1951 edition. The specific changes made will be listed at the end of this section.

The final critical reading of the Spanish version was made by Dr. Salazar Romero, Director for the Planning of Education in the Peruvian Ministry of Public Education, who also had it printed by the Press of the Ministry.

Adapting the Test for Use in Chicago. Working with Levy's

adaptation of the test for the seventh grade reading level, two sixth grade teachers in Chicago critically evaluated the instrument from the point of view of vocabulary and concepts. After incorporating advisable changes (which will be pointed out later), the writer herself administered the pre-test in a middle and in a lower class school, before the final form was drawn up for printing.

A copy of the Spanish and English versions of the test as it was used for the present study, and a copy of Levy's score sheet are found in Appendix A. The correction figures on Levy's score sheet were not used because these were based on the unadapted (for the sixth grade) test with a seventh grade national sample.

Changes Made in Levy's Test. The following changes were made. Numbers refer to the question.

Levy's Form

Changes

Part I:

3. Which of the following men do you think contributed more to the progress of man:
a. Einstein; b. Lincoln?

Lima:
a. Daniel Carrion;
b. Mariscal Ramon Castilla?

4. If you were a newspaper writer, would you rather write about:
a. financial news;
b. political news?

Chicago and Lima:
a. news pertaining to making money;
b. news about government?

7. Should modern leaders try more to:
a. accomplish practical goals;
b. interest their people in the rights of others?

Chicago and Lima:
a. get work done;
b. interest their people in helping others?

11. Which of these headlines in the morning paper would you read first:
a. Protestant leaders get together;
b. Stock Market Improves?

Lima only:
a. Religious leaders get together;
b. To give more prizes in lottery?

Levy's FormChanges

16. If you could, and if your town did not already have one, would you prefer to establish: a. debating society; b. a classical orchestra?
17. The aim of the churches at the present time should be: a. to bring out charitable tendencies and regard for the interests of others; b. to encourage spiritual worship and the sense of communion with the highest?
19. Would you prefer to hear a series of lectures: a. comparing the merits of the forms of government in Britain and in the United States; b. comparing the development of the great religious faiths?
25. Would modern society benefit more from: a. more concern for the rights and welfare of citizens; b. greater knowledge of the basic laws of human behavior?
29. In your Sunday paper are you more likely to read: a. the real estate and stock market sections; b. the section on painting exhibitions and galleries?
- Chicago and Lima:
"neighborhood" instead of "town"
a. club for discussing patriotic topics
- Lima only: ". . . the Church . . ." Lima and Chicago
a. to bring out charity and interest in others;
b. to encourage spiritual worship and union with God?
- Chicago and Lima:
". . . series of talks. . ."
Lima only:
a. comparing the forms of government in Peru and Spain.
- Chicago and Lima:
a. being more concerned about other people getting their rights and improving living conditions
b. learning more about human nature and the way we naturally act under certain circumstances?
- Lima:
a. the sections about the lottery.
- Chicago:
a. articles about money and changing prices; b. sections about painting and art?

Part II

3. If you could change the educational policies of public schools, would you try to?
- Chicago and Lima:
"public" was omitted.

6. Watching television, do you enjoy most. . .
7. If the salaries were equal, would you rather be:
- a mathematician
 - a sales manager
 - a clergyman
 - a politician
8. If you had enough time and money, would you rather:
- make a collection of paintings and works of art;
 - establish a center for the care and training of the feeble-minded;
 - aim at a senatorship, or a seat in the Cabinet;
 - establish a business of your own?
13. To what extent do these people interest you:
- Florence Nightingale
 - Napoleon
 - Henry Ford
 - Albert Einstein
14. Would you rather have a woman for a wife who: (Women answer the alternative form below)
15. (For woman) Would you prefer a husband who:

Lima:
"Watching television" was omitted.

Chicago and Lima:

c. a clergyman (priest or minister)

Chicago only:

c. try to get a good government position.

Lima only:

- Father Illuminato of Boys' Town
- Francoisco Pizarro, a conquistador
- Mariano Ignacio Prado, a businessman
- Daniel Alcides Carrion, a scientist.

Chicago and Lima:

(For boys only; girls answer the part below.)
When you grow up, would you rather have a woman for a wife who:

Chicago and Lima:

(For girls only; boys answer the part above.)
When you grow up, would you rather have a husband that:

Composition of the Sample. The sample consisted of 480 sixth grade children, 240 from Chicago, Illinois, and 240 from Lima, Peru, South America. The students from the two cultures

were matched for socio-economic class, age, religion, grade level and sex. They were 10 or 11 years old, Catholic, and in the sixth grade. Table I shows the composition as to sex and socio-economic class.

Four schools from each of the three socio-economic class levels in both cultures were included, bringing the total number of schools to 24. These were widely distributed geographically throughout the two cities, as far as possible, so that local factors would not influence the results. Twenty subjects were selected from each school, yielding a total of 80 for each socio-economic class in each culture.

TABLE I
COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE

| Location and Socioeconomic Class | Number of Schools | Number of Subjects | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---------|-------|
| | | Males | Females | Total |
| <u>Chicago</u> | | | | |
| Upper | 4 | 40 | 40 | 80 |
| Middle | 4 | 40 | 40 | 80 |
| Lower | 4 | 40 | 40 | 80 |
| Total | 12 | 120 | 120 | 240 |
| <u>Lima</u> | | | | |
| Upper | 4 | 40 | 40 | 80 |
| Middle | 4 | 40 | 40 | 80 |
| Lower | 4 | 40 | 40 | 80 |
| Total | 12 | 120 | 120 | 240 |
| <u>Total for Both</u> | 24 | 240 | 240 | 480 |

Selection of Peruvian Sample. This was a major problem in a foreign culture, for, as Sjoberg indicates, ". . . to examine the relationships between technology and social class in several cultures one must have a conception of technology and a conception of class common to all the cultures involved. However, the invariant points of reference concerning social class cannot be identified through operational procedures such as Chapin's social-status scale, which utilizes criteria some of which are typically characteristic of American culture."¹⁹

And this is not the only difficulty. Wagley and Harris warn: "The problem of class differences in the Latin American urban centers presents one of the most pressing and difficult challenges to students of Latin American culture. There is a critical lack of information about socioeconomic stratification as well as about the basic subcultural differences which attend the various levels."²⁰

Therefore the same method was adopted as that used by William F. Whyte to obtain his sample for surveying 27 colleges in Lima for the Social Attitudes-Cornell Project²¹:

¹⁹Gideon Sjoberg, "Operationalism and Research," Symposium on Sociological Theory, ed. L. Gross (Evanston, 1959), p. 622.

²⁰C. Wagley and M. Harris, "Typology of Latin American Subcultures," American Anthropologist, LVII (1955), 440.

²¹Rose K. Goldsen, "Examination of SES Classification of Schools and SES Items in Peru Questionnaire," Unpublished Monograph sent by the author to the present writer.

a person considered, for valid reasons, qualified to make the judgment regarding the social class levels of the city's schools was consulted. Dr. Carlos Salazar Romero, Director of Planning for Education and Pedagogical Consultant for the Peruvian Ministry of Public Education, was approached as suited for the task in this case. Having himself worked on adapting North American I. Q. and personality tests for use of Latin American schools while studying at the University of Florida in 1957, he had no difficulty understanding the nature of the present project and was favorably disposed toward the purpose it attempts to serve. Because of his present position in the Peruvian Ministry, he was well informed concerning the point at issue. Without difficulty he pointed out four schools of each socioeconomic class, a sample which included four public schools, two lay-private schools, and two private and four parochial schools conducted by Religious of both sexes.

In order to check the accuracy of the selection, the page of personal information prefacing the study of values test was consulted for the indices which would make it possible to select the desired kind of sample. (These were explained previously in this chapter.)

Four social classes rather than three had been listed in the questionnaire (see Appendix A, question 5, page 1) as the term "lower" class carries for some people a connotation of inferiority and low moral standards, and such might be inclined to check "middle" instead. All who checked either "lower" or "working"

were checked against the father's occupation before being accepted in the lower class sample.

Since 30 tests were administered in each school although only 20 were called for in the sample, it was possible to discard the tests of all respondents who, judged by the indices described above, were recognized as not belonging to the social class in which they had been originally included. Incomplete tests and the tests of subjects who did not match on desired variables were also rejected. After these eliminations, 20 from each school were taken at random as the sample from that school.

The method used for defining the social class of each child (in both Lima and Chicago) is supported by the study of Steiner²² who found that "objective and subjective criteria of class membership, when used in combination with one another, will separate persons into categories with differing social values."

Selection of the Chicago Sample. The schools of Chicago included in the sample were chosen on the basis of residential property values in the Census Tract in which the school is located. Value of owner-occupied units was the index, as shown in Table II. The lower class schools were from Tracts with few owner-occupied residences, as shown in Table III. Other indices were applied before the sample was accepted, as will be explained below.

²²I. D. Steiner, "Some Social Values Associated with Objectively and Subjectively Defined Social Class Memberships," Social Forces, XXXI (1955), 327-332.

TABLE II
 LOCATION OF CATHOLIC PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS IN CHICAGO
 SAMPLE BY CENSUS TRACTS*

| Socioeconomic Class of School | Tract Number | Number of Schools | Median Value of Occupied Housing Units |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--|
| Upper | NPT 6007 | 1 | \$35,000 |
| Upper | NPT 0004 | 1 | 35,000 |
| Upper | RFT 0129 | 1 | 35,000 |
| Upper | MAT 0074 | 1 | 31,600 |
| Middle | PRT 0105 | 1 | 19,000 |
| Middle | ADT 0002 | 1 | 17,700 |
| Middle | 0047 | 1 | 18,700 |
| Middle | 0838 9A | 1 | 18,500 |
| Lower | 0127 | 1 | ** |
| Lower | 0534-z | 1 | ** |
| Lower | 0578 | 1 | ** |
| Lower | 0380 | 1 | ** |

*U. S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960; Chicago, Illinois. Table H-2, pp. 591-645.

**See Table III

TABLE III

DESCRIPTION OF CENSUS TRACTS FOR LOWER CLASS SCHOOLS IN CHICAGO
SAMPLE*

| | Tract 0127 ^a | Tract 0380 ^b | Tract 0534-z ^c | Tract 0578 ^d |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| All occupied Units | 1981 | 190 | 816 | 1167 |
| VALUE | | | | |
| Owner Occupied | 74 | 5 | 32 | 35 |
| Less than \$5,000 | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| \$5,000-\$9,900 | 61 | 1 | 4 | 13 |
| \$10,000-\$14,900 | 7 | ... | 20 | 13 |
| \$15,000-\$19,900 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 5 |
| \$20,000-\$24,900 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| \$25,000 or more | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| | \$8000? | ... | ... | ... |
| GROSS RENT | | | | |
| Renter Occupied | 1890 | 162 | 701 | 1072 |
| Less than \$20 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| \$20-\$39 | 114 | ... | 14 | 36 |
| \$40-\$59 | 621 | 39 | 134 | 176 |
| \$60-\$79 | 889 | 64 | 321 | 260 |
| \$80-\$99 | 238 | 44 | 130 | 320 |
| \$100-\$149 | 32 | 12 | 94 | 228 |
| \$150 or more | ... | ... | 4 | 40 |
| No cash rent | ... | 3 | 4 | 12 |
| Median (Dollars) | \$64 | ... | \$72 | \$83 |
| CONTRACT RENT RENTER OCCUPIED | | | | |
| | 1894 | 159 | 697 | 1060 |
| Median in dollars | \$63 | ... | \$65 | \$74 |

*U. S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, Chicago, Illinois.

^apage 597

^bpage 606

^cpage 610

^dpage 611

After prospective schools were identified, a personal phone call was made to the principal of each school, explaining the purpose of the study and the type of school population desired. It was found that all the upper and middle class schools selected coincided with the desired type in the opinion of the principals, and oral permission was granted in all but one case for administering the test. The one refusal came reluctantly from a principal whose school was being remodeled and it was feared that the proper atmosphere for such a test would be lacking because of the circumstances. A neighboring school in the same Census Tract was substituted.

The matter was not that simple with lower class schools. It was discovered that all the schools which had suggested themselves for the project because of location, as described in Table III, had either a Negro or a Puerto Rican population. It was necessary to exclude all Puerto Ricans who are Spanish speaking, as this would constitute an overlap, to a greater or lesser degree, of the Latin American culture. No Spanish speaking child was accepted as a subject for the Chicago sample, as stated previously.

It was the opinion of the principals consulted that the lower class white population is mixed with the other socioeconomic classes in both private and public schools. Consequently, the four lower class schools in the Chicago sample were completely or almost completely Negro.

Happily, a comparison of the factors involved revealed that

the American Negroes, more than the lower class whites, approximate the Peruvian lower class mestizos who constitute the sample in Lima. Both of these groups, although part of a national whole, have elements in their backgrounds that separate their thought patterns from the long-time city dwellers. In Lima this group has come to the city relatively recently from the mountains, just as many Negroes have come from the rural South. Their common background of migrating from rural areas into slum sections of a large city constitutes a similarity, even as does their poverty.

Besides, it was the Negro of the United States whom Oscar Lewis has specifically singled out as showing similarity in living patterns with the lower class members of other cultures. This was an opportunity to use this very group as the sample.

The number of whites in the lower class schools finally selected in Chicago was negligible, and even the few white children who were among the 30 from each school to whom the test was administered, had reading difficulties, and consequently could not complete the work in the specified time. These papers had to be rejected, leaving the sample from the lower class in Chicago, all Negro.

In Chicago as in Lima, the index of family income from the page of personal information could not be used since many did not know and others gave answers which were obviously a guess indicating an absence of understanding of income. The other indices were

used as a check on social class in the same way as they had been in Lima. Eliminations took place on the same bases and the 20 copies finally accepted were picked at random for Chicago as they had been for Lima.

Table IV shows the distribution of the Chicago and Lima samples by fathers' occupations. This was considered the most important index of social class in this study.

The reason for a completely Catholic sample was that all schools in Lima are Catholic, and almost all children. To match this, only Catholics were also taken in Chicago.

Procedure. Because the procedure of preparing the test for use in the cross-cultural study was so intimately related to a description of the instrument itself, it has been incorporated into the section of this chapter on Testing Instrument. The following is a description of the method of administering the test and processing the data.

After the preparation of the testing instrument and the selection of the sample schools, personal letters were sent to the principals of the schools concerned, formally requesting permission for administering the test, specifying time and date. In Lima an official letter of authorization for this work was obtained from Dr. Salazar Romero representing the Ministry of Education. A copy of that letter and of the English and Spanish letters sent to the principals are in Appendix B.

The principals were asked to respond within a week. Those

TABLE IV
DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE BY FATHERS' OCCUPATION

| Social Class | Occupation | Chicago | Lima | Total |
|--------------|-----------------------------|---------|------|-------|
| Upper | Professionals | 52 | 64 | 116 |
| | Business Executives | 14 | 1 | 15 |
| | Part-owners of Big Business | 9 | 4 | 13 |
| | Retired | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| | Military Officers | 0 | 7 | 7 |
| | Land Owners (hacienda) | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| | Total | 80 | 80 | 160 |
| Middle | Skilled Laborers | 31 | 5 | 36 |
| | White Collar | 31 | 59 | 90 |
| | Small Business Owners | 18 | 12 | 30 |
| | Military Service | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| | Total | 80 | 80 | 160 |
| Lower | Unskilled | 32 | 52 | 84 |
| | Service | 24 | 11 | 35 |
| | Unemployed | 11 | 1 | 12 |
| | Don't Know (broken home) | 5 | 10 | 15 |
| | Farmer | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| | Dead | 8 | 4 | 12 |
| Total | 80 | 80 | 160 | |
| Total | | 240 | 240 | 480 |

who failed to do so were contacted by phone for final arrangements. Every school in Lima on the original list of 12 responded in the affirmative. One Chicago school, as has been mentioned previously, found it necessary to refuse because of building remodeling, and another school from the same Tract was substituted for it.

The test was administered in both Lima and Chicago during the fourth week of the new school year, 1963. This was possible because, since Lima is on the south side of the Equator, the seasons are reversed as compared with Chicago, and the school year extends from April 1 until shortly before Christmas. The test was administered during the last week of April, 1963, by the classroom teachers in the presence of the writer in Lima. In Chicago the writer personally administered the test in all the scheduled schools during the last week of September, 1963.

After the eliminations described under the selection of the sample, the tests were scored on individual score sheets (see Appendix A), and a value profile was drawn for each child on the basis of his scores. Median scores were found for each school, for each social class in both cultures, and for the cultures and social classes combined as shown in the Tables found in Chapters IV and V. Differences were checked for significance by Chi-squares.

All scores in this dissertation are raw scores without correction figures. This was necessary because no correction figures are available on a national norm for the present test; therefore,

comparisons with other studies can be made validly only if all scores are recorded consistently, that is, all must be without correction figures to be comparable.

CHAPTER IV

REPORT OF THE FINDINGS

Chapter I presented the problem area of the present study, terminating with a statement of the general and specific hypotheses to be tested. Chapter II described more fully the related literature, pointing out the gaps that remain to be filled by further research. Chapter III mapped the design and the methodology used. Chapter IV reports the findings, applying them to each hypothesis in turn without any interpretation, that being deferred to Chapter V.

The general hypothesis set up for testing was: the basic values of the same social class in two different cultures are more similar than those of different social classes in the same culture.

The twelve subhypotheses compare the inter-class with the cross-cultural differences in the following manner:

| | | <u>Chicago Inter-Class</u> | <u>Lima Inter-Class</u> | |
|------------|------|----------------------------|-------------------------|--------|
| | | | <u>Cross-Cultural</u> | |
| Hypothesis | I | Middle | Upper | Upper |
| Hypothesis | II | Lower | Upper | Upper |
| Hypothesis | III | Upper | Middle | Middle |
| Hypothesis | IV | Lower | Middle | Middle |
| Hypothesis | V | Upper | Lower | Lower |
| Hypothesis | VI | Middle | Lower | Lower |
| Hypothesis | VII | | Upper | Middle |
| Hypothesis | VIII | | Upper | Lower |
| Hypothesis | IX | | Middle | Upper |
| Hypothesis | X | | Middle | Lower |
| Hypothesis | XI | | Lower | Upper |
| Hypothesis | XII | | Lower | Middle |

The cross-cultural intra-class have been hypothesized to show more similarity in basic values than the same culture

inter-class. This is to be decided on the basis of which shows a larger number of significant differences as measured by Chi-squares. In those cases in which there is an even number, the median scores of the values with statistically insignificant differences will be compared for differences, as has been explained at the end of Chapter I, where the hypotheses were stated for the first time.

Hypothesis I: The basic values of the upper class in Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the upper class in Lima than they are to those of the middle class in Chicago. Table V summarizes the data bearing on this hypothesis.

TABLE V

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEDIAN VALUE SCORES OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CHICAGO AND LIMA UPPER CLASS SAMPLES WITH THOSE OF THE INTER-CLASS CHICAGO UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASS SAMPLES

| Test Values | Chicago M & U | | Chicago M | Chicago U | Lima U | Chicago & Lima U | |
|-------------|----------------|-------|-----------|-----------|--------|------------------|-------|
| | X ² | P | | | | X ² | P |
| Theoretical | .224 | * | 43.90 | 43.30 | 41.80 | .824 | * |
| Economic | 4.200 | <.05 | 32.70 | 35.25 | 34.00 | 1.224 | * |
| Aesthetic | 1.224 | * | 27.00 | 29.00 | 32.00 | 9.000 | <.01 |
| Social | .024 | * | 44.80 | 44.30 | 49.50 | 4.160 | <.05 |
| Political | 9.000 | <.01 | 36.72 | 39.30 | 32.30 | 21.000 | <.001 |
| Religious | 15.600 | <.001 | 52.62 | 48.30 | 53.86 | 13.200 | <.001 |
| N | | | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | |

*Insignificant

Three significant differences emerge between the Chicago upper and middle classes (on the economic, the political, and the religious values) and four between the Chicago and Lima upper classes (on the aesthetic, the social, the political, and the religious values). The most highly significant on both levels are the religious differences (at the .001 level of confidence), the Chicago upper class with a median score of 48.30 ranking lower on both, the inter-class and the cross-cultural levels. It is noteworthy that the Lima upper class religious value median score, although differing significantly from that of the Chicago upper class, is very similar to the Chicago middle class median score.

The other value on which significant differences appear on both levels is the political, the inter-class at the one per cent level of confidence as compared with the cross-cultural at the .001 level. The difference in median score points is again greater between the Chicago and Lima upper classes than between the Lima upper and the Chicago middle class, but in this case the Lima upper class sample shows the lowest median score.

Significant differences appear on the aesthetic and the social values only on the cross-cultural level, the Chicago upper and middle class median scores being almost identical on the social and differing by two points on the aesthetic, whereas the dissimilarities between the Chicago and the Lima upper classes show significance at the five per cent level of confidence on the social value and at the one percent level for the aesthetic value.

Contrary to expectations, the similarity between the Chicago-Lima comparison of economic median scores excludes any significant differences, although the inter-class upper and middle Chicago samples reveal a difference significant at the five per cent level of confidence.

No significant difference emerges on either level for the theoretical value, the two Chicago classes scoring an almost identical median and the Lima upper class falling slightly lower.

Hypothesis I, therefore, has not been confirmed by the present data. Four significant differences are evident on the cross-cultural basis and three on the inter-class level. Contrary to stated expectations, the basic values as expressed by median scores show more similarity on the inter-class level between Chicago's and Lima's upper class samples than they do on the cross-cultural level, between Chicago's and Lima's upper class samples.

Hypothesis II: The basic values of the upper class in Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the upper class in Lima than they are to those of the lower class in Chicago. The pertinent data presented concisely in Table VI expose at once that here again the number of differences between median scores attaining significance on the cross-cultural level exceeds the number on the inter-class level. Striking, also, is the fact that the lesser differences are evident between the median scores of the lower and upper Chicago samples than of the middle and upper class samples.

TABLE VI
COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEDIAN VALUE SCORES OF
THE CROSS-CULTURAL CHICAGO AND LIMA UPPER CLASS SAMPLES WITH
THOSE OF THE INTER-CLASS CHICAGO UPPER AND LOWER CLASS SAMPLES

| Test Values | Chicago L & U | | Chicago | Chicago | Lima | Chicago & Lima U | |
|----------------|---------------|------|---------|---------|-------|------------------|-------|
| | χ^2 | P | L | U | U | χ^2 | P |
| Theoretical | 2.000 | * | 41.25 | 43.30 | 41.80 | .824 | * |
| Economic | .224 | * | 34.25 | 35.25 | 34.00 | 1.224 | * |
| Aesthetic | 2.000 | * | 30.08 | 29.00 | 32.00 | 9.000 | <.01 |
| Social | .224 | * | 45.50 | 44.30 | 49.50 | 4.160 | <.05 |
| Political | 9.000 | <.01 | 36.70 | 39.30 | 32.30 | 21.000 | <.001 |
| Religious | 4.16 | <.05 | 51.60 | 48.30 | 53.86 | 13.200 | <.001 |
| N | | | 80 | 80 | 80 | | |

*Insignificant

As under Hypothesis I, here again significant differences on both inter-class and cross-cultural levels appear for the religious and political value median scores. However, the religious median score of the lower class, comes closer to the Chicago upper class, opening a wider gap between Lima upper and Chicago lower than was evident between the Lima upper and the Chicago middle. This indicates that the Chicago lower class approaches the Chicago upper class more closely in religious value scores than does the Chicago middle class, whereas the Lima upper class (according to data) approaches the Chicago middle class more closely in these values as represented by the scores, than it

does the Chicago lower class sample.

Since the political value median score of the Chicago lower class is almost identical with that of the middle class, the differences on the political value present the same relationships under Hypothesis II as under Hypothesis I: Significant on both the inter-class and the cross-cultural levels they, nevertheless, represent significance at the .001 level of confidence for the Chicago-Lima upper class comparison and at the .01 level for the Chicago upper and lower class comparison.

The aesthetic and social value median scores, producing significant differences (at the .01 and .05 levels of confidence, respectively) in the cross-cultural comparisons, reveal no significant differences between the Chicago upper and lower class samples.

Median scores for the economic and theoretical values display significance on neither the inter-class nor the cross-cultural level, but it is noteworthy that the Lima upper class sample median score is almost identical with the Chicago lower class on these two values.

The data from this study, then, point to the conclusion that more similarities exist between the Chicago upper and lower classes on the basic values examined (using median scores) than between the Chicago and Lima upper class samples. Therefore, the findings do not confirm Hypothesis II.

Hypothesis III: The basic values of the middle class in

Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the middle class in Lima than they are to those of the upper class in Chicago. Table VII, which summarizes the data bearing on this hypothesis, makes clear at a glance that three significant differences between value median scores exist on both levels: the inter-class and the cross-cultural.

TABLE VII

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE VALUE MEDIAN SCORES OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CHICAGO AND LIMA MIDDLE CLASS SAMPLES AND THOSE OF THE INTER-CLASS CHICAGO MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASS SAMPLES

| Test Values | Chicago U & M | | Chicago | Chicago | Lima | Chicago & Lima U | |
|-------------|---------------|-------|---------|---------|-------|------------------|------|
| | χ^2 | P | U | M | M | χ^2 | P |
| Theoretical | .224 | * | 43.30 | 43.90 | 42.30 | 1.224 | * |
| Economic | 4.200 | <.05 | 35.25 | 32.70 | 35.16 | 4.200 | <.05 |
| Aesthetic | 1.224 | * | 29.00 | 27.00 | 30.04 | 3.024 | * |
| Social | .024 | * | 44.30 | 44.80 | 47.61 | 7.200 | <.01 |
| Political | 9.000 | <.01 | 39.30 | 36.72 | 33.34 | 7.200 | <.01 |
| Religious | 15.600 | <.001 | 48.30 | 52.62 | 51.66 | .824 | * |
| N | | | 80 | | 80 | | |

*Insignificant

Two of these cut across both levels: the economic value median score showing differences significant at the five per cent level of confidence, and the political with differences significant at the one per cent level of confidence. The Lima middle class median score is almost identical with that of the Chicago upper class sample on the

economic, but it is more similar to the Chicago middle than to the Chicago upper class sample on the basis of median scores for the political value.

The Chicago inter-class difference on the religious value (between upper and middle) is significant at the .001 level of confidence, but the Chicago and Lima middle classes register such similarity that no significant difference emerges.

With the social value median scores it is the direct opposite: a difference significant at the one per cent level of confidence is present between the Chicago and Lima middle classes but no significant difference is evident between the Chicago upper and middle classes.

On the aesthetic and the theoretical values, median scores are so close for the three groups that there are no significant differences on either the inter-class or the cross-cultural levels. If differences in score points are calculated, the cross-cultural comparison yields a larger difference in both values, 1.60 for the theoretical and 3.04 for the aesthetic, as compared with the inter-class .60 and 2.00, respectively.

These data, therefore, have not presented evidence of greater inter-class than cross-cultural differences, since three significant differences appeared for both levels, and the two values showing no statistically significant differences carried scores which resulted in slightly larger cross-cultural than inter-class differences. Thus the findings do not support Hypothesis III.

Hypothesis IV: The basic values of the middle class in Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the middle class in Lima than they are to the lower class in Chicago. The pertinent data are presented in Table VIII.

Three significant differences are found on the cross-cultural level: on the economic value at the five per cent level of confidence; and on the social and political values at the one per cent level of confidence. On the other hand, only one significant difference is shown on the inter-class level: on the

TABLE VIII

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEDIAN VALUE SCORES OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CHICAGO AND LIMA MIDDLE CLASS SAMPLES AND THOSE OF THE INTER-CLASS CHICAGO MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASS SAMPLES

| Test Values | Chicago M & L | | Chicago L | Chicago M | Lima M | Chicago & Lima M | |
|-------------|----------------|------|-----------|-----------|--------|------------------|------|
| | X ² | P | | | | X ² | P |
| Theoretical | 2.024 | * | 41.25 | 43.90 | 42.30 | 1.224 | * |
| Economic | 1.824 | * | 34.25 | 32.70 | 35.16 | 4.200 | <.05 |
| Aesthetic | 4.200 | <.05 | 30.08 | 27.00 | 30.04 | 3.024 | * |
| Social | .224 | * | 45.50 | 44.80 | 47.61 | 7.200 | <.01 |
| Political | * | * | 36.70 | 36.72 | 33.34 | 7.200 | <.01 |
| Religious | .824 | * | 51.60 | 52.62 | 51.66 | .824 | * |
| N | | | 80 | 80 | 80 | | |

*Insignificant

aesthetic value, at the five per cent level of confidence.

None of these overlap, that is, the values in which median scores demonstrate significant differences on the cross-cultural level are not the same as the one that shows such a difference on the inter-class level.

On the theoretical value, the Chicago lower class median score shows a difference from the upper class score by 1.75, and Lima's middle class differs from that of Chicago by 1.60, resulting in the negligible .15 of a score point larger dissimilarity on the inter-class than on the cross-cultural level.

On the religious value, the other which shows no significant differences, the median scores of the Chicago lower and Lima middle class samples show the cross-cultural difference of .06 of a score point further removed from the Chicago middle class median score of 52.62, than the inter-class scores.

Therefore, the present data show three significant and one insignificant but higher cross-cultural difference as compared with one significant and one higher insignificant median score difference. It can thus be concluded that the reverse of Hypothesis IV is demonstrated. On the basis of these findings, the basic values of the middle class of Chicago are not more similar to the basic values of the middle class in Lima than they are to the lower class in Chicago. Instead, the basic values of the middle class in Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the lower class in Chicago than they are to those of the middle class in Lima.

Hypothesis V: The basic values of the lower class in Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the lower class in Lima than they are to those of the upper class in Chicago. A glance at Table IX reveals two significant differences between the inter-class sample: on the political value at the one per cent level of confidence, and on the religious value at the five per cent level of confidence. On the cross-cultural level one difference (significant at the five per cent level of confidence) is evident on the social level.

On the values for which the median scores do not present significant differences, the insignificant differences are nevertheless larger by their slight margin for the inter-class than for the cross-cultural comparison. The theoretical value median scores between the two Chicago samples show a difference of 2.05 score points, but only .31 of a score difference between the Chicago and Lima lower class samples. The same pattern is followed for the economic value median scores, the difference between the Chicago upper and lower class samples being one score point, and between the Chicago lower and the Lima lower, .91 of a point. This is negligible, to be sure, but present nevertheless. Similarly, Chicago upper and lower class median scores for the aesthetic value yield a difference of 1.08, but the cross-cultural lower class scores produce only a .28 of a score difference.

Considering the two significant differences (on the

TABLE IX

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEDIAN VALUE SCORES OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CHICAGO AND LIMA LOWER CLASS SAMPLES AND THOSE OF THE INTER-CLASS CHICAGO UPPER AND LOWER CLASS SAMPLES

| Test Values | Chicago U & L | | Chicago U | Chicago L | Lima L | Chicago & Lima L | |
|-------------|----------------|------|-----------|-----------|--------|------------------|------|
| | X ² | P | U | L | L | X ² | P |
| Theoretical | 2.000 | * | 43.30 | 41.25 | 40.94 | .024 | * |
| Economic | .224 | * | 35.25 | 34.25 | 35.16 | .824 | * |
| Aesthetic | 2.000 | * | 29.00 | 30.08 | 29.80 | .024 | * |
| Social | .224 | * | 44.30 | 45.50 | 47.64 | 4.16 | <.05 |
| Political | 9.000 | <.01 | 39.30 | 36.70 | 34.50 | 3.024 | * |
| Religious | 4.16 | <.05 | 48.30 | 51.60 | 50.25 | 1.824 | * |
| N | | | 80 | 80 | 80 | | |

*Insignificant

political and religious values) and the three statistically insignificant (on the theoretical, economic, and aesthetic values) which register larger differences between the inter-class than the cross-cultural samples, as against the one significant difference (on the social value) which is greater for the cross-cultural than for the inter-class comparison, it can be said from these data that Hypothesis V is supported. It appears from the findings that the basic values of the lower class in Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the lower class in Lima than they are to those of the upper class in Chicago. This confirms the observation of Oscar Lewis.

Hypothesis VI: The basic values of the lower class in Chicago are more similar to the basic values of the lower class in Lima than they are to those of the middle class in Chicago. Table X, containing the pertinent data, reveals one difference significant at the five per cent level of confidence on each of the two levels: in the aesthetic value between the median scores of the inter-class sample, and on the social value for the cross-cultural sample.

TABLE X

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEDIAN VALUE SCORES OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CHICAGO AND LIMA LOWER CLASS SAMPLES WITH THOSE OF THE INTER-CLASS CHICAGO MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASS SAMPLES

| Test Values | Chicago M & L | | Chicago M | Chicago L | Lima L | Chicago & Lima L | |
|-------------|----------------|------|-----------|-----------|--------|------------------|------|
| | X ² | P | | | | X ² | P |
| Theoretical | 3.024 | * | 43.90 | 41.25 | 40.94 | .024 | * |
| Economic | .824 | * | 32.70 | 34.25 | 35.16 | .824 | * |
| Aesthetic | 4.20 | <.05 | 27.00 | 30.08 | 29.80 | .024 | * |
| Social | .224 | * | 44.80 | 45.50 | 47.64 | 4.160 | <.05 |
| Political | * | * | 36.72 | 36.70 | 34.50 | 3.024 | * |
| Religious | .824 | * | 52.62 | 51.60 | 50.25 | .824 | * |
| N | | | 80 | 80 | 80 | | |

*Insignificant

Of the four remaining values with statistically insignificant median score differences, two (theoretical and the economic) show

greater similarity on the cross-cultural level than on the inter-class, with only .31 and .91 of a score, respectively, separating the median scores of the Lima lower class sample from the Chicago lower class sample; whereas the difference between the Chicago middle and lower class samples on these same value median scores is 1.65 and 1.55, respectively. The slender margin of differences shows less similarity on the inter-class than on the cross-cultural level.

However, the reverse is indicated on the political and religious value median score differences. These are greater (by a slight margin) between the cross-cultural than between the inter-class samples. The Chicago and Lima lower classes present a difference of 2.20 and 1.35 between political and religious median scores, respectively; the Chicago middle and lower class samples, .02 and 1.02, respectively.

The total findings on Hypothesis VI are, therefore, evenly divided to support and to refute it, for on both, the cross-cultural and the inter-class levels, there is one significant plus two statistically insignificant but higher differences in measuring the six values. It would seem, then, that the similarity of values of the Chicago middle and lower classes is equal to that between the Chicago and Lima lower classes. In other words, Chicago's lower class (in this sample) is just as similar in its basic values to the middle class of Chicago as it is to the lower class in Lima.

Hypothesis VII: The basic values of the upper class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the upper class in Chicago than they are to those of the middle class in Lima. Four significant differences on the cross-cultural level are immediately evident from Table XI, which assembles the data on this hypothesis. No significant differences appear on the inter-class level between the upper and middle class samples of Lima.

Since differences on the aesthetic value (significant at the one per cent level of confidence), the social value (at the five per cent level of confidence), and on the political and

TABLE XI

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEDIAN VALUE SCORES OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CHICAGO AND LIMA UPPER CLASS SAMPLES WITH THOSE OF THE INTER-CLASS LIMA UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASS SAMPLES

| Values | Lima M & U | | Lima M | Lima U | Chicago U | Lima & Chicago U | |
|-------------|----------------|---|-----------|-----------|--------------|------------------|-------|
| | X ² | P | | | | X ² | P |
| Theoretical | .024 | * | 42.30 | 41.80 | 43.30 | .824 | * |
| Economic | 1.224 | * | 35.16 | 34.00 | 35.25 | 1.224 | * |
| Aesthetic | 1.224 | * | 30.04 | 32.00 | 29.00 | 9.000 | <.01 |
| Social | 2.000 | * | 47.61 | 49.50 | 44.30 | 4.160 | <.05 |
| Political | .824 | * | 33.34 | 32.30 | 39.30 | 21.000 | <.001 |
| Religious | 2.000 | * | 51.65 | 53.86 | 48.30 | 13.200 | <.001 |
| N | | | 80 | 80 | 80 | | |

*Insignificant

religious values (at the .001 level of confidence) have been

found in this sample between the median scores of the upper classes of Chicago and Lima, but not between the middle and upper classes of Lima, it is evident that on these four values the differences are greater on the cross-cultural than on the inter-class level.

The difference between the median value scores in terms of score points on the theoretical value for the inter-class level is .50 and for the cross-cultural, 1.50; for the economic, 1.16 for the inter-class and 1.25 for the cross-cultural, level. Therefore, even for the two values with statistically insignificant differences on either level, the median scores reveal a greater difference on the cross-cultural than on the inter-class level.

All the data from this sample, therefore, contradict Hypothesis VII, for on no value is there evidence of difference (either significant or insignificant statistically) greater between the inter-class than between the cross-cultural samples. The findings in this study, it must be noted, manifest striking similarities between the values of the Lima upper and middle classes.

Hypothesis VIII: The basic values of the upper class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the upper class in Chicago than they are to those of the lower class in Lima. Table XII, with its complete summary of pertinent data, presents again the four significant differences between the Chicago and

Lima upper classes: on the aesthetic value (at the one per cent level of confidence), on the social value (at the five per cent

TABLE XII

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEDIAN VALUE SCORES OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CHICAGO AND LIMA UPPER CLASS SAMPLES WITH THOSE OF THE INTER-CLASS LIMA UPPER AND LOWER CLASS SAMPLES

| Test Values | Lima U & L | | Lima L | Lima U | Chicago U | Lima & Chicago U | |
|-------------|----------------|------|--------|--------|-----------|------------------|-------|
| | X ² | P | | | | X ² | P |
| Theoretical | .224 | * | 40.94 | 41.80 | 43.30 | .824 | * |
| Economic | 1.224 | * | 35.16 | 34.00 | 35.25 | 1.224 | * |
| Aesthetic | 3.024 | * | 29.80 | 32.00 | 29.00 | 9.000 | <.01 |
| Social | .224 | * | 47.64 | 49.50 | 44.30 | 4.160 | <.03 |
| Political | 2.000 | * | 34.50 | 32.30 | 39.30 | 21.000 | <.001 |
| Religious | 4.16 | <.05 | 50.25 | 53.86 | 48.30 | 13.200 | <.001 |
| N | | | 80 | 80 | 80 | | |

*Insignificant

level of confidence), and on the political and religious values (at the .001 level of confidence). Between the Lima upper and lower class samples, one significant difference emerges: on the religious value, at the five per cent level of confidence.

For the two values in which significant differences are not evident on either level, the theoretical and the economic, the median scores show greater differences on the cross-cultural than on the inter-class level. For the theoretical, the Lima upper and lower show a difference of only .86 of a score point; the upper classes of Lima and Chicago show 1.50. For the

economic, Lima's upper and lower class median scores differ by 1.16 score points; Lima's upper as compared with Chicago's upper, 1.25.

Finally, when a comparison of median scores is made for the religious value in which significant differences appear on both levels, it is found that the Lima lower differs from the Lima upper by 3.61 score points, while the difference between the Lima and Chicago upper class samples is 5.56 score points. The greater difference, thus, is found on the cross-cultural level.

These data reflect a remarkable similarity between the values of the Lima upper and lower classes, recording no difference that exceeds those found between the Chicago and Lima upper class samples. Hypothesis VIII is, therefore, not supported by these findings, for the basic values of the upper class in Lima are represented as more similar to the basic values of the lower class in Lima than to those of the upper class in Chicago in all six values under consideration.

Hypothesis IX: The basic values of the middle class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the middle class in Chicago than they are to those of the upper class in Lima. The summary of the data relevant to this hypothesis, as drawn up in Table XIII, demonstrate no significant differences in values between the Lima upper and middle classes in median value scores for this sample; it does show three significant differences between the middle classes of Lima and Chicago: at the five per

cent level of confidence for the economic value, and at the one per cent level of confidence for the social and political values.

Median scores with statistically insignificant differences, when compared on the basis of score points, result in a 1.60 difference between the Chicago and Lima middle classes for the theoretical value, as compared with .50 difference between the Lima upper and middle classes; a 3.04 difference between the Chicago and Lima middle classes for the aesthetic value, as compared with a difference of 1.96 between the Lima upper and middle class samples. Both of these show a greater similarity between the social classes of Lima than between the cross-cultural middle classes. However, in comparing the religious value median scores, it is found that the statistically insignificant

TABLE XIII

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEDIAN SCORES OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CHICAGO AND LIMA MIDDLE CLASS SAMPLES WITH THOSE OF THE INTER*CLASS LIMA UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASS SAMPLES

| Test Values | Lima U & M | | Lima U | Lima M | Chicago M | Lima & Chicago | |
|-------------|----------------|---|--------|--------|-----------|----------------|------|
| | X ² | P | | | | X ² | P |
| Theoretical | .024 | * | 41.80 | 42.30 | 43.90 | 1.224 | * |
| Economic | 1.224 | * | 34.00 | 35.16 | 32.70 | 4.200 | <.05 |
| Aesthetic | 1.224 | * | 32.00 | 30.04 | 27.00 | 3.024 | * |
| Social | 2.000 | * | 49.50 | 47.61 | 44.80 | 7.200 | <.01 |
| Political | .824 | * | 32.30 | 33.34 | 36.72 | 7.200 | <.01 |
| Religious | 2.000 | * | 53.86 | 51.66 | 52.62 | .824 | * |
| N | | | 80 | 80 | 80 | | |

*Insignificant

difference is greater on the inter-class level: 1.20 score points between Lima's upper and middle classes, as compared with .96 between the Chicago and Lima middle class samples.

The data, then, present less evidence of similarity between the cross-cultural than between the inter-class samples, because the Chicago middle and Lima upper class samples differ from each other on three values to a significant degree (economic, social, and political), and to a statistically insignificant degree on two (theoretical and aesthetic), but exceed in all five values the differences that are evident between the Lima upper and middle classes on the inter-class basis. Only in the religious value median score is there an insignificant difference which is greater between the Lima upper and middle classes than between the upper classes of Chicago and Lima.

Therefore, Hypothesis IX is not confirmed by the present data, for they indicate that the basic values of the middle class of Lima are more similar to those of the upper class in Lima than they are to those of the middle class in Chicago.

Hypothesis X: The basic values of the middle class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the middle class in Chicago than they are to those of the lower class in Lima. Table XIV, bringing together the data bearing on this hypothesis, reveals at a glance that no significant differences were found between the value median scores of the lower and middle classes of Lima, but that three such differences did appear between the

medians of the Lima and Chicago middle classes.

The social and political value median scores of the middle classes of Lima and Chicago produce a difference significant at the one per cent level of confidence and the economic, between the same groups, reveal a difference significant at the five per cent level of confidence. On the theoretical and aesthetic values for which differences are statistically insignificant, slightly greater differences are present on the cross-cultural than on the inter-class levels, the difference between the median scores of the middle classes being 1.60 for the theoretical and 3.04 for the aesthetic, as compared with 1.36 and .24 respectively, between the Lima lower and middle classes. On the religious value, the difference between the cross-cultural median scores amounts to .96 of a score point as compared with 1.41 between those of the Lima middle and lower classes.

TABLE XIV

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEDIAN VALUE SCORES OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CHICAGO AND LIMA MIDDLE CLASS SAMPLES WITH THOSE OF THE INTER-CLASS LIMA MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASS SAMPLES

| Test Values | Lima M & L | | Lima L | Lima M | Chicago M | Lima & Chicago L | |
|-------------|----------------|---|--------|--------|-----------|------------------|------|
| | X ² | P | | | | ← X ² | P |
| Theoretical | 1.024 | * | 40.94 | 42.30 | 43.90 | 1.224 | * |
| Economic | * | * | 35.16 | 35.16 | 32.70 | 4.200 | <.05 |
| Aesthetic | .224 | * | 29.80 | 30.04 | 27.00 | 3.024 | * |
| Social | * | * | 47.64 | 47.61 | 44.80 | 7.200 | <.01 |
| Political | .824 | * | 34.50 | 33.34 | 36.72 | 7.200 | <.01 |
| Religious | 1.824 | * | 50.25 | 51.66 | 52.62 | .824 | * |
| N | | | 80 | 80 | 80 | | |

*Insignificant

The total data, therefore, indicate greater differences (three significant and two insignificant) on the cross-cultural than on the inter-class level on five values. The religious value alone presents a slightly higher median score difference on the inter-class level.

Thus, the findings of the present study do not support Hypothesis X, but rather reverse it, pointing to more similarity in basic values between the middle and lower classes of Lima than between the middle classes of the Lima and Chicago samples.

Hypothesis XI: The basic values of the lower class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the lower class in Chicago than they are to those of the upper class in Lima. Table XV, presenting the data pertinent to this hypothesis, demonstrates one difference significant at the five percent level of confidence (for the social value) on the cross-cultural level, and one difference significant at the five per cent level of confidence (for the religious value) on the inter-class level.

For three of the four values on which statistically insignificant differences result between median scores on both levels, differences in terms of score points show less similarity between the Lima upper and lower class samples than between the Lima and Chicago lower class samples. Inter-class differences are: .96 for the theoretical, 1.16 for the economic, and 2.20 for the aesthetic; corresponding differences on the cross-cultural level are: .31, .91, and .28, respectively. For the political value, the difference on both levels is the same: 2.20.

TABLE XV

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEDIAN VALUE SCORES OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CHICAGO AND LIMA LOWER CLASS SAMPLES WITH THOSE OF THE INTER-CLASS LIMA UPPER AND LOWER CLASS SAMPLES

| Test Values | Lima U & L | | Lima | Lima | Chicago | Lima & Chicago L | |
|-------------|----------------|------|-------|-------|---------|------------------|------|
| | X ² | P | U | L | L | X ² | P |
| Theoretical | .224 | * | 41.80 | 40.94 | 41.25 | .024 | * |
| Economic | 1.224 | * | 34.00 | 35.16 | 34.25 | .824 | * |
| Aesthetic | 3.024 | * | 32.00 | 29.80 | 30.08 | .024 | * |
| Social | .224 | * | 49.50 | 47.64 | 45.50 | 4.16 | <.05 |
| Political | 3.024 | * | 32.30 | 34.50 | 36.70 | 3.024 | * |
| Religious | 4.16 | <.05 | 53.86 | 50.25 | 51.60 | .824 | * |
| N | | | 80 | 80 | 80 | | |

*Insignificant

If the statistically insignificant differences are disregarded, the data indicate that the basic values tested are equally similar between the upper and lower classes of Lima and between the lower classes of Chicago and Lima. However, taking into account also the statistically insignificant differences, it can be concluded that Hypothesis XI tends to be supported by the data, for of the six values, four yield greater differences between the median scores on the inter-class than on the cross-cultural level as compared with one showing a greater difference on the cross-cultural level and one remaining identical.

Hypothesis XII: The basic values of the lower class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the lower class in Chicago than they are to those of the middle class in Lima. The

data related to this hypothesis, presented in Table XVI, give evidence of only one significant difference: on the social value for the Chicago and Lima lower class samples. No inter-class differences in value median scores between the Lima middle and lower class samples attains significance. According to this sample, the middle and lower classes of Lima have a strikingly similar value system.

If the differences between the median value scores are compared on the inter-class and cross-cultural levels for those values which register statistically insignificant differences, the inter-class sample (Lima's middle and lower classes) shows a slightly higher difference than is found between the cross-cultural lower class sample on the theoretical and the religious values,

TABLE XVI

COMPARISON OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MEDIAN VALUE SCORES OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL CHICAGO AND LIMA LOWER CLASS SAMPLES WITH THOSE OF THE INTER-CLASS LIMA MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASS SAMPLES

| Test Values | Lima M & L | | Lima M | Lima L | Chicago L | Lima & Chicago L | |
|-------------|----------------|---|--------|--------|-----------|------------------|------|
| | X ² | P | | | | X ² | P |
| Theoretical | 2.000 | * | 42.30 | 40.94 | 41.25 | .024 | * |
| Economic | * | * | 35.16 | 35.16 | 34.25 | .824 | * |
| Aesthetic | .024 | * | 30.04 | 29.80 | 30.08 | .024 | * |
| Social | * | * | 47.61 | 47.64 | 45.50 | 4.16 | <.05 |
| Political | .824 | * | 33.34 | 34.50 | 36.70 | 3.024 | * |
| Religious | .824 | * | 51.66 | 50.25 | 51.60 | .824 | * |
| N | | | 80 | 80 | 80 | | |

*Insignificant

but the reverse results on the economic, the aesthetic, and the political values. The comparative differences between the inter-class and cross-cultural sample median scores are respectively: theoretical--1.36 and .31; economic--0 and .91; aesthetic--.24 and .28; political--1.16 and 2.20; religious--1.41 and 1.35.

It can be seen, then, that even when the statistically insignificant differences are taken into consideration, only two such (on the theoretical and the religious values) show more difference on the inter-class than on the cross-cultural level. The remaining four (economic, aesthetic, political, and social--the last named significant at the five per cent level of confidence) range higher in differences between the cross-cultural samples of Chicago and Lima lower classes than on the inter-class level.

Therefore, these data do not support Hypothesis XII,⁷ but its reverse: the basic values of the lower class in Lima are more similar to the basic values of the middle class in Lima than they are to those of the lower class in Chicago, though the differences on both levels are negligible except for the social value.

Summary of Findings on the Twelve Specific Hypothesis. Of the twelve specific comparisons between cross-cultural and inter-class median scores, two were supported by the evidence (v and xi), nine were contradicted by it (I, II, III, IV, VII, VIII, IX, X, and XII), and the evidence on one (VI) was evenly divided, as shown below. Arabic numbers indicate the number of significant differences.

| Hypothesis Code | Chicago | | Lima | |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| | Inter-Class | Cross-Cultural | Inter-Class | Cross-Cultural |
| | Difference | | Difference | |
| I | - | Upper--3-Middle | < | Upper--4-Upper |
| II | - | Upper--2-Lower | < | Upper--4-Upper |
| III | - | Middle-3-Upper | < | Middle-3-Middle |
| IV | - | Middle-1-Lower | < | Middle-3-Middle |
| V | + | Lower--2-Upper | > | Lower--1-Lower |
| VI | = | Lower--1-Middle | = | Lower--1-Lower |
| VII | - | | | Upper--1-Middle < Upper--4-Upper |
| VIII | - | | | Upper--1-Upper < Upper--4-Upper |
| IX | - | | | Middle-0-Upper < Middle-3-Middle |
| X | - | | | Middle-0-Lower < Middle-3-Middle |
| XI | + | | | Lower--1-Upper > Lower--1-Lower |
| XII | - | | | Lower--0-Middle < Lower--1-Lower |

- Not supported by data
- + Supported by data
- = Evidence equally divided

The two hypothesis that have been supported (V and XI) have this in common: They both consist of a comparison of the cross-cultural lower classes with the upper class of one of the two cultures involved, Hypothesis V including the Chicago upper class and Hypothesis XI the Lima upper class.

The generalization emerging from such findings is that a larger gap is present between the value systems of the lower and upper classes in both cultures than between the lower classes of the two different culture studies. The hypotheses not supported point to the fact that in every possible comparison between the social classes in this sample, the middle and upper classes within each of the two cultures involved show less resemblance in their basic

values to the corresponding classes in the other culture, than to the middle or upper class in their own culture. In other words, the lower the class, the more universal the values accepted; the higher ^{the} social class, the more pronounced the difference in basic values from the corresponding social class in the other culture.

The equally divided evidence on Hypothesis VI without a corresponding outcome on Hypothesis XII, which measured the same relations in Lima as Hypothesis VI measured in Chicago, points to a greater similarity in values between the lower and middle classes in Lima than between the lower and middle classes in Chicago, but at the same time to greater similarity in values between the Chicago middle and lower class than between the Chicago middle and upper class.

Inter-Class Comparison of Total Data for Chicago Sample. When the median value scores for the samples of the Chicago social classes are compared in general (Table XVII), six significant differences can be observed: on the economic value, between the upper and middle classes; on the aesthetic value, between the middle and lower classes; on the political and religious values between both, the upper and middle, and the upper and lower classes.

Viewing the findings vertically, one observes that the upper and middle class samples differ significantly from each other on the economic, the political, and the religious values; the upper differ significantly from the lower on the political and the

religious values; and the middle differ significantly from the lower on the aesthetic value. This sample, therefore, reveals the most and largest differences between the upper and the middle class samples; next in number are the differences between the upper and lower; and least between the middle and lower. To generalize, differences decrease in number with each lower stratum. It is noteworthy, too, that the one value on which the middle class differs significantly from the lower, shows the lower class to be more aesthetic than the middle class in this sample.

TABLE XVII

DIFFERENCES AMONG MEDIAN SCORES OF SOCIAL CLASSES IN CHICAGO SAMPLE

| Test Values | Upper | Middle | P | Upper | Lower | P | Middle | Lower | P |
|-------------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|------|--------|-------|------|
| Theoretical | 43.30 | 43.90 | * | 43.30 | 41.25 | * | 43.90 | 41.25 | * |
| Economic | 35.25 | 32.70 | <.05 | 35.25 | 34.25 | * | 32.70 | 34.25 | * |
| Aesthetic | 29.00 | 27.00 | * | 29.00 | 30.08 | * | 27.00 | 30.08 | <.05 |
| Social | 44.30 | 44.80 | * | 44.30 | 45.50 | * | 44.80 | 45.50 | * |
| Political | 39.30 | 36.72 | <.01 | 39.30 | 36.70 | <.01 | 36.72 | 36.70 | * |
| Religious | 48.30 | 52.62 | <.001 | 48.30 | 51.60 | <.05 | 52.62 | 51.60 | * |
| N | 80 | 80 | | 80 | 80 | | 80 | 80 | |

*Insignificant

Inter-Class Comparison of Total Data for the Lima Sample.

Table XVIII, summarizing the findings related to differences and

similarities between the basic values of the social class samples of Lima as expressed by median scores, demonstrates only one significant difference: that between the religious value median scores of the upper and lower classes, at the five per cent level of confidence.

TABLE XVIII

COMPOSITE COMPARISON OF INTER-CLASS DIFFERENCES IN TOTAL LIMA SAMPLE

| Test Value | Upper | Middle | P | Upper | Lower | P | Middle | Lower | P |
|-------------|-------|--------|---|-------|-------|------|--------|-------|---|
| Theoretical | 41.80 | 42.30 | * | 41.80 | 40.94 | * | 42.30 | 40.94 | * |
| Economic | 34.00 | 35.16 | * | 34.00 | 35.16 | * | 35.16 | 35.16 | * |
| Aesthetic | 32.00 | 30.64 | * | 32.00 | 29.80 | * | 30.04 | 29.80 | * |
| Social | 49.50 | 47.61 | * | 49.50 | 47.61 | * | 47.61 | 47.64 | * |
| Political | 32.30 | 33.34 | * | 32.30 | 34.50 | * | 33.34 | 34.50 | * |
| Religious | 53.86 | 51.66 | * | 53.86 | 50.25 | <.05 | 51.66 | 50.25 | * |
| N | 80 | 80 | | | 80 | | | | |

*Insignificant

No other statistically significant difference is found among the median scores of the three different social classes. The data reflect a remarkable similarity of values among the strata of the Lima sample.

Cross-cultural Comparison of the Composite Data for the Chicago-Lima Samples by Social Classes. (Table XIX) When the value median scores for the three social classes of both cultures

are compared with each other, significant differences appear between the upper classes on four values: aesthetic, social, political, and religious; between the middle classes on three values: economic, social and political; and between the lower classes on one value: the social. In general, the lower the strata compared, the less the differences.

The only value which shows significant differences between all the classes is the social. The value on which most similarity is recorded is the theoretical, since not even one significant difference is found among the median scores on either the cross-cultural or the inter-class level in either culture.

TABLE XIX
DIFFERENCES IN MEDIAN SCORES AMONG SOCIAL CLASSES IN CHICAGO AND LIMA SAMPLES

| Test Values | Upper Class | | | Middle Class | | | Lower Class | | |
|-------------|-------------|-------|-------|--------------|-------|------|-------------|-------|------|
| | Chicago | Lima | P | Chicago | Lima | P | Chicago | Lima | P |
| Theoretical | 43.30 | 41.80 | * | 43.90 | 42.30 | * | 41.25 | 40.94 | * |
| Economic | 35.25 | 34.00 | * | 32.70 | 35.16 | <.05 | 34.25 | 35.16 | * |
| Aesthetic | 29.00 | 32.00 | <.01 | 27.00 | 30.04 | * | 30.08 | 29.80 | * |
| Social | 44.30 | 49.50 | <.05 | 44.80 | 47.61 | <.01 | 45.50 | 47.64 | <.05 |
| Political | 39.30 | 32.30 | <.001 | 36.72 | 33.34 | <.01 | 36.70 | 34.50 | * |
| Religious | 48.30 | 53.86 | <.001 | 52.62 | 51.66 | * | 51.60 | 50.25 | * |
| N | 80 | 80 | | 80 | 80 | | 80 | 80 | |

*Insignificant

Cross-Cultural Comparison of Chicago-Lima Total Samples, All Social Classes Combined in Each Culture.

When the social classes in each culture are combined, as shown in Table XX, the differences on the economic, the aesthetic, and religious values lose their significance, and only two significant differences remain: the social and the political.

In Chapter II in the discussion of the two cultures involved in this study, it was concluded that the Latin American Culture, because of its ethos components, could be expected to range high in social, religious, theoretical, and aesthetic values; the North American, in economic, political, and social. Because of the nature of the test, requiring a distribution of points which must be subtracted from one value if they are to be added to another, it is not possible for four values to range high in median scores. However, this much of the expressed expectation has been confirmed: the North American sample does range higher than the Latin

TABLE XX

COMPARISON OF MEDIAN VALUE SCORES FOR CHICAGO AND LIMA SAMPLES

| Test Values | Chicago | Lima | X ² | P |
|-------------|---------|-------|----------------|-------|
| Theoretical | 42.78 | 41.50 | 2.408 | * |
| Economic | 34.03 | 34.69 | 1.008 | * |
| Aesthetic | 29.25 | 30.76 | 2.400 | * |
| Social | 45.08 | 47.97 | 18.400 | <.001 |
| Political | 37.30 | 33.57 | 33.072 | <.001 |
| Religious | 50.83 | 51.37 | .672 | * |
| N | 240 | 240 | | |

*Insignificant

American in political, but not in economic, values; both range high (in relation to the other values in the test) on the social, religious, and theoretical values, the Latin American sample carrying a higher religious value median score than the North American (although not significantly). No further confirmation of anticipated findings can be gathered.

When the median scores of the two samples on a cultural basis are arranged in rank order (Table XXI), the North American sample ranks political values higher than the Latin American, but social, religious, theoretical, and aesthetic values hold the same rank in the choices made by the samples from both cultures. Only the economic and political hold reversed places because of the higher median score for political values on the part of the North American sample.

On the whole these data reveal many more similarities than differences on both the inter-class and the inter-cultural levels. The Lima social class samples show only one significant difference, portraying an exceptionally remarkable similarity of values among all three social classes. This is especially striking because of the rigid social class system associated with Latin America. The possible reasons underlying such findings and an interpretation of the conclusions are reported in Chapter V.

TABLE XXI
 COMPARISON OF MEDIAN SCORES AND RANK ORDER FOR
 CHICAGO AND LIMA SAMPLES

| Test Values | Chicago | | Lima | |
|-------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|---------------|
| | Median Score | Rank Order | Median Score | Rank Order |
| Theoretical | 42.78 | 3 | 41.5 | 3 |
| Economic | 34.03 | 5 | 34.69 | 4 |
| Aesthetic | 29.25 | 6 | 30.76 | 6 |
| Social | 45.08 | 2 | 47.97 | 2 |
| Political | 37.30 | 4 | 33.57 | 5 |
| Religious | 50.83 | 1 | 51.57 | 1 |
| N | | 240 | | 240 |

CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATION OF THE DATA

A detailed account of the findings of this study is given in Chapter IV. The data are repeated here in more concise form (Table XXII) as a preface to their interpretation with which this chapter is concerned.

The following generalizations, calling for an explanation, can be drawn from the assembled information:

1. Few significant differences are evident between the two cultures on corresponding levels, and among the social classes in both cultures, especially in Lima showing only one significant difference. In general, the similarities are striking.
2. No significant difference is found between the samples of the two cultures on the economic value, contrary to what could be expected in view of the cultural differences described in Chapter II.
3. The apparent absence of any consistent pattern in the data as a whole ^{is} noteworthy; irregularities are more obvious than consistencies.
4. In the Chicago-Lima cross-cultural comparison of median scores by social classes, as well as in the Chicago inter-class sample, fewest differences appear at the lowest level, but the number increases with each upward stratum.
5. The two significant differences on the cross-cultural level are on the social and political values in the direction

TABLE XXII: COMPLETE SUMMARY OF MEDIAN VALUE SCORES AND DIFFERENCES

| Category | N | Theoretical | Economic | Aesthetic | Social | Political | Religious |
|----------------|-----|-------------|----------|-----------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| Chicago Upper | 80 | 43.30 | 35.25 | 29.00 | 44.30 | 39.30 | 48.30 |
| Chicago Middle | 80 | 43.9 | 32.7 | 27.00 | 44.80 | 36.72 | 52.62 |
| Difference: P= | | * | <.05 | * | * | <.01 | <.001 |
| Chicago Upper | 80 | 43.30 | 35.25 | 29.00 | 44.30 | 39.30 | 48.30 |
| Chicago Lower | 80 | 41.25 | 34.25 | 30.08 | 45.50 | 36.70 | 51.60 |
| Difference: P= | | * | * | * | * | <.01 | <.05 |
| Chicago Middle | 80 | 43.90 | 32.70 | 27.00 | 44.80 | 36.72 | 52.62 |
| Chicago Lower | 80 | 41.25 | 34.25 | 30.08 | 45.50 | 36.70 | 51.60 |
| Difference: P= | | * | * | <.05 | * | * | * |
| Lima Upper | 80 | 41.80 | 34.00 | 32.00 | 49.50 | 32.30 | 53.86 |
| Lima Middle | 80 | 42.30 | 35.16 | 30.04 | 47.61 | 33.34 | 51.66 |
| P = | | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Lima Upper | 80 | 41.80 | 34.00 | 32.00 | 49.50 | 32.30 | 53.86 |
| Lima Lower | 80 | 40.94 | 35.16 | 29.80 | 47.64 | 34.50 | 50.25 |
| P = | | * | * | * | * | * | <.05 |
| Lima Middle | 80 | 42.30 | 35.16 | 30.04 | 47.61 | 33.34 | 51.66 |
| Lima Lower | 80 | 40.94 | 35.16 | 29.80 | 47.64 | 34.50 | 50.25 |
| P = | | * | * | * | * | * | * |
| Chicago Upper | 80 | 43.30 | 35.25 | 29.00 | 44.30 | 39.30 | 48.30 |
| Lima Upper | 80 | 41.80 | 34.00 | 32.00 | 49.50 | 32.30 | 53.86 |
| P = | | * | * | <.01 | <.05 | <.001 | <.001 |
| Chicago Middle | 80 | 43.90 | 32.70 | 27.00 | 44.80 | 36.72 | 52.62 |
| Lima Middle | 80 | 42.30 | 35.16 | 30.04 | 47.61 | 33.34 | 51.66 |
| P = | | * | <.05 | * | <.01 | <.01 | * |
| Chicago Lower | 80 | 41.25 | 34.25 | 30.08 | 45.50 | 36.70 | 51.60 |
| Lima Lower | 80 | 40.94 | 36.16 | 29.80 | 47.64 | 34.50 | 50.25 |
| P = | | * | * | | <.05 | * | |
| All Chicago | 240 | 42.78 | 34.03 | 29.25 | 45.08 | 37.30 | 50.83 |
| All Lima | 240 | 41.5 | 34.69 | 30.76 | 47.97 | 33.57 | 51.57 |
| P = | | * | * | * | <.001 | <.001 | * |

* Insignificant

expected (i.e., Lima scoring higher on social and Chicago on political values).

6. The Chicago lower class sample median score on the aesthetic value is exceptionally high in comparison with those of the other social classes in both cultures.

The present chapter will attempt to offer possible reasons for the data which are responsible for the above generalizations.

The most obvious characteristic of the results of the present investigation is the similarity of value median scores among the social classes and between the cultures (Generalization 1)¹. On the cross-cultural level, only two significant differences are evident when the total samples are considered: on the social and political values. When the data are broken down to differences between the corresponding classes of the two cultures, two additional differences appear between the upper classes (aesthetic and religious), and one more between the middle classes (economic), but for the lower classes, the political value difference disappears and the social value difference (the only one remaining significant) is reduced in significance.

The similarities among the social classes within each culture are even more striking than those for the cross-cultural sample. For the Chicago upper and middle classes, significant differences register for three values: economic, political, and

¹Goodman, Morris, Lo, and Nobechi-Kimura report similar results from their cross-cultural studies, as discussed in Chapter II of this work.

religious; between the upper and the lower, for only two: political and religious; and between the middle and the lower, just one difference shows significance: the aesthetic, and that with the lower class carrying a higher score.

In the Lima sample one significant difference appears among the social classes: the religious value between the upper and lower classes, with the upper ranging higher.

For the entire study with its comparisons of data on a sum-total of 60 levels, only 17 significant differences are demonstrated.

Several reasons could be conceived as having a possible bearing on such results in a study of this type. One of these is Rothman's proposed explanation² for the lack of differences in his research namely, that the sample consisted of a common or core group, and, therefore, could be expected to have similar values. In the present study, however, this explanation must be rejected, for a deliberate attempt was made to select extremes to represent the three social classes (the middle class sample being taken from the middle-middle), as can be seen from Tables II and III in Chapter III. The fringes where overlap might be expected were carefully avoided. Furthermore, three classes were

²Philip Rothman, "Socio-economic Status and the Values of Junior High School Students," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXVIII (1954), 126-130.

were included, and more pronounced differences would have appeared between the upper and the lower classes, if adjacent strata represented an overlap.

A second possibility, one which cannot be substantiated from the present study, is that the school is such an effective agent of socialization that its values take precedence over those of other socializing agents in the life of the child. Since the entire sample in both cultures was made up of Catholics in Catholic schools, this possible explanation could be checked by administering the same test to Catholic children in Chicago public schools, and to non-Catholic children in the public schools. Unfortunately, no such equivalent could be found in Lima. It was for this reason that the sample was not thus expanded in the present study. This consideration, then, on the basis of present information, remains only a possibility not supported by concrete evidence.

A third possible explanation for similarities could be that differences may exist in other patterns of living, but not in values. In Lima this could be expected from the emphasis on the "worth" of a man which both Gillin³ and Tumin and Feldman⁴ found to be so pronounced in the Latin culture. In the study of Puerto Rico it is referred to as "a margin of freedom" which may

³John Gillin, "Ethos Components in Modern Latin American Culture," American Anthropologist, LVII (1955), 491.

⁴M. Tumin & A. Feldman, Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico (Princeton, 1961), p. 456.

"save" the natives from adopting an attitude of utilitarian pragmatism with increasing industrialization.⁵ Also, it has been pointed out by Gillin⁶ that this respect for the worth of man exists side by side with rigid hierarchical stratification which is the part visible to the North American, and Centers⁷ found that in the United States the class system does carry with it a difference in values. This complex inter-twining of personal worth with simultaneous subordination awaits further research, as it is a combination North Americans find difficult to accept since the two positions seem contradictory; however, it may be the reason for value-similarities among the social classes.

A fourth possible explanation for the absence of pronounced differences is that this similarity may be only verbal; that in the actual making of choices a different pattern is followed from the one here expressed. The questionnaire, as a tool for investigation, faces this disadvantage. Researching the same values with a different instrument would throw light on the extent to which methodology is responsible for the kind of results obtained.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Gillin, p. 497.

⁷Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton, 1949), p. 92.

A fifth reason that suggests itself as an explanation for the absence of differences on so unanticipated a scale is that the testing instrument may have been inadequate, not sufficiently sensitive to record differences. The difficulty of producing a satisfactory cross-cultural testing instrument has certainly been recognized and the writer is under no illusions regarding the imperfections of the test that was used, in particular because some instances occur where it is impossible to reproduce in another language or terms of another culture what has been expressed for North Americans. Connotations sometimes refuse to be translated. It seemed imperative, therefore, that the validity of such a proposed explanation be tested. The procedure followed in carrying this out was based on the premise that if a test is actually inadequate it will not reveal differences to any marked degree or in a systematically patterned direction regardless of what categories are set up in the sample. The data were then tabulated for sex differences within each of the cultural groups as well as within the combined sample including both groups. Tables XXIII, XXIV, and XXV record the results.

Significant differences emerge on all except one comparison: between the males and females of Lima for the economic value median scores. The same value is one of the two lowest in differences between the sexes in the Chicago sample, also; consequently, it remains the lowest between the total Chicago-Lima samples. This one exception not only fails to reflect unfavorably on the

TABLE XXIII

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SEX DIFFERENCES IN MEDIAN VALUE SCORES OF CHICAGO SAMPLE

| Test Values | Males | Females | χ^2 | P |
|-------------|-------|---------|----------|-------|
| Theoretical | 46.00 | 40.30 | 43.32 | <.001 |
| Economic | 36.50 | 32.40 | 6.00 | <.05 |
| Aesthetic | 26.00 | 30.75 | 20.32 | <.001 |
| Social | 42.10 | 47.60 | 18.20 | <.001 |
| Political | 40.25 | 35.86 | 16.74 | <.001 |
| Religious | 49.50 | 52.25 | 4.80 | <.05 |
| N | 120 | 120 | | |

TABLE XXIV

SEX DIFFERENCES IN MEDIAN VALUE SCORES OF LIMA SAMPLE

| Test Values | Males | Females | χ^2 | P |
|-------------|-------|---------|----------|-------|
| Theoretical | 44.75 | 39.86 | 25.33 | <.001 |
| Economic | 34.80 | 34.58 | .016 | * |
| Aesthetic | 28.66 | 32.37 | 14.00 | <.001 |
| Social | 45.87 | 50.25 | 19.60 | <.001 |
| Political | 35.62 | 32.00 | 14.00 | <.001 |
| Religious | 50.50 | 52.50 | 4.20 | <.05 |
| N | 120 | 120 | | |

*Insignificant

TABLE XXV

SEX DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TOTAL CHICAGO AND LIMA SAMPLES

| Test Values | Median Scores | | χ^2 | P |
|-------------|---------------|---------|----------|-------|
| | Males | Females | | |
| Theoretical | 45.40 | 39.92 | 68.65 | <.001 |
| Economic | 35.12 | 33.62 | 4.21 | <.05 |
| Aesthetic | 27.37 | 31.50 | 26.14 | <.001 |
| Social | 43.98 | 48.66 | 37.80 | <.001 |
| Political | 38.20 | 34.41 | 18.20 | <.001 |
| Religious | 50.00 | 52.58 | 9.00 | <.01 |
| N | 240 | 240 | | |

testing instrument, but rather tends to support its validity, for if there were no exception, a further doubt could be introduced: is the test perhaps measuring a universal which appears irrespective of who is tested? The exception indicates that this is not the case.

A possible explanation for the low and similar economic median scores in this study (generalization 2) can be found in two sources: 1) evidence from other research and 2) information about the present sample.

Witryol⁸ concluded from his study that "school children demonstrate an increasing discrimination among. . . values with age-grade progression." From the data of the present study it would appear that, of the six values included in the investigation, the economic may be the last to become meaningful to the growing child and that children of 10 or 11 can be expected to show little interest and understanding of economic values, especially in Lima where a child of this age is generally regarded as "very young" (chiquito) and correspondingly sheltered. This might account for the low scores.

The similarity of economic choices between the sexes (especially in the Lima sample) may be due to the fact that very little if any differences actually are present between the sexes on

⁸S. L. Witryol, "Age Trends in Children's Evaluation of Teacher-Approved and Teacher-Disapproved Behavior," Genetic Psychological Monograph, XLI (1950), 271-326.

economic values when children are 10 and 11 years old, since all the other value median scores indicate that the socialization process has taught the different roles of the sexes in the expression of preferences, whereas in the economic this is absent. Sex differences are satisfactorily exposed by the present test for all the other values.

Each table will now be considered more specifically. Table XXIII demonstrates the differences between median scores for the Chicago Sample, with sex as the independent variable. A significant difference is revealed in every value between the sexes. The theoretical shows the greatest difference, with Chi-square equivalent to 43.32, resulting in a difference significant at the .001 level of confidence, yet this is the one and only value which registers no significant difference in any comparison between the classes or the cultures (see page 128a).

The aesthetic, social, and political values demonstrate a statistically similar difference between the sexes in median scores: significant at the .001 level of confidence. The remaining two values, economic and religious, register a difference at the five per cent level of confidence. All five median value scores, then, when compared for sex differences in the Chicago sample, reveal these significantly.

In the Lima sample (Table XXIV) significant differences appear on all values except the economic. Four values (the theoretical, aesthetic, social, and political) show a difference

significant at the .001 level of confidence, just as in the Chicago sample. The religious value, also as in the case of the Chicago sample, shows a difference between the sexes significant at the five per cent level of confidence. However, the economic value carries a difference of less than one score point between the sexes, and, therefore, remains statistically insignificant. This may be for reasons stated above: children at this age in Lima perhaps do not differ because of sex in their economic value choices.

Thus Table XXIV gives evidence of the ability of the testing instrument to uncover significant differences on five of the six values for the Lima sample, using sex as independent variable.

Table XXV combines the total sample of the 480 subjects, 240 of each sex, from both cultures for a final check on sex differences recorded by the test. Significance is revealed on every value tested. Four of the differences represent significance at the .001 level of confidence: the theoretical, the aesthetic, the social, and the political. The economic value median scores reflect a difference significant at the five per cent level of confidence, the smallest difference reported in the Table. Finally, the religious value median scores differ significantly at the one per cent level of confidence.

This ability to expose sex differences in 17 of 18 comparisons seems to constitute evidence of the reliability of the testing instrument. Furthermore, when the median scores of the

present study are compared with the means based on sex differences in value scores found by Allport-Vernon-Lindzey for a nationwide sample⁹, the differences between males and females in the present study are in the same direction as those in the nationwide survey, that is, males in the present study carry higher scores than females for the theoretical, the economic, and the political values, and lower than the females on the aesthetic, the social, and the religious, the same as is true of the nationwide sample

TABLE XXVI

COMPARISON OF DIRECTION OF SEX DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN MEDIAN VALUE SCORES FOR CHICAGO AND LIMA SAMPLES
AND ALLPORT-VERNON-LINDZEY MEANS

| Test Values | Chicago | | Lima | | Total | | A.-V.-L.* | |
|-------------|---------|---------|-------|---------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Theoretical | 46.00 | 40.30 | 44.75 | 39.86 | 45.40 | 39.92 | 43.09 | 36.50 |
| Economic | 36.50 | 32.40 | 34.80 | 34.58 | 35.12 | 33.62 | 42.05 | 36.85 |
| Aesthetic | 26.00 | 30.75 | 28.66 | 32.37 | 27.37 | 31.50 | 36.72 | 43.86 |
| Social | 42.10 | 47.60 | 45.87 | 50.25 | 43.98 | 48.66 | 37.05 | 41.62 |
| Political | 40.25 | 35.86 | 35.62 | 32.00 | 38.20 | 34.41 | 43.22 | 38.00 |
| Religious | 49.50 | 52.25 | 50.50 | 52.50 | 50.00 | 52.58 | 37.88 | 43.13 |
| N | 120 | 120 | 120 | 120 | 240 | 240 | 5894 | 2475 |

reported by Allport-Vernon-Lindzey (Table XXVI).

This consistency of the present study with the pattern set by the nationwide study of adults on sex differences in scores serves as a further reinforcement to support the validity of the

⁹ *Allport-Vernon-Lindzey, Manual, Study of Values (Boston, 1960), p. 13.

test used in the present study. Therefore, the inadequacy of the testing instrument as a possible explanation for similarities in the findings may be discounted.

The original question, then, still remains: what factor could have influenced the subjects to express such similar value choices?

In the search for clues, the data from the personal information prefacing the test of values was processed. This resulted in the discovery that these findings might not only supply a possible explanation for the marked similarities, but also provide a means of interpreting the irregularity of the pattern in the relationships of median scores among the social classes and between the cultures (Generalization 3).

On page 2 of the questionnaire (Appendix A), in question 14, the subjects were asked to name their occupational aspiration: "What kind of work would you like to do when you grow up?" This was followed immediately by a request for a judgment expressed in a yes or a no: "Do you think there's a good chance that you'll be able to do it?" For those answering no, a third question awaited response: "If you think you will not be able to do the job you would like to do, what do you think you will have to do?"

These questions (as was explained in Chapter III) had been included to discover whether children aspire higher than their fathers, although this is not directly pertinent to the present study and, therefore, is not included in the data in Chapter IV.

However, when the occupational aspirations were tabulated, two discoveries were made: first, that every single child in Chicago as well as in Lima had answered YES to the second question: "Do you think there's a good chance that you'll be able to do it?" Evidently they had not yet had their idealism destroyed by the clash of reality with desire on any significant scale, so that now the idealism of a child and the optimism born of it, gave them the hope and confidence that they could attain to what they wanted, regardless of how far-fetched their desires, or how unrealistically removed from their present way of life they might be. For instance, a number of every social class in both cultures and from both sexes aspired to be doctors and teachers. This could happen only in imagination for a number of them, yet every paper carried a SI in Lima and a YES in Chicago to that question. Six of the subjects in the Lima upper class named two occupations of their preference. Three Lima lower class and four Chicago subjects (2 upper and 2 middle class) did not know, as shown in Table XXVII.

A study of the Table reveals that two occupational aspirations out across all social classes in both cultures: doctor and teacher. It is probable that children at this age are impressed with the need for these two professions and the importance of the services that can be contributed by those who cure the body and enlighten the mind. They had contact with both. The present emphasis on education in both Chicago and Lima lends prestige and

TABLE XXVII: DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY CULTURE AND SOCIAL CLASS

| Occupational Aspiration | Upper | | Middle | | Lower | | Total |
|----------------------------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|-------|
| | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | |
| Architect | 1 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| Artist | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 12 |
| Bookkeeper | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Businessman | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 2 | 25 |
| Continue to Study | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Carpenter | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| Catechist | 0 | 8 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| Dancer | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Diplomat | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Detective | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| Doctor | 16 | 11 | 17 | 9 | 9 | 12 | 74 |
| Dramatics | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Engineer | 4 | 9 | 4 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 29 |
| Executive | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| Farmer | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Helper of Poor | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Horse Trainer? | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Housewife | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 9 |
| Lawyer | 5 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 20 |
| Librarian | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Life Guard | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Mailman | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 8 |
| Merchant | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 8 |
| Military Career | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 18 |
| Musician | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 9 |
| Nurse | 5 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 12 | 0 | 21 |
| Office Clerk | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Peace Corps Worker | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Pilot | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Policeman | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 4 |
| Priest or Nun | 0 | 14 | 16 | 12 | 5 | 11 | 58 |
| Professor | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Seamstress | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| Scientist | 2 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| Secretary | 0 | 3 | 12 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 28 |
| Singer | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 10 |
| Stewardess | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Teacher | 8 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 9 | 36 |
| Technician | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Therapist | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Writer | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Don't Know | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 7 |
| Total | 80 | 86* | 80 | 80 | 80 | 80 | 486* |

*Six named two occupations

and importance to those who instruct.

In Chicago the interest in aspiring to become a doctor may stem partly from the television and movie productions in which the medic is glorified. In Lima the interest could be related to the visibility of the many sufferers and cripples in the general populace, the closeness to death (often because medical care is not available for the poor; life expectancy in Lima is 35), and the gradual rise of doubts with advance in education concerning the reliability of the "home remedies" and cures by "magic formulas." The prestige of doctors could be an additional incentive in Lima.

The religious and priestly vocation and "secretary" appeal to some in every category of both cultures except the Chicago upper, which carries 13 aspirations to "businessman" as compared with none from the middle class and 12 from the lower class.

On the other hand, the upper and middle classes in both cultures find "engineer" attractive as a possible occupation. Recent technological programs stressing the work of engineers may be to some extent related to this interest.

In general there is an assortment of aspirations with some concentration on a few occupations which appeal to quite a number, and the remainder scattered, reflecting special talents perhaps (dancer, writer, artist), or conscious or unconscious desire for recognition (detective, horse trainer, military career, professor, stewardess), or the altruism of the exceptional few (Peace Corps,

Life guard, help the poor).

When these occupational aspirations are sorted into six categories based on the six value types included in the test, a consistent positive relationship becomes apparent in both cultures between the median value scores of the social classes and their occupational aspirations, as shown in Tables XXVIII-XXXIII, with their accompanying graphs.

Three general sources were used in making the classification of occupational aspirations: the studies of Allport-Vernon-Lindzey as reported in their Manual¹⁰, findings of other studies relating values to occupational groups and major academic interest¹¹, and the description of the six types of men as presented in Chapter III of this work. Specifically, the following guides were used in categorizing the occupational aspirations under the six values: Allport-Vernon-Lindzey¹² had found that artists, doctors, engineering students, teachers, and technicians scored high on theoretical values; Triplett¹³ had the same experience

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 14-15.

¹¹Chapter I of this study identifies these studies.

¹²G. W. Allport, P. E. Vernon, and G. Lindzey, Manual, Study of Values (Boston (1960), pp. 14-15.

¹³R. J. Triplett, "Interests of Commercian Students," Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, XXIV (1935), 412.

with bookkeepers (who also ranged high in economic scores), Arsinian¹⁴ of librarians and writers, and Buffy and Crissey¹⁵ of secretaries. Scoring high in economic values, Allport-Vernon-Lindzey¹⁶ found businessmen, engineers, executives, and members of the Air Force (pilots). The same researchers, on the basis of their research, attribute high aesthetic scores to architects, artists, nurses, and teachers. Golden¹⁷ found this to be true of dancers, students of dramatics, musicians, and singers, and Arsinian¹⁸ in regard to writers. Recording high social value scores, according to Allport-Vernon-Lindzey, are doctors, social workers (includes "helpers of the poor" and Peace Corps), nurses, office clerks, and therapists; Golden¹⁹ included dancers in this

¹⁴S. Arsenian, "The Relation of Evaluative Attitudes to Vocational Interest and Social Adjustment," Journal of Social Psychology, XVII (1943), 22.

¹⁵E. Duffy and W. Crissy, "Evaluative Attitudes as Related to Vocational Interest and Social Adjustment," Journal of Social Psychology, XXXV (1940), 238.

¹⁶Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Manual

¹⁷A. L. Golden, "Personality Traits of Drama School Students," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXVI (1940), 564-575.

¹⁸Arsinian, p. 22.

¹⁹Golden, p. 571.

category; Van Dusen²⁰, secretaries; Arsinian²¹, librarians; and Schooley²², housewives. Scoring high on political values were businessmen, engineers, executives, military personnel, and pilots, according to the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey source already referred to; Wickert²³ found lawyers belonged to this group. Finally, with high religious value scores were artists, catechists, doctors, social workers, nurses, clergymen and those engaged in professional religious work (priests and nuns), and therapists, again according to the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey study. Schooley²⁴ placed housewives in this category.

Since no studies covered the remainder of the occupations directly, an attempt was made to classify them according to the definitions of the six types of men as described in Chapter III, pages 64 and 65. Continue to study was classified as theoretical because it is understood to be a "desire to discover truth." Carpenter and farmer were listed with those scoring high in economic value scores because "usefulness" is an important criterion for both, and, particularly in Latin America, security is a grave concern of the farmer (no child in Chicago listed this aspiration). It was on this ground, too, that farmers were

²⁰A. C. Van Dusen, "Standardization of a Values Inventory," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXX (1939), 60.

²¹Arsonian, p. 22.

²³F. Wickert, "A Test for Personal Goal-Values," Journal of Social Psychology, XI (1940), 271.

²⁴Schooley, p. 345.

included in the list of occupations with high social value scores; in Latin America family and friendship ties are even stronger with farmers than with city dwellers. Mailman, policeman, and steward-ess were classified with social types because these are service occupations, a giving of self to and for others, although other motives may be present also. Professor and seamstress, both with purely Latin American connotations, imply a giving of self in service. Besides, a seamstress would be expected to score high in aesthetic values, being in a position to exercise freedom of expression in her work. The diplomat, the detective, the horse trainer (a girl's aspiration!), and policeman were included with the political type because they imply power, leadership, and authority (even if it be only over a horse!).

When grouping the occupational aspirations from Table XXVII under the six value types, it was obviously necessary to repeat some under two or three value types because in those occupations persons have been found to score high in more than one value.

After the occupations had been sorted according to correlation with each of the six values, the aspirations of the subjects were tabulated accordingly by social classes and cultures.

When the columns were totaled and compared with the median scores for each value, the result revealed a recognizable correlation between the direction of the value median scores of the social classes in relation to each other, and the number of subjects with occupational aspirations who belonged in that category.

For example, if the median score of the middle class rose above the upper class, the number of aspirations to occupations in that category also stood higher than for the upper class; if the score was lower, the number of aspirations was also lower. The graph below each Table depicts this relationship.

Table XXVIII shows the distribution of aspirations to occupations correlated with high theoretical scores, broken down according to social classes in the two cultures.

The total upper class Chicago subjects aspiring to occupations correlating with high theoretical value scores was 34, middle class 40, and lower class 23. The theoretical value scores were: 43.3, 43.9, and 41.25, by social classes, from the upper down. The correlation is graphically presented below Table XXVIII. This is not meant to be an exact comparison because it cannot be, since what is compared is not on the same level. Each occupational aspiration counts for one point, whereas choices in regard to values which resulted in the median scores not only allowed but required a distribution of a number of points per choice. For this reason the distances between the points representing social class median scores and the points representing total social class aspirations do not correspond, but the direction in which social classes differ from each other is the same for the median scores as for the totals of the aspirations.

The Chicago upper class theoretical value median score is 43.3, which is slightly lower than the middle class 43.9, and the

lower class 41.25, which falls below both the others. Likewise, the number of aspirations to occupations correlated with high theoretical value scores shows the upper class of Chicago with 34 which is lower than the middle class 40, but higher than the lower class 23, again the lowest of the three.

The same holds true for Lima. The upper class theoretical value median score of 41.8 is lower than the middle class 42.3, but the lower class 40.94 is the lowest of the three. Following the same relationship, the aspiration totals are 30 for the upper class, which is lower than the 40 for the middle class, with the lower class 27 falling below both the other two.

It can be seen, therefore, that the median scores on the theoretical value can be interpreted in terms of the occupational aspirations of the subjects as being directly related to their interests.

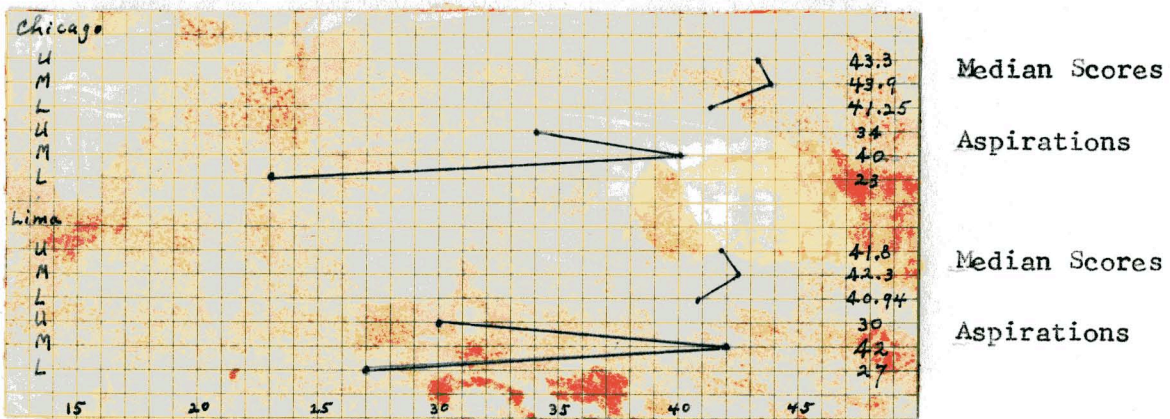
Table XXIX portrays the distribution of aspirations to occupations correlated with high economic scores. Comparison of the median scores with the total number of aspirations for each social class again reveals a striking similarity in the direction of the relationships between the social classes. The Chicago sample with its median scores of 35.25 for the upper, 32.7 for the middle, and 34.25 for the lower, draws occupational aspiration totals of 28 for the upper (highest), 8 for the middle (lowest), and 13 for the lower (between), the same relation as the median scores. The Lima median scores display a similar

TABLE XXVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF ASPIRATIONS TO OCCUPATIONS
CORRELATED WITH HIGH THEORETICAL SCORES

| Occupation | Upper | | Middle | | Lower | | Total | |
|-------------------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|
| | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima |
| Artist | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 8 | 4 |
| Bookkeeper | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Continue to Study | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Doctor | 16 | 11 | 17 | 9 | 9 | 12 | 42 | 32 |
| Engineer | 4 | 9 | 4 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 21 |
| Librarian | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Scientist | 2 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 9 |
| Secretary | 00 | 3 | 12 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 14 | 14 |
| Teacher | 8 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 9 | 19 | 17 |
| Technician | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Writer | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 34 | 30 | 40 | 42 | 25 | 27 | 97 | 99 |

Graph 1: THEORETICAL VALUE MEDIAN SCORES
COMPARED WITH ASPIRATIONS
TO OCCUPATIONS CORRELATED WITH HIGH THEORETICAL SCORES BY
SOCIAL CLASSES



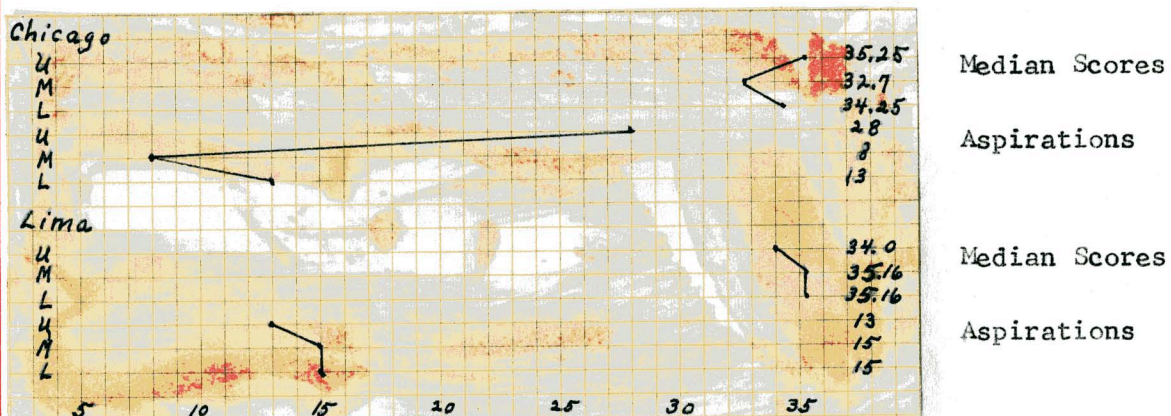
regularity: upper, 34.0; middle, 35.16; lower, 35.16. Aspiration totals by social classes follow the same pattern: upper, 13; middle, 15; lower, 15.

TABLE XXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF ASPIRATIONS TO OCCUPATIONS
CORRELATED WITH HIGH ECONOMIC SCORES

| Occupation | Upper | | Middle | | Lower | | Total | |
|-------------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|
| | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima |
| Bookkeeper | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Businessman | 13 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 25 | 0 |
| Carpenter | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 8 |
| Engineer | 4 | 9 | 4 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 21 |
| Executive | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 |
| Farmer | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| Merchant | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 8 |
| Pilot | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Total | 28 | 13 | 8 | 15 | 13 | 15 | 49 | 43 |

Graph 2: ECONOMIC VALUE MEDIAN SCORES COMPARED WITH ASPIRATIONS TO OCCUPATIONS CORRELATED WITH HIGH ECONOMIC SCORES BY SOCIAL CLASSES



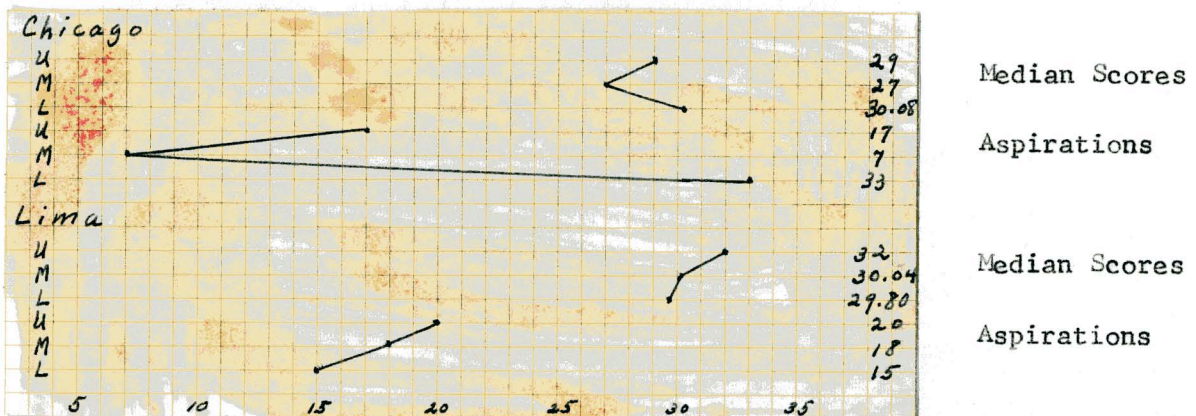
It would appear, therefore, that occupational aspirations constituted an influence in motivating choices on the economic value in this test.

Table XXXIII assembles the distribution of aspirations to

TABLE XXX
DISTRIBUTION OF ASPIRATIONS TO OCCUPATIONS CORRELATED WITH HIGH
AESTHETIC SCORES

| Occupation | Upper | | Middle | | Lower | | Total | |
|------------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|
| | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima |
| Architect | 1 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 11 |
| Artist | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 8 | 4 |
| Dancer | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Dramatics | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Musician | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 5 |
| Nurse | 5 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 12 | 0 | 19 | 2 |
| Seamstress | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Singer | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| Teacher | 8 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 9 | 19 | 17 |
| Writer | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | 17 | 20 | 7 | 18 | 33 | 15 | 57 | 53 |

Graph 3: AESTHETIC VALUE MEDIAN SCORES COMPARED WITH ASPIRATIONS TO OCCUPATIONS CORRELATED WITH HIGH AESTHETIC SCORES BY SOCIAL CLASSES



occupations correlated with high aesthetic scores. Of the total aspirations to occupations in this category, the 57 on the part of the Chicago subjects consisted of 17 from the upper, 7 from the middle, and 33 from the lower class; aesthetic value median

scores are 29.00, 27.00, and 30.8, in the same order. The direction of relationships is again the same between the two sets of figures.

The 53 Lima aspirations related with this value are 20 for the upper, 18 for the middle, and 15 for the lower class, corresponding also to the aesthetic value median scores of 32.00, 30.04, and 35.16. Relations are graphically depicted in Graph 3, below Table XXX.

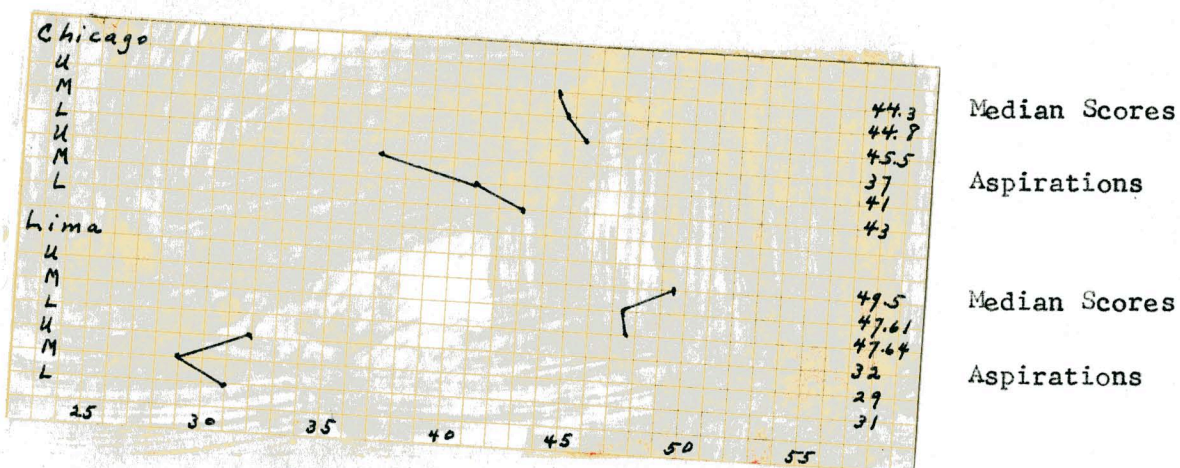
The aesthetic value, like the theoretical and the economic, seems to indicate a relationship between the occupational aspirations of the subjects in both cultures, and their aesthetic value choices in the test.

Table XXXI presents the distribution of aspirations to occupations correlated with high social scores. The total 121 Chicago choices place 37 in the upper, 41 in the middle, and 43 in the lower class. Of the 92 Lima choices, 32 are from the upper, 29 from the middle, and 31 from the lower class. Comparing these totals with the social value median scores for the corresponding classes, we find the same phenomena of relationship as shown in Graph 4 below Table XXXI on the following page. The Chicago social value median scores according to classes: 44.3, upper; 44.8, middle; and 45.5, lower, correspond in their relationship to each other to the relationship of the totals for occupational aspirations between the social classes: 37, 41, and 43, a gradual upward climb in both cases.

TABLE XXXI
DISTRIBUTION OF ASPIRATIONS TO OCCUPATIONS CORRELATED WITH HIGH
SOCIAL SCORES

| Occupation | Upper | | Middle | | Lower | | Total | |
|----------------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|
| | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima |
| Dancer | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Doctor | 16 | 11 | 17 | 9 | 9 | 12 | 42 | 32 |
| Farmer | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| Helper of Poor | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Housewife | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| Librarian | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Life Guard | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Mailman | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Nurse | 5 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 12 | 0 | 19 | 2 |
| Office Clerk | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Peace Corps | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Policeman | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Professor | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| Seamstress | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Secretary | 0 | 3 | 12 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 14 | 14 |
| Stewardess | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Teacher | 8 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 9 | 19 | 17 |
| Therapist | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 37 | 32 | 41 | 29 | 43 | 31 | 121 | 92 |

Graph 4: Social Value MEDIAN SCORES COMPARED WITH ASPIRATIONS TO
OCCUPATIONS CORRELATED WITH HIGH SOCIAL SCORES BY
SOCIAL CLASSES



The same is true of the Lima median scores of 49.5, upper; 47.61, middle; and 47.64, lower, in relation to the occupational totals for each class: 32, 29, and 31, the middle class falling below both the upper and the lower, and the upper standing highest.

TABLE XXXII

DISTRIBUTION OF ASPIRATIONS TO OCCUPATIONS
CORRELATED WITH HIGH POLITICAL SCORES

| Occupation | Upper | | Middle | | Lower | | Total | |
|-----------------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|
| | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima |
| Businessman | 13 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 10 | 2 | 25 | 2 |
| Detective | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 7 |
| Diplomat | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Engineer | 4 | 9 | 4 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 21 |
| Executive | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 |
| Horse Trainer | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Lawyer | 5 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 18 | 2 |
| Military Career | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 9 | 5 | 13 |
| Pilot | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Policeman | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Total | 35 | 11 | 22 | 18 | 20 | 19 | 77 | 48 |

Graph 5: Political VALUE MEDIAN SCORES COMPARED WITH ASPIRATIONS TO OCCUPATIONS CORRELATED WITH HIGH POLITICAL SCORES BY SOCIAL CLASSES

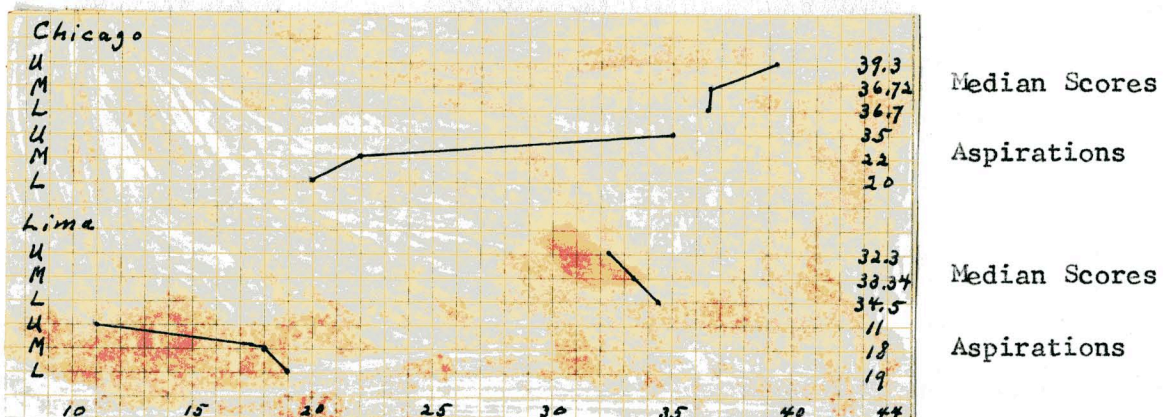


Table XXXII assembles the distribution of aspirations to occupations correlated with high political scores. The total number from the Chicago sample aspiring to this type of occupation is 77, thirty-five from the upper, 22 from the middle, and 20 from the lower class, corresponding in a limited but recognizable degree with the median scores: upper 39.3, middle 36.72, and lower 36.7.

Lima, with lower median scores for all three social classes, also totals only 48 in the count of occupational aspirations in this category; 11 for the upper, 18 for the middle, and 19 for the lower, corresponding to the slight upward incline of the median scores: 32.3, 33.34, and 34.5 for the corresponding social classes. Relationships for the samples of both cultures for this value are graphically presented in Graph 5 below Table XXXII.

Table XXXIII lists the distribution of aspirations to occupations correlated with high religious scores. Of the total 101 Chicago subjects who declared interest in this category of occupations, 28 were in the upper, 38 in the middle, and 35 in the lower class. Corresponding religious value medians for the three social classes were: 48.3, 52.62, and 51.6, revealing here, as in the other values, a similarity of pattern.

The Lima total of 89 was composed of the aspirations of 35 upper, 30 middle, and 24 lower class choices, corresponding in this case also to the direction of the religious value median

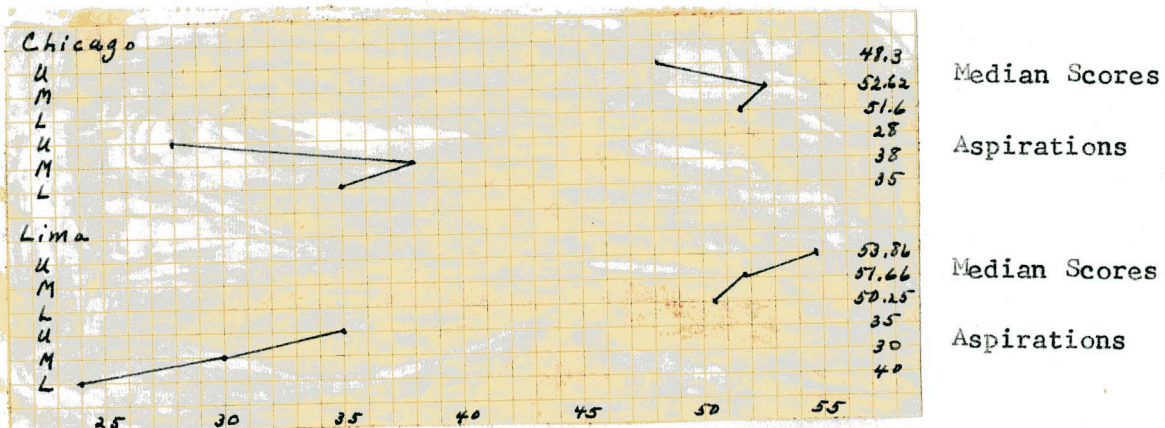
scores for the three classes: upper, 53.86, middle, 51.66, and lower, 50.25.

TABLE XXXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF ASPIRATIONS TO OCCUPATIONS CORRELATED
WITH HIGH RELIGIOUS SCORES

| Occupation | Upper | | Middle | | Lower | | Total | |
|----------------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|---------|------|
| | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima | Chicago | Lima |
| Artist | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 8 | 4 |
| Catechist | 0 | 8 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| Doctor | 16 | 11 | 17 | 9 | 9 | 12 | 42 | 32 |
| Helper of Poor | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Housewife | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| Nurse | 5 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 12 | 0 | 19 | 2 |
| Peace Corps | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Priest or Nun | 0 | 14 | 16 | 12 | 5 | 11 | 21 | 37 |
| Therapist | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 28 | 35 | 38 | 30 | 35 | 24 | 101 | 89 |

Graph 6: Religious Value MEDIAN SCORES COMPARED WITH ASPIRATIONS TO OCCUPATIONS CORRELATED WITH HIGH RELIGIOUS SCORES BY SOCIAL CLASSES



The comparison of median scores with aspiration totals for each class, in relation to the religious value is shown in Graph 6 below Table XXXIII.

A complete presentation of occupational aspirations of the subjects classified according to correlation with high value scores for each of the six values under consideration, has demonstrated that when these are broken down into distributions according to social classes, a consistent pattern of relationship appears for all the values. The relation of median value scores of the three social classes in each culture in regard to direction, not distance, can readily be discerned. Wherever the upper class median score for a value, for example, stands higher than that for the middle class, the number of choices of occupational aspirations correlated with high scores in that value is also higher for the upper class, in comparison with the other social classes; where it is lower, the number of expressed aspirations is also lower. This pattern has been demonstrated for the three social classes in both cultures for all six values.

The one point where this pattern does not fit perfectly is this: the aspirational totals do not always correspond to the relationship of median scores between the cultures; that is, a social class does not always have a higher total number of occupational aspirations when it has a higher score than the corresponding social class in the other culture, so that although the pattern is perfectly consistent between the social classes

of both cultures, it shows some inconsistency in comparisons between the two cultures. This is true of the middle and lower classes on the theoretical value, of the upper class on the aesthetic value, and of all the three classes on the social value. Of a total of 36 cross-cultural median value scores compared with aspiration totals, 9, that is, 25 per cent, do not correspond. However, this can be explained on the ground that each occupational aspiration counts for only one point in the totaling, whereas the scores of the test consist of a number of points for distribution among the several values included in the answers to a question. Thus direction of choices is the important clue here, since what is compared is not exactly comparable in terms of points.

Another factor, which ought not be overlooked in relation to the point under discussion, is that the studies which served as the bases for classifying the occupational aspirations under value types, had all been carried out on people of the United States. Comparable data for Latin America lie in future research, but at present are not available. Information from such future findings might expose errors which have been made in classifying Lima aspirations, producing this cross-cultural inconsistency. At present, however, absence of information limits possibilities in this field.

From the above data it can be concluded that a possible explanation of the remarkable similarity of median scores between

the two cultures and among the social classes could be found in the occupational aspirations of the subjects. It appears that the future is more real to them than the present in their choice of values. The strongest reinforcement for this possibility is the fact, previously stated, that every subject in both cultures wrote that he expects to be able to attain in life to the occupation to which he aspires, even if that be as far-fetched as "horse trainer" for a Chicago girl or "doctor" for a Lima lower class boy. This is strongly idealistic.

Obviously, then, the next question calling for an answer is: what is the reason for such idealistic optimism? It seems to be related to age-grade level, as Rothman²⁶ suggests in explaining the findings of his study. It is likely that value differences of adult society have not yet developed in these subjects. The strongest support for the likelihood of such an explanation is the previously recorded phenomenon of the unanimous affirmation of the subjects that they shall be able to attain their occupational aspirations, although an alternative possibility was insinuated in the lead question which followed: "If you think you will not be able to do the job you would like, what job do you think you will have to do?" No answers followed.

Besides, the children of this age-bracket in large urban centers of Latin America, such as Lima, are exposed to two factors which contribute to the optimism and lack of realistic reasoning evident in this study. Upper class children are generally

²⁶Rothman, p. 129.

over-protected to the point where they do little if any of their own deciding or reasoning until after they have completed the "media" which corresponds to the fifth-through-eleventh grades in the United States. This is true of both sexes, although in general males have greater freedom in the upper and middle classes than the females.²⁷ Unfortunately, there are no studies known to the present writer which could be cited as confirmation of these conclusions, but the material gathered through the UNESCO²⁸ as well as the writer's personal observation among families and in the schools²⁹ points in the direction of belated development of self-expression and of the attitude of questioning of values held by older members of the family, teachers, and religious leaders.

The middle class attempts to imitate the upper class in this attitude toward child training, springing from their deep family attachment. Even teachers in general hold the idea that sixth grade children are just "tots" (chiquitos), and can't be expected to reason for themselves. Exposed to this kind of philosophy, children can be expected to accept and express without questioning whatever they hear, and realism is far from instruction on this grade level. Children are to "be good" and "help everybody". Religion and high ideals

²⁷Philip Hauser (ed.), Urbanization in Latin America (New York, 1961), 170-190.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹The writer resided in Mexico for four months and in Lima for ten weeks, visiting and observing schools, and families in their homes.

are stressed.

The lower class children absorb their idealism at different fountains. By the very fact that a lower class child is able to be in school for the last year of the elementary grades (the level at which the test was taken), he is considered very fortunate and expected to serve as a ladder of mobility for his family and relatives. The reasons for this are the deplorable shortage of schools, equipment, and teachers³⁰. More than a half million children of elementary school age could not attend school during the current year because of this deficiency.³¹ Fortunate, then, is the lower class child who has managed to find room. His parents and relatives are most frequently illiterate and they live either in the heart of the city or its delightful suburbs doing the menial work for the upper classes, or struggle to survive in the peripheral barriadas (slums). Schools drawing children from both populations were included in the present survey of values. The family's hope lies in this "education" of a child who will be able to pursue a more desirable occupation (in terms of status and salary) than was open to his father. This optimism and expectation are transferred to the child through the home atmosphere and family attitudes.

Secondly, only those children complete the sixth grade whose family can afford to send them through the elementary school, as has been noted in Chapter III. Many lower class children, even if

³⁰La Prensa, Lima's daily paper, April 9, 1963, p. 1

³¹Ibid.

they begin school, must drop out to support the family or because there is not enough money to pay for books and uniforms, demanded even by public schools in Lima. Thus the lower class child who finds himself in school for the last year of the elementary grades could, on this account, compare himself favorably with others in his own social class, and believe himself capable of attaining heights far beyond the bounds of reality, an idealistic view of the future.

In this manner, the home and educational system conspire together to keep the child in Lima from thinking realistically. The youngster who has been pushed by circumstances into adult tasks and thinking patterns prematurely, is not in school to serve as part of a sample for a study.

Similarly, the American educational system, with its "success" orientation, as discussed in Chapter II³², holds all that is needed for developing an idealistic attitude of complete optimism comparable to that of the children of Lima. The reconciling of desire with reality comes later, at the time of graduation from high school, as Chinoy³³ found in his research among youth. Hollingshead³⁴

³²Robin Williams, Jr., American Society (New York, 1960), pp. 415-444.

³³Ely Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream (New York, 1955), p. 112.

³⁴A. B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York, 1949), pp. 282-287.

reported the same conclusion in his discussion of aspiration among teen-age youth. Children in the sixth grade in general, it would appear, believe they can achieve whatever they set out to do. Their limitations and external obstacles rise before them later to block their anticipated achievements or make their realization difficult.

Another factor that may not be overlooked in attempting to account for similarities between any two segments of the present-day world, is the tremendous impact of mass media, especially movies, radio, and television, even for the illiterate. The ~~commercial~~ element controlling much American mass media makes every effort to present programs which offend no one, for pragmatic reasons. A "national common denominator of attitudes" is often carefully studied and incorporated into programs.³⁵ Research has shown that television gives a boost to viewers, inducing them to greater striving and achievement and increases their upward rate and mobility.³⁶ Specifically, close to 85 per cent of the 10 and 11-year-olds who were viewers of television, when asked in one

³⁵Joseph Klapper, "Mass Media and Persuasion," in The Process and Effects of Mass Communication, (ed.) W. Schramm, (Urbana, 1954), 289-320.

³⁶H. T. Himmelweit, A. Oppenheim, and P. Vince, Television and the Child (New York, (1958), p. 243.

study what they considered most important in helping a person to get on in the world, answered: education, brains, good character, and hard work. The reply itself is not the point emphasized here, but the fact ~~that~~ 85 per cent of the children gave the same reply. This may have bearing on the similarity in value scores of the children in the Chicago sample, regardless of their social class.

In Lima, however, mass media are not as available to the child as they are in Chicago, and similarities in the Lima samples must be considered in relation to their immaturity, inexperience, and the sheltered life they lead, as not conducive to an early development of personal judgment.

Finally, in both cultures the influence of religion in the educational system should not be over-looked, as a factor which was not tested in this study.

In summarizing Generalization 1 it may be said that it is not likely that the similarities in this study were the result of overlapping in the sample or of an inadequate testing instrument. A number of factors may have contributed to produce the phenomenon: 1) the effectiveness of the school as a socializing agent, 2) the possibility that differences exist on other levels but are not reflected in the value system, 3) the possibility that the answers were verbal expressions not agreeing with real preferences, 4) the age-grade level of the samples with its corresponding idealistic optimism disclosed by the answers to questions on occupational aspirations, 5) the influence of mass media, and 6) the influence

of Religion.

Generalization 4 held that differentiation increases with the upward climb of social class strata. The subculture of poverty of the lower class in any culture has traits which country of residence alone does not eradicate, such as the economic struggle for survival, chronic shortage of cash, absence of food reserves in the home, pawning of personal goods, borrowing at usurious rates of interest, use of second-hand clothing and furniture; or the social and psychological characteristics: living without privacy in crowded quarters, a high incidence of alcoholism and abandonment of mothers and children, resorts to violence in settling disagreements and training children, early initiation into sex, free unions or consensual marriages, and mother-centered families; the general characteristics: a strong present time orientation with relatively little ability to defer gratification and plan for the future, a sense of resignation and fatalism based on the realities of a difficult life situation.³⁷

The time consuming struggle to obtain the minimal necessities of life can leave little or no time for the "better" things like education and the development of special talents; freedom to choose the vocation one really wants; relaxation in self-confidence and security; good health with assurance of medical care in time of need and of a home for old age.

³⁷Oscar Lewis, Children of Sanchez (New York, 1961), p.xxvi (Introduction).

One may expect that those who have these characteristics in common will value the same things: that which gives them hope, dispells their frustration, and promises to provide security.³⁸

However, to the degree to which a people are able to eliminate or reduce these economic, social, and psychological limitations, they share the possibility of participating in and obtaining what their larger culture has to offer. In Puerto Rico it was found that the differences among the social classes developed as a result of changes in occupation, income, education, and a chance at making of important decisions³⁹. Changes in these factors are related to changes in attitudes and values⁴⁰. Therefore, the degree to which members of a group avail themselves of these possibilities will be reflected in their attitudes and value system.

Since the social classes of Chicago differ from each other and from the corresponding social classes in Lima on some of these factors, they can be expected to reflect the difference in their value choices, as has actually occurred in the present study.

Table XXII indicates that the increasing differentiation observed on the cross-cultural level is primarily due to the changes within the Chicago sample, since only one significant

³⁸Centers, p. 92.

³⁹Tumin and Feldman, p. 459.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 458.

difference was evident among the social classes of Lima. The visible differences in material possessions, quality of jobs, and education in the Lima population induce one to explain this absence of value system differentiation in terms of a neutralizing factor (dignidad), measuring a man's worth by the value of his soul⁴¹ which has to date withstood (as in Puerto Rico) the external forces tending to weaken it. A study specifically geared to explore trends in values in Lima, such as was part of the study made in Puerto Rico, might uncover an emergent system of values running side by side with an older system, but not as evident yet as in Puerto Rico where a new value system is gaining dominance over the old.⁴²

Social class differences in terms of values, then, can be expected to increase with ability and opportunity for participation in national advantages (occupational, educational, residential, decision making) as has been indicated to some degree in the present data. The basic ethos element of dignidad may be the neutralizing factor which prevents the expression of differing value choices to date in Lima.

Generalization 5: The two significant differences on the cross-cultural level are in the social and political values. This is in harmony to a limited degree with expectations expressed in Chapter II. Gillin's elaboration on the ethos components of the

⁴¹Ibid., p. 456.

⁴²Ibid., p. 456.

Latin American culture⁴³ and Williams'⁴⁴ description of North American values presented a comparative picture of the two cultures in which it could be expected that the Latin Americans would score higher in religious, theoretical, and social scores, and the North Americans in economic and political scores, as a result of the elements in their cultures.

The data show that both range high in theoretical median scores, a phenomenon explained on the basis of Witryol's findings that children of the age-grade level used in this test are capable of a high degree of discernment regarding the teacher's preferences (expressed in frequent exhortations to study and be diligent⁴⁵) and would, under these circumstances, allow this to be reflected in the theoretical value choices. Their lack of experience with other fields of endeavor may have had bearing on their choice, also.

High theoretical scores had been expected for the Lima sample because of the emphasis on words and concepts as an element in their ethos; a contributing factor in Chicago was most probably the fact that these children have two more years of grammar school ahead of them before they can think in terms of even a part-time job in most cases. Being interested in the theoretical world, therefore, is the practical thing at this stage.

⁴³Gillin, pp. 448-449.

⁴⁴Williams, pp. 397-470.

⁴⁵Witryol, p. 325.

Absence of a significant difference between economic value median scores has also been explained, again on age-grade level development, this being tied to attitudes in home and classroom delaying the development of individual ability to discriminate in economic matters which are related to adult rather than children's responsibilities. For the Chicago sample, the mass media were suggested as possibly contributing to the leveling of social class differences in expressing values, and for Lima, strong family ties and over-protection.

Samples in both cultures range high in religious median scores, although the Lima group surpasses that of Chicago, as had been predicted.

The significant difference on political median scores, again in accordance with expectations, shows the Chicago sample ranking above that of Lima, reflecting the cultural ideals of hard work, success, achievement, and competition present in the value orientation of the United States⁴⁶. The Lima sample, on the other hand, scored significantly higher on social values, stressed in the strong family and "dignidad" orientations⁴⁷. These two general differences had been anticipated.

Finally, Generalization 6: The Chicago lower class sample median score is exceptionally high for the aesthetic value as compared with those of the other social classes in both cultures.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Gillin, p. 492.

The factor which seems likely to have bearing on this phenomenon is that this group of 80 subjects were all Negro, inasmuch as no school could be found in Chicago with a white-non-Spanish-speaking lower class population. In spite of (or perhaps because of) their unfavorable residential environment and the many forms of discrimination from which they suffer, these subjects, in their test choices, showed special preference for all answers involving music, dramatics, and art, possibly as an escape from the dreadful realities which surround them, and an expression of unfulfilled desires.⁴⁸

Summary. Six generalizations are evident from the data of this study:

1. The striking similarities. These are not the result of an over-lapping sample nor of an inadequate testing instrument. If the test were not adequate to a reasonable degree, it would not have brought to light differences between categories set up according to any variable. However, this test has revealed significant differences in all comparisons but one when the sample was divided on the basis of sex. Furthermore, the differences between the sex median scores shows the difference to be in the same direction as the adult scores in the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey sample.

⁴⁸Richard Wright, 12 Million Black Voices (New York, 1941), pp. 127-129; also: Catherine DeHueck, Friendship House (New York, 1946), p. 57.

In processing the occupational aspirations of the subjects in search for a possible clue to the similarity of median scores among the categories, it was found that a classification of occupations into categories related to high scores in each of the six value types, followed by a tabulation of the distribution of occupational aspirations, resulted in a patterned relationship between the median value scores of the social classes and the total number of aspirations for each class. This revealed that the median value scores were related to occupational aspirations rather than to an adult system of values based on reality.

The possibility that 10- and 11-year-old children have a system of values based on idealism rather than reality was reinforced substantially by the further empirical observation that every child of the 473 in the sample (7 stated they did not know) had evinced confidence that his occupational aspiration was within his reach beyond any doubt.

Considering this idealism, the similarity of aspirations (some of which cut across all classes and both cultures), mass media, and the age-grade level of the sample, the possible explanation for the similarities can be advanced that at this age, adult values are not yet developed in children, that their choices are based largely on their optimism and hopes for the future.

The influence of the school as a socializing agent, and of religion may have a bearing, but there was no testing of these

factors in the present study.

Other explanations may be that class differences may exist on other levels, but not in values at this age; or, finally, perhaps the questionnaire elicited verbal expressions not grounded in reality.

2. Non-significant differences in economic scores. Although the advanced industrial condition in the United States as compared with Peru provided good reason to expect the North American sample to show much higher economic scores than the Latin American, this was not the case. The age-grade level of the subjects may be responsible for similarities in economic scores, since the data on sex differences seems to indicate that, of the six values tested, the economic is the least developed.

3. Apparent absence of a consistent pattern. A consistent pattern was uncovered, as explained under Generalization I above, when occupational aspiration totals were found to correlate with median value scores in the direction of relationships between the classes. This part of the present study seems to offer a degree of confirmation to former research on the relationship of values to occupations.

4. Increase in the number of inter-class and cross-cultural differences with the upward climb of social class strata. The Chicago sample shows this phenomenon in inter-class as well as in cross-cultural comparisons. Viewing the outcome of the present study in the light of the findings of Tumin and Feldman in Puerto

Rico, it seems permissible to conclude that class differences can be expected to increase with ability and opportunity for participation in national advantages (occupational, educational, residential, decision making), as has been demonstrated by the present data for Chicago. The basic ethos element of "dignidad" may be the neutralizing factor which prevents the expression of differing value choices to date in Lima.

5. Social and Political differences on cross-cultural level. On the basis of the strongly knit family system and the dignidad element in the Latin American culture, the higher score obtained for the Lima sample on the social value was expected. In like manner, the North American success-achievement orientation can be the explanation for the higher score in political values obtained for ^{the} Chicago sample.

6. The relatively high aesthetic median score for the Chicago lower class. A possible explanation for this may lie in the fact that this segment of the sample was all Negro. According to Wright and DeHueck the American Negroes, ghettoed in the slums, long for better things, and release this hope in a love for music, song, drama, and color. At least this sample showed their preference for these values in the present test.

Chapter V has attempted to offer possible explanations for the data of the present study which had been presented in greater detail in Chapter IV. Chapter VI which follows will now summarize the entire study, point out its shortcomings, and offer suggestions for further research in the area.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A survey of cross-cultural studies exposed two deficiencies: the absence of North American-Latin American cross-cultural sociological studies of values, and some lack of consistency among the findings of the limited research that had been done comparing the values of North Americans with Asians and Europeans.

The field of values has been controversial from the time of Comte and Weber and disagreement on acceptable methodology for its study still divides sociologists. The present writer, although comitted to Weber's verstehen outlook, accepted for the present study a method set up by Allport-Vernon-Lindzey in a Study of Values which scores personal values on the basis of point distribution. Since its publication this test has been used more than any other for measuring the effects of variables on values, as expressed by the subjects.

The present inquiry was undertaken to test the relative strength of social class and culture in the formation of values. It was not clear which could be expected to supersede the other, except for the lower class on the basis of Oscar Lewis' observation. Lewis maintains that the lower class is a subsystem with its own set of values which contain universal elements, so that the lower class in the various cultures he had observed had much in common, including the value system. This served as the theoretical framework for the hypothesis that more value differences can

be expected between social classes within a culture than between the same social classes in two different cultures, applying the test to three social classes, not just the lower.

This general hypothesis was broken down into twelve more specific statements to test its application between the Latin American culture in Lima and the North American culture in Chicago on the levels of the upper, middle, and lower classes, through the administering of a values test to 480 sixth graders, evenly divided between the sexes, including 80 subjects in each of the three social classes in the two cultures. To make the sample more representative, only 20 subjects were selected from any one of twelve schools, and care was taken to include a cross-section of schools representing populations which might be affected by place of residence. To avoid overlap of culture, no Spanish-speaking child was accepted in the Chicago sample. All children tested were Catholic from Catholic schools, since there is no equivalent of the Chicago public school in Lima.

Both subjective and objective criteria were applied in classifying subjects into social classes. The Chicago sample was screened by the indices of father's occupation and value of property in census tract of residence; in Lima, schools were selected on the basis of advice of a well-informed Peruvian, and subjects further screened by father's occupation and the respondent's self-identification of social class membership. As far as it could be done in harmony with these criteria, a serious attempt

was made to take the sample from extremes of each social class group rather than from adjacent segments, and thereby avoid repeating Rothman's difficulty.

The Levy Modification of the Study of Values was adapted to the sixth grade level and for Lima to the Latin culture. Revisions were made after a pretest in both cultures, before a final printing of the test in each respective culture.

The values test was preceded by a three page anonymous questionnaire for personal information. This was included to provide indices for the selection of a representative sample, and to make available a reserve of facts which might be consulted if necessary in explaining the data, in view of the fact that contact with sources of information about the subjects in Lima would be extremely difficult and time-consuming, once the original testing program had been concluded.* The questionnaire included inquiries about sex, place of birth, age, race, social class, religion, monthly income of family, family size and status, occupational aspirations, father's occupation, and languages spoken at home.

The study of values test which followed the questionnaire was basically a modification and adaptation of the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values for adults, requiring choices related to Spranger's six types of men: theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious.

*The researcher returned to the United States immediately after testing in Lima, May, 1963.

The data as a whole revealed more similarities than differences. Of a total of 60 comparisons drawn up on the findings relating to social class and cultures, seventeen resulted in significant differences. Between the two cultural groups, each taken as a unit consisting of 240 subjects, two significant differences of the total of six values were evident: the social and political. When the groups were broken down into social classes within each of the two cultures, the cross-cultural differences which appeared between the upper classes were significant on four of the six values: aesthetic, social, political, and religious. The cross-cultural middle classes showed significant differences on three of the six values: economic, social, and political; but between the lower classes, only one difference was significant: the social.

To generalize: in this sample cross-cultural differences decreased with each descending stratum, the upper classes showing most and the lower classes least differences. This is particularly pertinent in this study because Oscar Lewis had specifically mentioned the lower class as the people among whom he had observed cross-cultural similarities: in England, in Puerto Rico, in Mexico City and Mexican villages, and among lower class American Negroes. This study including a comparison of Chicago lower class Negroes with lower class Peruvians of Lima points in the direction of confirmation.

Of the total of 24 cross-cultural comparisons made, eight

(33.3 per cent) revealed significant differences.

When comparisons were made within each of the two cultures between social classes, Chicago revealed significant differences between the upper and middle on three values: the economic, the political, and the religious; between the upper and lower on two values; the political and the religious; and between the middle and lower, only on the aesthetic; a total of 6 differences in 18 comparisons, or 33.3 per cent.

The social classes in Lima, however, in the 18 comparisons made, produced only one significant difference: in religious value median scores between the upper and the lower classes. This was equivalent to about 5.5 per cent of the total Lima inter-class comparisons.

The sum of the six Chicago inter-class significant differences plus the one from Lima is a total of seven, or about 19.4 per cent of the total 36 inter-class comparisons which were made.

The general hypothesis that more inter-class than cross-cultural differences would be uncovered, therefore, was not supported by the data, since 33.3 per cent of all cross-cultural comparisons produced significant differences, but only 19.4 per cent of the inter-class differences.

The demonstration of more similarities than differences led to a search for a possible reason to account for the phenomenon. One explanation that immediately suggested itself was that the

sample had been drawn from groups too near each other on the social class continuum. This could be rejected as improbable since a deliberate effort had been made to select extremes rather than intermediate samples of a stratum.

A second possible explanation: the importance of the common religious factor, and a third: the effectiveness of the educational system in developing a universal rather than a social class system of values, both remain to be tested. With the present study as it was set up, these factors could not be tested because all of Lima's schools and almost all the children are Catholic. However, research of the desired type is possible in the United States. The testing of Catholic children in Catholic and public schools (the sample being matched on other variables) would throw some light on the influence of the educational system; whereas a test of Catholic and non-Catholic children (matched on other variables) in the public schools (or Catholic schools) if enough non-Catholic children for a sample could be found there, would provide a measure of the religious factor. This remains for future research, and until some test of this kind has brought in tangible evidence, it is not possible to say with any reasonable certainty whether or to what extent either religion or the educational system were responsible for the present results.

Other possible explanations may be that at this age verbalized value differences are not pronounced among children, regardless of their social class or culture. Also mass media may be a

contributing factor to the leveling of value differences.

A final possibility, which appears to be a probability, was uncovered when the occupational aspirations of the subjects were tabulated for clues to the limited number of differences in the data. The responses presented a surprising pattern of idealistic optimism. There were aspirations to occupations which the subjects, judging by rational standards, would be unlikely to reach, yet all unanimously stated the expectation of being able to attain the goal they desired. Not one answered the subsequent question as to what he would have to become as an alternative because he foresaw that he would not be able to pursue his personal preference. This idealistic outlook held commonly by the entire sample may have influenced their expressed choices in the values test more than the reality in which they live. Other researchers have found the 10- and 11-year-olds included in their studies to be lacking an adult value system. Therefore, this was considered the most probable reason for the similarities: the age level at which idealism rather than realism constitutes the framework for expressed value choices. There is no evidence that choices in action are made within this framework.

The inconsistent pattern of the results of the scores was found to correlate positively with the sums for each social class of the occupational aspirations when these were sorted according to the six value types. From this evidence it appears that for this sample neither culture nor social class was as potent an

influence in directing the expression of value choices as were their vocational aspirations. Their expressed preferences were uncritically related to the future, not to the present or the past.

The absence of economic value differences to the expected degree could be due to a lack of the development of an adult ability to make realistic economic choices at this age, or to the fact that there are no such differences in ten and eleven-year-olds. Since this was the only value in which sex differences did not appear (for the Lima sample), it would seem that the ability to distinguish between the male and female approach to economic preferences had not yet been developed in the Lima sample, as all other values showed significant differences.

The high theoretical scores for the entire sample could be the result of cultural factors, as significant differences did appear on all three levels between the sexes on this value. In Chicago, the educational value-orientation, like that of the entire system in the United States, stresses the importance of "brains and education." The compulsory education laws may also have bearing on the child's mental attitude. In Lima the Latin American ethos emphasizes words and concepts rather than action.

The increase in the number of inter-class and cross-cultural differences with ascending social class strata can be understood as resulting from the changes in value systems which occur with the characteristics accompanying social class membership:

education, occupation, place of residence, and opportunity for decision-making. Tumin and Feldman found this to be true in Puerto Rico. The absence of these differences in the Lima sample may be related to the continuing strength of the basic element of dignidad in the culture which makes possible extreme external differences simultaneously with similarity of values among the social classes.

The two significant differences on the cross-cultural level for the entire sample confirmed what had been expected because of the elements in the two cultures: Lima producing a higher social value median than Chicago and Chicago significantly higher political scores than Lima. The well-knit family and highly treasured friendship ties, together with the peculiar concept of personal worth (dignidad) in the Latin culture were influences which could be expected to result in high social value scores. On the other hand, the Chicago sample's expression of preferences in accordance with the success-achievement value orientation of the culture might account for the high political scores.

The Chicago lower class sample scored exceptionally high on the aesthetic values as compared with the other two Chicago social classes, a phenomenon which may be related to the fact that they were all Negro, with their conditioned focus on the musical, the colorful, and the dramatic as a compensation for other possible interests which are thwarted by external conditions. The question which remains to be tested in this connection is: would the

aesthetic score of the lower class remain this high if a lower class white sample were substituted for the Negro sample, other things being equal? An attempt was made to locate such a group, but it proved unsuccessful in Chicago. This racially different segment of the sample was accepted because there is no conclusive evidence to date that race is a significant factor in the study of values. Since this study shows the group to hold higher aesthetic scores, it is not clear whether race is related to the results or not. This is another problem left for future research.

Concluding remarks. Being among the first of its kind, the present study was carried through under handicaps and resulted in data with limitations. Cross-cultural research presents the problem of defining terms and concepts in exactly the same way in two cultures. Frequently this is impossible, for words and phrases carry connotations and implications which are not easily, if ever, translatable to other cultures, and at times not even to other social classes within the same culture. The study of people from any sociological point of view is an extremely complicated matter. When the dimension of class or culture or both is added, the application of many experiments and projects of research, including related variations, is necessary before any established theory can emerge.

In the present study, although a serious and painstaking effort was made to prepare the test for the Latin American sample in such a way that it would actually correspond in all things to

the North American, it cannot be denied that a certain margin of doubt remained. For example, the name of Abraham Lincoln has connotations in Chicago which could not be exactly duplicated in Lima. Lima does have national heroes associated with patriotic ideas, but a difference remains. Other examples could also be cited. The writer had hoped to be able to measure the degree to which such cultural factors influenced the results of the test by taking a test made originally for Peruvians, translating and adapting it to North Americans and administering it in the Chicago schools. Unfortunately, no such test exists to date. Therefore this check could not be made. It remains for future research.

The practical impossibility to provide an exact equivalent for every concept in preparing this test for the Lima subjects is considered the foremost shortcoming of this study. The most that can be said for it is that it is a beginning--an attempt to meet the challenge of the times demanding understanding of people based on information increasingly scientific and accurate.

A second serious limitation was imposed on the findings of this study by the age level of the sample; yet this very group was chosen to avoid a shortcoming of previous studies: the exclusion of the lower class. Cross-cultural studies that are made in underdeveloped countries like Peru on the high school, college, or university level are not adequate samples of the population. Such samples are highly selective in view of the facts footnoted in this study: in Lima itself more than one-half of the population

is illiterate, about one-tenth begin high school; between one and three per cent begin college. How representative of the general population is a test given to students on the high school level?

The attempt to avoid the above-described distortion by selecting a younger sample resulted in the manifestation of a high degree of idealism in the subjects' expression of expectations of attaining their occupational aspirations. The phenomenon raises a series of new problems which call for further research: would the results be the same as those of the present study if some other type of values test were administered to the same group? Would the results be different if the present test were administered to a different age group? This would eliminate the lower class, but some insights could be obtained for comparison of the middle and upper classes. Would the results be different if sixth-grade-level lower class children not attending school were given the test in personal interview rather than by questionnaire to reduce factors associated with reading ability? What would be learned concerning value systems if an instrument were available for measuring objectively the values of all three social classes outside of the educational institutions? There is an urgent need for insights based on such information at the present time.

One other difficulty must be kept in mind in evaluating this study: the uncertainty and fluctuation which a researcher meets in a Chicago-Lima sample because of the dynamic condition of extremely rapid and unprecedented change with which both Latin

America and minority groups migrating to large cities are faced in our day.

Keeping in mind these limitations and difficulties, it can be said for this study that on the theoretical level it reinforces the findings of Rothman that the values of children are related to age-grade progression, with the additional contribution that the values of the subsystem of the 10- and 11-year-olds are highly idealistic, so that the future appears to be a more important factor in expressing preferences than the present. Whether or not this would be the prime factor in decisions of immediate action cannot be substantiated from this study. Further research exposing the same sample to a written or oral expression of choices and then to an actual application in action is necessary to test the degree to which these could be equated.

The second contribution related to Rothman's findings, subject to further testing, is the evidence that seems to point to a later development of the ability to make judgments related to the economic value than to the other five in the present test. Do economic values take on meaning for the child later than other values? It would appear so from the fact that no significant differences were discernible in the Lima sample, although this was not true of any of the other values.

A third contribution is the seeming confirmation of studies relating values to vocational interests and occupations; such relationship was pronounced in the present study.

A fourth contribution was the confirmation of the observation of Oscar Lewis that the lower class has a subculture of its own cutting across national lines, that is, that the value system of the subculture is dominant over that of the national culture. The lower class Negroes in the Chicago sample were found more similar in their values to Lima's lower class than to the upper and middle classes of Chicago. The same was true of Lima's lower class: the sample was more similar in value choices to Chicago's lower class than to Lima's upper and middle classes. However, the values of the social class subsystem were not dominant over those of the national system for the middle and upper classes.

For pragmatic purposes this study has shown that differences are present on both levels, inter-class and cross-cultural. This carries major implications for cross-cultural relationships on a practical basis. North Americans and Europeans proposing to work in Latin America or with Latin Americans, aware of such findings, can stand on scientifically sound ground when they insist on sociological preparation for Latin American services on two levels: cultural and social class.

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La Prensa -- Lima's daily newspaper.

APPENDIX A

I am a: boy _____ or girl _____

1. Where was your father born? _____
If in the United States, in which State? _____
2. Where was your mother born? _____
If in the United States, in which State? _____
3. How old are you? _____ years.
4. Where were you born?

| | | |
|------|-------|---------|
| City | State | Country |
|------|-------|---------|
5. To what social class do you think your family belongs:

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1) Upper class _____ | 3) Working class _____ |
| 2) Middle class _____ | 4) Lower class _____ |
6. About how much do you think is your family income per month?
 - 1) _____ less than \$100
 - 2) _____ between \$101 and \$200
 - 3) _____ between \$201 and \$300
 - 4) _____ between \$301 and \$500
 - 5) _____ between \$501 and \$600
 - 6) _____ between \$601 and \$700
 - 7) _____ between \$701 and \$800
 - 8) _____ between \$801 and \$1000
 - 9) _____ more than \$1000
 - 10) _____ I don't know

7. How many children of your family are still living, including those who are married and also yourself? _____
8. How many are older than you? _____ How many younger? _____
9. Is your father living? _____ (Yes or no)
Is your mother living? _____ (Yes or no)
10. If they are both alive, are they living together with you in your house? _____
11. Do you have a stepfather? _____ (Yes or no)
A stepmother? _____ (Yes or no)
12. What is your religion? _____
13. What do you think you will do after you finish the 8th grade?
1) Just study in high school
2) Go to high school and take a part time job
3) Go to work as soon as you are 16 years old
14. What kind of work would you like to do when you grow up?

Do you think there's a good chance that you'll be able to do it? _____
If you think you will not be able to do the job you would like, what job do you think you will have to do? _____
15. What languages are spoken in your home? Please name all of them, even if they're spoken just a little.

16. What kind of work was your father doing when you were born?

- 1) _____ Studying
- 2) _____ Working on a farm
- 3) _____ Doing manual labor
- 4) _____ Doing skilled work (Like electrician, carpenter, mechanic)
- 5) _____ In military service
- 6) _____ Clerk, agent, or office worker
- 7) _____ Professional
- 8) _____ Had his own small business
- 9) _____ I don't know
- 10) Any other? What? _____

17. What kind of job does your father have now?

- 1) _____ Manual labor
- 2) _____ Skilled workman
- 3) _____ Military man
- 4) _____ Clerk, agent, or office worker
- 5) _____ Professional
- 6) _____ Has his own small business
- 7) _____ I don't know
- 8) _____ My father is dead
- 9) _____ Any other? What? _____

18. To which of the following groups do you belong?

- 1) _____ Asiatics
- 2) _____ Negroes
- 3) _____ Whites
- 4) _____ Mulatto

INSTRUCTIONSPART I

A number of statements or questions with equally possible answers are given below. Indicate which you prefer by writing the correct numbers in the boxes to the right of each question. Some of the possible answers may seem equally good or bad to you, but please choose the one that seems best in each pair. For each question you have three points which you may use in any of the following ways:

If you agree with choice (a) and disagree with (b)
write 3 in the first box and 0 in the second box,
like this

| a | b |
|---|---|
| 3 | 0 |

If you agree with (b) and disagree with (a)
write

| a | b |
|---|---|
| 0 | 3 |

If you think that (a) is just a little bit better
answer than (b) write

| a | b |
|---|---|
| 2 | 1 |

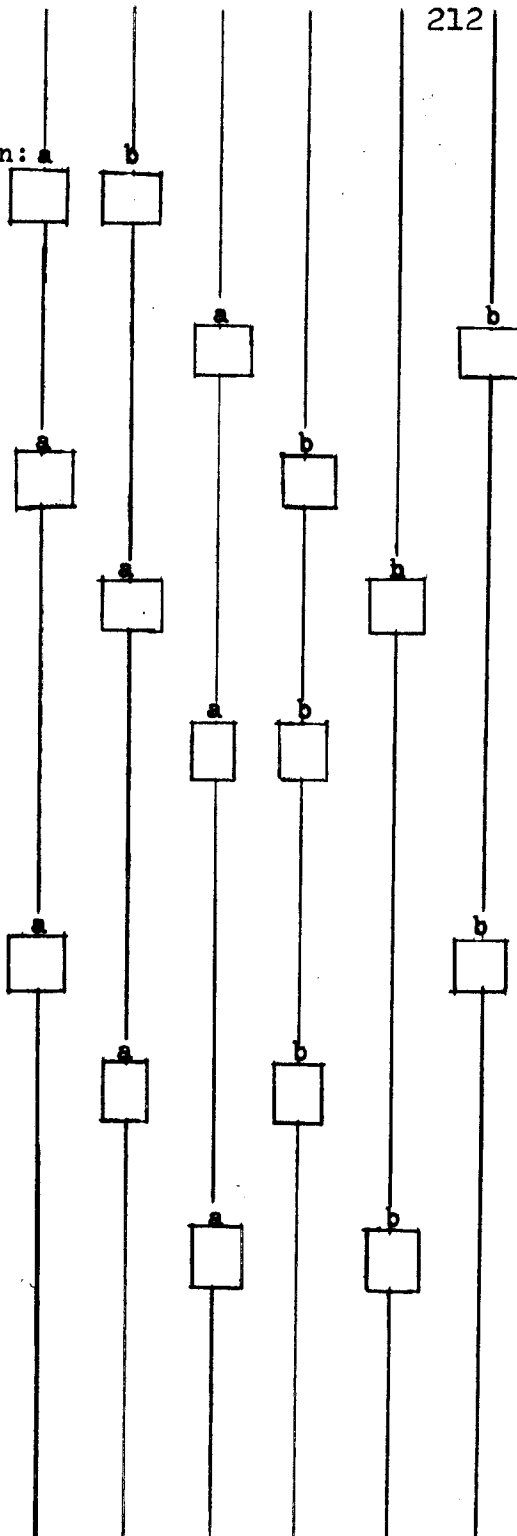
If you think that (b) is just a little bit better
answer than (a) write

| a | b |
|---|---|
| 1 | 2 |

These are the only ways that you can use your three points for each question.

There is no time limit, but go through as fast as you can and be sure to answer every question that you possibly can.

1. Scientists should spend their time mostly in: a
(a) discovering new facts to add to man's knowledge; (b) making new products for trade and industry.
2. The best thing about the Bible is:
(a) the beautiful story it tells;
(b) its spiritual teaching.
3. Who of the following men do you think contributed more to the progress of man:
(a) Einstein; (b) Lincoln?
4. If you were a newspaper writer, would you rather write about: (a) news pertaining to making money; (b) news about government?
5. Great writers, artists, and poets have much talent. Do you think such people have a right to be so concerned about their work that they might sometimes be selfish and ignore other people's feelings? (a) yes (b) no.
6. Do you think the world would progress more from the study of: (a) mathematics; (b) religion?
7. Should modern leaders try more to:
(a) get work done; (b) interest their people in helping others.
8. Who do you think should earn more money:
(a) people who create works of art, such as poets, painters, and writers; (b) people who lead others, such as politicians and business leaders?



Total

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|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | |
| 24 | R | S | T | X | Y | Z |

9. Which of these qualities do you think are more desirable: (a) high ideals and reverence; (b) unselfishness and sympathy?
10. Which do you think you would prefer to teach: (a) poetry; (b) chemistry and physics?
11. If you saw these two titles of articles in a magazine, which article would you want to read first?
(a) Protestant Leaders to Get Together
(b) Stock Market Improves
12. In which of these two articles would you be more interested: (a) Supreme Court Renders Decision; (b) New Scientific Theory Announced?
13. When you enter a church, what impresses you more: (a) the quiet reverence and atmosphere of worship in the place; (b) the way the church is built--pillars, arches, stained glass windows?
14. How do you prefer to use your leisure time: (a) developing your mastery of a favorite skill (especially such a one that will help you earn a living later); (b) doing volunteer social or public service work (like Red Cross or making things for giving out in hospitals or orphanages)?
15. If you were at a State Fair, to which part would you prefer to go and stay longer: (a) those with new manufactured products; (b) those with scientific instruments?
16. If you could, and your neighborhood did not already have one, which would you prefer to organize:
(a) a club for discussing patriotic topics; (b) a classical orchestra?

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | b | | | | | |
| a | | a | | a | b | |
| a | | a | | b | | |
| a | | a | | b | | |
| | | a | b | | | |
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|-------|----|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | | | | | | |
| | 24 | R | S | T | X | Y |
| | | | | | | Z |

17. The aim of the churches at the present time should be: (a) to bring out charity and interest in others; (b) to encourage spiritual worship and union with God.

a

b

18. If you had to spend some time in a waiting room and there were only two magazines on the table, from which would you prefer to read: (a) SCIENTIFIC AGE; (b) ARTS AND DECORATIONS.

a

b

19. Would you prefer to hear a series of talks: (a) comparing the advantages of the British government with those of the United States Government; (b) comparing the development of the great religious faiths?

a

b

20. Which do you think should be the most important aim of education: (a) preparing the student for a good job with a high salary; (b) preparing the student to be a good citizen?

a

b

21. Are you more interested in reading stories about the lives and work of (a) great military leaders of the past; (b) great thinkers (such as philosophers) of the past?

a

b

22. Does our high standard of living, and our possessions like television, radio and so forth, mean that we are more highly civilized than any previous society (the ancient Greeks, for example)? (a) Yes; (b) No.

a

b

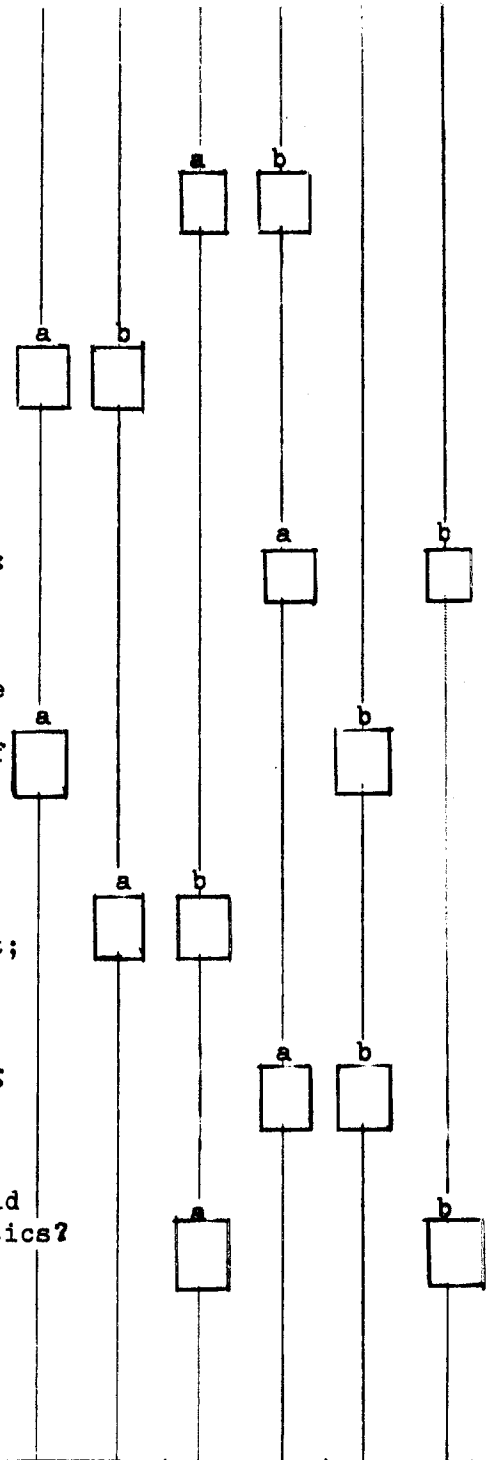
23. If you were working in a big factory, would you prefer to work: (a) as a counselor to whom the workers could bring their problems and gripes; (b) in an administrative position where you could give orders?

a

b

| | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | |
| 21 | R | S | T | X | Y | Z |

- 24. If you had just these two books to choose from, which one would you choose: (a) THE STORY OF RELIGION IN AMERICA; (b) THE STORY OF INDUSTRY IN AMERICA?
- 25. Would modern society benefit more from: (a) being more concerned about other people getting their rights and improving their living conditions; (b) learning more about human nature and the way we naturally act under certain circumstances?
- 26. People who work very hard at their trade or profession usually do so mostly in order to: (a) make a lot of money; (b) become a boss or leader in their field.
- 27. Would you be more interested in hearing some one tell you about: (a) what is being done to improve living conditions in your part of the country; (b) modern painters?
- 28. Most scientific work shows that things have developed naturally, and that there is no reason to say there is a Creator or God behind it. (a) I agree with this statement; (b) I disagree.
- 29. In the Sunday newspaper, would you sooner read: (a) articles about money and changing prices; (b) the section about paintings and art?
- 30. Do you think it is more important for a child to get training in (a) religion; (b) athletics?



Total

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| | | | | | | |
| 21 | R | S | T | X | Y | Z |

PART II

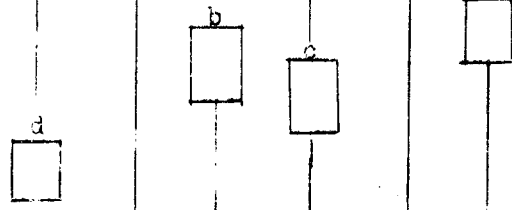
Each of the questions that follows has four possible answers. You are to decide which of the four answers you like best and give this answer a "4" in the box at the right of it; the one that you like next best gets a "3" in the box to the right of it; the one that you like next best gets a "2" in the box to the right of it; and the one that you like the least gets a "1" in the box to the right of it.

For example:

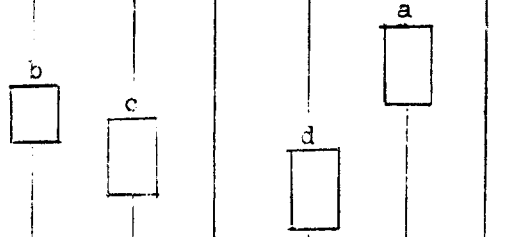
- | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. If you like this one best | | <input type="text" value="4"/> |
| b. If you like this second best | <input type="text" value="3"/> | |
| c. If you like this one third best | | <input type="text" value="2"/> |
| d. If you like this one least | | <input type="text" value="1"/> |

You may think of other answers which you like better than one of those listed, but you must use the four answers listed and put them in the order in which you prefer them as explained above. If you are not sure of the exact order that you want to put them in, you may guess, but go through and try to answer every question that you possibly can. Be sure that there is only one "4", and one "3", one "2", and one "1" for every question.

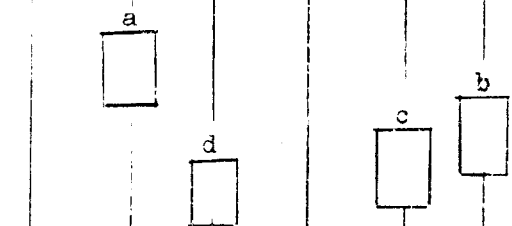
- 1. Do you think that a good government should aim chiefly at:
 - a. more aid for the poor, sick and old
 - b. the development of manufacturing and trade
 - c. having a high level of conduct in its relations with other nations
 - d. building up its standing and getting the respect of other nations



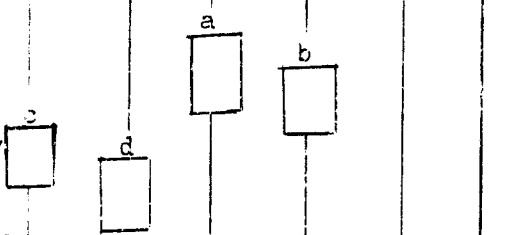
- 2. A man who works all week can best spend Sunday:
 - a. trying to educate himself by reading serious books
 - b. trying to win at golf or racing
 - c. going to an orchestral concert
 - d. hearing a really good sermon



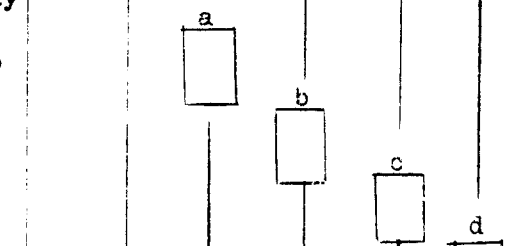
- 3. If you could change the educational policies of the schools, would you try to:
 - a. increase the study and activity of music and the fine arts
 - b. increase the study of social problems
 - c. increase laboratory equipment and space
 - d. make the courses more practical



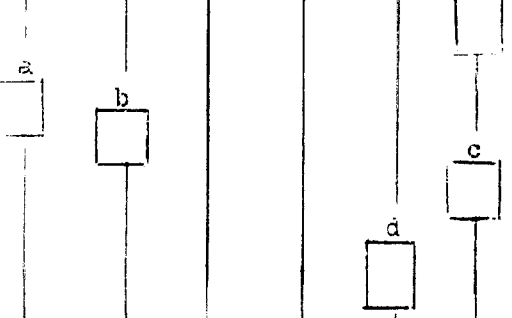
- 4. Do you prefer a friend of your own sex who:
 - a. does a good job, works hard and is practical
 - b. is interested in thinking about life's problems and his place in them
 - c. shows good leadership and organizing ability
 - d. shows artistic and emotional sensitivity



- 5. If you lived in a small town and had more money than you needed, would you rather:
 - a. use it to help industry and business develop
 - b. give it to help the activities of local religious groups
 - c. give it for the development of scientific research
 - d. give it to the Family Welfare Society



- 6. Watching television, do you enjoy most:
 - a. seeing and hearing about great political leaders
 - b. watching opera or ballet
 - c. programs about people who have unselfishly devoted themselves to making others well and happy
 - d. seeing and hearing about great scientists.



Total

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| | | | | | | |
| R | S | T | X | Y | Z | 60 |

7. If the salaries were equal, would you rather be:
- a. a mathematician
 - b. a sales manager
 - c. a clergyman (priest or minister)
 - d. a politician

8. If you had enough time and money, would you rather:
- a. make a collection of paintings and works of art
 - b. establish a center for the care and training of the feeble-minded
 - c. try to get a good government position
 - d. establish a business of your own

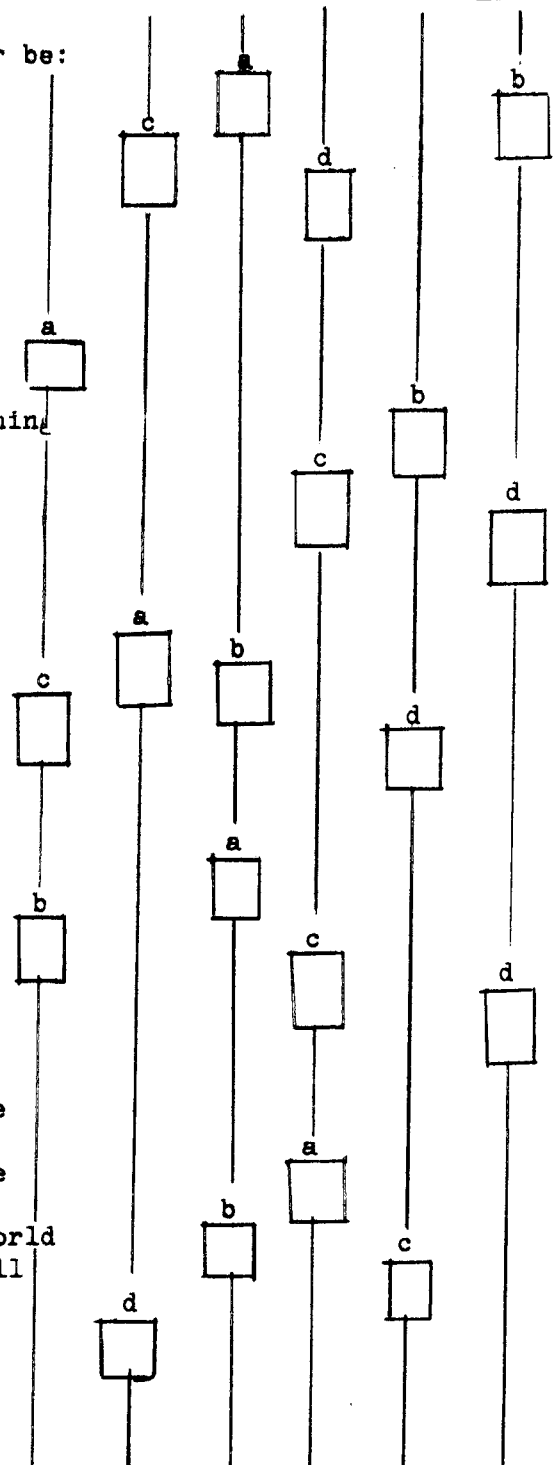
9. When talking with your close friends, are you more interested when they talk about:
- a. the meaning of life
 - b. developments in science
 - c. good books
 - d. improving social conditions

10. If you had the free time and wanted to take some classes, would you rather sign up for a class in:
- a. science
 - b. art or literature
 - c. government and politics
 - d. business and banking

11. The great deeds of adventure and discovery (such as Columbus' discovery of America) are important because:
- a. they show that great leaders can overcome great obstacles
 - b. they help us learn new facts about the world
 - c. they help human interests and feelings all over the world come closer together
 - d. they help us discover God's design

Total

| | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | |
| 50 | R | S | T | X | Y | Z |



1. ¿Dónde nació tu padre? _____

- Si en el Perú, fué en:
- 1) Lima? _____
 - 2) Otros lugares de la costa? _____
 - 3) La sierra? _____
 - 4) La montaña? _____

2. ¿Dónde nació tu madre? _____

- Si en el Perú, fué en:
- 1) Lima? _____
 - 2) Otros lugares de la costa? _____
 - 3) La sierra? _____
 - 4) La montaña? _____

3. ¿Cuántos años tienes? _____

4. ¿Dónde naciste?

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------|--------------|------|
| Localidad | Provincia | Departamento | País |
|-----------|-----------|--------------|------|

5. ¿Crees que tu familia pertenece a la:

- 1) Clase alta? _____ (rica)
- 2) Clase media? _____
- 3) Clase trabajadora? _____
- 4) Clase baja? _____ (popular)

6. Aproximadamente, ¿cuánto dinero percibe tu familia mensualmente?

- 1) _____ Menos de S/.200
- 2) _____ De S/.201 a S/.500
- 3) _____ De S/.501 a S/.1,000
- 4) _____ De S/.1,001 a S/.2,000
- 5) _____ De S/.2,001 a S/.3,000
- 6) _____ De S/.3,001 a S/.5,000
- 7) _____ De S/.5,001 a S/.8,000
- 8) _____ De S/.8,001 a S/.10,000
- 9) _____ Más de S/.10,000
- 10) _____ No sabe

7. ¿Cuántos hermanos son en tu familia, tú inclusive? _____
 ¿Cuántos mayores que tú? _____ ¿Cuántos menores? _____
 ¿Cuántos niños viven en tu casa, tú inclusive? _____
8. ¿Vive tu padre? _____ (SI o no)
9. ¿Vive tu madre? _____ (SI o no)
10. Si los dos están vivos, ¿viven juntos contigo en tu casa? _____ (SI o no)
11. ¿Tienes padrastro? _____ (SI o no) ¿Madrastra? _____ (SI o no)
12. ¿Cuál es tu religión? _____
13. ¿Qué piensas hacer cuando termines la Primaria?
- 1) _____ Trabajar
 - 2) _____ Estudiar media
 - 3) _____ Trabajar y estudiar
14. ¿Qué clase de trabajo tenía tu padre cuando tú naciste?
- 1) _____ Estudiante
 - 2) _____ Obrero
 - 3) _____ Empleado (trabajaba en oficina)
 - 4) _____ En la Armada (Marine)
 - 5) _____ Profesional
 - 6) _____ Campesino
 - 7) _____ Su pequeño negocio propio
 - 8) _____ Sin trabajo
 - 9) _____ No sabe

15. ¿En qué trabaja tu padre, actualmente?

- 1) _____ Obrero
- 2) _____ Empleado (trabaja en oficina)
- 3) _____ En la Armada (Ejército)
- 4) _____ Profesional
- 5) _____ Campesino
- 6) _____ Su pequeño negocio propio
- 7) _____ Desocupado
- 8) _____ No sabe
- 9) _____ Mi padre está muerto
- 10) _____ ¿Otro? ¿Cuál?

16. ¿A qué trabajo piensas dedicarte cuando terminas tus estudios? _____

¿Es ésto lo que te gustaría hacer? _____ (Sí o no). Si no, ¿qué te gustaría hacer, entonces? _____

17. ¿Qué idioma o idiomas hablan en tu casa? _____

18. ¿A cuál de los siguientes grupos perteneces?

- 1) _____ Indios
- 2) _____ Cholos
- 3) _____ Mestizos
- 4) _____ Blancos
- 5) _____ Negros
- 6) _____ Asiáticos
- 7) _____ ¿Algún otro? ¿Cuál? _____

INSTRUCCIONES

PARTE I

A continuación se dan un número de preguntas o declaraciones con respuestas igualmente posibles. Indica cuál prefieres, escribiendo los números correctos en los cajoncitos a la derecha de cada pregunta. Algunas de las posibles respuestas pueden aparecer igualmente buenas o malas, pero, por favor, escoge la que te parezca ser la mejor de las dos. Para cada pregunta tienes tres alternativas, que puedes usar en cualquiera de los siguientes modos:

Si estás de acuerdo con el punto (a) y en desacuerdo con (b) escribe 3 en el primer cajoncito y 0 en el segundo, así

| | |
|---|---|
| a | 3 |
|---|---|

| | |
|---|---|
| b | 0 |
|---|---|

Si estás de acuerdo con (b) y en desacuerdo con (a) escribe así

| | |
|---|---|
| a | 0 |
|---|---|

| | |
|---|---|
| b | 3 |
|---|---|

Si crees que (a) es solamente un poquito mejor que (b), escribe así

| | |
|---|---|
| a | 2 |
|---|---|

| | |
|---|---|
| b | 1 |
|---|---|

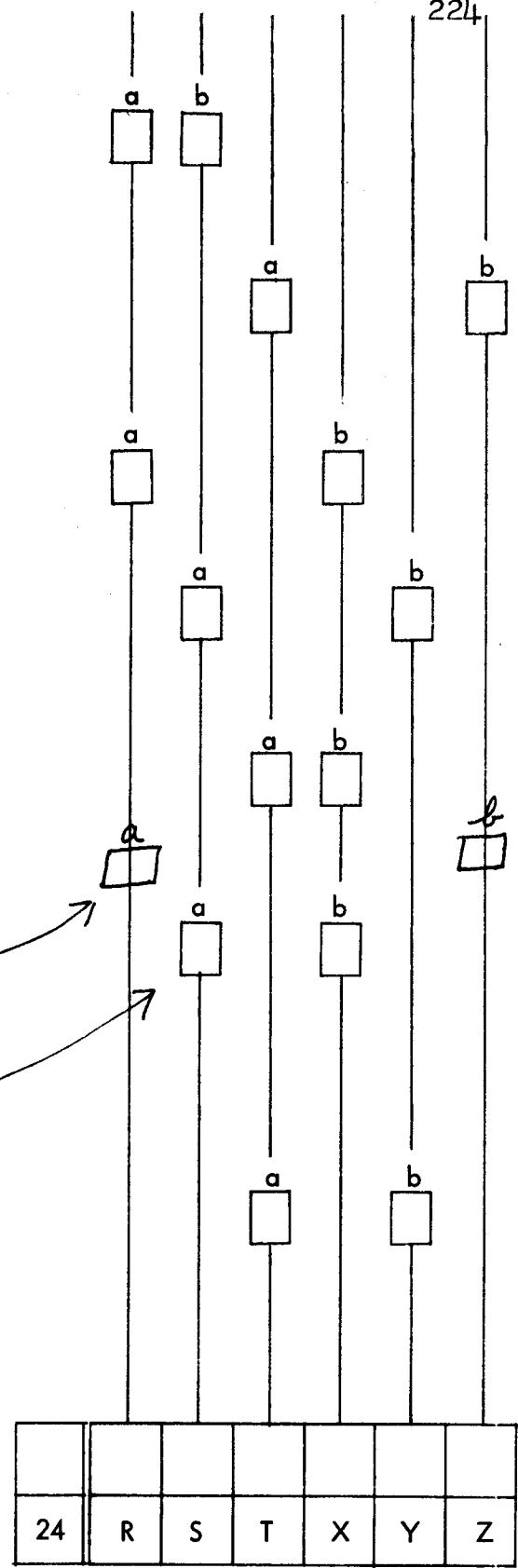
Si crees que (b) es un poquito mejor que (a), escribe así

| | |
|---|---|
| a | 1 |
|---|---|

| | |
|---|---|
| b | 2 |
|---|---|

Estos son los únicos modos como puedes usar tus tres puntos para cada pregunta. No hay límite de tiempo, pero desarróllalo tan rápido como puedas y asegúrate de contestar cada pregunta como puedas.

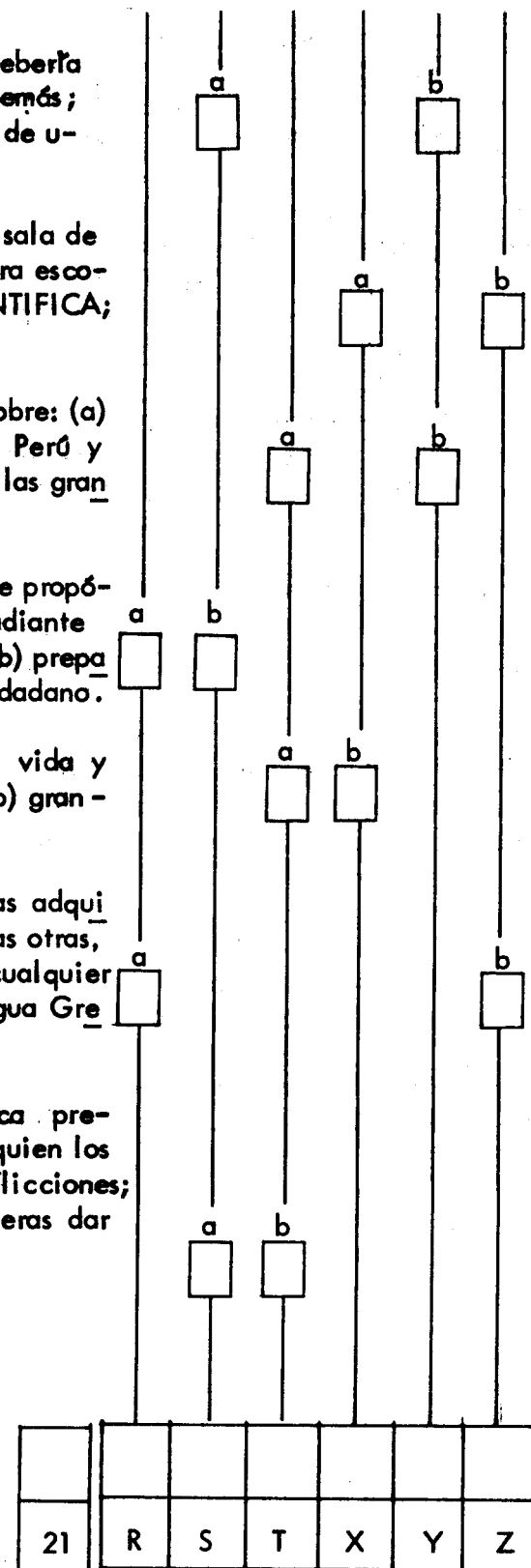
1. Los científicos deben pasar la mayor parte de su tiempo: (a) haciendo nuevos descubrimientos para aumentar los conocimientos del hombre; (b) creando nuevos productos para la industria y el comercio.
2. Lo mejor de la Biblia es:
(a) la bonita historia que cuenta;
(b) su enseñanza espiritual
3. ¿Cuál de los siguientes hombres crees que contribuyó más al progreso del hombre: (a) Daniel Carrilón; (b) Mariscal Ramón Castilla?
4. Si tú fueras periodista, escribirías acerca de: (a) noticias que se refieren a negocios; (b) noticias que se refieren a política.
5. Gente como por ejemplo grandes escritores, artistas y poetas, tienen mucho talento, ¿Crees tú que esa clase de gente tiene derecho a estar tan dedicados a su trabajo que a veces son egoístas e ignoren los sentimientos de otras personas?
(a) si; (b) no.
6. ¿Crees que el mundo progresaría más por el estudio de: (a) las matemáticas; (b) la religión?
7. Los líderes modernos deben de tratar de: (a) obtener óptimos resultados económicos; (b) conseguir que la gente se interese ayudando a los demás.
8. ¿Quién crees que debe ganar más dinero: (a) gente que crea trabajos de arte, como los poetas, pintores y escritores; (b) gente que guía a otros como los políticos y los líderes de negocios?



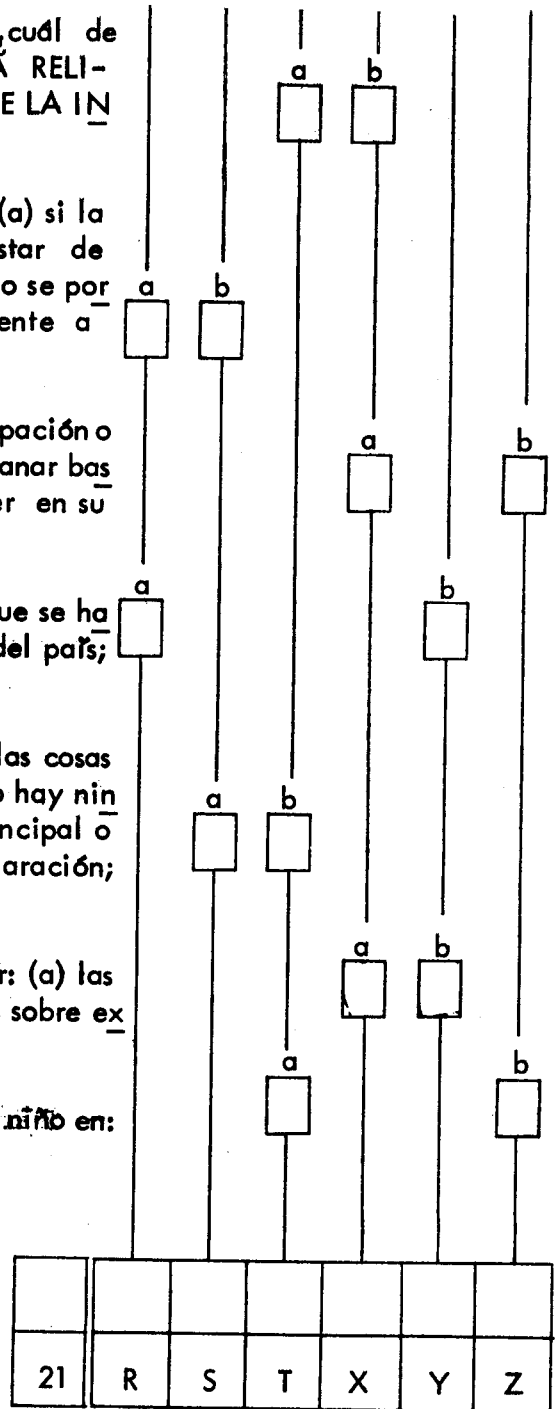
- 9. ¿Cuál de estas cualidades te parece más deseable: (a) poseer altos ideales y ser reverente; (b) ser desinteresado y tener simpatía?
- 10. ¿Qué preferirías enseñar: (a) poesía; (b) química y física?
- 11. ¿Cuál de estos encabezamientos del periódico leerías primero: (a) REUNION DE ALTOS JEFES RELIGIOSOS; (b) PODRÍA HABER MAS PREMIADOS EN LA LOTERIA.
- 12. ¿Cuál de estos encabezamientos del periódico leerías primero?: (a) LA CORTE SUPREMA TOMA DECISION; (b) NUEVA TEORIA CIENTIFICA ES ANUNCIADA.
- 13. Cuando visitas una Catedral, ¿qué te impresiona más? (a) el ambiente de reverencia y adoración del lugar; (b) la forma en que ha sido construida y los vidrios de colores.
- 14. ¿Cómo prefieres pasar tu tiempo libre?: (a) practicando lo que te va a ayudar algún día a ganarte la vida; (b) haciendo trabajo social voluntario o de servicio público.
- 15. Si estuvieras en una feria, ¿te gustaría ir a los pabellones donde se exhiben: (a) los productos de fabricación nueva; (b) instrumentos científicos?
- 16. Si en tu pueblo no existiera, y tú pudieras, ¿qué preferirías crear: (a) un club de patriotas; (b) una orquesta de música clásica?

| | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | a | b | | | | |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | a | | a | | b | |
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| | a | | b | | | |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | | | |
| 24 | R | S | T | X | Y | Z |

17. El objetivo de la Iglesia, en el presente debería ser: (a) alabar el deseo de ayudar a los demás; (b) alentar el culto espiritual y el sentido de unión con Dios.
18. Si tuvieras que pasar algún tiempo en una sala de espera y hubiera solamente dos revistas para escoger, ¿cuál preferirías leer?: (a) ERA CIENTIFICA; (b) ARTE Y DECORACION.
19. Preferirías escuchar una serie de charlas sobre: (a) comparación de las formas de gobierno del Perú y España; (b) comparación del desarrollo de las grandes religiones.
20. ¿Cuál crees que debe ser el más importante propósito de la educación?: (a) preparar al estudiante para un buen trabajo con un sueldo alto; (b) preparar al estudiante para que sea un buen ciudadano.
21. Te interesan más las historias acerca de la vida y trabajo de: (a) grandes líderes militares; (b) grandes filósofos del pasado.
22. ¿Crees que nuestra forma de vida y nuestras adquisiciones, como la televisión, radio y tantas otras, significan que somos más civilizados que cualquier otra sociedad anterior (como la de la antigua Grecia, por ejemplo)? (a) Si; (b) No.
23. Si estuvieras trabajando en una gran fábrica preferirías trabajar: (a) como un consejero a quien los empleados podrían traer sus problemas y aflicciones; (b) en un puesto administrativo donde pudieras dar órdenes.



24. Si tuvieras estos dos libros para escoger, ¿cuál de ellos escogerías?: (a) LA HISTORIA DE LA RELIGION EN AMERICA; (b) LA HISTORIA DE LA INDUSTRIA EN AMERICA.
25. La sociedad moderna se beneficiaría más: (a) si la gente pensara más en los derechos y bienestar de los ciudadanos; (b) si la gente supiera cómo se porta el hombre porque su naturaleza es diferente a la de un animal.
26. La gente que trabaja con anhelo en su ocupación o profesión, lo hace generalmente por: (a) ganar bastante dinero; (b) llegar a ser un jefe o líder en su campo.
27. Preferirías que alguien te contara: (a) lo que se hace para mejorar la vivienda en esta parte del país; (b) sobre pintores modernos.
28. La mayoría de los científicos enseñan que las cosas se han desarrollado naturalmente, y que no hay ninguna razón para atribuir las a una causa principal o a Dios. (a) estoy de acuerdo con esta declaración; (b) no estoy de acuerdo.
29. En el periódico del Domingo, prefieres leer: (a) las secciones sobre la lotería; (b) las secciones sobre exhibiciones y galerías de pinturas.
30. Considerarías más importante entrenar a un niño en: (a) religión; (b) atletismo.



Total

| | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | |
| 21 | R | S | T | X | Y | Z |

PARTE II

Cada una de las siguientes preguntas tiene cuatro respuestas posibles. Tu debes decidir cuál de las cuatro respuestas te gusta más y ponerle un "4" a esta respuesta en el cajoncito de la derecha; a la siguiente respuesta que te guste más, ponerle un "3" en el cajoncito de la derecha; a la siguiente respuesta que te guste más, ponerle un "2" en el cajoncito de la derecha; y la respuesta que te guste menos de todas, ponerle un "1" en el cajoncito de la derecha.

Por ejemplo:

- a. Si ésta te gusta más que todas
- b. Si ésta te gusta en segundo lugar
- c. Si ésta te gusta en tercer lugar
- d. Si ésta te gusta menos que todas

4

3

2

1

Tú puedes pensar en otras respuestas que te gusten más que las que se encuentran en la lista, pero debes usar sólo las que se enumeran y en el orden de tu preferencia, conforme se explica anteriormente. Si no estás seguro del orden exacto en que quieres colocar las respuestas, puedes adivinar, pero sigue adelante y trata de contestar cada pregunta que puedas. Fíjate que sólo hay un "4", un "3", un "2" y un "1" para cada pregunta.

- 1. Crees tú que un buen gobierno debería dedicarse principalmente a:
 - a. Dar más ayuda al pobre, enfermo y anciano
 - b. El desarrollo de la manufactura y el comercio
 - c. Introducir un alto nivel de conducta entre sus políticas y sus relaciones con otras naciones
 - d. Levantar su posición y conseguir el respeto de otras naciones

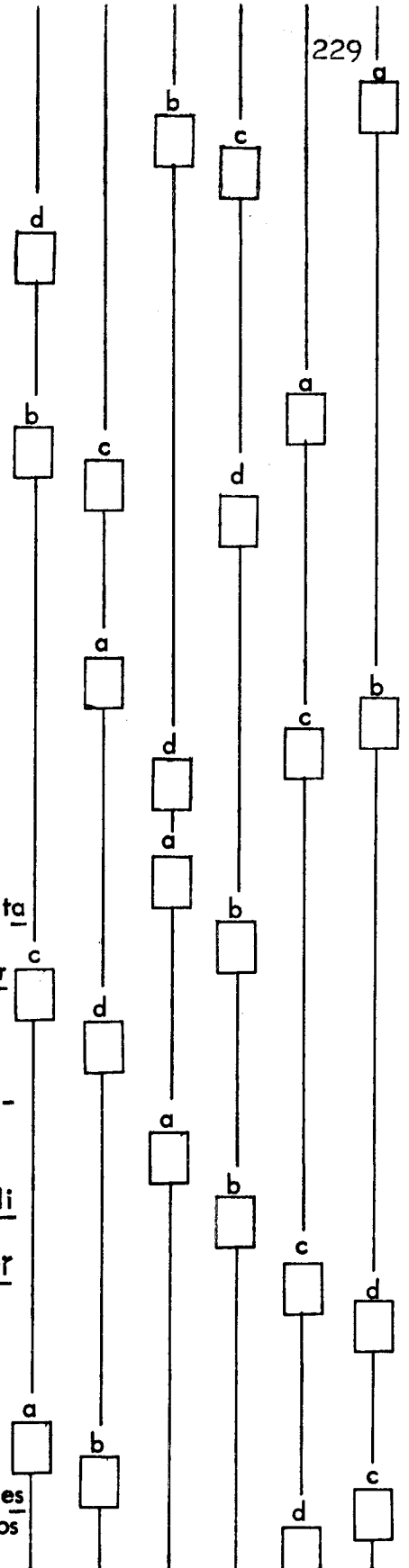
- 2. Un hombre que trabaja toda la semana puede pasar mejor en Domingo:
 - a. Tratando de educarse él mismo, leyendo libros serios
 - b. Tratando de jugar futbol o a las carreras
 - c. Asistiendo a un concierto orquestal
 - d. Escuchando un buen sermón

- 3. Si tú pudieras cambiar las políticas educacionales de los colegios, tratarías de:
 - a. Aumentar el estudio y actividad de la música y de las bellas artes
 - b. Aumentar el estudio de los problemas sociales
 - c. Aumentar el equipo y espacio de laboratorio
 - d. Hacer los cursos más prácticos

- 4. Prefieres tú un amigo (a) (de tu mismo sexo) que:
 - a. Sea un buen trabajador y sea práctico
 - b. Se interese en pensamientos acerca de las dificultades de la vida y de su posición en ella
 - c. Demuestre condiciones de líder y habilidad en organización
 - d. Demuestre sensibilidad artística y emocional

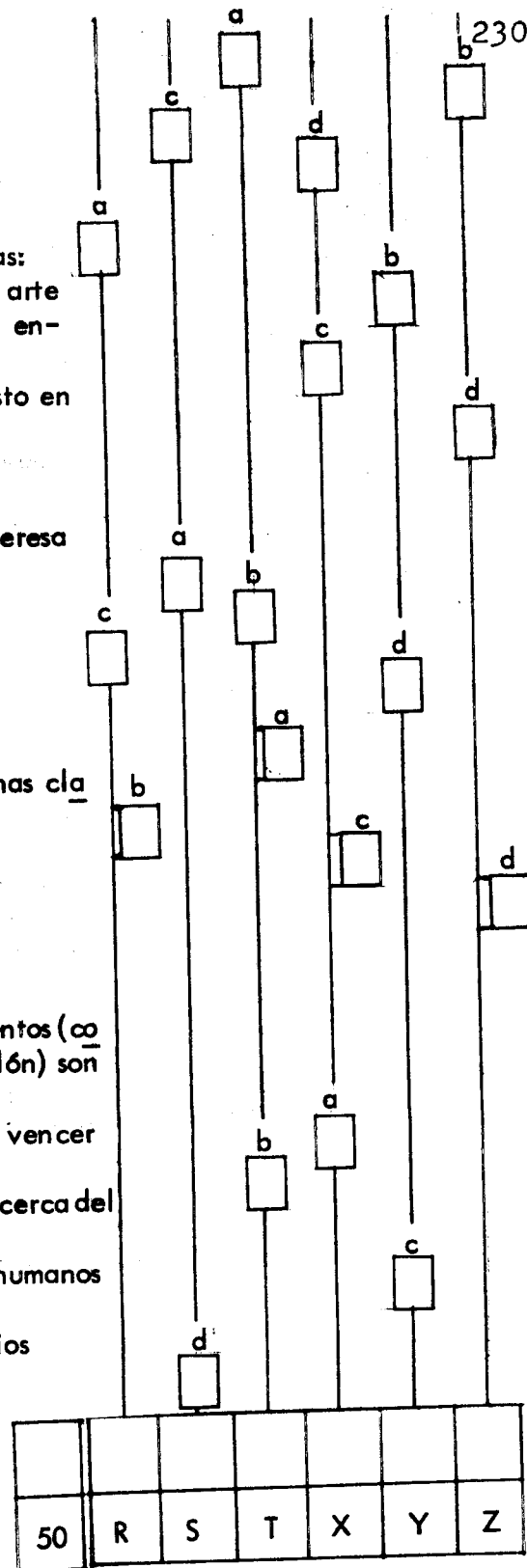
- 5. Si tú vivieras en un pueblo pequeño y tuvieras más dinero del que necesitas, preferirías:
 - a. Usarlo en ayudar a la industria y al comercio
 - b. Darlo para ayudar a las actividades de grupos religiosos locales
 - c. Darlo para el desarrollo de investigaciones científicas
 - d. Darlo para obras de bien social

- 6. Tú prefieres:
 - a. Ver y oír acerca de grandes líderes políticos
 - b. Ver ópera o ballet
 - c. Oír hablar acerca de gente que se ha dedicado desinteresadamente a ayudar y a hacer felices a otros
 - d. Ver y oír acerca de grandes científicos



| | | | | | | | |
|-------|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | | | | | | | |
| | 60 | R | S | T | X | Y | Z |

7. Si los sueldos fueran iguales, preferirías ser:
- Matemático
 - Gerente de Ventas
 - Clérigo (Sacerdote o Madre Religiosa)
 - Político
8. Si tuvieras suficiente tiempo y dinero, preferirías:
- Hacer una colección de pinturas y obras de arte
 - Establecer un centro de rehabilitación para enfermos mentales
 - Tratar de conseguir una senaduría o un puesto en el Gabinete
 - Establecer un negocio propio
9. Cuando conversas con tus amigos íntimos, te interesa más hablar de:
- El significado de la vida
 - El desarrollo de la ciencia
 - Buenos libros
 - Mejorar las condiciones sociales
10. Si tuvieras tiempo libre, y quisieras tomar algunas clases, preferirías matricularte en:
- Ciencia
 - Arte y literatura
 - Gobierno y política
 - Los Bancos y el comercio
11. Las grandes hazañas de aventuras y descubrimientos (como el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo por Colón) son importantes porque:
- Demuestran que los grandes líderes pueden vencer grandes obstáculos
 - Nos ayudan a conocer nuevas realidades acerca del mundo
 - Ayudan a que los intereses y sentimientos humanos de todo el mundo se unan más
 - Nos ayudan a descubrir los designios de Dios



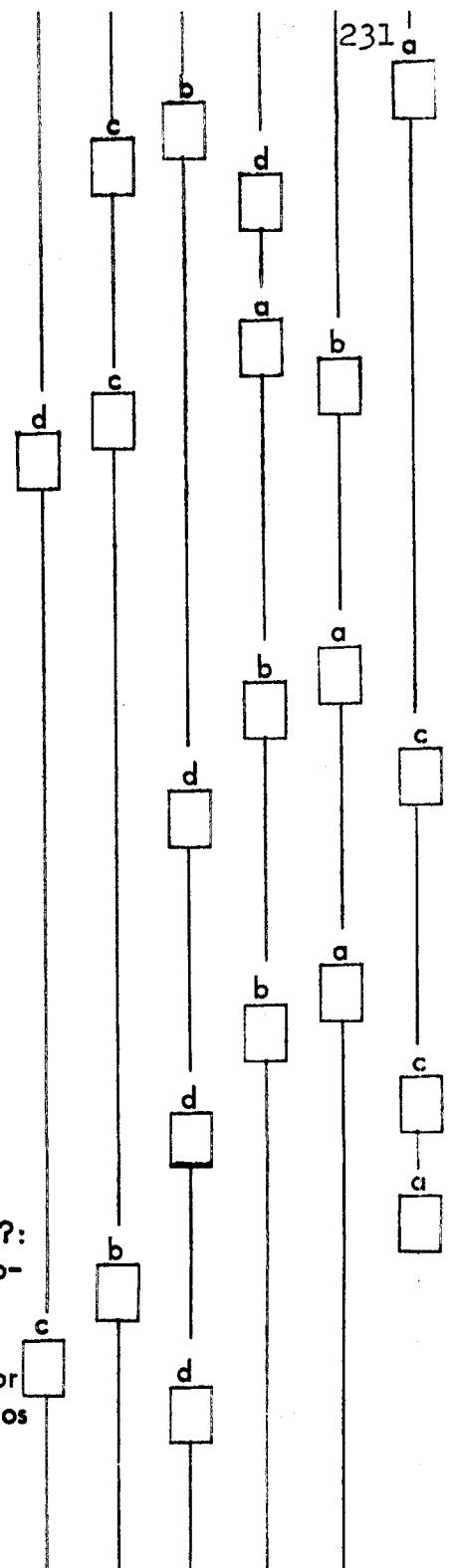
12. Una persona debe pasar su vida actuando de acuerdo a:
- Su fe religiosa
 - Sus ideales de belleza
 - Su trabajo y amigos
 - Sus Ideales de caridad

13. Cuáles de las acciones de estas personas te interesan más, las de:
- El Padre Iluminato (La Ciudad de los Niños)
 - Francisco Pizarro (Conquistador)
 - Mariano Ignacio Prado (Hombre de negocios)
 - Daniel Alcides Carrión (Científico)

14. Contesten los niños:
 Cuando seas grande quisieras tener por esposa a una mujer que:
- (Las niñas contestan la alternativa de abajo)
- Pueda poseer una posición social, ganándose el respeto de otros
 - Le guste ayudar a la gente
 - Sea espiritual en su modo de ver la vida
 - Tenga dones artísticos

- Contesten las niñas
 Cuando seas grande quisieras tener por esposo a un hombre que:
- Triunfe en su profesión y sea admirado por todos
 - Le guste ayudar a la gente
 - Básicamente sea espiritual en sus tendencias hacia la vida
 - Tenga dones artísticos

15. Viendo el cuadro de la "Ultima Cena", ¿qué pensarías?:
- Que es una expresión de profunda devoción religiosa
 - Que es una obra que vale mucho dinero
 - Que nos demuestra que su autor es un gran pensador
 - Que es un ejemplo de la belleza de los colores y los diseños



-12 Total

| | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | |
| 40 | R | S | T | X | Y | Z |

SCORE SHEET FOR THE STUDY OF VALUES

LEVY MODIFICATION

| PAGE TOTALS | THEORETICAL | ECONOMIC | AESTHETIC | SOCIAL | POLITICAL | RELIGIOUS | EQUALS BELOW |
|----------------|-------------|----------|-----------|--------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| PART I | | | | | | | |
| page 5 | (R) | (S) | (T) | (X) | (Y) | (Z) | 24 |
| page 6 | (Z) | (Y) | (X) | (T) | (S) | (R) | 24 |
| page 7 | (X) | (R) | (Z) | (S) | (T) | (Y) | 21 |
| page 8 | (S) | (X) | (Y) | (R) | (Z) | (T) | 21 |
| PART II | | | | | | | |
| page 10 | (Y) | (T) | (S) | (Z) | (R) | (X) | 60 |
| page 11 | (T) | (Z) | (R) | (Y) | (X) | (S) | 50 |
| page 12 | (R) | (S) | (T) | (X) | (Y) | (Z) | 40 |
| TOTAL | | | | | | | 240 |
| CORRECTION | | | | | | | |
| FIGURES: Males | -2 | -3 | +11 | -2 | +1 | -5 | |
| Females | +4 | 0 | +8 | -7 | +5 | -10 | |
| FINAL TOTAL | | | | | | | 240 |

APPENDIX B

LETTERS OF REQUEST

Estimado Director o Estimada Directora:

Soy una hermana Norteamericana, Franciscana de San José, de Chicago, Illinois. He venido a Lima para hacer una investigación sobre aspectos socio-económicos para mi doctorado en Sociología.

El trabajo consiste en la aplicación de un test a los alumnos de quinto año de Primaria. El test ha sido revisado por el Director de Planeamiento Educativo y Consultor Pedagógico, el ilustrísimo Doctor Carlos Romero, y él me dió la permisión para administrar el test in las escuelas fiscales. Quando vendré a su colegio, traeré el documento.

Quisiera venir a su escuela y administrar el test a más o menos treinta alumnos de quinto año el _____ de Abril.

El tiempo del test no ha sido limitado, pero tomará como una hora.

Quedaré profundamente agradecida por su bondadosa ayuda.

Muy atentamente,

Dear Sister:

I am a Sister of St. Joseph of the Third Order of St. Francis with Motherhouse in South Bend, Indiana. I am working for a doctorate in Sociology at Loyola University in Chicago. The research for my thesis requires a study of values in relation to social class. This I shall attempt to measure by means of a standardized test (that is, its author is at present testing for this purpose), administered to 30 students on the sixth grade level in 12 schools of the city.

Last spring I carried out a parallel project in Lima, Peru. My purpose is to test the hypothesis that people of the same social class but of different cultures are more similar than people of the same culture but of different social classes. This point is important at present because more and more Americans of good will (religious and lay) are offering their services to develop Latin America. If this study produces the expected results, it will demonstrate that an understanding of the social class of the Latin Americans with whom the North American works, is essential for favorable and effective relations; that tragic mistakes can be made by middle class Americans of much good will but with little understanding of lower class values, when they try to help lower class Latins.

Will you kindly permit me to come to your school to administer the values test to 30 sixth graders (if possible 15 boys and 15 girls) who are not of Spanish speaking background? It will require about an hour or slightly more. The students are to be taken at random.

The date set for your school is _____

In writing the thesis, I shall use no names of either students or schools, but if you should be interested in the ratings of your sixth graders, I shall be happy to forward them to you as soon as the tests are scored.

Kindly return the enclosed card at your earliest convenience as that will facilitate planning.

Very gratefully,



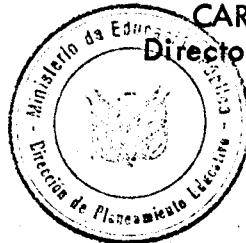
A LOS DIRECTORES DE PLANTELES PARTICULARES DE INSTRUCCION PRIMARIA:

El suscrito, Director de Planeamiento Educativo y Consultor Pedagógico del Ministerio de Educación agradecerá profundamente la colaboración de los Directores de colegios particulares al trabajo de investigación sobre aspectos socio-económicos que realiza la Reverenda Hermana Mary Theresita S.S.J., (Hermanas Franciscanas de San José).

El trabajo de la Hermana Mary Theresita consiste en la aplicación de un breve test que ha sido revisado por la Dirección de Planeamiento, el cual tomará muy pocos minutos de la hora de clase de los alumnos.

Muy atentamente,

CARLOS SALAZAR ROMERO
Director de Planeamiento Educativo y
Consultor Pedagógico



CSR/hro

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Sister Mary Theresita Polczynski, S.S.J. has been read and approved by five members of the Department of Sociology.

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

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 29, 1964
Date

Francis A. Pizon
Signature of Adviser