

FROM "LIMITED GOOD" TO EXPANDING OPPORTUNITY

Laura Zarrugh

INTRODUCTION

As Third World nations strive for economic development, politicians and scholars continue to question what role peasants, generally the bulk of the population, can play in the process. Due to their presumed resistance to change, peasants frequently have been regarded as a stumbling block on the road to progress. Attempts to understand why this is so have led to a consideration of peasants' world view and value orientations. In George Foster's 1965 paper, "Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good," we are presented with a model that seeks to explain the lack of economic initiative in classical peasant societies. Since the universal applicability of the "Image of Limited Good" has been controversial, this paper addresses Foster's hypotheses about the relationship between expansion of economic opportunities, changing cognitive orientation or world view, and achievement oriented behavior. To this end, dominant themes in the world view of a group of migrants from the Mexican mestizo village of Jacala (a pseudonym) are compared with the world view of Mexican peasants.

According to Foster's model, peasants view their total environment as one in which all the desired things in life exist in limited supply and in which "there is no way directly within peasant power to increase available quantities" (Foster, 1965:296). Thus, improvement in an individual's or family's position can be achieved only at the expense of others, making one person's success a threat to everyone around him. This view is reflected behaviorally in peasants' avoidance of competition for prestige through material goods such as clothing and household furnishings. Foster hypothesizes that the cognitive orientation reflected in the Image of Limited Good derives from a realistic appraisal of the economic situation in peasant villages a few decades ago, where unproductive land and inefficient farming techniques made it unlikely that extra work would produce more wealth. Under these circumstances, luck, rather than hard work and thrift, was the key to success and the need for achievement (McClelland, 1961) was rare, although Foster regards this absence of achievement motivated behavior to be the result of negative sanctions against its display, rather than as an outcome of socialization:

... it is clear that n Achievement is rare in traditional peasant societies, not because of psychological factors, but because display of n Achievement is met by sanctions that a traditional village does not wish to incur. The villager who feels that need for Achievement, and who does something about it, is violating the basic un verbalized rules of the society of which he is a member. Parents (or government school programs) that attempt to instill n Achievement in children are, in effect, training children to be misfits in their society *as long as it remains a relatively static system* (Foster, 1965:309).

Foster predicts that if peasants are provided with greater access to opportunity, they will cease to view their environment in terms of the "Image of Limited Good" and will quickly show initiative in responding to a newly perceived open system. His evidence for this view lies in the observation that over a period of years, the old sanctions against displaying initiative have been losing power in peasant villages all over the world.

PORTRAIT OF MEXICAN PEASANT WORLD VIEW

In this section I present a portrait of Mexican peasant world view, as well as attitudes and behavior traits stemming from it, as a conceptual baseline to which the world view of migrant Jacalans may be compared. This summary is based primarily on descriptions of Mexican peasants provided by Foster (1965, 1967),

Acknowledgement: This research was sponsored by the National Institutes of Health (National Institute of General Medical Sciences) Training Grant No. GM-1224. The paper was written in 1976.

Fromm and Maccoby (1970), Lewis (1951) and Nelson (1971), although many of these characteristics are shared by peasants all over the world. What emerges from these descriptions is a view of the world as potentially dangerous; as Lewis writes, a world "full of hostile forces and punishing figures" (Lewis, 1951:275) which leads to insecurity, suspicion, distrust, caution in interpersonal relations, loneliness, and, particularly in Mexico, a high value placed on *machismo* (the essence of which is the strength and toughness to defend one's self and family). Similarly, the relative absence of planning and foresight (also described as present time orientation) among peasants stems not only from living a hand-to-mouth existence with little opportunity to develop such skills, but also from their "deep-seated feeling that the world about one is so capricious and uncertain that to plan ahead is to be presumptuous and very likely to contravene divine will" (Foster, 1967:115). Other characteristics, such as submitting to the will of God, rather than accepting personal control and responsibility for one's actions, and the belief that success is a matter of luck, fate and/or patronage, rather than hard work and thrift, can also be attributed to a view of the world as capricious. With respect to the economic world view of peasants, Foster also speaks of the "Image of the Static Economy," according to which the "economic pie is seen (quite realistically) as constant in size and unexpandable," so that "if someone is seen to get ahead, logically it can only be at the expense of others in the village" (Foster, 1960-61:177). To this view relates the extreme individualism and uncooperativeness ascribed to peasants, as well as the extreme care with which peasants try to avoid risking "corrective action" on the part of fellow villagers (Gamst 1974:53). Gamst refers to these corrective actions as leveling mechanisms that act to reduce wealth and power differences. Although he does not mention precisely what form these corrective actions might take, gossip, slander and the threat of witchcraft are typical modes of social control in peasant communities that tend to discourage conspicuous display (with the exception of approved forms of ritual expenditure).

Condemnation falls on one who is *egoisto*, self-seeking and competitive, on the *ambicioso*, the grasping or greedy, and most of all on the *envidioso*, the envious man who fails to act in ways enabling all 'the sons of the town' to have equal opportunities as well as equal obligations (Elsie Clews Parsons quoted in Lewis, 1951:304).

Thus, with gossip and criticism tending to discourage ambition for self-improvement, initiative and originality are rare.

A DESCRIPTION OF JACALA

Jacala, an agricultural village of approximately 1400 inhabitants, is located in an arid, rocky, mountain valley in west-central highland Mexico, a 45 minute bus ride from the *cabecera* (head) of the municipality of which it is part and about a one and one half hour bus ride from the state capital. Entering the village from the cobblestone road that links it to the main highway, an observer is immediately struck by the village's appearance of prosperity in contrast to other villages and towns in the region. Dotted the several miles of road between the highway and village are numerous modern chicken and pig *granjas* (farms), as well as fields of *maguey* from which the tequila industry of the region turns the raw product into the liquor that has become increasingly popular in the United States in recent years. At the edge of the village, one is confronted with evidence of a local construction boom—blocks of newly and partially completed houses of red brick, rather than adobe, the traditional building material of the area. Some of the houses are of two stories or elaborately tiled and others have attached garages for automobiles that frequently bear California license plates. Even the older adobe homes closer to the newly renovated plaza sprout television antennae from their roofs and the main street leading to the plaza boasts two furniture stores that sell such non-traditional items as washing machines and living room suites. The people coming and going on the street would not appear to be out of place, in terms of clothing, on the streets of the average California suburb, since, for example, the *rebozo*, a traditional item of women's apparel still seen in other Mexican villages, has disappeared from Jacala to be replaced by such non-traditional items as women's slacks.

What accounts for these signs of prosperity? Jacala has served as a source of almost uninterrupted migration to the United States since the end of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), and today "going North" (legally and illegally) is regarded as an expected event in the lives of a majority of Jacalans, many of whom represent the third generation of migrants in their family. In almost every household people can tell of their own or immediate relatives' experiences in the United States. Idle conversation on doorsteps frequently revolves around the comings and goings of neighbors and relatives to and from California.

Many migrants are unmarried men who go to California on a temporary nonseasonal basis because they are unable to find work in the village; occasionally, unmarried women also migrate when recruited by female relatives in California who need babysitters so that the latter can seek employment outside the home. "Temporary" in these cases can mean anything from several months to several years at a time, depending on legal status, family obligations, economic objectives, and homesickness. Married men, with families in the village, also migrate but usually remain in the United States for fixed periods, ranging from several months to two years, in some cases returning home to Jacala to plant or harvest. Married men, migrating alone, usually have a specific goal toward which they seek to earn money in the United States; such as buying land or a house in the village, paying off a debt, or starting a small business. Accomplishing their goal may require several trips. Some of the men eventually take their wives or families with them to California, greatly increasing their chances of permanent settlement there, although this is usually not their original intention.

Many Jacalans have lived in the United States for as long as 15 years, but most maintain the illusion that they will eventually return home permanently to start their own business, become a "gentleman farmer," or retire. Occasionally some of them do go home to live permanently, but more often families fall into a pattern of extended visits (of up to several months) to the village every year or few years. (On the other hand, some elderly parents who live in the village are in the habit of making yearly extended visits to adult children in California). In the case of families resident in California, strong economic ties with the village are maintained through investments in land, cattle, and elaborate homes, remittances to relatives, absentee landlord arrangements, or loans to fellow villagers. Due to the continuous, two-directional nature of the migration process, Jacala and the migrant community in California should be considered as one system for analytical purposes.

In comparing Jacala to other peasant villages in the central and west-central highlands of Mexico, there are a number of differences in addition to its larger scale of migration to the United States. With respect to population, Jacala is smaller than most of the villages described in the literature. More importantly, in contrast to villages which serve as political and/or economic centers, Jacala serves neither as a seat of government nor market center. While unproductive land and inefficient farming techniques are common problems in many Mexican villages, Jacala's rocky terrain and severe water shortage have compounded these problems with the result that Jacala produces only one harvest a year. Moreover, crafts, pottery making, and other non-agricultural specialties are relatively insignificant in Jacala's economy. Tourism is non-existent, as is any industry financed by outsiders, perhaps because Jacala is located away from any main highway. Lastly, Jacala differs from other villages described in the literature in that it was involved in the Cristero Rebellion that threw the states of Colima, Jalisco, and Michoacán into turmoil during the years 1926-1929. Because many Jacalans and inhabitants of the surrounding *ranchos* were Cristeros or sympathizers, all of the population of the immediate area was forcibly relocated in the *cabecera* at least twice during a period of two years. It is difficult to assess how much the preceding factors have contributed to migration as a large-scale phenomenon in Jacala, but its traditionally impoverished economy coupled with the traumatic experience of the relocation in the 1920's have been important influences.

THE JACALAN MIGRANT COMMUNITY IN CALIFORNIA

The Jacalan migrant community in California's San Francisco Bay Area dates from the late 1950's, when villagers who had previously come to the United States as *braceros* (contract agricultural laborers)¹ began arranging immigration papers which allowed them access to better employment opportunities in urban areas. Since the 1950's the number of Jacalans migrating to the Bay Area has increased steadily and, although no exact figures for the group are available due to the constant movement between California and the village, in 1972-1973 the migrant community included about 150 households, half of which consisted of couples or nuclear families. Jacalans living in the Bay Area constitute a "community" on the basis of three widely accepted criteria: geographic proximity, social interaction, and group solidarity based on common goals and values (see Fitzpatrick, 1966; Hillary, 1955). The majority of Jacalan migrants live within a 10 mile radius of one another, frequently on the same street or several nearby streets. For example, most of the 10 to 15 percent of migrants who have purchased homes in the Bay Area have settled one small suburban neighborhood, thereby providing the group with a precise geographic referent in recent years. Jobs are also usually found through the aid of relatives and friends, so the Jacalans typically have one or more Jacalan workmates. While the men's occupations commonly involve unskilled labor, a few migrants have become entrepreneurs, concentrating their efforts in the ethnic restaurant business or wrought iron works, while a few have entered the entertainment industry (as musicians, composers, or vocalists) catering to the large Spanish-speaking population in the Bay Area. Other migrants augment their regular earnings through moonlighting on second jobs, loaning money to fellow migrants at high interest rates, or investment in buildings or common stock of the companies that employ them.

Having few informal contacts with Anglos, Jacalans are largely isolated from the surrounding Anglo society. Although they do form friendships with Spanish-speaking workmates and neighbors (mainly Central Americans), the typical Jacalan's social life revolves primarily around relatives and fellow Jacalans. A voluntary association, in the form of a soccer club organized by the men, provides for much of the contact between migrants. In addition to games with other soccer teams, the club sponsors dances and serves as an informal channel for mutual aid. Family ties among Jacalan migrants remain strong, with the problems of divorce, desertion, and juvenile delinquency common to many migrant groups being relatively rare. In fact, some women claim that drinking among the men is less a problem in the Bay Area than in the village.

On the other hand, adolescent children, bilingual and better-educated than their parents, are beginning to rebel against parental authority, while women have begun to voice their preference for living in the United States because of the relative freedom they enjoy there. Many of the younger couples, concerned about the burden of too many children and providing better for those they have, are effectively using birth control methods to limit the size of their families. Finally, those who can afford it engage in social climbing within the group, validating their new status by lavishly furnishing their homes, wearing "elegant" clothes and ostentatiously celebrating weddings and *quinceañeras* (girls' fifteenth birthday) with costly *fiestas*. Fear of envy and gossip, traditional means of discouraging attempts to get ahead, obviously do not act as deterrents to conspicuous display in this group.

DOMINANT THEMES IN THE WORLD VIEW OF JACALAN MIGRANTS

World view consists of the sum of ideas a group has about nature, self, and society, and although the concept stresses the cognitive aspect of these ideas, beliefs, and attitudes, it is difficult to separate world view from its normative and affective aspects (Mendelson, 1968:572). Since these "basic premises" are implied even when they are not consciously articulated by the people themselves (Hallowell, 1964:50), they can be inferred from observed behavior. However, research over the past 30 years has shown that projective techniques, such as the Thematic Apperception Test,² used in conjunction with traditional anthropological techniques, can be valuable in increasing our understanding of culture and personality, by "increasing the range of sampling" and providing facts and insights that might be missed through direct observation alone (Mensch and Henry, 1953:470).

In this section an attempt is made to assess the degree to which Jacalan migrants' world view, as revealed by dominant themes in their TAT responses, conforms to or deviates from the ideal picture of traditional Mexican peasant world view presented earlier. The assessment has been aided by the availability of TAT material from the Tarascan community of Erongarícuaro where, according to Nelson, villagers "embody the image of limited good" (1967:56).

Forty-four Jacalans in the Bay Area—27 females and 17 males—ranging in age from nine to 71 responded to the TAT.³ Table 1 summarizes age and sex distributions of TAT respondents:

TABLE 1

Age	Male	Female	Total
9-19	3	10	13
20-29	6	6	12
30-39	4	7	11
40-49	2	2	4
50-59	0	2	2
60 & over	2	0	2
Total	17	27	44

At the time of testing, length of continuous residence in the United States varied from less than one year (six cases) to more than 10 years (nine cases), with five and one half years the average; two of the youngest respondents were born in California. In spite of this variation in length of stay and the inclusion in the sample of children and adolescents who have spent most of their lives in the United States, there was surprising uniformity in the themes expressed in all of the stories, with California-raised children telling stories very much like those of their parents. Most individuals gave spontaneous but thoughtful responses. One young man told all of his stories in the first person, while almost everyone identified the central characters in their stories as family figures.

Thirteen cards from the original Murray set were administered in Spanish and the resulting stories were translated to English (some of the children and adolescents told their stories in English) and then scored by the author for all themes using De Vos's system of 11 vectoral concerns (De Vos, n.d.). The system consists of five instrumental dimensions—achievement, competence, responsibility, control and mutuality—and five expressive dimensions—harmony-discord, affiliation-separation, nurturance-deprivation, appreciation, and pleasure-pain.⁴

Jacalan migrants' stories averaged three themes per card, but stories containing as many as seven themes were not unusual. Table 2 contains a summary of all of the themes scored for the Jacalan sample. The numbers

in parentheses in the table represent percentages of specific themes with respect to the main categories of which they are the components (e.g., "positive fate" and "negative passive fate" are components of the category "fate and social and economic conditions"), rather than with respect to the total number of themes because of the small numbers involved.

TABLE 2

Themes	Female		Male	
	N	% of subtotal	N	% of subtotal
1. Fate and Social and Economic Conditions				
Positive fate	11	(9.02)	4	(6.56)
Indeterminate fate	34	(27.87)	10	(16.39)
Negative active fate	18	(14.75)	9	(14.75)
Negative passive fate	59	(48.36)	38	(62.30)
Subtotal	122	(100.00)	61	(100.00)
2. Achievement				
Positive active achievement	54	(48.21)	43	(57.33)
Inactive or unresolved achievement	45	(40.18)	26	(34.67)
Active negative achievement	12	(10.71)	5	(6.67)
Negative passive achievement	1	(.89)	1	(1.33)
Subtotal	112	(100.00)	75	(100.00)
3. Competence				
Positive competence	9	(18.00)	7	(20.59)
Passive competence	13	(26.00)	15	(44.12)
Negative competence	14	(28.00)	3	(8.82)
Negative passive competence	14	(28.00)	9	(26.47)
Subtotal	50	(100.00)	34	(100.00)
4. Responsibility				
Positive active responsibility	14	(14.75)	8	(17.78)
Indeterminate responsibility	23	(24.21)	11	(24.44)
Negative active responsibility	38	(40.00)	14	(31.11)
Negative passive responsibility	20	(21.05)	12	(26.67)
Subtotal	95	(100.00)	45	(100.00)
5. Control				
Active control	50	(57.47)	26	(54.17)
Inactive or unresolved power	3	(3.45)	1	(2.08)
Negative active control	27	(31.03)	17	(35.42)
Negative passive control	7	(8.05)	4	(8.33)
Subtotal	87	(100.00)	48	(100.00)
6. Mutuality				
Positive active mutuality	19	(54.29)	9	(50.00)
Inactive or unresolved mutuality	2	(5.71)	4	(22.22)
Negative active mutuality	11	(31.43)	5	(27.78)
Negative passive mutuality	3	(8.57)	0	0
Subtotal	35	(100.00)	18	(100.00)
7. Harmony				
Positive active harmony	13	(8.67)	11	(12.94)
Inactive or unresolved harmony	75	(50.00)	41	(48.24)
Negative active harmony	62	(41.33)	33	(38.82)
Negative passive harmony	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	150	(100.00)	85	(100.00)

TABLE 2 (continued)

8. Affiliation		
Positive active affiliation	34 (16.75)	22 (17.74)
Inactive or unresolved affiliation	54 (26.60)	29 (23.39)
Negative active affiliation	47 (23.15)	27 (21.77)
Negative passive affiliation	68 (33.50)	46 (37.10)
Subtotal	203 (100.00)	124 (100.00)
9. Nurturance		
Positive active nurturance	94 (50.27)	63 (58.33)
Inactive or unresolved nurturance	38 (20.32)	17 (15.74)
Negative active nurturance	10 (5.35)	5 (4.63)
Negative passive nurturance	45 (24.06)	23 (21.30)
Subtotal	187 (100.00)	108 (100.00)
10. Appreciation		
Positive active appreciation	8 (40.00)	7 (53.85)
Inactive or unresolved appreciation	3 (15.00)	1 (7.69)
Negative active appreciation	8 (40.00)	5 (38.46)
Negative passive appreciation	1 (5.00)	0 0
Subtotal	20 (100.00)	13 (100.00)
11. Pleasure		
Positive active pleasure	10 (15.38)	14 (33.33)
Inactive or unresolved pleasure	21 (32.31)	15 (35.71)
Negative active pleasure	14 (21.54)	6 (14.29)
Negative passive pleasure	20 (30.77)	7 (16.67)
Subtotal	65 (100.00)	42 (100.00)
Indeterminate card	1	3
Total	1127	656

Perhaps the most striking concern expressed in the stories told by Jacalans involves a sense of the hostility of their physical and social environment. About 32 percent, or 185 of the total of 572 stories, include explicit reference to one or more of the following: economic deprivation, illness, injury, death from natural causes and emotional deprivation resulting from the death of a relative. While statements of poverty abound throughout the series, the precise meaning of poverty to Jacalans is nowhere more dramatically symbolized than in the numerous references to hunger and eating in Cards 2 and 13B, neither of which depicts food, and in the mention of the barefoot state of the boy in Card 13B. The following responses to Card 13B are typical:

CARD 13B Little Boy in Doorway

Narrator—a married man, 35 years old

This little boy looks very sad. Perhaps he has no father or mother or he lacks someone to give him food. Because for a boy to become sad like this when he is small, something serious must happen because their feelings are different. Perhaps he is hungry, lacks a home, lacks someone to attend to him . . . He is thinking something that perhaps will be good for him.

Narrator—a married woman, 31 years old

This little boy is very poor. He is in the door of his house . . . He doesn't have shoes. He is sad, thinking what the future will hold for him.

Narrator—an unmarried man, 23 years old

Here we see a humble house. At the same time one sees a little boy in front of the door Seated . . . Seated, thinking that, well, with whom is he going to amuse himself, play with the children, his friends. Or perhaps, he has no one to play with because he has no brothers and sisters. Or perhaps he is an orphan. Or at the same time, it can be that he has no one to play with because perhaps they live in a *rancho* very far from the towns where the rest of the people live. For this reason the boy feels very sad and alone at the same time, he feels like crying. Or perhaps at the same time, he is very hungry, wants something to eat, because perhaps they have nothing to eat and the boy feels hungry. He has the desire to eat something. That's all I can say about this.

Narrator—an unmarried girl, nine years old

A boy alone there sitting outside on the stairs . . . And he is poor. He lives in a poor house. And he can't buy shoes because he is barefoot.

In addition to depicting poverty, these stories, as well as many others told by migrants, show a preoccupation with fear of separation and loneliness characteristic of traditional peasants similar to that reported by Nelson in the TAT responses of villagers in Erongarícuaro and by Banfield in southern Italy, as well as by Foster and others. This fear of separation, as Banfield explains, is realistic where the death rate is high and parents are too poor to make provision for their children in the event of their own death (Banfield, 1967:140). Parents who have been orphaned not surprisingly fear lest their own children be left in the same state. This concern about abandonment may also represent a failure of nurturance, even when death does not remove the nurturant figure. As children in large, poverty-stricken families, in the past many Jacalans no doubt experienced frustration with respect to their legitimate dependency needs.

These stories also illustrate the way in which perceptions and attitudes once formed may be maintained long after the objective circumstances leading to their formation no longer exist. Many migrants have experienced poverty and stood helpless in the face of a serious illness or death. Today, no migrant goes without food or decent clothing, and all have access to medical aid. Yet in spite of their improved economic situation, memories of deprivation remain vivid and are transmitted to their children who are thus made acutely aware of the past suffering of their parents.

The threat that Jacalans perceive in the social environment is also apparent in responses to Card 13MF; for example, five individuals told stories about a husband returning home to find that his wife had been raped and murdered by an intruder. Likewise, the prostrate figure in Card 8BM was described as having been shot, but in the typical story, no attempt was made to identify the assailant or to explain the motive for the shooting. The storytellers chose instead to emphasize a nurturant act—an operation to remove the bullet—that counteracted the violence. These stories about violence emanating from unidentified sources may represent migrants' anxiety about their own present alien and threatening surroundings, and such a view would help explain Jacalans' strong tendency toward in-group affiliation in the Bay Area. However, the responses may also indicate a desire to deny violent and aggressive tendencies in oneself. The violence that Nelson describes as "very much on the surface of interpersonal relationships" in Erongarícuaro (Nelson, 1971:120) is also present in Jacalans' stories, but often played down by attributing it to anonymous strangers. This denial of violence is particularly apparent in the following two stories about Card 8BM:

CARD 8BM Adolescent Boy and Possible Operation

Narrator—an unmarried boy, 18 years old

This boy is thinking of times past when they did everything with war or bullets . . . and he is thinking that now neither pistol nor anything is needed. That now things are arranged by just talking and everything. And he is saying that everyone lives in peace with other people in order to live a better life.

Narrator—a married man, 22 years old

Here he is thinking to know why very long ago they fought like animals, dogs or whatever, and he says or he is thinking how those people suffered, how they thought, how they suffered to see the disgrace of the situation in which they found themselves. And he thinks of studying, he reads in order to know about the past and to be always as much of the present and to try to explain how those people react that don't think or don't react like normal people.

These two stories strongly imply that *machismo*, as expressed through violence, is no longer the unquestioned ideal. One man expressed the opinion that *machismo* was more important in the past. Living in the United States, he reasoned, has caused men to think differently.

Given the precarious existence led by many Jacalans in the past and their frequent references to deprivation in the TATs, it would not have been surprising to have discovered, as Nelson did, a "tremendous concern about dependency . . ." (Nelson, 1967:55). Specifically, Nelson found that TAT stories that emphasized seeking or receiving help predominated over those which focused on giving help or support. In the Bay Area sample, the opposite held true, with nurturance stories more than three times as common as those stressing dependency. Positive active nurturance is, in fact, the most frequently recurring theme in all of the stories. Characteristic of the responses to Card 12M are the following:

CARD 12M Man Bending Over Reclining Man

Narrator—a married woman, 29 years old

. . . This one has the aspect of a boy who is sleeping or perhaps sick. He seems to be his father or perhaps his grandfather, and he is blessing him . . .

Narrator—a married man, 71 years old

The curate is blessing the dying man . . .

Narrator—a married woman, 25 years old

. . . He may be sick . . . Perhaps he goes to make the sign of the cross (over him) . . . so that he passes a good night

Narrator—a married man, 22 years old

. . . He may be asleep. His father has the custom of giving him the benediction.

Similarly, responses to Card 17GF typically depict a mother giving advice to her daughter:

CARD 7GF Older Woman with Young Girl

Narrator—a married woman, 31 years old

. . . The girl is shocked because she doesn't comprehend what it means to have a child in her arms. For me, the mother is trying to instill in her the love one has for children . . .

Narrator—an unmarried boy, 18 years old

. . . The girl is thinking of when she will have a real child when she grows up. And the mother is saying, explaining to her what it is to have a child and how she is going to love it . . .

Narrator—a married woman, 23 years old

Here one sees the mother reading a book to her daughter, and the daughter perhaps is thinking of what the mother is saying. The girl holds a baby or is it a doll? She holds a baby and perhaps thinking when she is older, of having her own children, loving them as now her mother loves her and as she is educating her . . .

Jacalans are concerned not only about giving emotional support and advice, but also about being able to materially support their families, as the following stories about Card 2 show:

CARD 2 Country Scene

Narrator—a married man, 44 years old

... I believe that with only the work of the husband are they all sustained ... Of the future? ... Only that from the harvest he wants to have a good harvest to be able to help his family more, to enable his daughter to continue in school and thereby become a professional.

Narrator—a married man, 62 years old

... He is working at this task and here hopes for his livelihood, what to eat for himself, for his children and for his horse.

Narrator—an unmarried boy, 18 years old (told in English)

... The man is working hard to make money to live a better life because the wife is expecting a baby.

The different emphases placed on nurturance and dependency by migrant Jacalans and Erongarfcuaro villagers may be due to differences in interpreting what constitutes nurturance and dependency, although this seems unlikely considering the clear difference between giving and receiving, or the differences may result from differences in the cognitive orientations of the two village populations as a whole, although this also seems unlikely given the general agreement in the literature about the nature of traditional peasant society and world view in central highland Mexico. But it is also possible that the differing emphases reflect a significant distinction between migrants and non-migrants, in that highly dependent individuals do not leave home. Additionally, if nurturance and dependency are considered two sides of the same coin, with the ability to give nurturance a valued ideal, albeit frequently unobtainable under traditional conditions, then improved circumstances might result in a greater emphasis on giving than receiving. That Jacalans consider their objective circumstances improved by migration is indicated by their frequent comments about being well-off in comparison to people in the village.

As a corollary to their emphasis on nurturance, Jacalans stress achievement for nurturance as an ideal. About 19 percent (33 of 175) of all the positive achievement stories deal with this theme. The following are typical responses to Card 2:

CARD 2 Country Scene

Narrator—a married woman, 25 years old

How shall I tell you? She also goes, also carries a book to study ... and she likes to study, so that if she marries, she will be able to give more to her children ... because I believe that studying, the more they study, the more they can do for their children, for their family. And the more they study, the less hard must they work. Because if not, if they don't study, they will have to do heavy, work ... If not, I say, if one doesn't study, then one has to work on the land in all of that. And if they study, they can work in a job.

Narrator—a married man, 25 years old

This is difficult ... He is thinking if he will always have to work with that. It may be his wife looking at him, and it makes her sad to see him as she does. The girl thinks of studying, progressing, so that they won't have to live, so that she won't have to see her father working as he works. I think he is her father.

Narrator—an unmarried boy, 18 years old

One sees a man laboring on the land, planting something. And the daughter is studying . . . I think that she is doing her homework or something . . . She is studying for the future in order not to live it as she is living today or to be able to live better, and to be able to teach her parents. To be able to take her parents away to live a better life than they live now.

Achievement as conceived in these stories and responses to other TAT cards comes about through the individual's own efforts, rather than by means of the "luck syndrome" characteristic of traditional peasants and prominent in the stories from Erongaricuario; none of the Jacalan achievement stories refers to success through "capricious outside intervention" or "fortuitous circumstances." However, achievement to Jacalans is devoid of much of the rugged individualism one usually associates with the concept among native-born Americans. In middle class Anglo-Americans' responses to Card 2, for example, the girl usually is seen as leaving the farm and becoming successful without reference to parental support or filial obligation (De Vos, 1973:234). This middle class American conception of achievement contrasts with the theme of "parents sacrificing for the son or daughter so that they may study and get ahead to bring the parents out of poverty" (Nelson, 1971:119), a theme that is, as Nelson reports, as significant to Erongaricuareños as it is to Jacalans, although Nelson does not regard this activity as legitimately achievement oriented.

But while stressing reciprocal nurturance, or "reciprocal obligation," Jacalans place much less emphasis than do Erongaricuareños on the need to be helped to succeed. For example, Erongaricuareños' responses to Card 1 (Boy Contemplating Violin) typically focus on success through dependency. While Jacalans may express concern or doubt about the boy's ability, they do not mention his need for assistance. Jacalans' responses to Card 1 also differ from those of Nelson's villagers in that they do not represent dreams of wish-fulfillment. Yet Jacalans are still somewhat passive in their attitude toward achievement, as illustrated in Card 1, in that they tend to stress interest in the activity rather than action: the boy is typically thinking about playing the violin rather than actually playing it.

CARD 1 Boy Contemplating Violin

Narrator—a married woman, 31 years old

He is thinking about putting himself to play and record or compose a song. He may be a great composer.

Narrator—a married woman, 27 years old

He is thinking how one plays the violin. How it is played and how it is held in order to play.

Narrator—a married man, 27 years old

The little boy might be thinking how to play the violin. Or perhaps how to make it (the violin).

Narrator—an unmarried boy, 19 years old

He is thinking—"when I am older"—of playing the violin. "I will have a profession. A profession and the money."

These responses contrast sharply with those of lower class Anglo Americans who typically see the boy as rebelling against parental pressure to practice the violin, and those of second generation Japanese Americans (Nisei) who describe the boy as assigned the task in conflict with his parents, but reacting with "negative

compliance and self-defeat" (De Vos, 1973:231-232). No Jacalan saw the boy as being required to play the violin, so that in this sense his activity was self-motivated.

The theme of achievement for nurturance also occurs in Jacalans' responses to Card 1 as the following story illustrates:

Narrator—an unmarried girl, 15 years old (told in English)

I think that before a long time ago he wanted to go to school to learn how to play the guitar and he's trying, he's just looking at it to see what he can do with it and then he wanted to see if his parents would have enough money to afford (to send) him to go to school and learn how to play that since he wanted to learn. And now after he grew up, which is now, he can play a little bit since he worked hard after school cutting lawns and getting wood and stuff for fire, getting money to help his parents make him to go to school for that. And then now he grew up. He's a really good player. He plays really good now. He's in a band and he plays really nice and everything. Everybody likes him and he got a lot of money and he can afford (for) his parents (to) now live in a really pretty house and everything. His parents can live happy now . . .

In this last story, success is measured by a combination of artistic accomplishment, public acclaim, and money. Although the story may be more illustrative of Jacalans' conception of actual achievement than Achievement as defined by McClelland, it does contain some indication of individual responsibility (i.e., the boy cutting lawns to support lessons) and a desire to excel (i.e., references to him playing well), two characteristics of achievement motivation. Similarly, in the following story, the main character demonstrates not only a desire to prosper, but some feeling of personal validation arising from his capacity to provide for his family:

CARD 2 Country Scene

Narrator—a married man, 35 years old

I think that this young woman goes to school, but doesn't go very tranquilly. She goes a little sadly. She watches the man working and she feels a little sad because he is working hard or something like that. But he looks tranquil. He looks tranquil and goes along working, working well as if he has the will to. He wants to prosper in something. He hopes for something good as we try any of us for our children, our brothers and sisters, our parents . . .

Insight into Jacalans' attitudes toward achievement is also provided by responses to Card 17BM (Man on a Rope), responses that usually identify the man as either an athlete or circus performer or as a criminal escaping from jail. Kemper was able to correlate these two types of stories to differences in class status among Tzintzuntzan migrants in Mexico City, finding that middle class informants focused on the thwarted achievement efforts of the athlete, while working class informants told stories about escape (Kemper, 1971:182-184). Class differences are not well-developed among Jacalans in the Bay Area, but the four property-owning migrants in the sample, like Kemper's middle class informants, told achievement stories, in which the main character is identified as either an athlete or circus performer who is practicing in order to become successful. In fact, 59 percent of all of the men told athlete-circus performer stories, while 44 percent of the women told escape stories. Why Jacalan men and women tend to perceive the figure in Card 17BM differently is not clear. Nor is it clear why positive active achievement is the third most frequently stated theme in the men's stories, but only sixth in the women's stories. The sexual differences in responses to Card 17BM are also present in Jacalans' responses to Card 1 in which more women than men indicate the boy's incapacity to achieve.

In any case, the men's stories represent a significant difference in cognitive orientation from that of traditional Mexican peasants as represented by Tzintzuntzeños in that the latter group's responses to Card

17BM rarely depict the figure in the picture as an athlete or circus performer, but instead identify him as a criminal engaged in robbery or escape (communicated by George Foster). Although some migrants from Tzintzuntzan identify the figure in Card 17BM as an athlete, they nevertheless reveal a "fear of envy by others toward one's success" (Kemper, 1971:184) characteristic of traditional peasant world view. In contrast, none of the stories told by Jacalan migrants refer to fear of envy. The following stories are illustrative of those told by migrant men:

CARD 17BM Man on a Rope

Narrator—a married man, 35 years old

This someone might do for pleasure, for exercise that one wants to do in order to be well-muscled or strong or to have success in some form. In order to be a champion or something. He wants to climb higher than anyone has climbed, higher than any other person. Or some illness he may have necessitates that he exercise in order to be well, for his health or to come to something, that person. To be a champion of something. He wants to be more than anyone. He looks so tranquil that perhaps he does it for pleasure.

Narrator—a married man, 30 years old

I think he would like to be a star in order to live better and to be happy.

Narrator—a married man, 44 years old

This young man is an athlete. He does exercises to build muscles. According to what one sees, he wants to go to the Olympics and try to do more in order to win a Gold Medal.

Narrator—an unmarried man, 23 years old

About this . . . one sees that this man is an athlete . . . that likes very much to do exercises because his craft calls for it. And at the same time, according to what one sees, for him it is one of the greatest pleasures of life.

On the other hand, the following stories are characteristic of those told by the women.

Narrator—a married woman, 34 years old

For me, it is that he is escaping, but found something lacking. Well, he didn't even remember his clothes. Perhaps he wanted to escape, like to just save himself . . . I think he thought "save myself although my clothes aren't very necessary," because he wanted to escape.

Narrator—a married woman, 29 years old

This photograph to me looks like he is a trapeze artist. He works in some circus and he is rehearsing something on the rope to enrapture his audience. Or it can be that he has been in prison and intends a prohibited flight. And at the same time one sees on him a happy expression. It expresses happiness or a great relief as of liberty or triumph.

Narrator—a married woman, 23 years old

For me, this man is escaping from someplace and is thinking that someone is seeing him. It is that he is escaping from someplace by a rope . . . Well, from jail or the insane asylum. He seems crazy. (Respondent laughs.) I don't know. To me, it seems he is escaping from some place and thinking that if perhaps he leaves at the risk of his life, he will make it better than it was before. And also, to me, he is thinking of what happened before and now repents what happened and wants to become a new man, and perhaps that is why he is escaping from where he is.

Interestingly, in this last story, guilt over one's errors leads not to renewed submission to authority, as was the case in many of the stories told by Erongaricuareños, but to an attempt to improve oneself through independent action.

Authority and power, prominent concerns in the TAT responses from Erongaricuaro, also occur with some frequency in migrants' stories, but the themes are treated differently in the two cases. Nelson reports numerous explicit references to submission to higher authority, primarily parental authority, adding that disobedience "usually leads to failure, vice and destruction" (Nelson, 1971:108). In the stories told by Jacalans, there are fewer explicit references to submission and a greater emphasis on resistance to parental authority without apparent negative consequences to the child, as in the following stories.

CARD 7BM Older Man and Profile of Younger Man

Narrator—a married man, 34 years old

I imagine that is father and son. Like he is giving advice to the son and he (the son) is thinking that maybe it's unfair or of trying to do it. Maybe he is reproving him, but he isn't listening. He isn't content for that . . . If he continues, it seems to me, he isn't going to pay attention to what the father is saying. About what is going to happen, the father is going to feel bad, worse, if his son doesn't pay attention to him.

CARD 6BM An Elderly Woman and Young Man

Narrator—a married woman, 32 years old

This is, I think this is her son and this is the mother. I think the mother is giving some advice to the boy, well, for some bad thing he has done or a thing that she doesn't like . . . (She is) saying something that may be good and he doesn't want to pay attention . . . Well, who knows what they are going to do, because this boy has the idea of doing what he thinks. You know, sometimes the mother can't remove the idea he has.

Although Jacalans do not regard failure as the natural consequence of opposition to authority, they do express ambivalence about autonomy. This ambivalence stems, in part, from the conflicting desire to advance personally and the obligation to support one's parents in repayment for their past sacrifices and, in part, from emotional dependency toward one's parents, particularly one's mother. Jacalans' desire to succeed is constantly being weighed against their fear of separation and loneliness.

CARD 6BM An Elderly Woman and Young Man

Narrator—a married woman, 23 years old

Here is a mother and son. It looks as if the son came to tell his mother that he is going to go from there, from her house. The mother looks very sad and he is angry. The mother is perhaps thinking of telling him not to go. And the son is deciding to go. Or better, he is thinking that he is doing bad in doing this, in going from the house and leaving his mother alone, after it cost her so much work to give him life, to raise him, to see him grow in order that now with time he leaves her. The old woman is crying because her son is going to leave her. And the son looks a little indecisive. He can't decide whether to leave or stay with his mother.

Narrator—a married man, 44 years old

I imagine that this *madrecita* is sad because her son comes to say good-bye. She is turning away and he looks sad, head down. For me, he is going to undertake a long journey.

Narrator—a married man, 31 years old

I think it is her son. He wants to go somewhere and she doesn't want him to go. Perhaps she doesn't agree . . . Or he is going to his work . . . I'm losing my words. Perhaps he is thinking what to tell her or better, says, "I'm not going to go. Better that I remain here with (you)" . . . The woman is looking at a saint, asking that he not go.

Narrator—a married woman, 29 years old

Here it gives one the impression of being mother and son or a son who is going or who just arrived. Or it may be that the mother didn't like it or is sad about her son's farewell. One notes sadness in the faces of the two and at least he looks repentant as if he doesn't want to do what he is thinking of doing, but he has to do it. Because it troubles him to see his mother as he leaves her, sad, pensive, and he finds himself in the same state, afflicted, dejected. Or he has to say good-bye for something against himself, but he has to give it (farewell) with some trouble. And the figure of the mother looks, well, desolate, with distant look as if she didn't expect this trouble and yet has it. And the son is seen with head lowered, with sadness as if saying he didn't want to give her this trouble, but "I have to give it for my own destiny or my own future that I have to follow or I have to fulfill my given word." And, well, it closes with the same conflict of sadness and farewell, I imagine.

Guilt as implied in these stories results not so much from transgressions against parental authority, as in Erongarícuaro, as from the failure to reciprocate parental nurturance and concern. This theme is more explicit in the following story.

CARD 7BM Older Man and Profile of Younger Man

Narrator—a married man, 22 years old

Here the man is a friend of his father and knows about the comportment of the son, of the situation that the father is in. And he is in the *extranjero* (foreign land) and is giving him advice because he has behaved thusly with his parents. He is telling him to change, that he see how they have suffered to make him what he is now. And he has paid them back in this way, not even knowing if he (the son) lives, or where he is or if he exists or doesn't exist. He, from what I see here in this picture, the boy is reacting, he is thinking of the past and the error he committed.

DISCUSSION

I set out to test Foster's hypothesis that, when peasants are provided with "expanding opportunity in an open system" (Foster, 1965:310), they cease viewing their environment in terms of an "Image of Limited Good" and quickly show economic initiative. The situation of Jacalan migrants in California is one of expanding economic opportunity as measured by the greater availability of jobs and possibilities for accumulating capital than in the village. Comparing the world view of Jacalan migrants, as represented by dominant themes in their TAT responses, with that reported for other Mexican peasants suggests that the most striking feature is the degree of continuity between the two. Jacalans' TAT responses show, for example, that they share with people such as those of Erongarícuaro concerns about poverty, hunger, separation, loneliness, suffering, and reciprocal obligation even though the circumstances of Jacalan migrants do not involve poverty, hunger, or excessive physical suffering. In terms of Foster's hypothesis, the evidence suggests that changing the social and economic environment does not quickly or automatically result in all-encompassing changes in cognitive orientation. Thus, there does not appear to be simple causal relationship between objective economic circumstances and world view.

On the other hand, Jacalan migrants are not simply transplanted peasants. Their behavior, notably in the economic sphere, does not conform to that of traditional peasants. Many Jacalan migrants save money for future goals and invest their savings in such capital assets as land, cattle, and houses or in such entrepreneurial activities as small businesses or raising pigs and chickens for urban markets. Unlike most Mexican peasants, Jacalans also engage in status climbing through conspicuous display. More important, certain aspects of their world view, as revealed in their TAT responses, deviate from the traditional; in contrast to Erongaricuareños, Jacalan migrants appear to be less fatalistic, less dependent, less authoritarian, and more achievement oriented.

It is tempting to suggest that the world view of Jacalan migrants is changing as a result of acculturation, since the shifts revealed in the TATs, rather than basic changes in cognitive and value orientations, should be possible in the span of one or two generations. However, it is also possible that these differences are due to the original selectivity of the group. Fromm and Maccoby, for example, feel that individuals who had been *braceros* represented the "most energetic and enterprising elements" in the Mexican village they studied (Fromm and Maccoby, 1970:6). Therefore, it may be that the cognitive orientation of Jacalan migrants was always different from that of nonmigrants.

In either case, Jacalans' attitudes toward achievement are noteworthy since the literature on both Mexican peasants (e.g., Diaz, 1970; Foster, 1965; Fromm and Maccoby, 1970; and Nelson, 1971) and Mexican Americans (e.g., De Vos, 1969; Heller, 1966; Madsen, 1964; and Peak, 1958) reports either low motivation to achieve or a world view justifying a low motivation to achieve. Madsen asserts that

The Mexican American finds satisfaction in the daily fulfillment of the fate that God has planned for him. For this reason, the Mexican American lives for today, rather than for an unknown tomorrow over which he has no control (Madsen, 1964:473).

Speaking specifically about Mexican American attitudes toward achievement, Peak declares that Mexican Americans do only as much work as is necessary and that "'success' and 'failure' do not have the same meaning for them as for the Anglo" (1958:204). A comparison of these assessments of Mexican Americans' world view and behavior with the evidence available on Jacalans suggests that either Jacalans are a very select group or that the question of Mexican American achievement requires more careful scrutiny, especially since migrants or immigrants, make up such a large proportion of this ethnic group. More TAT studies could be useful in this regard since at present, there are virtually no published TATs from other groups of Mexican immigrants or Mexican Americans to compare with those of Jacalans.⁵

Jacalans' TAT responses also suggest that individualistic achievement may not be the only valid type. Perhaps a cultural ideal that stresses nurturance or obligation to one's family, as has been true of the Japanese and Japanese Americans, may also effectively motivate achievement activities. Many Jacalans came to California to work because they were unable to support their families in the village; that is, their migration was motivated by a desire to achieve in order to provide nurturance. Furthermore, if achievement can be measured, as Jacalans do, as the ability to save money for future goals and to increase one's assets through investment in land, cattle, homes, and small businesses, then many migrants have been successful.

Finally, since this paper began with the question of what role, if any, peasants could play in the economic development of their countries, it is worth noting what influence Jacalan migrants have had on their home village, especially with respect to its economic life. Some anthropologists have suggested that the impact of returning migrants on their home villages has been minimal. For example, Diaz comments that *braceros* returning to Tonalá squandered their savings on liquor (1970:37), while Nelson considers the changes wrought by *bracero* savings as being of a "superficial nature," merely involving the purchase of material items, such as clothing, radios, and sewing machines, among a very small proportion of the population (1971:131). In both villages, the only significant economic developments—small factories and cooperative or individually established agricultural ventures—have been instituted by outsiders. In Tonalá, for example, the *granjas* (chicken and flower farms) that have sprung up in recent years are owned by city people (Diaz, 1970:196). In contrast, the pig and chicken *granjas* that began appearing around the periphery of Jacala within the last decade are all owned by migrants from the village. Additionally, Jacalan migrants' remittances and savings involve a substan-

tial proportion of the population and are used not only for the purchase of small luxury items, but also for investment purposes. Some returning migrants have opened small businesses (e.g., grocery, feed, and furniture stores, a tortilla factory, a movie theater, public baths, *fondas* or snack shops, and even a hotel), while others have purchased land and homes for lease or later sale. A few migrants have even invested in houses or apartment buildings in the *cabecera* or state capital. Few of these developments would have occurred without the infusion of money earned abroad, since prior to large-scale migration, few opportunities existed in Jacala for accumulating capital. Instead, many villagers, according to their own accounts, barely earned enough working as sharecroppers for a few large landowners to survive.

Looking to the future, perhaps the most promising sign for Jacala's continued "progress" is the great upsurge in the number of village children attending and completing school in recent years. The village supports two school systems: public and parochial, the latter financed by tuition. Migrants (who in general are better able than non-migrant Jacalans to afford this tuition) prefer the parochial to the public school, because they feel that it is more disciplined and provides their children with a better education. When parents, who themselves have had little education, show a willingness to invest not only in money-making ventures, but also in their children's future, then it is reasonable to assert that Mexican peasants can indeed play an active role in the development of their community, their own country, and even the United States.

NOTES

¹Jacalans began migrating to the United States toward the end of the Mexican Revolution, but few people were involved until the 1920's when the volume of migration from the village increased markedly. Most went to the Midwest to work in the steel industry, rather than to California, because industrial earnings were better than those in agriculture. A few of these early migrants remained in the Midwest permanently, but most seem to have been deported or returned voluntarily to Mexico during the Depression.

²Murray's Thematic Apperception Test consists of a series of pictures depicting ambiguous social situations and requires that the respondent tell a story about each picture. It is based on the assumption that a person will project his needs and feelings into the pictures. Specifically, the precedent for using projective techniques in the investigation of the psychological dimension in culture change has been firmly set by the classic studies of North American Indian acculturation by A. Irving Hallowell (1955), George Spindler (1955) and Louise Spindler (1962) and Anthony F. C. Wallace (1952) using the Rorschach test. Hallowell's finding that considerable acculturation can occur in a group without any major change in their modal personality structure (Hallowell, 1955:351) is particularly relevant to the issues dealt with in this paper.

³The 13 cards are 1, 2, 4, 6BM, 7BM, 7GF, 8BM, 12M, 12F, 13MF, 17BM and 18GF. Nelson used 10 cards, eight of which correspond to those used in the present study.

⁴As an example of how the TATs were scored, the criteria used in rating Cards 1 (Boy with Violin) and 2 (Country Scene), usually regarded as eliciting stories concerning themes of achievement, are presented here because of their relevance to the discussion at hand. Responses to Card 1 were scored as positively achievement oriented when, for example, the respondent indicated that 1) the boy wants to be a violinist (long-range goal) and succeeds by working hard; 2) he continues working at the task although he is puzzled about how to solve it; or 3) his parents want him to become a violinist and he succeeds in doing so. Stories were rated as negatively achievement oriented when 1) the boy rebels against his parents' desire for him to play the violin (e.g. by breaking it); 2) he complies but in a negative mood and does poorly; 3) he fantasizes about becoming a violinist but gives no indication of how he will realistically reach this goal (De Vos, 1973:230). Responses to Card 2 were scored for positive achievement when 1) the girl wants to leave the farm for a career, successfully does so with or without her parents' help and either returns to help her parents or becomes a

benefit to society elsewhere; or 2) the farmers continually strive to do a better job. Stories were rated as negatively achievement oriented when 1) the girl wants to leave but can not and therefore stays and suffers; or 2) the girl, digusted with farm life, wants to see the "bright lights" of the city (De Vos, 1973:230). (See De Vos 1973 for further details of the scoring system.) Underlying these criteria is De Vos' definition of achievement as "behavior motivated by the desire to attain a goal . . . within a given set of standards or social codes" (De Vos, 1973:22). In other words, achievement motivated behavior is behavior directed toward realizing a future goal, rather than being an end in itself, and behavior that involves an attempt to exceed the status of one's parents, rather than simply repeating their roles, through the capacity to "take risks, excel and innovate" (De Vos, 1973:172).

⁵ A review of the literature revealed only one study involving TAT responses of Mexican American men (Johnson and Sikes, 1965), but because that study dealt with psychiatric patients, strict comparisons are impossible. However, Johnson and Sikes' findings on TAT Cards 1 and 2, the two cards that usually elicit achievement stories, are instructive; the authors report that the Mexican Americans in their sample showed more achievement than the Anglos with whom they were compared (Johnson and Sikes, 1965:186).

REFERENCES

- Banfield, Edward, 1967. *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*. New York: The Free Press. (Originally published in 1958.)
- De Vos, George, 1969. "Minority Group Identity." In Joseph Finney (ed.), *Culture Change, Mental Health and Poverty*, pp. 81-97. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- , 1973. *Socialization for Achievement: Essays on the Cultural Psychology of the Japanese*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- , n.d. "Basic Thematic Concerns in Human Relations: Provisional Code Book." Unpublished Manuscript.
- Diaz, May, 1970. *Tonalá: Conservatism, Responsibility and Authority in a Mexican Town*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fitzpatrick, Joseph, 1966. "The Importance of "Community" in the Process of Immigrant Assimilation." *The International Migration Review* 1:5-16.
- Foster, Geroge, 1960-61. "Interpersonal Relations in Peasant Society." *Human Organization* 19:174-178.
- , 1965. "Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good." *American Anthropologist* 67:293-315.
- , 1967. *Tzintzuntzan: Mexican Peasants in a Changing World*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
- Fromm, Erich, and Michael Maccoby, 1970. *Social Character in a Mexican Village: a Sociopschoanalytic Study*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

- Gamst, Frederick, 1974. *Peasants in Complex Societies*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Hallowell, A. Irving, 1955. *Culture and Experience*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- , 1964. "Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior and World View." In Stanley Diamond (ed.), *Primitive Views of the World*, pp. 49-83. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Heller, Celia, 1966. *Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads*. New York: Random House.
- Hillary, George Jr., 1955. "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement." *Rural Sociology* 20:111-123.
- Johnson, Dale, and Melvin Sikes, 1965. "Rorschach and TAT Responses of Negro, Mexican American and Anglo Psychiatric Patients." *Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment* 29:183-189.
- Kemper, Robert V., 1971. "Migration and Adaptation of Tzintzuntzan Peasants in Mexico City." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Berkeley: University of California.
- Lewis, Oscar, 1951. *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Madsen, William, 1964. "Value Conflicts in Culture Transfer." In Philip Worchel and Donn Byrne (eds.), *Personality Change*, pp. 470-488. New York: John Wiley.
- McClelland, David, 1961. *The Achieving Society*. Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co.
- Mendelson, E. M., 1968. "World View." In David L. Sills (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, pp. 576-579. New York: The Macmillan Co. and the Free Press.
- Mensch, Ivan, and Jules Henry, 1953. "Direct Observation and Psychological Test in Anthropological Field-work." *American Anthropologist* 55:461-480.
- Nelson, Cynthia, 1967. "Analysis of World View in a Mexican Peasant Village: An Illustration." *Social Forces* 46:52-61.
- , 1971. *The Waiting Village: Social Change in Rural Mexico*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
- Peak, Horace, 1958. "Search for Identity by a Young Mexican American." In Georgene Seward (ed.), *Clinical Studies in Culture Conflict*, pp. 201-222. New York: Ronald Press Co.
- Spindler, George, 1955. "Sociocultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation." *University of California Publications in Culture and Society*, No. 5.
- Spindler, Louise, 1962. "Menomini Women and Culture Change." *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, No. 91.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C., 1952. "The Modal Personality Structure of the Tuscarora Indians as Revealed by the Rorschach Test." *Bureau of American Ethnology*, Bulletin 150.