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tion to look forward to college. For the typical working-class student who has less reason to be confident about his academic abilities and

for whom college would be financially difficult, there may be less reason to believe that college might be anything more than a difficult struggle.

SOCIAL MOBILITY IN A MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

An analysis of social mobility of Mexican-Americans in Southern California indicated that the second generation is the most upwardly mobile and measures highest on several indices of socioeconomic status and acculturation compared with immigrants and descendants of Spanish colonial settlers. Upward mobile Mexican-Americans do not shed their ethnic identification significantly, and Catholicism rather than Protestantism is found to be most associated with upward mobility. It is the shedding of lower-class culture rather than ethnicity which is most related with upward mobility.

INTRODUCTION

One of the perennial areas of concern to the student of social stratification is social mobility: its correlates, rates and amounts, and the comparative study of mobility in different countries, and among different sectors of the population of a given country. Particular attention has been paid to social and occupational mobility of various immigrant groups in the United States. The major sources of such mobility appear to be the interrelated processes of industrialization, urbanization and migration.¹

A very common assertion made in studies on the subject is that in general the immigrant groups that have been in the country the longest have experienced the greatest amount of mobility, and that later generations have reached higher positions in the socioeconomic structure than the earlier generations.² These assumptions are strongly challenged by the results of the authors' study of social stratifi-

cation in a Mexican-American community. The researchers focused their attention on vertical mobility, that is, "the relations involved in a transition of an individual (or a social object) from one social stratum to another."³

The concept of vertical social mobility implies a model of social stratification based on social class rather than on caste.⁴ A caste system, by definition, permits virtually no mobility

³ Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Mobility* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959), p. 133. Most empirical studies of the vertical mobility of population sectors have treated the topic primarily in occupational terms, such as intergenerational occupational changes, particularly between fathers and sons. Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), p. 60.

⁴ One of the serious problems of measuring vertical mobility in the customary terms of intergenerational occupational mobility lies in the choice and possible validity of an occupational scale. However, Alba Edwards, chief designer of the occupational classification for the Bureau of the Census, has noted that each major category of occupations represents "a large population group with a somewhat distinctive standard of life, and to a considerable extent, intellectually and socially." Alba M. Edwards, *Comparative Occupational Statistics for the United States 1870-1940* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 179.

¹ Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), p. 204.

² "The longer a minority group has been in the society . . . the better are its chances at upward mobility." Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), p. 470.

between recognized status levels. Yet the caste-like nature of relations between Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans has been noted by several students of Mexican-Americans in Southern California and elsewhere from the late 1920's to the prewar period.⁵ Even more recent studies have emphasized the continuance of this practice.⁶

One alternative to conformity to a caste or semi-caste system is what may be called "ethnic mobility," or the "passing" from the Mexican-American ethnic group to membership in the dominant, Anglo-American society. Such movement is generally considered, at least by Anglos, as upward social mobility.⁷

⁵ Walter Goldschmidt, *As You Sow* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1947), p. 59; Paul Schuster Taylor, *An American-Mexican Frontier, Nueces County, Texas* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934); Ruth D. Tuck, *Not With the Fist: Mexican-Americans in a Southwest City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946), p. 44.

⁶ Thomas E. Lasswell, "Status Stratification in a Selected Community," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1953; Robert B. Rogers, "Perception of the Power Structure by Social Class in a California Community," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1962; James B. Watson and Julian Samora, "Subordinate Leadership in a Bi-cultural Community," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (August 1954), pp. 413-421; Ozzie Simmons, "Americans and Mexican Americans in South Texas," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1952; William H. Madsen, *The Mexican-Americans of South Texas* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964).

⁷ For those so inclined, there are several possible avenues of escape up and out of the Mexican semi-caste position. One is absorption into the Anglo group, either through intermarriage (particularly for women, who thereby lose their identifying Spanish surnames), or occupational mobility with an accompanying reluctance to admit Mexican ancestry. One somewhat spurious method of ethnic mobility is to define oneself as "Spanish" rather than "Mexican." This method has been used with outstanding success in Southern Colorado and Northern New Mexico, where the descendants of the original Mexican settlers are now generally known, at least by outsiders, as "Spanish Americans." And in Southern California not too long ago Mexican high school graduates were expected to "assume the role of an American of

Mexican-Americans have been undergoing the closely related processes of urbanization, acculturation, increased division of labor, and social mobility. Because these processes are still in their early stages, low status, a low upward mobility rate, and a low degree of acculturation are still generally characteristic of the group. Mexican-Americans are adjusting to the more impersonal and more contractual ways of American society much in the same way that in Mexico itself the peasantry is changing its way of life from that of the folk society to that of the urban dweller.⁸

About a decade ago Broom and Shevky were still phrasing the problem of studying the social differentiation of the Mexican-American population in terms of determining to what extent the group had left migratory labor, become occupationally differentiated, increased its stability of employment and achieved vertical mobility.⁹ Yet by the 1960's the *bracero* program had heavily displaced Mexican-Americans from agricultural field labor¹⁰ and the Mexican-American population had become largely urban.

In a sense this population stands unique among United States minority groups. Mexican-American culture is older in the Southwest than Anglo-American culture, yet the vast majority of Mexican-Americans are descendants

Spanish ancestry." Edward C. McDonagh and Eugene S. Richards, *Ethnic Relations in the United States* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953), p. 176.

⁸ Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society and Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, 45 (March 1940), pp. 731-742. Cf., Ralph L. Beals, "Urbanism, Urbanization, and Acculturation," *American Anthropologist*, 53 (February 1951), pp. 1-10.

⁹ Leonard Broom and Eshref Shevky, "Mexicans in the United States; a Problem in Social Differentiation," *Sociology and Social Research*, 36 (January-February, 1952), pp. 150-158.

¹⁰ Ernesto Galarza, *Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story* (San Jose, California, 1964), pp. 156-170. In five southwestern states in 1960, 79.1 percent of the Spanish-surname population was urban and only 5.3 percent was rural-farm. In California the corresponding percentages were 85.4 and 3.8. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population 1960. Persons of Spanish Surname* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 2.

of relatively recent immigrants or are immigrants themselves. Whereas most other immigrant groups arrived in one or more waves and subsequently successfully acculturated, Mexican immigration has been more like a steady stream inhibiting the acculturation of residents of longer standing. As the completely acculturated individuals have left the ethnic enclaves, their places have been taken by more recent immigrants from Mexico. In terms of immigration patterns, reactions to color prejudice, and mobility-related value systems, Mexican-Americans resemble Puerto Rican New Yorkers far more than they do such a group as the Southern California Japanese-Americans. The latter have particularly been characterized as having a value system emphasizing the importance of hard work, self-discipline, education and "getting ahead."¹¹ By contrast, according to Kluckhohn, "Mexican orientations—in our system—secure very little for individuals except a lack of mobility and a general lower-class status."¹² The measure of Mexican-American mobility is thus an indirect measure of the progressive acculturation of the group.

¹¹ William Caudill and George De Vos, "Achievement, Culture and Personality: the Case of the Japanese Americans," *American Anthropologist*, 58 (December 1956), pp. 1102-1126.

¹² Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn, "Cultural Factors in Social Work Practice and Education," *Social Service Review*, 25 (March 1951), p. 44. There is in fact general agreement that continuing adherence to Mexican cultural values and a failure to acculturate to the majority culture are factors retarding upward mobility for the Mexican-American. The most relevant sources concerned with this problem are: George C. Barker, "Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community," *Acta Americana*, 5 (July 1947), pp. 185-202; Margaret Clark, *Health in the Mexican-American Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959); Norman Daymond Humphrey, "The Changing Structure of the Detroit Mexican Family: An Index of Acculturation," *American Sociological Review*, 9 (December 1943), pp. 364-377; Beatrice Griffith, *American Me* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1948); Madsen, *op. cit.*; Donovan Senter and Florence Hawley, "The Grammar School as the Basic Acculturating Influence for Native New Mexicans," *Social Forces*, 29 (May 1946), pp. 398-407; Simmons, *op. cit.*; Watson and Samora, *loc. cit.*

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The researchers wished to test the general hypothesis that upward social mobility increases in the Mexican-American population by generation, and that the more acculturated individuals have been the most mobile. They desired to ascertain the amount of mobility which had taken place in a given Mexican-American community, and the relationships between vertical mobility on the one hand, and ethnic mobility and horizontal mobility on the other.¹³

This study differs significantly from the existing literature on Mexican-American social mobility by utilizing exclusively the area random selection of all informants from the population being studied. The principal method used was the use of a structured interview schedule administered to the sample, six percent of the Mexican-descended Spanish surname adults living in each of five residential areas (ranked from high to low, *A, B, C, D, E*) in the city of Pomona, California.¹⁴

The interview schedule was prepared in separate English and Spanish versions and pretested in nearby communities. The senior author secured a total of 147 interviews, of

¹³ Complete data of the study may be found in Fernando Peñalosa, "Class Consciousness and Social Mobility in a Mexican-American Community," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1963.

¹⁴ The Spanish-surname approach to identification of the Mexican-American population is generally conceded to be the only practical method for research surveys. It is true that this method misses persons who have acquired non-Spanish surnames through marriage or court procedures, but there is no evidence either in the literature or from the researchers' close acquaintance with the community that name-changing is at all a significant factor numerically. Even conversion to Protestantism does not generally result in shedding ethnic identity, for virtually all Mexican-American Protestants attend segregated Spanish-language churches.

The rationale for the Spanish-surname method is documented in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *op. cit.*, pp. viii-xi; Robert H. Talbert, *Spanish-Name People in the Southwest and West* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 1955), p. 11; William W. Winnie, Jr., "The Spanish Surname Criterion for Identifying Hispanos in the Southwestern United States," *Social Forces*, 38 (May 1960), p. 365.

TABLE 1. SOCIAL MOBILITY AND OTHER VARIABLES

	TYPE OF MOBILITY			
	Upward	None	Downward	Total
<i>Occupation</i>				
Laborers	0	31	25	56
Semiskilled	23	3	10	36
Skilled	21	7	5	33
White Collar	15	5	0	20
Total	59	46	40	145
$\chi^2 = 40.01^*$ $p = < .01$ $C = .465$				
*Cell-square contingencies for blank cells at extremes not included.				
<i>Generation</i>				
First	5	15	11	31
Second	44	23	19	86
Later	10	8	10	28
Total	59	46	40	145
$\chi^2 = 12.89$ $p = < .02$ $C = .286$				
<i>Age</i>				
20-39	44	25	15	84
40-89	15	21	25	61
Total	59	46	40	145
$\chi^2 = 13.81$ $p = < .01$ $C = .295$				
<i>Years of Schooling</i>				
0-8	15	23	20	58
9-11	20	13	14	47
12 or more	24	10	6	40
Total	59	46	40	145
$\chi^2 = 12.13$ $p = < .02$ $C = .278$				
<i>Language Preference</i>				
Spanish	8	17	17	42
English	51	29	23	103
Total	59	46	40	145
$\chi^2 = 11.82$ $p = < .01$ $C = .275$				
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>				
Catholic	54	36	30	120
Protestant	5	6	6	17
None	0	4	4	8
Total	59	46	40	145
$\chi^2 = 4.42$ $p = < .05$ $C = .172$				
<i>Type of Class Self-Awareness</i>				
Perceive Own Class	45	25	30	100
Do Not Perceive Own Class	14	21	10	45
Total	59	46	40	145
$\chi^2 = 6.70$ $p = < .03$ $C = .210$				
<i>Total Annual Family Income</i>				
Under \$4,000	4	16	12	32
\$4,000-\$5,999	15	17	11	43
\$6,000-\$7,999	19	6	11	36
\$8,000 or over	16	5	3	24
Total	54	44	37	135
Median	\$6,615	\$4,600	\$5,250	\$5,704
$\chi^2 = 22.76$ $p = < .01$ $C = .380$				

which 104 were conducted in English and 43 in Spanish, between October 1960 and August 1961.¹⁵

It was hypothesized that each of a number of variables indicative of acculturation would be positively associated with upward social mobility and negatively with downward social mobility. The former was hypothesized to be associated negatively with age and positively with high occupational status, high income, better residential area, more schooling, later generation, Protestant religious affiliation and English-language preference.

Hypotheses were tested by compiling contingency tables and calculating the statistics of *chi* square and of the coefficient of contingency (C). Statistical null hypotheses were rejected at the .05 level of significance. The results are summarized in Table 1.

RESULTS

The researchers had hypothesized that in this population, generally characterized as nonmobile and undifferentiated, a respondent's occupation would be more likely to fall in the category of the father's occupation than in any other category, with diminishing probability the farther a category is from that of the father's occupation.¹⁶ This hypothesis found no support in the data. The researchers also examined the relationship of father's occupation to respondent's education and the relationship of the latter to his occupation. With reference to the pre-educational step, it was found that the higher the occupational category of the

¹⁵ Each respondent was asked questions concerning such personal characteristics as age, education, income, nativity, and his own and his father's occupation. He was asked to describe the Mexican-American and Anglo class structures, and to estimate his own social class position. Each respondent who was in a higher category (the order from higher to lower being as follows: white collar, skilled, semiskilled, laborers) than his father, was considered to have been upwardly mobile. In the case of the non-employed housewife respondents, it was the occupational category of the head of the household which was measured against the father's to assign mobility.

¹⁶ "Sons are more likely to enter their father's occupation than to enter any other single occupation." Natalie Rogoff, *Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), p. 59.

father, the higher the educational category of the respondent, but this finding was not statistically significant.

Of all respondents 40.1 percent had been upwardly mobile, 31.3 percent nonmobile, and 27.2 percent downwardly mobile. These percentages are especially attributable to the fact that of all respondents whose fathers were semiskilled, 60.0 percent were downwardly mobile; of those whose fathers were skilled, 63.3 percent were downwardly mobile; and of those whose fathers were white-collar workers, 70.6 percent were downwardly mobile. The large percentages of upwardly mobile and nonmobile respondents were largely due to the fact that of those respondents whose fathers were laborers, 62.6 percent had been upwardly mobile, and 56.5 percent of all fathers had been laborers. It is therefore understandable that most of the semiskilled, skilled, and white-collar respondents had been upwardly mobile. More of the semiskilled than of the skilled had been upwardly mobile, but fewer than the white-collar workers. On the other hand, well over half of all respondents who were laborers had a lower occupational status than their fathers.

Thus, in a general way, in the respondent's generation high occupational status is associated with upward mobility; the reverse holds true in the transition from the parental generation. It would appear that a general leveling process has taken place in this population. The sizeable number of respondents who had been downwardly mobile was an unexpected finding of the research. The cases of downward mobility generally seem to involve a drop in the skill hierarchy from the immigrant to the second generation. It frequently happened that the father in Mexico had been a skilled laborer or small merchant; such fathers would be classified generally as lower-class in Mexico and in the United States this group would have a high rate of illiteracy and few speakers of fluent English. The American-born son or daughter, on the other hand, although achieving a better educational position and speaking English, may be following only a semiskilled, or lower, occupation. Therefore the data on downward occupational mobility should be cautiously interpreted. Furthermore, categorical discriminatory treatment of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the United States may be partially responsible for this remarkable

leveling process, for the Mexican has been slow to react to discriminatory practices.

The second generation has a higher percentage of upwardly mobile respondents (51.2) and a lower percentage of downwardly mobile respondents (22.1) than either the first generation or the generations after the second. This finding contradicts the general assertion that upward mobility among immigrant groups increases from one generation to another. The researchers found that in general the socioeconomic status of the second generation is higher than for the later generations despite the fact that a larger proportion of the latter than the former completed high school (48.3 and 29.0 percent, respectively). Nevertheless, 41.4 percent of the later generations and 29.1 percent of the second generation were laborers; the corresponding percentages for white-collar workers are 10.3 and 16.3. Furthermore, 24.7 percent of the second-generation respondents had annual family incomes of \$8,000 or over, but only 3.8 percent of the later-generation respondents.

Thus, with no educational advantages over later generations, second-generation Mexican-Americans have been the most mobile segment of this particular Mexican descent population. A partial explanation lies in the generally non-mobile nature of one segment of the later-generation population: the descendants of the early colonial settlers in California and New Mexico respectively, the "Californians" and the "Hispanos," both of which groups habitually call themselves "Spanish." While the latter may be in their own eyes or in the eyes of many Anglos socially superior to the late comers, they are in general their socioeconomic inferiors. It is likewise from the second generation that the community leaders of Pomona's Mexican-American population have been drawn. Of the dozen most prominent leaders, all are second generation or came to the United States as small children.

In the course of the research a social-class scale was devised on the basis of informant interviews, and four classes identified, from low to high: I, II, III, IV.¹⁷ Of the second gen-

eration 11 respondents (12.8%) were classified into Class IV, but only one respondent or 3.4 percent from the later generations.

Although later generations had a lower median age than the second generation, age was inversely associated with upward mobility, undoubtedly at least in part because of the inverse association of educational attainment with age. There is furthermore a high degree of association between respondent's schooling and occupation (a *chi* square of 17.66 statistically significant at the .01 level). When father's occupation and respondent's schooling are considered simultaneously, the *chi* square (12.65) is also significant at the .01 level. Upwardly mobile respondents had the highest median years of schooling (10.7) although for the nonmobile and the downwardly mobile respondents it was the same (8.5).

Language usage is one of the most sensitive indicators of degree of acculturation, and use of the English rather than the Spanish language in the interview was found to be significantly associated with upward mobility.

One of the commonest assertions in the literature which concerns itself with the mobility of Mexican-Americans, who are predominantly Roman Catholic, is that one of the avenues for mobility is through affiliation with a Protestant denomination. It is sometimes asserted that the "Protestant ethic" promotes the goals of individual success, whereas Catholicism emphasizes the family and other traditional values. One way up and out of the Mexican-American caste is to convert to Protestantism, according to very widespread opinion. These various assertions found no support in the Pomona data. Rather, the data indicate quite the opposite: more upward mobility for Catholics, no tendency for Protestants, and a tendency toward downward mobility for persons reporting no religious affiliation. It might appear as if the traditional religious ties of this group strengthen rather than weaken the individual's chances of upward mobility; further, that conversion to Protestantism may be a substitute for rather than an avenue to upward mobility.

if they possessed only *one* of the following characteristics, and in Class IV if they possessed any *two* of them: (a) they resided in Area A; (b) they had white-collar employment; (c) they had a total family income of \$8,000 or over.

¹⁷ Those respondents both with incomes of less than \$4,000 and with less than five years of schooling, also all persons on relief, were grouped into Class I. Respondents were classified in Class III

The researchers originally hypothesized that upwardly mobile respondents would have a higher degree of class awareness than the non-mobile or downwardly mobile, likewise that they would perceive themselves as standing higher in the class structure. While results were in the expected direction, none of them reached a statistical level of significance, except class self-awareness. In view of the large amount of both upward and downward mobility it is interesting to note that upwardly mobile and downwardly mobile respondents were more often able to identify their own class position than were nonmobile respondents.

It was found that the nonmobile respondents had a lower average annual family income than either the upwardly mobile or the downwardly mobile. The higher the income category, the higher was the percentage of upwardly mobile respondents, and the lower the percentage of the downwardly mobile, except that a higher percentage (30.6) of the respondents in the \$6,000-\$7,999 bracket than of those in the \$4,000-\$5,999 bracket (25.6) were downwardly mobile.

The researchers found that upwardly mobile Mexicans did not generally take on a "Spanish" identification as commonly suggested in the literature; only one-fifth of the upwardly mobile in the writer's sample had done so, as contrasted with one-tenth of the nonmobile and almost one-sixth of the downwardly mobile. These differences were not statistically significant. It is striking, however, that no respondent residing in area *A*, predominantly Anglo and the most desirable, called himself "Spanish." There is no evidence of the development of a residential "golden ghetto" in the Jewish model for the elite of this particular ethnic group. Rather, as Mexicans go up and out of the strictly Mexican-American *colonia* they remain loyal to the Mexican identification. There is the development or retention perhaps of ethnocentrism, as contrasted with such phenomena as the color consciousness of the Negro.

Furthermore, no relationship was found between status as such and the tendency to identify as either "Spanish" or "Mexican." Groups frequently referred to by themselves and by Anglos as "Spanish," i.e., the "Hispanos" from New Mexico and descendants of the "old Cali-

fornia families" in Pomona were of average status. The highest status individuals were second-generation persons who preferred to call themselves "Mexicans" or "Mexican-Americans." A major change in group identification seems to be underway with increasing pride toward the word "Mexican" and away from the term "Spanish."¹⁸

Horizontal mobility within the community studied has resulted in social differentiation of Mexican-Americans by residential area. In Pomona, Mexican-Americans residing in the "better" residential areas have a higher rate of home ownership than those in the lower ranking areas. Rank of area was also found to be associated with the hierarchy of occupational skills, income, and percentage of respondents interviewed in English. The proportion of second-generation respondents found in the higher ranking areas was greater than the proportion of either first-generation or third and later-generation respondents. However, no definite relationship between the two types of mobility, horizontal and vertical, was found. It is the persons in the higher socioeconomic levels per se, rather than those who have been upwardly mobile who live in the more desirable areas. Although there was a tendency for the latter to live in such areas, the association was not found to be statistically significant.

CONCLUSIONS

Principal conclusions of the study are as follows: (1) An area random sample of Mexican-American adults disclosed that 40.1 percent had been upwardly mobile, 31.3 percent nonmobile, and 27.2 percent downwardly mobile; (2) The second generation of Mexican-Americans experienced a higher percentage of upwardly mobile respondents (51.2) and a lower percentage of downwardly mobile respondents (22.1) than earlier or later generations; (3) The second generation similarly enjoyed the highest average income, the highest average occupational status, and were overrepresented in the highest status residential areas; (4) Upwardly mobile Mexican-American respondents were better educa-

¹⁸ Of interest, too, is the fact that in Southern California there are now virtually no "Spanish" restaurants, but a tremendous increase in restaurants described as "Mexican," an important change from two decades or so ago.

cated, more often preferred English, were relatively more likely to be Catholic than Protestant, had a greater degree of class awareness, and had higher average incomes; (5) Upwardly mobile Mexican-Americans have retained their Mexican ethnic identification; (6) No significant relationship was found between vertical and horizontal mobility in this Mexican-American population.

The historicity of any sociological statement

regarding the acculturation and mobility of minority groups deserves to be recognized. These two processes do not necessarily lead inevitably to assimilation to majority social and religious patterns. Formal considerations are of less consequence than the concrete social conditions during which each generation reaches maturity. While sharing certain sociological dimensions with other ethnic groups, each minority group is in a very real sense unique.

THE HASHER: A STUDY OF ROLE CONFLICT*

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ABSTRACT

The complex of behavioral expectations linked with the position of "college man" is seen to have components which conflict with behavioral expectations associated with the position of "hasher" in a sorority. Participant observation in a subject sorority and interviews with hashers, members, and staffs of seven other campus-affiliated sororities reveal that the individual who must enact both roles is aided in the amelioration of the conflict by a defense pattern which is institutionalized in the hasher informal organization. If the individual is to become a member of that informal organization he must learn and enact these defenses along with the job requirements. Thus, in this case of perpetuated role conflict, defense mechanisms, though they are implemented by individuals, are socially defined and provided by and within the conflict engendering social situation itself.

The effect of role conflict upon personal and social adjustment has been of considerable interest to social scientists. Typically, the individual's reaction to a role conflict situation has been described in terms of traditional defense mechanisms. Burchard, for example, writing of the contradictory behavioral expectations facing the military chaplain, describes four representative solutions to the officer-clergyman conflict: (1) Rationalization (Someone has to carry the gospel to these boys), (2) Compartmentalization (Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Cae-

sar's and unto God the things that are God's), (3) Repression (I don't see any conflict), (4) Withdrawal (I'd rather not talk about it).¹ Cousins, reporting the behavior of subjects in experimentally contrived role conflict, observed "rationalization, displacements, and wish fulfilling fantasy" as modal responses.²

Role conflict, however, is experienced within the broad scope of perceived social environment. Defense mechanisms, as solutions to the conflict situation, are not isolated from the social context in which that conflict takes place. In fact, it is likely that a role conflict which has

*The authors gratefully acknowledge the helpful comments of S. Stansfeld Sargent, who critically reviewed the original manuscript. This article is based on a paper read in the Social Psychology Section of the Southwestern Psychological Association Convention, April, 1965.

¹W. Burchard, "Role Conflicts of Military Chaplains," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (August 1954), pp. 528-535.

²A. N. Cousins, "Social Equilibrium and the Psychodynamic Mechanisms," *Social Forces*, 30 (December 1951), pp. 202-209.