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The exploration of a technique for measuring the relative prevalence of two different socio-cultural structures in a community. The subject matter examined is the orientation of household heads to occupations; the setting is one in which commercialization is fusing with a non-commercial artisan fishing tradition, some aspects of which have disappeared. The data reflect change in the structure of the local status system, which embodies elements of the trastional and of the commercial-industrial ways of life. In addition, orientations to occupations reflect predominance of commercial-industrial characteristics, but the traditional value system is more prevalent, on the whole, than the commercial-industrial value system. Data suggest that in the course of people's acceptance of comprehensive change in the occupations of a way of life, images of ideal role performers change before orientations to role change, and that both of these change before the value structure of the way of life changes. Fishing, once an almost exclusive occupation of a traditional way of life, is assuming a middle-range position in the diversity of occupations and emerging status system of the commercial-industrial way of life.

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OCCUPATIONAL IDENTITY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN AN ARTISAN FISHING TRADITION

IRVING A. SPAULDING

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Summary

The study reported here explores a technique for measuring the relative prevalence of two different socio-cultural structures in a community. The subject matter examined is the orientation of household heads to occupations; the setting is one in which commercialization is fusing with a non-commercial artisan fishing tradition, some aspects of which have disappeared. The data reflect change in the structure of the local status system, which embodies elements of the traditional and of the commercial-industrial ways of life. In addition, orientations to occupations reflect predominance of commercial-industrial characteristics, but the traditional value system is more prevalent, on the whole, than the commercial-industrial value system. Data suggest that in the course of people's acceptance of comprehensive change in the occupations of a way of life, images of ideal role performers change before orientations to roles change, and that both of these change before the value structure of the way of life changes. Fishing, once an almost exclusive occupation of a traditional way of life, is assuming a middle-range position in the diversity of occupations and emerging status system of the commercial-industrial way of life.

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Application

The evidence presented here provides a basis for understanding characteristics of change in traditional fishermen's way of life. Change is contingent, in part, upon communication; the relationships identified here suggest that technological innovations might be adopted or transfered most readily under circumstances in which the communications relevant to them embody messages relevant to the establishment of appropriate images, orientations to the use of the innovation, and social values in terms of which the innovation can be rationalized. Messages can be structured to "fit" the degree of change which members of a community have undergone, both in these respects and in change and stability of social status.

Occupational Identity and Socio-cultural Change in an Artisan Fishing Tradition

Irving A. Spaulding

This study

Focus

This study is an examination of characteristics of occupational identity as reflections of socio-cultural transition and as indicators of potential further change in an artisan fishing tradition. Measurement of relationships pertaining to aspects of occupational identity is explored.

Location

The artisan fishing tradition examined is that of a fishing village in western Puerto Rico. Data reported here pertain to 40 household heads in this village, where some families have lived by fishing for three generations. The village will be known here as Cerro Pueblo.

The socio-cultural transition

The transition which this village is undergoing is one which has been taking place on a long-range basis. It is transition from a relatively isolated existence and a subsistence way of life, centering on non-commercial artisan fishing, to a way of life contingent on a breakdown of the isolation. upon commercialization of activities through use of money as a medium of exchange, upon industrial production of goods, and upon achievement of monetary incomes adequately diverse to allow for subsistence living by some people and more affluent living by others. In terms of contemporary history, this type of transi-

tion is not a new "phenonenon." It is, however, an experience which has come earlier to people in some parts of the world than to others.

Relevant concepts

A few definitions will help the reader in understanding the use made of data in this study. All have relevance to the way a grouping of people is put together and functions. A grouping, whether it be large or small, is regarded as a social system. Each person in a system has a position, or status, based on the amount of the system which he controls; those people who control the greatest amount of the system during a given interval have the "highest" status during that interval; people who control the least have the "lowest" status during that interval. The activities of all the people in the system and their mutual influences contribute to the functioning of the system. The activities which are necessary for the functioning of the system and contribute to the mutual control among system members are performed in combinations of people which are referred to as institutions. And those necessary activities entail institutionalized social roles, or continuities of behavior which contribute to the accomplishment of those necessary functions and are contingent upon people's status and involvement in institutions.

In this context, work is regarded as any activity which a person performs with a feeling of involvement and commitment to the expectations of an institutionalized social role. Occupation, then, is that aspect of work a person performs in social

roles which bring him economic remuneration and establish his work identity, while contributing to the maintenance of his social status.

Identity is regarded here as the system of meanings and symbols for those meanings which an individual and others accept as appropriate description of him. Identification (or identification with), as a psychological process, is regarded here as a person's using a set of meanings which he feels are appropriate for him to describe himself; the organization of the meanings is stabilized by the use of vocal, gestural, and material symbols. Occupational identity, then, pertains to those aspects of identity which are germane to occupation as described above.

These concepts have relevance for the socio-cultural change taking place in the village of Cerro Pueblo. The subsistence way of life centering on non-commercial artisan fishing is a socio-cultural structure with a distinct status system, institutions, and social roles. The commercial-industrial way of life, also, is a socio-cultural structure with its distinct status system, institutions, and social roles. In the former, status is contingent upon property, personality, and skills in the crafts of fishing; authority figures are respected; the family is the predominant institution within which necessary functions are performed; each individual tends to be adept at many skills and social roles; members of the system identify strongly with their group and its locality. In the latter, on the other hand, status is contingent upon wealth and skills in

the use of money; economically successful figures are respected; necessary functions are performed outside the family in other institutionalized groupings; individuals tend to specialize in their work roles; and an individual's identification is less with his grouping and its location that it is with himself and his social roles.

Since occupational activity is a consequential activity for achieving and maintaining status in each of these socio-cultural structures, it has relevance for describing the extent to which the two structures have blended and for evaluating potential for future change.

Data collection

Data were collected by interview during August, 1972. In the village were 103 houses, of which 64 (62.1%) were regularly occupied; the remaining 39 houses (37.9%) were unoccupied because they were vacation homes or were under construction. Interviews were secured, then, from the heads of 62.5% of the households in the regularly occupied dwellings.

Reported relationships

The relationships reported here can be regarded as in two areas. In one are those pertaining to occupations in a social structure and people's involvement with them. In the other, relationships pertain to characteristics of occupational identity among people in the various occupations. Both have implications for measuring the prevalence of traditional and commercial-industrial ways of life. At the end of the report, systematic relationship between the subject matter of the two areas is shown. Because of the limited number of cases with which these

descriptions are made, the results of this study are regarded as having their greatest value in showing relationships which are useful and measurable.

The Village, Cerro Pueblo

The Occupations

The major focus of this study is on occupational identity in the fusion of non-commercial and commercial ways of life. In the tradition of the non-commercial subsistence artisan fisherman, the occupation for household heads was fishing, often supplemented by raising a few creatures such as pigs, chickens, or goats as a source of food and/or pets. In addition, gardens were sometimes used to supplement other sources of food. In the commercial-industrial way of life, however, the range of occupation is more diverse, with specializations which go along lines of transport and communication, construction, extractive and productive activity, processing, selling, financing, and managing. The latter system provides more variation in opportunity than the former and, where the two socio-cultural systems are blending, one can expect to find characteristics of people's orientation to occupation reflecting that fusion.

The 40 household heads who were interviewed showed the following distribution of current occupations:

Occupation	Number	%
Business		
Non-fishing	2	5.0
Part-time fishing	2	5.0
Officials*	6	15.0
Fishing	23	57.5
Laborers		
Part-time fishing	3	7.5
Non-fishing	4	10.0
	40**	100.0

*Officials included occupations which identified a person as an authority figure; illustrative are foremen, managers, wardens captains, and technically trained persons.

The data indicate that the village is characterized by a mixture of occupations which reflect the fusion of the traditional fishermen's way of life and the commercial-industrial way of life. Fishing constituted 57.5% of the occupations, and 12.5% of the informants said they fished on a part-time basis; however, fishermen sold the fish they caught, even though most used a portion of their annual catch at home. Basically, fishing was a commercialized occupation as were the other occupations.

Occupations and Status

Characteristically, in the commercial-industrial way of life, there are differences in status which are concurrent with differences in category of occupation. Since money as a medium of exchange is a common factor among all people in a commercially oriented system, wealth and occupation and status tend to be associated with each other. An examination of data pertaining

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**Included are 1 retired official and 3 retired laborers whose responses reflected a mixture of orientation to occupation and to retirement. They are classified with officials and laborers.

to occupational categories and approximate monthly incomes for household heads shows the following relationships:

Occupational category	Approximate Monthly Income
Business	
Non-fishing	$404.00
Part-time fishing	363.75
Officials	311.00
Fishing	234.48
Laborers	
Part-time fishing	205.33
Non-fishing	151.25

The relationships reflect characteristics of the status system of the commercial-industrial way of life, tempered by that of the fisherman's tradition. The highest income level is that of businessmen who are not fishermen. Second is that of businessmen who are part-time fishermen; third, is that of officials. These three occupational categories are above the monthly average (mean) of $250.38 for all cases. Below that average are the fishermen, the laborers who fish part-time, and the laborers who do not fish. This sequence of occupations, reflecting concurrent variation in approximate income and status is referred to as an income-level sequence.

When cases are classified on the basis of involvement with fishing as an occupation, the following relationships are portrayed:

Occupational category	Approximate Monthly Income
Non-fishermen	$273.25
Part-time fishermen	268.60
Fishermen	234.48

These income data are approximate. Informants were asked to indicate the $1000.00 range within which their household incomes for the past year came. (See VI-P, Questionnaire, Appendix). Unless a specific figure was given, use was made of the midpoint of the range which the informant indicated. When there were wide discrepancies between reports from people in the same occupational category and with similar sources of income, the discrepancies were accounted for and adjustments in final figures were made. At best, the data are approximations of actual situations; yet, as approximations, they show some systematic relationships among occupational categories which are indicative of the fusion of socio-cultural structures in the village.

Indications are that as non-fishing occupations have developed and as fishing has become commercialized, fishing has an intermediate position in the commercial-industrial status system of the village, as reflected in income variations. From being the essentially exclusive occupation for household heads in an isolated village, fishing has become one occupation among several in a village now encompassed by a larger commercial-industrial society. This change is contingent upon reorganization of a way of life and upon fishing's taking a position in the context of a new and larger system of relationships than had embodied it before. The extent of the emphasis on the fishing tradition and limitations with respect to other opportunities, however, are evidenced by 70.0% of the informants for whom fishing was a full-time or a part-time occupation. Full-time fishermen constituted 57.5% of the informants; part-time constituted 12.5% of them.

Identification with Occupations
Identification with Status
Relationships analyzed

Insights into the extent to which the traditional and commercial-industrial socio-cultural structures have blended can be gained from examining the way in which residents of the village identify with occupations in the respective status systems of the structure. To examine people's identification with occupations, each informant was asked which of five occupational types ranked first, in his estimation, with respect to each of twelve characteristics. The occupational types were: businessmen, farm workers, fishermen, laborers, and officials. The twelve characteristics were: contentiousness, dependability, educational requirements, energy, family help, happiness, pleasantness, social life, family life, independence, monetary return, and usefulness (See III-H, Questionnaire, Appendix).

The premise underlying the procedure is that individuals will, to an appreciable extent, rank first those occupations with which they identify.

Egocentricity

On the whole, occupational identification is egocentric in the sense that people tend to rank their own type of occupation first with greater frequency than they rank other occupational types first. This is the case for all occupations in the income-level sequence except laborers; laborers who fish part-time identify most with businessmen, while those who don't fish identify most with fishermen. Data are shown in Table 1. (Table 1 near here)

Intensity of Identification

In addition to showing the generally egocentric orientation to occupations, the data also indicate that people vary in the extent to which they identify with their own occupations. For businessmen who fish part-time, 58.4% of their 1st rankings went to business activity; for fishermen, 55.1% went to fishing. Officials gave themselves 43.1% of their 1st rankings, and non-fishing businessmen give business activity 33.3% of theirs. For laborers, who do not rank themselves highest, there is variation between those who fish part-time and those who do not fish. The former gave themselves 13.9% of the 1st rankings, while the latter gave themselves 8.3%. The former identified most strongly with fishing (41.7%).

The variation suggests that, except for fishermen themselves and laborers who do not fish, none of the occupational types identify strongly with fishing. Businessmen who fished part-time gave fishing 33.3% of the first rankings, and laborers who fished part-time gave it 27.8%. Non-fishing businessmen gave it 25.0% and officials gave it 19.4% of their 1st rankings.

The impact of the commercial-industrial way of life has made fishing but one of several occupations. However, it is a prevalent occupation, and those who are committed to it on a full-time basis identify with it to a greater extent than people who don't fish at all identify with their occupations. Laborers tend to divide their strongest identifications between positions of potential prestige in the traditional way of life, (fishing), and those of high status in the commercial-industrial way of

life (businessmen). This reflects the fusion of the socio-cultural systems and the tenuousness of the role of laborer at the current time in the village.

Rank order and Status

Further insight into relationships among the occupations in the income-level sequence is secured by examining the rank order of degrees of identification with occupational types for each category of current occupation. They are shown in the following matrix:

Current occupation and rank order of identification with occupations

Occupations	Business		Officials	Fishing	Laborers	
	Non-fishing	Part-time fishing			Part-time fishing	Non-fishing
Business	1	1	3	4	1	2
Officials	2	3	1	2	2	3
Fishing	3	2	2	1	2	1
Laborers	4	4	5	3	3	3
Farm workers*	5	4	4	5	4	4

*This occupation was rated but not held by any of the informants.

The matrix shows relationships which reflect the fusion of the two ways of life. There is variation among occupational categories with respect to: a) ordering of degrees of identification with occupations and b) ordering within the income-level sequence. The most consistent relationship between the two is that for non-fishing businessmen: for these people, the two sequences are the same; the correspondence is greatest for people with the highest status in the income-level sequence.

For businessmen who fished part-time, the rankings involve transposition of 2nd and 3rd places in the income-level sequence

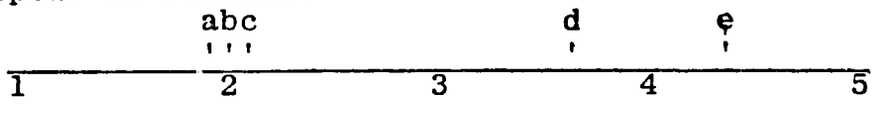
and no distinction between laborers and farm workers. Laborers who fish part-time also tend to correspond in their rankings to the income-level sequence; they differ in not distinguishing between officials and fishermen.

The rankings of officials and fishermen, on the other hand, show little consistency with the income-level sequence. They are similar to each other to the extent that each categorized its own occupation first and the other second, even though they are second and third in the income-level sequence; they are dissimilar with respect to the ranking of other occupations.

Similarly, laborers who do not fish have rankings which do not correspond to the income-level sequence, and they do not distinguish between officials and laborers.

In general, these data indicate a greater identification with occupations highest in the income-level sequence on the part of all businessmen and of laborers who fish part-time than on the part of officials, fishermen, and laborers who do not fish. The latter three appear to identify more strongly with middle-status occupations and with components of the traditional way of life.

Yet, in the over-all perspective, when rankings are averaged, the mean rank order for fishing is 1.85; for business it is 2.00, and for officials it is 2.17. The mean for laborers is 3.67 and for field workers it is 4.33. On a range between 1 and 5, these positions appear as follows:



a. fishing
b. business
c. officials
d. laborers
e. farm workers

Conclusions

Together, the relationships tell of the fusion of two socio-cultural structures. For people in the highest positions in the income-level sequence of occupations, the rank order of identification with occupations and the positions in that sequence correspond; these people are the ones who have made the most thorough transition into the commerical-industrial way of life. For people in occupations of lower position in the income-level sequence, rank orders of identification with occupations differ from the income-level sequence. In this array of variation, fishermen, businessmen, and officials have similar mean rank orders of identification with occupations. This reflects a fusion of ways of life in which high mean rank accrues to the traditional (and prevalent) occupation, to the authority figures which are traditionally respected, and to the high-status occupations of the commercial-industrial way of life. Low mean rank, in contrast, accrues to laborers, of the commercial-industrial way of life, and to farm workers, who reflect traditional activities.

Identification; non-fishermen/fishermen

The data in Table 2 show the relationships among non-fishermen, part-time fishermen, and fishermen with respect to identification with occupations. Identification with business activity was greatest among part-time fishermen; identification with officials was greatest among non-fishermen; and with fishermen it was greatest among fishermen.

Fishermen identified with laborers to a greater extent than did part-time fishermen or non-fishermen; non-fishermen, however, identified with farm workers to a greater extent than part-time fishermen or fishermen. (Table 2 near here)

Secondary Occupations and Income Supplements

Having a secondary occupation is viewed as reflecting effort to maintain or achieve status in the commercial-industrial way of life. About one-half of the informants had a secondary occupation with which they added to the income from their primary occupation. Among secondary occupations, fishing and labor (construction work) predominated; only non-fishing businessmen had no secondary occupations. Data are shown in Table 3. (Table 3 near here)

In addition, about one-half of the informants had an income supplement in the form of raising a few chickens, pigs, goats, a garden, fruit trees, or some combination of these. Raising chickens and/or pigs was the predominant activity. Interviewers were told that having a small operation of this sort to produce a bit of food was a traditional practice; animals or birds often served as pets too. Following this practice is viewed as re-

flecting involvement in the non-commercial traditional way of life. Data are shown in Table 4. (Table 4 near here)

To the extent that a secondary occupation or an income supplement, as an adjunct to income from a primary occupation, reflects people's involvement in a traditional or commercial-industrial way of life, the data in Table 5 have relevance for understanding the village, Cerro Pueblo. Thirty per cent (30.0%) of the informants reflected orientation to the traditional way of life by raising a bit of food stuff; these were people in all occupations except those which involved part-time fishing. A transitional stage in which use is made of both income supplements and secondary occupations is represented by 17.5% of the informants; these people were in all occupations except those of businessmen. And for the 27.5% of the informants using only secondary occupations, there is further transition from the traditional way of life to that of commercial-industrialization; only non-fishing businessmen had no secondary occupations. And for the 25.0% of the informants using neither income supplements nor secondary occupations, there has been accomodation to position within the industrial-commercial status system; these cases were in all occupations except those of part-time fishermen.

Indications are that only 25.0% of the informants reflected stability of orientation in the commercial-industrial socio-cultural structure. About 75.0%, on the other hand, reflected involvement in both socio-cultural structures and less stability or orientation and position within the fusion of the two than was indicated for the 25.0%. (Table 5 near here)

The information pertaining to secondary occupations and income supplements is summarized below for non-fishermen, part-time fishermen, and fishermen:

Occupations and Supplements	Informants: Non-fishermen	Part-time fishermen	Fishermen	Total No.	Total %
Neither	5	-	5	10	25.0
Occupation	1	3	7	11	27.5
Both	2	2	3	7	17.5
Supplement	4	-	8	12	30.0
	12	5	23	40	100.0

Occupational Preferences and Perspectives on Actual Change in Occupation

Relationships examined

Occupational activity and occupational category provide aspects of an individual's occupational identity. Hence, an occupational preference may be an affirmation of one's identity, if that preference is for his current occupation, or it may be an expression of potential change in identity, if it is for an occupation not his own. The preference may or may not be firmly related to one's abilities, motivations, or situation; it may or may not correspond with the action one would actually take if a change in occupation became necessary for him.

However, in this section use is made of informants' expressions of occupational preference and their perspectives on actual changes they might make if their current occupational activity terminated. In addition, use is made of their indications of what they would like about their preferred occupations and their

explanations of why they would make the changes they indicate, should change be necessary. The information is used to examine relationships between the socio-cultural structures. The focus of concern is the relative prevalence of consistent and/or inconsistent relationships among these aspects of occupational identity and their connection with traditional or commercial-industrial value systems* in the village of Cerro Pueblo. Knowledge of these relationships contributes to assessment of change within the village.

The relationships of particular concern are: a) between an informant's preferred occupation and the activity he says he would take up if he had to terminate his current occupation, and b) between characteristics of his preferred work which he likes and his reasons for taking up the activity he says he would if he had to terminate his current occupation.

With respect to the first relationship, if the chosen activity is one providing employment, it is regarded as a work-alternative** to the informant's current occupation. If the preferred occupation and the chosen occupation are the same, the two are regarded as consistent. If they are not the same, the two are regarded as inconsistent. However, if the chosen activity is one

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*Values are components of a social system in relationships which are necessary for the existence of the system as it is during a given interval. Among such components are beliefs, words, groups of people, and things. Our concern here is primarily with beliefs and words as they are part of the way of life described briefly on Pages 3-4.

**This expression is used to refer to activity which in a strict sense, according to the definitions on Pages 2 and 3, is an occupational alternative among work activities.

which would not provide employment, it is regarded as a non-work alternative to the informant's current occupation. If the preferred occupation and the non-work alternative are the same, they are regarded as consistent; but if they are not the same, they are regarded as inconsistent.

With respect to the second relationship, these bases for preference and for choice are regarded as consistent if they are the same and inconsistent if they are not the same.

Bases for preference and choice are evaluated as reflections of the value structure of the traditional socio-cultural structure or of the commercial-industrial socio-cultural structure; they are examined in relationship to configurations of consistency and inconsistency between and among work preferences, activity choices, work alternatives, and non-work alternatives. Informants are classified by current occupation in the income-level sequence of occupations which was used previously.

Items III-E and III-G in the questionnaire (Appendix) were used to secure the data reported here. The former is: "If you had a chance to change your major occupation, what kind of work would you like to do? What about this work would you like?" The latter is: "If you could no longer work at your major occupation, what would you do? Why?"

Occupational Preferences

Indications of occupational preference are shown in Table 6. For non-fishing businessmen and officials, the relationships shown are similar to those shown previously (See Table 1) with respect to informants' identification with occupations. Busi-

men who do not fish identified with and preferred business occupations; officials also identified with and preferred their own occupation. There are differences for other occupations, however, which make a prevalence of contrasts between preferences for work in a type of occupation and identification with it. Businessmen who fish part-time give indication of identifying most with business occupations but prefer functioning as officials. Fishermen showed a relatively stronger preference for working as laborers than identification with laborers. Laborers who fish part-time showed less preference for working in business activities than identification with them, and non-fishing laborers showed greater preference for working as laborers than identification with that type of occupation. Identification seems to be primarily with occupations of businessmen, officials, and fishermen; these are of high status in either the traditional structure or the commercial-industrial structure; with respect to work preference, however, the major emphasis is on the work of laborers, fishermen, and officials. The fishermen and officials reflect high and prestigious roles in the traditional system and are in the middle status range of the income-level sequence. The discrepancies can be accounted for by people's identification with high status in a changing community, on the one hand, and their evaluation of their work experience and opportunity, on the other hand. (Table 6 near here)

Perspectives on Actual Change

Informants' responses to inquiries about activity if one's current occupational activity were terminated are reported in

Table 7. Almost 60.0% (57.5%) of the informants indicated a work alternative. The existence of no alternative was indicated by 10.0% of them, and the remainder, 32.5%, indicated non-work alternatives.

Among those who indicated a work alternative, relationships are somewhat different from those shown with respect to preferences in Table 6. In perspective on actual change, businessmen and laborers who are part-time fishermen turn to their fishing activity. Officials turn to activities with lower status than their positions as officials. Fishermen maintain their emphasis on working as laborers. And non-fishing laborers tend to continue as laborers. Of all the informants indicating a work alternative, almost one-half (43.5%) indicated that they would work as laborers, while about one-fourth (26.0%) indicated that they would fish.

These perspectives, to the extent that they involve a choice of fishing, farming, or being an official, reflect involvement with the traditional socio-cultural structure; to the extent that they involve laborers and businessmen, they indicate involvement with the commercial-industrial socio-cultural structure. Over all, involvement with the traditional structure accounts for 47.8% of the informants giving work alternatives, while involvement with the commercial-industrial structure accounts for 52.2% of them. (Table 7 near here)

More extensive change is reflected in the choice of non-work alternatives. The non-fishing businessmen chose social security and dying. One official chose retirement. And the fishermen, of whom about 50.0% chose non-work alternatives, had the great-

est variety of non-work alternatives. These reflect the two socio-cultural structures which blend within the community. On the one hand, use of credit, use of social security, use of unemployment insurance, and retirement are associated with the complexities of the commercial-industrial structure; these choices account for 61.5% of the informants with non-work alternatives. On the other hand, receiving family aid and staying at home are associated with the non-commercial traditional way of life; these choices account for 23.1% of the concerned informants. In contrast to both, the assertion that one would die is a personal matter, as it was expressed by 15.4% of the concerned informants, contingent upon personal orientation to one's activities, but related also to feelings that there are no workable alternatives as far as activities are concerned.

In comparison to the system of work preferences, however, these data show slight modification in the orientation to work within the income-level system of occupations, a slight increase in feelings of uncertainty about work, and non-work alternatives which are distinct indications of the traditional and the commercial-industrial socio-cultural structures.

Bases for Occupational Preference

Bases for informant's occupational preferences are shown in Table 8. They are classified by informants' occupations in the income-level sequence and by relevance for traditional, commercial-industrial, and personal value systems. Of the 43 bases given by 40 informants, 69.8% related to the traditional value system; 27.9% related to the commercial-industrial value system; and

2.3% were related to personal values. Among those pertaining to the traditional value system, liking what one was doing accounted for 73.3% of the informants' responses. Liking the work and its ease of performance accounted for 86.7% of the traditionally oriented responses; these 26 responses are 60.5% of all the bases given for occupational preference. The bases pertaining to the commercial-industrial value system are diverse and not concentrated in any limited areas. In all, about 70.0% of the occupational preferences are based on the traditional value system, where there is concentration on liking one's work and its ease of performance. In the remaining 30.0% there is diversity associated primarily with the commercial-industrial value system. (Table 8 near here)

Bases for Perspectives on Change in Occupation

Table 9 shows bases for perspectives on actual activity one would undertake if his current occupation were terminated. These are classified by informants' occupations and by relevance for traditional, commercial-industrial, and personal value systems. Of the 41 bases given by 40 informants, 46.3% pertained to traditional values, 36.6% pertained to commercial-industrial values, and 17.7% pertained to personal values. Among those related to traditional values, the combination of liking the work and knowing no other work accounted for 73.7% of the bases given; each accounted for about 37.0% of the tradition oriented bases. Among those related to commercial-industrial values, income and being experienced at work each accounted for about 33.3% of the responses given; together, they accounted for 60.0% of the responses oriented to commercial-industrial values.

Basically, the bases for choice of activity reported here show a pronounced mixture of value systems; while the traditional is a little more prevalent than the commercial-industrial, neither is conspicuously predominant. Within each system, there is a tendency for bases to be limited to areas which point out salient aspects of the orientations to activity. For the traditional system, these are liking the work and lack of other experience; for the commercial-industrial system, they are income and having experience.

The relative prevalence of the two value systems, as they relate to preferences and choices, has relevance for understanding change in the community. As the systems blend, the traditional system is more influential on preferences than on choices. The commercial-industrial system is, on the other hand, more influential on choices than on preferences. We have no time-series data with which to make a systematic projection into the future, but the data suggest that choices will be made, with increasing prevalence, on the basis of the commercial-industrial value system. (Table 9 near here)

Complexity of the Blend of Socio-Cultural Structures

Relationships examined

Table 10 shows information relevant to understanding some of the complexity of the blend of the two socio-cultural structures. Here informants are classified on the basis of whether their occupational preferences and choices indicate work alternatives, whether the preferences and choices are the same, and whether the bases for the preferences and choices are the same.

This gives rise to 6 usable categories reflecting different facets of complexity in the fusion of the two socio-cultural structures. The "most simple" is that in which activity choices provide work alternatives, (WA), the preference and choice are the same (consistent---C), and the bases for the preference and choice are the same (bases consistent--BC). For this combination, the symbol used is $\frac{WAC}{BC}$. In some cases, activity choice provides non-work alternatives, (NWA); preferences and choices can be different (inconsistent---I); bases for preference and choice can be different (inconsistent---I). (Table 10 near here)

With these relationships, the following categories are used in sequence in Table 10.

1.	WAC BC	(work alternatives; activities consistent and bases consistent)	5.	NWAC BC	(no cases)
2.	WAC BI		6.	NWAC BI	(no cases)
3.	WAI BC		7.	MWAI BC	
4.	WAI BI		8.	NWAI BI	(non-work alternatives; activities inconsistent and bases inconsistent)

The sequence reflects increasing complexity and accounts simultaneously for variation in participation in work activities, variation in work alternatives, and variation in bases for preference and choice. The sequence is pertinent to describing the blending of socio-cultural structures; the underlying premise is that the traditional way of life is less complex in terms of occupational alternatives and rationales than the commercial-

industrial way of life.

Included in Table 10, for each of the above categories having cases, are occupational preferences and choices and indication of whether bases for them are associated with the traditional value system, the commercial-industrial value system, or personal values.

From these data in Table 10, four relationships are reported. One is between value systems and occupational preference and choice. This second is between value systems and bases for preference and choice. The third is between value systems and consistent and inconsistent work alternatives. The fourth is between value systems and work and non-work alternatives.

Values: Preference and Choice

The following matrix shows the relationships between value systems and occupational preferences and choices.

	Occupational:					
	Preferences		Choices		Total	
Values	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Traditional	30	75.0	18	45.0	48	60.0
Commercial	9	22.5	15	37.5	24	30.0
Personal	1	2.5	7	17.5	8	10.0
	40	100.0	40	100.0	80	100.0

The relationships shown here are similar to those indicated by data in Tables 8 and 9. Over all, a mixture of the two value systems indicated: there is a prevalence (60.0%), however, of responses reflecting the traditional value system. The traditional value system is associated more extensively with occu-

pational preferences than with occupational choices. The reverse is the case for the commercial-industrial value system and personal values: the data indicate a greater use of the commercial-industrial value system and personal values in making choices than in expressing preferences. The greater complexity of the commercial-industrial system provides more opportunity for use of personal values than does the lesser complexity of the traditional system. Hence, the more extensive use of personal values with respect to choice than with respect to preferences is consistent with the lesser use of traditional values and the greater use of commercial-industrial values for choices.

Values: Bases; Preference and Choice

Relationships between value systems and consistent and inconsistent bases for occupational preference and choice are shown in this matrix:

	Bases for Preference and Choice					
	Consistent		Inconsistent		Total	
Values	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Traditional	18	90.0	30	50.0	48	60.0
Commercial	2	10.0	22	36.7	24	30.0
Personal	-	--	8	13.3	8	10.0
	20 (25.0%)	100.0	60 (75.0%)	100.0	80 (100.0%)	100.0

The number of inconsistent bases is three times the number of consistent ones; the latter account for 25.0% of the cases, while the former account for 75.0% of them. The relative prevalence of the traditional value system for both consistent and inconsistent bases is shown. Consistent bases are found almost

exclusively (90.0%) within the traditional value system. For inconsistent bases, however, the traditional system accounts for only 50.0% of the cases. The association of inconsistent bases with the commercial-industrial values (36.7%) and personal values (13.3%) is consistent with the prevalence of the commercial-industrial socio-cultural structure and its complexity.

Values: Work Alternatives

The following matrix deals only with cases having work alternatives.

	Work Alternatives					
	Consistent		Inconsistent		Total	
Values	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Traditional	13	72.2	16	57.1	29	63.0
Commercial	5	27.8	10	35.8	15	32.6
Personal	-	--	2	7.1	2	4.4
	18	100.0	28	100.0	46	100.0
	(39.1%)		(60.9%)		(100.0%)	

The relationships shown here also reflect the prevalence and greater complexity of the commercial-industrial socio-cultural structure. Slightly over half (46, or 57.5%) of the 80 responses reported in Table 10 indicated the existence of work alternatives. Among these, the percentage having inconsistent work alternatives (60.9%) was about 1½ times that having consistent work alternatives (39.1%). The relationships shown here are similar to other reflections of increased complexity in socio-cultural structure. Traditional values are more prevalent, on the whole, than commercial-industrial and personal values in association with the consistent work alternatives. Traditional values are

associated to a greater extent with consistent work alternatives than with inconsistent ones. But for commercial-industrial values, the relationship is reversed, as it is for personal values. "Complex" relationships are more prevalent than "simple" ones, and that complexity is associated to a greater extent with commercial-industrial and personal values than are "simple" relationships of consistent work alternatives.

Values: Work-/Non-Work Alternatives

No cases of consistent or inconsistent non-work alternatives are reported.

Hence, consideration is given next to comparison of cases having work alternatives and those with non-work alternatives.

	Occupational Choice					
	Work Alternative		Non-Work Alternative		Total	
Values	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Traditional	29	63.0	19	55.9	48	60.0
Commercial	15	32.6	9	26.5	24	30.0
Personal	2	4.4	6	17.6	8	10.0
	46	100.0	34	100.0	80	100.0
	(57.5%)		(42.5%)		(100.0%)	

Relationships shown here differ Slightly ~~a little bit~~ from the others considered above. The non-work alternatives, indicative of a greater complexity in the socio-cultural structure, are less prevalent (42.5%) than the work alternatives (57.5%). However, as has been the case before, traditional values are more prevalent, over all, than industrial-commercial values. But traditional and commercial-industrial values are less prevalent for cases with non-work alternatives than they are for cases with

work alternatives. And personal values are associated with 17.6% of the cases with non-work alternatives but with only 4.4% of the cases with work alternatives. This suggests that the choice of non-work alternatives is an individualistic matter more frequently than is the choice of work alternatives. This relationship is consistent with opportunities offered by the greater complexity of the industrial-commercial socio-cultural structure. And the somewhat greater prevalence of work alternatives, compared to that of non-work alternatives, evidences a mixture of orientations toward work.

Complexity Categories

One other set of relationships is pertinent to understanding the extent to which commercial-industrial socio-cultural structure is prevalent in the village of Cerro Pueblo. This is the proportion of the 40 informants in each of the complexity categories. Data are shown in Table 11. Only 15.0% of the cases have the most simple relationships,---i.e. work alternatives, consistency between work preferences and choices, and consistency between bases for preference and choice (WAC-BC). The largest proportion of cases (37.5%) has the most complex system of relationships,---i.e. inconsistent non-work alternatives and inconsistent bases for preference and choice (NWAI-BI). The second largest proportion (30.0%) has inconsistent work alternatives and inconsistent bases (WAI-BI). In brief, the kind of complexity characterized by thorough inconsistency in orientation to occupation is found in 37.5% of the cases. Accommodation to consistency and inconsistency (WAC-BI, WAI-BC, WAI-BI, and NWAI-BC)

is found in 47.5%. And 15.0% show thorough consistency. Thus varying degrees of complexity in work orientation characterizes 85.0% of the cases. Characteristically, consistency in relationships and work alternatives are associated primarily with the value system of the traditional socio-cultural structure; inconsistency and non-work alternatives are associated primarily with the value system of the commercial-industrial structure and with personal values. (Table 11 near here)

Degrees of Socio-Cultural Transition

The information in the four preceding matrices can be combined to give an indication of the extent to which socio-cultural structures have blended in the village of Cerro Pueblo. In making this combination, preferences, consistent bases, consistent work alternatives, and the existence of work alternatives are regarded as reflecting a "simple" orientation to work, associated primarily with traditional values. On the other hand, choices, inconsistent bases, inconsistent work alternatives, and the existence of non-work alternatives are regarded as reflecting a "complex" orientation to work, associated primarily with commercial-industrial values. In matrix form, the combined data are these; the percentages are relative to the total number of responses considered, 286.

Values	Orientations to Work: Simple No.	Simple %	Complex No.	Complex %	Total No.	Total %
Values						
Traditional	90	31.5	83	29.0	173	60.5
Commercial	31	10.8	56	19.6	87	30.4
Personal	3	1.0	23	8.1	26	9.1
	124	43.3	162	56.7	286	100.0

X^2=17.6702; df=2; P < 0.001.

The situation shown is one in which, with respect to orientations to work, traditional values prevail over commercial-industrial values by a 2-to-1 ratio, while "complex" preference-choice orientations prevail over "simple" ones by a 1.3-to-1 ratio. These relationships are not chance occurrences. The community has become a bit more than one-half commercial-industrial in its preference-choice orientation to work, but its value orientation to work remains predominately traditional.

"Ideal" Performers of Occupational Roles

Data

Use was made of concepts of ideal performers of occupational roles to explore techniques of measuring the relative aspects of complexity in the transition from a traditional way of life to a commercial-industrial way of life in the village of Cerro Pueblo. Informants were asked, "What do you think are the ideal (or best) qualities (or characteristics) for a person who does the type of work which you do?" (See item III-F, questionnarie; Appendix). The attributes identified in the responses are shown, classified by occupation and characteristic, in Table 12. The occupational

classification reflects the status system of the commercial-industrial way of life. (Table 12 near here)

General Ideal-Identity

A configuration of attributes each of which is found in at least 3 of the 4 occupational categories can be identified:

Attribute	Occupation-Status Categories
Responsible	Merchants, officials, fishermen, laborers
Knows how to do the job	- Officials, fishermen, laborers
Has adequate money	Merchants, - , fishermen, laborers
Healthy, or in good physical condition	- , Officials, fishermen, laborers

Since they are found widely in the range of positions within the status system, these four attributes are regarded as a "general ideal-identity" which is prevalent in the community, regardless of status and occupational variations which exist there. It can reflect aspects of both the traditional way of life and the commercial-industrial way of life. Being responsible and knowing how to do the job can be related to both, and can have their bases in the traditional way of life. Having an adequate amount of money is an aspect of the commercial-industrial socio-cultural structure. Being healthy or in good physical condition is a personal attribute which can be valued in either structure.

Differentiation between ways of life is related to differences in status as they are reflected in the "general ideal-identity." Responsibility is found in all strata. Knowing how

to do the job, as such, is not found among merchants, who have the highest status; their emphasis is more specialized and more specific (prices, products) and reflects greater involvement and specialization within the commercial-industrial way of life: for officials, fishermen, and laborers, with different orientations to specialization and job completion, the comprehensive rhubric, "knowing how to do the job," can reflect traditional orientation to a greater extent than commercial-industrial orientation. Similarly, having adequate amounts of money has a significance to merchants, fishermen, and laborers, who purchase goods for exchange, equipment, and tools, which is different from the significance it has for officials, who function as authority figures irrespective of money; indications of varying involvement in the commercial-industrial way of life and, for officials, an attribute of the traditional way of life are discernable. Being healthy or in good physical condition, although an individual condition, can be understood as of different significance to merchants than to officials, fishermen, and laborers; it would, in one sense, reflect more of the traditional way of life than of the commercial-industrial way of life in the lower status positions of the income-level sequence of occupations.

All attributes, other than the four indicated above, were found in one or two occupational categories and are regarded as being more occupation-specific than general.

Occupation-Specific Ideal-Identity

The attributes which are found widely among the income-level occupation categories are not necessarily mentioned as frequently

as those which are mentioned only in a given occupational category. Hence, a configuration of attributes in a given occupational category can give a different system of impressions from that of the general ideal-identity.

Table 13 shows the number of times attributes were associated with a given characteristic and occupational category. The percentages computed show the relative frequency with which a given characteristic was associated with each occupational category and with the total number of responses. In identifying a configuration of attributes for each occupational category,---an occupation-specific ideal-identity,---use is made of those characteristics for which the occupation-related percentage is greater than the percentage related to the total. (Table 13 near here)

Consequently, for merchants, the relevant characteristics are skills, facilities, and interpersonal relationships. The attributes (Table 12) are ability to treat people well, good conduct, good discipline, transportation, money, a good reputation, and respect for people. For officials, the relevant characteristics are skill, personality, experience, interpersonal relationships, and aids and sanctions. The attributes are ability to direct others, good conduct, health, intelligence, special study and training, a good reputation, kindness to people and a license. For fishermen, the relevant characteristics are attitude toward work, knowledge, facilities, personality, experience, and aids and sanctions. The attributes are being at ease on water, cautious, liking the work, not being afraid, being patient, responsible, and wanting to fish; knowing how to fish, seamanship, and where to fish; good fishing

equipment and money to buy it; alert, in good physical condition, intelligent, self-reliant, and venturesome: experienced; having a good helper and, when necessary, a license. For laborers, the relevant characteristics are attitude toward work, knowledge, interpersonal relationships, and performance. The attributes are being responsible, wanting to improve, knowing how to do the job, feeling oneself part of the outfit, being on the job and punctual, and doing a good job. Together, these combinations of attributes reflect differences in orientation to work which are contingent upon the type of work, social status, and a blending of traditional and commercial-industrial ways of life.

Measurements

Concern here is with three types of measurements. The first measurement is of the prevalence of traditional and industrial-components in the general ideal-identity. The second is the prevalence of the general ideal-identity in the community. The third is the prevalence of the general ideal-identity in occupational categories.

Traditional and Commercial-Industrial Components

The basis for measuring the prevalence of traditional and commercial-industrial components in the general ideal-identity is reported on pages 32-33. Here responsibility is associated with all occupations and with both ways of life. Assigning a weight of one (1) to each occupation in which responsibility is found gives a total of 4; since responsibility is associated with each way of life, the total is divided between the two.

Hence, for responsibility, the traditional and the commercial-industrial structures each receive a score of two (2). Knowledge of how to do the job on the part of officials, fishermen, and laborers adds three (3) more to the total for the traditional way of life. And the need for money adds three (3) to the commercial-industrial way of life. Health and good physical condition among officials, fishermen, and laborers are the basis for adding another three (3) to the total for the traditional structure. This makes a total of 13 assigned weights, 5 of which go to the commercial-industrial way of life, while 8 go to the traditional way of life. The relative prevalence of each is 5/13ths and 8/13ths, or approximately 38.5% commercial-industrial orientation and 61.5% traditional orientation. This indicates a blend of socio-cultural structures with the traditional somewhat dominant in the uniformities which exist among status positions. The relationships are similar to those found from analysis of preference-choice orientations to work. (See pages 30-31)

Prevalence of General Ideal-Identity

The second measurement, that of prevalence of the general ideal-identity, is made by dividing the number of responses indicating attributes of the general ideal-identity by the total number of responses indicating attributes. Arrows at the right side of Table 12 indicate the former responses, which total 28; relative to the total of 110, this is 25.5%. The other attributes, which are occupation-specific, constitute 74.5% of the total number of responses. Indications are that the occupation-specific attributes outnumber the attributes of the general ideal-identity in a ratio of about 3-to-1.

The third measurement, the prevalence of the general ideal-identity in occupational categories, is made by using the process described in the above paragraph for given occupational categories. For each, the number of responses indicating attributes of the general ideal-identity is divided by the total number of responses. The following matrix shows these relationships for the categories of merchants, officials, fishermen, and laborers. The general relationship is one in which the occupation-specific attributes are more prevalent than the general ideal-identity attributes: the reverse relationship exists for laborers. The matrix also shows the sequence of occupational categories based on the relative prevalence of occupation specific attributes. The sequence is fishermen (80.3%), merchants (75.0%), officials (69.2%), and laborers (42.9%). Corresponding with this sequence, and also shown, is the sequence of occupational categories based on intensity of egocentric identification with one's occupation, as indicated by data from Table 1. The implication is that individuals who identify most strongly with their occupations see the most occupation-specific facets of it as germane to ideal qualities for a person in that occupation. The similarities in the intensities of identification with fishermen, being a merchant, or being an official reflect a lack of stringent differentiation among these occupations in the fusion of the two socio-cultural structures.

	Merchants	Officials	Fishing	Laborers
Ratio of general to occupation-specific attributes	3/12	4/13	14/71	8/14
% general	25.0	30.8	19.7	57.1
% occupation-specific	75.0	69.2	80.3	42.9
Rank order by % occupation-specific attributes	2	3	1	4
Rank order by intensity of identification	2	3	1	4
Intensity of identification (Table 1)	45.8*	43.1	55.1	10.7*

*Computed from combined categories.

When merchants and laborers are sub-divided into those who do not fish and those who fish part-time, the same relationship pertains between rank orders, except for laborers. For laborers, the two lowest positions, 5 and 6, in the sequence are reversed. The existence of this transposition is interpreted as related to the lack of egocentric identification with their occupation evidenced by laborers and shown in Table 1. (The same interpretation is made for the prevalence of general attributes among those cited by laborers and indicated in the matrices above and below.) However, the over-all pattern of relationships, shown below, supports the generalization that individuals who identify most strongly with their occupation see the most occupation-specific facets of it as germane to ideal qualities for a person in that occupation.

	Merchants		Officials	Fishing	Laborers	
	Non-fishing	Part-time fishing			Part-time fishing	Non-fishing
Ratio of general to occupation-specific attributes	2/6	1/6	4/13	14/71	4/5	4/9
% general	33.3	16.7	30.8	19.7	80.0	44.4
% occupation-specific	66.7	83.3	69.2	80.3	20.0	55.6
Rank order by % occupation-specific attributes	4	1	3	2	6	5
Rank order by intensity of identification	4	1	3	2	5	6
Intensity of identification (Table 1)	33.3	58.4	43.1	55.1	13.9	8.3

The consistency of these relationships, determined through the analysis of seemingly independent areas of data, is interpreted as lending credence to the use of the methods applied here and to the measurements derived from their use.

Conclusions

The exploratory work which is reported here indicates that it is possible to make quantitative approximations of the extent to which two socio-cultural structures have blended in a changing community. The fusion of an artisan fishing tradition and a commercial-industrial way of life is examined. Information pertaining to occupation was used since the functions of occupational activities are essential in a society and relate systematically to one's position in a social structure; in addition, occupational

activities contribute critically to the establishment of identity, the development of attitudes, and the structuring of attitude clusters in individuals.

Part of the data reported here are descriptive in emphasis. They indicate that 57.5% of the informants are full-time fishermen, and that 12.5% more fish on a part-time basis. Non-fishing merchants account for 5.0%, 10.0% are non-fishing laborers, and the remaining 15.0% are classified as officials.

Disorganization contingent upon the fusion of the two socio-cultural structures and changes in social status systems is reflected in the relationship between a sequence of occupations derived from variation in income levels and identification with occupations of that sequence. Except for laborers, people in each occupational category tend to identify most strongly with their own occupation; laborers identify more strongly with the work of fishermen and merchants than they do with their own work. Only non-fishing merchants, with high status, have a rank ordering of identification with occupations which coincides with the ordering of occupations in the income-level sequence. Fishing, a general occupation in the traditional way of life and one with respect to which high status could be achieved, is a middle-status occupation in the income-level sequence of the commercial-industrial way of life. Yet, with respect to mean rank order of identification with occupations, being a fisherman, being a merchant, and being an official ranked high, close together, and in that sequence. Being a fisherman and the authority aspects of being an official coincided with the traditional way of life; the

work of merchants and some of the work currently done by officials tended to reflect the commercial-industrial way of life. The similarity of these occupations with respect to mean rank order of identification with occupations reflects fusion of the two socio-cultural structures. Further indication is in the informants' occupational preferences and occupational alternatives. Most people gave indication of preferring an occupation different from their own; they rationalized their preferences primarily with reasons from a traditional value system. When considering actual choices of a new occupation, few people considered a choice which was consistent with their preference, and most rationalized their choices primarily with reasons from a commercial-industrial value system.

The information pertaining to current occupation, occupational preference, and occupational choice was used to explore with a technique for quantifying the blend of traditional and commercial-industrial ways of life. The data indicate that preference-choice orientations to work are dominated by commercial-industrial values (56.7% commercial-industrial; 43.3% traditional); yet, the preferences and choices are rationalized predominantly with traditional values (60.5% traditional; 30.4% commercial-industrial and personal).

Verification of these relationships is suggested by considerations of independent data. With respect to the orientations toward work, verification of relationships is suggested by the data describing secondary occupations and yard and garden activities supplementing incomes. Of all the informants, 52.5% had

only monetary income from primary and secondary occupations; this is regarded as reflecting a degree of commercial-industrial orientation. Yard and garden activities to supplement cash incomes existed for 47.5% of the informants; this is regarded as reflecting a degree of traditional orientation.

With respect to values, verification is suggested by the extent to which traditional and commercial-industrial values are reflected in attributes of "ideal" workers. For the given configuration of attributes found in all occupational categories, 61.5% reflected traditional values and 38.5% reflected commercial-industrial and personal values. With respect to ideological aspects of the community, traditional orientations are dominant but not exclusive.

Indicating the most extensive change, however, is the prevalence of a general ideal-identity based on the configuration of "ideal" attributes mentioned above. The number of times these attributes are mentioned is 25.5% of the total number of times all attributes are mentioned. Other attributes, which are critical for specific occupations, not for all, account for 74.5% of the times attributes are mentioned. These occupation-specific attributes are interpreted as reflecting role specialization in the commercial-industrial way of life. Hence, these data indicate more extensive change toward commercial-industrial orientation than do other data reported here.

The above percentages coincide with those for the proportions of individuals with income only from primary occupations (25.0%) and those with secondary occupations and income supple-

ments (75.0%). The two sets of data tend to confirm the existence of a given degree of change. The stability of occupation which allows retention of a general ideal-identity in a variety of status positions characterizes about 25.0% of the informants.

Consistency in support of the commercial-industrial prevalence, however, is between two rank orders related to occupations. One is the rank order of occupations based on the intensity with which people in the occupation identified with it; the second is a rank order based on the relative prevalence of occupation-specific attributes of "ideal" workers. The two coincide, except in the case of laborers who do not identify with greatest intensity with their own occupation. Lack of consistency for this occupation reflects the ambiguous position of the laborers' role in the fusion of the two ways of life.

However, by concentrating analysis in a limited but socially critical area of data, that pertaining to occupation, it is possible to measure the extent to which socio-cultural structures have fused. The relationships portrayed show a predominance of commercial-industrial structure in matters of occupational preference and choice, and attributes of "ideal" role performers. However, there is a prevalence of traditional value orientation in the community. The relative relationships are these:

Indicators	Prevalence of Socio-Cultural Structure: Commercial-industrial	Traditional
Attributes of ideal workers	74.5%	25.5%
Preference-choice orientation	56.6%	43.3%
Values	38.1%	61.9%

With respect to the use of this approach to analyze and make predictions for further change, one has to acknowledge both limitations and strengths. On the one hand, we do not know the extent to which these relationships per se can function as social indicators. The quantitative aspects, however, suggest that perhaps aspects of image change before orientations to work roles, and that both of these change before values change. Where, in the course of this sequence, specific innovative action in the performance of occupational activities might take place is a matter of conjecture. On the other hand, we know that if we can repeat this kind of investigation at specific time intervals we can get time-series data that can be related to the occurrence of innovative action. By making successive approximations, relationships pertaining to occupational activity and socio-cultural change can be more precisely determined and correlated.

But neither do we know the extent to which the relationship between the intensity of people's identification with an occupation and the detail of their image of its ideal performer may serve as a social indicator. The limitations and strengths of approach mentioned above apply to this proposition, too.

However, currently, and with an ad hoc approach to prediction, one could assume that, over time, larger proportions of commercial-industrial characteristics would be discernable: the prediction reflects awareness of massive trends of commercial-industrial development in the society which encompasses the village studied. And this particular research shows that the relative prevalence of two ways of life can be ascertained and quantified; it opens a way for systematic considerations of technological innovation and technology transfer under circumstances of socio-cultural transition.

APPENDIX

University of Rhode Island
International Center for Marine Resource Development
8/73-pr Fisheries and Mariculture Potential No. _____

I. Name _____ ; II. Residence _____

III. Household Composition

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Name	Rel.to Head	Age	Sex	Ma. S. SMWDU	Current location	Year left	Curr. Occu Gen	Curr. Occu Spec	Place of birth
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10.									

IV. Occupation: A. Current occupation (any activity for which economic compensation is received in any form).

	General	Specific
1. Major (most economic compensation)		
2. Minor		
3. Other		

B. In what way or ways is your work important to you? (That is, what do you think you get from your work (1, 2, 3) in comparison to other types of work you could do?)

1. Major _____

_____

2. Minor _____

_____

3. Other _____

_____

C. What do you like most about your work?

1. Major _____

_____

2. Minor _____

_____

3. Other _____

_____

D. What do you like least about your work?

1. Major _____

_____

2. Minor _____

_____

3. Other _____

_____

E1. If you had a chance to change your major occupation, what kind of work would you like to do?

_____

2. What about this work would you like?

_____

F. What do you think are the ideal, or best, qualities for a person who does the type of work which you do?

1. Major _____
2. Minor _____
3. Other _____

Ga. If you could no longer work at your major occupation, what would you do? _____

_____

b. Why? _____

H. Comparison of Occupations
We would like to know your opinion about the work of fishermen, farm workers, laborers, merchants, and officials. For each question indicate one type of work.

Questions	Fishermen	Farm workers	Laborers	Merchants	Officials
1. Which work is most independent?					
2. Which work is most dependable?					

H. Comparison of Occupations cont.

Questions	Fisher-men	Farm workers	Labor-ers	Mer-chants	Offi-cials
3. In which work is the most money acquired?					
4. Which work is most pleasant?					
5. Which work requires the most energy?					
6. Which work requires the most education?					
7. Which work requires the most family help?					
8. In which work would you be happiest?					
9. Which work is the most useful?					
10. Which work is the least contentious?					
11. Which work makes possible the best social life?					
12. Which work is best for family life?					

V. Change A. General

1. What are the most important changes which have taken place in the community where you live during the past five years? (10 yrs.? 15 yrs? 20 yrs? 25 yrs? Ever?)

2. How did they happen?(What caused them to happen?)

3. In what way(s) are they important?

4. How do you feel about them?

5. What changes do you expect in the future?

B. (for fishermen) major _____ minor _____ other _____

1. In what way(s) has fishing changed for you during the past five? (10 yrs.? 15 yrs.? 20 yrs.? 25 yrs.? Ever?)

2. How did these changes happen (What caused them to happen?)

3. In what way(s) are they important?

4. How do you feel about them?

5. What changes in fishing do you expect in the future?

6. Do you sell your fish:

1. to a buyer _____
2. to a store _____
3. to a restaurant _____
4. Use them yourself _____
5. Give them to friends _____
6. Other _____

VI. Fishing A.L. Do you have any relatives who fish? Yes__ No___

2. Name 3. Residence 4. Relationship 5. Where does he fish?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

B. With whom do you fish? (Self, relatives, compadre, friends, neighbors, or others?)

1. Name 2. Relationship 3. Residence

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

C. Boat: Length _____ 2. Motor, H.P. _____3. Sails yes__No__

D. Equipment: 1. Traps___2. Nets___3. Lines___4. Other___

E. Principal types of fish caught _____

_____

F. Location: 1. Where do you fish? _____

2. Why do you fish there? _____

3. Why not fish other places? _____

4. How would you feel about going out a longer distance to fish? _____

5. How would you feel about going out a shorter distance to fish? _____

6a. How many miles from shore do you usually go, when you fish? _____

b. How many more miles from shore would you be willing to go? (check one: 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 Other)_____

c. Why would you go no further? _____

_____

G. Time: 1. When fishing, at what hour of the day do you usually begin? (or leave with your boat)? _____

2. At what hour do you usually stop fishing? _____

3. How would you feel about staying out longer? _____

_____

4. How would you feel about staying out for less time?

_____

5a. You usually stay out about (or fish for) _____ hours.

b. How many more hours would you be willing to stay out with your boat? (to keep on fishing?) (Check one)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Other _____

c. Why would you stay out no longer? _____

_____

6a. At what other time of day would you prefer to fish?

_____

b. Why? _____

VI. Life Style

A. Home: 1. Own _____ 2. Rent _____

B. Number of rooms in Home _____

C. Bath facilities: 1. Indoor shower ___ 2. Indoor tub ___

3. Outdoor ___

D. Toilet facilities: 1. Indoor___2.Outdoor ___

E. Cars: 1. Make_____ 2. Model_____ 3. Year_____

1. Make_____ 2. Model_____3. Year_____

1. Make_____ 2. Model_____3. Year_____

F. Truck: 1. Make_____ 2. Model_____3. Year_____

G. TV (black and white) _____

H. TV (color) _____

I. Radio _____

J. Record player _____

K. Hi-fi _____

L. Refrigerator _____

M. Air conditioner _____

N. Washing machine _____

O. Stove: 1. Gas _____ 2. Electric _____ 3. Other _____

P. Annual household income for the last calendar year.
(check the most appropriate level).

1. $ 0- 999 _____
2. 1,000-1,999 _____
3. 2,000-2,999 _____
4. 3,000-3,999_____
5. 4,000-4,999 _____
6. 5,000-5,999 _____
7. 6,000-6,999 _____
8. 7,000-7,999 _____
9. 8,000-8,999 _____
10. 9,000-or more_____

VII. What questions would you like to ask me?

TABLE 1
First Rankings of Given Occupations on Selected Characteristics;
40 Household Heads Classified by Occupation;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1973

ccupational Categories	Occupations: Business: Non-fisning		Business: Part-time fishing		Officials		Fishing		Laborers: Part-time fishing		Laborers: Non-fishing		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
usiness	8	33.3	14	58.4	12	16.7	30	10.9	11	30.5	13	27.1	88	18.3
fficials	7	29.2	2	8.3	31	43.1	44	15.9	10	27.8	4	8.3	98	20.4
ishing	6	25.0	8	33.3	14	19.4	152	55.1	10	27.8	20	41.7	210	43.8
aborers	2	8.3	0	0.0	6	8.3	32	11.6	5	13.9	4	8.3	49	10.2
arm workers	1	4.2	0	0.0	7	9.7	12	4.3	0	0.0	3	6.3	23	4.8
o difference	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.8	6	2.2	0	0.0	4	8.3	12	2.5
TOTALS	24	100.0	24	100.0	72	100.0	276	100.0	36	100.0	48	100.0	480	100.0

TABLE 2
First Rankings of Given Occupations on Selected Characteristics;
40 Household Heads Classified by Occupation;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1973

Occupational Categories	Non-fishermen								Part-time Fishermen						Fishermen		Total	
	Total		Business		Officials		Laborers		Total		Business		Laborers					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Business	33	22.9	8	33.3	12	16.7	13	27.1	25	41.7	14	58.4	11	30.5	30	10.9	88	18.3
Officials	42	29.2	7	29.2	31	43.1	4	8.3	12	20.0	2	8.3	10	27.8	44	15.9	98	20.4
Fishing	40	27.8	6	25.0	14	19.4	20	41.7	18	30.0	8	33.3	10	27.8	152	55.1	210	43.8
Laborers	12	8.3	2	8.3	6	8.3	4	8.3	5	8.3	0	0.0	5	13.9	32	11.6	49	10.2
Farm Workers	11	7.6	1	4.2	7	9.7	3	6.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	12	4.3	23	4.8
No difference	6	4.2	0	0.0	2	2.8	4	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	2.2	12	2.5
	144	100.0	24	100.0	72	100.0	48	100.0	60	100.0	24	100.0	36	100.0	276	100.0	480	100.0

TABLE 3
Secondary Occupations;
40 Household Heads Classified by Occupation;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1973

Secondary Occupations	Occupations						Total
	Business		Officials	Fishing	Laborers		
	Non-fishing	Part-time fishing			Part-time fishing	Non-fishing	
None	2	-	4	13	-	3	22
Business	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Officials	-	-	1	2	-	-	3
Fishing	-	2	-	-	3	-	5
Laborers	-	-	1	7	-	-	8
Other	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
	2	2	6	23	3	4	40

TABLE 4
Income Supplements;
40 Household Heads Classified by Occupation;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1973

Income Supplements	Occupations						Total
	Business		Officials	Fishing	Laborers		
	Non-fishing	Part-time fishing			Part-time fishing	Non-fishing	
None	1	2	3	12	1	2	21
Pigs or goats	-	-	1	2	1	-	4
Chickens	-	-	-	6	-	1	7
Pigs and chickens	1	-	-	1	1	-	3
Fruit	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Vegetables and fruit	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Vegetables and poultry	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Fishing	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	2	2	6	23	3	4	40

TABLE 5
Secondary Occupations and Income Supplements:
40 Household Heads Classified by Occupation;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1973

Occupations and Supplement	Occupations: Business		Officials	Fishing	Laborers		Total	
	Non-fishing	Part-time fishing			Non-fishing	Part-time fishing	No.	%
Neither	1	-	2	5	2	-	10	25.0
Both	-	-	1	3	1	2	7	17.5
Occupation	-	2	1	7	0	1	11	27.5
Supplement	1	-	2	8	1	-	12	30.0
	2	2	6	23	4	3	40	100.0

TABLE 6
Informant's Preferred Occupations;
40 Household Heads Classified by Occupation;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1973

Occupational Preferences	Occupations: Business		Officials	Fishing	Laborers		Total	
	Non-fishing	Part-time fishing			Part-time fishing	Non-fishing	No.	%
Business	2	-	-	2	-	1	5	12.5
Officials	-	2	5	2	1	-	10	25.0
Fishing	-	-	-	8	1	1	10	25.0
Laborers	-	-	-	9	-	2	11	27.5
Farming	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	5.0
Uncertain	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	5.0
Total	2	2	6	23	3	4	40	100.0

TABLE 7
Informants' Perspectives on Actual Change of Occupation;
40 Household Heads Classified by Occupation;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1973

Choice of Occupation	Occupations: Business		Officials	Fishing	Laborers		Total	
	Non-fishing	Part-time fishing			Part-time fishing	Non-fishing	No.	%
Work Alternatives								
Business	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	
Officials	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	
Fishing	-	1	1	2	2	-	6	
Laborers	-	-	1	7	-	2	10	
Farming	-	-	1	1	1	-	3	
	(-)	(2)	(4)	(11)	(3)	(3)	(23	57.5)
No Alternatives								
No change	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	
Uncertain	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	
	(-)	(-)	(1)	(2)	(-)	(1)	(4	10.0)
Non-work Alternatives								
Use credit	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Social security	1	-	-	3	-	-	4	
Unemployment insurance	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Retire	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	
Family aid	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	
Stay home	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Die	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	
	(2)	(-)	(1)	(10)	(-)	(-)	(13	32.5)
Total	2	2	6	23	3	4	40	100.0

TABLE 8
Bases for Informants' Occupational Preferences;
40 Household Heads Classifed by Occupation;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1973

Bases for Preference	Occupations						Total	
	Business		Officials	Fishing	Laborers			
	Non-fishing	Part-time fishing			Part-time fishing	Non-fishing	No.	%
Traditional value system								
Like it	-	2	3	10	3	4	22	
Easy	-	-	-	4	-	-	4	
Have done no other work	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	
Be own boss	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Please people	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
	(-)	(2)	(3)	(18)	(3)	(4)	(30	69.8)
Commercial industrial value system								
Work less with people	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	
Learn	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	
Know how	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	
Experienced	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	
Work assured	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
Income	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	
Progress	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	
	(2)	(-)	(4)	(6)	(-)	(-)	(12	27.9)
Personal								
Haven't considered it	(-)	(-)	(-)	(1)	(-)	(-)	(1	2.3)
TOTAL	2	2	7	25	3	4	43	100.0)

TABLE 9
Bases for Perspectives on Actual Change of Occupation;
40 Household Heads Classified by Occupation;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1973

Bases for Choice	Occupations: Business		Officials	Fishing	Laborers		Total	
	Non-fishing	Part-time fishing			Part-time fishing	Non-fishing	No.	%
Traditional value system								
Like it	-	1	1	3	1	1	7	
Easy	-	-	-	3	-	-	3	
Knew nothing else	-	1	-	6	-	-	7	
Family aid	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	
No Alternatives	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	
	(1)	(2)	(2)	(12)	(1)	(1)	(19	46.3)
Commercial-industrial value system								
Know the business	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	
Have the experience	-	-	2	2	-	-	4	
No opportunity here		-	-	-	1	-	1	
Limited job market	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	
Work assured	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	
Income	-	-	1	3	1	-	5	
	(-)	(-)	(4)	(8)	(2)	(1)	(15	36.6)
Personal								
Health	1	-	-	2	-	1	4	
Age	-	-	1	1	1	-	3	
	(1)	(-)	(1)	(3)	(1)	(1)	(7	17.7)
TOTAL	2	2	7	23	4	3	41	100.0

TABLE 10
Occupational Preferences and Choices;
Values Associated with Preferences and Choices;
40 Household Heads Classified by
Consistency Between Activities and Between Bases for Preference and Choice;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1971

WAC
BC

Occupations	Perspectives: Preference	Perspectives: Choice	Values	Bases: Preference	Bases: Choice	Total No.	Total %
Business	-	-	Traditional	5	5	10	
Officials	1	1	Commercial	1	1	2	
Fishing	-	-	Personal	-	-	-	
Laborers	3	3				12	15.0
Farming	2	2					
Other	-	-					

WAC
BI

Occupations	Perspectives: Preference	Perspectives: Choice	Values	Bases: Preference	Bases: Choice	Total No.	Total %
Business	1	1	Traditional	3	-	3	
Officials	-	-	Commercial	-	3	3	
Fishing	2	2	Personal	-	-	-	
Laborers	-	-				6	7.5
Farming	-	-					
Other	-	-					

WAI
BC

Occupations	Perspectives: Preference	Perspectives: Choice	Values	Bases: Preference	Bases: Choice	Total No.	Total %
Business	-	-	Traditional	2	2	4	
Officials	1	-	Commercial	-	-	-	
Fishing	1	-	Personal	-	-	-	
Laborers	-	2				4	5.0
Farming	-	-					
Other	-	-					

WAI
BI

Occupations	Perspectives: Preference	Perspectives: Choice	Values	Bases: Preference	Bases: Choice	Total No.	Total %
Business	1	1	Traditional	9	3	12	
Officials	5	1	Commercial	2	8	10	
Fishing	3	4	Personal	1	1	2	
Laborers	2	5				24	30.0
Farming	-	1					
Other	1	-					

TABLE 10 (con't)

NWAI
BC

Occupations	Perspectives Preference	Perspectives Choice
Bussiness	-	-
Officials	-	-
Fishing	1	-
Laborers	-	-
Farming	-	-
Uncertain	1	-
Use Credit	-	1
Family Aid	-	1

Values	Bases Preference	Bases Choice	Total No.	Total %
Traditional	2	2	4	
Commercial	-	-	-	
Personal	-	-	-	
			4	5.0 %

NWAI
BI

Occupations	Perspectives Preference	Perspectives Choice
Business	3	-
Officials	3	-
Fishing	2	-
Laborers	7	-
Farming	-	-
Other	-	-
Government aid	-	5
Family aid	-	2
Retire	-	2
Die	-	2
Uncertain; no change	-	4

Values	Bases Preference	Bases Choice	Total No.	Total %
Traditional	9	6	15	
Commercial	6	3	9	
Personal	-	6	6	
			30	37.5%
		TOTAL	80	100.0%

TABLE 11
Occupational-Orientation Complexity-Categories;
40 Household Heads Classified by Occupation;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1973

Complexity Categories	Occupations						Total	
	Business		Officials	Fishing	Laborers			
	Non-fishing	Part-time fishing			Part-time fishing	Non-fishing	No.	%
WAC-BC	-	1	1	2	1	1	6	15.0
-BI	-	-	-	1	1	1	3	7.5
WAI-BC	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	5.0
-BI	-	1	3	6	1	1	12	30.0
NWAC-BC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-BI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NWAI-BC	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	5.0
-BI	2	-	2	10	-	1	15	37.5
	2	2	6	23	3	4	40	100.0

TABLE 12
Attributes of Ideal Performers of One's Occupational Role;
40 Household Heads Classified by Occupation;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1973

Attributes	Occupations and Performer Characteristics: Merchants	Officials	Fishing	Laborers	Total No.	%
Attitude Toward Work						
At ease on water	-	-	3	-	3	
Cautious	-	-	3	-	3	
Like it	-	-	3	-	3	
Not afraid	-	-	4	-	4	
Patient	1	-	1	-	2	
Responsible	1	2	2	3	8	
Want to do it	-	-	4	-	4	
Want to improve	-	-	-	1	1	
	2	2	20	4	28	25.5
Knowledge						
How to do the job	-	1	7	3	11	
Prices	1	-	-	-	1	
Products	1	-	-	-	1	
Seamanship	-	-	3	-	3	
Understanding people	-	1	-	-	1	
Where fish are	-	-	7	-	7	
	2	2	17	3	24	21.8
Skills						
Ability to:						
direct others	-	1	-	-	1	
treat people well	2	-	-	-	2	
work	-	-	1	-	1	
work fast	-	-	-	1	1	
General skills	-	-	2	-	2	
Good conduct	1	1	-	-	2	
Good discipline	1	-	-	-	1	
Make traps	-	-	3	-	3	
Swim	-	-	2	-	2	
	4	2	8	1	15	13.6
Facilities						
Good equipment	-	-	9	-	9	
Transportation	1	1	-	-	2	
Money	1	-	1	1	3	
	2	1	10	1	14	12.7

(con't)

TABLE 12 (con't)

	Merchants	Officials	Fishing	Laborers	No.	%
		Personality				
Alert	-	-	1	-	1	
Good physical condition	-	-	4	-	4	}6 ←
Healthy	-	1	-	1	2	
Intelligent	-	1	1	-	2	
Self-reliant	-	-	1	-	1	
Venturesome	-	-	1	-	1	
	-	2	8	1	11	10.0
		Experience				
Having it	-	1*	6	-	7	
	-	1	6	-	7	6.4
*Special study and training						
		Interpersonal Relationships				
Feeling part of the outfit	-	-	-	1	1	
Good reputation	1	1	-	-	2	
Kindness to people	-	1	-	-	1	
Respect for people	1	-	-	-	1	
	2	2	-	1	5	4.5
		Performance				
Be punctual	-	-	-	1	1	
Do a good job	-	-	-	1	1	
Don't be absent	-	-	-	1	1	
	-	-	-	3	3	2.7
		Aids and Sanctions				
Good helper	-	-	1	-	1	
License	-	1	1	-	2	
	-	1	2	-	3	2.7
				TOTAL	110	100.0

TABLE 13
Characteristics of Ideal Performers of One's Occupational Role;
40 Household Heads Classified by Occupation;
Cerro Pueblo, Puerto Rico; August, 1973

Characteristics of Ideal Performer	Occupations: Merchants No.	Merchants %	Officials No.	Officials %	Fishing No.	Fishing %	Laborers No.	Laborers %	Total No.	Total %
Attitude toward work	2	16.7	2	15.3	20	28.1	4	28.6	28	25.5
Knowledge	2	16.7	2	15.4	17	23.9	3	21.5	24	21.8
Skills	4	33.2	2	15.4	8	11.3	1	7.1	15	13.6
Facilities	2	16.7	1	7.7	10	14.1	1	7.1	14	12.7
Personality	-	-	2	15.4	8	11.3	1	7.1	11	10.0
Experience	-	-	1	7.7	6	8.5	-	-	7	6.4
Interpersonal relations	2	16.7	2	15.4	-	-	1	7.1	5	4.5
Performance	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	21.5	3	2.7
Aids and sanctions	-	-	1	7.7	2	2.8	-	-	3	2.7
	12	100.0	13	100.0	71	100.0	14	100.0	110	100.0
	(10.9%)		(11.8%)		(64.6%)		(12.7%)		(100.0%)	