Personality and Culture: a Recasting of Concepts Illustrated With Data From the Argentine, Chile, and Peru.

Harley M. Upchurch

Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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PERSONALITY AND CULTURE: A RECASTING OF CONCEPTS

ILLUSTRATED WITH DATA FROM THE

ARGENTINE, CHILE, AND PERU

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by

Harley M. Upchurch
B.A., Mexico City College, 1958
M.A., University of Florida, 1960
June, 1965
DEDICATED

a mi esposa
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

A great many persons and organizations have had an important influence on the development of this dissertation. To give recognition to all of them would require a fairly lengthy chapter. To attempt to single out those to whom the author is most indebted would be an impossible task. He has chosen, therefore, to merely say "thank you" to anyone who reads this and who knows that he (or she) has contributed in some way to the realization of the dissertation.

It is fitting, however, that the writer acknowledge the encouragement and assistance which he has received from Dr. Walfrid J. Jokinen his committee chairman and Dr. Alvin L. Bertrand who served as acting chairman as well as the other members of the committee who were: Dr. Jane De Grummond, Dr. Joseph Perry, Dr. Sakari Sariola and Dr. M. Lee Taylor. Finally, some mention needs to be made of the fact that dissertations such as this one would be impossible without the services which are provided by such facilities as the Columbia University and Louisiana State University Computer Centers.
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is essentially an attempt to recast the concepts of personality and culture in a way which would make them amenable to illustration with certain survey data which were at the disposal of the author. The data had been gathered on 1,586 heads of household, homemakers, and male and female students enrolled in a state and Catholic university in Buenos Aires (Argentina); Santiago (Chile); and Lima (Peru). In the dissertation two empirical methods for delineating "sub-cultures of superordination" and "sub-cultures of subordination" were constructed. Sub-cultures of superordination have to do with ideas and attitudes relative to aspects of man's existence which he believes to be beyond his immediate understanding and control. Sub-cultures of subordination have to do with aspects of man's existence which seem to be subject to his immediate understanding and control. The first of these tools is basically an index of religious beliefs and attitudes for use in societies where most people would probably declare themselves to be at least Catholic. The second is a device for arranging respondents along a single dimensional political continuum in...
societies where a multi-party (more than two) political system prevails. The first is called an indicator of "religious types" (R-types) and the second an indicator of political types (Poli-types). Since it is difficult to find a name for each of the types, covered by the first of these measures, which adequately expresses their content and remains normatively neutral it was decided to merely refer to them as LLL, HLL, HHL, and HHH types. The letters L or H indicate whether a respondent ranks low (L) or high (H) on (1) Basic Christianity, (2) Basic Catholicism and (3) Image of the Catholic Clergy. The types included under the rubric "Poli-type" were named Apolitical, Left, Center, and Right. The first of these can be thought of as embracing persons who are reluctant to express a political affiliation or preference for a variety of reasons. Some of these reasons might be: (1) a complete indifference to political affairs, (2) a strong distaste for politics, (3) confusion or indecision in that area, or (4) a wish to keep their political opinions private. The remaining types can be seen as registers on a sort of "socio-political distance" scale. The members of the Left Poli-type see the party preferred by members of the Right Poli-type as being least to their taste
and vice versa. The members of the Center Poli-type express a preference for a party which is intermediately acceptable to respondents who stand at both extremes. The R-types and Poli-types were later treated as variables and cross-tabulated with a number of other cultural attributes. It is hoped that this stage of the analysis will (1) substantiate the value of the R-types and Poli-types as indicators of cultural categories and (2) provide interested parties with some descriptive information on the societies in question.

It was shown (unsurprisingly) that respondents who were "leftist" on religion tended to be "leftist" on politics while "rightism" on politics was positively related to "rightism" on religion. Although these findings patently do not constitute a "breakthrough" in the study of religion and politics they do vindicate the use of the indexes which were developed and that was one of the primary goals of the dissertation.
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is an outcome of the writer's attempt to recast the concepts of personality and culture in manner which would make them amenable to illustration in terms of certain quantitative data which were at his disposal.¹ Thus, he is no exception to Wallace's rule that anyone who sets out to define the terms personality and culture usually has in mind some kind of observation by which individual cultures or personalities can be recognised, bounded, and properly described. In the same passage Wallace goes on to point out that "there is no one concept of culture, nor a single concept of personality which is universally agreed upon and is universally useful"² and that there are a great many "respectable"

¹In this sense the dissertation is an outgrowth of the writer's part in an applied research project which was carried out in 1962-1963. His contribution to that project may be found in Harley Upchurch, "The Religious Attitudes, Religious Beliefs, and Religious Behavior, of Student and Citizen Respondents from Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Lima," in Ivan Vallier (project director), Anglican Opportunities in Latin America, a report to the Anglican Communion prepared by the Bureau of Applied Social Research (New York: Columbia University, 1963), chap. IV.

definitions of these terms in the literature.

Because nearly all such definitions are conceived in order to facilitate a special approach to a common problem, collectively they can serve to complement one another and, by shedding light upon the subject from many different angles, illumine it the more. It is hoped, then, that the present study will have some value because it brings yet another approach to the understanding of personality and culture and, by casting light upon these constructs from yet another perspective, makes their lineaments somewhat easier to discern.

The Development of a Frame of Reference

The idea of a number of different investigators launching complementary (if not coordinated) attacks upon a common problem suggests that there is at least some agreement among the various approaches. However, given the amount of work which has been done in the field of personality and culture, any attempt to formulate a comprehensive statement of the area of agreement that exists there would be a fitting task for a
study in itself. It is, however, both possible and relevant, at this point, to suggest at least three features which would probably be either implicit or explicit in any such statement. These are the facts that:

1.) personality has something to do with the way that one individual interacts with the influences which impinge upon him;

2.) culture has something to do with the way that a plurality of individuals interact with the influences which impinge upon them;

3.) culture and personality are somehow functionally related.

By taking these three points as a benchmark, the present investigator has set out to articulate a collection of concepts which would constitute a framework into which he could insert the constructs "personality" and "culture."

According to Cohen and Nagel:

All thinking proceeds by noting certain distinguishable features in things, symbolizing such

---

selected features by appropriate counters, and then reasoning upon such abstracted features by means of the symbols. In dealing intellectually with some thing we do not pay attention to all the infinitely complex relations which it has, or to all of its qualities. On the contrary, we neglect almost all of the qualities and relationships which a thing has, and note only certain features.  

In this passage the authors describe what one does in building a concept (i.e. the isolating of certain cues or "counters" which serve to represent the whole) but they do not tell how one goes about deciding which indicators to use. One way to do this is to mull over as many as one can of the qualities and relationships which the "thing" possesses and then, on purely rational grounds, go on to reduce them to a small number of essential counters.

In using this method, and then reporting on his work, the student usually leaves a clearly marked trail along which the reader can follow in his footsteps, beginning and ending where he begins and ends. Thus both reader and writer are sure to have covered the same ground although the former may feel that the latter has taken some wrong turns along the way and led them both to a poor ending place.

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In any case, a concept which is arrived at in this manner will usually prove to be a set of counters organized into a more or less coherent and cogent prose statement whose usefulness as an analytical tool can then be empirically tested.

With regard to the second procedure for concept building mentioned above (especially as it is often applied to the devising of attitude scales) the investigator frequently begins by making some relatively hasty judgements, some educated guesses, as to a set of counters which would appropriately represent some larger "thing" which he wishes to define and work with. These counters (usually a set of questions which are not necessarily integrated or even surfacely related) serve to mark the investigators "starting place" well enough but often leave his "ending place" (i.e. the larger thing in all its qualities and relationships) up in the air.

Of course where this method is used care is generally exercised to demonstrate that the counters (questions) relate to one another in meaningful ways and (taken as a whole) to other counters or concepts as well. Nevertheless the net result is often an operational definition which works very nicely when it comes to sorting people into categories but whose "larger" meaning remains especially subject to more than one interpretation. A classic example is the assertion
that "intelligence is what intelligence tests measure." This
statement obviously begs the question "yes but what do intel­
ligence tests measure?" to which "intelligence" is hardly a
satisfactory answer. In such a case one could, with equal
justification, consider an intelligence test to be a measure
of the "innate capacity to learn" or of "learning itself."
The choice would merely depend upon ones orientation.

All this is not to denigrate operational definitions (a
number of them are employed in this dissertation) but only
to point out that, in the last analysis, they must depend on
some larger frame of reference for their meaning and the
same operationally defined concept can, with equal validity,
be taken to represent one or another "thing."

Sources

Under different circumstances the writer might have been
drawn to the subject of personality and culture for different
reasons and might have taken the work which others had done
in the field as his point of departure. As it is, most of
the basic ideas utilized here are "original" in the sense
that as the writer first began to "rough out" the main lines
in his argument he did so without consciously referring to
the work of others. Indeed he could not identify, with any
precision, those sources encountered in the past which were giving him direction at the time. Later, as he began to test his "own" ideas against what others had written he found, unsurprisingly, that much of what he wished to say had already been said. At this stage he also came across a number of works which could supply the kind of detailed knowledge which was necessary in order to refine his crude ideas. Nevertheless, several points, essential to his thesis, seemed to call for a special treatment in order to make them fit into the overall plan of the dissertation.

It might often seem that in limiting the rationale for his concepts to a length which is appropriate to the scope of the study, the writer has resorted to merely stating one assumption after another. To offset this impression a number of authorities have been called upon to argue specific points through the use of quotations and footnotes, and by listing appropriate reference works in the bibliography.
CHAPTER I

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

The quantitative data which were used in this dissertation were gathered during the months of May through September of 1962 in the course of a survey carried out by the author under the auspices of the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University. The survey was conducted in Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Lima, in connection with a study of religion and social change in several Latin American countries. The study had been commissioned by the Anglican Communion.

The Instrument

The instrument employed was designed for use as either a schedule or questionnaire according to the requirements of the situation.\(^1\) Dr. William Carter and the author, with guidance and assistance from Dr. Ivan Vallier, had primary responsibility for its original drafting.\(^2\) Nearly all of

\(^1\)An English language version is given as Appendix II.

\(^2\)Dr. Carter is currently assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Florida and Dr. Vallier is assistant professor of sociology at Columbia University.
the questions dealing with religion were conceived by Dr. Carter who, in addition to being an anthropologist, is also an ordained minister and ex-missionary who has spent a great deal of time in Latin America.

**The Field Work**

Once in the field the author supervised the translation of the instrument into Spanish, conducted a pre-test, and then made a number of additions and revisions. Because this phase of the survey occurred in Santiago the instrument was edited slightly in both Buenos Aires and Lima in order to allow for idiomatic usage and to correct the names of political parties, etc.

**The Respondents**

The survey was designed to collect information about adult males and females of high, middle, and low socio-economic status as well as students at state and Catholic universities.

The non-student respondents were obtained by means of a quota (or purposive) sample which was designed to include 50 male heads of households and 50 female homemakers (or heads) drawn from upper, middle, and lower socio-economic localities.
in each city. The localities were selected as follows.

Through conversations with sociologists, social workers, market researchers, and taxi drivers three large barrios (roughly corresponding to "neighborhood" or "sub-division") were chosen. The author then toured each in turn in order to be assured that they represented distinct socio-economic levels and to pick out smaller areas within them which appeared to contain a fairly homogeneous population. These areas were then laid out on a map of the city and sub-divided into territories of a size suitable for individual interviewers. Each interviewer was assigned a quota of completed schedules and told to distribute the interviews as evenly as possible throughout his zone.

With regard to the student respondents, the goal was 100 completed questionnaires at each university. Since they were

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3The original research design called for the use of a random sample of respondents stratified by a judgement sample of census tracts. Interviewing had already begun in Santiago when it became apparent that the same procedure could not be followed in the other two cities. In the course of a subsequent adjustment of plans the Chilean sample became heavily weighted with females.

4Questionnaires were administered at the following universities: La Universidad de Chile, La Universidad de Buenos Aires, La Universidad de San Marcos (in Lima) and a Universidad Católica in each city.
administered in the classroom on a volunteer basis it was impossible to exercise precise control over the age and sex of the students but the classes were chosen with an eye to comparability. For the most part they contained first or second year students in the Humanities, Education, or the Social Sciences.

From the reports of interviewers and discussions with student respondents it was found that the interviewed could, in terms of receptivity, be divided into three general types which were characterized by degrees of religious involvement. Apparently the more religious welcomed many of the questions as sort of "examen de conciencia" while the strongly "anti-religion" respondents welcomed them as an opportunity to let off steam and declare their position. Persons who were "middle-of-the-road" with regard to religion also seemed to

5One of the students at the Universidad de Chile was a Catholic priest. When asked for his judgement of the questions he expressed a very favorable opinion of them in general, only criticizing the phrasing of "When the Pope speaks as Pope he can never be mistaken." When it was pointed out that the more correct wording "When the Pope speaks ex-cathedra he can never be mistaken" would be difficult for uneducated persons to understand he somewhat doubtfully agreed that it was practical to use the question as it was originally worded in the instrument.
be the most lukewarm in their enthusiasm for the questions. In terms of socio-economic level it was found that reactions were much the same as one could expect in this country. That is, wealthy persons were more difficult to contact and more grudging of their time while the poor tended to be more willing to talk and were sometimes even eager to do so in the hope of possible economic benefits.

On the other hand one unfortunate occurrence took place at the Catholic University in Buenos Aires. One of the classes to which the questionnaire was given had been forewarned that the questions were tricky and "full of prejudice." On this account it was necessary to exclude these questionnaires (a total of 35) from the analysis. The deliberate bias became apparent through a number of hostile queries and pointed remarks during the session and was later confirmed by the consistency of content and inordinate number of comments written in the margin of the questionnaires. A frequency check showed that more comments were made by these students alone than were made by all of the other students taken together. Needless to say almost 100 per cent of said comments were disparaging or even overtly hostile.
The Indexes and Types

Most of the procedures involved in the construction of the various indexes and types which were used have been discussed at length in the text of the dissertation. There is little left to say about them here except for a few words about the way in which the various questions used in constructing the religion related indexes were subjected to item analysis. The technique used was "trace line analysis." A thorough explanation of this technique is to be found in Mathematical Thinking in the Social Sciences. The present discussion will be limited to a brief description of how the technique was applied in the present instance along with one example of its use.

As a preliminary step in constructing the indexes a number of questions which seemed to be plausibly related to the dimension to be probed were grouped and each respondent was given a score (one point for each item) according to the number of questions which he answered in the appropriate direction. Next the respondents were sorted according to

---

this score and the resulting distribution was cross tabulated with each individual item in turn to learn what percentage in each interval answered that question in "positive" direction (i.e. in a way which would have added one point to the score). The resulting tables were analyzed to discover the shape of the curve which would result if a line were drawn which connected the percentages if they were treated as representing points on a vertical axis. Figure 1 presents one example of such a cross-tabulation.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Per cent</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
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<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
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Figure 1.--Percent of the respondents in each category of scores on the index Basic Christianity who answered the question "God makes miracles" in the appropriate direction.
It can be seen that if a line were drawn connecting these percentages it would produce a reasonably straight diagonal from corner to corner. Thus this item was deemed to be one which discriminated quite well between persons who possessed the characteristic in question (Basic Christianity) in varying degrees.

A curve which dropped suddenly and then leveled out would be considered to represent an "easy item" in the sense that nearly everybody regardless of his score was likely to answer that question in the appropriate direction. On the other hand a curve which was flat across most of the distribution of scores and then dropped sharply would be considered to represent a "difficult item" in the sense that only people who scored very high on the preliminary index were likely to answer the question in the appropriate direction. Finally, a curve which was pretty flat all the way across the range of scores would indicate that about the same percentage of persons, regardless of score, were likely to answer that item in the appropriate direction. A curve of the last kind can be taken to mean that the item is no good as a discriminator with regard to the characteristic in question and should be eliminated from the final index. On
the other hand, an effort was made to include questions in each of the indexes which produced some of the first three types of curves described. This would insure that a number of "easy," "hard," and "moderate" questions were used in making up the final measures.

**Processing the Data**

The data were coded and subjected to a preliminary analysis while the writer was still employed at the Bureau of Applied Social Research. A temporary staff (composed mostly of persons fluent in Spanish) coded the data under his supervision. The data were then punched onto I.B.M. cards by a permanent member of the Bureau staff. Some of the preliminary analysis was carried out on data processing equipment housed in the "machine room" of the Bureau; some of it was done on an I.B.M. 1620 computer at Watson Laboratory (a research facility connected with Columbia University) and the rest was done on an I.B.M. 7094 computer at the Columbia University Computer Center. After the writer had returned to Louisiana State University a final editing and analysis of the data was carried out on an I.B.M. 7040 computer at the data processing center connected with that institution.
Objectives

Broadly speaking, the objectives of the portion of the dissertation which follows were to:

1) sub-divide the respondent into several sub-cultures in terms of selected social characteristics in order to investigate the utility of the concepts personality and culture as they are defined in Appendix I.

2) devise and test two typologies the first of which deals with religious attitudes and beliefs and the second of which concerns political tendencies.
CHAPTER II

SUB-CULTURES OF SUPERORDINATION

For the purposes of this dissertation it is argued that the ideas and attitudes which individuals have about and toward their situations are the basic ingredients of personality and that a culture is composed of personalities with "overlapping" or similar ingredients (see Appendix I where these concepts are elaborated). Thus, all those personalities which had even one idea or attitude in common could be said to be weakly united into a single culture. It is also suggested that the strength (in the sense of homogeneity) of a particular culture could be measured in terms of the number of ideas or attitudes which were shared.¹ The strength with which an idea is held as well as the intensity of attitudes are factors which it would be well to consider

¹This approach is very like the one which Sorokin advocates for the identification of elementary and cumulative groups, except that in the latter case the individuals in question must be conscious of group ties. This is a condition which is unnecessary if one is dealing with "elementary or cumulative cultures." See Pitirim Sorokin, et al., A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1930), chap. VI.
in assessing the homogeneity of cultures also. However, the data and techniques available to this research do not permit this approach and so the topic is not treated in the text.

For this reason, if the means existed, it would be possible to:

1) "freeze" or "photograph" the personalities of any given number of men;

2) divide each personality into its component ideas and attitudes;

3) code the ideas and attitudes making up each personality onto a huge punch card and finally;

4) with the aid of a giant computer, sort all of the personalities into a multitude of categories (i.e. cultures) on the basis of shared personality characteristics. One would begin with all those personalities which shared at least a single idea or attitude and then break these down into lesser categories on the basis of a sharing of at least a pair of common characteristics and so on until the process had been carried to a point where the final breakdowns (or cultures) were made up of personalities that were so similar as to preclude
any further sorting which would not split the personalities involved into single units.

Theoretically it would not matter whether or not the personalities in question were "photographed" under circumstances which were widely separated in space and time and which did not even permit of the slightest interaction (direct or indirect) between the individuals under scrutiny. The key criterion is one of congruence among attitudinal and ideational elements rather than spatial, temporal, or interacational ones.

Under these conditions, a student of Aristotle's philosophy who lived in modern Greece and Aristotle himself could be said to be fellow members of a culture which was based upon ideas and attitudes which they had in common. Likewise, an individual living somewhere on an undiscovered island who was totally innocent of the influence of persons from beyond his island could still be considered to share a common culture with Aristotle and his latter day student so long as all three possessed as much as one idea or attitude in common. On the other hand, it might be hypothesized that Aristotle and the student were partners in a sub-culture (to which the islander was not attached) because these two had been exposed to some kindred influences about which they had formed like
ideas; influences and ideas to which the islander had no access. Finally, it seems plausible that each of the trio would have had some experiences that would give rise to ideas and attitudes shared with other men but not with each other. In the last analysis, then, all three men would belong to still other, and distinct, cultures.

Another point worth mentioning is that all men, of whatever time or place, are exposed to certain similar kinds of influences and it seems likely that they would develop some fundamental concepts, if only sensory ones, which are likewise similar (e.g., everyone everywhere probably perceives of punishment as being painful).

If one accepts this as a premise it becomes possible to select a set of individuals from any geographical setting (or settings), by any method (random sampling or otherwise) and treat them as constituents of a single, world-time-wide, culture.

The 1,586 respondents to the survey from which the data presented in this chapter were drawn, had been selected (by the author) through a quota sample of:

1) adult males and females who were found to be living in three (upper, middle, and lower)
socioeconomic status areas of Buenos Aires (Argentina); Santiago (Chile); and Lima (Peru);

2) male and female students at both a state and Catholic university in each of the cities named above.

Another assumption which may safely be made is that all rational adults, living in society, perceive their situations as containing a language factor. Consequently it can be said that another bond exists which integrates the personalities of all the respondents into one mutually shared culture.

But the above two paragraphs bring to light still another way in which the ideas of the individuals involved pull them all together into a general culture. They all can be said to perceive of their language\(^2\) as being Spanish.

Because of the foregoing it can be said that all of the respondents are united in a common culture through at least the following ties:

1) those ideas and attitudes which all humans

\(^2\)Or at least one of their languages. Empirically derived evidence could be adduced to support the points made in this and the preceding paragraphs, although it hardly seems necessary.
have in common;

2) the knowledge and use of language;

3) the knowledge and use of the Spanish language.

Other reasons could be advanced to show that all of the respondents are probably united into a common culture but such reasoning would delay the central task of this chapter which is to break the 1,586 respondents into sub-cultures based on several selected variables.

Although perhaps theoretically possible, in practice it is obviously not feasible to study a total culture (even one of this small size) totally. To do so it would be necessary to begin by making an inventory of all of the personality traits of each individual involved, an obviously impossible task in itself. What is proposed here is to:

1) choose certain ideas or attitudes,

2) demonstrate that some of the respondents possess them and that others possess them in varying

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For example, it seems reasonable to assume that all of the respondents to this survey would agree that their situations had certain historical antecedents in common, e.g. wars of independence.
degrees or not at all,

3) use these variables as indicators of sub-cultures of the larger culture and

4) relate them to still other variables in order to show how patterns of personality characteristics tend to cluster into sub-cultures.

It should be stressed here that the "larger culture" which is referred to above means the "larger culture made up of these 1,586 respondents" and not some larger culture (or universe) of which they are a sample. The respondents are being treated as a universe in themselves and this is another reason why the fact that they were not randomly selected is unimportant. No attempt is made here to generalize (in statistical terms) from the distribution of characteristics among these respondents to a distribution of like characteristics in some larger population.

This is not to say that it is impossible to generalize at all from the findings presented here. On the contrary, it is definitely possible to say that there are many members of the sub-cultures described below who were not included in the survey and it is even possible to use the findings presented here as "co-ordinates" for locating such persons in
the social structure of the pertinent countries. What is not possible is to say what proportion such people represent of the larger society of which they are a part.

Superordinate and Subordinate Aspects of Reality

There is a story about a physics professor who had a reputation for always using the same questions on his final examinations. At last one of his colleagues asked him if this was really the case and the professor said that it was. "But aren't you afraid that your students will get the answers from others who have already taken your course?" asked his colleague. "No" was the reply "you see the questions stay the same but the answers are always changing."

This story illustrates one of the implications of the fact that while man's environment is always changing his need to put it in order is constant and what this means is that culture, as a way of looking at man's environment, must constantly be adjusted to cope with the changing nature of his surroundings. Thus, man is continually forced to devise new (or at least modified) answers to old questions but in doing so he creates conditions which will ultimately cause a need for still other answers. This is so because culture is
not only a way of looking at man's environment but a part of his environment and therefore any change in one part of the cultural component of environment will demand an adjustment of its other parts. Cultural change is inevitable.

This seems to be what Erich Fromm meant when he wrote:

When man is born, the human race as well as the individual, he is thrown out of a situation which was definite, as definite as the instincts, into a situation which is indefinite, uncertain, and open. There is certainty only about the past, and about the future as far as it is death — which actually is a return to the past, the inorganic state of matter.

The problem of man's existence then, is unique in the whole of nature; he has fallen out of nature, as it were, and is still in it; he is partly divine, partly finite. The necessity to find ever-new solutions for contradictions in his existence, to find ever higher forms of unity with nature, his fellowmen, and himself, is the source of all psychic forces which motivate man, of all his passions, affects, and anxieties.\(^4\)

Other writers have used such terms as "the great questions," "man's existential problems," or "that which concerns us ultimately" in alluding to what Fromm calls "the contradictions in man's existence" and some attempts have been

made to compile a list of them. It would be irrelevant here to attempt a catalogue of such questions but it is pertinent to note the common ground from which they all proceed and its importance for delineating cultural groups.

In the last analysis all such questions deal with the what, how, and why of man's existence and of that world in which he lives, in a word with "reality." When put together the answers to these questions concerning reality add up to a philosophy which pervades all the nooks and crannies of a given culture and gives a distinctive coloration to all the bonds which hold it together.

If one takes a pan-historical and cross-societal view it seems apparent that the answers which man has everywhere and at all times worked out to explain the what, why, and how of existence have always involved the conceptual ascription of subordinate and superordinate qualities to his

5 For one such list, prepared by an anthropologist, see Francis Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientation: Their Significance for the Analysis of Social Stratification," Social Forces, vol. 28, no. 4 (May, 1950), pp. 376-393.

6 An anthropologist making the same point, describes the process by which he was able to discern the philosophy of life of an alien "culture" in Clyde Kluckhohn "The Philosophy of the Navaho Indians," in Filmer S. C. Northrup, ed., Ideological Differences and World Order (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), pp. 356-384.
Man has treated the influences which impinge upon him as being subordinate insofar as, at that stage of his development, he could humanly understand and control them. He has treated them as being superordinate insofar as they seem to fall outside of his immediate, personal understanding and control.

Various peoples at various times have had differing ideas as to the extent to which various parts of their environment are susceptible to understanding and control but the historical trend seems to be in the direction of subordination. Hence, although "all origins are lost in mystery" (to use Sumner's phrase) one can still speculatively extrapolate backward in time to a period in which early man considered nearly all the elements of his environment to be superordinate.

On the other hand, if one accepts the fact of an infinitely changing reality because of the dynamic nature of its cultural component then it is logically impossible to extrapolate forward to a time when man will put the finishing touches to an orderly, subordinate environment.

In any case, for the purposes of this dissertation, it is assumed that as yet no culture has ever existed with a
philosophy of life that did not predicate a superordinate aspect of reality, that did not ascribe at least some amount of superordination to the influences which impinge upon man.

But the awareness that elements in his environment have superordinate aspects is arrived at through man's capacity for abstraction, it is an idea created by man in order to put his environment in order. As such the idea of superordination is a part of culture and therefore a part of man's environment. Because the idea of superordination is a part of man's environment it is susceptible to his imperative to put his environment in order and thus must be given a fitting place and explanation.

In Durkheim's words:

science is fragmentary and incomplete; it advances but slowly and is never finished; but life can not wait. The theories which are destined to make men live and act are therefore obliged to pass science and complete it prematurely.  

Yinger has given the name "over-beliefs" to ideas by means of which men have sought to deal with the superordinate aspects


of reality. The specific characteristics of these over-beliefs vary greatly and are one of the means by which it is possible to distinguish cultures. But, for the moment, over-beliefs can be divided into two broad groups. The first of these is made up of explanations of the superordinate which are based upon the idea of supernatural phenomena, the other group is made up of non-supernatural explanations.

One example of a belief in a non-supernatural explanation of the superordinate is provided by the following quotation taken from a longer passage in which Auguste Comte describes the stages through which he feels man must pass in his "conceptions on the aggregate of phenomena."

**Ultimate point of each of the three stages.** The theological system arrived at the highest perfection of which it is capable when it substituted the providential action of a single Being for the varied operations of the numerous divinities which had before been imagined. In the same way, in the last stage of the metaphysical system, men substitute one great entity (Nature) as the cause of all phenomena, instead of the multitude of entities at first supposed. In the same way, again, the ultimate perfection of the positive system would be (if perfection could be hoped for) to represent all phenomena as particular aspects of a single general fact such as gravitation for instance.⁹

Trueblood, in a highly sophisticated discussion of order in the universe advances a supernatural explanation of the superordinate where he says:

The regularity of natural laws is explained if God is self-consistent in character and his actions not capricious. The novelty is explained by the fact that an intelligent motivation is always adapting itself to changing situations. 10

Sub-cultures Defined in Terms of Explanations of the Superordinate

Since men's ideas on the superordinate are parts of culture differences of opinion on this matter can be used as indicators of differing cultures. This fact is the basis for the first attempt which will be made in this chapter to divide the respondents into sub-cultures.

On the basis of a prior knowledge of Argentine, Chilean, and Peruvian society it was assumed, in designing the survey, that most of the prospective respondents would (at least casually) adhere to a supernatural explanation of the superordinate, more specifically to an explanation based on the principles of Christianity, and, more specifically still, to one which was couched in terms of the Catholic religion.

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Consideration of this circumstance guided the construction of the data gathering instrument and was the reason for the inclusion of most of the items which are used in the present analysis.

Sub-cultures of Superordination

One crude but frequently employed means for classifying persons into (what is called here) "sub-cultures of super-ordination" is to merely rely upon the professed religious affiliation (or lack of it) of the persons involved. This technique was also used in the present study. Each respondent was asked if he "belonged" to a religion and, if so, to which one. Table 1 gives the distribution of the respondents by professed religious affiliation.

TABLE 1.—Distribution of all respondents by professed religious affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total number of respondents</td>
<td>1,586</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>1,307</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other religions$^a$</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
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$^a$Includes: 38 Protestants, 29 Jews, 11 Moslems and Spiritualists as well as 8 "Ortodoxos" (Greek Orthodox?).
This table confirms what had been expected about the way in which most of the respondents would reply to a question on religion. By far the greatest number said that they were Catholics and when those who answered that they were members of other religions are added in it becomes abundantly clear that the overwhelming majority adhere (at least nominally) to a supernatural explanation of the superordinate. Only 11 per cent of the respondents answered in a way (i.e. no religion) which would make it possible to presume that they openly confessed to a non-supernatural explanation of the superordinate.

Another assumption which was made at the outset of the original study was that a notable number of Argentines, Chileans, and Peruvians were only weakly attached to the Catholic faith. It was believed that Latin Americans in general are born into a milieu which makes baptism into the Catholic Church an automatic rite of passage which, although it leaves behind a tendency to casually declare an identification with Catholicism, is no good indicator of religious commitment once the communicant has matured and perhaps acquired ideas and attitudes which conflict with those required of the faithful.
There is evidence that many of the respondents would agree. They were asked the "open ended" question:

In your opinion, why are the majority of the people in this country Catholics?

The replies of a representative sub-sample (120 in all) of the respondents were analyzed and it was found that 75 per cent (90) contained some reference to tradition, custom, or historical causes.\(^{11}\) Some answers of this kind were:

1) Because we inherited it [Catholicism] from the Spaniards.

2) It is the traditional religion.

3) On account of our environment.

The recognition that social pressures as well as (or instead of) conviction causes many of his countrymen to become Catholics may or may not coincide with a low opinion of the Church on the respondent's part. Note the following replies to the same question:

1) Because of cultural influences and the spontaneous abnegation of the priests and sisters

\(^{11}\)Four persons (3 per cent) gave the following answers: "Because it is the true religion;" "Because it is the best religion;" "I believe it is the most universally true religion." Two answers (2 per cent) were: "Through ignorance;" "...because the people have not stopped to think." Twenty-four persons (20 per cent) gave no answer or said they didn't know.
which is evident to all the people.

2) Due to the fact that an ancient tradition has been preserved, not because of conviction...

3) One could say because of atavism, tradition.

This investigator would interpret the first of these replies to mean that the respondent holds the church (or at least its clergy) in high regard. The second provides no real clue to the respondents attitude toward Catholicism, while the last seems to indicate an aversion to that religion.

In the context of what has been said above it is interesting to note that of the 169 persons who declared that they had "no religion," 80 per cent (135) said "yes" when they were asked if they had ever had a religion. It seems likely that their former religion would have been Catholicism.

A bit of evidence which appears to substantiate this inference is the fact that only 22 of the respondents openly denied having been baptized or said they did not know if they ever had been. This would leave a total of 1,564 persons who might be presumed to have undergone that ceremony. Supposing that all 86 of those respondents who professed an "other religion" had been baptized (a generous allowance
considering that this category includes Jews, Moslems, and Spiritualists as well as Protestants) and adding in the 24 persons who refused to answer the question on religion, 1,464 persons are left who neither denied having been baptized, said they did not know, nor could be presumed to have been baptized into a religion other than Catholicism.

On the other hand, 1,307 persons professed adherence to the Catholic faith. If it is assumed that all of these had been baptized 167 persons are left over who might also be presumed to have been baptized but who had abandoned their faith later in life. This figure tallies remarkably well with the number of persons (169) who said that they had no religion. Once again the correct inference seems to be that the bulk of the persons in the "no religion" category were, at one time, at least nominally Catholic.

This means that roughly 12 per cent of the "Catholics born" among the respondents had reached a stage of disaffection with that religion where they were willing to openly deny it. Is this a courageous (or perverse) stand in the face of the fact that the overwhelming majority of their fellows are declared Catholics? This is a question which will be treated at a later point.

Under any conditions it is questionable whether or not
"professed religious affiliation" is a very reliable tool for discriminating between beliefs concerning the superordinate. Under the conditions described above such an approach becomes all but useless.

With this idea in mind a large number of questions were written into the data gathering instrument so that they could be used to get at more refined distinctions between "sub-cultures of superordination." Out of these questions the author built a series of indexes which were designed to probe various aspects of religiosity.

At this point it can not be too strongly emphasized that the indexes are not conceived of as indicators of the intensity of religious feeling (in the affectual sense) nor can they gauge the kind of commitment that is said to guide the smallest daily acts of the profoundly religious. The function of the indexes is merely to group the respondents according to their willingness to admit holding certain attitudes and beliefs connected with religion.

\[12\] For a list of these questions see the appropriate parts of Appendix II. Nearly all of the questions were devised by Dr. William Carter, an ordained minister and anthropologist who had spent many years in Latin America in one or another of those capacities. Dr. Carter is currently Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Florida.
Each of the indexes is given below along with the questions of which it is composed and a brief statement of the attribute which it is intended to measure. Every respondent was asked if he agreed, had no opinion, or disagreed with each of the questions. His answers were given a value of 0 or 1 depending upon the "direction" of the reply and the resulting score for each set of questions was used to rank him as "high" or "low" on the index in question.

A. Basic Christianity.

1. God does not exist. (Disagree)

2. God is threefold: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. (Agree)

3. God makes miracles. (Agree)

4. God answers our prayers. (Agree)

5. Jesus Christ was born of a Virgin without a human father. (Agree)

6. There is a life after death. (Agree)

7. In the next world some people will be punished and others rewarded. (Agree)

This set of items is used as one indicator of the degree to which the respondent is committed to Christianity in a conventional sense. Respondents were classified as "high" who answer five or more items as indicated above.
B. Basic Catholicism.

1. The Virgin, through intercession, is able to cure people miraculously. (Agree)

2. The Saints intercede and pray for us. (Agree)

3. The Pope is the religious authority who is closest to God on earth. (Agree)

The items in this index not only serve as one measure of the respondents' intellectual commitment to Catholicism but also as a means of distinguishing between Catholic and non-Catholic Christians. Respondents were classified as "high" who answered all three items as indicated above.

C. Image (favorable or unfavorable) of the Catholic clergy.

1. The majority of priests practice what they preach. (Agree)

2. Priests are the best counselors. (Agree)

3. Priests impede the progress of our country. (Disagree)

4. Priests are egotistical individuals. (Disagree)

5. Bishops tend to be egotistical individuals in their religious activities. (Disagree)

6. The lack of nuns is a problem for a country. (Agree)
7. The clergy lives in luxury. (Disagree)

This group of items is intended to serve as one indicator of the individual's own stereotype of representatives of the Catholic clergy. It should not be assumed that the index measures his opinion of the Catholic clergy per se. It is quite likely that many respondents rank low on this index precisely because they do have a high opinion of the Catholic clergy in the abstract. They may well be idealists who have been disappointed in some of the clergy's members. Respondents have been classified as "high" on this index who answered five or more items as indicated above.

D. Style of Catholicism (traditional vs. modern).

1. Priests should wear more modern clothing. (Disagree)

2. Priests would do better work if they were allowed to marry. (Disagree)

3. Priests should be allowed to go to the movies. (Disagree)

4. Mass should not be said in Latin. (Disagree)

These items are illustrative of some issues debated among Catholics in the cities where the survey was conducted. Taken together they serve as one measure of what might be called a traditional vs. modern approach to Catholicism.
Although most of the questions deal with the clergy, it is not felt that they necessarily reflect a good or bad opinion of the Catholic clergy or its representatives. That a respondent is able to rank high on "Image of the Catholic Clergy" and low (or modern) on "Style of Catholicism" has been empirically demonstrated through our analysis.

Respondents have been classified as "high" who answer both items as indicated above.

F. Religious intolerance.

1. Marriage between Protestants and Catholics should not be permitted. (Agree)

2. Catholics should not have Protestant friends. (Agree)

3. There are good things in all religions. (Disagree)

4. A person should be permitted to make speeches against religion. (Disagree)

5. All religions should have the same rights before the law. (Disagree)

6. Protestants are winning too much ground in our country. (Agree)

It is not suggested that the Catholic Church has taken a stand on these issues in the direction of intolerance.
Quite the reverse may be true. This set of items is meant as a measure of the respondent's ability to tolerate other religious viewpoints and persons of another religious persuasion. Respondents have been classified as "intolerant" who answer two or more items as indicated above.

In terms of statistical testing or replication the indexes are, as yet, fairly unproven relative to some more venerable measures of social attributes. Nevertheless, their usefulness for the task at hand has been established to our satisfaction. Each item has been passed on by a panel of Protestant clergymen as well as a group of Catholic social scientists, some of whom were priests. Through item analyses each statement was inspected for its ability to differentiate respondents. Lastly, consistent patterns in the relationship of the index scores to other variables has served to further justify their use.

Once the indexes had been developed several of them were grouped together in order to construct a number of "religious types" (R-types) which could then be used to divide the respondents into sub-cultures of superordination on a more refined basis. Three indexes were selected for this purpose, i.e. those dealing with Basic Christianity, Basic Catholicism, and Image of the Catholic Clergy.
It was felt that these three indexes would provide a measure of the extent to which (if any) the respondent would adhere to a Christian explanation of the superordinate in general and a Catholic one in particular as well as an insight into his attitudes toward the clerical representatives of the church.

The technique employed was to regard each of the indexes as if it were a "hypothetical question" on the attribute in point. A "high" score on the index could then be equated with a "yes" answer and a low score with a "no" answer. Thus if a respondent ranked high on the index Basic Christianity and low on the indexes Basic Catholicism and Image of the Catholic Clergy he could be treated as if he had answered "yes" to the question "Are you basically a Christian?" and "no" to the questions "Are you basically a Catholic?" and "Do you have a high opinion of the Catholic clergy?" In sum, he could be said to have the attribute of Basic Christianity and to lack those of Basic Catholicism and a favorable Image of the Catholic Clergy.

The technique used in building these types is shown in Figure 2.
Basic Catholicism

Table: Types of Basic Catholicism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Christianity</th>
<th>Image of the Catholic Clergy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.---Matrix showing types into which the three indexes (Basic Christianity, Basic Catholicism, and Image of the Catholic Clergy) may be combined.

It was found that 91.3 per cent of the respondents could be divided among the four types shown in Figure 3.

Religious Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indexes</th>
<th>LLL</th>
<th>HLL</th>
<th>HHL</th>
<th>HHH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic Christianity</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic Catholicism</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image of the Catholic Clergy</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.---The religious types and their component indexes.

The other possible combinations were regarded as non-scale types and will not be considered in this analysis.

It is difficult to find a name for each of the principal
types which adequately expresses its content yet remains normatively neutral. Therefore they are merely designated by combinations of the letters H (for high) and L (for low). It should be helpful for the reader to think of them as representing points on a continuum ranging from acceptance (right) to rejection (left) of the attitudes and beliefs included in the indexes.

The first step in checking upon the validity of these types (that is to say whether or not they measure what they are purported to measure) is to discover how they relate to the professed religious affiliation of the respondents (Table 2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>LLL No.</th>
<th>LLL %</th>
<th>HLL No.</th>
<th>HLL %</th>
<th>HHL No.</th>
<th>HHL %</th>
<th>HHH No.</th>
<th>HHH %</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1,188</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>158</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1,449</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The approximately 9 per cent of the respondents falling into "non-scale" types are excluded from this table and will be excluded from all other tables in which the R-types are used.*
The first thing to notice about this table is that all of the persons who denied having any religion also answered the "hypothetical questions" in a manner which indicates that this is the case. Secondly, the majority of those persons professing other religions also answered in a way which would make them non-Christian, non-Catholic, and not favorably disposed toward the Catholic clergy. This seems reasonable since it is known that 29 Jews and an undetermined number of other non-Christians (such as Moslems and Spiritualists) were included in the survey. Thirty-two "other religion" respondents fell into the R-type which is reserved for persons who appear to be basically Christian but not Catholic nor favorable to the Catholic clergy while 5 more are spread out across the other two types. Once again this seems reasonable because it is known that 38 Protestants and 9 Orthodox (presumably Greek Orthodox) were also interviewed.

Finally, the distribution of the R-types among persons who profess to be Catholics does not seem to be out of line with what is often said to be the situation in these societies. The largest numbers of Catholics are grouped in R-type HHL indicating that while they remain true to Christian and Catholic beliefs they have become somewhat disaffected with the clergy. This coincides with the investigator's
impression (based on experiences in the field) that many persons in these countries are disallusioned with the priesthood. Time and time again he heard it said that priests in general are reactionary, ignorant and ill-prepared, and unaware of the problems of the people. Church officials with whom he spoke lamented the scarcity of vocations in these countries which results in (1) an extremely high ratio of parishioners to priests and (2) the need to rely, in good part, upon priests who are recruited from other countries. This often creates friction with both the native clergy and the laity. In conversation with one Father who had traveled in the United States it was learned that he had been hugely impressed by the respectful treatment he had received there from Catholics and Protestants alike; a respect he was totally unaccustomed to at home (where "Catholics" are the rule).  

The second most numerous R-type is that which includes persons who are classified as possessing all three of the

---

13 An indicator of the lack of prestige enjoyed by the clergy in these countries is the fact that only 204 (16 percent) of the "Catholic" respondents said that they would choose a priest as a counselor on family problems.
attributes in question. Once again this seems plausible if only on the grounds that in societies in which Catholicism has historically been so important a significant number of people can be expected to have a high regard for both its tenets and its clergy. It is also reasonable to assume that many Argentine, Chilean, and Peruvian Catholics have come into contact with admirable members of the priesthood and have formed their impressions on the basis of these contacts.

Finally, the fact that 28 per cent of the declared Catholics answered the "hypothetical questions" in ways which would make them merely nominal Catholics and 14 per cent in ways which would make them only nominally Christian is not surprising in light of what had been said at the outset of this section.

Another way of checking upon the validity of the R-types is to investigate how well they discriminate among persons who are said to rank high or low on the attributes represented by the other indexes described above. Table 3 displays how the members of each R-type distribute on the subject of Catholic morals. A glance will show the reader that there is a steady progression in the percentages of the members of
each R-type (moving from "leftists" to "rightists") who are inclined to accept the ideas that divorce should not be permitted and that Catholics should not use contraceptives.

TABLE 3.—Proportion of the members of each R-type who rank high or low on the index of Catholic Morals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catholic Morals</th>
<th>LLL</th>
<th>HLL</th>
<th>HHL</th>
<th>HHH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At this point it should be said that it would be possible to see the respondents as being redivided into sub-cultures which were distinguished not only by differing ideas with regard to Christianity, Catholicism and its clergy, but two of its fundamental moral principles as well. This would result in 8 sub-cultures (one for each cell in Table 3). Obviously the same thing could be done with every question (or combination of questions) to which the respondents' answers had been coded. In attempting to do so, however, one would soon be faced with huge tables in which most of the cells contained only zeros. Many of the remaining cells would contain frequencies of less than one (making them
ineligible for the designation sub-culture). Therefore, in any analysis (such as this one) where a relatively limited number of cases is involved one is limited in the number of "cultural bonds" which may be utilized.

To return now to the problem of "validating" the R-types, Table 4 presents the way in which members of each of the subcultures of super-ordination reacted to the hypothetical question on a "modern" versus a "traditional" style of Catholicism.

**TABLE 4.—Proportion of the members of each R-type who ranked "high" or "low" on the index of Style of Catholicism.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Style of Catholicism</th>
<th>R-type</th>
<th>LLL</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>HLL</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>HHL</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>HHH</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>355</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>215</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>164</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>379</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the purpose at hand the most important feature of this table is, once again, the steady progression in the

---

14 Although a Chi-square test of significance could have been used with most of the tables presented in continuance in most cases this was not warranted because a mere scanning of the percentages provided ample evidence of significant relationships.
percentages of the members of the R-types (beginning with the leftists) who could be classified as having traditional ideas on the subjects of dress, celibacy, and recreational activities of the clergy, as well as the saying of mass in Latin. This regularity is good evidence that the R-types are doing the job for which they were designed.

It is also interesting to note that in every case the proportion of persons taking a "modern" stand on these matters exceeds the more traditionally inclined. Even among the HHH group the proportion of modernists is 14 percentage points larger than that of the traditionalists. In this connection it is interesting to note that at least two of the matters (celibacy of the priesthood and the saying of mass in the vernacular) were dealt with during the recently held ecumenical councils of the Roman Catholic church. After 900 years of celibacy for all the priesthood, the decision has now been taken to re-establish a diaconate and to admit mature married men to its ranks. It is also pertinent to note that the move was backed by delegates to the council from Africa, Asia, and Latin America where there is a scarcity

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15 A minor form of the priesthood which was in use during the earliest periods of the church but which later disappeared as a separate branch.
Table 5 presents the proportions of persons in each R-type who reacted negatively or positively to the "hypothetical question" on intolerance. The most important aspect of this table for the purpose at hand is the fact that, moving from left to right a steady fall in the percentages along the "low" row and the steady rise along the "high" row demonstrate once more the validity of the R-types as a device for discriminating between various shades of religiousity (as it is defined
Some further comment on attitudes toward Protestants in these countries seems in order but first the reader should be warned that the term "intolerance" and the magnitude of the percentages shown in Table 5 may be misleading. He should be cautioned against a hasty inference that there are relatively large proportions of very intolerant persons among the respondents. Precisely the reverse is true. The distribution of the respondents' scores made it impossible to break them into "high" and "low" groups which were anywhere near equal in size. Consequently the "low" group contains almost twice as many people as the "high" group. Therefore the "highs" should be thought of as a highly intolerant minority among the respondents.

When one first begins to think about the matter it may seem likely that in countries with populations as overwhelmingly "Catholic" as these that:

1) there would exist a great deal of prejudice against Protestants;
2) Protestants would be looked down upon socially.

The data suggests that, insofar as the "culture" made up of the present respondents is concerned, the first condition
does not exist. It is the investigators hypothesis that the second does.

The respondents were asked the open ended question "in your opinion, what sort of people are (1) Protestants, (2) Catholics." The answers of a 204 person sub-sample of persons from Buenos Aires and Lima have been analyzed and classified according to the varying degrees of approval or disapproval they expressed regarding both Protestants and Catholics. The results are shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6.--Distribution of varying opinions of Protestants and Catholics expressed by a sample of respondents from Buenos Aires and Lima.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Group</th>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>All* Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>No. 18</td>
<td>% 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>No. 10</td>
<td>% 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes: "Don't know," "no answer," and unclassifiable answers.

Looking first at the column headed "Positive" it can be seen that approximately the same percentage of respondents gave a favorable opinion of both Protestants and Catholics. Then turning to the "Negative" column it can be seen that a slightly
larger percentage of the respondents replied unfavorably when queried as to their opinions about Catholics then they did when asked about Protestants. These findings indicate that there is no pronounced anti-Protestant bias among these Argentineans and Chileans at least.

Responses were classified as neutral if they contained nothing which the person coding the responses could interpret as reflecting either a positive, negative, or mixed opinion. Responses were classified as mixed if they contained one or more statements of a negative nature plus one or more of a positive nature. It is instructive to note that mixed opinions about Catholics outweighed those about Protestants by 18 per cent. Conversely the neutral opinions concerning Protestants slightly overshadows those concerning Catholics. The latter findings suggest that it was more difficult for a slightly greater proportion of respondents to give a categorical opinion of Catholics then of Protestants and that a fairly significant proportion had developed opinions (both favorable and unfavorable) about Catholics.

16The responses were coded by Raul A. Basualde, a native of Argentina who had just completed a course of studies in the United States and was temporarily employed at the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University.
than about their opposite numbers, Protestants.

One interpretation of the latter findings is that the respondents simply knew more Catholics than they did Protestants and therefore were more likely to have developed definite opinions about the former. Likewise, having known more Catholics they were more likely to have known both "good" and "bad" ones, hence the more numerous "mixed" opinions. Evidence that this interpretation could be the correct one is provided by the fact that of the 1,440 respondents who answered the question as to what religion the majority of their friends belonged. Eighty-eight per cent said "Catholicism" while 2 per cent answered "Protestantism." In answer to a contingent question less than half (41 per cent) said that they had any Protestant friends at all.

A few examples of the way in which some respondents answered to the question dealing with their opinion of Protestants follow:

Protestants are very strict but I have only

---

17While it is not known whether all of the Protestant respondents were included in the number who answered the question in point, it is pertinent to note that they make up approximately 2 per cent (28) of the total sample.
one Protestant amigo\textsuperscript{18} and I am unable to judge very widely.

I've never dealt with any, therefore I don't know them. I believe they are very good people.

I suppose they are good people but I don't know them.

I know very few but I find them lleno de cualidades (full of "good" qualities). This is because I have known good ones, but surely there are all kinds.

Replies of this nature lend further support to the interpretations offered above while relating to this investigator's hypothesis that whereas the respondents seem to be prejudiced (in the sense of a tendency to make judgments derived from a lack of knowledge) in favor of Protestants they may well do so, to some extent, because they have stereotyped members of this religion as belonging to the lower strata of their societies.

The bulk of the native Argentine, Chilean, and Peruvian Protestants belong to Pentecostal sects and are indeed recruited from the least privileged elements in the social structure. These sects are very strict in the prohibition of gambling, dancing, and especially drinking so that their

\textsuperscript{18}The word \textit{amigo} or "friend" in Spanish is often used to mean simply an acquaintance.
members are often seen as sober, serious hard working people. The writer has often heard Catholic housewives express a preference for Protestant maids and one Protestant worker from the United States was so impressed by this fact that he said he was considering the establishment of an employment agency for domestics which specialized in Protestant women.

This leads to the thought that perhaps Catholics in these countries often see Protestants as being inferior in terms of social standing but "good" by virtue of the fact that they are set apart from their lower class fellows by sobriety and industriousness. Consider the following answers to the question in point:

They merit respect because they try to live in the most correct manner possible.

Good people, honest, simple.

They are persons who have firmly founded religious beliefs. They have a very elevated concept of morality. Those that I know are very decent persons.19

19All the examples that have been cited so far have referred to Protestants and have been favorable in content. There are listed below a few "mixed" and favorable opinions of Catholics as well as one unfavorable reply pertaining to each group.

Some are very good, but not all. (About Catholics)
There is one other point related to this matter that is intriguing to speculate upon. It is known that the Pentecostal sects are experiencing a tremendous growth in Chile. It is also said that the problem of alcoholism is extremely wide spread among Chileans of lower socioeconomic status. It is this investigator's hypothesis that the two factors are related. That many Chileans find refuge in these fundamentalist sects with their prohibition on drinking alcohol as a sort of "alcoholics anonymous" which provides them with the kind of social-psychological support which they need to resist the drinking habit. It would be interesting to test this hypothesis by:

---

Good people although there are some bad ones. (About Catholics

The Catholic who fulfills his religion is the type of person who is closest to perfection.

They have great faith in the divinity of God and they act in accordance with their religion. (About Catholics)

I reject Protestants because of the absurdity of their religion.

Catholics are religious fanatics. It is impossible to discuss religion with them.
1) attempting to gather data on the prevalence of alcoholism in certain localities

2) attempting to locate two geographical areas
   a) one into which Protestantism has been introduced and where alcoholism is not a serious problem and b) one where Protestantism has been introduced and alcoholism is a serious problem

3) carrying out on in depth study of the rate of growth of Protestantism in each area and the reasons for it.

In chapter III of their book Adorno and his associates discuss the development of a measure of the "potentially antidemocratic personality." This measure has been widely criticized both from the standpoint of its construction and in terms of what it actually measures. It has also been widely used.

Four of the items from the original P-scale plus one which was especially devised for the survey upon which this chapter is based have been grouped into what will hereafter

---

be called the "L-R index." This noncommittal title was chosen for several reasons. First of all it was hoped to avoid, in this way, a discussion of "what is an authoritarian personality" because this problem is not relevant to the immediate inquiry. Secondly it would be presumptuous to call the index used here an "F-scale" since only four of the items from the original were used and a fifth item (not devised by Adorno) was included. Finally, in this way it becomes unnecessary to consider whether or not the set of items in Spanish translation actually tap the dimension purported to be measured by the original index.

The items and the Spanish translations employed are given below:

1. Although leisure time is a fine thing, it is good hard work that makes life interesting and worthwhile.*

   Trans.  
   Algo de descanso es necesario pero es el trabajo sacrificado lo que hace la vida interesante.

2. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.*

   Trans.  
   Es mas importante ensenarle a los ninos a obedecer que ensenserles a pensar por si mismo.

3. What this country needs if fewer laws and agencies, and more courageous, tireless, devoted leaders whom the people can put their faith in.*

   Trans.  
   Mas que leyes y programas politicos lo que este pais necesita son unos pocos lideres fuertes y
honrados en quienes la gente puede depositar su confianza.

4. It is essential for obedience and effective work that our teachers or bosses outline in detail what is to be done and exactly how to go about it.*

Trans.
Para un buen estudio o trabajo es necesario que los profesores y patrones nos digan exactamente lo que debe hacerse y cómo hacerlo.

5. The young people in this country sometimes have revolutionary ideas but with time this should go away, they should settle down.

Trans.
La gente joven en este país a veces tiene ideas revolucionarias pero con el tiempo se les debe pasar, deben tranquilizarse.

Since three of these items (i.e. numbers 2, 3, and 4) were drawn from a sub-set of questions in the F-scale which were said to touch upon submission to authority and the last item has somewhat the same tone it might be claimed that the index which they compose is one of "obedience to authority." But once more, it is not necessary to give a name to the concept for which these items serve as cues but only to show that it is one which the respondents seem to possess in a greater or lesser degree according to the R-type to which they belong. This fact can then be used as further evidence that the R-types are useful and valid as a tool for discriminating

*Taken from the original F-scale.
among clusters of personalities - or cultures; see Table 7.

TABLE 7.--Proportion of the members of each R-type who rank high or low on the L-R Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L-R Index</th>
<th>R-types</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LLL</td>
<td>HLL</td>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HHH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here it is apparent that among the respondents who are furthest to the right on the R-type continuum those that are high on the L-R index considerably outnumber those in the same R-type who are low on whatever attribute the L-R index measures. The reverse is true for the members of R-type LLL while those in the "centrist" R-types are not widely separated on the L-R index although they seem to follow the trend of which the LLL and HHH types represent opposite ends.

It will be noticed that Table 8 presents two cross tabulations of the same variables percentaged in different ways (i.e. by row and by column). Which approach is the correct one depends upon which variable is assumed to be independent. That is, if in this case it were assumed that the number of persons who were high or low on the L-R Index would vary
TABLE 8.--Relationship of scores on the L-R Index to those on the Index of Intolerance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L-R Index</th>
<th>Intolerance</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,005</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>1,534</td>
<td>1,005</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L-R Index</th>
<th>Intolerance</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,005</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>1,534</td>
<td>1,005</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
according to whether or not they were high or low on intolerance than it would be appropriate to percentage on the row in order to learn the amount of the variation. On the other hand, if the reverse assumption were made than it would be most appropriate to percentage on the column. It can be seen that although the distribution of frequencies remains unchanged the pattern with regard to percentages is sharply altered depending upon the direction in which the percentages run. This, of course, is in part a function of the fact that the marginal scores or the total number of people in any row or column are quite different.

These considerations are of little importance when one is willing to postulate an independent and dependent variable but they can cause some confusion if one is only willing to postulate a relationship between the two variables without suggesting anything about the direction of the relationship.

One way to avoid the problem of imputing dependence or independence to one or another of the cross-tabulated variables is to present the values observed in each cell as a percentage of the frequency which could be expected if there were no interaction between the variables at all. Besides avoiding the implication of a specific "direction" to the relationship this procedure "normalizes" or eliminates
distortion of the table which could be attributed to (what may be arbitrary) differences in "N's" for each column or row. 21

Table 9 shows how the same variables treated in Table 8 relate to one another in terms of the statistic just described.

TABLE 9.—Relationship of scores on the L-R Index with those on the index of intolerance presented in terms of the "observed as a percentage of the expected."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L-R Index</th>
<th>Intolerance</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Observed</td>
<td>Expected</td>
<td>Observed</td>
<td>Expected</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A pattern such as the one to be found in this table produces a $X^2$ of 66 with one degree of freedom indicating that there is a relationship between the two variables which is significant at the .001 level. This indicates that whatever the dimension being probed by the L-R Index it is related very

21 A convenient way of calculating this statistic is to simply percentage all of the columns of the table (including the marginal totals) and then divide the percentage figure which corresponds to the total frequency for each row into the percentages which appear into each cell of the corresponding row.
very strongly to what we have chosen here to call intolerance.\textsuperscript{22}

Having concluded that the R-types are a valid and useful device for dividing the respondents into sub-cultures on the basis of varying approaches to the problem of superordination and, having pointed out earlier that the limited number of cases available makes it necessary to be very careful in deciding which variables are to be used in the remainder of this analysis, it becomes time to select the first such variable.

The variable which perhaps most readily comes to mind is "nationality." Table 10 presents the way in which it would be possible to sort the R-type sub-cultures into further sub-cultures based on national identity.

Looking first at the leftmost column of the table it can readily be seen that "leftists" on religion are proportionately most numerous among the Argentine respondents, and least numerous among the Peruvians with those from Chile falling roughly half-way between (in terms of percentage points). There is little difference between the percentages

\textsuperscript{22}Furthermore, it is pertinent to note that there seems to be a direct relationship between the scores on the L-R Index and R-type and the same is true for the index of intolerance.
TABLE 10.—Proportion of the respondents from each country who fall into each of the R-types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>LLL No.</th>
<th>LLL %</th>
<th>HLL No.</th>
<th>HLL %</th>
<th>HHL No.</th>
<th>HHL %</th>
<th>HHH No.</th>
<th>HHH %</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of respondents from each country in the column headed HLL
but if one combines the two rightmost R-types it can be seen
that 70 per cent of the Peruvian respondents were basically
Christian and Catholic while the same was true for 63 and 47
per cent of the Chileans and Argentines respectively.

Speaking once more on the basis of his experiences in
the field, the writer finds the pattern to be a plausible
one. It was his impression that more of the Argentines whom
he met were disaffected with the church (in part because of
its association with the Peron regime, a stain which even
the church's primary roll in the dictator's overthrow could
not completely wipe out) than were informants in Chile where
the church is in the midst of a program of liberalization and
is a strong proponent of social reform. The Peruvians struck
this investigator as being the most traditional and closed
in their religion of all.23

23It should be emphasized that since the central purpose
of this dissertation is to recast the concepts of personality
and culture and then to illustrate these concepts by means
of empirically gathered data little attempt is made to ex-
plain the relationships observed in the light of information
drawn from outside the survey materials. A reasonably
thorough effort of that kind not only falls beyond the scope
of the dissertation but would require a kind of documentary
support which is not available to the writer at this time.
Consequently, what "corroborating evidence" is offered will,
for the most part, be impressionistic statements such as the
one footnoted here.
Despite the disclaimer offered in Footnote 23 it is worthwhile mentioning that Harbison and Myers have classified Argentina, Chile, and Peru as advanced, semi-advanced, and partially developed countries (in that order) according to a composite index made up of figures on:

1) gross national product;
2) per cent of the population actively engaged in agriculture;
3) stock of high-level manpower (teachers, engineers, scientists, physicians, and dentists);
4) measures of educational development;
5) orientation of higher education (per cent enrolled in scientific and technical subjects, per cent enrolled in the humanities, law, and the arts);
6) expenditures on education as per cent of the national income;
7) per cent of the population in age group 5-14.\textsuperscript{24}

It may be that in Latin America, beliefs and attitudes toward

\textsuperscript{24} Taken from a preview copy of Frederick Harbison and Charles A. Myers, \textit{Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth} (to be published by McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York City, New York), chap. III.
the church are associated with development.

TABLE 11.—Comparison of the proportion of the members of each R-type who rank "high" on the indexes Style of Catholicism, Catholic Morals, and intolerance by country.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indexes</th>
<th>LLL</th>
<th>HLL</th>
<th>HHL</th>
<th>HHH</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Style of Catholicism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All countries</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(373)</td>
<td>(203)</td>
<td>(493)</td>
<td>(379)</td>
<td>(1,448)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Catholic Morals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All countries</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(177)</td>
<td>(61)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(111)</td>
<td>(449)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intolerance</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All countries</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(72)</td>
<td>(71)</td>
<td>(204)</td>
<td>(128)</td>
<td>(475)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If the R-types are to be useful for differentiating between national sub-cultures of superordination it should be possible to validate them at that level by the same means as were employed earlier for the total sample, i.e. by cross tabulating them with other religion related indexes.

Running the eye along the rows of percentages it can be seen that in nearly every case the patterns for each country are comparable to those for the countries as a group. Then, by looking down the column for "leftists" it becomes apparent that for each index there is a tendency for the Argentine respondents to stand at one end of the distribution and the Peruvians at the other. The same can be said with regard to the rightmost column. The regularity of these patterns can be taken as one more confirmation of the fact that the R-types can be used to discern sub-cultures of superordination. But what is perhaps more important at this juncture, these patterns also testify to the reliability of the R-types as a tool of analysis.

If reliability is taken to mean that a given measure will produce similar results when used on separate occasions, then the R-types and the other indexes employed here have been tested twice over. This is so because in some respects the surveys which were carried out in the three countries can
be seen as separate entities within a single, standardized framework. The instrument employed was basically the same in all cases but its wording and content were changed slightly in response to varying conditions in each city (e.g. to allow for differing idiomatic expressions and distinct political parties). The same method (i.e. area quota sampling) was used to select respondents in each city but the samples themselves were planned and drawn separately. A different field supervisor and different interviewers were used in each city but the staffs in Buenos Aires and Lima were trained entirely by this investigator and the one in Santiago was partially trained by him.25 Finally, the data were all processed and analyzed at the same time.

It could be argued that some of the factors mentioned above insure a uniformity which is often lacking in attempts to replicate measurements of social-psychological

25 Due to time problems there was a large turnover in the staff which had been first hired and trained in Santiago making it necessary for another member of the research team to hire and train replacements on his passage through that city. This circumstance gave rise to certain differences such as the number of respondents and the way in which a few of the questions were asked; for example, the question upon which Table 6 above is based. In Santiago the respondents were only asked for their opinion of Protestants and as a consequence their replies could not be included in the analysis.
characteristics while, at the same time, others provide for settings and conditions which are different enough to allow a claim that the use of the indexes involved has been replicated twice over.

Another variable which might be used to sub-divide the sub-cultures of superordination is age. It might be hypothesized that the respondents would tend to be distributed across the R-types in ways which related to the period of life to which they perceived themselves as belonging. Consequently each respondent was asked for his age at last birthday and then they were classified into 20 year age groups and re-divided according to R-type. Table 12 presents the results.

TABLE 12.—Proportion of the members of each 20 year age group for all respondents who fall into the various R-types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>R-types</th>
<th>LLL</th>
<th>HLL</th>
<th>HHL</th>
<th>HHH</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-29</td>
<td></td>
<td>197</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-49</td>
<td></td>
<td>113</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-69</td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-89</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90+</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By glancing at the rightmost and leftmost columns of Table 12 it can be seen that the age group having the largest
percentage of extreme rightists among its members is also the oldest for which there were any respondents (i.e. 70-89 yrs.). Conversely, it is the youngest age group (10-29 yrs.) which includes the largest percentage of extreme leftists on religion. There are no such clear cut patterns in the columns headed HLL and HHL. This suggests that the differences across all four R-types are not as marked as they would be if the respondents were simply broken into two sub-cultures of superordination in conjunction with age. This supposition can be tested by placing those respondents who are high on basic Christianity and basic Catholicism into one group and those who are not basically Catholic (although they may be basically Christian) in another. This was done and the results are shown in Table 13. In this case there is a

| TABLE 13.—Proportion of the members of each 20 year age group for all respondents who fall into the R-type combinations LLL + HLL and HHL + HHH. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Age | LLL + HLL | HHL + HHH | Total |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 10-29 | 286 | 47 | 322 | 53 | 608 | 100 |
| 30-49 | 187 | 36 | 333 | 64 | 520 | 100 |
| 50-69 | 90 | 33 | 182 | 67 | 272 | 100 |
| 70-89 | 10 | 23 | 32 | 77 | 43 | 100 |
| 90+ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
distinct tendency for the percentages in column LLL + HLL to decrease as age increases.

Although the main purpose of this study is not to explain relationships such as these but merely to report them as indicators of sub-cultures it seems worthwhile here to point out one factor not mentioned in Table 13 which could be influencing the pattern which it demonstrates, particularly when its mention leads naturally to a discussion of one other variable which may be used to sub-divide the respondents into sub-cultures.

It has already been stated that the respondents include a large portion of university students as well as non-students (who, for the sake of convenience, will hereafter be called "citizens"). Table 14 gives the number and per cent of the total which are made up of students and citizens as well as the age distribution of both. Reference to that table clearly shows that students heavily outweigh citizens in the group 10 to 29 years of age while the citizens either predominate or monopolize the other age groups. In terms of an explanation for the relationships shown in Table 14 this raises the question of whether or not it could be that there is something associated with being either a student or non-student which would affect one's place along the R-type continuum. It also
TABLE 14.—Number and age composition of the citizen and student respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Citizens No.</th>
<th>Citizens %</th>
<th>Students No.</th>
<th>Students %</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10-29</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-49</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-69</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-89</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

raises the question of whether or not "citizen-student status" would be a good variable for sub-dividing the sub-cultures of superordination. Table 15 serves as a commentary on both questions. A comparison of the percentages in columns LLL and HLL shows that students outweigh citizens in both these categories but especially in the most "leftist." Exactly the reverse is true with regard to columns HHL and HHH. These tendencies provide some support for the hypothesis that enrollment in a university is associated with the kind of sub-culture of superordination to which one belongs

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26 Although it does not provide a final answer to the first one. For this reader who is curious about this point, it should be said that more light will be shed on that question in further sections of this chapter.
TABLE 15.—Proportions of citizens and students belonging to each R-type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-type</th>
<th>LLL</th>
<th>HLL</th>
<th>HHL</th>
<th>HHH</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(in societies such as these) as well as sustaining the assumption that student vs. citizen status is another cultural bond which might be useful to employ in this study.

The reader who remembers that the students were selected from both state and Catholic universities may now be asking himself the question "would not this circumstance be worth investigation A.) as another way of shedding light upon the question of the relationship of student status to R-type and B.) as a way of singling out still another personality characteristic which could be used for isolating sub-cultures among the respondents?" As a step in this direction Table 16 presents the R-types cross tabulated with enrollment at a state or Catholic university.

Probably the most striking difference reflected in Table 16 (as it stands) lies in the percentages of state and
TABLE 16.—Proportion of student respondents from a state or Catholic university falling into each R-type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>LLL</th>
<th>HLL</th>
<th>HHL</th>
<th>HHH</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Catholic university students who fall into the LLL category but if one looks to the two rightmost columns it can also be noted that, in both of these, the percentage of Catholic university students outweighs those from a state university by at least 16 per cent. If the two columns are combined then it can also be seen that whereas 68 per cent of the students from a Catholic university were basically Christian and basically Catholic (in terms of the measures employed here) the same was true for slightly less than a third (32 per cent) of the state university students.

These figures lend credibility to the hypothesis that attendance at a university is associated with the kind of subculture of superordination to which one belongs but they also bring out the fact that one must not overlook the kind of university which is involved. It is not enough to say "Latin American university students tend to be less religious
than non-students." If one were to make a judgement on the basis of the findings presented here he would have to say that "it seems as though Latin American students who are enrolled at state universities tend to be less religious than non-students while those enrolled at a Catholic university seem to be the most religious of all."

At this point one begins to wonder about the relative effect on religious attitudes and beliefs of the student's pre-university experiences as opposed to those acquired after matriculation. The survey data offer no evidence which can be brought directly to bear on this question but Table 17 presents some findings which are at least peripherally related.

This table indicates that the majority of the state university respondents had never attended a school sponsored by a religious group while only 3 per cent had completed both their primary and secondary education in non-secular schools. The situation is radically different with regard to the students enrolled at Catholic universities. In this case almost half (45 per cent) of the respondents had never attended anything but religious schools and only 6 per cent had completed both their primary and secondary education at secular institutions.
TABLE 17.—Types of primary and secondary schools which the respondents had attended by citizen or student status and enrollment at a state or Catholic university.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizen, student status &amp; university</th>
<th>Type of school</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-religious only</td>
<td>Religious and Religious non-religious only</td>
<td>Religious only</td>
<td>Religious only</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens State univ. students</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic univ. students</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can also be seen that the educational experience (with regard to types of school attended) of the citizens more nearly parallels that of the state university students than of their Catholic university counterparts. This fact may be explainable by the circumstance that many of the citizens who went no further than the primary level received their schooling at religious institutions. Had they progressed further they might have attended non-religious secondary schools.

For the reader who is surprised to find that even 14 percent of the Catholic university respondents fell into the R-type LLL the writer has the following observation to offer.
The state universities in these countries are notorious for the ebullient manner in which their students participate in political and other issues. This participation frequently takes the form of student strikes and other kinds of demonstrations which greatly interfere with coursework. Catholic universities, by contrast, are remarkably free of such activities. These considerations sometimes move students (or their parents) to prefer the advantages which a relatively disturbance free atmosphere provide for educational pursuits despite personal disagreements with the church or its teachings.

Another variable which could be used to divide the respondents into still other sub-cultures is gender. It is possible to argue that the perception of one's self as male or female is a personality trait around which other personality traits cluster and can therefore be used as a bond which unites individuals into sub-cultures. Table 18 (below) relates gender to R-type. In both of the "left" columns the percentage

27To mention only one incident about which the writer was told, there was the time when the public health service doctors struck in Chile and the medical students called a sympathy strike and the other members of the student federation struck in their turn in sympathy with the sympathy strike of the medical students. All that is, except one of the leftist student parties which struck in opposition to the doctors strike.
TABLE 18.--Male and female respondents classified by R-type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>R-type</th>
<th>R-type</th>
<th>R-type</th>
<th>R-type</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LLL</td>
<td>HLL</td>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of males outweighs females while the reverse is true to the right. This would indicate that the females who were interviewed are treated as a single group appear to be more "religious" than the males as a whole. However, if country is held constant than a slightly different and more interesting pattern appears (see Table 19). It is commonplace that females tend to be more conservative on religion than males and that fact seems to have been born out both by Table 18 and the figures under the subheadings for Chile and Peru in Table 19. On the other hand, the differences between males and females for the Argentine respondents are completely blurred. Furthermore, if one looks at the two extreme R-types it is evident that the percentage differences between males and females are widest in Peru, become narrower in Chile and disappear entirely in Argentina. If one would consider the societies of Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Lima to
TABLE 19.—Male and female respondents classified by R-type and country.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country and Gender</th>
<th>LLL</th>
<th>HLL</th>
<th>HHL</th>
<th>HHH</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

be more open and less traditional in that order than the hypothesis is suggested that the observed patterns reflect the fact that differences (on religion!) between the sexes tend to become smaller as societies become less traditional. On the other hand, in order to test this hypothesis it would be necessary to hold constant all the other variables which have been shown above to be related to the R-type distribution. This will not be attempted here because it would be peripheral to the main purpose of the study and because the size of the sample does not permit such a procedure.

In the foregoing portions of this paper it has been shown
that the respondents may be divided into a number of "subcultures of superordination" on the basis of the R-type variable. The relationships which obtain between this variable and several others have also been shown. Ten variables were considered in all, i.e. age, gender, nationality, citizen vs. student status, enrollment at a state or Catholic university, the indices of A.) Catholic morals, B.) style of Catholicism, C.) religious intolerance, and the R-types.

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to separating the respondents into a chain of sub-cultures which are increasingly homogeneous in terms of four of the variables mentioned above. They are: R-type, gender, citizen vs. student status, and enrollment at a state or Catholic university. These variables were selected in preference to the others for the following reasons:

1) One of the purposes of the dissertation is to argue for the existence of cultures which cut across national boundaries. Thus it was decided that in order to illustrate this thesis variables which extended across national

---

28 To work with all ten is out of the question because of the restricted number of respondents.
boundaries should be used. This meant that the item or nationality had to be eliminated.

2) The way in which age is related to student or citizen status (see Table 14 above) makes it evident that the former characteristic is, to a large extent, being taken into consideration when the second one is being used. Furthermore, the use of the latter variable produced more marked divisions. Thus the former (age) was eliminated.

3) The reason for eliminating the individual indices in preference to the R-type is much the same as that given in Item 2 above. It has already been demonstrated that the indices and the R-types are strongly related so that in using the latter, to a certain extent, one is taking into account the former. Also, when using the R-type variable one is already working with three religion related indices in combination (i.e. Basic Christianity, Basic Catholicism, Image of the Catholic Clergy) and this seems like a more efficient procedure than to work with one index at a time.
Table 20 presents the distribution of the respondents when they are sorted on all four of the selected variables simultaneously. Each one of the percentages shown could be said to represent a sub-culture of the total culture which the respondents comprise. Thus 26 per cent of the respondents belong to the LLL sub-culture of subordination while looking at the last figure in the same column, it can be seen that 1 per cent of the respondents belong to a sub-culture made up of respondents who share the following cultural bonds:

1) a consciousness of being female,
2) a consciousness of being a student,
3) a consciousness of being enrolled at a Catholic university.

It is also possible to combine certain of the percentages to arrive at other sub-cultures. For example if one adds the percentages in rows 3 and 6 of the column headed Total he will find that the "male sub-culture" makes up 42 per cent of all the respondents.
TABLE 20.—All respondents sub-divided according to R-type, citizen or student status, gender, and enrollment at a state or Catholic university.*

Citizen or student status, gender, and state or Catholic university enrollment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R-types</th>
<th>LLL No.</th>
<th>LLL %</th>
<th>HLL No.</th>
<th>HLL %</th>
<th>HHL No.</th>
<th>HHL %</th>
<th>HHH No.</th>
<th>HHH %</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1,390</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total citizens</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>881</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total students</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages for each "sub-culture" are based on the total number (1,390) of respondents.
CHAPTER III

SUB-CULTURES OF SUBORDINATION

The last chapter was, in the main, concerned with some sub-cultures of superordination into which the respondents could be classified on the basis of their "religious type." The principle which guided the construction of the R-types could probably be applied wherever religious beliefs and practices were to be found. On the other hand, the R-types were actually devised for use in societies where Catholicism predominates. Thus, in their present form, the types are only applicable in such societies.

This chapter is primarily concerned with some sub-cultures of subordination into which the respondents can be classified on the basis of "political type." The principles which guided the development of these "Poli-types" are only suitable for use in societies where public opinion is an important force. What is more, because in constructing these types it is necessary to employ the names of specific parties¹

¹Under certain conditions it would be possible to use the names of key political figures instead.
the Poli-types, as they now stand, are only useful in connection with the three countries involved in this study. Nevertheless, from a purely technical point of view, the Poli-types are easier to build than the R-types and thus, in the long run, would have a wider range of usefulness.

The term politics, as it is used in this dissertation, broadly refers to the ways in which men attempt to govern their public affairs. This definition is admittedly a crude one. It is employed mainly as a vehicle for making explicit the writer's assumption that men generally feel that political matters are susceptible to the understanding and control of men qua men. This is to say, then, that politics fall into the subordinate part of reality. It is certainly true that different men will have differing opinions with regard to the degree to which religion and politics mix. It is even possible to conceive of a society where things political are seen as being completely super-ordinate, i.e., entirely out of the hands of the members of the society. The writer knows of no such society, however, and believes that even in the most theocratic of societies the major (although perhaps not the most important) part of political control is seen to reside in the hands of men.
A Choice of Labels: The Problem

Left, center, and right -- most authors would probably agree that these are the political labels which have the widest currency in the world today. They would also probably agree that the terms in question originated during the French Revolution, more specifically, at a meeting of the National Assembly in the summer of 1789. It is said that there were three factions represented at that assembly. One of them is supposed to have been opposed to any change in the powers of the monarchy or any reduction in the privileges of the nobility. Another is thought to have favored some limited reforms along with the introduction of some form of representative government -- although it did not advocate the laying of violent hands upon the aristocracy in order to achieve its ends. It is said that the third faction, although not at first opposed to the monarchy, demanded a constitution in order to limit and regulate the monarchical powers and insisted on other strong reform measures such as equal taxation, freedom of speech and of the press, trial by jury, and the abolition of fiefs.

The assembly met in a Parisian ampitheater which was
shaped like a horseshoe and the first (or conservative) faction is thought to have been seated to the right of the speaker while the second (liberal) faction was seated in the center of the hall and the third (radical) faction was seated to the left.

While most commentators would be likely to agree that it was this seating arrangement, an historical accident, that gave rise to the use of directional terms in politics there is little consensus as to the validity of the distinctions which these terms are said to represent today. A sampling of some divergent opinions on the matter is presented below.

According to Rossiter:

The words Right and Left for all the abuse which has been heaped upon them, remain useful if tricky tools of political analysis and discussion.... By the right [I] mean generally those parties and movements that are skeptical of popular government, oppose the bright plans of the reformers and do-gooders, and draw particular support from men who have a sizable stake in the established order. By the left [I] mean generally those parties and movements that demand wider popular participation in government, push actively for reform, and draw particular support from the dispossessed, dislocated, and disgruntled. ²

Mr. Rossiter's own persuasion, however thankless, is quite clearly discernible in the language of the definitions which he offers. But what is more important here is that Mr. Rossiter is satisfied with the usefulness of "directional terms" and would apply them according to how he perceived:

1) the platforms of the parties in question. Those of the Left would 'push actively for reform' and those of the Right would 'oppose the bright plans of the reformers and do-gooders.'

2) The political philosophy of the parties in question. Those of the Left would champion 'wider popular participation in government' and those of the Right would be 'skeptical of popular government.'

3) the political 'state of mind' of the membership of the parties in question. The membership of the parties of the Left would feel 'disinherited, dislocated, and disgruntled' while those of the Right, having 'a sizable stake in the established order' would presumably be reasonably satisfied with things as they stand.

Mr. Rossiter acknowledges the fact that some persons might use these "clues" to the concept of Left and Right in politics in order to identify those Russians who are striving to preserve what remains of the Stalinist era as true conservatives (i.e. rightists). By implication then, those Russians who were pushing for reform would be true liberals (i.e. leftists). Rossiter wishes to dismiss this line of reasoning as an exercise in sophistry and contends that its
proponents ignore the fact that the whole conservative-liberal (Right-Left) concept is only viable "in the civilized political and cultural conflicts of the open, popular, ordered, constitutional society."\(^3\) Despite Rossiter's dismissal of the matter as mere mental gymnastics the fact remains that contemporary political commentators have used the terms Left and Right in just this way and their usage cannot be ignored if anything is to be gained from their analyses.

Thus Rossiter posits a fourth characteristic -- one that applies equally to leftists and rightists -- the individuals in question must be members of a society where political and cultural conflicts may be carried on in an open, popular, ordered, and constitutional way.

Kenneth K. Krogh takes a stand which, in some ways, parallels the one described above but is diametrically opposed to it in other ways.\(^4\) With Rossiter, Krogh believes that:

\(^3\)Ibid.

the left is generally understood to include those parties and movements that demand wider popular participation in government, push actively for reform, and draw particular support from the disinherited, dislocated, and disgruntled. The right is generally understood to include those parties and movements that are skeptical of popular government, oppose the bright plans of reformers and do-gooders, and draw particular support from men with a sizable stake in the established order.\(^5\)

But Krogh is not happy with this state of affairs. He points out that although:

Of all the political ideas that have gone into shaping our modern world, none has gained wider usage or wielded greater influence than the left-right concept of political relationships. This ... concept that visualizes our political world as a spectrum stretching between two polar extremes, the extreme left denoting revolutionary radicalism, and the extreme right denoting revolutionary reactionism.... [is the] concept of political relationships that provides the sense of political direction by which men steer themselves in the troubled waters of our world,\(^6\)

yet the sense of direction which these terms imparts is wrong, it confuses and distorts and it directs man into the very conflicts he wants most to avoid. Krogh proclaims that "despite its wide acceptance the left-right concept is not

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 446.

\(^6\)Ibid., p. 445.
only ill defined" it is an anti-progress concept which needs replacing by a more realistic approach to political relationships.

It was not always so, says Krogh, at the stage of democratic development represented by the French Revolution:

the left-right concept was adequate to the political complexities of the day. The right simply stood for those who wished to preserve the existing order, while the left stood for those who wished to change it in the direction of expanded democratic freedoms.®

But then something occurred which brought about the downfall of the left-right concept as a valid analytical tool. The movement toward "government by discussion" which had begun in France was taken up by the English speaking peoples and unswervingly developed while its parent on the continent deviated (to quote Walter Lippman) onto "a morbid course of development into totalitarian conditions." This branching of the ways produced, in the second case, a paradox whose resolution imprinted the left-right concept with a false meaning and aborted its usefulness. The paradox was the

7Ibid.

8Ibid., p. 448.
emergence of two political systems, Communism and Fascism, which were so nearly alike that many people cannot tell them apart yet were marked by one difference which others found impossible to reconcile. Both Communism and Fascism were revolutionary doctrines which sought to overthrow the existing order, the "true believers" in both camps would not scruple at using violence to obtain their goals. Both systems predicated a concentration of power in the hands of a few as a worthy means to their ends but, in the case of Communism it was predicted that the state would eventually "wither away" and leave the individual totally free while in the case of Fascism totalitarianism was to be perpetuated in order to guarantee the continuation of an orderly, well regulated society. It was this difference (real or fictional) coupled with the need to reconcile the two systems to the "left-right" way of thinking about political relationships that brought about an unnatural state of mind in which the Communists were seen to be radicals of the left and the Fascists radicals of the right. When this occurred what had begun as a realistic single dimensional way of viewing the political facts of life became, in actuality, an involuted one whose extremes continued to be spoken of as though they
were poles apart although in truth they lay close together and even overlapped. Peering from right to left along this supposed straight line the world was faced with the almost identical twins of Fascism and Communism as fictional terminals of the political life. As a result men became bemused with the problem of separating progress from excess and the truly progressive socialists found themselves excoriated as "running dogs of capitalism" on the one hand and as "fellow travelers" and "pinks" on the other. Meanwhile the liberals have:

all but halted and turned back ... to join a large segment of the world's body politic in a desperate attempt to find new facets of the middle-of-the-road approach which might solve the world dilemma.9

But all is not lost says Krogh, the situation can yet be saved if the left-right concept is replaced with:

a more realistic theory of political relationships, one that can comprehend the opportunities and promises of the democratic movement as well as its failures... Fortunately, the clues to a new concept are already at hand as a result of the accumulated knowledge of recent decades. The next step forward in political theory will be to piece these clues together in a meaningful fashion and relate

them to the chaotic situation in which we now find ourselves.¹⁰

One of the most prominent of political sociologists, Seymour Martin Lipset, has taken a position on the "left-right question" which, by implication, rejects Krogh's total rejection of the concept while casting doubt on Rossiter's formulation as overly simplistic.

Lipset begins by stressing the fact that:

While an analysis of the actual behavior of parties in office is crucial to an understanding of their functional significance, the social base and ideology of any movement must also be analyzed if it is to be truly understood.¹¹

He then reminds his readers that at their inception the terms left and right were associated with socioeconomic cleavage and the association became strengthened with the advent of Marxism. More recently, with the institutionalization of democratic forms of government:

many people have begun to argue that the analysis of politics in terms of left and right and class conflict oversimplifies and


distorts reality. However [Lipset contends], the tradition of political discourse, as well as political reality, has forced most scholars to retain these basic concepts, although other dimensions, like religious differences or regional conflicts, account for political behavior which does not follow class lines.12

In general terms, Lipset himself identifies the left, center, and right positions along the political continuum with the working, middle, and upper classes. He then goes on to suggest that each of these strata contains individuals with democratic ideas and others who are of an extremist bent. Extremist movements all have much in common, because, says Lipset, their hard core is made up of the:

disgruntled and psychologically homeless, ... the personal failures, the socially isolated, the economically insecure, the uneducated, unsophisticated, and authoritarian persons at every level of society (italics added).13

To support his position Lipset quotes first Heberle and then Engels to the effect that:

1) such movements are supported by 'those who for some reason or other had failed to make a success in their business or occupation, and those who had lost their social status or were in danger of losing it... The masses

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12 Ibid., p. 128.
13 Ibid., p. 178.
of the organized Nazi party members consisted therefore before 1933 largely of people who were outsiders in their own class, black sheep in their family, thwarted in their ambitions...14

2) those who 'throng to the working-class parties in all countries' are 'those who have nothing to look forward to from the official world or have come to the end of their tether with it -- opponents of inoculation, supporters of abstemiousness, vegetarians, antivivisec­tionists, nature-healers, free-community preachers whose communities have fallen to pieces, authors of new theories on the origin of the universe, unsuccessful or unfortunate inventors, victims of real or imaginary injustice ... honest fools and dishonest swindlers.15

Of such stuff as this are the nuclei of extremist movements formed; Communism at the working class level, Facism at the middle range, and traditional authoritarians (to use Lipset's term) among the upper classes. Apart from this cadre of malcontents such movements wax or wane according to their success in winning the support of the strata they are attempting to lead. The essentials of Lipset's analytical framework are shown in Figure 4.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location on the Left-Right Continuum</th>
<th>Socio-economic Level</th>
<th>Ideology</th>
<th>Extremist*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Radical</td>
<td>Communist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Fascist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right</td>
<td>Upper class</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>Traditional Authoritarianism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These categories comprise the "disgruntled and psychologically homeless" at all levels.

Figure 4.—A schematic presentation of the essentials of Lipset's analytical framework for the analysis of political tendency.
Like Lipset, W. G. Runciman states that although:

some commentators, appalled at the degree of ambiguity with which these terms [Left and Right] have come to be bandied about have argued that we should do better to abolish them altogether [it is the case that] the terms are now so deeply imbedded into our mode of political thinking that the recommendation stands no chance of being effectively put into practice. All that can be done, therefore, is to ask how the terms should be used. ¹⁶

He then goes on to lay down some guidelines to correct usage.

Once again, in agreement with Lipset, Runciman associates the Left-Right concept with a class struggle for political power but introduces the argument that it is precisely this relationship which makes the concept inappropriate to certain societal conditions. As a case in point (albeit an extreme one) he singles out the social structure of the Tallensi of Northern Ghana (as they were prior to 1934). Here was a society in which the notion of a politically unified state was irrelevant and stratification minimal so that the terms Left and Right ¹⁷ had no meaning.

Most of the remaining points in Runciman's discussion


¹⁷As Runciman would use them.
have been touched upon, in one way or another, in the summations of the Rossiter, Krogh, and Lipset positions given above and there is no need to go over them again. Runciman does sound a new note however when he suggests that "the distinction expressed in the German terms Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft"\(^{18}\) cuts across any ideological definition of the Left-Right spectrum. The question here is only one of choosing the simple virtues of the proverbial village community or the benefits of the big, bustling city.

According to Runciman:

If we realign the traditional political theorists on the basis of this one issue, then there are startling alliances across the Left-Right line, for William Morris must be bracketed with Burke, and Bentham with Stalin. The problem is partly the same as the one which underlies Marx's worries about 'alienation' and Weber's about 'disenchantment' and 'rationalization.'\(^{19}\)

Thus it would be a mistake to relate Leftism with an advocacy of the "associational" type of society and Rightism with a penchant for the "communal" variety.

Before proceeding, at last, to an explanation of why and how the terms Right, Center, and Left were selected for

\(^{18}\)Ibid., p. 151.

\(^{19}\)Ibid., p. 153.
use in the present study it is worthwhile to make explicit one other point which is implicit in the writings of all the men cited above. At various times one or another of them have had occasion to refer to Hitler's Fascism, Stalin's Communism, or to Horthy's rightism, etc. The implication is that these movements, as movements, could be separated from their leaders of the moment but that the current leadership is another element which must be considered in any analysis of the movements at some specific time.

To evaluate the contrasting points of view expressed above would present a challenge that could adequately be met only by someone well versed in the sociology of politics (or political science); or by someone who is able to take the time to acquire a background that would put him on a relatively equal footing with the men from whose works these ideas were culled. Where does this leave the survey researcher who is perhaps unsophisticated in political matters, primarily interested in another question, pressed for

---

20 There is little difference between the two. This is a point which Dr. Rudolf Heberle (now Boyd Professor Emeritus of Sociology at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge) with whom this writer has studied, continually stressed in his teaching and writing.
time and yet desirous of taking into consideration the politi-
cal tendency of his respondents? Add in the fact that he
is working in a foreign land(s) and unfamiliar with the
political milieu and his situation seems to become over-
whelmingly difficult.

Even if such a person should choose to forego an evalua-
tion of the various schools of thought represented above and
simply opt for the one that "in his heart he knows is right" he
would still be faced with a lengthy period of preparation
before he could begin to analyze and interpret his survey
data in terms of the political variable.

Having chosen, for example, to agree with Rossiter that
directional labels are "useful if tricky tools of analysis"
he would still be obliged to examine the different political
ideologies to which his respondents might subscribe. He
would also need to delve into the specific platforms of the
parties to which they might adhere. In addition he would
have to be able to distinguish the "disinherited, dislocated,
and disgruntled" among the interviewees from their more com-
placent fellows. Lastly he would have to have some means of
deciding whether or not he was dealing with an "open, popular,
ordered, and constitutional society."
Suppose, however, that instead of agreeing with Rossiter he chose to go along with Krogh. In this case he would find himself right back where he began because such a choice would oblige him to devise "a more realistic theory of political relationships than the ones which have popular acceptance today, one that can comprehend the opportunities and promises of the democratic movement..." Obviously this would call for at least an analysis of the positions originally outlined above.

A decision to utilize Lipset's scheme would not only entail all the work mentioned in connection with Rossiter's approach it would also place the researcher under the burden of first stratifying the respondents by economic class and then singling out the "disgruntled and psychologically homeless ... the personal failures, the economically insecure, the uneducated, unsophisticated, and authoritarian persons in every class."

To adopt Runciman's line of reasoning would call for an even more demanding effort. The researcher would be required not only to lay bare the struggle for political power in the society under scrutiny he would have to take into account the Weltanschaung (in all its complexities) of
his respondents as well as the personal qualities of the leadership currently on the political scene.

Thus the hypothetical researcher is caught between Scylla and Charybdis. It appears that, whichever approach he chooses, he would be forced to consider a large amount of data many of which were qualitative and not only beyond the grasp of his survey instrument but, for all practical purposes, inaccessible to him altogether. It is hoped that the technique described below would offer such a researcher a way out of his dilemma. If the technique is to be effective it should be workable with data which can be gathered simply by incorporating a few questions into the instrument itself.

**A Choice of Labels: The Solution**

The Poli-types used in this study are four: i.e., Apolitical, Left, Center, and Right. The choice of directional labels was made because this investigator feels that people do frequently think about social relationships in spatial terms. This circumstance seems to be recognized by the acceptance, among sociologists, of such concepts as "in group-out group," "social distance," and "vertical mobility."
A single dimensional approach was decided upon because it was felt that most people, thinking spatially, work with only one dimension at a time. At one time or another almost anyone is likely to say something like "She is far above me," "I am way ahead of him," or "He is to the left of me on politics." But it would be the rare individual on the exceptional occasion who said "He is way ahead, a little below, and somewhat to the left of me politically." Finally, the labels "Left," "Center," and "Right" were elected partly because they are already entrenched in conventional usage, partly because the reader has already been asked to think about the R-types and the L-R Index in that way, and partly because the category of persons here called "Apolitical" probably embraces not only those among the interviewed who take a neutral attitude toward political questions but also those who are so disgruntled with the political conditions by which they are surrounded that they categorically reject all of the political alternatives which they see to be open to them. The addition of a question or two would most likely permit the separation of these two groups. Furthermore, whether the category, as it now stands should be placed furthest to the right or left on the Poli-type continuum is a puzzle which might be resolved through a more refined analysis. Due to what he considers to be the proper limits of this dissertation the writer chose not to undertake this chore and has arbitrarily placed this group furthest to the left in the tables presented below.
of the writer's preconceived notions about politics.

The reader who objects to the use of these terms on principle or because of the context in which they are used could just as well substitute ones which are more to his liking without altering the effectiveness of the types in any way.

The Construction of the Poli-types

The key procedures for building political types based purely on empirically gathered data is explained below through the device of describing the principal steps in the construction of the ones which are used in this study. The development of these types originally turned upon the inclusion of three items in the schedule-questionnaire:

1. Are you affiliated with a political party and if so which one?

2. If you are not affiliated with a political

\[22\]

It should be remembered that at the time when he chose the questions this investigator had no notion of using them in just this way. Had he conceived of the Poli-type technique before hand he would have included other questions which would have permitted him to divide what are presently called "Apolitical" respondents into the more refined classifications described in footnote 21 above.
party which of the existing ones do you think comes closest to your way of thinking?

3. Would you tell me if you have a favorable, unfavorable, or indifferent opinion of each of the parties named below.

The choices open to the respondent are given in Figure 5.

### COUNTRY AND POLITICAL PARTY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Argentina</th>
<th>Chile</th>
<th>Peru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unión Cívica Radical</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Unión Nacional Odrista</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransigente</td>
<td>Socialista</td>
<td>Social Progresista</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unión Cívica Radical del Pueblo</td>
<td>Demócrata</td>
<td>Demócrata Cristiano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialista Demócrata</td>
<td>Cristiano</td>
<td>Partido Socialista</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialista Argentino</td>
<td>Comunista</td>
<td>Acción Popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialista de Vanguardia</td>
<td>Conservador</td>
<td>Apra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservador</td>
<td>Radical</td>
<td>Frente de Liberación Nacional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demócrata Cristiano</td>
<td>Demócrata</td>
<td>Movimiento Democrático</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demócrata Progresista</td>
<td>Nacional</td>
<td>Pradista</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justicialista</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comunista</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.—The most important national political parties in Argentina, Chile, and Peru in 1962.

After the responses to these inquiries had been coded onto punch cards the respondents were sorted into categories
by country and party preference on the basis of the first two
items listed above e.g. all those Peruvians who answered
Accion Popular to either item were placed in one group, all
those Chileans who answered Democrata Cristiano were placed
in another and so forth.

At this point a letter of the alphabet was substituted
for the actual name of each party. This was done in order to
guard, insofar as possible, against an intrusion of the
analysts pre-established notions concerning the political
"position" of the parties. In the following phase each
group of party adherents (now designated as A, B, C, D, etc.)
was cross tabulated according to the way in which their members
had responded to item three (see page 157) in order to learn
what per cent of the adherents of each party had expressed a
favorable opinion of each of the other parties in the rele-
vant country. Table 21 is an example of one such cross-
tabulation.

23 Ideally the next steps in this kind of analysis would
be carried out by someone who is both unfamiliar with the
politics of the countries involved and unconnected with pre-
vious stages in the processing of the data.
TABLE 21.—Chilean parties A to F according to the per cent of their members who expressed a favorable opinion of Chilean party A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion of Party A</th>
<th>Parties *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favorable</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indifferent</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*D.N.A.'s are excluded from the percentages.

Since only 2 persons professed to adhere to the 7th party (Democrata Nacional) it has been left out of this table.
Once this had been done the "favorable opinion" percentages were collected and put into matrices, one for each country. The matrix which was produced for Chile is shown below as Table 22.

**TABLE 22.—Percentage of the adherents of each party in Chile who expressed a favorable opinion of the national parties (including their own).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Parties</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adherents of A</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adherents of B</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adherents of C</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adherents of D</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adherents of E</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adherents of F</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the reader may "take his bearings" by comparing Table 21 with Table 22. He will see that the percentages in row A of Table 22 were secured from the "favorable opinion" row of Table 21. The percentages which appear in the other rows of Table 22 were obtained in a similar fashion (i.e. from cross tabulations like the one shown in Table 21, but dealing with each national party in turn).
The next step in the analysis consisted of rotating each matrix so as to discover the distribution of percentages which provided the "best fit along the diagonal." It is at this point that it becomes especially important that the analyst not know the real identity of the various parties which are represented alphabetically.

The final arrangement of the cells in the matrix for Chile (the arrangement which the researcher felt gave the "best fit") is shown in Table 23.

TABLE 23.--Final arrangement of the cells in the Chilean "political party" matrix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National parties</th>
<th>National Parties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the ideal, some statistic could be used which would indicate the "best fit." This researcher does not know of any such statistical tool nor does he possess the command of statistical methods which would be necessary to develop one.
This end result is a sort of "socio-political distance" scale the registers of which are determined by political affinity and on which (in this case) parties D and E occupy the most distant points with parties A, B, C, and F ranged in between.

After this procedure had been completed the investigator decided that it would be useful to compare the political alignments thus arrived at with those which he would have expected because of what he had learned "in the field." To this end he first arrayed the various national parties in what he would consider to be a plausible "directional" line up. He then reinstated the party names in place of the alphabetical designations of his work tables. Figure 6 presents the comparison.

An examination of Figure 6 will show that in the case of Chile and Peru the "empirically" and "subjectively" derived alignments correspond perfectly. For Argentina the correspondence is close, although not perfect. So close is it, however, that a rank order correlation analysis produces a correlation co-efficient of .95. These findings evidence the fact that the empirical method is doing the job for which
### Party and place along the left-right continuum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country and method</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Argentina</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjectively derived alignment</td>
<td>Comunista</td>
<td>Socialista de Vanguardia</td>
<td>Justicialista</td>
<td>Socialista Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empirically derived alignment</td>
<td>Comunista</td>
<td>Socialista de Vanguardia</td>
<td>Socialista Argentina</td>
<td>Justicialista</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chile</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjectively derived alignment</td>
<td>Comunista</td>
<td>Socialista</td>
<td>Demócrata Cristiana</td>
<td>Radical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empirically derived alignment</td>
<td>Comunista</td>
<td>Socialista</td>
<td>Demócrata Cristiana</td>
<td>Radical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peru</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjectively derived alignment</td>
<td>Frente de Liberación Popular</td>
<td>Socialista Progresista</td>
<td>Partido Socialista A.P.R.A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empirically derived alignment</td>
<td>Frente de Liberación Popular</td>
<td>Socialista Progresista</td>
<td>Partido Socialista A.P.R.A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6. -- Subjectively and empirically derived party alignments by country.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socialista</th>
<th>Demócrata</th>
<th>Demócrata</th>
<th>U.C.R.I.</th>
<th>U.C.R.I.</th>
<th>Conservador</th>
<th>Correlation coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demócrata</td>
<td>Progresista</td>
<td>Cristiano</td>
<td>del</td>
<td>Pueblo</td>
<td></td>
<td>.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialista</td>
<td>Demócrata</td>
<td>Demócrato</td>
<td>Conservador</td>
<td>U.C.R.I.</td>
<td>U.C.R.I.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrática</td>
<td>Progresista</td>
<td>Cristiano</td>
<td>del</td>
<td>Pueblo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Conservador</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Conservador</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acción Popular</td>
<td>M.D.P.</td>
<td>U.N.O.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acción Popular</td>
<td>M.D.P.</td>
<td>U.N.O.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.—Continued
Having been encouraged to think that such was the case the researcher set about setting up a means for analyzing the respondents as a universe rather than along purely national

25 It is true that the object of employing this "empirical" technique is to avoid the necessity of making subjective decisions. Thus it might seem either tautological or unsound (or both) to test the empirically derived alignments against the subjectively derived ones. On the other hand the writer, rightly or wrongly, lays claim to a degree of insight into the political conditions of "his countries" which would not always be readily obtainable by every researcher. One of his prime tasks while "in the field" was to inquire into such matters. This he did by reading everything (from newspapers to scholarly treatises) upon which he could lay his hands and which pertained to the subject. He also discussed "politics" with everyone who could be led into the topic and these persons ranged from the rank and file (taxi drivers, barmen and clerks) to the politically potent (party leaders, senators, and newspaper editors).

Item. As chance would have it Julio Duran, the candidate of the Radical party in the Chilean presidential race for 1964, was one of the respondents who were "caught" in the quota sample of Santiago, Chile.

Thus, the value of this "check" on the validity of the empirical technique lies in its demonstration that any researcher, working with quantified data only, could come up with very nearly the same result as one who had devoted a great deal of effort to making a subjective evaluation of the relevant political scene.
lines. Therefore he next undertook to sub-divide all of the respondents into Poli-types without regard to nationality.

The fact that there are different numbers of parties in each country made it technically impossible to equate those parties which fell into corresponding places on each of the "national political continuums." Furthermore, if this were tried the objection might be raised that such a course of action would be especially likely to produce irrealistic combinations.

Under the circumstances the most reasonable procedure seemed to be one which would just group the political parties at the national level by taking into account:

1) those patterns exemplified by Table 23 above;

2) the frequencies which different party combinations would produce;

3) and finally, what the investigator felt he knew about the politics of each country.

Under other circumstances the researcher would have felt impelled to go on investigating the relationship of political tendency at the national level. But, as has already been pointed out, in this dissertation primacy is given to subcultures which stretch across the national origins of the respondents.
To illustrate — a scrutiny of Table 23 would suggest that the most suitable combinations (for Chile) are:

Left — D and B (Socialists and Communists).

Center— C and F (Christian Democrats and Radicals).

Right — A and E (Liberals and Conservatives).

Such an organization of party adherents would, however, throw an overwhelming majority (more than 70 per cent) into a "centrist" position. This circumstance plus the researcher's knowledge that the Radical party was formally (if weakly) allied with the Conservatives and Liberals in a Frente Democratico at the time of the election determined his decision to group these three parties together and leave the Christian Democrats standing alone in the center. Kindred considerations guided the grouping of parties in the other countries. After this, all those adherents of parties which were classified as leftist (regardless of nationality) were considered to belong to the Left Poli-type, those classified as rightist to the Right Poli-type, with the remainder grouped in the Center Poli-type.

---

27 The Radicals and Christian Democrats vie for the distinction of being the largest single party in Chile.
Figure 7.—Poli-types and their constituents parties by country.

Once the parties had been grouped both intra and inter­nationally, the Poli-types which arose were cross tabulated with numerous other variables. Some of the relationships which resulted are described below. With one exception the variables which have been chosen for discussion in connection with the Poli-types are the same as those which were employe in chapter II (in conjunction with the R-types) to divide the
respondents into a series of sub-cultures. The same reasoning which guided their selection in chapter III applies here.

The one exception is the L-R index. It has been included in this analysis because the relationship which exists between it and the Poli-types may provide a further clue to the characteristic which it measures. Inspection of Table 24 shows that a larger percentage of the respondents who rank low on the characteristic measured by the L-R index tended to prefer leftist parties than did those who ranked high. The reverse was true with regard to the rightist parties while the difference all but disappears where the centrist parties are concerned. In the case of the Apolitical Politype, a slightly larger percentage of "lows" fell into this category than did "highs."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poli-type</th>
<th>L-R index</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Apolitical</th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>Center</th>
<th>Right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>790</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 11.8 \quad df = 3 \quad p = .01 \]
Earlier in this chapter it was pointed out that the Apolitical group is a residual category which probably contains persons who could better be called anti-political as well as ones who were truly neutral. It was also said that the questions which would be needed to separate these two sub-categories were not included in the instrument. On the other hand, the following analysis may provide some hints as to whether the kinds of people who are classified here as apolitical tend to most resemble the members of one or another of the other Poli-types. For example, a look at Table 24 shows that a larger percentage of people who were low on the L-R index are classified as Apolitical than those who were "high." The only other Poli-type about which the same can be said is the Left one. This seems to suggest that apoliticals who rank low on this index tend to be more like the "leftists" than is true for the people who ranked high.

In any case, this table indicates that there is a significant relationship between the L-R variable and Poli-type. If the apoliticals are left out of the reckoning the relationship becomes even stronger (see Table 25). Here it can be clearly seen that a low score on the L-R index is associated with leftism on politics while a high score is more likely to
indicate a rightist political outlook. About equal percentages of "highs" and "lows" chose a centrist political position.

TABLE 25.—Percentage of respondents ranking low or high on the L-R index by Poli-types Left, Center, and Right.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L-R index</th>
<th>Poli-type</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Left No.</th>
<th>Left %</th>
<th>Center No.</th>
<th>Center %</th>
<th>Right No.</th>
<th>Right %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>482</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
<td>490</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 19.2 \quad df = 2 \quad P < .001 \]

It is generally said that males tend to be more left leaning on politics than do females. Table 26 shows how the variables of gender and political tendency are related among the respondents. The distribution of percentages in this table shows that these respondents are no exception to the rule. At the same time it can be seen that a larger percentage of females tend to be apolitical than do males. The same is true with regard to the rightist category. It might be inferred from this that the female apoliticals are more like their rightist counterparts than are males. It will
subsequently be shown, however, that both of the points brought out above are in need of further specification.

TABLE 26.—Percentage of male and female respondents falling into each Poli-type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poli-type</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Apolitical No.</th>
<th>Apolitical %</th>
<th>Left No.</th>
<th>Left %</th>
<th>Center No.</th>
<th>Center %</th>
<th>Right No.</th>
<th>Right %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>881</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[x^2 = 9.2\]

It is also commonly believed that, at least where Latin Americans are concerned, university students tend to be more leftist on politics than do non-students. Table 27 sheds some light on this question in so far as the respondents to this survey are concerned. Inspection of this table shows that a larger percentage of students chose leftist political parties than did non-students while the reverse was true with regard to the rightist category. Students were also slightly more prone to take a centrist position than were citizens. The difference disappears altogether where
TABLE 27.—Percentage of citizens and students falling into each Poli-type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizen or student status</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Apolitical No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Left No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Center No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Right No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizens</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

apoliticals are concerned. Thus it would seem that the respondents are, once again, no exception to the general rule. It will be remembered, however, that students from both state and Catholic universities were interviewed. It seems reasonable to expect that they might differ on political points of view. Table 28 demonstrates that this is actually the case. A considerably larger percentage of state university chose leftist parties than did those enrolled at a Catholic institution. The reverse is true where the rightist parties are in question. A somewhat larger percentage of Catholic university students could be said to be centrist on politics than is true where the state university students are concerned. By contrast, 11 per cent more "state" students fell
into the apolitical group than did "Catholics."

**TABLE 28.--Enrollment at a state or Catholic university by Poli-type.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Total No.</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Apolitical No.</th>
<th>Apolitical %</th>
<th>Left No.</th>
<th>Left %</th>
<th>Center No.</th>
<th>Center %</th>
<th>Right No.</th>
<th>Right %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationships between these variables become even more meaningful when they are all cross tabulated simultaneously. This is done in Table 29 and a number of interesting patterns emerge. For example it can be seen that there are always larger percentages of leftists among males (of whatever category) than females while almost exactly the reverse is true for rightists. A rank ordering of the "leftist" percentages accompanied by the corresponding percentages of rightists would produce the arrangement shown in Table 30. This table confirms the observation made above while adding the information that the state university students contain the largest percentages of leftists and Catholic university students the smallest percentages while the "citizens" stand in
TABLE 29.—All respondents cross tabulated by Poli-type, citizen or student status, gender, and enrollment at a state or Catholic university.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizen or student status, gender, and state or Catholic university enrollment</th>
<th>Apolitical</th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>Center</th>
<th>Right</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total respondents</strong></td>
<td>574</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total citizens</strong></td>
<td>344</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total students</strong></td>
<td>230</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 30.—A rank ordering of the percentages of "leftists" by gender, citizen or student status, and enrollment at a state or Catholic university with corresponding percentages of "rightists."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Poli-type</th>
<th>Leftist</th>
<th>Rightist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State university males</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State university females</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen males</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen females</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic university males</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic university females</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

between. The pattern is reversed for rightists except that in this case there is a lesser percentage of "rightists" among the Catholic university males than among their female counterparts. In this connection it should be noted that it is the Catholic university males who have the largest percentage of "centrists" among their number (Table 29).

By using Table 29 as a guide it now becomes possible to engage in some "educated" speculation about the "directional tendencies" which might lie hidden among the members of the apolitical Poli-type. It is instructive to note, first of all, that in terms of "apoliticality" it is always the females who provide the largest percentages. (See Table 31)
TABLE 31.—A rank ordering of the percentages of "apoliticals" by gender, citizen or student status, and enrollment at a state or Catholic university with corresponding percentages of "leftists."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Poli-type</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Apolitical</td>
<td>Leftist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic university males</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic university females</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen males</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen females</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State university males</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State university females</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondly, there is a tendency for the percentages of apoliticals to increase across the larger categories of Catholic university students, citizens, and state university students while the same is true for "leftists." These findings suggest that whatever factors are operating to produce increasing percentages of "leftists" are also operating to produce increasing percentages of apoliticals but that they have their strongest effect in connection with females. In other words, it is likely that there are larger percentages of female leftists hidden among the apoliticals than is the case with males and the likelihood that this is the case increases moving across the citizen, state and Catholic university.
Although the apoliticals, by definition, did not express a preference for any of the political parties to which they had access, some of them expressed a favorable opinion concerning one or another of such parties. This fact can be used as another clue to the latent "directional" propensities of the members of the Poli-type Apolitical. Consider Table 32. The configuration of this table intimates that,

**TABLE 32.** Per cent of "apoliticals" expressing a favorable opinion of parties arrayed from right to left on "political position" by country.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political position of party</th>
<th>Argentina</th>
<th>Chile</th>
<th>Peru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rank order correlation coefficient .88 .91 .83
in a pinch, the apoliticals would divide up along directional lines in much the same proportions as those of their country- men who were ready to openly express a preference for a given political party. In other words, it might be inferred that the same influences which were operating to determine the political opinions of the latter were having a similar, but weaker, impact on the former.

The foregoing analysis was presented in order to introduce this final portion of the present chapter which consists of an attempt to sort the respondents into a series of sub-cultures which are increasingly homogeneous in terms of four selected variables. Three of these variables are the same as ones which were used for a similar purpose in Chapter IV. They were chosen for the same reasons that were given in that instance as well as for the sake of consistency. The fourth variable (Poli-type) serves as a substitute for the R-types which were previously used.

Table 33 presents the distribution of respondents which results from sorting them on all four variables simultaneously. Each of the percentages shown could be said to represent a sub-culture of the total culture which the respondents comprise. Thus 11 per cent of the respondents belong to the sub-culture
TABLE 33.—All respondents divided into increasingly homogeneous sub-cultures on the basis of the following personality characteristics — Poli-type, gender, citizen or student status, enrollment at a state or Catholic university.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizen or student status, gender and state or Catholic university enrollment</th>
<th>Apolitical</th>
<th></th>
<th>Left</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total respondents</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total citizens</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total students</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Right No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>440</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
made up of persons who are leftist on politics. In looking at the last figure in the same column it can be seen that 3 per cent of the respondents belong to a sub-culture which is made up of persons who also share the following cultural bonds:

1) a consciousness of being female
2) a consciousness of being a student
3) a consciousness of being enrolled at a Catholic university.

It is also possible to combine certain of the percentages to arrive at other sub-cultures. For example, if one adds the percentages in rows 9 and 12 of the column headed Total he will find that the "male student sub-culture" makes up 16 per cent of all the respondents.
The principal objective of this dissertation has been to explain the meaning which the writer attaches to the terms "personality" and "culture" and to show how (in his thinking) the two are related. As a means to this end, the concepts in question were just recast and then illustrated with certain quantified data which were at the investigator's disposal. In the process a trio of derivative goals emerged. They are:

1) To develop and describe two empirical measures of (a) religious attitudes and beliefs and (b) political tendency. It is hoped that these techniques will have an application which extends beyond the scope of this study alone.

2) To add a little more to the accumulation of descriptive materials dealing with Latin American cultures.

3) To conceive a number of hypotheses which the writer (or perhaps some reader) might find
interesting enough to test at some future time.

If these objectives have met with any success it has (for the most part) already been reported in the preceding chapters. It only remains, in this one, to recapitulate what has already been said and to add one or two additional bits of information.

Appendix I sets forth the way the writer thinks of ultimate reality and the nature of life. Although the ideas presented there are the foundations upon which the rest of the dissertation were built the writer submits that one could reject them and still find acceptable those portions of his thinking which deal more strictly with the concepts of personality and culture. Chapter I sets forth most of the methods which were employed in the gathering and processing of the data although other methodological dispersed throughout the text at relevant points. It is felt that this (the most crucial) portion of the dissertation could stand alone.

In summary, then, reality for the writer is an infinite number of interacting influences which can be said to be at once stimuli and the objects of stimuli. In some fashion
these basic elements are organized into micro-systems of interacting influences which in turn interact and form the elements of still other systems and so forth. In this context life may be seen as a special form of interaction in which a given element is possessed of alternative reactions to the influences which impinge upon it. The number of "choices" which a given thing has is a measure of the degree to which it can be said to be alive. Men, it is suggested, represent that form of life which displays the widest range of alternative responses to stimuli and therefore could be considered to be the "most alive" of all living things.

Next, the question of what life is and how man fits into the picture is treated from the perspective of another discipline, zoology. The purpose is to show that although both approaches are couched in somewhat different language, in the essentials, they are the same. From the zoological point of view all living things are said to be made up of the same basic elements as the environment within which they exist and with which they interact. They are only organizationally different. Furthermore, the basic units of life (cells) interact with one another as systems which in turn interact with other systems in order to maintain the organism as a living thing. From this perspective the myriad forms of life
can be separated into two broad divisions i.e. plants and animals. Furthermore, zoologists have developed a taxonomic scheme for classifying all the forms of life which fall into the latter category and according to which men also stand highest on the ladder of development.

The characteristic which is most important in making man preeminent among living things is the superior quality of this central nervous system. It is this central nervous system which endows man with his extraordinary ability to learn and it is his capacity for learning which supplies man with an enormous range of alternatives in coping with the influences which impinge upon him. Much of Chapter I is an attempt to sketch, with a few broad strokes, how one authority (Alfred Kuhn) explains the mechanisms of behavior in the human animal. It begins by treating the central nervous system as a cybernetic device which governs the functioning of the body and goes on from there to describe

\[1\] It must be remembered that man is being dealt with here from a purely secular standpoint but one which in no wise rules out the possibility of identifying him as a superior creature because God has given him a soul.
how individuals form concepts and motives while developing preferences which serve to select among alternative courses of action on any particular occasion.

Throughout the section just referred to, men were simply called individuals as though the meaning of that term were perfectly clear. This approach was facilitated by the fact that, for the most part, men were being spoken of as individual animals in interaction with an environment (another term whose meaning was simply taken for granted). When, however, the dissertation began to take on a more sociological tone it became imperative to define the concepts "individual," "environment," and situation" in order to have their meaning clearly understood with regard to the way they would be used in the forthcoming discussion of personality and culture.

Accordingly the concept of "an individual" was structured in a way which would give it a much broader meaning than its earlier usage had implied. An individual now came to be seen as a system of interacting elements only part of which were "animal" in nature. The various elements which combine to make up an individual were designated as: (1) the central nervous system, (2) the rest of the body, (3) social factors, and (4) extra-social factors. It was pointed out that still
another factor (the mind) should be included but that it would be added and discussed at a later point.

The concept of an individual having been defined, attention was turned to the meaning of "environment." It was explained that this word would henceforth be used to mean the sum total of all the influences which precipitate responses in man in the plural form but that situation would be substituted to mean the same thing with regard to man in the singular form. A situation (in this sense) could be said to be made up of several categories of influences, two of which categories were to be found within the body of the individual and two, without the body. The influences belonging to the first such category have their origin in the central nervous system (i.e. ideas and attitudes\textsuperscript{2}) and the second set of influences comprising such things as urges, affective states, and physiological impulses not based on learning are located outside of the central nervous system yet within the body. The third category is made up of social influences and the fourth category contains extra-social

\textsuperscript{2}Earlier it had been pointed out that ideas and attitudes were roughly equivalent to what were previously termed concepts and motives.
influences. Each category of influences was said to be in interaction with all of the others and therefore, taken together, they make up a situational system. It was further pointed out that this situational system bears a strong resemblance to that system which had earlier been described as making up an individual. So much so, in fact, that an individual and his situation could be seen as being one and the same. To speak of an individual's situation is to speak of his self. At this point it was deemed necessary to distinguish between the concept of situation as used herein and the way in which it had formerly been used by William I. Thomas. It was shown that Thomas' usage could be equated with what, in the present context, was called the category of social influences. Nevertheless, many of the qualities belonging to a situation in the way that Thomas handled the term were also said to belong to it in its present employment. (For example, in both cases the situation is said to be changeable in the extreme). Finally, it was brought out that while all men's situations were made up of the same kinds of influences the specific influences differed
from situation to situation. Then it was noted that there was one other element (personality) which pertained to the situational system but that its nature and function were to be discussed later.

Here was begun the discussion of the key concepts in the dissertation — personality and culture. To start with it was proposed that all the extant definitions of personality with which the writer was familiar could be placed into one or another of two broad categories. The first of these encompassed definitions which emphasize outward appearances and the second contained those which stress the inner essential nature of a person. Starting from this premise it was maintained that, regardless of which emphasis was in evidence, in the last analysis any given definition would seem to imply that personality was at once an adjustment of the individual to his situation and a part of his situation. Whether or not this was truly the case it was explicitly stated that (as the term is defined here) personality is at one and the same time a product of the individual's situation,

3The sum total of the specific influences constitute the environment of a number of men.
a means of dealing with his situation, and a part of his situation. Lastly it was brought out that the most important way in which an individual deals with his situation is by means of ideas and attitudes. Thus it is the sum total of these (interacting as a system) which makes up his personality.

Subsequently the argument was advanced that an individual can have ideas and attitudes about all of the kinds of influences which precipitate responses in him (i.e. make up his situation) but he can not have ideas and attitudes about all of the specific influences which are involved. For example, many Indians in the highlands of Guatemala have ideas about the kinds of influences (extra-social) to which germs belong but they have no ideas which refer to germs themselves (and hence neither do they have attitudes towards germs). Yet germs are a part of their situation. The aggregate of ideas and attitudes which one has form that element in the situation which integrates all the others. Once again then, ideas and attitudes, when seen in this way make up the individual's personality or, to use an equivalent term, his mind.

Since, in some ways, all situations are alike (i.e. they are all made up of the same categories of influences) and in
others they are all different it seems probable that every individual has:

1) some ideas and attitudes shared by everyone who has ever lived, is living, or will live;

2) ideas and attitudes which are uniquely his own.

At any rate, this is an assumption which is made in the present dissertation and which eventually gives rise to the definition of culture herein employed. But first the suggestion is made that all definitions of culture (or at least those with which the writer is familiar) could be placed into two general categories. One of these would embrace those definitions which only include abstractions (mentifacts) as parts of culture. The other would embrace definitions which contain both abstract and non-abstract constituents (both mentifacts and artifacts). However it is contended that any definition (irrespective of the general category to which it pertains) is grounded upon the assumption that mentifacts (ideas and attitudes) are man's chief instruments for working with his environment.\(^4\) This constitutes a

\(^4\)Furthermore, it was asserted that any and all things are cultural only to the extent that men have ideas and attitudes about them.
unifying principle which would pull together all definitions of culture and which serves as another starting point for the construction of the definition which is used here. Earlier it had been said that personalities were made up of ideas and attitudes. Now it was stated that culture is made up of "over-lapping" personalities. Personalities (and the individuals to which they belong) may be relatively weakly or strongly united into a common culture depending upon the number of ideas and attitudes which they share.

Culture in this sense does not depend upon the interaction of individuals. Two individuals, completely isolated from one another in space and time, may yet have some ideas and attitudes in common and thus belong to a single (weakly integrated) culture. In these terms it would be theoretically possible to take any number of individuals (who by the very fact of having existed have some cultural bonds in common) and sort them into various sub-cultures according to the number of ideas and attitudes which they share. Of course interaction does increase the likelihood that individuals will have shared ideas and attitudes and this is why it is so common to speak of geographically based cultures, particularly national ones. On the other hand it is also commonly
recognized that certain cultures (or sub-cultures -- the terms are usually interchangeable) cut across national lines. The "Jewish culture" would be an example. It is this last consideration which led the author to delineate certain "cross-cultural cultures" which cut across the differences of nationality that existed among 1,586 respondents to a survey which was conducted in Buenos Aires, Argentina; Lima, Peru; and Santiago, Chile.

But first the concepts of superordination and subordination were introduced as having a special meaning for the purposes of this study. In their present usage these terms depend upon the assumption that men always see reality as being made up of some elements which are beyond their understanding and control (superordinate) and others which are susceptible to human understanding and control (subordinate). Furthermore, the mere recognition that existence has superordinate aspects does not satisfy man's desire to put order into his universe, he must attempt to explain them somehow. Men, it is suggested, nearly always choose one of two paths to such an explanation. They either turn to a belief in a supernatural power (or powers) or in denying such a thing declare that anything is eventually susceptible to man's
understanding and control. On the basis of a prior knowledge of the societies where the survey was to be carried out, it was assumed that the respondents were most likely to hold to a supernatural explanation of the superordinate and more specifically a Catholic one. In other words it seemed likely that most of the respondents would belong to a Catholic sub-culture. Furthermore and once again on the grounds of prior knowledge, it was hypothesized that this Catholic sub-culture could be divided into further sub-cultures on the basis of the degree to which various respondents shared certain specific religion related ideas and attitudes.

As a consequence a number of items dealing with religious beliefs and practices were incorporated into the data gathering instrument. These questions were later grouped into a number of indexes and three of these (i.e. the measures of Basic Christianity, Basic Catholicism, and Image of the Catholic Clergy) were combined to produce a set of "religious types" (R-types). Because it was difficult to find names for these types which adequately expressed their content yet remained normatively neutral they were simply identified by the designations LLL, HLL, HHL, and HHH. They can perhaps best be thought of as representing points
on a continuum which range from complete rejection (LLL) to complete acceptance (HHH) of the attitudes and beliefs measured by the indexes.

The validity of these types was first examined by cross tabulating them with the professed religious affiliation of the respondents. The results seemed plausible and the types were next tested by investigating the way in which they were related to a number of other variables. Once again the results seemed reasonable. Furthermore this analysis provided at least a little descriptive material on how various categories of Latin American respondents rate on the religious variable. It should be stressed, however, that no attempt was made to generalize, in statistical terms, to any universe larger than that made up of the respondents themselves. By the same token it was pointed out that other persons who were very like the respondents on the religious question undoubtedly did exist in these countries and this study provides some clues as to how an interested party could find them. For example it was learned that among the respondents the most religiously committed appeared to be female students enrolled at a Catholic university. Thus, if one is interested in locating highly Catholic persons that finding suggests that
a good place to look would be among females studying at a Catholic university.

Finally three variables (citizen or student status, gender, and enrollment at a state or Catholic university) were selected for simultaneous cross tabulation with the R-types in order to divide the respondents into sub-cultures which were increasingly homogeneous with regard to such characteristics.

Several questions had also been included in the schedule-questionnaire which provided clues concerning the political tendency of the respondents. Political matters, it was pointed out, are usually considered to be subordinate to men. Therefore it was decided to use political tendency as an indicator of various sub-cultures of the subordinate. First, however, some space was devoted to examining the usefulness of directional terms (i.e. left, center, and right) as indicators of political position. The issue was decided in favor of using such terms (at least in this case) and a technique was elaborated which was intended to arrange the respondents along a political spectrum from left to right on purely empirical grounds. The procedure used was to divide the respondents into groups of party adherents (or apoliticals)
and then to use the percentages of each group which expressed favorable opinions of the other parties as indicators of the political distance which existed between them. Next, the groups of party adherents (6 each in Chile and Peru and 10 in Argentina) were combined into Left, Center, Right, and Apolitical Poli-types. Next the Left Poli-types from each country were grouped together and so on so that all of the respondents were classified into Poli-types that stretched across national boundaries. As in the case of the R-types, the Poli-types were then cross-tabulated with certain other variables to learn how well this measure worked as an indicator of political tendency which ignored national lines.

Once again the findings seemed to justify the use of such a procedure. Just as with the R-types, however, no attempt was made to generalize in statistical terms to any larger universe although it was suggested that the findings could serve as a guide to the investigator who was looking for certain categories of Latin Americans based on political tendency. For example, it was shown that male students enrolled at a state university were the respondents to this survey who were most likely to be leftist in political outlook. This would seem to indicate that if one were interested in
locating Latin Americans who were likely to have leftist political views a good place to search would be among males studying at state universities.

To conclude Chapter IV the Poli-types were simultaneously cross-tabulated with certain variables in order to sort the respondents into a number of sub-cultures of subordination which were increasingly homogeneous. The variables used were the same as those selected for a similar analysis in connection with the R-types. They were chosen both for the reasons which had been given on that occasion and for the sake of consistency.

Given the fact that so many studies have consistently found that religious attitudes and beliefs are highly correlated with political tendency it seems fitting to write finis to this dissertation with a final table which shows how the R-types and Poli-types relate to one another. Although, from the point of view of this writer it seems likely that one's religious position is more likely to determine his political position than vice versa it is not especially pertinent that such an assumption be made in this instance. Therefore Table 34 is structured in such a way that only an association and not a direction of association is placed in
TABLE 34.—The relationship of R-type to Poli-type shown by means of the observed percentage of what would be expected if each cell contained its pro-rata share of cases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poli-type</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R-type</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Apolitical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLL</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLL</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center Frequency</td>
<td>Center Index No.</td>
<td>Right Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
evidence. That is to say that each cell contains an index number which represents the observed percentage of what would be expected if each cell contained its pro-rata share of cases. Table 34 suggests that there is a strong relationship between the religious and political views of the respondents. To illustrate, if one looks at the juncture of the LLL row and the column headed Left it can be seen that the cell found there contains 73 per cent more cases than it would be expected to have if the two variables were not associated at all. Conversely, the cell allocated to respondents who are "rightist" on both religion and politics contains an index number that indicates there are 50 per cent more of such cases than would be expected if the two variables were independent of one another.

In Table 34 the column of apoliticals has been placed between the one for leftists and the one for centrists. The immediate reason for this is to make the pattern of index numbers as symmetrical as possible. However, the fact that this column seems to fall most naturally into that place might be taken to mean that the apolitical category forms a sort of half-way house for people who are only moderately committed to both the religious and political views which
are traditional in these societies.

With the statement of this hypothesis the dissertation is concluded.
A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


Louisiana State University. Personal interviews with Professor Harry J. Bennett, Chairman of the Department of Zoology, November, 1964.


APPENDIX I

PERSONALITY AND CULTURE AS DEFINED FOR PURPOSES OF THIS STUDY

The basic premise from which all the reasoning in this dissertation proceeds is that all of the "pieces" into which ultimate reality can be formed (whether micro-units or macro-units) may be considered to be either stimuli or the objects of stimuli depending upon the vantage point from which they are viewed. On another level of conceptualization reality could be envisioned as if it were composed of multitudinous systems in interaction.

Life, for the purpose at hand, may be pictured as simply a special kind of interaction; one in which a thing can be judged to be alive in the degree to which it is able to determine its own state of being by taking active part in dealing with the influences which impinge upon it. Schoen puts the same thought in this way:

We recognize whether a body is dead or alive by observing what it does when some force is applied to it. If its responses are of a sort that indicates that they are altogether determined by the applied force, then we know it to be a lifeless
body otherwise we know it to be alive.¹

It is also possible to see the conditions of life or death as comprising relative states of being spread out along a continuum whose polar positions represent the hypothetical conditions of:

1) absolute inertness (i.e. a total lack of the capacity for exchange with any forces seeking to influence it);²

2) a condition of all-embracing activity and the fullest capacity for exchange with, and control over, any forces impinging upon it.³


²Clearly, if the definition of the components of ultimate reality (as given above) is accepted then such a condition would have to fall outside of, or precede them and thus must necessarily remain suppositional—or hypothetical.

³God apart, nothing "real" has ever been identified in this way so that such a condition must also remain hypothetical.

Both conditions, then, stand as "ideal types." Their utility does not lie in the demonstrability of their existence but rather, in their potential as standardized (if imaginary) entities against which "real" conditions may be measured.
Environment, in its broadest sense, consists of all those influences which precipitate responses in things and thus become agents in bringing about changes in the states of being of such things.

The ability of a thing to take an active part in dealing with its environment presupposes the availability of alternative responses to a given stimulus or series of stimuli. This circumstance permits the specification of:

1) the place along the life-death continuum at which things become more dead than alive;
2) the degree to which a thing is alive by virtue of the number of alternatives which it possesses at the moment of interaction with its environment (see Figure 8).

A-----B-----C-----D

Figure 8.—The continuum of "Life and Death."

In Figure 8, A = a "wholly dead" state of being, B = a wholly alive state of being, A-D = the process of interaction between things and their environment, A-B = the process of interaction of things with their environment where the things in question have no option in their responses and can only passively submit to whatever forces play upon them, B-C = the
process of interaction of things with their environment in which the things in question do have the ability to respond in alternative ways to outside influences but the responses are relatively limited, \( C-D \) = the process of interaction of things with their environment where the things in question have an ever increasing number of alternative responses.

**Animal and Plant Life: A Zoological Point of View**

According to one authority\(^4\) life may also be seen as "an ongoing chemical process." From this perspective life first emerged as a diffuse and indiscriminate form of chemical activity called "chemosis." Initially, chemosis took place in a stratum of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, and trace elements which lay at the surface of the earth's waters. Within this layer somehow there gradually emerged myriad nuclei around which the process of chemosis became centered. These nuclei were composed of the same elements as their surroundings yet in some fashion they were organized so as to constitute discrete entities capable of unitary interaction.

\(^4\)The ideas set forth in this section have been drawn from a series of informal interviews with Dr. Harry J. Bennett, Professor of Zoology at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge.
with their environment. In time these nuclei became coated with a substance called cytoplasm which, in its constituents, was similar to both the nuclei and the rest of their environment yet remained organizationally different. When this occurred living cells (the basic building blocks of the biological forms of life) were born and the evolutionary process continued until what is known as plant life emerged.

At some stage of evolution a mutation occurred which generated the division of all biological things into the categories of "plant" and "animal" life.

The bodies of both plants and animals are essentially cells or aggregates of cells which interact individually with their own microcosmic and private environment which is composed of elements essential for their continued evolution and passes through the interstices (or sinuses) which separate the cellular units. In this way each cell guards an existence which is distinct from that of its fellows although they all cooperate to insure the well-being of the organism of which they are a part.

It appears that the fundamental distinction which sets animals apart from plants is that the cells of the latter contain chlorophyll while those of the former do not. Once this primary separation had taken place the course of differentiation
within the "kingdom animalia" went on at such a pace that today zoologists are able to distinguish literally thousands of forms of animal life. These are usually classified (in descending order of generality) according to phylum, class, order, family, genus, and species. Man belongs to the phylum chordata, the class vertebrata, the order mammalia, the family of primates, the genus hominidae, and the species homo sapiens.

A much cruder way of subdividing the animal kingdom (but one which is useful for the purpose at hand) is to think of it as being spread out along a single dimension at one end of which would be placed those forms of animal life whose every activity is dictated by instinct (thus making them the passive subjects of outside forces). At the other end of the continuum would stand those forms of animal life whose every activity is based on learning or the capacity to react in alternate ways to all sorts of stimuli. Most people would probably locate man further to the right along such a continuum than any other animal.

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5Once again, it is not important whether or not such forms of animal life actually exist (or ever have existed.) These formulations are merely another application of the "ideal type" as an analytical device.
Reflexes, Instincts, and Drives

This section deals, in a general way, with mechanisms of behavior in all those animals which could be placed well to the right along the continuum described above (and with man in particular). It seems fitting to begin by quoting Kuhn to the effect that:

If the reader is upset at finding mechanistic language applied to human beings [in the following pages] ...let him recall that we are dealing here only with analytical tools — with ways of thinking about problems — which [are useful for] increasing our understanding. The human being is not one whit less human because we examine his tissues with a microscope, analyze his skeleton as a set of levers, or discover that his nerves operate electrically, and that his eye is a lens. The purpose of the language... is to try to reduce the number of concepts needed to understand the world around us.\(^6\)

The Central Nervous System

By greatly simplifying a highly complex affair the human nervous system can be conceived of as being divided

\(^6\) Alfred Kuhn, *The Study of Society: A Unified Approach* (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc. and The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1964), p. 54. The quotation is especially appropriate because, although the broad outlines of this section were understood by the author before he became acquainted with Professor Kuhn's work, practically all of the detail has been culled from his book.
into three main sections. The first deals with inputs of information while the second controls its flow and the third handles outputs of behavior. The system as a whole comprises a multitude of neurons each of which consists of a single long, thin, biological cell.

The sensory nerves (which make up the first main section) lead out of the sense receptors and discharge into the central nerves (which make up the second main section) while the motor nerves (which make up the third main section) extend to and control the muscles. The brain proper is made up of central nerves and performs a kind of "switching" function in directing the flow of impulses through the system. The central nerves can be stimulated by the input from sensory nerves, by thinking, dreaming and, to a certain extent, by random forces. Motor nerves, in turn, receive their stimuli from the central nerves and (occasionally) by reflexive connections with sensory nerves.

Everyone is born with a number of direct connections between sensory and motor nerves which, upon the application of certain stimuli, produce immediate, specific, and unlearned responses: i.e., reflexes (such as the knee jerk, sneezing, coughing, withdrawal from pain, etc.). This inherited reflexive action can be conditioned to occur in response to
many kinds of stimuli or chains of stimuli so that it will take place under a wide variety of circumstances but, in the long run, reflexes account for only the tiniest fraction of total human behavior. By far the greater part of human behavior is selective in the sense that any of a great variety of responses can become attached to a given stimulus through learning. Nevertheless, although in such cases the presence of a given stimulus does not call forth a preordained response it does produce an urge, or a tendency to respond. Thus whatever response is selected might be said to have become conditioned to this urge.

Such basic, unlearned urges combine with motives (or learned preferences for certain kinds of responses) to make up what are commonly called drives, that is, the forces which govern human behavior.

Drives may be contrasted with the instincts which play a primary role in governing the behavior of lower animals. Instincts are comparable to very elaborate patterns of reflexes in that they involve a series of automatic and unlearned responses to a series of stimuli and give rise to such things as the hive building activities of bees and the
dam building behavior of beavers. A drive on the other hand, is merely an impulse to action or "anything which produces an increase in the general activity of the organism." The action itself can assume many forms.

**Motives and Concepts**

The previous section was concerned with the fact that overt responses become attached to inborn unlearned urges. This section not only deals with why such attachments are formed but how certain responses become preferred over others.

**The Source of Preferences**

Although there is no certainty and little agreement as

7As a rule of thumb one could say that there is an inverse relationship between the possession of inborn abilities for unlearned behavior and the number of alternatives which the animal has in dealing with its environment.


9An extensive discussion of what motives and concepts are, how they came into being, what their consequences are for human behavior and how they relate to one another is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Still a brief treatment of these matters is pertinent if only as a springboard to the discussion of personality and culture which follows.
to the nature, number, and origin of those urges which lie inborn in men (awaiting the triggering action of some stimulus) their existence is rarely questioned. It is also generally accepted that such urges are oriented toward the maintenance or survival of the organism so that the responses which are called forth will tend to maintain the system. This is quite different from saying that the behavior selecting mechanism invariably chooses upon a particular act which is directly related to the survival of the organism. Indeed one of the things which sets man apart from the other animals is his "ability to counter to immediate needs in the short run, in ways which greatly increase the long run ability to survive."\(^{10}\)

It is even possible for one to learn behavior which is prejudicial to existence over either the short or the long haul. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that, whatever the behavior patterns of an individual, they hinge upon some primary "survival oriented" urges. Urges such as these can be equated with "needs" for food, water, rest, and protection from disease etc. which, if left unsatisfied for too long a period of time, result in the destruction of the organism.

One other characteristic of such urges is that, when

\(^{10}\)Ibid., p. 93.
left unfulfilled, they bring pain to the organism while their satisfaction leads to pleasure. This principle is the basis for the initial step in response selection. But it should be remembered that, first of all,

whatever be the urges all men share at birth, they are flexible in the extreme, and can be accommodated to any conditions compatible with biological survival. Second, the fact that pain is painful or pleasure pleasurable does not explain how it affects behavior.... To say 'something hurts; therefore we avoid it,' is common sense, but does not tell us how this happens.11

Sometimes it is erroneously assumed that because an urge is inborn an individual is helplessly in its grip. This could hardly be the case since one inborn impulse to action often conflicts with another. For example, a person whose lip is injured will, if hungry enough, overcome his inborn tendency to avoid pain in order to meet his inborn tendency to eat.12 How one response is selected over another leads now to the question of learned impulses to action.

11Kuhn, op. cit., p. 99.

12Ibid. For reasons which should become clear at a later point those needs which are met by reflexive or autonomic action are excluded from this discussion. For the moment it is enough to point out that such needs are partially under the control of "motives" but as yet it remains to be shown that they can affect the development of motives themselves.
The Learning of Preferences

In addition to urges such as those mentioned in the preceding section, all humans possess a variety of non-physiological ones. Various investigators have attempted to compile lists of such urges which are universally present but (as might be expected) their choices vary considerably. The question of whether or not some non-physiological urges are inherited and, if so, which ones, is also open to much debate; but questions of that kind are not important to the line of reasoning being pursued here. For present purposes it is only necessary to mention that there is general agreement on the fact that some urges are learned and that the satisfaction or frustration of such urges has an impact on the "affective state" of the organism. An affective state is one of "feeling" or of "emotion" and not one of "knowledge" although one may have knowledge about his affective state. The kinds of urges which are often described as motives may be exemplified as security, superiority, the need for new experience, the response of other persons, etc.13

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13 These examples should not be construed as a list of definitely established motives but only as examples of the kinds of things which might be included in any such catalogue.
Motives are sometimes called "secondary reinforcers" because their acquisition is presumably derived from association with "primary" or unlearned urges. They are anything which a person has learned to want and which will act as a reward for behavior. Furthermore, motives may be divided into various types. The most obvious of these is the "instrumental motive" i.e., one that serves as a means of accomplishing something else. If a young lady perceives an interest in golf to be instrumental in attracting and holding the attentions of a certain young man she may acquire a desire for golf clubs and lessons which desire may reinforce other kinds of activity such as working or wheedling money from her father.

Instrumental reinforcers are to be distinguished from intrinsic ones although the former may evolve into the latter. Intrinsic reinforcers (although learned) are ones which are satisfying in themselves and not merely as means to an end. In the case of the girl mentioned above, she might continue to be motivated to play golf even after she had lost interest in the young man in question simply because she had learned to enjoy the game.

By thinking of "wanting" as a response the attaching of one motive to another can be seen as analogous to the
conditioning of physical responses so that "chains" of motives can be developed. Such a chain may begin with some want which is closely related to survival but through a succession of links a vast array of other motives will accrue which may be more or less relative to survival.

Such an arrangement can be seen in its usefulness to human behavior when one imagines any accomplishment which would require a long series of related acts. Kuhn provides the following example:

If a basic desire is to marry and raise a family, this reinforces the desire for a house and contents, which reinforces the desire for money, which reinforces the desire for a job, which reinforces the desire for professional training, which reinforces the desire for a college education, which reinforces the desire for books, and so on.¹⁴

But each one of the motives in the chain need not be satisfied by actual performance in order that they become secondary reinforcers. It has been shown that the mere thought of them can in itself become a motive. Thus higher order conditioning can occur within the brain and this explains how a human being can become motivated to take a step which is far removed in a chain of events from the fulfillment of an ultimate goal.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 83-84.
Motives may be very general with regard to their instrumentality for satisfying wants. The desire for money is one such motive which is apparently very important in modern society. It has been said that the possession of money in itself can not bring happiness but it will permit the acquisition of those things which will allow one to be miserable in comfort. The desire for things which will bring comfort serves to reinforce the desire for money but since there are many ways in which money can be acquired the desire for money itself becomes very important in encouraging such activities. There are, of course, many other "generalized motives" such as the desire for power or love.

Conflicting Motives

To return now to the question broached at the beginning of this section — how is one motive selected over another when the motives are apparently in conflict? For example, when a conscientious but tired student is, at the same time, motivated by a desire to study and a desire to go to bed and sleep, how is the conflict resolved?

Conflicting motives can arise under at least two conditions:

1) when the recipient of a stimulus is uncertain of what it actually is and the possible alternate
interpretations call for opposite responses. For example, "Is that dog barking because he is friendly or because he doesn't want me to go up on the porch?"

2) when a certain response will bring about both desirable and undesirable consequences, as in the case of the hungry man with the injured lip which was adduced earlier.

First of all, it should be recognized that at any given instant an individual's situation is so complex that he can never be entirely free from mixed motives. That is to say that every instant he is faced with alternative stimuli to which he might respond and with alternative responses from which to choose. This fact makes it necessary to take what psychologists call a "field" approach to perception and learning as compared with the simple stimulus-response approach which has been utilized in the foregoing pages.

In the field approach all of the stimuli impinging upon an individual at a given time must be taken into account simultaneously. In order to know what the behavioral outcome would be, it would not only be necessary to know which stimuli were perceived but which of them produced pleasurable or painful reactions and the relative strength of such
reactions.

The obvious difficulties for the testing of hypotheses through observation which such an approach entails has caused most workers in the field to fall back upon generalizations derived from experiments with the simpler "one stimulus-response set" method.\textsuperscript{15}

The technique employed is to narrow the problem by searching for an obviously dominant force among the maze of stimuli. However, if a single overpowering stimulus is not readily apparent then it becomes necessary to attempt to determine which one has the most strongly conditioned response attached to it. For example, if a person is strongly conditioned to smoking cigarettes but weakly conditioned to smoking cigars or a pipe he will probably choose the former in a situation where he desires to smoke and all three alternatives are open to him. The recency of conditioning may also have an effect. Thus a researcher who has just returned from a field trip to Latin America might attend to a news article dealing with the situation in that part of the world over one

\textsuperscript{15} For an attempt to systematize the field approach to behavior see Frank A. Logan, David T. Olmstead, et. al., \textit{Behavior Theory and Social Science} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955), chap. 6.
concerned with Europe although he had visited there some years ago. Finally, the relative strength of motives might play its part in determining behavior as in the case of the man who became so hungry that he overcame his desire to protect an injured lip.

To say this is, of course, to have said very little in answer to the question originally posed. The purpose is merely to point up the limitations on studying human behavior in strictly psychological, or more specifically, neo-behavioristic terms.

Since one of the objectives of this dissertation is to set up a working definition of personality, it becomes pertinent to discuss concepts or the means by which individuals learn about the alternatives for action which are open to them.

Concepts

The earlier sections of this chapter dealt with ways in which individuals come to respond to alternatives. This section is concerned with how they come to understand their alternatives.

From one point of view concepts may simply be said to be abstractions and (from a secular perspective) it is man's superior capacity for forming and using abstractions which
elevates him above the lower animals. Concepts, says Kuhn, "are the things we think with, perceive with, and build a society with."

Any piece of information, smaller than a concept, which can be abstracted from a given situation is a cue. Concepts are both built from cues and, once formed, dependent upon cues for putting them into effect. One way to conceive of concepts is to see them as consisting of a number of substantively related cues which have been sorted into meaningful categories and stored in the brain. An infinite number of such categories of cues are stored into any one individual brain where they can be used as models against which future cues can be measured. The act of perceiving consists of attending to cues and (by comparing them with the previously stored concepts) classifying the things which they represent as a member of a certain category. It is an act of inference in which:

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16 It is also said that what sets man off from the other animals is his ability to engage in symbolic behavior, particularly with regard to language. However, symbols are so closely tied to abstractions that to say the one thing is for most purposes, to say the other. The use of "abstractions" and related terms fits in better with the overall language of this dissertation as well as the general frame of reference.

17 Kuhn, op. cit., p. 104.
The major premise consists of information stored in the concept, principally of the relation of cues to the concept. The minor premise consists of the information currently sensed. If the minor premise is a sufficient cue, from the two premises together it is possible to deduce that an instance of the concept currently exists in the environment. 18

While it may be possible that an infant inherits (a very few) concepts it is absolutely certain that the vast majority are learned, but how? The problem which immediately arises is "if one cannot perceive things until he has first formed a concept of them, how can he acquire the information to form concepts in the first place?" The answer to this question, as in the case of several others which have already been raised, is far from clear but it is worthwhile to speculate a little upon the matter.

It is known that at birth infants are already equipped with sense organs which, although not fully developed, permit them to have sensations or to detect information even though they can not decode it. In other words, the baby is able to sense things although he cannot perceive them. He is aware of the presence of things but he knows nothing about their nature.

18 Ibid., p. 106.
It might then be hypothesized that the baby is, over a period of time, able to form purely sensory concepts. These concepts could then be combined in ever-more complex ways to form new concepts which permit the formation of still more complex concepts and so forth.

To illustrate, the infant may repeatedly hear the door of his nursery close. Sheer repetition builds up a simple sensory concept of that sound. When he hears it again he 'recognizes' the sound as familiar. But he has no idea what a door is, much less of the closing of one, or that the sound emanates from it—whereas you perceive a door closing if you hear that sound, the baby only hears the sound. To verbalize what at that stage is unverbalizable, the baby does not think, 'I hear a door,' but 'that's the same sound I heard before.' It is only later when the child has the combined experiences of seeing the door close, hearing it close, walking through it open, closing it and not being able to walk through, all many times over, that he finally forms a reasonably clear concept of doors, their opening and closing, and their sound.  

Motor Concepts

A group of neuron connections whose simultaneous and sequential operation in a particular pattern produces non-random, deliberate movement can be referred to as a motor concept. Such concepts can be either relatively simple or highly complex combinations of simple concepts. For example an adult might go through the following stages of concept development

19Ibid., pp. 109-110.
in learning to golf.

He learns as separate steps how to put the left hand on the club, how to put the right hand on it, how to lift the club for swinging, how to move the elbow as the club comes down, how to move the wrist, and how to follow through — not to mention the actions of shoulders, knees, ankles, feet, and hips. With practice the separate motions join into subgroups of two's and three's, and then the subgroups join into larger groups, until some happy day they all come forth as a single, smoothly coordinated performance. The 'smoothing' process, incidentally, not only ties separate parts into a larger whole, but also eliminates motions which were appropriate to the separate steps, but which are not needed for the total movement.\(^{20}\)

**Information Concepts**

This type of concept may be forged out of the individual's own experience or it may be given to him full blown. In the latter case his task is one of learning to use the concept.

In the first instance, the individual begins with scattered pieces of information (which may be concepts in themselves) about a variety of "things" in his environment. On the basis of observed similarities and differences he then sorts these bits of information into several groups or categories. By so doing he effectively divides the things themselves into categories although he does not have full information about

\(^{20}\)Ibid., p. 115.
all the things thus divided into groups. As this knowledge is added to the concept it becomes more complete and precise.

In the second instance, the individual receives a concept in the form of a number of cues (i.e., a definition) which have already been selected by another individual. Often these cues are vague or unsatisfactory and then the recipient of the concept must, through experience—trial and error—refine the concept until it becomes workable for him.

Man's capacity to handle concepts is not limited to physical objects and sensations. It also includes the ability to conceptualize events and even concepts themselves. This flexibility makes the range and content of possible concepts almost infinite. Finally, it should be pointed out that:

the human brain shows no apparent innate preferences for any particular ways of conceptualizing things,.... It will accept equally the notion that lightning is an electrical discharge or the gods belching fire; that the earth is round or flat or square; that rain is condensation of water vapor in the air or an Olympian shaggy dog shaking himself after bathing.... We used to learn that what goes up must come down but children growing up in a space age accept a different notion just as easily.\[21\]

\[21\textit{Ibid.}, p. 129.\]
The Human Individual

At least since the days when Aristotle and Plato were skirmishing with the Sophists (and probably even earlier) thinkers have been at war over the questions of:

1) whether human society is to be traced chiefly to the action of single individuals or to a general order which is superior to them;

2) whether the development of the qualities shared by all or the development of those peculiar to the individual is to be regarded as of more importance in the sphere of culture. 22

One of the fiercest battles in this long struggle was fought during the nineteenth century between two factions of social scientists. On one side were the adherents of a "psychologistic" school led by Gabriel Tarde and on the other stood those who favored the "sociologism" of Emile Durkheim. Despite an enormous expenditure of effort on both sides this

particular campaign ended in a negotiated peace that was heralded by Essertier's statement to the effect that:

les faits sociaux sont essentiellement de nature psychique. [C'est] la vérité même, déjà proclamée par Auguste Comte...ainsi la sociologie pourrait bien être une psychologie, mais elle serait une psychologie spécifique et elle conserverait son autonomie.\textsuperscript{23}

Understandably, however, most contemporary textbooks of sociology emphasize that aspect of the individual which is generally referred to as "the social self," while making only passing reference to physiological and psychological factors. But, the approach to personality which is developed in this dissertation depends upon a special orientation to the individual as an object and, for that reason, it seems useful to begin with a somewhat broader view of the individual than is generally presented in sociology texts.\textsuperscript{24}

Webster's unabridged dictionary gives many definitions


\textsuperscript{24}It is very rare that one finds the concept of individuality discussed in very broad terms in a textbook of sociology. One exception is Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, \textit{Society: An Introductory Analysis} (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1949), pp. 50-51.
for the word "individuality" but the most useful, as a starting point for this discussion, is: "Anything that can not be divided or separated into parts without losing its identity." From this perspective individuality simply refers to indivisibility without implying uniqueness. Thus an individual may be merely one irreducible unit in a class of like objects as, for example, one member of the species *homo sapiens*. The question then becomes one of formulating a definition (i.e., a set of "cues" or "counters") which will apply to all the members of the species. Presumably the most efficient way to go about this is to take one cue as a starting point and then add as many others as are felt to be necessary. Furthermore, it might be hypothesized that the selection of an initial cue would largely depend upon the background of the person who was doing the selecting.

Let us suppose that a committee composed of a theologian, a zoologist, a psychiatrist, a neurologist, an anthropologist, a philosopher, and a sociologist had come together for the purpose of formulating a collective definition of the individual. Beforehand, each had been asked to propose a single cue with which to begin the definition. The theologian might suggest beginning with the soul as a cue while the zoologist might think of man as being, first of all, a self-
maintaining organism. On the other hand the psychiatrist might propose to begin by building upon the mind as the first cue while the neurologist might suggest that the best way to start was with the central nervous system. The anthropologist (if he were a devotee of personality-culture studies) might point out that personality offers a good starting place for such a definition while the philosopher might feel, with Ortega y Gasset, that men "are themselves and their circumstances" and that this would be a good note on which to commence. Although agreeing with the philosopher the sociologist might prefer to emphasize the social aspects of man's environment.

Taken together these cues would perhaps add up to a definition which (even if incomplete from the particular point of view of any one of the definers) did not contain any elements which would be considered to be entirely out of place by any of the committee members.\(^{25}\) On the other hand, the language of the definition and the priority given to particular cues might very well depend upon which member of the committee had been selected to do the writing. If, for example, the theologian had been chosen, the definition might

\(^{25}\)With the proviso, of course, that all were Christians.
run as follows:

The human individual is a soul and a body (i.e., a self-maintaining organism) in possession of a mind (the locus of which is in the central nervous system). To a large extent the individual is a synthesis of his environment, especially his social environment.

If, on the other hand, the zoologist were doing the writing his wording might go like this:

The human individual may be seen as a self-maintaining organism which has a soul and a mind (which is located in the central nervous system). The individual is, to a large extent, a synthesis of his environment and especially his social environment.

The point is that any one of the "cues" might, with equal validity, be given priority depending upon the orientation of the definer. For the purpose at hand these same elements (except for the soul) are rearranged below into a working

26 Most sociologists, whatever their religious views, would agree that the soul is not a proper datum for use in sociological inquiry.
definition of the individual is consistent with the materials presented earlier. The "cue" chosen for a beginning place is the central nervous system, thus it is given a central place in the schematic representation of the individual presented in Figure 9.

It will be noted that the "mind" has been left out of the diagram of the individual given in Figure 9. This exception can only be noted here. The reason for making it will become clear in the next section.

Situation and Environment-Personality and Culture

A large part of the previous section dealt with human behavior in seemingly mechanical and precise terms. Such an approach was feasible because for the most part, only two variables were being considered at any one time. In the same section, however, it was acknowledged that even an appearance of order and certitude becomes impossible to maintain if one attempts to impute a mechanistic quality to his subject and precision to his analytical tools while switching to a field approach for the study of human behavior. In a field approach one is confronted with a multitude of variables, all of which (ideally) demand simultaneous consideration. Under such conditions it becomes imperative to begin by grouping the data
1. Central nervous system.
2. The rest of the body.
3. Social environment.
4. Extra social environment.

Figure 9.—A schematic representation of "the individual" as the term is defined in this dissertation.
under much more inclusive headings in order to have manageable units with which to work. This circumstance causes words like "concept" and "motive" (as they were used earlier) to lose even the semblance of precision which they possess in a simple stimulus-response situation. Their outlines become blurred and therefore leave much more to the "subjective understanding" of the user.

It is assumed here that sociology, by its very nature, is committed to at least an approximation of the field approach. If this be indeed the case, then sociologists are likewise committed to subjective interpretation in the handling of their materials. Their concepts, no matter how carefully they may be spelled out (even to the extent of quantification) must remain somewhat impressionistic and demanding of a good deal of "understanding". For this reason the writer has chosen to refer to the same kinds of phenomena which were earlier called "concepts" and "motives" by the terms "ideas" and "attitudes."

Situation and Environment

The word environment (as it is used in the sequel) refers to "the sum total of all the influences which precipitate
responses in man." But environment is a generic term which is commonly used in connection with man in either the singular or plural sense (i.e., it can be stated that an individual has an environment and so does a group of individuals). In order to distinguish between the two usages the term "situation" will be employed hereafter to refer to "the sum total of all the influences which precipitate responses in man as an individual."

Situation

For the purposes of this dissertation the influences which can be said to make up an individual's situation may be divided as follows:

1) Influences whose origins lie within the organism and whose loci are:

a) within the central nervous system;

bb) without the central nervous system

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27 This is actually Lundberg's definition of the "cosmos." Because his phrase seems exceptionally well turned, it has been adopted here but the word "environment" has been substituted for the less familiar "cosmos." See George A. Lundberg, Foundations of Sociology (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939), p. 9.

28 As well as for the sake of closure in the conceptual framework developed throughout the dissertation.
yet within the body.29

2) Influences whose origins lie without the
organism and which are:

a) social in nature;
b) extra-social in nature.

Those influences which are said to have their loci within
the central nervous system (and are developed as a result
of experiences) can be termed ideas and attitudes. In the
words of Chinoy, ideas include:

The beliefs which men hold about themselves and the social, biological and physical world in which they live and about their relations to one another, to society and nature, and to such other beings and forces as they may discover, accept or conjure up. It embraces the whole vast body of knowledge and belief by which men account for their observation and experience ... and which they take into account or rely upon in choosing alternative causes or action.30

Attitudes for the moment, may be simply thought of as
dispositions, or tendencies, for behavior which are based on
learning.

Those influences which are said, here, to lie without the

29 Under this rubric are to be included all forms of
organismic behavior, including such things as the beating of
the heart and the motion of the limbs.

30 Ely Chinoy, Society: An Introduction to Sociology
central nervous system yet within the body comprise such things as urges, affective states, and physiological impulses which are not based on learning and hence do not necessarily have their loci within the brain (although the brain itself may, be one of their sources).

The social influences cited above can be described in Weberian terms as the "social action" of other individuals:

which include both failure to act and passive acquiescence and may be oriented to the past, present, or expected future behavior of the individual... But not every type of contact of human beings has a social character; this is rather confined to cases where the actor's behavior is meaningfully oriented to that of others.

In the same passage from which this quotation is taken, Weber goes on to say that the mere collision (in itself) of two cyclists could be compared to a natural event. This would relegate such a phenomenon to the category of things which are here considered to be extra-social influences such as those of climate, geography and physical objects.

The complete set of influences which have been articulated above might also be graphically expressed as in Figure 10.

The first thing to be noted about this diagram is that

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1. Influences from within the central nervous system.

2. Influences from without the central nervous system yet within the body.

3. Social influences.

4. Extra social influences.

Figure 10.—A schematic representation of "situation" as the term is defined in this dissertation.
each of the several categories of influences represented by the concentric circles could be considered to be in a state of interaction with each of the others. That is to say, every category is at once a classification of stimuli and a classification of the objects of stimuli. For example, the operation of the central nervous system has an effect on the behavior of the rest of the body while the behavior of the body can affect both its social and extra-social surroundings. Conversely such (extra-social) stimuli as heat, light, or the blow of a physical object may have an effect upon the social factors involved in a given situation as well as the bodily (including neurological) factors. Social influences likewise can have an effect on physical behavior which, in turn, can affect the extra-social factors involved in a particular situation. It becomes apparent, then, that an individual's situation is actually a complex of interacting influences.

The second thing to be noted about the diagram is the resemblance it bears to that of the individual which was presented in Figure 9 (see p. 192). The similarity is so strong as to suggest that an individual (as defined earlier) and his situation are one and the same. That indeed is the position taken from this point on so that to speak of the "individual's
situation" becomes the equivalent of referring to the
"individual's self."32

By this time it should be evident to the reader fami-
liar with the work of W. I. Thomas that the concept of
situation as it is used here is a much broader one than that
which was introduced by the distinguished social-psychologist.
What Thomas meant when he employed the term "situation" was:

The situation in which the person finds himself
which is taken as containing the configuration
of the factors conditioning the behavior reaction.
Of course it is not the spatial, material condition
which is meant but the situation of social
relationships. Italics added 33

It is apparent that what has here been called the cate-
gory of "social influences" is equivalent to what Thomas
meant by the term "situation." In the language of this
study, the same phenomenon could be called the "social por-
tion" of the situation or (elliptically) the "social situation."

32 Once again it should be pointed out that an important
element of both the individual and his situation has been left
out of the diagrams. In terms of the individual the missing
element was "mind," in terms of the individual's situation (or
self) it is personality. This is a factor which will be
treated later.

33 William I. Thomas, "The Relation of Research to the
Social Process," in W. F. G. Swann et al., Essays on Research
in the Social Sciences (Washington: The Brookings Institute,
Despite the difference just mentioned, much of what Thomas had to say about the social situation holds for the concept of situation in the larger sense which is utilized here. For instance, Thomas described the social situation as being fluid, dynamic, and fleeting in the extreme because myriad stimuli constantly entered or departed its context. In the same vein it might be said that every individual or his situation is continuously changing (although such changes are never total) from millisecond to millisecond. Furthermore, in his formulation, Thomas pointed out that the social situation could not be thought of as having an entirely objective existence. He said that this phenomenon must be studied "as it exists in verifiable, objective terms, and as it has seemed to exist in terms of the interested individual." Italics added. 34 This same point is treated in more detail in the portion of this chapter which is concerned with personality as a concept.

Environment

Since environment has been defined as the sum total of those influences which precipitate responses in men, and situation has been defined as the sum total of those influences which precipitate responses in individuals it becomes

34 Ibid.
possible to redefine the environment of a given number of men as the sum total of their situations. It also becomes evident that since each situation is made up of the same kinds of influences, all situations (or individuals) have something in common. This does not mean that each specific influence (within the general categories of influences) pertaining to a particular situation necessarily pertains to every other situation in the environment. Indeed, a moment's reflection will immediately show that this is not the case. The raindrops which fall upon two men who are a mile apart are the same kind (extra social) of influence but they are not the very same raindrops. The same sort of argument could be made for a number of men who were standing within touching distance of one another, but it could also be argued that in the latter case at least some of the specific influences involved in the situation of one was also involved in the situation of the other; a sudden noise for example.

To carry this argument to the extreme, it could be said that all the men who ever lived, are living, or will ever live, shall, when all is said and done, have had situations which are similar in some respects and dissimilar in others.
Personality and Culture

Everything that has been written in the preceding pages has been aimed at paving the way to a working definition of personality which, in turn, would serve as a stepping stone to a working definition of culture that could then be used as "footing" for the analysis of the quantitative data whose availability originally inspired this dissertation.

Personality

Definitions of personality abound in the writings of social scientists and there have even been numerous attempts to organize them into typologies. One crude but useful approach is to dichotomize the range of definitions into those which emphasize outward appearances and behavior and those which stress the inner essential nature of the person.

Sherman's laconic assertion that "personality is the characteristic behavior of individuals," is illustrative of the first class of definitions, and Allport's statement that "personality is the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his

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unique adjustments to his environment,"\textsuperscript{37} is representative of the second.

If one assumes, as it is assumed here:

1) that behavior is one aspect of the individual's adjustment to his situation as well as part of his situation,

2) and that the dynamic organization of the individual's psychophysical systems is in itself an adjustment to his situation as well as a part of his situation (because it exercises an influence upon him),

then it is possible to find a unifying principle which underlies both types of definition. This principle resides in the fact that personality is at once an adjustment to \textit{i.e., a product of)} and a part of the individual's situation.\textsuperscript{38}

In any case, one of the principal characteristics of personality as it is used below is that it is simultaneously

1) a product of the individual's situation,

\textsuperscript{37}Allport, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 48.

\textsuperscript{38}Furthermore it would be possible to argue that "the dynamic organization within the individual of his psychophysical systems" is, in itself, part of his characteristic behavior so that the two definitions presented have an even greater similarity than that brought out above.
2) a means of dealing with his situation, and
3) a part of his situation.

Running through all that has been said up to this point is the implicit assumption that even if men were merely to exist on the level of brutes they would constantly be bombarded with a multitude of stimuli which would have to be organized into a frame of reference within which they could operate in order to fulfill their animal needs. It is also assumed that man rose above the level of other animals when he developed a more elaborate means for ordering his environment and that this eventuality is related to his development of a more sophisticated capacity for abstraction.

It is through his capacity for abstraction that the human animal obtains a grasp of the influences which are operating upon him at the purely sensory level and it is the resultant perception of his situation which permits him to develop learned tendencies to react to these influences. Thus it might be said that both ideas and attitudes are dependent upon the capacity of the individual for a high order of abstraction.

It goes almost without saying, that one may have (or even must have) ideas about, and attitudes toward all of the categories of influences which are involved in one's situation (but not all of the separate influences). One may have
ideas about and be disposed to act toward the extra-social, social, bodily, and even mental (i.e., ideational) segments of his situation.

It is hard to see how ideas and attitudes could have an isolated and unrelated existence. It seems reasonable that the ideas and attitudes of an individual must all tie together somehow (although the whole might appear to contain some logical absurdities from the standpoint of an observer). Thus it is that the ideas and attitudes which one has about his situation serve as an integrating element in the situation itself.

It is now possible to enlarge the category of "ideas and influences" in the schematic diagram of the situation so that it forms a gestalt which cuts across the other categories of influences.

As seen in Figure 11, it is this shaded area that is being referred to when we speak of personality. Personality is, therefore, the ideas and attitudes which the individual has about and towards his situation (or "himself"). It is at once a part of his situation and an adjustment to his

39 Here we see the distinction between the situation as the individual sees it and its "objective" existence, which, after all, is simply the way someone else sees it.
1. Influences from within the central nervous system.

2. Influences from without the central nervous system yet within the body.

3. Social influences.

4. Extra social influences.

5. Personality (ideas and attitudes).

Figure 11.—A schematic representation of the individual's situation including his personality.
situation.

At this point it seems relevant to emphasize once more the mutability of personality. Stress has already been laid upon the fact that the situation of an individual changes from instant to instant and this fact alone would seem to assure the changefulness of personality as a component of the situation. But there is another point which underscores this alterability. It is that the personality is essentially a composite of abstractions and one of the properties of abstractions is that they are capable of begetting an endless success of further abstractions. Whitehead supplies a good example of how this occurs when he discusses the development of mathematics. For instance, in one place he says:

Algebra now came upon the scene, and algebra is a generalization of arithmetic. In the same way as the notion of numbers is abstracted from reference to any one particular set of entities, so in algebra the letters are used to refer impartially to any number with the proviso that each letter is used to refer to the same number throughout the same context of its employment.  

Since abstractions generate abstractions then the personality in itself is changeable and since it is a part of the situation a change in the situation will occur which then gives rise to further changes in the personality.

The personality of an individual, at any given instant, is the whole of his ideas and attitudes which make up his perception of his situation and his disposition to react to this situation. The configuration of the personality is highly changeable but, in its essentials, the personality changes very slowly because it is an accumulation of ideas and attitudes which began at the moment in which the individual became alive. The personality is at once (1) a part of the individual's situation, (2) the individual's perception of his situation and (3) a means of dealing with his situation.

The irregular outline of the shaded area (representing "personality in Figure 11) that cuts across parts of all the concentric circles is meant to illustrate the circumstance that although the individual has some ideas and attitudes concerning every kind of influence bearing upon him the same is not true with regard to each specific influence. The individual's knowledge of his situation is only partial and
may even be illusory\textsuperscript{41} from the point of view of an outside observer who employs more "objective" standards.

But since men have an imperative to put their situations in order and other men are inescapably a part of everyman's situation it becomes inevitable that each man will form ideas and attitudes about the personalities of those of his fellows who enter and depart his sphere of cognition. Ordinarily this is done without much conscious attention to method. One simply notices how a companion dresses, what ideas he voices and the manner in which he expresses them, how he reacts in a variety of circumstances, what kind of a car he buys, what books (if any) he reads, and so forth. All these impressions are unconsciously summed and from them the casual observer infers something about the ideas and attitudes of the observed; that is to say, his personality.\textsuperscript{42}

On the other hand there are persons who make it their business to systematically observe and measure the

\textsuperscript{41}Here once more can be seen the pertinence of the reference to Thomas made earlier. Of course the outside observer will be operating within his own frame of reference which might seem equally "illusory" from the standpoint of the observed. Objectivity is essentially subjective.

\textsuperscript{42}Thereby adding something to the personality of the observer, let it be said.
personalities of at least some of their fellow men. These professionals employ a variety of tools some of which are not commonly thought of as having been devised to study personality at all. The tools include such things as intelligence tests, the "semantic differential," attitude scales, and the famous Rorschach ink blots.

Some of these devices, such as the Rorschach test, are particularly useful for discerning what is unique about the individual personality. Other ones, such as attitude scales for example, are more apt for discovering what individual personalities have in common. The dual approach is valid because on the one hand every individual is the product of both unique experiences and ones which are common to every other individual. It follows then, that every individual is likely to have perceptions of his situation which are, in some ways, unique and in other common. It is this last consideration that leads now to a discussion of culture.

Culture

Many specific definitions of culture are current in the literature of social science. Most of them, however, could probably be assigned to one or the other of two broad categories. Representative of the first category is Tylor's
classic statement of culture as, "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society." It is pertinent to note that since all the capabilities which Tylor explicitly includes as element of culture are abstract concepts it can be inferred that the "other capabilities" to which he alludes are abstract phenomena also.

The second category into which specific definitions of culture could be placed is illustrated by the following quotation:

Culture is a broad term. It encompasses the attitudes, faiths, values, and sanctioned ways of life; the habitual ways by which people co-operate to achieve their mutual desires and objectives including the ways in which they make a living; accepted modes of communication; and the material vehicles by which the culture is made effective. Italics added

This definition resembles that of Tylor insofar as most of the items mentioned are either obviously abstract phenomena or could be interpreted as such. The question of interpretation arises in connection with the use of the term "ways."


If it is taken to mean the concept of "ways" in which certain human activities are carried out, then these too are abstractions. If it is taken to mean the activities themselves, then non-abstract elements have been included.

In any case, it becomes obvious that Kolb and Brunner have gone beyond Tylor by not restricting their definition to abstract elements, when one reads the last phrase. There it is plainly stated that material objects are to be included insofar as they make culture effective.

Having seen that the second definition appears to have wider application (because it includes non-abstract conditions) than the first, it can be examined further in order to isolate some of its implications.

It is hard to conceive of man as carrying out the activity of, say, hunting without first having formulated some idea (be it vague and even nameless) of what he was doing. Thus it can be seen that even this non-abstract element of culture (as Kolb and Brunner define the term) would have to follow upon man's capacity for abstraction.

If one accepts the activity of hunting as a part of culture it is evident that a spear would be a "material vehicle by which a part of culture is made effective." But since the activity of hunting makes the idea of hunting effective then
a spear is also a part of culture because it (indirectly) makes effective the abstract notion of hunting.

Another characteristic of culture which is more or less explicitly expressed in the language of the definitions cited above and elaborated by their original contexts is that culture is something which men create in order to cope with their environment.

Finally, although the quotation from Tylor does not actually say, in so many words, that attitudes are to be considered a part of culture it might be inferred that this is so from his inclusion of "morals" in his statement. Morals are, after all, guides to action and thus indicators of attitudes. Kolb and Brunner explicitly include attitudes as a part of what they would define culture to be.

Since culture is based on man's capacity for abstraction, since it consists of ideas and attitudes and since it is a means of coping with man's environment culture is very like personality. The principal difference is that "culture," like "environment," is a term which must be used in connection with a plurality of individuals while "personality" and "situation" are used in connection with only one individual.

The position taken here is that culture is made up of overlapping personalities. By "overlap" is meant the degree
to which individuals perceive their situation in the same way and the degree to which they have similar dispositions to act toward their situations. This does not mean, however, that the individuals, or their situations, must be in direct contact with one another. It only means that they must be perceived as being the same in some respects.

On the other hand, it has already been pointed out that all situations are alike in some basic ways. For example, all men are exposed to the effects of air and light and to contact with other persons; thus it can be hypothesized that in certain, at least elementary, ways all men will have perceptions of their situations which are fairly similar in that they are focused upon similar stimuli (Cooley and Freud have both suggested that all men are probably exposed to essentially the same kinds of influences, especially in early life, and will, therefore, perceive their experience in roughly the same ways).

At this point it should be explicitly stated that, in the present frame of reference, all things which men are conscious of are "cultural" to the extent that men have shared ideas about them. Thus, though the objective existence of some thing may not be dependent upon man's capacity to perceive it, the moment that more than one person perceives
it in roughly the same way it becomes a "cultural" object.

In at least a limited fashion, all men are united into a single, weakly integrated culture by virtue of the fact that they all have some ideas in common. But culture (like personality) is dynamic and ever changing. The historical unfolding of culture hinges upon the efforts of generation after generation of human beings in search of solutions for the problems posed by their situations. Some of these solutions vanish with the passing of each succeeding generation; some linger on as concealed traces in the artifacts and mentifacts of each new generation and still others are explicitly preserved in law, literature, architecture, etc. Culture, then, can be seen as a giant matrix which provides the groundwork for, and gives form to, repeated layers of "cultural deposits" made up of the sediment of personalities. Meanwhile, in reciprocity, the physiognomy of the matrix is somewhat altered as each successive layer takes hold.

But men do not live in isolation and the personalities of those men who are in contact with one another are more likely to show resemblances than those which are widely separated by time and space. Thus, the matrix of culture will have portions (often best defined geographically) which can be distinguished because of an internal homogeneity. To
illustrate, one could with good reason speak of a European culture or a culture of Western Europe or a French, or a German culture. One could equally as well speak of a United States culture or a culture of the deep south or a New York or a Los Angeles culture.

Nevertheless, it is argued here that one could also delineate other cultures which cut across geographically defined ones. By choosing certain variables it should be possible to mark out cultures which are "cross cultural" so to speak. This is attempted in the body of the text.
APPENDIX II

The Data Gathering Instrument

The instrument as it was actually used was written in Spanish, contained 133 separate items and filled 21 legal size mimeographed pages. Such a document, in its original form, would constitute a rather bulky addendum to this dissertation. Such being the case, and since most of the space required would be taken up by blank lines and empty boxes provided for recording answers, it has been decided to abbreviate this appendix by simply translating and listing the individual questions, omitting the space for answers, boxes to be checked, "yes" or "no" replies to be circled, etc. All of the items except those from the face sheet which were used for locating the residence of the respondent and for book-keeping purposes are included. However, some of the contingency questions have been combined with the question upon which they depend in order to shorten the length of the instrument without forsaking any of the content.

I. Classification of the respondent

A. Position in the household
1. Homemaker

2. Head of household

B. Gender

1. Male

2. Female

II. Demographic information on each member of the household.

A. Relationship to head of household; gender; age; marital status; nationality; highest grade of school completed; religion; occupational status.

III. Items related to geographical mobility.

A. Place of birth

1. City

2. Town

3. Hamlet

4. Open country

B. How many places outside of (city of interview) have you lived for at least one year at a stretch?

C. How long, in all, have you lived in (city of interview) and how many addresses have you had here?

D. Do you believe that people move around more often now than they used to and is this a good or bad thing?

E. If for some reason you could not go on living in Latin America in what country would you want to live and why?
IV. Information dealing with occupation and occupational satisfaction. (Note: Two sections exactly alike were provided here. One was to be completed by persons who were working but were not heads of household. The other was to be completed either by or about the head of household.)

A. What is your principal occupation?

B. How would you classify yourself in that occupation?
   1. Worker
   2. Public employee
   3. Private employee
   4. Employer
   5. Professional
   6. Self employed.

C. What was your first occupation? (The same six choices as above).

D. What do you like most about the job you now have?

E. What things do you like least about the job you now have?

F. Would you prefer to work at something else? What? Why?

G. Do you expect to have that kind of work in the future? Why or why not?

H. Suppose you were offered a job which was much better paid than the one you now have but you would have:
   1. to be separated from your family;
2. to take on more responsibility;
3. to change political parties or join a particular one;
4. to hide your religious beliefs
would you accept that job? (Items 1-4 answered separately).

V. Some religion related questions (B through E are to be answered by persons who say they have no religion)

A. What is your religion?

B. If the answer to the above question is "none," did you ever have a religion; what things did you like most or least about that religion, why did you leave it and how did your family react?

C. How do you think most of the people in (city of interview) feel about ideas such as the ones you hold on religion?

D. What religion is most in line with what you believe and how is this true? Why don't you join that religion?

E. Did you, are you, or would you educate your children in some religion? If so, which one and why?

VI. Attitude toward the employment of women

A. Some people think it is all right for married women with no children to work outside of the home full time; others think they should only work part time; and still others think that a woman's place is always in the home. How do you feel on this question?
VII. Occupational aspirations

A. Would you like a son of yours to do the same work as his father does? If not what kind of work would you like to have him find?

B. How would you want him to be classified according to occupation? (Here the same 6 choices as in IV-B above).

C. What is the most important thing that a young person should do in order to get ahead these days?

VIII. Education

A. How far should a young person go in school in order to assure he will "get ahead" these days?

B. In which of the following kinds of schools did you study?
   1. Primary
   2. Secondary
   3. Normal
   4. University
   5. Technical

C. With regard to each of the schools you attended was it supported by the state or privately? If privately, was it a Catholic, Protestant, or non-sectarian school?

IX. Socio-economic status

A. Do you own, rent, sub-let, "squat on," or have another form of tenure in your home?

B. How many rooms (not counting halls) does your home have?
C. Which of the following items does your family have: radio, sewing machine, vacuum cleaner, radio-phonograph, refrigerator, washing machine, heating (type), telephone, automobile, checking account, savings account, television.

D. How many domestics do you have?

E. What was the last occupation of your father, of your wife's father? (Students were asked about their grandparents).

F. How would you classify him in that occupation? (Same 6 choices as in IV-B above).

X. Social problems and political efficacy.

A. What are the greatest problems faced by your country, your city today and which is the gravest of them?

B. Can you, as a citizen, do anything to help resolve these problems? Why or why not?

C. Which of the following organizations do you think are helping to overcome such problems? Which one is doing the best job?

1. Labor unions

2. Religious organizations

3. Political groups

4. Charitable organizations

5. The armed forces

6. Organizations of professional persons

7. Student groups

8. Others
XI. Social participation and leisure time activities

A. What organizations (clubs etc.) do you currently belong to and do you (1) attend regularly, (2) contribute financially, (3) hold an office?

B. What are the ways in which you pass your leisure time?

C. With whom did you have lunch last Sunday and what did you do with the rest of your day?

D. Is there someone from outside of your home with whom you eat quite often? Who is this person (s) and on what occasions do you take your meals with (him/them).

XII. Questions on religion for all respondents.

A. What kinds of people do you think Protestants are? Catholics?

B. What is it that has had the strongest influence on your ideas about religion?

C. What, in your opinion, is the reason that most of the people in this country are Catholics?

XIII. Attitudes toward the family

A. Should the husband or the wife be the boss in the family or should they have equal authority?

B. What are the two most important things that parents should make an effort to teach their children?

C. What two things that you never had would you want most for your children?

D. If you were having trouble with your spouse to whom would you go for counsel?
E. If your daughter were in serious trouble to whom would you send her for advice?

XIV. More questions on religion (Items D through F are only for persons who have changed religions).

A. In your mind, what does it mean to be a "religious person?"

B. What kinds of people go to church every day? Every Sunday?

C. Have you always had the same religion? If not how old were you when you changed?

D. What was it that turned you against your early religion and what drew you to your new one?

E. What was the immediate cause of the change and how did your family react?

F. What do you think the majority of people in (city of interview) think about the religion to which you now belong?

G. Have you been baptized?

H. Were you married in the church?

I. What are the things that you most like and dislike about your religion?

J. Is there something about another religion other than your own which you find attractive? If so what? What do you like least about that religion?

K. What are the two most important things that one ought to teach his children about religion?

XV. Religious participation

A. What are the "religious duties" that you comply with and how frequently do you do so? (Mass, etc.)
B. (For Catholics) How frequently do you go to confession?

C. Do you comply with your religious obligations more often, less often, or the same as formerly? If there has been a change, what brought it about?

XVI. Political participation

A. How did you take part in the last presidential campaign?
   1. Gave money
   2. Was a member of an electoral committee
   3. Took part in demonstrations
   4. Attended meetings
   5. Voted
   6. Passed out literature
   7. Worked in campaign headquarters
   8. Persuaded someone to vote "my way"
   9. Other
   10. Did not participate at all.

B. Is there some one who especially influenced your decision to support a particular candidate in that election? Who?

XVII. Politician opinions

A. To what political party do you belong or (if you are not a member) which one comes nearest to your way of thinking?
B. Do you have a favorable, unfavorable, indifferent, or "no opinion" about the following parties. (The choices were:)

1. In Argentina
   a. Union Civica Radical Intransigente
   b. Union Civica Radical Intransigente del Pueblo
   c. Socialista Democrata
   d. Socialista Argentino
   e. Socialista de Vanguardia
   f. Conservador
   g. Democrata Cristiano
   h. Democrata Progresista
   i. Justicialista
   j. Comunista

2. In Chile
   a. Liberal
   b. Socialista
   c. Democrata Cristiano
   d. Comunista
   e. Conservador
   f. Radical
   g. Democrata Nacional

3. In Peru
   a. Union Nacional Odrista
   b. Social Progresista
   c. Democrata Cristiano
   d. Partido Socialista
   e. Accion Popular
   f. Apra
   g. Frente de Liberacion Nacional
   h. Movimiento Democrata Pradista

XVIII. The following set of questions were designed to be used for constructing various indexes. The respondents were asked to respond rapidly. They had the following choices: 1.) Disagree, 2.) No opinion, 3.) Agree.
1. It is more important to teach children to obey than to think for themselves.

2. Everything has gone against me in life.

3. Some rest is necessary but it is good hard work that makes life worthwhile.

4. Despite what people say the lot of the common man is getting worse, not better.

5. In general, political parties are indispensable for running a country.

6. It is unfair to bring children into the world because of the way things look for the future.

7. In order to do good work or study it is necessary that one's boss or professor tell him exactly what to do.

8. The young people in this country sometimes have revolutionary ideas but with time they should lose these ideas and settle down.

9. If someone loses his job he can usually ask for help from his parents these days.

10. In these times one does not really know who he can trust.

11. More than laws and political programs what this country needs is a few strong, honest leaders in whom the people can place their confidence.

12. In these times people should live for the moment and not worry about the future.

13. It is superstitious to venerate the Virgin.

14. Marriage between Catholics and Protestants should not be permitted.
15. Christians should never drink.
16. Priests should wear more modern clothing.
17. Religious authorities should be consulted on the decisions of the government.
18. God does not exist.
19. The clergy lives luxuriously.
20. Priests don't have to work for a living.
21. It is all right to give classes on religion in the schools.
22. Priests are egotistical individuals.
23. Christians should not practice birth control.
24. Bishops tend to be egotistical politicians in their religious activities.
25. In the next world some people will be punished and others rewarded.
26. Catholics should not have Protestant friends.
27. There are good things in all religions.
28. Mary was the Mother of God.
29. Religion is a parasite, on society by nature.
30. Religion protects one class more than another.
31. The world would be much better off if every one were Christian.
32. Priests impede the progress of our country.
33. A lack of nuns causes a problem for a country.
34. Protestants should not have Catholic friends.
35. A person should be allowed to give speeches against religion.

36. God is pained by the injustice in the world today.

37. The teachings of Jesus Christ are more important than his life and death.

38. Jesus was just a common man.

39. All religions should have the same rights before the law.

40. God makes miracles.

41. When the Pope speaks as Pope he can never be mistaken.

42. The Pope is the religious authority nearest to God on earth.

43. The saints intercede and pray for us.

44. God answers our prayers.

45. God is threefold: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

46. The various churches ought to be represented by political parties.

47. Priests would do better work if they were permitted to marry.

48. Good works are rewarded in this world, one does not have to wait for an after life.

49. The government should aid the Church financially.

50. Jesus Christ was not divine but he was a great teacher or prophet.
51. Mass should not be said in Latin.
52. Protestants are gaining too much ground in our country.
53. Divorce should not be permitted.
54. Jesus Christ was born of a Virgin and had no human father.
55. The Virgin, through intercession, is able to cure people miraculously.
56. Priests do not have enough contact with the people.
57. Catholics should not use contraceptives.
58. There is a life after death.
59. The majority of priests practice what they preach.
60. The story of Jesus is only a tall tale.
61. Christians should not dance.
62. Christians should not buy tickets in a lottery.
63. The majority of ministers practice what they preach.
64. Jesus Christ is divine, the only son of God.
65. Priests are the best counselors.

XIX. Income and cost of living

A. How large a monthly income would your family need in order to live as well as you would like and to have everything that you need?

B. What is the approximate monthly income of your family?
VITA

Harley M. Upchurch was born on March 16, 1929 in Detroit, Michigan. He is now married and the father of a two and one-half year old boy. After attending high school in Ann Arbor, Michigan he served for three and one-half years in the United States Army. As an undergraduate he attended Southern Methodist University, Columbia University, New York University, and the Universidad de Madrid, receiving the B.A. degree in Spanish Language and Literature from Mexico City College in 1958. He went on to earn the M.A. degree in Inter-American Studies from the University of Florida in 1960. During that period he spent a summer in residence at the Universidad de San Carlos in Guatemala. Having completed course work and language requirements for the Ph.D. degree at Louisiana State University in 1962 he spent the next three years working and preparing a doctoral dissertation. At various times during that interim he was employed as a Research Associate at the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University as a consultant to the Bureau of International Labor Affairs of the U.S. Department of Labor, and as a Special Lecturer in Sociology at Louisiana State University in New Orleans.
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Title of Thesis: Personality and Culture: A Recasting of Concepts Illustrated with Data from the Argentine, Chile and Peru

Approved:

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Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

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Date of Examination: May 3, 1965