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The Social Role of the Grandmother Among Puerto Ricans on the Mainland

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Loyola University Chicago

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THE SOCIAL ROLE OF THE GRANDMOTHER AMONG PUERTO RICANS ON THE MAINLAND

by

Constance E. Ludwig

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

February 1977
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VITA

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CHAPTER I

ROLE CONSENSUS IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH
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ROLE CONSENSUS IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Role consensus has been defined as the agreement among the members of a social system on expectations associated with position in a role. (Gross, Mason & McEachern, 1958:43) Sociological research on the functioning of social systems has demonstrated the importance of consensus on social roles present in these systems. Joseph Rogers, writing ten years after the Gross, Mason & McEachern study, went so far as to state "...the importance of the concepts of role consensus has been so well documented that it can now be treated as an assumption by sociologists." (Rogers, 1968:504)

The rapid development of role consensus importance can be readily traced through sociological literature. Merton (1949:356-379) when discussing instability and articulation in the role-set, postulated the source of instability as deriving from the fact that "...anyone occupying a particular position has role partners who are differently located in the social structure." Merton saw as a result of the varied locations, the role partners having in some measure, varied expectations on the role from those held by
the occupant of the position in question. For Merton, this lack of consensus "...appears to be the major structural basis for potential disturbance of a stable role-set." (Merton, 1949a:379)

Klapp (1957:336) cited the necessity for consensus when speaking of role as a necessary part of the functioning of social systems. To Klapp, so important was consensus, that without it, the concept of role remained as diverse ideas in the heads of men unable to function within the social system. Later, social psychologists, Secord and Backman (1964:468) also posited the value of consensus especially "...when human behavior is viewed in terms of position and role."

In conjunction with the quoted and other theorists and anthologists, many of the sociologists involved in research have given increased attention to the importance of role consensus. Studies testing hypotheses derived from the basic postulates of consensus have demonstrated empirically the effect of consensus on the social system.

Hall (1952) studying the role behavior of incumbents of the position of aircraft commanders, investigated the relationship between cohesiveness and role consensus. His study sustained his hypothesis that role consensus is positively related to crew cohesiveness.

Relating role consensus to organizational size,
Thomas (1959) in his study of welfare workers found that smaller units yielded greater role consensus, greater breadth of role conception, higher ethical commitment and better quality of work performance.

It was posited by Hanson (1962) in his study of role consensus between hospital administrators, hospital board members and community leaders that a particular role is described differently by the incumbent and his role partner to the extent that each has differing linkages with other social systems.

Hanson's study is of significance to this researcher not only in his affirmation of the importance of role consensus but also because his study is based on Loomis' systematic-linkage hypothesis couples with Homan's interaction hypothesis. So, too, will the development of this study be partially based on these two hypotheses.

The results of the Gross, Mason & McEachern (1958a: 97) study of the roles of school superintendent and school board members is also valuable to this study. Their basic working hypothesis "...that there will be different amounts of consensus on different expectations within both samples and between the two samples", was first tested by these sociologists. This hypothesis led to their operational definition of the two forms of consensus: intraposition and interposition consensus. Secord & Backman (1964a:473) quote
the Gross, Mason & McEachern definition as follows: "Intraposition consensus pertains to agreement among incumbents of a position on the expectations which apply to that position, while interposition consensus pertains to agreement between incumbents and their role partners on the expectations which apply to either of the two positions."

This study will deal partially with and expand the interposition consensus findings of Gross, Mason & McEachern. In their findings on interposition consensus, Gross, Mason & McEachern (1958b:191) could not associate consensus with similarity of social and cultural background factors or amount of interaction between the positional incumbents. They stated that:

"...there have been no relationships demonstrated between the homogeneity of a superintendent and his board and consensus between them on the expectations for their two positions, so that we must conclude that there is no evidence that would support their homogeneity hypothesis for incumbents of two positions."

However, they did find that:

"...whether or not there is a relationship between the homogeneity of members of a group and their consensus on role expectations is dependent, first, on the characteristics on which the homogeneity measures are obtained, and second, on the positions occupied by the incumbents under examination."

It can therefore be assumed from a review of the sociological literature on role consensus that the level of consensus on role definitions may be an important dimension affecting the functioning of social systems. In addition,
the degree or levels of consensus as perceived by the incumbents of various positions may also be an important variable affecting the behavior of such incumbents.

Studies leading to these assumptions have been substantiated within the framework of a professional structure. It would seem of equal sociological importance to study role consensus within a nonprofessional framework. Perhaps through the study of discrepancies found within these role expectations one could better see the effect of cultural changes on role consensus and thereby expand the findings of Gross, Mason & McEachern.
CHAPTER II

ROLE CONSENSUS AS RELATED TO SOCIALIZATION
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ROLE CONSENSUS AS RELATED TO SOCIALIZATION
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In Gross, Mason & McEachern's study of consensus on role expectations, the degree of consensus necessary for the functioning of the social system was dependent for the most part upon a well developed bureaucratic and rational training program for the positional incumbents of the social roles of school superintendent and school board members. Their findings indicate, furthermore, that this role has been unaffected by the daily life of culture. The majority of research on consensus has included, like the Gross, Mason & McEachern study, roles based upon a well developed bureaucratic and rational training program. Their findings on the effect of consensus on social role would not necessarily, therefore, reflect the same findings as a study based on a role depending upon a less defined process of socialization and training period.

Brim speaks of this training period or the process of acquiring social roles in society as "socialization—which is defined as the acquiring of knowledge, skills, and dispositions that make persons more or less able members of their society." (Brim, 1966:3) In examining Brim's defini-
ition, it is noted that two functions appear to be necessary for the individual as they acquire the culture of their group. They must: 1) recognize the statuses and 2) learn the appropriate role prescriptions and the complimentary behavior.

One of the highest motivating forces for learning this role behavior is the reference groups of the individual --both past and present, which provide a static relational situation. However, if this static relational situation of a social role were altered for positional incumbents who are experiencing varying degrees of cultural change, then these changes would add another dimension affecting the organization of role expectations and behavior. As a result, there would ensue a disorganization of expectations and behaviors. This disorganization would be dependent upon the degree to which the cultural changes were influencing the positional incumbents. Possible role strain could therefore be produced when the positional incumbents would develop varied expectations and behavior.

Secord & Backman (1946b:470) have stated that:

"...where expectations are unclear, strain is produced by individual uncertainty about what is expected by the many conflicting interpretations of what role behavior is appropriate."

In regard to minority individuals, Young (1969:117) claims that "...the variety and inconsistencies of role expectations for them is a cause of role strain and makes the
choice and accomplishment of personal objectives especially troublesome."

Glazer & Moynihan (1963:16) have spoken of such minority groups undergoing cultural changes that affect inconsistencies in role expectations as not merely "...survivals from the age of mass immigration, but a new social form." Thomas & Znaniecki (1918) have also pointed out the effects of a new culture upon the very lives of the migratory Polish ethnic community in the United States.

It appears that some roles will be more highly affected by these cultural changes. For example, the role of the familial social system are likely to be more sensitive to cultural changes when the members of the family group are likely to experience these changes differentially. Thomas & Znaniecki (1918a) found that children of immigrants did not acquire the traditional attitude of familial solidarity, but rather adopted the individualistic attitude of American society. Kunz (1968:364) says that: "...the immigrant straddles two cultures." Woods (1957:22) says that:

"...the extent of acculturation is a factor which has a bearing on ethnic patterns. Cultural forms as they prevail in the mother country will still predominate among recent immigrants, but will be modified considerably by American culture patterns among the second, third, and later generations."

Because of this complexity of cultural change in an immigrant group, the process of adult socialization in learning a new role may also become more complicated. Of this
Adult socialization, Rosow (1963:35) says that: "...it is the process of inculcating new values and behavior appropriate to adult positions and group memberships." It is commonly held that the socialization one receives as a child cannot possibly prepare one for all the roles that one might be called upon to assume as an adult. Within the process of maturation, not only does the social structure change, but so do the role statuses and prescriptions. Furthermore, Brim (1966c:19) tells us that

"...even in relatively stable societies one cannot be socialized in childhood to handle successfully all the roles he will confront in the future. Socialization in later years builds on attitudes and skills acquired earlier, using them as a foundation for later, more demanding learning."

In order to examine the effect of cultural change upon a social role assumed during adulthood, one must further add the dimension of time and change to better examine the differing degrees of change. As Riley & Foner (1968:1-2) have said:

"Over the lifetime of any individual or cohort, not only the organism, the personality, and the age-appropriate roles, but also the structure of the society and the roles it affords are simultaneously changing as norms, mores, attitudes, or knowledge change, or as wars and/or economic depressions may occur. Individual aging and social change interpenetrate and affect each other."

Therefore, this study is devoted to analyzing the social role of the grandmother in a recently migrated population. Because of the differing degrees of cultural change, it appears that the process of socialization into this role
should produce differing degrees of expectations on the role of grandmother. In this study of role consensus, a three-generational population should yield the time-change factor enabling one to examine the role in this dimension. So, the three positions of grandmother, daughter and granddaughter in one kinship chain have been selected in order to study the social role of the grandmother in a changing cultural setting.

The sampling for this study has been selected from the population of Puerto Ricans who have migrated to Chicago for some now twenty years and are presently experiencing varying degrees of cultural and social background change. Of these migrants, Professor Joseph Fitzpatrick, S. J. (Moreau, 1969:12-29) has said:

"They come from a way of life which they cherish; they have traditions of respect; they know what others expect of them; they know the things for which they will be honored and the things for which they will be punished or despised. Then they come...and all the expectations change."

It is the effect of these changing expectations on the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture that the researcher plans to measure in this study.
CHAPTER III

ROLE CONSENSUS AS RELATED TO THE SOCIAL ROLE OF THE GRANDMOTHER IN THE PUERTO RICAN CULTURE
CHAPTER III

ROLE CONSENSUS AS RELATED TO THE SOCIAL ROLE OF THE GRANDMOTHER IN THE PUERTO RICAN CULTURE

Before attempting to measure this effect of cultural change on the expectations of grandmother, one must examine the presently published literature on the social role of grandmother. In an anthropological study by Apple (1956:656), hypotheses are tested dealing with authority and relationship of grandparents and grandchildren. This study reports a confirmation and expansion of Nadel's hypothesis which states that friendly equality between grandparents and grandchildren appears only with certain patterns of authority in the family--indicating that formal relationships match up with the grandparents being authority figures, while indulgent relationships match up with grandparents dissociated from family authority.

Neugarten and Weinstein (1964:199) note that:

"...Albrecht...concluded that grandparents neither had nor coveted responsibility for grandchildren; that they took pleasure from the emotional response and occasionally took reflected glory from the accomplishments of their grandchildren."

Another study quoted by Neugarten & Weinstein (1964a:200-201) was that of Peter Townsend on a sampling of working class in London.
"He found many grandmothers who maintained very large responsibility for the care of the grandchild, but he also found that for the total sample, the relationship of grandparents to grandchildren might be characterized as one of 'privileged disrespect.' Children were expected to be more respectful of parents than of grandparents."

Reporting on their study, Neugarten and Weinstein (1964b:200-201) analyzed their data in terms of: 1) degree of comfort in the grandparent role, 2) significance of the role, and 3) style with which the role is enacted. As recorded in the study, the

"...majority of grandparents expressed only comfort, satisfaction and pleasure with the role. About one-third of the sample were experiencing sufficient difficulty in the role that they made open reference to their discomfort, their disappointment, or their lack of positive reward. This discomfort indicated strain in thinking of oneself as a grandparent."

Neugarten and Weinstein (1964c:203) suggest that: "Grandparenthood might best be studied as a middle-age phenomena if the investigator is interested in the assumption of new roles and the significance of new roles in adult socialization."

Another study by Updegraf (1968:178) on the changing role of the grandmother, has implications that seem pertinent to the problem that will be studied in this analysis of the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture. She claims that the American kinship family has changed with the changing times and where once, the country was a rural agricultural society, it has now become an urban and industrialized society. So too, the family has changed from the
"extended to a nuclear family emphasis."

Her concept of role is that it "...describes the process of cooperative behavior and communication within a social system." (Updegraf, 1968a:178) For her, the social system is the family unit and as the role evolves, "...it becomes a specific organization of habits and attitudes of an individual occupying a given position in a system of social relationships." (Updegraf, 1968b:180)

The findings of Updegraf (1968c:180) indicate "...that some aspects of the traditional role of the grandmother are changing." For example, not all the generations of grandmothers have been significantly important as authority figures in their families. Also, fewer grandmothers are living in the same home with their grandchildren, thereby not allowing for full development of this authority figure. However, there has also been a marked increase in indulgence over the three generations on the part of the grandmother toward her grandchild. As compared with Neugarten's and Weinstein's study, the grandmother does serve a somewhat modified role in being the continuer of generations. The grandmother of today spends "...more time with her grandchildren in the form of child care than did the grandmother of the past." (Updegraf, 1968d:180)

In a study analyzing grandparenthood from the perspective of the developing grandchild, the Kahanas (1967) found "...that the meaning of the grandparental role for
the aging grandparent must be understood in the context of the changing needs of the developing grandchild." Their findings were consistent with the cognitive shifts in the growing children. However, they did not examine what changes might be taking place in the grandparent herself that could equal these changes in the children.

Von Hentig (1964:389) says that:

"Grandparents, and especially the grandmother, reassumes a sociological function the moment a gap has to be filled and passing members of the intermediary generation are to be replaced. Such rescue action may be necessitated by the departure or disappearance of one of the parents."

Even though he was referring to the post-war period, this is somewhat the same phenomena that has been related to the researcher through her contact with the Puerto Ricans in the Chicago area. It appears that with industrialization on the island of Puerto Rico, more and more women were solicited for the work force. To replace them in the home, the grandmother was often called upon to "take the place" of mother. More and more, she has become the authority figure and a highly respected one in the family. Domingo Luigi (1969:Lecture 3) related that with economic changes in Puerto Rico, the role of women changed as well as that of the men. For the male, there was no role model; he often remained at home while his wife worked and the grandmother supervised the home.

Tumin (1961) further states that many significant
functions are assigned to women in the Puerto Rican family system. In his analysis of obligations to grandparents, his data yielded a different response depending upon the economic level of the respondent. The higher the economic level, the less likely would one relate an obligation to help grandparents, while the lower the economic level, the more likely would one relate an obligation to help and support grandparents.

Because of a lack of literature relating specifically to the role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture, the researcher has also drawn from the literature on Puerto Ricans in general. For example, Lewis (1965:XXVI, Intro.) says of the Puerto Ricans that they are "...a family oriented culture," and that most of their "...interpersonal relations occur within a fairly narrow circle of close relatives, which serves as a defense in economic and emotional crises." (Lewis, 1965a:XX, Intro.) He further tells us that they persist in their Puerto Rican way of life, even after many years of residence on the Mainland, because of their maintenance of close ties with the Island. Their contacts with Anglos were so few that in reality "...they perpetuated their own culture in a small island in the city." (Lewis, 1965b:XII, Intro.) Because of these few contacts, he relates that visiting patterns were usually restricted to relatives.

Even though there is a shift from an extended family system in Puerto Rico to a smaller one in New York, "the
Puerto Rican mother expects to have someone around to relieve her in the care of her children." (Glazer & Moynihan, 1963:125) In many instances the person is usually her mother and a grandmother of the kinship chain. In fact, "...the net of culture keeps up pride and encourages effort; the strong family serves to organize and channel resources in new situations." (Glazer & Moynihan, 1963a:89)

But not all situations can be handled this smoothly, because there is yet another dimension that must be examined in the Puerto Rican grandmother's new situation--the dimension of language. Since "...language is the medium through which culture is transmitted, ...it becomes a key which opens to a child the rest of his culture." (Woods, 1956:25) Moreau (1969a:29) writes of the Chicago Puerto Ricans that

"...it is common for second-generation Puerto Ricans to speak little or no Spanish, to know little or nothing about the island, and not to care greatly about it. Recently, for example, a group of mainland Puerto Rican teen-agers visited the island and the dignitaries and guides assigned to them had to speak in English so all would understand. The feeling of pride by such younger Puerto Ricans is nonetheless intense, but its framework is not the island, but Puerto Ricanism as it is acquired in Chicago."

As Green (Chicago Daily News, 1971:1) states in the title of his article, the "Latin student is a victim of the language barrier."

Because language is so important in the transmission of culture, it is a controlling factor in the socialization
process in assuming an adult role for a migrant and her kinship chain. Therefore, this study of role consensus on the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture hopes to account for such differences in cultural transmission by the selection of the three generational positions in a single kinship chain of women.

It appears that the greater part of grandmother's social and cultural background has been laid on the Island of Puerto Rico, while her daughter has been more equally exposed to both Mainland and Island influences. Her granddaughter, on the other hand, would appear to be farthest removed from the grandmother in homogeneity of social and cultural background factors.

Therefore, in this study of role consensus on the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture, it is hoped to be able to demonstrate that consensus on role expectations will be positively associated with homogeneity of social and cultural background factors. Furthermore, the researcher will be looking for new dimensions that might be present in the role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture not only because of heterogeneity of social and cultural background factors, but also because of linkages of the positional incumbents to other social systems.
CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL DESIGN
CHAPTER IV.

THEORETICAL DESIGN

In this analysis of role consensus within the social role of grandmother, the operational definition of "role" is that posited by Znaniecki. (1965:203) For him, every role involves four components: 1) the social circle of which the performing person is the center: 2) the person's social self: 3) the person's rights which his circle and himself recognize as due to him in his role: and 4) the person's duties which the social circle expect of him and which he tends to fulfill." (Znaniecki, 1965a) Znaniecki further states about the second component of the role that besides the person's social self within this circle, there are also "...a set of agents who accept him and cooperate with him" (1965b) in the performance of his role.

Since Gross, Mason & McEachern (1958c:43) have operationalized position to "...refer to the location of an actor or class of actors in a system of social relationships," it is assumed that the set of agents within the social circle as defined by Znaniecki can also be referred to as positional incumbents. Based on this definition, there are several positional incumbents to be considered in the social role of grandmother: her children, grandchildren, spouses of her
children, her spouse, parents of the spouses of her children, and kin and friends who are also grandmothers. (cf. Fig. 1)

For the purpose of this study, only those members of the social circle have been selected who form a three-generational kinship chain. They are considered to be the most important in the functioning of the social role of grandmother and most representative of a heterogeneity of social and cultural background. Therefore, the three members of grandmother, daughter and granddaughter are the positional incumbents to be included in this study. Because it appears that the daughter and granddaughter are probably experiencing the greatest social and cultural background changes, it is assumed that these positions coupled with that of grandmother will provide a heterogeneous model of social and cultural background.

In operationalizing intraposition and interposition consensus, Gross, Mason & McEachern (1958d), stated that intraposition consensus pertains to agreement among the incumbents of a position on the expectations which apply to that position, whereas interposition consensus pertains to agreement between incumbents and their role partners on the expectations which apply to either of the two positions. Since this study deals with interposition consensus, the researcher will be examining agreement on expectations of duties and rights of the role of grandmother between the
Fig. 1.--The Social Circle of the Role of Grandmother

positional incumbents of the persons of grandmother, daughter and granddaughter.

Therefore, the dependent variable (y) degree of interposition consensus is defined as: agreement between the positional incumbents of grandmother and daughter and granddaughter on expectations of duties and rights of the role of grandmother.

The independent variable (x) homogeneity of social and cultural background factors will be defined as: degree
of similarity in the following factors of Hispanic cultural tradition as found in: (Glazer & Moynihan, 1963b; Steward, 1956 & Stycos, 1955) and dichotomized for familial and non-familial characteristics.

**Familial Characteristics:**

a) Spirit of "Machismo" in Child-rearing Practices  
b) Ritual Kinship  
c) Courtship Patterns

**Non-familial Characteristics:**

d) Language Use and Preference  
e) Cultural Customs of the Church

It is assumed that the arbitrary choice of these factors will be indicators of social and cultural background factors that would affect the organization of role expectations and behavior of the role of grandmother.

Therefore, the researcher hypothesizes that:

**H₁**: That there is a positive association between similarity of social and cultural background factors of grandmother, daughter and granddaughter and interposition consensus on the expectations of the role of grandmother.

So, the null hypothesis to be tested is:

**H₀₁**: There is no association between similarity of social and cultural background factors of grandmother, daughter and granddaughter and
interposition consensus on the expectations of the role of grandmother.

In examining the role of grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture on the Mainland from the positions of grandmother, daughter and granddaughter, it appears that homogeneity of social and cultural background would necessarily lead to similarity of interaction patterns. However, assuming that each of the positional incumbents will be linked with systems other than the family system in varying degrees, the researcher chooses for the independent variable (x) systematic-linkage interaction. This is defined as: the frequency and type of association linking the positional incumbent with the family, kinship group, peer groups and friends. These association patterns will be dichotomized for Island-Mainland association as well as Puerto Rican-Anglo associations.

So, the following factors have arbitrarily been chosen to indicate the linkage of the positional incumbents with other systems:

f) Organizational Participation Index  
g) Friendship Association Index  
h) Familial Association Index  
i) Island Association Index  

The dependent variable (y) degree of interposition consensus is once again defined as: agreement between the positional
incumbents of grandmother, daughter-and granddaughter on expectations of duties and rights of the role of grandmother.

Therefore, the researcher hypothesizes that:

H$_2$: There is a positive association between systematic-linkage interaction and interposition consensus on the expectations of the role of grandmother.

So, the null hypothesis to be tested is:

H$_{02}$: There is no association between systematic-linkage interaction and interposition consensus on the expectations of the role of grandmother.
CHAPTER V

METHODS AND PROCEDURES
CHAPTER V

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The instrument to be used in collecting the data is a structured interview which includes ordinal data on the independent and dependent variables. Because the dependent variable is the degree of role consensus on expectations of duties and rights of grandmother, the researcher spent three months in exploratory interviewing in order to isolate the duties and rights of grandmother, as perceived by the positional incumbents of grandmother, daughter and granddaughter. After sessions with each of the three positional incumbents, the community representatives of the Division Street Urban Progress Center were interviewed concerning these duties and rights. From these sessions, a scale of nine duties and ten rights on role expectations of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture were isolated and accepted as part of the instrument to be used. To establish the reliability of this scale, the Kuder-Richardson Reliability Test will be run on the responses of these duties and rights.

Since both hypotheses deal with interposition consensus, this will be measured by a normative response on the scale of nine duties and ten rights. Following the format of an ordinal scale, three categorical responses will be
used in eliciting these responses. They are: 1) Definitely should; 2) It doesn't make any difference; and 3) Definitely should not. In addition to a normative response, the interviewer will also elicit a behavioral response on this scale of nine duties and ten rights. These behavioral responses will provide the researcher with a greater potentiality for an analysis of the possible changes on the expectations of the role of grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture.

The association indexes, besides including the dichotomized responses of Mainland-Island Residence and Puerto Rican-Anglo association, will also elicit responses on types and frequencies of contacts. These will be ordered according to importance of each. In ordering the frequency of contacts, a five-point scale is being used with the following possible responses: 1) daily; 2) once or twice weekly; 3) once or twice monthly; 4) once or twice yearly and 5) less often than yearly.

In drawing a sample from the some 80,000 Puerto Ricans estimated to be living in Chicago, it was discovered that there was not a complete listing of the population available. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, those five census tracts having the largest proportion of Puerto Ricans according to the 1960 census count (Community Fact Book of Chicago:1960) were selected. Then, the procedure of block sampling (National Opinion Research Center Inter-
viewer Kit:1967:2) was used to select the population to be studied. The five tracts chosen are depicted on the map (cf. Figure II) with the number of kinship systems chosen from each tract. This number of kinship systems was proportionate to the population in each of the census tracts.

The criteria for selection of people within these five census tracts is: 1) grandmother living in Chicago who was born in Puerto Rico; 2) daughter of said grandmother living in Chicago and 3) daughter of said daughter between the ages of ten and twenty living in Chicago. Thirty-five such kinship systems are included in the study, thus providing a total of thirty-five triads and one-hundred five dyads.

When considering the hypotheses, the dependent variable of interposition consensus will be measured by means of a discrepancy score. The researcher assumes that the lower the discrepancy score, the greater will be the role consensus. Since each of the nine duties and ten rights are being ranked on a three-point ordinal scale, the range of possible raw scores for expectations on duties is from nine to twenty-seven, while the range of possible raw scores for expectations on rights is from ten to thirty. A discrepancy score of interposition consensus on each item will be computed by the following mathematical procedures:
Fig. II -- The Five Census Tracts From Which The Sample Was Drawn

North Ave.
LeMoyne
Hirsch
Evergreen
Potomac
Division Street

Milwaukee Avenue

California Fairfield Washtenaw Talman Rockwell Maplewood Campbell Artesian Western Claremont Oakley Bell Leavitt Hoyne Damen Wolcott Marion Court Honore Wood Sacramento Paulina Marshfield

Population of Puerto Ricans
Census Tract I: 4,135
Census Tract II: 6,959
Census Tract III: 5,579
Census Tract IV: 3,749
Census Tract V: 8,562

No. Kinship Systems
6
8
7
5
9
\[ DS^1 = \text{Grandmother's Raw Score} - \text{Daughter's Raw Score} \]
\[ DS^2 = \text{Daughter's Raw Score} - \text{Granddaughter's Raw Score} \]
\[ DS^3 = \text{Grandmother's Raw Score} - \text{Granddaughter's Raw Score} \]

Then to determine an average total discrepancy score for the duties and rights of grandmother, the formula is:

\[ \text{TADS} = \frac{\text{Sum of Total Discrepancy Scores on each item}}{\text{Number of items}} \]

The independent variable (x) homogeneity of social and cultural background factors will also be measured by means of a discrepancy score on the social and cultural background factors. These discrepancy scores will then be ranked from low to high, arbitrarily placing them into the three categories of high, medium and low homogeneity. A low discrepancy score will mean high homogeneity, while a high discrepancy score will mean low homogeneity.

To test null hypothesis one, these three categories of discrepancy scores for both the dependent and the independent variables will be placed in a three by three contingency table and the tau test (\( \tau' \)) corrected for ties (Anderson & Zelditch, 1968:152) will be applied to see if there is an association between these two variables. Considering the fact that ordinal data was elicited in this study and "...that \( \tau \) (tau) itself is not a very sensible measure when there are ties (Anderson & Zelditch, 1968a:152), it was
decided to use the tau test \( (\tau') \) corrected for ties. Furthermore, these contingency tables will also be constructed on the discrepancy scores of all the possible dyads as well as triads.

In dealing with \( H_2 \), the dependent variable \((y)\) of interposition consensus will once again be measured by means of a discrepancy score. The independent variable \((x)\) degree of systematic-linkage interaction will also be measured by means of a discrepancy score on the associational and organizational indexes. These discrepancy scores on the associational indexes will be arbitrarily divided into high, medium and low assigning values of one, two and three. The average of these scores will be developed into a total associational index score which can then be converted into a discrepancy score by subtracting it from that of another positional incumbent.

To test null hypothesis two, these three categories of discrepancy scores for both the independent and dependent variables will then be placed in a three by three contingency table and the tau test \( (\tau') \) corrected for ties (Anderson & Zelditch, 1968a:152) will be applied to see if there is an association between these two variables. Furthermore, these contingency tables will also be constructed on the discrepancy scores of all the possible dyads as well as triads.
CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF DATA

A. TABLES
TABLE I

MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF LEVELS OF DISCREPANCY SCORES WITHIN EACH KINSHIP CHAIN ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF GRANDMOTHER DISTRIBUTED FOR LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF GRANDMOTHER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marginal Distributions of Levels of Discrepancy Scores</th>
<th>Range of Discrepancy Score Within Each Level</th>
<th>Discrepancy Differ-ences</th>
<th>No. of Kinship Chains</th>
<th>Levels of Consensus on Social Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>.1 - .8</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>.9 - 1.4</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1.5 - 2.3</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average Discrepancy Score .7

No. of Kinship Chains 35
TABLE II

MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF LEVELS OF AVERAGE DISCREPANCY SCORES WITHIN EACH KINSHIP CHAIN ON SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND DISTRIBUTED FOR LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marginal Distributions of Levels of Discrepancy Scores</th>
<th>Range of Discrepancy Score Within Each Level</th>
<th>Discrepancy Differences</th>
<th>No. of Kinship Chains</th>
<th>Levels of Consensus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>0.9 - 1.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>1.5 - 1.9</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>2.0 - 3.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Average Discrepancy Score: 0.7

Total No. Kinship Chains: 35
### TABLE III

**Marginal Distributions of Levels of Average Discrepancy Scores within Each Kinship Chain of Associational Indexes Distributed for Levels of Homogeneity of Associational Indexes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marginal Distributions of Levels of Discrepancy Scores</th>
<th>Range of Discrepancy Score Within Each Level</th>
<th>Discrepancy Differences</th>
<th>No. of Kinship Chains</th>
<th>Levels of Consensus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2 - - 8.6</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>9.3 - 13.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>14.0 - 22.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total Average Discrepancy Score** 6.2

**Total No. of Kinship Chains** 35
### TABLE IV

NUMBER OF POSITIONAL INCUMBENTS REPORTING FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATIONS WITH ANGLOS AND LATINS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY SYSTEM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positional Incumbent</th>
<th>Friendships</th>
<th>Anglos</th>
<th>Latins</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granddaughter</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree of Participation</td>
<td>No. of Chains</td>
<td>No. of Respondents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Participation</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Participation</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE VI

RANK ORDER OF TOTAL DISCREPANCY SCORES FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE ACCORDING TO THE DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES MEASURED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Total Discrepancy Scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Friendship Association (I.V.)</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Courtship Patterns (I.V.)</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Organizational Participation (I.V.)</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rights of Grandmother (D.V.)</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ritual Kinship (I.V.)</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Duties of Grandmother (D.V.)</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Customs of the Church (I.V.)</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Spirit of &quot;Machismo&quot; (I.V.)</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Language Use &amp; Preference (I.V.)</td>
<td>820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Association with Island (I.V.)</td>
<td>852</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I.V. = Independent Variable

D.V. = Dependent Variable
TABLE VII

THE MARGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF AVERAGE DISCREPANCY SCORES FOR THE SPIRIT OF MACHISMO FOR GRANDMOTHER--DAUGHTERS (DS₁), DAUGHTERS--GRANDDAUGHTERS (DS₂) AND GRANDDAUGHTERS--GRANDMOTHERS (DS₃) DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND FACTORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of Consensus</th>
<th>A. D. S. for Spirit of Machismo</th>
<th>No. Chains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DS₁</td>
<td>DS₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE VIII

A.D.S. OF MEAN NUMBER OF YEARS LIVED ON MAINLAND FOR GRANDMOTHERS, DAUGHTERS AND GRANDDAUGHTERS DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF GRANDMOTHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of Consensus</th>
<th>Positional Incumbents</th>
<th>Total DS</th>
<th>Total Chains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.D.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DS₁</td>
<td>DS₂</td>
<td>DS₃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE IX

MEAN AGE FOR GRANDMOTHERS, DAUGHTERS AND GRANDDAUGHTERS DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF GRANDMOTHER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of Consensus</th>
<th>Positional Incumbents</th>
<th>Total Mean Age</th>
<th>No. Chains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grandmothers</td>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>Granddaughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>66.8</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>63.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>35.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>14.4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


TABLE X

AVERAGE DISCREPANCY SCORE FOR MEAN NUMBER OF YEARS LIVED ON MAINLAND FOR GRANDMOTHERS, DAUGHTERS AND GRANDDAUGHTERS DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND FACTORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of Consensus</th>
<th>Positional Incumbents (A.D.S. For No. of Yrs. Lived on Mainland)</th>
<th>Total Mean</th>
<th>No. Chains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DS$^1$</td>
<td>DS$^2$</td>
<td>DS$^3$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XI

MEAN AGE FOR GRANDMOTHERS, DAUGHTERS AND GRANDDAUGHTERS DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND FACTORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of Consensus</th>
<th>Positional Incumbents (Mean Age)</th>
<th>Total Mean</th>
<th>No. Chains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grandmothers</td>
<td>Daughters</td>
<td>Granddaughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>63.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>35.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>14.4</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XII

AVERAGE DISCREPANCY SCORES ON LANGUAGE PREFERENCE AND MEAN NUMBER OF YEARS FOR EACH KINSHIP CHAIN DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF GRANDMOTHER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of Consensus</th>
<th>Average Discrepancy Score on Language Preference</th>
<th>Mean Number of Years Lived on Mainland</th>
<th>Number of Chains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE XIII

AVERAGE DISCREPANCY SCORES ON LANGUAGE PREFERENCE AND MEAN NUMBER OF YEARS FOR EACH KINSHIP CHAIN DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND FACTORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of Consensus</th>
<th>Average Discrepancy Scores on Language Preference</th>
<th>Mean Number of Years Lived on Mainland</th>
<th>Number of Chains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XIV

ASSOCIATION OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL ROLE OF GRANDMOTHER WITHIN EACH KINSHIP CHAIN AND CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

SIMILARITY IN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND TOTAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS</th>
<th>LOW</th>
<th>MEDIUM</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = .290$

Reliability Scores: (Duties & Rights) .63
Reliability Scores: (Soc. & Cultural) .96
### TABLE XV

**ASSOCIATION OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL ROLE OF GRANDMOTHER BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF GRANDMOTHER AND DAUGHTER WITH SIMILARITY IN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIMILARITY IN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LOW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALES</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \rho' = .391 \]
TABLE XVI

ASSOCIATION OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL ROLE OF GRANDMOTHER BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF DAUGHTER AND GRANDDAUGHTER WITH SIMILARITY OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIMILARITY IN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND</th>
<th>LOW</th>
<th>MEDIUM</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\tau' = .471$
TABLE XVII

ASSOCIATION OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL ROLE OF GRANDMOTHER BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF GRANDMOTHER AND GRANDDAUGHTER WITH SIMILARITY OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS</th>
<th>LOW</th>
<th>MEDIUM</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = 1.350$
**TABLE XVIII**

ASSOCIATION OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL ROLE OF GRANDMOTHER WITHIN EACH KINSHIP CHAIN WITH SIMILARITY OF ASSOCIATIONAL INDEXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS</th>
<th>LOW</th>
<th>MEDIUM</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TOTALS                                  | 11  | 12     | 12   | 35    |

$\chi^2 = .010$
TABLE XIX

ASSOCIATION OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL ROLE OF GRANDMOTHER BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF GRANDMOTHER AND DAUGHTER WITH SIMILARITY OF ASSOCIATIONAL INDEXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIMILARITY OF ASSOCIATIONAL INDEXES</th>
<th>LOW</th>
<th>MEDIUM</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
\gamma = .015
\]
### TABLE XX

**ASSOCIATION OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL ROLE OF GRANDMOTHER BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF DAUGHTER AND GRANDDAUGHTER WITH SIMILARITY OF ASSOCIATIONAL INDEXES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIMILARITY OF ASSOCIATIONAL INDEXES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDIUM</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVELS OF CONSENSUS ON DUTIES AND RIGHTS</th>
<th>LOW</th>
<th>MEDIUM</th>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
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<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 0.19 \]
### TABLE XXI

**ASSOCIATION OF CONSENSUS ON SOCIAL ROLE OF GRANDMOTHER BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF GRANDMOTHER AND GRANDDAUGHTER WITH SIMILARITY OF ASSOCIATIONAL INDEXES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of Consensus on Duties and Rights</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\chi^2 = .060$
CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF DATA

B. FINDINGS
CHAPTER VI

B. FINDINGS

Prior to an analysis of data for this study, it was necessary to establish levels of consensus and homogeneity on the variables that were measured. The researcher has previously stated that the discrepancy scores among and between the various positions of grandmother, daughter and granddaughter would have to be arbitrarily divided into levels of consensus. Three levels of high, medium and low were arbitrarily chosen as sufficient levels of consensus.

Table I depicts that a low level of discrepancy yields a high level of consensus while a high level of discrepancy yields a low level of consensus on the duties and rights of grandmother. Table II shows the levels of discrepancy as they are distributed for levels of consensus on social and cultural background factors, while Table III depicts the levels of homogeneity on the associational indexes.

In comparing Tables I and II, the ranges of discrepancy scores for a low level of consensus are somewhat higher when considering social and cultural background, than when considering the duties and rights of the role of grandmother. Furthermore, the lowest discrepancy score is
is found in Table I (.1) which shows the differences on duties and rights as scored by the kinship chains. These two tables lead one to believe that this particular sampling of Puerto Rican women are just now being affected culturally, but the social role of grandmother has not as yet been highly affected.

Table III dealing with an average total discrepancy score of associational indexes yields the highest levels of discrepancies of the three variables measured. Therefore, the measurement of associational indexes appears to yield the greatest change factor. If not a change, this measurement at least depicts varying degrees of association within and between the kinship chains. In developing the associational indexes, the researcher arbitrarily chose four factors: organizational participation, friendship association, familial association and island association. However, due to insufficient data caused by an unwillingness on the part of many respondents to reply to the questions on familial association, the researcher left this index out of the average discrepancy score on associational indexes. Therefore, the three factors of organizational participation, friendship association and island association combine to yield the total associational index.

When comparing these first three (3) tables, one can also see that in Table III the total average discrepancy
difference score (6.2) is much greater than that (.7) registered in both Tables I and II. Therefore, it appears that this great difference indicates that the first area of change measured is the different associational patterns developing among this three-generational population of Puerto Rican women.

Table IV, in registering the number and kind of friendships among the positional incumbents, further substantiates the presence of different associational patterns among the three-generational kinship chains studied. As can be seen, only six (6) respondents claimed friendships with Anglos, while sixty-one (61) claimed friendships with Latins. Of the one-hundred five (105) respondents, thirty-eight (38) reported no friendships at all outside of their extended family kinship group.

When examining Table V, the fact that eighteen (18) kinship chains and fifty-four (54) respondents do not participate in any organizational activity at all, re-emphasizes the influence of the extended kinship group. However, seventeen (17) chains and a total of fifty-one (51) respondents do have some degree of participation in organizations. Therefore, almost half of the kinship chains participating in this study are having some organizational participation. But because so few respondents claim friendships with Anglos, it would appear that either the organizations are
predominantly Latin or because of the closeness of family ties, friendships outside their own ethnic group are not valued or looked upon suspectingly.

Table VI which depicts the rank ordering of total discrepancy scores for the population studied reveals that association with the Island of Puerto Rico yielded the greatest total discrepancy score. In fact, the highest ranging from four (4) to ten (10) inclusive are all factors predominantly associated with cultural traditions. However, the two highest rank orderings (Language Use and Preference --9 and Association with Island--10) are both factors that would help the Puerto Rican woman persist in her own way of life rather than being assimilated into the dominant culture of the Mainland. Furthermore, the fact that the discrepancy scores were greatest in these two (2) factors lead one to believe that some of the positional incumbents are at great variance with other positional incumbents on these matters.

The Friendship Association Index yields the lowest discrepancy score, but it must be noted that of the one-hundred five (105) women interviewed, thirty-eight (38) reported that they did not have any friends other than their immediate family members (cf. Table IV). Most of their friendship patterns were established within the Puerto Rican culture since sixty-one (61) reported that their friends were predominantly of Latin descent. In fact, only six (6)
of the total group interviewed reported that they had any friends at all who were Anglos. Therefore, it would necessarily follow that the discrepancy score would be low for the Friendship Associational Index.

Organizational Participation is also ranked low in regard to discrepancy scores and here once again the same pattern appears to emerge—little or no participation outside of the Puerto Rican community. Over fifty percent (50%) of the kinship chains reported no participation in organizational activity. Not one person that reported organizational participation belonged to a completely Anglo directed group. Therefore, the same pattern of a closely knit community group appears when examined in the light of organizational participation.

On the other hand, the "Spirit of Machismo" which is predominantly Hispanic in origin, scores the third from the highest in discrepancy scores. Because this factor has been given so much cultural significance in literature as being that spirit which permeates the masculinity of the Puerto Ricans, the researcher developed Table VII to see how this one factor of the Independent Variable of social and cultural background related to the levels of consensus of duties and rights of grandmothers. As can be seen by examining Table VII, those kinship chains registering the highest degree of consensus on social role of grandmother
also record the lowest discrepancy scores on the "Spirit of Machismo." The only two (2) discrepancies are found amongst the group of Daughters---Granddaughters for the high and medium levels of consensus.

In examining the characteristics of the kinship chains in each of the levels of consensus, the researcher tried to see if a pattern of time-change factor was affecting the role of grandmother. It was thought that the kinship chains in the higher level of consensus would also yield a lower average discrepancy score on the number of years lived on the Mainland. However, as can be seen in Table VIII, the opposite is depicted. The highest average discrepancy score showing the greatest difference in number of years lived on the Mainland is found among those kinship chains having the highest level of consensus on the duties and rights of grandmother. On the other hand, the lowest average discrepancy scores showing the least difference of number of years lived on the Mainland is found among those chains in the lowest level of consensus. So, in this particular sampling of three-generational Puerto Rican women chosen from one neighborhood, the number of years lived on the Mainland does not depict a time-change factor when examined with consensus on the social role of grandmother.

But if one examines the mean age of each of the three groups of women---grandmother, mothers and grand-
daughters—distributed according to consensus on duties and rights of grandmother in Table IX, it can be seen that the mean ages of the women correspond to the levels of consensus on the social role of grandmother and may be a partial explanation of why a time-change factor was not measured in Table VIII. Those kinship chains having the highest consensus on the role of grandmother and the highest average discrepancy on the number of years lived on the Mainland also have the highest mean age. Perhaps, the factor of age relates more to the social role of grandmother as seen by the three-generational sampling of Puerto Rican women than does discrepancy in the number of years lived on the Mainland.

In Tables X and XI, the researcher plotted the same factors as in Tables VIII and IX, but this time the Average Discrepancy Score for Mean Number of Years Lived on the Mainland and the Mean Age of the population were distributed according to levels of consensus on social and cultural background factors. It appears that those kinship chains demonstrating various levels of consensus on social and cultural background factors are affected in somewhat the same way the average discrepancy score for mean number of years lived on the Mainland as they were for those chains demonstrating the same levels of consensus on duties and rights of grandmother. For example, Table X depicts that those kinship chains having the lowest levels of consensus
on social and cultural background factors are those chains that have the lowest average discrepancy score for mean number of years lived on the Mainland. This is exactly the picture that was depicted in Table IX when examining the low level of consensus on duties and rights with the average discrepancy score for mean number of years lived on the Mainland. Maybe, this also brings out the fact that this particular sampling has not lived on the Mainland long enough or had enough contacts outside the familial system to see the effect of these factors on the consensus of the social role of grandmother and/or the social and cultural background factors.

Whereas, in Table X the mean ages of the total population studied relate to the levels of consensus on duties and rights of grandmothers, the same is not true in Table XI for the consensus on social and cultural background factors. Rather, it can be seen that those kinship chains falling into the medium level of consensus on social and cultural background factors also have the highest mean age. So, the age factor does not appear to be as important when dealing with the variable of social and cultural background as it does when dealing with the duties and rights of grandmother in her social role.

In Tables XII and XIII, it appears that the mean number of years lived on the Mainland for the kinship chains are positively associated with social and cultural background
factors while they appear to be negatively associated with the social role of grandmother. Those chains that demonstrate high levels of consensus on social and cultural background factors have spent less years on the Mainland--so amount of time lived on the Mainland does have some affect. But it does not seem that the number of years lived on the Mainland affect the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture on the Mainland.

However, quite the opposite is true when examining the discrepancy scores on language preference. Table XII does not show a great association between the average discrepancy score on language preference and the social role of grandmother. In fact, in Table XII, the average discrepancy score on language is too close to be significant at all. However, Table XIII shows a definite relationship between the discrepancy score on language, consensus on social and cultural background, and mean number of years lived on the Mainland. Those kinship chains living the largest number of mean years on the Mainland also have the highest average discrepancy scores on language preference and use, and a seemingly natural outcome of ranking in the low level of consensus as regards social and cultural background. So, in the line of change, the cultural values espoused by these kinship chains are now being affected and this change relates positively to number of years lived on the Mainland,
as well as language use and preference.

Tables XIV through XXI were constructed in order to test the two null hypotheses of this study. In Table XIV, when testing null hypothesis I, that there is no association between similarity of social and cultural background factors and consensus on the social role of grandmother, the $\tau^-'(\tau)$ test yielded a score of .290 which led the researcher to reject the null hypothesis. Therefore, the hypothesis that there is a positive association between the similarity of social and cultural background factors and consensus on the social role of grandmother was sustained in this study. This finding indicates that the less discrepancy a kinship chain exhibits in relation to social and cultural background, the higher will be their agreement on how they view the role of grandmother.

However, when examining this same hypothesis from the different sets of positions within the three generational kinship chain, the yield of $\tau^-'(\tau)$ varies greatly among and between these positions. In examining Tables XV, XVI and XVII, it is noticed that the $\tau^-'(\tau)$ test yields a gradually higher association (.391, .471 and 1.350) when different positions within the kinship chains are associated with consensus on the role and social and cultural background factors. The greatest yield of $\tau^-'(\tau)$ is found in Table XVII which measured the association of consensus on the social role of
grandmother between the positions of grandmother and granddaughter with similarity of social and cultural background factors. So, the positions of grandmother and granddaughter yield the greatest degree of positive association in light of these two variables of social role and social and cultural background factors.

Therefore, these tables show that different positions within these kinship chains yield different degrees of association. Also, consensus on the social role of grandmother in this Puerto Rican cultural sampling is more positively associated with social and cultural background when examining it from the viewpoint of the positional incumbents of grandmother and granddaughter.

In testing null hypothesis\textsubscript{2} that there is no association between systematic linkage interaction (operationalized by the association indexes) and consensus on the social role of grandmother, the $\gamma'(\tau)$ test in Table XVIII yielded a score of .010. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and the hypothesis that there is an association between systematic linkage interaction and consensus on the social role of grandmother is sustained. Because this yield of $\gamma'(\tau)$ .010 is so low, it must be noted that the hypothesis is barely sustained. This low $\gamma'(\tau)$ further indicates that there is a lesser degree of association between the social role of grandmother and systematic linkage inter-
action than between the social role and cultural background factors.

Furthermore, when examining these variables in light of the specific combinations of positions within the kinship chain, the measurement of $\tau'$ (tau) does not always yield a positive association. For example, Tables XIX and XX both yield a negative association because the measurement of $\tau'$ (tau) is (-.015) for Table XIX and (-.019) for Table XX. Therefore, when examining the association of consensus on the social role of grandmother and similarity to associational indexes for the positions of grandmother and daughter as well as for daughter and granddaughter, hypothesis II cannot be sustained. However, a positive association (.060) is still yielded when examining the association of consensus on the social role of grandmother and associational indexes for the positions of grandmother and granddaughter. So, the hypothesis is sustained for the positions of grandmother and granddaughter as well as for the total kinship chains.

Therefore, it can be assumed that there is much less association between consensus on the social role of grandmother and the associational indexes than between consensus on the role and social and cultural background factors.

Finally, it appears then that the two hypotheses as projected in Chapter IV of this study have been sustained with hypothesis I (that there is a positive association
between similarity of social and cultural background factors and consensus on the social role of grandmother) yielding the greatest degree of association as verified by the $\tau$ (tau) test.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND PREDICTIONS
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND PREDICTIONS

Examination of the findings in this study lead the researcher to several conclusions and predictions worthy of future study in role consensus research.

It can be concluded that the original findings of Gross, Mason & McEachern (1958:191b) on interposition consensus are incomplete. Whereas their study found that there was no association between consensus on social role and similarity of social and cultural background, this study yielded quite the opposite finding. It can be therefore concluded that when dealing with a three-generational kinship system, within cultural and social spans, the findings of Gross, Mason & McEachern can be expanded.

A similarity between the Gross, Mason & McEachern findings and this study's findings can be found in our mutual conclusion that there is a difference in degree of association with role consensus when looking at the different positions occupied by the incumbents of the studies. This study reaffirms the Gross, Mason & McEachern findings as it has been noted within this study that the positions of grandmother and granddaughter showed a greater degree of association between role consensus and social and cultural back-
ground factors than did the other combination of positions.

It can be therefore concluded that incumbents of different positions, as well as different combinations of these positions, yield differing degrees of association. Therefore, social roles are affected in different ways by the different persons who make up and sustain the social person in their particular role. To examine a social role from the viewpoint of different social persons (positional incumbents) within the social circle does expand the sociologist's understanding of a particular social role.

The researcher would predict that further research done in terms of the relationship between daughter's and granddaughter's understanding of the social role of the grandmother in Puerto Rican society would be valuable. It would appear that when the daughter assumes the role of grandmother and her understanding of the role is at a low consensus with that of her mother's, the inevitable conflict of expectations could have a shattering effect on the closely knit kinship system within the Puerto Rican family. The importance of this prediction has been pointed out earlier in this paper through the study of Klapp (1957...336) when he cites the necessity for consensus in speaking of role as a necessary part of the functioning of the social system. Furthermore, Secord and Backman (1964...468) also posited the value of consensus especially "...when human behavior is viewed in
terms of position and role." These findings seem to indicate a possible problem in terms of human behavior; likewise a problem can be anticipated in terms of the familial cohesiveness so prominent in the Hispanic cultural tradition.

The majority of research on consensus included roles based on a well developed bureaucratic and rational training program (Gross, Mason & McEachern...), and their findings are related to the effect of consensus. The researcher, however, is unable to define the type of socialization and training period utilized in preparing for the role of grandmother in the Hispanic cultural tradition. Therefore, it is impossible to talk about the discrepancy in consequence of role expectations with the training period of the social and cultural socialization process. The researcher cannot isolate the discrepancy between the Gross, Mason & McEachern study and this study to see if the differences could be traced to the training process itself.

It would seem to the researcher that perhaps the reason for the low level of consensus among grandmothers and daughters might be due to the environmental differences in which each of them experiences cultural conditioning. The grandmother is at home in an isolated situation where often the daughter is out working or at least more integrated into the "American Cultural Scene." The granddaughter, however, in this sampling was usually living at home with the
grandmother and, furthermore, many of the granddaughters had dropped out of the local school systems. Therefore, the granddaughter's contact with the cultural environment could more readily be compared to that of the grandmother rather than the daughter's. A follow-up study ten (10) years from now might reveal quite the opposite if the incumbents who occupy the position of granddaughter are more in contact with the "American Cultural Scene." It might be seen then that the levels of consensus on the social role of grandmother by the two positions of daughter and granddaughter will be more closely related than those of grandmother and granddaughter.

These predictions are substantiated in the findings of Thomas & Znaniecki (1918b) who found that some roles will be more highly effected by these cultural changes. For example, the roles of the familial social system are likely to be more sensitive to cultural changes when the members of the family group are experiencing these changes differentially. They found that the children of immigrants do not acquire the traditional attitudes of familial solidarity, but rather adopted the individualist's attitude of American society.

Woods (1956...22) says that:

"...the extent of acculturation is a factor which has a bearing on ethnic patterns. Cultural forms as they prevail in the mother country will still predominate among recent immigrants but will be modified considerably by American cultural patterns among the second, third and
These findings would indicate that a later follow-up study allowing for greater experience within the U.S. cultural system would clarify that the consensus findings in this study were valid because of socio-cultural conditions or a lack of contact which would change the effect of these conditions. If these conditions could lead to a significant cultural change and a lower consensus between grandmother and granddaughter, then the hypothesis sustained in this research might also be further substantiated among different positional incumbents of a three-generational kinship system.

In this study, a three-generational population was selected in order to allow for a time-change factor enabling one to more accurately examine the role of grandmother. The rationale for including this time-change factor can be found in Chapter II, pages 7-8. However, it must be noted that the role of grandmother as viewed by the granddaughter has of necessity, due to the late immigration of the Puerto Rican population, been researched with a younger sampling of granddaughters. Obviously, this time factor affects the validity of the data for the granddaughter has not yet been completely "socialized" into understanding the role of grandmother in an adult context. Rosow (1963:35) points out that adult socialization is the process of inculcating new values and behavior appropriate to adult positions and group
memberships. A further study with a longer time-change factor might give a clearer picture of the role of grandmother as seen by granddaughter during her adult socialization process.

It would appear with this constraint in the sampling of granddaughters used for the study, that perhaps the consensus level found between the grandmothers and the daughters (both members in an adult socialization process) probably more accurately records what is actually happening to the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture on the Mainland. It would be the prediction of the researcher that when the granddaughter reaches an adult age and inculcates new values and behaviors appropriate to adult positions and group memberships that her consensus level would be more in agreement with the daughter than the grandmother at the present time.

Perhaps it can be concluded that the social role of grandmother is changing if one looks at the role more as a middle-aged phenomena. As Neugarten & Weinstein (1964d:203) suggest in regard to the role of grandmother,

"Perhaps we are looking for the change in the wrong place—would it not be more evident among the daughters who are closer to middle age and therefore closer to assuming the role of grandmother in the near future. Perhaps the granddaughters are not able to see it as realistically, but more in the light of 'respect for their grandmothers.'"
This study revealed that the lowest levels of consensus on social role of grandmother between grandmother and daughter was yielded when plotted with social and cultural background factors. So, in examining the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture on the Mainland from the "middle-aged phenomena," there is a change noted. Perhaps as the daughters assume their role as grandmother, an even greater change will be measured.

Another change in the social role of the grandmother could be predicted as the needs of the granddaughter change in light of her cultural conditioning. This prediction is based upon the Kahanas' (1967a) finding "...that the meaning of the grandparental role for the aging grandparent must be understood in the context of the changing needs of the developing grandchild." The researcher also ponders the question here as to what changes will emerge in the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican society on the Mainland in light of the needs of the granddaughter and the needs of the aging grandmother herself.

The dimension of language being "...the medium through which culture is transmitted" (Woods, 1956:25a) also emerges as a very important factor in this study. Ranking next to the highest variable having the greatest discrepancy score shows that this difference is indeed penetrating the lives of these three-generational Puerto Rican women.
Already a large difference in language use and preference is playing an important part in their lives. This same variable plotted with the number of years lived on the Mainland has begun to affect consensus on the social role of the grandmother. Therefore, it can be concluded that if the later generations adopt the use and preference of English, so too will the consensus on the role be decreased. This difference will undoubtedly affect the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture on the Mainland.

However, should the movement to retain the language of heritage be successful, then it might be found that the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture on the Mainland as defined in this study, might be retained. But only by controlling language use and preference can the social and cultural dimensions of the Hispanic traditions be consistently preserved. This indeed is not too likely because as Green (Chicago Daily News, 1971:1a) stated the "Latin student is a victim of the language barrier." And with the movement today of bilingualism and biculturalism, it must be concluded that the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture on the Mainland will emerge more as a role not only of "Hispanic birth but also of bilingual and bicultural relationships."

However, another factor that will affect the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican family on the
Mainland is that of isolation. Because thirty-six (36%) percent of the total respondents reported no friendships outside their extended family kinship group, and fifty (50%) percent no participation in organizations, it can be concluded that Hanson's (1962a) study of role consensus and linkage to other social systems is sustained. Based upon Loomis' systematic linkage hypothesis and Homan's interaction hypothesis, he found that a "particular role is described differently by the incumbent and his role partner to the extent that each has differing linkages with other social systems." At present, the three positional incumbents (grandmother, daughter and granddaughter) within the Puerto Rican family on the Mainland are extremely isolated from the dominant culture.

Paul J. Reiss (1962a:33) in his article on "The Extended Kinship System" concluded that ..."Geographic mobility is the factor upon which isolation hinges." With the Puerto Rican community primarily centered in one geographic area, the barrier of language communication and little mobility outside the Puerto Rican neighborhood, it is not difficult to understand why the factor of isolation plays a prominent role in this study and particular sampling.

Furthermore, Lewis says of the Puerto Rican on the Mainland (1965d:XII, Introd.) that "...they persist in their Puerto Rican way of life even after many years of residence on the Mainland." Therefore, the factor of isolation might
override other factors (such as language use and preference) in sustaining the social role of the Puerto Rican grandmother on the Mainland as found in this study.

Because of the friendship pattern that emerged in this sampling, it can also be concluded that the low discrepancy score on Friendship Association is a unique feature of an immigrant group that has not established many contacts outside their immediate area which is predominantly Puerto Rican according to the 1960 census figures.

The fact that this sampling is a closely knit community group around the family is further substantiated by the fact that over fifty percent (50%) of the kinship chains reported no participation in organizational activity. Also, the fact that not one person who reported organizational participation belonged to a completely Anglo group leads the researcher to conclude that the Hispanic culture will be sustained for some time in the future within this Puerto Rican community in Chicago. The social system of the family to which the Puerto Rican on the Mainland is primarily tied will continue to be the dominant influence on the Puerto Rican woman.

Probably though, there is one factor ("Machismo") in the social and cultural background that is showing a marked change and influence on the social role of the grandmother in this study. Because those kinship chains who
exhibit low discrepancy scores on the "spirit of Machismo" also exhibit a high consensus on the social role of grandmother, it can be concluded that there is the "beginning" of a cultural penetration into the Puerto Rican culture on the Mainland. The researcher also did find that there was a graduated disbelief in this "spirit" amongst the youngest generation of granddaughters. Somehow, though, this "spirit of Machismo" seems to interlock with any roles of women, especially within the Hispanic culture. But because so few women have contact with Anglos in their friendship association patterns, it must be concluded that contacts in the classroom, on the job, or through mass media (T.V., papers, and/or radio) are influencing this change in cultural value.

Some combination of factors, though, in this study seem to further substantiate the "beginning" of cultural penetration within the kinship systems involved in this study. For example, the kinship chains that scored the highest consensus on social and cultural background factors also had the lowest discrepancy scores on language preference and the lowest number of mean years lived on the Mainland. Therefore, it can be concluded that as the kinship chains within the Puerto Rican culture live longer on the Mainland, the discrepancy on language will probably increase and consensus on social and cultural background will probably decrease. How and when these factors will affect the social
role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture on the Mainland will only be shown with time.

In summary then, what was really shown by this study was that:

1) The findings of Gross, Mason and McEachern were sustained and expanded.

2) Different combinations of positions within the three-generational Puerto Rican kinship system yield differing degrees of association.

3) Environmental differences affecting the cultural conditioning of grandmothers and daughters in this study are predicted to be a significant reason needing further research for the low level of consensus found between these two positions.

4) A greater change in the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture on the Mainland is noted when examined as a "middle-aged" phenomena.

5) Patterns of "acculturation" vary between these three positional incumbents and affect the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture on the Mainland.

6) Discrepancy in language preference coupled with number of years lived on the Mainland is correlated with social and cultural background factors.
7) Isolation of the kinship systems is helping to maintain a closely knit familial social system and preventing a possible linkage to other social systems.

8) The measurement of the "Spirit of Machismo" shows the "beginning" of a contra-cultural penetration into the Puerto Rican kinship system.

9) Discrepancy scores coupled with mean number of years lived on the Mainland are related to consensus on social and cultural background factors showing another dimension of a "beginning" of cultural penetration.

Therefore, it has been clearly shown that the understanding of a familial aging social role can be greatly expanded when studying the role from the viewpoint of those "other social persons" within the "social circle." The socialization into this adult role could not be completely isolated, but certainly this study of an immigrant kinship system and the social role of the grandmother has isolated the variables that need to be re-examined in the future. Hopefully, what was begun here will be developed in the future and further research will more fully develop what happens to the social role of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican culture on the Mainland.
APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS


ARTICLES AND PERIODICALS


3. Chicago Fact Community Book.


APPENDIX II

INSTRUMENT

(INTERVIEW SCHEDULE)

The data analyzed in this study was collected by means of the following interview schedule. Since the sampling included three generations, the questions were adjusted to read correctly for a grandmother, daughter, and/or granddaughter and all questionnaires were in both Spanish and English. The respondents were given their choice of the language in which to be interviewed. The questions as they appear in this appendix are those asked of the grandmothers.

The dependent variable (y) degree of interposition consensus on expectations of DUTIES and RIGHTS of the role of the grandmother was measured by means of the following items.

DUTIES - OBJECTIVE ITEMS

**Interviewer:** In talking with Puerto Rican grandmothers, I have discovered that there are certain duties that are expected of them as grandmothers. I would like to know what you think are duties that should be expected of the grandmother in the Puerto Rican family. Will you please respond to each of the following statements in one of three ways:

(1) Definitely is a duty for grandmothers.
(2) It doesn't make any difference if it is a duty for grandmothers or not.
(3) Definitely is not a duty for grandmothers.

1. Grandmothers have a duty to babysit with their grandchildren while mothers work.
2. Grandmothers have a duty to be like a mother to their grandchildren.
3. Grandmothers have a duty to be a help in times of crises.
4. Grandmothers have a duty to raise their grandchildren when the parents can't.
5. Grandmothers have a duty to take a grandchild from the parental home if the child isn't being raised correctly despite the wishes of the parents.
6. Grandmothers have a duty to watch over the way the grandchildren are being raised.
7. Grandmothers have a duty to protect their grandchild's rights.
8. Grandmothers have a duty to correct lack of respect for older people in their grandchildren.
9. Grandmothers have a duty to help relieve problems between parents and grandchildren.

RIGHTS - OBJECTIVE ITEMS

Interviewer: In recent weeks I have also found out that there are certain rights that Puerto Rican grandmothers have as grandmothers. I would like to know what you think are rights for the grandmother in the Puerto Rican family. Will you please respond to the following statements in one of three ways:

(1) Definitely is a right for grandmother.
(2) It doesn't make any difference if it is a right for grandmothers or not.
(3) Definitely is not a right for grandmother.
1. Grandmothers have a right to the respect of their grandchildren.

2. Grandmothers have a right to visits several times a week from their grandchildren.

3. Grandmothers have a right to more authority over their grandchildren than do their parents.

4. Grandmothers have a right to spoil their grandchildren.

5. Grandmothers have a right to feel loved and respected from contact with their grandchildren.

6. If grandmothers do things for their grandchildren, they have a right to expect their grandchildren to do things for them in return.

7. Grandmothers have a right to affection from their grandchildren.

8. Grandmothers have a right to have fun with their grandchildren.

9. Grandmothers have a right to correct the way in which their grandchildren are being raised.

10. Grandmothers have a right to buy gifts for their grandchildren.

DUTIES - SUBJECTIVE ITEMS

Interviewer: Now I'd like to ask you some questions about these duties in regard to yourself as a grandmother. Feel free to make any comments that come to your mind as we go along.

1. Do you babysit with your grandchildren?

   Why or why not?

   With which grandchildren do you generally babysit?

   What are the circumstances that make it necessary for you to babysit with these grandchildren?
2. Have you had to raise any of your grandchildren when their parents could not?

Which one(s) of your grandchildren have you raised when the parents could not?

How long did these grandchildren remain with you?

___less than a year ___3-5 years ___9-11 years
___1-2 years ___6-8 years ___until adulthood

What were the circumstances that made it necessary for you to raise these grandchildren?

3. Have you ever had to protect your grandchildren's rights?

With which of your grandchildren have you had to protect their rights?

4. Have you ever had to help relieve problems between your grandchildren and their parents?

With which of your grandchildren have you had to do this?

Under what circumstances did these situations occur?

About how often do these situations occur?

___Every day ___Several times a week ___Once a week
___Several times a month ___Less often

5. Are you like a mother to any of your grandchildren?

With which grandchildren do you consider yourself to be like a mother?

Why is it necessary to be like a mother to these grandchildren.

6. Have you ever had to help out in times of crises in the families of your children?

What were some of those crises?

What type of help did you give during those times?

7. Do you think that any of your grandchildren aren't being raised correctly by their parents?
With which families do you disagree in the way the children are being raised.

Have you ever taken any grandchildren into your home to raise because of their not being raised correctly by their parents.

Which grandchildren?

How long did they remain with you?

___ Less than a year  ___ 3-5 years  ___ 9-11 years
___ 1-2 years  ___ 6-8 years  ___ until adulthood

Why did they return to their own home?

8. Are you able to watch over the way your grandchildren are being raised?

Why or why not?

Do you ever discuss the way your grandchildren are being raised with their parents.

9. Have you ever had to correct your grandchildren for lack of respect of older people?

How have they responded to your correction?

RIGHTS - SUBJECTIVE ITEMS

Interviewer: Now let's talk about these rights in regard to you as a grandmother. Please feel free to make any comments that come to your mind as we go along.

1. Do you have the respect of your grandchildren?

Why or why not?

2. How often does at least one of your grandchildren come to visit you?

What do they usually do when they visit you?

3. Do you have more authority over any of your grandchildren than do their parents?
Under what circumstances do you have this authority?

4. Are you able to spoil your grandchildren?
   Why or why not?

5. Do you feel loved and respected by your grandchildren?
   What makes you feel this way?

6. Do your grandchildren do things for you?
   What are the things that your grandchildren do for you?
   Do you do things for your grandchildren?
   What are the things that you do for your grandchildren?

7. Are your grandchildren affectionate with you?
   In what ways are your grandchildren affectionate or not affectionate with you?

8. Are you able to have fun with your grandchildren?
   Why or why not?
   What are the ways in which you have fun with your grandchildren?

9. Are you allowed to watch over the way in which your grandchildren are being raised?
   Why or why not?
   What are the ways in which you are allowed to watch over your grandchildren?
   Do you have any problems with the parents of your grandchildren over the way in which the children are being raised?
   Are there any things the parents are doing in raising their children of which you do not approve?

10. Do you ever buy gifts for your grandchildren?
    What are the occasions on which you buy gifts?
Do you ever receive gifts from your grandchildren?

What are the occasions on which you receive gifts from them?

The independent variable (x) homogeneity of social and cultural factors was measured by means of the following items.

Interviewer: It appears that different things are expected of boys and girls in any country. I'd like to know what you think about the following statements. Will you please answer as to whether you agree completely, agree somewhat, or disagree.

1. Males are better than females.

2. Boys are trained to be self-reliant and tough.

3. Girls should be kept at home without being permitted to go out on the streets like the boys.

4. Girls should be taught to be modest and dressed at an earlier age than boys.

5. There is no more danger in little girls walking around undressed than little boys doing the same thing.

6. Little boys are much prettier than little girls.

7. Little girls should not be taught to wait upon their brothers as soon as possible.

8. The boys should be taught that they are the guardian of their sisters.

9. If a boy's father is missing from the home, he should take the place of the father.

10. The boy is a "born bandit."

11. Boys should be permitted to go out on the streets as long as they want to.

12. Girls should not be forbidden to mix with the boys.
13. Girls must always ask permission before they go out of the house.

14. Little boys should be given a great deal of affection in order to grow up strong.

15. Women don't necessarily need to be senoritas before marriage.

16. When boys and girls begin to go out together, they should be accompanied by an older person.

17. Girls may go out to meet boys provided they are accompanied by an adult.

18. Boys are expected to be as good before marriage as girls.

19. Men may prove their masculinity by conquering women.

Interviewer: There are also some customs in different countries in regard to the Church. Would you please respond to the following statements in the way that you have been doing?

20. Everyone should attend the velorio of someone they know.

21. It is important to be present at the rosario all of the evenings.

22. Processions are not as important as going to Church on Sunday.

23. It is not necessary to be married in the Church.

24. The Fiesta is one of the least important functions of the Church.

25. In order to be a member of the Church, one must also belong to a Cofradia.

26. All infants must be baptized.

27. In order to be a good member of the Church, one must assist at Sunday services.

Interviewer: In some countries there are some relations that have more importance than others. What do you think of the following items?
28. Respect is expected of a godchild toward her godparents.

29. The godparents should not select their godchild for special attention.

30. A compadre has the complete confidence of compadres in their homes.

31. The way in which compadres address one another is the most intimate of expressions between friends.

32. Compadres have complete liberty in the homes of their compadres.

33. The relationship between compadres is a strong hand.

The independent variable ($x_1$) systematic-linkage interaction was measured by the following items.

1. Whom do you consider to be your closest relative?
   In what way do you keep in touch with ______?
   What relation ______ to you?
   How far away does ______ live from you?

2. Whom do you consider to be your closest friend?
   In what way do you keep in touch with them?
   How old is ______?
   Is ______ Anglo or Spanish-American?
   How far away does ______ live from you?

3. How many children do you have?
   Which of your children do you consider to be closest to you?
   In what way do you keep in touch with ______?
   How far does ______ live from you?
4. How many grandchildren do you have?

Which of your grandchildren do you consider to be closest to you?

In what way do you keep in touch with______?

How far does_______live from you?

5. Do you belong to any organizations?

How often do they meet?

How often do you attend their meetings?

What language is most frequently spoken at these meetings?

Are most of the members Anglos or Spanish-speaking?

What do you do at these meetings?

6. How often do you visit the Island?

___Return several times a year ___Return every couple of years

___Return once every five years

___Have never returned

If you have returned to the Island, who pays for these trips?

___I pay for the trip myself ___The children and/or

family help

___The children and/or family pay all

If you had your choice would you prefer?

___To live alone on the Island ___To live alone on the

Mainland

___To live with children/grandchildren on the Island

___To live with children/grandchildren on the Mainland

How long before you left the Island, did you think of coming to the Mainland?

Why did you decide to leave the Island and come to the Mainland?

Who paid for your trip to the Mainland?
7. When you were growing up, did most of the people in your neighborhood speak
Spanish only? ___ Both English and Spanish? ___
Mostly English? ___

How about those in your own home—what language was spoken there?
____Spanish ______ English ______ Both

Do you speak English?

When did you first learn English?
____ At home before going to school ___ In school
___ From the neighborhood children ___ Other

During which years of your life have you spoken mostly
Spanish? ___ Mostly English? ___ Both? ___

When did you first learn Spanish?
____ At home before going to school ___ In school
___ From the neighborhood children ___ Other

Which language do you prefer to speak?
____Spanish ______ English ______ No preference

In what language do you talk to yourself?
In what language do you count?
In what language do you dream?
In what language do you pray?
In what language do you think?
In what language do you read?

The following items are background information items asked of the respondents.

1. How many people live in this house with you?
   What is the relationship of each person to you?
   How old is each person?

2. How old are you?
   Where were you born?
____ Rural ___ Small town ___ Large city ___ Chicago
How many years did you live in each of the above places during your childhood?

3. Did you ever live with your grandmother?
   If so, how long did you stay with her?
   How old were you at the time?
   What was the reason why you lived with your grandmother?

4. Can you tell me something about your grandmother?

5. How many years of schooling have you completed?
   Where did you receive this education?
   In what type of school did you receive your education?
APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Constance E. Ludwig has been read and approved by the following committee.

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The final copies have been examined by the Director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Jan 5, 1977
Date

Signature