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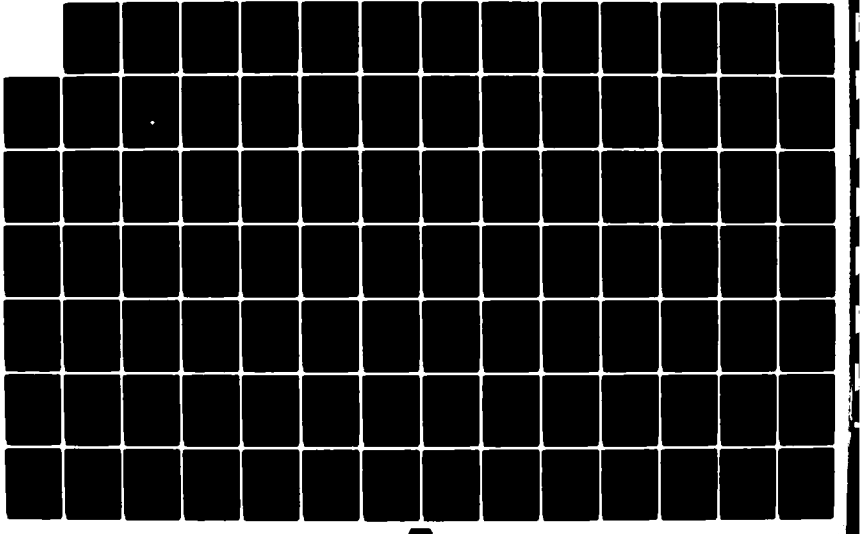

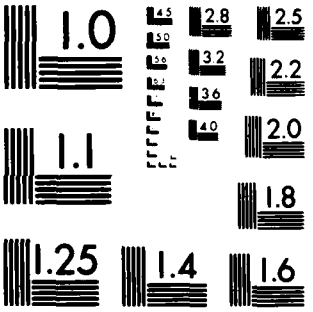

Hispanic American Psychocultural Dispositions

Relevant to Personnel Management

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Sponsored by the Office of Naval Research, this project involves the indepth, comparative study of five Hispanic American student samples: Puerto Ricans in San Juan and in New York, Cubans in Miami, and Mexican Americans in El Paso and Tempe. In the framework of a psychocultural analysis, these samples were compared with each other and with an Anglo American sample formed of comparable students from the East Coast (New York and Washington, D.C.). Each of the ~~above~~ six samples includes one hundred junior and senior high school students. (continued)

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20. ABSTRACT (continued)

The Associative Group Analysis (AGA), the main instrument in these investigations, relies on the analysis of hundreds of thousands of free spontaneous reactions elicited from the selected samples through continued free associations to a broad variety of culturally dominant themes strategically chosen to represent the main domains of the study. This unstructured technique of ~~indepth~~ psychocultural analysis was used to elicit new information on dominant perceptions and motivations relevant to recruitment, service satisfaction and retention.

In response to the frequently posed question, how similar or different are various Hispanic American culture groups (e.g., Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, etc.), these measures offer a new empirical base for grouping Hispanic Americans by their psychological similarities rather than by legalistic criteria irrelevant to management interest. The findings show a high level of acculturation to the U.S. cultural environment for most Hispanic American groups, particularly the Mexican Americans. In view of the broad diversity of the Hispanic American population, the results demonstrate that the psychologically important distinction is not between Anglo and Hispanic Americans but between the accultured versus the traditional populations.

The main body of findings show Anglo-Hispanic and inter-Hispanic similarities and differences on various subjects and key issues and domains relevant to career and service orientation. Images of the services, the Navy, and the Marine Corps show dominant trends of perceptions and evaluations including the amount of subjective attention given by the various regional groups to the military service as a career option. The ethnic images show how the Anglo and Hispanic American samples view themselves as well as each other including Hispanic Americans in general and such ethnic groups as Mexican Americans, Cubans, etc. in particular.

The findings underscore the exceptional importance of the domain of interpersonal relations to the Hispanic Americans in general and to the more traditional Hispanic samples, such as the San Juan group in particular. The intensity of interest directed toward warm interpersonal relations and the salience of socially relevant value considerations (e.g., understanding, respect, trust, loyalty, etc.) are particularly high by the San Juan Puerto Ricans and the Cuban students in Miami. The differences found between the more and less accultured Hispanic Americans have rich practical implications in the areas of communication, personnel management and counseling. The report contains general recommendations and extensive data which can be used along their implementation.

Hispanic American Psychocultural Dispositions

Relevant to Personnel Management

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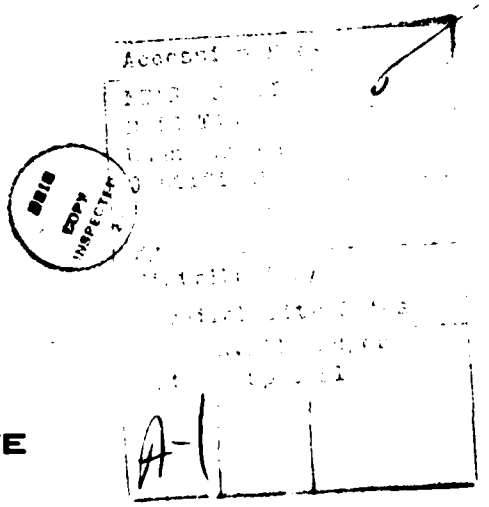

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HISPANIC AMERICAN PSYCHOCULTURAL DISPOSITIONS

RELEVANT TO PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

Table of Contents

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF RESEARCH:

The Increasing Role and Importance of Hispanic Americans in the U.S. Military

Since the conversion to an all-volunteer force, the armed services' ethnic composition has changed radically. Once only a small percentage, today Black, Hispanic, and Asian Americans make up as much as half of certain military units. To recruit and retain high quality personnel from the various ethnic groups, more must be known about their dominant psychological dispositions, their views of military service, their image of the Navy, and the motivational priorities which influence their career decisions.

Some of the leading "culturologists" such as David Riesman (1950), Edward T. Hall (1966), Alex Inkeles (1966), and Forbes (1969), have eloquently stated the need to sensitize our institutions and service organizations to the special needs and human dispositions of minority populations with cultural backgrounds different from the mainstream of our society.

The U.S. Navy and the Marine Corps have been in the forefront in developing personnel management policies which fit the new situation created by the change in ethnic composition of our military services. Yet the best intentions and the best programs are bound to encounter the difficulties which naturally arise from the hidden character of psychocultural differences.

In the case of Hispanic Americans, attention is often focused on the diversity of their foreign origin, their Spanish accent, or their darker skin color. These characteristics are almost irrelevant in personnel management aimed at improving communication, organizational climate, and job satisfaction. For effective personnel management it is important to identify the cultural views, attitudes, and value orientations of a particular cultural minority which differentiate them from the majority. There is a growing realization that unless these invisible human differences are recognized and addressed successfully, they can become sources of group tensions, dissatisfaction, low motivation, low morale and other problems that are undesirable from the angle of organizational effectiveness and management.

The investigations reported here were supported by management interests to learn more about the dominant perceptual and motivational dispositions characteristic of Hispanic Americans.

What We Already Know about Hispanic Americans

Hispanic Americans represent the largest minority in the U.S. characterized by a different language and culture. Migration patterns and population growth indicate that there soon will be more Hispanic Americans than Black Americans in this country.

The Hispanic American population stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. It is the fastest growing population, consisting of descendants of the old Spanish settlers as well as a continuous flow of immigrants from Central and South American countries. It includes Hispanic groups who maintain separate ethnic identities such as the large populations of Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and Cubans. Millions speak only Spanish, and millions of others do not speak Spanish at all.

The size, the broad geographic dispersion and the diversity can easily create the impression that seeking useful generalizable knowledge about Hispanic Americans is a task of unmanageable proportions. The frequently conflicting research findings reported in recent reviews of the extensive research literature on Hispanic Americans (Lisansky, 1981), make this need for empirical clarification especially unequivocal.

The economic, educational, and occupational statistics generally available on the Hispanic American population of the United States are extensive in many details but fail to provide a coherent, timely picture along the main psychological dimensions which are the focus of the present investigations.

Although there are many success stories of individual Hispanic Americans, the statistics on educational achievement, high school drop out rate, participation in certain social services, unemployment, and average income show large scale inequities and handicaps. They result mainly from failures to overcome the consequences of differences in cultural dispositions. As the actual proportions of these human problems indicate, the need to bridge cultural differences, to sensitize organizations to the dominant human needs and cultural dispositions of their Hispanic American personnel, appears to be critical.

What We Need to Know About Hispanic Americans

Empirical clarification was sought to two basic questions concerning Hispanic American characteristics critical to military recruitment, job performance, and retention.

Although Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Latin American immigrants are called "Hispanic Americans," the extent to which these people, who come from three very distinct regions, are similar in their psychological dispositions is a widely open question. It is naturally a central question in personnel management which must deal with psychocultural dispositions that interfere with what people see, think and do. As long as we do not know whether "Hispanic American" refers to a single homogeneous group or to three or four different ones, the question of how Hispanic Americans compare to Anglo Americans remains similarly meaningless. Using the new analytic capabilities offered by the Associative Group Analysis method, we hope to make a useful contribution in addressing first the most central question: What does the label Hispanic American mean in terms of characterizing Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans? How do these three Hispanic groups compare to each other as well as to Anglo Americans?

The second set of questions deals more specifically with how the major Hispanic American groups vary in their perceptions and evaluations of key communication themes relevant to career and military service. How much agreement or disagreement exists among the various Hispanic American groups in broader domains of life such as social values? How do the Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans compare in their perceptions and attitudes on these service relevant topics? How do they compare to Anglo Americans?

THE MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE INVESTIGATIONS

The overall goal of the current research was to provide psychocultural information that would help personnel management attract high quality service personnel of Hispanic background, to communicate with them more effectively, and to enhance service motivation and satisfaction which would result in a high rate of reenlistment and retention.

The investigations involved a comparative in-depth analysis of Hispanic and Anglo American perceptions, attitudes, and frames of reference. There were three main objectives.

The first objective was to examine how similar or dissimilar the three main Hispanic American groups are to each other. What is their internal homogeneity and how do they compare to each other in terms of their overall cultural frames of reference? Also, how do the major Hispanic American groups compare with Anglo Americans of the same age, sex, and education?

The second objective was to provide timely information on specific images and attitudes of the Hispanic American regional groups on a broad variety of specific subjects, such as ethnic images, images of the Marine Corps, and other services. A more general objective was to identify the perceptual and motivational trends of the Hispanic and Anglo American samples in eight broader domains of service relevance. Both the specific and more general information categories offer new and timely comparative data useful in a variety of tasks from job counseling to the formulation of personnel policies adapted to the dominant dispositions of Hispanic servicemen.

The third objective was to make recommendations on a variety of management and service relevant questions regarding the use of the Spanish language, the use of networks of influence, the differential rank order of motivational priorities, the perceived advantages and disadvantages associated with a career in the military, to what extent the various Hispanic populations require different approaches in addressing service relevant subjects, and to what extent the Hispanic regional groups respond differently to dominant communication themes and appeals.

THE INVESTIGATIONS

An Indepth Study of Hispanic and Anglo American Regional Groups

The present research provided the opportunity to compare young Hispanic and Anglo Americans along subcultural and regional differences. Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans could be compared with each other as well as with an Anglo American group. This framework allowed us to examine to what extent these groups differed from each other depending on their subcultural identity or region.

RESEARCH DESIGN, THE SAMPLES, AND DATA COLLECTION

Along our central objective to obtain solid empirical results on Hispanic psychocultural dispositions, their dominant parameters and nationwide distribution, we focused the investigations on three major Hispanic American groups: Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. To account for regional differences we used two Puerto Rican samples---one in San Juan and one in New York---and two Mexican American samples---one in El Paso, Texas, and the other in Tempe, Arizona. The Cubans were all tested in Miami. Since our primary interest was in the Hispanic Americans, we included only one Anglo American sample from the East Coast, New York and Washington, D. C., to provide a useful reference point.

Each sample included 100 male high school students drawn from the junior and senior classes. Although these six samples offer a solid base for systematic comparison, certain characteristics of these samples such as the fact that they were all males and were all high school students, could raise some doubts as to whether the findings presented may be generalizable. Therefore, it would be useful to compare these findings with those of a separate, independent study which was based on the testing of seven regional Hispanic American samples composed of adult respondents, both male and female.

Table 1 shows a regional breakdown of the student samples tested in the present study and the adult samples tested in a previous study under the sponsorship of the National Institute of Mental Health. The size of the adult samples included similarly 100 subjects (50 males and 50 females). One-fourth of these subjects were active users of mental health services and the others potential service users, with the latter being family members and friends of the former. The active users were people involved primarily in socially and educationally oriented programs.

Table 1

Samples of Hispanic and Anglo American Respondents

	Hispanic Americans					Anglo Americans	
	Puerto Ricans		Cubans	Mexicans			
Group	Puerto Rico	New York	Miami	El Paso	Tempe	East Coast	
Student Sample	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Adult Sample	100	100	100	100	L. A. 100	New York 100	L. A. 100

Rather than aiming at a sort of statistical representativeness of all Mexican American or Puerto Ricans, it was our strategy to use comparable samples which are culturally representative, that is, samples composed of specified groups of Hispanics or Anglos who identify themselves as such and are products of the locally characteristic processes of socialization or enculturation. By applying the same criteria in the selection of matching samples and by using similar procedures of recruitment at the five sites we formed comparable cultural samples of similar composition by age, sex, and other relevant characteristics so that their differences in perceptions and evaluations could be explained mainly by their ethnic/cultural background: Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or Anglo American.

The data collection involved the administration of the Associative Group Analysis (AGA) method to the selected Hispanic and Anglo American samples. This method does not involve asking for people's opinions or judgments. AGA is a nondirective, inferential research technique by which people's images and meanings are reconstructed from the distribution of their free word associations. Spontaneous responses to selected stimulus themes are elicited from members of cultural samples (N=100) comparable on such sociodemographic characteristics as age, sex, educational background, etc. Based on several hundred responses to particular stimulus themes like DISCIPLINE or NAVY, the analysis shows how members of a particular group view and understand such themes. Based on several hundred thousand responses to a large number of strategically selected stimulus themes, the analysis can show the dominant trends in the group's perceptions and evaluations, and can be used to identify the main dimensions of the group's frame of reference.

Since the use of culturally salient domains and stimulus themes is an essential requirement in the comparative culture analysis, usually the first task is to select stimulus themes that would represent each group's priorities and dominant concerns. In the present case this task could be

Table 2

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MEXICAN AMERICAN PUERTO RICAN, CUBAN AND ANGLO AMERICAN PSYCHOCULTURAL DISPOSITIONS

STIMULUS LIST

ETHNIC IMAGES
- Anglo Americans/Angloamericanos
- Black Americans/Negroamericanos
- Hispanic Americans/Hispanoamericanos
- Mexican Americans/Mexicanoamericanos
- Cubans/Cubanos
- Puerto Ricans/Puertoriquenos

SOCIAL IMAGES
- me/yo
- your first name/su primer nombre
- man/hombre
- person/persona
- people/gente
- friends/amigas
- family/familia

SOCIAL VALUES
- friendship/amistad
- understanding/comprension
- love/amor
- trust/confianza
- respect/respecto
- dignity/dignidad

CAREER ORIENTATION
- work/trabajo
- enlistment/alistar
- career/carrera
- money/dinero
- advancement/avance
- education/educacion

ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION
- duty/obilgacion
- capibility/capacidad
- achievement/logro
- success/exito
- pride/orgullo
- ambition/ambicion

LEADERSHIP VALUES
- boss/jefe
- commander/comandante
- authority/autoridad
- discipline/disciplina
- obedience/obedencia
- order/orden

MILITARY SERVICE
- military service/servico militar
- the Navy/el Navy
- military career/carrera militar
- the Army/el Ejercito
- the Marine Corps/el Marine Corps
- the Armed Forces/Fuerza Armadas

LEISURE TIME
- entertainment/entretenimiento
- joy, pleasure/alegria
- togetherness/convivencia
- sex/sexo
- girlfriend/amiga
- travel/viajar

GOALS
- need/necesidad
- want/desear
- life goals/metas de la vida
- future/futuro
- problems/problemas

GOVERNMENT
- nation/nacion
- society/sociedad
- community/comunidad
- patriotism/patriotismo
- government/gobierno
- United States/Estados Unidos

omitted since our previous studies conducted with Hispanic American samples provided the necessary data base for the selection of culturally dominant themes.

The data collection was organized at each of the five research sites by the research directors, who were Hispanic professionals. They introduced the research, provided the instructions, and administered the association task in the respondents' native language. Sixty stimulus themes (see Table 2) were administered to the 600 respondents. The association tasks were performed in group sessions in the preferred language of the subjects. Each subject was given a pile of randomly ordered cards, each card showing one stimulus theme. Subjects were asked to write their free associations for one minute to each card. Following this task, the subjects completed a background questionnaire. This questionnaire was used to assess relevant economic, social, and demographic characteristics of the groups. The entire testing procedure required approximately two hours.

THE ASSOCIATIVE GROUP ANALYSIS: An Unstructured, Inferential Method of Comparative Assessment

The Associative Group Analysis (AGA) technique used in these investigations aims at the reconstruction of people's subjective images and meanings by their dominant perceptual and affective components. Following a tradition of leading psychologists (Charles Osgood, 1957; George Miller, 1967; Harry Triandis, 1972), AGA approaches the hidden but powerful psychocultural dispositions or "subjective culture" through the study of psychological meanings.

Inferences about the images and meanings held by selected groups (Szalay and Deese, 1978) are drawn from the distribution of their free word associations. Responses produced by members of a culturally representative group (e.g., 100 students) to a particular stimulus theme (e.g., DISCIPLINE) in multiple-response, free association tasks provide an in-depth description of how the group is collectively predisposed to perceive and evaluate the subject at hand. This special use of word associations follows the theoretical orientation initiated by the pioneering work of Noble (1952) and Deese (1962). As described in the monograph Subjective Meaning and Culture (Szalay and Deese, 1978), the Associative Group Analysis reconstructs the subjective images and meanings of selected themes (e.g., DRUG) as seen by a particular social or cultural group from the distribution of their free associations. AGA has been extensively tested and used in a variety of investigations over the last twenty years (see list of publications in Appendix II).

In agreement with the theoretical position of Charles Osgood (1957), images and meanings are conceived as "multicomponential." In simple language we may say that an individual's mental image of DRUG goes beyond its denotation or referent (i.e., a substance with physiological effects); it includes other important elements such as hope for cure, fear of side

effects, trust or distrust, and other subjective reactions which vary from person to person or from group to group and which generally elude logical inquiry. A Christian Scientist and a drug addict will have distinctly different psychological images of drugs based on their different experiences and frames of reference.

The people who participate in these free verbal association tasks are given sets of randomly ordered cards (Figure 1), each carrying twelve occurrences of one of the stimulus themes in their native language. They are instructed to write on each line any response that occurs to them in the context of the stimulus word and are allowed one minute to fill in each card. The association task produces a large quantity of responses; on the average, six to seven associations are produced by the subjects to each stimulus word. Scores are assigned to these associations on the basis of frequency and rank in the individual response sequence.

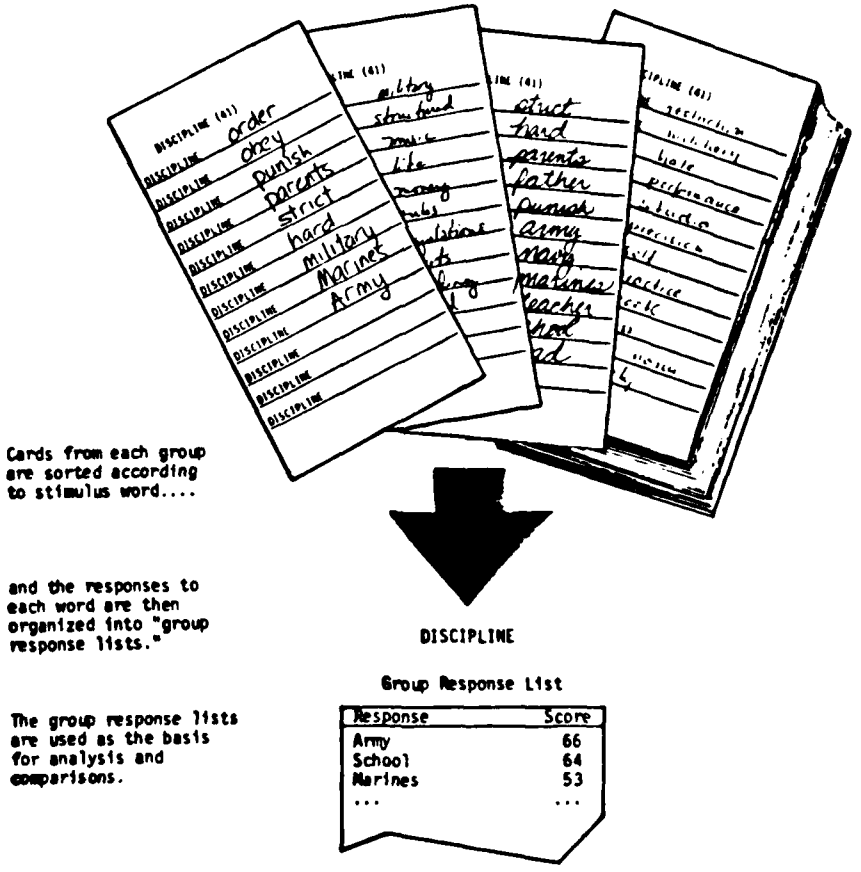


Figure 1: Formation of Group Response Lists from Individual Associations To the Stimulus Word "DISCIPLINE"

Response Distributions: A Proportionate Representation of Shared Perceptions and Evaluations

The Associative Group Analysis relies on the distribution of all shared responses that members of a particular cultural sample produce in response to a particular stimulus theme. A series of validation experiments have supported the central assumption of this approach (Szalay, Windle, and Lysne 1970; Szalay, Lysne, and Bryson 1972; Szalay and Bryson 1974): that the responses offer mosaic elements of the group's subjective representation or meaning of the stimulus theme.

In the numerous reactions elicited to a particular word theme the high frequency responses indicate important mosaic elements of the group's subjective image; the less frequent responses indicate less important ones. For example, in Table 3 the responses of Anglo American and San Juan Puerto Rican students to DISCIPLINE convey the respondents' subjective meaning and evaluation of discipline. Although these lists are too lengthy and detailed to convey a clear overall picture, even a brief visual inspection reveals some broad trends. The students from Puerto Rico (San Juan) think more in terms of positive social values: "order," "respect," "obedience," etc. To the Anglo American students DISCIPLINE has a stronger military connotation: "Army," "Marines."

Whether the stimulus theme is DISCIPLINE or MARINE CORPS the distribution of spontaneous responses provides an empirical basis for reconstructing each group's salient perceptions and attitudes. Since the number and diversity of responses make a quick identification of the dominant response trends difficult, several analytic procedures have been developed to extract the relevant information.

Table 3

Comparison of Most Frequent Associations from Two Culture Groups

Responses to Stimulus Theme DISCIPLINE			
Anglo American Students		Puerto Rican Students	
Response	Score	Response	Score
Army	75	order	171
school	70	respectful	84
Marines	58	obedience	62
military	53	educate,ion	59
strictness	53	good	53
parents	51	Army	48
obedience	44	school	46
good	41	behavior	42
father	40	tranquility	40
teacher	39	conduct	37
Total Scores	524		642

Content Analysis: Identification of Main Perceptual Components

The top responses to DISCIPLINE readily reveal that the Puerto Rican students from San Juan view discipline less in a narrow military context but more as a general human value. The task of reconstructing the dominant perceptions and evaluations according to their subjective salience requires a more systematic approach. A content analysis, based on categorization of the responses, is used to identify all the salient perceptual and attitudinal trends. This procedure is discussed briefly in Appendix II (pp. 5 - 7) and some of the results are illustrated in the following tables.

One cluster of related reactions deals with responses that show, for instance, to what extent DISCIPLINE involves punishment in the minds of these two groups.

PUNISHMENT, GROUNDED		Anglo Americans	Puerto Ricans
jail		15	-
punish,ment	castigo	36	6
restricted,ion		12	-
ground,ed		13	-
whip		13	-
beat		11	-
		101	6

The stronger emphasis placed on punitive measures is consistent with the generally more negative evaluation of DISCIPLINE by the Anglo American sample.

To the San Juan based Puerto Ricans DISCIPLINE appears more as a matter of correct conduct and behavior, as suggested by another cluster of responses:

LAWS, RULES, BEHAVIOR		Anglo Americans	Puerto Ricans
act,ion		11	-
behavior	comportamiento	-	42
norms	normas	-	11
orders		11	-
rules	reglas	10	27
mandate	mandato	-	16
law,s	leyes	-	18
moral	moral	-	22
value,s	valor,es	-	22
pride		9	-
manners	modales	-	10
maturity	madurez	-	11
conduct	conducta	-	37
		41	216

By using eight to twelve main clusters in the content analysis, the extensive diversity of specific responses can usually be reduced to a smaller number of main perceptual and attitudinal components which offer a faithful reproduction of the group's subjective view, or subjective representation of a particular subject such as DISCIPLINE.

Table 4

Content Analysis Revealing Main Components of Perception and Evaluation of DISCIPLINE for Anglo Americans and San Juan Puerto Ricans

Main Components of DISCIPLINE	Percent of Total Score	
	Anglo Americans	Puerto Ricans
OBEDIENCE, RESPECT	7	15
FAMILY, FATHER, HOME	12	5
SCHOOL, TEACHER	11	11
MILITARY, ARMY, POLICE	20	9
PUNISHMENT, GROUNDED	8	0
GOOD, NECESSARY	7	14
BAD, HARD, STRICT	13	3
CONTROL, ORDER, STRONG	7	16
PEOPLE, SELF	6	3
LAWS, RULES, BEHAVIOR	3	18
WORK, SPORTS	3	3
MISCELLANEOUS	2	3
Total Scores	1192	1229

The response clusters and their varying saliences show those hidden but important differences which characterize the subjective meaning of DISCIPLINE as understood by the groups compared. In the present case the San Juan Puerto Ricans, for instance, show a much more positive view of DISCIPLINE. Their emphasis on proper behavior and conduct is consistent with their attention given to school, work, and military life. The salient Anglo American response trends show that they have a more military oriented view of discipline, emphasizing punitive functions in contrast to the Puerto Ricans who view discipline predominantly as "good," "important," and as a source of "order," and "tranquility."

As empirical investigations have shown, the dominant views, perceptions, and attitudes are of considerable importance since they influence how people understand communications and how they are likely to view and react to certain situations.

The content analysis approach illustrated above offers a simple method for identifying these dominant perceptual and attitudinal dispositions of which people are mostly unaware. Naturally, the less people are aware of such dispositions, the less they realize that people of different backgrounds are predisposed to construe subjects (e.g., DISCIPLINE) differently and the more they are inclined to believe that their own views are universal. The deep fallacy of this assumption is at the core of countless misunderstandings, management problems, and conflict situations.

The content analysis approach, which includes judgments in the clustering decisions, involves a certain degree of subjectivity. Beyond adapting several measures to standardize this process and keep subjective biases to a minimum, we have presented the extensive tables throughout the report so the reader has the opportunity to evaluate the clustering decisions critically. Most of the findings presented in this report come from the content analysis and categorizations of all the reactions produced by the six groups to the subject themes used in this study.

The cultural meaning of themes like DISCIPLINE tie in closely with the meaning of other themes such as ORDER and AUTHORITY. As the findings show Anglo Americans perceive and construe these themes with similar reservations, that is, they are viewed as sources of control which infringe upon individual freedom and autonomy. In partial contrast, the traditional Hispanic Americans view them consistently more positively as sources of peace and happiness, as instrumental to success and as expressions of respect and intelligence. These dominant trends in perceptions and evaluations, observed across many individual themes, are used to identify main cultural perspectives which constitute the main parameters of the groups' subjective representation of reality, their frame of reference.

Dominance Scores: The Measures of Subjective Importance

The total score of all responses produced to a particular subject theme like DISCIPLINE reveals the subjective importance, or dominance, of that theme to each of the groups compared. These dominance scores are shown at the bottom of the summary percentage tables. In the case of DISCIPLINE (Table 4) the Puerto Rican group scored somewhat higher (1229) than the Anglo Americans (1192) indicating that DISCIPLINE is somewhat a more important and meaningful subject to the Puerto Rican students than to the Anglo Americans. In general, the dominance scores shown throughout the second part of the report deserve attention in view of their potential to offer empirically based information on how the subjective importance varies on subjects like DISCIPLINE for the groups compared.

The capability to measure subjective importance offers a new opportunity to trace one aspect of the acculturation process, by which Hispanic American groups from various geographic regions become more similar to the Anglo Americans in their priorities. The main dimension in which this similarity is measured is perceptual/attitudinal.

Similarities and Differences: The Measure of Psychocultural Distance

The measure of psychocultural distance is based on the central assumption that the distribution of several hundred responses elicited from a cultural sample in the context of one particular stimulus theme describes in detail and depth how that particular group perceives and evaluates that particular theme. A comparison, that is, the calculation of the similarities or distances between the response distributions obtained from two groups to the same stimulus theme offers an opportunity to measure their similarities on that particular theme as well as on hundreds of others. The more two groups agree in their high frequency responses and at the same time, the more their low frequency responses are the same, the more we can assume that they view the theme or subject in a similar way. Contrarily, the more the high frequency responses of one group are low frequency responses of the other group or are not even mentioned, the greater is the distance between the two groups in their perceptions and evaluations of the particular theme in question. The measure of psychocultural distance will be discussed in more detail in the following section of our presentation.

THE MAIN FINDINGS

PART I. SIMILARITY RELATIONS BASED ON PSYCHOCULTURAL DISTANCE

THE DIVERSITY OF HISPANIC AMERICANS, THEIR SIMILARITY WITH ANGLO AMERICANS

Do Hispanics really view the world differently than Anglos? They do speak a different language. They frequently have a darker complexion, but do they actually perceive and construe the world differently? Are there important psychological differences between them and other cultures? If there are, what do such differences entail?

As leading anthropologists observe, different cultural environments produce deep psychological dispositions to view and construe the world in frequently vastly different ways. How we view the world is a characteristically private matter, inaccessible to others. How then could we know how much we share within our own culture and how much we differ from others? How can we ascertain whether culture as a psychological reality is factual or imaginary?

Scholars with extensive experiences in other cultures are convinced that culture "...is a mold in which we are all cast, and it controls our daily lives in many unsuspected ways...many of which are outside our awareness and therefore beyond conscious control of the individual" (E. T. Hall, 1966). Others, with less experience, prefer to ignore culture, tacitly or explicitly. While one frequent problem is the lack of experience, another is the difficulty inherent in the empirical assessment of these deep psychocultural dispositions, dominant perceptions, and motivations which influence peoples' views and behavior without their conscious awareness.

Similarities and Differences in Subjective Views, Culturally Characteristic Representations of the Environment

Since the following findings present empirical data bearing directly on this question, which is as open as it is consequential, it is important that the reader can critically evaluate this information by understanding its nature and origin. The reader is encouraged to take a close look at Appendix II in order to gain a better understanding of the following results on psychocultural distance.

As previously discussed, the Associative Group Analysis method elicits hundreds of thousands of responses through word association tasks. A review of the responses to a specific theme will readily reveal that these response distributions are group specific and filled with details characteristic of the background and experiences of each particular group. Each and every response informs us of a mosaic element characteristic of the group's subjective image or understanding of the particular stimulus theme. The importance of each of these mosaic pieces in the group's subjective view is indicated by the response score. These group response lists give us a

detailed description of the group's image through a proportionate reproduction of all of its salient mosaic elements. These extensive reproductions of the group's subjective views and meanings provide us with an empirical basis for comparing groups, for gauging the similarities and differences of their subjective views with regard to any number of selected themes. Pearson's product moment correlation (r) offers a numerical expression.

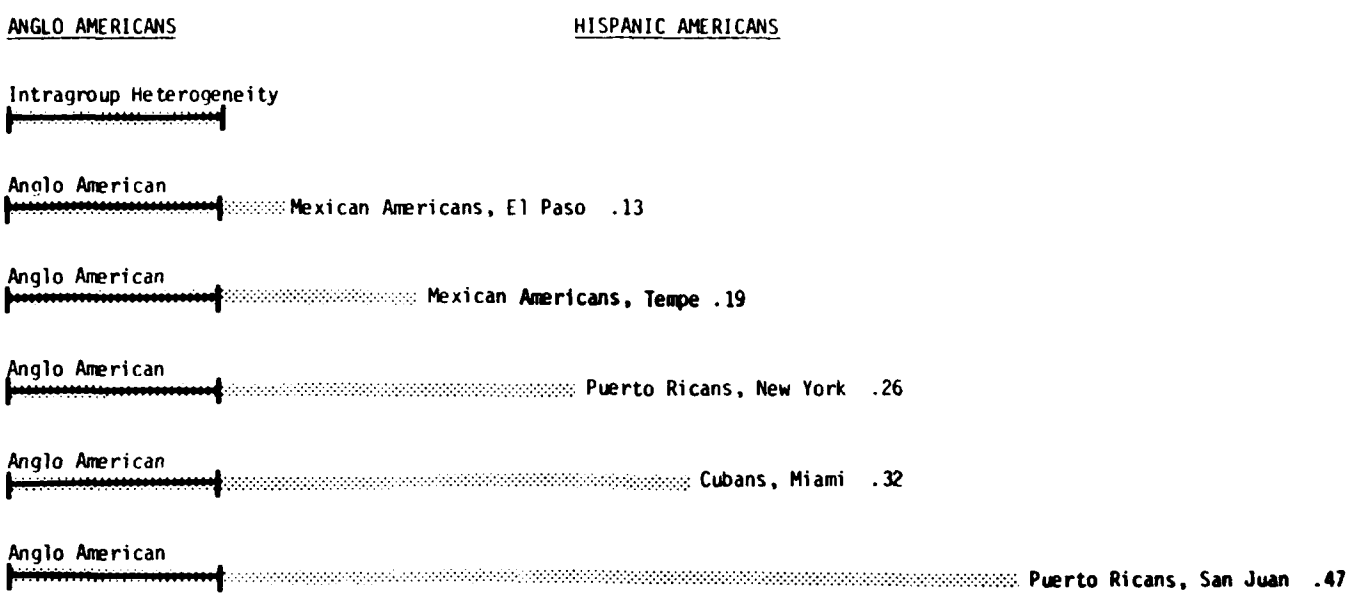
The following results on the similarities and differences of various Hispanic (e.g., Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican) and Anglo American population samples are based on the systematic, computer assisted evaluations of hundreds of such response distributions strategically selected to represent the dominant parameters of culturally characteristic views.

The indepth study of world views, belief systems and their similarities and differences poses naturally a host of theoretical and methodological questions. While some of these may fall beyond our present, immediate topic, they have been addressed in a variety of publications, some of which may bear on the reader's interest. The representational theory of cognitive/behavioral organization underlying our analytic approach to subjective culture and cultural distance has been outlined in a recent article in the American Anthropologist (Szalay and Maday, 1983). It conceives people's subjective view of the universe as a system of perceptual/semantic representation built of subjective images and meanings of dominant themes, ideas learned in the framework of their culture to understand their environment and to cope with it successfully.

To arrive at broadly based generalizable findings about the psychocultural similarities or differences between the Hispanic American regional groups and their relationship to the Anglo American sample, we have calculated average distances measured across all the stimulus subjects used in the representation of the ten domains explored in this study. The average coefficient values shown in the following rely on the distributions of tens of thousands of free, spontaneous reactions.

The use of the AGA method to reconstruct or map such systems along the dominant parameters of their organization through the use of free word associations has been outlined in an article in Current Anthropology (Szalay and Maday, 1973) and later in a separate monograph, Subjective Meaning and Culture: An Assessment Through Word Associations (Szalay, Deese, 1978). The use of this approach in the measurement of cultural distance along three main dimensions of cognitive/behavioral organization has been elaborated originally in the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology (Szalay and Bryson, 1973). Its application in the indepth study of cultural and ideological belief systems has been described and illustrated in a recent article in the American Political Science Review (Szalay and Kelly, 1982).

DISTANCE BETWEEN ANGLO AMERICAN AND HISPANIC AMERICAN STUDENTS



Distance (including intragroup heterogeneity) = 1 - r (coefficient of similarity)
Distance is conceived to include the intragroup heterogeneity) = 1 - r (coefficient of similarity)
which was found to vary around the value of .1.

Figure 2

Distance measures obtained at the level of single subjects (e.g., DISCIPLINE) are based on an average of 500 to 600 reactions from each regional sample. Distance measures obtained at the domain level are based on an average of 3,000 reactions per group. The overall coefficients shown in the following few tables are based on approximately 30,000 associations per group. Since the coefficient used for finding numerical expression is Pearson's product moment correlation, the mean coefficient values have been calculated by using Z-transformation. The overall distances (1 - r) were calculated by mean correlations across all the responses given to all the 60 stimulus themes used in this particular study.

Distances Between Hispanic Americans and Anglo Americans

Probably the first, most natural question to ask is how the various Hispanic American samples compare to the Anglo American sample. Is there a sizable distance? Does the distance vary depending on which particular Hispanic sample---Mexican American, Puerto Rican or Cuban---is involved in the comparison?

The results presented in Figure 2 show the distances reflected by the coefficient of psychocultural distance. The Anglo American sample is shown on the left side of the graph. Since each group has a certain natural heterogeneity and this is a part of the distance measured, the following figures include internal heterogeneity in the visual presentation.

To get a measure of internal heterogeneity the Anglo American group was split randomly into two subgroups of equal size and then their distance was calculated. Similar results were obtained in previous investigations when the same group was tested twice and their reactions compared. As the findings presented later on intragroup heterogeneity show, the values vary from culture group to culture group. The value 0.1 shown in Figure 2 is essentially the mean coefficient found for Anglo, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican groups in this investigation.

As Figure 2 indicates, the Hispanic American groups are widely spread showing various degrees of acculturation. The Mexican American and the New York Puerto Rican students show a close approximation to the Anglo American students. The Puerto Rican students from San Juan are the furthest away from the Anglo Americans. They appear to be little affected by the U.S. American culture. The Cuban students in Miami occupy an intermediary position between the above two groups of highly accultured and little acculturated Hispanic samples. Cubans in Miami were somewhat more distant (.32) than the Mexican American groups and the Puerto Ricans in San Juan have shown the largest distance (.47).

In comparison with the Anglo American student group, the two Mexican American groups (Figure 3) were found to be about as similar to the Anglo Americans (.13, .19) as they were similar to each other (.20). This relatively small Mexican American-Anglo American distance shows with considerable consistency the high level of acculturation of the Mexican American groups to the American society.

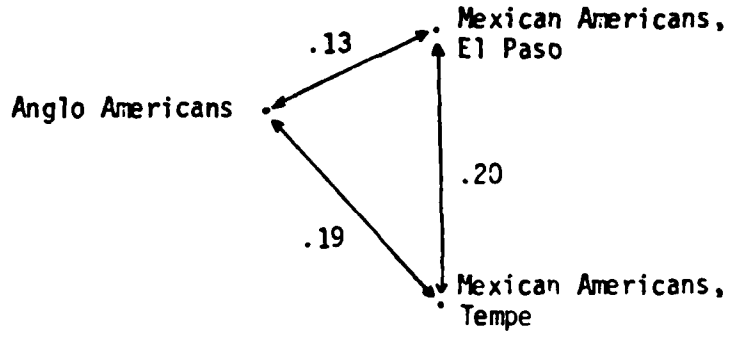


Figure 3. Distances between Anglo and Mexican American Groups

The importance of the acculturation process becomes similarly obvious when we compare the distances of the other Hispanic American groups from the Anglo American group. The New York Puerto Ricans were also found to be highly acculturated: their distance from the Anglo American group was .26. As the results in Figure 4 indicate, the Puerto Rican group in New York was closer to Anglo Americans (.26) than to Puerto Ricans tested in San Juan (.47). Actually, the Puerto Rican students in New York were found to be much further away from the Puerto Rican students in San Juan than from the Anglo American students in New York.

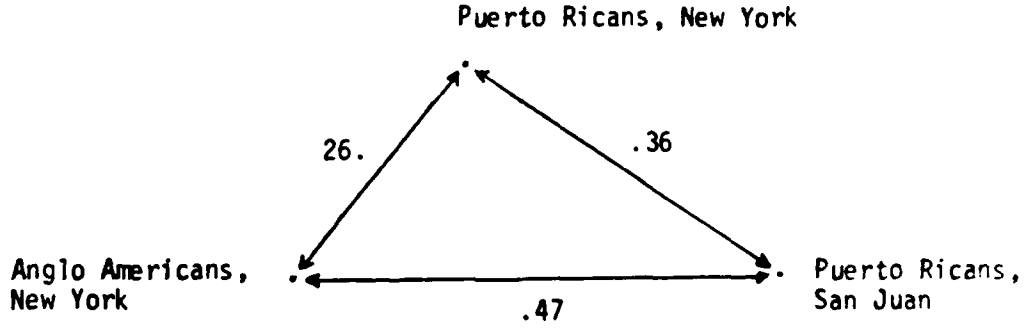


Figure 4. Distances between Anglo American and Puerto Rican Groups

Acculturation is conceptualized as a process by which people who come from a different country or culture gradually adapt to the views and values of the host culture; however, the process of growing similar to the host culture could not occur without eventually increasing the distance from the native cultural environment. The Puerto Rican students from New York, in a progressed stage of acculturation, show more similarity with people in the new environment than with people in the original cultural environment.

It is tempting to think of acculturation as a linear process of progressive adaptation moving toward zero distance from the new cultural environment, absorbing elements of his new environment at the same rate as he gradually modifies or eliminates old views and attitudes which were part of his original culture. Figure 4 makes it clear, however, that the New York based Puerto Rican group does not follow a direct linear transition from the traditional Puerto Rican environment to the Anglo American environment of New York. While this group does progress toward the Anglo American group, at the same time it also moves sideways. This indicates that acculturation is not merely a simple gradual substitution of Hispanic American with Anglo American perceptions and evaluations, but that it results in the development of views and attitudes which are new and to a certain degree different from both cultures. This suggests that while the Puerto Ricans in New York are nearly as far away from their Puerto Rican brothers in San Juan as the Anglo Americans on the East Coast are from the San Juan sample, the New York Puerto Ricans are still separated by a rather sizable distance from the Anglo Americans.

Extension of the Comparison to Examine Generalizability

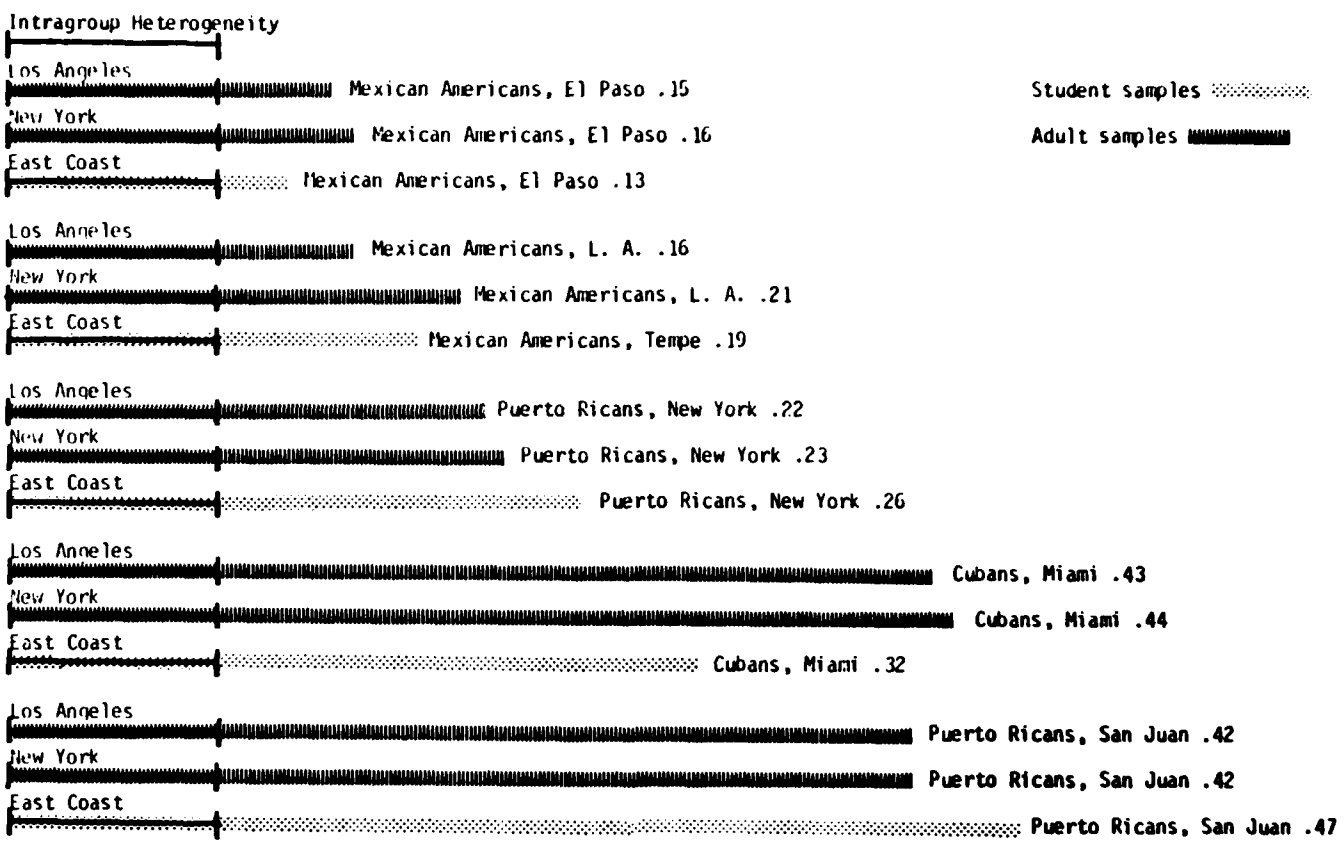
The high degree of similarity of some Hispanic American groups (Mexican Americans) with the Anglo Americans, contrasted with the sizable differences observed in the case of others, (San Juan Puerto Ricans) is a new and unexpected finding in this and our NIMH study. Earlier studies based predominantly on Puerto Ricans and other little accultured Hispanic American samples (Szalay and Bryson 1973; Szalay, Bryson, and West, 1976; Szalay and Maday 1983) showed consistently large cultural distances between Hispanics and Anglo Americans. The small distances found between the Anglo and Mexican Americans in the present study suggest a high degree of acculturation of these Mexican American students to the U.S. American environment.

In view of the relatively small number of samples one has to be careful to draw broad generalizations. It is important to search for explanations based on certain social attributes or conditions of these samples which could shed light on the findings showing the high level of acculturation of the Mexican American samples.

In this context, it is particularly fortunate that our comparable study based on five Hispanic American and two Anglo American regional adult samples was recently completed. The adult samples shown in Table 1 were selected on the basis of a similar design and offer a valuable opportunity for comparison. Our present findings on students can be compared with the findings obtained independently on adult samples from the same or comparable locations.

To facilitate this comparison the distances obtained on the adult samples are shown in the following graphs parallel to those obtained in the present study on student samples. In Figure 5 the distances between the Hispanic and Anglo American adult samples are shown by barred lines, while the distances between the Hispanic and Anglo American student samples are shown by dotted lines.

DISTANCE BETWEEN ANGLO AMERICAN AND HISPANIC AMERICAN GROUPS



Distance (including intragroup heterogeneity) = 1 - r (coefficient of similarity)
Distance is conceived to include the intragroup heterogeneity measured by split half method, which was found to vary around the value of .1.

Figure 5

The results of these two parallel investigations show similar trends with regard to acculturation. All four Mexican-Anglo American comparisons of adult samples produced low cultural distances essentially of the same order and magnitude as those obtained on the two Mexican American and the Anglo American student samples used in our study.

While practically all Mexican American student and adult samples showed rather high degrees of similarity with the Anglo Americans, the comparison of the adult and student samples produced more observable differences in the case of the two other Hispanic American populations, the Cubans and the San Juan Puerto Ricans.

In the case of the Cubans, the students show a much closer similarity with the Anglo students, than do the adults. This may be rather readily explicable because these students were brought up to a greater extent in the U.S. American cultural environment, by which they are apparently more influenced than their parents who represent predominantly emigrees who left Cuba following the establishment of Fidel Castro's dictatorship. As has been well established, acculturation progresses faster during youth and adolescence than in the case of adults.

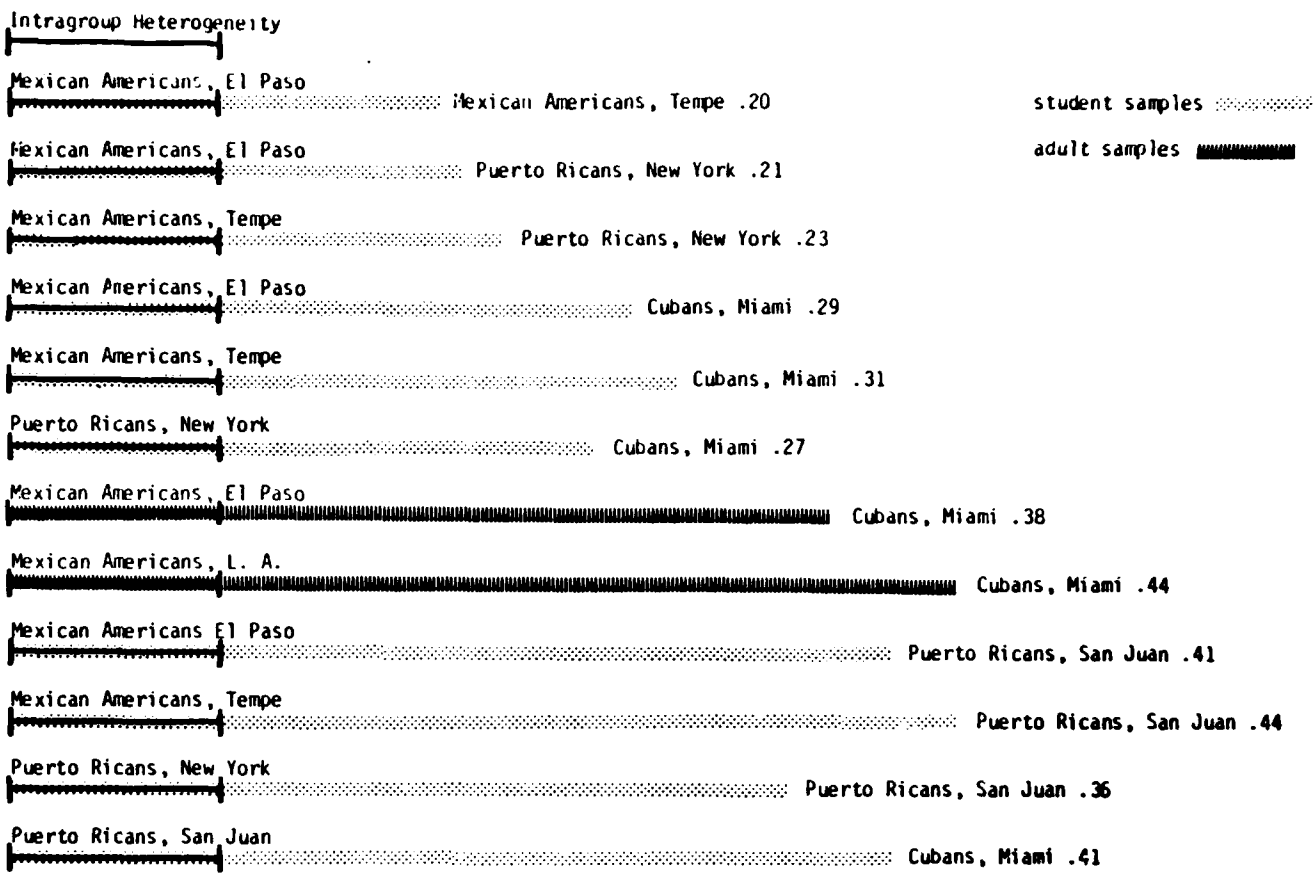
In the case of the San Juan groups we observe a greater distance between the student samples than in the comparison of the adults. One possible explanation is that since our NIMH study involved the users of mental health services it is likely that the adult sample from San Juan consisted of more accultured Puerto Ricans adults, for it has been repeatedly stated that in the case of the more traditional cultures, the cosmopolitan and modernized strata of the population are more likely to rely on mental health services than the traditional strata of the population.

Distances Between Hispanic Americans: Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans

The distances measured between the Hispanic American samples are shown in Figure 6. The results reveal two major clusters: groups with small cultural distances, and groups with large cultural distances. The first involves the Hispanic American groups found previously to be close to the Anglo Americans, groups we have characterized as highly accultured to the U.S. environment. Since these groups were found to be similar to the Anglo Americans, it is not surprising that they are close to each other as well. Even within this cluster there are two subclusters. The most accultured Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in New York are the closest to each other while the Cubans from Miami show a somewhat greater distance.

The second main cluster involves the comparisons of highly accultured groups with the more traditional, little accultured Puerto Rican students from San Juan. All these comparisons show large cultural distances and underscore the previous findings. They support as a major conclusion that the main differences are between highly accultured and little accultured, traditional Hispanic Americans.

DISTANCE BETWEEN HISPANIC AMERICANS



Distance (including intragroup heterogeneity) = 1 - r (coefficient of similarity)
Distance is conceived to include the intragroup heterogeneity measured by split half method, which was found to vary around the value of .1.

Figure 6

The distance between Anglo and Hispanic Americans depends greatly on what Hispanic sample is being considered. In the case of our student samples the San Juan based Puerto Ricans represented the most traditional, least accultured Hispanic American population. In the previous adult sample based study, the Cubans from Miami were found to be in this category with the San Juan Puerto Ricans. The comparisons from the previous study are shown here again with barred lines. In the present study, as previously observed, the Cubans were not as far away from the Anglo Americans as the Puerto Rican students from San Juan. The distances between the highly accultured Mexican American and the less accultured Cuban adults are consistently shorter than the distances found between the little accultured San Juan students and the highly accultured other Hispanic American student samples.

A meaningful discussion of these findings calls for a distinction between two types of distances: relative distances and numerical results. The relative distances are usually expressed by comparative statements: larger, smaller, or equal. Some relative distances are predictable based on logical expectations. For instance, Puerto Ricans who live among U.S. Americans in New York are likely to be closer to U.S. Americans than Puerto Ricans who live in San Juan. The consistency of these findings is important on several accounts. Consistency combined with the differences observed in the direction predictable on rational basis (e.g., the Puerto Ricans in New York show consistently more acculturation than the San Juan Puerto Ricans who live in their original cultural environment) offer results in agreement with logical expectations.

Other relative distances may be anticipated based on the logic conveyed by previous sets of numerical data on distances. For instance, the previous findings that Mexican Americans in Los Angeles and in El Paso are the closest to Anglo Americans, followed by Puerto Ricans in New York, then by Cubans in Miami, and finally by Puerto Ricans in San Juan, suggest a rank order of acculturation, that is, of increasing distances from Anglo Americans. This would suggest a reverse rank order with regard to the similarity of these groups with unaccultured Hispanic Americans. This reverse rank order has been obtained by comparing the distances of the Hispanic samples with the least U.S. accultured Hispanic American group, that is, the Cubans in Miami.

Actually, the psychocultural distance data show similarly high consistencies with logical expectations based on relevant situational variables (e.g., living in the same geographic area versus being separated by large distances) as well as with logical expectations based on previous sets of numerical findings (e.g., level of acculturation to Anglo Americans was found to be a precise predictor of distance from nonaccultured Hispanic samples).

These consistencies are particularly important with regard to their implications for construct validity of the concept of psychocultural distance. The consistency of the comparative results has important implications for the acceptance of the numerical distances. Useful reference points are here of special practical importance since we are working along dimensions which have not yet been quantified.

While it is logical that Puerto Ricans living in New York will be closer in their views and attitudes to Anglo Americans in New York than to Puerto Ricans living in San Juan, the literature does not offer any quantitative information, any measure about the actual degree of closeness or similarity. Since this measure is new, independent criterion measures on psychocultural distance are not available; these opportunities for construct validation are of importance. They provide empirical evidence that these distance measures offer a capability to extend quantification into this new dimension. That is, in those areas where rational expectations do exist, the findings confirm those expectations (Hispanic Americans living in U.S. cultural environment are closer to Anglo Americans than those who live in their own Hispanic cultural environment).

These findings show that the measure quantifies psychological dispositions which conform to realities that are observable. This agreement in turn makes it possible to place confidence in the findings which can not be anticipated based on rational expectations (based purely on logical considerations, there is no basis to predict whether Puerto Ricans or Mexican Americans may have achieved a higher level of acculturation).

As a main finding, the numerical distance measures underscore the importance of the acculturation process. With regard to the psychocultural make-up of a particular person, the environment of upbringing, the community to which the person belongs, is the important factor, not the Hispanic surname or the color of hair or skin. The comparative distances show consistency and conformity with expectations based on relevant observables and give validity to the numerical distances which emerge as new knowledge on the closeness of relationships deemed until now unquantifiable.

With regard to generalizability, the findings suggest that the Mexican American samples were all highly acculturated, and two independent studies support similar conclusions; however, it would be premature to make any sweeping generalizations. What type of research may be needed to achieve more generalizable findings will be discussed in the conclusions and recommendations section.

Distances Between Hispanic and Anglo Americans in Specific Domains of Life

The above findings were based on overall distance measures, that is, mean coefficients calculated across ten important domains on which the groups were compared: ETHNIC IMAGES; SOCIAL IMAGES; SOCIAL VALUES; CAREER ORIENTATION; ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION; LEADERSHIP; MILITARY SERVICE; LEISURE TIME; GOALS; and GOVERNMENT.

The results presented in Table 5 show the coefficients of distance calculated between three pairs of groups: Anglo Americans and San Juan based students, Anglo Americans and New York based Puerto Rican students, and Anglo Americans and El Paso Mexican American students compared with each other on each of the above domains.

The coefficients shown are mean values calculated on the basis of the

Table 5

DISTANCES BETWEEN U.S. AND HISPANIC AMERICAN GROUPS MEASURED IN SELECTED DOMAINS

DOMAIN	Puerto Ricans, San Juan / Anglo Americans	Puerto Ricans, New York / Anglo Americans	Mexican Americans, L.A. / Anglo Americans, El Paso
ETHNIC IMAGES	.81	.44	.20
SOCIAL IMAGES	.44	.23	.20
CAREER ORIENTATION	.27	.13	.08
MILITARY SERVICE	.43	.15	.12
ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION	.60	.42	.16
SOCIAL VALUES	.29	.22	.12
LEADERSHIP VALUES	.44	.33	.16
GOALS	.61	.27	.03
LEISURE TIME	.46	.28	.19
GOVERNMENT	.51	.28	.16
Overall Mean Coefficients	.47	.26	.13

The mean coefficients were calculated by the formula d = 1 - r. The mean r values (Pearson's coefficient) are based on response distributions obtained for twelve themes per domain including about 3,000 pairs of observations. Z transformation was used to calculate the means.

distance of individual themes used in the representations of particular domains. The numerical values show considerable variation across domains, yet at the same time there is considerable consistency in the results. In all instances, without exception, the Mexican American sample was the closest to the Anglo Americans. The Puerto Ricans from New York were consistently more distant than the Mexican Americans. At the same time they were closer on all domains to the Anglo Americans than the Puerto Rican students from San Juan.

These consistent differences between groups do not preclude wide variations across domains. Most interestingly these variations show rather parallel trends. For instance, all three groups have shown large distances on the domains ETHNIC IMAGES and LEADERSHIP. At the same time they showed low distance coefficients on domains such as CAREER ORIENTATION and THE MILITARY. The results suggest that the nature of the domain exerts considerable influence on distance. In certain fields of common experiences, like education and work where students can be expected to have a great deal in common, greater similarities are indeed found. At the same time the student groups differ most intensively in affect laden areas such as ETHNIC IMAGES.

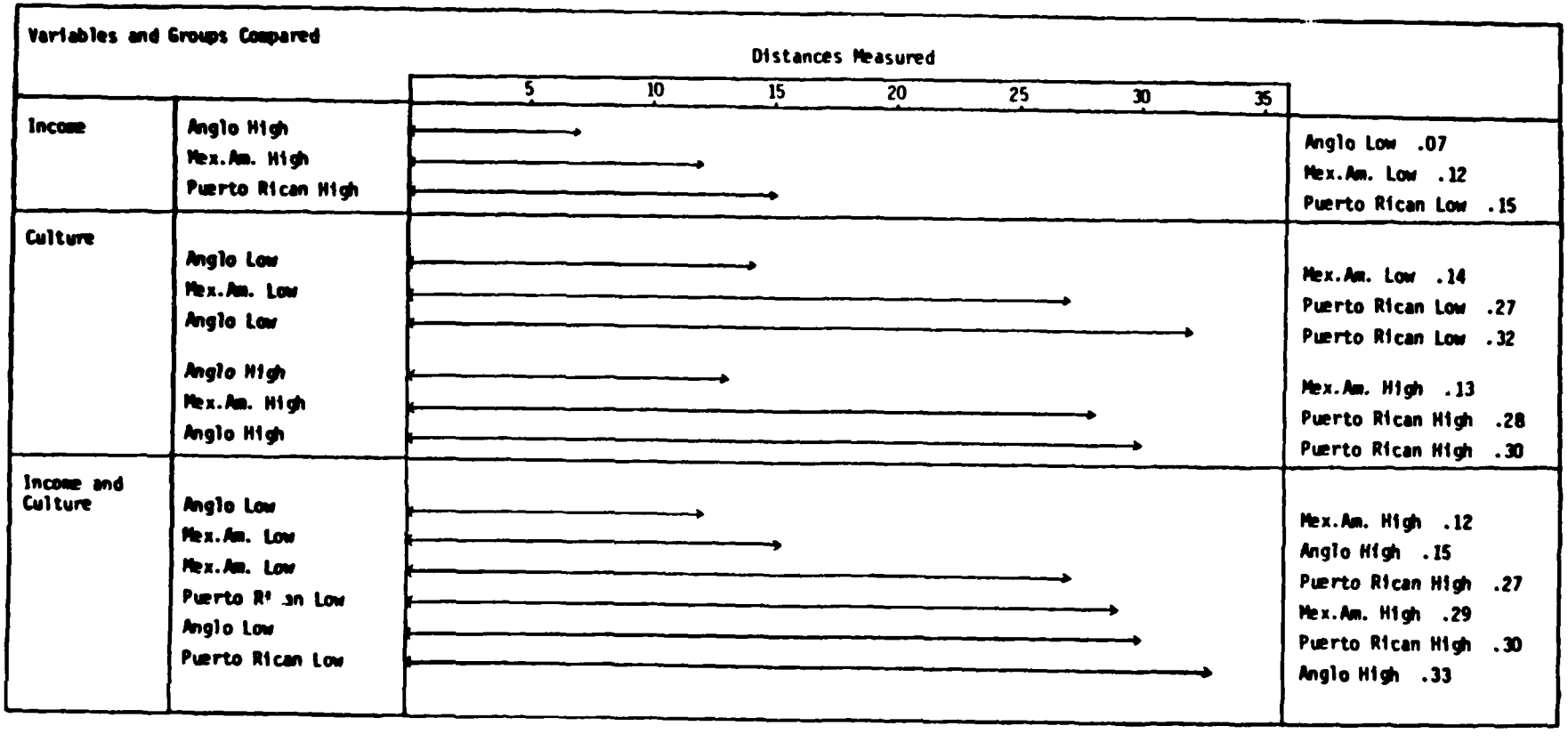
The consistency observed across domains reveals an important trend. It shows that the more accultured groups (the Mexican Americans) differ from the Anglo Americans in a similar pattern as do the relatively little accultured Puerto Ricans in San Juan. The differences are a matter of degree. Using a somewhat different formulation, we may conclude that the differences between Anglo Americans and the various Hispanic American groups show similar patterns but that they differ in the intensity or articulateness of these patterns. The relatively unaccultured Hispanic American groups show these patterns in more articulate forms, while in the accultured groups, these patterns are less accentuated, less articulate.

THE RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE COMPARED TO OTHER VARIABLES: INCOME, SEX, AND AGE

The parallel design used in the present student based and the previous adult based studies makes it possible to explore intra-Hispanic variations in combination with some other important sociodemographic variables. To place our present findings in proper perspective we would like to find answers to such questions as to what extent are our above results affected by the fact that our study focused on male student populations. In other words, what difference does it make that we did not include female student or adult samples in our study. Since the previous study did include them, we are in a reasonably good position to answer such questions.

However, before addressing even these questions, it appears particularly important to explore the extent to which socio-economic background does affect perceptions and attitudes. This last question is particularly important since there is a widespread belief that what makes the difference between people in their perceptions and attitudes is not from where they come, but whether they are rich or poor.

PSYCHOCULTURAL DISTANCE DUE TO DIFFERENCES IN INCOME AND CULTURE*



The distances are calculated by using Pearson's product moment correlation (r) based on ca. 20,000 pairs of observations made in the context of a total of 120 stimulus themes used in the representation of ten domains. The results are based on mean coefficients calculated by using Z transformation.

*Source: Comparative Analysis of Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Anglo American Psychocultural Dispositions. L. B. Szalay, M. R. Miranda, A. T. Diaz-Royo, L. W. Yudin, M. N. Brena. Washington, D.C.: The Institute of Comparative Social and Cultural Studies, Inc., 1982.

Figure 7

Psychocultural Distance Due to Differences in Income

There is a longstanding controversy between economic determinists and cultural determinists. The economic determinists claim the primacy of economic factors in shaping people, including their thought processes and perception of reality. The cultural determinists voice similar convictions about the importance of cultural background.

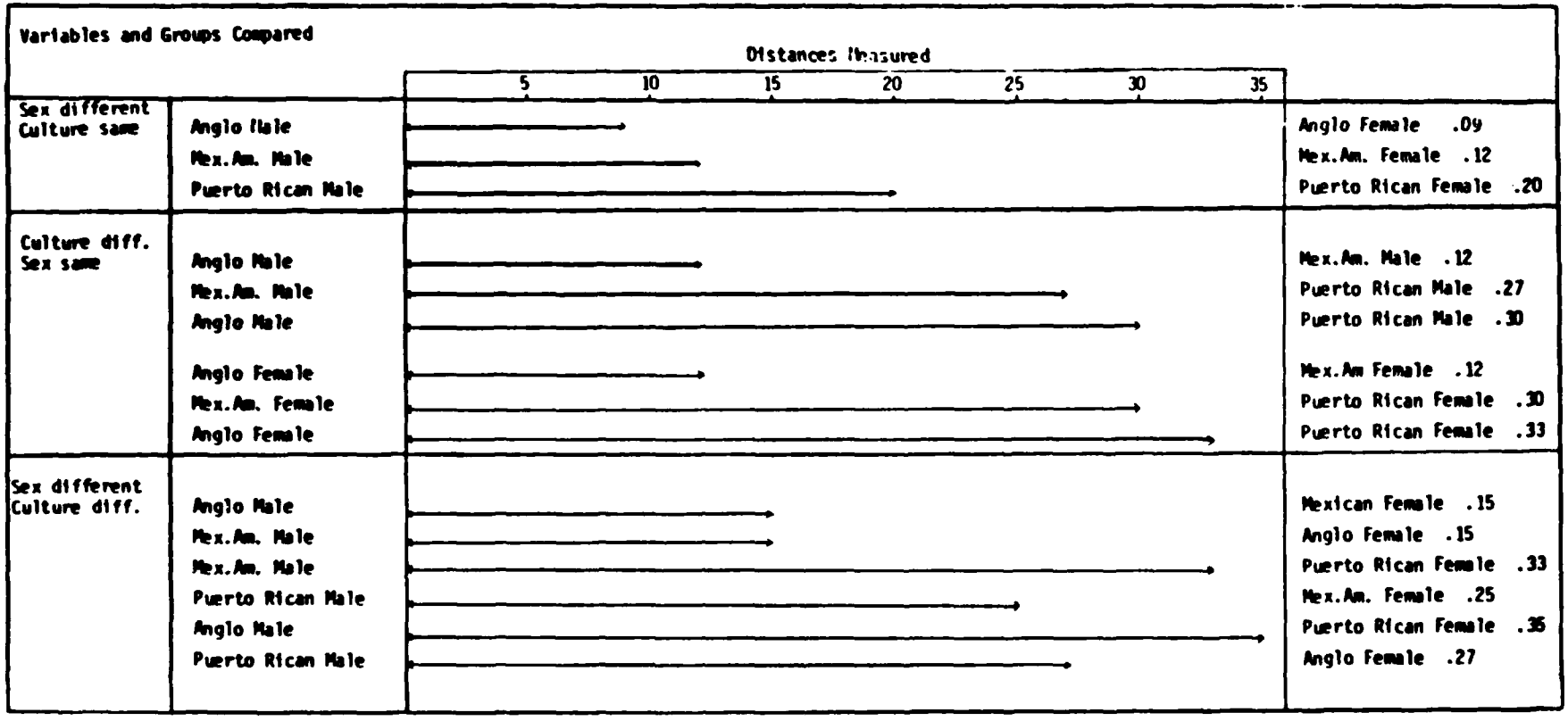
The latter group, which is a definite minority, contends that the attractiveness of economic determinism is a consequence of the observability of economic factors while cultural influences remain relatively hidden. Differences in economic status or income result in easily observable differences in lifestyle and other manifestations of people's ways of life. This creates a natural disposition to recognize economic factors as important sources of human differences. On the other hand, the ways in which cultural background influences people's way of thinking and shapes their subjective world are for the most part unobservable. To examine the effects of income differences we formed, in our previous NIMH sponsored study, combined samples (N=200) from the two regional Anglo American, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican subsamples and divided these into two subsamples (N=100) of high and low income. The cut-off for the Mexican American and Puerto Rican low income samples was $15,000 and for the Anglo American one about $20,000 (see Appendix III, Table 1).

It is interesting to look first at the distances measured between the high and low income groups separately within the Anglo American, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican samples (see first section of Figure 7). The distance measured between the Anglo American groups of different income levels was the smallest, while that measured between the Puerto Rican groups was the largest. The distance between people of different income levels was greater in the case of groups with more traditional Hispanic background. Or putting it differently, decreasing psychocultural distance between groups of different income levels may be a concomitant of acculturation. These data support opinions that the U.S. society shows a relatively high level of homogeneity of the mainstream despite marked differences in income.

When groups of different cultural background but of the same income level were compared, the cultural differences appear to be clearly more influential than differences in income. Except in the case of the Mexican Americans, there was slightly less distance between people with higher income than between those with lower incomes (see second section of Figure 7).

The combined effects of the income and culture based differences emerged with consistency in the comparison of six pairs of groups which differ both in culture and in their relative level of income (see the third section of Figure 7). Comparisons involving the high income Anglo group showed somewhat greater distances than comparisons involving the lower income Anglo group. Across the board, income differences appear to be responsible for psychocultural differences particularly in the case of our Hispanic samples.

PSYCHOCULTURAL DISTANCE DUE TO DIFFERENCES IN SEX AND CULTURE *



The distances are calculated by using Pearson's product moment correlation (r) based on ca. 6,000 pairs of observations made in the context of a total of 120 stimulus themes used in the representation of three domains. The results are based on mean coefficients calculated by using Z transformation.

*Source: Comparative Analysis of Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Anglo American Psychocultural Dispositions. L. B. Szalay, M. R. Miranda, A. T. Diaz-Royo, L. W. Yudin, M. N. Brena. Washington, D.C.: The Institute of Comparative Social and Cultural Studies, Inc., 1982.

Figure 8

In the case of student samples we did not have comparable data to examine how differences in income may affect psychocultural dispositions, their similarities and differences. The relatively moderate differences found in the case of adults, however, suggests that in the case of students, the effects of income based differences may be even somewhat more limited. As shown in the section on variations due to age, consistently lower psychocultural distance was found between youth than between adults.

Variations in Distance Due to Differences in Sex

Psychocultural distances measured between males and females were again the smallest for Anglo Americans, while they were particularly sizable for the Puerto Ricans. In the case of the Puerto Ricans sex differences were distinctly greater than either income or age based differences (first section of Figure 8).

In comparisons where people were of the same sex but from different cultures, the differences between females were found to be greater than between males (second section of Figure 8). These differences were particularly articulate among the Puerto Rican females who appear to be distinctly more traditional in their psychocultural characteristics than the Puerto Rican males participating in this study.

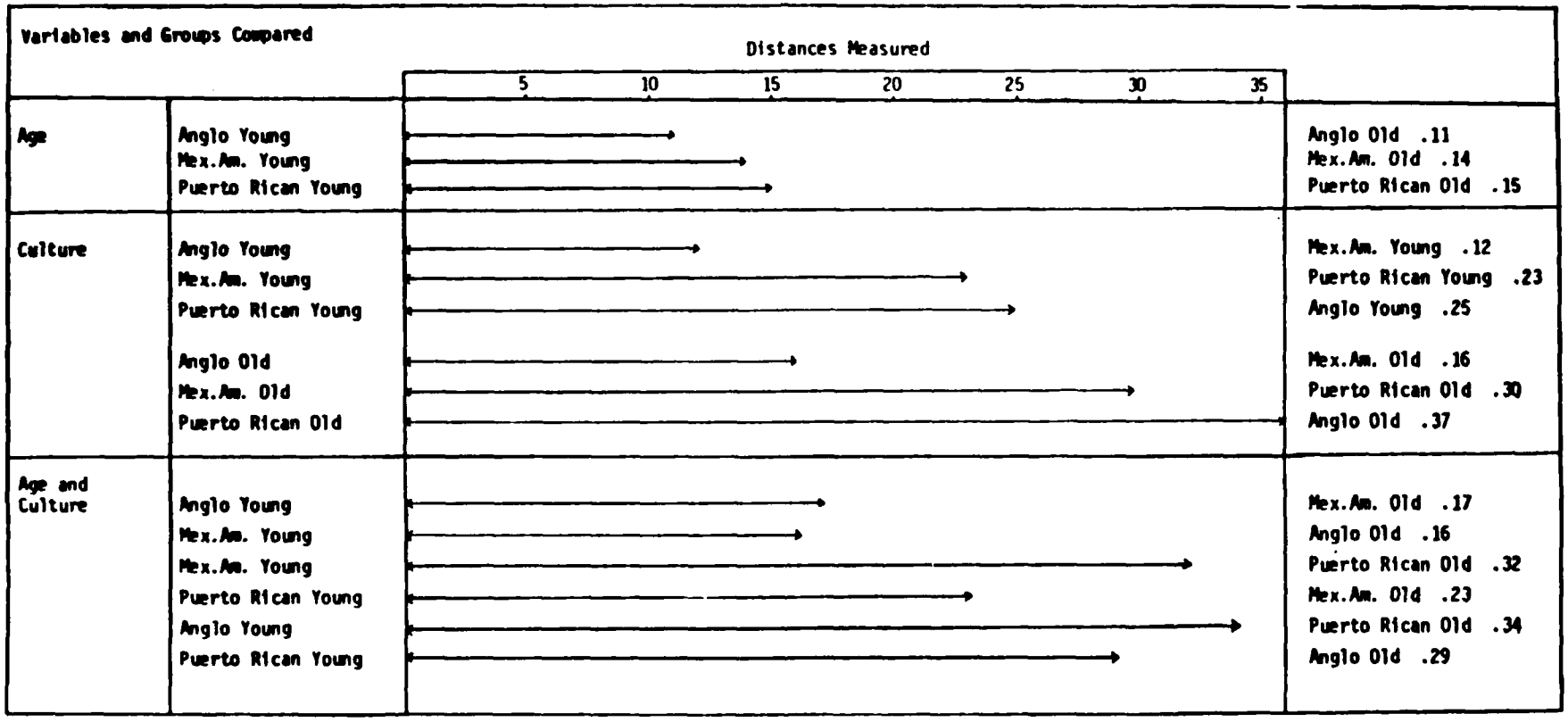
This conclusion receives strong additional support from comparisons in which pairs of groups differ both in sex and in cultural background (third section of Figure 8). The same distance was found between Anglo males and Mexican females and between Mexican males and Anglo females. In the other four comparisons the two which involved Puerto Rican females produced much larger distances than the other two comparisons which involved Puerto Rican males. These findings are in agreement with the results of our Washington, D.C. based study in which the distance measured between Hispanic males and females was substantially greater than the distances measured between Hispanic and Black American males and females (Szalay et al., 1978). Since our present study was based exclusively on male samples, these findings are useful in offering some empirical data on sex based psychocultural differences.

Variations in Distance Due to Age and Culture

To examine the effects of age on the various culture groups, the combined samples (N=200) formed of the regional samples (Anglo American, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican from our previous NIMH study) were each divided into younger and older subsamples (N=100). The age used as the point of division varied somewhat due to differences in the age distribution (see Appendix III, Table 2). The younger group included respondents up to 33 years of age for the Anglo Americans, up to 30 years for the Mexican Americans, and up to 28 years for the Puerto Ricans.

The distance due to age differences was found to be greater than the distances due to income or sex in the case of the Anglo Americans. But again Anglo Americans have shown the least distance compared to the Mexican

PSYCHOCULTURAL DISTANCE DUE TO DIFFERENCES IN AGE AND CULTURE *



The distances are calculated by using Pearson's product moment correlation (r) based on ca. 20,000 pairs of observations made in the context of a total of 120 stimulus themes used in the representation of ten domains. The results are based on mean coefficients calculated by using Z transformation.

*Source: Comparative Analysis of Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Anglo American Psychocultural Dispositions. L. B. Szalay, M. R. Miranda, A. T. Diaz-Royo, L. W. Yudin, M. N. Brena. Washington, D.C.: The Institute of Comparative Social and Cultural Studies, Inc., 1982.

Figure 9

Americans and Puerto Ricans (see first section of Figure 9). On all three of these important sociodemographic variables there was less distance between the Anglo American subgroups than between the Hispanic American subgroups. In other words, the Mexican Americans and the Puerto Ricans showed greater distances due to age, income, and sex differences than did the Anglo Americans. This offers an empirical support to the frequently stated opinion that U.S. Americans, possibly due to television, mass media, or other factors, are characterized by a high degree of relative similarity in their cultural frame of reference.

We found a particularly marked difference in distances due to the influence of age (second section of Figure 9). The distances between culture groups were smaller between the younger samples than the older. The difference was the smallest between the Anglo and Mexican Americans (.16-.12=.04); it was substantially bigger between Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans (.30-.23=.07) and much bigger between Puerto Ricans and Anglo Americans (.37-.25=.12). While the differences are distinct there may be various explanations. One possible explanation for the greater similarity found between the younger samples may be that the younger Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans are more influenced by the Anglo American culture. Another is that socialization creates progressively differential trends over the years. Eventually both of these trends and others may contribute to the observed differences.

The combined effects of differences in age and culture further underscore the importance of the differences between the Puerto Rican young and old samples. The distance between the Puerto Rican young and the American older samples (.29) is distinctly smaller than the distance between the Anglo American young and the Puerto Rican old (.34). As the related data suggest (e.g., a similar distance between the Mexican young and the Puerto Rican old, .32), this difference is largely a consequence of the Puerto Rican old standing apart as the most traditional culture group.

These age based differences underscore the fact that cultural differences are due largely to processes of socialization or enculturation, a process which starts with birth and progresses as a direct but nonlinear function of time, probably over the entire life span. Measurements with samples covering the human life span more broadly will be needed naturally to retrace this process more fully and conclusively.

Since our present study was based on student samples, the above data are helpful in showing how students generally compare to adults, that is, they show the range of difference we could expect if adult samples had been used as well.

PART II. CULTURAL VIEWS AND EVALUATIONS IN DOMAINS

The results presented in this part of the report show how the major Hispanic American groups perceive and evaluate a broad variety of dominant themes and timely issues with direct or indirect relevance to career orientation and service.

The results are organized in chapters addressing such diverse domains as ETHNIC IMAGES, SOCIAL IMAGES, SOCIAL VALUES, ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION, CAREER ORIENTATION, LEADERSHIP, MILITARY SERVICE, and LEISURE TIME. The specific themes analyzed show how the particular regional Hispanic American groups and the macthing sample of Anglo American students are predisposed to perceive and understand subjects pertinent to service orientation, satisfaction and performance.

The results presented on particular themes show the relative importance of the theme or subject and show what are the most salient components of its cultural meaning as understood by the members of each particular group. The tables on the left page show the actual responses given by the groups to a particular theme. The tables also show the response scores which convey the salience of a particular mosaic element in the groups overall understanding of that particular theme or subject. The response data presented on the left page provide the basis for the observations formulated on the right page. We present the response distributions so that the reader can see the foundation of our observations and so that the reader is given the opportunity to draw his or her own conclusions.

The discussion of individual themes is focused on the group specific images or meanings and their similarities or differences with the groups compared. The importance of specific theme to a particular group is shown by the total scores presented at the bottom line of the percentage tables. At the same time, these tables show the main components of perceptions and evaluations in a comparative presentation.

These insights provide new opportunities to implement an old principle of effective communication. We have practically an unlimited capability to establish rapport and understanding if we are able to identify what is dominant in people's mind and if we are able to reconstruct how they subjectively understand their physical and social environment.

The perceptual and motivational trends observed across the themes used in the representation of a particular domain are used to identify broader psychocultural dispositions which characterize the frame of reference of a particular group in such areas as social values or work motivation. These broader trends are discussed in the chapter summaries.

ETHNIC IMAGES: HISPANICS, ANGLO AMERICANS...

Whether people of a different background get along well in mainstream organizations and institutions, or experience tensions and conflicts depends largely on those deeply ingrained perceptual and attitudinal dispositions which influence how people see and feel about each other.

Ethnic/cultural images are selective and affect-laden subjective representations of a group of people, frequently distorted by ethnocentrism and biased stereotypes. The mental image of a person or group is not a simple proportionate reproduction of all observable qualities. What is registered and what is not are always selective and depend usually more on the observer than on the observed. Furthermore, ethnic images involve many intangibles: affects, identifications, rejections, stereotypes, sensitivities, inherited prejudices, resentments, etc.

The mosaic pieces of these images or mental representations vary greatly in their subjective salience. From a psychological/behavioral angle of special importance are the elements that are dominant in people's minds and thus likely to influence what they think and do. While most opinion surveys reveal little about the personal importance of a specific topic in the mind of the respondent, free verbal association is particularly informative in this respect. Spontaneous associations reflect the actual saliences of the mosaic elements and tell us about people's dispositions to construe reality in particular ways as influenced by their background and their social environment.

A faithful, proportionate reproduction of an ethnic image would indicate how positive or negative the image is, how affect-laden and ambivalent it is, how strong the ethnic self identification is (e.g., are individual Mexican Americans predisposed to identify themselves as Mexican Americans or Chicanos?). Hispanics resent certain labels and are not in full agreement as to the acceptability of others. Therefore, it is important to know whether Hispanic Americans prefer to be called "Hispanic Americans" or "Latinos;" or how popular is the label "Chicano" among various Mexican American groups? How do Hispanic Americans, or more specifically, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans view themselves and each other? How do they view Anglo Americans or Black Americans? What human qualities are particularly salient to them?

Our recent study performed for the National Institute of Mental Health offers here some relevant data. In combination with the data obtained in the present study on the images of ANGLO AMERICANS, BLACK AMERICANS, and HISPANIC AMERICANS, we present the data of this previous study on the images of MEXICAN AMERICANS, PUERTO RICANS, and CUBANS.

ANGLO AMERICANS/ANGLOAMERICANOS

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	**Percentage of Total Score**					
GOOD, SMART, NICE	26	10	15	7	2	15
U.S., AMERICA	13	8	0	11	24	10
POWER, MONEY	7	5	3	3	0	7
PREJUDICED, BAD, DUMB	7	13	23	6	3	18
WHITE, BLOND, TALL	19	32	22	23	8	20
PEOPLE, FRIENDS	13	21	14	7	23	15
COUNTRY, NATIONALITY	9	1	0	35	11	2
GRINGOS, W.A.S.P.	4	9	17	3	18	10
MISCELLANEOUS	3	1	5	5	10	2
Total Scores	1047	928	930	888	752	819

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
GOOD, SMART, NICE		272	91	137	61	16	122
all right		-	-	18	-	-	-
clean		-	-	10	-	-	-
nice		11	12	18	16	-	7
No. 1		26	-	-	-	-	-
friendly		12	12	21	9	-	7
fun		15	-	-	-	-	-
pride		8	-	9	-	-	28
kind		-	7	10	-	-	10
proud		13	-	-	10	-	-
good	buenos	34	32	17	11	16	31
great		33	-	-	-	-	11
intelligent		-	-	16	-	-	-
respect		-	-	-	-	-	11
respectable		-	-	-	-	-	10
best		23	-	-	-	-	-
cool		59	-	20	-	-	-
smart		16	28	-	15	-	7
U.S., AMERICA		131	73	0	100	180	88
New England		-	-	-	11	-	-
American,s	Americano,s	12	16	-	7	36	27
America		10	-	-	-	-	-
U.S.	E.U.	35	44	-	11	73	47
language	idioma	-	-	-	-	27	-
English	ingles	62	13	-	71	44	11
POWER, MONEY		68	51	25	30	0	57
money		7	16	16	-	-	-
rich		16	32	-	30	-	19
power,ful		14	3	9	-	-	10
rule		10	-	-	-	-	-
strong		5	-	-	-	-	28
white power		10	-	-	-	-	-
PREJUDICED, BAD, DUMB		74	120	217	69	29	169
open		-	12	8	-	-	-
bad	malos	12	18	-	-	5	9
no good		-	-	16	-	-	-
prejudice		25	28	24	31	-	12
dumb		-	18	15	-	-	10
crazy		-	-	10	-	-	-
K.K.K.		25	7	-	-	-	21
sucks		-	-	32	-	-	-
weird		-	-	16	-	-	-
racism	racismo	5	9	-	-	15	-
ugly		-	7	8	18	-	-
red necks		-	7	9	-	-	78
useless		-	-	16	-	-	-
dislike		-	-	-	-	-	10
stupid		-	6	26	-	-	-
strange		-	-	10	-	-	-
hate		-	8	12	-	-	9
dirty		-	-	19	-	-	-
WHITE, BLOND, TALL		208	297	207	202	62	166
black		10	-	-	9	16	40
yellow		-	-	-	-	-	12
white boys		-	-	36	20	-	-
blue eyes		-	12	9	-	-	-
tall		-	11	-	11	-	17
white	blanco,s	175	201	140	154	30	44
blonde	rubio	-	73	24	8	16	53

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
PEOPLE, FRIENDS		138	192	132	62	170	124
Indians		-	-	-	8	-	10
family		11	-	-	-	-	-
many		-	6	-	-	-	12
natives		-	-	-	11	-	-
persons	personas	-	-	11	-	31	7
me		44	-	-	-	-	-
people	gente	23	54	26	20	31	56
women		-	11	6	-	-	-
race, clan	raza	14	7	-	10	69	10
foreigner	extranjero	-	-	-	-	17	-
friends		15	80	55	-	-	-
sport person		-	-	-	-	-	10
society		-	-	-	-	-	13
human being	ser humano	-	-	-	-	12	-
brothers &	hermanos	-	-	-	-	10	-
girls		-	7	23	-	-	-
G. Washington		-	-	-	13	-	-
majority		18	27	11	-	-	-
COUNTRY, NATIONALITY		90	12	0	309	66	17
Polish		-	-	-	13	-	-
country	pais	-	-	-	-	10	-
Saxon		12	-	-	-	-	-
nationality	nacionalidad	-	-	-	-	18	-
Europe	Europa	22	6	-	32	8	-
French		-	-	-	27	-	-
south		-	-	-	-	-	17
European		-	-	-	40	-	-
Chinese		-	-	-	10	-	-
north	norte	-	-	-	-	12	-
Russian		-	-	-	10	-	-
England	Inglaterra	40	6	-	10	38	-
Englishmen		-	-	-	11	-	-
British		8	-	-	50	-	-
Spaniards		-	-	-	11	-	-
Irish		-	-	-	39	-	-
Italian		-	-	-	29	-	-
Puerto Rico		-	-	-	27	-	-
GRINGOS, W.A.S.P.		43	82	102	30	139	84
bilingual	bilingue	-	-	-	-	10	-
different		-	7	26	-	-	8
gringos	gringos	-	64	22	-	18	34
W.A.S.P.		23	-	-	18	-	11
cowboys		-	-	20	-	-	9
honky		-	-	53	-	-	-
habits	costumbres	-	-	-	-	26	-
culture	culture	-	-	-	-	10	-
flag		-	-	-	-	-	30
rock & roll		-	-	9	12	-	-
Protestant		11	6	-	-	-	-
baseball		-	5	12	-	-	-
customs	habitos	-	-	-	-	15	-
religion	religion	-	-	-	-	23	8
hot dogs		5	-	20	-	-	-
mixture	mezcla	-	-	-	-	37	-
MISCELLANEOUS		29	10	50	45	75	15
party		10	-	-	-	-	-
I don't know	no se	11	-	35	13	39	-
live together	convivencia	-	-	-	-	13	-
politics	politica	-	-	-	-	23	-
sex		-	-	-	17	-	-
cars		5	10	-	-	-	-
work,er		-	-	9	-	-	15
drugs		-	-	6	15		

ANGLO AMERICANS/ANGLOAMERICANOS

When thinking of ANGLO AMERICANS, the Anglo American students were providing the mosaic pieces of their own collective self image. The other student groups described how they see the "mainstream" from their own subjective perspectives.

Positive human attributes received the heaviest emphasis from the Anglo American students (e.g., "No. 1," "cool," "great," and "best"). Although the Hispanic Americans did not use such superlatives, they did describe Anglo Americans as "good," "nice," "friendly," and "smart."

On the negative side, "prejudice" appears as the most salient general observation receiving high scores from the Anglo American students as well. The Mexican Americans in Tempe who scored the highest on positive characteristics, were also the most critical (e.g., "sucks," "stupid"). From the Cubans "red necks" was a particularly dominant characterization.

Skin color ("white"), size ("tall"), hair color ("blond"), and other physical characteristics received considerable attention from Hispanic Americans living in the U.S. environment. In comparison, the San Juan students paid much less attention to physical/racial characteristics. Yet, interestingly, in the identification of Anglo Americans, the San Juan group shows a distinct tendency to think of "raza," which is frequently interpreted as race but actually refers more to a national collective (Szalay et al., 1978). Compared to this more collective identification, the Mexican Americans thought more in terms of individual Americans (e.g., "friends," "girls").

How direct experiences shape images is conveyed by the multi-national references of the New York based Puerto Rican students, who referred to a broad variety of ethnic origins ("European," "British," "French," "Russian," "Chinese," "Italian," "Spanish") reflecting the diversity characteristic of their city.

Also, while the Anglo American group preferred the term "WASPs," the Hispanic American students thought more of "gringos" and the Tempe group thought more of "honky" and "cowboy." The San Juan group's numerous references to "religion," "habits," "culture," and "customs," indicate the perspective of an outside observer separated by a certain distance, while a greater closeness is conveyed by the Mexican American reaction "friends."

In general, the Hispanic Americans' images of Anglo Americans reflect interesting differences shaped by different experiences and perspectives. The Puerto Ricans in New York stressed diversity, taking the view of an insider, the Mexican Americans showed a great deal of affect-laden ambivalence, and the San Juan students thought in more general terms of people, persons and particularly "raza," stressing more racial or national unity. These differences do not preclude a similarity in trends to perceive Anglo Americans as "prejudiced" or as "good" and "friendly."

BLACK AMERICANS/NEGROAMERICANOS

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
PEOPLE, FRIENDS	9	17	12	12	24	13
BLACKS, NEGROS	11	17	12	16	9	9
PREJUDICE, RACISM	16	12	10	12	35	10
DARK SKIN, BIG	7	7	13	11	2	2
POOR, CRIME, FIGHTS	10	4	2	10	4	16
AFRICA, NEW YORK, GHETTO	11	7	5	6	10	6
CULTURE, ROOTS, MUSIC	11	12	15	9	10	7
GOOD, FRIENDLY, COOL	6	9	13	6	1	15
BAD, MEAN, UGLY	7	4	6	13	0	19
RIGHTS, EQUALITY	3	2	1	0	1	3
SPORTS, STRONG, ATHLETE	10	8	9	5	3	2
MISCELLANEOUS	0	0	2	0	1	0
Total Scores	1318	1241	1210	913	1080	953

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
PEOPLE, FRIENDS		113	213	146	146	263	123
American,s	Americano,s	-	-	-	-	58	-
mixture	mezcla	-	-	-	-	39	-
Mr. Smith		21	-	-	-	-	-
nation,ality	nacionalidad	-	-	-	-	15	-
friend,s	amigos	25	43	46	53	23	19
people	gente	12	63	18	18	14	81
person,s	persona,s	-	-	-	-	37	-
Brian		-	51	-	-	-	-
brother,s		-	7	13	-	-	-
Dennis		-	13	-	-	-	-
brothers &	hermanos	-	-	-	-	16	-
Derrick		-	-	33	-	-	-
human,ity	humanidad	-	23	-	-	17	-
space chacter		25	8	-	-	-	-
jungle,bunny		20	-	8	-	-	-
Keith		-	-	18	-	-	-
Lionel		-	-	-	12	-	-
citizen,s	ciudadanos	-	-	-	12	9	9
white,people	blancos	-	-	10	-	8	-
man	hombre	-	-	-	-	11	-
many	muchos	-	5	-	11	16	16
BLACKS, NEGROS		149	200	147	165	100	88
black,s	prietos	22	68	46	26	11	46
nigger,s		86	90	27	32	-	29
African,s	Africano,s	-	9	18	51	38	-
negro,s	negro,s	27	44	56	36	55	15
PREJUDICE, RACISM		208	146	124	107	379	99
exploitation	explotacion	-	-	-	-	40	-
prejudice,d	prejuicios	23	5	21	10	25	10
race	raza	-	22	8	-	102	-
racism	racismo	15	-	-	-	91	-
segregation	segregacion	-	-	-	-	11	-
slave,s	esclavo,s	59	51	63	38	33	43
slavery	esclavitud	36	21	-	17	10	10
minority,ties		13	36	40	30	-	15
inequality	desigualdad	-	-	-	-	11	-
injustice	injusticia	-	-	-	-	10	-
discriminat.	discriminac.	14	-	7	12	57	17
sufferance	sufrimiento	-	-	-	-	40	-
K.K.K.		29	9	9	-	-	-
DARK SKIN, BIG		95	93	163	108	21	20
big		-	12	27	11	-	-
color,ed	color	10	-	18	26	21	12
dark,skin		27	23	60	54	-	8
tall		7	-	11	-	-	-
teeth		-	11	-	-	-	-
afro		28	21	10	-	-	-
lips, big		14	26	37	11	-	-
POOR, CRIME, FIGHTS		138	50	28	98	46	146
crime		14	9	-	18	-	-
poor	pobres	46	22	13	37	35	93
poverty	pobreza	15	7	-	-	8	-
fight,s	luchas	14	-	-	-	5	12
riots		-	6	9	-	-	30
slums		13	-	6	-	-	-
thief,ves		7	-	-	-	-	11
unemployed		6	6	-	10	-	-
welfare		12	-	-	8	-	-
low class		-	-	-	10	-	-
mugging		-	-	-	11	-	-
SPORTS, STRONG, ATHLETE		127	103	103	83	31	19
basketball		42	46	28	15	-	-
football		9	11	6	-	-	-
R. Jackson		-	-	-	11	-	-
sports	deportes	23	22	28	15	8	-
fast		11	9	20	-	-	10
strength	fuerza	-	-	-	-	13	-
strong	fuertes	-	-	16	-	10	9
tough		11	-	-	-	-	-
athlete,s,ic		8	15	5	8	-	-
J. Robinson		11	-	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		0	0	22	0	11	0
T.C.		-	-	10	-	-	-
union	union	-	-	-	-	11	-
cadillac,s		-	-	12	-	-	-
AFRICA, NEW YORK, GHETTO		143	92	63	56	109	54
city		11	-	-	-	-	-
New York	New York	6	-	6	9	8	8
ghetto		24	8	13	7	-	12
Harlem		12	6	-	-	-	-
S.E.		13	-	-	-	-	-
Africa	Africa	46	60	36	18	78	34
south		18	18	8	-	-	-
Jamaica,i	Jamaiquino	-	-	-	22	-	-
United States	E.U.	-	-	-	-	20	-
CULTURE, ROOTS, MUSIC		143	149	180	86	107	62
M. L. King		8	17	-	47	-	11
origin	origen	-	-	-	-	11	-
culture	cultura	-	16	-	-	14	-
dance,ers,ing		6	23	-	-	-	-
habits	costumbres	-	-	-	-	22	-
religion	religion	-	-	-	-	33	-
roots		9	14	25	30	-	18
history	historia	-	6	-	-	11	-
soul		8	16	15	-	-	13
different		15	9	-	16	-	-
music		5	11	9	13	-	8
jive		16	-	-	-	-	-
chicken,fried		28	6	57	-	-	12
language	idioma,s	-	5	-	-	16	-
watermelon		35	22	74	-	-	-
GOOD, FRIENDLY, COOL		84	117	152	56	9	139
friendly		9	9	19	13	-	-
nice		6	24	-	18	-	28
fun		-	-	11	-	-	9
funny		-	5	18	8	-	-
pride,oud		15	6	-	-	-	48
good	buenos	22	9	-	-	9	56
happy		-	13	-	-	-	-
honest		-	-	-	-	-	14
smart		9	17	-	15	-	12
respect		-	10	-	-	-	-
cool		15	27	104	-	-	-
BAD, MEAN, UGLY		89	54	70	120	0	178
ugly		12	8	7	41	-	32
dirty		-	5	-	27	-	12
stupid		7	-	6	12	-	7
dislike		-	-	-	-	-	12
hate		7	-	17	-	-	-
drunks		-	-	-	-	-	11
strange		8	9	16	-	-	-
sad		-	-	-	-	-	12
mean		16	11	6	-	-	-
trouble		-	9	-	18	-	-
bad		16	7	8	13	-	58
dumb		8	-	-	-	-	20
smell,y		7	5	10	7	-	14
RIGHTS, EQUALITY		33	20	12	9	10	29
rights,civil		16	6	-	-	-	12
fair		-	-	12	-	-	-
liberty	libertad	-	-	-	-	10	9
equal,s,ity		14	14	-	-	-	8

BLACK AMERICANS/NEGROAMERICANOS

The image of BLACK AMERICANS is particularly rich in content and subjective dominance to the Anglo Americans, while less so to the Puerto Ricans and Cubans. "Friends" and "friendship" were more common reactions from the Mexican Americans and New York Puerto Ricans students. The San Juan students and the Cubans used the neutral terms of "persons" or "people." At the same time, the San Juan group strongly identified BLACK AMERICANS as "Americans" and "mezclas" (mixture). The Anglo and El Paso Mexican students used the lable "nigger," while the other samples called them "negroes," and the New York based Puerto Rican group refered mostly to "Africans." "Prejudice" was mentioned by all groups, yet its salience is relatively low compared to the idea of "slavery," which was dominant across the board. The San Juan students thought again in terms of race (raza) and objected to "racism" and "discrimination." The Anglo American students emphasized "slavery," "prejudice," and the "K.K.K." but not to the extent of the San Juan students

The physical appearance ("dark skin," "big lips," "afro") of Black Americans was salient only to the Anglo Americans and the more accultured Hispanic American students. Human social problems like "poverty," "crime," "unemployment," and "welfare" attracted attention particularly from the Cubans, the Anglo Americans, and the Puerto Ricans in New York.

The African origin was most dominant in the minds of the San Juan and El Paso students. The Anglo Americans also mentioned some domestic urban locations such as "Harlem," and "S.E." Cultural tradition, music, and food preferences received varying degrees of attention. "Roots," "music," and "soul" were broadly mentioned features; others were more sporadic and irregular in their distribution (e.g., "fried chicken," "watermelon").

The same is true for positive personality attributes (e.g., "friendly," "nice," "good"). The Tempe group described BLACK AMERICANS as being very "cool." The Cubans characterized them the most positively ("good," "nice," "proud") but used the most negative attributes as well ("bad," "dumb," "ugly"). For the Puerto Rican student in New York the negative attributes ("ugly," "dirty," "trouble") outweighed the positive ones ("nice," "smart"). "Sports," "strength," and physical performance were important considerations to the Anglo and the Mexican American groups, while these received less attention from the Puerto Ricans and the Cubans.

In general, the image of BLACK AMERICANS strongly depends on the frame of reference of the observer. While "Africa," "slavery," and "poverty" were common observations, on specifics we observe a strong affective ambivalence by the Cubans, a preponderance of positive features in the eyes of the Mexican Americans, a more intensive concern with crime and critical attitudes by the New York Puerto Ricans, a particularly strong objection to racism and discrimination by the San Juan students, and a vivid imagery by the Anglo Americans (e.g., "Africa," "slavery," "basketball," and other sports).

HISPANIC AMERICANS/HISPANOAMERICANOS

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
COUNTRY, NATIONALITY	29	25	21	49	1	37
PEOPLE, FRIENDS, FAMILY	17	20	20	13	13	16
SPANISH, LANGUAGE	12	6	1	9	0	6
CULTURE, RACE, FOOD	11	15	9	5	0	8
GOOD, LOVING, FRIENDLY	5	6	7	7	36	10
HUMBLE, SMART, RESPECT	1	2	2	6	16	3
BAD, POOR, FIGHTS	21	8	11	1	2	9
WORK, STUDY, AMBITION	1	2	1	0	14	1
ME, MYSELF, US	0	10	5	3	11	1
PRIDE, STRONG, BEST	0	7	15	7	5	5
MISCELLANEOUS	4	0	7	0	2	2
Total Scores	1079	1058	1167	1098	1106	1042

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
COUNTRY, NATIONALITY		305	264	244	540	10	388
country		-	10	-	-	-	26
border		8	8	14	-	-	-
Cosmic,AZ		-	-	13	-	-	-
Miami		-	-	-	-	-	18
New York		12	-	-	-	-	6
Rio Grande		-	10	-	-	-	-
Spain		31	16	-	-	-	22
Peruvians		-	-	-	-	-	20
Latin,o,s		17	8	-	18	-	28
Mexico,an,s		89	148	115	42	-	13
Puertorico,an Puertorriq.		28	-	14	227	10	36
Cuba,n,s		15	-	15	52	-	162
Colombia,n,s		-	-	-	30	-	16
Ecuadorian		-	-	-	41	-	-
Dominican Rep.		-	-	-	11	-	-
Dominican,s	Dominicano	-	-	-	99	-	16
Argentinian		-	-	-	7	-	11
Spaniards		-	-	11	-	-	-
Chicano,s		-	24	62	-	-	-
Hispanic		-	-	-	-	-	10
Latin,s		77	10	-	-	-	-
American		-	8	-	13	-	12
Indian,s		-	22	-	-	-	-
PEOPLE, FRIENDS, FAMILY		184	211	232	144	139	169
people		20	51	27	15	-	67
person	persona	-	-	-	-	51	7
unique, one	unico	-	-	-	-	13	-
girls,friend		-	-	18	-	-	-
human,s,being	humano, ser	-	9	-	-	23	-
friend,s	amigo	17	46	46	41	28	26
white,s		-	-	-	9	-	11
black,s		-	-	-	-	-	13
minority		14	19	21	11	-	-
chola,s		9	-	23	-	-	-
foreign,ers		22	-	-	-	-	-
half-breed		-	15	-	-	-	-
citizens		-	-	-	13	-	-
wetback,s		35	-	11	-	-	-
lowrider,s		39	-	43	-	-	-
onion,picker		13	-	-	-	-	-
man	hombre	-	-	-	-	18	-
many		-	15	-	8	-	-
rich		10	-	-	-	-	-
brother,s		-	9	16	-	-	-
mother		-	8	-	18	-	12
family	familia	-	34	29	25	9	20
father		-	6	-	12	-	11
SPANISH, LANGUAGE		128	59	12	103	0	66
language		11	13	12	27	-	-
accent		16	-	-	-	-	-
Spanish		89	46	-	76	-	66
CULTURE, RACE, FOOD		119	161	109	60	0	82
taco,s		20	8	-	-	-	-
music		-	-	-	37	-	-
church		-	-	10	-	-	-
beans		26	-	9	7	-	-
food		11	8	24	16	-	36
religion		-	13	-	-	-	-
heritage		-	36	-	-	-	-
culture		15	26	17	-	-	20
race		-	26	23	-	-	17
different		7	7	-	-	-	11
dark		10	12	-	11	-	-
brown		19	31	29	-	-	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
GOOD, LOVING, FRIENDLY		58	63	76	77	398	107
joyful	alegre	-	-	-	-	37	-
understanding	comprensivo	-	-	-	10	15	-
agreeable	agradable	-	-	8	-	14	-
want, love	quiero	-	-	-	-	16	-
likable	simpatico	-	-	-	-	13	-
lovable	carinoso,o	-	-	-	-	13	-
love,ing	amor,oso	-	9	7	-	38	23
feeling	sentimiento	-	-	-	-	10	-
nice		23	-	21	21	-	21
friendly	amistoso	9	-	-	12	40	-
okay		15	-	-	-	-	-
personality	personalidad	-	-	-	-	10	-
pleasant		-	-	-	-	-	12
good	buena,o	8	27	19	34	110	51
all right		-	-	11	-	-	-
share	comparto	-	-	-	-	13	-
happy,ness	felicidad	-	13	10	-	4	-
help,ful	servicial	-	14	-	-	9	-
amiable	amable,gable	-	-	-	-	55	-
HUMBLE, SMART, RESPECT		5	25	28	68	178	34
smart		5	10	15	16	-	10
intelligent	inteligente	-	-	7	-	36	12
trust,worthy	confianza	-	-	-	17	9	-
responsible	responsable	-	-	-	-	16	-
respect,able	respeto	-	15	6	20	8	12
sincere	sincero	-	-	-	-	28	-
honest	honrada,o	-	-	-	9	18	-
humble	humilde	-	-	-	-	27	-
unaffected	sencillo	-	-	-	-	10	-
obedient	obediente	-	-	-	-	12	-
tranquil	tranquilo	-	-	-	-	10	-
timid,shy	timido	-	-	-	-	14	-
BAD, POOR, FIGHTS		220	80	133	13	22	98
trouble		-	11	-	-	-	-
suck,s		33	-	-	-	-	12
dumb		5	5	21	-	-	4
fags		15	-	-	-	-	-
bad, evil	malo,a	16	10	56	-	22	44
discrimination		-	-	12	-	-	9
poor		14	54	6	13	-	21
prejudice		10	-	-	-	-	-
assholes		16	-	-	-	-	-
fight,s		29	-	5	-	-	-
kill		13	-	4	-	-	-
knives		11	-	-	-	-	-
gangs		17	-	11	-	-	-
grease,r		11	-	-	-	-	-
strange		-	-	12	-	-	-
stupid		10	-	6	-	-	5
WORK, STUDY, AMBITION		5	17	16	0	156	13
improve, to	mejorar	-	-	-	-	17	-
desire	deseo	-	-	-	-	10	-
ambition,ous	ambicion,oso	-	-	-	-	29	-
goals	metas	-	-	-	-	10	-
work	trabajo	5	6	-	-	22	13
workers, hard		-	11	16	-	-	-
boss	amo	-	-	-	-	17	-
study,ies	estudio,s	-	-	-	-	28	-
student	estudiante	-	-	-	-	25	-

ME, MYSELF, US		0	101	58	29	119	13
to be	ser	-	-	-	-	19	-
me		-	69	42	29	-	13
am, I	soy	-	-	-	-	29	-
self, ego	ego	-	-	-	-	24	-
myself		-	32	-	-	-	-
us		-	-	16	-	-	-
you, your	tu	-	-	-	-	30	-
yourself	uno mismo	-	-	-	-	17	-
PRIDE, STRONG, BEST		0	77	179	80	57	57
best, the	lo mejor	-	7	14	21	13	-
better	mejor	-	-	-	-	13	-
strong	fuerte	-	5	21	-	9	-
great	grande	-	22	-	-	9	21
cool		-	8	42	-	-	-
proud		-	15	27	27	-	-
pride	orgullo	-	5	63	24	13	36
tough		-	15	-	-	-	-
No. 1		-	-	12	8	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		42	0	80	0	25	22
party,ies		-	-	34	-	-	-
money		-	-	7	-	-	11
cruise		-	-	10	-	-	-
soccer		14	-	-	-	-	-
T.C.		13	-	12	-	-	-
united		-	-	-	-	-	11
God	Dios	-	-	-	-	12	-
the	el	-	-	-	-	13	-
I don't know		11	-	-	-	-	-
votos		-	-	17	-	-	-

HISPANIC AMERICANS/HISPANOAMERICANOS

Since we are comparing Hispanic American samples, the similar subjective salience or dominance of this image is not particularly surprising.

The response scores convey how representative various ethnic/cultural groups or countries are of HISPANIC AMERICANS in the minds of our respondents. To the Anglo Americans "Mexican" ranked first, followed by "Puerto Rican," and "Cuban." To the Mexican American groups, "Mexican" and "Chicano" were at the top of the list. The label "Chicano" is apparently more popular with the Tempe than the El Paso students. It is also important to note that the "Chicano" label is apparently quite acceptable to the Mexican Americans, while "Latino" does not appear to be a popular identification, except with the Cubans.

In terms of human identifications the strongest, most popular category is "People, Friends, Family." The Anglo and Mexican American students used some popular slang like "low rider" and "wetback." They also mentioned food items ("taco," "beans") and racial characteristics ("dark," "brown"). The San Juan Puerto Ricans concentrated their attention on personality characteristics (e.g., "good," "amiable," "friendly," "loving," "joyful"), relevant to good rapport and close interpersonal relations. The Cubans showed a similar trend but with much less intensity. This same trend is conveyed by another cluster of reactions involving social values ("humble," "sincere," "honest," "responsible," "obedient," and "intelligent"), which were again particularly dominant in the San Juan Puerto Ricans' image of HISPANIC AMERICANS.

The negative characterizations of HISPANIC AMERICANS came predominantly from the Anglo and the more acculturated Mexican American students and also from the Cubans. While some of the Anglo reactions are derogatory, others focus on violence (e.g., "kill," "fight," "knives," and "gang"). The Tempe and Miami groups characterized Hispanic Americans as "bad," while the El Paso group described them as "poor."

In the San Juan group's image of HISPANIC AMERICANS, "work," "study," "ambition," and "goals" were very dominant, particularly compared to the other Hispanic American groups. References to "me, myself" show a strong self identification by the El Paso and the San Juan students as being HISPANIC AMERICANS, while "proud," "strong," "cool," and "No. 1" were the most salient for the Tempe group.

In general, HISPANIC AMERICANS means ethnic identification to all groups. Yet, there is a great difference between the more acculturated groups who think in cultural terms of customs and food, and the San Juan Puerto Ricans who placed particularly strong emphasis on human and social qualities. To them HISPANIC AMERICANS denotes positive personal qualities rather than the predominant cultural stereotypes, which probably explains the stronger self identification as well.

MEXICAN AMERICANS/MEXICANO/AMERICANOS

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Americans		Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	New York	Los Angel.	Los Angel.	El Paso	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score						
APPEARANCE: DARK, GREASY	3	11	5	6	1	3	3
HAPPY, PROUD	2	6	20	11	5	2	6
CULTURE: MUSIC, FOOD	12	10	7	11	25	11	12
SPANISH, HISPANIC, LANGUAGE	18	13	1	8	6	7	5
PEOPLE, FRIENDS	23	23	28	26	26	34	33
CHICANOS, ME	3	7	18	15	12	10	11
POVERTY, CRIME, PREJUDICE	10	13	6	7	10	6	11
MEXICO, TEXAS, U.S.	17	9	5	8	9	21	14
WORK, MONEY	7	2	2	3	2	3	5
FRIENDSHIP, LOVE	3	0	3	1	1	3	1
MISCELLANEOUS	2	1	5	5	2	1	0
Total Scores	1306	1401	857	1154	1063	1140	1176

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Americans		Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		New York	Los Angel.	Los Angel.	El Paso	New York	San Juan	Miami
APPEARANCE: DARK, GREASY		42	158	42	67	7	36	32
brown	moreno	42	129	42	67	7	8	8
tan	trigueno	-	-	-	-	-	10	7
gre.		-	12	-	-	-	-	-
dirty	sucio	-	-	-	-	-	18	17
eyes		-	17	-	-	-	-	-
HAPPY, PROUD		23	90	168	123	50	19	67
cool		-	-	-	10	-	-	-
good	bueno	6	18	47	26	26	10	35
nice		-	7	-	-	11	-	-
great		-	-	-	11	-	-	-
pleasant		-	-	-	-	-	-	15
happy		7	10	-	8	-	-	-
pride		-	15	12	-	-	-	-
proud	orgulloso	-	18	36	54	13	9	-
religious		10	-	-	-	-	-	-
sad		-	10	-	-	-	-	-
smart		-	12	30	-	-	-	-
strong		-	-	17	14	-	-	-
sympathetic		-	-	-	-	-	-	10
intelligent		-	-	15	-	-	-	-
joyful		-	-	11	-	-	-	7
CULTURE: MUSIC, FOOD		150	144	61	122	267	126	139
chile	chile	8	-	-	-	22	22	10
food		33	48	18	18	18	-	5
music		28	16	10	10	15	-	-
nationality	nacionalidad	10	-	-	9	9	8	16
habits		-	-	-	-	-	-	12
culture	cultura	17	25	21	31	24	28	24
cars		-	12	-	-	-	-	-
sombreros	sombreros	-	-	-	-	21	31	
heritage		-	-	6	16	-	-	-
beans		13	19	-	-	-	-	-
history		-	-	6	13	-	-	10
Catholic		5	13	-	8	-	-	-
songs		-	-	-	-	-	-	18
tacos	tacos	27	11	-	6	129	54	43
tortillas		17	-	-	-	-	-	-
ethnic		-	-	-	11	13	-	-
hot	picante	-	-	-	-	16	11	
SPANISH, HISPANIC, LANGUAGE		238	177	9	87	66	81	60
Latins	Latinos	-	37	-	-	9	16	14
accent		12	-	-	-	-	-	10
Hispanic		46	20	-	7	-	-	-
Spanish	Espanol	118	93	9	54	49	26	15
mix		-	12	-	-	-	-	-
English	Ingles	8	-	-	5	8	13	5
bilingual		11	-	-	8	-	-	-
language	idioma	43	15	-	13	-	26	16
FRIENDSHIP, LOVE		34	0	26	15	15	30	6
love	amor	14	-	26	15	-	4	6
union	union	9	-	-	-	-	12	-
freedom		11	-	-	-	-	-	-
friendship	amistad	-	-	-	-	15	14	-
MISCELLANEOUS		27	12	46	60	20	11	5
low rider		-	12	-	-	-	-	-
water		-	-	-	-	11	-	-
travel		12	-	-	-	2	-	-
progress		-	-	11	10	-	-	-
education		9	-	7	26	-	-	-
rising		-	-	-	14	-	-	-
power		-	-	15	10	-	-	-
help		6	-	13	-	7	-	5
charo	charo	-	-	-	-	-	11	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Americans		Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		New York	Los Angel.	Los Angel.	El Paso	New York	San Juan	Miami
PEOPLE, FRIENDS		301	394	239	302	281	384	388
children	ninos	12	18	-	5	-	5	11
majority		-	13	-	-	-	-	-
man	hombre	-	-	-	-	-	24	-
many		-	9	10	-	-	-	-
foreigner	extranjero	15	-	-	-	-	45	9
men	hombres	-	-	-	-	-	6	16
Mexicans	Mejicanos	12	21	9	11	29	10	12
aliens		17	15	-	7	8	-	-
migrants	vagos	21	-	-	-	-	-	10
Anglo		-	-	-	12	-	-	-
citizens	ciudadanos	13	26	-	21	11	7	18
frontier	frontera	-	-	-	6	11	44	44
persons	personas	-	-	-	-	-	27	48
myself		-	9	12	-	-	-	-
friends	amigos	23	38	9	30	11	21	37
mixture	mezcla	-	-	-	-	-	13	-
negroes	negros	-	-	-	-	-	20	-
neighbors		-	21	-	-	-	-	-
Pancho		-	-	-	-	10	-	-
people	gente	49	128	83	66	80	96	18
minority	minoria	38	15	10	32	22	11	12
group		-	-	-	5	-	-	12
population	pueblo	-	-	-	-	9	6	12
family		15	31	28	37	-	-	6
race	raza	16	13	58	53	17	17	10
refugees		-	-	-	-	12	-	-
women	mujeres	-	-	-	-	-	17	6
self		-	-	-	10	-	-	-
humans	humanos	-	-	6	8	8	9	15
emigrant		-	-	-	-	12	-	14
immigrants		55	-	-	9	-	-	7
student		-	-	10	-	-	-	-
Indians	indios	-	5	-	-	41	25	66
kids		-	23	-	-	-	-	-
cholos		-	7	16	-	-	-	-
wet,damp	mojados	-	-	-	-	-	21	5
wetbacks		15	11	-	-	-	-	-
CHICANOS, ME		42	101	150	171	126	118	124
me		-	-	49	56	-	-	-
self,myself		-	9	12	10	-	-	-
Chicanos	Chicanos	42	92	89	105	126	118	124
POVERTY, CRIME, PREJUDICE		130	181	52	76	107	83	130
poor	pobres	65	45	25	34	41	23	81
poverty	pobreza	20	7	-	-	9	11	10
grafiti		-	10	-	-	-	-	-
gangs		-	75	18	-	-	-	-
oppression		10	-	-	-	23	-	-
crime		-	11	-	-	-	-	-
prejudice		7	10	-	-	-	-	-
problems	problemas	-	-	-	-	-	23	-
racism		-	-	-	-	11	-	-
discrimination		9	-	-	36	23	-	11
illegal		19	17	-	-	-	-	8
injustice		-	-	-	-	-	-	10
bad	malo	-	6	9	6	-	6	10
MEXICO, TEXAS, U.S.		225	122	44	92	99	235	163
border		38	11	-	-	-	-	-
California	California	46	-	10	-	39	15	72
Puerto Rico		-	-	-	-	18	-	-
Mexico	Mexico	77	77	34	56	-	100	22
south		29	7	-	-	-	-	-
countries	paises	-	-	-	11	24	33	21
United States	Estados Un.	-	9	-	17	-	38	-
Rio Grande	Rio Grande	-	-	-	-	-	14	7
America	America	6	18	-	8	5	8	-
Texas	Tejas	29	-	-	-	13	27	41
WORK, MONEY		86	22	20	39	25	37	62
work	trabajo	22	16	16	20	11	9	45
jobs		19	-	-	-	-	6	-
money	dinero	-	-	-	6	7	16	9
worker	trabajador	19	-	-	13	7	6	8
farm,er		26	6	4	-	-	-	-

MEXICAN AMERICANS/MEXICANAMERICANOS

In the self image of the Mexican Americans, the people category was particularly salient, although it is a composite of several components: "people," "family," "race." They also showed a high degree of self identification ("me"), and although Mexican Americans frequently object to the label Chicano, they apparently use it to a certain degree themselves. In contrast, other alternatives, such as "Mexican," "Hispanic" or "Latin," which are labels frequently used by outsiders, did not elicit any substantive identification from the Mexican Americans. The most substantive elements of the Mexican self image were personality attributes like "good," "proud," "strong," "intelligent," and with regard to their economic situation, "poor." References to "heritage," "culture," and "history" reflect less personal attachment.

The Anglo Americans viewed MEXICAN AMERICANS as "immigrants," "Mexicans," a racial "minority," but also as "citizens." They described Mexican Americans as being "good," "proud," "happy" and "sad," "religious," and "smart." But personality characteristics received less attention than the Spanish, Hispanic origin and language. "Culture," "customs," and popular food such as "tacos," "tortillas," "chili," "beans," were frequently mentioned. With regard to life conditions, "poverty" and "work" were strong concerns as were "gangs" and "crime" to the Anglos in Los Angeles. Anglo Americans associated Mexican Americans more with Mexico than did the Mexican Americans themselves.

The people dimension was also particularly salient to the Puerto Ricans and Cubans. They perceived MEXICAN AMERICANS as "people," "persons," "minorities," "citizens," a separate "race," as "foreigners" by some and as "friends" by others. In addition to their references to "Spanish" and "Mexican," "Indians" was a surprisingly high response. They viewed Mexican Americans as "good" and "proud" people but also as "dirty." The affective identification was modest, and their association with distant regions, "Mexico," "Texas," and "California" was more salient. The label "Chicano" was particularly heavily used. In the eyes of the Cubans "poverty" was a particularly salient characteristic of Mexican Americans and to a lesser extent also "injustice" and "discrimination."

In general, the Anglo Americans viewed MEXICAN AMERICANS from the critical perspective of the majority. Personality attributes such as "good" and "proud" are most mentioned by the Mexican Americans. Compared to other groups, the Mexican Americans placed less emphasis on culture, language, economic and social conditions. They also showed strong self identification as "Chicanos." The Cubans were similar to Anglo Americans in their views of MEXICAN AMERICANS.

PUERTO RICANS/PUERTORIQUENOS

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Americans		Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	New York	Los Angel.	Los Angel.	El Paso	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score						
APPEARANCE: DARK, BROWN	9	14	11	12	3	4	1
GOOD, LOVE, INDEPENDENCE	5	6	14	10	19	32	25
CULTURE: FOOD, MUSIC	16	12	15	11	11	3	10
SPANISH, HISPANIC, LATIN	24	18	9	18	13	3	9
PEOPLE, FRIENDS	21	21	30	26	21	16	22
BAD, COARSE	1	3	0	0	0	2	4
POVERTY, DRUGS, GANGS	9	7	3	5	10	4	2
PUERTO RICO, ISLAND, U.S.	12	18	16	16	17	20	20
WORK, MONEY	0	1	2	0	5	15	5
MISCELLANEOUS	4	0	0	2	1	2	1
Total Scores	1450	1193	797	1235	1306	1440	1206

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Americans		Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		New York	Los Angel.	Los Angel.	El Paso	New York	San Juan	Miami
APPEARANCE: DARK, BROWN		128	166	87	152	45	61	17
tan		10	-	-	-	-	-	-
brown		-	21	19	41	-	-	-
dark		55	81	39	38	6	-	11
dark hair		15	-	-	16	5	-	-
beautiful		10	6	-	8	26	-	-
gray		6	17	-	-	-	-	-
pretty	linda	-	-	-	8	-	11	-
hair		-	18	8	-	-	-	-
black	negro	13	20	21	18	-	50	6
color		7	3	-	12	8	-	-
short		-	-	-	11	-	-	-
small		12	-	-	-	-	-	-
GOOD, LOVE, INDEPENDENCE		69	70	114	127	252	460	301
independent	independien.	-	-	-	8	25	22	-
united	unidos	-	-	-	11	13	11	12
joyful	alegre	-	-	-	11	13	28	36
kindness		-	-	-	8	9	-	15
lively		10	6	-	-	-	-	-
partiers	fiesteros	-	-	-	-	-	11	6
loud		6	26	22	11	10	-	7
lovable	carinoso	-	-	-	-	-	13	7
love	amor	5	-	-	-	14	18	10
lovers		-	-	-	-	16	-	-
charitable	caritativo	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
friendly	amistoso	7	16	6	19	14	18	8
machos	machistas	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
fun		16	-	23	-	-	-	-
generous		-	-	-	-	-	-	27
nice		9	-	19	-	17	-	-
good	bueno	9	-	18	38	39	156	116
noble	noble	-	-	-	-	-	14	15
amiable	amable	-	-	-	-	-	36	16
great		-	-	-	-	15	-	-
proud	orgulloso	-	14	13	8	29	22	-
happy		-	-	13	13	2	-	9
hospitality	hospitalidad	-	-	-	-	-	41	6
free	libre	-	-	-	-	13	24	10
humanitarian	humanitario	-	8	-	10	7	12	9
humble	humilde	7	-	-	-	16	14	-
CULTURE: FOOD, MUSIC		239	146	116	132	105	36	121
food		30	9	18	25	18	-	9
culture		35	15	-	38	46	-	10
foreigners		20	34	-	20	-	-	17
beans		11	7	-	-	7	-	-
hot		10						
different		11	8	8	12	-	-	-
music	musica	63	39	15	17	11	6	10
nationality	nacionalidad	-	-	12	11	12	12	13
pastries		-	-	-	-	-	-	14
diversity		-	-	-	-	-	-	12
habits		-	-	-	-	-	-	15
religion		18	-	-	-	14	-	-
rice		19	-	-	-	-	-	12
rum	ron	3	13	8	-	-	6	6
history		-	-	-	-	10	-	-
salsa	salsa	-	11	18	-	16	12	-
dancing		19	4	28	9	3	-	3
ethnic		-	6	9	-	12	-	-
SPANISH, HISPANIC, LATIN		341	216	69	225	165	40	110
language		51	22	12	28	10	-	-
latin	latino	6	34	-	47	27	26	45
Hispanic		65	22	23	38	12	-	-
Spanish	espanol	206	124	22	59	107	14	42
spics		-	12	-	-	9	-	-
talk		-	22	12	19	-	-	-
accent		13	-	-	34	-	-	23

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Americans		Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		New York	Los Angel.	Los Angel.	El Paso	New York	San Juan	Miami
WORK, MONEY		0	6	17	0	60	210	61
worker	trabajador	-	-	-	-	23	36	21
money	dinero	-	-	-	-	23	10	-
economy	economia	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
migrants	vagos	-	-	-	-	7	102	19
work	trabajo	-	6	6	-	7	20	21
rich	ricos	-	-	11	-	-	15	-
coupons	cupones	-	-	-	-	-	17	-
MISCELLANEOUS		52	0	0	20	16	27	17
radio		14	-	-	-	-	-	-
education		16	-	-	-	6	-	-
W.Side Story		-	-	-	10	-	-	-
give		-	-	-	-	-	-	10
school		12	-	-	-	4	-	7
politics	politica	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
stay	estadia	-	-	-	-	-	16	-
live		-	-	-	10	-	-	-
help		10	-	-	-	6	-	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Americans		Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		New York	Los Angel.	Los Angel.	El Paso	New York	San Juan	Miami
PEOPLE, FRIENDS		306	255	237	323	273	226	267
immigrant		36	6	-	13	-	-	14
brothers, sis.	hermanos	-	-	-	21	-	15	27
Indians	Indios	-	-	-	-	38	6	10
we	nosotros	-	-	-	-	-	12	-
women	mujeres	-	-	22	-	-	10	13
Americans	Americanos	38	24	9	30	20	30	15
Cubans		16	13	16	9	-	-	8
kids		10	-	-	-	-	-	-
friends	amigos,as	46	13	23	37	7	19	62
me		-	-	-	-	52	-	-
men	hombres	-	-	16	-	-	8	-
merchant		-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Mexicans		10	17	8	9	-	-	-
minority	minoria	37	19	-	16	35	17	-
mother		-	-	-	-	12	-	-
girls		-	-	-	11	-	-	-
citizens		-	-	-	11	10	-	8
people	gente	59	124	92	86	56	30	17
person		-	-	9	-	-	-	47
many	muchos	9	-	13	-	-	20	-
population	pueblo	-	-	-	-	-	23	20
group		9	7	7	16	-	-	6
race		14	32	15	51	12	-	-
family		22	-	7	13	31	-	10
I	yo	-	-	-	-	20	36	-
BAD, COARSE		14	36	0	0	0	28	52
fool	botarate	-	-	-	-	-	10	-
bad, evil	malo	-	-	-	-	-	18	32
dirty		14	11	-	-	-	-	9
coarse		-	-	-	-	-	-	11
dumb		-	15	-	-	-	-	-
stupid		-	10	-	-	-	-	-
POVERTY, DRUGS, GANGS		127	80	26	59	128	63	23
gangs		6	12	-	-	-	-	-
poverty	pobreza	16	-	-	22	10	5	11
poor	pobres	53	43	26	22	52	9	-
unemployment	desempleo	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
prejudice		-	13	-	6	-	-	-
discrimina.	discrimin.	6	-	-	-	25	8	-
drugs	drogas	-	-	-	-	-	5	12
welfare		17	5	-	9	30	15	-
struggle		14	-	-	-	5	-	-
slums		15	-	-	-	6	-	-
problems	problemas	-	7	-	-	-	10	-
PUERTO RICO, ISLAND, U.S.		174	218	131	197	222	289	237
Mexico		7	17	-	-	-	-	-
peasants	jibaros	-	-	-	-	6	17	-
islander	islenos	16	15	-	-	-	10	23
state	estado	-	-	-	-	-	14	-
country	pais	11	12	13	9	40	39	27
Chicago		-	-	-	-	-	-	11
San Juan	San Juan	21	11	-	12	16	22	7
New York	Nueva York	49	73	56	57	9	63	77
governor	gobernador	-	-	-	-	-	14	-
southside		-	15	-	-	10	-	-
fatherland	patria	-	-	-	-	15	18	-
island	isla	60	50	22	93	68	35	99
flag		10	-	-	-	14	-	-
field	campo	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
Puerto Rico	Puerto Rico	-	25	40	26	44	46	33

PUERTO RICANS/PUERTORIQUENOS

In the self image of the Puerto Ricans the personality characteristics of "goodness," "love," "independence" and "friendliness" had a high salience as qualities important in interpersonal relations. These socially relevant human qualities were given nearly double as much weight by the San Juan Puerto Ricans compared to those in New York. Another major difference between the two groups was that the New York Puerto Ricans strongly identified themselves as "Spanish," while this trend was negligible among those living in San Juan. Interestingly, the latter group shows a stronger inclination to use the label "American." The Puerto Ricans in New York showed more concern with their "poverty" and economically disadvantaged situation than did those living in San Juan.

In the eyes of the Anglo Americans the Spanish language and cultural background of PUERTO RICANS were particularly salient: "music," "dancing," "food," "rice," "rum," etc. The Puerto Ricans naturally received more attention from the Anglo Americans living in New York than from those living in Los Angeles. While the Anglo Americans in Los Angeles preferred the neutral general label of "people," the Anglo Americans in New York spoke in more specific terms of "friends," "immigrants," and "minorities" and were more aware of the disadvantaged economic status of Puerto Ricans: "poverty," "welfare," "slums," "struggle."

The Mexican Americans perceived PUERTO RICANS as people of Spanish background and race, although interestingly, the Anglo Americans gave more attention to Hispanic origin than the Mexican Americans (especially the Los Angeles Mexicans). There were signs of affective identification in their references to "friends" and "brothers" and "sisters." In human terms, the Mexican Americans described Puerto Ricans as "good," "happy," "fun," "loving," and "proud" people. With regard to their physical appearance, the darkness of skin received at least as much attention from Mexican Americans as from Anglo Americans.

From the perspective of the Cubans, the PUERTO RICANS were described as "good," "generous," and "joyful" persons of Latin/Spanish origin. References to "friendship" and "brotherhood" were the highest from the Cubans.

In general, the San Juan group showed a personally centered self-image with special emphasis on socially relevant human qualities. The New York based Puerto Ricans took somewhat more the perspectives of the outsider. The New York based Anglo Americans compared to the Los Angeles based Anglos showed a more human focus, registering "poverty," "struggle," "violence," "crime," beyond the stereotypical images of "music," "dance," "rum," etc. The Mexican Americans observed more human qualities, but showed considerable similarity with the views of the Anglo Americans.

CUBANS/CUBANOS

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Americans		Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	New York	Los Angel.	Los Angel.	El Paso	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	**Percentage of Total Score**						
APPEARANCE: DARK, BROWN	4	2	7	3	0	0	2
PROUD, DILIGENT	0	3	4	2	3	3	7
CULTURE: MUSIC, CIGARS	10	8	6	9	6	3	5
SPANISH, HISPANIC, LATIN	15	8	7	10	4	1	5
PEOPLE, RACE	15	15	16	22	7	15	15
BAD	0	0	1	0	0	4	3
COMMUNISM, DICTATORSHIP	17	17	18	19	22	23	6
FIGHTERS, WARS	2	4	3	2	2	5	7
CUBA, FLORIDA	18	20	24	15	12	12	14
UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY	5	3	2	3	4	10	9
FREEDOM, UNITY	1	1	2	2	5	7	15
REFUGEES, BOAT PEOPLE	8	16	10	11	33	13	13
MISCELLANEOUS	5	2	0	3	3	5	1
Total Scores	1609	1241	697	1379	1439	1526	1376

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Americans		Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		New York	Los Angel.	Los Angel.	El Paso	New York	San Juan	Miami
APPEAR: E: DARK, BROWN		65	31	46	43	7	0	24
neg		-	2	10	-	-	-	16
bro		-	-	13	7	-	-	-
dar		65	29	23	23	7	-	8
dark skin		-	-	-	13	-	-	-
PROUD, DILIGENT		0	33	29	31	37	45	90
loud		-	22	29	16	-	-	-
arrogant		-	-	-	-	13	-	-
pride	orgullo	-	-	-	-	8	5	22
proud	orgulloso	-	-	-	-	16	11	15
sad,ness	tristeza	-	-	-	5	-	17	17
strange		-	-	-	10	-	-	-
talk,ative		-	11	-	-	-	-	18
diligent	aprovechado	-	-	-	-	-	12	-
intelligent		-	-	-	-	-	-	18
CULTURE: MUSIC, CIGARS		168	102	43	126	85	45	69
cigars		74	26	-	13	39	-	-
coffee	cafe	-	12	-	-	-	6	-
music		18	13	21	33	14	-	10
nationality		-	-	-	19	8	-	11
flag		-	-	-	-	-	-	10
food	comida	26	14	-	20	-	9	11
culture	cultura	12	9	10	-	4	15	-
dance,ing		-	7	-	17	-	-	-
baseball		12	-	-	5	-	-	-
habits		-	-	-	-	-	-	12
sugar		18	12	-	5	-	-	-
tobacco	tabaco	-	-	-	-	-	15	-
tradition		-	-	-	-	-	-	10
black bean		8	9	12	14	20	-	5
SPANISH, HISPANIC, LATIN		242	99	46	136	53	9	70
Latins	Latinos	23	14	12	33	12	9	5
accent		-	14	8	-	-	-	12
Spanish		140	50	7	43	29	-	48
Hispanic		45	14	10	34	12	-	-
language		34	7	9	26	-	-	-
PEOPLE, RACE		234	185	111	298	104	226	213
blacks		6	-	-	11	-	-	-
children		18	-	-	6	6	-	-
many	muchos	9	-	-	9	-	19	17
martyr	martir	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Mexicans		17	30	-	15	-	-	-
minority		16	-	-	11	-	-	-
family	familia	12	-	-	-	4	11	23
neighbors	vecinos	6	-	-	-	-	12	-
brothers	hermanos	-	5	-	9	-	20	15
parents		-	-	-	-	-	-	10
patriots		-	-	-	-	-	-	22
people	gente	91	83	75	92	60	28	17
persons	personas	-	-	-	8	15	16	16
population		-	-	-	-	-	-	12
foreigner,s	extranjero	31	37	-	16	9	48	-
friends	amigos	6	5	12	19	-	22	23
race		-	22	24	68	-	-	16
Russia,n		14	-	-	7	10	-	-
Americans		8	3	-	17	-	-	4
Numbers	Numeros	-	-	-	10	-	11	10
I	yo	-	-	-	-	-	8	18
uncles	tios	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
Jews	judios	-	-	-	-	-	20	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Americans		Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		New York	Los Angel.	Los Angel.	El Paso	New York	San Juan	Miami
BAD		3	0	10	0	0	65	45
bad	malo	3	-	10	-	-	39	45
selfish	egoista	-	-	-	-	-	15	-
disagreeable	antipatico	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
COMMUNISM, DICTATORSHIP		281	212	127	258	322	346	78
Fidel	Fidel	15	8	15	13	57	102	12
communism,t	comunismo	33	38	13	70	83	90	18
oppressed	oprimidos	11	-	-	31	17	17	-
dictator		-	-	-	10	-	-	5
Castro	Castro	222	166	99	134	165	137	43
FIGHTERS, WARS		28	50	22	27	33	70	91
fight,er	luchadores	-	9	-	4	-	11	53
pain		-	-	-	-	-	-	15
war	guerra	11	15	14	16	6	8	10
revolution	revolucion	17	26	8	7	27	51	13
CUBA, FLORIDA		282	254	165	202	166	188	188
Miami	Miami	47	10	20	12	37	43	47
country	pais	18	15	-	13	12	15	27
Florida		58	49	19	35	22	-	-
Cuba	Cuba	37	123	70	40	55	72	58
Puerto Rico	Puerto Rico	-	12	17	-	9	6	-
Havana	Habana	34	17	-	8	15	10	6
south		11	-	-	-	-	-	-
fatherland	patria	-	-	-	-	-	29	32
Caribbean		15	-	-	-	-	-	-
island	isla	62	28	39	94	16	13	18
UNEMPLOYMENT, POVERTY		80	41	13	36	53	145	117
work	trabajo	4	3	-	-	5	10	23
poor	pobre	35	23	8	17	28	9	4
poverty	pobreza	9	5	5	9	-	13	11
problems	problemas	-	-	-	10	-	10	-
money	dinero	7	-	-	-	14	4	3
trouble		14	-	-	-	-	-	-
worker	trabajador	11	-	-	-	6	99	76
welfare		-	10	-	-	-	-	-
FREEDOM, UNITY		24	8	12	27	66	105	205
united,union		7	-	-	-	6	-	-
faith		-	-	-	-	-	-	12
free,dom	libre	13	8	-	18	20	10	32
hope		-	-	-	-	10	-	9
good	bueno	4	-	12	9	18	89	60
great		-	-	-	-	12	-	-
liberty	libertad	-	-	-	-	-	6	38
joy,ful		-	-	-	-	-	-	54

REFUGEES, BOAT PEOPLE		128	202	73	158	476	206	172
immigrants		14	32	-	22	18	-	-
expellee	expulsados	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
refugees	refugiados	-	-	-	5	48	21	-
camps		-	7	11	7	-	-	-
Marielitos	Marielitos	-	-	-	-	-	53	33
boats	barco	35	59	12	32	56	17	-
exile,d	exilio	11	-	-	-	24	55	84
refugees		60	81	50	94	105	-	35
aliens		8	16	-	7	19	-	-
escape		-	7	-	11	6	-	-
expatriate	expatriado	-	-	-	-	-	27	-
return		-	-	-	-	-	-	15
emigrants	emigrantes	-	-	-	-	-	27	5

MISCELLANEOUS		74	24	0	37	37	76	14
progress	progreso	-	-	-	-	-	16	-
education		23	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ricky Ricardo		-	14	-	-	-	-	-
help		5	-	-	5	10	-	4
worm		13	-	-	-	-	-	-
name	nombre	-	-	-	-	-	16	-
missiles		11	-	-	7	10	-	-
gold		-	-	-	-	12	-	-
water		11	-	-	6	5	-	-
different		-	-	-	19	-	-	-
worm,maggot	gusanos	-	-	-	-	-	22	19
business	negocios	11	-	-	-	-	11	-
reality	[illegible]	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
I love Lucy		-	10	-	-	-	-	-

CUBANS/CUBANOS

In the Cubans' self image the more conventional labels of "people," "person," and "human beings" were outweighed by some less conventional ones ("fighters," "exiles," "refugees," "patriots"). This strong political, nationalistic undertone of their self-identification sets Cubans somewhat apart from the other Hispanic American groups compared. This is further underscored by some of the personality attributes Cubans used to describe themselves. Most saliently they characterized themselves as "good" as well as "bad" people, which is somewhat unusual to find in collective ethnic-national self imagery. Their references to "joy" were also unusually high, but accompanied by "sadness." Strong references to "freedom" and "liberty" reflect a state of active political awareness. In more conventional terms, they see themselves as "proud," "talkative," and "intelligent."

The Anglo Americans' image of CUBANS was dominated by Spanish language and cultural background. Products like "cigars," "coffee," and "sugar," attracted a great deal of attention. The refugee status was seen against the background of Communist oppression and Fidel Castro's dictatorship and political rule. CUBANS were identified as "immigrants," "refugees," "aliens," and "foreigners," and described as "dark skinned," "loud," and "talkative." The more positive imagery created by the immigrant Cubans apparently interferes with the imagery created by Fidel Castro's system.

The Mexican Americans' image of CUBANS was similar to the Anglo Americans' image just discussed. There was similar emphasis on refugee status, political persecution, communism, and Fidel Castro. However, the Mexican Americans paid less attention to the Hispanic/Latin origin, and tended to view Cubans as "foreigners," "strangers" of different background and nationality. From the cultural angle, food received less attention than music.

The Puerto Ricans, particularly those from San Juan, showed more affinity and identification with Cubans as well as more open ambivalence and criticism. The Puerto Ricans referred more to "friendship," "brotherhood," and familial relationships but also described Cubans as "Jews" and "foreigners." They showed the most awareness of the Communist rule and Fidel Castro and characterized Cubans most emphatically as good people, "exiles," "refugees" concerned with "freedom" and "liberty." They recognized Cuban diligence, and the heavy references to "work" and "workers" suggest an appreciation of Cuban motivation and performance. At the same time their characterizations of Cubans as "bad," "selfish," and "disagreeable" convey some ambivalent feelings.

In general, the self-image of the Cubans was intensively subjective, person oriented and shows a strong distinction between "good" and "bad" people, "patriots" and "communists." The Anglo Americans' image of CUBANS contained many consumer product stereotypes and a similar split between "refugees" and "Castro." The Mexican Americans' perspectives were similar to the Anglo Americans. The Puerto Ricans were the most person oriented and subjective, reflecting positive ties as well as critical attitudes.

Summary

How various ethnic/cultural groups (e.g., Hispanic or Anglo Americans) view themselves and each other tells a great deal about their relationship. We now extend our analysis to trends across specific images to chart perceptual dispositions and value orientations of which these groups themselves are mostly unaware.

Prior to this discussion we should mention again that these data came from two different studies. The data on ANGLO AMERICANS, BLACK AMERICANS, and HISPANIC AMERICANS were obtained in the context of our present study of six student samples (one Anglo and five Hispanic American). The data on the images of MEXICAN AMERICANS, PUERTO RICANS, and CUBANS came from a recent comparative study sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health involving two Anglo American and five Hispanic American adult samples.

In the field of ethnic identification a great deal depends on the connotations attached to particular ethnic labels (e.g., "Chicano" or "Latino"). Since ethnic labels can develop undesirable connotations, it is desirable to use those which are most acceptable to the members of that particular ethnic population. The results indicate that "Hispanic American" is the most widely accepted label for all three major cultural groups: Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. The label "Latino" is quite popular with the Cubans, but even they identify more with "Hispanic American." "Hispanic American" was the most immediate identification and was richest in content for the San Juan students. Their reactions seem to convey the belief that the label "Hispanic American" identifies exclusively Puerto Ricans. The two other groups, the Mexican Americans and the Cubans, show more awareness that "Hispanic American" includes other culture groups as well.

In terms of primary identification, the more specific labels like "Mexican American" or "Cuban" are both more popular and useful. In this context the Mexican Americans also used the word "Chicano." This tendency was stronger, however, in El Paso than in Los Angeles. There are also several indications which suggest that despite their frequent references to themselves as "Chicanos," the best and most widely accepted label free of negative connotations is "Mexican American."

To identify deeper perceptual dispositions and value orientations characteristic of particular culture groups it is interesting and informative to examine how they view themselves in comparison to others. Some of these differences come from different perspectives, those of an insider as compared to the perspectives of a more distant outsider. In this respect our previous research on ethnic images of more distant cultures such as Koreans (1972), Arabs (1976), Colombians (1982), and other groups has offered extensive new findings on the influence of different perspectives involving three types of images: (a) individual self-image---how an individual Egyptian perceives and values himself, (b) ethnic self-image---how Egyptians perceive Arabs or Egyptians collectively, and (c) ethnic images---how Arabs or Egyptians are perceived, for instance, by U.S. Americans.

From the angle of our present interest in Hispanic and Anglo American ethnic self-images, the above findings show a natural relationship between the individual self-image (the individual Cuban's self-image) and the collective ethnic image (the Cuban's image of Cubans as a whole). For instance, the previous research shows that ethnic self-images (e.g., the Hispanic American's image of Hispanic Americans) tend to focus on personality attributes, positive and negative values characteristic of Hispanic Americans, for example, as people, as human beings. At the same time, ethnic images (e.g., the U.S. Americans' image of Hispanic Americans) are more historically, culturally, and situationally oriented than narrowly focused on personal qualities. This case is not as extreme as we observed in the context of Arabs, but is somewhat analogous. As we found (Szalay et al., 1978), for example, the Arabs were viewed by U.S. Americans as riding on camels in the desert, as controlling oil and being ruled by rich sheiks. The Americans paid little attention to human attributes by which the Arabs describe themselves. These differences suggest two image prototypes. The first is distant, an impersonal image centered on origin, history, past tradition, and cultural symbolism. The second is close and personal focusing primarily on contemporary personality attributes and psychocultural dispositions. Some of these attributes may be idealized and imaginary yet real as a force of psychological identification.

By these criteria the ethnic self-image of the Mexican Americans is relatively impersonal, showing little emphasis on those human attributes characteristic of the self-image of the more traditional Hispanic American culture groups as represented in this study by the San Juan sample or in a previous Colombian study by students from Bogota (Szalay et al., 1982). The Puerto Rican and Colombian samples showed a similarly heavy emphasis on human qualities (e.g., "goodness," "love," "loyalty"), which are salient in the mind of the more traditionally oriented Hispanic Americans. The San Juan Puerto Ricans' emphasis on these socially relevant traditional qualities and values provides a strong human foundation for their ethnic self-image both as PUERTO RICANS and as HISPANIC AMERICANS. The relative absence of these human attributes in the Mexican American responses suggests that their ethnic self-image is less personal, reminiscent more of ethnic images held by outsiders. While the self-image of the adult Mexican American samples was somewhat stronger on the human dimension, this trend was quite weak among the Mexican American students in their HISPANIC AMERICAN self-image. They emphasized geography, cultural customs, and food, parameters previously identified as indicative more of distance rather than self-identification, particularly if there is little attention to human characteristics in the self-image.

Data obtained on a broad international scale suggest that psychocultural distance is a direct function of geographic distance. Ethnic/national images of people from distant continents also illustrate how, as a function of distance, these images are increasingly impersonal and stereotypical, leaving little of the human element. The differences observed between internal and external perspectives, which emerge from the comparison of the ethnic self-image of native cultural samples (e.g., Arabs, Colombians) in contrast to their images in the eyes of outside observers (e.g., Anglo Americans), makes possible the identification of trends in ethnic/national

images which reflect closeness as compared to those which are indicative of distance.

Indications of closeness include: identification with the ethnic label (e.g., responding to MEXICAN AMERICANS with the pronoun "me" or responding to ME with "Mexican American" or "Chicano"), emphasis on psychological attributes (e.g., "good," "loving") in the collective ethnic self-image and the similarity of those attributes with those given in he context of the individual self-image (as produced to stimuli like ME or YOUR FIRST NAME).

The Cubans again represent an individual case. The students emphasized human qualities of social relevance in their ethnic image of HISPANIC AMERICANS. Although the salience of this human component is lower for the Cuban students than for the San Juan Puerto Ricans, it is about twice as strong as that observed in the case of the Mexican Americans. Beyond such social qualities as "good" and "faithful," the adults add a strong element of additional value identification, e.g., "freedom," "liberty," "fight," "communism," and "exile." While this expands the human core of the Cuban ethnic self-image, it also underscores the somewhat unique character of their enculturation.

The average cultural distance coefficients calculated separately for the ethnic images of the student groups and the adult groups show similar trends:

Coefficients of Psychocultural Distance Between Regional Samples	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Anglo Americans, East Coast	.32	.36	.46	.90	.57	
Mexican Americans, El Paso		.37	.51	.82	.55	
Mexican Americans, Tempe			.44	1.14	.72	
Puerto Ricans, New York				.93	.73	
Puerto Ricans, San Juan					1.11	

Table 6. Mean Distances Measured on Anglo Americans, Black Americans and Hispanic Americans in the Domain of ETHNIC IMAGES

Coefficients of Psychocultural Distance Between Regional Samples	Anglo Americans		Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	New York	Los Angel.	Los Angel.	El Paso	New York	San Juan	Miami
Anglo Americans, New York	.28	.62	.42	.36	.98	.83	
Anglo Americans, Los Angeles		.23	.26	.34	.71	.65	
Mexican Americans, Los Angeles			.22	.38	.72	.59	
Mexican Americans, El Paso				.36	.76	.59	
Puerto Ricans, New York					.61	.63	
Puerto Ricans, San Juan						.64	

Table 7. Mean Distances Measured on Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans in the Domain of ETHNIC IMAGES

The distance between the Anglo and the Mexican American ethnic images is relatively the closest, indicating in this context again the relatively high level of acculturation of the Mexican American group to the U.S. culture. The Puerto Ricans in San Juan show the greatest distance from the Anglo Americans indicating that they are the least accultured, most traditional group. The Cuban adults show the next largest distance from the Anglo Americans, while showing sizable distances from most of the other Hispanic groups as well. The generally above average level of distances indicates that ethnic images are relatively resistant to change and that in this domain the acculturation process is particularly slow. This may be partially explained by those forces which maintain ethnic identification at an emotional level, while in other realms of perceptual semantic representation progress is made at a faster rate.

The above ethnic images reflect deeply ingrained social attitudes and human dispositions, which characterize the groups examined in their relationship to each other as well as toward themselves. The images they have developed of each other can be explained by the groups' ethnic identity, their majority or minority status, their physical distance from each other, the degree of their contacts, etc. Conditions of distance appear to be conducive to impersonal stereotypes whereas closeness and living in mixed communities create more personal familiarity as well as an increased amount of ambivalence. In the present study we observed strong ambivalence of Mexican Americans toward Anglo Americans and of the San Juan Puerto Ricans toward Cubans.

The ethnic self-images of the Hispanic American groups convey an interesting psychological tendency which may be useful in understanding how acculturation affects self-identification. The more accultured Hispanic Americans groups (e.g., the Mexican Americans and the Puerto Ricans from New York) tended to identify themselves explicitly by their ethnicity as Mexican Americans or Puerto Ricans, or Hispanic Americans. While the tendency of explicit verbal identification did not show any significant decrease compared to the more traditional, little accultured groups (e.g., Puerto Ricans in San Juan) their interpretation of this identity---the meaning of being Mexican American or Puerto Rican, did show a significant change.

The more accultured groups show a significant weakening of the original Hispanic tendency to stress human attributes, particularly social qualities and affect laden personal ties. They tend to look at themselves as well as at other Hispanics in somewhat personal, social terms but more with the eyes of the outside observer. From this perspective, ethnicity is more a matter of historical symbols, customs, folklore, food preferences, exotic dishes, rather than an emphasis on human attributes, cultural values, culminating in the case of the Hispanic American in special emphasis on strong, affect-laden social ties.

From the angle of institutional adaptation, this difference is consequential. It suggests that meeting the psychological needs of ethnic identification poses somewhat different requirements in the case of the more and less accultured Hispanic Americans. We will discuss these differences in our final chapter on conclusions, recommendations.

SOCIAL IMAGES: ME, OTHER PEOPLE

The adaptation of minority personnel to U.S. military institutions is frequently hampered by different approaches and expectations in the area of interpersonal relations. These differences can lead to tensions and dissatisfaction which seriously affect organizational climate and job performance.

Our study of Filipino servicemen in the U.S. Navy showed that they viewed their overall situation in positive terms. They had a high regard for the Navy as an institution, they had positive attitudes toward work and the service, and they had good rapport with their supervisors. But, according to the servicemen, they did suffer from an essential lack of rapport with and recognition from their U.S.-born peers (Szalay and Bryson, 1977).

At a time of strong ethnic tension and sharp criticism of U.S. political institutions, these findings were somewhat unexpected. They did underscore, however, the importance of interpersonal relationships as a distinct variable in personnel satisfaction. Other comparative studies have also shown that Koreans, Arabs and other groups of ethnic cultural background different from the U.S. mainstream generally approach interpersonal relationships with a different frame of reference.

In one of our previous studies of Hispanic-U.S. American cultural differences (Szalay et al., 1978) we concluded that interpersonal relations is the domain most influenced by cultural factors. It is also one of the least understood domains plagued by considerable ambiguities and apparent contradictions.

As shown by Lisansky's extensive review of the literature (1957), probably the single most important yet most controversial dimension of Anglo and Hispanic American comparisons is individualism versus collectivism. What makes this dimension particularly controversial is its subjective, hidden nature, its evasiveness to empirical assessment.

The differences in Anglo and Hispanic American approaches to interpersonal relations are frequently discussed in terms of dichotomous contrasts. Hispanic Americans are described as "collectivistic" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961), "social personalistic" (Szalay et al., 1978), and "allocentric" (Triandis, 1983), while Anglo Americans are characterized as "individualistic" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961), "competitive" (Kagan, 1977), and "ideocentric" (Triandis, 1983). A great deal of controversy results from differences in the meaning and use of value-laden labels. For example, in our mainstream American society "individualistic" has a strong positive connotation while "collectivistic" carries negative undertones. Yet, beyond the semantically induced controversy, there is considerable agreement on certain important trends differentiating dominant Hispanic views of people from the Anglo American views.

ME/YO

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	**Percentage of Total Score**					
I, MYSELF, ONE	14	12	9	9	6	5
YOU, WE, THEY	3	6	3	8	5	4
HAPPINESS, FUN	6	5	6	6	4	6
GOOD, LOVING, FRIENDLY	21	24	26	25	33	33
SELFISH, BAD, SAD	7	1	5	0	2	2
PERSON, MAN, FAMILY	8	8	7	14	12	11
WORK, RESPONSIBLE, AMBITION	4	3	3	6	11	8
STUDENT, SMART, STUDY	4	9	8	8	8	9
STRONG, COOL, GREAT	19	12	12	6	4	6
HANDSOME, TALL	8	12	14	9	2	6
HONEST, PRIDE, RESPECT	3	6	6	6	11	7
MISCELLANEOUS	3	2	1	2	2	3
Total Scores	1155	1140	1270	1147	1142	1229

Main Components and Responses		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
1. MYSELF, ONE		147	138	113	101	72	98
ego, I	soy	-	-	-	-	26	-
me		-	-	12	-	-	6
self, ego	ego	13	14	-	-	24	13
I		56	68	32	67	-	15
to be	ser	-	-	-	-	19	-
myself		63	64	57	94	-	22
by myself		-	-	12	-	-	-
YOU, WE, THEY		30	63	35	91	58	69
the	el	-	-	-	20	13	-
they		-	5	-	17	-	-
we		-	14	-	9	-	-
you, your	tu	27	44	35	45	38	49
yourself	uno mismo	-	-	-	-	17	-
HAPPINESS, FUN		68	58	73	76	41	72
happy, ness	felicidad	21	21	20	22	4	29
fun		15	15	16	24	-	21
joy, ful	alegre	-	-	-	-	37	12
funny		10	22	12	17	-	10
crazy		16	-	25	13	-	-
GOOD, LOVING, FRIENDLY		245	270	326	287	378	411
good	bueno,a	38	23	22	50	110	106
friend, s, ship	amigo, amista	22	8	23	19	28	33
love	amor, quiero	45	15	15	24	37	48
loving	amoroso	20	28	28	27	9	38
lovable	amable, amiga	-	-	-	-	96	9
likeable	simpatico	-	5	6	-	13	-
loveable	carinoso,a	6	10	-	11	13	9
understand, ing		7	24	26	21	-	10
care, ing		29	47	57	24	-	18
lover		-	-	-	17	-	-
share, ing	comparte	8	-	-	-	13	-
nice		35	36	59	13	-	59
friendly	amistoso	7	37	56	36	60	37
personality	personalidad	11	-	-	-	19	6
agreeable	agradable	-	-	-	-	14	7
feeling	sentimiento	-	-	-	-	10	-
kind, ness	bondadoso	15	20	24	25	8	13
help, ful	servicial	10	17	15	18	9	16
SELFISH, BAD, SAD		84	13	62	0	26	19
bad, evil	malo,a	43	4	46	-	22	8
tired		15	4	-	-	-	-
ugly		-	-	-	-	-	11
mean		12	-	16	-	-	-
sad	triste	14	5	-	-	4	-
selfish, ness		20	-	-	-	-	-
PERSON, MAN, FAMILY		87	96	90	164	139	139
person	persona	11	22	30	36	51	54
human, being	humano, ser	-	5	18	11	33	-
individual	individuo	13	-	-	-	8	-
unique, one	unico	-	5	-	-	13	-
one		16	9	-	-	-	-
someone, body		-	-	-	17	-	-
male		-	15	3	-	-	-
girl, s		-	5	10	-	-	7
woman		-	-	-	-	-	16
man	hombre	11	7	-	28	18	38
Hector		-	10	-	-	-	-
she		-	-	6	22	-	-
boy		8	8	9	18	-	-
Hispanic		-	-	-	10	-	-
father		-	-	-	10	-	-
family	familia	20	10	6	-	6	19
Puerto Rican	Puertorriq	-	-	-	10	10	-
MISCELLANEOUS		35	18	19	21	20	35
here		-	-	-	-	-	12
kick ass		-	15	-	-	-	-
yes		-	-	-	-	-	11
name		10	-	-	-	-	-
dance	baile	-	-	-	10	8	-
sex		22	-	19	11	-	-
high		-	-	-	-	-	12
God	Dios	-	3	-	-	12	-
		-	-	-	-	-	-

Main Components and Responses		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
WORK, RESPO	**IBLE, AMBITION**	48	35	38	67	121	95
work	trabajo	5	8	-	-	22	24
worker, h rd		-	-	14	11	-	32
reliable		11	-	-	-	-	-
responsi le	responsable	-	9	24	10	16	-
boss	amo, jefe	-	6	-	-	17	-
success, ul		6	-	-	13	-	7
improve o	mejorar	-	-	-	-	17	-
ambition ous	ambicion,oso	8	5	-	8	29	9
desire, want	deseo	9	-	-	13	10	6
goals	metas	-	-	-	-	10	-
future		5	7	-	11	-	7
STUDENT, SMART, STUDY		48	97	96	93	89	118
study, ous	estudio	-	12	-	-	11	16
studies	estudios	-	-	-	-	15	15
student	estudiante	-	9	12	18	25	20
smart		35	53	60	64	-	26
intelligent	inteligente	9	23	24	11	36	38
STRONG, COOL, GREAT		224	142	156	69	90	77
No. 1		30	7	-	-	-	-
better	mejor	-	-	-	-	13	-
wonderful		-	-	12	-	-	-
the best	lo mejor	-	-	-	-	13	-
great, big	grande	62	27	22	20	9	32
athletic		23	15	11	-	-	-
fast		-	10	-	8	-	-
tough		-	8	11	-	-	-
power, ful		-	15	-	-	-	10
important	importante	9	10	10	-	6	-
first		-	-	-	-	-	11
sports		10	9	-	-	-	-
stud		12	-	23	-	-	-
strong	fuerte	25	16	22	28	9	29
cool		22	25	45	13	-	-
awesome		11	-	-	-	-	-
HANDSOME, TALL		90	141	184	107	19	74
small		-	-	16	-	-	-
beautiful		-	15	-	-	-	-
young	joven	-	8	-	12	8	-
big		-	10	15	-	-	-
handsome		21	24	18	24	-	-
sexy		11	3	-	-	-	-
cute	graciosa	-	9	-	11	2	14
tall		20	22	37	15	-	20
pretty	bonita	-	-	-	-	9	24
short		-	19	20	24	-	6
dark		9	9	15	-	-	-
fat		-	-	-	10	-	-
skinny		-	-	12	-	-	-
good looking		21	22	41	11	-	-
brown eyes		-	-	10	-	-	10
HONEST, PRIDE, RESPECT		30	69	76	71	125	82
honest	honrado,a	-	10	12	17	16	21
modest		-	-	-	10	-	-
obedient	obediente	-	-	5	-	12	-
easy going		-	10	-	-	-	-
tranquil	tranquilo	-	-	-	-	10	-
sincere	sincero	-	6	-	-	16	8
true		-	-	-	-	-	10
unaffected	sencillo	-	-	-	-	10	-
trust, worthy	confianza	-	-	12	-	9	-
sensitive		-	-	-	7	-	10
quiet		-	11	21	-	-	-
humble	humilde	-	-	-	-	27	-
respectable		-	-	11	18	-	-
respect	respeto	7	12	-	-	8	10
pride, proud	orgullo	20	20	15	19	13	33

Responses to the personal pronoun ME offer mosaic pieces of the self image. They show how people view themselves, how they feel about themselves, and what are the salient elements of their self perception and evaluation.

The Anglo American group's high scores on two main components reflect the subjective importance they assign to the self. They placed special emphasis on "I," including the juxtaposition of "I" to "you." The Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami, who were found to be the more traditional groups, placed the least emphasis on "I." The Anglo Americans also stressed positive physical attributes such as "big," "strong," and "athletic," while the less accultured, more traditional Hispanic groups generally scored low on these physical attributes. The more accultured Hispanic groups occupy an intermediary position between the Anglos and the more traditional Hispanic Americans.

On other physical attributes (e.g., "handsome," "cute," "good looking") the more accultured Hispanic Americans, together with the Anglo Americans, showed generally more concern than did the traditional Hispanic Americans. In contrast, the more traditional groups, the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami, show a much stronger preoccupation with personal, moral qualities ("good," "loving," "amiable") as well as with affect-laden attachments ("love," "friendship").

In a somewhat less predictable way, the Hispanic American students tended to characterize themselves in intellectual terms (e.g., "smart," "intelligent"). They also identified themselves more as "students." The less accultured Hispanic students showed more subjective preoccupation with "work," and particularly the students in San Juan made more references to "ambition," "desire," "goals," "improve" and other themes of a motivational nature.

The less accultured Hispanic groups think of themselves as "honest," "sincere," "humble," and "proud." In terms of social categories, they emphasized the notion of being a "person," closely followed by "human being" and "man."

In general, the Anglo American self image shows a strong concentration on "I" and stresses "strength" and other physical characteristics. The students with a more traditional Hispanic background think of themselves more as "persons" and "human beings." For them, certain social attributes and affective attachments, particularly "love" and the quality of being "good," were important considerations. The more accultured Hispanic American student samples occupy an intermediary position on these various parameters of the self image.

YOUR FIRST NAME/SU PRIMER NOMBRE

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
Main Components	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
	Percentage of Total Score					
ME, MYSELF	7	9	6	1	0	1
NAMES	2	3	7	12	100	5
PERSON, FRIEND, FAMILY	9	9	4	18	0	16
STRONG, COOL, GREAT	22	20	17	8	0	5
RESPECT, TRUST, PRIDE	4	7	6	8	0	11
GOOD, LOVING, FRIENDLY	21	29	32	16	0	43
STUDENT, SMART, WORK	12	11	7	21	0	10
PROBLEMS	7	2	7	1	0	1
HANDSOME, SEXY, STRONG	13	11	6	16	0	5
MISCELLANEOUS	2	0	7	0	0	1
Total Scores	581	609	336	890	304	934

Main Components and Responses	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
GOOD, LOVING, FRIENDLY	126	178	108	144	0	488
love	-	11	-	11	-	55
caring	-	7	-	-	-	20
understand, ing	7	12	-	7	-	37
nice	26	28	16	19	-	28
sweet	-	-	-	-	-	15
good	22	18	9	-	-	62
lovable	-	-	9	-	-	12
loving	11	13	6	7	-	66
adorable	-	-	-	-	-	11
kind	-	22	10	21	-	9
friendly	13	5	21	36	-	-
together	-	-	-	-	-	12
happy	8	8	-	12	-	7
funny	14	12	-	7	-	8
fun, person	5	24	16	-	-	33
helpful	-	6	-	9	-	19
all right	-	-	15	-	-	-
normal	-	18	-	-	-	-
common	9	-	-	-	-	12
quiet	-	-	6	11	-	-
fine	-	10	-	-	-	-
PERSON, FRIEND, FAMILY	99	92	15	156	0	169
person	-	-	-	-	-	11
individual	10	-	-	-	-	-
unique	-	-	-	-	-	11
original	-	-	-	-	-	11
Spanish	-	-	15	28	-	-
Hispanic	-	-	-	27	-	-
Mexican	-	12	-	-	-	-
Puerto Rican	-	-	-	56	-	-
boy	10	-	-	-	-	-
man	-	-	-	29	-	12
girls	5	6	-	-	-	10
boyfriend	-	-	-	-	-	13
friend	8	28	-	20	-	43
mother	-	8	-	-	-	12
family	16	-	-	8	-	12
father	-	-	-	-	-	14
STRONG, COOL, GREAT	125	121	58	67	0	47
hi	13	-	-	-	-	-
monster	5	-	10	-	-	-
successful	17	18	-	-	-	-
great, guy	17	16	15	11	-	22
strong	15	11	-	36	-	25
tough	-	17	-	-	-	-
jock	-	10	-	-	-	-
athletic	15	15	-	22	-	-
awesome	13	-	-	-	-	-
cool	19	34	33	-	-	-
RESPECT, TRUST, PRIDE	25	43	21	69	0	189
respect, ful	9	-	-	15	-	36
trust, worthy	-	22	-	11	-	18
honest	-	-	8	10	-	12
loyal	-	12	-	7	-	6
fair	-	-	-	13	-	-
pride, proud	15	7	13	13	-	28

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
ME, MYSELF		47	56	18	11	0	12
me		25	33	13	11	-	-
myself		13	23	6	-	-	13
NAMES		12	16	23	106	304	48
Steve		-	-	12	-	-	-
Wilfredo	Wilfredo	-	-	-	-	10	-
John		-	-	-	-	-	15
Andres	Andres	-	-	-	-	23	-
Johnny		-	-	-	13	-	-
Jorge	Jorge	-	-	-	-	15	-
Angel	Angel	-	-	-	-	11	-
Jose	Jose	-	-	-	20	39	12
Juan	Juan	-	-	-	-	30	9
Antonio	Antonio	-	-	-	-	19	-
Luis	Luis	-	-	-	-	18	-
Maria	Maria	-	-	-	-	16	-
Miguel	Miguel	-	-	-	16	12	-
Mike		11	-	-	-	-	-
name		-	16	11	-	-	-
Carlos	Carlos	-	-	-	17	26	-
Orlando	Orlando	-	-	-	-	13	-
Pedro	Pedro	-	-	-	-	24	12
Pepe	Pepe	-	-	-	-	13	-
Peter	Peter	-	-	-	-	13	-
Rafael		-	-	-	27	-	-
Ricky	Ricky	-	-	-	-	13	-
Francisco		-	-	-	13	-	-
Sonia	Sonia	-	-	-	-	20	-
STUDENT, SMART, WORK		70	66	24	186	0	97
student		-	6	-	142	-	18
work, er		8	-	-	8	-	14
smart		35	33	12	50	-	21
intelligent		24	28	12	7	-	44
ambitious		-	-	-	19	-	-
PROBLEMS		41	10	25	0	0	14
drugs		-	-	8	-	-	14
sucks		-	10	-	-	-	-
horny		14	-	-	-	-	-
not much		13	-	-	-	-	-
crazy		10	-	17	8	-	-
HANDSOME, SEXY		76	70	21	145	0	80
beautiful		-	-	-	-	-	17
young		-	9	-	40	-	-
handsome		23	15	-	74	-	16
sexy		11	-	-	10	-	5
stud		27	26	10	-	-	-
sex symbol		8	-	11	-	-	-
good looking		-	13	-	9	-	-
cute		-	7	-	12	-	12
MISCELLANEOUS		11	0	22	0	0	10
bible		-	-	12	-	-	-
sex		-	-	10	-	-	-
high		-	-	-	-	-	10
military		10	-	-	-	-	-

THE SELF IMAGE ELICITED BY THE FIRST NAME

The student's own name, rather than the personal pronoun ME, was used as an independent, parallel instrument to reconstruct important parameters of the self image. This was desirable since the use of personal pronouns as stimulus words elicits many responses, like other pronouns, which are more grammatically determined. While each approach has its limitations, they offer a useful opportunity for comparison.

There was an apparent misunderstanding in the presentation of this task to the San Juan sample, since they only gave literally their first name. Therefore, the following results are limited to the responses obtained from the five other student samples.

There were relatively few references to self ("me," "myself"), which came mostly from the more acculturated El Paso and the Anglo American student samples.

Moral and social attributes and affective ties ("good," "love," "understanding," "lovable," and "amiable") came predominantly from the Cuban students, who represent the more traditional Hispanic cultural background. Being a "student" and being "intelligent" were more salient in the self characterizations of the Cuban and New York Puerto Rican students. Attributes dealing with appearance ("cute," "handsome," "good looking"), received greater attention from the more acculturated Hispanic American student groups in their self description. The Anglo and Mexican Americans scored the highest in the category "Strong, Cool, Great."

Identification as a "man" or "person" came again more from the Cuban and the New York Puerto Rican samples. Also, as in the context of ME, the New York Puerto Rican group showed the strongest ethnic identification ("Spanish," "Hispanic," "Puerto Rican"). This may be explicable by the fact that people become usually more aware of their ethnic identity in an environment in which they represent a minority. Since the Cubans in Miami are in a similar situation, it is interesting that they did not show the same tendency toward ethnic self identification.

In general, the self image elicited from the various student samples by using their own name as a stimulus is consistent in emphasizing the same characteristics as in the context of ME. Again there was the Hispanic tendency to view the self in social and moral categories, reflecting a great deal of affective involvement. The Puerto Ricans in New York emphasized being "smart" and being a "student" while in the mind of the Cubans "love" and being "good" also had considerable salience.

MAN/HOMBRE

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	**Percentage of Total Score**					
MALE, BOY	4	12	11	9	12	6
FEMALE, WOMAN	16	15	7	7	7	12
FATHER, HUSBAND, FAMILY	6	7	15	18	5	8
STRONG, SMART, SUPERIOR	24	16	13	10	15	27
BIG, TALL, MUSCULAR	4	5	5	5	2	10
PERSON, HUMAN BEING	12	22	17	24	26	7
GOD, LEADER, PRESIDENT	8	4	5	5	2	2
WORK, RESPONSIBILITY	4	5	12	8	12	8
GOOD, LOVE, PROUD	7	6	5	9	5	14
LIFE, SEX, SOCIETY	7	4	3	4	8	2
BAD, MEAN, WAR	5	4	6	2	6	3
MISCELLANEOUS	2	0	2	0	0	2
Total Scores	1153	1078	1104	1259	1194	1155

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
MALE, BOY		51	126	116	113	147	66
son		-	14	-	-	-	-
brother		-	-	17	-	-	-
guy		-	-	12	10	-	-
boy		27	28	33	16	-	13
boyfriend		-	-	-	-	-	13
macho	machista	-	-	15	13	8	7
male	macho,varon	9	66	39	52	40	12
man		-	15	-	-	-	10
masculine,ity	masculino	10	10	-	22	99	9
FEMALE, WOMAN		100	104	77	86	88	108
woman	mujer	145	136	85	73	86	106
women		26	16	32	11	-	17
female		-	12	-	-	-	10
FATHER, HUSBAND, FAMILY		65	72	170	230	68	88
child		13	11	13	10	-	10
grandfather		-	7	7	11	-	-
children		11	-	11	-	-	-
husband		-	-	12	29	-	17
uncle		-	5	8	10	-	8
family		7	-	15	17	-	-
father	padre	28	36	94	124	40	41
marriage		-	6	10	-	-	7
brother	hermano	-	9	-	21	13	-
STRONG, SMART, SUPERIOR		276	176	143	121	176	313
power	poder	21	8	-	16	16	29
great		-	-	-	-	-	23
powerful		12	12	11	-	-	14
strength	fuerza	-	-	-	9	30	41
strong	fuerte	121	88	50	78	66	147
important	importante	-	-	-	-	17	-
smart		24	9	24	-	-	12
intelligent,c	inteligencia	21	21	10	-	61	28
knowledge		-	-	-	10	-	10
superior		15	11	11	-	-	-
tough		10	6	22	8	-	9
dominant,ate		15	21	-	-	-	-
brave		12	-	15	-	-	-
BIG, TALL, MUSCULAR		44	52	50	66	18	111
muscle,s		-	9	-	12	-	10
muscular		5	-	11	13	-	-
handsome		-	8	-	13	-	20
cute		-	-	-	-	-	13
tall		5	21	15	8	-	36
big	grande	24	14	24	20	18	15
white		6	-	-	-	-	11
PERSON, HUMAN BEING		134	235	193	297	311	88
friend,s	amigo,s	-	25	26	42	46	10
people	gente	13	19	10	26	26	12
person	persona	-	27	22	40	53	12
I	yo	-	-	-	18	54	12
me		66	51	66	86	-	19
myself		7	26	-	12	-	-
you		-	-	8	12	-	-
everybody	todos	-	-	-	-	10	-
adult	adulto	-	8	-	20	14	-
human,s,being	humano, ser	38	66	52	41	93	10
character	caracter	-	-	-	-	15	-
Dice		6	13	9	-	-	9
WORK, RESPONSIBILITY		50	52	130	101	146	86
money		-	12	18	13	-	18
boss		5	-	-	21	25	9
responsibility	responsable	12	11	27	9	20	7
bread winner		-	-	-	13	-	-
ambition,ous	ambicion,so	-	-	-	8	14	-
work,s	trabajo	15	22	42	-	44	31
job		-	-	12	21	-	8
worker, hard	trabajador	13	7	31	16	43	25
GOOD, LOVE, PROUD		83	67	52	111	69	164
caring		11	12	4	7	-	-
amiable		-	-	-	-	-	10
nice		-	-	11	11	-	-
gentleman		4	-	-	13	-	-
good	bueno	20	22	-	10	25	38
love,ing		13	8	8	16	-	45
respect		7	7	8	26	-	12
honest	honrado	5	-	-	-	13	19
pride,ous	orgullo,so	-	9	11	17	22	14
loyal		-	-	-	-	-	11
trust		-	-	-	11	-	6
kind		16	9	10	-	-	13
LIFE, SEX, SOCIETY		80	43	34	47	91	21
be, to	ser	-	-	-	-	17	-
life	vida	-	7	-	11	11	-
sex	sexo	39	15	26	15	27	10
origin	origen	-	-	-	-	16	-
animal,s	animal	11	8	8	11	8	-
dog		-	10	-	-	-	-
nature	naturaleza	-	-	-	-	12	-
society		14	-	-	-	-	-
world		9	3	-	10	-	11
BAD, MEAN, WAR		62	48	62	28	71	29
poor	pobre	-	-	-	-	11	-
trouble		-	11	-	-	-	-
ugly		-	-	-	-	-	12
mean		-	9	16	-	-	-
selfish	egoista	-	-	12	-	8	-
stupid		-	4	-	12	-	-
crazy		12	-	-	-	-	-
chauvanist		15	-	-	-	-	-
bad, evil	malo	24	18	24	-	22	17
fight,s,er	luchas,dor	5	-	-	-	17	-
war	guerra	-	6	-	16	13	-
blood		-	-	10	-	-	-
GOD, LEADER, PRESIDENT		95	45	56	61	25	27
leader		20	22	15	25	-	7
ruler,ing		17	-	-	-	-	-
master		12	-	-	-	-	-
God	Dios	15	17	7	13	25	9
Jesus		11	-	-	-	-	-
pope		-	-	-	10	-	-
president		12	6	22	-	-	-
governor		-	-	12	-	-	-
teacher		-	-	-	13	-	-
soldier		-	-	-	-	-	11
MISCELLANEOUS		24	0	21	0	0	22
different		12	-	-	-	-	-
football		10	-	-	-	-	-
always		-	-	-	-	-	11
gay		-	-	9	-	-	11
old		-	-	12	-	-	-

MAN/HOMBRE

On the image of MAN we find an interesting deviation from previous trends which showed the Cuban students to be different from the Anglo Americans and more similar to the little acculturated, more traditional Puerto Ricans in San Juan. In the context of MAN, however, the Cubans show more similarities with the Anglo Americans while they differ in several important aspects from the San Juan student sample. Whether this is a matter of original cultural disposition or a consequence of acculturation cannot be decided without a comparison with a Cuban sample tested in Cuba.

The male-female contrast is the strongest with the Anglo Americans, as previously observed in several studies (1978, 1982). Gender difference usually receives less emphasis from the more traditional Hispanic Americans.

The "masculine," "male" identifications were strong on the part of the Mexican American and Puerto Rican students. They viewed "father" as particularly representative of MAN. The Anglo Americans and the Cubans emphasized "strength" and "power." The Puerto Ricans in San Juan emphasized "intelligence." Practically all groups viewed MAN as "big" and "tall." In addition, the Cubans showed the most interest in good physical appearance ("cute," "handsome") as well as other positive attributes ("loving," "good," "honest"). The strong Hispanic emphasis on "love and "goodness" suggests that these attributes are apparently not in conflict with the idea of being masculine.

It is somewhat unexpected that the Anglo students were inclined to note leadership roles ("*leader*," "*ruler*," "*master*," "*president*"). At the same time, they associated MAN less closely with "work" than did the Hispanic Americans, particularly the Puerto Ricans and the Tempe Mexican Americans.

In general, the key idea for the Hispanic Americans, with the exception of the Cubans, is MAN as a "person" or "human being," Essentially, this concept has little sexual connotation, but rather denotes human qualities, especially those with social and moral implications. "Goodness," "love," "understanding," and other attributes of interpersonal relevance are central to both the concept of MAN and of PERSON (discussed next).

PERSON/PERSONA

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	**Percentage of Total Score**					
ME, MYSELF	14	8	9	10	6	5
FAMILY	5	2	11	27	5	6
GOOD, LIFE, HAPPY	5	8	4	3	10	15
LOVE, RESPECT, KIND	12	16	11	8	19	19
BAD, POOR, SAD	2	5	4	2	5	8
WHITE, BLACK, PRETTY	5	4	3	2	1	5
MAN, WOMAN	15	12	13	14	11	3
PEOPLE, SOCIETY, INDIVIDUAL	29	31	26	24	28	23
FRIENDS	10	9	14	8	9	6
MIND, INTELLIGENCE	1	1	5	1	4	6
MISCELLANEOUS	1	4	1	1	1	3
Total Scores	1069	1048	1121	1150	1310	1154

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
ME, MYSELF		147	84	100	112	75	80
I	yo	-	-	9	19	75	17
self		20	18	-	8	-	-
me		85	53	73	85	-	36
myself		29	10	18	-	-	7
FAMILY		51	20	125	313	98	75
cousin,s		-	-	9	17	-	-
brother,s		-	-	9	37	8	10
family	familia	5	9	16	35	16	15
sister,s		-	5	5	37	-	-
father	padre	15	-	30	72	13	24
child,ren	nino	9	-	-	18	16	-
uncle,s		-	-	6	10	-	-
wife		-	-	-	10	-	-
mother		17	6	50	67	-	26
grandmother	abuela	-	-	-	10	8	-
GOOD, LIFE, HAPPY		48	81	40	36	135	160
happy		-	24	-	-	-	9
life	vida	15	15	-	-	15	12
live,ing		8	14	13	-	-	6
good	bueno,a,s	21	28	27	36	86	129
important	importante	-	-	-	-	13	-
great, big	grande	-	-	-	-	8	12
joyful	alegre	-	-	-	-	13	-
LOVE, RESPECT, KIND		131	163	127	93	253	219
love	amor	8	16	19	-	6	24
feelings		8	22	-	11	-	-
caring		7	11	20	-	-	7
sweet		-	-	-	-	-	20
personality	personalidad	23	11	11	9	25	11
character,tic	caracter	-	-	-	-	24	-
humble	humilde	-	-	-	-	36	-
honest,y	honrade	-	-	8	-	21	19
respect,ful	respeto,so	7	20	-	16	20	11
responsible	responsable	-	-	-	-	15	-
trust	confianza	-	5	-	-	10	-
admire		-	-	-	-	-	11
agreeable	agradable	-	-	-	-	21	-
nice		36	17	37	30	-	33
kind		-	14	17	12	-	12
friendly		-	3	15	-	-	17
amiable	amigable	-	-	-	-	49	14
help,ful		18	14	-	-	-	11
pride	orgullo	-	5	-	8	12	-
loving	amorose	12	15	-	7	3	18
lovable	carinosa	-	-	-	-	11	11
clean		-	10	-	-	-	-
BAD, POOR, SAD		22	48	43	22	68	94
enemy,ies		-	9	22	6	-	-
selfish	egoista	-	6	-	-	14	16
bad, evil	mala,o,s	15	23	-	16	54	50
ugly		-	3	7	-	-	16
mean		5	9	14	-	-	12
WHITE, BLACK, PRETTY		55	42	30	22	10	63
body		21	5	-	12	-	-
pretty		-	6	12	-	-	15
tall		-	7	-	10	-	12
white		11	8	9	-	-	21
race	raza	6	9	8	-	10	-
black		12	9	9	-	-	15

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
PEOPLE, SOCIETY, INDIVIDUAL		314	326	289	280	363	268
human,s being	humano,ente	98	139	104	56	139	58
people	gente	62	83	61	65	48	93
many		10	-	-	-	-	-
one		15	-	-	-	-	-
independent	independiente	7	-	-	-	11	-
individual	individuo	55	39	7	-	55	16
different		-	17	-	18	-	11
group	grupo	-	-	-	-	17	-
population	pueblo	-	-	-	-	16	-
community		-	5	-	9	-	10
society	sociedad	11	-	-	18	12	15
anyone	cualquiera	-	18	-	-	13	-
everybody,one		-	-	18	-	-	-
someone,body		13	14	8	11	-	10
president		-	3	-	13	-	-
police		-	-	-	-	-	12
teacher		-	8	14	16	-	12
neighbor		-	-	7	10	-	-
worker	trabajador	-	-	-	-	13	40
you, your	tu	11	17	28	25	29	-
we	nosotros	-	-	-	10	10	-
us		10	-	-	-	-	-
them		5	-	-	10	-	-
Richard		-	-	12	-	-	-
Jesse		-	-	15	-	-	-
Paul		-	-	11	-	-	-
Miguel		-	-	-	16	-	-
Maria		-	-	-	13	-	-
Martin		-	-	12	-	-	-
FRIENDS		112	99	153	92	122	75
friend,s	amigo,a,s	92	74	139	92	64	62
companion,s	companero,s	-	-	-	-	26	-
friendship	amistad	-	8	-	-	32	-
girlfriend		10	17	14	-	-	13
MIND, INTELLIGENCE		15	15	53	7	58	66
mind		10	-	-	-	-	-
smart		-	-	29	7	-	-
rational	racional	-	-	-	-	10	-
intelligent,ce	inteligencia	4	8	16	-	31	38
studious		-	-	-	-	-	14
understand	comprensible	-	7	8	-	17	14
MAN, WOMAN		162	127	142	162	149	33
sex		8	9	31	-	-	6
boy		13	27	24	22	-	-
girl,s		35	36	61	16	-	16
man,men	hombre	50	40	11	67	86	11
woman,women	mujer	41	15	15	57	63	-
MISCELLANEOUS		12	46	11	11	18	33
work	trabajo	11	6	-	-	8	7
place		-	12	-	-	-	-
money		-	-	11	-	-	-
thing		-	16	-	-	-	-
talk		-	10	-	-	-	-
needs		-	4	-	-	-	26
the, he	el	-	-	-	11	10	-

PERSON/PERSONA

Practically all of our previous Hispanic studies have indicated that PERSON is generally a more important and central notion than MAN to them. Its cultural meaning conveys also some of the trends characteristic of Hispanic interpersonal relations. The less accultured Hispanic students showed some of the previously observed trends more clearly than the more accultured Hispanic Americans. PERSON had the least dominance for the Mexican American student group in El Paso and for the Anglo Americans. The Puerto Rican group in San Juan and the Cuban students in Miami had the highest dominance scores, although the Cubans differ little in dominance from the other Hispanic student groups.

These less accultured Hispanic student groups scored the highest on the "Love, Respect, Kindness" dimension, which shows that PERSON has for them a more positive, more affect-laden meaning than for the Anglo American or for the more accultured Hispanic groups. As a closely related observation, the little accultured Hispanic American students showed a marked tendency to look at PERSON in terms of being good or bad. A good person implies for them naturally someone who is "good," "friendly," "amiable," and "loving," a person with strong social qualities and interpersonal attachments. The San Juan students stressed such attributes as "humbleness," "respect," "responsibility," "honesty," which emphasize proper social attitudes toward others. While the Cubans think more of "people," the San Juan based Puerto Ricans and the Mexican Americans in El Paso again think more of "human beings."

The less accultured Hispanic students in San Juan and Miami also tended to relate PERSON to larger social units: "society," "community," "population" (pueblo). This trend goes together with their emphasis on social attributes. In turn, these trends stand in partial contrast with the Anglo American emphasis on the self ("me," "myself") characterized frequently as individualism.

Some of these differences emerged more distinctly in our previous studies based on less accultured, more traditional adult samples (1978, 1982). The fact that the present study is based on high school students, who apparently have not yet reached their peak in the socialization or enculturation process, is most likely the reason for these differences to be less articulate in the present context.

In general, the findings show that the Hispanic student groups who are little accultured to the Anglo American environment, think of people predominantly as "persons" with emphasis on moral and social qualities, positive social values and attachments to other people and to larger social units.

PEOPLE/GENTE

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
LOVE, FRIENDSHIP	10	10	15	17	8	13
RACE, BLACK, WHITE	10	3	9	5	0	5
LIFE, WORK, HAPPINESS	3	5	2	3	1	5
PERSONS, HUMANS	15	21	15	24	26	8
POPULATION, CROWDS	8	8	3	4	13	6
GOOD, KIND	11	12	14	11	19	25
SOCIETY, WORLD	17	12	8	11	15	8
FAMILY, CHILDREN	2	10	4	14	2	6
BAD, ENEMY, MEAN	15	14	21	6	11	15
RICH, POOR	1	0	2	2	0	5
MISCELLANEOUS	8	5	6	2	3	3
Total Scores	1208	1201	1257	1396	1170	1235

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
LOVE, FRIENDSHIP		118	120	186	242	98	165
love,ing	amor	8	16	26	65	8	42
friendly	amistoso	6	11	23	30	8	10
friend,s	amigo,s	82	82	109	148	38	95
friendship	amistad,os	7	8	9	-	43	-
care,ing		4	9	19	15	-	6
RACE, BLACK, WHITE		119	38	114	71	4	63
black,s		38	15	47	35	-	20
brown		17	-	-	-	-	-
race,s	raza	14	12	29	7	4	-
white,s		39	11	38	29	-	36
LIFE, WORK, HAPPINESS		37	60	24	48	16	68
joyful		-	-	-	-	-	10
work	trabajo	8	12	6	17	8	14
school		9	18	-	-	-	7
life,living	vida	7	20	5	12	10	12
fun		5	-	8	12	-	5
happy,ness		5	10	5	7	-	14
PERSONS, HUMANS		178	267	191	362	310	97
you	tu	-	-	-	10	10	-
we		8	14	17	17	-	7
I	yo	-	-	-	15	10	-
woman	mujer	9	9	7	8	10	-
women	mujeres	15	26	-	15	13	7
boy,s		-	16	9	15	-	-
girl,s,friend		27	47	23	31	-	9
worker	trabajador	-	-	-	-	12	-
man	hombre	12	-	9	10	12	9
men	hombres	17	35	-	16	13	8
people		-	12	22	10	-	-
person,s	persona,s	21	41	24	74	160	12
police		-	-	-	20	-	-
Reagan		-	-	15	9	-	-
human,s,being		33	36	58	25	11	30
humanity	humanidad	-	-	-	8	23	-
teacher,s		-	6	7	23	-	-
individual		10	5	-	-	-	11
Juan		-	-	-	12	-	-
neighbor,s	vecino,s	10	-	-	8	12	-
we	nosotros	-	-	-	-	10	-
GOOD, KIND		135	141	175	190	220	312
kind	bondadoso	16	18	6	-	6	19
agreeable	agradable	-	-	-	-	11	9
amiable	amable	-	-	7	-	10	-
generous	generosidad	-	-	-	13	8	-
gentle		7	-	-	10	-	-
nice		24	27	39	21	-	32
pretty		8	8	12	-	-	16
beautiful		6	11	-	8	-	-
okay		-	-	13	-	-	-
good	bueno,os	46	41	27	32	123	103
polite		-	-	-	12	-	-
help,ing	ayuda	-	9	6	9	6	19
helpful		-	5	10	8	-	12
respect		5	-	-	12	-	11
honest		-	-	12	-	-	12
humble	humilde	-	-	-	-	14	-
sincere	sincero	-	-	-	-	17	-
smart		6	10	32	7	-	6
important	importante	-	7	-	-	13	-
intelligent		8	5	7	-	-	23
trust,ful	confianza	-	-	4	18	16	10

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
SOCIETY, WORLD		207	140	99	153	171	104
world	mundo	7	19	-	8	15	12
live together	convivencia	-	-	-	-	11	-
city,ie		6	8	-	7	-	12
foreign		14	-	-	-	-	-
community	comunidad	29	15	-	21	63	14
nation		26	-	6	24	-	8
New York		13	-	-	-	-	-
U.S.		-	14	-	-	-	-
country,ies	pais	7	-	-	8	14	15
places		-	15	-	-	-	-
Puerto Rican		-	-	-	12	-	-
American,s		-	4	-	12	-	7
Chinese		-	3	16	18	-	-
Japanese		-	-	15	10	-	-
Mexican,s		5	14	30	-	-	-
Chicanos		-	-	14	-	-	-
different	diferente	25	21	6	18	12	-
society	sociedad	45	29	12	15	86	36
everywhere		11	-	-	-	-	-
FAMILY, CHILDREN		25	121	55	194	86	74
family	familia	15	30	19	38	15	37
mother		8	20	12	34	-	12
relatives		-	11	-	-	-	-
kids		-	22	-	-	-	-
parents		-	-	-	21	-	-
homes		-	-	-	-	-	11
brother,s		-	7	-	30	-	-
sister,s		-	7	7	20	-	-
father		-	15	10	31	-	9
child,ren	ninos	-	9	7	20	11	5
BAD, ENEMY, MEAN		186	170	269	86	128	189
evil		-	-	-	11	-	6
dumb		-	12	22	-	-	6
ugly		35	19	9	11	-	22
fat		13	6	7	-	-	7
sad		-	11	8	-	-	-
fight,s,ing		7	11	6	-	-	-
assholes		15	-	-	-	-	-
mean		16	17	42	8	-	12
corrupt		-	-	10	-	-	-
enemy,ies	enemigos	-	13	33	18	9	10
stupid		19	8	28	-	-	-
ignorant		7	15	6	-	-	-
bad, evil	mala,os	31	28	15	15	108	103
prejudice		-	-	16	-	-	-
loud		-	-	12	-	-	-
rude		-	16	11	-	-	-
dishonest		-	-	-	-	-	11
crazy		19	-	20	11	-	-
selfish	egoista	7	6	-	12	15	12
kill		-	4	13	-	-	-
too many		-	5	11	-	-	-
POPULATION, CROWDS		91	96	36	95	153	88
a lot		8	26	9	-	-	-
many	muchos	18	14	-	17	13	-
much	mucha	-	-	-	-	28	42
overpopulation		-	-	10	-	-	-
great, big	grande	-	-	-	-	13	15
group,s	grupo	25	14	-	-	18	-
population	poblacion	18	14	8	30	68	-
crowd,s		22	22	9	8	-	11
everyone,body	todos	-	6	-	-	13	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
RICH, POOR		10	4	31	29	0	58
rich		-	-	14	16	-	18
poor		-	4	17	13	-	24
money		9	-	-	-	-	16
MISCELLANEOUS		100	58	77	26	36	43
sex		7	-	23	-	-	9
communication	comunicacion	-	-	-	-	13	-
give in		-	-	-	-	-	12
church		-	-	-	12	-	-
religion,s	religion	5	-	12	-	13	-
tall		-	-	12	10	-	-
big		-	11	-	-	-	12
small		-	9	6	4	-	10
magazine		69	29	-	-	-	-
real		25	-	-	-	-	-
war		5	9	13	-	-	-
the,he	el	-	-	-	-	10	-
death		-	-	11	-	-	-

PEOPLE/GENTE

How the various groups look at PEOPLE reflects trends in their dispositions to conceive the social world in particular ways. The main tendency of the less accultured, more traditional Hispanic American groups is to view PEOPLE as "persons." While this may appear to be just another word for PEOPLE, "person" contains certain characteristically Hispanic elements. While this emphasis on "person" was found to be strong among Colombians as well (1982), it is interesting to note how pronounced it is here for the Puerto Rican students, particularly the San Juan group, but it is hardly noticeable with the Cubans. The Cubans and the Mexican Americans show a stronger tendency to think of "human beings."

The Anglo Americans and the more accultured Mexican American students also think more in terms of "man" and "woman," "boys" and "girls." Most groups think of PEOPLE intensively in terms of racial identity ("Blacks," "Whites," "races"), while the Puerto Ricans in San Juan represent a noticeable difference by making no racial distinction, thus showing negligible racial awareness. Incidentally, this is in close agreement with the results of our earlier studies, where Puerto Ricans in San Juan were found to show remarkably little predisposition to perceive or identify racial differences (1974).

On the dimension of affective identification the Puerto Rican students show an interesting contrast. While Puerto Ricans in San Juan made the fewest references to affective ties ("love," "friendship," "caring"), the Puerto Ricans in New York made the most and also made the most references to "family" and family members.

The Puerto Ricans, particularly those in San Juan, tended to think of PEOPLE in terms of "community," "society," and "population." The less accultured, more traditional Hispanic students, the Puerto Ricans and Cubans, also showed the strongest tendency to categorize people as "good" or "bad." As a partial contrast, the other groups mentioned more diverse qualities: "pretty," "smart," "intelligent," "helpful."

The Mexican American students in Tempe had a particularly negative view of PEOPLE, listing such qualities as "dumb," "mean," "corrupt," "stupid," "prejudiced," and "loud." The reasons for this attitude are not clear.

In general, the idea of PEOPLE is a popular social category for Anglo Americans. It includes individuals of different race, sex, and age. In this open society, people are viewed as a reservoir of potential partners and friends. To Puerto Ricans, PEOPLE denotes more the idea of strangers. They are more inclined to think in terms of persons and human beings rather than PEOPLE.

FAMILY/FAMILIA

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
PARENTS, CHILDREN	42	37	42	55	34	33
RELATIVES, GRANDPARENTS	9	5	9	19	8	10
BIG, SMALL	2	2	1	1	2	1
LOVE, UNDERSTAND, TRUST	10	20	20	13	19	19
TOGETHER, UNITED	6	13	6	4	10	15
PEOPLE, FRIENDS, SOCIETY	4	3	2	1	7	4
HOME, HOUSE	5	4	2	1	4	1
HELP, SUPPORT, IMPORTANT	7	8	5	2	6	4
HAPPY, GOOD	6	4	8	2	5	11
PROBLEMS, FIGHTING	7	4	2	1	2	2
MISCELLANEOUS	3	1	2	2	3	1
Total Scores	1740	1594	1962	1921	1755	1696

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
PARENTS, CHILDREN		733	599	827	1064	608	582
brother,s	hermano,s	103	112	167	212	40	61
parents	padres,par.	41	58	31	59	58	32
brothers & s	hermanos	-	-	-	11	64	14
sister,s	hermana,s	96	98	153	103	28	46
son,s	hijo,s	-	-	22	30	146	35
daughter		-	-	-	15	-	7
kids		6	18	-	18	-	-
children		30	12	45	24	-	19
father,dad	padre	168	120	158	242	132	163
mother, mom	madre,mama	197	133	189	268	139	182
wife		20	20	56	19	-	13
marriage		5	15	6	10	-	-
RELATIVES, GRANDPARENTS		150	72	183	368	147	167
aunt,s	tia,s	24	9	26	83	20	37
relatives		20	23	23	21	-	7
grandfather	abuelo	11	-	28	29	16	20
grandmother	abuela	14	4	32	27	17	32
grandparents	abuelos	10	7	7	20	25	6
cousin,s	primo,s	24	14	36	87	27	31
uncle,s	tio,s	27	15	25	82	32	34
nephew,s	sobrino	-	-	6	12	5	-
BIG, SMALL		35	32	23	19	38	9
small	pequeno	-	-	6	-	12	-
big	grande	20	8	-	11	26	9
a lot		-	-	17	-	-	-
large		12	24	-	8	-	-
LOVE, UNDERSTAND, TRUST		172	321	387	244	326	319
friendship	amistad	9	10	7	10	11	-
companionship	companerismo	-	-	-	-	13	-
tenderness	ternura	-	-	-	-	11	-
trust	confianza	13	28	10	28	30	9
respect	respeto	-	19	15	25	29	28
pride	orgullo	-	9	23	15	5	-
honor		-	-	-	10	-	-
care,ing		25	60	89	17	-	13
understanding	comprension	4	15	34	-	48	30
careful		-	-	15	-	-	-
lovable		-	-	-	-	-	14
love	amor,carino	102	162	186	131	179	180
loving		6	22	8	17	-	42
TOGETHER, UNITED		106	208	127	75	182	249
close,ness		25	53	6	-	-	-
whole	conjunto	-	-	-	-	16	-
share,ing	compartir	5	23	13	-	19	11
together,ness		66	77	91	59	-	122
union	union	-	-	-	-	98	36
united	unido	-	24	15	-	21	17
unity	unidad	-	31	-	16	28	75
PEOPLE, FRIENDS, SOCIETY		68	47	49	28	121	99
people	gente	7	5	-	-	8	26
community	comunidad	-	-	-	-	10	-
group	grupo	8	9	8	-	31	-
institution	institucion	-	-	-	-	10	-
social group	grupo social	-	-	-	-	12	-
my, mine	mia	11	-	11	-	12	-
society	sociedad	-	-	-	-	22	-
worker		-	-	-	-	-	10
friend,s	amigo,s	36	33	30	26	16	29

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
HAPPY, GOOD		101	66	150	29	88	194
joy, pleasure	alegria	-	-	8	-	27	-
fun		36	7	16	-	-	12
party, ies		-	-	12	-	-	15
vacation,s		10	7	-	-	-	-
content		-	-	12	-	-	-
great		-	-	17	-	-	32
beautiful		-	-	-	-	-	12
happy,ness	felicidad	30	39	45	9	22	73
good	buena	5	15	11	-	39	50
cool		-	-	10	-	-	-
nice		11	-	19	20	-	-
PROBLEMS, FIGHTING		129	60	39	23	28	31
problems	problemas	15	25	4	-	5	-
divorce		27	-	-	-	-	-
repair	componen	-	-	-	-	12	-
sad,ness	tristeza	3	-	-	-	11	8
trouble		-	-	16	7	-	-
argue,ments		-	11	-	8	-	-
fight,s,ing		17	12	9	12	-	8
pain		11	-	-	-	-	-
death		10	12	-	-	-	-
strange		-	-	10	-	-	-
bitch		11	-	-	-	-	-
hate		10	-	-	-	-	15
sucks		13	-	-	-	-	-
HOME, HOUSE		80	56	39	17	63	20
home	hogar	45	39	13	10	39	11
house	casa	28	17	26	7	24	9
HELP, SUPPORT, IMPORTANT		122	122	107	29	107	75
help,ing	ayuda,r	8	12	12	11	17	8
support		7	20	-	9	-	-
security	seguridad	7	12	-	-	9	6
money		10	17	23	-	-	9
work	trabajo	7	-	15	-	8	6
responsibl,ty	responsable	6	7	-	-	31	-
important	importante	13	15	12	-	13	25
helpful		-	6	15	9	-	8
always, there		-	-	10	-	-	13
life	vida	28	15	-	-	24	-
dinner		11	-	-	-	-	-
food		7	9	10	-	-	-
car		7	9	10	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		45	22	31	32	52	20
sex		8	-	17	-	-	-
dog,s		13	17	4	-	-	12
communication	comunicacion	-	-	-	15	19	-
church	iglesia	9	5	-	7	10	-
religion	religion	11	-	-	-	15	-
future	futuro	-	-	10	10	6	8

FAMILY/FAMILIA

The image of FAMILY, the most basic, natural, and universal unit of social organization, has shown some interesting influences on cultural perspectives in our previous studies based on adult populations (1972, 1978). The Anglo versus Hispanic American perspectives reflected some important structural differences, such as the Anglo emphasis on the husband-wife relationship compared to the stronger Hispanic emphasis on parent-child. Since our high school students are unmarried, young people, it was interesting to see to what extent they may represent different perspectives.

On the question of subjective dominance, Hispanic Americans were previously found to assign particularly heavy importance to FAMILY. This trend did not emerge in the present context comparing little accultured Hispanic groups and Anglo Americans. At the same time, the more accultured student groups, the Mexican Americans in Tempe and the Puerto Ricans in New York, did have high dominance scores, probably because FAMILY can become particularly important in a culturally different environment (see "Impact of a Foreign Culture: South Koreans in America," Szalay and Kelly, 1972). The New York based Puerto Rican students and the Mexican Americans in Tempe, placed particularly heavy emphasis on "father," "mother," "brothers," "sisters," as well as on more distant relatives ("aunts," "uncles"). Across the board all Hispanic American students heavily emphasized "love," "trust," "respect," "caring," and "friendship," that is, the importance of affect-based interpersonal ties.

The focus on affect-laden interpersonal relations appears to be universal among the Hispanic American regional groups tested. The Anglo Americans emphasized these ties to a much lesser extent. To place the findings into broader perspectives, we may mention that the Anglo Americans are still stronger in their emphasis of love in the context of FAMILY than people in the more traditional Arab and Korean cultures, where FAMILY in itself shows little affect-loading (parent-child relations do).

Although the Hispanic student groups emphasize across the board "unity" and "togetherness," there is a hidden cultural difference here. As our previous analysis (1978) shows, the Anglo American interpretation of "togetherness" has an individualistic undertone in the sense of two individual people enjoying each other's presence, while the Hispanic idea of "togetherness" or "union" suggests more a sort of fusion. In their articulation of problems and conflicts within the FAMILY, the Anglo Americans scored the highest. The reactions were quite diverse: "trouble," "fights," "pain," "hate," "problems," "divorce." Interestingly, no Hispanic students mentioned "divorce."

In general, most of the broadly established Anglo and Hispanic American differences previously found with adult populations were confirmed by our student samples. There was one significant difference: the husband-wife relationship, usually emphasized by Anglo Americans as central to family relations, did not emerge in the students' image of FAMILY. In the area of affect-laden interpersonal ties, the Hispanic Americans scored uniformly higher than the Anglo American students. Life in a culturally different environment may accentuate the traditional Hispanic emphasis on FAMILY.

FRIENDS/AMIGOS

Perceptions and Evaluations by:		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components		Percentage of Total Score					
TRUST, HONESTY, RESPECT		6	11	9	9	14	13
PEOPLE, BOY, GIRL		21	15	23	30	10	4
FUN, HAPPINESS, PARTIES		20	12	18	6	2	10
GOOD, IMPORTANT		9	9	8	4	7	15
BAD, ENEMIES		1	1	2	3	5	4
MANY, FEW		2	2	2	1	7	6
LOVE, CARING, HELPING		21	30	23	20	30	32
COMPANIONS, BUDDIES		8	8	11	10	15	6
FAMILY, PARENTS		3	5	1	11	5	6
SCHOOL, WORK		7	6	2	3	4	3
MISCELLANEOUS		2	0	2	2	1	1
Total Scores		1164	1193	1090	1233	1309	1219

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
T ST, HONESTY, RESPECT		74	137	99	116	177	153
trust,worthy	confianza	41	89	61	83	65	58
honest,y	honrados	-	7	23	-	16	22
sincere	sincero	-	-	-	-	57	26
respect	respeto	7	11	8	13	19	20
reliable		12	-	-	-	-	-
loyal	leales	7	19	7	20	20	27
always there		-	11	-	-	-	-
PEOPLE, BOY, GIRL		241	173	251	367	131	46
people	gente	33	21	21	-	18	-
persons	personas	-	-	-	-	17	-
women		13	-	-	-	-	-
girls		71	50	46	37	-	21
girlfriend		15	26	21	13	-	-
boys		-	16	7	26	-	-
guys		-	15	8	-	-	-
peers		-	15	-	-	-	-
neighbors	vecinos	12	-	-	6	19	-
group	grupo	-	-	-	-	12	-
I	yo	-	-	-	-	13	-
you, your	tu	-	-	-	-	11	-
young men		-	-	-	11	-	-
somebody		-	-	-	11	-	-
everyone		-	-	-	-	-	17
Angel		-	-	-	26	-	-
Pedro	Pedro	-	-	-	-	10	-
Ray		-	-	-	26	-	-
Richard		-	-	12	-	-	-
Sal		-	-	10	-	-	-
Sylvia		14	-	-	-	-	-
Shawn		11	-	-	-	-	-
Hector		-	17	-	15	-	-
David		-	-	5	19	-	6
Joe		-	8	13	-	-	-
John		21	3	24	15	-	-
Jose	Jose	-	-	-	15	6	-
Chicanos		-	-	11	-	-	-
Ron		10	-	-	-	-	-
Chris		10	-	5	-	-	-
Lupe		-	-	16	-	-	-
Frank		-	-	12	-	-	-
Mark		-	-	-	20	-	-
Raj		-	-	-	15	-	-
Melvin		-	-	-	12	-	-
Miguel		-	-	-	30	-	-
Steve		-	-	27	8	-	-
Eddie	Eddie	-	-	-	10	13	-
Edgar		-	-	-	15	-	-
Terry		-	-	11	-	-	-
Tito		-	-	-	10	-	-
Tony		-	-	12	12	-	-
Troy		12	-	-	-	-	-
Carlos	Carlos	-	-	-	15	12	-
FUN, HAPPINESS, PARTIES		235	143	196	75	30	118
fun		67	49	50	34	-	44
happy,ness		20	23	11	8	-	8
joy,pleasure	alegria	11	-	8	7	11	-
laugh		-	21	-	-	-	9
party,ies		30	29	34	-	-	28
beer		13	-	-	-	-	-
play		-	-	-	18	-	7
go out		-	-	15	-	-	-
money	dinero	11	-	19	-	9	16
cruise		-	-	12	-	-	-
cars		11	-	10	-	-	8
music		15	-	-	-	-	-
sports	juegos	20	-	6	-	10	-
good times		21	21	33	10	-	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
GOOD, IMPORTANT		107	105	84	57	94	184
good	buenos	35	22	51	41	84	129
great		9	8	-	-	-	20
importa		18	25	-	-	-	-
necessi	necesidad	-	8	-	-	10	-
securit		-	-	-	-	-	10
best		9	9	-	11	-	-
need,ed		26	33	9	-	-	27
okay		-	-	12	-	-	-
all right		-	-	12	-	-	-
BAD, ENEMIES		9	14	26	37	91	94
untrustworthy		-	-	-	-	-	10
hypocrites	hipocritas	-	-	-	-	12	11
enemy		8	-	-	18	-	-
fighting		-	14	6	-	-	-
pain in neck	un peso en	-	-	-	-	13	-
crazy		-	-	10	-	-	-
bad, evil	malos	-	-	10	19	36	33
MANY, FEW		21	20	18	16	88	78
not all	no todos	-	-	-	-	10	-
some	algunos	-	-	-	-	13	-
many	muchos	19	20	18	16	42	33
few	pocos	-	-	-	-	33	45
LOVE, CARING, HELPING		242	363	247	243	395	391
love	carino	15	41	39	67	42	98
like		8	3	-	11	-	-
friendship	amistad	23	19	9	35	97	21
care,ing		14	75	50	23	-	32
together,ness		35	9	9	10	-	29
share,ing	compartir	12	12	13	36	75	23
close,ness		21	59	9	-	-	30
union	union	-	-	-	-	11	-
understanding	comprender	14	23	13	19	35	43
tenderness	ternura	-	-	-	-	10	-
advice		-	-	-	-	-	12
talk		8	34	13	-	-	12
aid,help	ayudar	-	-	-	-	16	-
help,ing	ayuda	54	66	49	35	37	47
know	conocido	-	-	-	-	37	-
relationship		-	-	-	-	-	10
want	querer	-	9	-	-	11	-
companionship	companerismo	-	-	-	-	12	-
appreciation	aprecio	-	-	-	-	16	-
cool		-	-	10	-	-	13
nice		19	13	33	17	-	29
COMPANIONS, BUDDIES		89	98	121	149	197	76
companions	companeros	13	40	-	39	163	22
good friend		-	-	11	-	-	-
buddies		57	30	59	44	-	37
pals		9	20	29	10	-	-
friends	amigo	-	8	10	26	-	17
company	compania	-	-	-	-	11	-
partner		5	-	12	-	-	-
intimates	intimos	-	-	-	-	10	-
comrades		-	-	-	10	-	-
sociable	sociable	-	-	-	-	13	-
FAMILY, PARENTS		40	63	7	131	59	70
father	padre	-	9	-	37	9	11
child	nino	-	-	-	17	-	-
sisters		-	-	-	10	-	-
mother	madre	-	9	-	24	8	12
home		11	11	-	-	-	6
family		25	28	7	8	-	12
parents	padres	-	6	-	-	13	17
brothers	hermanos	-	-	-	35	29	12

SCHOOL, WORK		79	75	22	34	55	37
teachers	maestros	5	9	-	7	15	15
schoolmate		-	13	-	-	-	-
classmates		-	-	-	10	-	-
work	trabajo	11	-	8	-	14	11
school	escuela	56	53	14	22	21	11
MISCELLANEOUS		28	2	19	28	8	10
tall		-	-	-	10	-	-
sex		25	-	14	-	-	-
gato		-	-	-	18	-	-
God	Dios	-	2	-	-	8	10

FRIENDS/AMIGOS

As the higher dominance scores indicate, the more traditional, less acculturated Hispanic students, the Cubans and the Puerto Ricans, attached somewhat greater subjective importance to FRIENDS than the Anglo Americans or the more acculturated Hispanic Americans. A similar tendency was observed in the context of FRIENDSHIP, not only with regard to the importance given to FRIENDS and FRIENDSHIP but also with respect to certain dominant perceptual and evaluative trends.

The less acculturated Hispanic student groups stress the affective, emotional content of the relationship ("love," "caring," "helping") whereby the Cubans emphasize "love" and the Puerto Ricans "friendship" and "sharing." While affective ties were also important for the Anglo students, their subjective weight was less than that of the more traditional Hispanic Americans.

As observed in the analysis of FRIENDSHIP, the Anglo Americans focused more narrowly on extracurricular activities and entertainment ("fun," "parties"). There is extensive evidence that for the more traditional culture groups, such as Arabs and Koreans (1978, 1972), FRIENDSHIP has a broader, more universal meaning involving other dimensions and activities of life such as work or business in addition to entertainment.

The heavier Anglo American references to "girls" and to "sex" indicate that FRIENDS as well as FRIENDSHIP have a more distinctly sexual connotation. While the more traditional Hispanic groups showed this trend to a very limited extent, to the more acculturated Mexican Americans this sexual connotation of FRIENDS was salient. The Mexican Americans in Tempe and the Puerto Ricans in New York, also mentioned many names of particular friends.

While to the Anglo and Mexican American students FRIENDS can only be "good," it is interesting to observe that for the more traditional Hispanic American students FRIENDS can also be "bad" and "evil" as well. This may appear paradoxical from the Anglo American perspective where FRIENDS are freely chosen and thus are likely to have only positive qualities to be considered friends. Yet, from the angle of the more traditional cultures, where friendship entails long-term commitments and lasting obligations, the idea of conflicts or fights between friends is not alien to the idea of friendship.

The Puerto Rican students in San Juan emphasized "companions," and all Hispanics regard "family" and relatives ("brothers," "mother") as friends more than the Anglo Americans do. For the Anglo American and the Mexican American students in El Paso, "school" presents an important context for friendships.

In general, the less acculturated Hispanic Americans place more emphasis on the affective content of friendship and the permanence of the attachment. To them, the human and social qualities of FRIENDS ("goodness," "love," "sharing") are of special importance. To the Anglo and more acculturated Hispanic American students, FRIENDS have a stronger leisure time connotation; the relationship is more situation based and shows little concern with duration or obligation.

Summary

We have examined the various regional samples' views regarding three types of social units: (a) the image of ME, how the members of these groups view themselves, (b) images of others in general, and (c) the images of others with affective ties: FRIENDS and FAMILY. While the cultural meanings were discussed previously theme by theme, next we will examine the general trends emerging in this domain, how the regional Hispanic samples are predisposed to view people, to construe their relationships; how they vary in their subjective representation of social relations.

The highly personal and subjective nature of interpersonal relationships and their evasiveness to assessment explain the difficulties associated with the task of introducing empirical data to promote clarification amidst conflicting positions. The information produced by word associations on subjective images and meanings offers here a new opportunity to gain insights into how issues and people are related in the minds of these various groups of respondents.

The following discussion addresses two main questions. First, what does our comparison show about the existence of different patterns of interpersonal relations characteristic of Anglo Americans and Hispanic Americans? Second, how do these differences vary depending on the observed level of acculturation?

The self images revealed fairly consistent patterns of differences. The Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans, particularly those from El Paso, emphasized "I" and "self" or, using a clinical label, the "ego." They also showed a stronger tendency to stress greatness, strength, being athletic, and other attributes involving physical strength. The more traditional Hispanic groups were predisposed to think of themselves in terms of positive feelings and affective ties ("love," "friendship"). The quality of being "good" was of special importance to them, implying positive moral and social qualities, understanding, and genuine concern with others. The stimulus theme YOUR FIRST NAME elicited the same mosaic elements as the theme of ME. In general, the Anglos and the more traditionally oriented Hispanics have shown the same differences in both contexts used to show their self image.

The images of others were examined through the analysis of the themes PEOPLE, MAN, and PERSON. The images and meanings of these elementary social units revealed several consistent trends in important perceptual and motivational dispositions. As this consistency suggests, these dispositions are deeply rooted in people's cultural frame of reference. In practically all of these contexts, the Anglo Americans placed more emphasis on sexual identity and differences. They also observed more racial differences. Furthermore, masculine qualities like "strength" and "power" received more attention, and "leadership" was more salient in the subjective representation of MAN by the Anglo American students. They also made more references to self in the context of PERSON.

In their images of others, the more traditional groups, particularly the Puerto Ricans in San Juan, showed a strong concern with moral and social

attributes. Particularly the qualities of being "good" (or "bad") and "loving" received broad attention together with such social values and virtues as "respect," "love," and "kindness." These are qualities and affects which reflect on the importance given to interpersonal relations. They emerged here consistently as salient considerations and important parameters of these Hispanic groups' frame of reference.

While the Anglo American students related some of these elementary social units (e.g., PERSON) more to the self or the ego, the Hispanic students viewed these social units (PEOPLE, PERSON, MAN) in closer relationship to larger social units ("family," "community," and "society"). In other words, while the Anglo Americans showed a distinct tendency to construe these elements of the social environment as separate and independent units, the more traditional Hispanic groups viewed them more as natural constituents of the broader community or society.

These observed differences correspond with those implied by the dichotomy which characterizes Anglo Americans as individualistic and Hispanic Americans as collectivistic in social orientation. They support two main patterns of interpersonal relations. The Anglo Americans think more in terms of people who are viewed as separate individuals relevant to their own personal interest. The traditional Hispanic groups think more in terms of "persons," as part of the family or of some other large social units, with special emphasis on their social qualities ("goodness," "love," "friendship," "respect").

The traditional Hispanic American groups, in essential agreement with Colombians (1982) and other Latin Americans (1978), have shown a strong and consistent emphasis on socially relevant personal qualities and affects. The Anglo Americans and more accultured Hispanic Americans showed more interest in such attributes as "strength" and "power" as well as "leadership." Anglo Americans were more attuned to observe differences between sexes and also between races. The more traditional Hispanic groups stress general human qualities, e.g., "person" and "human being."

The third group of social units examined includes FRIENDS and FAMILY, representing people with personal and affective ties. One of the most characteristic trends on the part of the Anglo Americans involved an emphasis on "fun" and "entertainment" in the context of FRIENDS. There was also a strong emphasis on "sex." The Hispanic Americans emphasized more "love" and "understanding" as the affective foundation of friendship. The most important attributes expected of FRIENDS were "trust," "sincerity," "loyalty," and being a "good" person. For the more traditionally oriented Hispanic groups the family is a particularly important source of friendship.

A large part of the above characterization applies to the cultural meanings of FAMILY as well. While the Anglo American group was more preoccupied with "problems," "fighting," and "divorce," the Hispanic Americans emphasize the affect based foundation of the FAMILY (e.g., "love, trust, respect, friendship"). Some Hispanic groups made particularly heavy references to family members, underscoring the importance of the extended family. However, some of this may not be a function of the traditional culture but a

consequence of living as an ethnic minority in a culturally different environment. Yet, it appears that in the context of all themes examined, the student groups with a more traditional Hispanic background placed primary emphasis on the emotional content of the underlying interpersonal relations. They showed a particularly strong preoccupation with human qualities of social relevance.

The findings showed that there are marked and consistent differences in cultural frames of reference between the Anglo American and the more traditional Hispanic American groups, primarily the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami. In the previous discussion we paid less attention to the more acculturated Hispanic American groups for two main reasons.

First, and most importantly, the findings show that these groups assume quite consistently an intermediary position between the Anglo and the traditional Hispanic American groups. In most instances they come closer to the Anglo American than to the traditional Hispanic end of this continuum. This means that in most instances, provided we know the dominant Anglo and traditional Hispanic cultural views, the understanding of the more acculturated Hispanic American samples will require, beyond a technical measurement, simply an interpolation between these two culturally distinct positions.

Second, the consistency of similarities and differences observed is of considerable importance from a conceptual/methodological angle bearing on construct validity of the assessment. It shows that in those instances where we have a rational basis to predict relative similarities of the groups, the predictions are effectively borne out by the results. Based on purely logical grounds it is natural to expect that, for instance, Puerto Ricans in New York who live in an Anglo American cultural environment, will show more similarity with the Anglo Americans than do the Puerto Ricans in San Juan who live in their own cultural milieu and have less contact with Anglo Americans.

In this context it is interesting to consider the trend observed throughout this chapter that in most instances the Mexican Americans and the Puerto Ricans in New York showed more similarity with the Anglo Americans than did the more traditional Hispanic samples. The psychocultural distance data shown here were based on the average distance coefficients calculated across the themes used in the representation of this domain.

Coefficients of Psychocultural Distance Between Regional Samples	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Anglo Americans, East Coast	.20	.26	.23	.44	.25	
Mexican Americans, El Paso		.20	.22	.31	.28	
Mexican Americans, Tempe			.19	.43	.30	
Puerto Ricans, New York				.47	.36	
Puerto Ricans, San Juan					.49	

Table 8. Mean Distances Measured in the Domain of SOCIAL IMAGES

It is interesting to note that the traditional San Juan group shows, in the context of this domain, an at least as large if not larger distance from the acculturated Hispanic American groups (Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in New York) as they show in comparison with the Anglo American group.

Acculturation is a powerful process. Highly acculturated Hispanic Americans are likely to differ little from Anglo Americans. Yet even in this context, a familiarity with traditional Hispanic American cultural patterns is helpful in explaining existing differences and placing them into clearer perspective.

From the angle of institutional adaptation, service satisfaction and job performance, the practical importance of psychocultural dispositions depends on the intensity of differences observed, which varies broadly depending on the level of acculturation. In the case of the more traditional Hispanic American populations, the social personalistic frame of reference emerges as an important human disposition likely to influence institutional adaptation and service satisfaction in several important ways as discussed in our concluding chapter.

SOCIAL VALUES: FRIENDSHIP, UNDERSTANDING

The importance of interpersonal relations to Hispanic Americans has rather heavy implications for military settings, service orientation and job satisfaction. The observed Hispanic emphasis on social qualities and warm personal ties is in essential agreement with the literature. Since Margaret Mead's (1953) conclusions that Hispanic Americans value interdependence and modesty rather than pushing themselves forward, similar observations have been made again and again.

In contrast to an assertive, competitive posture dominated by self interest, Gillin (1965) characterizes Hispanic social relations as inspired by such values as respect for inner worth and dignity of others. In general, Hispanic Americans are broadly recognized as being gregarious people enjoying a life rich in warm interpersonal ties (Gil, 1976; Rogler, 1940; Wolf, 1966); they have little interest in the idea of privacy, while mutual aid and cooperation have broad popular appeal (Kagan and Madsen, 1971; Kagan, 1977; Buitrago, 1970).

The literature has naturally focused on what we may call the traditional Hispanic culture. Yet as Grebler (1970), Turner (1980) and others observe, due to acculturation and urbanization, certain Hispanic groups, like Mexican Americans, no longer fit traditional value patterns. The data presented in the first part of this report show a high level of acculturation: from the five Hispanic samples tested, only the San Juan student group was found to be essentially traditional. Does this mean that most of the literature and most of the findings on the traditional Hispanic culture have little or no application to the Hispanic majority who have become more or less accultured to the U.S. environment?

In the context of FRIENDS we found that the Hispanic Americans emphasized affective ties ("love") and certain social qualities ("respect," "trust"). How general are these trends? Do they apply only to FRIENDSHIP or do they apply generally to other social values as well?

In the context of ethnic and social images, we have observed two differential patterns of interpersonal relations: one we have identified as individualistic, centered on personal needs and autonomy, and the other we characterized as social personalistic, centered on affective ties and social qualities. The following examination of social values will be used to explore some of these patterns and questions.

FRIENDSHIP/AMISTAD

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
GOOD, IMPORTANT, NEEDED	13	14	11	12	10	22
FRIENDS, COMPANY	13	12	15	15	26	11
HAPPINESS, FUN	13	9	9	6	3	5
GIRLS, BOYS, PEOPLE	16	9	12	15	6	6
SCHOOL, MONEY, WORK	2	3	2	1	1	2
BAD, FIGHT	2	2	2	1	3	2
FAMILY, FATHER	2	3	3	9	3	9
LOVE, UNDERSTAND, HELP	19	26	24	21	15	19
SHARING, RELATIONSHIP	6	12	8	7	11	8
TRUST, SINCERITY	7	10	11	13	20	14
MISCELLANEOUS	7	0	4	1	2	2
Total Scores	1154	1203	1304	1333	1275	1307

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
1. IMPORTANT, NEEDED		153	171	139	103	131	285
best		-	-	16	-	-	-
great		5	12	-	-	-	39
important		23	8	10	-	-	33
want	querer	-	10	-	-	11	-
beautiful	bello	-	6	-	12	9	-
necessary,ity	necesario	8	40	-	-	14	8
need,s,ed		26	31	27	9	-	58
forever		-	4	-	31	-	6
long, lasting		8	-	-	17	-	-
good	bueno,o,s	54	49	62	60	99	125
nice		15	9	22	32	-	16
2. FRIENDS, COMPANY		185	150	200	198	334	150
buddy,ies		38	11	72	26	-	20
best friend		-	-	22	-	-	-
friend,s	amigo,a,s	78	94	85	139	274	121
companion,s	compañero,s	-	18	-	17	60	9
company		-	5	-	13	-	-
good friend		5	-	21	-	-	-
pal,s		11	22	-	-	-	-
3. HAPPINESS, FUN		147	107	173	76	38	60
happy,ness		32	26	36	17	-	18
joy,ful	alegria,re	18	12	7	9	34	-
fun		51	40	35	28	-	36
good times		5	11	30	7	-	-
party,ies,ing		28	18	15	-	-	6
play		-	-	-	13	-	-
4. GIRLS, BOYS, PEOPLE		179	103	156	198	73	77
person,s	persona,s	-	-	-	-	36	-
group	grupo	-	-	-	-	14	-
community		-	-	-	11	-	-
man		-	8	-	-	-	10
society		7	-	-	-	-	12
girl,s		61	36	68	52	-	17
boy,s		9	6	11	19	-	-
girlfriend		24	28	24	25	-	17
neighbor,s	vecino,s	-	-	-	-	25	9
people		30	27	-	50	-	12
Ricky		5	-	-	12	-	-
Richard		-	-	10	-	-	-
Richard S.		-	-	10	-	-	-
Mark		-	-	-	19	-	-
Sean		11	-	-	-	-	-
Jesse		-	-	15	-	-	-
Judy Fae		11	-	-	-	-	-
John		5	-	3	11	-	-
Tony		-	-	18	-	-	-
5. SCHOOL, WORK, MONEY		49	36	21	9	17	30
school	escuela	14	26	7	9	8	12
work		-	-	-	-	-	10
life		-	10	-	-	-	8
money	dinero	10	-	14	-	9	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
6. BAD, FIGHT		26	20	26	10	33	31
bad	mala	12	7	-	10	22	6
lost		-	13	-	-	-	-
problem	problema	-	-	-	-	11	-
fight,s		12	-	26	-	-	-
little		-	-	-	-	-	25
7. FAMILY, FATHER		29	36	36	118	37	118
sister		-	-	-	7	-	10
family	familia	8	25	17	65	19	14
father	padre	3	6	-	20	8	28
mother	madre	-	5	-	29	4	33
brother,s	hermano,s	12	-	19	17	6	33
8. LOVE, UNDERSTAND, HELP		215	316	313	279	196	244
affection,ate	afecto	-	6	-	-	18	-
respect	respeto	9	19	22	24	23	14
love,ing	amor	71	113	113	103	99	96
care,ing		28	61	76	51	-	38
kind,ness		16	9	-	-	-	-
understand	comprension	15	22	18	32	36	38
help,ing	ayuda,rse	35	41	25	38	24	30
helpful		16	17	21	9	-	8
talk,ing		-	30	16	-	-	11
like		5	-	10	22	-	-
friendly		-	-	12	-	-	-
comprehension		-	-	-	-	-	10
9. SHARING, RELATIONSHIP		68	144	98	97	142	108
relationship	relacion	-	42	-	13	8	12
share,ing	compartir	17	10	21	37	41	26
unity	unidad	-	-	-	-	10	-
together		6	8	17	13	-	24
union	union	-	-	-	-	19	14
close,ness		11	42	27	17	-	20
comrades	companerismo	-	-	-	-	54	-
togetherness		28	39	33	17	-	10
10. TRUST, SINCERITY		85	123	140	179	254	180
reliable		10	-	-	-	-	5
true,th	verdadera	-	-	-	12	17	9
trust,worthy	confianza	47	99	90	115	95	80
sincere,ity	sincera,idad	-	-	-	-	131	20
loyal,ty	leal	-	9	24	29	9	27
honest,y	honradez	12	15	26	15	4	29
faith		8	-	-	8	-	10
11. MISCELLANEOUS		84	0	50	12	26	26
Heights		16	-	-	-	-	-
syndicate		-	-	-	-	-	12
time		-	-	-	-	-	10
deep		-	-	-	12	-	-
ease	desahogo	-	-	-	-	11	-
sex		38	-	26	-	-	-
car,s		11	-	6	-	-	2
pretty	bonita	-	-	-	-	13	-
yes		11	-	-	-	-	-
pride		-	-	18	-	-	-

FRIENDSHIP/AMISTAD

As we found in the context of FRIENDS, the affective-emotional aspect of the relationship received especially heavy attention from most Hispanic groups. For all groups "love" was the most central affect, but the Hispanic Americans placed greater weight on it as well as on "caring," "understanding," and "respect." Puerto Ricans from San Juan especially valued "sincerity" and together with other Hispanic Americans they scored very high on "trust" as an important element of FRIENDSHIP.

Viewing FRIENDSHIP in terms of positive affects and high ideals is observable in the category of "Sharing, Relationship," which had higher scores for the Hispanic Americans, particularly for Puerto Ricans in San Juan. These findings support previous observations on the importance of such values as "trust," "sincerity," and "loyalty" to Hispanic Americans (Szalay et al., 1978; 1982). They show that for the Hispanic groups FRIENDSHIP not only has a stronger affective foundation but it also implies more commitment and long lasting relationships. It is interesting that the importance of affective involvement does not seem to decrease due to acculturation. The Mexican American groups and the Puerto Ricans in New York actually placed more emphasis on this dimension than the Puerto Ricans in San Juan or the Cubans. The San Juan group, with its more traditional value orientation, gave high salience to "companionship" and "sincerity."

The two related dimensions of FRIENDSHIP on which the Anglo Americans placed more emphasis than the Hispanic Americans, ("Happiness, Fun," and "Girls, Boys, People") convey a "fun/entertainment" orientation. In the Anglo American view, FRIENDSHIP serves a more narrow role of "entertainment" as reflected by their emphasis on "fun," "parties," "good times." In contrast, the more traditional Hispanic view is similar to that of Jordanian, Korean, and other overseas culture groups. For these groups, FRIENDSHIP was found to serve as a major cohesive force which provides the foundation for all types of business activities and common ventures, not just entertainment. The Hispanic Americans' heavier references to "unity, "sincerity," "trust," and "sharing" convey that they are predisposed to view FRIENDSHIP as a deeper, existentially more consequential relationship and as an important source of "help" and "support." Yet the Anglo Americans also stressed, as they did previously, that FRIENDSHIP is important and needed. The sources of this intensively felt need are predominantly psychological rather than material. As discussed in the context of the self image, the materially and economically self-reliant Americans, parallel to their autonomy and individualism, do feel a psychological need to maintain meaningful interpersonal ties.

<u>In general</u>, practically all Hispanic American groups showed a strong affective undertone in their subjective meaning of FRIENDSHIP, which appears to have been little affected by acculturation. In addition, the more traditional San Juan group stressed the importance of "sincerity" and "commitment." This is in partial contrast with the Anglo American view which reflects a more "entertainment" orientation.

UNDERSTANDING/COMPRENSION

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	*Percentage of Total Score*					
LOVE, CARING, RESPECT	20	19	14	15	22	13
KNOWLEDGE, INTELLIGENCE	9	11	7	12	3	16
FAMILY, PARENTS	12	7	16	13	18	16
PEOPLE, MYSELF	5	4	10	8	6	8
FRIENDS, FRIENDSHIP	10	10	14	12	16	10
SCHOOL, LEARN, WORK	13	19	9	18	3	15
UNDERSTAND, COMPREHEND	11	8	5	5	14	6
GOOD, HELPFUL	9	5	4	4	14	8
LISTEN, COMMUNICATE	4	6	8	4	2	0
GOD, LIFE, SOCIETY	4	6	1	3	2	3
PROBLEMS, HARD	1	5	7	5	0	4
MISCELLANEOUS	2	1	6	1	0	0
Total Scores	1016	1078	1103	1167	1172	1105

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
LOVE, CARING, RESPECT		206	205	159	174	257	148
patient,ce		21	-	-	-	-	8
care,ing		45	53	47	27	-	13
considerate	cedor	-	-	-	16	9	-
kind,ness		27	12	-	10	-	9
thoughtful		-	-	-	10	-	-
sincerity	sinceridad	-	-	-	-	13	-
respect	respeto	-	13	22	10	12	-
trust	confianza	12	26	-	30	9	14
consolation	consuelo	-	-	-	-	12	-
share,ing	compartir	-	-	13	-	9	-
love,ing	amor,carino	42	59	58	70	144	84
feel,ing,s	sentir,miento	15	11	-	-	37	6
amiable	amable	-	-	-	-	12	-
compassion		25	23	9	10	-	14
forgive,ing		-	8	10	-	-	-
KNOWLEDGE, INTELLIGENCE		87	115	74	142	40	100
smart		6	-	-	17	-	11
intelligence	inteligencia	21	12	-	26	6	9
brain		-	-	-	-	-	11
know,ing	saber,cono.	9	57	62	70	34	71
knowledge		43	46	12	29	-	66
familiar		-	-	-	-	-	12
FAMILY, PARENTS		126	79	175	156	216	101
parent,s	padres	32	29	68	46	52	32
relatives	familiares	-	-	-	-	10	-
sister		-	-	14	-	-	11
son,s	hijo,s	-	-	-	-	25	9
engaged	novios	-	-	-	-	10	-
family	familia	30	35	34	66	43	67
father	padre	23	-	18	16	18	30
brother		-	-	17	-	-	-
mother	madre	30	15	24	28	37	32
brothers &	hermanos	-	-	-	-	21	-
PEOPLE, MYSELF		55	41	106	99	72	88
girl,s		-	5	33	15	-	-
people	gente	31	15	27	54	6	35
person,s	persona,s	-	-	-	-	33	-
counselor,s		5	-	21	-	-	-
human	humano	-	-	-	-	12	-
boss	jefe	-	-	12	-	6	-
woman,women		-	8	13	12	-	-
me		7	-	-	11	-	-
myself		7	13	-	12	-	23
neighbor,s	vecinos	-	-	-	-	15	30
FRIENDS, FRIENDSHIP		101	111	150	136	189	109
friend,s	amigo,s	64	58	95	101	64	74
friendship	amistad	9	22	12	16	95	12
relationship		-	7	18	9	-	-
togetherness		-	-	10	-	-	-
companion,s	compañero,s	-	-	-	-	30	10
girlfriend		17	24	24	9	-	13
MISCELLANEOUS		20	15	67	13	0	0
have to		-	-	-	13	-	-
car		-	7	15	-	-	-
sex		7	8	10	-	-	-
I don't know		11	-	-	-	-	-
connection		-	-	12	-	-	-
sometimes		-	-	19	-	-	-
Cashion, AZ		-	-	11	-	-	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
SCHOOL, LEARN, WORK		128	202	94	206	30	164
book		-	15	-	7	-	48
word		-	-	-	-	-	14
read,ng		5	11	-	25	-	21
scho		53	61	16	57	-	34
lear,ing	aprender	19	38	24	39	11	23
teac,r,s	maestro,s	12	14	36	35	19	19
educ,ion		8	18	-	27	-	-
math		-	24	-	-	-	-
work		19	21	18	16	-	9
UNDERSTAND, COMPREHEND		112	82	58	64	159	70
comprehension		40	10	11	16	-	13
understand	entender,mi.	12	16	35	48	159	48
comprehend		50	56	12	-	-	9
GOOD, HELPFUL		87	49	45	46	159	93
good		26	10	-	17	-	40
great		-	-	-	-	-	14
much		-	-	-	-	-	12
joy, pleasure	alegria	-	-	-	-	10	-
happy,ness	felicidad	-	5	-	-	21	-
help,ing	ayuda	19	9	17	11	33	11
aid, help	ayudar	-	-	-	10	13	6
relief	alivio	-	-	-	-	13	-
advise	consejo	-	-	-	-	11	-
important		-	-	-	-	-	10
want, to	querer	-	5	-	-	19	-
helpful		15	7	28	8	-	-
necessary,ity	necesaria,o	14	-	-	-	29	-
need,ed		5	13	-	-	10	-
LISTEN, COMMUNICATE		43	61	84	45	26	0
listen,ing	escuchar	33	44	58	45	11	-
communication	comunicacion	-	6	10	-	15	-
talk		6	11	16	-	-	-
GOD, LIFE, SOCIETY		37	64	12	33	24	31
God	Dios	11	16	-	7	12	-
life		18	48	-	26	-	9
society		5	-	12	-	-	6
nation,s		-	-	-	-	-	16
peace	paz	-	-	-	-	12	-
PROBLEMS, HARD		14	54	79	53	0	41
nothing		6	-	12	-	-	-
problem,s		-	35	34	43	-	15
war		-	-	-	10	-	-
hard		-	8	22	-	-	9
difficult		7	11	-	-	-	-
none		-	-	11	-	-	17

UNDERSTANDING/COMPRENSION

To the Anglo Americans and the more accultured Mexican Americans UNDERSTANDING had a stronger relationship to "caring;" to the Puerto Ricans and Cubans UNDERSTANDING is more a matter of "love." This difference underscores the strongly affect-based foundation of UNDERSTANDING in the case of the more traditionally oriented Hispanic Americans.

The little attention given to "knowledge" and "intelligence" by the Puerto Ricans in San Juan supports this observation from the opposite direction. Namely, to this group UNDERSTANDING is not a question of intellectual grasping, as in the case of math or science. The picture is complicated by the other Puerto Rican group in New York and the Cubans, who did make rather heavy references to "knowledge." That they do not use "knowledge" in a purely intellectual or scientific sense becomes increasingly apparent by considering which people are viewed as representative of UNDERSTANDING. By the Hispanic groups "family" and "parents" were cited most, and "mother" was mentioned more often than "father," just as in the context of LOVE. On this dimension again Puerto Ricans in San Juan and Cubans in Miami scored higher than the rest of the groups. "Friends" and "companions" were again mentioned most by the the Puerto Ricans in San Juan, with all Hispanic groups scoring higher here than the Anglo Americans.

Consistent with this tendency is the San Juan Puerto Ricans' view of UNDERSTANDING as a source of "help" and "advice" as provided by parents and friends. This primarily affect-based view of UNDERSTANDING is reflected by the San Juan group's intensive use of the word "entender."

The Anglo and the more accultured Hispanic groups placed more emphasis on the intellectual dimension of UNDERSTANDING as in the context of "school" and "learning." The Anglo Americans and the more accultured Hispanic American groups represent here a clear contrast to the San Juan group who does not mention school, and whose small reference to "teacher" may reflect a concern with the interpersonal rather than the intellectual context. The Cuban group again tended to combine both of these orientations.

In general, to the Hispanic groups, and particularly to the San Juan based Puerto Ricans, UNDERSTANDING is interpreted predominantly as a human attitude involving love and friendship based interpersonal relationships with others, as characteristic of family and friendship ties. The more accultured Hispanic Americans showed a somewhat stronger tendency to pay attention to intellectual UNDERSTANDING, as shown by their emphasis on school and learning.

LOVE/AMOR

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
LOVE, UNDERSTANDING	14	13	16	10	20	13
FAMILY, PARENTS	18	25	30	34	23	31
SEX, DESIRE	14	9	12	10	7	8
RESPECT, TRUST	3	4	0	3	4	2
GIRLS, FRIENDS, PEOPLE	25	23	23	21	10	20
HAPPINESS, JOY	5	5	4	7	8	7
MONEY, CARS, ANIMALS	4	4	5	2	1	2
MARRIAGE, WIFE	6	5	5	5	8	4
GOOD, NEEDED	3	6	2	4	11	7
GOD, RELIGION	3	4	1	1	3	2
MISCELLANEOUS	4	3	1	2	5	4
Total Scores	1558	1533	1634	1742	1553	1685

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
LOVE, UNDERSTANDING		219	201	258	181	317	212
adore		-	-	-	27	-	-
care,ing		59	64	78	34	-	51
friendship	amistad	25	29	15	18	43	24
nice		15	6	17	-	-	-
compassion	compasion	-	-	5	-	21	-
give,ing		-	6	-	-	-	10
comradeship	companerismo	-	-	-	-	13	-
relationship		19	16	10	-	-	-
share,ing	compartir	15	9	24	12	18	14
sweet,ness	dulzura	-	-	-	-	16	6
tenderness	ternura	6	-	-	-	23	-
affection,ate	afecto	8	22	8	11	22	-
together,ness		34	24	42	-	-	29
understand	comprension	-	6	-	22	33	25
in love		-	-	10	-	-	-
feel,ing,s	sentimiento	13	6	23	-	51	19
like,ing		5	13	10	18	-	-
love	amor,carino	-	-	16	39	77	36
FAMILY, PARENTS		280	383	497	597	355	523
mother	madre	41	36	103	124	62	91
children		23	18	55	18	-	11
parent,s	padres	24	62	22	65	39	79
relation	relacion	-	-	-	-	17	-
grandmother		-	5	12	7	-	17
relatives		14	28	6	-	-	-
grandparents		-	-	8	11	-	-
sister,s	hermana	7	17	28	50	9	18
son,s	hijo,s	-	-	-	-	43	41
home		10	12	4	-	-	6
aunt,s		-	-	14	6	-	5
uncle,s		-	-	3	13	-	5
family	familia	101	151	134	103	83	121
brother,s	hermano,s	5	19	34	57	11	33
father	padre	31	20	74	88	44	83
kids		-	15	-	15	-	-
brothers &	hermanos	-	-	-	-	35	13
fraternal	fraternal	-	-	-	-	12	-
SEX, DESIRE		223	136	204	173	106	131
passion,ate	pasion	-	8	-	29	30	-
SEX		11	-	-	-	-	-
sex	sexo	184	95	204	144	40	109
desire,s	deseo,s	8	11	-	-	23	18
intercourse		-	10	-	-	-	-
kiss,es,ing	besos	-	12	-	-	13	4
RESPECT, TRUST		47	66	6	54	63	39
respect	respeto	16	17	-	37	16	11
sincere,ity	sincero,idad	-	-	-	-	31	9
trust	confianza	17	39	6	17	22	11
honor		5	10	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		63	40	22	27	81	62
pure,clean	puro	-	-	-	-	15	-
pretty	lindo	-	-	-	-	47	7
blind		-	-	10	-	-	-
hate		17	27	-	10	-	-
always		-	-	-	-	-	23
abstract	abstracto	-	-	-	-	13	-
forever		9	3	-	13	-	11
though		-	-	12	-	-	-
much		-	-	-	-	-	14
stinks		10	-	-	-	-	-
pain,ful		10	5	-	4	-	7
heart		11	5	-	-	11	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
GIRLS, FRIENDS, PEOPLE		391	350	369	374	149	344
friend,s	amigo,a,s	73	85	88	90	53	90
companion,s		17	17	-	-	-	10
girl		108	68	89	104	-	59
partner		-	-	-	12	-	-
girlfriend		98	114	110	103	-	54
people		23	38	19	29	-	11
persons	personas	-	-	-	-	14	-
boy		-	-	12	-	-	-
couple	pareja	-	-	-	-	14	-
boyfriend		-	-	-	8	-	40
humanity	humanidad	-	-	-	-	10	-
woman,women	mujer	30	28	24	28	49	50
Lisa		-	-	10	-	-	-
man,men	hombre	6	-	6	-	9	30
Margaret		-	-	11	-	-	-
HAPPINESS, JOY		73	71	60	119	120	123
fun		12	9	18	17	-	22
peace	paz	-	-	-	10	8	12
joy, pleasure	alegria	5	11	12	4	17	-
happy,ness	felicidad	31	34	30	35	43	44
health,y		-	-	-	10	23	-
future	futuro	4	-	-	13	6	-
life	vida	14	17	-	15	23	27
beauty,ful		-	-	-	15	-	18
MONEY, CARS, ANIMALS		64	61	81	42	16	30
money		16	6	15	28	-	-
movies		-	-	12	-	-	-
animals	animales	5	8	-	7	10	4
country		24	3	-	-	-	11
school		-	9	10	7	-	8
car,s		5	13	26	-	-	-
food		-	12	-	-	-	-
dog	perro	8	10	18	-	6	7
MARRIAGE, WIFE		100	76	85	81	125	75
fiance	novias	-	-	-	-	12	-
bride, fiance	novia	-	-	8	8	83	13
wife		40	13	36	56	-	18
marriage	matrimonio	51	63	41	17	30	44
GOOD, NEEDED		50	94	34	68	167	113
necessity	necesidad	-	-	-	-	30	-
need,ed		17	45	14	-	-	25
good	bueno	11	18	20	-	59	45
better	lo mejor	-	-	-	-	10	-
want,ed	querer	5	12	-	68	56	17
great		12	10	-	-	-	16
important	importante	-	9	-	-	12	8
GOD, RELIGION		53	55	18	26	54	35
religion	religion	9	5	-	-	11	-
God	Dios	39	50	18	26	43	35

The dominance scores indicate that LOVE has high subjective dominance for all six groups. The emphasis on the affective component was the highest by the less acculturated and lowest by the more acculturated Puerto Rican group. The Anglo Americans focused on "caring" and "togetherness," while to the Puerto Ricans in San Juan "love," "feeling," "friendship," and "understanding" represented more salient concerns.

Although LOVE was most closely related to "family " and "parents" by all groups, this trend was substantially stronger for Hispanic groups. This is naturally in line with the characteristic family orientation of Hispanic Americans as extensively discussed in the literature. With regard to the distribution of attention in the context of LOVE, "mother" received consistently more attention than "father," although the difference in most instances was small.

Compared to the heavier Hispanic focus on family, the Anglo Americans' primary focus was on "friends," especially "girlfriends;" this trend is shared to a lesser degree by the Hispanic American groups. "Sex" and "desire" were most closely associated with LOVE by the Anglo Americans, while this connection was weakest from the Puerto Ricans in San Juan, indicating that to the less acculturated Hispanic group LOVE has a less explicit sexual connotation.

In the case of the less acculturated groups, particularly the one in San Juan, some of the sexual connotation may be absorbed in the marriage and family context. While the students from San Juan and the Cubans thought less of "girls" or "girlfriend," they did make more references to "fiance" and "bride," reflecting a more traditional orientation toward marriage. These two groups also showed a stronger tendency to speak of LOVE in very positive terms (e.g., "happiness," "joy," "good," "needed"). The tenor of their responses conveys again more emotional identification than sexual implications.

In general, two alternative orientations may be distinguished. One focuses on LOVE as an affect-laden, emotional relationship. This is the dominant view of the more traditional, less acculturated Hispanic samples, particularly the students in San Juan. A second meaning of LOVE involves sex, desire, and sexual attraction. This was more salient with the Anglo Americans and with the more acculturated Hispanic samples. Thus, the traditional Hispanic groups think of LOVE mainly in the context of "family" and "marriage," while people, particularly the opposite sex, "girls," were more dominant in the minds of the Anglo Americans and the more acculturated Hispanic groups.

TRUST/CONFIANZA

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
FAMILY	16	22	34	42	20	32
FRIENDS	23	27	28	27	25	23
PEOPLE, TEACHERS	8	7	9	9	7	6
LOVE, CARING	3	3	7	4	7	5
HONESTY, LOYALTY	12	15	5	5	4	7
ME, MYSELF	2	4	3	1	5	4
BANK, MONEY	8	6	5	1	0	2
GOOD, NECESSARY, HELPFUL	7	1	1	3	16	5
FAITH, BELIEVE	15	10	3	3	7	8
GOD, CHURCH	3	3	2	3	0	1
MISCELLANEOUS	3	1	3	2	8	6
Total Scores	1290	1236	1233	1468	1130	1266

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
FAMILY		209	274	420	618	223	409
aunt,s		-	-	6	10	-	-
parent,s	padres	40	52	53	78	42	65
grandmother		-	-	6	16	-	-
bride,fiance	novia	-	-	-	-	17	-
relatives		-	-	7	16	-	-
relation	relacion	-	-	-	-	31	-
brother,s	hermano,s	9	40	31	55	19	24
sister,s		-	17	9	38	-	6
brothers & si	hermanos	-	-	11	-	19	-
family	familia	50	101	108	142	39	119
uncle		-	-	9	10	-	-
father	padre	34	23	59	100	30	76
wife		11	7	13	12	-	11
marriage		-	-	-	-	-	16
mother	madre	46	34	108	141	26	92
FRIENDS		296	334	341	392	287	292
friend,s	amigo,s	214	227	263	269	138	219
friendship	amistad,es	31	41	9	32	149	39
relationship		-	8	-	16	-	-
best friend		-	-	12	18	-	-
girlfriend		24	58	57	57	-	22
lover		-	-	-	-	-	12
PEOPLE, TEACHERS		108	89	114	128	78	81
people		15	21	18	26	-	33
person,s	persona,s	-	-	-	16	29	-
police		-	-	22	-	-	-
teacher,s	maestro,s	19	29	15	36	17	17
many		11	-	-	-	-	-
Marines		11	-	-	-	-	-
boss	jefe	-	-	6	-	11	-
girl,s		12	-	10	26	-	8
neighbor,s	vecinos	5	-	6	7	12	11
no one		22	27	15	-	-	-
nobody	nadie	8	-	12	17	9	12
other people		-	-	10	-	-	-
others		-	12	-	-	-	-
LOVE, CARING		35	42	85	55	79	67
affection	afecto	-	-	-	-	11	-
share, to	compartir	-	-	-	-	12	-
joy, pleasure	alegria	-	-	-	-	16	-
love,ing	amor	25	32	45	45	25	40
together		-	5	-	-	-	10
mutual		-	-	-	-	-	11
understand		-	5	13	-	-	-
care,ing		7	-	27	10	-	6
amiable	amable	-	-	-	-	15	-
HONESTY, LOYALTY		149	184	65	78	48	92
dependable		14	8	-	-	-	-
honest,y		29	41	17	32	-	30
honor		14	15	-	8	-	24
reliable,ity		17	9	-	-	-	10
respect	respeto	11	30	12	20	38	28
responsible,ty		13	11	10	-	-	-
sincere	sincero	-	-	-	-	10	-
loyal,ty		15	31	26	18	-	-
worthy		9	15	-	-	-	-
fidelity		14	-	-	-	-	-
obey,dience		-	24	-	-	-	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
GOOD, NECESSARY, HELPFUL		95	13	9	40	181	58
need		10	-	-	-	-	-
help,ful	ayuda	21	-	-	24	23	14
necessary	necesario	15	-	-	-	9	15
important		10	5	-	-	-	-
good	buena	22	8	9	16	30	23
security	seguridad	8	-	-	-	119	6
FAITH, BELIEVE		193	118	43	51	81	105
confident,ce		23	51	14	10	-	-
promise		-	-	-	12	-	-
hope	esperanza	7	-	-	-	15	-
faith	fe	42	25	-	11	38	58
belief,ve		82	9	21	18	-	21
trust,ing	confiar	-	14	-	-	22	20
secret,s	secretos	5	19	8	-	6	6
confide		16	-	-	-	-	-
GOD, CHURCH		37	42	28	41	5	12
priest		-	9	10	15	-	-
God	Dios	29	33	11	15	5	12
church		5	-	7	11	-	-
ME, MYSELF		27	45	35	19	54	49
I	yo	-	-	-	-	24	-
self-reliance	en si mismo	-	-	-	-	13	-
in yourself	uno mismo	-	8	9	-	17	25
myself		10	22	14	9	-	7
me		15	15	12	10	-	17
BANK, MONEY		105	80	59	11	0	27
bank,s		58	25	8	11	-	9
money		28	29	43	-	-	18
fund,s		9	26	8	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		36	15	34	35	94	74
dog		10	-	15	-	-	7
no		-	10	-	-	-	-
blind		-	-	-	-	-	12
very much		-	-	12	-	-	-
able		-	-	-	-	-	10
work	trabajo	-	-	-	12	24	21
government		8	5	-	-	-	12
development	desarrollo	-	-	-	-	10	-
much		-	-	-	-	-	12
school	escuela	5	-	7	11	8	-
treaty		10	-	-	-	-	-
liberty	libertad	-	-	-	-	12	-
relief	desahogarse	-	-	-	-	10	-
have to		-	-	-	12	-	-
daring	atrevimiento	-	-	-	-	16	-
state	estado	-	-	-	-	14	-

TRUST/CONFIANZA

In interpersonal relations, TRUST implies a belief in or reliance on someone. It appears that this relationship may be particularly important to the groups most intensively involved in the acculturation process, the Puerto Ricans in New York and the Cubans in Miami. To the groups in intensive acculturation, the "family" represents an important source of reliance or TRUST. "Mother," "father," "parents," "brothers," and "sisters" received high attention in this respect.

The attention given to "friends" was the highest across the board and with less variation than in the case of family members. In comparison, TRUST expressed in relation to people such as "neighbors" and "teachers" was naturally more limited.

"Love," "affection," and "respect," the emotional foundation of TRUST, appear to be of greater importance again to the little accultured Puerto Rican sample in San Juan, while they received the least attention from the Anglo American group.

At the same time, the Anglo Americans, and particularly the El Paso based Mexican American group, focused on certain personal qualities important to TRUST. These groups considered "honesty," "reliability," "responsibility," "dependability," and "honor" to be relevant qualities. These same groups also stressed the importance of "confidence," "faith," and "belief" in a relationship of TRUST. The Puerto Ricans in San Juan, beyond recognizing that TRUST is "good" and "helpful," placed special emphasis on "security." Just how "security" ties in with TRUST for this particular group is an open question. Yet, as our previous studies of Latin American immigrants (1978) and Colombians (1982) show, the close tie between TRUST and "security" is rather common for the less accultured Hispanic American view. As the San Juan Puerto Ricans' and the Cubans' references to "government," "state," "development," and "liberty" in the "Miscellaneous" category show, TRUST is an attitude which the less accultured Hispanic Americans apply to social/political matters as well. To Anglo and Mexican Americans TRUST has a distinct financial connotation.

In general, TRUST is viewed as a quality of interpersonal rapport recognized by all groups as intrinsic to "friendship." At the same time, to the acculturing Hispanic samples "family" appears to be the main source of TRUST. While the less accultured Hispanics see its roots primarily in affective ties, the Anglo Americans and the more accultured Hispanic groups paid more attention to certain human qualities like "honesty" and "loyalty" as its main correlates.

RESPECT/RESPETO

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
LOVE, UNDERSTANDING	4	9	5	8	12	6
FAMILY, PARENTS	28	23	44	37	25	32
ELDERS	8	10	12	5	2	2
AUTHORITY, POWER, GOD	11	7	5	6	12	11
OBEY, LAWS	3	5	2	5	7	1
FRIENDS, PEOPLE, SELF	13	21	15	18	23	14
IMPORTANT, NEEDED	3	3	2	3	3	7
TEACHERS, EDUCATION	6	7	5	6	5	8
DIGNITY, HONOR	13	9	5	8	6	8
COUNTRY, CHURCH, WORK	7	5	3	4	2	9
MISCELLANEOUS	4	1	2	0	2	3
Total Scores	1174	1378	1438	1517	1338	1313

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
LOVE, UNDERSTANDING		46	118	74	128	161	81
admire,ation	admiracion	-	5	-	-	16	17
concern		-	13	-	-	-	-
nice		-	9	13	18	-	-
consideration	consideracion	8	5	-	-	12	-
feeling,s	sentimiento,s	5	-	-	-	10	-
affectionate	afecto	-	-	-	-	22	-
friendly		-	-	14	10	-	-
friendship	amistad	-	11	-	-	15	8
trust	confianza	13	22	-	39	24	12
understanding	comprension	-	7	-	24	10	8
mutual	mutuo	-	-	-	-	39	9
caring		6	12	26	6	-	-
love	amor	10	34	21	31	13	27
FAMILY, PARENTS		323	316	636	565	340	425
aunt,s		-	-	9	10	-	-
family	familia	32	52	40	109	63	84
mother	madre	73	60	198	137	62	107
father	padre	80	45	143	114	98	101
parents	padres	86	115	132	135	94	121
cousins		-	-	12	-	-	-
relatives		-	10	11	-	-	-
brother,s	hermano,s	8	19	49	22	8	-
sister,s		8	9	43	10	-	6
brothers &	hermanos	-	-	-	-	15	-
wife		7	5	9	15	-	6
children		-	-	-	13	-	-
ELDERS		92	140	170	78	24	20
elderly		-	14	-	12	-	-
elder,s	ancianos	76	92	146	45	9	7
grandmother		-	-	13	-	-	-
grandparents	abuelos	8	15	11	12	5	-
adults	adultos	-	19	-	9	10	13
AUTHORITY, POWER, GOD		127	103	66	84	159	138
authority	autoridad	24	21	9	13	26	11
order	orden	-	-	-	-	32	-
boss,es	jefe,s	-	9	9	15	28	22
police		-	5	8	18	-	12
power	potestad	19	-	6	-	6	12
president		-	-	13	-	-	10
director		-	-	-	-	-	12
discipline	disciplina	22	15	-	9	16	22
leader,s		22	-	-	-	-	-
God	Dios	32	37	11	29	51	47
priest		-	10	10	-	-	-
OBEY, LAWS		47	64	24	80	100	7
fear		6	22	-	-	-	-
punishment	castigo,s	-	17	11	21	26	-
obey,ed	obediencia	14	23	-	24	35	-
obedient	obediente	-	-	-	-	16	-
blessings		-	-	13	-	-	-
virtue		-	-	-	16	-	-
laws	ley,es	5	14	-	19	23	-
justice		11	-	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		45	13	32	0	23	43
sometimes		-	-	10	-	-	-
no respect		-	-	-	-	-	10
advantage		-	-	-	-	-	15
dowry		-	-	-	-	-	11
seriousness	seriedad	-	-	-	-	11	-
none		16	-	-	-	-	12
animals	animales	-	-	-	-	12	-
nature		-	13	-	-	-	-
after sex		-	-	11	-	-	-
women		11	-	-	-	-	-
sex		14	-	11	-	-	-
FRIENDS, PEOPLE, SELF		157	294	222	269	304	188
companions	companero,s	-	-	-	-	27	-
neighbors	vecinos	-	-	-	-	29	10
others	otros	9	47	-	9	9	11
friends	amigo,s	41	83	88	121	83	59
peers		-	14	-	-	-	-
people	gente	9	15	30	66	12	28
girlfriend		20	43	48	25	-	-
girl,		9	22	11	18	-	-
boyfriend		-	-	-	-	-	11
person,s	persona,s	-	-	-	-	80	6
self		-	11	-	-	-	12
me		-	15	34	-	-	19
yourself	uno mismo	-	18	11	13	10	6
myself	a mi mismo	19	18	-	7	6	8
R.Dangerfield		8	-	-	-	-	12
Jody Fox		11	-	-	-	-	-
personal	personal	-	-	-	-	21	-
woman,women	mujer,es	17	8	-	-	21	-
man,men	hombre,s	-	-	-	10	6	6
IMPORTANT, NEEDED		61	42	30	44	45	88
necessary	necesario	-	-	-	-	10	14
need,ed		-	19	18	15	-	9
good		11	7	12	19	-	44
desirable	deseable	-	-	-	-	14	-
important	importante	13	8	-	-	21	9
want		-	-	-	10	-	-
earn,ed		13	9	-	-	-	12
TEACHERS, EDUCATION		66	99	69	89	70	106
educated	educado	-	-	-	-	10	-
school		5	19	-	11	-	7
teacher,s	maestro,s	55	80	69	78	43	79
education	educacion	-	-	-	-	17	20
DIGNITY, HONOR		157	123	67	116	80	102
courtesy		-	14	-	-	-	-
dignity	dignidad	49	15	10	22	23	18
value,s	valor,es	-	-	-	-	30	-
pride	orgullo	35	22	30	36	12	-
moral	moral	-	-	-	-	15	10
respect,ful		-	-	-	36	-	-
loyal,ty		-	6	14	9	-	-
honor		40	40	13	13	-	62
manners		-	13	-	-	-	5
look up to		19	13	-	-	-	7
COUNTRY, CHURCH, WORK		79	64	48	64	32	115
fatherland		-	-	-	-	-	14
country		10	14	11	9	-	12
flag		-	-	11	10	-	12
uniform		-	-	-	-	-	14
government	gobierno	8	3	-	7	15	17
church		5	4	7	25	-	-
life		10	17	-	4	-	-
job		9	-	-	-	-	17
property		-	16	-	-	-	-
money		11	4	14	-	-	22
work	trabajo	6	-	-	9	17	12
success		13	6	-	-	-	-

RESPECT/RESPETO

As a value or attitude, RESPECT appears to be more dominant, more popular with the Hispanic groups, particularly with the Puerto Ricans. For these groups it has a strong affective-emotional content involving "love," "affection," "trust," and "understanding." Again, the Puerto Ricans in San Juan placed the most weight on these affect-laden relationships.

Just as in the case of TRUST, "family" is the major source, particularly for the groups more intensively involved in the acculturation process, e.g., the Puerto Ricans in New York and the Cubans in Miami. The most important sources of respect are "parents," "mother," "father," and "family" in general. While in the context of LOVE "mother" was in first place, in the context of RESPECT the Anglo Americans and the San Juan Puerto Ricans mention "father" first. This suggests that under certain conditions, like in acculturation, some of the traditional values may become accentuated and receive additional attention beyond the original level characteristic in traditional settings. What happens here may be explained as an increased appreciation of certain stable traditional values, once they have been challenged by the uncertainties of a new, dynamically changing social environment.

Also somewhat unsuspectedly, we find that RESPECT elicits more references to "age" and "elders" from the more acculturated Hispanic Americans than it does from the less acculturated Hispanics.

With regard to "authority" in general, the differences were relatively small, but the less acculturated Puerto Ricans placed greater emphasis on authority figures ("boss," "God") and on the importance of "obedience" and "acceptance;" they also showed a stronger tendency to stress "law" and "order" as well.

"Friends" were viewed by all Hispanic American groups as targets of RESPECT much more than by Anglo Americans. "Girls" and "girlfriends" were mentioned more frequently by the more acculturated groups. While the Anglo and the more acculturated Hispanic groups thought more of "people," the less acculturated Puerto Ricans in San Juan thought more specifically of "person." The nature of this differential cultural focus on "people" or "person" is discussed under the particular themes. As we will see, the differences are not accidental but indicative of different cultural orientations.

In general, RESPECT is directed at parents, the mother and father, by both the Anglo and the Hispanic Americans. While in the case of the Hispanic Americans "love," "friendship," and "understanding" play a stronger role, the Anglo Americans emphasize certain human qualities, such as "dignity" and "honor."

DIGNITY/DIGNIDAD

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
PRIDE, HONOR, RESPECT	65	56	55	42	35	36
PEOPLE, FRIENDS, SELF	6	11	12	10	15	11
FAMILY, FATHER	4	3	2	7	4	3
WORK, SUCCESS, MONEY	5	4	5	5	3	13
GOOD, IMPORTANT	3	3	3	5	6	14
HONESTY, MORALS, TRUST	6	14	2	10	20	9
LOVE, UNDERSTANDING	1	6	4	7	9	4
CHURCH, SCHOOL, COUNTRY	6	4	7	10	2	5
MISCELLANEOUS	4	0	10	5	5	7
Total Scores	817	853	790	885	978	853

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
PRIDE, HONOR, RESPECT		531	475	433	374	341	306
pride, self-	orgullo	249	219	308	164	76	150
dignity,fied	digno	-	9	-	-	22	-
honor,ed	honor	45	48	10	12	31	43
proud		26	38	30	18	-	9
respect,self-	respeto	102	108	75	163	146	103
authority		6	5	-	15	-	-
power		15	-	-	-	-	16
strong	fuerte	-	16	-	-	9	-
discipline		-	-	10	16	-	-
position,high	cargo	-	7	-	-	11	10
self-confidence		12	-	-	-	-	-
humility	humildad	9	-	-	-	16	-
esteem,self-		25	30	-	-	-	25
deserving	merece,dor	-	-	-	-	18	-
integrity	integridad	-	-	-	-	12	-
PEOPLE, FRIENDS, SELF		85	98	95	91	143	91
man	hombre	-	-	-	-	28	18
woman	mujer	-	-	-	-	17	-
friends	amigos	8	22	27	9	10	11
people		-	-	10	11	-	8
person,s	persona,s	-	8	-	-	58	16
personality	personalidad	-	-	-	10	8	-
self		20	45	26	18	-	12
me		5	9	11	18	-	-
yourself		-	10	-	9	-	-
myself		8	-	21	16	-	-
personal	personal	-	-	-	-	22	28
FAMILY, FATHER		30	22	17	50	41	23
house		12	-	-	9	-	-
family	familia	6	22	17	18	12	12
father	padre	15	-	-	21	14	-
mother	madre	-	-	-	10	15	-
home		-	-	-	-	-	11
WORK, SUCCESS, MONEY		80	33	61	41	31	112
achievement		10	-	-	-	-	-
job		-	5	-	22	-	-
success		16	15	6	-	-	10
wealth		-	-	-	-	-	18
work	trabajo	-	8	24	19	23	34
money	dinero	10	5	11	-	8	50
GOOD, IMPORTANT		21	29	26	40	61	118
important	importante	11	-	15	-	10	44
want		-	-	-	-	-	12
necessary	necesario	-	8	-	-	6	10
good	bien,bueno	8	21	11	40	36	52

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
HONESTY, MORALS, TRUST		51	117	16	92	193	76
honesty	honrado,ez	-	19	-	42	62	17
honorable		-	-	-	-	-	14
responsibility	responsabilidad	7	-	-	21	23	-
obedient	obediente	-	-	-	12	11	-
decent	decente	-	-	-	-	18	-
truth	verdad	-	-	-	-	11	10
trustworthy	confianza	7	21	8	17	9	-
loyalty		-	34	8	-	-	8
moral,s,ity	moral	12	9	-	-	10	17
value	valor	-	-	-	-	14	-
virtue	virtud	-	-	-	-	17	-
proper	propia	4	-	-	-	11	-
clean	limpio	16	34	-	-	9	10
LOVE, UNDERSTANDING		11	91	30	60	92	30
care		10	-	5	9	-	-
kind,ness	bondad	-	16	-	-	28	-
friendly		-	-	-	10	-	-
joy		-	-	-	17	-	-
love,ing	amor,oso	-	27	17	13	27	30
nice		-	-	-	11	-	-
understanding	comprension	-	-	8	-	14	-
amiable	amable	-	-	-	-	13	-
friendship	amistad	-	8	-	-	10	-
CHURCH, SCHOOL, COUNTRY		52	32	52	86	24	39
church		9	-	-	16	-	-
religion		15	-	-	-	-	-
faith		-	-	7	-	-	10
priest		-	-	-	16	-	-
school		-	9	10	16	-	9
teacher		6	-	-	20	-	-
education	educacion	-	-	10	-	13	6
intelligence	inteligente	-	-	9	-	12	-
country		2	5	6	-	-	14
U.S.		-	-	11	-	-	-
marines		15	-	8	-	-	-
right,s	derecho	-	-	-	8	10	-
freedom		-	-	-	10	-	-
heritage		-	18	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		33	0	80	43	52	58
seriousness	seriedad	-	-	-	-	12	-
car		-	-	6	20	-	-
shame	verguenza	-	-	-	-	12	-
much		-	-	-	-	-	20
bad		-	-	-	-	-	14
behavior	comportamien.	-	-	-	-	15	-
sex		8	-	7	11	-	-
I don't know		22		35	-	-	-
condition	condicion	-	-	-	-	13	-
poor		-	-	-	12	-	-
crazy		-	-	11	-	-	-
very much		-	-	12	-	-	-
always		-	-	-	-	-	12
have		-	-	9	-	-	12

DIGNITY/DIGNIDAD

As the low dominance scores indicate, DIGNITY is not a particularly important or meaningful idea to our samples. It is slightly more dominant to the less acculturated groups than to the more acculturated ones.

"Pride" is the single most overriding idea for the Anglo and Mexican Americans. "Respect" is at least as important if not more so for the Puerto Ricans and the Cubans. This difference suggests that the Anglo Americans tend to view these values as internally determined by what is frequently described as inner directedness or autonomy, while in the traditional Hispanic cultural orientation, the affective foundation of human rapport attracts more attention.

The stronger affect-ladenness is manifest in the references to "love" and "understanding," where the Puerto Ricans and the other Hispanic groups score higher than the Anglos. With regard to the foundation of DIGNITY, "honesty," "responsibility," "trust" and other social values are emphasized somewhat unevenly by the Hispanic groups.

It is interesting that the Cuban group emphasized "work" and "money" as important sources of DIGNITY. They express the idea that DIGNITY is "good" and "important." "Family," "mother," and "father" are more important to the Puerto Rican groups. The Puerto Rican group in New York relates DIGNITY more to "church" and "priests" and to "schools" and "teachers."

The above mosaic elements offer a rather varied picture, making the reconstruction of broader trends rather difficult. Probably the single most important distinction emerges from the tendency by the Anglo and more acculturated Hispanic groups to view DIGNITY as a matter of "pride," as a matter of internally motivated attitudes. The less acculturated Hispanic Americans, particularly the Puerto Ricans, tend to view DIGNITY as a socially important quality commanding respect and social recognition. These are essentially the characteristics of the Hispanic concept of the "person" as opposed to the Anglo American concept of "individual" or "people." This emphasis on the "person" can be seen clearly in the San Juan group's reactions in the cluster labelled "People, Friends, Self."

<u>In general,</u> DIGNITY shows here a relatively low level of importance. It received an individualistic, personal pride based interpretation from the Anglo Americans and the more acculturated Hispanic Americans. It has a more social recognition, respect based meaning to the less acculturated Hispanic samples, particularly the Puerto Ricans in San Juan.

Summary

In this domain our primary interest was in social values and affective ties which serve as the main forces of interpersonal relations and cohesion. The attention given to differences in the Hispanic and the Anglo American approaches follows from the general importance of interpersonal relations in personnel management.

Interpersonal relations are well recognized as a critical factor influencing organizational climate and personnel satisfaction. Furthermore, the literature in general and our empirical data in particular strongly indicate that the human dimension of the job is of exceptional importance to Hispanic Americans. At the same time there are several factors, such as the heterogeneity or diversity of Hispanic groups and their varying degrees of acculturation, which compel us to pay particularly close attention to this dimension.

In agreement with literature on the Hispanic interest in warm interpersonal relations, our findings showed indeed that the Hispanic Americans place consistently more emphasis on "love" and "friendship" in the context of all the six themes examined in the framework of this domain. The themes LOVE and FRIENDSHIP had higher dominance for Hispanic Americans. The other four themes---TRUST, RESPECT, UNDERSTANDING, and DIGNITY---also elicited consistently more references to "love" and "friendship" for the Hispanics than for the Anglo Americans. The main difference here is that Anglo Americans placed more emphasis on certain human qualities like "honesty" and "faith" which they "trust" or "respect." In the case of the Hispanic Americans what seems to matter primarily are the strong positive affects ("love," "friendship") which make people trustworthy, worthy of respect, and capable of friendship and understanding.

Differences emerged in most instances from the comparison of the Anglo American group with the least accultured Hispanic American group, the Puerto Ricans in San Juan. There were a few interesting exceptions, particularly in this domain. LOVE, FRIENDSHIP, TRUST, and RESPECT have for Hispanic Americans a particularly strong foundation in family ties, with father and mother, with parents, and with siblings. These connections are strong for the Anglo American students as well, but in comparison with Hispanic Americans they are not as dominant for a variety of reasons. For one thing, LOVE has a stronger sexual connotation for the Anglo Americans, and FRIENDSHIP is based more on common leisure time interests rather than on emotional ties.

As the following table of the psychocultural distance coefficient illustrates, we find that, consistent with previous such tables, the Anglo Americans and the Puerto Ricans in San Juan were the furthest apart, followed by the Cubans, the Puerto Ricans in New York, and the Mexican Americans in Tempe and El Paso. The last three groups we have come to label as more accultured Hispanic samples, occupying an intermediary position between the Anglo Americans and the two more traditional Hispanic groups.

Coefficients of Psychocultural Distance Between Regional Samples	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Anglo Americans, East Coast	.12	.14	.22	.29	.24	
Mexican Americans, El Paso	.16	.19	.27	.25		
Mexican Americans, Tempe	.12	.33	.19			
Puerto Ricans, New York	.22	.14				
Puerto Ricans, San Juan	.26					

Table 9. Mean Distances Measured in the Domain of SOCIAL VALUES

While the distance data obtained across the six themes in this domain convey the well established picture of the more accultured Hispanic American groups occupying an intermediary position rather close to the Anglo Americans and differing quite substantially from the little accultured San Juan group, this pattern does not apply to each single theme individually. As we have seen in the context of the themes TRUST and RESPECT, the more accultured groups (e.g., the Mexican Americans and the New York Puerto Ricans) do not always take an intermediary position between the Anglos and the more traditional Hispanics. For instance, the Anglo Americans made few references to "family" or "parents" with respect to TRUST. The more traditional Puerto Rican group in San Juan makes substantially more, suggesting that parents are for them a more important source of TRUST. One would assume that the Puerto Ricans in New York as a part of acculturation would be more similar to the Anglo Americans and mention parents and family less. Yet, just the opposite happened. "Parents" and "family" were an even more important source of TRUST to the Puerto Ricans in New York and to the Mexican Americans than to the more traditional Hispanics in San Juan.

A likely explanation may come from the fact that these Hispanic student groups live in a predominantly U.S. American environment. In a culturally different environment which appears frequently as unfriendly and unpredictable, the role of family as a source of trust and respect apparently gains additional importance. In this and other comparable cases the new environment fails to produce changes which would result in the reduction of the original cultural distances, as would be expected to happen on the basis of acculturation. What happens is an increase in distance, in this example, an increase in the importance of family and interpersonal ties, which is probably a protective reaction stimulated by the alien environment. Inverse changes which increase rather than reduce the cultural distance are apparently not uncommon.

Adaptive changes which work in reverse direction and increase distance amidst the broad process of acculturation appear at first to be paradoxical. Yet, research has shown that in the acculturation process changes are slow and frequently nonlinear in their progression (Szalay, et al., 1982). The

findings consistently support previous observations (Szalay et al., 1978) that there are indeed some important differences in the dominant patterns of interpersonal relations characteristic of Anglo Americans and Hispanic Americans. In the present context of social values some of the differences in the affective foundation of interpersonal relations become increasingly apparent.

As the above findings show, the Hispanic Americans' view of FRIENDSHIP has indeed a strong affective foundation; it is also more family based, more neighborhood based, and entails more expectations and obligations. In comparison, the Anglo American idea of FRIENDSHIP is less family based, more open, depends more on individual choice, on situational conditions, and on personal psychological needs and interests. The differences fit well with previous observations which suggest that while the Anglo Americans view friendship with a strong entertainment focus, Hispanic Americans (1982), Arabs (1978), Koreans (1972), and other Third World populations view friendship as playing a broader and more existential role. In the developing countries, economic and business ties as well as political and administrative organizations rely more intensively on friendship and family based connections. As we have seen above, these are also more intimately interrelated for the Hispanic groups.

Although the Hispanic samples have shown considerable differences among each other, the above trends emerged rather consistently in connection with practically all Hispanic groups studied.

Our recent indepth study of a Hispanic group from Colombia helps place the domestic Hispanic findings into broader perspective. The Colombian findings supported the broad observation that in the Hispanic perspective, friendship is much less a relationship that is constantly being developed and dispensed with according to the timely needs of the individual and to new situations or changing requirements. In the Colombian context friendship was found to include relationships with members of the family as well as with members of the opposite sex in social situations where ties develop slowly, usually through family contacts, and are not readily dissolved or replaced. The trends observed in the context of friendship and related social values conveyed a consistent picture of the differences characteristic of the U.S. American and Colombian approaches to interpersonal relations. They confirmed previous observations that it is the individual's needs and motives which are particularly critical in U.S. American social relations. In the Colombian context there was more emphasis on affects, on the maintenance of social relations, and on the fulfillment of obligations and commitments (Szalay et al., 1982).

From the angle of personnel management the results show two dominant patterns of interpersonal relations. The Anglo Americans focused on self ("I," "me"), on certain personal characteristics of the individual ("power," "strength"), individual needs ("sex," "entertainment"), and individual identity ("sexual," "racial"). The Hispanic Americans showed primary preoccupation with the social and moral qualities of the person ("good," "bad," "trust," "respect"), affective ties ("love," "friendship"), and the relationship of the person to other social units ("family," "community").

While the above characterizations fit the predominantly traditional Hispanic American orientations, the majority of the Hispanic Americans tested (e.g., Mexican students from both locations, Puerto Rican students from New York) were found to be generally highly acculturated to the Anglo American environment. Yet, in the domain of interpersonal relations even the highly acculturated Hispanic American groups have shown strong emphasis on positive affective ties. That is, despite their otherwise close similarity with the Anglo Americans in this particular domain, the highly acculturated Hispanics still show a strong concern with affective ties: love, friendship, and family relations in certain ways similar to the more traditional Hispanic Americans.

To personnel management this means that both acculturated and traditional Hispanic Americans are intensively concerned with and sensitive to the human dimension, to the climate of interpersonal relations, but in rather different ways. The more acculturated Hispanic Americans may be satisfied by receiving more personal recognition. While they seem to strive for more attention than the Anglo Americans, the nature and focus of the attention does not have to be different from those called for by the Anglo Americans.

In the case of the more traditional Hispanic Americans, it is desirable not only to increase the level of attention but to adjust it to more traditional value considerations as well. Along these dimensions, recognition of moral, social qualities such as trust and loyalty, dedication to common goals, and identification with community, society, and mankind, are likely to deserve special emphasis.

ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION: SUCCESS, DUTY...

In our previous studies conducted with older and more traditional population samples, several important trends in achievement motivation emerged, some in agreement, some in apparent contradiction with literature pertaining to this subject. A comparison of Anglo American and Hispanic American adults of predominantly Latin American background (Szalay et al., 1978), indicated that Hispanic Americans highly valued achievement because it brings them joy and happiness. To the Anglo Americans, achievement had a more intrinsic value: it was considered good in itself as a source of pride, honor, self-esteem, and satisfaction. A comparison of Anglo Americans with Colombians (Szalay et al., 1982) showed that achievement also had an instrumental value for the Colombians, serving particular objectives such as meeting personal or family needs.

These findings indicate that the assumption that Hispanic Americans are not interested in achievement is exaggerated; their interest is there but their approach toward achievement is different. These differences are particularly relevant to personnel management.

In light of the previous findings, we have addressed here the following questions (a) Were the differences found between the more and less accultured Hispanic American samples evident in the domain of ACHIEVEMENT, SUCCESS as well? (b) Did the more accultured Mexican American groups look at ACHIEVEMENT, SUCCESS more as Anglos do, stressing the intrinsic value of work and work satisfaction, or did they conform with the traditional Hispanic view of achievement as a means of meeting basic needs and reaching long-range objectives (e.g., career, money)? (c) Compared to the previous samples, did the relatively younger age of the present student sample make any noticeable differences?

In the analysis we have included the themes SUCCESS, ACHIEVEMENT, DUTY, AMBITION, CAPABILITY, and PRIDE to gain some additional insights into psychocultural dispositions relevant to achievement motivation.

ACHIEVEMENT/LOGRO

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
Main Components	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
	Percentage of Total Score					
WORK, CAREER, SPORTS	17	12	20	19	11	17
GOAL, FUTURE, ADVANCEMENT	17	20	13	14	24	13
GOOD, HAPPINESS, PRIDE	6	8	6	7	13	9
SCHOOL, EDUCATION, LEARN	22	21	32	30	9	13
FAMILY, LOVE, FRIENDS	6	10	6	12	5	14
SUCCESS, TRIUMPH, FINISH	12	19	12	8	23	11
MONEY, AWARD, CARS	15	10	9	8	5	15
EFFORT, HARD WORK	2	1	1	0	7	5
MISCELLANEOUS	5	0	1	2	3	4
Total Scores	1092	1145	976	1126	1328	1236

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
WORK, CAREER, SPORTS		182	142	192	213	151	211
Army		-	-	15	-	-	-
boss		-	-	-	10	-	-
Marines		14	-	-	-	-	-
business		-	-	-	10	-	26
profession	profesion	-	-	-	-	26	-
career		18	30	30	27	-	53
doctor		-	10	-	-	-	17
sports		15	5	19	18	-	9
work	trabajo	56	62	63	92	125	89
job,s		62	35	65	56	-	17
GOAL, FUTURE, ADVANCEMENT		184	224	130	160	322	155
future	futuro	15	8	23	17	21	20
desire,s	deseo,s	-	11	-	9	35	8
purpose	proposito	-	-	-	-	11	-
goal,s	meta,s	133	148	99	80	206	87
dream	sueno	-	-	-	-	15	-
ambition	ambicion	-	9	-	20	18	9
advance,ment		11	15	8	17	-	14
gain, to		-	6	-	17	12	-
get ahead		-	18	-	-	-	-
progress	progreso	8	9	-	-	4	17
GOOD, HAPPINESS, PRIDE		65	87	55	83	170	113
pride	orgullo	16	19	14	-	21	17
proud		12	12	-	18	-	-
respect		7	8	-	13	-	21
good		18	14	16	24	-	22
satisfaction	satisfaccion	-	10	-	-	65	-
great		6	8	-	-	-	18
happy,ness	felicidad	-	16	25	28	30	35
joy, pleasure	alegria	-	-	-	-	54	-
SCHOOL, EDUCATION, LEARN		238	235	314	338	123	157
finish school		-	15	-	16	-	-
math		-	-	-	12	-	-
degree		-	-	-	21	-	-
diploma		-	7	-	16	-	-
reading		-	-	-	17	-	-
S.A.T.'s		28	9	-	-	-	-
grades, good		12	32	10	10	-	-
study, to	estudio,ar	-	12	15	25	39	54
studies	estudios	-	-	-	-	28	13
scholarship		-	-	15	6	-	-
school	escuela	51	57	66	81	15	55
graduate		-	9	38	-	-	-
knowledge		14	-	-	-	-	-
graduation	graduacion	11	13	15	-	36	-
education		6	22	38	34	-	-
test,s		64	13	53	29	-	-
university		-	-	-	19	-	9
high school		-	-	15	10	-	9
college		17	28	42	10	-	17
intelligence	inteligencia	5	-	-	10	5	-
junior		-	10	-	-	-	-
learn,ing		8	8	7	20	-	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
FAMILY, LOVE, FRIENDS		60	109	61	132	63	168
marri,e,ed	matrimonio	-	-	12	19	12	19
frien,s		5	8	-	18	-	-
girl,friend		-	7	12	-	-	-
father		-	-	-	10	-	-
under,stand		-	5	-	10	-	-
children		-	-	6	10	-	-
home		-	5	7	-	-	13
house	casa	14	5	-	9	17	16
family	familia	10	20	12	18	11	43
life	vida	26	46	12	18	9	14
love,ing	amor	-	13	-	20	14	52
man		-	-	-	-	-	11
SUCCESS, TRIUMPH, FINISH		130	213	115	94	299	141
finish,ed		15	18	10	12	-	-
obtain to	obtener	-	-	-	-	13	-
power	poder	9	-	-	-	12	27
accomplish		23	47	31	-	-	9
reach	alcanzar	-	-	-	-	35	28
attain to		-	-	-	12	-	-
success,ful	exito	66	138	63	48	107	58
arrive to	llegar	-	-	-	-	23	-
succeed		5	-	11	12	-	-
triumph, to	triunfo	-	-	-	-	83	10
victory	victoria	-	-	-	-	14	-
conquer		-	10	-	-	-	-
complete		-	-	-	10	-	9
finalize	finalizar	-	-	-	-	12	-
MONEY, AWARD, CARS		160	118	84	85	67	189
wealth		6	-	6	-	-	11
merit	merito	-	-	-	-	13	-
money	dinero	78	63	44	65	21	114
glory		-	5	-	-	-	19
car,s	carro	-	16	-	10	12	30
rich		-	6	35	-	-	-
reward,s,ing	recompensa	28	-	-	-	21	-
fame		-	-	11	-	-	9
award,s		34	28	8	10	-	6
EFFORT, HARD WORK		19	17	12	0	98	58
fight	lucha	-	-	-	-	24	-
do, something		-	12	12	-	-	6
race		-	-	-	-	-	22
effort	esfuerzo	6	-	-	-	51	13
determination		-	-	-	-	-	12
dedication	dedicacion	-	-	-	-	23	-
hard work		11	5	-	-	-	7
MISCELLANEOUS		55	0	13	21	35	44
Jody Fox		10	-	-	-	-	-
sex		26	-	13	11	-	-
peace		-	-	-	-	-	10
deed	hazana	-	-	-	-	12	-
God	Dios	-	-	-	-	10	-
gold		-	-	-	10	-	-
electronics	electronica	-	-	-	-	13	-
time		-	-	-	-	-	15
rank		14	-	-	-	-	-
much		-	-	-	-	-	19

School performance was the most salient field of ACHIEVEMENT for the Anglo Americans and the more acculturated Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in New York. While the Hispanic Americans thought of "school" achievement *in general, to the Anglo American students "tests" and "SATs" were* apparently more characteristic elements of ACHIEVEMENT.

The Puerto Rican students in San Juan thought of ACHIEVEMENT primarily in terms of "goals." This suggests that ACHIEVEMENT is important primarily as an instrument for reaching various goals and objectives. Since this group also scored high on "goals" in the context of WORK, this seems to support the idea that the Puerto Ricans in San Juan approach work and achievement from the angle of their high instrumentality.

The Cubans in Miami emphasized "work" and "career." Like the Anglo Americans, they stressed the importance of financial rewards, particularly "money." At the same time the Cubans differed the most from the Anglo Americans in their tendency to relate ACHIEVEMENT to "family," "love," and "marriage." Both on "love" and "family" the Cubans scored higher than all the other groups, suggesting that their achievement orientation has familistic roots.

Working with student samples, it may not be surprising that achievement orientation emerged mainly in the context of school. Yet, there are other observations not readily predictable: for example, the low subjective dominance of ACHIEVEMENT for the Anglo Americans and its particularly high dominance for the Puerto Ricans in San Juan. The San Juan based Puerto Ricans' strong instrumental and goal oriented interpretation of ACHIEVEMENT is compatible with their goal and future oriented view of WORK. However, the differences between the Anglo Americans and the San Juan based Puerto Ricans are still quite unexpected, particularly in light of the McClelland and Atkinson studies (1961, 1966).

The present findings suggest that it is desirable to differentiate between the varying views of ACHIEVEMENT orientation. While the Anglos and more acculturated Hispanics have a concrete and immediate performance approach to ACHIEVEMENT, a more general goal and future oriented approach is characteristic of the traditional Hispanic groups, who think in terms of aspirations ("happiness," "satisfaction").

In general, the Anglo and the more acculturated Hispanic American groups view ACHIEVEMENT in the immediate context of school performance, while the Puerto Ricans in San Juan think of ACHIEVEMENT more along long-term objectives (e.g., "work," "job," and "career"). The Cubans seem to combine the practical Anglo emphasis on material benefits ("money," "cars") with an emphasis on social implications ("love," "family").

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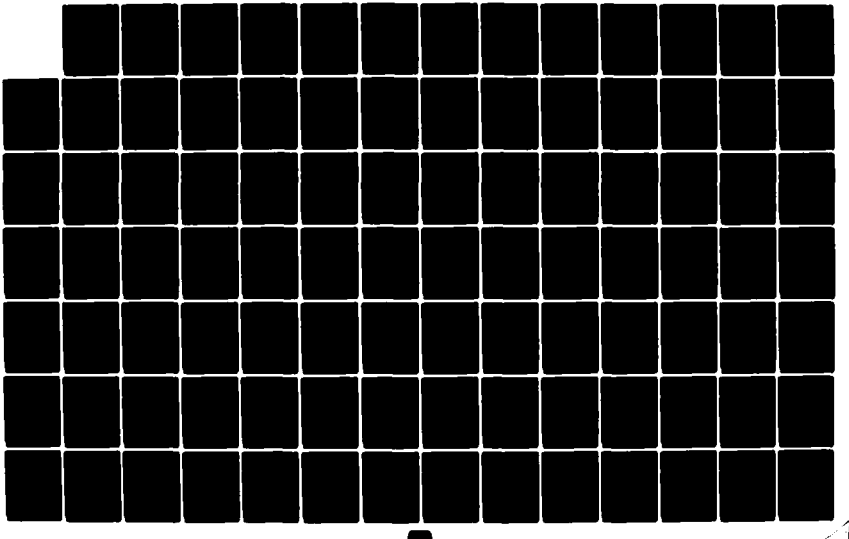
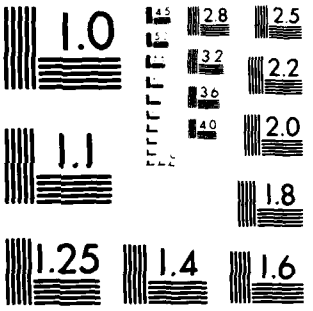




SUCCESS/EXITO

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
TRIUMPH, WIN	3	5	1	3	14	1
FUTURE, GOALS, AMBITION	6	8	5	8	9	5
LOVE, FAMILY	7	11	14	12	7	11
SCHOOL, EDUCATION	5	10	10	12	8	11
JOB, CAREER, BUSINESS	17	11	18	16	3	11
GOOD, HAPPINESS, PRIDE	12	12	8	8	9	8
MONEY, FAME, POWER	30	26	28	17	26	29
WORK, EFFORT, ACHIEVEMENT	10	6	8	11	18	16
LIFE, PEOPLE, FRIENDS	8	8	5	11	4	5
MISCELLANEOUS	3	2	3	1	2	3
Total Scores	1263	1339	1226	1375	1474	1421

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
TRIUMPH, WIN		38	62	12	35	211	12
advancement		10	6	-	-	-	-
fulfilling,ment		-	15	-	-	-	-
reach goals	meta alcanzar	-	4	-	-	15	-
satisfaction	satisfaccion	15	16	-	-	35	-
triumph, to	triunfar	-	7	-	-	136	12
victory	victoria	-	-	-	-	25	-
win,ning		8	14	-	35	-	-
be successful		-	-	12	-	-	-
FUTURE, GOALS, AMBITION		75	113	57	111	134	78
planner		-	-	-	-	-	11
plans		-	-	-	10	-	-
future	futuro	13	29	19	34	36	37
ambition	ambicion	7	15	7	17	6	-
dreams		-	10	-	-	5	-
goal,s	meta,s	48	59	31	40	87	30
life goals		-	-	-	10	-	-
LOVE, FAMILY		95	148	171	171	101	154
wife		13	10	20	8	-	8
home	hogar	-	15	9	9	8	9
house		20	22	49	24	-	16
children		-	9	32	8	-	10
family	familia	35	51	39	50	52	48
kids		6	-	-	10	-	9
father		-	8	-	12	-	-
love	amor	12	18	4	21	32	28
marriage	matrimonio	-	15	18	29	9	26
SCHOOL, EDUCATION		59	129	117	163	116	151
diploma		-	-	-	15	-	-
college		14	33	8	20	-	10
education		8	40	20	10	-	18
school	escuela	19	43	44	83	33	34
graduate,ion		13	8	29	13	-	-
smart		-	-	10	-	-	-
studies	estudios	-	-	-	-	40	11
study	estudio	-	5	6	11	43	60
finish school		-	-	-	11	-	-
JOB, CAREER, BUSINESS		212	153	226	224	40	156
doctor		7	12	-	10	-	-
profession	profesion	-	-	-	-	13	18
business		36	16	11	8	-	25
lawyer		8	-	17	-	-	-
good job		8	9	12	16	-	-
career		28	43	88	41	27	71
actor,ing		-	-	6	13	-	-
job,s		87	73	96	130	-	42
job security		10	-	-	-	-	-
Marines		11	-	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		40	28	39	15	27	46
sex		25	-	23	-	-	8
failure		11	28	-	-	-	-
church		-	-	-	15	-	-
time		-	-	-	-	-	12
compensation	compensacion	-	-	-	-	14	-
beautiful		-	-	6	-	-	10
president		-	-	12	-	-	-
much		-	-	-	-	-	16
of one	de uno	-	-	-	-	13	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
GOOD, HAPPINESS, PRIDE		151	156	97	108	140	114
good		-	8	-	-	-	15
proud		-	13	9	11	-	-
pride	orgullo	12	16	18	12	18	7
proud		6	9	11	-	-	-
happy,ness	felicidad	92	94	44	54	44	41
good	bueno	14	8	15	21	35	32
great		-	-	-	-	-	19
excitement		-	-	-	10	-	-
joy, pleasure	alegria	13	8	-	-	43	-
MONEY, FAME, POWER		376	353	346	238	377	410
gain,benefit	logro,ganar	-	-	-	22	210	9
reward	recompensa	-	-	-	-	14	-
rich,es	riqueza	8	22	52	-	4	11
famous		-	10	-	9	-	6
money	dinero	219	203	206	14	72	212
wealth		20	16	-		-	23
fame	fama	10	17	24	22	13	23
fortune		11	-	-	11	-	-
power	poder	17	19	18	-	25	43
prestige	prestigio	9	-	-	-	12	8
respect		6	12	-	15	-	26
security	seguridad	-	10	-	-	12	-
important,ce	importante	21	12	-	-	15	27
car,s		21	32	46	13	-	22
WORK, EFFORT, ACHIEVEMENT		123	87	100	152	264	223
dedication	dedicacion	-	-	-	-	18	-
effort	esfuerzo	5	-	-	-	48	-
fight	lucha	-	-	-	-	15	-
race		-	-	-	-	-	15
sacrifice	sacrificio	-	-	-	-	14	-
hard		14	7	6	-	-	6
work	trabajo	29	40	56	65	156	112
accomplish		26	10	10	10	-	12
achieve,ment		38	23	-	36	-	47
complete		-	-	12	-	-	-
finish		-	-	16	-	-	-
sport,s	deportes	-	7	-	20	13	31
baseball		-	-	-	11	-	-
football		-	-	-	10	-	-
LIFE, PEOPLE, FRIENDS		96	110	61	158	64	77
girl,s,friend		-	6	19	-	-	9
friend,s	amigos	15	15	10	13	6	26
women		6	6	-	21	-	-
people		-	9	-	10	-	11
I	yo	-	-	-	-	8	-
Gloria	Gloria	-	-	-	-	12	-
health		11	7	-	10	-	12
well-being	bienestar	-	-	-	-	12	-
life	vida	24	51	15	84	16	19
me		31	16	17	20	-	-
personal	personal	-	-	-	-	10	-

SUCCESS/EXITO

The characteristic differences in the meaning of SUCCESS emerged mainly between the Puerto Rican group in San Juan and the five remaining samples.

"Money" was most salient for practically all the groups tested, especially the Anglos. "Fame" and "power" received much less attention, leaving money as the main indicator or measure of SUCCESS. The lower score on "money" by the San Juan based Puerto Rican group is accompanied by high scores on "gain, benefit" in the sense of material achievement and earnings, concepts closely synonymous with money.

For all five groups, particularly the Puerto Rican group in New York, "job" and "career" played an important role in their views of SUCCESS. The exception was again the Puerto Rican group in San Juan, to whom SUCCESS has relatively little relationship to career or job. The San Juan students thought more of the "work" and "effort" which has to be invested or applied to achieve SUCCESS. The other groups focused more on "achievement" and "accomplishment."

Compared to these rather sizable differences, the remaining components show more general agreement. "Family," "love," and "marriage" bore more closely on SUCCESS for the Hispanic American groups than for the Anglo Americans. The same is true about education. Here again, the Hispanic American groups, particularly the Puerto Ricans in New York, see apparently a closer, more intrinsic relationship between SUCCESS and "school," "education," and "study." Although there were some noticeable differences between the groups on what constitutes SUCCESS, from the angle of their subjective views and perspectives there seems to be a consensus among them that SUCCESS is "good," that it is a matter of "pride," and most of all, a source of "happiness."

In general, the Cubans agreed with the Anglo and Mexican American groups in stressing "money," "power," and "fame" as well as "career" and "job" as the main indicators and sources of SUCCESS. The Puerto Ricans in San Juan appeared to be more preoccupied with the human effort required to "triumph," looking at SUCCESS as a long-range future goal. In general, the Anglo American and the Mexican American groups showed close agreement across the board.

PRIDE/ORGULLO

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
DIGNITY, HONOR, PROUD	29	21	12	23	13	12
COUNTRY, NATION, U.S.	17	9	10	7	0	11
LOVE, FAMILY	4	11	11	9	4	9
WORK, SCHOOL, SPORTS	8	14	12	8	7	13
MONEY, ACHIEVEMENT	6	3	1	8	14	4
ME, MYSELF, EGO	8	17	11	13	9	8
CULTURE, BACKGROUND	1	3	7	3	1	1
PEOPLE, FRIENDS	3	6	21	13	13	15
GOOD, HAPPY, HONEST	11	8	3	11	20	10
BAD, JEALOUS	10	3	4	0	19	6
MISCELLANEOUS	3	5	8	4	1	11
Total Scores	906	1058	945	1096	1009	1034

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
DIGNITY, HONOR, PROUD		266	218	110	255	127	123
confidence		15	-	-	-	-	11
courage		-	10	-	-	-	-
glory		21	-	12	12	-	6
dignity	dignidad	49	51	39	29	48	25
power,ful	poder	5	-	-	-	16	6
honor	honor	39	30	22	40	9	16
proud	orgulloso	25	39	21	66	11	9
prestige		-	-	-	-	-	12
esteem		8	9	-	-	-	12
self-esteem		21	18	-	16	-	-
self-respect		13	10	-	10	-	-
respect	respeto	27	43	16	59	21	20
responsibility		-	-	-	11	-	-
strength		12	-	-	-	-	-
strong		17	8	-	12	-	6
superior,ity	superior	-	-	-	-	22	-
COUNTRY, NATION, U.S.		154	96	98	81	0	117
Marines		34	7	16	11	-	8
country,ies		35	38	18	50	-	44
military		11	-	-	-	-	-
nation		19	10	-	11	-	-
patriotism		5	7	11	-	-	41
spirit		-	16	21	-	-	-
flag		12	6	12	-	-	8
U.S.		24	12	20	9	-	15
LOVE, FAMILY		39	118	105	95	38	94
love	amor	-	13	10	17	9	11
mother		-	-	16	18	-	11
parents	padres	-	8	-	7	10	9
home	hogar	-	9	-	-	11	-
house		-	-	13	-	-	7
family	familia	25	79	50	43	8	50
father		-	9	9	10	-	6
wife		10	-	7	-	-	-
WORK, SCHOOL, SPORTS		69	147	111	87	66	130
work	trabajo	9	13	23	32	31	49
baseball		-	-	12	-	-	-
discipline		-	13	-	-	-	-
profession	profesion	-	-	-	-	8	21
career		-	-	11	-	-	-
school		27	102	56	30	-	38
intelligence		-	-	-	-	-	11
smart		-	-	-	12	-	-
sports		7	14	9	-	-	-
job		20	5	-	13	-	15
studies	estudios	-	-	-	-	10	-
study	estudio	-	-	-	-	17	-
MONEY, ACHIEVEMENT		54	27	14	89	139	46
gain, benef t	logro	-	-	-	-	11	-
achievement		17	12	-	17	-	-
have		-	7	-	21	-	-
ambition	ambicion	-	-	-	13	16	-
satisfaction	satisfaccion	10	-	-	-	15	-
success		12	8	-	-	-	14
money	dinero	10	-	14	27	69	32
rich,es	rico,queza	-	-	-	-	18	-
goa	meta	-	-	-	-	10	-
want		-	-	-	11	-	-
CULTURE, BACKGROUND		10	32	69	37	10	7
black		-	-	-	11	-	-
heritage		9	12	-	9	-	-
culture		-	7	25	-	-	-
race, clan	raza	-	-	19	17	10	7
background		-	13	9	-	-	-
color		-	-	16	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		26	55	73	43	12	116
limit	limite	-	-	-	-	12	-
I don't know		-	-	12	-	-	-
everything		-	-	-	-	-	10
relation		-	-	12	-	-	-
sex		-	-	11	-	-	-
much		-	-	-	-	-	24
a lot		-	-	-	26	-	20
plenty		-	-	-	-	-	14
tion		13	15	-	-	-	12
car,s		11	9	38	7	-	24
lots		-	-	-	-	-	12
pretty		-	-	-	10	-	-
cathedral		-	31	-	-	-	-
PEOPLE, FRIENDS		26	64	202	141	128	157
fri ,s	amigo,s	6	10	12	27	14	8
fri dship		-	9	11	-	-	-
Ame can		7	-	-	-	-	25
mar		-	-	-	10	-	17
gir s,friend		-	6	7	11	-	21
per nal	personal	5	-	-	-	37	38
low der		-	-	41	-	-	-
Lati	Latino	-	-	-	-	10	-
Mexican,s		-	8	44	-	-	-
people	gente	-	-	13	16	8	42
Hispanic,s		-	-	-	10	-	8
person	persona	-	-	-	-	35	6
personality	personalidad	-	-	-	4	12	-
population	pueblo	-	-	-	-	12	-
Puerto Rican		-	-	-	53	-	-
Irish		-	31	-	-	-	-
Chicano,s		-	-	67	-	-	-
life		6	-	7	10	-	12
GOOD, HAPPY, HONEST		101	84	26	121	199	106
great		-	-	-	-	-	12
necessary,ity	necesario	9	-	-	-	22	11
needed		12	-	-	-	-	-
happy,ness	felicidad	19	9	11	25	8	2
loyalty		-	12	-	-	-	-
virtue	virtud	-	-	-	-	11	-
value	valor	-	-	-	-	18	-
important	importante	15	8	-	13	19	16
honest		-	-	-	-	-	10
feeling,s	sentimiento	-	8	7	15	13	-
trust	confianza	-	-	-	11	21	-
good	bueno	19	24	-	19	35	55
joy, pleasure	alegria	-	14	8	38	27	-
feel, to	sentir	-	9	-	-	25	-
humility		18	-	-	-	-	-
ME, MYSELF, EGO		74	183	101	147	94	80
yourself		-	7	14	10	-	9
me		20	14	28	27	-	22
mine		-	19	-	-	-	-
my, mine	mio	-	6	-	-	10	-
myself		32	33	25	63	-	11
name		-	17	15	-	-	-
oneself		-	9	-	10	-	-
own	propio	-	-	-	-	43	-
ego, self	ego	-	9	-	13	12	9
I	yo	-	-	-	-	29	11
self		15	69	19	24	-	18
BAD, JEALOUS		87	34	36	0	196	58
foolish		-	-	-	-	-	10
wolverine,s		10	-	27	-	-	-
vanity	vanidad	-	-	-	-	49	9
hurt		17	-	-	-	-	13
envy		10	-	-	-	-	-
sin		11	6	-	-	-	-
arrogance	arrogancia	-	-	-	-	24	-
haughtiness	altaneria	-	-	-	-	13	-
lust		10	-	-	-	-	-
bad, evil	malo	5	10	9	-	69	26
unpleasant	antipatico	-	-	-	-	10	-
selfish,ness	egoista,mo	16	9	-	-	39	-
jealous,y	celo	-	9	-	-	12	-

PRIDE/ORGULLO

While PRIDE had little dominance for the Anglo Americans, it was more important to Hispanic Americans. "Dignity," "honor," "respect," "glory," and "power" generally received recognition from all six student groups but to varying degrees. It is interesting to see what the various student groups are particularly proud of. "Country," "U.S.," "nation," and "patriotism" were mentioned by several groups, particularly the Anglo Americans. The Puerto Ricans in San Juan, however, did not make these identifications at all. The "military," in general, received little attention; however, all five groups from the continental U.S. mentioned the "Marines."

While "family" and "love" were minor sources of pride to Anglo Americans and to Puerto Ricans in San Juan, they were more dominant to all other Hispanic American groups. "Work," "school", and "sports" also varied in importance, but were clearly identified as sources of PRIDE. "School" ranked first, led by the Mexican American group in El Paso. The Cubans rank the highest in mentioning their "work." Only the Anglo and Mexican Americans referred to sports, while the Puerto Ricans in San Juan mentioned mostly studying.

As an interesting contrast, the Puerto Ricans in San Juan led the list in their material references such as "money" and "riches." As sources of PRIDE, "achievement" and "success" ranked higher for the Anglo Americans and the more accultured Mexican Americans, who made very few references to money.

The Anglo and Hispanic American groups placed differential emphasis on "people" and "friends." The little accultured San Juan group's emphasis on "person," i.e., personhood, is used in the more traditional Hispanic sense (Szalay et al., 1982). The "Culture, Background" cluster reflects varying degrees of ethnic-racial awareness or identification. In this respect the differences between the two Mexican American groups, in their Chicano/Mexican self-identification are interesting. Along the same line the New York based Puerto Ricans showed more explicit ethnic identification than the San Juan group.

In general, there is broad variation in the evaluation of PRIDE. The Anglo and particularly the San Juan based Puerto Rican samples were ambivalent, considering it both good and bad. To the other four groups pride is predominantly good. Since these groups live in minority settings, it is possible that their positive evaluation of PRIDE comes from the deeper need for psychological identification.

CAPABILITY/CAPACIDAD

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	**Percentage of Total Score**					
ABILITY, POTENTIAL	28	35	17	6	8	6
WORK, SKILL, MONEY	13	11	24	23	7	18
INTELLECTUAL, MENTAL	12	8	8	22	48	15
POWER, STRONG, SPORTS	12	6	8	7	6	9
GOOD, HELPFUL, A LOT	6	7	7	8	4	10
SCHOOL, STUDY	3	8	6	11	6	20
BAD, NONE, LIMITS	3	3	1	0	5	2
ACHIEVEMENT, SUCCESS	7	8	2	6	2	3
PEOPLE, I, MAN	1	3	0	1	4	1
DRIVING, LIVE, TALK	3	0	11	9	1	6
DO, TRY, EFFORT	5	9	6	3	0	6
MISCELLANEOUS	7	1	11	5	8	4
Total Scores	817	732	706	879	1033	996

Main Components and Responses		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
ABILITY, POTENTIAL		228	259	121	50	86	55
ability,ies	habilidad	81	120	32	-	86	9
able, to be		56	75	68	27	-	29
can do		18	17	9	11	-	-
capable		9	5	-	12	-	17
capacity		25	33	-	-	-	-
potential		20	9	12	-	-	-
WORK, SKILL		309	83	160	200	68	179
apprentice	aprendizaje	-	-	-	-	10	-
career		15	-	-	8	-	7
skill		19	14	-	7	-	-
job		23	8	39	10	-	19
talent,s		7	17	-	-	-	-
work,ing	trabajar	35	35	103	160	52	137
responsibility		9	-	10	15	-	-
money	dinero	-	9	25	-	6	16
INTELLECTUAL, MENTAL		98	62	56	189	498	153
reason	razon	-	-	-	-	12	-
aptitude	aptitud	16	-	-	-	13	-
smart		5	-	6	22	-	-
intelect,ual	intelecto,ua	-	-	-	-	89	-
intelligence	intelligencia	18	9	28	96	155	28
know,ing	saber	-	-	-	12	18	-
know-how		18	8	-	-	-	-
brain,s		-	-	-	-	-	30
knowledge	conocimiento	12	18	13	17	21	48
think,ing	pensar	9	-	9	11	10	-
understand	entendimiento	15	28	-	37	30	10
analyze	analizar	-	-	-	-	11	-
experience	experiencia	-	-	-	7	18	-
mature,ity	maduro,ez	-	-	-	-	54	-
mental	mental	6	7	-	11	42	37
mind	mente	7	-	-	18	26	-
POWER, STRONG, SPORTS		99	46	57	62	60	90
power	poder	14	15	16	16	37	25
sports		23	-	11	25	-	9
strength	fuerza	36	22	-	-	17	37
respect	respeto	-	-	-	-	11	6
strong		17	9	18	21	-	13
baseball		-	-	10	-	-	-
GOOD, HELPFUL, A LOT		53	53	52	73	45	101
quality	cualidad	-	-	-	-	19	-
help,ful		-	9	6	19	-	-
unlimited		-	-	12	-	-	-
endless		-	-	-	-	-	17
many		-	-	12	-	-	-
a lot		-	15	-	-	-	38
anything		5	-	17	18	-	-
much	mucho	-	6	-	18	13	19
good	buena	25	23	5	16	13	21
great		18	-	-	-	-	11
SCHOOL, STUDY		22	57	40	99	61	195
school		20	20	15	31	-	83
student		-	-	-	-	-	17
studies		-	-	-	-	-	15
study, to	estudio,ar	-	-	-	24	40	92
teaching,	ensenanza	-	-	-	-	10	-
learn,ing		-	15	22	26	-	75
education		-	22	-	14	-	8
physics	fisica	-	-	-	-	11	-

Main Components and Responses		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
BAD, NONE, LIMITS		26	21	8	0	53	22
handic		-	-	-	-	-	11
distra,nt	destreza	-	-	-	-	23	-
limit,'		13	12	8	-	-	-
none		11	9	-	-	-	-
little	poca,o	-	-	-	-	9	11
burden	carga	-	-	-	-	11	-
nothin	nada	-	-	-	-	10	-
ACHIEVEMENT, SUCCESS		96	58	12	49	24	30
achieve,ment		27	13	-	8	-	22
development	desarrolla	-	-	-	-	24	-
succeed		11	-	-	24	-	-
survive		-	-	-	17	-	-
success,ful		13	32	12	-	-	8
finish		-	13	-	-	-	-
PEOPLE, I, MAN		5	21	0	9	42	10
people		5	11	-	-	-	-
I	yo	-	-	-	-	22	8
individual	individual	-	-	-	-	10	-
we		-	10	-	-	-	-
man	hombre	-	-	-	9	10	4
DRIVING, LIVE, TALK		29	0	78	83	10	64
drive,ing		14	-	13	11	-	6
read		-	-	-	13	-	-
walk		-	-	21	-	-	-
love,ing		12	-	-	18	-	32
dance		-	-	-	12	-	-
run		-	-	15	-	-	-
talk		-	-	23	-	-	7
to sense	captar	-	-	-	-	10	-
live, to		-	-	-	18	-	9
write		-	-	6	11	-	-
to take		-	-	-	-	-	10
DO, TRY, EFFORT		37	67	39	27	0	62
hard		-	-	-	-	-	10
effort		13	-	-	-	-	12
strive		-	14	-	-	-	-
fight		-	-	12	-	-	-
try		11	-	5	11	-	9
do,ing		-	37	12	16	-	19
handle		10	-	-	-	-	-
want		-	16	10	-	-	12
MISCELLANEOUS		55	5	75	40	95	35
sex		39	-	42	29	-	-
reaction	reaccion	-	-	-	-	11	-
car	carro	-	-	9	-	13	-
space	espacio	-	-	-	-	42	20
future		-	-	-	11	-	-
time		-	-	-	-	-	15
life		11	5	-	-	-	-
I don't know		-	-	24	-	-	-
amount	cantidad	-	-	-	-	19	-

CAPABILITY/CAPACIDAD

This theme was not very meaningful to the Anglo Americans and the more accultured Hispanic groups, while it was a more important idea to the less accultured Hispanic groups.

To Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans CAPABILITY denoted essentially "ability," "capacity," or "potential," while to the less accultured Hispanic Americans it denoted "ability" more narrowly in a "mental" and "intellectual" context. Particularly the San Juan group viewed CAPABILITY as a source of "knowledge," "understanding," "thinking," "analysis," and other mental/intellectual processes and achievements. In comparison, the Puerto Ricans in New York and the Cubans tended to mix these intellectual dimensions with physical strength and biological potency. In view of this emphasis it is not surprising that the Puerto Ricans, and particularly the Cubans, saw a closer relationship between CAPABILITY and "studying" and "learning," that is, educational success or performance. This may also explain the Cuban students' desire to have "a lot" or "much," and why they share with others such positive evaluations as "good" and "great."

Since CAPABILITY is assumed to have broad implications for all types of achievements, the Anglo and more accultured Hispanic American groups saw a close relationship between CAPABILITY and human performance: "work," "job," and "skill." In a similar vein, CAPABILITY was related to a variety of activities: "driving," "dancing," "baseball," and "sex." While Anglo Americans viewed CAPABILITY more in relation to individual achievement and success, the San Juan Puerto Ricans mentioned the broad societal/national problem of "development."

In general, CAPABILITY had a predominantly, if not exclusively, intellectual content for the unaccultured Puerto Ricans. It had a more mixed meaning for the Puerto Ricans in New York and the Cubans, encompassing intellectual as well as physical ability and biological potential. To the Anglo and Mexican Americans CAPABILITY referred predominantly to physical abilities, sexual potency, in short, to all those dispositions which are needed to achieve, to perform, to work and solve problems.

DUTY/OBLIGACION

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
WORK, JOB, CHORES	25	24	37	36	28	29
ARMY, MILITARY, POLICE	20	10	9	11	1	7
FAMILY, HOME	4	7	7	10	17	11
SCHOOL, STUDY	3	7	9	14	11	14
OBLIGATION, RESPONSIBILITY	19	22	12	14	18	14
LOVE, FRIENDS, RESPECT	13	14	9	5	4	8
HELP, NEEDED	4	5	6	4	4	4
COUNTRY, GOD, COMMUNITY	6	6	3	1	6	4
DISCIPLINE, ORDERS, LAWS	2	5	4	4	7	3
MISCELLANEOUS	4	2	4	2	3	5
Total Scores	1074	1127	983	1077	1099	1228

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
WORK, JOB, CHORES		265	271	363	386	312	362
chores		10	11	16	-	-	-
clean room		-	-	-	13	-	-
clean yard		-	-	18	-	-	-
job,s		143	116	148	132	-	86
task		-	-	-	-	-	12
throw garbage		-	-	10	-	-	-
pick up,to	recoger	-	-	-	-	10	
work	trabajo	66	114	139	198	240	253
career		-	-	23	8	-	10
accomplish,ment	cumplir,mien.	9	6	-	-	43	-
succeed,ess		-	15	-	10	-	-
goal		13	-	-	10	-	-
money	dinero	-	9	9	15	19	21
ARMY, MILITARY, POLICE		213	112	85	114	14	92
Armed Forces		-	9	-	-	-	24
Army		5	-	6	18	-	8
officer		-	7	-	-	-	12
police,man		5	-	29	11	-	9
draft		18	7	-	-	-	-
serve, country		30	20	-	-	-	-
service		38	22	-	16	-	12
enlist,ment		10	-	-	-	-	-
Army	ejercito	32	21	24	38	14	15
war		15	9	6	-	-	-
Marines		11	-	7	9	-	-
military		30	17	13	35	-	-
cop		-	-	-	7	-	12
FAMILY, HOME		65	77	73	113	186	139
children		-	-	-	10	-	-
get married	casarse	-	-	-	-	11	-
parents	padres	5	26	-	13	6	26
wife	esposa	-	-	-	9	17	-
raise family		-	-	-	11	-	-
home	hogar	-	-	-	-	26	31
house	casa	-	-	15	-	6	19
sons	hijos	-	-	-	-	43	-
marriage	matrimonio	8	-	-	18	17	-
family	familia	28	51	47	52	60	51
father		-	-	11	-	-	12
SCHOOL, STUDY		35	78	88	146	123	166
go to school		-	-	15	-	-	-
school,s	escuela	24	46	56	74	6	95
homework	tareas	9	8	-	-	10	8
studies	estudios	-	-	-	-	23	6
study,to	estudio,ar	-	18	17	57	84	57
learn		-	6	-	15	-	-
OBLIGATION, RESPONSIBILITY		209	245	121	152	196	175
abedience		7	-	-	17	-	-
obey		15	-	8	37	-	9
obligation	obligacion	61	67	15	33	9	42
do, to	hacer	-	7	12	9	8	18
have to, do		-	11	6	13	-	-
responsibity	responsabil.	90	124	50	28	95	38
responsible		17	27	30	15	-	30
duty	deber	-	-	-	-	84	16
must		-	9	-	-	-	22

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
LOVE, FRIENDS, RESPECT		135	150	91	57	49	94
girl,friend		6	15	9	-	-	-
friends'p		-	-	-	-	-	10
love	amor	-	12	13	-	12	12
pride		-	22	6	15	-	-
respect to	respeto	18	19	29	21	16	35
honor		46	42	15	-	-	27
everybody	todos	-	-	-	-	10	-
trust,ed	confianza	15	9	11	-	11	-
loyalty		15	11	-	-	-	-
friend,s		23	28	8	21	-	10
HELP, NEEDED		39	54	57	43	43	46
necessary,ity	necesario	-	-	-	-	12	15
need,ed		6	18	-	-	-	-
guard		-	-	19	15	-	-
help		15	9	15	17	-	16
help others		-	11	-	-	-	-
protect		5	-	23	-	-	-
important		9	11	-	-	-	-
support	mantener	-	-	-	11	15	-
care,ing		-	9	-	-	-	15
compromise	compromiso	-	-	-	-	16	-
COUNTRY, GOD, COMMUNITY		67	62	26	10	67	48
country		44	33	26	10	-	11
fatherland		-	-	-	-	-	29
right,s	derechos	-	15	-	-	22	-
God	Dios	11	14	-	-	19	8
church	iglesia	-	-	-	-	10	-
religion	religion	6	-	-	-	14	-
community	comunidad	-	-	-	-	12	-
DISCIPLINE, ORDERS, LAWS		19	52	35	39	74	42
rules		-	-	-	-	-	14
order,s		-	15	7	17	-	22
demand		-	-	12	-	-	-
hard		-	12	-	-	-	6
mandate	mandato	-	-	-	-	24	-
oppress	oprimir	-	-	-	-	13	-
discipline		8	13	16	-	-	-
authority		-	-	-	10	-	-
requirement		5	12	-	-	-	-
imposition	imposicion	-	-	-	-	19	-
law,s	ley,es	4	-	-	12	18	-
MISCELLANEOUS		45	18	44	17	35	64
stay alive		11	-	-	-	-	-
eat, to	comer	-	-	-	17	12	-
off		-	10	-	-	-	-
see		-	-	-	-	-	10
time		-	-	-	-	-	11
roster		12	-	-	-	-	-
dumb		-	-	-	-	-	11
bad, evil	malo	-	-	-	-	12	4
live		-	8	11	-	-	6
get		-	-	10	-	-	-
fuck		-	-	-	-	-	10
pay, to	pagar	-	-	-	-	11	-
sex		18	-	23	-	-	-
little		-	-	-	-	-	12

The dominance of this idea was the highest for the Cubans. To the Cubans and Puerto Ricans in San Juan DUTY implied most intensively "work," while it was more job related in the minds of the Anglo and Mexican Americans. Particularly to the Anglo Americans, but also to the more accultured Hispanic Americans, DUTY had a strong military connotation, e.g., "Army," "service," "military," "police," "Navy," etc. In strong contrast, the Puerto Rican group in San Juan attached very little military connotation to DUTY. The other groups occupied various positions on this dimension, depending apparently on their degree of acculturation.

Responses in the "Family, Home" cluster, show opposing trends. The Anglo American students scored low, indicating that for them DUTY has little to do with family-based interpersonal relations; however, DUTY bears more closely on "family" in the eyes of the Puerto Ricans and Cubans. The Mexican Americans again occupy an intermediary position here as well as on "School, Study." On this dimension the Anglo American group scored the lowest while the Cubans and the Puerto Ricans scored the highest.

These consistent contrasts underscore the importance of the acculturation process. In the context of the culturally characteristic meaning of DUTY, results show that all groups agree that DUTY involves, at its core, "obligation" and "responsibility," but they are apparently predisposed to apply these ties quite differently. In the field of interpersonal relationships, e.g., friendship, love, loyalty, DUTY has a rather similar core meaning for practically all groups. While most groups agreed that DUTY applies to "work" or "job," the Anglo Americans placed a great deal of emphasis on obligations related to military service. They also expressed concern with obligations resulting from friendship or other personal commitments.

From the angle of the less accultured Hispanic groups, family obligations play an important role, emerging here with considerable intensity despite the young age of our student samples. The emphasis on "studying" is also rather interesting. Compared to the American educational philosophy that learning follows from the natural curiosity of the inquisitive mind, studying emerges here from the less accultured Hispanic samples more as a task, an obligation, a duty.

In general, DUTY involved obligation and responsibility for all groups, but with more approval and salience for the less accultured Hispanic samples. To Anglo Americans DUTY had a more narrow, a more characteristically military connotation. To all other groups it bore more generally on work or job. To the less accultured groups, DUTY had a stronger family and school related relevance.

AMBITION/AMBICION

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
GOALS, FUTURE	13	18	9	7	11	8
SUCCESS, POWER, FAME	11	16	4	10	11	12
MONEY, CARS, WEALTH	11	17	15	22	23	18
LOVE, HAPPINESS, FRIEND	5	4	6	3	4	13
WORK, JOB, CAREER	22	15	21	28	6	15
FAMILY, MARRIAGE	7	8	9	10	5	7
SCHOOL, EDUCATION	8	7	7	7	2	4
GOOD, WANT, STRIVING	17	11	15	8	25	16
LIFE, HEALTH	2	5	2	1	1	4
BAD, HATE, SELFISH	1	0	3	1	10	0
MISCELLANEOUS	3	0	10	2	3	3
Total Scores	994	1087	1037	1026	1254	1363

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
GOALS, FUTURE		138	191	91	88	136	105
future	future	13	39	23	32	59	35
dreams		-	6	-	-	-	16
goal,s	meta,s	112	146	68	36	77	54
SUCCESS, POWER, FAME		122	170	37	105	134	169
position	posicion	-	-	-	-	14	-
power	poder,io	19	15	-	-	43	55
pride	orgullo	10	-	-	21	22	-
best		-	-	12	-	-	-
succeed		7	7	-	-	-	29
success,ful	exito	62	121	25	56	16	72
advance,ment		-	12	-	-	-	-
triumph, to	triunfo,ar	-	-	-	-	30	-
achievement		7	9	-	18	-	7
fame,ous	fama	6	6	-	10	9	6
MONEY, CARS, WEALTH		123	181	151	227	206	246
money	dinero	86	122	73	122	172	182
gains,benefit	logro,s	-	-	-	15	31	-
rich		12	12	38	31	-	11
riches	riqueza	-	12	-	-	23	-
car,s	carro	9	14	40	22	33	36
travel, to	viajar,es	5	10	-	24	17	6
wealth		-	-	-	13	-	11
fortune	fortuna	-	-	-	-	10	-
make money		-	11	-	-	-	-
LOVE, HAPPINESS, FRIEND		58	45	59	35	46	173
friend,s,ship		-	21	12	17	-	6
fun		15	-	12	10	-	-
girl,s,friend		5	-	-	-	-	13
happy,ness	felicidad	14	18	23	-	15	39
help,ful		-	-	-	-	-	16
love	amor	15	6	12	8	19	99
love someone	querer alg	-	-	-	-	12	-
WORK, JOB, CAREER		216	167	219	290	73	199
work	trabajo,ar	74	46	72	37	53	63
job		81	45	28	67	-	17
profession	profesion	-	-	-	-	10	14
career		16	49	51	44	-	50
doctor		10	18	10	48	-	9
lawyer		8	9	11	22	-	9
military		12	-	-	-	-	-
Navy		8	-	11	-	-	-
pilot		-	-	-	10	-	-
sports		7	-	13	7	-	17
basketball		-	-	11	-	-	9
baseball		-	-	-	10	-	-
gigolo		-	-	-	-	-	11
acting		-	-	-	13	-	-
pro		-	-	12	-	-	-
engineer	ingeniero	-	-	-	20	10	-
fireman		-	-	-	12	-	-
FAMILY, MARRIAGE		89	84	90	102	57	97
home	hogar	-	7	-	-	10	9
house	casa	8	8	31	24	26	27
wife		7	9	15	15	-	15
family	familia	33	24	19	32	15	34
kids		6	-	-	18	-	-
children		-	5	13	-	-	12
marriage	matrimonio	15	31	12	13	6	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
SCHOOL, EDUCATION		77	81	74	72	29	58
graduation	graduacion	-	-	21	-	9	-
school		15	22	20	16	-	9
smart		11	-	10	-	-	-
education		6	13	-	17	-	-
studies	estudios	-	-	-	-	10	7
study, to	estudio	-	9	-	10	10	30
teacher		2	-	-	11	-	-
college		43	37	23	18	-	12
GOOD, WANT, STRIVING		171	119	154	84	314	222
good	buena,o	12	11	-	10	22	35
need,ed		10	4	29	9	-	29
necessity	necesidad	-	-	-	-	12	8
want,ing	querer	27	30	39	16	53	72
desire, wish	deseo,ar	29	22	10	9	118	53
long for	anhelo	-	-	-	-	16	-
hope		16	6	-	-	-	12
strive,ing		11	32	9	-	-	-
drive		33	-	-	-	-	-
hard, work		7	14	22	-	-	-
effort	esfuerzo	-	-	-	-	19	13
sacrifice	sacrificio	-	-	-	-	16	-
trying		10	-	26	-	-	-
determination		6	-	11	-	-	-
outgoing		10	-	8	-	-	-
have, to	tener	-	-	-	40	45	-
possess	poseer	-	-	-	-	13	-
LIFE, HEALTH		19	49	19	15	16	54
life		19	49	13	15	-	24
society	sociedad	-	-	-	-	16	-
live, to		-	-	-	-	-	20
health		-	-	6	-	-	10
BAD, HATE, SELFISH		11	0	36	12	118	0
bad, evil	mala,o	-	-	-	-	36	-
envy	envidia	-	-	-	-	10	-
hate		-	-	-	12	-	-
none		11	-	-	-	-	-
fight	lucha	-	-	-	-	13	-
slow		-	-	12	-	-	-
lazy		-	-	12	-	-	-
selfishness	egoismo	-	-	12	-	32	-
anxiety, d	ansiedad	-	-	-	-	11	-
illusion	ilusion	-	-	-	-	16	-
greed	codicia	-	-	-	-	11	-
MISCELLANEOUS		34	0	107	16	34	40
sex		14	-	29	16	-	10
Caesar		12	-	-	-	-	-
all have	todos tienen	-	-	-	-	12	-
sometimes		-	-	10	-	-	-
women		-	-	16	-	-	12
race		-	-	10	-	-	8
very		-	-	12	-	-	-
food		-	-	-	-	-	10
create,to	crear	-	-	-	-	12	-
I	yo	-	-	-	-	10	-
I don't know		8	-	30	-	-	-

AMBITION/AMBICION

AMBITION had the highest dominance for the Cubans and the Puert Ricans in San Juan. We refer to these groups frequently as the more traditional Hispanic American samples, but in the present case the reasons for their above average attention may be somewhat different. One important difference is that the Cubans related "love" intensively to AMBITION, while few of the other Hispanic Americans showed this tendency.

On the other hand, "job" and "career" were strongly related to AMBITION for the Cubans and all other Hispanic Americans, except the San Juan students. A less articulate, but essentially similar pattern is observable in references to "school" and "education," where again the San Juan group scored below the average, conveying that they saw little connection between education and ambition.

A partial answer to this puzzle of what Puerto Ricans from San Juan or Cubans from Miami really mean by AMBITION comes from the cluster of salient reactions "desire," "want," "to have," which describe aspirations intensively, but in a vague, unspecific manner. While the undertone of these reactions is generally positive, encompassing such explicitly positive reactions as "good," and "necessity," another cluster of reactions, which came nearly exclusively from the San Juan students, had negative undertones ("bad," "evil," "envy," "greed," "*egoismo*"). These reactions convey doubt and ambivalence, suggesting that the more traditional Hispanic groups view AMBITION somewhat negatively. The source of this reservation and criticism is apparently the concern that AMBITION can be selfish and harmful.

The Anglo American students and the more acculturated Hispanic Americans did not share these concerns. One explanation may come from the fact that the results indicate that the San Juan group viewed AMBITION as materialistic, focused particularly on "money," "riches," and "fortune," with no consideration given to human qualities or interpersonal relations, which are included, for instance, in the Cubans' view.

In general, AMBITION denoted a vague but predominantly materialistic aspiration for the San Juan students, and as such, it was viewed with skepticism and ambivalence. To the Cubans it involved broader aspirations including human rapport. For the more acculturated groups, AMBITION was perceived as a desire for improvement pursued mainly through employment, work, and education.

Summary

To answer the question of how the level of acculturation of the various regional Hispanic samples may affect their views of ACHIEVEMENT and the five other themes used in the representation of this domain, we can rely at first on the psychocultural distance measure. The coefficients on the six themes show that there is considerable similarity between the Anglo and Mexican American groups. To a somewhat lesser extent but with considerable consistency, the Puerto Rican group in New York fits with the "more acculturated" Hispanic samples. The Puerto Rican group in San Juan is the most distant from the Anglo Americans and represents the "least acculturated" Hispanic sample. The Cuban group is somewhat less distant from the Anglo Americans and the more acculturated Hispanic samples, but in general it is distant enough to appear as "less acculturated," at least in this particular domain. It is interesting to observe that the Puerto Rican sample in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami are not only distant from the relatively acculturated Hispanic samples but also from each other.

Coefficients of Psychocultural Distance Between Regional Samples	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Anglo Americans, East Coast	.16	.28	.42	.60	.48	
Mexican Americans, El Paso		.27	.37	.65	.45	
Mexican Americans, Tempe			.32	.46	.39	
Puerto Ricans, New York				.35	.33	
Puerto Ricans, San Juan					.51	

Table 10. Mean Distances Measured in the Domain of ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

The Anglo Americans and the more acculturated Hispanic Americans showed considerable similarity in their views of ACHIEVEMENT, SUCCESS. They both emphasized school and educational performance, naturally the most immediate area of performance from the angle of these student groups. They also emphasized jobs, an additional indication that they approach ACHIEVEMENT at a very concrete, practical level of performance. At the same time SUCCESS for these groups was closely related to happiness. "Money" and to a lesser extent "power" and "fame" were important to all groups in connection with achievement and success.

The more it is remarkable that the less acculturated groups, particularly the Puerto Rican group in San Juan, assigned consistently greater subjective importance to the ACHIEVEMENT, SUCCESS domain than do the Anglo Americans or the "more acculturated" Mexican American groups. This finding appears to

contradict the McClelland and Atkinson studies which have shown that the achievement motive is a particularly important characteristic of the U.S. American culture. As an explanation, we may consider how the San Juan group's meaning of achievement differs from the meaning of achievement as characterized by McClelland and his associates. There were differences along several dimensions.

The San Juan group's responses to ACHIEVEMENT (that is, its closest available translation equivalent, LOGRO) indicate clearly that their idea of ACHIEVEMENT could be better characterized as a concern with long-range success in life rather than with immediate performance or those psychological benefits which are so characteristic of Anglo American work motivation, when work becomes an end in itself as an element of self-worth and self-fulfillment. The San Juan Puerto Ricans emphasized "goals" in general and such particular long-term goals as "career," "profession," accompanied by the idea of future. They emphasized the personal "effort" required to reach these long-term objectives. The single most dominant idea was "triumph" which suggests that they have something highly desirable in mind which acquires special importance for its utility and instrumentality to reach desired goals. All these underscore that, compared to their Anglo and more accultured Hispanic peers, the San Juan group was more preoccupied with the future than with the present, with long-range benefits rather than immediate performance, and with external motivations rather than internal drive.

The Cubans occupy, in certain respects, an intermediary position. They showed more concern with "studying" and "school," and with such immediate benefits as "money," which probably reflect the influences of the U.S. American cultural environment. While they were similar to Anglo Americans in their interest in "money," they also emphasized "career" more and stressed "family," "home," "love," and other interpersonal considerations along the more traditional Hispanic value orientation.

The theme PRIDE offered an opportunity to examine what the various groups are proud of and in what sense. With regard to the values associated with PRIDE, "dignity," "honor," and "respect" were dominant across the board. While the Anglo Americans and Cubans showed more identification with their country ("nation," "U.S."), the Tempe, Arizona, and New York based groups showed strong ethnic identification. The San Juan group stressed the importance of "money," "wealth," and "work" in general as sources of pride. The other groups had "school" more explicitly in mind.

DUTY involved "obligation" and "responsibility" to all groups. While there was general agreement about this core meaning, there was more diversity in views about where these values apply. The Anglo Americans viewed DUTY predominantly in a military context. "Work" or "job" was the single most dominant context for all groups but particularly so for the New York based Puerto Ricans. To the less accultured groups, DUTY had a strong relevance to family, home, and school.

For the accultured Hispanic Americans, AMBITION was an entirely positive motivational concept which can be effectively pursued through work and education. To the San Juan students, it was materialistically focused

and viewed with considerable criticism as related to "envy," "greed," and other selfish motives. To the Cubans AMBITION had a broader meaning with little negative undertones attached.

CAPABILITY had a nearly exclusive intellectual content for the San Juan Puerto Ricans, which to a lesser extent carries over to the meanings of the New York based Puerto Ricans and the Cubans based in Miami. To the Anglo and Mexican Americans it denoted more physical abilities, skills, biological and sexual potency. Accordingly, while for the first cluster of Hispanic groups it had more school and learning related relevance, to the second group it bore more broadly on all types of achievements, work, job related performance, and skills.

The second group of ACHIEVEMENT related subjects, DUTY, AMBITION, and CAPABILITY, show several common trends. They all were more dominant to the San Juan Puerto Ricans and the Cubans, that is, to the less acculturated Hispanic groups characterized by more traditional value orientations. We found here in the context of DUTY, and in a different chapter in the context of DISCIPLINE and ORDER, that these themes had generally a more narrow military denotation for the Anglo Americans and the more acculturated Hispanic samples; they had broader work and achievement related meanings for the less acculturated, more traditional Hispanic American groups. The less acculturated Hispanic groups were also more positive about these concepts. The San Juan group identified work and wealth as sources of PRIDE.

CAREER ORIENTATION: WORK, ENLISTMENT

The findings obtained on Anglo and Hispanic dispositions regarding achievement tie in closely with work motivation and career orientation. The results suggest an explanation which may reconcile some of the conflicting observations found in the literature on Hispanic American work motivation. Some writers say that Hispanics have a low work motivation (Madsen, 1972); others argue that Hispanics are just as strongly work oriented as Anglo Americans (Grebler et al., 1970; Cohen, 1979).

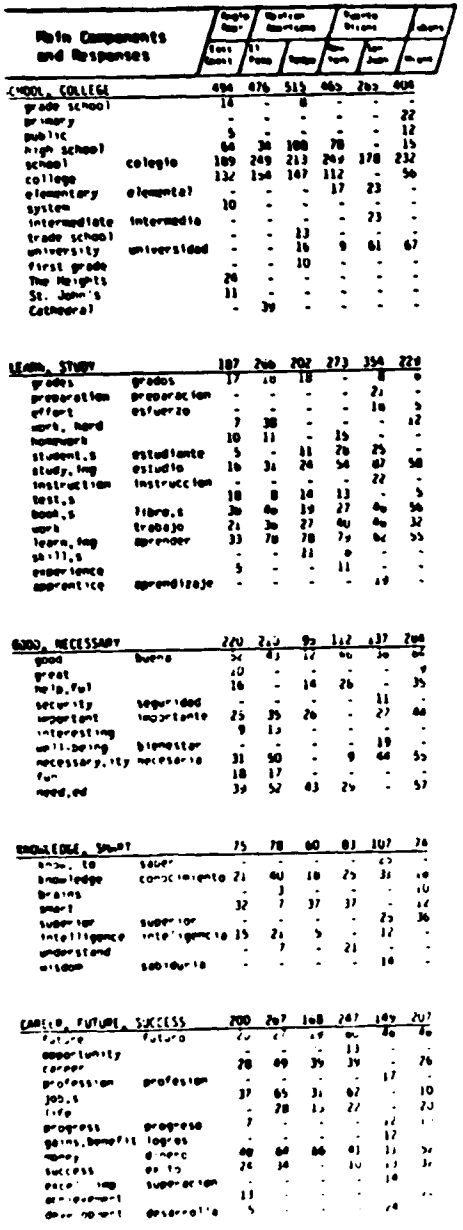
Our findings on the different cultural meanings of ACHIEVEMENT support the conclusion that the critical difference is not in degree of work motivation but in what actually motivates people to work. Anglo Americans may be more intrinsically motivated to work because the sense of achievement enhances the feelings of success, self-confidence, and competitiveness which are reinforced by an economic system that effectively rewards performance. The more traditionally oriented Hispanic Americans tend to view ACHIEVEMENT as a necessity, pleasant or unpleasant, to reach their long-range goals and aspirations which are predominantly social.

In the present domain we examined how the differences observed in relation to ACHIEVEMENT apply to WORK, to EDUCATION (which represents the most immediate performance related involvement for our student samples), to their CAREER orientation, and to ENLISTMENT. More specifically, we examined how economic incentives such as MONEY are viewed and how they may affect career orientation.

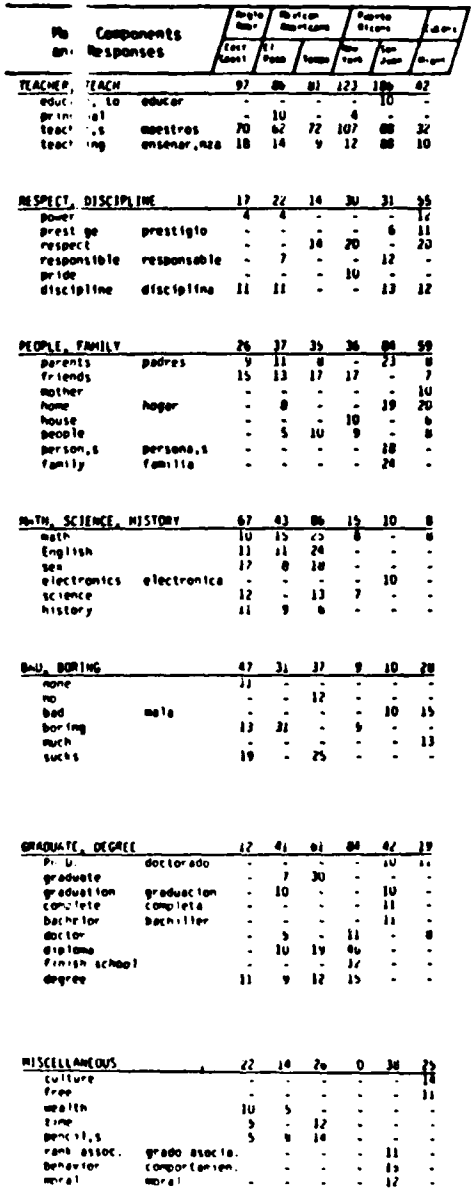
Looking at these trends across our main categories of respondents offered an opportunity to examine the consistency and the predictability of trends (e.g., the more acculturated Hispanic Americans taking an intermediary position) which can provide feedback relevant to the construct validity of our inferences.

EDUCATION/EDUCACION

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
SCHOOL, COLLEGE	34	30	37	31	20	26
LEARN, STUDY	13	17	15	18	25	16
GOOD, NECESSARY	15	13	7	8	10	20
KNOWLEDGE, SMART	5	5	4	6	7	5
CAREER, FUTURE, SUCCESS	14	17	12	17	10	14
GRADUATE, DEGREE	1	3	4	6	3	1
TEACHER, TEACH	7	5	6	8	13	3
RESPECT, DISCIPLINE	1	1	1	2	2	4
PEOPLE, FAMILY	2	2	3	2	6	4
MATH, SCIENCE, HISTORY	5	3	6	1	1	1
BAD, BORING	3	2	3	1	1	2
MISCELLANEOUS	2	1	2	0	3	2
Total Scores	1464	1571	1380	1477	1433	1434



Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
SCHOOL, COLLEGE		496	476	515	465	289	408
grade school		16	-	8	-	-	-
primary		-	-	-	-	-	22
public		5	-	-	-	-	12
high school		66	36	108	78	-	15
school	colegio	189	249	213	249	178	232
college		132	156	147	112	-	56
elementary	elemental	-	-	-	17	23	-
system		10	-	-	-	-	-
intermediate	intermedio	-	-	-	-	23	-
trade school		-	-	13	-	-	-
university	universidad	-	-	16	9	61	67
first grade		-	-	10	-	-	-
The Heights		26	-	-	-	-	-
St. John's		11	-	-	-	-	-
Cathedral		-	39	-	-	-	-
LEARN, STUDY		187	246	202	273	354	228
grades	grados	17	10	18	-	8	9
preparation	preparacion	-	-	-	-	21	-
effort	esfuerzo	-	-	-	-	18	5
work, hard		7	38	-	-	-	12
homework		10	11	-	15	-	-
student,s	estudiante	5	-	11	28	25	-
study,ing	estudio	16	34	24	54	87	58
instruction	instruccion	-	-	-	-	22	-
test,s		18	8	14	13	-	5
book,s	libro,s	36	46	19	27	49	56
work	trabajo	21	36	27	40	48	32
learn,ing	aprender	33	78	78	79	82	55
skill,s		-	-	11	6	-	-
experience		5	-	-	11	-	-
apprentice	aprendizaje	-	-	-	-	19	-
GOOD, NECESSARY		220	213	95	112	137	298
good	bueno	54	83	12	46	36	82
great		10	-	-	-	-	9
help,ful		16	-	14	26	-	35
security	seguridad	-	-	-	-	11	-
important	importante	25	35	26	-	27	44
interesting		9	13	-	-	-	-
well-being	bienestar	-	-	-	-	18	-
necessary,ity	necesario	31	50	-	9	44	55
fun		18	17	-	-	-	-
need,ed		39	52	43	29	-	57
KNOWLEDGE, SMART		75	78	60	83	107	76
know, to	saber	-	-	-	-	63	-
knowledge	conocimiento	21	40	18	25	31	40
brains		-	3	-	-	-	10
smart		32	7	37	37	-	22
superior	superior	-	-	-	-	25	36
intelligence	inteligencia	15	21	5	-	12	-
understand		-	7	-	21	-	-
wisdom	sabiduria	-	-	-	-	16	-
CAREER, FUTURE, SUCCESS		200	267	168	247	169	207
future	futuro	22	27	19	34	46	46
opportunity		-	-	-	13	-	-
career		78	69	39	39	-	76
profession	profesion	-	-	-	-	17	-
job,s		37	65	31	67	-	10
life		-	78	13	27	-	23
progress	progreso	7	-	-	-	12	11
gains,benefit	logros	-	-	-	-	17	
money	dinero	40	60	66	81	13	34
success	exito	26	34	-	10	13	34
recognition	superacion	-	-	-	-	10	
achievement		11	-	-	-	-	11
development	desarrollo	5	-	-	-	24	



Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
TEACHER, TEACH		97	86	81	123	186	62
educ , to	educar	-	-	-	-	10	-
prin al		-	10	-	4	-	-
teac ,s	maestros	70	62	72	107	68	32
teac ing	ensenar,nza	18	14	9	12	88	10
RESPECT, DISCIPLINE		17	22	14	30	31	55
power		4	4	-	-	-	12
prest ge	prestigio	-	-	-	-	6	11
respect		-	-	14	20	-	20
responsible	responsable	-	7	-	-	12	-
pride		-	-	-	10	-	-
discipline	disciplina	11	11	-	-	13	12
PEOPLE, FAMILY		26	37	35	36	86	59
parents	padres	9	11	8	-	23	8
friends		15	13	17	17	-	7
mother		-	-	-	-	-	10
home	hogar	-	8	-	-	39	20
house		-	-	-	10	-	6
people		-	5	10	9	-	8
person,s	persona,s	-	-	-	-	28	-
family	familia	-	-	-	-	24	-
MATH, SCIENCE, HISTORY		67	43	86	15	10	8
math		10	15	25	8	-	8
English		11	11	24	-	-	-
sex		17	8	18	-	-	-
electronics	electronica	-	-	-	-	10	-
science		12	-	13	7	-	-
history		11	9	6	-	-	-
BAD, BORING		47	31	37	9	10	28
none		11	-	-	-	-	-
no		-	-	12	-	-	-
bad	mala	-	-	-	-	10	15
boring		13	31	-	9	-	-
much		-	-	-	-	-	13
sucks		19	-	25	-	-	-
GRADUATE, DEGREE		12	41	61	84	42	19
Ph. D.	doctorado	-	-	-	-	10	11
graduate		-	7	30	-	-	-
graduation	graduacion	-	10	-	-	10	-
complete	completa	-	-	-	-	11	-
bachelor	bachiller	-	-	-	-	11	-
doctor		-	5	-	11	-	8
diploma		-	10	19	46	-	-
finish school		-	-	-	27	-	-
degree		11	9	12	15	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		22	14	26	0	38	25
culture		-	-	-	-	-	14
free		-	-	-	-	-	11
wealth		10	5	-	-	-	-
time		9	-	12	-	-	-
pencil,s		5	9	14	-	-	-
rank assoc.	grado asocia.		-	-	-	11	-
behavior	comportamien.		-	-	-	15	-
moral	moral	-	-	-	-	12	-

EDUCATION/EDUCACION

The Mexican group from El Paso ranked the highest with regard to the subjective attention given to EDUCATION. Since the samples were high school students to whom education represents the most immediate work context, their views on *EDUCATION* bear on their meaning of *WORK* as well.

As the present data show all groups had "schools" on their mind, although the Puerto Ricans in San Juan made relatively fewer school related references. This trend is in agreement with past findings that showed while EDUCATION means predominantly school attendance to the Anglo Americans, it *means more upbringing and the transmission of values and norms of behavior* to traditional Hispanic Americans (Szalay and Bryson, 1974; Szalay and Bryson, 1976; Szalay et al., 1978).

Also in agreement with previous observations, we found here that the Hispanic Americans generally focused on the process of "studying," "learning," and "work." The Anglo Americans and the more acculturated Hispanic American samples were more preoccupied with the specific subjects and fields of knowledge: "science," "math," "English," etc. As in the case of WORK and CAREER, the general utility of EDUCATION ("need," "necessary") was emphasized by several Hispanic groups, particularly the Cubans. Along this trend there was emphasis on "future" and "career." Also in agreement with our previous studies, the Puerto Ricans placed more weight on the role of the "teacher" and on the process of "teaching."

There was considerable agreement among the student samples in their subjective views of EDUCATION. This is interesting since in some of our previous studies we found more substantive differences between Anglo and various Hispanic American groups (Szalay et al., 1978; Szalay and Bryson, 1974; Szalay and Bryson, 1976). However in the previous studies we used older samples and in one instance a rural group (in San German, Puerto Rico); and in another study our Hispanic samples were recruited predominantly from Central American immigrants. In these previous studies the samples were less acculturated than the present ones. This probably explains why in the present study the differences are smaller, although the trends are similar.

In general, the Puerto Ricans and Cubans emphasize "progress" and "development" as personal and social objectives and such traditional values as "respect," "discipline," and "responsibility." As previously found, the Puerto Ricans and Cubans assign a more important educational role to the family.

WORK/TRABAJO

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
JOB, CAREER	14	14	8	11	4	7
GOOD, LIFE, FUN	7	8	5	8	6	8
SCHOOL, STUDY	4	5	2	5	1	4
MONEY, PAY	20	21	29	27	23	24
EFFORT, HARD WORK	23	19	20	9	16	18
NECESSITY, RESPONSIBILITY	4	7	4	5	20	12
FUTURE, SUCCESS	6	6	3	8	11	6
DISLIKE, BAD	6	5	3	2	3	3
PEOPLE, FAMILY	2	5	4	3	3	3
HOUSE, CAR	3	3	7	3	5	3
DOCTOR, LAWYER	4	1	3	7	2	3
BOSS, OFFICE	4	4	3	11	7	5
MISCELLANEOUS	3	3	10	1	0	3
Total Scores	1387	1376	1382	1129	1231	1272

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
JOB, CAREER		197	194	111	128	67	88
	man at work	10	8	-	-	-	-
	field,s campo	-	-	12	-	6	-
	occupation ocupacion	8	-	4	-	14	-
	career	17	30	30	15	-	23
	profession	-	-	-	-	-	12
	skill	7	-	-	17	-	-
	job,s	124	131	67	73	-	53
	employed	13	-	-	-	-	-
	employment empleo	-	7	-	10	21	-
	experience	-	18	8	-	-	-
	worker obrero	-	-	-	13	6	-
GOOD, LIFE, FUN		98	114	65	90	80	99
	fun	36	38	26	19	-	17
	good bueno	14	7	12	18	52	51
	help,ful	-	5	-	19	-	12
	play	16	15	-	-	-	-
	easy	14	5	17	10	-	7
	interesting interesante	-	-	-	-	10	-
	life	7	31	10	9	-	12
	living	-	13	-	15	-	-
	entertaining entretenimien.	-	-	-	-	18	-
SCHOOL, STUDY		61	67	28	59	10	50
	school	38	58	23	49	-	19
	college	11	4	-	-	-	-
	study,ies estudiar	-	5	-	-	5	26
	teacher maestro	7	-	5	10	5	5
MONEY, PAY		284	294	406	300	277	310
	money dinero	207	236	334	233	207	227
	gain ganar	-	-	-	-	27	-
	overtime	-	-	10	-	-	-
	pay	14	22	10	9	-	13
	paycheck	-	7	22	-	-	-
	salary	5	24	10	43	-	23
	hours	19	5	12	12	-	23
	economy economia	-	-	-	-	16	-
	taxes	-	-	10	-	-	-
	wage,s,pay salario	13	-	-	6	27	24
EFFORT, HARD WORK		320	250	275	201	191	227
	much mucho	-	-	-	-	10	13
	difficult dificil	5	-	7	-	13	-
	hard	182	139	126	67	-	107
	challenge,ing	-	18	-	-	-	-
	respect	6	9	-	-	-	13
	sacrifice sacrificio	-	5	-	-	18	-
	strain	10	-	-	-	-	-
	effort esfuerzo	-	-	-	-	67	14
	strength fuerza	5	-	-	-	14	-
	strong fuerte	-	-	-	-	45	10
	labor labor	44	28	20	-	15	45
	sweat sudor	31	19	67	21	24	24
	long	-	-	12			
	tired	11	9	37	-	-	10
	tiresome,ing	7	15	14	-	-	-
	tool	10	-	-	-	-	-
	work oficio	-	10	12	13	15	9

BOSS, OFFICE		54	58	39	121	82	69
company	compania	-	-	-	-	18	-
business		12	11	-	17	-	-
office	oficina	13	11	-	19	10	14
factory,ies	fabrica,s	-	-	-	29	16	-
boss	jefe	24	36	39	56	38	55
MISCELLANEOUS		42	36	132	8	0	35
summer		-	13	-	-	-	-
president		-	-	10	-	-	-
yard		-	12	9	-	-	-
rosary		-	-	-	-	-	25
onion,field		-	-	31	-	-	-
bum		-	-	12	-	-	-
way of life		-	11	-	-	-	-
dig		-	-	10	-	-	-
gigolo		-	-	12	-	-	-
suave		-	-	-	-	-	10
lunch		-	-	13	-	-	-
hot		11	-	-	-	-	-
morning,s		-	-	12	-	-	-
desk,s		12	-	-	-	-	-
sex		15	-	10	8	-	-
heat		-	-	11	-	-	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
NECESSITY, RESPONSIBILITY		52	102	54	61	251	152
	dedication dedicacion	-	-	-	-	49	-
	necessity,ary necesidad	5	31	-	-	65	25
	need,s	-	14	9	21	-	36
	obligation obligacion	-	8	-	11	33	10
	order	-	-	-	-	-	18
	duty deber	-	8	-	11	24	21
	responsibl,ty responsable	17	19	-	-	64	9
	important	7	-	10	-	-	16
	supporting	12	8	25	8	-	8
	security seguridad	6	-	-	-	26	9
	survival	-	7	10	-	-	-
	maintain mantener	-	-	-	-	10	-
	mandatory	-	-	-	10	-	-
FUTURE, SUCCESS		81	81	40	87	135	78
	desire deseo	-	-	-	-	10	-
	achievement	15	-	-	-	-	-
	future futuro	-	4	15	28	38	24
	advancement	-	-	-	12	-	-
	goal,s meta	9	6	-	-	13	-
	pride orgullo	5	11	-	6	10	9
	progress progreso	-	-	-	-	12	-
	satisfaction satisfaccion	11	-	-	-	22	9
	ambition	11	-	-	10	-	-
	success exito	12	48	13	22	12	30
	time tiempo	11	12	12	9	18	6
DISLIKE, BAD		77	63	35	22	43	41
	unemployment desempleo	-	-	-	-	10	-
	bad	7	-	-	-	-	18
	no fun	-	11	-	-	-	-
	underpaid	-	-	-	12	-	-
	pain	16	11	-	-	-	-
	boring	33	23	-	-	-	12
	dislike	-	-	-	-	-	11
	problems problemas	-	-	-	-	28	-
	hate it	8	6	-	10	-	-
	slave,ry esclavitud	-	-	11	-	5	-
	sucks	-	12	12	-	-	-
	lazy	6	-	12	-	-	-
PEOPLE, FAMILY		25	64	55	36	35	42
	family familia	23	10	19	20	18	13
	people	-	27	14	-	-	16
	home	-	18	-	8	-	13
	friends	-	9	12	8	-	-
	social status	-	-	10	-	-	-
	companions companeros	-	-	-	-	17	-
HOUSE, CAR		39	38	97	35	57	64
	food comida	-	11	16	15	13	9
	rent sueldo	-	-	-	-	15	-
	house casa	10	11	36	20	13	19
	car,s carro	25	16	45	-	16	16
DOCTOR, LAWYER		57	9	45	81	23	37
	mechanic	-	-	5	11	-	-
	doctor	-	9	-	37	-	11
	police,man policia	-	-	6	10	4	-
	marines	12	-	7	-	-	-
	military	22	-	-	-	-	-
	secretary	6	-	-	-	-	10
	lawyer	-	-	8	16	-	16
	electronics electronica	-	-	8	7	19	-
	construction	12	-	11	-	-	-

In the Anglo American cultural context, WORK to a large extent means a job. The connection between WORK and "job" was weakest among he less acculturated Hispanic Americans. The Mexican Americans in El Paso saw a much closer relationship between WORK and "job," than did the Puerto Ricans in San Juan, who thought instead of "employment" or "occupation," or the Cubans who mentioned "career" and "profession."

Although the differences were frequently small, the trends support the conclusion that in the life of Hispanic Americans, WORK has a more instrumental value than for Anglo Americans. In their evaluations of WORK, the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans emphasized the importance and the instrumentality of WORK ("good," "helpful," "necessity," "need," "obligation," "duty," "responsibility," "security"). The relatively more acculturated Hispanic groups, together with the Anglo Americans, made fewer references to necessity or obligation; the Anglo Americans even spoke of "fun" and "play."

Anglo and Hispanic Americans both described work as hard and difficult; however, the popular Anglo expression "hard work" has a more positive connotation and stresses the motivation and stamina of the worker. Also, while Anglo Americans spoke of "achievement," "ambition," "satisfaction," the Hispanic American groups spoke more of the "future" and "success," again suggesting the instrumentality of WORK. The heavier Hispanic references to "responsibility," "obligation," and "duty" clearly convey that our Hispanic American respondents view WORK not merely as an activity performed for its own sake but as a performance that serves to meet certain social goals and criteria. The stronger social connotation of WORK may also be reflected by the many Hispanic references to people: "boss," "friends," "family" as well as a diversity of professionals: "doctor," "policeman," "lawyer."

In our previous research involving adult Hispanic samples in the United States as well as overseas, we have found similar differences between Anglo Americans and Hispanic Americans. In most instances, however, these variations emerged with greater intensity. This difference is probably due to two main factors: (1) In the present research the majority of the samples are relatively acculturated, and (2) beyond acculturation, the samples were composed of young students with limited experience with WORK, at least compared to the adult population.

In general, the students from San Juan and Miami stressed the instrumental utility of WORK, while the Anglo Americans and the more acculturated Mexican Americans stressed "achievement," "ambitions" and "satisfaction," suggesting that WORK is valued more intrinsically for its own sake.

ADVANCEMENT/AVANCE

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
MONEY, PAY	6	4	8	6	2	7
SCHOOL, EDUCATION	10	20	15	22	4	19
WORK, JOB, CAREER	15	8	13	16	5	17
TECHNOLOGY, SCIENCE	2	7	7	3	8	3
SUCCESS, ACHIEVEMENT	25	18	10	8	18	10
AHEAD, FORWARD	19	22	19	11	22	12
RANK, BOSS, PLACEMENT	6	6	0	6	2	3
GOALS, FUTURE	4	5	2	7	8	6
GOOD, PLEASURE	1	1	2	0	1	3
FAMILY, SOCIETY	7	5	11	15	3	12
HARD, STRIVE, IMPORTANT	4	3	0	2	4	3
RAPID, RACE, HURRY	0	0	0	4	14	1
MISCELLANEOUS	0	1	13	1	10	4
Total Scores	1033	1093	730	905	965	1116

Main Components and Responses		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
MONEY, PAY		65	63	58	56	15	75
salary		-	-	-	15	-	-
money	dinero	59	43	49	31	15	75
pay		-	-	9	10	-	-
SCHOOL, EDUCATION		102	215	109	203	37	216
grade,s		4	10	12	-	-	-
graduate,tion		-	12	21	-	-	-
education		8	53	11	41	-	9
school,ing	escuela	40	57	51	101	12	57
smart,er		-	13	-	21	-	8
studies	estudios	-	-	-	13	25	9
study		-	7	-	17	-	96
knowledge		5	15	-	-	-	-
college		36	48	14	20	-	37
WORK, JOB, CAREER		154	92	95	142	44	188
job,s		72	30	38	66	-	70
work	trabajo	16	31	21	60	44	135
Army		17	-	-	-	-	7
career		35	31	36	16	-	26
TECHNOLOGY, SCIENCE		20	76	52	24	76	36
development	desarrollo	-	-	-	-	19	-
drugs		-	-	11	-	-	-
electronic	electronico	-	-	8	-	13	-
science	ciencia	-	22	13	7	9	22
technology	tecnologia	10	22	10	17	16	12
telegram	telegnetcia	-	-	-	-	19	-
math		-	17	-	-	-	-
medicine		-	15	-	-	-	-
computers		6	-	10	-	-	-
SUCCESS, ACHIEVEMENT		243	195	73	69	171	108
better		6	16	7	-	-	-
progress	progreso	56	21	-	-	50	30
promote,tion		28	38	19	19	-	24
raise		41	-	12	9	-	-
achieve,ment		58	39	11	20	-	18
excell, to	superarse	-	-	-	-	20	-
improve,ment	mejorar,miento	7	13	-	-	23	-
success	exito	35	57	11	21	26	22
triumph, to	triunfo	-	-	-	-	14	8
accomplish		10	15	13	-	-	6
gain,benefit	logro	-	-	-	-	38	-
AHEAD, FORWARD		196	238	141	96	216	128
go		11	6	-	-	-	6
advance	adelantar	-	9	15	20	150	12
proceed		-	-	-	-	-	12
high,er		-	26	27	-	-	-
ahead, go		24	33	28	36	-	64
toward		10	-	-	-	-	-
leader		10	6	-	-	-	-
forward, go	adelante	62	30	12	13	35	15
up		-	16	-	-	-	20
one more step un paso mas		-	-	-	10	-	-
move,ing,ment		37	51	23	-	11	-
move ahead,er		10	15	12	13	-	-
move up		23	31	12	16	-	-
get ahead		-	15	12	-	-	-
arrive to	llegar	-	-	-	-	10	-
continue		11	-	-	-	-	-

Main Components and Responses		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
GOALS, FUTURE		46	51	16	66	73	63
clear	claro	-	-	-	-	18	12
goal,s	meta,s	27	38	-	20	26	8
future	futuro	35	13	16	46	29	41
GOOD, PLEASURE		10	16	12	0	6	38
pleasure		-	8	12	-	-	-
great		-	-	-	-	-	12
good	bueno	9	8	-	-	6	26
FAMILY, SOCIETY		72	59	78	134	32	131
marry,iage		-	7	11	11	-	46
home		-	-	-	8	-	11
religion		11	-	-	-	-	-
house	casa	-	9	7	11	9	-
sex		16	-	33	-	-	-
society		5	5	-	11	-	8
family	familia	-	8	9	20	10	12
life	vida	26	30	-	31	17	46
live,ing		-	-	-	11	-	10
friends, ship		-	-	6	7	-	14
personal		-	-	-	11	-	-
people		7	-	12	-	-	14
girls		-	-	-	13	-	-
HARD, STRIVE, IMPORTANT		43	33	0	21	40	34
help		4	-	-	11	-	-
effort	esfuerzo	-	-	-	-	28	-
strive,ing		14	8	-	-	-	-
necessary		15	-	-	-	-	11
important		-	-	-	-	-	17
responsibility	responsabili.	6	6	-	10	12	-
hard, work		-	19	-	-	-	6
RAPID, RACE, HURRY		0	0	0	37	134	13
rapid,ity	ligero	-	-	-	11	104	-
race		-	-	-	8	-	13
hurry		-	-	-	13	-	-
run, to	correr	-	-	-	-	15	-
action	accion	-	-	-	-	15	-
RANK, BOSS, PLACEMENT		63	62	0	51	21	30
placement		25	22	-	10	-	-
position		-	5	-	10	-	12
power		-	18	-	-	-	-
rank		24	12	-	21	-	-
boss		8	5	-	10	-	24
follow to	seguir	-	-	-	-	21	-
MISCELLANEOUS		0	13	96	11	100	47
news	noticia	-	-	-	-	35	-
old age	vejez	-	-	-	-	10	-
beginning	comienzo	-	-	-	-	10	-
vacuum		-	-	11	-	-	-
walk	caminar	-	-	-	-	18	-
war	guerra	-	-	-	-	13	13
much		-	-	-	-	-	12
I don't know		-	-	48	-	-	-
peace		-	8	-	11	-	-
private		-	-	12	-	-	-
car,s	carro	-	5	25	-	18	22

ADVANCEMENT/AVANCE

Based on the dominance scores, ADVANCEMENT appears to be a particularly important objective of the Cuban and Anglo American groups. As the similarity coefficients indicate, there were considerable differences between groups on this theme, but these differences do not conform with the consistent patterns observed up to this point.

For all groups ADVANCEMENT had some financial implications except for the Puerto Rican San Juan group, which paid little attention to this dimension. In the context of ADVANCEMENT, the Mexican Americans in El Paso and both Puerto Rican groups focused on "education" and "school." The idea of "studying" in general was dominant in the minds of the Cubans.

The Anglo Americans heavily stressed "job" ADVANCEMENT, while the notion of "work" was particularly dominant in the minds of Cubans and New York Puerto Ricans. While ADVANCEMENT had practically nothing to do with technology in the minds of the Anglo Americans and was seen solely as a personal career based notion, it had some articulate technological and scientific connotations to the Hispanic American groups, particularly to the Puerto Ricans in San Juan.

The Anglo Americans viewed ADVANCEMENT as closely related to "achievement," "accomplishment," and personal "success," while to the less accultured samples it appears to be more a function of "progress" and "improvement," "gains" and "benefits." Because of a common underlying root of the English word "advance" and the Spanish word "avance," the theme suggests to all groups a forward or upward movement. Yet some of the differences may be partially explained by the fact that AVANCE refers more narrowly to physical movement forward rather than an upward movement in social position.

Here as well as in the context of CAREER, the little accultured Hispanic American groups showed a more goal and future oriented frame of reference. Along this rationale they emphasized "effort," "help," and "responsibility." While ADVANCEMENT related more generally to life and to individual aspirations for the Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans, it is important to register that to the Cuban and the New York based Puerto Rican groups ADVANCEMENT tied in with social and interpersonal connections involving "family," "friends," "marriage," "society," etc.

In general, while the differences were relatively small, ADVANCEMENT appears to involve more personal achievement, an immediate move up, for the Anglo Americans and the more accultured Hispanic Americans, while to the less accultured Hispanic groups it appears to be future oriented progress or personal gain involving even family and friends.

CAREER/CARRERA

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
MILITARY, ARMY, NAVY	11	6	6	2	2	1
JOB, WORK	18	20	19	12	17	12
GOALS, FUTURE, SUCCESS	10	16	9	9	10	14
EDUCATION, SCHOOL	7	13	12	5	11	17
MONEY, SECURITY	13	15	12	9	6	15
DOCTOR, LAWYER	25	16	28	49	9	23
SPORTS, BASEBALL	0	0	5	2	1	0
GOOD, LIFE, HAPPINESS	9	8	2	5	1	6
PEOPLE, FAMILY	2	1	2	3	1	2
HARD, IMPORTANT	1	3	0	1	4	3
MISCELLANEOUS	3	2	4	3	39	5
Total Scores	1321	1243	1460	1068	1434	1223

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
MILITARY, ARMY, NAVY		145	77	81	20	31	14
Marines		23	5	22	-	-	-
military	militar	38	17	15	-	31	14
Navy		29	19	20	-	-	-
Army		27	26	16	20	-	-
Air Force		15	12	18	-	-	-
JOB, WORK		234	247	201	128	237	150
occupation		8	13	-	-	-	-
profession	profesion	8	16	-	-	96	11
work,ing	trabajo	83	73	108	59	141	99
job,s		134	147	173	69	-	40
GOALS, FUTURE, SUCCESS		139	194	138	99	150	173
achievement		13	7	-	-	-	-
ambition,ous		-	15	9	-	-	-
objective		-	-	-	-	-	12
future	futuro	18	52	58	34	43	77
progress		-	10	-	-	-	6
goal,s	meta ,s	26	24	38	37	71	20
choice		13	-	-	10	-	-
desire, wish	deseo	-	-	-	-	12	-
opportunity		9	13	-	-	-	8
success,ful	exito	67	73	33	18	24	50
EDUCATION, SCHOOL		96	156	171	56	154	205
academic	academico	-	-	-	-	10	-
college		41	57	45	15	-	34
preparation	preparacion	-	-	-	-	15	-
graduate		-	-	10	-	-	-
school,ing		20	40	49	15	-	8
studies	estudios	-	-	-	-	69	7
study	estudio,ar	-	15	7	-	56	84
high school		5	-	-	-	-	-
teacher	maestro	9	21	25	16	5	-
training	entrenamiento	-	-	13	-	9	-
university		-	-	-	-	-	30
education	educacion	12	23	22	10	12	34
MONEY, SECURITY		178	183	173	93	86	189
money	dinero	140	157	162	78	25	180
gain, win	ganar	-	-	-	-	50	-
rich		-	-	11	-	-	-
salary		8	16	-	8	-	-
security		8	10	-	10	-	9
economy	economia	-	-	-	-	11	-

MISCELLANEOUS		34	27	60	37	559	62
car,s	carro	4	8	19	-	30	8
horse,s	caballo,s	-	-	-	-	71	-
fight	lucha	-	-	-	-	14	-
automobile	carros	-	-	-	-	71	-
park	parque	-	-	-	-	10	-
race track	hipodromo	-	-	-	-	13	-
course	curso	-	-	-	-	13	-
porche		-	10	-	-	-	-
marathon	maraton	-	-	-	-	13	-
you		-	-	10	-	-	-
time	tiempo	10	-	-	-	15	22
highway	pista	-	-	-	-	19	-
competition	competencia	-	-	-	-	80	-
run	correr	-	-	-	13	43	-
instrument	instrumento	-	-	-	-	15	-
house		6	-	19	24	-	12
bicycle	bicicleta	-	-	-	-	12	-
100 meters		-	-	-	-	19	-
music		14	-	-	-	-	-
love		-	9	-	-	-	10
triumph to	triunfo	-	-	-	-	39	-
velocity	velocidad	-	-	-	-	19	-
power		-	-	-	-	-	10
athlete,ics	atleta,ismo	-	-	-	-	23	-
motors	motores	-	-	-	-	11	-
dog,s	perro,s	-	-	-	-	17	-
sex		-	-	12	-	-	-
boat	botes	-	-	-	-	12	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
DOCTOR, LAWYER		334	200	407	518	134	286
manager		-	-	-	14	-	-
engineer	ingeniero	31	32	13	21	12	20
medic,ine		-	5	-	16	-	66
engineering	ingenieria	8	8	16	24	16	-
architect,ure		13	19	14	-	-	-
business		27	27	6	29	-	24
field	campo	-	4	-	-	11	-
fireman	bombero	9	-	24	24	6	-
pilot		11	7	-	26	-	7
acting		-	-	-	13	-	-
pimp		-	-	19	-	-	-
police,man		11	-	26	49	-	-
electronics	electronica	11	-	51	-	43	-
president		-	-	10	10	-	-
gigolo		19	-	17	-	-	-
mechanic,s		18	-	37	31	-	-
computer,progr		20	4	27	55	-	17
scientist		19	-	-	8	-	-
boss,		13	5	-	7	-	7
secretary	secretaria	-	-	-	-	8	10
construction		-	-	11	-	-	-
law enforcement		-	-	-	12	-	8
technician,al		-	-	8	-	-	13
truck driver		8	-	23	-	-	-
doctor	doctor	37	54	36	86	13	41
welder,ing		8	-	35	-	-	-
accountant,in	contable,dad	15	6	-	19	19	-
law		8	8	10	-	-	44
lawyer	abogado	18	21	24	76	10	35
SPORTS, BASEBALL		0	0	69	25	9	0
football		-	-	21	-	-	-
baseball		-	-	24	12	-	-
sports	deportes	-	-	7	13	9	-
basketball		-	-	17	-	-	-
GOOD, LIFE, HAPPINESS		116	104	35	54	10	77
life		35	48	17	20	-	12
help,ful		-	-	6	-	-	10
enjoyment,able		23	-	-	-	-	-
fun		13	7	5	8	-	6
prestige		-	-	-	-	-	10
pride	orgullo	-	-	-	-	10	-
good		-	20	-	9	-	26
happy,ness		5	20	7	17	-	13
adventure		16	-	-	-	-	-
interest,ing		13	9	-	-	-	-
PEOPLE, FAMILY		22	18	35	31	10	30
family	familia	14	18	24	12	10	15
people		6	-	11	8	-	15
girls		-	-	-	11	-	-
HARD, IMPORTANT		20	37	0	7	52	37
hard		-	6	-	-	-	11
effort	esfuerzo	-	-	-	-	14	7
necessary,ity		-	6	-	-	-	14
obligation	obligacion	-	-	-	-	14	-
challenge,ing		7	15	-	-	-	-
sacrifice	sacrificio	-	-	-	-	24	-
important		11	10	-	7	-	5

CAREER clearly had a stronger military connotation for the Anglo Americans and the Mexican Americans than for the rest of the groups. It is interesting to observe that the Marine Corps, despite its relatively small size, received the same attention as the larger and more traditional services.

All groups showed about the same level of interest in "Goals, Future, Success" (the Puerto Ricans in New York somewhat less), although the focus of interest between the more and the less accultured groups was different. The Puerto Rican San Juan group's emphasis on "goals" and the Cubans' emphasis on "future" differ from the Mexican Americans' concerns with "success," "achievement," and "opportunity," which reflect a stronger focus on the present, on the more immediately obtainable. This is similar to the trend observed in the context of EDUCATION. The Cubans were thinking more of "future" in contrast to the more immediate concern of the Mexican Americans with "satisfaction" and "achievement." This same trend is also reflected by the stronger Anglo and Mexican American references to "enjoyment," "fun," "good life," conveying more immediacy than the reactions of the less accultured groups.

With regard to the financial, material benefits of a CAREER, the Puerto Ricans showed less concern than the other groups who paid a great deal of attention to "money" and other financial, economic considerations.

The Anglo American and the more accultured Hispanic American groups listed a diversity of activities and professions from various fields of life. The less accultured Hispanic groups showed a substantially narrower focus on the professions of medicine and law. This finding is in agreement with ethnographic observations on the high prestige the doctoral degree brings in most Hispanic countries, and the special attention given to medical doctors and lawyers.

The sizable miscellaneous score for the Puerto Rican group in San Juan comes from the fact that the Spanish word "carrera" has a second meaning in the sense of horse or car racing. This explains also the low similarity coefficients between the Puerto Rican San Juan group and all the others.

In general, compared to the traditional orientation stressing somewhat vague but positive long-range aspirations, the more accultured Hispanic Americans emphasized practical and more immediate benefits, from material ("money") to psychological ("happiness," "fun").

ENLISTMENT/ALISTAR

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
ARMY, NAVY, AIRFORCE	53	49	57	59	37	46
JOIN, SIGN UP	5	13	8	8	11	5
JOB, MONEY	6	5	8	6	3	6
SCHOOL, COLLEGE	2	2	4	5	3	6
NEVER, BAD	7	5	4	4	1	9
OBLIGATION, DUTY	3	3	0	2	4	2
DRAFTED, FORCED	8	10	5	6	1	4
WAR, FIGHT, DEATH	7	7	7	6	6	9
PRIDE, GOOD, NEEDED	2	4	4	2	5	5
MEN, RANK	4	0	1	0	5	2
READY, PREPARED	0	0	0	1	11	0
MAYBE, I DON'T KNOW	0	1	2	0	0	1
MISCELLANEOUS	1	1	0	1	13	7
Total Scores	1308	1145	1127	1289	920	1130

ENLISTMENT/ALISTAR

As shown by the dominance scores on ENLISTMENT, the Puerto Ricans from New York scored the highest of all the Hispanic samples. This finding is consistent with related results which show that this group expressed the most interest in MILITARY SERVICE, MILITARY CAREER as well as in the ARMY and the MARINE CORPS. In the present context of ENLISTMENT, they made the most references to the specific services ("Army," "Air Force").

The six regional samples show, in general, a high degree of agreement on ENLISTMENT. All the groups think primarily of the particular service branches, although the emphasis on them was again heavier by the Anglo and the more acculturated Hispanic groups than by the Puerto Ricans in San Juan or the Cubans in Miami.

The Anglo American and the Cuban groups showed more explicit criticism and skepticism about ENLISTMENT ("never," "no," "scary"). The positive references to "pride," "good," "country," and "government" were moderate and about equally distributed. "Job," "work," "career" were slightly stronger considerations for the Mexican American group in Tempe and the Puerto Ricans in New York, but their weight across the board was relatively low. The idea of the "draft" and involuntary participation in the military service was somewhat more of a concern to the Anglo and Mexican American groups than to the less acculturated samples.

In the case of the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami who responded mostly in their native Spanish language, the Hispanic word "ALISTAR" has a double meaning referring not only to military enlistment but also to preparation, getting things ready. While ALISTAR is more broadly used by the Mexican Americans, the reflective form "ALISTARCE" would have been more suitable for the Puerto Ricans in San Juan.

In general, ENLISTMENT has a closely similar meaning for all the groups compared. This same trend was observed independently in the context of themes such as MILITARY SERVICE and MILITARY CAREER. In the present context of ENLISTMENT, the more acculturated groups placed stronger emphasis on the particular services, "job," and "pay," while the less acculturated groups emphasized "war" and "fighting," reminiscent of the more traditional military mission.

MONEY/DINERO

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
CASH, DOLLARS	15	11	9	13	8	1
RICH, POWER, WEALTH	10	17	10	6	13	19
BUY, SPEND, SAVE	9	4	9	14	8	8
GOOD, NEED, WANT	12	12	11	8	10	14
JOB, WORK, SALARY	15	11	10	17	13	7
BAD, EVIL, GREED	5	2	4	3	4	3
CAR, FOOD, HOUSE	13	19	30	20	21	26
TRAVEL, GIRLS, DRUGS	8	8	11	7	6	7
SUCCESS, HAPPINESS	11	14	5	13	14	12
MISCELLANEOUS	2	1	2	0	2	1
Total Scores	1360	1355	1602	1288	1423	1440

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
CASH, DOLLARS		201	146	130	167	111	21
$1,$10,$100...		15	6	-	8	-	-
bills	billetes	42	16	4	-	-	-
money	chavos	17	24	22	16	19	10
coinage	moneda	-	-	-	-	39	-
bread		-	-	-	-	15	-
money	dinero	-	-	-	12	-	-
currency		-	13	11	13	-	-
paper		15	8	-	-	-	-
gold		-	-	10	15	-	-
dollar,s	dolar,es	6	12	7	8	-	-
quarters		19	15	8	9	27	-
cash		-	-	-	12	-	-
green		13	8	32	20	-	-
silver		56	35	44	22	6	11
change	cambio	-	-	-	11	-	-
		-	9	-	12	5	-
RICH, POWER, WEALTH		131	237	166	71	189	279
wealth,y		44	45	14	-	-	56
good life		-	-	11	-	-	-
everything		7	19	8	-	-	-
lots, a lot		13	23	46	10	-	38
fame		-	8	-	-	-	10
luxury,ies	lujo,s	10	14	-	17	23	-
millionaire		-	7	-	-	-	10
much	mucho	-	-	-	-	38	86
fortune		-	-	-	-	-	11
power	poder	15	40	20	17	62	62
all		-	-	-	-	-	19
enough	bastante	-	-	-	-	11	-
rich,es	rico,cuezo	30	77	67	27	54	23
BUY, SPEND, SAVE		118	57	141	179	117	113
expenditure	gastos	-	-	-	-	10	-
pay		5	9	7	13	-	-
buy,ing		27	19	32	66	67	40
save,ings		7	3	18	6	-	9
bank	banco	26	9	28	24	17	10
spend,ing	gastar	37	17	56	39	23	50
have, to		5	-	-	17	-	6
use		-	-	-	10	-	-
GOOD, NEED, WANT		160	168	173	104	168	200
need,ed	necesito	63	75	68	45	10	53
want		15	14	24	9	-	10
important	importante	18	12	-	-	10	17
excellent		-	-	-	10	-	-
necessary	necesario	24	9	9	-	39	18
necessity	necesidad	-	21	12	-	52	14
desire, wish	deseos	6	-	-	-	6	10
lust		-	-	11	-	-	8
good	bueno	19	15	26	18	31	46
good to have		-	14	-	-	-	-
great		-	-	-	-	-	17
help,ful		-	-	3	20	-	14
useful		10	8	-	-	-	-
JOB, WORK, SALARY		202	165	153	213	191	149
work	trabajar	50	53	34	63	130	64
job,s		80	36	68	71	-	-
business	negocios	12	9	9	-	6	12
good job		11	-	-	-	-	-
check,s		-	14	20	15	-	6
paycheck		18	-	11	-	-	-
salary		15	28	14	24	-	-
earn,ed		-	5	-	12	-	6
gain, win	ganar,ncia	-	-	-	-	33	-
wage,pay	salario	-	-	-	8	22	-

MISCELLANEOUS		30	17	38	0	34	21
Jody /os		7	-	12	-	-	-
walks		-	-	-	-	-	11
mine		10	7	-	-	-	-
faith	fe	-	-	10	-	-	-
Billy		-	-	10	-	-	-
death,s	muerte,s	-	-	-	-	19	-
kill		10	-	6	-	-	-
world		-	-	-	-	-	10
time		-	10	-	7	-	-
difficult	difici	-	-	-	-	15	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
CAR, FOOD, HOUSE		179	263	484	296	296	374
house,s	casa	32	51	107	32	65	84
clothes	ropa	12	10	53	29	22	63
property	propiedad	-	-	-	-	10	8
rent	sueldo	-	7	11	7	11	8
taxes		12	9	21	-	-	-
government	gobierno	4	-	16	19	9	-
economy,ic	economia	5	12	-	-	27	-
car, automob.	carro,auto	53	71	187	54	66	137
school	escuela	-	-	11	-	6	7
marriage	matrimonio	-	-	5	-	14	-
family	familia	14	26	22	12	14	12
food	comida	17	26	43	63	22	32
eat,te	comer	-	-	-	-	10	-
store		-	-	-	12	-	-
study, te	estudio,ar	-	-	-	-	19	6
education	educacion	9	8	-	15	12	-
college		5	17	5	-	-	-
home,s	hogar	-	26	-	13	9	17
TRAVEL, GIRLS, DRUGS		113	104	172	86	91	108
entertainment		12	-	-	-	10	-
trip,s	viaje	-	9	-	-	10	-
travel, te	viajar	9	24	4	9	33	29
play		-	-	-	28	-	-
restaurant		-	-	12	-	-	-
material	material	5	-	-	-	30	-
things	cosas	7	9	-	-	12	9
friend,ship		5	5	25	-	-	9
party,ies		-	5	10	-	-	9
drugs		20	7	18	13	-	11
girl,s,friend		11	17	23	22	-	20
women		7	14	36	6	-	11
sex		17	14	29	8	-	5
hooker,s		10	-	15	-	-	-
people		-	-	-	-	-	12
SUCCESS, HAPPINESS		151	192	78	187	200	173
success		45	64	17	46	-	38
ambition	ambicion	-	9	-	16	68	13
future	futuro	-	15	11	21	15	10
prestige	prestigio	-	-	-	-	12	-
support		-	-	-	11	-	-
comfort	comodidad	-	-	-	-	16	-
security	seguridad	8	-	-	-	15	-
honor		-	-	-	-	-	14
respect		-	6	-	-	-	31
pride	orgullo	-	-	-	-	11	-
joy		-	-	-	8	-	12
happy,ness	felicidad	26	30	13	16	22	18
life		13	16	-	18	-	-
live,ing		-	11	-	-	-	12
love	amor	17	-	13	-	9	4
fun		23	24	19	19	-	21
pleasure	placer	5	6	5	-	16	-
satisfaction	satisfaccion	-	-	-	-	16	-
enjoy,ment		-	7	-	10	-	-
BAD, EVIL, GREED		66	26	62	43	56	44
evil		16	-	17	11	-	-
bad, evil	malo	-	-	15	-	15	17
root of evil		11	-	10	-	-	-
greed,y		33	15	10	20	9	-
scarce		-	-	-	12	-	-
little		-	-	-	-	-	10
not enough		-	-	10	-	-	-
more		-	-	-	-	-	11
selfishness	egoismo	-	-	-	-	17	-
hard, to get		-	11	-	-	-	-
effort	esfuerzo	-	-	-	-	14	6

MONEY/DINERO

With regard to SALARY and MONEY the groups showed similar trends so we included only MONEY in our presentation; however, we will briefly discuss salary here. All groups expressed interest in receiving and using "money." With regard to its use, the Anglo Americans thought more about "cars" while the Hispanic Americans mentioned relatively more "food" and "clothes." The time interval by which people are paid, "daily," "weekly" or "monthly," appeared to be more important to Hispanic Americans. The Anglo American group had the lowest dominance score while the Mexican Americans in Tempe and the Puerto Ricans in San Juan scored the highest, showing their more intensive preoccupation with financial compensation.

MONEY naturally has special importance in this country of wealth, capitalism, international finance, and world trade. This was conveyed here by the countless monetary and financial terms, inluding slang like "green" and "bread," used particularly by the Anglos and the more accultured Hispanic Americans (see category "Cash, Dollars"). The use of these terms was more limited in the case of the Cuban and San Juan students. The Cuban students, as well as the El Paso group, referred more to "wealth" and "power." These were also important considerations for the San Juan students. The use of MONEY in buying, spending, and saving was a broadly shared idea, yet the New York Puerto Ricans expressed more interest here than the other groups.

The "need" and "necessity" of MONEY were broadly recognized, particularly by the Cubans and the Tempe based Mexican American students. "Work" and "job" as sources of MONEY were similarly emphasized by all groups.

What MONEY is most needed for is reflected by the specific items mentioned. Although Americans are frequently characterized as having a particularly strong motivation to buy and consume, the actual total scores here indicate that the Anglo Americans had the least general concern with the acquisition of specific consumer items. The Hispanic Americans, particularly the Tempe and the Miami students, scored very high on this dimension. A "car" had first priority followed by "house," then "clothes" and "food." This rank order is essentially the same for most groups with a few variations. The New York Puerto Ricans, for instance, placed "food" in first place and showed relatively little interest in "house" or "home." The Tempe based Mexican Americans and the Anglo Americans emphasized somewhat more "sex," "girls," "women," and "drugs." The students in El Paso and Miami came rather close to the Anglos in several respects, while the San Juan group thought more about "travel" and "trips."

In general, MONEY was naturally important and appealing to all groups but not precisely for the same purpose. The most emphasis was placed on what it can "buy," but the emphasis on specifics varied.

Summary

In face of the rich but frequently contradictory observations in scientific literature on the role of work in the Anglo and Hispanic American cultures, our findings on the Anglo and Hispanic differences in subjective views of work offer new opportunities to promote empirically founded clarification.

Since the question of work motivation is a main issue of controversy, it is particularly relevant to examine the claim that there is a distinction between an Anglo American view of WORK which is oriented toward achievement and self-fulfillment and a more goal oriented and instrumental Hispanic American view. In a simple formulation we may ask whether it is true that Anglo Americans work more for the sake of work as a source of intrinsic personal satisfaction and that Hispanic Americans work to meet other needs, obligations, and extraneous objectives such as acquiring money or status.

The Hispanic American samples showed a moderate diversity along the acculturation continuum. The mean similarity coefficients (calculated by Z transformation) on the six words used in the representation of this domain show that the Mexican Americans were more similar to the Anglo Americans than to the less accultured Puerto Ricans in San Juan or the Cubans in Miami. These findings underscore the importance of not treating Hispanic Americans as a homogeneous group.

At the same time, differences between the more and less accultured Hispanic Americans in the domain of WORK are relatively more modest compared to other domains such as ETHNIC IMAGES or SOCIAL VALUES. This suggests that on WORK and such related subjects as CAREER and ENLISTMENT there is more than average similarity. This may be partially due to the fact that the comparisons were made between student samples.

Coefficients of Psychocultural Distance Between Regional Samples	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Anglo Americans, East Coast	.08	.09	.13	.27	.17	
Mexican Americans, El Paso		.11	.10	.23	.16	
Mexican Americans, Tempe			.10	.21	.15	
Puerto Ricans, New York				.19	.14	
Puerto Ricans, San Juan					.23	

Table 11. Mean Distance Measured in the Domain of CAREER ORIENTATION

In general, the main distinction is not between Anglo and Hispanic Americans but between the more accultured Hispanic groups (the two Mexican American and the New York Puerto Rican student samples) and the less accultured Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami.

Along this dichotomy, we found that the Anglo Americans and the more acculturated Hispanic Americans viewed WORK and EDUCATION to a certain degree as sources of satisfaction ("fun," "play"). The little acculturated Hispanic Americans showed a stronger inclination to consider their utility or instrumentality to meet certain needs or obligations, to serve future goals, to make money, provide social status, etc. In the context of EDUCATION, the Anglo Americans and the acculturated Hispanic Americans were preoccupied with the diversity of schools and school subjects (e.g., "math," "science," "history," etc.). The less acculturated Hispanic Americans showed more preoccupation with learning and the effort it takes, and with teaching and the teacher. Indeed, the Hispanic American emphasis on these processes of WORK and EDUCATION, on their utility and instrumentality, emerged quite clearly.

With regard to CAREER, the differences were relatively small but in line with previously observed trends. The acculturated groups showed more interest in "success," "achievement," and "opportunity" which suggest more immediate concerns, while the less acculturated Hispanic American groups thought more about "future," "goals," and high prestige occupations such as "doctor" and "lawyer." Again, the Anglo and Mexican Americans thought of "enjoyment," "fun," and a "good life" as important to a CAREER.

The responses to ENLISTMENT showed that the acculturated Hispanic groups placed stronger emphasis on specific military services. The focus on "job" and "work" was somewhat stronger also. The Anglo Americans and the Cubans expressed more critical attitudes toward ENLISTMENT, while the Puerto Ricans in New York showed the most interest. This observation is consistent with similar trends shown independently in the context of MILITARY SERVICE and MILITARY CAREER.

ADVANCEMENT had a close relationship to "achievement," "accomplishment," and personal "success" for the Anglo American group, while it appears more as a matter of "progress," "improvement," "gains," and "benefits" to the less acculturated samples. ADVANCEMENT was viewed more specifically in the context of personal life and individual aspirations by the Anglo and Mexican Americans. Compared to these groups, the Cuban and the Puerto Rican students in New York viewed ADVANCEMENT more in the context of interpersonal relations including family, friends, marriage, etc.

MONEY was naturally important to all groups compared, but it does not serve precisely the same purpose. Considering what money can buy, the Tempe students placed "cars" far ahead of everything else, while to the New York Puerto Ricans "food" was more important. While to the Anglo and the more acculturated groups "power" had relatively little salience, to the San Juan students "power" and "ambition" were among the highest ranking considerations.

While our previous findings (Szalay, et al., 1978) on less acculturated, older Hispanic Americans offered sharper contrasts, our present findings with the five regional Hispanic student samples present a more complex picture, with more shades of diversity.

These two chapters dealing with ACHIEVEMENT motivation and CAREER orientation are naturally closely related, if not inseparable. The findings provide essential empirical support of the literature which underscores the importance of the unique nature of the Anglo American achievement motivation. The results show the timely relevance of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) interpretation of the American work orientation. They traced its roots to the Protestant work ethic which glorifies the "man of action" and contrasts doing, success, and achievement with a more passive, leisurely approach to life. The results also provide new and independent evidence in support of the pioneering work of McClelland and Atkinson (1961, 1966) who have shown through broad comparative studies both the importance and the deep psychological roots of American achievement motivation.

Our findings may help to place the Anglo American and Hispanic American work orientations in broader perspective. They show that attempts to explain the work motivation of the traditional Hispanic Americans can lead to simplistic ethnocentric conclusions. New opportunities in personnel management are opened through an understanding of the traditional Hispanic work orientation. Traditional Hispanic Americans can be motivated effectively by capitalizing on those goals which rank high in their priorities. While they are less motivated to work mainly for the sake of work or for the feeling of personal achievement and success, they will work hard to fulfill their goals, to materialize their aspirations--human, social, and intellectual. While the previous data have suggested that Hispanic Americans are at least as sensitive to economic incentives as Anglo Americans, the fact that they place special weight on social and interpersonal relations opens up a particularly wide range of motivational opportunities for personnel management.

LEADERSHIP, AUTHORITY, DISCIPLINE

Life in the military services is highly structured and entails strict order and discipline. The Marine Corps is particularly well known for its adherence to certain classical military values, especially toughness and discipline. These are the characteristics which distinguish life in the service most markedly from civilian life and which impose also the greatest demands on those who opt for a military career.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Anglo and the Hispanic American groups gave varying degrees of attention to leadership and military values in their images of the different branches of the service. The degree of attention reflects not only on the actual characteristics of the specific service in question but also on the frame of reference of each particular group.

Since attitudes and perceptions regarding leadership and military values are likely to influence whether a military career would be attractive, we explored how the Hispanic and Anglo American student samples viewed some of the values intrinsic to service life.

Our interest focused on two clusters of themes. The first included the image of COMMANDER, the image of the civilian counterpart, the BOSS, and AUTHORITY in general. The second cluster included ORDER, DISCIPLINE, and OBEDIENCE, that is, a set of norms and values which influence interpersonal relationships; and since they involve more traditional values they are likely to be differently understood by the Anglos and the various Hispanic American student samples.

From the angle of personnel management, it is of some relevance to know how young Anglo Americans, accultured Hispanic Americans, and more traditional Hispanic Americans compare on these conventional military values and norms. The practical importance of this question somewhat naturally follows from the observation that the norms such as discipline or obedience, which are so much a part of military life, are not particularly attractive to many young people.

BOSS/JEFE

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	**Percentage of Total Score**					
LEADER, MASTER, AUTHORITY	17	19	13	20	16	17
FAMILY, FATHER	6	8	10	12	7	7
GOOD, SMART	9	11	7	10	12	10
BAD, MEAN, STRICT	24	12	22	5	3	6
ORDER, COMMAND	7	6	10	5	17	15
RESPECT, OBEY	5	4	3	4	6	7
EMPLOYER, MANAGER	7	6	7	8	10	5
JOB, WORK, FACTORY	11	12	13	14	15	12
MONEY, PAY, SALARY	6	9	6	6	2	12
MAN, ME, PERSON	7	10	8	13	8	9
MISCELLANEOUS	1	2	1	3	3	1
Total Scores	1228	1215	1060	1172	1341	1211

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
LEADER, MASTER, AUTHORITY		**213**	**230**	**141**	**238**	**216**	**202**
main man		-	13	8	-	-	-
chief		19	38	12	34	-	24
master	amo,patron	-	8	6	-	41	-
comandante		-	-	-	22	-	-
authority	autoridad	47	56	14	27	81	17
commander		23	19	32	30	-	43
God		13	25	9	-	-	-
pope		-	-	-	-	-	12
president	presidente	6	5	9	7	11	9
principal	principal	-	9	-	19	9	20
government	gobierno	-	-	-	10	5	-
Army	ejercito	-	-	-	-	10	-
ruler		7	-	-	-	-	13
head		9	13	-	-	-	13
head honcho		11	-	-	-	-	-
head man		-	-	-	15	-	-
lieutenant	teniente	-	-	-	11	-	-
top		-	13	-	-	-	7
Captain	Capitan	-	-	14	11	3	8
leader	lider	59	35	37	46	56	36
FAMILY, FATHER		**70**	**95**	**108**	**146**	**89**	**83**
family	familia	-	-	6	15	27	-
mother		14	9	29	45	-	27
father	padre	43	64	61	76	39	56
parents		7	22	12	-	-	-
home	hogar	-	-	-	-	10	-
house	casa	-	-	-	10	13	-
GOOD, SMART		**112**	**139**	**75**	**116**	**157**	**121**
nice		9	25	14	20	-	31
friendly		-	-	-	12	-	-
friendship	amistad	-	-	-	17	10	-
good	bueno	-	8	7	13	34	30
responsibl,ty	responsabil.	6	7	-	-	59	-
aid,help	ayudar	-	-	-	-	10	-
rich		18	7	9	7	-	6
great		-	-	10	-	-	-
smart		8	-	-	11	-	-
strong,er		-	12	-	-	-	15
power,ful	poder	31	31	22	8	23	18
big		20	33	-	10	-	-
help,ful		5	7	-	7	-	6
intelligent	inteligente	-	-	7	-	10	10
understanding		5	9	6	11	-	5
better	mejor	-	-	-	-	11	-
BAD, MEAN, STRICT		**293**	**149**	**235**	**64**	**39**	**106**
ass,hole		36	-	8	-	-	9
mean		54	73	72	34	-	30
bitch,ing		24	-	-	-	-	-
fat		23	15	7	-	-	8
bein, in ass		23	-	-	-	-	-
cuss out		-	-	10	-	-	-
bad, evil	malo,s	8	-	10	-	39	14
dick		13	-	-	-	-	-
hate		11	4	9	-	-	11
strict		-	15	12	20	-	-
bossy		12	12	20	10	-	8
stupid		5	6	26	-	-	7
sucks		9	-	24	-	-	9
arrogant		-	10	-	-	-	-
tough		5	9	12	-	-	4
ugly		16	5	10	-	-	-
bald		13	-	-	-	-	-
jerk		14	-	9	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		**18**	**20**	**6**	**34**	**43**	**13**
white		-	-	-	11	-	-
state	estado	-	-	-	-	10	-
success		-	15	6	-	-	6
old,er	mayor	6	5	-	-	10	7
none		-	-	-	13	-	-
mustang		10	-	-	-	-	-
time	tiempo	-	-	-	-	12	-
group	grupo	-	-	-	-	11	-
sports		-	-	-	10	-	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
ORDER, COMMAND		**88**	**72**	**109**	**58**	**233**	**184**
check		-	-	-	-	-	10
mandat,	mandato	-	-	-	-	25	-
direct		-	-	-	-	-	10
comman, s	mandar	13	13	8	-	114	56
order,	orden,es	33	11	11	40	64	66
contro	control	12	-	-	-	6	-
demand, ng		5	-	20	10	-	18
rules		-	5	16	8	-	24
supervise	supervisar	-	-	-	-	10	-
fire,s,ed		17	24	21	-	-	-
hire,s,ing		-	10	22	-	-	-
tell what to		-	-	11	-	-	-
discipline	disciplina	-	9	-	-	14	-
RESPECT, OBEY		**65**	**51**	**31**	**44**	**82**	**83**
obey,dience		-	23	-	7	10	18
obligation	obligacion	-	-	-	-	14	-
respect, to	respeto,ar	38	28	20	37	44	52
duty, owe	deber	9	-	-	-	14	13
listen		12	-	11	-	-	-
EMPLOYER, MANAGER		**80**	**78**	**77**	**93**	**137**	**38**
manager		25	15	22	29	-	20
director	director	-	-	-	11	26	10
foreman	capataz	8	-	23	-	4	-
owner	dueno,patrono		8	17	22	32	-
boss	el que manda	7	14	-	-	13	8
supervisor	supervisor	-	-	-	-	23	-
superior	superior	12	19	-	11	39	-
employer		21	22	15	20	-	-
JOB, WORK, FACTORY		**134**	**151**	**142**	**160**	**202**	**143**
employment	empleo	-	-	-	11	10	-
job,s		63	76	52	56	-	39
work	trabajo	48	72	90	50	149	94
factory,ies		-	-	-	19	6	-
office	officina	11	3	-	24	16	10
company	compania	-	-	-	-	10	-
enterprise	empresa	-	-	-	-	11	-
MONEY, PAY, SALARY		**74**	**108**	**70**	**67**	**32**	**135**
paycheck		-	16	7	-	-	9
money	dinero	31	54	45	52	32	67
pay,s,er		15	22	11	8	-	43
salary		13	16	7	7	-	6
raise		8	-	-	-	-	12
MAN, ME, PERSON		**80**	**122**	**86**	**158**	**111**	**109**
teacher,s	maestro	7	19	12	45	15	10
M. Stark		10	-	-	-	-	-
girl		-	-	12	-	-	-
boy		-	-	10	-	-	-
me		25	40	15	19	-	32
person	persona	-	-	9	12	28	-
secretary	secretaria	8	-	-	-	13	-
employee		-	15	-	-	-	-
Garcia		-	-	-	-	-	12
fireman,men	bombero,s	-	-	-	-	13	-
man	hombre	11	26	-	20	14	33
Boss Hoggs		-	13	-	-	-	-
friend	amigo	12	9	28	28	10	22
police	policia	-	-	-	34	18	-

BOSS/JEFE

The dominance of BOSS was particularly high for the San Juan student group. Although the interpretations were mostly nonmilitary, they convey some interesting differences between two cultural perspectives.

There was considerable agreement about the central idea of the BOSS as a leader. The connection with military leadership ("commandant", "officer") was about the same for all groups but the San Juan students placed special emphasis on "authority." There were more differences in those dominant qualities of a boss as recognized by the various groups.

While the Anglo Americans and the more accultured Hispanic Americans characterized the BOSS as "powerful," "big," and "rich," the San Juan Puerto Ricans and the Cubans viewed the BOSS as "good," "responsible," "nice," and "intelligent." The Anglo American and the Mexican American images were predominantly negative ("mean," "fat," "strict," "bossy," "stupid," "sucks"), while the Puerto Ricans' image was predominantly positive. Yet the San Juan students and the Miami students spoke more of "orders" and "commands" as well as of "respect" and "duty." Also the Puerto Ricans emphasized such roles as "owner," "director," "superior."

The job or work context was salient in the mind of each group, particularly the San Juan students. Somewhat as a contrast, we find that the San Juan group made the fewest references to "money" or "pay," which had high salience for the Cuban students.

Ingeneral, to the more traditional Hispanic Americans, the BOSS appeared to be a more benevolent person who has authority and who is active in giving orders and commands. To the Anglo and accultured Hispanic Americans, the BOSS was more a negative figure who was mean and bossy, who hires and fires and pays. All groups showed an awareness of both civilian and military leadership roles.

COMMANDER/COMANDANTE

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	**Percentage of Total Score**					
ARMY, NAVY, MILITARY	25	24	21	17	19	23
OFFICER, GENERAL	10	10	13	12	10	14
LEADER, AUTHORITY	29	36	36	43	26	33
STRONG, POWERFUL	10	5	6	2	24	6
ORDER, COMMAND	8	6	4	7	11	10
FATHER, PARENTS	2	3	5	9	0	4
MEAN, TOUGH	5	5	4	0	0	0
RESPECT, OBEY	4	6	1	5	1	3
MAN, PERSON, ME	3	2	7	4	2	5
MISCELLANEOUS	4	1	2	1	6	2
Total Scores	1467	1365	1188	1388	1270	1208

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
ARMY, NAVY, MILITARY		364	330	269	237	237	277
Air Force	Fuerza Aere	25	35	41	26	11	31
Army	ejercito	79	127	70	86	143	148
service		-	-	11	7	-	-
Marines		28	24	46	35	-	10
Armed Forces		10	21	-	7	-	19
war	guerra	17	10	22	-	21	33
military	militar	42	25	16	22	16	58
militia	militia	-	-	-	-	23	-
Navy	navy	79	79	43	44	11	26
ship, boat	barco	37	9	-	9	10	-
battle		14	-	-	-	-	-
OFFICER, GENERAL		151	141	153	168	125	174
Colonel		20	-	8	8	-	9
Comdr in Chief		12	28	-	-	-	12
rank,s	rango	16	17	-	7	63	12
Sergeant		-	-	36	21	-	16
Lieutenant		-	-	25	12	-	-
soldier	soldado	-	-	-	-	19	-
Major		-	-	-	17	-	17
uniform		-	-	-	-	-	12
Admiral		-	8	-	14	-	-
military boss	jefe militar	-	-	-	-	13	-
Corporal	cabo	-	-	-	12	-	-
Captain	Capitan	18	5	28	36	19	36
General		52	49	47	29	-	21
officer	oficina	19	34	9	17	11	42
LEADER, AUTHORITY		430	490	433	593	356	399
authority	autoridad	43	36	8	40	27	41
coach		-	7	-	-	-	16
police	policia	8	3	15	37	78	46
position	posicion	-	-	-	-	12	-
president		63	40	81	95	-	23
in charge	encargado	29	26	[illegible]	17	8	12
principal		-	-	7	20	-	11
Reagan		7	-	16	13	-	-
ruler		18	8	16	-	-	10
scoutmaster		-	-	-	13	-	-
leader	lider	185	159	148	132	24	58
boss	jefe	55	89	66	114	173	63
director	director	-	-	-	-	18	-
manager		-	-	18	-	-	8
superior	superior	-	22	-	-	21	-
Tzar		-	-	-	13	-	-
chief		56	96	28	100	-	136
government		-	-	-	11	-	9
head		9	10	-	-	-	12
STRONG, POWERFUL		140	66	73	24	300	76
powerful	poder	45	29	34	-	17	28
big		-	10	-	7	-	-
prestige		-	-	-	-	-	10
pride		-	-	12	-	-	-
race,s	carreras	-	-	-	-	53	11
race track	Hipodromo	-	-	-	-	81	-
horse,es	caballo,s	-	-	-	-	149	-
intelligent		15	6	7	-	-	13
dignity		14	-	-	-	-	-
smart		18	-	11	-	-	-
strong		17	5	9	17	-	14
success,ful		8	10	-	-	-	-
brave		14	-	-	-	-	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
ORDER, COMMAND		120	89	50	99	130	118
command,s	mando,er	14	7	20	11	40	34
responsibl,ty		23	15	-	-	-	-
control,ler		9	7	-	26	-	-
rule,s		-	-	9	10	-	24
discipline		15	15	-	11	-	18
give orders		-	-	-	13	-	-
order,s	orden	48	44	21	28	98	45
FATHER, PARENTS		33	47	64	119	0	47
family		-	-	-	14	-	-
father		18	30	32	55	-	24
mother		12	8	18	35	-	12
parents		-	9	14	18	-	11
MEAN, TOUGH		24	22	51	6	0	0
tough		16	19	-	6	-	-
sucks		-	-	12	-	-	-
mean		17	23	24	-	-	-
jerk		10	-	-	-	-	-
strict		5	15	-	-	-	-
asshole		12	-	-	-	-	-
bossy		7	15	-	-	-	-
rough		-	-	15	-	-	-
RESPECT, OBEY		59	86	10	69	10	35
listen		-	14	-	15	-	-
respect	respeto	38	44	10	24	10	26
obey,dience		16	17	-	33	-	9
follow		-	11	-	-	-	-
MAN, PERSON, ME		45	29	79	60	27	58
Kirk		-	-	17	-	-	-
man,men	hombre	6	9	-	11	17	17
pilot		11	-	-	-	-	-
Garcia		-	-	-	-	-	17
people		-	-	-	-	-	12
me		12	7	20	15	-	12
teacher		12	13	22	34	-	-
person	persona	-	-	-	-	10	-
Hitler		-	-	20	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		52	8	26	13	75	27
money	dinero	-	5	14	-	31	-
bet	apuestas	-	-	-	-	17	-
benefit, gain	ganancias	-	-	-	-	13	-
I don't know		-	-	12	-	-	-
Salamander		30	-	-	-	-	-
no		22	-	-	-	-	-
work		-	-	-	13	-	15
old,er	viejo	-	-	-	-	18	-
kill		6	3	-	-	-	12

COMMANDER/COMANDANTE

Although the Anglo American students paid only moderate attention to other military subjects, the role of COMMANDER had high dominance for them, apparently appealing to their interest and imagination. This interest is focused on leadership, which is not an exclusively military concept (e.g., also civilian, political, intellectual leaders). The Mexican Americans and the Puerto Rican students from New York, spoke more specifically of leadership. These more acculturated groups also placed stronger weight on the military services---the Army, Air Force, Marines, and on military ranks---Generals, Captains, and officers in general. The San Juan students thought in more general terms of the Army, rank, and military.

The popular Hispanic role of "jefe" (boss), includes both military and nonmilitary leadership qualities. "Strength" and "power" received considerable attention from the San Juan Puerto Ricans; however, the importance of this response cluster is blurred by the fact that the Spanish word "comandante" has a second meaning which refers to the jockey in charge of his horse in the Puerto Rican horse races.

The view of the President as COMMANDER was salient only to the Anglo Americans and to the more acculturated Mexican American and Puerto Rican students from New York.

Giving orders and commands were more salient considerations for the traditional Hispanic American groups, particularly the San Juan students. The Puerto Rican students from New York showed the most inclination to view COMMANDER as a father figure. The Anglo American and the Mexican American students viewed COMMANDER in more negative terms as "mean," "tough," and "strict."

In general, COMMANDER was viewed in rather similar terms by the six groups compared. The main difference is that giving orders and commands was viewed as an intrinsic part of the role by the more traditional Hispanic Americans, and accepted without any expression of resentment. The Anglo and the more acculturated Hispanic Americans were somewhat more critical.

AUTHORITY/AUTORIDAD

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
BOSS, WORK, JOB	6	12	10	6	15	9
TEACHER, SCHOOL	11	11	6	9	2	5
PARENTS, FATHER, ELDERS	21	16	16	16	10	17
POLICE, LAW, OBEY	14	20	24	35	20	29
GOVERNMENT, PRESIDENT	14	13	19	16	10	11
POWER, COMMAND	14	13	11	9	27	10
RESPECT, GOD, SUPERIOR	7	8	3	4	5	8
BAD, MEAN, STRICT	3	2	1	1	1	1
MILITARY, COMMANDER	7	2	4	2	1	5
PEOPLE, ME, FIGURE	2	2	2	1	3	2
MISCELLANEOUS	0	0	4	2	5	3
Total Scores	1317	1304	1327	1258	1294	1166

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
S, WORK, JOB		78	182	127	77	191	104
employer		-	-	12	11	-	-
boss	jefe	44	126	73	38	164	46
director	director	-	-	-	-	11	-
business		11	-	-	-	-	-
money	dinero	10	9	16	-	6	13
work	trabajo	-	6	14	28	10	32
job		6	21	12	-	-	13
TEACHER, SCHOOL		150	142	80	109	21	63
teacher,s	maestro	95	70	43	70	21	38
principal		15	64	23	21	-	13
dean		11	-	-	-	-	-
school		15	8	14	18	-	12
PARENTS, FATHER, ELDERS		279	209	214	197	133	195
parent,s	padres	84	103	50	57	22	73
adult,s		-	14	-	-	-	-
elders	mayor,es	16	28	22	-	12	-
family	familia	-	7	-	12	6	-
father	padre	83	34	79	64	64	72
mother	madre	71	23	63	64	29	90
POLICE, LAW, OBEY		186	266	322	445	265	334
police,man	policias	92	150	149	262	143	207
pigs		-	-	12	-	-	-
F.B.I.		-	4	-	13	-	-
guard		-	-	-	11	-	-
cop,s		-	9	-	41	-	16
fireman		-	-	-	11	-	-
sheriff		-	17	-	-	-	-
jail		-	5	-	-	-	10
judge,s	juez	8	8	45	9	11	23
justice	justicia	-	-	12	-	24	-
court		-	-	-	13	-	-
lawyer,s		-	-	17	-	-	-
arrest		-	-	10	-	-	-
rule,s		23	11	19	-	-	15
law,s	ley,es	34	44	52	60	64	65
obey,dience	obedecer	12	18	6	18	9	-
obligation	obligacion	-	-	-	7	14	-
GOVERNMENT, PRESIDENT		179	171	254	203	135	127
congress		-	-	17	-	-	-
government	gobierno	35	51	29	73	79	33
governor	gobernador	5	-	17	8	21	14
president	presidente	55	45	102	64	22	48
leader,ship		44	44	52	20	-	-
Reagan		5	-	16	-	-	-
regime	regimen	-	-	-	-	13	-
ruler		-	11	16	-	-	-
king		10	-	-	-	-	-
chief		-	20	-	29	-	17
mayor		9	-	7	9	-	15
MISCELLANEOUS		0	0	48	22	65	34
some		-	-	-	-	-	11
I don't know		-	-	26	-	-	-
careful		-	-	12	-	-	-
yes		-	-	-	-	-	12
energetic	energia el	-	-	-	-	28	-
energy	energia	-	-	-	-	13	-
port		-	-	-	10	-	-
success		-	-	-	-	-	11
aqueducts	acueductos	-	-	-	-	24	-
transit		-	-	-	12	-	-
precedent		-	-	10	-	-	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
POWER, COMMAND		190	169	144	109	353	121
order	orden	12	-	-	18	43	40
contro		21	5	-	10	-	-
power,ful	poder	78	71	44	16	86	31
help		-	-	-	15	-	-
responsibility	responsabil.	16	15	21	9	10	-
in charge		-	12	-	-	-	-
authority		-	10	-	-	-	-
strength	fuerza	6	-	15	-	43	-
strong		-	7	-	-	-	12
discipline	disciplina	26	17	8	6	12	13
ability		-	-	16	-	-	-
mandate	mandato	-	-	-	-	43	-
command, to	mando,ar	14	32	33	26	94	14
permit	permiso	-	-	-	-	12	-
permission		-	-	7	9	-	11
RESPECT, GOD, SUPERIOR		98	103	43	47	67	93
superior,ity	superior	17	8	-	-	18	-
high,er		10	-	-	-	-	-
God		25	22	11	12	-	8
knowledge		-	10	-	-	-	-
good		7	12	9	-	-	15
honor		-	-	-	11	-	-
respect	respeto	28	40	17	24	49	53
right		-	11	6	-	-	-
necessary		-	-	-	-	-	17
BAD, MEAN, STRICT		37	24	8	11	19	12
abuse	abuso	-	-	-	-	19	-
strict		-	8	-	11	-	-
bad		10	5	8	-	-	12
mean		14	11	-	-	-	-
bullshit		10	-	-	-	-	-
MILITARY, COMMANDER		96	28	58	28	10	56
General		15	-	11	-	-	-
Commander		19	15	20	-	-	10
Army		17	5	18	9	-	33
comandante		-	-	-	11	-	-
Navy		11	-	-	-	-	-
Marines		17	-	-	-	-	-
military	militar	8	8	9	8	10	13
PEOPLE, ME, FIGURE		25	30	29	10	35	27
person	persona	-	-	-	-	10	-
people		-	8	-	10	-	12
society	sociedad	-	-	-	-	11	6
companions		-	-	10	-	-	-
figure		14	8	-	-	-	-
I	yo	-	-	-	-	14	-
me		9	14	19	-	-	9

AUTHORITY/AUTORIDAD

Somewhat unexpectedly AUTHORITY had higher dominance for the Anglo and accultured Hispanic American groups than for the more traditional students from San Juan and Miami. There were a few other unanticipated results as well.

Teachers and school administrators, for instance, were more emphatically identified as authority figures by the Anglo and the accultured Hispanic Americans than by the traditional groups, particularly the students from San Juan who made few references to educators. Also in an unexpected direction, although the differences are not that large, the Anglo and the accultured Hispanic American groups scored higher on "father," "mother," and "parents."

These trends do not necessarily mean that the authority of the teachers is not highly respected by the San Juan students, but rather that they do not apply this notion to these and other contexts (e.g., parents) which are more personal. As discussed next, the more traditional Hispanic Americans are inclined to think of AUTHORITY in the context of more formal and external relationships.

It is interesting that this awareness increased rather dramatically when the "boss" is involved. The Puerto Rican students in San Juan led the more accultured groups in assigning AUTHORITY to civilian leadership (e.g., the "boss"). On "police," "law," "government" the trends are more mixed. For instance, the San Juan students paid the most attention to "government" as a source of authority, in contrast to "president," which was more important to the Anglo and more accultured Hispanic American groups.

Where the traditional orientation results in more explicit recognition of AUTHORITY is in its relationship to "power" and "strength." The San Juan group scored highest here; whether the emphasis is on the source of authority or on its implementation remains somewhat open at this point. Their heavy references to "order" and "command" make it rather clear, however, that while people may not think of AUTHORITY in the context of certain relationships (e.g., with parents), there is apparently considerable awareness, as well as acceptance, with regard to the reliance of AUTHORITY on "order" and "commands." While the Anglo American group showed some signs of reservations in their attitudes toward AUTHORITY, the Puerto Ricans said nothing essentially critical.

In general, the Anglo and the more accultured Hispanic American student samples related AUTHORITY to "parents" and "teachers." To the Mexican American students from Tempe and the Puerto Rican group from New York, the police and the government represented the most recognized sources of AUTHORITY. The San Juan group placed more relative weight on the "boss" and work relations and also expressed the view that authority involves using power and giving orders and commands.

DISCIPLINE/DISCIPLINA

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	**Percentage of Total Score**					
OBEDIENCE, RESPECT	7	13	12	22	15	8
FAMILY, FATHER, HOME	12	11	10	16	5	14
SCHOOL, TEACHER	11	19	12	16	12	16
MILITARY, ARMY, POLICE	20	16	16	11	9	16
PUNISH,MENT, GROUNDED	8	6	10	6	0	2
GOOD, NECESSARY	7	7	8	7	14	14
BAD, HARD, STRICT	13	11	4	3	3	3
CONTROL, ORDER, STRONG	7	3	3	8	16	5
PEOPLE, SELF	6	3	4	2	3	3
LAWS, RULES, BEHAVIOR	3	5	8	7	18	7
WORK, SPORTS	3	5	5	2	3	7
MISCELLANEOUS	2	1	9	1	3	4
Total Scores	1192	1047	919	1208	1229	1347

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
OBEDIENCE, RESPECT		88	133	108	262	181	114
humility	humildad	-	-	-	-	10	-
obedience	obediencia	26	51	17	32	32	15
obedient	obediente	-	14	10	-	19	-
obey, to	obedecer	14	7	9	90	11	8
obligation		-	-	-	-	-	10
respect,ful	respeto	25	36	55	151	84	76
follow		-	11	-	-	-	-
responsible	responsable	-	7	-	18	25	-
listen		-	7	17	11	-	7
honor		13	-	-	-	-	-
FAMILY, FATHER, HOME		140	120	93	195	65	187
parent,s	padres	46	45	30	64	5	20
family	familia	14	11	7	19	13	4
kids		-	-	-	13	-	11
father	padre	36	29	15	26	10	24
children		-	12	8	10	-	16
home	hogar	-	23	12	26	21	65
mother	madre	31	-	21	20	8	30
house	casa	-	-	-	17	8	17
SCHOOL, TEACHER		131	201	112	189	190	218
intelligence		-	-	-	12	-	7
educate,tion	educar,cion	9	15	-	22	59	19
principal		-	7	18	-	-	-
learning		-	6	13	-	-	-
school	escuela	64	117	65	104	46	136
studies	estudios	8	-	-	-	11	7
study	estudio	7	8	-	-	9	12
teacher,s	maestro	35	36	18	43	13	17
training		-	9	-	-	-	20
class room	salon de cla.	-	5	-	-	12	-
MILITARY, ARMY, POLICE		243	170	140	135	110	204
army	ejercito	62	71	67	43	46	101
air force		6	10	13	9	-	9
R O T C		5	-	11	-	-	-
service	servicio m.	-	-	-	-	11	-
police	policia	10	3	16	16	9	9
soldier		-	-	-	10	-	18
marines		53	18	24	18	-	-
military	militar	48	29	10	15	30	50
militia	milicia	-	-	-	-	12	-
Armed Forces		11	12	-	-	-	15
Navy		20	28	20	24	-	12
PUNISHMENT, GROUNDED		101	60	90	69	6	30
jail		14	-	9	-	-	-
punish		-	15	-	12	-	-
punishment	castigo	33	45	15	20	6	14
restricted,ion		11	-	-	10	-	-
spank,ing		-	-	36	-	-	11
ground,ed		12	-	16	-	-	-
hit		-	-	16	-	-	-
whip		12	-	-	-	-	-
beat		10	-	-	-	-	-
correct,ion		-	-	-	27	-	5
WORK, SPORTS		41	50	48	26	36	89
sports		6	17	16	-	-	-
job		-	13	-	-	-	20
martial arts		-	-	-	-	-	10
work	trabajo	31	20	32	26	36	59
MISCELLANEOUS		28	11	79	10	34	60
dog,s		21	6	6	-	-	-
pets		-	-	-	10	-	7
I don't know		-	-	12	-	-	-
kink		-	-	12	-	-	-
religion		-	-	-	-	-	12
life		5	-	-	-	-	11
sometimes		-	-	10	-	-	-
none		-	-	15	-	-	-
little	poco,o	-	-	12	-	10	-
not much		-	-	17	-	-	-
capacity	capacidad	-	-	-	-	12	-
lots		-	-	-	-	-	12
eat		-	-	-	-	-	18

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
GOOD, NECESSARY		81	78	71	83	173	183
necessary	necesidad	-	10	-	-	11	-
need,e		13	42	8	-	-	25
justic		-	-	-	11		
nice		-	-	-	10	-	-
easy		-	-	-	-	-	10
important	importante	-	-	-	-	29	22
good	buena	37	26	49	9	53	68
love	amor	-	-	-	12	5	-
great		-	-	-	-	-	12
tranquility	tranquilidad	-	-	-	-	40	-
quiet, still	callado,quieto	-	-	-	-	23	12
trust,worthy		-	-	14	19	-	-
understand		16	-	-	22	-	8
necessary	necesaria,o	8	-	-	-	12	26
BAD, HARD, STRICT		152	114	37	32	32	47
pain		12	22	-	7	-	-
bullshit		11	-	-	-	-	-
temper	caracter	-	-	-	-	11	-
rigid		11	-	-	-	-	-
bad	mala	17	-	8	-	21	32
strict,ness		48	64	21	-	-	15
hard		19	22	-	12	-	-
sucks		11	-	-	-	-	-
tough		9	6	8	13	-	-
CONTROL, ORDER, STRONG		83	28	26	100	201	73
order	orden	34	17	10	52	171	55
rule		10	-	-	-	-	-
authority		9	21	-	13	-	-
control	control	15	9	8	24	12	18
self-control		-	-	-	11	-	-
strong	fuerte	5	-	8	-	18	-
strength		11	-	-	-	-	-
PEOPLE, SELF		66	35	34	28	37	41
society	sociedad	-	-	-	-	13	9
people,person		9	7	6	9	-	12
I	yo	-	-	-	-	24	-
self		22	15	-	10	-	8
me		14	-	-	-	-	-
leader,ship		7	13	-	-	-	-
friends		-	-	-	9	-	12
Mr. Pena		8	-	28	-	-	-
LAWS, RULES, BEHAVIOR		41	52	72	79	216	91
act,ion		10	-	-	16	-	9
behavior	comportamien.	-	10	15	15	42	10
norms	normas	-	-	-	-	11	-
orders		10	6	-	10	-	-
rules	reglas	9	9	21	18	27	20
mandate	mandato	-	-	-	-	16	-
law,s	leyes	-	-	14	10	18	10
moral	moral	-	-	-	-	22	-
value,s	valor,es	-	-	-	-	22	-
pride		8	9	7	10	-	-
manners	modales	-	18	15	-	10	24
maturity	madurez	-	-	-	-	11	-
mind		-	-	-	-	-	18
conduct	conducta	-	-	-	-	37	-

DISCIPLINE/DISCIPLINA

Beyond considerable variations in meaning, the dominance or subjective salience of DISCIPLINE shows sizable differences between the groups as well. While it had the lowest dominance for the Anglo American group, it had the highest for the two less accultured groups, the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami. Although these two less accultured groups agreed on the relative importance of this theme, they differed in certain important dimensions of its interpretation.

The main contrast again is between the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the other five groups. With regard to "family," the more accultured groups thought primarily of the role of "parents" and "father." The Cubans stressed the "home" and parental roles in general, as compared to the Puerto Ricans in San Juan who gave very little attention to authority in the home. The distribution of attention is similar in the case of "school." The Cubans related DISCIPLINE most intensively to "school," and the Puerto Ricans in San Juan the least. We find somewhat an analogous case in the context of the military service, where the Cubans emphasized DISCIPLINE about twice as much as the students from San Juan.

The Anglos and the more accultured Hispanic groups viewed DISCIPLINE as a matter of "punishment," "spanking," "grounding," and even "jail," while DISCIPLINE had practically none of these connotations for the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and very little for the Cubans. Also, the Anglos and some of the accultured Hispanic groups described DISCIPLINE as "strict," "painful," and "hard"; negative evaluations from the little accultured Hispanic Americans were limited. Conversely, the two less accultured groups, the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami, were highly positive about DISCIPLINE, describing it as "good," "important," "needed," "necessary." The Anglo and the Mexican Americans were moderate in their positive evaluation, with the negative generally outweighing the positive.

These differences may be at least partially explained by the fact that to the less accultured groups, but particularly to the Puerto Ricans in San Juan, DISCIPLINE involves "behavior," "conduct," "morals," "manners," "norms," and "rules." These values received much less attention from the Anglo and Mexican American groups. "Order" was a particularly dominant consideration for the San Juan Puerto Ricans.

<u>In general</u>, for the less accultured groups, DISCIPLINE was regarded as a source of "order," "manners," and "conduct," involving clearly positive values. It represented predominantly negative ideas of "control" and "punishment" to the more accultured students, particularly to the Anglo American group.

ORDER/ORDEN

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
ARMY, MILITARY, COMMANDER	8	2	6	6	4	4
COMMAND, DISCIPLINE	15	22	19	19	18	11
OBEY, RESPECT, DO	5	9	6	12	11	6
POLICE, LAWS, GOVERNMENT	11	8	13	15	22	13
SCHOOL, TEACHER	4	7	2	9	3	13
WORK, BOSS	7	7	10	7	4	16
FOOD, RESTAURANT	15	17	24	7	0	7
ORGANIZED, NEAT	20	17	5	6	23	4
GOOD, PEACE, LIFE	3	4	0	3	12	10
FAMILY, PEOPLE, FRIENDS	6	4	11	15	1	8
MISCELLANEOUS	5	3	4	2	3	7
Total Scores	979	927	1017	1089	1139	952

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
ARMY, MILITARY, COMMANDER		74	23	64	62	43	41
militia	milicia	-	-	-	-	11	-
Commander		9	-	8	16	-	-
Sergeant	sargento	-	-	18	-	8	-
Army	ejercito	17	15	28	36	24	29
Marines		20	-	-	10	-	-
military		21	8	10	-	-	12
COMMAND, DISCIPLINE		151	202	192	210	203	106
command, to	mandar	90	89	116	90	23	31
order	orden,ar	-	-	-	12	15	-
demand		18	11	19	10	-	-
authority	autoridad	-	6	6	19	23	-
power	poder	-	-	-	12	8	10
strict		-	12	-	-	-	-
discipline	disciplina	29	66	-	35	67	43
ask, beg	pedir	-	6	-	13	5	-
direct		-	12	-	-	-	-
want,ing		-	-	16	12	-	6
get		-	-	7	-	-	10
send		-	-	12	-	-	-
tell		-	-	16	7	-	6
mandate	mandato	-	-	-	-	82	-
OBEY, RESPECT, DO		50	81	58	127	121	58
follow, to	seguir	-	-	10	-	10	16
obey,dience	obediencia	28	29	-	61	30	18
listen		-	-	13	18	-	-
do		7	10	24	17	-	12
go		-	10	-	-	-	-
obligation	obligacion	-	-	-	16	12	-
duty		5	-	11	-	-	-
respect	respeto	5	32	-	15	56	12
responsibl,ty	responsabil	-	-	-	-	13	-
POLICE, LAWS, GOVERNMENT		110	71	129	158	250	124
police	policia	18	14	17	49	76	30
government	gobierno	5	-	7	10	10	8
political	politico	-	-	-	-	10	-
public	publico	-	-	-	-	49	-
congress		-	-	-	10	-	-
president		-	-	6	12	-	-
judge		-	-	10	13	-	6
justice		-	-	17	-	-	-
security	seguridad	-	-	-	-	11	-
law,s	ley,es	25	30	29	41	51	58
rule,s	regla,s	10	8	24	13	43	-
court, in the		42	19	19	10	-	22
SCHOOL, TEACHER		44	64	25	96	31	119
class,room		12	9	-	-	-	16
school	escuela	14	34	14	85	12	57
study		-	-	-	-	-	16
teacher,s	maestro	14	14	-	11	8	18
book,s		-	7	11	-	-	12
education	educacion	-	-	-	-	11	-
WORK, BOSS		68	65	103	75	50	156
boss	jefe	29	36	54	32	27	85
work	trabajo	5	15	11	30	23	84
job		8	8	14	13	-	13
money		20	6	24	-	-	14

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
FOOD, RESTAURANT		143	162	239	78	0	67
food		57	59	147	30	-	25
hamburger,s		-	34	13	-	-	8
fries, french		9	19	16	-	-	9
pizza		12	9	10	12	-	14
McDonalds		18	-	11	-	-	-
carry out		6	-	-	-	-	11
restaurant		15	26	32	26	-	-
store		13	-	-	-	-	-
waitress		-	-	10	-	-	-
Chinese food		-	-	-	10	-	-
menu		-	15	-	-	-	-
ORGANIZED, NEAT		195	162	48	69	260	38
organization	organizacion	13	9	-	13	78	-
organize,ed	organizar,do	4	9	-	13	26	9
arrange,ment	arreglo	10	9	10	-	14	9
chronological	cronologic	8	-	-	-	23	-
number,erical		27	-	18	-	-	-
dictionary		-	-	-	-	-	12
alphabet,ical		19	21	11	-	-	8
place,ment	lugar,colo.	13	-	-	-	21	-
orderly	ordenado,za	-	-	-	-	22	-
neat,ness		26	9	-	21	-	-
clean,ness	limpio,eza	-	20	9	-	38	-
form		5	25	-	9	-	-
system	sistema	-	-	-	-	12	-
rank		12	-	-	-	-	-
file		9	15	-	-	-	-
row,tier	fila	-	-	-	-	26	-
straight		11	12	-	-	-	-
structure		10	-	-	-	-	-
line	linea	-	33	-	13	-	-
list		10	-	-	-	-	-
GOOD, PEACE, LIFE		34	34	0	28	133	97
good		11	-	-	10	-	15
important,ce	importante	7	9	-	-	16	13
necessary	necesario	-	-	-	-	34	-
life		13	6	-	-	-	36
way of life	modo	-	-	-	-	11	-
live,ing		-	-	-	-	-	17
peace	paz	-	19	-	18	33	16
silence	silencio	-	-	-	-	15	-
tranquility	tranquilidad	-	-	-	-	30	-
familiar	familiar	-	-	-	-	12	-
FAMILY, PEOPLE, FRIENDS		63	39	114	166	16	80
mother		10	-	35	27	-	-
family		15	-	-	15	-	-
parent,s		15	13	10	20	-	12
father		8	-	30	26	-	-
house	casa	-	-	10	35	16	48
home		-	12	-	31	-	10
friend,s		-	5	9	12	-	-
people		9	9	20	-	-	10
MISCELLANEOUS		49	24	45	20	34	66
no		13	-	-	-	-	11
religious		-	10	-	-	-	-
bill		-	-	12	-	-	-
always	siempre	-	-	-	-	12	13
car		-	-	12	9	-	-
bullshit		11	-	-	-	-	-
disorder	desorden	-	-	-	-	12	17
chaos		12	-	-	-	-	-
check		-	-	10	-	-	-
conduct	conducta	-	-	-	-	10	-
now		-	-	-	-	-	17
mail order		8	14	11	-	-	8
sloppy		-	-	-	11	-	-

ORDER/ORDEN

The two main definitions of ORDER---to give commands and to organize---exist both in English and in Spanish. How much relative attention they receive depends naturally on the group's frame of reference.

As with DISCIPLINE, ORDER was particularly meaningful and dominant to the San Juan group. Its military connotation, indicated by references to "Army," "commander," was generally modest for the six groups compared.

To command or mandate in a prescriptive, obligatory sense was a rather strong idea across the board. To the Puerto Ricans in San Juan, ORDER meant more "mandate" and "discipline," while to the Anglo and more acculturated Hispanic American students it meant giving commands.

"Obedience" and "respect" were dominant in the minds of the Puerto Rican students. In the context of various social settings such as family and school, the attention given to ORDER shows generally the same patterns observed in the context of AUTHORITY and DISCIPLINE. Again, for the San Juan students "family" and "school" had low salience, while "police," "law," and "government" represent contexts where ORDER appears to be particularly important to both Puerto Rican student groups.

The more traditional Hispanic groups evaluated ORDER the most positively, as "necessary," "important," as a "way of life," leading to "peace" and "tranquility."

Orderly systematic arrangement, was also dominant for the more traditional San Juan student group who spoke of "organization," "orderliness," and being "systematic." In a similar sense, the Anglo American and the El Paso based Mexican students mentioned "neatness," "cleanliness," and "arrangement." To the other Hispanic groups this was not an important perspective.

The Anglo and Mexican American groups also made a number of references to "food" and "restaurant." The idea of ordering food in a restaurant was almost non-existent for the other groups.

In general, ORDER was a more popular idea, with richer and more positive content for the Puerto Ricans, particularly those from San Juan. To the more acculturated Hispanic American groups it had a stronger relationship to family, work and school settings. Beyond the idea of "command," ORDER also meant "organization" and "neatness" to Anglo Americans and Puerto Ricans from San Juan. Its legal and governmental implications were the most salient to the Puerto Ricans.

OBEDIENCE/OBEDENCIA

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
OBEY, DUTY, LISTEN	12	17	11	18	8	7
RESPECT, LOYALTY	7	10	8	10	19	12
ORDER, DISCIPLINE, RULES	19	10	17	7	14	8
FAMILY, PARNTS, ELDERS	16	13	16	28	23	25
SCHOOL, TEACHER, LEARNING	11	12	9	13	11	13
BEHAVIOR, MANNERS	1	4	2	2	8	0
ARMY, MILITARY	5	6	2	1	2	1
DOGS, ANIMALS	16	15	20	5	1	10
GOOD, NEEDED	5	4	2	5	3	8
GOD, RELIGION	3	2	0	2	4	5
PEOPLE, BOSS, FRIENDS	1	4	6	6	4	5
MISCELLANEOUS	4	3	7	2	2	6
Total Scores	1118	1164	824	1106	1048	1175

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	San Juan	Cubans Miami
OBEY, DUTY, LISTEN		135	193	90	202	83	77
obedient,ce		-	-	-	22	-	-
obey, to	obedecer	39	67	44	84	50	41
obligation	obligacion	4	-	-	18	10	6
duty		14	11	-	-	-	6
submission	sumision	10	-	-	-	11	-
subservient		16	10	-	-	-	-
follow orders		-	17	-	-	-	-
take orders	seguir orden	-	-	-	-	12	-
do		5	10	-	-	-	9
do what told		11	-	-	-	-	-
listen,ing		24	70	36	59	-	13
respond		-	-	10	-	-	-
understand		-	8	-	19	-	-
RESPECT, LOYALTY		77	119	65	112	203	142
respect,ful	respeto,er	25	74	43	90	203	80
loyal,ty		27	22	11	-	-	14
trust,worthy		5	9	11	22	-	15
honor		13	14	-	-	-	13
lawful		-	-	-	-	-	10
ORDER, DISCIPLINE, RULES		212	122	137	82	107	91
order,s	orden,es	80	20	23	18	57	23
command,s		5	5	10	-	-	-
discipline	disciplina	80	51	67	17	22	14
authority	autoridad	31	7	-	9	11	-
strict	estricto	-	9	-	9	10	-
law,s		16	20	10	19	17	41
rules		21	10	27	10	17	13
mandate	mandato	-	-	-	-	13	-
FAMILY, PARENTS, ELDERS		170	155	135	310	245	294
older people		-	14	-	7	-	-
parent,s	padres	66	84	13	116	80	77
children		24	15	10	9	-	12
kid		-	-	-	-	-	10
son,s	hijo,s	-	-	-	-	30	7
brother		10	-	8	10	-	-
brothers &	hermanos	-	-	-	-	14	-
mother	madre	19	-	39	80	46	69
elder,s		7	15	12	17	-	20
family	familia	10	19	19	25	29	15
father	padre	26	9	34	46	46	84
SCHOOL, TEACHER, LEARNING		124	145	71	146	118	149
principal		-	-	-	10	-	-
school	escuela	36	52	36	19	36	62
teach,ing		-	-	-	18	4	-
teacher,s	maestra,s	36	48	15	87	37	49
train,ing,ed		33	35	20	-	-	34
learn,ing		8	10	-	12	-	4
education,al	educacion	-	-	-	-	49	-
educated	educado	-	-	-	-	12	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	San Juan	Cubans Miami
DOGS, ANIMALS		183	175	168	52	10	116
pet,s		-	9	11	-	-	18
cat		12	5	25	-	-	-
dog,s	perro	147	148	132	52	10	92
animal		7	13	-	-	-	6
GOOD, NEEDED		57	64	20	54	36	96
good	bueno,a	37	25	20	37	21	54
love	carino,amor	-	11	-	17	15	12
necessary		15	8	-	-	-	18
needed		-	-	-	-	-	12
GOD, RELIGION		35	27	0	25	42	56
God	Dios	25	27	-	13	28	44
religion	religion	7	-	-	-	14	12
church		-	-	-	12	-	-
PEOPLE, BOSS, FRIENDS		11	41	53	69	45	64
friend,s	amigos	5	5	11	31	6	8
person	persona	-	-	-	-	12	-
police	policia	5	9	-	13	4	7
myself		-	10	-	-	-	-
boss		-	17	-	17	17	28
me		-	-	13	-	-	-
people	gente	-	-	22	8	6	11
girlfriend		-	-	7	-	-	10
BEHAVIOR, MANNERS		7	41	14	21	83	4
behavior	comportamien	-	25	-	-	10	-
manners,good	modales	7	16	14	11	10	4
character	caracter	-	-	-	-	11	-
attitude	actitud	-	-	-	-	16	-
rectitude	rectitud	-	-	-	-	13	-
intelligence	inteligencia	-	-	-	-	12	-
smart		-	-	-	10	-	-
value	valor	-	-	-	-	11	-
ARMY, MILITARY		54	68	14	10	17	17
military		13	8	-	-	-	-
Army	ejercito	7	20	7	10	17	17
service		11	-	-	-	-	-
Marines		18	12	7	-	-	-
Air Force		-	10	-	-	-	-
Navy		-	18	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		43	34	57	23	19	69
disobey,dience		10	15	-	-	-	-
attention		11	-	-	-	-	-
bad		7	-	-	-	-	13
greater		-	-	-	10	-	-
hard		-	6	-	13	-	-
yes		-	6	12	-	-	-
none		-	-	-	-	-	17
I don't know		-	-	12	-	-	-
much		-	-	-	-	-	12
easy going	docil	-	-	-	-	10	-
very much		-	-	12	-	-	-
Cashion, AZ		-	-	10	-	-	-
work	trabajo	11	9	11	-	9	15
always		-	-	-	-	-	12

OBEDIENCE/OBEDENCIA

As an antonym of COMMAND and ORDER, OBEDIENCE was analyzed here to approach this subject from a contrasting angle. While the students from San Juan and Miami gave little thought to the various forms of compliance, they emphasized "respect," "loyalty," "trust," that is, underlying qualities and values which justify or require OBEDIENCE. Anglo Americans saw OBEDIENCE more in the context of "discipline" and "order," a perception shared only to a more limited extent by the other student groups.

OBEDIENCE in the "family" and at "school" receive somewhat similar attention from all groups. The Puerto Rican students from New York showed the most awareness of the role of the parents, as well as the teachers. The increased awareness is probably a consequence of the acculturation process. This group, as well as some of the others in acculturation, seem to have become more aware of value conflicts that arise when moving from a traditional cultural environment into the U.S. American environment.

As we have observed in the context of DISCIPLINE, ORDER, and AUTHORITY, the Anglo and the more accultured Hispanic Americans tend to view these norms and values in a military context and to treat them critically. In the context of OBEDIENCE, we observed only a few references to the various military services.

The Anglo Americans and the Mexican Americans were inclined to view OBEDIENCE as being "subservient," or submissive. This view is also conveyed by the attention the Anglo and accultured Hispanic American students gave to "dogs," who are considered to epitomize OBEDIENCE produced by conditioning.

The San Juan group again provides an interesting contrast in its giving attention to "attitudes," "behavior," "manners," "character," "intelligence," and "rectitude," which they view as positive human motivations promoting OBEDIENCE.

In general, OBEDIENCE was related predominantly to "family" and "school" settings by all groups. For the Anglo and more accultured Hispanic American students, OBEDIENCE had a strong relationship to "discipline" and "order." As previously observed in the context of DISCIPLINE and ORDER, these responses carry some negative connotation, ("control," "punishment"). To the Puerto Rican group from San Juan, OBEDIENCE is based predominantly on respect and proper manners.

Summary

The analysis presented in this chapter relied on results obtained on two clusters of subjects. The first dealt with the image of a leader, both military (COMMANDER) and nonmilitary (BOSS), and with AUTHORITY as an underlying subject.

As a general trend, there seems to be a stronger distinction between military and nonmilitary leadership by the Anglo and more acculturated Hispanic American groups. The traditional Hispanic Americans viewed the leadership roles predominantly in nonmilitary contexts, but their traditional views show a great deal of intrinsic affinity with military views and perspectives.

This distinction underscores the differences observed again between the highly acculturated and more traditional Hispanic Americans. These differences are clearly shown by the following matrix of psychocultural distance. As these coefficients indicate, the Mexican Americans and the Puerto Ricans from New York are predominantly acculturated, while the Puerto Ricans from San Juan and to a lesser extent the Cubans from Miami represent the little acculturated, more traditional Hispanic views.

Coefficients of Psychocultural Distance Between Regional Samples	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Anglo Americans, East Coast	.16	.15	.33	.44	.35	
Mexican Americans, El Paso		.17	.23	.38	.26	
Mexican Americans, Tempe			.25	.39	.30	
Puerto Ricans, New York				.33	.21	
Puerto Ricans, San Juan					.30	

Table 12. Mean Distances Measured in the Domain of LEADERSHIP

Throughout the analysis the San Juan Puerto Ricans and, to a lesser extent, the Cubans tended to view the leadership roles (e.g., COMMANDER, BOSS)in predominantly positive social terms ("good," "responsible," "intelligent"). The Anglo American and acculturated Hispanic American evaluations were more critical ("mean," "strict," "bossy"). While the Anglo American views convey an adversary type of relationship to leaders, the traditional Hispanic views appear to be more sympathetic to the position of leadership, conveying the image of an understanding "patron" who has positive social qualities as well as authority.

Most of these differences are relevant to the Anglo and Hispanic views of AUTHORITY. The Anglo Americans and the more acculturated Hispanic

Americans expressed some reservations and resentment about AUTHORITY. The traditional San Juan group and, to a large extent, the Cubans expressed positive feelings and approval in regard to AUTHORITY; in fact, they view the giving of orders and commands a natural and intrinsic manifestation of the AUTHORITY of leadership, considering it necessary and indispensable.

Throughout this analysis we have given disproportionate attention to the "traditional" Hispanic American position, even though it has been represented in many instances only by the Puerto Ricans in San Juan. As we have seen, in many respects the Cuban students represent a more acculturated rather than traditional position. The "traditional Hispanic" position deserves special attention for several reasons. First, although it may not be representative of the majority of Hispanics in the United States, it does represent a cultural frame of reference which is more characteristically Hispanic in both historical and world-wide perspectives. This becomes readily apparent if we broaden the scope of comparison to include Latin Americans like Colombians and Mexicans (as we have done in other studies). Furthermore, since the more acculturated Mexican Americans were not so very different from the mainstream Anglo Americans, from the angle of personnel management, there is less need to adopt special measures to reach these groups.

Finally, our data show clearly and consistently that the diverse Hispanic Americans population represents a sort of continuum between the traditional and the fully acculturated. They can best be understood by tracing how much and in what ways they have changed from the more traditional Hispanic patterns. In other words, a familiarity with the more traditional Hispanic psychocultural disposition provides a general key to understanding a broad variety of Hispanic Americans even those who have become more acculturated to Anglo American ways.

Analysis of the leadership values DISCIPLINE, ORDER, and OBEDIENCE, offers some additional insights. First, similar trends were observed in the perception and evaluation of these values by the Anglo and the more acculturated Hispanic American samples. These groups viewed DISCIPLINE and ORDER with similarly critical attitudes, and showed similar dispositions to think of these values not only in a military context, but also in family, school, and other social settings. Discipline and order imply control and restrictions, which account for some of the negative connotations.

Certain characteristic contrasts were found between these more acculturated views and the more traditional perspectives of the Puerto Ricans in San Juan. From the traditional perspective DISCIPLINE, ORDER, and OBEDIENCE do not imply restrictions or punishment, but are viewed as important, indispensable prerequisites of an organized existence. As part of normal life, they barely registered as problems in family or school; they are more recognized in application to law, government and police. Furthermore, they are considered to be matters of respect, proper behavior, and manners. These more traditional views are particularly interesting since they come from young students. They also reflect attitudes which have some natural affinity with values related to personnel organization and leadership.

What makes this situation particularly interesting and challenging is that the traditional Hispanic attitudes, which show natural affinity with military value orientations, do offer certain opportunities for personnel management. The differences between the discipline oriented military values and broader libertarian societal values, which hinder the Armed Services in attracting and retaining capable young recruits, may not exist in the same way in the case of the more traditional Hispanic Americans. Whether the lack of this value conflict may be effectively used by personnel management will depend naturally on several factors. One among them involves the attitudes toward the military in general and toward specific services in particular.

THE MILITARY SERVICE

How do the various Hispanic groups look at military service in general and at the Army, Navy, and the Marine Corps in particular? To what extent do they see job opportunities in the service?

There are three areas where we have found sizable differences which could bear on the perceptions of the military service. First, the sizable differences in the domain of ETHNIC IMAGES may be of some relevance here, partially due to ethnic identification and concern with equal opportunity which show some intrinsic relations. Also since the military service has some patriotic undertones, it is interesting to see whether Anglo-Hispanic ethnic differences may influence the image of the services as well.

Second, in the domain of LEADERSHIP we found rather marked differences between acculturated and traditional Hispanic Americans. These differences suggest that along their more traditional orientation, the less acculturated Hispanic Americans are more positive toward such values as authority, discipline, and obedience, that is, values central to the military service. The traditional Hispanic Americans' highly positive outlook on these leadership values may be expected to influence their views of military service and military careers as well.

Finally, in view of the general importance of interpersonal relations to Hispanic Americans, it is relevant to explore to what extent the image of the military services reflect this subjective concern with the human social dimension.

In the present context of images of the military it is particularly relevant to compare Hispanic Americans acculturated to the U.S. environment and similar to their Anglo American neighbors in their perceptions and evaluation with other Hispanic Americans who think and feel more along what has been identified as "Hispanic culture." The findings so far have shown only modest differences between the Anglo Americans and the more acculturated Hispanic Americans while sizable differences have been found between the acculturated and the more traditional Hispanic Americans. In dealing with recruitment, job satisfaction, and retention of Hispanic Americans, the differences between acculturated and traditional Hispanic populations deserve closer attention.

MILITARY SERVICE/SERVICIO MILITAR

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	**Percentage of Total Score**					
ARMY, DEFENSE	41	36	47	48	14	16
CAREER, WORK, MONEY	8	11	11	11	8	8
OFFICER, SOLDIER	5	5	1	5	8	9
GOOD, ADVENTURE, TRAVEL	4	6	5	4	7	9
WAR, GUNS, DEATH	14	13	13	9	17	15
DISCIPLINE, RESPECT	6	5	1	3	18	13
TRAINING, EDUCATION	3	2	5	5	7	4
BAD, SUCKS, NEVER	8	7	3	2	7	9
FRIEND, MAN, WOMAN	1	1	1	1	3	5
U.S., COUNTRY, GOVERNMENT	1	4	2	3	2	0
DRAFT, SERVE	5	4	2	4	1	3
STRONG, PRIDE, HONOR	2	3	3	2	3	3
FUTURE, LIFE, WANT	1	2	1	3	3	3
MISCELLANEOUS	1	2	4	0	1	3
Total Scores	1305	1281	1224	1397	1283	1168

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
ARMY, DEFENSE		**538**	**465**	**576**	**676**	**184**	**189**
defense	defensa	-	18	-	6	15	6
police		-	-	6	19	-	-
protection		5	11	5	8	-	-
Air Force	fuerza aerea	98	72	87	105	22	12
service	servicio	7	19	10	17	13	-
Army	army,ejerc.	166	165	164	220	106	104
Coast Guard		8	8	13	13	-	-
Marines		96	67	124	119	9	21
National Guard		5	7	20	7	-	-
Navy	navy	106	98	147	162	19	46
CAREER, WORK, MONEY		**109**	**138**	**140**	**150**	**104**	**96**
hard,work		7	24	15	22	-	23
job		30	34	17	35	-	10
career		24	27	29	32	24	16
work	trabajo	16	8	32	37	24	25
employment	empleo	-	-	-	-	17	-
money	dinero	22	45	47	24	39	22
OFFICER, SOLDIER		**62**	**64**	**8**	**76**	**105**	**103**
officer		15	5	6	-	-	14
General	general	4	18	-	-	9	-
rank,s		7	7	-	10	-	23
Sergeant	sargento	5	8	6	-	14	7
soldier,s	soldado,s	6	9	-	38	24	21
uniform,s	uniforme	16	17	-	7	26	38
Captain	capitan	3	-	-	13	16	-
Colonel	coronel	-	-	-	8	16	-
GOOD, ADVENTURE, TRAVEL		**57**	**80**	**67**	**51**	**90**	**110**
fun		9	6	14	-	-	-
adventure	aventura	4	24	9	10	14	11
good	bueno	11	18	18	20	38	56
great		6	-	-	-	-	14
rewarding		-	-	-	-	-	24
help,ful	ayuda	13	23	20	15	14	15
travel,to	viajar	9	9	6	6	24	-
WAR, GUNS, DEATH		**184**	**163**	**158**	**126**	**219**	**172**
death,s	muerte,s	20	23	27	9	34	18
rifle,s	rifle	-	-	8	-	10	-
guns		33	28	22	17	-	34
tank,s		9	12	4	-	-	12
kill,ing		15	5	41	22	-	6
war,s	guerra,s	72	76	44	78	151	79
weapons		10	-	-	-	-	-
arms	armas	-	-	-	-	24	11
fight,ing		8	19	12	-	-	12
DISCIPLINE, RESPECT		**80**	**70**	**14**	**39**	**228**	**152**
obligation	obligacion	-	10	-	-	96	10
obligatory	obligatorio	-	-	-	-	77	24
order,s	orden	3	-	8	-	10	21
discipline	disciplina	20	14	6	10	16	34
respect		10	10	-	10	-	16
responsibility	responsabil.	-	8	-	-	8	12
strict		5	12	-	-	-	10
duty, one	deber	35	16	-	19	21	25

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
BAD, SUCKS, NEVER		**103**	**84**	**42**	**26**	**89**	**104**
never go		7	20	-	-	-	11
bad, evil	malo	-	2	-	11	40	21
dumb		-	-	-	-	-	12
prison		10	-	-	-	-	-
dislike		-	-	-	-	-	12
boring		-	16	12	-	-	-
don't like	no me gusta	-	-	-	-	12	-
hate		6	6	-	7	-	8
sucks		42	9	12	10	-	17
no	no	14	15	18	-	37	23
no way		15	14	-	-	-	-
FRIEND, MAN, WOMAN		**19**	**10**	**17**	**18**	**37**	**56**
friend,s		10	6	-	11	-	-
friendship	amistad	-	-	-	-	14	-
love		-	4	-	7	-	11
group	grupo	-	-	-	-	11	-
women		-	-	6	-	-	15
man	hombre	7	-	-	-	12	11
men		-	-	11	-	-	19
U.S., COUNTRY, GOVERNMENT		**12**	**46**	**27**	**47**	**29**	**0**
country,ies		-	20	8	7	-	-
Reagan	Reagan	-	-	-	-	19	-
government		-	11	9	34	-	-
Vietnam		6	12	6	-	-	-
U.S.		5	3	4	6	10	-
DRAFT, SERVE		**63**	**53**	**20**	**49**	**12**	**40**
draft		30	44	20	29	-	23
enlist,ment		27	-	-	-	-	10
4 years		-	-	-	20	-	-
serve,to	servir	-	9	-	-	12	7
STRONG, PRIDE, HONOR		**20**	**37**	**33**	**30**	**38**	**32**
brave		-	-	17	-	-	-
power, can	poder	-	-	-	-	10	-
pride		8	15	-	8	-	-
rough		-	10	4	-	-	-
strength	fuerza	-	-	-	-	28	-
strong		5	-	12	-	-	23
honor		5	12	-	22	-	9
TRAINING, EDUCATION		**43**	**22**	**57**	**72**	**96**	**41**
boot camp		15	-	5	-	-	-
study	estudio	-	-	-	11	9	-
train,ing	entrenamien.	19	9	24	17	16	17
education	educacion	5	13	13	17	18	15
learn	aprender	-	-	-	11	13	9
exams	examenes	-	-	-	-	10	-
exercises	ejercicios	-	-	-	-	18	-
experience	experiencia	-	-	15	16	12	-

FUTURE, LIFE, WANT		12	28	13	35	41	36
advantage	ventajas	-	-	-	-	12	-
needed		-	13	-	-	-	10
get ready	alistarse	-	-	-	-	14	-
opportunity	oportunidad	-	-	-	-	9	14
goal		-	-	-	-	-	12
want		-	-	-	10	-	-
advancement		-	-	-	10	-	-
life	vida	11	15	-	11	6	
future		-	-	13	4	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		**8**	**21**	**52**	**0**	**11**	**37**
I don't know		-	-	22	-	-	-
youth		-	-	-	-	-	15
selective	selectivo	-	-	-	-	11	-
race		-	-	-	-	-	12
march		-	-	18	-	-	-
green		7	21	-	-	-	-
maybe		-	-	12	-	-	10

THE MILITARY SERVICE/SERVICIO MILITAR

As indicated by the dominance scores, the Puerto Ricans in New York expressed the most interest in MILITARY SERVICE as a timely option, while the Cubans showed the least subjective interest.

The various service branches---the Army, the Navy, the Marines, the Air Force---received the most attention from all groups, generally in this same rank order. Here again the Puerto Ricans in New York scored the highest, about three times higher than the Puerto Ricans in San Juan or the Cubans in Miami. These last two groups' images of MILITARY SERVICE convey more saliently elements of "war" and "death," that is, traditional military experiences. This same tendency is also reflected by their attention to traditional military values: "discipline," "order," "respect." The Puerto Ricans in San Juan strongly viewed MILITARY SERVICE as an obligation. They were also somewhat more predisposed than the other groups to consider the educational, training, and learning dimensions of the service.

References to "soldiers" and various military ranks ("Captain," "Colonel") and to "uniforms" also suggest that the Puerto Rican group in San Juan and the Cubans had a stronger inclination to view MILITARY SERVICE in strict military terms. Interestingly, these two groups also appear somewhat more ambivalent on MILITARY SERVICE. While on one hand they were quite critical of the MILITARY SERVICE characterizing it as "bad" and "evil," on the other hand their characterization of the service as "good" was stronger than the more accultured groups.

The more accultured groups (the Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in New York) emphasized "job" and "career" related aspects of the service and were similar to the Anglo Americans in stressing the particular service branches.

In general, the two Mexican American samples and the New York based Puerto Rican sample showed more similarity with the Anglo American sample. They viewed the MILITARY SERVICE as a more or less conventional job or work situation within the framework of one of the service branches. The San Juan based Puerto Ricans and the Cubans in Miami viewed the service more in terms of traditional military experiences and obligations toward which they expressed ambivalent feelings.

MILITARY CAREER/CARRERA MILITAR

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
ARMY, NAVY, AIR FORCE	30	35	33	39	14	11
WORK, JOB	8	9	15	16	7	6
MONEY, BENEFITS	5	6	7	3	6	4
OFFICER, SOLDIER, PEOPLE	7	7	13	15	17	16
GOOD, ADVENTURE	5	9	6	1	10	12
DISCIPLINE, ORDER	5	4	2	2	11	10
TRAINING, EDUCATION	4	1	3	2	10	8
DEATH, WAR, GUNS	10	5	5	7	13	7
BAD, NO, BORING	13	14	9	5	4	16
FUTURE, GOALS	1	0	2	4	6	1
GOVERNMENT, COUNTRY	2	1	1	1	0	2
STRONG, HONOR, PRIDE	3	2	0	3	1	5
DRAFT, LONG	2	4	1	2	1	0
MISCELLANEOUS	4	3	2	0	1	2
Total Scores	1062	1034	1139	1256	1208	1062

Main Components and Responses		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
ARMY, NAVY, AIRFORCE		321	364	379	484	165	121
Marines		89	66	85	82	8	12
Coast Guard		5	10	15	7	-	-
militia	milicia	-	-	-	-	12	-
National Guard		-	-	4	11	-	-
Armed Forces		-	-	-	-	-	10
Navy	navy	75	89	101	120	24	23
Army	army,ejercito	73	130	128	174	99	64
service	servicio	20	-	9	25	12	-
Air Force	fuerza aera	70	65	50	76	10	12
WORK, JOB		84	89	168	195	79	64
mechanic		-	-	-	12	-	-
electronics	electronica	-	-	23	-	13	-
engineer	ingeniero	-	9	-	26	11	-
fix planes		-	-	11	-	-	-
computer,s		6	-	14	17	-	-
pilot		20	8	15	17	-	10
police		-	-	9	32	-	-
profession	profesion	-	-	-	-	16	-
Sword		-	-	6	11	-	-
hard, work		15	13	14	15	-	12
doctor		-	6	-	24	-	-
job,s		20	38	38	21	-	14
work	trabajo	15	15	38	20	38	28
MONEY, BENEFITS		56	58	75	38	68	41
low pay		10	-	-	-	-	-
money	dinero	25	49	75	38	44	30
pension	pension	11	-	-	-	6	11
benefits	beneficios	5	9	-	-	18	-
OFFICER, SOLDIER, PEOPLE		73	76	149	192	211	172
man, men	hombre,s	-	-	-	-	18	18
Captain	capitan	-	-	24	30	26	-
Colonel	coronel	-	-	13	9	13	5
commander	comandante	-	-	9	13	10	13
officer,s		15	7	6	12	-	12
official		-	-	-	-	-	25
people		9	-	10	-	-	12
General	general	25	22	30	21	15	-
Corporal	cabo	-	-	-	9	20	-
Private		-	8	10	16	-	-
rank,s	rango	12	-	9	11	13	15
Sergeant		5	-	30	24	31	5
soldier	soldado	-	16	-	31	38	23
uniform,s	uniforme	-	23	-	8	10	46
Lieutenant	teniente	-	-	8	8	27	-
GOOD, ADVENTURE		52	89	73	16	120	125
exciting		-	11	-	-	-	13
fun		19	-	12	7	-	-
good	buena	10	20	31	-	29	68
adventure	aventura	-	14	23	9	21	-
security	seguridad	-	-	-	-	17	13
help,ful		-	9	-	-	3	10
interesting	interesante	-	7	-	-	12	10
travel, to	viajar	18	28	7	-	38	11
STRONG, HONOR, PRIDE		32	18	0	35	15	54
honor		10	-	-	7	-	19
proud		-	-	-	9	-	-
power		12	-	-	-	-	9
strength	fuerza	-	-	-	-	15	-
pride		7	9	-	9	-	7
strong		-	-	-	-	-	19
tough		-	9	-	10	-	-
DRAFT, LONG		26	46	11	25	10	0
20 years		-	-	-	10	-	-
long	large	11	20	-	-	10	-
life		7	14	-	15	-	-
4 years		-	-	11	-	-	-
draft		6	12	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		44	32	28	0	11	25
friends		7	11	-	-	-	-
I don't know		-	-	18	-	-	-
airplanes		-	-	-	-	-	15
green		8	11	10	-	-	-
maybe		25	10	-	-	-	-
fags		-	-	-	-	-	10
jail	carcel	-	-	-	-	11	-

Main Components and Responses		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
DISCIPLINE, ORDER		56	44	20	31	132	102
effort	esfuerzo	-	-	-	-	24	-
command, to	mandar	7	-	-	-	11	12
obligation	obligacion	-	-	-	-	33	11
orders		11	5	-	-	-	-
respect		-	10	6	8	-	21
responsibilty	responsabl.	5	-	-	-	10	-
authority		12	-	-	-	-	-
strict		-	10	-	-	-	12
discipline	disciplina	16	19	14	13	41	46
duty	deber	-	-	-	10	13	-
TRAINING, EDUCATION		44	13	39	30	119	80
education	educacion	30	-	-	13	24	6
experience	experiencia	-	9	15	7	9	-
school		-	-	9	-	-	45
studies	estudios	-	-	-	-	24	-
study, to	estudio,ar	-	-	-	-	43	8
training		14	4	6	-	-	23
academy	academia	16	-	-	-	10	-
knowledge	conocimiento	-	-	9	-	9	10
learn		-	-	-	10	-	-
DEATH, WAR, GUNS		111	50	60	86	155	70
fight,ing		9	-	-	-	-	15
arms	armas	-	-	-	10	19	12
pain		12	-	-	-	-	-
kill,ing		-	-	8	18	-	-
guns		26	9	9	7	-	13
death	muerte	16	10	7	11	26	-
danger	riesgo	-	-	-	-	16	-
war,s	guerra,s	38	31	36	40	94	30
BAD, NO, BORING		136	147	102	60	49	165
never		22	40	-	-	-	15
stupid		15	-	-	-	-	-
no	no	35	24	36	13	19	28
none		-	-	21	36	-	17
not for me		-	22	-	-	-	-
not worth it		-	11	-	-	-	-
bad	mala	6	4	-	-	12	48
boring		22	25	14	-	-	15
don't like	no me gusta	-	-	-	-	18	-
crazy		-	-	-	-	-	10
sucks		15	-	31	11	-	14
no way		9	21	-	-	-	18
FUTURE, GOALS		8	0	24	46	74	10
opportunity	oportunidad	-	-	-	11	11	-
advancement		7	-	-	12	-	-
future	futuro	-	-	16	12	26	10
advantage	ventajas	-	-	-	-	12	-
goal,s	meta,s	-	-	8	11	12	-
progress	progreso	-	-	-	-	13	-
GOVERNMENT, COUNTRY		19	8	11	18	0	23
U.S.		-	-	-	-	-	12
patriotic,ism		12	-	-	-	-	-
country		5	-	-	-	-	11
government		-	8	11	18	-	-

MILITARY CAREER/CARRERA MILITAR

Of the six groups compared, the Puerto Ricans in New York produced the highest dominance score while the Anglo Americans showed relatively little subjective interest.

To both Mexican American groups and to the Puerto Ricans in New York the specific service branches---Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force---were salient elements of consideration. The Marine Corps received the most attention from the Puerto Rican group in New York. The Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami showed the least interest here.

The work and job aspects of a military career were stronger for the Mexican Americans in Tempe and the Puerto Ricans in New York. They both listed specific jobs such as "mechanic," "engineer," "pilot," etc. The Puerto Rican group in San Juan and the Cuban group gave little attention to this employment dimension. Also, these two groups considered MILITARY CAREER not so much as a conventional job but as a specific, different kind of experience. In this vein, the Puerto Ricans in San Juan mentioned "war" and "death" and emphasized specific military values like "discipline," "respect," and "obligation." Military ranks ("Sergeant," "Captain," "Colonel") were also more salient elements in the Puerto Ricans' and the Cubans' images of MILITARY CAREER as were "education," "training," "school," and "studying." In this respect the two Mexican American groups showed more similarity with the Anglo Americans. The explicitly evaluative responses indicated some ambivalence. The Anglo Americans and the two Mexican American samples gave more negative evaluations ("boring," "no," "never") than positive ones ("good," "adventure," "travel"). The Cubans scored the highest on both positive and negative reactions. The Puerto Rican group in San Juan had higher positive than negative scores, with "good," "adventure," and "travel" showing considerable salience. They were also most inclined to relate MILITARY CAREER to "future," "goals," "opportunity," and "advantage."

In general, The two Mexican American samples and the Puerto Ricans in New York showed a strong disposition to view MILITARY CAREER from the angle of jobs and work. At the same time, Puerto Ricans in San Juan and Cubans in Miami considered MILITARY CAREER from a specific military angle, paying more attention to certain non-civilian features such as the uniforms and different ranks.

THE ARMED FORCES/FUERZA ARMADAS

Perceptions and Evaluations by:		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components		Percentage of Total Score					
ARMY, MILITARY, DEFENSE		55	55	47	49	29	21
WORK, CAREER, MONEY		4	5	3	5	6	5
GOOD, ADVENTURE		1	2	4	4	4	7
SOLDIER, CAPTAIN, PEOPLE		2	3	1	4	5	8
U.S., GOVERNMENT		2	3	2	3	1	4
DISCIPLINE, ORDERS		3	3	1	3	8	7
WAR, DEATH, FIGHTING		12	11	14	14	22	15
BAD, NO		6	2	6	1	4	6
STRONG, PRIDE		2	3	4	3	4	8
DRAFT, ENLISTMENT		2	3	2	1	1	3
GUNS, ARMS, BOMBS		8	7	13	11	10	10
EDUCATION, TRAINING		2	0	2	1	4	2
MISCELLANEOUS		1	3	0	0	1	2
Total Scores		1440	1394	1372	1413	1386	1305

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
ARMY, MILITARY, DEFENSE		793	764	647	699	406	274
Air Force		133	143	100	119	33	25
force		12	-	-	10	-	-
police,man	policia	-	-	17	31	13	-
protect,ion		31	37	14	12	-	25
safety		10	8	-	-	-	-
service	servicio	18	-	-	26	12	9
Army	ejercito	169	201	167	192	208	87
defend		9	3	10	-	-	6
defense	defensa	9	25	13	-	42	20
help,ful	ayuda	5	15	14	-	11	-
Marines		131	117	123	109	-	30
military	militar	30	20	27	20	23	27
Coast Guard		17	8	9	22	-	-
militia	milicia	-	-	-	-	14	-
National Guard		10	8	8	11	-	-
navy	navy	137	179	145	147	49	45
WORK, CAREER, MONEY		61	75	46	77	88	66
opportunity	oportunidad	-	-	-	9	15	-
job		5	15	7	15	-	-
work	trabajo	14	-	16	9	21	32
career		13	32	7	19	15	7
money	dinero	23	28	16	25	37	27
GOOD, ADVENTURE		18	28	57	51	50	96
peace		-	3	9	19	-	12
fun		-	-	9	-	-	11
progress	progreso	-	-	-	-	11	-
good	bueno	-	-	18	10	17	50
great		11	-	-	-	-	15
travel,to	viajar	-	18	9	10	22	-
life		-	7	-	12	-	-
adventure		5	-	12	-	-	-
SOLDIER, CAPTAIN, PEOPLE		30	46	18	55	72	109
people		-	-	8	13	-	11
G.I.'s		-	10	-	-	-	-
rank,s		-	-	-	-	-	25
soldier,s	soldado,s	4	7	6	28	32	12
uniform,s	uniforme,s	13	20	-	7	12	38
Captain	capitan	5	-	-	-	10	-
man		-	-	-	-	-	12
men		5	9	6	7	-	11
commander	comandante	-	-	-	-	18	-
U.S., GOVERNMENT		29	35	28	42	12	47
country		11	5	12	13	-	12
government		-	11	8	19	-	9
U.S.		12	19	8	10	12	26
DISCIPLINE, ORDERS		46	36	20	49	114	99
obligation	obligacion	-	-	-	-	44	11
order,s	orden	7	-	-	-	12	26
respect		5	8	8	24	-	16
discipline	disciplina	10	28	12	8	38	34
authority	autoridad	-	-	-	-	19	-
duty		20	-	-	16	-	8
MISCELLANEOUS		10	44	0	0	13	12
shit		-	-	-	-	-	12
green		9	14	-	-	-	-
short hair		-	12	-	-	-	-
necessary		-	8	-	-	-	10
sky		-	-	-	-	-	10
hair-cut		-	10	-	-	-	-
law	ley	-	-	-	-	13	-
WAR, DEATH, FIGHTING		169	148	106	197	306	201
battle	batalla	7	-	-	-	11	-
fight,ing	lucha	16	7	30	30	28	20
get killed		10	-	-	-	-	-
danger,ous	peligro	-	8	-	-	13	10
death,s	muerte,s	19	26	16	21	53	25
destruction	destruccion	4	11	-	-	11	-
invasion		-	-	-	-	-	10
die,ing		-	-	14	-	-	-
war,s	guerra,s	80	87	85	130	190	122
kill,ing		18	7	41	16	-	14
BAD, NO		84	21	81	13	58	75
sufferance	sufrimiento	-	-	-	-	10	-
crazy		10	-	12	-	-	-
boring		15	-	-	-	-	-
hard		8	-	-	13	-	17
sucks		21	-	42	-	-	24
wickedness	maldad	-	-	-	-	11	-
dont like		-	-	10	-	-	-
bad	malo	7	-	17	-	18	16
never, go		7	13	-	-	-	8
no	no	8	8	-	-	19	10
STRONG, PRIDE		23	48	52	39	61	108
strong	fuerte	-	-	15	12	15	39
pride		-	9	12	-	-	-
power,ful	poderio	12	32	-	17	33	48
strength	fuerza	4	-	-	-	13	-
tough		5	7	13	10	-	-
brave		-	-	12	-	-	-
DRAFT, ENLISTMENT		29	46	23	12	15	43
join		-	-	-	-	-	11
draft		15	35	17	-	-	30
voluntary	voluntario	-	-	-	12	15	-
enlist,ment		11	11	6	-	-	12
GUNS, ARMS, BOMBS		118	100	185	161	140	137
knife		-	-	-	11	-	-
bombs	bombas	6	10	21	9	10	22
planes		11	12	39	10	-	6
airplane,s	avion,es	8	-	-	10	27	-
arms	armas	-	-	-	-	66	22
weapons		6	16	14	19	-	24
gun,s		71	41	71	84	-	43
rifle,s	rifle,s	-	-	-	-	21	8
missiles		-	-	13	-	-	-
tank,s	tanque,s	5	21	27	18	16	12
EDUCATION, TRAINING		35	3	29	18	51	22
education	educacion	10	-	4	18	16	6
experience		8	-	10	-	-	6
exercises	ejercicios	-	-	-	-	13	-
train,ing,ed	entrenamiento	17	3	15	-	22	10

THE ARMED FORCES/FUERZA ARMADAS

The salience of the theme ARMED FORCES was the highest for the Puerto Ricans in New York and lowest for the Cubans and Anglo Americans.

In the case of the Anglo Americans, the Mexican American groups, and the Puerto Rican group in New York, about half of the responses elicited to the stimulus ARMED FORCES refer to the four major service branches: the Army, the Navy, the Marines, and the Air Force. The level of attention given to specific services by the Puerto Rican group in San Juan and the Cuban group in Miami was only about half that observed with the Anglo and Mexican Americans. The two less accultured groups focused their attention on certain characteristically military aspects which distinguish the ARMED FORCES from other organizations or professions. They interconnected ARMED FORCES more intensively with "war," "death," and "danger." While Anglo and Mexican Americans also mentioned "war," "killing," and "death," the overall weight given to these mosaic elements was noticeably less.

A similar contrast can be found in connection with such military values as "discipline," "order," and "obligation," which were again much more dominant for the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans than for the Anglo and Mexican Americans. The same can be observed in the context of other military aspects, e.g., "soldier," "commander," or "uniform."

Military hardware (e.g., "Guns, Arms, Bombs") was of similar importance to all six sample groups in their images of ARMED FORCES. One minor difference was that the Anglos and the three more accultured groups mentioned more specific weapons (e.g., "planes," "guns," "bombs"), while the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans thought of "arms" in general.

The previously observed ambivalence of these groups is further reinforced in this context. The Anglo and Mexican Americans gave a preponderance of negative reactions, while the Puerto Ricans in New York and the Cubans in Miami were more positive than negative in their evaluations. These last two groups were also stronger in their emphasis on strength and power.

In general, there was again a fairly consistent difference between the Anglo, Mexican American, and New York Puerto Rican groups, who emphasized the main service branches, and the San Juan Puerto Rican and Cuban group, who emphasized military values, military activities, rules and ranks. The accultured groups were relatively more critical and the less accultured groups were more positive in their evaluations.

THE ARMY/EL EJERCITO

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
MILITARY, DEFENSE	25	28	11	24	14	15
WORK, CAREER, MONEY	6	6	13	12	7	8
WAR, DEATH, FIGHTING	15	15	29	14	19	17
SOLDIERS,CAPTAIN,UNIFORM	8	6	6	9	10	12
GOOD, ADVENTURE	2	3	4	5	9	6
GUNS, TANKS	12	11	13	8	7	8
TRAINING, EDUCATION	7	2	6	5	8	3
STRONG, PRIDE, POWER	3	6	4	7	5	8
DISCIPLINE, ORDERS	4	2	1	1	7	7
BAD, SUCKS, NO	9	3	3	6	6	11
MEN, PEOPLE, FRIEND	1	5	5	4	4	3
U.S., GOVERNMENT	1	3	1	3	3	2
DRAFT, SERVE	2	4	1	1	1	1
MISCELLANEOUS	5	5	2	1	1	0
Total Scores	1267	1253	1335	1284	1192	1238

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
MILITARY, DEFENSE		314	307	147	310	166	190
Air Force		34	28	-	46	-	10
company	compania	-	-	-	-	12	-
Marines		29	21	-	49	-	15
military	militar	39	19	26	30	27	36
militia	milicia	-	-	-	-	15	-
Navy		71	66	15	82	14	44
force		-	-	-	13	-	-
Army	army,ejercito	-	8	10	41	32	16
police		-	-	-	18	-	-
defense	defensa	6	35	-	-	21	15
protect,ion		-	7	21	-	-	14
green		67	117	35	10	-	19
security	seguridad	-	-	-	-	14	-
service	servicio	17	10	12	-	9	9
Armed Forces		-	36	-	-	-	-
commandos		-	-	10	-	-	-
help	ayuda	3	-	9	8	13	12
infantry	infanteria	19	-	9	13	9	-
WORK, CAREER, MONEY		81	76	176	159	81	97
money	dinero	10	12	35	26	40	14
future		6	-	12	11	-	3
career		5	8	32	34	-	21
hard, work		21	20	23	29	-	43
employment	empleo	-	-	-	-	13	-
way of life		-	-	-	10	-	-
job		10	19	29	19	-	-
work	trabajo	22	17	45	30	28	16
WAR, DEATH, FIGHTING		188	192	386	181	227	206
fight,ing	lucha	41	54	87	13	10	16
dangerous		-	5	15	-	-	-
dead		-	-	29	-	-	-
death	muerte	36	31	46	20	44	42
get killed		-	-	12	-	-	-
destruction	destruccion	-	-	-	-	21	-
die		-	-	17	-	-	-
battle	batalla	-	-	-	-	16	-
war,s	guerra	73	94	146	119	136	130
kill,ing		20	8	74	29	-	18
SOLDIERS, CAPTAIN, UNIFORM		105	79	81	110	115	143
leaders		-	-	14	-	-	-
General,s	general	15	13	-	18	6	-
Captain	capitan	13	3	7	-	13	14
Chief		-	-	-	10		
rank,s	rango	7	-	-	4	11	24
Sergeant	sargento	11	14	15	10	13	9
Corporal	cabo	-	5	-	10	9	
soldier,s	soldado,s	27	26	23	32	46	54
stripes		12	-	-	-	-	-
uniform,s	uniforme	10	16	24	27	17	42
GOOD, ADVENTURE		29	37	53	61	104	70
life		10	9	-	-	-	-
fun		8	-	19	13	-	-
peace		-	9	-	15	-	7
good	bueno	-	9	15	12	31	37
great		-	-	-	-	-	17
adventure	aventura	8	10	-	12	17	9
hero		-	-	15	-	-	-
travel,to	viajar	-	-	4	9	46	-
trip	viaje	-	-	-	-	10	-
DRAFT, SERVE		24	49	9	13	10	18
serve		-	-	-	13	-	-
draft,ed		22	34	9	-	-	9
recruit	reclutar	-	-	-	-	10	-
enlist,ment		-	15	-	-	-	9
MISCELLANEOUS		58	65	27	10	13	0
Ft. Bliss		-	13	-	-	-	-
M.A.S.H.		18	13	-	-	-	-
short hair		-	13	-	-	-	-
football		14	-	12	-	-	-
jail		-	-	-	10	-	-
solution	solucion	-	-	-	-	13	
ground		10	-	-	-	-	
commercial		-	10	-	-	-	
food		-	6	15	-	-	-
Patton		11	-	-	-		

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
GUNS, TANKS		155	144	171	103	84	97
bo		-	5	19	-	-	6
ar	armas	-	-	-	-	31	-
pl,s,air	aviones	4	-	10	-	6	6
ri,s	rifle	-	4	8	-	12	-
gr,de,s		4	-	13	7	-	-
gu,s	pistola	56	56	63	54	5	54
tank,s	tanques	59	46	42	35	30	21
jeep,s		-	16	16	7	-	-
weapons		18	17	-	-	-	10
TRAINING, EDUCATION		88	26	76	59	99	34
march,ing	marchar	-	-	17	-	12	5
exercise,s	ejercicio,s	10	-	-	-	33	12
learn,ing		-	-	20	6	-	2
experience	experiencia	5	-	16	10	9	5
run, to	correr	7	5	-	-	15	-
bootcamp		7	-	-	10	-	-
training	entrenamien.	20	15	11	16	13	10
education	educacion	-	6	12	17	17	-
West Point		31	-	-	-	-	-
STRONG, PRIDE, POWER		40	73	60	94	59	97
power,ful	poder	-	8	9	11	18	30
pride		6	15	-	10	-	10
proud		4	13	-	-	-	-
rough		-	-	16	21	-	-
tough		22	32	11	37	-	-
honor		-	-	-	-	-	12
strength	fuerza	-	-	-	7	41	-
strong		4	5	24	8	-	45
DISCIPLINE, ORDERS		49	29	19	15	83	85
obligation	obligacion	-	-	-	-	36	-
order,s	ordenes	18	-	11	-	6	16
respect		-	10	-	15	-	25
discipline	disciplina	21	19	8	-	18	28
strict		-	-	-	-	-	11
responsible	responsable	-	-	-	-	13	-
duty	deber	6	-	-	-	10	5
BAD, SUCKS, NO		110	42	40	71	76	131
scared		-	-	16	-	-	-
fags		12	-	-	-	-	12
mean		10	-	-	8	-	-
never		-	13	-	-	-	20
stupid		14	-	8	-	-	-
no	no	11	-	-	18	13	30
hate		3	-	4	-	-	10
dirt,y		20	-	-	-	-	12
bad	malo	-	6	-	-	63	28
sucks		30	15	10	27	-	10
no good		-	8	-	18	-	9
MEN, PEOPLE, FRIEND		16	58	72	57	42	41
men		15	14	12	19	-	20
man	hombre	-	-	-	-	45	-
women		-	-	10	-	-	11
people		-	5	25	18	-	-
brother		-	-	-	10	-	-
you		-	-	12	-	-	-
group	grupo	-	-	-	-	18	-
father		-	24	-	-	-	-
friend,s	amigo,s	-	15	13	10	9	10
U.S., GOVERNMENT		12	36	18	41	33	29
U.S.	E.U	-	13	15	15	15	11
government		-	7	8	31	-	8
country		11	7	-	-	-	-
nation	nacion	-	9	-	-	17	-

THE ARMY/EL EJERCITO

The Army is the oldest and probably most representative branch of the military services. The dominance scores indicate that it received the most subjective attention from the Mexican Americans in Tempe and the Puerto Ricans in New York.

As in the case of the general subjects of MILITARY SERVICE and MILITARY CAREER, the groups' images of the ARMY had close connections with the other services such as the Navy and the Marines. These connections were particularly strong for the New York based Puerto Ricans, the Mexican Americans in El Paso, and the Anglo Americans. Specific references to "Navy," "Marines," and "Air Force" were the strongest by the Puerto Ricans in New York. One reason for this interest in the ARMY and other services may be due to the tendency of the New York based Puerto Rican group and the Tempe based Mexican American group to view the Army as a source of "work," "job," "careers" and as part of their "future." Their references to ARMY as a source of "money," were also noticeably higher than most of the other groups'.

In contrast to this job and income oriented image, the Mexican Americans in Tempe, the Puerto Ricans in San Juan, and the Cubans in Miami viewed the ARMY in the context of such less attractive, more dangerous eventualities as "war" and "death." The traditional military, hierarchy based nature of the ARMY ("uniform," "soldiers," and various "ranks") had relatively more effect on the images of the Puerto Rican groups and the Cubans. The Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans stressed such traditional military values as "discipline," "order," and "obligation," trends which also emerged in the analysis of MILITARY SERVICE and MILITARY CAREER. The emphasis on "strength" and "power" by the Puerto Ricans in New York and the Cubans shows a positive correlation with these same considerations.

The Puerto Ricans and Cubans were more positive in their evaluations of ARMY, describing it as "good" and "great" and referring to such advantages as "adventure" and "travel." In the case of the Cuban group these positive elements were outweighed by negative evaluations: "bad," "no," "never." The Anglo Americans' negative reactions ("sucks," "dirty," "stupid") appear to dominate over a few positive references ("fun," "adventure").

In general, the Mexican Americans' reactions showed more similarity with the Anglo Americans', particularly in their emphasis on the various service branches and military hardware. In comparison, the Puerto Ricans and Cubans placed more emphasis on certain traditional aspects and human dimensions and gave more affect-laden evaluations of the ARMY.

THE NAVY/EL NAVY

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
ARMY,MILITARY,DEFENSE	9	12	4	15	11	4
BOAT, SHIP, AIRPLANE	29	25	24	22	21	21
WATER, OCEAN	20	22	24	15	18	17
CAREER, WORK, MONEY	3	5	7	8	5	5
SAILOR, CAPTAIN, UNIFORM	6	5	6	9	5	7
WAR, BOMBS, FIGHTING	5	8	7	11	16	12
STRONG, DISCIPLINE, RESPECT	4	6	0	4	4	11
GOOD, ADVENTURE, TRAVEL	4	7	4	5	9	7
PEOPLE, MEN, WOMEN	1	2	3	2	1	4
BLUE, WHITE	6	3	1	1	0	3
BAD, SUCKS, NEVER	9	2	12	4	3	6
TRAINING, EDUCATION	1	1	2	3	5	2
MISCELLANEOUS	3	2	6	1	3	1
Total Scores	1473	1374	1354	1246	1397	1251

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
ARMY,MILITARY,DEFENSE		125	162	53	192	150	52
draft		-	18	-	-	-	12
Army	ejercito	42	39	10	56	59	18
protection		-	23	-	13	-	10
service	servicio	10	9	-	24	13	-
Air Force		17	16	12	28	-	-
Armed Forces		-	34	-	17	-	-
Marines	marines	12	19	9	19	24	-
defense	defensa	-	8	8	11	24	12
military	militar	33	-	14	26	19	-
militia	milicia	-	-	-	-	11	-
BOAT, SHIP, AIRPLANE		432	340	326	277	289	260
aircraft		20	6	15	-	-	-
boat,s,ship	botes,barco	117	73	80	81	226	100
planes,air	aviones	12	30	21	47	25	39
aircraft carr	portaavion	5	14	-	-	9	-
ship,s		170	164	145	149	-	96
carrier,s		10	9	15	-	-	-
submarine,s	submarino	38	28	30	-	24	14
battleship		21	16	10	-	-	-
helicopter	helicopter	-	-	-	-	5	11
deck		-	-	10	-	-	-
WATER, OCEAN		294	307	323	186	250	209
ocean,s	oceano	31	61	55	16	11	24
port		12	6	-	-	-	-
sea	mar	64	114	49	48	129	68
water	agua	160	126	219	122	55	117
beach	playa	-	-	-	-	10	-
marine	marino	-	-	-	-	45	-
CAREER, WORK, MONEY		47	62	93	99	64	68
career	carrera	24	12	18	26	17	21
hard, work		-	11	7	-	-	14
work	trabajo	5	6	15	25	26	12
job		9	25	36	21	-	12
money	dinero	5	8	17	27	21	9
SAILOR, CAPTAIN, UNIFORM		92	74	76	115	66	89
officer		11	-	-	-	-	8
Admiral		7	-	12	-	-	6
sailor,s	marinero	21	35	26	27	13	-
Captain,s	capitan	4	9	9	24	5	31
Sergeant		-	-	-	8	10	-
soldiers	soldados	8	8	-	13	8	13
Commander	comandante	9	4	-	25	10	-
uniform,s	uniforme	24	18	29	18	20	31
WAR, BOMBS, FIGHTING		78	106	93	135	228	155
arms	armas	-	-	-	-	62	14
bombs	bombas	6	8	13	-	12	6
cannons	cannones	-	9	-	-	16	-
fight,ing	lucha	-	12	17	8	13	7
rifle	rifles	-	-	-	-	16	-
battle	batalla	-	9	-	-	14	8
guns		22	20	36	35	-	11
war,s	guerra	43	42	27	92	110	97
death	muerte	-	6	-	-	25	12
MISCELLANEOUS		46	22	85	10	43	17
maybe		-	-	-	-	-	11
San Diego		-	10	-	-	-	-
cruise		-	-	15	-	-	-
academy		22	8	-	-	-	-
fish	peces	-	8	15	-	10	-
sea		-	-	13	-	-	-
exercises	ejercicios	-	-	-	-	23	-
squids		-	-	27	-	-	-
swim, to	nadar	-	-	15	-	10	6
Village People		20	-	-	-	-	-
big		-	-	-	10	-	-
STRONG, DISCIPLINE, RESPECT		54	81	6	46	62	132
obligation	obligacion	-	-	-	13	12	-
powerful		10	9	-	-	-	12
principle		7	9	6	-	-	14
respect		5	14	-	8	-	15
responsibility		-	-	-	-	-	10
strength,	fuerza	-	-	-	-	18	8
strong	fuerte	10	12	-	12	10	39
command		11	-	-	-	-	-
tough		-	15	-	13	-	-
courage		-	-	-	-	-	10
discipline	disciplina	6	22	-	-	22	24
GOOD, ADVENTURE, TRAVEL		63	95	54	67	124	83
overseas		-	13	14	8	-	-
fun		10	-	-	-	-	-
gain,benefit	logro	-	-	-	-	10	-
good	bueno	14	8	-	-	28	21
great		-	-	12	-	-	10
travel,ing		15	39	13	44	53	26
trip	viaje	-	-	-	-	9	12
adventure	aventura	18	35	15	15	24	14
PEOPLE, MEN, WOMEN		14	24	36	28	12	44
people		-	6	10	16	-	7
group	grupo	-	-	-	-	12	-
man		-	1	20	-	-	15
women		-	11	-	-	-	-
men		13	7	6	12	-	22
BLUE, WHITE		85	48	17	10	6	39
blue	azul	46	17	17	10	6	19
grey		20	8	-	-	-	-
white		21	23	-	-	-	20
BAD, SUCKS, NEVER		130	34	164	48	40	81
sucks		35	-	22	13	-	7
boring		15	11	-	-	-	-
fags		28	-	16	-	-	16
don't like	no me gusta	-	-	-	-	18	-
inhuman,cruel	inhumano	-	-	-	-	11	-
dumb		-	-	12	-	-	-
never		-	10	-	-	-	9
gay,s		9	-	22	10	-	11
drown,ing		12	5	25	-	-	-
seasick		5	8	25	25	-	-
homosexual		-	-	8	-	-	16
no		14	-	17	-	-	6
bad, evil	malo	-	-	-	-	11	16
no good		-	-	17	-	-	-
TRAINING, EDUCATION		12	19	28	33	63	22
opportunity	oportunidad	-	-	-	-	22	-
education	educacion	7	8	-	-	11	-
help,ful	ayuda	4	7	-	11	10	-
training	entrenamiento	-	4	16	11	12	6
learn	aprender	-	-	12	11	8	16

THE NAVY/EL NAVY

As the larger dominance scores indicate, the NAVY was richer in meaning and stronger in appeal to practically all samples than, for instance, the ARMY. The differences were particularly sizable in the case of the Anglo American group. There are several obvious reasons for these differences.

There are two major components in the NAVY's image which differentiate it, for instance, from the image of the ARMY. The first involves "ships," "boats," and other vehicles and equipment. The second involves the "ocean," "sea," and "water," i.e., the characteristic scenery and medium which distinguishes the Navy from other service branches. The general preoccupation with these characteristics across the board probably explains the little attention given to military characteristics including references to the other service branches. This appears to be particularly pronounced with the Cubans in Miami and the Mexican Americans in Tempe.

The Hispanic Americans were generally more inclined than the Anglos to view the NAVY as an employment opportunity (a "job"). Again, the Puerto Ricans in New York and the Mexican Americans in Tempe showed this tendency more than the others. Also the "fighting" potential of the NAVY and its role in "war" were more salient in the eyes of the Puerto Ricans and the Cubans, while these aspects received the least attention from the Anglo Americans.

The human, organizational dimensions, the military hierarchy, which in the previous contexts attracted consistently more attention from the Hispanic American groups than from the Anglo Americans, did not dominate here. One explanation may be that in the Anglo American cultural context the NAVY is seen as a more hierarchically organized military institution with distinctive uniforms, while along the Puerto Rican and Cuban cultural experiences these military, organizational characteristics may become less pronounced. This conclusion appears to be supported by the observation that other characteristically militaristic references (e.g., "death," "fighting") were less salient as well.

A substantial part of the apparently negative reactions to NAVY dealt with homosexuality ("gays," "fags," "homosexual"), suggesting that to some of the groups---Anglo Americans, Cubans, and Mexican Americans from Tempe---this is of some concern.

<u>In general,</u> the NAVY appears as an attractive job opportunity to the Puerto Ricans in New York and the Mexican Americans in Tempe. The Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami maintained their previously identified military perspectives; yet, in the context of the NAVY this was less pronounced than in the context of the ARMY.

THE MARINE CORPS/EL MARINE CORPS

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
Main Components	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
	Percentage of Total Score					
ARMY, MILITARY, DEFENSE	13	12	11	19	16	6
WORK, MONEY, FUTURE	4	11	12	15	6	13
SOLDIER, OFFICER, MEN	4	8	8	9	5	7
DISCIPLINE, RESPECT	5	4	4	5	6	13
TRAINING, ADVENTURE	3	5	7	6	8	5
WAR, FIGHTING, GUNS	13	6	15	14	16	12
GOOD, BEST, NO. 1	8	4	6	4	3	4
BAD, DUMB, MEAN	19	7	11	4	3	6
FEW, PROUD, STRONG	21	30	18	10	6	14
BOATS, WATER, SEA	3	6	1	10	27	15
U.S., COUNTRY	1	1	1	1	1	1
UNIFORM, GREEN, BLUE	4	3	4	1	2	5
MISCELLANEOUS	3	3	1	1	1	0
Total Scores	1243	1162	1091	1232	1055	1200

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
ARMY, MILITARY, DEFENSE		138	140	120	240	170	70
Armed Forces		-	12	-	-	-	-
Marines		-	4	18	18	-	-
military	militar	15	22	29	17	16	27
militia	milicia	-	-	-	-	16	-
Navy	navy	47	23	13	55	36	13
force		-	-	-	-	-	13
police		-	-	-	12	-	-
protect,ion		6	10	-	19	-	-
Army	ejercito	37	41	21	57	56	-
R.O.T.C.		23	-	20	-	-	-
service	servicio	8	-	9	32	23	9
Green Berets		8	5	10	-	-	-
defense	defensa	-	7	-	11	21	8
Air Force		-	16	-	19	-	-
WORK, MONEY, FUTURE		55	129	133	186	90	152
enlist,ment		-	8	7	10	-	16
career		5	-	18	22	-	11
money	dinero	-	15	22	17	9	7
opportunity	oportunidad	-	9	-	13	8	-
future	futuro	-	-	7	17	11	6
achievement		-	-	-	11	-	-
hard, work		15	48	21	46	-	72
work	trabajo	24	12	34	26	31	32
job		6	37	24	22	-	8
SOLDIER, OFFICER, MEN		46	86	62	107	55	88
Lieutenant	teniente	-	-	6	15	-	-
Captain	capitan	-	-	6	4	16	-
officer		-	-	-	10	-	14
Commander		-	-	15	-	-	-
rank,s		-	5	-	14	-	11
Sergeant	sargento	5	-	16	17	4	-
soldier,s	soldado,s	11	16	8	20	31	9
people		-	-	20	-	-	-
uncle		8	10	-	-	-	-
ser, man		5	17	-	16	-	54
Coach Romero		-	21	-	-	-	-
Gomer Pyle		8	8	11	-	-	-
friend,s	amigo,s	5	11	-	11	4	-
DISCIPLINE, RESPECT		67	51	43	66	67	159
command		-	-	-	-	-	10
rules	reglas	-	-	-	-	5	12
discipline	disciplina	34	28	11	11	26	74
obligation	obligacion	-	-	-	-	23	-
strict,ness		-	6	-	9	-	-
aggression	opresion	-	-	-	-	13	
sacrifice		-	-	-	-	-	10
respect		17	10	18	24	-	61
honor,ed		5	5	14	11	-	12
duty		-	-	-	11	-	-
TRAINING, ADVENTURE		39	60	79	73	83	61
learn		-	6	-	10	-	9
exciting,ment		10	-	-	-	-	6
exercises	ejercicios	-	-	-	8	39	-
adventure	aventura	-	22	9	7	6	10
experience		-	-	12	8	-	-
fun		8	-	21	-	-	-
skills		-	-	-	12	-	-
train,ing,er	entrenamien.	17	19	37	17	21	26
travel, to,	viajar	-	15	-	11	17	10
WAR, FIGHTING, GUNS		157	74	167	167	166	138
kill		8	-	31	-	-	12
fatal	fatal	-	-	-	-	13	-
fight,ing	pelea	34	8	27	12	37	6
fight to die		11	-	-	-	-	-
death	muerte	16	14	23	-	18	-
war,s	guerra,s	42	31	36	95	69	77
arm	armas	-	-	-	-	13	12
torpedoes		-	-	-	-	-	11
planes,air		-	-	7	21	-	16
rifle	rifle	-	-	-	-	16	-
gun,s		20	18	43	32	-	6
helicopter		12	3	-	7	-	-
GOOD, BEST, NO. 1		100	50	66	48	33	46
No. 1		-	-	8	11	-	-
first		17	3	-	11	-	-
best		19	29	-	-	-	-
cool		15	-	-	-	-	-
good	bien,bueno	8	5	29	-	15	29
great		23	-	-	-	-	-
smart		-	6	10	9	-	-
the best		9	-	10	-	-	-
help,ful	ayuda	-	7	9	17	18	17
BAD, DUMB, MEAN		234	82	121	55	29	72
never		-	17	-	-	-	-
bad		12	-	23	-	-	15
mean		24	28	25	25	-	9
hate		-	-	-	11	-	-
fags		11	-	-	-	-	11
pussies		10	-	-	-	-	-
gay		17	-	-	-	-	-
crazy		-	-	18	7	-	-
no	no	15	-	-	-	13	-
jerks		15	-	-	-	-	-
stupid		23	7	8	-	-	10
suck,s		36	-	9	12	-	16
don't like	no me gusta	-	-	-	-	16	-
dumb		7	6	14	-	-	-
jarhead,s		25	-	12	-	-	-
bald		-	16	12	-	-	-
assholes		10	-	-	-	-	-
boring		8	8	-	-	-	11
FEW, PROUD, STRONG		256	343	196	129	60	164
brave		13	12	18	11	-	-
few		11	34	13	-	-	10
power,ful		16	5	-	-	-	-
pride	orgullo	20	10	40	15	9	22
proud		25	47	22	11	-	16
rough		-	22	12	19	-	-
big		25	9	11	-	-	8
strength	fuerza	8	7	-	-	11	12
strong	fuerte	49	24	26	26	40	51
tough		86	173	54	47	-	45
BOATS, WATER, SEA		35	70	15	123	283	174
marine	marina,o	-	-	-	19	57	-
boats,ship	barcos	-	-	-	16	108	43
ocean		-	16	-	11	-	15
beach,es	playa	-	6	-	-	14	-
sea	mar	2	15	10	10	64	17
ship,s		10	13	5	24	-	36
water	agua	20	20	-	41	40	63
U.S., COUNTRY		7	11	15	10	13	15
U.S.		-	11	-	-	13	15
country		6	-	15	-	-	-
government		-	-	-	10	-	-
UNIFORM, GREEN, BLUE		52	33	44	16	26	61
uniform,s	uniforme,s	29	18	25	10	10	44
blue		10	-	5	-	-	12
white	blanco	-	-	-	-	10	5
green		8	15	14	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		36	31	10	12	10	0
peace		-	-	-	12	-	-
jail		-	-	10	-	-	-
tired		-	11	-	-	-	-
english	ingles	-	-	-	-	10	-
short hair		10	14	-	-	-	-
crew-cut		23	6	-	-	-	-

THE MARINE CORPS/EL MARINE CORPS

As shown by the dominance scores, after the Anglo Americans the New York based Puerto Ricans viewed the MARINE CORPS with the most subjective interest, followed by the Cubans in Miami. This interest appears to have two main components:

First, there is a practical job and work orientation shared here by the Mexican American groups and the Cubans. Although this practical orientation is generally found to be characteristic of Anglo Americans, in the present context of the MARINE CORPS it was observable mainly with the Mexican Americans. The Anglo Americans represent an exception, probably because of the intensity of their negative attitudes. Although the Anglo Americans did give some positive evaluations of the MARINE CORPS, those tested were not interested in this service branch in terms of a "job" or "career" opportunity. As indicated, the opposite seems to apply to the Hispanic Americans, except for the Puerto Ricans in San Juan. The Puerto Rican group in New York showed a particularly strong disposition to view the MARINE CORPS as a "job," "work," or "career" opportunity. While this group had previously shown a similar orientation, this inclination on the part of the Cubans is new. Although the Cubans evaluated the other services as distinctly positive, they did not tend to view them as job or career options.

Secondly, the Cubans also strongly identified the MARINE CORPS with such military values as "discipline," "respect," "honor," etc. While the Cubans and the Puerto Ricans have shown a rather consistent tendency to take note of the military hierarchy (e.g., ranks, soldiers, officers), in the case of the MARINE CORPS they did not show this tendency with the same intensity.

Across the board the MARINE CORPS was described in such positive terms as "good," "best," "helpful," and particularly as "tough," "rough," "brave," and "proud." The Mexican Americans, especially those in El Paso, were strong in this recognition, as were the Anglo Americans to a considerable extent. The contrast here is rather marked compared to the Anglos' less than enthusiastic view of the other service branches. Yet, at the same time the Anglo Americans were very critical of the Marines, which is reflected by such derogatory labels as "sucks," "jarheads," "stupid," and "mean." The Mexican American groups again showed more similarity with the Anglos' criticisms than with the other Hispanic Americans. The sea-going nature of the MARINE CORPS was more recognized by the Puerto Rican groups and the Cubans.

In general, the outstanding qualities of the Marines were broadly recognized across the board. Parallel to this recognition, the Hispanic American groups viewed the MARINE CORPS as a job and career opportunity. This inclination was particularly strong among the New York based Puerto Ricans and the Cubans, and to a somewhat lesser extent the two Mexican American groups.

Summary

On the question of the Anglo and Hispanic Americans' image of military service in general and the images of the particular service branches there was considerable internal consistency in the results. Starting with the general trends of observation allows us to place the specific findings into proper perspective.

The most general questions involve naturally (1) the differences between the Anglo Americans and Hispanic Americans and (2) the much debated issue of how much psychocultural diversity there is within the Hispanic American population (i.e., among the Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans tested at five geographic locations throughout the United States.)

As the mean coefficients in the following matrix show, there was a relatively close similarity between the Anglo Americans and the Mexican Americans and New York Puerto Ricans. The distance between these groups is generally .20 or below. The Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami showed substantially greater difference with the first cluster of groups, and an equally low level of similarity between each other. This general pattern of relationships fits with our previous research findings.

Coefficients of Psychocultural Distance Between Regional Samples	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Anglo Americans, East Coast		.12	.17	.15	.43	.39
Mexican Americans, El Paso			.21	.15	.38	.43
Mexican Americans, Tempe				.21	.46	.39
Puerto Ricans, New York					.38	.34
Puerto Ricans, San Juan						.32

Table 13. Mean Distances Measured in the Domain of MILITARY SERVICE

In our recent comparative study of five Hispanic American and two Anglo American regional samples across ten major domains of life we found a close similarity between the Anglo and Mexican American groups, and a New York based Puerto Rican sample showed closer similarity with the Anglo and the Mexican American samples than with a Puerto Rican sample in San Juan or a Cuban sample in Miami. The high similarity between the Anglo and the Mexican American samples indicates that acculturation is the most important factor in reducing cultural differences. That psychocultural differences are substantive between Anglos and unaccultured Hispanic Americans was also shown in this study by the relatively low similarities measured between the Puerto Rican sample in San Juan and the Anglo American samples, and between the Miami based Cuban sample and the Anglo American samples. The Puerto Rican sample in New York, which showed more similarity with the Anglo

Americans (in New York and in Los Angeles) than with the Puerto Ricans in San Juan, offers a potentially clear illustration of the importance of this acculturation process. In light of these prior results, the present findings become more readily explicable. The agreement between these two studies relying on two independent sets of samples is similarly important since it provides the foundation necessary for broader generalizations.

On such broader images as the ARMED FORCES or MILITARY SERVICE, the analysis produced similar results indicating analogous trends. The consistency of these findings provides empirical support for dividing the samples into the following main subgroups: The Mexican Americans, showing strong similarities with the Anglo Americans, can be characterized as relatively acculturated, while the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami represent relatively unacculturated samples. The Puerto Ricans in New York, who show in most contexts more similarity with the Anglo and Mexican Americans, appear to be also relatively more acculturated than the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami, but there are several contexts which require individual consideration.

On the images of MILITARY SERVICE, MILITARY CAREER, and ARMED FORCES the relatively acculturated Hispanic groups tended to think of specific service branches and to consider them in the context of job and work opportunities, that is, as a personal career. At the same time, the relatively less acculturated Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami tended to emphasize traditional military values (e.g., discipline, order) and to consider interpersonal relations in a military environment (e.g., rank, soldier, officer). These less acculturated groups also were inclined to regard military service as very distinct from civilian jobs. They made considerably more references to "war," "death," and other risks, and to "adventure" and "travel."

On the images of the various service branches THE ARMY, THE NAVY, and THE MARINE CORPS, some of the above distinctions did persist, and a few new ones were added. Again, the acculturated groups paid more attention to the diverse services and generally also to military hardware ("guns," "tanks"). "War," "death," "adventure," "travels," and other more unusual characteristics received again more attention from the less acculturated Hispanic Americans. They also emphasized "strength," "power," "pride," and "honor," together with such military values as "discipline" and "obligation."

These and other details indicate that the Anglo Americans and the Mexican Americans on one hand and the less acculturated Puerto Ricans and Cubans on the other look at military service from different perspectives. With some simplification the first may be characterized as a practical, job and employment oriented frame of reference, while the second is more reminiscent of traditional military values, obligations, and prestige. It is an interesting question whether one of these two main orientations may be predisposed to favor a military career. To answer this question more conclusively will require naturally further analysis. At this point, however, it appears that a military service orientation may develop along either main alternative. The more specific results can shed some light in this respect.

The Cuban group's reactions to the MARINE CORPS suggest that a service branch with a strong traditional appeal to bravery, toughness, and discipline may hold a strong attraction for less accultured Hispanic Americans with a traditional value orientation. The Puerto Ricans in New York represent in this respect a particularly interesting case; they showed across the board the strongest service orientation, particularly toward the MARINE CORPS. The appeal of military service is based on a combination of practical interest in jobs and pay as well as on certain prestige considerations anchored in such traditional values as respect and discipline, strength and pride.

The Mexican Americans, who did not pay much attention to these qualities in the context of the other service branches, strongly emphasized them in the context of the MARINE CORPS. The same applies to the Anglo Americans to a certain degree. This group is probably best informed about the differences that exist in the various branches of the Armed Services and their practical implications. From the angle of job opportunities, the Anglo American group appeared to be the least attracted to the Armed Services. However, in the context of the MARINE CORPS, even they stressed the military values of "discipline," and "respect" as well as "toughness" and "strength." While these responses suggest a strong positive reaction from a sizable part of the Anglo American sample, others were very critical and in strong opposition. This differential impact may not adversely affect recruitment since it may only promote the very selectivity which is considered highly desirable in the Marine Corps.

LEISURE TIME: SEX, ENTERTAINMENT

Previous comparisons of American population samples with Korean (1972), Arab (1978), Colombian (1982), and other overseas culture groups have revealed several important and characteristic differences between modern and traditional cultural environments, particularly in the domain of leisure and entertainment. In our present comparison of Hispanic American groups at different stages of acculturation, it is of considerable interest that the more accultured Hispanics assume an intermediary position between the Anglo American perspective and the traditional Hispanic perspective.

Our previous research in the context of friendship has shown that our society tends to place sex in close relationship to entertainment and recreation. People in traditional cultures tend to view sex in the more narrow context of family and procreation. Also in contrast to the Anglo American focus on the sex act and sexual relations, all the more traditional tended to view sex primarily in the context of gender. Cultural differences in the deeply rooted subjective perceptions and representations of sex are particularly intriguing. Since we are dealing here with a universal human instinct, there is a natural inclination to assume that sex is viewed and approached similarly by all people.

The present comparison involves high school students at an age when the sex drive is considered to be particularly powerful and the process of socialization is as yet incomplete. This could lead to a situation where the physiological similarities supersede the differences produced by socialization. Since in the previous chapters we have already observed a consistent distinction between the more and less accultured Hispanic Americans, it will be informative to see to what extent this distinction applies to this domain as well. Since the following data were obtained from students living in large cities, the observed differences are not accentuated by an added effect of an urban/rural dimension of comparison.

ENTERTAINMENT/ENTRETENIMIENTO

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	**Percentage of Total Score**					
T.V., MOVIES, THEATER	19	22	18	24	12	26
SPORTS, GAME, PLAY	10	13	18	19	41	12
MUSIC, DANCE, CONCERT	15	12	16	19	7	17
FUN, ENJOY, AMUSED	13	16	6	11	17	13
GOOD, RELAX, NECESSARY	3	0	1	1	11	5
FRIENDSHIP, LOVE, SEX	20	16	21	16	2	11
SCHOOL, WORK, READING	3	4	2	5	3	5
PARTIES, GO OUT, DRINKING	10	10	7	4	1	5
MONEY, TRAVEL, CARS	5	5	7	2	5	3
MISCELLANEOUS	3	3	5	0	2	2
Total Scores	1322	1260	1413	1315	1417	1288

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
T.V., MOVIES, THEATER		245	278	250	311	164	339
T.V.	T.V.	109	171	140	126	79	144
movie,s		199	260	210	184	-	156
cinema	cine	-	-	21	-	77	60
E.T.		-	15	14	-	-	-
theater	teatro	22	10	6	24	8	47
plays		24	22	-	22	-	13
Broadway		-	8	-	13	-	-
show,s		27	26	30	85	-	10
clown		-	-	-	13	-	-
comedy		22	-	-	10	-	-
Benny Hill		-	-	18	-	-	-
SPORTS, GAME, PLAY		128	166	261	247	584	155
play,ing,game	jugar,o	12	9	18	94	132	47
do		-	-	12	9	-	-
game,s		25	28	35	41	-	12
video game		21	-	32	-	-	-
hobby,ies	hobby	-	5	-	-	41	-
pastime	pasatiempo	-	-	-	-	49	-
distraction	distraccion	-	-	-	-	27	-
sport,s	deporte,s	25	56	57	60	121	55
baseball	beisbol	-	5	23	7	10	-
basketball	baloncesto	10	14	36	-	64	5
exercises	ejercicios	-	-	-	-	12	-
fight,ing		-	-	-	8	-	10
football		23	30	39	17	-	-
team,equip	equipo	-	-	-	-	10	-
run, to	correr	-	-	-	-	16	-
skate,skid	patines	-	-	-	-	13	-
swim,ming	nadar	-	12	-	-	16	-
tennis	tenis	-	7	3	-	11	-
volley ball	volley bal	-	-	-	-	15	-
walk,s	paseo	-	-	-	-	11	15
ball	pelota	-	-	-	-	28	11
boxing	boxeo	-	-	6	11	8	-
MUSIC, DANCE, CONCERT		193	185	225	248	102	225
music	musica	87	52	94	91	59	80
radio	radio	21	35	55	21	15	29
rock & roll		25	-	10	-	-	-
concert,s		6	15	13	-	-	14
sing,ing		8	-	-	22	-	-
dance,s,ing	baile,ar	34	43	53	107	28	82
disco,s		-	-	-	7	-	20
FUN, ENJOY, AMUSED		179	206	82	148	236	163
enjoy, to	gozar,disfr	-	5	-	25	28	15
enjoyable,ment		11	14	-	6	-	-
exciting,ment		13	20	-	-	-	14
adventure	aventura	-	-	-	10	6	-
pleasure	placer	14	10	-	10	13	6
fun		72	129	52	60	-	76
funny		8	-	12	8	-	-
laugh,ter	reir	10	3	-	11	9	24
amused,ment	diversion,rse	-	8	-	-	91	13
agreeable	agradable	-	-	-	-	10	-
happy,ness	felicidad	15	12	13	18	29	7
joy, pleasure	alegria	19	5	5	-	50	8
MISCELLANEOUS		43	33	66	0	24	21
tonight		39	33	29	-	-	9
central		-	-	15	-	-	-
machines	maquinas	-	-	-	-	13	-
bad		-	-	-	-	-	12
something		-	-	10	-	-	-
tourister		-	-	12	-	-	-
weight	pesas	-	-	-	-	11	-
FRIENDSHIP, LOVE, SEX		261	197	297	206	32	144
friendship		3	-	-	10	-	11
people		11	8	8	17	-	15
social		-	-	-	-	-	14
family		6	9	-	11	-	-
love		5	9	20	16	-	11
friend,s	amigas,os	27	44	10	28	32	23
sex		130	66	160	66	-	26
girlfriend		15	11	-	15	-	8
girl,s		32	41	77	55	-	12
women		8	9	22	8	-	14
home		-	-	-	-	-	10
SCHOOL, WORK, READING		41	48	26	70	42	68
school		7	17	6	24	-	6
work	trabajo	-	3	7	15	10	14
Army		-	-	-	-	-	20
Navy		-	-	-	-	-	13
learn		-	-	-	11	-	-
read,ing	leer,lectu.	5	18	-	20	32	-
book,s		25	-	13	-	-	15
magazines		-	10	-	-	-	-
PARTIES, GO OUT, DRINKING		129	122	99	49	16	68
party,ies		38	67	64	15	-	25
drink,ing		13	22	6	-	-	-
food		15	-	-	-	-	-
drugs		29	-	14	11	-	-
beer		12	7	7	-	-	-
bars		10	10	-	-	-	-
fiesta,s	fiesta,s	-	-	-	-	16	-
go,ing, out		-	5	-	7	-	43
hang out		-	-	-	16	-	-
date,ing		-	11	8	-	-	-
GOOD, RELAX, NECESSARY		39	5	12	9	150	62
good	bueno	9	-	-	-	25	33
necessary,ity	necesario	-	-	-	-	35	-
need it		6	-	12	-	-	-
relax,ation	relajarse	20	5	-	9	14	17
rest	descanso	-	-	-	-	11	-
ment. relax.	despejarse	-	-	-	-	22	-
sound,healthy	sano	-	-	-	-	12	12
health	salud	-	-	-	-	10	-
time	tiempo	-	-	-	-	21	-
MONEY, TRAVEL, CARS		61	60	95	27	67	43
travel,s	viajar	-	9	-	11	13	6
vacation,s	asueto,vac.	10	8	-	-	14	-
money		11	19	21	-	-	12
cruise,ing		-	-	39	-	-	-
car,s		23	10	8	-	-	10
3-wheeling		11	-	-	-	-	-
park	parque	-	-	-	16	9	7
Riverside		-	-	10	-	-	-
Las Vegas		-	14	17	-	-	-
beach	playa	-	-	-	-	31	8

ENTERTAINMENT/ENTRETENIMIENTO

This popular theme is naturally rich in meaning for our student samples. Parallel to its general importance there were some interesting differences in what the various student groups consider to be entertainment. Since we are in the age of electronic media and mass communication it is not surprising that "T.V." and "movies" had high salience to all groups. The only exception is the San Juan Puerto Ricans; they placed about half as much emphasis on these forms of ENTERTAINMENT than the other students who live in the continental United States and probably have easier access to T.V. and movies.

In contrast, the Puerto Ricans in San Juan gave two to three times more attention to "sports" and "playing" than their continental peers. From the specific sports, "basketball" was most popular while American football attracted no attention. They did mention a variety of other sports.

"Music" and "dancing" were also very popular across the board, especially with the Puerto Ricans in New York.

While the Anglo Americans and accultured Hispanic Americans spoke more of "fun," the Puerto Ricans in San Juan emphasized "amusement" (diversion) and "joy" (alegria). The Puerto Ricans in San Juan described ENTERTAINMENT as "good," "necessary," and "healthy," reactions consistent with their emphasis on sports as by far the most popular form of ENTERTAINMENT.

While "friends" were a part of ENTERTAINMENT in the minds of all six groups, with regard to the role of sex there were wide differences. The Anglos and the Mexican Americans from Tempe saw a particularly strong connection between sex and ENTERTAINMENT. Beyond the explicit references to sex these male students spoke more specifically of the opposite sex ("girlfriend," "girl," "women"). The San Juan Puerto Ricans made no reference to sex at all, just as they did not refer to sex in the context of GIRLFRIEND either. The remaining two groups, the Cubans and the Puerto Ricans in New York, did place sex in the context of ENTERTAINMENT, but not as much as observed in the case of the Anglo American students. "Parties," "drinking," and "drugs" were clearly identifiable elements of the Anglo and Mexican American ideas of ENTERTAINMENT.

In general, the meaning of ENTERTAINMENT showed considerable variation. In contrast to the predominantly sports and play oriented interpretation by the San Juan students, ENTERTAINMENT means more T.V., movies, sex, parties, drinking, and drugs for the Mexican American and Anglo student groups. The Cubans and the New York Puerto Ricans assume a more intermediary position.

TRAVEL/VIAJAR

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
U.S., NEW YORK	7	7	25	11	12	8
WORLD, COUNTRIES, EUROPE	19	17	21	39	17	28
PLACES, BEACH, SPACE	8	7	5	5	1	3
CAR, BOAT, PLANE	25	27	20	22	19	20
GOOD, FUN, ADVENTURE	17	12	4	8	21	12
MONEY, EXPENSIVE	3	6	4	4	5	4
EXPERIENCE, LEARN	5	4	2	2	12	7
PEOPLE, FRIENDS, FAMILY	4	4	4	4	4	3
VACATION, TRIPS, VISIT	8	12	11	5	6	10
MISCELLANEOUS	4	3	4	0	4	6
Total Scores	1318	1363	1521	1466	1544	1562

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
U.S., NEW YORK		97	98	376	160	184	121
Las Vegas		-	-	11	10	-	-
California	California	24	38	148	32	22	26
state,s		6	-	28	-	-	9
Texas		7	-	26	10	-	-
Hawaii	Hawaii	43	44	132	39	33	26
U.S.	Estados Un.	-	7	-	10	58	-
New York	New York	8	4	15	24	33	49
Miami	Miami	-	-	-	-	13	-
Chicago	Chicago	-	-	8	-	11	-
Florida	Florida	-	5	8	35	5	-
Disneyland	Disneyland	-	-	-	-	9	11
WORLD, COUNTRIES, EUROPE		257	235	327	579	255	436
England		11	-	9	9	-	14
world	mundo	22	27	48	32	16	47
Japan	Japon	8	9	17	8	12	9
U.S.S.R.	Rusia	-	5	10	-	8	-
around world		-	-	-	15	-	-
far, away		17	21	17	19	-	18
Brazil	Brasil	-	-	-	10	5	-
Italy		-	-	6	8	-	18
Switzerland		-	-	-	-	-	11
Cuba		-	-	-	-	-	16
abroad		16	10	-	-	-	-
Spain	Espana	-	-	19	32	46	41
France	Francia	-	13	9	16	11	38
Rome	Roma	-	-	8	-	10	-
Santo Domingo		-	-	-	22	-	-
country,ies	paises	59	28	20	37	64	58
China	China	11	-	10	10	10	6
Puerto Rico		7	-	9	200	-	8
Peru		-	-	-	18	-	-
Asia		-	-	10	8	-	-
Europe	Europa	40	61	20	65	42	108
Canada		19	-	9	15	-	7
Mexico	Mejico	18	40	89	43	19	30
Australia	Australia	-	6	-	-	12	-
Paris		-	15	17	12	-	7
PLACES, BEACH, SPACE		102	93	81	72	11	52
place,s	lugares	8	14	34	26	11	7
beach,es		25	26	10	-	-	8
ocean		14	21	-	-	-	-
cities		12	5	-	-	-	-
space		8	10	9	10	-	-
moon		-	-	-	10	-	9
mountains		19	-	6	-	-	-
camping		7	8	8	16	-	-
central		-	-	14	-	-	-
away		-	9	-	10	-	-
Field		-	-	-	-	-	12
CAR, BOAT, PLANE		320	367	304	322	295	312
airplane,s	aviones	35	51	5	35	138	61
car,s autom	carro,s	82	79	111	66	46	59
flying	volar	5	17	14	6	17	-
plane,s		80	98	79	96	-	55
ship		12	13	-	7	-	21
boat,s ship,s	barco,s	36	11	23	32	52	30
cruise		-	-	12	-	-	7
train,s	tren	27	34	23	36	17	39
voyage		-	13	-	-	-	11
walk	pasear	5	6	-	8	25	17
Bus		16	45	37	36	-	17
MISCELLANEOUS		57	35	54	0	68	88
pretty	bonito	-	-	-	-	13	4
suitcase,s	maletas	6	-	7	-	13	6
live, to	vivir	-	7	-	-	10	-
much	mucho	-	-	-	-	18	14
time		-	4	7	-	-	13
food	comida	9	5	10	-	4	4
marines		18	-	9	-	-	-
always		9	-	-	-	-	16
luggage		-	7	21	-	-	7
agency		10	3	-	-	-	-
work	trabajo	-	9	-	-	10	24
GOOD, FUN, ADVENTURE		219	168	60	112	319	184
entertaining	entretenim.	-	5	-	-	18	-
adventure,ous	aventurar	39	31	9	11	61	17
exciting,ment		38	20	-	-	-	21
pastime	pasatiempo	-	-	-	-	12	-
pleasure	placer	-	-	-	17	38	-
amusement	diversion	-	-	-	-	29	-
satisfaction	satisfaccion	-	-	-	-	15	-
fun		117	86	39	64	-	56
joy, us,plea.	alegria	5	5	-	-	24	9
amused	divertido	-	-	-	-	14	-
happiness	felicidad	-	5	-	-	18	-
interesting		-	5	-	-	-	13
good	bueno	-	-	-	10	26	34
like		-	-	12	-	-	12
enjoyment	disfrutar	-	11	-	30	66	28
MONEY, EXPENSIVE		42	83	65	55	80	59
luxury		-	10	-	-	-	-
money	dinero	33	64	65	55	66	39
expenditure	gastos	-	-	-	-	14	-
expensive		5	9	-	-	-	10
wealthy		-	-	-	-	-	10
EXPERIENCE, LEARN		70	59	35	34	183	107
new		12	-	-	-	-	-
know,ledge	conocer,mie.	11	-	-	13	93	44
experience	experiencia	15	17	6	11	21	12
meet,ing		-	-	6	-	-	18
learn,ing	aprender	-	5	-	-	14	25
share, to	compartir	-	-	-	-	10	-
worldly		11	-	-	-	-	-
culture,s	cultura	-	6	-	-	13	-
see, things	ver cosas	-	10	11	-	5	-
different	distintos	15	-	12	10	12	8
language	idiomas	-	-	-	-	15	-
sight-see,ing		-	21	-	-	-	-
PEOPLE, FRIENDS, FAMILY		49	59	55	52	55	46
people	gente	26	20	23	-	5	16
meet people		-	-	-	16	-	-
tourist	turista	-	-	-	13	12	-
friend,s	amigo,s	-	9	14	13	28	12
family	familia	7	20	12	10	10	12
girls,friend		11	10	6	-	-	6
VACATION, TRIPS, VISIT		103	166	164	80	94	157
trip,s		14	40	27	30	-	38
go, places		-	8	34	13	9	-
leave		-	14	8	-	-	-
vacation,s	vacaciones	64	76	59	27	36	104
passage	pasaje	-	-	-	-	13	-
move, to	moverse	5	11	16	-	13	-
tour		-	-	-	-	-	15
travels	viajes	-	-	-	-	13	-
visit, to	visitar	11	17	20	10	10	-

TRAVEL

The dominance scores suggest that TRAVEL has a higher subjective appeal or importance to the more traditional Hispanic Americans (the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami), than to Anglo Americans and the more accultured groups. With regard to destinations Hawaii and California have the highest appeal, followed by New York in a much weaker third position. To the San Juan students the United States occupied first place. The Mexican Americans were particularly attracted to California and Hawaii. With regard to international travel, Europe and Mexico occupy the first two ranks. It comes as no surprise that the Puerto Ricans in New York put Puerto Rico in first place, far ahead of any other location.

The Anglo American and more accultured Hispanic American samples had travel scenery in mind: "beaches," "mountains," "camping." The means of transportation attracted a great deal of common interest, but there were variations in the priority given to various choices. The Tempe students thought mostly of "cars" and the San Juan students of "airplanes."

There were also some interesting differences with regard to motivation. Anglos scored the highest on "fun" and "excitement." The San Juan students spoke not only of "adventure" and "enjoyment" but also of gaining "knowledge" and "experience." Knowledge and experience were mentioned to a lesser extent by the Cubans and only at a modest level by all other groups.

With regard to the opportunity for TRAVEL, "vacation" was naturally the most important. It was particularly salient to the Cubans and to a lesser extent to the Mexican and Anglo American students.

In general, the subjective views of TRAVEL reflect differences readily explicable by each group's circumstances and frame of reference. The students on the island of Puerto Rico were particularly eager to see the world; they were also more interested in adventure. The Anglo Americans and the more accultured Mexican Americans viewed TRAVEL more as a source of "fun" or "entertainment" and were particularly attracted to places like Hawaii and California.

JOY, PLEASURE/ALEGRIA

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
HAPPINESS, FUN, ENJOY	20	22	13	25	40	16
SUCCESS, MONEY, WINNING	6	6	3	4	7	6
FRIENDS, GIRLS, PEOPLE	18	15	19	13	7	18
FAMILY, PARENTS	4	5	4	4	6	13
GOOD, LOVE, FEELING	5	8	8	7	15	9
WORK, SPORTS, PLAYING	7	10	15	13	4	6
SEX, KISSING	23	12	20	11	0	11
MUSIC, PARTIES, TRAVEL	16	15	17	19	10	15
LIFE, PEACE, GOD	2	5	1	2	7	6
MISCELLANEOUS	0	2	0	1	4	1
Total Scores	1276	1285	1521	1403	1227	1388

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
HAPPINESS, FUN, ENJOY		251	282	199	353	489	221
happiness	felicidad	67	102	54	48	183	75
happy	feliz,cont.	35	45	28	124	119	17
joy,ful,ples.	goze,alegria	-	21	-	33	48	-
laugh,ter	reir,risa	5	5	-	15	41	32
fun		69	69	71	95	-	45
funny	chiste	-	-	-	-	13	-
pleasure	placer	16	18	-	-	36	22
glad		12	-	-	-	-	-
enjoy,ment	alegrarse	-	13	-	31	6	11
relaxing		7	-	11	7	-	-
smile	sonrisa	8	9	-	-	30	-
good times		-	-	31	-	-	-
always	siempre	-	-	-	-	13	8
excited,ment		9	-	4	-	-	11
SUCCESS, MONEY, WINNING		83	75	50	59	85	77
success		18	11	-	-	-	6
win,ning		12	-	-	9	-	-
accomplish		5	10	-	-	-	-
reward	recompensa	-	-	-	-	10	-
money	dinero	30	41	42	50	18	63
have	tengo	-	-	-	-	12	-
achievement		10	-	-	-	-	-
triumph to	triunfo	-	-	-	-	21	-
satisfaction	satisfaccion	-	13	8	-	24	8
FRIENDS, GIRLS, PEOPLE		230	191	289	189	80	243
friendship	amistad	-	19	17	15	36	16
boyfriend		-	-	-	-	-	10
people		6	-	6	13	-	26
girlfriend		33	49	42	38	-	27
girl,s		66	35	116	52	-	47
sister		-	6	-	11	-	-
society		-	-	-	-	-	14
women		-	-	-	-	-	20
companion,s	companero,s	-	-	10	-	23	-
women		15	17	21	17	-	9
Jody Fox		11	-	-	-	-	-
friend,s	amigo,s	78	65	77	43	21	74
FAMILY, PARENTS		53	62	57	62	74	175
family	familia	35	54	36	47	37	88
parents		8	-	10	-	-	29
mother	madre	-	8	-	-	6	21
father	padre	-	-	-	-	8	10
brother		-	-	-	-	-	10
sons	hijos	-	-	-	-	12	-
home		-	-	3	-	-	17
wife		-	-	-	15	-	-
house	casa	5	-	8	-	11	-
GOOD, LOVE, FEELING		53	104	120	93	190	129
good	bueno	16	7	-	-	14	12
desire,able	deseable	-	-	-	-	10	8
love	amor,carino	38	86	111	87	72	90
feel,ing	sentir,miento	-	-	9	6	45	10
necessary	necesario	-	-	-	-	11	-
need		-	11	-	-	-	-
share,ing	compartir	-	-	-	-	12	9
trust	confianza	-	-	-	-	12	-
union	union	-	-	-	-	14	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
WORK, SPORTS, PLAYING		83	132	233	187	47	81
work	trabajo	6	19	16	21	15	20
school		8	13	24	17	-	-
sports	deportes	18	35	45	27	13	13
hunting		12	-	-	-	-	-
games		10	11	18	15	-	-
drawing		-	-	-	11	-	-
play,ing,game	jugar,juego	-	23	37	29	19	28
run,ning		5	12	-	7	-	-
baseball		6	-	23	15	-	12
swim,ming		6	8	17	17	-	-
basketball		5	-	25	-	-	-
football		-	11	28	17	-	8
bowling		-	-	-	11	-	-
SEX, KISSING		297	152	307	159	0	155
sex		258	140	283	151	-	139
intercourse		-	-	12	-	-	-
kiss,ing		-	12	-	8	-	-
69		-	-	12	-	-	-
fucking		-	-	-	-	-	16
SEX		12	-	-	-	-	-
MUSIC, PARTIES, TRAVEL		199	199	251	261	122	209
movie,s		19	39	23	30	-	16
joke,s	chistes	-	-	17	-	13	-
entertainment	entretenim.	12	20	11	-	8	12
music	musica	25	15	11	55	11	22
dance,s,ing		-	4	10	49	-	18
rock & roll		6	14	-	-	-	-
T.V.		-	13	20	-	-	6
fiesta,s	fiesta,s	-	-	7	-	40	25
party,ies		31	27	23	22	-	13
food		5	4	6	12	-	14
drugs		28	-	-	-	-	9
hang,ing out		-	-	-	18	-	-
eating		-	-	6	27	-	9
go,ing out		8	8	16	9	-	28
dating		-	-	10	-	-	-
travel,ing	viajar	12	30	-	8	14	16
cruise,ing		-	8	36	-	-	-
vacation,s		17	-	6	-	-	7
parks		-	-	-	10	-	-
car,s	carro	18	17	49	21	8	6
amusement	diversion	-	-	-	-	28	8
LIFE, PEACE, GOD		21	66	15	29	86	79
life	vida	-	22	8	17	23	35
live to	vivir	-	-	-	-	10	23
freedom		-	11	-	-	-	-
health	salud	-	12	7	-	16	7
peace	paz	-	12	-	12	14	14
tranquility	tranquilidad	-	-	-	-	15	-
God	Dios	19	9	-	-	8	-
MISCELLANEOUS		0	22	0	11	54	19
sad,ness	triste,za	-	-	-	11	22	-
Christmas	Navidad	-	22	-	-	18	-
to take fo		-	-	-	-	-	13
cry,weep	llorar	-	-	-	-	14	6

JOY, PLEASURE/ALEGRIA

PLEASURE was conceived by all groups as an important source of "happiness" and "fun;" these connotations were particularly strong in the case of the Puerto Rican student group from San Juan. The idea of "fun" was the strongest for the Puerto Ricans in New York, followed by the Mexican American groups and the Anglo students.

"Money" was viewed as a source of pleasure by all six student samples to a moderate degree, most emphatically by the Cubans and least by the San Juan Puerto Ricans. In identifying "friends," "girlfriends," and "girls" as sources of PLEASURE, the Tempe based Mexican Americans are the strongest, followed by the Cuban and Anglo students. The Puerto Ricans in San Juan thought of "friends" and "companions" but made no references to "girls."

JOY, PLEASURE brought thoughts of "family" ("parents," "mother," "father", more strongly to the Cubans than to any other group. In general, "love" and other good "feelings" received more attention from the traditional Hispanic American groups, the San Juan Puerto Ricans and the Cubans, while they received the least attention from the Anglo Americans.

"Work," "school," and a broad variety of sports were other important sources of PLEASURE to the Mexican American students and to the Puerto Ricans in New York. "Playing" was mentioned by all Hispanic American groups. The Tempe based Mexican American students made the most references to particular sports.

"Sex" emerged as the most important source of PLEASURE to Anglo Americans and to the Mexican Americans in Tempe. The other groups also made many references to sex, except for the Puerto Ricans in San Juan, who did not mention it at all.

Different types of entertainment received varying degrees of attention. "Movies" were most popular with the more accultured Hispanic American groups. All students mentioned "music," especially the New York based Puerto Ricans. "Parties" and "fiestas" were also broadly recognized sources of pleasure. The Tempe students mentioned "cars" and "cruising."

In general, PLEASURE meant mainly "happiness" to the San Juan students, who also stressed "love" and sentiment the most, but made no explicit references to sex. "Sex" was the most mentioned source of PLEASURE for the Anglo American students and the more accultured Hispanic American groups. The Mexican American groups also emphasized "sports," "music," and "playing" as sources of pleasure.

TOGETHERNESS/CONVIVENCIA

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	**Percentage of Total Score**					
FAMILY, MARRIAGE	17	20	26	27	21	29
LOVE, SHARING, SEX	30	27	30	22	25	22
FRIENDS, COMPANIONS	18	22	24	22	10	22
HAPPINESS, FUN, GOOD	13	10	9	12	6	13
CLOSENESS, *UNITY*	*9*	*11*	*2*	*5*	*10*	*3*
PEOPLE, SOCIETY, WORK	9	10	7	11	15	9
LIVE, SURVIVE, EXIST	1	0	0	1	11	1
MISCELLANEOUS	*2*	0	*2*	*1*	*2*	*2*
Total Scores	1337	1347	1413	1413	1185	1201

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
FAMILY, MARRIAGE		233	266	362	376	250	346
family	familia	101	170	188	241	108	198
parents	padres	12	11	-	11	10	37
mother		15	12	32	26	-	28
father		8	11	14	12	-	16
marriage	matrimonio	44	27	31	12	22	-
couple		-	7	12	-	-	-
relation	relacion	-	-	-	-	28	-
relatives		-	16	12	-	-	-
husband		-	-	-	6	-	21
wife		16	12	15	24	-	25
children		9	-	17	3	-	-
kids		-	-	-	16	-	-
sons	hijos	-	-	-	-	15	-
sister,s		-	-	12	7	-	7
brother	hermano,s	-	-	29	9	6	8
home	hogar	7	-	-	-	23	-
house	casa	-	-	-	9	28	6
lodgings	vivienda	-	-	-	-	*10*	-
LOVE, SHARING, SEX		407	359	419	316	295	259
share,ing	compartir	15	8	20	23	156	28
talk,ing		-	20	-	-	-	9
help,ful,ing	ayuda	8	-	10	7	31	6
trust	confianza	7	28	19	10	19	10
respect	respeto	-	12	-	16	16	12
responsibity	responsabi.	-	-	-	-	10	-
pride		-	6	-	10	-	-
understand	comprension	-	5	13	11	15	12
warmth		13	6	-	11	-	-
affection		10	8	-	-	-	-
comfort		11	5	-	-	-	-
love	amor	146	157	221	144	48	130
loving		21	25	9	15	-	11
care,ing		18	46	38	26	-	17
sex		116	33	89	43	-	12
fucking		-	-	-	-	-	12
FRIENDS, COMPANIONS		239	297	341	306	118	259
girlfriend		76	83	105	73	-	35
boyfriend		-	7	-	18	-	22
relationship		-	-	15	21	-	-
friend,s	amigo,s	94	123	171	177	36	141
lover,s		-	-	-	-	-	33
friendship	amistad,es	35	64	46	17	44	28
companion,s	compañero,s	12	20	-	-	38	-
HAPPINESS, FUN, GOOD		180	132	130	166	71	156
party		10	10	9	-	-	-
happy,ness	feliz,idad	47	73	69	63	20	41
peace		9	-	9	16	-	-
harmony	armonia	-	-	-	-	13	-
joy,ful,bles.	alegria	5	17	-	9	8	6
fun		50	14	25	37	-	27
good	buena	26	-	-	-	16	27
nice		8	-	-	11	-	10
important		-	11	-	-	-	9
necessary		-	-	-	-	-	11
want, to	querer	-	-	-	-	14	-
forever		9	7	12	18	-	-
always		-	-	-	-	-	15
have, to		-	-	6	12	-	-
easy		-	-	-	-	-	10

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
		East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
CLOSENESS, UNITY		117	148	33	66	118	42
group	grupo	14	13	-	-	16	-
solidarity		15	-	-	-	-	-
closeness		43	82	21	32	-	21
tender		9	12	12	17	-	-
together	juntos	-	7	-	-	18	-
union	union	-	-	-	-	57	-
unity,ed		25	34	-	17	-	21
live together	convivir	-	-	-	-	27	-
PEOPLE, SOCIETY, WORK		122	136	101	151	176	104
two		-	5	12	-	-	-
three		-	-	10	-	-	-
people	gente	16	34	9	47	22	-
boy		9	-	13	-	-	-
women		-	-	13	7	-	-
girl		26	19	22	22	-	36
persons	personas	-	-	-	-	31	-
neighbor,s	vecino,s	-	-	-	-	34	18
humanity	humanidad	-	-	-	-	10	-
community	comunidad	16	12	-	15	41	-
society	sociedad	5	-	-	8	23	-
country		5	12	-	-	-	8
nation		14	15	-	10	-	-
church		-	15	-	12	-	-
God		-	7	-	10	-	-
school	escuela	15	17	8	20	4	18
work	trabajo	5	-	14	-	11	24
LIVE, SURVIVE, EXIST		13	5	0	17	134	14
life	vida	-	-	-	7	16	-
live, to	vivir	-	5	-	-	73	14
fight	luchar	-	-	-	-	10	-
exist	existe	-	-	-	-	10	-
survive	sobrevivir	-	-	-	-	13	-
race		-	-	-	10	-	-
conflicts	conflictos	-	-	-	-	12	-
war		10	-	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		28	4	27	15	23	21
food	comida	-	-	-	-	13	-
car		-	4	17	-	-	-
fags		10	-	-	-	-	-
passive		-	-	-	-	-	21
drinking		10	-	-	-	-	-
maturity	madurez	-	-	-	-	10	-
money		5	-	10	15	-	-

TOGETHERNESS/CONVIVENCIA

The dominance scores indicate that the idea of TOGETHERNESS was more popular and meaningful to the Anglo American students and to the more accultured Hispanic Americans than to the Puerto Ricans in San Juan or the Cubans in Miami. In our previous comparative studies of traditional cultural groups such as Colombians (1982) and Latin American immigrants (1978), UNION and UNITY were found to be more popular Hispanic themes involving a fusion or integration of people into larger social units such as the family or community without stressing the separateness of individuals.

Some analogous trends were observable here in the context of TOGETHERNESS as well. All the Hispanic American student samples stressed TOGETHERNESS of the "family" and various family members ("father," "mother," "brothers," "sisters"). The affective nature of the relationship was also very important to all groups but in different ways. The Anglo American students placed the most emphasis on "sex," probably a contributing factor to many of their references to "love" as well. The more traditional Hispanic groups again emphasized diverse social values, particularly "sharing," and also "help," "trust," "respect," and "understanding," all values involving interdependence and positive interpersonal rapport. "Friends," "friendship," "companionship" were again important considerations for all groups. The Anglo students and the accultured Hispanic American groups spoke more of "girlfriends" and "boyfriends" which goes along with the stronger sexual connotation, while the Puerto Ricans in San Juan stressed "companionship," a theme which has practically no sexual meaning to them.

To Anglo Americans TOGETHERNESS was considered a source of "fun" and "happiness," and the more accultured Hispanic Americans shared this perspective to a large extent. This trend is in agreement with the usual Anglo American concern with need satisfaction, which probably also explains some of their emphasis on "sex" as well.

There was an interesting difference between the Anglo American and the more traditional Hispanic American groups, particularly the students in San Juan. It appears that in thinking of TOGETHERNESS the Anglo Americans clearly had individuals in mind ("people," "boy," "boyfriend," "girlfriend," "friends," etc.) and this tendency was shared apparently by the more accultured Hispanic American groups as well. As a partial contrast, the Puerto Ricans in San Juan thought more in terms of social units, not only "family" but also "community," "society," "country," and "humanity." They also spoke more intensively of "union." The San Juan student group also showed a strong mental connection between TOGETHERNESS and "life" and "existence." This is predicated on the basis of the root of the Hispanic theme CONVIVIENCIA, which is related to living (vivir).

In general, TOGETHERNESS conjured the idea of two or more individuals coming together for various reasons and for the sake of "happiness" and "fun." The Puerto Ricans had in mind larger and more permanent social groups with an emphasis on interdependence and sharing.

SEX/SEXO

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
INTERCOURSE, BED	19	8	16	9	2	6
FUN, ENJOY, PLEASURE	23	16	22	14	6	16
GOOD, HEALTHY, NEEDED	9	11	11	5	13	20
CHILDREN, FAMILY, BABIES	7	9	8	6	4	3
WOMAN, FEMALE	19	21	17	21	21	18
MAN, MALE	2	9	4	8	15	11
LOVE, FEELINGS, PASSION	12	18	15	26	27	19
MARRIAGE	4	3	2	6	4	4
BAD, DISEASE	2	1	3	3	2	1
MISCELLANEOUS	3	3	4	2	5	3
Total Scores	1459	1446	1294	1487	1443	1395

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
INTERCOURSE, BED		281	116	203	139	30	78
lust		10	15	8	-	-	6
mate		-	13	-	-	-	-
backseat		7	5	17	-	-	-
chains		12	-	-	-	-	-
anal		10	-	-	-	-	-
coming		-	-	15	-	-	-
oral sex		15	-	12	-	-	-
orgasm		18	-	18	15	-	-
fuck		15	-	8	9	-	-
orgy		5	-	16	-	-	-
cunt		12	-	-	-	-	-
pussy		10	4	-	17	-	13
69		11	-	27	-	-	-
bed,s	cama	31	49	27	30	15	19
dick		-	-	-	11	-	-
rubber,s		8	12	7	-	-	-
S & M		32	-	7	-	-	-
hotel		-	6	-	-	-	12
sex		-	-	12	-	-	-
intercourse		27	12	16	10	-	23
two people		-	-	-	12	-	5
ass		-	-	-	10	-	-
whips		11	-	-	-	-	-
body	cuerpo	-	-	-	-	15	-
kinky		16	-	13	-	-	-
kiss		5	-	-	25	-	-
FUN, ENJOY, PLEASURE		341	226	286	201	85	226
entertainment		-	10	-	-	-	-
exciting,ment		17	5	16	19	-	17
fun		129	110	126	81	-	67
beauty,ful	belleza	8	10	-	19	5	12
pleasure,able	placer	50	51	62	49	22	45
happy,ness	felicidad	15	9	22	15	10	13
satisfaction	satisfaccion	3	-	15	8	19	7
joy,ful,plea.	alegria	19	17	25	-	10	19
eagerness	anhelo	-	-	-	-	10	-
enjoy,able		34	9	12	-	-	46
enjoyment	disfrute	19	5	8	10	9	-
love it		16	-	-	-	-	-
GOOD, HEALTHY, NEEDED		124	165	139	76	194	284
all right		-	3	13	-	-	-
everyday		-	-	15	-	-	-
always		8	-	-	-	-	11
natural	natural	-	-	-	-	11	42
necessary,ity	necesario	8	13	5	-	43	21
nice		-	10	11	-	-	6
occasional		-	-	12	-	-	-
fine		-	-	-	-	-	12
often		-	13	5	-	-	-
good	bueno	36	47	35	36	75	106
important	importante	9	9	-	-	24	8
want		-	9	9	11	-	-
desire, wish	deseo	-	12	-	8	31	8
need		11	37	22	8	-	19
pretty	bonita	5	-	-	-	10	-
great		16	12	-	13	-	18
healthy		9	-	-	-	-	31
anytime		-	-	12	-	-	-
all the time		11	-	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS		45	47	53	31	77	41
homosexual	homosexual	-	-	-	7	13	7
difference,t	diferencia	5	-	-	-	16	-
drugs		-	7	-	6	-	13
Rock & Roll		-	9	-	-	-	12
playboy		7	-	12	-	-	-
people		-	11	-	-	-	-
persons	personas	-	-	-	-	11	-
money	dinero	11	9	13	11	8	-
life	vida	11	11	-	7	5	9
big		-	-	14	-	-	-
youth	jovenes	-	-	-	-	10	-
dog	perro	-	-	-	-	14	-
night		7	-	14	-	-	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
WOMAN, FEMALE		279	305	218	312	296	252
female	hembra	31	108	36	47	9	36
feminine	femenino	-	-	-	12	83	35
girl		110	121	121	121	-	65
girl friend		59	36	25	59	-	-
woman	mujer	16	21	-	48	185	82
Ms. Fox		11	-	-	-	-	-
women	mujeres	26	19	36	25	19	32
MAN, MALE		30	136	46	121	216	147
boy		-	16	-	-	-	10
masculine	masculino	-	-	-	13	113	35
male	macho	22	109	35	59	11	36
man, men	hombre	5	11	11	49	92	66
LOVE, FEELINGS, PASSION		168	258	192	380	394	262
love	amor	118	170	162	239	190	198
intimate,cy	intimidad	5	3	-	-	18	-
passion	pasion	-	-	-	11	32	-
together,ness		-	16	-	23	-	8
relation,s	relacion	-	-	-	-	46	-
share,ing	compartir	-	6	-	9	22	-
understand	comprension	-	-	-	-	24	9
loving		12	23	9	-	-	8
caring		5	15	11	-	-	-
feeling,s	sentimiento.	5	6	6	16	8	6
friend,s,ship	amistad	-	-	-	49	14	-
patience	paciencia	-	-	-	-	14	-
relationship		-	6	-	13	-	-
respect		-	8	-	10	-	8
responsibl,ty	responsabi.	8	5	-	-	15	-
tenderness		-	-	-	-	-	18
trust	confianza	-	-	4	10	12	7
MARRIAGE		61	47	22	87	64	57
husband		-	-	-	7	-	17
marriage	matrimonio	40	40	16	36	30	26
wife	esposa	15	7	6	24	6	14
couple	pareja	-	-	-	-	18	-
bride, fiance	novia	-	-	-	20	10	-
BAD, DISEASE		34	19	33	50	29	9
herpes		8	-	13	9	-	-
disease		13	4	8	-	-	-
bad, evil	malo	10	9	-	-	13	9
trouble		-	-	-	21	-	-
opposed	opuesto	-	-	-	-	16	-
V.D.		-	6	12	20	-	-
CHILDREN, FAMILY, BABIES		97	127	102	90	58	39
baby,ies		7	47	10	7	-	-
children	ninos	36	26	63	30	6	14
family	familia	15	20	16	29	9	10
parents		-	10	5	-	-	-
pregnant		11	10	8	-	-	-
reproduction	reproduccion	5	9	-	-	17	-
sons	hijos	-	-	-	-	26	6
kids		14	5	-	24	-	9

SEX/SEXO

There was relatively little difference on the subjective importance of SEX to the various groups. References to details and specifics of intercourse came mostly from the Anglo American students, followed by the Mexican Americans in Tempe. The San Juan Puerto Ricans and the Cubans made relatively few explicit references.

"Fun" and "pleasure" were also salient elements of SEX for the Anglo and Mexican American students, but not for the Puerto Ricans in San Juan. At the same time, the traditional Hispanic American student groups, tne San Juan Puerto Ricans and the Cubans, were by far the strongest in their characterization of SEX as "good," "natural," and "healthy".

The Mexican American students (followed by the Anglo Americans) made the most references to "children," "babies," "family," and "parents." The idea of the female partner was equally salient for all samples. The Anglo and the more acculturated Hispanic groups spoke more of "girls," while the Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cuban students thought more in terms of "women." Also, while the term "masculine" was more dominant with the San Juan group, "male"/"macho" was popular with the more acculturated groups.

"Love" was the single most dominant association with SEX for all six groups, particularly for the Puerto Ricans and the Cubans. What these groups seem to be emphasizing through references to "love" and other socially relevant value concepts (e.g., "understanding," "friendship," "responsibility," "tenderness") is the importance of the personal ties associated with SEX. "Marriage" and "wife" received generally low levels of attention, probably because the respondents are high school students. There was a generally shared but low level of concern with "disease," "Herpes," and "V.D."

A comparison of the male/female ratio can be used to examine whether SEX stands more for gender than for intercourse. Since the respondents were all males, references to both sexes are indicative of having gender in mind, while references to girls, females, women suggest a narrower focus on the sexual relationship with the opposite sex. The Anglo and more acculturated Hispanic American groups' heavy focus on "girls" and "females" suggests a sexual relationship-based interpretation, while the Puerto Ricans' and Cubans' heavier references to both sexes reveal a stronger tendency to use SEX to denote gender as well.

<u>In general</u>, the more acculturated Hispanic American samples shared the Anglo Americans' strong and explicit interest in this subject. The more traditional Puerto Ricans in San Juan and the Cubans in Miami showed less explicit interest in SEX, although they characterized it as "good" and "natural."

GIRLFRIEND/AMIGA

Perceptions and Evaluations by:	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Main Components	Percentage of Total Score					
FRIEND, COMPANION	10	18	10	14	19	10
LOVE, CLOSE, CARING	20	25	20	18	12	19
FUN, HAPPINESS, DATES	13	6	9	4	2	6
TRUST, SINCERE	1	5	5	8	14	9
PRETTY, SEXY, BEAUTIFUL	8	10	10	9	4	8
NICE, SMART	10	7	7	5	2	6
GIRL, WOMAN, PERSON	4	4	15	16	11	1
GOOD, NEED	2	3	4	2	7	9
FAMILY, MARRIAGE	3	3	3	9	13	9
SEX, KISSING	20	10	10	11	0	12
HELP, UNDERSTANDING	3	7	4	6	10	4
MISCELLANEOUS	6	2	4	0	4	7
Total Scores	1175	1402	1520	1329	1372	1241

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
FRIEND, COMPANION		122	249	148	183	266	119
best friend		-	11	10	-	-	-
friend,s		39	117	84	67	-	54
companion,s	compañero,a	22	46	15	61	183	27
companionship	compañerismo	-	-	-	-	11	-
friendship	amistad	25	39	28	24	72	15
relation,ship	relacion	14	21	-	17	-	-
partner		-	-	11	-	-	-
boyfriend		11	15	-	7	-	23
LOVE, CLOSE, CARING		237	355	302	237	169	237
care,ing		27	48	59	44	-	23
loving,able		13	40	22	-	-	31
amiable	amable	-	-	-	-	26	7
feeling,s	sentimiento	-	-	7	13	10	-
affection,ate	afecto	8	10	10	-	13	-
close,ness		13	48	8	-	-	-
together,ness		12	27	17	15	-	-
tender,ness	ternura	-	-	-	-	11	24
like		-	7	14	18	-	-
love	amor,cariño	142	175	165	147	109	152
FUN, HAPPINESS, DATES		156	89	130	53	31	77
movie,s		19	9	21	-	-	-
fun		51	24	48	22	-	47
go out to	salir	-	-	6	-	13	-
party,ies		15	6	14	-	-	-
good times		13	-	10	-	-	-
happy,ness		15	22	26	29	-	8
dance		-	4	-	-	-	10
date,s		22	7	13	-	-	-
joy,ful,plea.	alegre, ria	7	17	-	-	18	12
TRUST, SINCERE		11	69	72	108	196	114
loyal,ty		-	5	13	10	-	20
honest,y	honrada	-	-	20	18	27	12
sincere	sincera	-	6	-	-	38	19
respect	respeto	5	18	17	40	19	24
trust,ful	confianza	5	40	27	40	112	39
PRETTY, SEXY, BEAUTIFUL		92	142	149	118	60	104
blonde		9	14	-	-	-	-
body		-	-	18	17	-	7
good looking		-	23	7	-	-	-
pretty	linda,bonita	25	44	81	80	43	56
cute	gracioso	19	-	-	-	4	-
sexy		13	17	8	-	-	4
short		-	-	-	11	-	-
thin		-	-	-	-	-	12
little	pocos	-	2	10	-	13	25
beauty,ful		18	42	25	30	-	-
NICE, SMART		120	100	100	64	25	73
smart		13	12	-	12	-	8
intelligence	inteligencia	6	-	6	-	6	12
humble	humilde	-	-	-	-	10	-
personality		11	8	-	-	-	-
nice		42	54	61	41	-	27
friendly	amistosa	10	5	13	-	9	-
sweet		15	7	11	11	-	30
kind		12	14	9	-	-	-

Main Components and Responses		Anglo Amer. East Coast	Mexican Americans El Paso	Mexican Americans Tempe	Puerto Ricans New York	Puerto Ricans San Juan	Cubans Miami
GIRL, WOMAN, PERSON		43	50	233	206	157	12
woman	mujer	8	-	-	-	37	12
girl,s	muchacha	16	26	12	20	18	-
female		11	-	-	-	-	-
person	persona	-	8	24	-	21	-
neighb -	vecina,o	-	-	9	20	17	-
teacher	maestra	-	-	-	-	15	-
Elizabith		-	-	11	-	-	-
Lucy		-	-	-	11	-	-
Carmen	Carmen	-	-	-	10	24	-
Lupe		-	-	23	-	-	-
Margaret		-	-	11	-	-	-
Maria	Maria	-	12	-	24	13	-
Mary		4	-	16	-	-	-
Michelle		-	-	15	-	-	-
Cathy		-	-	-	10	-	-
Nancy		-	-	-	11	-	-
Anna		-	-	24	-	-	-
Gloria		-	-	17	-	-	-
Olivia		-	-	15	-	-	-
Rosa		-	-	-	11	-	-
Samantha		-	-	12	-	-	-
Daisy		-	-	-	11	-	-
Sandra	Sandra	-	-	-	8	12	-
Sara		-	-	-	11	-	-
Brenda		-	-	-	13	-	-
Denise		-	-	13	-	-	-
Jackie		-	-	6	13	-	-
Diana		-	-	-	11	-	-
Terry		-	-	13	-	-	-
Diane		-	-	13	-	-	-
Lisa		-	4	9	22	-	-
GOOD, NEED		25	48	57	25	94	109
necessity,ary	necesidad	-	6	-	-	12	9
need		11	14	11	15	-	7
good	buena,s	12	28	37	10	82	81
great		-	-	9	-	-	12
FAMILY, MARRIAGE		36	42	41	113	103	115
family	familia	8	6	-	8	4	9
wife	esposa	6	9	15	10	22	15
mother	madre	-	-	-	26	25	31
children		-	-	18	-	-	-
parents		5	-	-	10	-	-
grandmother	abuela	-	-	-	-	10	-
marriage		14	27	8	16	-	12
bride, fiance	novia	-	-	-	11	105	20
sister	hermana	-	-	-	20	17	20
father		-	-	-	12	-	8
SEX, KISSING		231	135	154	151	4	143
lover		-	13	22	18	-	17
sex	sexo	187	101	104	122	4	126
kiss,ing		23	21	28	11	-	-
HELP, UNDERSTANDING		32	98	59	76	136	53
advisor	consejera	-	-	-	-	17	-
talk,ing		17	41	19	-	-	-
sympathetic	simpatica	-	-	-	-	12	-
share,ing	compartir	12	12	10	24	62	10
help,ful	ayuda	-	15	10	7	13	31
understanding	comprension	-	30	20	45	32	12

MISCELLANEOUS		69	25	67	0	51	85
could be	seria	-	-	-	-	10	-
future		-	3	-	-	-	11
preference	preferida	-	-	-	-	11	-
no		7	-	-	-	-	15
money		18	11	5	-	-	-
none		-	-	-	-	-	12
pussy		16	-	-	-	-	-
bitch		11	-	-	-	-	-
my		-	-	-	-	-	11
always		-	-	-	-	-	12
poke		-	-	16	-	-	-
much	muchas	-	-	-	-	19	9
mine		-	11	-	-	-	-
ease	desahogo	-	-	-	-	11	-
pain		-	-	10	-	-	-
bad		-	-	11	-	-	15
slow		-	-	12	-	-	-
car		11	-	13	-	-	-

GIRLFRIEND/AMIGA

The emphasis on "friendship" and "companionship" was strongest from the Puerto Rican students in San Juan; the Mexican American students in El Paso were in close agreement in this respect. "Love" and affective ties were very important to all the groups but relatively the least to the San Juan Puerto Ricans. To this more traditional, less accultured group GIRLFRIEND means more friend and companion than a relationship characterized by love.

While the Anglo American students scored high on "fun" and "dating," the students in San Juan mentioned "joy" and "going out" with a much lower salience. In contrast, they were interested in "trust," "sincerity," "honesty," and other ideas and virtues hardly mentioned by the Anglo American students.

The GIRLFRIEND's "appearance" received somewhat more uniform attention, but still relatively the least from the San Juan group. The same is true with "personality" and other such attributes as "nice," "friendly," and "sweet." The Mexican American students in Tempe and the Puerto Rican students at both locations made many references to particular girls using their first name and characterizing them as "persons." Along the previously observed general trend to think of people as "good persons," the more traditional, less accultured groups in San Juan and Miami, described the GIRLFRIEND as "good," stressing a social and moral quality. The Puerto Rican and Cuban references to "marriage," "bride" and "family" suggest a generally more traditional and family oriented image and relationship. The Anglo and Mexican American students showed such trends to a much more limited extent. It is consistent with these differences that the San Juan students spoke of GIRLFRIEND more in terms of "sharing," "helping," and "understanding" While the more accultured Hispanic student samples showed similar concerns to a lesser extent, the Anglo American students showed the least concern with this aspect.

The strongest contrast between the Anglo American and the San Juan groups is observable on the more explicitly sex related elements of the image of GIRLFRIEND: "sex," "kissing," "lover." These references were strongest from the Anglo Americans. The other Hispanic American groups also scored high, but the San Juan students made practically no references at all on this dimension.

In general, the image of the GIRLFRIEND showed some particularly rich and meaningful variations. The San Juan students had a very traditional image with practically no references to "sex" while stressing "companionship," "trust," and "family." The Anglo American students thought the most of "sex" and "fun" and gave the least indication of a deeper or more permanent human interest. The more accultured, less traditional Hispanic student groups occupy a more intermediary position on these dimensions. The results indicate that to the San Juan Puerto Ricans GIRLFRIEND (AMIGA) is predominantly a friend who happens to be a girl; to the Anglo and accultured Hispanic Americans GIRLFRIEND implied romantic, sexual involvement. The use of the word NOVIA (fiance) would have made some difference; however, as our previous study with traditional Hispanic groups has shown, novia carries little sexual connotation as well. In Spanish there is no word equivanlent to the U.S. meaning of steady girlfriend.

Summary

The distinction between the acculturated and the more traditional Hispanic Americans was a valid and useful one in application to this domain as well. As the following matrix of distance coefficients indicates, the San Juan group again represents the most distant position from the Anglo and the more acculturated Hispanic American samples. Of the two Mexican American samples, the students from Tempe show the most similarity with the Anglo student sample; some of the contexts in which this similarity was particularly close were sex, girls, cars. The Cuban students have shown more similarity with the San Juan students in many contexts; however, in others they have shown similarity with the Anglo American and the more acculturated Hispanic American students.

Coefficients of Psychocultural Distance Between Regional Samples	Anglo Amer.	Mexican Americans		Puerto Ricans		Cubans
	East Coast	El Paso	Tempe	New York	San Juan	Miami
Anglo Americans, East Coast	.19	.16	.28	.46	.29	
Mexican Americans, El Paso	.22	.17	.45	.20		
Mexican Americans, Tempe	.27	.46	.28			
Puerto Ricans, New York	.47	.20				
Puerto Ricans, San Juan	.45					

Table 14. Mean Distances Measured in the Domain of LEISURE TIME.

In the more general context of ENTERTAINMENT, the Anglo and more acculturated Hispanic American students placed heavy emphasis on the entertainment media: T.V., movies, shows. The San Juan students in partial contrast, placed heavy emphasis on sports, playing, and games. These trends suggest a somewhat more passive attitude, an expectation of being entertained on the part of the acculturated groups, compared to a more active participatory attitude on the part of the more traditionally socialized students.

In response to ENTERTAINMENT the acculturated groups thought of "parties," "drinking," and "drugs." The more traditional San Juan students thought of "travel," "adventures," and "fiestas." It is possible that the fiestas may include some drinking and drugs but there was no indication of this in the data from the Puerto Ricans in San Juan. To the contrary the more traditional students described ENTERTAINMENT as "good," "necessary" and "healthy."

There was a great deal of similarity between the acculturated and the traditional Hispanic students in their emphasis on "music," "dance," "fun," "amusement," and on "friends" in general. There was a more articulate difference, however, in the nature and sexual undertone of friendship. In

the context of the themes studied, the Anglo and the more acculturated Hispanic Americans showed a strong tendency to think of sex, including explicit references to sexual relations and to the opposite sex. The more traditional students made very few such references, but thought predominantly in terms of companionship and social characteristics.

The second cluster of themes involved more explicitly sex related subjects: SEX, TOGETHERNESS and GIRLFRIEND. Considering this context it is not surprising that the Anglo and the more acculturated Hispanic American students consistently made heavy references to "intercourse," "kissing," "lovers" and the opposite sex ("female," "girl," "women"). More surprising was the fact that the San Juan students showed practically none of these tendencies. One explanation could be that they are not used to being so direct and explicit about the subject of sex. The consistency of the findings, however, suggest another explanation, that the English word girlfriend has a more intrinsically sexual connotation than the Spanish word amiga. The reactions by the San Juan Puerto Ricans and occasionally by the Cuban students from Miami showed more than a passive avoidance of explicitly sex related subjects. Their reactions are active manifestations of two different sets of views and attitudes on these subjects.

While both the acculturated and the more traditional groups thought a great deal about love, the more traditionally raised students think in terms of friendship and companionship. When thinking of the opposite sex, the San Juan students focused primarily on social qualities such as goodness, understanding, trust, sincerity, and honesty. They also interpreted sex in terms of gender differences rather than in terms of the sex act. Formal ties such as marriage and attitudes of sharing and helping appear to be their more dominant priorities.

Cultural anthropologists with indepth familiarity with traditional overseas cultures are naturally better prepared to anticipate some of these differences. Yet what makes these findings somewhat surprising is their relative clarity and intensity despite the urban, metropolitan background of the San Juan sample. The above trends are even more interesting since they come from high school students (average age between 17-18 years) rather than from fully socialized adults.

Entertainment and sex naturally belong to the more private sphere of life and are of little direct relevance to organizational effectiveness and personnel management. Although this domain falls beyond the realm of organizational measures and personnel incentives, it is informative from the angle of understanding traditional views, identifying main dimensions of contrasts, and recognizing the limits of generalizations about youth.

The results show that the majority of the Hispanic American students differed relatively little from the Anglo American mainstream in their entertainment orientation. The differences were more substantive with the traditionally oriented Puerto Rican students from San Juan and showed a somewhat unanticipated dimension. To the more traditional Hispanic American students entertainment had little intrinsic relationship to sex. Sex was viewed strictly in the context of marital relations.

They also placed greater emphasis on sports and relied less on the electronic entertainment media. Drinking and drugs got less attention and the labels "healthy" and "natural" were used much more frequently in this domain by the more traditional Hispanic American students. As a part of their perspective, companionship and friendship were again more central with emphasis on interpersonal ties (love, understanding, sharing).

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

Indepth Analysis of Hispanic American Cultural Dispositions. The investigations were designed to provide new information on the dominant psychocultural dispositions of Hispanic Americans---Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans. Our interest was focused on information useful in the areas of personnel management, recruitment, retention, communications, and career incentives adapted to the special needs and dispositions of Hispanic Americans.

The findings are based on the comparison of five Hispanic American regional student samples (n=500) and an Anglo American sample (n=100) of comparable age, education, and sex. The conclusions also draw on the findings of an independent study that used five Hispanic American (n=500) and two Anglo American (n=200) regional adult samples.

The method used, the Associative Group Analysis (AGA), is a technique of indepth assessment of dominant perceptual and motivational dispositions. Inferences are drawn from the distribution of hundreds of thousands of free, spontaneous associations produced by selected population samples.

Psychocultural Distance Between Anglo and Hispanic Americans. The first part of the report presents empirically based findings on the relationship of the main Hispanic American populations: Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. Based on management interest in their human dispositions, perceptions, and motivations, are these groups similar enough so that they can be lumped together or do they require separate attention? How similar are Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans? What is the psychocultural distance between these Hispanic American populations and Anglo Americans? In a marked departure from philosophies tacitly based on a simplistic model of Anglo-Hispanic ethnic bipolarity, the findings show the robust influence of acculturation. They show the practical need for differentiation between highly accultured and traditional Hispanic Americans and suggest two main lines of action for personnel management.

Dominant Perceptions and Evaluations in Domains Relevant to Personnel Management. The second part of the report contains extensive findings on dominant perceptual and motivational dispositions characteristic of Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans, as well as Anglo Americans. The results show how the various regional Hispanic American populations view interethnic and interpersonal relations, how they view the armed services and a career in the military, and how they feel about values such as discipline and order. These perceptions and attitudes bear directly and indirectly on a broad variety of specifics informative and useful to personnel management.

HISPANIC AMERICANS: HETEROGENEITY, ACCULTURATION, DISTANCE FROM ANGLO AMERICANS

The Assumed Anglo-Hispanic Ethnic Bipolarity. It is a rather common trend to assume a bipolar relationship between Hispanic Americans and Anglo

Americans. As shown by the following figure, this model assumes a large distance between Anglo Americans and Hispanic American groups as opposed to the relatively little distance between the major Hispanic groups.

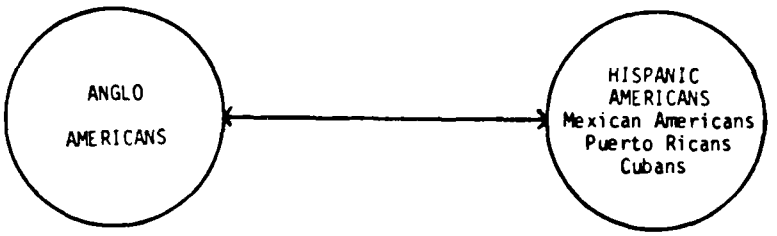


Figure 10. THE BIPOLAR MODEL OF ANGLO AND HISPANIC AMERICAN INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

The Actual Multipolarity of Cultural Distance Relations. The psychocultural distance data obtained indicate surprisingly close relationships between certain Hispanic groups (e.g., Mexican Americans) and Anglo Americans, and relatively large distances between other Hispanic groups (e.g., San Juan Puerto Ricans) and Anglo Americans. The distances found between the Hispanic American groups vary nearly as broadly as the distances between the Hispanic Americans and Anglo Americans. Contrary to the model of simple ethnic polarity, the findings on the relationship of Hispanic and Anglo Americans suggest a different pattern of interrelationships dominated by the invisible but powerful process of acculturation.

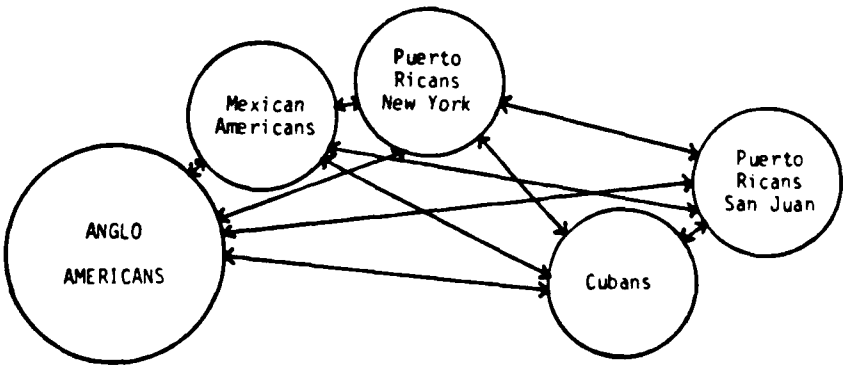


Figure 11. PSYCHOCULTURAL DISTANCE FOUND BETWEEN ANGLO AND HISPANIC AMERICANS

The contrast between the broadly assumed bipolarity and the much more differentiated patterns of intergroup relations charted by our distance measures is distinct and consequential. These patterns are based on psychological dispositions which can influence whether people get along and work well together or are likely to encounter misunderstandings, conflicts, and tensions. Psychocultural differences can critically interfere with some of the most fundamental management objectives. Although such information has broad relevance, we summarize here only a few main points with more apparent and practical implications for personnel policies and personnel management.

Intra-Hispanic Distance Resulting from Acculturation. Probablythe single most consequential finding is the broad diversity of differences between Hispanic Americans due to varying degrees of acculturation to the Anglo American environment. In contrast to the general tendency to consider Hispanic Americans as a single homogeneous group, the present findings offer a foundation for a more differentiated approach. They underscore the importance of distinguishing the traditional Hispanic American populations from the more acculturated ones.

The Close Similarity of Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans. The findings show a surprising similarity between Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans (as well as between Anglo Americans and Puerto Ricans in New York). Their high level of acculturation becomes similarly obvious from the large distances the Mexican American groups show from the more traditional Hispanic Americans, particularly the Puerto Rican students in San Juan.

The use of ethnic labels, e.g., "Mexican American" as opposed to "Anglo American", creates a disposition to anticipate large differences between the two groups. In reality, the comparison of three independent Anglo American and four independent Mexican American samples taken from two separate studies produced distance measures between .13 and .21 which were frequently smaller than the distances measured among the Mexican Americans themselves (.10 to .29). To place these distance values in proper perspective it is important to note that a sizable part of these values can be attributed to intra-sample heterogeneity (Anglo American .07, Mexican American .13) measured by randomly splitting the samples in half and calculating their distances.

The Acculturated Majority of Hispanic Americans Require Separate Attention Only in a Few Domains. The close similarity found between the Mexican and Anglo American groups suggests that the more acculturated Hispanic American populations can be effectively reached, in most respects, by the same approach used toward Anglo Americans. There are a few areas, however, where special situational factors promote an "adaptive reversal" which results in increased rather than reduced distance. They will be discussed later in the context of those particular domains such as ethnic identification and interpersonal relations.

Addressing the more acculturated Hispanic American population by relying predominantly on the same management policies and measures used in the context of the Anglo American mainstream is further supported by the finding that the highly acculturated Hispanic majority prefers to use English rather

than Spanish in communication. About 85 to 90 percent of the Mexican American and the New York based Puerto Rican students responded in English in the context of the lengthy word association task. The same trend was observed in the previous study based on adult respondents. The only group which showed a significant difference in this respect was the Cuban. More of the Cuban students sampled preferred to respond in English (77%) than did the Cuban adult sample (10%) tested in our previous NIMH study.

Less Accultured Hispanics Require Separate Attention in Practically All Domains. In contrast to the accultured Hispanic Americans (e.g., the Mexican Americans and the Puerto Ricans from New York), the more traditional Hispanic Americans, particularly the Puerto Ricans in San Juan, have perceptual and motivational dispositions markedly different from the Anglo Americans. The high psychocultural distance coefficients clearly reflect these differences: the distances measured between the Anglo Americans and the San Juan Puerto Ricans ranged between .42 and .55. Large distances were also found between the San Juan Puerto Ricans and the accultured Mexican Americans (.40).

These consistent and sizable differences support the recommendation that personnel management should use methods and procedures specifically adapted to traditional Hispanic dispositions in order to attract the less accultured groups such as the San Juan Puerto Ricans and, to a lesser extent, the Cubans from Miami. The empirical evidence suggests the need to shift attention from Anglo-Hispanic differences to accultured versus traditional differences. This requires concentration on a relatively smaller number of traditional Hispanics who require a more intensive adaptation in personnel management. The scope and nature of this adaptation becomes apparent from the details elaborated in Part II; however, before addressing specific differences which call for special measures of adaptation, two sets of additional findings will be presented.

Consistency in Cultural Distances Across Domains. The distance coefficients obtained at the level of specific domains show certain variations, indicating, for instance, that ethnic images and the broader area of interpersonal relations are characterized by above average distances. These findings support previous observations (1978) that when considering the relationship of the Anglo American and Hispanic American cultures, the broad area of interpersonal and social relations deserves special attention. At the same time, there is a remarkable consistency across domains in the intercultural distances measured between any two groups. For example, the distances measured between San Juan Puerto Ricans and Anglo Americans were, in every domain, larger than the differences between New York Puerto Ricans and Anglo Americans.

The Importance of Culture as a Main Source of Perceptual and Motivational Differences. In general, sex, age, economic background and other sociodemographic variables are well recognized sources of potential differences which can affect organizational climate and personnel effectiveness. There is less consensus about ethnic/cultural influences mainly because of the scarcity of empirical data. Our comparative study of adult Hispanic and Anglo American samples offers some relevant insights based on

empirical foundations. The results showed substantially greater importance of culture as a variable affecting perceptions and attitudes compared to the other major variables mentioned. The distances found between high and low income groups were relatively moderate (see Figure 7), partially because the differences separating the high and low income levels were also moderate. Sex and age were also found to have relatively moderate effects on the distances measured, at least when compared to the cultural differences (see Figures 8 and 9). In all these comparisons, the Anglo Americans showed the most homogeneity and the Puerto Ricans the least. That is, the distances between the Anglo American rich and poor or male and female subsamples were smaller than those found between the Mexican American or the Puerto Rican subsamples.

In light of our results, the more traditional Hispanic Americans may indeed constitute a relative minority. Nonetheless, the results also show that this minority of the Hispanic minority is characterized by highly distinct perceptual and motivational dispositions which deserve separate individual attention. The second part of our report presents comparative results on the accultured and traditional Hispanic Americans' views and attitudes on subjects relevant to personnel management.

The Need for Different Approaches Toward Accultured and Traditional Hispanic Americans. The findings derived in the present study and the recent NIMH study, as well as findings from several of our previous studies involving various Hispanic/Latin American samples, show sufficient consistency to recommend the following approach: a) to move from the Anglo-Hispanic ethnic distinction to a differentiation between accultured and traditional Hispanic Americans based on their marked differences in management relevant psychocultural dispositions, b) to approach accultured Hispanic Americans, which include the majority of Mexican Americans living in California, Arizona, and Texas, and Puerto Ricans living in the large cities of the eastern United States, by essentially using the same communications, incentives, and management methods developed for the U.S. mainstream while complementing it in a few important areas (ethnic identification, close interpersonal ties), and c) to develop a pilot program specifically designed to reach traditional Hispanic Americans, e.g., Puerto Ricans from the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, recently immigrated Latin Americans, Cubans, etc.

The need for different approaches becomes increasingly obvious from the following findings summarized from various domains of our comparisons of Anglo and Hispanic images. At this point the options available to management are numerous. While the following data can be used to support diverse approaches, it would be premature to elaborate on specific details prior to such a management decision.

INTERETHNIC RELATIONS---The Domain of Great Diversity

The findings on how the various Hispanic American regional groups are predisposed to identify themselves in terms of ethnicity offer several important pieces of information.

Sensitivities Attached to Ethnic Labels. There are frequently strong sensitivities about ethnic labels; they can easily carry negative connotations of which the user may not be aware. Choosing the proper label is a particularly delicate question in reference to such large and diverse ethnic populations as the Hispanic American. Our findings indicated that Hispanic Americans vary in their primary identifications as well as in the meanings they attach to these ethnic labels. From the angle of effective communication, it is naturally not enough to avoid labels which carry negative connotation; it is also essential to know how the particular groups actually identify themselves.

"Hispanic American," the Most Accepted Collective Name. This is the most positive and most universally acceptable label for all the groups compared (Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans). "Latino" is quite popular with the Cubans, but even they identify themselves more as "Hispanic American." This label had the richest meaning for the San Juan students whose reactions indicate that in their mind "Hispanic American" stands rather exclusively for Puerto Ricans. The Mexican Americans and the Cubans use "Hispanic American" much more inclusively, identifying many other culture groups as well.

"Puerto Rican," "Mexican American," and "Cuban" as Labels of Primary Identification. As labels of primary identification, "Mexican American," "Cuban," or "Puerto Rican" are more popular and useful. The Mexican Americans also use the word "Chicano" with some regional variation. There are also several indications that despite frequent references to themselves as "Chicanos," the best and most widely accepted label free of negative connotations is "Mexican American".

Ethnic Self-Images Affected by Acculturation. A comparison of the self-images of the more acculturated Hispanic Americans with the self-images of the more traditional Hispanic Americans shows how acculturation affects ethnic identification. The more traditional Hispanic Americans think of Hispanic Americans primarily in terms of human qualities such as good, friendly, amiable, loving, and understanding. These attributes are similar to those which the acculturated Hispanic Americans use to describe themselves as individuals, reflected by their individual self image. As a result of the acculturation process the ethnic self image loses its original focus on personal qualities, particularly on socially relevant attributes and affect-laden personal ties. The emphasis shifts more toward cultural customs, folklore, food preferences, and geographic locations. Yet, even when the ethnic self-image becomes less akin to the subjective self-image and even when it becomes more distant and stereotypical, it still retains a great deal of affective identification.

Ambivalence Toward Anglo Americans. The ethnic image of Anglo Americans naturally contains both positive and negative evaluations. The comparison of physically separated groups (e.g., Puerto Ricans in San Juan) with groups which live together with Anglo Americans indicates that their close proximity results in increasing ambivalence. While living together results in more familiarity with each other, it also leads to more intensive likings and dislikings, to views which are both more positive and more

critical. Interestingly, this same trend was observed not only in the Hispanic Americans image of the Anglo Americans, but also in the Anglo American image of the Puerto Ricans.

Ethnic Images Show the Most Diversity. The greatest psychocultural distances were found in the domain of ethnic identification. The diversity is rooted primarily in each group's affect-laden identification with different backgrounds, roots, and symbolism. Ethnic diversity was found to be much greater than cultural diversity. That is, differences in ethnic identification were found to be substantially greater than in the subjective views and evaluations of the other domains representing the various spheres of our physical and social environment. While the cultural differences could be represented by a relatively simple duality of Anglo and accultured Hispanic Americans versus the traditional Hispanic Americans, the differences in ethnic identification and the resulting views and attitudes are substantially greater and call for more attention.

Special Sensitivities Require Special Attention. Even the very accultured Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans do require special recognition of their ethnic heritage. Attention should be focused on those details which assure that their ethnic identity is recognized and that their related interests are observed and assured. Special programs may encompass such areas as: a) a formal recognition of ethnic heritages; b) elaboration of the equal employment/equal rights policies and the various routes and mechanisms to ensure equal opportunities; c) a description of special programs available to Hispanic Americans and other ethnic minorities, including all the details the servicemen need to know to take advantage of these opportunities; and d) a repeated review of equal rights procedures and progress, accompanied by a discussion of regulations and procedures aimed at assuring adherence to the principle of pluralism. The results of the present study offer a great deal of specific detail which could be used in carrying out such tasks in the future.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS---The Most Important Differences Between Anglo and Hispanic Americans

The findings on interpersonal relations deserve special attention because of the exceptional importance human relations and personal rapport have for Hispanic Americans. Previous in-depth studies (1978) have suggested that interpersonal relations is the most important and most central domain in understanding the differences between the two cultures.

The Most Marked Differences with Anglo Americans. Two contrasting patterns of interpersonal relations emerged: Anglo individualistic and Hispanic social personalistic modalities. The traditional Hispanic Americans were found throughout these investigations to show consistent and salient concerns with affect-laden, warm, interdependent, interpersonal relations. They emphasized love, friendship, understanding, loyalty, respect, and obligation compared to the Anglo American emphasis on individual freedom, independence, autonomy, self-reliance, assertiveness, competitiveness and other values of individualism.

The Domain Where the Acculturation Process is the Slowest. Although the accultured Hispanic Americans show close similarity with the Anglo Americans, the acculturation process appears to progress more slowly here than in most of the other domains. Here the differences are still sizable as well as consequential. Also, the few instances of adaptive reversal observed in these investigations were found mainly in this field of interpersonal relations. In these cases the otherwise accultured Hispanic American groups were found to show larger differences with the Anglo Americans than the traditional Hispanic Americans. For instance, the Puerto Rican students in New York were found to show more reliance on the family and on parents and relatives than the Puerto Rican students in San Juan. Although these differences can be explained by the conditions of living in a foreign cultural environment, again, a deeper understanding of these paradoxical differences requires familiarity with the traditional Hispanic family relations.

Special Relevance to Service Motivation. Considering the attention the traditional Hispanic Americans paid to human rapport and to social relations in the context of work and military career, this domain is especially important to personnel management. While the traditional Hispanic Americans have shown at least as much interest as the Anglo Americans in money and other material benefits, there were many indications that wealth and material abundance were also valued for their social correlates, that is, as sources of social position, respect, and recognition. These observations suggest that the traditional Hispanic emphasis on interpersonal relations and the social dimension offers considerable potential for enhancing service motivation. The findings that traditional Hispanic Americans do not look at military service primarily as a well paid or a not well paid job, their acceptance of discipline, order, obedience as positive values intrinsic to interpersonal relations, and their positive attitude toward leadership, both civilian and military, suggest that they view social relations in a service career quite differently and that they assign it more importance. In other words, the interest of the traditionally oriented Hispanic Americans in the social dimension offers for management some new opportunities for attracting talented, physically fit young people to join the military services and to follow it as a career path.

The Key Domain for Reaching Traditional Hispanic Americans. Since the traditional Hispanic Americans represent a minority even within the Hispanic American population, it may be objected that a disproportionate amount of attention has been spent on them. In view of their relative minority status and the special attention they require, it would be premature to go into detailed recommendations here. Generally speaking, we should point out that the recruitment of traditional Hispanic Americans would require some special effort, taking into consideration certain psychocultural characteristics of this population which suggest their natural inclination to make outstanding servicemen in general and Marines in particular.

The Need for Special Measures in Recruitment and Management. In reaching traditional Hispanic Americans, emphasis should be on opportunities the service offers for close interpersonal relations and social recog-

nition. At least in an initial stage this would require more reliance on the Spanish language as the main medium of communication in advertising and recruitment. Appeals focused on the interpersonal dimensions may involve such specifics as addressing parents and relatives as well as the potential recruits because of the family members' influence on the youths' decisions. Identifying themes that are likely to have appeal and developing effective communication are issues which can be addressed on the basis of our present investigations to meet the requirements posed by particular contexts and situations.

Successful implementation of such personnel policies naturally requires measures specifically adapted to traditional Hispanic Americans. This could include special orientation and educational programs, and the formation of specialized training units adapted to meet the needs and dispositions characteristic of the more traditional Hispanic American recruits. It could also involve development of service incentives with special appeal to the more traditionally oriented Hispanic Americans. Again, our research findings provide extensive information which can be used along such objectives. Such programs could be developed first on a trial basis in the form of a pilot project. They could include various levels of English courses to improve the language skills of Hispanic Americans who speak little English.

WORK, ACHIEVEMENT---Important Differences in Motivation

Contrary to superficial stereotypes suggesting that Hispanic Americans are less work oriented than Anglo Americans, new results indicate that what is at issue is not active versus passive attitudes toward work, but a difference in the goals or conditions which motivate people to work. The substantial differences found between the Anglo and accultured Hispanic Americans compared to the traditional Hispanic Americans in their approach to work present a special challenge for personnel management. While some of the differences bear on both civilian and military work settings, others apply more specifically to the military. The differences between the accultured and the traditional Hispanic Americans are even greater with regard to military service than to civilian work.

Different People Work for Different Reasons or Objectives. With regard to work, Anglo and accultured Hispanic Americans were found to place special weight on achievement. In light of the pioneering studies of McClelland and Atkinson this is not new in itself. What appears to be new is the indication that what matters here is not the level of productivity or the work actually performed, but rather the sense of achievement. Because the sense of achievement is in most instances inseparable from actual achievement, this distinction may appear inconsequential. Yet without this distinction some of the Anglo and Hispanic differences may appear incomprehensible; the Hispanic Americans speak of achievement but in a more tangible, material sense than the Anglo Americans.

Achievement, Immediate Or Long-Range Satisfaction. The Anglo and accultured Hispanic Americans view work and education in and of themselves

as sources of satisfaction. With regard to career the acculturated groups emphasize success, achievement, and enjoyment. The more traditional Hispanics place emphasis on the instrumentality and utility of work as a means of meeting certain goals (e.g., money, social status). The less acculturated groups also show more concern with the future, goals, and high prestige occupations. In other words, the Anglo and acculturated Hispanic Americans are preoccupied with more immediate concerns, whereas the less acculturated Hispanics are looking toward long-range objectives.

The Traditional Hispanic Americans' Concern With Future, Goals, and Benefits. Although the Anglo and acculturated Hispanic groups emphasize achievement in those contexts where it is of practical importance (e.g., work, education, career, etc.), achievement in itself elicits less attention from them than from the more traditional Hispanic Americans who stress achievement as a long-range goal with emphasis on its utility and instrumentality. Achievement to the Puerto Ricans from San Juan is viewed in terms of long-range success in life as opposed to the immediate objectives and concerns characteristic of Anglo American work motivation. The San Juan group emphasizes goals and the future in general, particularly long-term goals such as a career and profession and the effort needed to obtain such long-term objectives. While the Anglo and acculturated Hispanic Americans stress the present, immediate performance and the inner drive, the San Juan group is more preoccupied with the future, long-range benefits and external motivation.

Motivational Differences Relevant to Personnel Management. From the angle of personnel management, the findings suggest that achievement and success are at least as important and appealing to the Hispanic American groups as they are to the Anglo Americans; however, their interpretation is quite different. Again, the main difference is not between Anglo and Hispanic Americans in general, but between the highly acculturated Hispanic Americans (the Mexican Americans and New York Puerto Ricans) and the more traditional Hispanic Americans (primarily the San Juan Puerto Ricans and to a lesser extent the Cubans). This suggests that in personnel management the same work incentives can be used for the Mexican Americans as for the Anglo American mainstream. For the traditional Hispanic Americans a different approach is required, one which recognizes achievement as an important instrument toward attaining success and other more specific goals. Since achievement is not in itself a strong motivating factor for the traditional Hispanic Americans, additional incentives must be used. What these incentives may be depends naturally on the context and situation. Social considerations have special importance for these groups and there are indications that their attention given to financial, material factors such as money and wealth has a strong social foundation as well.

MILITARY SERVICE---A Job or an Adventure?

Rather than between Anglo Americans and Hispanic Americans in general, the major differences in perceptions and attitudes are between the acculturated and more traditional Hispanic groups. Comparisons reveal two different orientations which convey contrasting perspectives.

Traditional Value Orientation Creates Favorable Predispositions Toward the Service. Recruiting the more traditional Hispanic Americans presents different problems. On the positive side, this group shows remarkably little conflict with the military and leadership values examined. With both civilian and military leadership roles, and such values as authority, discipline, order, and obedience, the Puerto Ricans from San Juan and the Cubans from Miami were found to have positive attitudes. There seems to be a natural affinity between the views of these more traditionally raised Hispanic Americans and the life conditions and value orientations of the military. From the angle of personnel management, this means that recruitment of traditional Hispanics would not be disadvantaged by value conflicts. And there is probably a better opportunity for the military to attract the best and the brightest from the more traditional Hispanic American population. These advantages would be especially relevant to the Marine Corps.

Accultured and Traditional Hispanic Americans Call for Different Approaches in Recruitment. The main problem in the recruitment of traditional Hispanic Americans is that they require separate, carefully adapted methods: a) Spanish should be used predominantly in communication, b) communications and institutional measures have to take the dominant perceptual and motivational dispositions of these populations into careful consideration, and c) communications, orientation, and training should promote adaptation by appealing to the dominant psychocultural dispositions of the traditional Hispanic Americans, such as their emphasis on close interpersonal relations, on social values such as love, friendship, respect and goodness, and on work subordinated to goals and objectives. Much of the material necessary for the development of such a management strategy can be taken from the results of this study.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS, METHODOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS

The extensive data on dominant Hispanic and Anglo American research reported here produced views and attitudes pertinent to interpersonal relations, work, and service orientation. At a more basic and general level the results demonstrate a new capability to trace important dimensions of the subconscious and the process of acculturation; they offer new information for cultural sensitization and training; they suggest alternative methods for studying perceptual and attitudinal dispositions relevant to recruitment and retention in organizations with a large multi-ethnic composition.

Subjective Culture---A System of Subjective Views and Values

Culture as a Perceptual/Motivational System. Probably the most fundamental insights provided by this research are about little recognized characteristics of culture as an invisible but powerful psychological reality. As the internal consistency of the results demonstrates, culture is more than an aggregate of isolated characteristics. It is a system of views and values, a system of subjective representation of the environment

Egalitarian Versus Authoritarian View of Leadership. With regard to leadership, the Anglo and the more accultured Hispanic Americans were found to have more critical and negative attitudes than the more traditional Hispanic groups. These attitudes reflect an egalitarian value orientation. The more traditional Puerto Ricans from San Juan and Cubans from Miami have a predominantly, if not an exclusively, positive image of leadership. The traditional Hispanics' leadership ideal is reminiscent of the benevolent, caring patron.

The Differential Popularity of Military Values. The values of discipline, order, and obedience, as well as others with relevance to military life, were found to be rather unpopular with Anglo Americans, Mexican Americans and the accultured Puerto Ricans. In sharp contrast the Puerto Ricans from San Juan and, to a lesser extent, the Cubans from Miami express positive attitudes toward these same values which are viewed as sources of peace, success, and happiness.

A Job Oriented Image of Military Service by Accultured Hispanics. The Anglo Americans' images of the military services and career contain some critical elements and reflect a predominantly job oriented frame of reference. The accultured Hispanic Americans show similar job oriented views and also some negative attitudes toward military values like discipline, but they also display a more active interest in the military service. Interest in specific branches of the military is particularly strong from the Puerto Ricans in New York. Their strong job orientation and interest in the military services is probably a consequence of the tight contemporary job market.

War, Fighting, Adventure Dominant in the Traditional Hispanics' Images of Military Service. The more traditional Hispanic Americans (Puerto Ricans in San Juan, Cubans in Miami) pay special attention to military values, to the attractiveness of careers which involve adventure and new experiences, and to the social prestige associated with the services. To the San Juan Puerto Ricans in particular, the image of the military services also involves more preoccupation with conventional military activities (fighting, war), and is seen less as a job opportunity than as a new and unconventional experience and adventure. These consistent differences indicate that the military services and a military career are viewed rather differently by the accultured and the more traditionally oriented Hispanic Americans.

The Most Active Job Interest is Shown by Accultured Students. From the angle of the recruitment of accultured Hispanic Americans, their job oriented view of the services and their expressed interest in military service are advantages which assure their availability. Nonetheless, their somewhat negative attitudes toward military leadership and military values suggest value conflicts with two potential disadvantages. First, those who sign up may do so because they are not the most talented and most prepared to compete in the civilian job market, and secondly, because of value conflicts, those who develop marketable skills during their service may be less inclined to stay in the military.

organized and shaped by the dominant perspectives of people of the same background and similar experiences. With regard to their economic status or educational performance, Hispanic Americans can be usefully characterized by their average income level or drop-out rate compared to Black or White Americans on a nationwide basis. Similar comparisons obtained on Hispanic attitudes (e.g., toward abortion or the legalization of marijuana) may tell us precious little about the Hispanic culture.

Understanding Hispanic Americans Through Their Dominant Cultural Perspectives. As suggested by the findings, in-depth descriptions of a culture require the identification of the dominant perceptual and motivational dispositions, which provide the main parameters of the group's system of subjective representation of their environment. Understanding Hispanic Americans requires that we look at the world from the Hispanic perspective; that we understand their view of people as persons connected by strong affective ties and obligations and, that for them, satisfaction and happiness can come from meeting the expectations of others and from gaining their respect, that their identification with social units of the family or the community can lead to strong feelings of interdependence, and that this is just as natural as the Anglo individualistic approach to interpersonal relations based on freedom, independence, assertiveness, and competitiveness. In a similar way it is hardly possible to understand the U.S. American culture without understanding the deep psychological meaning of self-reliance and autonomy which are at the very foundation of American individualism.

Dominant Cultural Perspectives Determine the Main Patterns of People's Perceptions and Evaluations of the Environment. It is informative to observe the great consistency with which the San Juan group, for example, views interpersonal relations in the family, friendships within the community and society, all from the perspective of affective identification and interdependence. It is similarly impressive to observe how the self-oriented, individualistic perspectives of the Anglo Americans influence practically all their social relations. The depth and consistency of these different patterns of relationships underscore the systemic nature of cultural views organized along different perspectives. These systemic characteristics, which emerge with special clarity from the present results, form the core of our subjective culture model as a system of subjective representation and serve as the foundation of the following recommendations.

Management of Cultural Differences Generated by Acculturation

Acculturation as the Main Source of Hispanic Diversity Involves Differences in the Distinctness of Cultural Patterns. The results show the important role of acculturation as a major source of diversity among Hispanic American groups. The findings also show, however, that in many instances the accultured Hispanic Americans (e.g., Mexican Americans, New York based Puerto Ricans) differ from the Anglo Americans along similar trends in perceptions and evaluations as the relatively unaccultured Cubans or Puerto Ricans from San Juan. While there are some deviations, in the majority of cases the accultured versus traditional differences were found

mainly in the articulateness or prevalence of what we may identify as traditional Hispanic patterns. These patterns were generally distinct and articulate with the Puerto Ricans and much less so with the Mexican Americans. In other words, the cultural diversity found among Hispanic Americans does not, in most instances, involve different patterns (but is predominantly a variation in the relative strength of the traditional patterns).

The Need for a Sensitive Acculturation Measure. The pervasive importance of acculturation as a primary source of Hispanic American diversity calls for the development of a sensitive acculturation continuum that would allow the positioning of particular groups along a traditional Hispanic American/U.S. American acculturation continuum. The test should be designed to measure the overall level of acculturation as well as its progress in selected major domains. Since this task requires the identification of perceptual and motivational trends, dispositions below the level of rational judgments or conscious awareness, the use of unstructured open-ended research techniques is highly desirable.

Sensitization and Training for Cultural Understanding

Training Focused on Patterns of Related Perceptual and Motivational Dispositions. Rather than learning some isolated, stereotypical characteristics like Hispanics are "proud" or "emotional," to improve communication and to establish rapport with Hispanics requires learning how the world looks from the Hispanic cultural perspective. This involves emphasis on certain characteristics and relationships which are salient in their representational system of the social and physical environment. Each system has its own priorities and its own pattern of relationships. The findings that acculturation is a gradual process and that even the very accultured retain, to a somewhat lesser extent, the Hispanic patterns of perceptions and evaluations suggest that in training these patterns deserve considerable practical attention.

Traditional Trends Have Broad Explanatory Value Even in Application to Acculturated Hispanic Americans. Even if the level of their articulation varies, the prevalence of certain cultural dispositions makes it possible to offer a general sensitization on a broad, common foundation. It follows from the patterned, relational nature of cultural dispositions that this educational task can be best approached by relying on the articulate cultural trends and patterns characteristic of traditional, least accultured Hispanic Americans. Such an approach is justified even if Hispanic Americans little affected by the Anglo Americans represent a minority. It is a well established educational principle that patterns of relationships can be more easily learned and understood if presented in their most articulate form. This is the reason for the intensive attention we have paid in this report to the perceptual and motivational trends of traditional Hispanic Americans.

Reorientation in Research Strategy

Research on public policy and management relies predominantly on survey methods; this applies to the study of ethnic/cultural factors as well. It is important to know how Hispanics fare with regard to employment, school attendance, use of English, and attitudes toward bilingual education. Asking these questions in the framework of scientific surveys will provide nationwide generalizations. Since these survey results are needed and useful, a natural tendency has developed to use these structured methods as an instrument to study psychocultural differences as well. The results of our in-depth studies suggest, however, that structured surveys have some undesirable limitations.

Culture as a System of Psychological Dispositions Calls for In-depth Assessment. The results show that culture as a human, psychological factor is more than a single characteristic and more than an aggregate of isolated characteristics. It is a system of characteristics which are internally interrelated and interdependent and form enduring patterns of interrelations. The assessment of systems of dominant perceptual and motivational representations requires more than asking some ad hoc questions or opinions relevant to the interest of the investigator. It requires an in-depth psychological assessment focused on the dominant parameters of their system of perceptions and evaluations, the enduring patterns of their relationships.

Broad Intra-Hispanic Differences Make the Value of Nationwide Averages Questionable. In describing Hispanic American cultural dispositions, the findings show that even if some mean achievement motivation scores or mean work attitude scores are available on the basis of nationwide representativeness, the meaning of these scores is rather questionable. One source of ambiguity is that, as our data show, words such as "achievement" have quite different cultural meanings for accultured Hispanic Americans and for traditional Hispanic Americans. A second source of ambiguity is the broad cultural diversity found by our studies among Hispanic Americans. While this diversity can be described with relative simplicity and parsimony along the traditional unaccultured change continuum, an attempt to describe Hispanic Americans by a series of isolated attitude or opinion scores appears to bear only on the statistical abstraction of the "average Hispanic American."

The Need for Nondirective, Unstructured Methods. Some of the most important dimensions of motivational dispositions, that is, some of the most dominant parameters of the culturally characteristic system of subjective representation, are not accessible through direct opinion questions. This leads us to conclude that for the in-depth study of psychocultural dispositions, nondirective, unstructured methods focused on the dominant parameters of the system are desirable.

Using a Matrix of Regional Samples Rather than Aiming at National Averages. The broad diversity of the traditional and accultured Hispanic American populations indicates that we should abandon attempts to approach culture through aggregates of scores involving national averages, all

obtained by throwing different populations together into the same bag. What we propose is working through the in-depth analysis of a matrix of population samples, drawn from all the main geographic regions: East, Midwest, West, North, and South. Comparisons of the analyzed results performed on populations representing the main cells of such a regional matrix can offer detailed and valid findings which will show regional variations, similarities as well as differences.

Using Samples of Matching Sociodemographic Composition to Trace the Effects of Culture and Other Analytical Variables. The findings of the present investigations support the strategy of using cultural samples of comparable sociodemographic composition rather than statistically representative samples. In this way we can ensure that the differences found between culture groups are not due to such variables as sex, age, income, etc. This strategy receives empirical support from the present findings, primarily through the psychocultural distance data. They show the importance of culture or acculturation as the most powerful single variable as compared to the effects of such sociodemographic variables as income, age, or sex. Consequently, even if some of the samples fail to meet the ideal quotas originally determined for obtaining matching populations, small deviations in income or age will not interfere significantly with the main trends reflected by the findings. The effects of more sizable deviations in one variable or another can be calculated and used for adjustment

Complementing Traditional Surveys with In-Depth Psychocultural Assessments Based on a Matrix of Regional Population Samples. Following this rationale, in the study of populations of different ethnic backgrounds, it is desirable to complement the traditional extensive surveys with in-depth assessments. A research strategy developed along his rationale may rely on testing matching subsamples of a particular ethnic minority in various geographic locations and representing various lifestyles (e.g., urban-rural, segregated and integrated communities, etc.) By comparing major segments of populations and mapping their internal diversity along major demographic variables, such as income and age, we can expect to gain more humanly and socially relevant knowledge than by martialling efforts on the statistical abstractions of average Anglos or Hispanic Americans.

Obtaining a More Complete Picture of Cultural Similarities and Differences. While the present research offers new data to reconstruct some of the basic parameters of the cultural variations of Hispanic Americans, the number of samples was too small for the demanding task of reconstructing the whole picture. Parallel to offering some new information relevant to personnel management, we hope to stimulate research which will fill a sufficiently large number of cells in a new matrix. Such a data base is highly desirable for assisting the personnel management of the Armed Services in meeting the human needs and requirements posed by their changed ethnic composition.

The Present Findings Provide New and Solid Information for Management. The task of careful and detailed mapping of the varied landscape of Hispanic psychocultural dispositions requires considerable additional research; however, the present research findings and those which have

emerged from several independent studies are consistent and conclusive enough to warrant generalizable conclusions along certain major parameters. Of special relevance are the findings on the width of intra-Hispanic diversity, the order and magnitude of difference between the acculturated and traditional Hispanic American populations, the critical distinctions between ethnic identification, and the psychocultural dispositions which are predominantly subconscious and hidden.

The scope and nature of psychocultural differences found between Anglo Americans and Hispanic Americans in combination with the differences observed between the various Hispanic American populations suggests that these new results on invisible but powerful psychocultural factors are of considerable potential value for effective management.

The Diverse Applications Require New Management Decisions and Individual Considerations. The findings offer new opportunities to address numerous broad areas of practical relevance such as:

* the development of effective themes and messages to reach various Hispanic American populations through effective recruitment campaigns and advertisements;

* the development of organizational measures and policies to attract and retain bright, young Hispanic Americans who have strong natural dispositions to become successful members of the armed services;

* the development of sound and attractive role models based on the success and example of Hispanic Americans who have earned esteem and recognition for themselves and for Hispanic Americans through their military career;

* the development of orientation and training material and programs which take the dominant psychocultural dispositions of various populations into semantic consideration and can be used with optimal effects to promote the socialization of Hispanic Americans into the Armed Services.

To take full advantage of the information in these investigations naturally requires an application of the data to the dominant organizational objectives and their subsequent translation into specific programs. Although the information lends itself to various applications, each specific area will require individual attention and systematic adaptation to management objectives.

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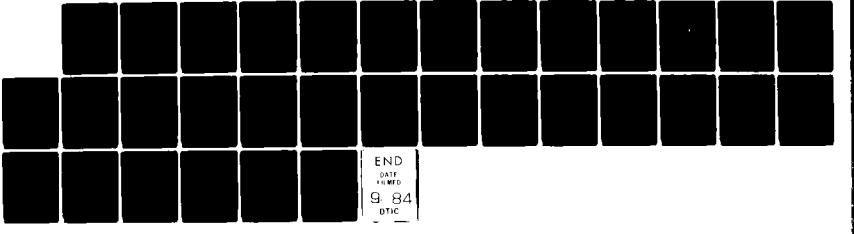

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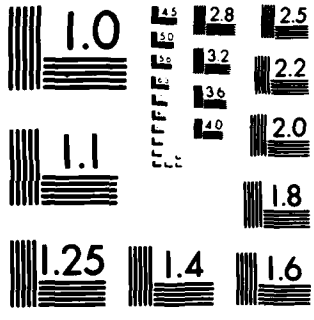

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APPENDIX I

APPROACHING SUBJECTIVE CULTURE THROUGH PSYCHOLOGICAL MEANINGS

The approach used in this research to assess the psychocultural characteristics of different groups relies on the operationalization of four main concepts: psychological meaning, system of representation, subjective culture, and psychocultural distance.

KEY CONCEPTS

Psychological meaning is conceived as a subjective reaction of the system of subjective representation of the environment, a natural unit in the organization of human behavior. As Osgood (1957) puts it: "Of all the imps that inhabit the nervous system---that little black box in psychological theorizing---the one we call meaning is held by common consent to be the most elusive. Yet again by common consent of social scientists, this variable is one of the most important determinants of human behavior."

It is essential that psychological meaning not be confused with lexical meaning. In a lexical sense, the meaning of the word "drug," for instance, is its referent, a substance with medicinal effects. This meaning depends on linguistic convention and is fairly stable. The psychological meaning of "drug" depends only to a limited extent on the actual referent; it is primarily a subjective reaction which varies from person to person or from group to group. A Christian Scientist and a drug addict are likely to have different psychological meanings for "drug" based on their different experiences and different systems of subjective representation of what they consider "reality."

Psychological meaning is a composite reaction, what Osgood (1968) describes as a "multicomponential affair." In everyday language, for instance, we may say that an individual's meaning of "drug" includes elements of visual images (white pill), contexts of use (headache), brands (Bayer), affective reactions (bitter taste, dislike), and function (restoration of health). The salience of these cognitive and evaluative components varies depending on their subjective importance. Within a subculture of drug addicts, pleasure will probably assume high salience. Similarly, frequent references by Christian Scientists to sin suggest that in their subjective view of drugs sin is a salient element.

System of Subjective Representation refers to a system of subjective meanings which people develop in the process of learning about the external world and evolving a subjective map, a more or less coherent system of their own subjective representation of the universe. This concept is analogous to Tolman's "cognitive map," Whorf's "thought world", Kaplan's and Oatley's "cognitive representation," Cantril's "reality world," etc. Kaplan (1973) explains the development of this

subjective representation as a process whereby the individual extracts from the environment, from the myriad objects and situations, constant elements, schemes of representation. This system makes it possible to cope with constantly changing situations and successfully adapt to them. According to Down and Stea's characterization (1973), this system is formed of complex, highly selective, abstract and generalized representations. People of similar background and similar experiences tend to develop over time similar systems of subjective representations, shared perceptions, values, world views, that is, a shared culture.

Subjective culture may be viewed as a group-specific cognitive organization, a system of representation of the universe composed of the mosaic elements of psychological meanings. How people organize their "thought worlds"---what is related to what in their representation of the universe---depends largely on their psychological meanings, their subjective understanding. Related themes, those with similar psychological meanings (psychiatrists, mental illness, treatment), cluster together to form larger cognitive units which we call domains (e.g., the domain of "mental health"). The relationship between domains (e.g., between "mental health" and "science" or "mental health" and "religion") reflects the organization of the cognitive map each group develops in its representation of the universe. Furthermore, groups vary in the importance they assign to different domains of life. This vertical dimension of priorities is particularly important for behavior, because domains that are considered important are likely to attract more interest and represent stronger motivational forces than domains of low importance. A third important aspect of subjective culture is evaluations or attitudes, whether a particular group feels positive or negative about certain aspects of life.

Psychocultural distance is conceived as the distance between two groups in respect to their cognitive organizations---their perceptions of and attitudes toward their subjective worlds. In simpler terms, we may say that psychocultural distance involves differences in the characteristic ways of thinking of people with different sociocultural backgrounds. Whichever definition we use, it is apparent that assessment of psychocultural distance requires some sort of systematic comparison between two subjective cultures, two representational systems.

As in this conceptualization psychological meanings constitute the elementary units of subjective culture, it is natural to conceive similarities and differences in psychological meanings as a major dimension of psychocultural distance. Along this line we may assume that the more difference there is between two groups in their meanings of important themes, the greater will be their distance.

It is clear that cultures assign different importance of particular themes. Such a recognition has two immediate implications at this point. First, the differential distribution of cultural priorities implies that if the comparison is made on the basis of higher-order priorities of only one culture, it will probably not cover all the

important cultural priorities of the other culture; such an analysis would be likely to produce wrong estimates of the psychocultural distance between them. Thus, a systematic assessment of cultural distance should include the priorities of both cultures. Second, the assessment of each individual order of priorities becomes an important dimension of comparison. It is logical to assume that the more closely two groups are similar in their priorities, the less will be their distance.

Groups also frequently disagree in their attitudes and values. It is fairly common to find differences between groups in whether they like or dislike particular people or ideas. More disagreement in attitudes and evaluations naturally leads to greater distance.

Word associations offer empirical information on each of these dimensions of the group;s subjective culture. In general, word associations offer a broad and rich empirical data base on which groups can be compared. Using dominant themes and their translations as stimulus themes makes it possible to elicit reactions in comparable contexts. Comparability is particularly difficult to achieve in the study of cultures because a particular sign, event, or behavior does not necessarily have the same meaning across cultures. For instance, white robes may be worn in one culture at weddings, in other at funerals. Word associations reflect natural units of cognitive organization that are relatively stable and fundamental elements of cognitive processes. Through strategic choices, it is possible to select relatively small samples of dominant themes which provide for the representation of broad domains including dozens, even hundreds, of themes. Similarly, through a strategic selection it is possible to focus on the culturally most dominant domains and disregard domains of lesser cultural importance, thereby reducing an apparently unmanageable task to manageable proportions.

An empirical approach to the assessment of subjective culture has been developed. In its general form this approach involves a three-step data collection procedure (Szalay and Maday, 1973; Szalay and Bryson, 1973). consisting of (a) assessment of the high-priority cultural domains; (b) identification of themes that are culturally representative of these high-priority domains; (c) development of a master stimulus list containing the high-priority domains and their themes. The master stimulus list, which is translated into each group;s native language if necessary, is used to elicit extensive reactions from the culture groups in a broad variety of context of comparable importance to each group.

It is important to select themes that represent to a similar extent the subjective priorities of all groups involved. Group A can be studied in terms of its own priorities, and it can also be explored how its highest-priority domains and themes are perceived, understood, and evaluated by Group B---for which these same themes may or may not have similarly high priority. Nonetheless, such a comparison will not show how the Groups A and B relate to each other on equal terms, but merely in terms of the domains and themes dominant to Group A. A similar bias

may be present if the dominant thems of Group B serve as the basis of determining similarities. To eliminate biased selection, it is necessary to combine the high-priority domains and themes identified for each group, eliminate duplicate items, and then measure the similarity of the two groups in terms of themes are dominant and representative for both groups.

ANALYTIC ASSESSMENT

The analysis of subjective culture as a system of shared subjective representation requires accordingly empirical assessment involving several main dimensions:

Images and Meanings. Content analysis of each group's associative responses is used to reconstruct main components of the psychological meaning of the stimulus theme. More information on this analytic procedure can be found in Appendix II, page 5 .

Priorities . Each group's subjective priorities are inferred from the dominance score, a measure based on the total score of the responses produced by members of the group. It expresses the psychological importance of the stimulus theme to the various groups studied. Priorities can also be explored by examining the responses most frequently given by a particular group, disregarding the context in which they were elicited. The dominance measure is described and illustrated in Appendix II, page 9.

Evaluations . In the assessment of evaluations of particular themes, there are two main strategies available: an inferential method relying on word associations and a direct method in which the respondent uses a seven-unit scale ranging from +3 to -3 to express whether a particular theme has a positive or negative connotation. Both measures are discussed in Appendix II, page 13.

Affinity Structure . This dimension has to do with how groups organize their subjective environments. For example, how similar are two groups in the relationship they see between competition and mental health? The perceived relationship between themes is measured by the index of associative affinity, which is described in Appendix II, page 14.

To measure the psychocultural distance between groups in these different dimensions, we rely mainly on the Pearson's r correlation coefficient. A high correlation implies greater similarity, a low correlation greater distance.

Similarity in meaning is inferred from the correlation calculated between the response distributions obtained from two culture groups to the same stimulus theme. The use of this measure is based on the rationale that the more similar the two groups' meanings are, the more similar their response distributions will be. That is, close similarity

would be assumed if the most frequently mentioned responses for one group are also frequently given by the other, and less popular responses for one group are also less common for the other. The calculation and uses of this measure, which we call the coefficient of intergroup similarity, are discussed in Appendix II, page 11.

Psychocultural distance in the perceptual dimension is determined from the average similarity coefficient for a particular domain or for the overall subjective culture based on all domains studied.

Distance between groups in the dimension of priorities is determined by a correlation of the respective dominance scores for the groups compared. A high correlation indicates that what is important for one group is also important for the other. The lower the correlation the less the groups agree on what is important; in other words, the greater is their distance in this dimension.

Distance in attitudes is based on a correlation of the evaluation (connotation) scores. The lower the correlation the less the groups agree in how they evaluate particular elements of their subjective worlds.

APPENDIX II

THE ASSOCIATIVE GROUP ANALYSIS (AGA) METHOD

DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS, AND MAIN CATEGORIES OF INFERENCES

Associative Group Analysis (.AGA) is a research method for assessing the perceptions, psychological meanings, and attitudes of specific social or cultural groups. The central assumption behind the AGA approach is that a group's psychological meaning of a particular theme may be reconstructed from their word associations to the theme. Ever since Noble (1952) introduced his verbal-association-based measure of meaningfulness, investigators have been exploring ways of using verbal associations to assess various dimensions of psychological meaning. Especially important in this field are the investigations of James Deese (1962, 1965). The AGA method was developed for the systematic assessment of subjective culture. It is used to draw inferences about such important variables as cultural meanings (Szalay and Brent, 1967), attitudes (Szalay, Windle, and Lysne, 1970), and value orientations (Szalay, Brent, and Lysne, 1968). The AGA method has proved capable of measuring psychological meanings with an efficiency comparable to that of other widely used methods---similarity ratings, substitution tasks, and the word-adapted semantic differential (Szalay and Bryson, 1972).

In contrast to traditional word-association approaches in which the subjects are asked to give a single response for each stimulus word in the AGA method the subjects give as many responses as they can think of in one minute. The technique is referred to as "continued free verbal association." This "continued association" technique produces response material with sufficiently broad foundation without having to use extremely large samples---a requirement that frequently makes socially relevant studies unfeasible and impractical. Generally, samples of 50 to 100 subjects are used to represent each particular group. The samples include preferably equal numbers of males and females. The requirements for representative sampling are fundamentally the same as in any other data collection aiming at generalizable results.

Through careful, systematic selection of stimulus themes, investigations can be focused on any desired problem areas or domains. Several related themes are selected in the representation of each domain in order to observe consistent trends on a broader data base and thus produce more generalizable findings. A strategy has been developed for selecting themes that are representative of the domains for each culture group (Szalay and Maday, 1974).

DATA COLLECTION, TEST ADMINISTRATION

The standard AGA testing conditions of group testing, written form of administration, and working with little time pressure help promote more spontaneous, meaning-mediated responses. Individual subjects remain anonymous (demographic data being obtained by a brief questionnaire that carries the

same code number as the subject's test slips); assurance of this helps to reduce the likelihood of bias in the form of acquiescence, considerations of social desirability, etc.; it also opens up a variety of emotion-laden issues to objective inquiry.

The subjects are asked to write free verbal associations to each of the stimulus words presented on randomly sequenced cards. They receive the following instructions, as well as the test material, in their native language:

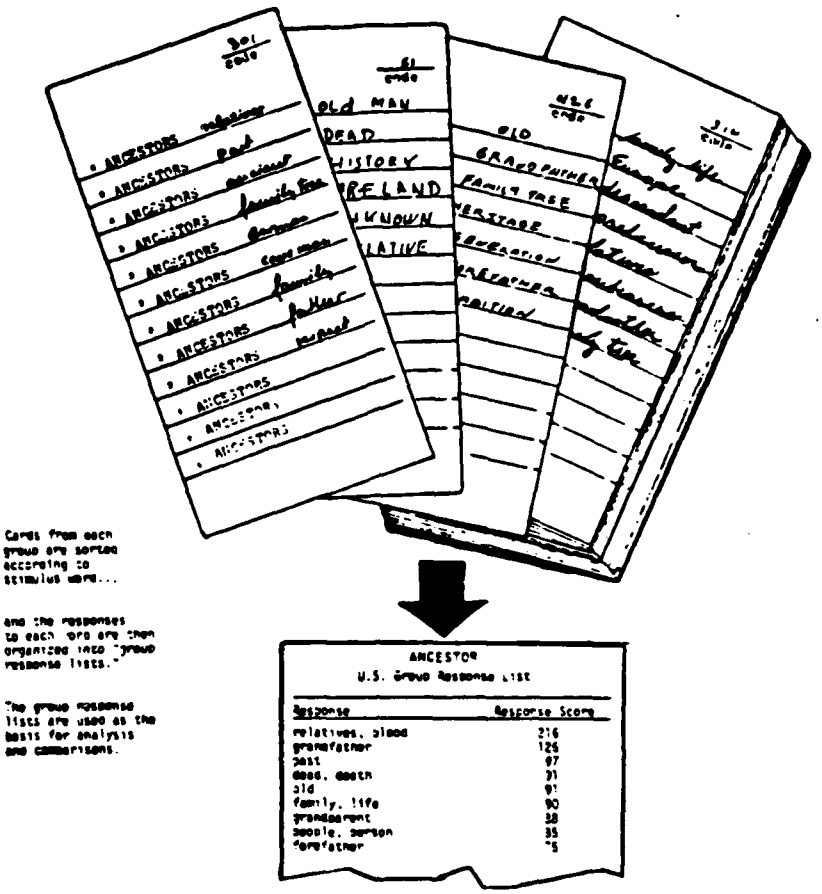
> This experiment is part of a study in verbal behavior, and this particular task involves word associations. These are group experiments, and your responses will not be evaluated individually but collectively for your group. Your responses are completely anonymous, and you are free to give your associations concerning any subject. There are no bad or wrong answers, so do not select your responses but put them down spontaneously in the order that they occur to you.
>
> The task is easy and simple. You will find a word printed on each slip of paper. Reading this stimulus word will make you think of other associated words (objects, ideas, issues, etc.). You are asked to write as many separate responses as you can think of in the time allotted. Try to think of one-word responses and avoid long phrases or sentences.
>
> It is important that in giving your responses you always take the given stimulus word into consideration. For example, if the stimulus word was *table* and your answer was *writing*, in giving the subsequent responses you must refer back to *table* and avoid "chain" responses (*writing, pen, ink, blue, ocean, sail....*).
>
> Please work without hurrying, but do you best to give us as many answers as possible. One minute will be given for each word. At the end of each minute I will ask you to go on to the next word. Do not work longer than one minute on any word and do not read ahead or return to others later.

DATA ORGANIZATION: SCORING RESPONSES, COMPILING GROUP RESPONSE LISTS

A logical assumption is that earlier responses are more meaningful than later ones, that the first response has more salience to the subject than the last. This assumption is supported by empirical evidence. The stability of responses obtained at different rank places was studied by comparing the responses obtained from the same group in two separate sessions one month apart (Szalay and Brent, 1967). The responses obtained at higher rank places in the first test showed higher stability in the second test than did the responses first obtained at lower rank places. The coefficients of stability obtained in the comparative study provide the weights for the various rank places. The weights, beginning with the first response, are 6,5,4,3,3,3,3,2,2,1,1,1.

The cards are organized by stimulus words, and the individual responses from all the subjects are tallied into group response lists. Certain responses (e.g., school to educated) will occur to many members of the group; other responses may be given by only one or two members. In order to focus on the shared meaning for a particular group, the responses given by only one person are excluded from analysis. Dropping the idiosyncratic responses helps

us to concentrate on the more stable, shared responses and simplifies the data processing and analysis.



If we look at associations produced by members of our own culture group, they appear to be just plain common sense. We tend to feel that everybody would produce similar responses and that the responses do not tell us anything new. This impression is probably the major reason that the potential information value of associative response distribution has not been clearly recognized in the past. The systematic exploitation of associations as an important information source is the central objective of the AGA method. The feeling that everybody would produce similar responses is a culture-bound impression. This becomes apparent if we compare associations obtained from groups with different cultural backgrounds. A comparison of U.S. and Korean responses to the stimulus ancestors, for instance, shows that the most frequent U.S. response relative occurs only down around the middle of the Korean response list. Of the five most frequent Korean responses, only two, grandfather and forefather, occur to the Americans. Both lists contain numerous responses which have high scores or salience for one culture group and low or no salience at all for the other group. A quick glance at the most

frequent responses readily reveals that they are not accidental, but deeply rooted in the cultural background, religious-moral philosophy, life conditions, and contemporary experiences of the respective groups.

U.S. AND KOREAN GROUP RESPONSES TO *ANCESTORS*

U.S. GROUP		KOREAN GROUP	
Response	**Response Score**	**Response**	**Response Score**
relatives. blood	216	grandfather	420
grandfather	126	rite	198
past	97	forefather	125
dead, death	91	grave, visit	106
old	91	veneration	84
family, life	90	elders	82
grandparent	88	Tau gun	81
people, person	85	burial ground	77
forefather	75	great grandfather	77
history	69	father	58
before, -me, -us	56	geneology	58
ancient	54	generation	55
descendant	52	day gone by	49
family tree	48	primitive man	35
grandmother	47	respect	34
predecessor	45	human being	33
father	34	founder	31
long ago	32	relatives, blood	31
heritage	31	history	30
Indians	26	family, life	28
Ireland, ish	24	tradition	28
tradition	23	ties	25
caveman	18	serve	24
great	17	other	23
forebearers	16	deceased	19
German, y	15	home	19
great grandfather	15	lineage	18
foreign, er	14	hill	17
generation	13	I	14
Neanderthal	13	dead, death	14
early, ier	11	habit	12
Java man	11	senior	11
Adam	10	vanity	11
Europe	10	country side	10
other	10	posterity	10
worship	10	clan	9
American	8	Lee Dynasty	9
year	7	Lee Sun -sin	9
unknown	6	Park Mgokkose	8
geneology	6	King Sejong	7
respect	6		
man	5		

Each group response list represents a rich information source reflecting the group's characteristic understanding of the stimulus word, including perceptual and affective details which are frequently unverbalizable and below their level of awareness. Actually, a systematic examination of such response lists has shown that every response contains a piece of valid information about the group's characteristic understanding and evaluation of the stimulus word. Responses with a sizable score value (10 to 15) are rarely accidental. Using conservative estimates, score differences of 18 can be considered significant at the .05 level, score differences of 24 at the .01 level. The wealth of information provided by the group response list is impressive, since even small score differences can have significant implications for

communication and behavior (Szalay et al., 1972).

MAIN CATEGORIES OF INFERENCES, THEIR RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

For the identification of various psychocultural characteristics, several analytical procedures have been developed, relying on the group response lists as the main data base.

GROUP PERCEPTIONS, IMAGES, AND MEANINGS

The group response lists contain a rich variety of responses, each reflecting a different mosaic element of the total psychological meaning. Grouping responses with similar content together helps to identify the main components of meaning and their characteristic saliences. This content analysis is performed by two or more independent judges whose background and frame of reference is by and large similar to that of the group tested. If Korean and American groups are to be tested, the coders would be a Korean and an American. Each judge receives a list of all responses to a particular stimulus word (the Korean responses translated into English). They choose eight to sixteen categories which they feel subsume all the responses in meaningful groupings relevant to the stimulus word, and then assign the responses to these categories. The categories may be of low or high generality, concrete or abstract; but they should be simple, not very abstract, and at the same level of generality. It is important to chose clearly different, well-delimited categories that do not overlap. It is necessary to choose between alternative possible categories: some will fit into the total system of categories better than others; some will communicate better than others. Responses that do not seem to fit into any of the categories are put into a miscellaneous category. Responses that may be assigned with equal justification to two or more categories are recorded for further discussion. The coders then meet with a senior researcher to discuss their agreements and disagreements. Where there are discrepant categories, three solutions are possible: new alternative categories, category combinations at a higher level of abstraction, or complementary categories. The final categories are selected to highlight the most characteristic aspects of the groups' responses to the stimulus word. This method maintains comparability of results in the analysis of the responses from the different cultural population samples. Once the categorization is finalized, a final check is required to make sure that all the responses are included and that they have their proper response scores.

Each category is described by a score and by a label to indicate its content. The category score is the sum of the scores of each subsumed response and expresses the importance of the category for a particular group. If a category yields a high score for a group, it may be said that the category constitutes an important meaning component of that theme for that group. The categories and category scores present a logical set of data from which the central meaning of the stimulus word may be deduced, either directly or through advisors or background literature on the culture.

Using this procedure to analyze the stimulus theme ancestor, for example, we find a sizable group of responses dealing with "rites, veneration, and worship." The overwhelming majority of these responses come from the

Koreans while only a few of the American responses fall in this category. A modest familiarity with the cultural background of the Koreans makes it obvious that this component reflects the traditional anestor worsnip and shows how salient this cultural element is in the minds of contemporary Korean citizens. Another group of responses identified by the judges concerns the pa st and other time references, indicating that ancestors belong very much to pat, ancient times in the minds of our American respondents. This is less the case with the Koreans, probably because active veneration and worship is still part of the contemporary religious practices. Another cluster of related responses involve references to foreign, predominantly European countries. These responese come practically exclusively from Americans and show their awareness of their foreign ancestry. Naturally this component of cultural meaning is essentially missing from the Korean image of ancestors. Through this process of content analysis, the judges assign all responses to main response categories of U.S. and Korean cultural meanings.

CATEGORIZATION OF U.S. AND KOREAN RESPONSES TO *ANCESTORS*

RITES, VENERATION, WORSHIP	score US	score K	TIME: PAST,OLD	score US	score K	PEOPLE, FOREIGNERS	score US	score K
worship	10	-	past	97	-	American	8	-
respect	6	34	old	91	-	Europe	10	-
veneration	-	84	before,-me,-us	56	-	German,-y	15	-
serve	-	24	ancient	54	-	Ireland,-ish	24	-
great	17	-	long ago	32	-	Indians	26	-
rite	-	198	early,-ier	11	-	foreign,-er	14	-
other	6	44	unknown	6	-	human being	-	33
			days gone by	-	49	man	5	-
			year	7	-	people,person	85	-
			posterity	-	10			
	39	384		354	59		187	33

In the case of the responses to ancestors the judges used ten categories to identify the most salient components of the groups' contemporary meanings of ancestors. The scores the various components accumulated in this process reflect the subjective salience of each component for the cultural groups compared. The main content categories obtained by this analysis describe the total subjective meaning of the theme in terms of the main components characteristic of each group's understanding. Because there is usually a difference between the two groups in their level of responding, the category scores are converted to percentages of the respective total scores in order to make them directly comparable.

PERCEPTION AND EVALUATION OF ANCESTORS BY AMERICANS AND KOREANS

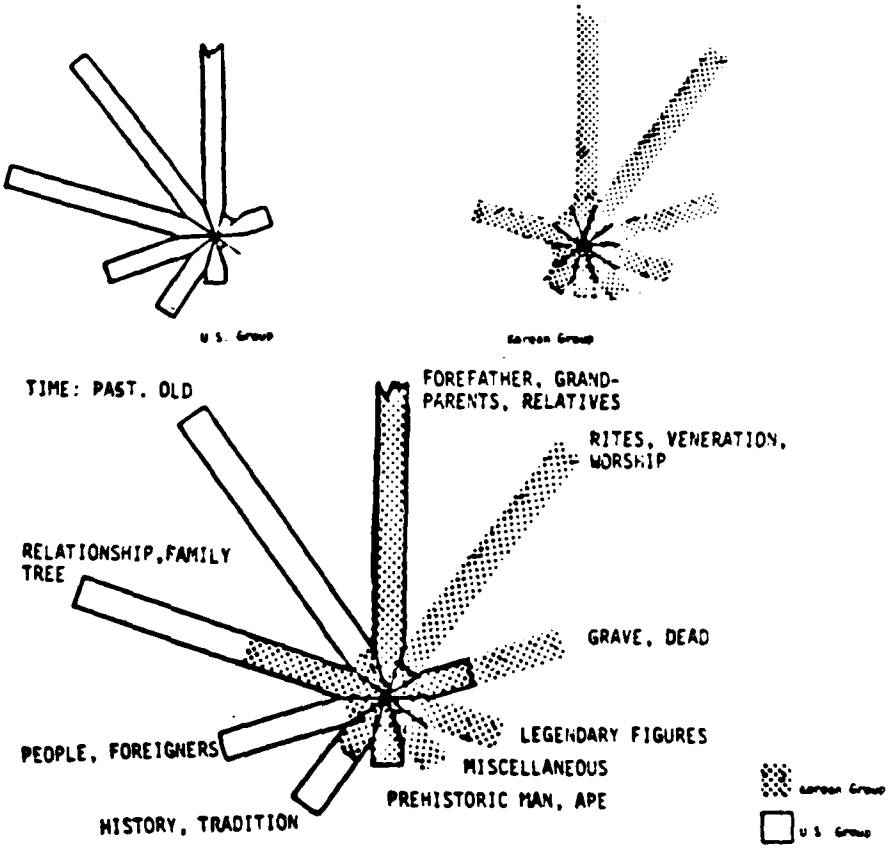
Meaning Components	U.S. Group		Korean Group	
	Score	%	Score	%
Time: Past, Old	354	20	59	3
Relationship, Family Tree	335	19	196	9
People, Foreigners	187	10	33	2
History, Tradition	152	8	84	4
Prehistoric Man, Ape	73	4	35	2
Forefathers, Grandparents, Relatives	546	30	824	39
Rites, Veneration, Worship	39	2	384	18
Grave, Dead	91	5	233	11
Legendary Figures	-	0	52	7
Miscellaneous	25	1	108	5
Total Scores (Dominance)	1,802		2,100	

The reliability of the content analytic method was tested by comparing the performance of five judges working independently from each other. The interjudge reliability measured by product-moment correlation across 76 categories was .7. The validity of such inferences on particular single meaning components cannot be directly assessed because simple criterion measures are not available. There are, however, findings which show, for instance, that the salience of these meaning components provides valid predictions on the meaningfulness of messages in intercultural communications. Communication material that capitalized on salient components of cultural meanings was judged by members of this culture as relatively more meaningful than comparable communication material produced by cultural experts (Szalay, Lysne, and Bryson, 1972).

Another way to present the results of content analysis is the semantograph. It shows the main categories of group meaning by using radially arranged bargraphs. The dotted bars represent the main components of Korean interpretation and the striped bars the main components of U.S. interpretation. Where the bars are similar in length, substantial agreement exists between U.S. and Korean responses. The bars are arbitrarily arranged so that those on the left of the semantograph show meaning components especially strong (salient) for the U.S. group and those on the right show meaning components especially strong for the Korean group. This presentation is designed to help the reader to recognize components on which his own group and the other culture group are in agreement or disagreement.

ANCESTOR

Main Meaning Components for U.S. and Korean Groups



U.S. and Korean Groups' Main Meaning Components in Combined Presentation

Effective communication requires that we address members of other cultures on components that are salient to them. Thus, in communicating with Spanish-speaking groups on education, components that are predominantly Hispanic (e.g., politeness, family background, etc.) can be expected to elicit interest and understanding. For those familiar with the cultural backgrounds of the groups producing the associations, it is apparent that the high-scoring responses reflect their salient characteristics. The response polite from an Hispanic group, for example, reflects their emphasis on formal, polite behavior. With a deeper knowledge of the cultural background, all the responses can be traced to the religious-moral philosophy, history, life conditions, and contemporary experiences of the respective culture groups. These trends of cultural interpretation, of course, are not limited to single concepts; rather, they reflect general cultural experiences, life conditions, and philosophies characteristic of the groups compared.

SUBJECTIVE PRIORITIES OR IMPORTANCE

THE DOMINANCE SCORE

Every group has its own set of priorities: Americans are said to be preoccupied with material comfort, technical details, and scientific progress, while Hispanics are said to focus on family traditions, personal friendships, and spiritual values. The psychological priorities characteristic of a particular group can be inferred from dominance scores. How important a certain subject, theme, idea, or issue is to a particular group can be inferred from the number of responses they give to it as a stimulus word. The dominance score, simply the sum of the scores of all responses elicited by a particular theme or domain, is used to measure subjective importance. It is a modified version of Noble's (1952) "meaningfulness" measure.* The priorities of different social or cultural groups can be compared by looking at their dominance scores on the same concepts. Dominance scores reveal group-specific priorities not only on single issues but also for larger domains, as shown in the example below.

DOMINANCE SCORES OF BLACK AND WHITE GROUPS

Domain and Themes	White	Black	Domain and Themes	White	Black
ISMS			SOCIAL PROB.		
democracy	636	449	society (U.S.)	316	342
socialism	396	280	social class	402	475
capitalism	362	298	social justice	376	378
communism	733	502	social progress	260	334
mean	532	382	mean	338	382
NATION			NEEDS		
nation	661	591	goal	514	581
United States	877	765	expectation	236	298
patriotism	508	222	desire	621	701
Americans	605	648	valuable	832	876
mean	663	556	mean	551	614

These results come from a study of Black and White blue-collar workers who were compared on the relative importance they assigned to 60 selected themes in 15 domains. The table indicates that the Black group was more concerned with social problems and needs, while the White group placed more emphasis on political isms and nationalism.

*Noble (1952) first demonstrated that the number of associations given by a person in a continued association task of one minute provides a measure of "meaningfulness" that is highly correlated with the person's familiarity with the word and its meaning.

The group-based dominance scores have been found to be highly culture-specific (Szalay, Moon, Lysne, and Bryson, 1971) and have a reliability of .93 calculated from a test-retest comparison of 40 themes.

More information on the dominance scores can be found in Communication Lexicon on Three South Korean Audiences (Szalay, Moon, and Bryson, 1971).

OVERALL SIMILARITY IN PERCEPTIONS

THE SIMILARITY COEFFICIENT AND INTRAGROUP HOMOGENEITY MEASURE

Without considering the actual nature of differences one may ask generally to what extent do two groups differ in their understanding of a particular theme. Free verbal associations offer an empirical answer to this question based on the principle that the closer the agreement between the associations of two groups on a particular theme, the more similar their meanings are. To measure the extent to which two groups agree in their perception and understanding of a particular theme, idea, or issue, the coefficient of similarity is used.

Similarity in subjective meaning is inferred from the similarity of response distributions measured by Pearson's product-moment correlation. Close similarity (high coefficient) means that the high frequency responses produced by one group are also high frequency responses for the other group; similarly, the low frequency responses produced by one group will generally be the same as those produced by the other group. The scores for the same (translation equivalent) responses from two groups respresent the pairs of observations (x,y) used in this calculation. N represents the number of pairs of observations, that is, the number of word responses used in the calculation of a particular coefficient. The coefficients provide a global measure of the level of similarities and differences without elaborating on the semantic components on which they are based.

In the example below the problem areas or domains are presented in descending order of agreement. The reactions of the Black and White groups were most similar in the areas of education and family. The problem areas showing least agreement, social problems and needs, are the same areas in which the dominance scores reflected more concern from the Black group.

INTERGROUP SIMILARITY BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE GROUPS

Domain and Themes	r	Domain and Themes	r
EDUCATION		NEEDS	
school	.90	goal	.38
knowledge	.88	expectation	-.47
educated	.92	desire	.76
to learn	.79	valuable	.90
mean	.88	mean	.53
FAMILY		SOCIAL PROBLEMS	
father	.80	society (U.S.)	.38
mother	.92	social class	.50
family	.84	social justice	.15
home	.79	social progress	-.04
mean	.84	mean	.25

The reliability of the coefficient of similarity measure was tested by comparing two groups obtained by splitting a larger group randomly into two halves; the coefficients produced on a sample of themes were then averaged. In a comparison of two split-half groups on 26 themes, a correlation of .73 was obtained. An earlier comparison resulted in an r of .82, calculated over 40 themes. The coefficient depends a great deal on the particular theme under consideration. Themes that are specific and concrete produce steep response distributions characterized by a few widely shared responses, or meaning elements. The theme family, for example, is specific and concrete, and for everybody if means to a certain extent father and mother. The themes concern and anxiety are less definite, and instead of everybody agreeing on a few particularly salient responses, people produce a broad diversity of responses. In this situation, low correlation does not necessarily indicate low reliability of the measure but may be a consequence of the indeterminate nature of the theme. In such a situation the stability of the measure may better estimated by considering how stable a coefficient is within particular themes rather than across all themes. To assess this stability, the coefficients obtained on the same themes for the two split-half groups were correlated over the 26 themes and produced an r of .89.

Certain Limitations of This Measure. Calculation of the similarity coefficient requires literal agreement; it does not take into account semantically closely related responses such as home and homely or synonyms such as house and home. Consequently, this measure is bound to underestimate the actual level of similarity. These biases are likely to increase the more the groups differ in their vocabularies. One could argue naturally that differences in vocabularies are not accidental and they themselves are likely

to reflect on psychocultural distance. Nonetheless, as some of these differences in the words used do not correspond to similar differences in perceptions, they are likely to give a somewhat inflated estimate of the actual perceptual differences. These biases are usually not significant and they are in general randomly distributed; in other words, the bias is likely to be the same regardless of the words used. This should not interfere with the utility of the coefficient to provide a valid estimate of the relative level of semantic differences.

In other words, the coefficient of similarity cannot overestimate similarity but it may overestimate the degree of differences in the perceptions of two groups. This problem can be offset through the use of one of the other analytic techniques developed with the AGA method. Once the similarity coefficient has been used to identify themes where the greatest differences are, it is desirable to take a closer look by categorizing the semantically related responses into clusters. In the content analysis the total score of the response cluster (synonyms, partial synonyms), rather than the individual response scores, represents the main source of information by revealing the salience of the main components of perception and evaluation. Thus, for instance, the nature and intensity of emotional ties projected into people's relationships by a particular group emerges from the total score accumulated by such responses as love, affection, and friendship. In this analysis the scores of single responses (e.g., synonyms) are inconsequential. The differences between groups may then be identified by a comparison of the scores showing the salience of the main attitudinal and perceptual components.

While the similarity coefficient is useful in measuring overall similarity or distance, the content analysis may be used to identify more specific cultural dispositions such as the Puerto Ricans' tendency to see personal relations within the framework of family in contrast the disposition of Americans to see people as individuals independent of family.

Intragroup Homogeneity

A comparison of split-half groups shows how much agreement exists within a particular group on a particular stimulus theme. This intragroup agreement is affected by several factors.

One factor influencing the value of the coefficient is the size of the group. Based on 32 themes in the domains of family and health, mean coefficients were calculated using sample sizes of 13, 26, 52, 78, 104, and 156. They showed a distinct increase with the size of the groups compared. The rate of the increase is fast if we increase the size of small samples. For instance, an increase in sample size from 13 to 26 produced an increase of 27 points in the coefficient, while an increase from 52 to 104 produced an increase of only 9 points. Thus, there is a distinct decline in the growth rate in the case of large samples, and the coefficients come close to their plateau with a sample size of 200. Correlations do not generally increase just because the base of their calculation is extended. An explanation is likely to be found in the nature of mechanics of the calculation; the relatively large number of 0 scores obtained with a small sample decreases the correlation value.

Other important factors influencing the homogeneity coefficient relate to the nature and characteristics of individual themes under consideration. The variations are apparently explicable by the fact that some themes and domains are more concrete, definite, tangible (e.g., car, money), while others are more indeterminate, unobservable, abstract (equality, expectation).

These variations may be illustrated by calculating coefficients of homogeneity on 16 themes in the family domain (family, mother, father, home, etc.) using three different sample sizes: 13, 52, and 156. In contrast to the wide range of variation (-.12 to .70) observed at the level of the smallest sample, in the case of the largest sample the range was narrower (.72 to .96). Furthermore, the mean coefficient based on a sample size of 156 was .90, in strong contrast to the mean of .35 obtained with a sample size of 13. As a tentative explanation the phenomenon of "cultural sharing" (D'Andrade, 1969) seems appropriate. It follows from the rationale of this sharing phenomenon that larger groups, which provide a broader basis for observations, can be more completely described than smaller ones. These data underscore the importance of working with a sample size of at least 50.

ATTITUDES AND EVALUATIONS

THE EVALUATIVE DOMINANCE INDEX (EDI) AND THE CONNOTATION SCORE

How people evaluate ideas and events---ERA, arms embargo, human rights, legalization of marijuana---can be assessed without asking them directly. Attitudinal inferences are derived from the distribution of associative responses with positive, negative, and neutral connotation. Based on empirical evidence that the evaluative content of associative responses is a valid indicator of the evaluative content of the stimulus word (Staats and Staats, 1959), a simple attitude index was developed to express the relative dominance of responses with positive or negative connotations (Szalay et al., 1970). First, the proportions of positive and negative categories are assessed by two independent judges who place the associative responses into positive, negative, and neutral groups. (In previous experiments this grouping task was performed with an interjudge agreement of .93 measured by product-moment correlation across categories.) Next, using the total response score for each of the three groupings, an index of evaluative dominance is calculated by the following formula:

$$EDI = \frac{\Sigma \text{scores of positive responses} - \Sigma \text{scores of negative responses}}{\Sigma \text{scores of all responses}} \times 100$$

Based on this formula, group indices are obtained on each stimulus for each group. The distance between groups in their evaluations is measured by comparing EDI scores using Pearson's r coefficient.

A higher index implies more intense group evaluation, in either a positive or negative direction. The example below shows that Koreans are more negative in their evaluation of political systems, particularly communism. Their less negative evaluation of poverty and beggars may indicate more familiarity with or tolerance of these problems.

EVALUATIVE DOMINANCE INDICES FOR U.S. AND KOREAN GROUPS

Theme	U.S. Group	Korean Group
family	25	22
proud	12	28
educated	51	51
knowledge	50	44
offense	-27	-53
capitalism	10	-4
communism	-14	-32
equality	19	20
poor	-58	-28
beggar	-63	-42

The EDI measure is described in A Study of American and Korean Attitudes and Values Through Associative Group Analysis (Szalay, Lysne, and Brent, 1970; Szalay, Windle, and Lysne, 1970).

A direct method of assessing attitudes can also be used. It involves asking the respondents to give a general evaluation of each stimulus word after performing the verbal association task. To express whether the words mean something positive, negative, or neutral, they use the following scale:

3 - strongly positive, favorable connotation
2 - quite positive, favorable connotation
1 - slightly positive, favorable connotation
0 - neutral or ambivalent feeling tones
-1 - slightly negative connotation
-2 - quite negative connotation
-3 - strongly negative connotation

A mean group attitude score is obtained for each stimulus word. Distance in evaluations is then measured by Pearson's r coefficient comparing two groups across stimulus words.

RELATEDNESS OF THEMES, CONCEPTS

THE AFFINITY INDEX

Measures of meaning similarity have considerable potential to assess how particular groups organize and interrelate elements of their environment. The associative affinity index measure indicates which words are related by a group to which other words and to what extent. The degree of relationship among these elements of a group's subjective world view is an important dimension of their cognitive organization. It is defined as the shared associative meaning of stimulus words as measured by the number of associations produced in common to these words (Szalay, 1965). Similar

concepts based on various theoretical positions are: overlap coefficient (Deese, 1962); verbal relatedness (Garskof and Houston, 1963); mutual frequency (Cofer, 1957); co-occurence measure (Flavell, 1959); and measure of stimulus equivalence (Bousfield, Whitmarsh, and Danick, 1958). These concepts, however, use single-word associative responses rather than continued associations. The associative affinity index, a modified relatedness measure similar to those reviewed by Marshall and Cofer (1963), was developed for use with continued associations.

The index of interword affinity (IIA) measure the relationship of one theme (A) to another (B) for a particular group based on the responses in common to the two themes. The formula for the affinity of them A to B is as follows:

$$\frac{\text{score for responses in common} + \text{score for direct elicitation } (A \longrightarrow B)}{\text{total score A}} \times 1000 = \text{index of interword associative affinity } (A \longrightarrow B)$$

The formula for the affinity of theme B to theme A is:

$$\frac{\text{score for responses in common} + \text{score for direct elicitation } (B \longrightarrow A)}{\text{total score B}} \times 1000 = \text{index of interword associative affinity } (B \longrightarrow A)$$

In the two lists in the table below beggar and poverty were responses to the two stimulus words under consideration. The lower score of the response in common (e.g., 38 for beggar) is used in the calculation because that is the portion that is common to both. (Although hunger and hungry are very similar as well as poor and poverty, they are treated as separate responses here.) Also, in the calculation is the score of the response to one stimulus word that is identical to the other stimulus word (e.g., the stimulus hungry eliciting the response poor). They are said to elicit each other directly; hence, what is here measured is called direct elicitation.

INDEX OF INTERWORD ASSOCIATIVE AFFINITY

Stimulus A: HUNGRY		Stimulus B: POOR	
Response	Score (Colombian Group)	Response	Score (Colombian Group)
meal	107	hungry	77
food	73	money	71
hunger	65	poverty	44
poor	59	beggar	38
beggar	43	necessity	30
poverty	38	house	28
Total Score A	385	Total Score B	288

The score of the responses in common to HUNGRY (76) plus the score of the directly elicited response (59) indicates the total degree of shared meaning. The score representing the shared portion of the total meaning reaction cannot be taken by itself or it would be merely a function of the length of the response lists. Therefore, it is divided by the total score of all responses (e.g., to HUNGRY, 385). The score representing the shared portion of the total meaning reaction is thus expressed as a fraction of the total score

representing the total meaning reaction. This fraction is multiplied by 1000 in order to make it an integral number. The resulting number is called the interword affinity index, here calculated for HUNGRY to POOR:

$$\frac{76 + 59}{385} \times 1000 = 351 = \text{index of interword associative affinity, HUNGRY to POOR}$$

If the relationship of POOR to HUNGRY is being considered, the index would be different: the score representing shared meaning plus the score for the direct elicition of hungry (77) would be divided by the total score for POOR (288), giving an index of 531.

The following matrix shows the relationship of eight themes from the motivational and economic domains. The generally higher indexes for the Black group suggest a stronger relationship between motivational themes and economic matters. On the relationship of single themes, the table shows that the Black group sees a relationship between expectation and unemployment, which does not emerge from the White group's responses.

AFFINITY RELATIONSHIP OF MOTIVATIONAL AND ECONOMIC THEMES FOR BLACK (B) AND WHITE (W) GROUPS

STIMULUS WORD A	Group	STIMULUS WORD B AND DIRECTION OF RELATIONSHIP															
		Goal		Expectation		Desire		Valuable		The rich		The poor		Unemployment		Prosperity	
		A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A
Prosperity	W	163	216	182	111	134	214	167	314	259	491	131	242	96	162		
	B	190	361	243	237	151	346	139	398	302	521	157	365	131	263		
Unemployment	W	27	21	0	0	53	50	60	76	148	169	156	204				
	B	117	110	101	85	82	94	87	124	179	210	227	313				
The poor	W	66	66	35	8	146	123	97	110	302	291						
	B	128	305	319	97	156	154	122	151	270	253						
The rich	W	82	61	39	21	103	96	257	323								
	B	134	108	193	80	200	194	208	375								
Valuable	W	136	84	76	22	211	157										
	B	198	131	158	54	254	203										
Desire	W	220	182	310	113												
	B	132	110	205	87												
Expectation	W	89	237														
	B	97	224														

Indexes on single word pairs provide empirical data on single relationships; index averages calculated on the affinity of one word with a set of words representing a particular domain have more generality. Indexes calculated between domains may be expected to gauge cognitive organization at an even higher level of generality by revealing how closely interrelated are such areas for a particular group.

The reliability of this index in split-half comparisons was in the range of .90 (Szalay and Windle, 1968). The validity of this measure was estimated in a comparative study based on correlations of this measure with other independent measures: similarity judgment .73; judgment of relationship .77; grouping task .84. (The calculations were based on 65 index pairs.) (Szalay and Bryson, 1972).

More information on the affinity measure can be obtained in Communication Lexicon on Three South Korean Audiences (Szalay, Moon, and Bryson, 1971) and in "Psychological Meaning: Comparative Analyses and Theoretical Implications", Journal of Personality and Social Psychology (Szalay and Bryson, 1974).

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF ASSOCIATIVE RESPONSES

The continued verbal association task used in the Associative Group Analysis method produces extensive response distributions characterized by contrasts of high and low response frequencies. Even though conclusions are never based on a single response, the specific responses are the fundamental mosaic elements of information obtained in the association tasks and thus it is necessary to determine how their reliability. The answer to this question depends naturally on the number of people who gave the particular response and on the score the response accumulated based on its rank places of emission. The use of continued associations required the development of a weighting procedure to account for the differences in information value between first responses and the responses produced later at lower rankings. An empirically founded weighting system was derived based on the differential stability of responses observed in test-retest results. The following reliability scores were obtained as a function of the rank place.

STABILITY OF RESPONSES DEPENDING ON THEIR RANK PLACE

Stability and Weights	Rank of Response									
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
Stability, percent of recurrence in retest	.60	.48	.42	.34	.32	.30	.25	.20	.15	.11
Weighting score based on the stability	6	5	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	1

This suggests that the average stability of a single response in continued association tasks is .32. This mean value represents the stability of an average response for an average person. The mean stability substantially increases when calculated on group basis. The increase becomes explicable by the observation that while a particular person may fail in retest to give the same response he gave in the first test, it frequently happens that other subjects will use the word as a response in the retest although they may not have given it in the first test. Thus, particularly the common responses substantially increase this stability on group basis.

As the Associative Group Analysis method draws inferences on groups rather than on individuals, the stability of responses on group basis requires particular attention. The group response lists representing response frequencies weighted by their individual rank places serve as the data base for such inferences. With focus on the shared responses of the group, responses given by only one person are disregarded as idiosyncratic. To assess the stability of group responses, split-half comparisons were made of a group of 100 subjects split randomly. Comparing the group response lists of the two groups of 50 subjects, an average stability of .61 was obtained. Interestingly, this stability increased gradually when split-half groups of larger sizes were compared (N=100, N=200). This phenomenon bears apparently on the cultural sharing phenomenon which has been described by several authors (Roberts, 1951; D'Andrade, 1959), but its implications go beyond our present concern with stability.

In connection with the problem of stability of response lists and the average stability of particular responses, it should be pointed out that this stability is also affected by the stimulus words considered. Certain stimulus words are specific and produce steep response distributions focusing on a definite set of responses. Others are less definite and produce responses with great intragroup variations. This definiteness depends partially on the characteristics of the stimulus theme such as its concreteness and specificity; it also depends on the homogeneity of the group's experiences in respect to the stimulus.

These different variables cause considerable variations in the stability of responses. Thus, the average response stability value reported above is a rough estimate. When more precise data are needed, as in the case of the evaluation of changes, learning and training effects, it is desirable to obtain stability data on the relevant themes in separate split-half stability tests. The stability of specific responses as a function of the size of responses is discussed in the relation to the problem of statistical significance.

Altnough the Associative Group Analysis method is used to derive information on diverse categories of variables, the inferences are usually based on entire response distributions or clusters of responses rather than on single individual responses. Thus, although the measures are based on responses, the problem of validity can be examined more meaningfully in the context of the particular measures rather than single responses.

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