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Intergenerational Transmission of Values Through Adages in an Ecuadorian Family

Norma Albán-Lowry
Andrews University

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Andrews University
School of Education

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF VALUES
THROUGH ADAGES IN AN ECUADORIAN FAMILY

A Dissertation
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Norma Albán-Lowry

December 2001
INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF VALUES THROUGH ADAGES IN AN ECUADORIAN FAMILY

A dissertation presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Education

by

Norma Albán-Lowry

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Date approved 1-3-02

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ABSTRACT

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF VALUES
THROUGH ADAGES IN AN ECUADORIAN FAMILY

by

Norma Albán-Lowry

Chair: John B. Youngberg
ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Andrews University
School of Education

Title: INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF VALUES THROUGH ADAGES IN AN ECUADORIAN FAMILY

Name of the researcher: Norma Albán-Lowry

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Problem

This study explored the function of adages in intergenerational value transmission in an Ecuadorian family. Drawing on the richness of Hispanic culture, the study documents a method used by parents and grandparents to pass on their wisdom to younger generations.

The transmission of values to younger generations has always been of special interest to parents, teachers, and religious educators. While the role of the family in the transmission of values has been researched, the use of adages, long practiced as a traditional parenting method in Ecuadorian families, had not been studied.

Method

The ethnographic method, as proposed by Spradley (1979), provided a structured
approach to this qualitative research. The process included ethnographic interviews of three generations of women in an Ecuadorian family. A four-level analysis of the data produced extensive data that permitted hypotheses to be tested and confirmed.

Findings

The results unveiled the world of adages, confirming research on the sources of adages and their classification. Findings also corroborated previous research on intergenerational value transmission. This study has combined the study of the two fields, while uncovering groundbreaking theory on the effective, traditional parenting method of teaching values through adages.

Mothers are portrayed as the main value transmitters in the family, frequently using common adages in teaching moments during early childhood. Some of the values transmitted through adages were: diligence, justice, faith, work, respect, gratitude, love.

Based on their new awareness of the effectiveness of adages, the informants made a conscious decision to continue using adages. The granddaughter decided to use them with her children when she becomes a mother.

The findings of this study support adages as a useful tool in value transmission to new generations. Therefore, recommendations include (1) a larger study with families of other cities in Ecuador, which might permit generalizations about the use of adages in the intergenerational transmission of values in the whole country; (2) similar studies in other cultures for comparison of data; and (3) the sharing of these findings with clergy and educators to enhance curricula with this important Hispanic tradition.

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To
the loving memory of my mother,
Clemencia Ripalda,
to whom I owe everything.
May the faith in God she passed to me
live in generations that follow.
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But most of all, I am deeply thankful to my God, the source of my strength. Who has been with me throughout my life. May this research done by a proud Latina add to a common legacy that can inspire other Latinos and peoples of other cultures to preserve that valuable heritage of humanity, transmitting values through adages to younger generations.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The transmission of values in the family has been a common practice in traditional societies where family roles have usually been established and reinforced by the society. Parents frequently transmit their values in a variety of ways, including the use of precepts reinforced by the modeling of behavior. Through assimilation and imitation, children learn those values until they become part of a lifestyle to pass on to their children. In that manner, the intergenerational transmission of values continues.

The literature reveals that the use of proverbs and adages has been one of the traditional methods of transmitting values from one generation to another (Naranjo, 1986, p. 236). Adages are didactic instruments which may carry messages of advice or warning that influence the person's views of particular aspects of life. Studies in intergenerational transmission of values also show that mothers are the primary transmitters of values to their sons and daughters (Anderson, 1994, p. 95).

Ecuador is an example of a society in which tradition has been strong and mothers have been the primary transmitters of values. However, many traditions in Ecuador are changing rapidly as communication and travel between cultures increase. As in other autocratic societies, conventional structures are being challenged by the younger
generations (Dinkmeyer, D., McKay, Dinkmeyer, D. Jr., Dinkmeyer, J. S. & Carlson, 1985, p. 28; Goldenberg, 1992, p. 184). The youth’s conflict with traditional values was evident in the student movement in the United States in the 60s (Block, Haan, & Smith, 1969, pp. 143-177).

Whereas ancestors used adages to transmit values in the family, social changes resulted in the decreased use of adages among the young generations. Shirley Arora conducted a study of the use of adages by Hispanics living in the United States (1982a, pp. 71-80). Her survey of more than 300 Hispanics showed that the use of adages as a means of transmission of values in this culture is decreasing with each new generation. Arora's work also shows that new generations in some Hispanic populations living in the United States are also using fewer adages, while others refuse to use adages, considering them to be old fashioned or a custom of the lower social class. However, Arora (1982a, p. 61) reports that some young adults, after they marry and have children, remember the effectiveness of the transmission of values through the use of adages during their childhood and begin to practice the same parenting method.

This concern about the decrease of value appreciation and transmission among the young generations is voiced by Dudley (1986): "Unless this generation is successful in value transmission, then those values deemed so important will fade into oblivion with the demise of this generation" (p. 3).

This view is shared by Naranjo (1986, p. 235) about the Ecuadorian culture where the core of that country's rich heritage is the transmission of values, principles, and beliefs from one generation to another within the circle of the family. The transmission of values
through the use of adages among the Spanish-speaking families in Ecuador has mainly taken place orally, and there is a lack of written documents or studies conducted in this area (Naranjo, 1986, p. 315).

Statement of the Problem

Generational transmission of values has always been a main concern of parents, teachers, and religious and educational leaders as they consider their fundamental role in value education. With the increased defiance of conventional rules among young people, there has been an awakening of general interest about the need to teach values. The need of value education is relevant today, while parents and teachers continue to search for ways to overcome the challenges of imparting values to new generations.

Though all are concerned about the transmission of values, in the rich cultural heritage of the Ecuadorian family one method of transmitting values to younger generations is the use of value-laden adages. However, this tradition among the Spanish-speaking population in Ecuador has been scarcely researched.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the use and meaning of adages used by Ecuadorian mothers in their transmission of values to their daughters.

Significance of the Study

The important findings of this study fall in three areas:

1. The results of the study provide valuable information for educational purposes. Since the transmission of values is common among Spanish-speaking families (Arora, 1982a, p. 61), educators can benefit from understanding this cultural knowledge (Ong,
Educational goals and objectives for children might include meaningful adages of Hispanic origin.

2. The results document the tradition of parenting with adages in the Spanish culture at a time when changes are taking place within the society.

3. The findings of this study add to the literature and encourage related research within the Spanish culture or in other cultures that use adages as a means of transmitting values.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited in three ways:

1. It investigates only intergenerational transmission of values through the use of adages.

2. The study is limited to three generations of one Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian family: a grandmother, a mother, and a granddaughter.

3. All of the participants are from the middle class in Quito, Ecuador.

Definition of Terms

This dissertation uses certain terms in specific ways. The following definitions are elaborated further in the review of literature (Chapter 2).

Adage: (1) "A saying, often in a metaphorical form, that embodies a common observation" (Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 1995, p. 15); (2) "Maxim handed down from antiquity; a proverb" (Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 1968, p. 15); (3) "For the Dictionary de la Real Academia Española, adage is 'a sharp saying, and
proverbial of common use” ("Para el Diccionario de la Real Academia Española, el refrán es ‘un dicho agudo, y sentencioso de uso común” [Martínez Kleiser, 1953, p. 12]).

These definitions include analogous terms such as saying, maxim, and proverb, which refer to adages in some investigations. This study uses the term adage.

Value: (1) "Something (such as a principle or quality) intrinsically valuable or desirable." (Merriam Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, 1995, p. 1609); (2) "The quality of a thing according to which it is thought of as being more or less desirable, useful, estimable, important. Values in sociology, acts, customs, institutions, etc., regarded in a particular, especially favorable way by a people, ethnic group, etc." (Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary, 1968, p. 1609).

Traditional Family: "The traditional family is considered a man and a woman united by marriage, with children, living together, with parental responsibilities and economic obligations" (Degler, 1980, pp. 3-4). In the Ecuadorian culture, the concept of the traditional family includes the members of the extended family such as grandparents, uncles, aunts, nieces, nephews, and cousins, even though they do not necessarily live in the same household.

Intergenerational Transmission: “The process of transmitting from one generation to the next such things as ways of behaving, ways of feeling, ways of relating, ways of defining reality, and ways of coping with intimacy and distance” (Burr. Day, & Bahr, 1989, p. 88).

Culture: "Culture is a system of attitudes, values, and knowledge that is widely shared within a society and transmitted from generation to generation” (Inglehart, 1990,
Ethnography: “The work of describing a culture. The essential core of this activity aims to understand another way of life from the native point of view. Rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people” (Spradley, 1997, p. 3).

Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided in six chapters. Chapter 1 contains the introduction. In chapter 2, the review of the literature explores the areas of adages, values, intergenerational transmission of values, and the family in Ecuador. Chapter 3 describes the ethnographic methodology used in this study. Chapters 4 and 5 describe the research findings. Chapter 6 presents the summary, conclusions, and recommendations.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Several areas of literature were reviewed. Those areas that apply to this study include adages, values, intergenerational transmission of values, and the family in Ecuador.

Adages

Adages Used in Ancient Times

The roots of adages go back to non-literate societies, "from that wealth of popular wisdom that the primitive people transmitted orally from parents to children" (Maldonado, 1960, p. 8). Adages were used as instruments for the transmission of values in the family and society. Older generations passed on their cultures' value systems and traditions through language (Lindensmith & Strauss, 1968, pp. 312-313). Ong (1979) confirms the oral transmission of values with the use of sayings and proverbs: "In oral culture, formulaic expressions (sayings, clichés, proverbs) . . . exquisitely elaborated . . . wisely stitching together proverbs, antitheses, epithets and other 'common places' are the repository of received wisdom" (pp. 1, 2, 3). Fieldman and Voelke (1992), in their collection of proverbs from different cultures, describe this generational transmission of values by adages:
Fortunately our ancestors have passed down their life learning in the form of short, easily remembered sayings. Variously called maxims, saws, apothegms, dicts, riddles, notions, analects, slogans, mottoes, epigrams, truisms, aphorisms, clichés, idioms, expressions, inscriptions, jingles, and refrains, these pieces of anonymous wisdom are best known in English as proverbs. (p. xv)

This definition implies that transmission of values takes place in the home through language. Brown (1973, p. 28) suggests that children tend to adopt the value system of those from whom they learn to speak. Therefore, through the acquisition of language in the family, the transmission of values takes place (Goody & Watt, 1992, p. 304).

In Moya’s (1944) description of the journey of adages in the oral culture and their authority, there is a hint of their use in the transmission of values, as adages are being label “preventive phrases”:

Largo tiempo anduvieron esas frases de prevision en el conocimiento de los pueblos. Nadie las escribió, pero todos las conocían. Eran reflejos del lugar. Retratos de la vida física y espiritual de un determinado instante. No se las discutía. Antes bien, se las aceptaba como un principio que debía cumplirse con fidelidad. (p. 34) (For a long time those preventive phrases walked in the knowledge of the people. Nobody wrote them down, but everybody knew them. They were reflections of the place. Portraits of the physical and spiritual life from a specific moment. They were not argued. Rather, they were accepted as a principle that must be fulfilled faithfully.)

The author continues explaining the transmission of adages through generations as a collective knowledge, “Life’s decalogue was that sum of verifications ratified in a definite way by time. And that was science and the way philosophy was initiated” (p. 34). (“El decálogo de la vida era ese conjunto de comprobaciones ratificadas de un modo definitivo por los tiempos. Y eso fue la ciencia y así se inició la filosofía.”)

Rovira (1984) also confirms the oral tradition of adages as they remain in every culture:
The title the Marqués of Santillana gave to the first Refranero published in Spain in the fifteenth century, “Refranes que las viejas dicen tras el fuego” (Proverbs old women tell by the fireplace), is very indicative. It implies that children learned the proverbs from their grandmothers, and that they passed the proverbs on, likewise, to their children and grandchildren. (p. 6)

Adages have survived the transition from oral to literate culture. In the Old Testament, a religious value system was transmitted orally through generations and later recorded in written form. The Book of Proverbs preserves some of those value-laden sayings commonly used in ancient traditions to improve relationships. For that reason, the Bible is considered a bounteous paremiological source (Moya, 1944, p. 74).

Preservation of Adages

The long journey of adages and proverbs takes us to the ancient cuneiform documents in Mesopotamia where they were found in instruction. Later they spread to Turkey, Greece, India, and Egypt (Dietel, 1987), and from there to other cultures.

The family has been the main preserver of adages through generations. The power of adages being repeated through generations surpasses the boundaries of time and space, for these adages not only preserve values but sustain strong kin connection. Ballesteros (1979) describes the permanence of adages in the memory:

They have the magical quality of being able to fly a person into the past and reunite the person with his antecedents... He once again can picture himself in his grandmother’s kitchen on a special holiday; he again can hear the conversations of long departed but frequently remembered relatives. (p. iv)

The intergenerational use of adages and proverbs is found in most cultures, even in ancient civilizations. According to Fieldman and Voelke (1992), “Proverbial sayings have existed in virtually every culture. Doubtless much has been lost, but much remains for

Adages have been preserved in poetry (Thieme, 1995), in verse or prose (Hanson, 1984), in medieval literature (Clements, 1984), in the Renaissance (Craner, 1986), in 19th century European novels (Hogan, 1984), and in contemporary literature (R. Fernández, 1991, p. 268).

The Greek term for adages frequently used by Greek philosophers and poets marked the beginning of a folklore category known as paremiology. As some writers propose, adages existed before. Aristotle, the father of Ethics, considered adages and proverbs as “relics of an old philosophy about human facts (deeds), which was extinct. Only those parts remained that by their brevity, interest, and enchantment, survived in the tradition as independent expressions” (Moya, 1944, p.17).

Although some adages are found in many cultures, other adages are unique to each society and reflect its cultural heritage. There are also some universal adages that
acknowledge common attributes of humankind (Equipo de Expertos 2100, 1995, p. 12).

Adages in Spanish America

European adages spread to the Americas through migration to North America and the Spanish conquest of what became Hispanic America. In the Iberian Spanish culture, adages are considered pure Castilian Spanish, born among the common people (de Valdés, 1940, p. 16). The popular wisdom that accumulated for centuries was transmitted through adages and popular sayings. The saying "Los refranes viejos son evangelios pequeños" (Old adages are small gospels) reflects the philosophy of the people. Adages ("Refranes") embodied precepts to guide human behavior and were accepted as truth because they had been confirmed by people’s experience (R. Fernández, 1991, p. 265).

The popularity of adages in Spain is obvious in the numerous collections, as early as the XIII century and continued until now (Maldonado, 1960, pp. 8, 9). Some of the most famous old Iberian Spanish collections of the Golden Age of the Spanish Literature come from Juan Ruiz, el Marqués de Santillana, Hernán Núñez, Blasco de Garay, Juan de Mal Lara, and Gonzalo Correas. Some representative contemporary collections based on those classic collections come from Luis Martínez Kleiser, Francisco Rodríguez Marín, and José María Svardi (Moya, 1944, pp. 83-100). Some critics believe that adages were the foundation of the poetry in Spain and were substantially used in Spanish literature (Rodríguez Marín, 1934, p. 50). Rovira (1984) confirms this premise saying, “Spain is the country of proverbs, and many of its dramas of the Golden Age are proverbs in action. Full of proverbs are three outstanding literary creations: El libro del buen amor of the
Arcipreste de Hita (? - 1350), *La Celestina* of Fernando de Rojas (? - 1541), and *Don Quijote de la Mancha* of Miguel de Cervantes (1547-1616)” (p.9). In those literary masterpieces, adages abided not only in the drama but in the lyrics (Ruiz, 1913) and in the novel (Cervantes, 1940). The Marqués de Santillana not only collected de adages from the popular philosophy in *Refranes que las viejas dicen tras el fuego* (Proverbs old women tell by the fireplace) but he included Salomón’s proverbs in his couplets (De los Ríos, 1947, pp. 152-153). Thus, many adages came from the poets’ hands fused in the popular *coplas*, a lyrical poetic single stanza with four verses that later was transported with the Conquest to Hispanic America. The venture of popular adages in the scholarly world and their return to the people where they originated is described by Moya (1944):

In that eagerness to collect and use adages, Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, obtain lasting fame with that glory of the Spanish literature *El libro del buen amor*. His work is a treasure of maxims from the wise men and poets of the classic old age, and of those adages that the common Spanish people are gathering in their chats. As a skillful jeweler he creates a string of pearls to make an enviable necklace. With the prestige of the verse, he returns them to common people the adages they had. (p. 87)

The famous Spanish classic, Cervantes’ novel *El ingenioso don Quijote de la Mancha*, also reflects the common use of adages in Spain. The idealistic old character mouths a very old adage, “There is not an adage that is not true, because all the maxims are taken from real experience, mother of all sciences” (*No hay refrán que no sea verdadero, porque todos son sentencias sacadas de la misma experiencia, madre de las ciencias todas*) (Cervantes, 1940, p. 163).

This rich legacy of Spanish adages brought by the Spaniards to the Hispanic American culture was shared by all Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America. Moya
(1944) describes this transition:

Todo ese material paremiológico, popular en España, floreciente en palacios, campos, puertos y tabernas; gala de filósofos y de poetas, ciencia de pobres y de ricos, . . . todo ese material cruzó el mar en las naves conquistadoras y se adentró en América. Aquí retoñó maravillosamente. (p. 96) (All that paremiological material, popular in Spain, flourishing in palaces, countrysides, ports, and taverns, pleasing address of philosophers and poets, science of poor and rich, . . . all that material crossed the sea in the conquest ships and entered America. Here, it bloomed marvelously.)

Those adages brought by the Spaniards to Hispanic America were blended with native sayings to produce many variants. Each region in every country adapted the popular philosophy of the adages to express its own idiosyncrasy and ideology. In Latin American countries, adages are used by people of all social classes and regions. For that reason, Pérez Bugallo (1990) considers the adages as everybody's inheritance:

Al menos, de "todos" los que nos sentimos representados en la cultura popular. Podemos encontrarlo en el campo y en la ciudad, tanto en la boca del peón como del patrón, del obrero como del ejecutivo, del funcionario como del empleado. Circula de boca en boca tanto en las chacras como en las fábricas. Aparece en las oficinas en hojas sueltas fotocopiadas, . . . también invade los medios de comunicación masiva. (p. 9) (At least all of us who feel represented by the popular culture. We can find it in the country and in the city, in the unskilled laborer as in the master's mouth, with the workman as the executive, with the employee as with the laborer. It circulates from mouth to mouth in the small farms as in the factories. It appears in offices on photocopied pages, . . . it also invades the mass media.)

The author concludes, "We have, without doubt, a clear conscience of property of that paremiological patrimony and we daily cultivate with the value of intentional living experience" (p. 11). ("Tenemos, sin duda, una clara conciencia de propiedad de ese patrimonio paremiológico y lo cultivamos cotidianamente con valor de vivencia intencional"). However, Ballesteros (1979) proposes that adages "seem to be especially popular among residents of small towns and rural areas. Unfortunately, people tend to
forget their proverbs when they become urban dwellers" (p. vi).

There are many collections of Spanish adages in Latin American countries. Argentina (Moya, 1944; Pérez Bugallo, 1990; Suárez, 1986; Zilio, 1989), Brazil (Mota, 1982), Colombia (Pinzón & Fandiño, 1973), Mexico (Ballesteros, 1979), Peru (Palma, 1953), Puerto Rico (Fernández Valledor, 1991), Uruguay (Magallanes, 1983), Venezuela (Erminy Arismendi, n.d.), and Chile (Dahm, 1974). Few publications on adages used in Ecuador exist. Palacios (1960) includes a few universal adages in his collection of maxims of national and foreign writers and philosophers. A study has been published on the use of adages in process of socialization by mothers in the African-Ecuadorian oral tradition (Naranjo, 1986, p. 236). This study reports decreasing use of adages in new generations, as well as the threat to the values they teach. In a recent collection (Larrea Borja, 1996) adages were gathered from oral sources, from the author’s personal recollections, from her grandparents, from friends, and from some written sources.

In a study of the Ecuadorian popular poetry an association is found between adages and the popular coplas, a lyrical, poetic, single stanza with four lines that was inherited with the Spanish conquest as an oral tradition and is scattered in all Latin America countries. Isaac, J. Barrera affirms that the feelings of the people are reflected in their coplas. He proposes: "The Ecuadorian copla could be divided in two kinds, the one that continues the tradition, which by adapting to the national feeling, tries to distinguish itself by the Ecuadorian phrases and even by use of popular Quechuan voices" ("La copla ecuatoriana puede dividirse en dos clases, la que continúa la tradición y la que, amoldándose al sentir nacional, trata de distinguirse con el modismo ecuatoriano y hasta
con voces del quichua popular” [Biblioteca Ecuatoriana Clásica. 1989, pp. 94-96]). He establishes a connection between the popular copla (couplet) and refrán saying that both “have a near kinship with the adage, which transmits a formulated judgement that is hidden in that popular epigram” (p. 21). He confirms his premise quoting Francisco Rodríguez Marín, the famous Iberian folklore collector of adages and couplets from all regions in Spain, who said, “as the thought of a people is condensed and crystalized in its adages, all its feelings are contained in its couplet” (“asi como el pensar de un pueblo está condensado y cristalizado en sus refranes, todo su sentir se halla contenido en sus coplas,” p. 95). In the same work, Justino Cornejo reveals adages woven in coplas used in the traditional amor fino (fine love) from the Coastal region in Ecuador (pp. 157, 168, 169).

Hidalgo (1994) confirms the origin of these poetic stanzas: “Copla is one of the oldest and most beautiful poetic forms of the Spanish literature. It came to America with the Conquest and with the Spanish language. . . . The origin of the copla is in the people. . . . It serves as a mouthpiece of the thought and the feelings of the people” (pp. 48, 49). Her collection of coplas also reveals that adages are intermeshed in popular coplas used in the Ecuadorian Andean region. In this example the adage is in italics.

Una pena quita pena,  A pain takes away a pain, un dolor quita un dolor, a hurt takes away another hurt, un clavo saca otro clavo, a nail takes out another nail, pero amor no quita amor. (p. 94) pero amor no quita amor. (p. 94) but love does not take away love.

The first publication of Ecuadorian coplas was found in the Anthology of Juan León Mera, which recorded over 2000 coplas. These include some Iberian coplas and some native coplas that reflect historical events and the culture of the people (Mera,
Structure of Adages

The well-known Spanish refranes are popular sayings rooted in the rich tradition of the culture. Various English synonyms for the Spanish word refrán include adage, saying, maxim, proverb, and a sentence. Sáinz de Robles (1964, p. 1) concludes that all of these short sayings share common features. They are brief, sharp, generally anonymous, and contain a maxim ("Un dicho breve, agudo, sentencioso y generalmente, anónimo").

These short statements have two dimensions: an idea and its articulation. One is an ideological dimension, often with a moral implication, for adages embrace truth and wisdom. The expression of that ethical dimension is the adage’s body which is clothed in a literary form, a poetic fashion subject to meter and rhyme, a phonetic aspect described by Rodriguez Monegal: "Not only is the language of each phrase subjected to rhythmical requirements, but also every word is a rhythmic microcosm, a world of sound meanings" (No sólo el lenguaje de cada frase está sometido a determinadas exigencias ritmicas sino que cada palabra es a su vez un microcosmo rítmico, un mundo de significaciones sonoras) (Fernández, 1991, p. 268). While the traditional Spanish octosyllable is the most common meter found in adages, other meters range from four to eight syllables. It has been suggested that the short sentences with poetic attributes facilitate the memorization of adages (Moya, 1944, pp. 37-52). Another technique that gives strength to adages to convey a concise message, while contributing to its memorization, is the use of figures of speech, such as the metaphor, synecdoche, simile and comparison, antithesis, hyperbole, ellipsis, and parallelism (Rovira, 1984, pp. 10-16).
The semantic and lexical combination makes adages difficult to translate into other languages from which the socio-cultural references related to the specific adages used are absent, even among Latin cultures (Zilio, 1989, p. 356). The problem of translating adages is well described by Zilio, although he refers primarily to the translation of verses where adages are included. "The main difficulty of the translation of verses might be the metric-rhythmic-sonorous, in other words, that which relates to the phono-stylistic aspect in which is involved, not only the musicality of each one of the sounds, the phonetic groups, and the intonation groups, but also the global musicality of the . . . meaning” (["La dificultad principal de la traducción en verso tal vez sea la métrica-rítmico-melódica, es decir la que atrae al aspecto fono-estilístico en el cual está implicada no sólo la musicalidad de cada uno de los sonidos, los grupos fonicos y los grupos de entonación, sino también la musicalidad global del significante y la relación entre ésta y el significado” [p. 363]).

Among those contemporary collections of Spanish adages previously mentioned, there are some that have been translated into English, but some are questionable in their interpretations. The problem of translation of Spanish adages into English is very complex. In some literal translations much of the stylistic impact is lost while trying to keep the meaning. Some Spanish adages and proverbs have exact equivalents in English. Two examples illustrate the point: Better late than never = Más vale tarde que nunca. All that glitters is not gold = No todo lo que brilla es oro. However, Arora (1982b) suggests that we refrain from citing "equivalent" English proverbs or at least that we be cautious about the equivalence of international proverbs. "Many, even most proverbs--particularly
metaphorical proverbs—have a wide range of meanings varying from community to community, from individual to individual, from context to context” (pp. 71, 72).

Modern Applications of Adages

Adages and proverbs are used with different intentions. Abrahams (1972, p. 119) suggests their use to "decorate speech." In his collection of Mexican proverbs, Ballesteros (1979) highlights the various purposes of adages from adding spice to a conversation to directing behavior in interpersonal relations. He states,

A proverb may be defined as a brief statement of a general truth which is intended to inform, advise, convince, or amuse the listener or the reader. Proverbs are used to express attitudes, confirm values, state a philosophy, prove a point, win an argument, counsel a friend, or elevate the spirits of a despondent acquaintance. (p. iv)

The main purpose of adages is didactic, carrying a message in the form of advice or warning. Several studies have found this didactic perspective of adages in a wide variety of fields.

1. Family life. A study conducted with several hundred Latin immigrants in Los Angeles suggests that the most common proverbs used are those that relate to child-rearing, moral character, friendship, and table manners (Arora, 1982a, p. 61).

2. Educational gerontology. Familiar sayings used with the elderly improved their memory (Wood & Pratt, 1987, pp. 325-39). Adages were used as the foundation for value enrichment in intervention programs for the elderly (Jackson, 1995, p. 105).

3. School curriculum. Recent studies found that adages used in tutoring in the classroom as relational metaphors, facilitated text comprehension, retention, and recall of
accurate information (Moreno, 1992, pp. 179-198). Adages also are being used in class
discussion in literature classes to promote student creativity and reasoning proficiency
(Miexner, 1990, pp. 119-125).

4. Cross-cultural education. The increasing interest in cross-cultural awareness
has encouraged educators to explore innovative and relevant methods. Adages are used in
multi-cultural instruction for exploring cultural values (Barth, 1990, pp. 25-27; Blake-

5. Spanish language and culture instruction. In Rovira’s (1984) survey of the
teaching of Spanish culture and civilization, the use of adages is suggested to enhance the
student’s knowledge of the common use of language (p. 9). Martinez Kleiser (1953) also
emphasizes the Refranero (collection of adages) as a true portrait of a culture:

Un refranero encierra la ciencia del pueblo, porque las máximas que contiene
merecieron su aprobación y vivieron en sus labios. Dibuja también su retrato
espiritual y constituye un tesoro de acrisolada experiencia y un tratado de
psicología juntamente con un vocabulario fraseológico del habla popular. (p. 25)
(A refranero encloses the science of the people, because the maxims that it
contains deserved their approval and lived on their lips. It also draws their spiritual
portrait and constitutes a treasure of honest experience and a treatise of
psychology in phrases from popular speech.)

Classification of Adages

Several classifications of adages are based mainly on the themes enclosed in them.
In a study of Hispanic culture in North America, Ballesteros (1979) collected over 300
adages used in Northern Mexico and Southern Texas through conversations and
interviews with Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. He suggests the following
classifications: religious, familial, social relationships, philosophic, humorous, animals, and
In a collection of Iberian Spanish adages (Equipo de Expertos 2100, 1995), another classification is suggested: (1) descriptive adages which describe a characteristic of the world without passing judgment. Adages about the weather are descriptive. (2) Prescriptive adages "express the emotions of the person who is talking, of his attitudes; they praise or condemn, insult, approve, advise, command, warn, etc." (p. 115). Moral values are included in this category, and it is proposed that most of them have reached people through sermons in the church, in maxims used by judges, magistrates, and by the classic literature. This recent collection includes the following categories: friendship, love and marriage, animals, calendar, eating and drinking, moral advices, money, home, popular meteorology, women, trades, work and business, villages and cities, and health.

A cross-cultural anthology (Fieldman & Voelke, 1992) is organized in 100 topical categories in alphabetical order, with the country of origin of each proverb, including some Latin American countries. Adages were classified by their values: authenticity, beauty, caution and care, character and virtue, common sense, contentment, courage and fear, courtesy and respect, faith, friendship, generosity, home and family, joy and sorrow, justice, knowledge, life and living, love, marriage, parents and children, peace, perseverance, planning, practicality, prayer, prudence, stability, strength, success, time, truth, vigilance, wealth and poverty, wisdom, words and deeds, work, youth and age.

Larrea Borja (1996) classifies the adages she collected as classical and old fashioned, cynical, weather related, deterministic, didactic, skeptical, moralistic, humorous, positivistic, racist, political, regionalistic, and local idioms. She also includes
some graffiti as popular expressions of youth.

Values

Definition of Values

Knight (1998) described the field of values:

Axiology is a branch of philosophy that seeks to answer the question: "What is of value?" People's interest in values stems from the fact that they are valuing beings. Humans desire some things more than others—they have preferences. Rational individual and social life is based upon a system of values. Value systems are not universally agreed upon, and different positions on the questions of metaphysics and epistemology determine different systems of value, because axiological systems are built upon conceptions of reality and truth. (p. 29)

The discrepancy between value systems is revealed in the literature by a wide scope of definitions for values. The problem resides in that each definition is influenced by the originator's ideology. Villeneuve (1984), in his study of religious the transmission of values among American families, found the field of values looking "more like a chaos than an organized body of studies" (p. 18).

The complexity of values encourages a variety of definitions. Sager (1976) defines values as "a system of priorities one assigns to objects, both material and immaterial" (p. 253). Rokeach (1968, p. 124, 1971, p. 26), Fraenkel (1977, pp. 6-7), and Maio and Olson (1995, p. 266) propose further dimensions in the concept of values, contending that values mean more than intellectual knowledge, since they influence other aspects of human life such as beliefs, attitudes, choices, and behavior. The Values Clarification Theory promotes definition and includes the cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects of values (Raths, Harmin, & Simon, 1966). "Values are individual beliefs, attitudes, activities or feelings that
The studies mentioned support the concept of active participation of individuals in the formation of their world. They are viewed as having the ability to select and interpret their social world, being capable of adopting some values, and choosing or rejecting some possible behaviors.

**Nature of Values**

The nature of values is the very essence of their existence. However, there is disagreement between secular and religious interpretations of the nature of values. Secular humanism does not see values as true or false, but tends to view values as a result of one's experiences, as is proposed by the Values Clarification Theory. It suggests that "one has to prize for himself, choose for himself, integrate choices into the pattern of his own life. Values come out of the flux of life itself" (Raths et al., 1966, pp. 36, 37). Benson and Senter (1987, p. 23), on the other hand, argue that the Values Clarification Theory is more interested in the process of acquiring values than in the nature of values. Benson and
Senter suggest a more Christian perspective on the eternal nature of the value system.

Strommen (1974), a well-known researcher of youth, supports a moral dimension in the nature of values. He states:

Values are ideas people have about "what life means." All values come from the one fundamental idea: good and evil. Our concept of good and evil is the basis we use to rank everything else, including all other values, beliefs, abstract ideas like truth, scientific theories, people, even God. . . . Values are how we grasp the mixture of good and evil in any combination of circumstances involving interaction between ourselves and external reality. (pp. 78, 79)

The religious view of values strongly supports the eternal source of values as Dobson (2001a) advocates:

But what does God value? We cannot substitute His system for ours unless we know what He has personally ordained. Fortunately, the Bible provides the key to God’s value system for mankind, and in my judgment, it is composed of six all-important principles. They are: (1) devotion to God; (2) love for mankind; (3) respect for authority; (4) obedience to divine commandments; (5) self-discipline and self-control and (6) humbleness of spirit. These six concepts are from the hand of the Creator, Himself, and are absolutely valid and relevant for our lives. (p. 229)

Habenicht (2000), a clinical psychologist with multicultural experience, agrees with the divine foundation of values saying, "God’s values are qualities of the soul, not just outward actions. . . . We cannot generate qualities of the soul—they come from God. . . . This is the most important thing to communicate to your children--values come from God" (p. 24).

The importance of values is based on their influence on all aspects of human life. Dudley (1986) suggests that values influence self-esteem, decision-making, goals, and lifestyle. These, in turn, affect family, school, and society (p. 14). Dobson (2001b) also advocates the profound influence of values in human life,
What drives our decisions in life? As individuals, we may be influenced by our families, our friends, or our environment, but the basis for the decisions we make can be reduced to one basic component: values. Whether they be lofty, noble or despicable, personal values are at the core of how we live. (p. 4)

Classification of Values

Knight (1998) classifies values in two main branches: moral values studied by ethics, and values about beauty and art embraced by aesthetics (pp. 29-34).

Milton Rokeach (1968, p. 124), an American psychologist considered an authority in the field of values, proposes a classification of values into two main categories: terminal values and instrumental values. Terminal values relate to the "desired end-state of existence." Among these values are a world of peace, a world of beauty, freedom, equality of people, family security, a sense of accomplishment, self-respect, happiness, a comfortable life, an exciting life, mature love, pleasure, wisdom, salvation, national security, and inner harmony. Instrumental values refer to desired modes of behavior such as perseverance, nonviolence, and courage.

Allport, Vernon, and Lindzey (1970, pp. 3-5) propose another classification of values: (1) theoretical values that search for truth and knowledge; (2) economic values that are pragmatic; (3) aesthetic values that emphasize harmony and form; (4) social values that focus on love and caring for others, service, and altruism; (5) political values that seek power and influence; and (6) religious values that depend on one's spiritual journey.

Recent studies of immigrant families suggest another classification: the traditional values that families bring as a heritage and the cultural values or "new values" that
immigrants face in their acculturation process (Sam, 2000, pp. 5-25; Spector, 2000, pp. 71-78).

Leman (1992) labels as "traditional values" those important ideas, beliefs, and traditions that are learned in the family while growing up. These include courtesy, consideration and respect to others, work ethics, service, responsibility, honesty, and transparency (pp. 88, 89). The shift from those traditional values to liberal-humanistic values encouraged by the social revolution of the 1960s is portrayed in the 18-year old longitudinal study (Gardner & Stein, 1998). The two dimensions of values studied were traditional values--comprising conventional authority, conventional achievement, future orientation, and reliance on scientific knowledge--and humanistic values, including self-fulfillment, a pronaturalistic lifestyle, immediate gratification, antiauthority feelings, personal and intuitive sources of knowledge, gender egalitarianism, and emphasis on "quality of life" rather than materialism (pp. 6, 7).

Habenicht (2000) suggests two kinds of values, secular and Christian. She considers secular values such as materialism, status, and physical appearance as being promoted by society. She explains the consequences of those values in the self-esteem of children saying,

Even though some of them have good aspects, all of these values emphasize *me*--what I can do, what I own, how I look, how important I am. They are self-centered. Such values are a big reason our children suffer from poor self-esteem, for they emphasize externals and result in a constant negative comparison of self with others. (p. 22)

Dobson (2001a) agrees with this view, arguing that Christian values can liberate people from the suppression of the ego. "They place the spotlight on others rather than on
ourselves, while granting human worth on a completely different scale of values than does society (p. 229). Habenicht (2000) describes Christian values as based on God's love, a value system that is imparted to men in a close divine and human relationship (p. 24). From the long list of Christian values portrayed in the Bible, she suggests some core values as important for Christian families to teach their children: faith in God, respect, responsibility, self-control and moderation, honesty and integrity, kindness and compassion, contentment and thankfulness, patience and perseverance, loyalty and commitment.

Gardner and Stein (1998) describe the need of returning to family values based on the 1991 report of the National Commission on Children. It affirmed that American children are worse off now than in 1970. Family experts agree that the solution to creating stronger families involves changing cultural values and promoting values that focus less on individualism and self-fulfillment and more on a commitment to others, specifically such social institutions as families and communities (p. 89).

Intergenerational Transmission of Values

Burr, Day, and Bahr (1989) define intergenerational transmission as "the process of transmitting from one generation to the next such things as ways of behaving, ways of feeling, ways of relating, ways of defining reality, and ways of coping with intimacy and distance" (p. 88).

The Family's Role in the Transmission of Values

Intergenerational transmission of values is a unique process that takes place in the
family with transcendent effects on the life of the individual. The power of intergenerational transmission of values surpasses the boundaries of the home to reach the society.

During the last decade, there has been research in this area in several disciplines (Benoit & Parker, 1994; Berreth & Scherer, 1993; Hale, 1991). The most important principle that researchers have developed is the Generational Transmission Principle: Families tend to transmit their lifestyle to new generations (Burr et al., 1989, p. 88). This principle suggests the power of the family of origin in the transmission of its characteristics. Unfortunately, not only wholesome beliefs and practices are passed on to the new generations, but also hurtful patterns in relationships (M.A. Fernández, 1991; King-Ferro, 1994).

The process of transmission of values was described by Okagaki and Bevis (1999) in their study of the transmission of religious values between 62 young women and their parents. They found that the children’s accurate perception of their parents’ values was the first step in transmission of values. The variables that enhanced their perception were the parents’ repetition of their values and parental agreement on those values. The second step was the acceptance of the parents’ values influenced by a close parent-child relationship (p. 303).

The process of intergenerational transmission of values is done unconsciously in the framework of family interactions in everyday life. Most of the moral and cultural values are passed on as traditions through generations in family rituals such as mealtimes, holidays, and birthdays (Halstead, 1999, p. 265).
The vital role of the family in transmission of values is supported by intergenerational research (Aldous, & Hill, 1965, pp.104-122; McAdoo, 1991, pp. 361-365). Piaget (1965) was also a firm believer in the importance of the home: "The home continues to be the base from which values are strengthened or weakened throughout the child's life, even as other influences take over from time to time as the child grows and matures" (p. 314).

Bronfenbrenner (1970), known for his studies on family, studied the influence of values from early childhood to adulthood in the context of family life. These studies show that values are learned at home during the early childhood years, and how they affect all stages of life.

According to Manis and Meltzer (1987), the family is actively involved in the process of socialization of the child while the personality is being shaped (p. 6). In that process, culture is transmitted as a "system of meaningful symbols" that provide "a cognitive map" with a set of values to guide behavior in everyday experiences (Spradley, 1979, p. 7).

The family preserves culture, language, and religion. It has been the transmitter of values from one generation to another (Degler, 1980, pp. 3-4). Gangel and Benson (1983) point out the important role of the family:

From the earliest days of the human race in the Garden of Eden the family has been the most important educational agency on earth. It is so designed by God, and the Hebrews never got away from the centrality of the home in the educational experience. The values learned at home, represented the moral and religious heritage that was to be transmitted from parents to children, from mouth to ear, by conversation, example and imitation. Hebrew parents were continually to whet the intellectual appetites of their children. They were to sharpen their minds,
promoting questions which would create teachable moments so that instruction in the faith of Israel might be given. (p. 23)

E. G. White (1905) also believed in the profound influence of the family, even beyond the home environment. She claimed, "The well-being of society, the success of the church, the prosperity of the nation, depend upon home influences" (p. 349). Sanner and Harper (1978, pp. 36, 37) agree, suggesting that the religious and moral education received at home was the reason for the Hebrews' resilience. That strength was rooted in the values transmitted to their children.

Gangel and Benson (1983) also confirm the importance of transmission of values in the family. They state: "Perhaps no national history on earth exhibits the power of education more clearly than the Jews. Their very existence at the time of Christ, their very existence today, demonstrates how essential is the transmission of truth to the maintenance of national or familial identity" (p. 31).

Although some values involve religion and philosophical position, the values transmitted as a cultural heritage in the family provide the individual an ethnic identity. However, with maturity human beings become more active in interpreting their own values and making choices that influence their conduct (Manis & Meltzer, 1978, p. 8). When a person's values contradict those of society or his or her family, conflict arises (Knight, 1998, p. 29). This concept acknowledges that people interact within a social world that strongly influences the individual's life.

The Mother's Role in the Transmission of Values

The literature reveals that mothers are powerful value transmitters. Studies on
transmission of values show that the female is the main instrument in transmission of values in the family (Aldous & Hill, 1965, pp. 471-482; Newcomb & Svehla, 1937, pp. 180-205). A three-generation study (Kalish & Johnson, 1972, pp. 49-54), conducted with 53 grandmothers, their daughters, and their granddaughters, also revealed strong similarities in values between daughters and mothers, and an even higher score between mothers and grandmothers. These findings were affirmed by the results of later studies which sustain the concept of the mothers' significant role in transmission of values to their children (Dudley & Dudley, 1986, p. 5; Rice & Gillespie, 1992, p. 60; Taris & Semin, 1998, p. 237).

An ethnographic study of 10 Mexican immigrant families living in border communities in the United States showed that traditional values were transmitted by the mothers through consejos (advice). "Consejos were important because mothers considered la educación de los hijos (the moral education of their children) to be their primary responsibility" (Valdés, 1996, p. 125).

The findings of a study conducted by Gardner and Stein (1998) support research on the intergenerational transmission of values in the family. The investigation of 199 traditional and nontraditional families, covering 18 years from the birth of their children, revealed that mothers transmitted their value system to their children, either in a traditional or a humanistic orientation that affected their adolescents' risk behaviors. A close mother-child relationship in childhood was found to be a factor that enhanced the transmission of values. The long-term benefit of that connection and the effect of the values transmitted were revealed by the protection provided to adolescents against problem behaviors, such
as school dropping out, of experimenting with drugs, and sexual promiscuity (p. 89).

Another longitudinal study of the function of mothers as socializing agents done with 253 adolescent-mother pairs revealed that the quality of interaction between mothers and adolescents influenced the transmission of values. The findings of this study also suggest that the process of socialization takes place in the early stages of childhood, while parents appeared to become less prominent as socializing agents in later stages of the development of their children (Taris, 2000, p. 169). As this study connoted, one of the reasons mothers play an important role in transmission of values is that values are acquired in early childhood. Goody and Watt (1992, p. 313) verify this concept by declaring that values are transmitted in informal settings during close interrelationships in the home. Values taught in the context of everyday life are engraved on the child's mind until they are internalized, becoming part of the individual.

Internalization of Values

The goal of transmission of values is the internalization of values. Rokeach (1968) believes that "once a value is internalized it becomes, consciously or unconsciously, a standard or criterion for guiding action. A value is a standard employed to influence the values, attitudes, and actions of others—our children for example" (pp. 150-160). This theory is sustained by the assumption that "human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them" (Blumer, 1969, p. 2).

Goody and Watt (1992, p. 315) suggest that values internalized during childhood are stored in the memory. Later, when adolescents are searching for meaning, those
values are reviewed and selected. Values considered meaningful are adopted, others are modified, and irrelevant ones are eliminated.

The Family in Ecuador

Ecuador: The Country

The Republic of Ecuador is located on the Pacific Coast of South America between Colombia and Peru. Its capital is Quito, nestled in the Andes Mountains. The Ecuadorian territory is approximately 280,000 square kilometers and is divided into three large regions: the Coastal Region (Costa), the Andean region (Sierra), and the Oriental region (Oriente). The insular region includes the Galápagos Islands (Archipiélago de Colón).

The population of Ecuador is about 11,000,000 inhabitants. The official language is Spanish. Quechua is the language used most by the Indians in the interandean region and some in the Amazonia region.

Ecuador: History and Culture

The roots of Ecuadorian families come from the Valdivia civilization, considered the most ancient civilization in America (Kirchner, 1989), even before the Inca Empire was established and before the Spaniards invaded its coasts (Hanratty, 1991, p. 4). In that primitive culture, the family was the foundation upon which civilization was built. With the invasion of the Conquistadors, a foreign culture was introduced and affected the family in various significant ways. When the Spaniards encountered the natives, two races and civilizations blended to give birth to a culture with unique characteristics (Machine & Van
Hanratty (1991) describes the permanence of the cultural endowment in that society:

"After centuries of domination, Spain left a cultural heritage that was preserved through the first century of the Republic. It includes the language and the religious heritage based on Christian beliefs that deeply influence the value system of Latin American society. Culture and religion are blended into a sense of community, enabling children to identify not only with the religion of their parents but also with the community." (pp. 93-96)

Today, over 90 percent of the population in Ecuador are Catholics (Norris, n.d).

The Ecuadorian Family

In Ecuador, family relationships are of utmost importance. Although individuality is respected and improvement is encouraged, the family as a whole is of utmost importance in its members’ lives. The family is the source of support, moral strength, and personal identification. Meade’s description (1970, pp. 20-21) of family corresponds to that of family in the Ecuadorian culture, where deep feelings of loyalty, solidarity, and encouragement are cherished and cultivated. This is clearly described by Hanratty (1991) in his country study of Ecuador. "Family and kin constituted the most enduring and esteemed institutions in the country’s social fabric. Both Indian and Hispanic traditions emphasized the family; indeed, few alternative institutions competed for an individual’s loyalty" (p. 90).

The traditional Ecuadorian family consists of the husband and wife with their children, and close relatives. Elderly parents are usually cared for by their adult children. It is common to have grandmothers living in the household, for women tend to outlive their husbands. As it is with other Hispanic cultures, the concept of family is extended to
relatives, and even to godparents and close friends (Hanratty, 1991, p. 90).

According to Hanratty (1991, pp. 90-92), the husband is the head of the household and the model of manhood for his sons. The birth of a son is celebrated, while the father is often scorned by his friends when a daughter is born. Sons enjoy privileges that girls are not allowed.

Cultural tradition places the man at work and the woman in the house taking care of the family. The responsibility of the wife is to manage the household and to nurture the family physically, emotionally, and spiritually. The most important function of mothers is to train the children with moral principles that are cherished in the culture. Those values are lived, preserved, and transmitted in the family. According to Hanratty (1991), some of those values are respect, love, perseverance, trust, loyalty, and responsibility. These flow "along the lines of kinship at each level of the social scale" (p. 90).

Tracy Norris’s (n.d.) interview with an Ecuadorian reveals the importance of transmission of values in that culture.

Question: How would you summarize the most important cultural values transmitted from generation to generation by members of your culture to one another?

Answer: Ecuadorians are very religious people. Over 90% are Roman Catholic, a small minority are of other Christian denominations. Religion is greatly stressed in a traditional household. Plus, the elders must be highly respected and well taken care of throughout their lifetime. Another notable value is to instill a hard work ethic; men as well as women must always be illustrating this particular message. Their children must know that hard work gets one ahead in life. Any job, as long as it is an honest job, should be nothing to be ashamed of having. However, one should always look to better themselves; if the opportunity presents itself, one should seize it.

According to Cuvi Ortiz (1995) formal education was not available to women in
Ecuador prior to the beginning of the XX century (p. 9). Thus, mothers from older generations transmitted values orally in their child-rearing practices (Miranda, 1992, p. 28). One study suggests that in the Spanish-speaking culture of Ecuador, a value system is preserved and transmitted to younger generations through commonly used value-laden adages (Naranjo, 1986, p. 236).

However, Jaramillo de Lubensky (1993) proposes that the traditional roles of mothers reinforced by the culture have been challenged when "the modern world irrupted in this environment to change the traditional schemas" (p. 145). She continues, by conveying that although the Ecuadorian middle class woman and Latin-American women in general "are conditioned by the prejudices of a machista society," rapid social and economic changes have impacted the life of women in the Latin American countries, encouraging them to leave home to work (p. 182). The mother's influence outside the home in the work force is considered as "the Parent Power in the Third World" (Grant, 1985, p. 43). This is supported by research about the Latin American woman and her place in society. It shows that between 1960 and 1980 the workforce of women rose to 62 percent in most countries of South America, including Ecuador (O'Brien, 1991, p. 153). Jaramillo de Lubensky (1993) describes this change as a feminine liberation by saying:

The education, the possibilities of access to remunerated work sources and the emancipation which we enjoy now are much larger that those enjoyed by our mothers or grandmothers. Though some limitations and prejudices against the female gender subsist, the change is notable. Today, young women attend to universities and opt for any of the existing careers; later, they work in private or state corporations, even after they have established a family, without causing perplexity nor being an object of condemnation by the community. (p. 152)

The author continues describing that the new opportunities of young women by
having access to formal education that prepares them for future careers, have also
influenced family life. The traditional role of women in the family has changed with the
mother’s more active contribution in the work force (p. 152).
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Ethnographic Research

The basic character of qualitative research is reflected in the ethnography as a people-oriented investigation. Spradley (1997) says: "Ethnography is the work of describing a culture. The essential core of this activity aims to understand another way of life from the native point of view" (p. 3). Maynard (1989) describes the ethnographers' approach to understanding a culture through their informants' interpretation of their experiences. He says, "The ethnographer, in general, is in the business of describing culture from the members' point of view" (p. 130).

One of the main reasons ethnographers advocate qualitative methods is that "they allow for thick data to be collected that demonstrate their interrelationship with their context" (Erlander, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993, p. 16). Denzin (1978) also validates that preference, pointing out that interviews enable informants to interpret their own experience, allowing meaningful data to be revealed (p. 125). The qualitative approach through ethnographic interviews and open-ended questionnaires is also used in some intergenerational studies (Olsen, 1993; Wheatley, 1993). The interview has also provided valuable data on the attitudes and emotions in family interactions (Gubrium, 1994;

Wiseman and Aron (1970) suggest that the questions asked in ethnographic interviewing with the goal of gaining knowledge that cannot be predicted will be open and unbiased. The ethnographic questions will search for detailed answers until the researcher has gained an understanding of the informant's point of view on specific topics (pp. 28-30). This inductive approach of ethnographic interview as qualitative inquiry is summarized by Patton (1990).

Qualitative methods are particularly oriented toward exploration, discovery, and inductive logic. The strategy of inductive design is to allow the important analysis dimensions to emerge from patterns found in the cases under study without presupposing in advance what the important dimensions will be. The qualitative methodologist attempts to understand the multiple relationships among dimensions that emerge from the data without making prior assumptions or specifying hypotheses about the linear or correlative relationships among narrowly defined, operationalized variables. (p. 44)

The importance of field work as a means of gathering data is emphasized by Spradley (1997), who says, "Field work, then, involves the disciplined study of what the world is like to people who have learned to see, hear, speak, think, and act in ways that are different. Rather than studying people, ethnography means learning from people" (p. 3). The main objective of the researcher is to gain entry to the informant's world.

Referring to the importance of audio-recordings in qualitative research, Silverman (1994) emphasizes the significance of the transcripts of such recordings, which "provide an excellent record of 'naturally occurring' interaction. Recordings and transcripts can offer a highly reliable record to which researchers can return as they develop new hypotheses" (pp. 10-11).
The Researcher as Instrument

In ethnographic research the researcher is the instrument of the investigation. Erlander and others (1993) state that "while the researcher may use a variety of instruments to gather data, the primary research instrument is the researcher" (p. 16).

The important role played by the researcher as an instrument in ethnography is acknowledged in the literature. As was previously stated, the use of interviews as a method of research is considered to be one of the major tools in the social science (Wiseman & Aron, 1970, p. 27), since interviews provide a greater depth than other inquiry strategies. One reason is that, in this kind of interview, information transmittal is encouraged by a growing relationship between the informant and the researcher. They become, as Reason and Rowan (1981) identify, "peers" or even "companions" (p. 250). Denzin (1978) agrees with this position, viewing the interview as "an encounter that represents the coming together of two or more persons for the purpose of focused interaction" (p. 133).

The researcher-informant relationship affects the whole research process from the very first contact to the analysis of the data obtained in the interviews, even the validity and reliability of the interview responses. I experienced several advantages by being a female Ecuadorian conducting this study. As a woman, I had free access to the informants' homes, which afforded a first hand experience in their daily lives. Being of the same gender as the informants also facilitated an open and deep communication where the informants' knowledge was explored in a trusting environment. As a mother I was able to relate to family issues and being from the same social class of my informants helped me to
relate to their cultural knowledge and issues. Perhaps the main factor that worked in my interest was having Spanish as my native language, which enabled me to understand the idiomatic phrases the informants frequently used during the interviews in the description of their culture and the cultural connotations, which would have been impossible for a foreigner to capture. Understanding the content and context of adages disclosed by the informants was vital in the long process of interpretational analyses.

The Purpose of Ethnographic Interviews

There are four goals to accomplish the methodology used in this study:

1. One goal was to collect data from the informant's perspective on the process of generational transmission of values with the use of adages in the family. This could not have been accomplished through standardized surveys. Ethnographic interviews allow the researcher to have a clear vision of that complex process. Wiseman and Aron (1970) state:

   The interview enables the investigator to probe the intensity of an individual's feelings about a given social phenomenon, the intricacies of his definition of it, and how he relates it to other areas of his social life. Respondents will often give their judgments of what the attitudes of others are and how these affect their own attitudes and behavior. Memories of past events (technically called retrospective longitudinal data) can be obtained through depth interviews, especially when respondents are allowed adequate time to recall past events and place them in proper order or perspective. (pp. 27, 28)

2. The data produced by the interviews, according to Silverman (1994, p. 91), provide an accurate interpretation of the interviewees' social world. Referring to the primal concern of qualitative research about authenticity more than reliability, Silverman (1994) stresses: "The aim is usually to gather an 'authentic' understanding of people's
experiences and it is believed that 'open-ended' questions are the most effective route
toward this end" (p. 10). He continues, "Maybe we feel that people are at their most
authentic when, they are in effect, reproducing a cultural script" (p. 96).

3. Data obtained in ethnographic interviews also supplies the social background so
indispensable in the interpretation of the findings. "The social context of the interviewee is
intrinsic to understanding any data that are obtained" (Silverman, 1994, p. 94).

4. The ethnographic interview is used to generate domains and theories. This
affords flexibility to the research, which is one of the primary advantages of in-depth
interviewing. Wiseman and Aron (1970) suggest: "Instead of going into the field with the
narrow and specific hypothesis that he assumes to be the best approach to the study area,
the researcher goes in with the idea of developing hypotheses and categories in the course
of the investigation" (p. 30).

The view of Wiseman and Aron is supported by ethnographic studies done with
the notion that the researcher begins the study without a hypothesis, but the hypotheses
are generated and tested during the analysis of the data (Silverman, 1994, p. 14).

Research Procedure

The Development Research Sequence (DRS)

This research is based on Spradley’s (1997) Development Research Sequence
(DRS). This method consists of a progression of activities divided in specific steps, each
with specific goals and techniques provided to guide the ethnographer in each phase of the
research process. The process starts with the preparation for the field work by organizing
the ethnographic records, selecting the informants, conducting interviews to collect the
cultural data, then, moving to the analysis of data, the formulation of ethnographic
hypotheses, and, finally, to the writing of the ethnographic findings (Spradley, 1997, pp.
93, 94).

This procedure provided clear directions to guide each stage of this investigation
and was closely followed. As Spradley recommended, some needed adaptations were
made to enhance the efficacy of this ethnography research (p. 228).

Ten Steps Applied from the Spradley’s DRS

Step One: Selection of the Informants

The term *informant* is used in ethnography, rather than the term "subject" or
"respondent," to identify a person who provides information. According to Spradley
(1997), "informants are *a source of information*; literally, they become teachers for the
ethnographer" (p. 25).

The criteria for the choice of the participant family are based on Spradley’s specific
guidelines (1997, pp. 46-54). Their characteristics were:

1. *Thorough enculturation.* The participant family was selected among those
   people who belonged to the culture under study, which enabled them to communicate
   their cultural knowledge in the interviews.

2. *Current involvement.* The persons chosen for the study were presently involved
   in family life and in their culture. Their knowledge of that cultural scene was based on
   their personal experience, which enhanced their contribution to this study.
3. A family with three female generations. Since the focus of this study was intergenerational transmission of values, the participant family must have three generations of females. With these criteria in mind, three potential families were considered. The family that met all the requirements was selected for the study. They originally came from a small city in Ecuador and they currently lived in Quito, making them easily accessible. They were Spanish-speaking, from the middle class, and had a grandmother, a mother, and a granddaughter representing the required three generations. Their values and experiences were considered relevant and transferrable to the potential reader. The researcher contacted the participant family members who agreed to give the necessary time for the interviews and to share their knowledge.

Step Two: Practice Interview

The objective of this stage was to prepare the researcher for the field work. I drew up an interview guideline with ethnographic questions regarding the theme of the study. Using that guideline with flexibility, I practiced an interview with a Spanish-speaking individual who did not participate in the study. That interview was recorded, and some brief notes were taken during the interview.

The analysis of the recorded practice interview and the notes taken at the time of the interview were very helpful. They revealed reactions of the informant, such as some degree of anxiety experienced at the beginning of the interview and apprehension to recording information. I also became aware of some strengths such as being patient and understanding of the informant’s uncertainty, and some weaknesses in the interaction that
needed to be improved, such as concentrating on the interview rather than taking notes. On this basis, improvements were also made in the interview guide by discarding repeated questions.

Step Three: The Ethnographic Record

As Spradley recommends, the ethnographic record was prepared before the fieldwork. A set of notebooks was prepared to organize all ethnographic information to be gathered in the fieldwork. Those records, with all the significant information registered, proved to be a valuable resource for later use.

The ethnographic record includes the tape recordings of the interviews and the field notes. To organize the field notes and to improve reliability, Spradley (1997. pp. 74-76) recommends three categories of records: (1) Fieldwork notes, which include the condensed notes, with brief entries collected during each interview, and the extended notes, with expanded remarks written after each interview; (2) a fieldwork journal with dates, times of interviews, significant events, and difficulties that occurred during the fieldwork; and (3) analysis and interpretation, with notes of the cultural insights gained during the analysis of the data.

Step Four: Fieldwork Interviews

The fieldwork took place in Quito, the capital of Ecuador, South America, the natural setting where the informants lived. Spradley (1997) explains, "Instead of collecting 'data' about people, the ethnographer seeks to learn from people, to be taught by them" (p. 4). With this approach in mind, I entered the fieldwork as a learner. The interviews took
place in the natural setting of the homes of the participating family. The grandmother, mother, and daughter were interviewed separately at different times.

From the beginning of the first interview until the last, I experienced the two processes in which the ethnographic interview takes place, establishing rapport and gaining information through ethnographic questions as Spradley (1997, p. 78) proposes. The importance of rapport is revealed in Spradley's (1997) definition, "Rapport refers to a harmonious relationship between the ethnographer and the informant. It means that a basic sense of trust has developed that allows for the free flow of information" (p. 78).

The development of rapport, as Spradley (1997, pp. 79-83) suggests, from apprehension, to exploration, to cooperation, and finally to full participation, was experienced with each informant. It was evident that each one began the first interview with a sense of apprehension. They said they were uncertain about their competence to contribute to this study. In order to break the ice while establishing a relationship with the informant, I began the first interview giving ethnographic explanations to the informant, including the purpose of the study and providing detailed information about the procedure of the interview. The informant was asked permission to record the interview, and I assured confidentiality of the information disclosed in the interviews. The use of the tape recorder initially made each informant nervous, but before long, when a rapport began to develop and the interaction improved, they seemed to forget that the conversations were being recorded.

The second phase of rapport development experienced in this study was exploration, when the researcher and the informant moved to more familiar ground.
turning the interview into a friendly conversation. Understanding grew in each interview until it was well established, influencing the whole interview process. It was obvious that when the informants started to feel more comfortable, they were able to start communicating openly about their personal experiences, while I listened attentively and rephrased the informant’s explanations to ensure that I was understanding.

In a third phase of establishing rapport, cooperation was evident when both the researcher and the informant moved from the uncertainty of the beginning of the first interview to a more trusting relationship. At this point the informant was prepared to openly share not only her cultural perspective but also her feelings.

The most rewarding experience was the last phase of rapport development with full participation of the informants, which was observed in the third and fourth interviews. Each of them took a more active role in the interview and even enjoyed it, while revealing some significant aspects of their world in their narrative.

After giving the ethnographic explanations and establishing rapport in the first interview, the next stage in the process was to acquire the data needed for the study. Three kinds of ethnographic questions, which I had previously prepared in the interview guide, were used in the interviews:

1. Descriptive questions to narrate cultural scenes were used mainly in the first interview but also in the second and third interviews.

2. Structural questions to provide information about how the informant has organized her cultural knowledge were used mainly in the second and fourth interviews but were also used in small scale in the first and third interviews.
3. Contrast questions were used mostly in the third interview, to yield the meanings the informants have accumulated in their world.

Descriptive questions used at the beginning of the first interview provided demographic information while they relieved the initial tension of the encounter. Then, the five major types and subtypes of descriptive questions were used to induce the informants to narrate some significant aspects of their experience with adages (Grand Tour Questions, Mini Tour Questions, Example Questions, Experience Questions, and Native Language Questions; see Appendix A: Sample of Descriptive Questions).

The first interview conducted with each informant provided information mainly about adages in general and their use in the family. This interview was followed by a second one to learn about the transmission of values in the family through the use of adages. Each interview was recorded for later analysis. I also took condensed field notes of non-verbal signs and other significant events that took place at the time of each interview. After each interview, I listened to the recording and wrote extensive notes about it. Those notes were carefully recorded in the appropriate fieldwork notebooks and in the journal. A similar procedure was followed with all interviews with the three informants. The data from the first two interviews with each informant revealed that cultural meanings were significant in the use of adages in the transmission of values, that adages were frequently used in family interactions, and that their meanings were transmitted as tacit knowledge.

After the second interview, I started to perceive the great wealth of information and knowledge that had been collected. My main concern was the time factor: I would
need a long time to conduct the interviews and analyze the abundant data provided before I could go back to the field for future interviews. I anticipated changes that could take place in the informants’ lives before my next trip to Ecuador, such as the grandmother’s fragile health or the granddaughter’s trip to study at an American university, which could affect the results of the study. After much thought, I decided to conduct a third interview with each informant, introducing Spradley’s (1997, pp. 155-172) approach with Contrast Questions and Card Activities. After arduous preparation by many hours of listening repeatedly to the first two interviews of each informant, taking substantial notes, and a thorough revision of the field notes, I prepared an outline for each of the informants for the next interview as it is further described (see Appendix B: Outline of the Third Interview).

The purposes of the third interview were: (1) to complete the information needed in a few significant areas with the use of miscellaneous questions; (2) to confirm some of the information previously provided in the two interviews about the rich domain of values enclosed in adages, and the classification of adages with some card activities to identify values enclosed in adages and to classify adages; (3) to find out the frequency of their use of adages with a card activity, and (4) to expand data on the cultural meaning of some topics with the use of contrast questions.

Miscellaneous questions

From the review of the interviews, it was evident that some areas needed clarification or more information. A list of questions was made for each informant, to get
more details on those areas. The questions were asked about those specific areas that varied for each informant.

Card activity: Categorization of adages

After reviewing the former interviews and the field notes, the classification of adages seemed to need clarification. Since that had been a difficult area for all the informants to identify, the use of the card-sorting technique helped each informant to clarify, complete, and confirm this area.

For this activity, two sets of cards were prepared before the interview for each informant. One set of cards had the categories of adages the informant had identified previously, written on each card. The second set consisted of cards with one written adage that the informant had mentioned in the previous interviews. The cards with the adages were placed on the table and the informant was reminded that those were the adages she had quoted in her previous interviews. The cards with the categories of adages were placed on the table separate from the first set. The informant was asked a Contrast Set Sorting Question to group her adages under each category. When that task was completed, the informant was asked some Contrast Questions to identify the similarities and contrasts between adages in the same group. The same procedure continued with each category.

Card activity: Identifying values enclosed in adages

Defining the values that adages teach was a difficult task for the three informants. The card activity helped them to recognize the values encoded in some adages, thus
providing the information needed. Before the interview, a card was prepared with the label VALUES, on which was written a list of all the values the informant had identified previously, such as respect, responsibility, and prudence. During the interview, this card was presented to the informant, reminding her that those were the values she had reported learning from adages. Using that card as a reference, I read each value and asked the informant to quote an adage that teaches that value. By hearing the value, the informant was able to remember a corresponding adage.

Frequency card activity

The informants’ recent awareness of the presence of adages in their lives as a result of the two previous interviews allowed the search for the frequency of the use of adages while that memory was fresh. Rating questions provided that information.

I presented to each informant a card that was prepared before the interview with the scale of frequencies: Nunca (Never), Rara vez (Rarely), A veces (Sometimes), Regularmente (Usually), A menudo (Often), and Siempre (Always) (Castillo & Bond, 1987, pp. 164-437). Then, I asked the informant to read one of her adages on the cards and identify the frequency of her use of that particular adage. That was the end of the third interview. It concluded the collection of data in the field.

Step Five: Domain Analysis of Ethnographic Interviews

After the fieldwork in Ecuador was completed, I returned to the United States and began work with the research materials gathered. Starting with the first interview of the
grandmother, I transcribed the recorded interview and did a domain analysis of the data obtained from that interview. A similar process was observed for each interview of all informants.

The purpose of the domain analysis was to explore the informants' perceptions of their culture. Since most cultural knowledge is built on domains, they are fundamental in the ethnographic inquiry. "Domains are the first and most important unit of analysis in ethnographic research" (Spradley, 1997, p. 100). In the domain analysis of the informants' interviews, significant domain structures emerged, revealing some organizations of cultural meanings that were coded in the language. As Spradley (1997) suggests,

The essential core of ethnography is the concern with the meaning of actions and events to the people we seek to understand. Some of these meanings are directly expressed in language; many are taken for granted and communicated only indirectly through word and action. But in every society people make constant use of these complex meaning systems to organize their behavior, to understand themselves and others, and to make sense out of the world in which they live. These systems of meaning constitute their culture: ethnography always implies a theory of culture. (p. 5)

The purpose of this ethnographic analysis was to decode those cultural meaning systems, in this case, the values enclosed in adages, to discover their cultural context and the methods for their transmission.

A systematic search for domains started with a comprehensive study of the entire interview, line by line and paragraph by paragraph. Also included was a thorough quest for domains in the field notes. The list of nine Universal Semantic Relationships proposed by Spradley (1997, p. 111) was the key to discovering a variety of domains with their corresponding terms (see Appendix C: Universal Semantic Relationships). Semantic
relationships revealed the meaning the informants attached to adages and their connection to values. The structure of each domain identified in the interview was recorded in a Domain Analysis Worksheet prepared for this purpose (see Appendix D: Domain Analysis Worksheet). The worksheet included the three components of each domain: (1) the cover terms, which are labels for a category of cultural knowledge; (2) included terms, which are words included in the category of knowledge labeled by the cover terms; and (3) semantic relationships, which are the connections between terms. The methodical use of this worksheet facilitated the discovery of numerous domains hidden in the informants’ data. The recommended list of all the domains uncovered in each interview, with their accumulated terms, provided an overview of the surface structure of the informants’ culture knowledge.

The steps followed in the domain analysis concluded with a set of structural questions that were included at the end of the Domain Analysis Worksheet and were recorded with the list of all hypothesized domains. The structural questions became the ethnographic hypotheses which originated from the domain analysis. They were tested in the fourth interview.

Among those hypotheses, only those related to the use of adages in the transmission of values in the informants’ family were selected. One of the hypotheses was: "There are several kinds of adages." To test that hypothesis, the structural question asked to the informant was, "Are there different types of adages?" The affirmative answer confirmed the hypothesis. Another hypothesis was: "Some values are transmitted by the use of adages." The questions to test that hypothesis was, "What values are transmitted by
Step Six: Testing Hypotheses

The domain analysis of the interviews generated an enormous number of structural questions that represented many hypotheses about the informants' knowledge related to the transmission of values with adages. I selected the structural questions that related to those areas relevant to this study and compiled them by subjects. Then I composed a list of structural questions that were used in the fourth interview with each informant to test the hypothesized domains.

Principles

The following principles guided that process:

Concurrent principle. Structural questions were used in every interview simultaneously with descriptive questions to complement the information and to add variety. An example of a structural question is: "We have been talking about the parental concerns you have in raising children. You reported that you always try to find an opportunity to teach your children right and wrong. Tell me about some of those occasions." An example of a descriptive question is: "Can you talk about this particular occasion?" A structural question asked was: "Are there other ways you teach values to your children?"

Explanation principle. Explanations of the structural questions or the use of an example to clarify concepts not only gave the informant time to think and respond, but
yielded lengthy answers with a profusion of information. For example: "I heard you saying that adages and other common sayings are often repeated at home. I would like to understand what they mean to you, so I need to ask you several questions to get a good picture of the use and meaning of adages. Let me start with this question. 'What are the different adages that are frequently used at home?"

Repetition principle. While the domain was explored, structural questions were often repeated. To avoid monotony, descriptive questions were combined with structural questions. For example: "What are the different kinds of adages you know?" Later the question was asked in a different way: "Do you remember any other kinds of adages?"

Context principle. Asking structural questions with relevant contextual information facilitated the informant's recollection. For example: "I understand from what you say that the use of adages in the home is common. Is that correct? Are adages used frequently in the family?" "Have you heard any other members of the family use adages?" "You mention that there is some interaction in the family in the evenings. Is that correct? Are adages used then? If I were with you on any night at home, what kinds of adages would I hear?"

Cultural framework principle. Structural questions presented in cultural terms were relevant to the informants and facilitated further information. For example: "I would like to learn about adages. Could you tell me, what are the different adages you can recall from other people?"
Questions

On the basis of the principles mentioned above, a list was elaborated with a variety of structural questions covering some important areas in the transmission of values with adages. Those questions were asked in the next interview and served mainly to verify the hypothesized domains and their included terms.

**Verification questions.** These were used to confirm or refute terms identified in the domain analysis. They required a short affirmative or negative answer. Some kinds of verification questions used were:

1. Domain verification question: "In our last interviews you mentioned several kinds of values. I would like to go over that list, just to be sure that they are correct. You told me that some of the types of values were religious values, social values, political values. Is that right?"

2. Included term verification question: "Is respect a social value?"

3. Semantic relationship verification question: "Do you find any connection between values and adages?"

4. Native-language verification question: "We talked about other names for adages. Are they also called *dichos*?"

**Cover term questions.** "Are there different ways of transmitting values to the younger generations?" After an affirmative answer, this question followed, "Tell me what some of them are?" "Can you think about other ways values are transmitted?"
Included term questions. "Are responsibility and perseverance the same kind of thing?" "Are there any other kinds of values in adages?"

Once all that information was organized, a second field trip to Ecuador was planned, to conduct the fourth interview with each informant to test the hypothesized domains. I found some advantages to the use of such a variety of structural questions in the fourth interview: (1) They helped me keep the interview focused on areas that were relevant to the study; (2) they encouraged the informants to express their personal perspectives in lengthy information; (3) they supplied meaningful data; and (4) they provided deeper insight into the informants' perceptions of the transmission of values in the family with adages. A list was made of the confirmed hypotheses that were tested in the fourth interview with an outline that revealed the topics of all hypotheses (see Appendix E: Topics of Confirmed Hypotheses).

Four interviews with each informant made a total of 12. This number of interviews corresponds to what was suggested by the Development Research Sequence Method and to the recommendations of Wiseman and Aron (1970), who say "there must be at least ten to fifteen such interviews to give the investigator some notion of the kinds of information that may be pertinent to the research problem" (p. 32).

Step Seven: Taxonomy Analysis

Since the domain analysis provided an understanding of the surface structure of the informants' cultural knowledge, the next step was to initiate an in-depth analysis of the internal structure of those domains that were relevant to the study. The abundant quantity
of data yielded by the domain analysis needed to be narrowed to specific areas that clarified the intergenerational transmission of values with adages. That task was accomplished in the fourth interview when the hypothesized domains were tested. I selected those significant domains that were confirmed, which were the most extensive and inclusive. With those domains, an extensive in-depth taxonomic analysis was conducted concentrating on the internal structure of those domains.

The taxonomic analysis explored those relevant taxonomies composed of large groups of domains under a single semantic relationship. In that process, some relationships were clarified between elements of one domain and those in other domains, providing insight into the design of the transmission of values that was recorded (see Appendix F: Outline of the Taxonomy of the Transmission of Values through Adages).

The taxonomic analysis was vital, for it gave structure to this study and revealed the meaning behind symbols the informants used. In this case, it decoded some of the significant aspects of the transmission of values in the family by means of adages.

**Step Eight: Componential Analysis**

The domain and taxonomic analyses of the information gathered in the field identified some of the cultural meaning systems in the transmission of values by adages, which were generated in the interactions that took place in the family network. The first three interviews conducted with the three informants were in the context of what Goldenberg (1992) calls "the natural world of the subjects" (p. 195). The data also revealed the context of family settings where adages were frequently and naturally used.
with a didactic purpose. Thus, the information provided by the interviews needed to be understood in the context in which they originated (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p. 126). Bryman (1988) suggests that "contextualization is vital in qualitative research since the context of a social milieu influences the person's interpretation" (pp. 61-66). As Silverman (1994) proposes, "The social context of the interviewee is intrinsic to understanding any data that are obtained" (p. 94).

The data analysis revealed the vital importance of context in the investigation of intergenerational transmission of values through adages. Each adage recorded in the interviews from the informants' descriptions revealed the content and context of the use of adages in the transmission of values. Therefore, a thorough analysis of the informants' portrayal of adages was the best source to study the context of the transmission of values.

Several steps were taken to conduct this analysis:

1. A list was made of all the adages mentioned in all the interviews.

2. A worksheet was prepared for each adage in each interview. On that worksheet was recorded all the information provided by the informant about the transmission of values in that specific adage. The following questions were included: (a) Who transmits? (b) To whom is it addressed? (c) What is being transmitted? (d) What is the purpose of the transmission? (e) How is the transmission done? (f) Where does the transmission take place? (g) When is it done? (h) and other information (see Appendix G: Worksheet for the Componential Analysis).

The data obtained from that analysis was abundant, clearly demonstrating the significant contribution of each adage in the transmission of values. All of the data was
enriched by the informants' memories of the use of adages in the family, suggesting a complex web of interrelationships where the transmission of values took place through the use of adages. This meticulous analysis also revealed numerous cultural themes involved in the use of adages in parenting, which facilitated the next stage of the research.

Step Nine: Cultural Themes Analysis

This was the most extensive analysis since it covered all data gathered in interviews and the previous analysis. In this stage, a cultural perspective was portrayed in persistent themes related to the intergenerational transmission of values revealed in the taxonomic analysis. The previous step expedited the process of this analysis, since several cultural themes were already delineated in the informants' answers and explanations about the content and context of each adage mentioned in the interviews. Besides those themes in each adage, the search for cultural themes was expanded by a close scrutiny of each interview and all of the ethnographic records. The result of that inquiry was the discovery of 30 cultural themes, each with many subclasses (see Appendix H: Cultural Themes).

The next step was to focus the analysis and organize the overwhelming amount of data in logical order, to complete the portrayal of the investigation of the intergenerational transmission of values through adages.

Step Ten: Writing the Ethnographic Findings

The findings of this research are presented in chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 introduces the findings in the intergenerational transmission of values through adages in an Ecuadorian family. Chapter 5 presents the values transmitted through adages over two and
three generations in the family that participated in this study.
CHAPTER IV

INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF VALUES THROUGH ADAGES
IN AN ECUADORIAN FAMILY

Three generations—the grandmother, the mother, and the daughter—were interviewed at length on transmission of values through the use of adages. Their responses form the basis of this chapter. Following an introductory section on adages and the way they enclose values, transmission of values in the family by the use of adages is explored in depth.

In presenting this material I have chosen to use quotations that give a unique flavor to the concepts expressed. The conversational nature of the information has determined the grammar and syntax the respondents used. However, I have smoothed their language to conform somewhat to proper Spanish usage.

Adages

In considering adages, several dimensions must be taken into consideration. Adages have a design or form which includes phonetic and rhythmic aspects. Adages have a moral dimension in their ideological content; they contain a truth (value), often with moral implications. Adages embody abstract values and thus become vehicles the intergenerational transmission of values. In addition, adages have socio-cultural contexts
that provide the cultural references needed to understand the messages adages carry.

Adages are difficult to translate, not only because in translation they lack a cultural context, but because of their syntax and construction. For this reason my translation of the Spanish is dynamic rather than literal.

In this chapter, all Spanish-language adages are printed in italics. This will assist the reader in locating the many sayings considered.

Definition and Description

Adages are short sentences that express popular wisdom which has been assimilated for generations. They generally carry values in form of advice, counsel, or warning. They are frequently used at home, mainly in family relationships, but their usage extends beyond the home environment to public places such as the church, the school, work, or even the streets. In Ecuador, it is not rare to hear the wit of adages naturally mixed in conversations on the bus or on radio talk shows. Because of their popularity, adages are effective in advertisement; some are even present in the cultural section of the Sunday newspaper.

This valuable tradition has been kept alive in the family through generations. Parents often use adages in training their children, teaching them values that will prepare them for dealing with relationships in the family and outside in the world where they will function in the future. The purpose of the use of adages is mainly to teach, to transmit a message, as the grandmother acknowledged ("Educar, principalmente. Transmitir un mensaje"). The mother in the study identified adages as "norms of life" ("normas de vida")
while focusing on the didactic purpose of their use.

In the Ecuadorian culture, adages or *refranes* are bits of common knowledge in all social classes. Informants from the three generations agreed on the definition of adages. The grandmother reported that adages are commonly known as sayings ("Ordinariamente, no se llaman refranes, se dicen dichos"). The mother's definition included both the form and the content of adages. The content is a teaching, a standard to live by, something to hold on to, something precious. The form is something beautiful, something really pretty. ("Es como una enseñanza, es algo bonito, son normas de vida, es . . . como sujetarse de algo. Es algo bonito, realmente. ¡Son joyas!"). Her conclusion was stated with appreciation, admiration, and conviction: "Adages are jewels!" The granddaughter suggested some other terms for adages: "sentences or phrases, proverbs, and maxims" ("sentencias o frases, proverbios, y máximas"). She also pointed out that the term "saying" (*dicho*) is mainly used by young people ("Creo que los adultos usan la palabra 'refrán' más. Pero entre jóvenes se usa más dichos").

Considering that some adages are in the Bible, the mother ventured to suggest that perhaps "proverbs" could be another label for adages ("Si vamos a tener en cuenta que . . . que algunos están en la Biblia, podríamos decir proverbios ¿tal vez?").

**Sources of Adages**

Since adages were transmitted orally, there are no written records of the origins of adages used in Ecuador. The informants in this study identified different sources of the adages they know. The principal sources are Spanish sayings, biblical sayings, native
language adages, and sayings original to other languages.

**Spanish Adages**

The Spaniards brought with the conquest two main aspects of culture: religion and language. These were left as a heritage that became a vital foundation of Hispanic American culture. Mixed with religion and language, there were innumerable pieces of popular wisdom known as *refranes* that had been successfully used and cherished for centuries as an old tradition in the Mother Land. The Spanish heritage of this tradition was recognized by the grandmother when she referred to a booklet of adages of Spanish origin that she owned. She concluded that adages exist in her culture as an inheritance from the Spaniards, since they lived in Ecuador for a long time and used this method of teaching ("Y en ese librito que le digo que tengo de refranes ha sido de refranes españoles. entonces eso nos vino de herencia, y eso debe haber mucho. . . Porque vivieron mucho los españoles . . . esta forma de enseñar y de educar").

The Spanish heritage of religion and language is integrated in the deep meaning of adages and their profound messages that impact on people's minds. The famous Spanish writer Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra identified adages as “small Gospels” ("Los refranes son evangelios pequeños"). His definition found an echo in the grandmother's understanding of adages as short messages that often teach something ("En cierta forma, éstos son mensajes pequeñitos que están enseñando, muchas veces").
Biblical Passages

Texts from the New Testament

The impact of the religion brought by the Spaniards in the transmission of values is evident in the informants' narrative, suggesting that some adages commonly used in parenting came from the Bible. The grandmother identified such an adage as used by her father, and said it was in the Bible: “Do not do to others what you do not want done to you” (“No hagas a otro lo que no quieres que te hagan a ti”). She explained that she had not seen her father reading the Bible, since to do so was prohibited for a long time by the Catholic Church. She concluded that he had learned it from his parents, recalling that her father often talked about them (“Es . . . seguramente de la transmisión de sus padres. Porque yo no le vi mucho leer a mi padre la Biblia, pero . . . escuché mucho las referencias que hacía de sus padres”). With excitement, she confided that she only recently learned the true biblical form of this saying, one she considered the most beautiful of all: “Do unto others as you want them to do to you” (Haz a otros lo que quieras que te hagan a ti [Matt 7:12]).

The question of how biblical passages became adages in that culture when people were not allowed to read the Scriptures was answered by the grandmother’s sudden awareness of the biblical origin of another adage, “Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s” (Matt 22:21), used by her father in parenting, to teach justice, and often heard in Mass at the Catholic Church (“Bueno, esto es otra cosa que está en la Biblia: “Dar a César lo que es de César y a Dios lo que es de Dios.” Eso también he aprendido de papá. Porque siempre nos decía eso, claro que en la misa se escuchaba
mucho, en la predicación del Evangelio, ... pero especialmente hablando de que así seamos justos”). Other biblical verses identified as being treated as adages and used in the same fashion were: “To look at the straw in someone else’s eye and not the beam in one’s own eye” (“Mirar la paja en ojo ajeno y no la viga en el propio” [Matt 7:3-5]); and “An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth” (“Ojo por ojo, diente por diente” [Matt 5:38]).

The mother in the study also recognized that adages were truths and knowledge that originated in her ancestors’ experience, and suddenly with surprise she admitted that there were also adages in the Bible (“Los refranes son . . . verdades . . . conocimientos que vienen de atrás, de nuestros antepasados. . . . Pero yo me he dado cuenta que hay algunos refranes ¡que resultan estar en la Biblia”). With excitement the mother gave an example, declaring that this adage always sounded to her like a beautiful phrase, but she had recently found it in the Bible, “The Truth will set you free” (“Por ejemplo: ‘La verdad os hará libres’ [John 8:32]). Yo, cuando escuchaba ‘La verdad os hará libres’, me sonaba una frase muy hermosa, pero . . . ¡recién la encontré en la Biblia, realmente!”.

Texts from the Old Testament

The connection between adages and proverbs is grounded in the similarity of messages that they carry and the didactic nature of both. The grandmother read the Book of Proverbs as a method of bringing out those adages that were stored in her mind. She admitted that there were no adages she knew in Proverbs, but she recognized, with emphasis and surprise, that when she read the biblical proverbs some adages burst into her mind. She concluded that there was also truth in all adages (“Le diré que para sacar estos
refranes que estaban en mi mente, pero que no salen en el momento oportuno. . . ¡yo cogí la Biblia! . . . En Proverbios no está ninguno de estos refranes. Pero, ¡de algún proverbio me saltaba el refrán a la mente! Los refranes encierran verdad”.

Amazed by the large number of adages that emerged in her memory triggered by the proverbs she read, the grandmother deducted that since the Book of Proverbs presents parenting situations and guidance dealing with them, perhaps those situations brought the adages to her conscience. In that sense, adages were compared with the Word of God, as a good, clean word that guides people in their life. She pointed out that while she was reading the Proverbs, she kept drawing adages from her mind, which were not the same as the proverbs, but portrayed the same message (“La Palabra del Señor . . . es como una palabra buena, limpia, que te ayuda a manejarlo bien, a caminar bien en la vida. Y entonces . . . me quedé maravillada al leer los proverbios. Mientras iba leyendo los proverbios, iba sacando de mi mente el refrán, que no es lo mismo, pero que me da un mensaje similar”).

Popular adaptations of Bible verses

Just as the adage “Do not do to others what you would not want them to do to you” is a variation on a biblical theme, other adages used for didactic purposes have their origin in the Bible. The grandmother noted that common people had been fabricating adages to teach. This, she felt, was positive since many of them were based on the Bible, the Word of God (“Entonces es el vulgo el que ha ido fabricando esto, para educar. . . . en ese sentido veo yo unas cosas positivas porque . . . han salido incluso de la Palabra del
Señor, . . . de la Biblia”).

When remembering the biblical passage, “Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s” ("Dad a César lo que es de César"), the granddaughter concluded that the saying had been adopted by the people as an adage, confirming her grandmother’s information ("Sí, de ése sí me acuerdo. Y eso ya la gente ha adoptado como un refrán también").

Sayings of native origin

Besides those adages the Spaniards brought to Ecuador and those biblical texts adopted by the people as adages, there are also some native adages. These came from the Ecuadorian indigenous roots, mixed with native beliefs, and were adapted to the culture, as the grandmother emphasized ("¡Creo que sí! Tiene que haber [dichos] criollos!"). In this category are the regional adages that reflect the ideology and customs of the two main zones in the country, the mountain region and the coastal plains. The well-known adage, “Whoever goes to bed with a baby gets up wet” ("Quien con guagua se acuesta, mojado se levanta") was identified by the grandmother as a native adage used by the poor in the mountains. She labeled it a native saying because the Quechua word for baby is used ("Ya, en primer lugar digo que tiene que ser criollo porque dice ‘guagua’ y entonces aquí en el quechua ‘guagua’ es niño"). An adage identified as being from the coastal region was “The current carries off the shrimp that falls asleep” ("Camarón que se duerme lo lleva la corriente"). This portrays a common-knowledge word picture of what happens to shrimp on the beaches.
The granddaughter also recognized the regional adages, using the term *dicho*. She made a difference between these regional sayings, based on the lifestyle of people from a specific area, and adages which were understood by everybody ("Algunos . . . son de entendimiento general porque abarcan una . . . una realidad más grande. Pero hay otros que son específicamente de una ciudad, . . . de cosas típicas de los habitantes de esa ciudad"). Since some native terms are used in the regional adages, the knowledge of language is also required to comprehend their meaning ("Uno puede entender y reírse del dicho si vive ahí y conoce la realidad de ese sitio").

**Foreign Adages**

"*Piano, piano, si va lontano*" ("Slowly, slowly one goes far") was the only foreign adage reported by the grandmother. This was one of her father’s adages that she believed he learned from the Italian engineers who worked at the Railroad Company in Ecuador in the 1920s and 1930s.

Whatever the origin of the sayings, all three generations agreed that they were used and learned in the home, the school, the church, the community. The granddaughter admitted that this made it difficult for her to remember where she learned them. but she acknowledged that they stayed with her by "sticking to her" ("Es que yo no me acuerdo cuáles aprendí en la familia y cuáles aparte. . . . No sé en qué parte de mi vida entraron los refranes. . . . Entonces . . . se me fueron pegando"). This lack of differentiation of places where adages were acquired suggests an unconscious internalization of adages through the years.
Classification of Adages

Adages can be classified by themes. Most can be categorized as religious, moral, or humorous.

Religious Adages

The three informants classified some adages as religious because they are in the Bible. Some of them were, “With the ruler that you measure, you will be measured” (“Con la vara que midas, serás medido” [Matt 7:2]), “Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s” (“Dad a César lo que es de César y a Dios lo que es de Dios”), and “The Truth will set you free” (“La verdad os hará libres”). Other adages not of biblical origin were also classified as religious. The mother explained that they were religious because they mentioned God or contained biblical teachings: “God gives beards to the one who doesn’t have jaws” (“Dios da barbas a quien no tiene quijadas”), “Praying to God while pounding with the mallet” (“A Dios rogando, y con el mazo dando”) and “God helps the one who gets up early” (“Al que madruga, Dios le ayuda”) are not in the Bible. but “the Bible teaches that we need to do things on time” (“No dice así en la Biblia, pero en la Biblia nos enseña que debemos hacer las cosas a su tiempo”).

Moral Adages

In this category the mother placed all adages that teach moral values that influence human life, affecting behavior and attitudes. Examples are: “There is no evil that does not bring something good,” “The fish by its own mouth dies,” “Show me your friend, and I
will show you your character,” “Laziness is the mother of all vices” (“El segundo grupo enseña . . . comportamientos, valores morales, ¿ya? Por ejemplo: ‘No hay mal que por bien no venga,’ ‘El pez por su propia boca muere,’ ‘Dime con quién andas, y te diré quién eres,’ ‘La pereza es la madre de todos los vicios’”). The granddaughter called these adages educational.

**Humorous Adages**

The three informants based this category on the amusing mixture of truth and absurdity. Because of the comparison between parts, the mother put the following in the humorous category: “Who associates with wolves, learns to howl” (“Quien con lobo se junta, a aullar aprende”); “There is no sickness that lasts a hundred years, nor a body to endure it” (“No hay mal que dure cien años, ni cuerpo que lo resista”); “Coriander is good but not so much” (“Bueno es culantro, pero no tanto”). She admitted that even the humorous adages taught values (“Son dichos que siempre dejan una enseñanza”).

**Values Taught by Adages**

Since adages have been used unconsciously by parents in values education for generations in the Ecuadorian culture, the presence of values enclosed in adages went undetected. This was obvious in the informants’ unawareness of the values adages carry. As the interviews progressed, informants provided a great amount of information about the content and context of adages, and they gradually became aware of adages they use and the benefits they had experienced from the values they learned through adages. Even so, they still referred to values as “lessons” adages teach or as “messages” adages convey.
The abstract nature of values hidden in adages frequently made it difficult for the informants to label values. They were able, however, to explain the content of the adages. For example, in explaining "Al que madruga, Dios le ayuda" ("God helps the one who gets up early"), the grandmother interpreted the value contained in this adage as meaning that everything that is done soon (early) is done better, and God blesses it ("Todo lo que se hace pronto, se hace mejor y Dios bendice").

The mother also faced difficulty in labeling values, so she also opted to describe the meaning of the adage. She said it meant "doing things at the right time, so things would turn out right... Each thing in its own time" ("Las cosas hay que hacer a su debido tiempo, para que todo salga bien... Cada cosa a su debido tiempo"). The value that seems to emerge is promptness.

In some cases, respondents felt that an adage could convey more than one "lesson" or value. For example, the grandmother gave several interpretations of the adage "Con paciencia se gana el cielo" ("With patience heaven is earned").

1. The purpose of this adage is to teach patience while stressing the importance of having the gift of patience in a world that makes us impatient. Referring to the value contained in this adage, the grandmother said, "To be patient is a very important gift. With patience it is possible to achieve many things! The world keeps giving us less patience. It makes us more impatient!" ("Ser paciente es un don muy importante. ¡Con la paciencia se gana muchas cosas! El mundo nos va dando cada vez menos paciencia. ¡Nos va impacientando más!").

2. The grandmother also felt that this adage taught how one could reach eternal
salvation. "It seems to me like heaven is earned right here on earth by living in love, with commitment, with service, and by one’s good deeds" ("A mí me parece que el cielo se gana aquí mismo en la tierra. Con el amor, con la entrega, con el servicio. Con todas las obras buenas que se hacen").

3. This adage also expresses the grandmother’s desire to live heaven on earth by having inner peace. This was revealed when she stated with conviction: “But I believe that one earns heaven or hell on this earth! . . . That is why I told you that inner peace is important! With peace, I believe one feels like in heaven” ("¡Pero yo creo que el cielo y el infierno se los gana aquí mismo! . . . ¡Por eso es que le decía que la paz interior es tan importante! Con la paz yo creo que se siente el cielo").

4. The values transmitted with this adage, “Con paciencia se gana el cielo,” in the grandmother’s childhood, influenced her beliefs and attitudes. These were manifested in behavior later in life. In her mature years she expanded the content of this adage into a deeper meaning of inner peace as a synonym for heaven on earth. It became a lifestyle for her. She said, “All you can see and feel here in my home has come from my inner world, isn’t it true? (“Todo lo que usted ve y siente aquí en mi hogar ha salido de este interior mío ¿no es cierto? De este anhelo de vivir la paz, de vivir el cielo en esta tierra”).

Transmission of Values in the Family Through Adages

The informants’ data revealed that for generations the use of adages as a well-known parenting method has been in the Ecuadorian culture. Their experience with adages used in parenting children, adolescents, and young adults discloses some of the purposes
and the effectiveness of this traditional method, persistently practiced for generations.

Purposes of Parental Use of Adages

Three main purposes for the use of adages in parenting were given. All had to do with the education of children for life.

The grandmother believed that the main purpose for using adages in the family was to assist parents in the education of their children. She made subtle connections between values and the simple phrases of adages that always convey important messages. Referring to adages used in parenting, she concluded that “they help to transmit a thought, something important, always important, to educate one’s children” (“Yo creo que el refrán es precisamente lo que se transmite a los hijos... es decir cómo hacer las cosas a través de esa frasecita corta que es el refrán... Sirven para transmitir algún pensamiento, alguna cosa importante, siempre importante, para educar a los hijos”). She also noted that the use of adages in parenting teaches good behavior. “Well... all these adages simply teach a lesson of a coherent, correct behavior” (“Que... todos estos refranes sencillamente le dan una lección de un comportamiento muy coherente, muy correcto ¿no?”). The mother also recognized the didactic purpose of adages. According to her interpretation, using adages in parenting is a method of teaching proper ways of behavior and ways to avoid misbehavior (“O sea, los refranes son una manera de enseñar lo que se debe hacer, o lo que no se debe hacer”).

Adages serve to teach children to discover and appreciate true values in life. Training children with values enclosed in adages goes beyond parents’ efforts to help them...
acquire good habits. It encourages their children to discern profound things in life that
often are imperceptible, and to learn to value the important things in life ("Quizás lo
importante [es] aprender a descubrir los verdaderos valores. Porque ¡en eso somos un
poquito ciegos! Yo pienso que hay cosas muy importantes en la vida que . . . las dejamos
pasar, que no les damos el legítimo valor, ¿no? Entonces hay que aprender a reconocer las
cosas. ¡Valorar!").

Parenting With Adages as a Traditional Method

In order to thoroughly understand the function of adages in transmission of values,
it is necessary to be submerged in human experience, for it is in personal interaction that
the transmission takes place. The data provided came from the informants’ experience,
which revealed that their knowledge of adages was intermingled with their childhood
memories. These recollections were usually closely tied to past family experiences which
generated strong emotions, reflected in the intensity of the informants’ expressions, in the
passion they felt about their convictions, in the tenderness of their voice, in their
spontaneous laughter, and even in their tears. Since the use of adages is closely tied to
family memories, it is imperative that one first understand the informants’ family
environment where moral education took place. Only then can one see through their
experience the fascinating world of adages.

The Grandmother’s Narrative

The grandmother’s narrative portrays parenting in the past. She began her report
by talking about her family of origin, which she considered a large and happy family of 12
children, including herself. She described the atmosphere in her childhood home as marvelous, based on a close, loving relationship between the parents and children. While reminiscing about her childhood, she revealed the prevalent use of adages as a traditional method in raising children. This well-known method was explained by describing numerous common situations in family life when adages were used by her parents. Some of the most vivid recollections were of the daily gatherings of her family at the dinner table. She recalled a table large enough to seat the 12 children, their two parents, and some cousins who used to play at her house and always were invited to stay for dinner. She described the usual family gathering around the dinner table as *algarabía* (chatter, uproar).

The deep communication that existed among the grandmother's parents and their children was evident at these daily family gatherings around the dinner table. Dinner was not only a time to provide food to nourish their bodies, but a time for intimacy to strengthen the family ties by encouraging communication among all the family members. It was a time to communicate, to talk, to share, to listen, to care, to teach, and to learn values with the use of adages. She concluded that her deepest memories were those at the dinner table ("Mis recuerdos más profundos son los de la mesa del comedor").

During those precious teaching moments, opportune parental advice was given with well-known short phrases. One of the family vignettes described the scene at the table with her father talking about his work while the children conversed about their school life and what their friends and classmates had said. She related that at that moment there was the opportunity for her father to advise with this adage: "To foolish words, deaf ears" ("A
palabras necias, oídos sordos”) indicating that we should not pay attention to what
people were saying (“En la mesa nos sentábamos toda la familia. . . . Conversábamos de lo
que los amigos decían, lo que los compañeros decían, y cosas así. Entonces era la vida de
colegio de lo que comentábamos. También había oportunidad de decir eso: “No hijitos, ‘a
palabras necias, oídos sordos.’ No tomen en cuenta lo que dicen, la gente que no
conviene”).

The grandmother’s nostalgia for an almost-lost custom of family gathering at the
dinner table was evident as she described that warm scene, with all her family gathered
there around the dinner table, eating, talking, sharing, caring. With sadness in her voice
and on her face, the grandmother lamented that family closeness around the table “has
almost been lost today, with the hurried times. Before, we used to sit to eat, and in
between dish and dish, and everything, we used to . . . have long conversations!” (“Eso
casi se ha perdido, por el momento, con lo rápido del tiempo, ¿no es cierto? Antes nos
sentábamos a comer, y hasta que . . . de plato en plato y todo, se conversaba ¡se hablaba
largamente!”).

The grandmother affirmed her conviction that adages were used to teach. With
emphasis she expressed her opinion that it was a very nice didactic method, without books
and notebooks. Her sentence ended with the word claro (“it is clear”), implying that it was
a logical thing (“¡La educación! ¡La enseñanza! Eso, eso digo yo, ¡es principalmente una
forma de enseñar, lindísima! Sin cuadernos, y sin libros ¡claro!”).

The grandmother acknowledged having learned all the adages she knew from her
parents while growing up. She repeatedly recognized that they have remained with her and
that the values she learned from adages have benefitted her all her life. Having experienced
the effectiveness of the use of adages in parenting, she unconsciously used them with her
children and later with her grandchildren.

The Mother's Narrative

The mother in the study also started her narrative of parenting with adages in her
generation by recalling good memories of her family while she was growing up. Her
description of her home environment was mixed with emotion. "It was marvelous. I do not
have any sad memory. It was really a nest of love. it always was my refuge, my house was
my paradise where I always found peace" ("Era maravilloso. No tengo un solo recuerdo
triste. Era realmente un verdadero nido de amor. siempre fue mi refugio. . . . Mi casa era
mi paraíso y . . . siempre tuve la tranquilidad ahí").

She could not initially recall anybody in her family of origin using adages. As her
awareness increased, she recalled some members of her family using adages, such as her
grandparents, her parents, and others ("Porque si he escuchado a mis abuelos. a mi mamá.
a mi papá. y a la gente en general"). She alluded to the transmission of adages from
previous generations, saying that she had "assimilated" those adages she knew ("Sí. he
escuchado. y creo que de ahí es que he ido asimilando los que ahora yo sé"). After the
mother went through the process of awareness, she discovered her constant use of adages
("Yo me doy cuenta que si uso, por doquier. . . . ¡Ahí lo utilizo! ¡Se me viene a la
mente!"). With that perception, which evolved from an initial denial of using adages to an
increasing recognition of her use of adages in parenting, she repeatedly talked about her
positive view of adages and the great benefits she had experienced from the values learned through them and how she was encouraged to parent with adages.

The Granddaughter’s Narrative

The granddaughter’s narrative presented parenting through adages in her generation. Adages brought good memories to the granddaughter as they did to her grandmother and her mother. She began her narrative describing her home environment, emphasizing her parents’ enduring love and their continual demonstrations of their care for her. The unconditional love she experienced with her parents made her feel like a special person and fostered her self-esteem (“Ha sido muy bonito porque . . . he sentido siempre el apoyo de mis padres que están . . . siempre preocupados y me hacen sentir que . . . pase lo que pase yo soy importante para ellos, y que no importa nada. . . . Me he dado cuenta que eso nunca se va a acabar porque es un amor que nos tiene unidos y que siempre va a estar ahí”). Her words demonstrated that she was convinced of the permanence of the love and care of her parents in all circumstances even when there were disagreements ("Sí, eso sí, estoy completamente segura. ¡Siempre están ahí para todo! y aunque no están de acuerdo; tratan de hacerle reflexionar a una y . . . si no logran, ellos ceden un poquito también, pero siempre están ahí"). With conviction in her voice she acknowledged that the security her father provided was the most important thing. She recalled this adage to support her view: “No le des un pez, sino enseñale a pescar” (“Do not give him a fish but teach him how to fish”), explaining that he taught them to have self-confidence to achieve everything by their own means ("Lo más importante . . . que él nos ha dado es su
seguridad y . . . el refrán ese de "No le des un pez sino enséñale a pescar," que nos enseña a estar seguros de nosotros mismos para lograr con nuestros medios todo").

While the granddaughter described the warmth of her home, she did not hesitate to talk about the use of adages in her family. She identified her mother’s use of adages as if those memories were fresh in her mind, recalling that her mother advised her with adages while she was growing up (“Generalmente la que usa es mi mami y . . . sólo mi mami porque mi papi no”). She also remembered hearing her grandmother saying a few adages, but not frequently; she remembered her mother’s more (“A mi abuelita le he escuchado también . . . pero no con mucha frecuencia, pero sí sabe usar. O sea más tengo de mi mami que me acuerdo”). She recalled several adages her mother used with her children. One of them was “Get fame and go to bed” (“Date fama y échate en la cama”), which her mother continually used about her school, to teach her to be responsible in her studies. Another adage she recalled her mother telling her was “Más vale un rato colorado que cien amarillos” (“Better a red moment than 100 jaundiced ones”). This was an often-used adage to teach children to have the courage to say “no.” She also remembered her mother advising them to be careful when driving by saying, “It is better to lose a minute in life than life in a minute” (“Más vale perder un minuto en la vida que la vida en un minuto").

The granddaughter admitted that she always had liked adages and makes an effort to memorize the ones she hears to use them later (“A mi siempre me han gustado los refranes . . . Cuando oigo uno nuevo, . . . trato de acordarme para luego usarlo”). She recalled having made a collection in her early teens from books and magazines and used to
exchange her list of adages with a particular friend who also had that hobby. The reasons for her appreciating adages were that she liked to reflect on the content of adages, considered it pleasant to ponder the meaning of a phrase, and tried to learn and use it later as an example ("Me gusta reflexionar sobre lo que dicen. . .  Por ejemplo, . . .  me parece bonito . . .  ver una frase y ver el sentido de la frase, para luego . . .  de pronto usar esa frase . . .  en algún ejemplo").

The granddaughter also recognized that there were pleasant and unpleasant adages. She preferred to use those adages she liked, since they were relevant for her. With certainty and firmness in her voice she said, "I have to be convinced myself first . . . of something, to say it. Because if I am not convinced of it, it is better not to say it" ("Porque primero tengo que estar convencida yo . . .  de algo, para decirlo. Porque si no estoy convencida, mejor no digo"). She concluded, "If I do not like to use it, it is because it does not touch me, and . . . it does not make any sense to me, neither does it contribute anything to education" ("Si a mí no me gusta usar es que a mí no me llega y . . .  para mí no tiene ningún sentido. ni aporta nada a la educación"). She closed with confidence: "Then, . . .  I am not going to use it" ("Entonces, . . .  no lo voy a usar").

She recognized that she liked to use adages in the family and with her friends, but she was not sure if she used adages more in the family circle or outside. She admitted that she used adages only with her close friends ("Sí, sólo . . .  uso los refranes con . . .  mis amigos de más confianza"), and laughed spontaneously, remembering that she had felt like a mother when advising her friends with adages, telling them what to do ("Porque me gusta usar, y me da . . .  risa cuando los digo; entonces siento como si fuera la mamá de"
ellos, . . . diciendo frases”). She described how her friends teased her about correcting
them as a mother would (“También hay veces que . . . me dicen, por ejemplo, ‘Ya mami.’
. . . o sea: ‘No nos corrijas tanto’).

The granddaughter also reported that adages were not used often by the young
people. She explained that when one adage was remembered in their conversations, it
triggered the memory of a related adage (“Entre mis amigos, . . . no me dicen nada. Pero
cuando uso, . . . también de pronto saben usar ellos, o nos sabemos acordar, digamos:
¡Ah, ese refrán!’ Así, alguna vez, así conversando . . . uno se acordaba de uno, y otro de
otro, y así iban saliendo”). Her description suggested that everybody knows the adages
(“¡O sea, . . . todo el mundo conoce!). She clarified that adages were not used normally
among her friends at the university in common conversations, but when the topic of
adages came up in a conversation, “everybody knows all the adages” (“En una
conversación así normal, no. Pero . . . digamos si ya . . . se toca el tema de los refranes,
¡todos saben todos los refranes!”).

According to her account, her young friends may have learned the adages they
know at home or from their environment outside the home, such as with friends and at
school. She concluded that one did not know where he had learned adages, suggesting an
unconscious acquisition and a common knowledge of adages (“Creo que en sus familias o
en el medio también. O sea, de los amigos, del colegio, uno no . . . sabe cuándo aprendió
tal refrán”).

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Using Adages With Different Age Groups

With Children

The three informants emphasized the significance of early childhood education in the family, where the mother plays a key role in moral training. Their data revealed the parents’ frequent use of adages in everyday life with their children during those impressive years of early childhood. Adages help children and youth to understand values that guide their choices and behavior as habits are formed, developing a moral lifestyle that will benefit them for life.

The mother did not have enough words to express her strong convictions about the importance of early childhood education. She emphasized the role of the mother as the first teacher children have until they begin kindergarten, usually at 5 years of age. At that time the mother shapes their entire future (“Siendo la primera maestra en la casa, hasta que el niño tiene cinco años y puede salir al . . . Jardín . . . de Infantes ¿no? Entonces, es importante eso ¡Esos primeros cinco años de la vida son incomparables! ¡No va a haber otra oportunidad! Van a aprender lo que van a hacer en su futuro”). Considering the great importance of that task, she could not imagine a better person than the mother to “write on those open books” (“¡Quién, mejor la madre, va a grabar en ese libro abierto! Porque los hijos son unos libros abiertos”). With a very serious tone of voice, she expressed the importance of mother’s writing well in those “open books,” because those experiences were going to stay in the children’s lives permanently. The scribbles their parents write in those “books” cannot be erased (“Entonces, no puede ser posible, que en esos libros escribamos “garabatos” que después ni siquiera podemos borrar. Porque
después si borramos, queda la señal. ¡No se puede!"). She recognized a mother’s need of divine help to face motherhood and provide proper education in those decisive years.

The granddaughter also expressed her beliefs with intensity, as did her mother. She strongly believed that values need to be taught in early childhood, since the lack of values education would leave the children weak morally, easy to be swept by the “tempest” they will face later in life. Values were considered as something to hold on to in time of crises. She said, “I think that... when one teaches... people... one has a good society. Therefore, from the time children are very small they have to know those things, because if one leaves them like that [without values], or [values] are in them but kind of weak, then when a storm comes... they are swept away... The moment they associate with a drug environment, if their values are not well formed, ... for sure they will also fall in that. It is possible that even if they have values, they will be swept away, since the environment is so influential, but it is more difficult. In other words, one has something to hold on!”

(“Porque pienso que... cuando uno educa... a los hombres... uno tiene una sociedad buena. Entonces desde chiquitos tienen que saber esas cosas, porque si uno les deja así, o sea están en ellos pero medio como flojos, entonces el rato que viene una tempestad, les arrasa... El rato que se mezclan, por decir, en un ambiente de drogas, si no tienen bien formados sus valores... lo más seguro es que caigan en eso también. O sea, puede que igual si tiene valores, como el medio es tan influyente, les lleve, pero es más difícil. O sea uno tiene de qué agarrarse”). She was strongly convinced that the mother’s place was at home with her children, giving herself constantly to them (“Entonces a mí me parece que es la madre la que tiene que ser la que esté permanente con el hijo, gastando todas sus
energías, . . . disfrutando con su hijo”). The idea of sacrificial motherhood, balanced with its pleasures, was rooted deeply in the three generations studied.

The granddaughter reasoned that economic pressures forced mothers to work outside the home. With sadness in her voice, she explained that it had become difficult to survive; for this reason not only the father needs to work, but mothers have to leave the home to work to help sustain the family (“Sí, porque . . . pienso que ahora también se ha vuelto muy difícil ya sobrevivir. O sea, . . . ya la . . . mujer tiene también que salir a trabajar para poder mantener la familia, no sólo . . . el esposo”). She used the expression “abandoned” referring to working parents leaving their children at home, without having time to see their parents (“Entonces ya . . . como que se les deja abandonados a los hijos . . . y ellos crecen y no . . . tienen tiempo de ver a los padres”).

Education was reported by the three informants to be an important part of their culture. Parents make an effort to provide the means for their children’s education and to use different methods to encourage their children to take responsibility for their duties as students. The grandmother remembered frequently-used adages to teach children to be responsible with their studies. “Learning goes in with blood” was common in times past (“‘La letra, con sangre entra’, se decía mucho antes”). She recalled this adage in relation with the insistence that the children study. Her parents scolded their children and sometimes gave them a fuetacito (a small lash), in order to show that they must do their schoolwork (“‘La letra, con sangre entra’. Si bien es cierto que jamás nos pegaron papá o mamá, . . . nos trataban tan bien! A veces ¡claro! había su reprensión y a veces su fuetacito”). Her explanation implied that the consequence of neglecting studying was
physical punishment. She also indicated that not only the parents used the adage, but also
the teachers at school (“Pues no sólo los papás, sino también los maestros”).

The didactic nature of adages was revealed in the granddaughter’s description of
the purpose of the use of adages with children. She said they serve “to put in a graphic
form the situation of the moment” (“Yo creo que para poner de una forma gráfica la
situación del momento”). She believed in the effectiveness of adages with all ages,
especially with children since the illustrations in adages facilitate their understanding of the
lesson being taught. On the basis of that conviction she planned to use adages in the future
with her children; when I asked about the kinds of adages she would use with her
daughters and her sons, she responded that she would use the same adages, since all of her
children will have to be trained.

With Adolescents

The informants claimed that the use of adages facilitates the demanding
responsibility of parents confronting their adolescent children. Some inherent
characteristics in adages contribute to the effectiveness of the use of adages with
adolescents, facilitating the transmission of parental advice and its acceptance by
teenagers, as the grandmother reported while explaining the content of this adage, “Cria
cuervos para que te saquen los ojos” (“Raise crows and they will peck your eyes out”).
“Perhaps one of these adages helps to reprimand the youth strongly, without offending
them. Because you are saying an adage, you are not insulting them, nor using your own
words, but you are saying an adage which is something that exists, that everybody says!
Therefore, perhaps it is easier for them to understand” (“Quizá sirve un refrán de estos para decirles algo fuerte a los hijos, sin ofenderles. Porque estás diciendo un refrán, no les estás insultando, ni diciendo una cosa que nazca de ti, sino un refrán: una cosa que existe, que todo el mundo lo dice. Entonces, quizás hasta para ellos es más fácil entender”). In a few sentences there was confirmation of the simple and yet profound reasons why the use of adages enhances the transmission of values to teenagers: discipline without offense, acceptance without resistance, easy understanding, and precise messages.

The three informants agreed that parenting with adages is more effective than “long parental discourses.” The grandmother used her own experience with her grandchildren to contrast the two methods while emphasizing the efficacy of adages (“Pero si se dice una cosita precisa, y eso me ha pasado a mí también, por ejemplo. cuando quiero dar discursos, me va muy mal. Y si viene a bien un refrán ¡perfecto! Pero nada de larguras, porque no, no conviene eso para nadie”).

The mother also expressed her conviction on the effectiveness of advising adolescents with adages, while recalling how frequently she used adages with her own adolescent children in an average day. The effectiveness of adages in teaching adolescents was shown by her children’s reaction to her adages. She could not remember having heard one single complaint from them. She recognized that adolescents listen to the adage, they remain quiet, pondering the message heard. What amazed and pleased her was that the value was internalized (“¡Eso es lo bueno de los refranes! No he oído una sola queja que yo recuerde. Simplemente escuchan, y se quedan pensativos y se quedan . . . ¡con la idea adentro!”).
With Young Adults

The mother admitted using this adage with her young adult offspring: "Más vale un rato colorado que cien amarillos" ("Better a red moment than 100 jaundiced ones") since they were still "under the roof of our home." One of the occasions she remembered using that adage with her children was when driving home in their car from the university, when there was time to talk ("Uno que es muy importante, éste sí me gusta repetirles mucho a mis hijos: ‘Más vale un rato colorado que cien amarillos.’ . . . De regreso a la casa, o a la universidad. Entonces hay tiempo de conversar"). She emphasized the importance of this adage since acquiescence is a cultural practice, making it difficult to say "No" to people.

The granddaughter's information about her mother's use of this adage with her and her siblings corroborated her mother's narrative. She also believed in the effectiveness of adages in parenting young adults, saying, "In other words, someone says an adage and everybody understands it. It is easier to explain a long situation with an adage; then it is understood easily" ("O sea, uno dice un refrán y . . . todo el mundo entiende. O sea es más fácil explicar una situación larguísimax con un refrán. Entonces se comprende más fácilmente").

Gender Differences in the Use of Adages

Gender roles in the past were revealed by the different adages used by parents. The grandmother reported that she had become aware of the interesting difference in the kind of adages her mother and her father used. The grandmother's description of the context of
her father’s adages revealed his masculine role in the family as the provider and also as the disciplinarian. His frequent use of adages in parenting suggested the common practice at that time for fathers to discipline their children. Her definition of her father’s adages as having “more projection” also suggested the culture’s influence in considering the father more important in his function of authority in the home. That projection was also extended outside the home to his law practice (“Me he dado cuenta que es interesante ver esa diferencia del refrán que quizás decía el hombre y el refrán que quizás decía la mujer. Los refranes que decía mi madre son más en el sentido hogareño, . . . refiriéndose a cosas del hogar. En cambio, los otros tienen, en realidad, un poco más de proyección”).

The grandmother considered her mother’s adages as related to the household, a connection she considered very interesting. (“Si, de mamacita también me acuerdo. . . . Son específicos más de cosas de la casa. De cosas de la casa que me parecen tan interesantes, porque siempre tienen relación a algo. Ya sea de la cocina o que. . . . ”)

Her description of her mother’s adages revealed the traditional mother’s role in the family at that time, suggesting there was a cultural belief that the place of the woman was at home. Another family function of the mother, revealed in the narratives of the grandmother, was as a nurturer, teaching her children values such as persistence, prudence, dedication, unselfishness, friendship, and protecting one’s reputation.

Just as gender distinction was revealed in the past by the kinds of adages used by the grandmother’s parents, there was also a difference in the kinds of adages used in parenting with daughters and sons.
Training Daughters

Traditionally daughters have been trained with adages related to home management for future female roles. "Time is gold" ("El tiempo es oro") was a very short adage used by the grandmother's mother, "So short!" ("¡Tan cortito!"). With a lot of emphasis in her voice she acknowledged her frequent use of this adage. The description of the occasion when the grandmother's mother used this adage illustrated interesting aspects of family life and the home organization. The traditional female role in the family at that time was portrayed in both generations, a responsible mother training her daughters to manage the home, preparing them for their future role as wives and mothers.

The grandmother recalled that in her family of origin, in spite of having maids to do all the household chores, each girl was assigned to a specific area for 1 month. Some of the chores included working in the kitchen or ironing their father's shirts and suits ("Nos daba tareas a nosotras de las cosas de casa. Por ejemplo, teníamos un mes, trabajaba una en la cocina, con empleadas que siempre había. Pero tenía que hacerse cargo de la cocina, una un mes, otra, otro mes, así. O planchar las camisas de papá o los ternos, es decir nos daba tareas de todas las cosas que había que hacer"). A teaching moment arose when the grandmother and her siblings were playing, running, or singing, instead of doing their chores. At that moment, their mother used to advise them with this adage, telling them that time was running, to do their own chores ("Entonces, muchas veces nos poníamos a jugar, a correetar, a cantar, y decía: "Hijitas: 'el tiempo es oro.' Se les va; trabajen, hagan las cosas, su tarea propia").

The adage, "Al que Dios le quiso, hombre le hizo" ("God made a male the one he
loved”), verbalized the cultural belief of male superiority in that society, including God’s preference for the male. This adage was used mainly by males, as the grandmother recalled hearing it used by her father, her grandfather, and her father-in-law, reflecting the gender bias in the grandmother’s times. She expressed her anger for that proposition, assuring me that she did not believe it. Her agitation was more evident when she recalled hearing it recently from her grandson’s high-school teacher. “Al que Dios le quiso, hombre le hizo,” was used by her father with his daughters, since it was considered that women had more risks, especially of premarital sex.

A related adage, “El hombre cae, pero siempre cae parado” (“A man falls, but he always falls on his feet”), supported gender bias favoring males, suggesting that men, even when they fall, do it standing on their feet. Justifying her father’s use of this adage with his daughters, the grandmother expressed her opinion that her father used to say this adage because of the benefits the males enjoyed in those times, such as being more protected and defended (“Pienso ... que papacito lo decía más que por el beneficio que le daba el ser hombre, ... que estaba más resguardado, más cuidado, más defendido, quizás por ser hombre”). Neither the mother nor the granddaughter addressed this issue in their descriptions of the use of adages in their time.

Advising Boys

The use of the adage “Juego de manos es de villanos” (“Hand games belong to villains”) in parenting revealed a difference in gender roles in childhood. It was frequently used in the grandmother’s family with the boys, to stop them when they were playing
roughly, as males do ("El momento en que había alguna cosita con los varones, era sobre
todo, con el juego de manos con los varoncitos. Allí les decía eso papá"). The
grandmother reported having often used this adage with her grandchildren to help them
understand limits in their relationship by avoiding rough play with their siblings, and to
learn to respect their space ("Hijitos, 'Juego de manos es de villanos.' Es un refrán que
ayuda a hacerles comprender que mejor es respetarse, no empujarse, no toparse con las
manos, sino tener la distancia correcta de respeto. Entonces así no pasa nada").

The grandmother said that the adage, "Quien ama el peligro, en él perece"
("Whoever loves danger dies by it"), was frequently used with sons to repress their
impetuosity and advise them to be prudent in their behavior. Her reasoning was that youth
are impulsive; they dare to do everything, and this way of talking to them restrained them
a little ("Me parece haberle oído yo, cuando hablaba con los . . . muchachos, con los hijos.
Porque cuando uno es joven, quiere . . . lanzarse a todo. Entonces le frenan un poquito
hablándole así").

Diminished Use of Adages in Modern Times

The three informants individually presented their view of a significant decrease in
the use of adages in each generation. From the grandmother's description of her parents'
frequent use of adages while she was growing up, followed by the narrative of her use of
adages in parenting her children and her grandchildren, the mother's lesser use of adages,
and the granddaughter's report, it is evident that adages were used less, not only in the
family, but in general.

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Adages were used mainly by the grandmother’s generation; she affirmed that people from her generation still use many adages ("Sí, yo veo que . . . sobretodo las personas más o menos de mi generación hablan mucho en refranes"). With excitement she recognized that she recently learned a new adage from one of her friends, while acknowledging that one could always learn new adages in spite of one’s age. "Lo poco espanta, lo mucho amansa" (The little thing frightens, a lot tames).

The informants’ reasons for the decreased use of adages have striking similarities. They blamed the societal changes that have affected family life. With less communication in the family, for lack of time, they reasoned, fewer adages are used and, as a consequence, values education has been neglected.

The Grandmother’s Viewpoint

The Grandmother’s opinion was based entirely on her own experience in parenting two generations. With great emphasis, she explained that the loss of values came from changes in the home, when the center of life was no longer the home. That change caused the loss of intimacy and warmth people used to experience at home. She noted that love, hope, illusion, and trust have been gradually lost with the disintegration of the family. People’s interests were focused outside the home ("Este hecho de que se cambió tanto la vida hacia afuera del hogar . . . Que se ha perdido esta intimidad, ese calor que había antes en donde se vivía. ¡Se bebía amor, esperanza, ilusión, confianza! Eso se ha ido perdiendo . . . porque se ha dispersado un poco la familia, con los intereses de afuera").

After describing the liberalism that took over in the 1960s and the 1970s, the
grandmother noted, with hope in her voice, that there is a current trend among younger parents to improve the situation and to recover those values that have been lost. She mentioned having heard this from the parents of her grandchildren’s classmates (“Aunque le puedo decir una cosa, que se está retomando esto. Yo siento que ya la gente va pensando y diciendo ‘¡No!’ Porque yo le hablo de las mamás de los compañeros de mis nietos, que son mujeres jóvenes. Y entonces están ellas en esa situación de no querer que siga sucediendo lo que hasta aquí ha sucedido”). She continued expressing with enthusiasm her delight in the new trend of rescuing values and pointed out that even the teachers were included in that new tendency (“¡Me encanta! ¡Me encanta! ¡Incluso con las maestras y todo!”).

The Mother’s Viewpoint

The mother also disclosed that the use of adages was more prevalent in the family circle of older generations, including mothers and grandmothers, who played a significant role in training their children. At the same time, she reported a decreased use of this practice in her generation: “Usually those who have used adages more are the older people, the grandmothers, the mothers. . . . But my social group, with my friends, they are not used too much” (“Generalmente los que más han usado refranes son las personas de más edad: las abuelitas, las mamás. . . . Pero en mi grupo social, con mis amistades, con amigas, no se usan mucho”). With sadness she said, “I think that a lot of that has been lost” (“Pienso que se ha perdido bastante de eso”).

She blamed this loss on the changes that have occurred in society, especially on the
lack of family togetherness. With emphasis and some mockery in her voice, she concluded that it had become a “real luxury” to have the family together and have conversations about different subjects on a given day or on the weekend (“Porque realmente . . . todas las situaciones han cambiado. . . . Primero, la familia casi ya no se reúne. Bueno, digamos, en un día, en un fin de semana, se puede dar el lujo de reunir la familia y de conversar de varios temas diferentes, pero no siempre”). With some nostalgia in her voice she mentioned the different schedules, the long distances from home to work or to school, and television as some of the reasons for the lack of time that had destroyed family togetherness (“Y entre semana, desgraciadamente, también la familia se ha partido. O sea, las distancias, los trabajos, los colegios, que son a distintos horarios, entonces ya no hay el tiempo. Hay, desgraciadamente la televisión, hay las grandes distancias, que ya no se pueden reunir como antes”).

With sorrow she admitted that the family had been fragmented, not being together even for the meals (“Digo, se ha partido la familia: unos, almuerzan juntos; otros, cenan juntos, y . . . ya no hay oportunidad de estar juntos permanentemente”). For that reason there is now less opportunity for using adages. Besides, she noted, adages were no longer used at family gatherings (“No, no se usan dichos, realmente. No se acostumbra ya mayormente eso”). Her deduction suggested that adages were reserved for training children, which was done in the intimacy of the small family, and were not used in shallow conversations during family gatherings.

Another reason the mother pointed out for the decreased use of adages in the family in modern times was parental neglect of children’s moral training. With a mix of
anger and disapproval in her voice she addressed the problem of parents in her generation
deleaging that responsibility to the schools, just paying the tuition while doing nothing at home (“Yo pienso que . . . la gente mucho se ha despreocupado de la enseñanza de los
chicos . . . . Más bien dicho . . . piensan que los chicos deben ir al colegio a aprender, y se
pagan pensiones caras . . . . ¡Y con eso está hecho todo! Y en la casa . . . nada que ver”).

The mother emphasized that she did not include herself in the description of her
generation. The reason for considering herself as an exception was that she had a different
kind of home and parents, as she explained, remembering how her mother was among the
few who used to go to her school to inquire about her children’s education, always being
concerned about her children’s whereabouts (“O sea, yo me acuerdo que había una gran
diferencia entre la preocupación que mi mamá tenía por ir al colegio a averiguar por
nosotros, y por estar pendiente de todos nuestros pasos. Prácticamente, era de las pocas
mamás que iban”).

The Granddaughter’s Viewpoint

The granddaughter also reported a decreased use of adages in her generation. She
admitted that adages were used during the day in the work environment and also at the
university she attended, but not often (“Pero en el día . . . en el ambiente del trabajo y en la
universidad . . . también se usan un poco”). She recalled that adages were heard frequently
in high school from her classmates, not from her female teachers (“Cuando estaba en el
colegio . . . sí oía bastante. A mis compañeras . . . más a mis compañeras. A las
profesoras, no creo”). The source of her friends’ adages, she believed, was their home.
The decrease of use of adages in the two previous generations was evident in the granddaughter’s acknowledgment that her mother, whom she recognized as the one who used to say adages in her family, did not use them too much anymore (“Pero . . . últimamente, ya no es que dicen mucho . . . Mi mami, que es la que decía . . . ya no creo que dice mucho”). She included her grandmother in her report of the declining use of adages (“A mi abuelita también le he oído, pero ya no mucho tampoco ahora. No sé si antes usaría más. . . . Mi abuelito, casi nada”).

The granddaughter also confirmed the mother’s data about the use of adages in her family, saying that adages were not being used in her family during the week because of busy schedules of the family members. She indicated that adages may have been used on the weekends at the dinner table when her family got together to eat and talk, since her family arrived at home too late to eat together every night (“En la mesa, por ejemplo, cuando comemos. Es el único sitio que estamos juntos. . . . De noche tampoco es que comamos juntos. Porque como llegamos muy tarde . . .”).

Her explanation of the reasons for the declining use of adages in the family was focused on the fact that society was losing values by failing to recognize the importance of the family (“La familia . . . es la razón, pero . . . a mí me parece que la . . . sociedad está perdiendo . . . los valores que tenía antes . . . y como que le dan menos importancia a eso”). With conviction in her voice, she stated that the importance of values in society has been shifted to material goods (“Y . . . se ha ido la importancia a otras cosas . . . tal vez a las materiales”). As a consequence, the transmission of values in the family had been neglected for lack of time (“Entonces tal vez no sea tanto . . . el descuido de transmitir los..."
valores morales sino que . . . ¡como ya no hay tiempo para la familia y ya no se transmite!

She reasoned that technology should not be blamed for the loss of family togetherness since technology should advance with people’s lives. She instead blamed it on people who had begun to have more interest in machines than in people (“No hay que culpar a la tecnología, porque la tecnología tiene que ir de la mano con lo que uno hace hacia Dios y hacia el prójimo. . . . Pero un poco como que ya . . . a la gente le empieza a interesar más las máquinas que el hombre, por decir”). Without hesitation she identified computers as the machines that had been taking the place of people. She concluded that the natural consequence of technology’s replacing human labor with machines was that human contact was being lost. This lost contact includes the use of adages.

All three informants bemoaned the decreased use of adages in the family. They saw the use of adages in parenting as one of the victims of modern hurried life and the concern with material things and machines. They concluded that perhaps people who live in the country had more time to communicate with the family and adages might be used more often by them.

Factors That Contribute to the Effectiveness of Transmission of Values Through Adages

Information received from the women of the three generations of Ecuadorian families showed that several factors contribute to the effectiveness of transmission of values with adages. Prominent among these factors are the didactic nature of adages, their relevance, and the close and cooperative environment in which they are used.
The Didactic Nature of Adages

Adages are small didactic messages. The grandmother noted this characteristic of adages used in teaching ("En cierta forma, estos refranes son mensajes pequeñitos que están enseñando muchas veces").

The messages transmitted in adages are easily assimilated. The grandmother pointed this out in a short sentence: "What is being said reaches you easily" ("A usted le llega fácilmente lo que el refrán le dice"). This concept was explained as the reason why the messages in adages are promptly perceived. "It is preferable to say something short, something very small that can be grasped, right?" ("Es preferible decir algo corto, algo pequeñito, pero que capte ¿no?").

The short messages of adages impact the listener. They are not only readily acquired but they sink into the listener’s consciousness. An adage "has a very short message, very . . . very impacting!" ("Tiene un mensaje muy corto, ¡muy impactante!"). This perception was confirmed as the grandmother described the reasons for the use of the adage, "De tal palo, tal astilla" ("A chip off the old block"), and unconsciously delineated some significant didactic aspects of adages. She pointed out: "It seems to me that the adage, as I said a while ago, is so strong! It impacts!" ("A mí me parece que el refrán, como le decía hace un rato, también ¡es fuerte! ¡es impactante!").

Values transmitted by adages are internalized. Speaking of this teaching aspect of adages, the grandmother summed up her ideas in one statement: "It sticks! It remains engraved in one’s mind!" ("¡Que le queda! ¡Que se le graba a uno!").

Adages are said naturally as part of the conversation. Many adages were reported
to have been used at home during daily activities in family interactions in a normal manner, as part of the conversation. One of the places that promoted values education was the dinner table during daily family gatherings.

Adages are used frequently. The continual use of adages to teach values in the grandmother’s family of origin suggests a customary practice in the family. She recalled this adage, "Juego de manos es de villanos" ("Hand games belong to villains"). She acknowledged its frequent use by saying, “Yes. With a lot of frequency, because we were 12 siblings, therefore, . . . even though we used to get along, often we were all together and began to play roughly, and Dad used to say it to stop us so we would not get involved in something serious” (“Sí, con mucha frecuencia, porque como fuimos doce hermanos, entonces . . . a pesar de que nos llevábamos, muchas veces estábamos juntos todos y empezábamos con los juegos un poco bruscos, un poco groseros y papá hablaba de eso enseguida para detenernos y que no lleguemos de gana a un disgusto posiblemente”).

Relevance of Adages

Adages used are generally appropriate to the occasion. Discussing the adage "A palabras necias, oídos sordos" (To foolish words, deaf ears), the grandmother revealed one of the meaningful characteristics of adages, which is being appropriate for the occasion. She said, “It is a fitting adage, isn’t it?” (“Es un refrán muy bien puestito ¿no?”). She used the same phrase to describe the adage “En boca del mentiroso, lo cierto se hace dudoso” (“In the liar’s mouth truth becomes doubtful”).

The mother also acknowledged appropriate adages coming to mind to be applied
to the right circumstances. She labeled a particular adage as "perfect," meaning that it was the perfect one to be applied to that particular situation ("El rato en que estamos viviendo una circunstancia, pienso en el refrán ¡y viene perfecto!").

Because adages are adaptable, they can be personalized, making their application more meaningful. Quite often in the interviews the flexibility of adages was manifested. While the content of the adage remained intact, its words were modified to apply to human experience, therefore becoming more personal and meaningful. The words of this adage, "¡Le agarraron con las manos en la masa!" ("Caught with the hands in the dough"), were personalized in the description of its meaning. "When somebody is caught doing something, right? He is discovered and then . . . he is caught with his hands in the dough" ("Cuando es descubierta una persona en cualquier cosa ¿no? Le descubren y entonces . . . está ¡agarrado con las manos en la masa!").

Familiar adages are common knowledge within the culture. Well-known adages are used in parenting to facilitate understanding of parental advice. Cultural belief carried by adages enhances the soundness of the message. Such was the case of the value of the experience of the elderly, as it was exposed in the grandmother's long explanation of the value enclosed in this adage, "Más sabe el diablo por viejo que por diablo" ("The devil knows more from being old than from being the devil"). This referred to "the value of experience, of knowing the value of the older ones ("¡El valor de la experiencia! . . . de conocer el valor de los mayores ¿no?").

The familiar adages were flexible enough to provide for important teaching moments. Family interaction continually provided numerous occasions when parental
counsel was needed. The grandmother's parents took advantage of those opportunities to impart values education with the use of adages. This could be at the dinner table when open communication encouraged the children to talk. If criticism arose, parents used an adage to advise their children to have an attitude of charity toward others. They might say, "No hay que echar más leña al fuego" ("Don't add more wood to the fire").

Closeness and Cooperation

The informants, especially the grandmother, made it clear that the closeness of parents to children, cooperation between parents, and cooperation among home and school and church contributed to the effectiveness of teaching values through the use of adages.

Closeness Between Parents and Children

A close relationship of parents with their children is a significant factor in the transmission of values through adages. Information provided in the interviews showed that bonding allowed the channels of communication to be open for values to reach the young minds in the form of adages. The grandmother testified of her own experience when she affirmed that she had a good relationship with her parents, to whose advice she listened with respect.

Such a relationship facilitates the assimilation of values. Important aspects of this close relation are the use of endearments, consistency in the parents' life, and the children's acceptance of their parents' values.
The use of endearments

The grandmother repeatedly stated that her parents always treated their children with love, even when they disciplined them. On those occasions adages were frequently used, and their impact was confirmed by the grandmother, who acknowledged that she remembered the parental advice given and not the punishment. Both of her parents unconsciously communicated their concern for their children by using a common loving term, *hijitos* (little children), and the endearing diminutive “Laurita,” which were often used before they advised with adages. This suggested that the counsel was given with love, desiring the best for their children. Those terms used just before saying the adage with the value enclosed also acted as attention getters, preparing the child to listen for the counsel.

Parental consistency in modeling values

Modeling, as living the values that are being taught, is vital to the transmission of values. Consistency in one’s life provides the moral authority to advise others while confirming the effectiveness of those values in their own experience.

The importance of modeling was confirmed by the grandmother when she acknowledged that the transmission of values took place with this adage, “La pereza es madre de todos los vicios” (“Laziness is the mother of all vices”). The teaching was done with love and was supported by her father who modeled what he preached. He taught his children to work by participating in work in the family orchard, at the same time encouraging family unity by working together.
The instruction given through adages was reinforced by the grandmother’s father’s life. He revealed the gospel by living the principles he was trying to teach. He lived a practical religion and taught that philosophy of life to his children through his example and with the use of adages. The adage “Con la vara que midas, serás medido” (“With the ruler that you measure, you will be measured”) was used to stop the children from criticizing other people. Because her father lived a practical religion, she could say: “For that reason I tell you that I learned the gospel through my father!” (“Por eso le digo: El evangelio yo lo conocí a través de mi padre!”).

Another adage used by her father, this one to teach an attitude of hope in hard times, was “Tras la tempestad, viene la calma” (“After the storm comes the calm”). She remembered always admiring her father’s strength and the way he always took away their anguish. His children believed what their father said was true and waited with patience for hardships to pass.

With a life of integrity and consistency, her parents modeled a parenting method that combined love and discipline. They did not give oral instructions on how to parent; they lived those principles. The grandmother learned through their example and repeated in her family the same loving treatment of her children and grandchildren.

Children’s acceptance of their parents’ values

“Más pronto se le coge al mentiroso que al ladrón” (“A liar is caught sooner than a thief”). This adage was frequently used at the grandmother’s home while she was growing up and revealed an important factor in the transmission of values. The children’s
trust in their parents generated belief in those values and an attitude of respect for and
obedience to their advice. “Spending 15 years with the marvelous persons that my parents
were showed us that they deserved respect and obedience” (“Por el hecho de haber ya
transcurrido 15 años al lado de unos seres maravillosos, como fueron mis padres, . . . a
quienes más se les creía, se veía que se merecían más respeto, más obediencia”).

As a natural consequence of that attitude of respect and trust toward the parent
who was advising, the children were ready to pay attention to the counsel given with the
adage and to accept its advice “because there was that attention, that devotion to our
father” (“¡Porque era también esa atención, esa devoción a papá!”).

Because the children listened to their parents, they also obeyed. When the father
used the adage with the children who were playing roughly, “Juego de manos es de
villanos” (“Hand games is of villains”), the boys’ reaction was to obey, showing respect
for the father’s advice. “They stopped wrestling among themselves, because actually they
were very respectful of our father’s recommendations” (“Dejaban de jugar así, porque en
realidad eran muy respetuosos a las recomendaciones de papá”).

Parents’ Cooperation

Throughout the interviews there was consistent information about the parenting of
the grandmother’s parents. She reflected on her mother’s role in supporting her husband’s
effort while using the same method of parenting with adages. In the first interview the
grandmother reported having learned the value taught by the adage “Del árbol caído,
todos hacen leña” (“From a fallen tree everyone makes fire wood”) from her father. In the
second interview she acknowledged this adage was her mother’s ("Este no, éste es de mamá"). She also reported having learned this adage’s value from both parents, suggesting a congruent parenting practice.

Parental partnership in value education was also evident in the grandmother’s report of the adages her parents used which, although different, supported each other with the same values. Her father used to encourage his children to be responsible students, advising them “not to go to sleep on their laurels” ("Dormirse en los laureles"). She recalled her father using this adage often during examination week, demanding that they study ("Si, en el tiempo de estudios. . . . Siempre que estábamos en tiempo de exámenes y todo. Nos exigía: 'Estudien chicos. ¡Todo el mundo a estudiar! No hay que 'Dormirse en los laureles'"). Her mother used other adages like, "A Dios rogando y con el mazo dando" ("Praying to God while pounding with the mallet"), and "La constancia vence lo que la dicha no alcanza" ("Constancy overcomes that which happiness cannot reach"). Both parents taught the value of being good students while they helped the children with their homework.

Cooperation between Home and School

The cooperation of parents and teachers in moral education was evident in the grandmother’s childhood. Referring to the discipline they received at home, she remembered that they were treated very well, recognizing that there were times that her parents scolded their children and sometimes they gave them a little swat ("Si bien es cierto que jamás nos pegó papá o mamá ¡nos trataban tan bien! A veces ¡claro! había su
reprensión y a veces su fuetacito”).

The adage “La letra con sangre entra” (“Learning enters with blood”) was used by parents and teachers (“Pues ¡no solo los papás, sino los maestros!”). The value of commitment to study, to become somebody, was transmitted with this adage used at home and at school.

**Cooperation between Home and Church**

Some biblical passages used as adages in parenting revealed that home and church were partners in the transmission of values. Biblical passages used at church and repeated at home reinforced the learning of values. The grandmother identified “Dar a César lo que es de César y a Dios lo que es de Dios” (“Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s”) as being in the Bible, and recalled having heard it often in the preaching of the gospel at Mass. She recalled having learned it from her father who used to say it to his children to teach them justice, to always act with justice. (“Bueno, esto es otra cosa que está en la Biblia: “Dar a César lo que es de César y a Dios lo que es de Dios.” Eso también he aprendido de papá. Porque siempre nos decía eso, claro que en la Misa se escuchaba mucho, en la predicación del Evangelio. Pero especialmente hablando de que así seamos justos”).

The grandmother’s explanation of the use of another biblical passage as an adage in her family of origin confirmed that the Catholic Church was also an active participant in transmission of values that was strengthened at home. She recognized another biblical passage, “To look at the straw in someone else’s eye and not the beam in one’s own eye”,

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as an adage often used by her mother to teach her children not to criticize people ("Mirar la paja en el ojo ajeno y no la viga en el propio. Eso está también en la Biblia ¿no? Y también la mamita usaba mucho ése . . . Es en realidad un consejo para no criticar a la gente"). The source of this adage she learned from her mother was reported to be the Catholic Church where she was an active member ("A través de la iglesia, porque la mamacita sí ha sido muy . . . practicante, católica practicante. Ella iba siempre . . . por eso es que nosotros tenemos también toda esa escuela").

The frequent use of these biblical passages at church and then repeated at home as common adages teaching the same values confirmed the unified efforts of home and church in transmission of values. In the grandmother's description, the home and the church were blended together in the intricate process of teaching and learning of values, with each institution unconsciously supporting the other in that effort.

**Summary**

Chapter 4 has presented theoretical aspects of the transmission of values through the use of adages. The informants' descriptions of the use of adages revealed some significant aspects of adages, such as their definition, sources, classification, and the values transmitted through adages. The process of the transmission of values in the family was also delineated, revealing that the use of adages as a traditional unconscious method. Relevant adages were used with different ages from childhood, through adolescence and even with young adults. This chapter emphasized the factors that contributed to the effectiveness of the use of adages in the transmission of values.
Chapter 5 will analyze the values transmitted with the adages reported as used in this process in the three-generation Ecuadorian family. These included diligence, justice, to preserve one’s reputation, respect and appreciation to elders, faith, work, gratitude, wisdom, courage, endurance, moderation, love, compassion, friendship, honesty, temperance, caution, and responsibility.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF VALUES TRANSMITTED THROUGH ADAGES
IN AN ECUADORIAN FAMILY

This research reveals that well-known adages used in parenting convey a diversity of values that constitute a solid moral foundation for children, to prepare them to encounter the tests of life. Some specific values are taught to reinforce the training of children to deal with relationships. In this study, some of the values taught through adages were transmitted over three generations. A larger number was transmitted only from one generation to another.

Values Transmitted Over Three Generations

This study focuses on three generations--grandmother, mother, and granddaughter--mindful that some adages came from earlier generations. The grandmother confirmed the transmission of adages in her family, tracing them to two previous generations. She acknowledged that she had kept the adages her parents used and that she was also transmitting them to her children ("Todo el tiempo oía refranes de parte de mi madre y de mi padre. Yo creo que éses son los que yo guardo ahora y les transmito también a mis hijos"). She believed that her parents learned the adages from their parents, recalling hearing her grandparents use them ("Justamente a mi padre y a mi madre. Sí,
siempre les he oído a ellos, porque ellos deben haber oído también a sus padres ¿no? Que les enseñaban así").

She suggested that the use of adages was common in parenting ("Eso se ha dicho siempre ¿no?"). Later, she confirmed having heard her grandparents use all these adages she had considered as coming from her parents ("¡De sus padres!; porque yo conocí a mis abuelos, lógicamente, y a ellos también les oía todos estos refranes que yo estoy hablando como de mis padres).

Teaching Responsibility and Application to Study
Adage: "Date fama y échate a la cama"
(Get fame and go to bed)

The Grandmother

This adage implies that one has to put all efforts into acquiring a good reputation. Once that it is accomplished, a person can relax and enjoy the consequences of the good name acquired. The grandmother’s experience with this adage goes back to her childhood when her father used it with his children. Using her father’s words and imitating his authoritarian tone of voice, she described him as admonishing his children with these words and commanding them to study ("Eso nos decía mucho papá: ‘Están ustedes ‘Dándose fama y echándose a la cama’ ¡Háganse el favor de estudiar como es debido! ¡Estudien! ¡Estudien!’"). She said that her father used this adage to teach the children not to be careless once a good reputation had been achieved, implying that it was necessary to continue making efforts to keep it ("Pero yo decía en el sentido en que papá siempre hablaba, ‘date fama y échate a la cama’ En el sentido de que se dio fama y, bueno.

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¡entonces, ya no importaba nada! Y eso no está bien, ¿no?”. “He always said it with a deep sense of duty, trying to improve life. He taught us to always improve” (“Papá siempre decía con ese sentimiento profundo de tratar de mejorar la vida. Nos enseñó eso: que siempre hay que ser mejores”).

The grandmother’s interpretation of this adage broadened its application from school to life. She believed this adage could carry a negative message if a person misbehaves secretly after achieving a good reputation (“Digamos que le des un mensaje que puede ser negativo si la persona no obra correctamente ¿no? Porque muchos sí se han dado fama y se han echado a la cama. Y ya tienen fama de buenos estudiantes ¡y se acabó! O tienen fama de buenas personas y mientras tanto están haciendo cosas indebidas por debajo”). She suggested the need to meditate about the meaning of this adage (“Entonces sí, es una cosa que también hay que meditarla ¿no?”).

The impact of this adage on being a responsible student, a value learned at home in her childhood, was personally experienced by the grandmother in her adolescent years in high school. She described in detail how the first day of class she impressed a tough teacher by answering his questions correctly. After that, she said, she gained a reputation for being a good student, and that teacher left her alone (“Y este refrán me cayó tan bien a mí en una ocasión, cuando yo estudiaba en el colegio. Había un profesor muy fuerte, muy enérgico. En la primera clase que tuvimos con él, preguntó ciertas cosas y yo le di unas respuestas correctas ¡Pues me di fama! Y no me tomaba más lecciones ni nada. Y veía que yo era una muchacha que estudiaba; era una buena alumna. ¡Pero ya me di fama con él! Y no me eché a la cama, ¡desde luego!; ¡pero es ésa la situación!”).
Experiencing the efficacy of adages in her own life, the grandmother repeated her father’s parenting method. She reported frequently using this adage with the same purpose and in the same manner as her father.

The Mother

Although the mother did not recall her mother using this adage, she recognized its applicability in her own parenting. The transmission of the adage’s value was revealed with the mother’s increased awareness of her use of adages in parenting. She admitted always having used this adage with her older daughter (the other informant in this study) to teach her to be a good student and to reap the benefits later ("Bueno, con Laura siempre usaba éste que dice: 'Date fama, y échate a la cama' Que mientras más buena alumna era en el colegio, sería mejor para ella después, más fácil"). Her strong belief in adages was reinforced by the fact that this adage was fulfilled in her daughter’s life ("¡Y así ha sido!").

The Granddaughter

The granddaughter confirmed the transmission of values to the third generation by recalling her mother always saying this adage to her when she was in primary school. She reasoned that parents paid more attention during those years to the teaching of their children. She said the children were more responsible with their homework as they matured, feeling that since they were older they had to set a good example for the younger ones ("Digamos que... uno era todavía de primaria y como que le veían más, le ponían más atención. Pero ya después uno era más responsable de sus deberes, de sus cosas y ya."")
¡Uno se sentía la grande del colegio! Y que tenía que dar ejemplo a las de los primeros cursos). She acknowledged learning the value by becoming a very good student and experiencing the benefits of her reputation even in high school.

She suggested that this training seemed to have started in her primary school years. Her mother used this adage to explain the benefits of being responsible in school would bring to her. Once her reputation as a good student was established, she could enjoy the trust people had in her and relax without pressures (“Ella me decía cuando yo estaba en la primaria, que cuando uno estudia y estudia ya se hace la fama de que uno es responsable. Después la gente confía en uno y le deja tranquilo”).

The granddaughter revealed that her mother always used the adage when she was in primary school, but not after that. Those were crucial years when the habit of studying and being responsible with her school work needed to be established. Repetition of the adage encouraged the internalization of these values which were strengthened by years of practice. The acquisition of these values was perhaps demonstrated in her responsible behavior and performance at school (“Si me he acordado de eso, pero ahora ella ya no usa. Pero cuando yo estudiaba, sí me acuerdo que siempre me decía ése”).

Later, when she began to study at the university, she experienced the need to apply this adage again. She realized that in that new environment she had to start all over to build up a good reputation as a good student (“¡Pero ya en la universidad ya es otra cosa totalmente distinta y uno tiene que empezar de cero y puesto que nadie le conoce y nada! Sí, al menos los primeros años, porque como es una vida nueva. . . .”). Once she acquired a good name among her university teachers, she relaxed, confirming again what the adage
taught.

This adage, with its value, was transmitted through three generations, which believed in and experienced the benefits. The grandmother and granddaughter reported experiencing its benefits in their lives as students, while the mother recognized the truth of the adage in her daughter’s life as a student.

Justice and Service
Adage: “Dar al César lo que es del César”
(Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s)

The Grandmother

This adage teaches one to be fair to others by acknowledging their merits and efforts to achieve something. The grandmother recalled learning this adage from her father, who used it to teach his children to always act with justice (“Eso también he aprendido de papá. Porque siempre nos decía eso, pero especialmente hablando de que así seamos justos ¿no?”). She also heard it in Mass at church, in the preaching of the Gospel (“Claro que en la Misa se escuchaba mucho, en la predicación del Evangelio. ¿no?”). The home and the church worked together in values education, each institution supporting each other.

Her father reinforced the values in adages like this by his example of generosity in helping others and caring for those in need. A deep understanding of the meaning of the values taught by these adages came to her with maturity, when she saw the necessity of helping those in need (“Porque en ese entonces yo no comprendía todas las sentencias estas. Ahora comprendo, ya cuando crecí, cuando maduré, y cuando vi que en realidad..."
hay que dar la mano al que necesita”). She concluded that this adage fit her father well ("Pienso, pues, por ejemplo, que este refrán le quedaba tan bien ‘Dar a César lo que es de César y a Dios lo que es de Dios’. Porque le daba al prójimo, se le debería dar cuando necesitaba ¿no?’"). She, in turn, applied this adage as her father did.

The Mother

The mother recognized this adage as a religious one she had found in her Bible reading. She also recognized it as a commonly used adage among the people. While her interpretation of the value was similar to the grandmother’s in teaching the value of justice to others, it differs slightly by focusing on the justice in recognizing other people’s virtues and accomplishments in life. She did not recall specific occasions when she had used it in parenting, but acknowledged using it in general.

The Granddaughter

The granddaughter recalled her mother using this adage when she was an adolescent, and acknowledged that her mother still used it frequently ("Sí, sabe usar con frecuencia"). While explaining the circumstances in which her mother used this adage, she revealed the purpose of the adage: to teach her children to do justice to others by recognizing their merits and efforts to accomplish things ("Cuando alguien hacía algo bien por ejemplo, y supóngase se decía que esa persona no tenía méritos, entonces ella decía: ‘Dar a César lo que es de César’, como reconociendo que sí, esta vez, sí puso empeño").

Her personal interpretation of this adage’s value was similar to her mother’s. to do justice to others by recognizing their merits. The granddaughter explained that this well-
known passage facilitates understanding of the message (Como todo el mundo conoce ¿no? ‘Dad a César lo que es de César’, ese pasaje, significa dar a cada persona lo que le corresponde ¿no? Y porque uno así habla más claramente porque uno no puede darse cuenta, de otro modo, ¿no? Entonces con el refrán, sí’).

This same adage, which used at home by her mother to teach justice and respect to others, was also heard at her Catholic school as a biblical passage in the religion classes (“Nos daban clases de religión, citando pasajes bíblicos”).

A Good Reputation
Adage: “Cuando el río suena, piedras trae”
(When the river is noisy, it carries stones)
(Where there’s smoke there’s fire)

The Grandmother

The adage implies that rumors about a person have some truth, for that reason the advice is given to protect one’s reputation, which is an important value in the culture. The grandmother learned this adage from her father, recalling that he used it at home, with all his children, when people gossiped, to teach them to be careful with their behavior and to take care of their prestige (“Por ejemplo se hablaba de que alguna cosa había pasado con alguna persona, o algo. Papá sí decía: ‘No hay que hablar mucho de los demás y hay que cuidarse, porque ‘cuando el río suena, piedras trae’. Entonces podría ser verdad lo que estaban diciendo, entonces, hay que cuidarse”).

The grandmother interpreted the value saying that the advice given could be applied to oneself and to friendships. One should not give any opportunity for one’s good name to be marred by criticism since what other people say is important (“Hay que
cuidarse del ‘qué dirán’”. It could also apply to the importance of choosing good friends. One’s reputation can be damaged by association with someone whose character has been blemished by gossip, since there might be some truth in what is said (“Bueno, pienso que de los dos lados ¿no? El cuidar de otra persona, de mirar a otra persona de quien están hablando mal, que a lo mejor, puede ser cierto o puede no ser cierto. pero ‘Cuando el río suena, piedras trae.’ Y cuidarse uno también. Porque cualquier cosita que uno dé para que hable la gente de uno también puede llevar esa idea”). Her explanation of the adage included the importance of consistency in what one is and what one does (“Entonces uno tiene que tratar de mantener una imagen correcta. Es muy importante siempre que sea coherente con el proceder. Porque también hay gente que tiene una linda fachada ¡pero qué tendremos por dentro! Lo importante es ser coherente ¿no es cierto? ¡Ser limpio! ¡Síncero! ¡Puro por dentro! Pero para demostrar principalmente”). While explaining the importance of achieving consistency between one’s good reputation and behavior, she recalled a related adage she had learned at high school, perhaps from a teacher, to advise about the importance of being good and demonstrating it in one’s behavior. “¿La esposa del rey no sólo debe ser sino parecer!” (The king’s wife should not only be but also appear”). She explained that the king’s wife needs to have a good image (“Porque en realidad, no por ser la esposa del rey podrá hacer lo que quiera, sino que tendrá que mantener una imagen correcta”).

The Mother

The mother did not recall her mother using this adage, but assumed that she did.
She also believed that she must have learned it at home. As a mother, she admitted being concerned about the welfare of her children in all aspects. She acknowledged using this adage with her children, advising them to protect their name by behaving in all circumstances according to the principles by which they were raised. Being aware of the power of peer pressure, especially among youth, she trusted the good judgment of her children in choosing friends with a good moral character that would be a healthy influence on them. She concluded that this adage was important since it is very difficult to stop the damage rumors can do to a person’s name.

The Granddaughter

The granddaughter could not remember where she learned this adage, but assumed that she learned it at home. She admitted that this was an adage she used very often ("Yo sé usar uno que dice: ‘Cuando el río suena, piedras trae’"). Her interpretation of it was similar to her grandmother’s and mother’s. She explained that rumors about abnormal behavior of a particular person usually had elements of truth ("O sea, cuando una persona actúa de tal forma o hace tal cosa y entonces uno ya ve que no es normal. Entonces como parece que está pasando algo, es porque algo se trae entre manos"). She explained that this adage could also be used among the youth when one of their group started acting strangely, separating herself from the group, and rumors about her began to circulate. She concluded by stressing the importance of having a good reputation and behaving correctly everywhere: at home and among her friends.
Respect and Appreciation for Elders
Adage: "Más sabe el diablo por viejo que por diablo"
(The devil knows more from being old
than from being the devil)

The Grandmother

The adage highlights the importance of the elders’ experience which gives them authority to teach younger generations. This well-known adage was learned by the grandmother from her father ("Más sabe el diablo por viejo que por diablo’ Que ése hemos de haber oído todo el mundo"). The adage’s comparison of the devil with a person made the grandmother laugh ("Sí, porque en realidad a mí me dan risa todas estas comparaciones . . . Porque en realidad al diablo le comparamos con una persona"). She explained the meaning of the adage by emphasizing the wisdom the elders have for having lived long. Therefore, their opinion should be considered. She ended with emphasis and with a laugh, concluding that the devil does not know because he is a devil, but because he is old ("En realidad, la actitud de los mayores es algo que sí se debe tomar en cuenta. Porque un hombre que ha vivido, sea como sea, él ha aprendido ya, y ha aprendido mucho. Y hay que darle ese valor ¿no? ¡Porque no es que sea por diablo, sino por viejo!"). She concluded that the value transmitted by this adage was the appreciation of the experience of older people ("¡El valor de la experiencia! Este de conocer el valor de los mayores").

The grandmother considered elders to be a hidden treasure. For that reason it was very important to listen to them and to take advantage of their experience. She concluded that their experience was being lost while it could still be utilized ("Me parece que es muy
The grandmother acknowledged her frequent use of this adage in parenting to teach the young people the value of listening to their elders. Based on her experience, she also recognized the advantage of this effective method over the futile traditional style of admonishing youth with long “discourses.”

**The Mother**

The mother was convinced that the adage is true as it was transmitted to her. She acknowledged that it was one she used the most, and related her belief that experience is the best school, the best university that teaches people daily (“¡Que ya me doy cuenta que realmente los años son la mejor escuela, la mejor universidad. La experiencia, el vivir, le enseña a uno cada día. ¡Cada día!”). She concluded that one never ceases to learn (“Uno no acaba de aprender nunca”). She was convinced that youngsters should realize that elders could teach them and guide them with their experience (“Aprendería que la persona mayor ¡sabe más que él! Definitivamente, y le puede enseñar, y guiar”). She identified the values this adage teaches to younger generations as respect for the elderly, consideration towards them, and appreciation for their wisdom (“El respeto a la persona mayor: la consideración, la importancia que debe tener para él”).

The mother reacted as the grandmother did by laughing at what she classified as a humorous adage. She also laughed when remembering the occasion she applied the lesson
of this adage to her adolescent children who thought they knew everything about life
(“Realmente me causa risa, porque yo aplico para cuando las chicas, o mis hijos en
general, creen, a veces en la adolescencia, o cuando ya están más grandes . . . creen que
saben todo acerca de la vida”). By personifying this adage, she was comparing herself with
the devil while trying to teach her adolescent children that she knew more than they do by
having lived longer (“Y . . . realmente en este caso, yo me vendría a comparar con el
diablo. Porque lo que les estoy tratando de decir es que yo sé más que ellos, porque tengo
más años, porque ya pasé y ya viví”).

The Granddaughter

The granddaughter remembered her mother using this adage frequently to teach
her and her siblings to respect and appreciate the elders’ experience, and to gain
experience themselves that would help them the rest of their life. She believed that mainly
older people use this adage with youngsters. She considered this an important value since
elders have lived longer and have learned a lot, concluding that younger generations
should learn from them.

Transmission of values Over Two Generations:
   From the Grandmother to the Mother

The largest number of values transmitted over two generations was conveyed from
the grandmother to the mother. A smaller number involved the mother and the
granddaughter and one was transmitted from the grandmother to the granddaughter.
Faith and Work
Adage: "A Dios rogando y con el mazo dando"
(Praying to God while pounding with the mallet)

The Grandmother

The adage stresses the balance between faith in God and one’s efforts to accomplish things. It was transmitted from the grandmother’s mother to the grandmother. The grandmother’s experience with this adage goes back to her childhood when she heard her mother frequently using it to encourage her children to do their homework (“A Dios rogando y con el mazo dando’ era especialmente de mamita. Yo le he oído mucho a mamá éste. . . porque ella era la que algunas veces nos ayudaba en alguna cosa de la escuela, del colegio, y entonces nos decía así”).

The grandmother internalized the adage’s value as was reflected in her conviction of the importance of one’s commitment to working together with God. She identified the adage as a prayer, an attitude of acknowledging the presence of God in one’s life (“Digamos como . . . una oración ¿no? Una actitud, que Dios siempre tiene que estar presente en nuestra vida”). She considered the adage to be mainly good advice to work and pray (“A Dios rogando y con el mazo dando’. ¡Ese es más como un buen consejo! Cierto es que hay que pedirle a Dios, pero nosotros tenemos que poner toda nuestra humanidad al servicio de Él, para que pueda obrar en nosotros”).

The benefits she experienced from this adage all her life were reflected in her appreciation of it. She labeled it as a very pretty adage while acknowledging that it had been helpful to her since she was very young (“Este me parece muy lindo Es una cosa que siempre me sirvió muchísimo a mí. Porque siempre yo fui religiosa. ¡Desde chiquita!”).
Her perception of this adage's efficiency in her own life encouraged her to continue using it with the same purpose she learned from her mother. The transmission of the method of parenting with adages was evident in her use of this adage with her children and with other people as “good advice” to work together with God. She reported using it with many people who had blind faith and prayed to God but did nothing. She emphasized that one has to work and be an instrument in the Lord’s hands (“Yo mucho he utilizado con personas que tienen una fe ciega porque no están centrándose en lo que es el mundo . . . No, es que hay que pedirle a Dios, hay que estar uno al pie del cañón, como se llama. ¡Trabajando! ¡Haciendo lo que se le está pidiendo al Señor! ‘Yo soy tu instrumento, pero ¡ayúdame! ¡Aquí estoy!’ Entonces, ‘a Dios rogando y con el mazo dando’”).

The Mother

The transmission was accomplished by the mother’s internalization of the value taught by the adage, as she explained with the assurance that she was speaking the truth. She considered that this adage, “Praying to God and pounding with the mallet,” taught that work is very important (“Enseña muchísimo: que el trabajo es muy importante”). With deep conviction she personalized the teaching of this adage, the combination of prayer and human effort, making it her own. Being a religious, working lady, she testified with her life that she had practiced the values she believed (“Básicamente, lo que yo entiendo aquí es que a Dios no hay que pedirle milagros. ‘A Dios rogando’ indica que hay que orar, y pedirle. Pero nosotros tenemos que hacer algo. Entonces eso es lo que a mí me enseña esto”).
Talking about this adage led the mother to a spiritual consideration which reflected a deeper understanding of the adage's value that came with maturity. She connected this adage to her religious convictions and suggested the spiritual growth she had experienced that helped her to have a more profound understanding of this value. She said, “Before I used to think, I believed that it was enough to ask God. and period. But, no, it is not like that. One ought to pray, but it is necessary to know how to pray. I do not think that miracles no longer happen in that way anymore. It is not that I am going to have everything from nothing. I have to do a lot, a lot” (“‘A Dios rogando, y con el mazo dando’, antes yo pensaba, yo creía que. . . . A Dios se le pedia, y punto! Pero no, no es eso. A Dios hay que pedirle, pero hay que saber pedirle. No, no creo que no existen ya los milagros en ese aspecto. O sea los milagros hay que entenderlos bien. No es que voy a tener todo de la nada. Yo tengo que hacer mucho, mucho”).

With enthusiasm she talked about the importance of combining work with prayer, since work was God’s commandment, stressing that God wanted people to work, not to be idle. Only then, when we have done our part, she considered, we could pray (“¡Es importantísimo! ¡Importantísimo! Eso es lo que Dios quiere de nosotros. ¡El no quiere gente inservible. sino gente que trabaje!” Sí, por supuesto, yo tengo que hacer mucho, mucho. Porque es un mandamiento el trabajo. Hay que trabajar. La ociosidad está negada para El. Entonces el que trabaje, tiene las cosas bien. Ahi es cuando hay que rogar. ‘A Dios rogando, y con el mazo dando’”). She ended her sentence with a short laugh as if she had found an amusing aspect of the adage.

The mother finished her interpretation with a conclusion that confirmed the
importance of work and prayer. Her last assertion was very sudden and with great force, accompanied by intensity and emphasis, her face tense and her eyes looking straight at the researcher. "For me it is very important! Because one has to be fair toward God! One ought to pray! But always when one is also doing something. With folded arms, nothing" ("Es para mí, sumamente importante. Porque ¡hay que ser justos con Dios! Podemos pedirle ayuda, pero haciendo nuestra parte. Cruzados de brazos, nada"). After reasoning about the balance between work and prayer, she reached the conclusion that both are important ("¡Ahí está la importancia del trabajo, la importancia de la oración!").

As the grandmother did, the mother’s appreciation for this adage was shown by qualifying it as pretty, very pretty ("A Dios rogando, y con el mazo dando’ es lindo. muy lindo"). With enthusiasm she acknowledged having repeated this adage, confirming her fascination with it ("Este también he repetido algunas veces y también me encanta: ‘A Dios rogando, y con el mazo dando’").

The mother’s conviction of the effectiveness of this adage in parenting encouraged its use in both generations. Not only was the value of a balanced life of work and faith transmitted, but a parenting style was as well.

Diligence

Adage: "Al que madruga Dios le ayuda"
(God helps the one who gets up early)
(The early bird gets the worm)

The Grandmother

The grandmother acknowledged that both her father and her father-in-law used this adage often because they got up very early. She explained that her father used to get
up early to water his orchard before he went to his law office and her father-in-law got up very early to work in agriculture on his large property ("Este utilizaba mi padre, y mi suegro también, porque ellos madrugaban mucho para sus trabajos. Mi padre sobretodo, él era abogado, y entonces para irse a su trabajo, tenía que madrugar para dejar regando las plantas y haciendo todas sus cosas. Por eso madrugaba. Mi suegro también madrugaba mucho, porque era agricultor. El tenía propiedades grandes, pero también madrugaba mucho").

The grandmother learned the value of diligence as it was unconsciously transmitted by both men as they practiced it. The internalization of this value was evident in her acknowledgment of the truth of the adage. She explained that everything that is done promptly is done better and God blesses it ("Al que madruga, Dios le ayuda"); eso también han dicho ambos, mi suegro y mi padre. Y eso es verdad: todo lo que se hace pronto, se hace mejor y Dios bendice"). She not only learned the value of diligence with this adage, but she practiced it in her lifestyle of diligence.

The Mother

The mother confirmed the grandmother’s data by reporting that she remembered often hearing her paternal grandfather saying the adage when she was growing up. Her interpretation was similar to the grandmother’s, emphasizing the importance of work to achieve one’s goals in life ("El trabajo es sumamente importante porque es lo que nos ayuda a conseguir nuestras metas en la vida"). Not only the value of work was transmitted to her by her previous generations, but a lifestyle of diligence in working.
The mother classified this adage as religious because it mentions God. Though the adage is not in the Bible, she said, it has significant teachings about diligence. With conviction she explained that it teaches us to live according to God’s precepts which include work (“Está indicando, está enseñando comportamientos . . . indicados por Dios que incluyen el trabajo”). She expanded the scope of the value of diligence to all kinds of activities people undertake (“Al que madruga Dios le ayuda, ¿no dice así en la Biblia? Pero la Biblia nos enseña que debemos hacer las cosas a su tiempo”). She explained that the meaning of the adage is not in its words but in the message, concluding that things will work better if we are diligent (“Al que madruga, Dios le ayuda quiere decir no propiamente se refiere a levantarse temprano, sino que las cosas tienen que estar hechas en su debida oportunidad. Es decir, inmediatamente que se deben realizar, y las cosas nos saldrán mejor”).

Gratitude

Adage 1. “A caballo regalado no hay que mirarle los dientes”

(Don’t look at the teeth of a horse that’s been given to you; or, Don’t look a gift horse in the mouth)

Adage 2. “Cria cuervos para que te saquen los ojos”

(Raise crows and they will peck your eyes out)

The Grandmother

The first adage, “Don’t look at the teeth of a horse that’s been given to you” (“A caballo regalado no hay que mirarle los dientes”) describes examining a horse’s teeth, in order to determine its age. This adage advises not to pay attention to faults in a present received, but to appreciate it and be grateful for it. The grandmother’s explanation of the content of this adage suggests that she had learned it and its value by hearing her father
and her father-in-law referring to ungrateful people ("Aquí tenemos uno que le he oído a mi suegro y también a mi papá: 'A caballo regalado, no hay que mirarle los dientes'").

The value of gratitude was identified after a long explanation of the content. Her interpretation of this adage was that it taught appreciation of a gift, considering it unkind to find defects with it. Repeating the words of the adage, she concluded that the meaning was not to find defects in a gift ("Es un refrán que le sirve a uno para aceptar cualquier cosa. ¡A saber a ser gratos! Saber ser gratos, cuando le den algo sin estar reprochando ni estar dando nada, sino una actitud de gratitud hacia el que le obsequia algo, ¿no?"). She admitted that she seldom used it any more.

The second adage "Cria cuervos para que te saquen los ojos" (Raise crows and they will peck your eyes out) in a figurative sense condemns children's ungratefulness toward their parents. The grandmother's data about this adage are full of significant details. She defined the adage as being "a little hard and grotesque" ("Este, que es un poco duro, un poco grotesco, pero que se ha oído muchas veces. Yo he oído muchas veces: 'Cria cuervos para que te saquen los ojos'"). She recognized that she did not like this adage ("En realidad, es un refrán grotesco, no me gusta"). In spite of its hideousness, she acknowledged it holds a truth. To illustrate the value taught by this adage, she described the parents' total dedication to provide for their children, and how often they receive the opposite from them, especially in modern times ("Pero que tiene una verdad. Porque en realidad los padres se dedican a trabajar, a hacer las cosas por sus hijos, a darles todo su ser, y muchas veces reciben a cambio ingratitud de ellos, sobre todo en esta época").

There was criticism and resentment in the grandmother's voice as she described.
with indignation some children’s ingratitude in not caring for their elderly parents (“No les cuidan muchas veces a los padres ancianitos, no les atienden. no les dan la mano”). She considered the adage very appropriate to that circumstance while repeating the words of the adage (“¡Eso a mí me parece una cosa terrible! Y eso sucede, y me parece que este refrán va muy bien a eso: ‘Cria cuervos para que te saquen los ojos’. Es decir, que les dieron la vida, les criaron, les atendieron, y después . . . un abandono, una indiferencia”). She concluded that since parents give everything to their children, the children should respond with gratitude (“Me parece que el hijo debe ser grato. Porque se les está dando todo y ellos tienen que retribuir a los padres con gratitud”).

The grandmother confessed that it had sounded hard to her the few times she used this adage (“No me gustaría decírtelo mucho, y cuando lo he dicho me ha sonado mal a mi misma”). She described a recent occasion when she used it with her grandson to help him change his misbehavior at school. When she admonished him about his behavior, he talked back to her in an improper manner. Then she got upset and told him the adage (“Hace poco tiempo estaba indisciplinado en el colegio y no estudiaba bien. Cuando le hice un reclamo, ¡él me respondió en una forma indebida! entonces me molesté y dije esto: ‘Cria cuervos para que te saquen los ojos’”). She felt uncomfortable for having used this adage with her grandson as an unconscious reaction to his unacceptable behavior of talking back to his grandmother. She interpreted his lack of respect as ingratitude. With embarrassment she acknowledged her remorse because the adage remained in his memory for a long time (“Utilicé el refrán ¡y me dolió! ¡Porque es el único que parece que le ha quedado en su cabecita de mi nieto!”). She concluded with emphasis, “That is the strength of adages!”
The Mother

After the mother became aware of her use of adages, she remembered that the first adage, "A caballo regalado no hay que mirarle los dientes" (Don’t look at the teeth of a horse that’s been given to you; or, Don’t look a gift horse in the mouth) was frequently used (“Pero, por ejemplo éste: ‘A caballo regalado no se le mira los dientes.’ Se usa bastante también”). She explained that this adage was used addressing anybody in the family. Since it was difficult for her to identify the value in it, she opted for explaining its meaning, which is to teach somebody to be grateful with something that was given as a present (“Para enseñar que cuando alguien tiene el comedimiento de regalar alguna cosa, uno tiene que ser solamente agradecido”). She recognized that she often used this adage.

The Mother’s attitude toward the second adage and her definition of it were similar to the grandmother’s, “Cria cuervos para que te saquen los ojos” (Raise crows and they will peck your eyes out). She disliked it, considering it “hard.” as her mother did (“Es un refrán que realmente no me gusta mucho. Yo le veo como ¡muy duro!”). She believed it could be painful to use it with a son or someone dear (“Me suena como un poco doloroso. . . . En el aspecto que uno le dice a un hijo, porque a quien uno ha criado es a un hijo. O si no es un hijo, es a una persona que uno ha criado. Es una persona muy allegada, muy querida, que viene a ser como un hijo”).

The mother also shared the grandmother’s interpretation of the value the adage carries and the purpose of its use. She explained that this adage is used with children when
they have an attitude of ungratefulness toward their parents ("Cuando un hijo no es agradecido, ¡cosa que está mal! ¡Porque siempre hay que ser agradecido! Pero el refrán, ¡yo le veo como muy duro! Para indicar que no hay que ser malagradecido. Entonces se dice: 'Cria cuervos y te sacarán los ojos.' Enseña que no hay que ser ingratos. Eso es lo que enseña: la gratitud").

The mother did not tolerate ungratefulness in her children. With embarrassment, she acknowledged having used this adage only once with her adolescent son when he made an ungrateful gesture. Although she was not trying to teach him the value of gratefulness, she unconsciously used it as a reaction to the hurt caused by the ingratitude he displayed. While the mother had been happy before to discover the impact of adages in her children's mind, on this occasion she regretted having used it. She recalled that while there was no response from him at that time, it had remained in his memory ("Entonces le dije: 'Cria cuervos y te sacarán los ojos', y no hubo contestación de parte de él, pero se ha quedado pensando, porque a pesar de haberle dicho una sola vez, él se acuerda de eso"). Although she admitted that this adage might have caused him pain, as the act of using it did to her, she was comforted with the idea that the adage might have taught him something ("Pero ¡tal vez le enseñó! A pesar de que le hizo doler y que a mí también me duele haber dicho eso").

The mother concluded affirming her dislike for this adage, but she also admitted with the same enthusiasm that this adage is true ("No, definitivamente no me gusta. ¡No me gusta! Pero es muy cierto también"). As the grandmother did, the mother used the illustration of ungrateful children who forget their old parents who sometimes become a
burden for them ("Pero muchas veces muchos hijos se olvidan de sus padres. Especialmente cuando éstos son ancianos! y parece que constituyen un estorbo").

**Good Judgment, Friendship, and Good Reputation**

*Adage 1*. "*Dime con quien andas, te diré quien eres*".  
(Show me your friends and I will show you your character; or,  
A man is known by the company he keeps)

*Adage 2*. "*Dios les cria y ellos se juntan*"  
(God creates them and they get together;  
or, Birds of a feather flock together)

*Adage 3*. "*Quien con lobo se junta, a aullar aprende*"  
(He who associates with wolves learns to howl"

These adages imply that people associate with those with whom they have something in common or they become like those with whom they associate.

They were reported by the mother and the grandmother as similar adages, to be used in parenting to teach children the valuable lessons of good judgment in choosing good friends and protecting their own reputation by doing so.

**The Grandmother**

She remembered her father using the first adage with his children, "A man is known by the company he keeps" ("*Dime con quien andas, te diré quien eres*") in advising them to select good friends. She acknowledged the importance of this adage while reasoning that having good friends was a way to preserve their good reputation since they would be judged by the friends they had. She declared that in those times parents took care of their children’s prestige by advising them about their associations. In modern times it is more difficult to parent because of influences in the environment ("Se cuidaba antes el prestigio. Bueno, ahora yo creo que también se cuida, sólo que ahora el..."
El abuela recordaba que cuando crecía, sus padres solían decirles que "Dios les cria y ellos se juntan". Así lo había escuchado bastante. Señalaba que las personas juzgan a los demás por los amigos que los rodean, ya que tienden a tener afinidad con los que se encuentran frecuentemente. Además, se explicó que este refrán tiene aplicaciones generales. Desde una pareja que se casa, "Dios les cria y ellos se juntaron", hasta muchachos que deben asociarse con otros de su misma condición, para poder vivir en mejores condiciones. Entonces, "Dios les cria y ellos se juntan".

La abuela mencionó que el tercer refrán, "He who associates with wolves learn to howl", "Quien con lobo se junta, a aullar aprende", claramente revela los mismos temores parentales sobre la influencia de los iguales en su generación y en la que le sigue. Este refrán, junto con los dos anteriores, fue utilizado por las dos generaciones con el mismo propósito, para asesorar a los niños acerca de la importancia de seleccionar a sus amigos con cuidado.
their friends.

The grandmother admitted that bad peer influences have always existed. She recalled her father’s fear of his children associating with friends who ended up in “bad ways” (“Lógicamente, papacito nos decía esto mucho a todos los hijos porque siempre ha habido en todos los momentos los muchachos jóvenes que se están desviando del camino”).

She described the cultural scene of those times, acknowledging that her father advised with the adage about relationships with friends, more with the boys than with the girls, since in that time it was common for the girls to stay home to help with the house chores while the boys had more freedom to go out (“Sí, desde luego. Porque lógicamente en esa época sobretodo. Creo que todavía nosotras teníamos más ascendencia para estar en la casa, para trabajar en la casa, para no salir mucho a la calle, con contados permisos. Los varoncitos, salían un poquito más, aunque no mucho tampoco, pero siempre ellos eran más frecuentadores de la calle”). She concluded that it was a logical thing for her father to use this adage in parenting the boys (“Quizá no han tenido la suerte de ser bien formados, de que les lleven por el camino del bien. Y entonces, había el peligro. Sobretodo de mis hermanos que empezaban a caminar con algunos de ellos. Y les decía: ¡Cuidado hijito!, ‘Quien con lobo se junta, a aullar aprende’”).

The grandmother learned the adage and its value, and practiced it in her life. She used this adage in parenting her children, usually in general conversations. Even now, occasionally the adage comes to her memory. She lengthily described the changes experienced in parenting since her parents’ times.
The Mother

The mother vaguely remembered hearing the first adage “A man is known by the company he keeps” ("Dime con quien andas, te diré quien eres") at her grandparents’ house. Reasoning that she and her siblings were still very young, and her grandparents’ children were grown and married, she assumed that the adage must have been used with the young maids, who were considered part of the family ("Recuerdo muy vagamente, porque nosotras éramos niñas todavía. Los otros hijos ya estaban crecidos y casados. Pero las empleadas eran consideradas como parte de la familia. Y yo pienso que muchas veces se pueden haber dirigido a ellas, que eran señoritas"). Her confirmation that the young maids were the ones in the household who needed to be taken care of was clearly stated ("¡Entonces las empleadas eran las señoritas que había que cuidarles ¡lógicamente!").

The mother’s interpretation of the adage followed the same lines as the grandmother’s. She believed the adage represented the value of having good friends and the power of their influence (“Significa que es muy importante cuidarse de las personas con quienes nos rodeamos, porque es grande la influencia de los que están cerca de nosotros. Y no debemos sentirnos tan fuertes de creer que vamos a poder contra cualquier mala influencia, sino que debemos evitar”). She considered the adage important, because it helped people to be aware of the influence friends had in one’s life. That advice should help people to choose good friends (“Es muy importante este refrán. ‘Dime con quien andas, y te diré quien eres’. Es un refrán que indica lo importante de escoger las amistades, Y las personas con quienes uno tiene que llevarse. Por las influencias, entonces.
tiene que ser lo mejor").

The mother's interpretation of the second adage, "God creates them and they get together" ("Dios les cria y ellos se juntan"), also refers to the relationships of people with good or bad traits of character. She emphasized the importance of selecting friends with high principles, not only for their influence upon one's character but for preserving one's reputation ("Este refrán enseña la importancia de las amistades que uno escoje. No sólo por la influencia en el carácter de uno mismo, sino porque la gente juzga por las amistades que uno tiene"). She admitted using the adage sometimes with her children to advise them about their friendships and in general in conversations when talking about people's associations with others of similar character. For those occasions, she considered this adage to be appropriate ("Entonces en esos casos, este refrán es apropiado").

The mother's interpretation of the value enclosed in the third adage, "He who associates with wolves learns to howl" ("Quien con lobo se junta a aullar aprende"), was similar to the grandmother's. Emphasizing the importance of choosing good friends because of peer influence, she recalled the first adage, which is related in value, "Show me your friends and I will show you your character" ("Dime con quien andas, y te diré quien eres"), to support her proposition ("Viene a ser como el que citábamos al principio: 'Dime con quien andas, y te diré quien eres'. Entonces, es muy importante la compañía").

She concluded that this adage is used in many human relationships, including those among friends and relatives ("'Quien con lobo se junta, a aullar aprende' Sí, en las relaciones amistosas, definitivamente. Y a veces, incluso familiares").

The mother classified this adage as moral and significant, especially among the
youth because they are more susceptible to the influence of their peers and to fear of rejection. She used it often with her adolescent children, advising them always to select friends with moral principles since they would influence them in subtle ways that they did not realize. She also encouraged them to resist peer pressure and have the courage to be themselves, living correctly as they were raised.

Honesty and Courage
Adage: "Más vale un rato colorado que cien amarillos"
(Better a red moment than 100 jaundiced ones)

This adage implies that honesty is the best practice to avoid future complications. It also includes being honest to oneself and having the courage to face difficult situations once and for all, instead of lingering in distress.

The Grandmother

The grandmother cited this adage as one she frequently heard her mother-in-law use ("Uno que mucho le oía a mi suegra: 'Más vale un rato colorado que cien amarillos'"). With conviction she stated that it was a current adage and a very important one, because it teaches honesty ("¡Es un refrán muy actual! ¡Muy importante! Porque le ayuda a uno, le enseña la franqueza"). A typical situation when honesty is needed was illustrated with an example. It is better to say "no" directly to a person instead of saying nothing and doing something one does not want to do, and being miserable for a long time. She affirmed the importance of this adage ("Entonces, en cualquier cosa, uno prefiere decirle directamente a la persona, entonces uno puede ponerse hasta colorado por decir un "no," pero no hacer lo que no quería hacer y estar sufriendo mucho tiempo.

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¡Entonces, es muy importante!"). She confirmed that this adage teaches honesty ("¡A ser franco! La franqueza sobretodo").

The Mother

While talking about adages used in parenting, the mother suddenly recalled using this adage a lot ("Este rato me acuerdo: 'Más vale un rato colorado que cien amarillos.' Este refrán lo uso bastante"). She recognized its importance because it goes against the cultural practice of being polite and pleasing others. For that reason, it is difficult to say "no" to people ("Ese es muy importante. Nosotros, no sé en todas las sociedades, pero en la nuestra, no podemos, muchas veces no podemos decir 'no' Es muy importante poder decir 'no'"). She said that if somebody asked for a favor, it was because there was some kind of friendship established, and to say "no" might harm that relationship. Some reasons why people could not say "no" were embarrassment, pain, shyness, or fear of resentment ("Porque se considera que cuando una persona pide un favor, una ayuda o algo por el estilo, usualmente va a ser una persona con la que tengamos cierta consideración y no podemos decirle: 'no', porque nos da pena, porque nos duele, porque se va a enojar, porque me da vergüenza. Por muchísimas razones"). Here again the adage goes against what has been established as a cultural norm.

By living this adage and learning to say "no" to things she did not want to do, the mother claimed to have found one of the secrets to happiness. In acting with honesty, she affirmed, many future problems would be avoided ("Y uno de los secretos que he aprendido para la felicidad, es poder decir "no" a tiempo . . . Se evitan muchísimos..."
Aware of the benefits of this adage in her own experience, the mother also tried to teach this important value to the younger generation by using it quite frequently with her adolescent children who were self-conscious ("Uno que es muy importante, éste sí me gusta repetírles mucho a mis hijos. Especialmente a cierta edad se tiene más vergüenza que en otras"). She added that it is better to be embarrassed for one moment than to feel bad for a long time ("Y entonces, les repito muchas veces que es preferable pasar la verguenza un rato, antes que estén sufriendo . . . una cantidad de tiempo sintiéndose mal consigo mismas").

The mother used another example of a real-life situation with her children and expanded the value of this adage to all situations her children have to face, advising them that it is better to go through a hard time fixing a bad situation, and to have peace, than not fixing the problem and suffering internally for a long time ("Justamente eso, que hay que pasar un mal momento para arreglar alguna situación que está mal, y tener paz y tranquilidad el resto. Y no tener arreglado a medias, como quien dice, y estar sufriendo por dentro, quién sabe qué tiempo"). In her conclusion, she added two more values this adage teaches: to be true to oneself (" Está enseñando básicamente que hay que ser consecuentes con uno mismo") and courage to say "no" ("Indica que hay que ser valientes para saber decir "no" en alguna ocasión, o en algún caso").

She explained her children’s reaction to this adage. They accepted it as true, acknowledging the difficulty they have in practicing the value in the face of peer pressure when they do not conform to the group, and have to suffer mistreatment ("Ellos aceptan y...")
saben que tiene razón el refrán y lo ponen en práctica muchas veces, pero les cuesta. Les cuesta mucho, porque en realidad es difícil. Entonces el rato que empiezan a actuar como deben actuar, a veces los chicos son mal vistos y enfrentan una situación difícil porque tienen que estar en la onda”). To “Be in the wave” (“Estar en la onda”), she explained, meant belonging to the group, being a part of the youth culture, agreeing with their thinking, using their fashion, becoming one of them (“Porque en realidad, ‘estar en onda,’ en la ‘onda’ de ellos, es estar a la moda. ¡Es estar a la moda, es estar con ellos! Estar de acuerdo con ellos”).

She admitted that it was difficult even for her as an adult to put into practice what the adage teaches (“Yo he tratado de ponerlo en práctica. Se me hace difícil también”). In spite of the difficulty, she is convinced that situations should be fixed in a biblical manner (“Pero he tratado de ponerlo en práctica justamente porque considero que es una de las cosas que . . . hay que arreglar de manera bíblica”). She concluded that things must be fixed directly, as the adage advises (“Las cosas hay que arreglar, como dice el refrán. o sea, directamente”). Her religious convictions associated with this adage’s value were revealed by her discussion of the biblical method of facing problems directly to find solutions. The adage teaches the best way to proceed. She affirmed that the biblical methods for living were the best and the wisest (“Porque son la mejor manera de arreglar. La forma de vida que enseña la Biblia es la mejor. Una forma muy sabia de arreglar las cosas. La Biblia enseña verdades maravillosas. Definitivamente”).

The mother concluded her long explanation of the value of this adage and its use in parenting by admitting that this was one of the adages she liked the best, because of its
didactic nature. Referring to the value of having courage to say ‘no,’ she added that even though it was painful, one had to do it (“Sí, recuerdo que es de los que más me gustan porque enseñan. Es que es doloroso y molesto, pero hay que hacer. ‘Más vale un rato colorado, que cien amarillos’”).

Moderation and Discipline
Adage: “Bueno es culantro, pero no tanto”
(Coriander is good but not too much)

The Grandmother

The implication of this adage is that moderation should be observed in all aspects of life. The grandmother recognized this adage as one of her mother’s. She laughed when remembering that her mother said it. She and her siblings would change it to add humor saying, “Coriander is good, but not the whole plant” (“Bueno es culantro, pero no mata entera”). The grandmother explained that coriander is a natural and savory herb used in cooking, but when used in large quantities, it is a disaster (“Porque el culantro en realidad es un condimento natural, una yerba riquísima, ¿no es cierto? Pero el rato que se le pone mucho a una comida, queda fatal. Es sumamente fuerte”).

Her interpretation of this adage applied to all situations (“Entonces se le aplica en todos los sentidos”). She gave examples to illustrate the use of the adages. Moderation in exhibiting affection was described in the case of a person who could be loving, but if she demonstrated too much affection, she could be overwhelming (“Por ejemplo una persona puede ser cariñosa, pero que no sea muy cariñosa, porque ya raya en lo pedante, en lo molesto”). Another illustration was moderation with the expression of kindness.
stated that her husband had taught her to be cautious with her kindness because the world was cruel ("La bondad inclusive. Uno puede ser bueno, pero tiene que cuidarse. Eso me ha enseñado mi marido, de cuidarse un poco para no expresar demasiado ¡porque el mundo es un poco cruel!"). She concluded with the words of the adage, reiterating that one had to do all things in moderation ("Entonces, 'bueno es culantro, pero no tanto'; es decir, hay que hacer todas las cosas, pero con medida, con lo preciso").

The Mother

The mother classified it as a humorous adage and also laughed when she mentioned it. She, too, described coriander as a very tasty herb, good to use in moderation ("Bueno . . . que en realidad, el culantro es una yerba muy rica. Y así como el culantro hay muchos ingredientes en la cocina que se pueden utilizar moderadamente"). Then she explained that the value of moderation should be applied to everything, including entertainment and work ("Entonces ésa es la enseñanza de este refrán, porque se refiere a todo . . . A que es bueno divertirse, con medida. Es bueno trabajar, con medida. Es decir, hay muchas cosas buenas, como el culantro, que hay que hacerse con medida"). She concluded again that all excesses are bad ("Porque todos los excesos son malos").

The mother expanded the application of moderation to all aspects of life, as the grandmother did. The adage illustrates the value of moderation by referring to common condiment coriander. By doing so, she pointed out that the adage also teaches discipline. That included spiritual practices. She explained her point by saying, "God asks us to be with the Book of His Law day and night," meaning a little in the morning and a little at
night, with moderation ("Está enseñando el valor de . . . tener medida, de tener disciplina, de tener cuidado, de no irse a los excesos, porque incluso considero un exceso eso. Por ejemplo Dios nos pide que estemos con el libro de su Ley, día y noche. Pero no todo el día y toda la noche. sino un poco en la mañana, un poco en la noche. Que para todo tiene que haber medida").

Optimism, Endurance, Hope, Self-Confidence, and Freedom

Adage 1: "A mal tiempo, buena cara"
(To bad weather, a good face)
Adage 2: "No hay mal que dure cien años, ni cuerpo que lo resista"
(There is no sickness that lasts 100 years, nor a body to endure it)
Adage 3: "No hay mal que por bien no venga"
(There is no evil that does not bring something good; or. Every cloud has a silver lining).

Transmission of values using these adages is clearly delineated in the informants' narrative of their use. While the purpose was the same, each generation had her personal interpretations, expanding the scope of values enclosed in the adages transmitted. The values recognized by each generation is highlighted in bold.

The Grandmother

The grandmother used a familiar scene in her family, while growing up, to explain how her father taught his children optimism in trials with the first adage, "To bad weather, a good face" ("A mal tiempo, buena cara"). She remembered his counsel that had been so effective in her life ("Ese consejo importante que me ha dado, que da efecto en mí, en mi vida").

The grandmother lived this adage by presenting a positive face to adversity. After
experiencing the sickness and death of her younger daughter, whom she lovingly called Negrita, her interpretation of this adage expanded. She had also learned the value of endurance with her own experience. She explained that she kept her pain inside and never showed it to her family so as to protect them from suffering and to provide a normal life to her family because she believed that “the procession goes on inside” (‘La procesión va por dentro; porque se puede estar sufriendo... Como digo, yo viví una vida un poco difícil con mi Negrita, mi hijita que murió. Tuvo una salud muy quebrantada. Pero en realidad, yo tenía por dentro ese tormento, pero jamás mis hijos han percibido. ni mi marido ha percibido ¡nunca! ¡Sí, tengo que darles a ellos una vida lo más normal! ‘La procesión va por dentro’

She acknowledged that she was able to endure that situation with the strength God gave her (“Gracias a la fortaleza que Dios me ha dado”). She recognized that peace comes from God, by knowing God, a peace that remains through all circumstances (“Bueno... de Dios solamente. El rato que ya se le conoció a El ¡se conquistó! Se logró conseguir la gracia que El nos bendiga. Ya no se puede perder la paz... por más cosas que nos pasen”). Based on her experience, the grandmother believed that inner peace needs to be experienced before it can be demonstrated outwardly (“Tener... ¡la paz interior! Porque sólo así se puede demostrar una paz afuera”). She concluded that she had lived this adage by maintaining serenity amid suffering (“¡Yo he vivido este refran! Y ‘A mal tiempo, buena cara’ O sea, pase lo que pase, puedes llorar, puedes hacer cualquier cosa, pero después... ¡ya tranquilos! ¡Ha pasado todo!”).

She explained that after living a Christian life, she realized how important it was to
transmit to others a sense of peace and joy. She concluded with certainty that adages had helped in her life, in important ways ("¡A mi me han ayudado mucho! ¡A mi me han ayudado mucho! Yo creo que es importante tener... estos refranes").

The second common adage used in hardships, conveying the assurance that misfortune will pass, and good will follow, was, "There is no sickness that lasts 100 years, nor a body to endure it" ("No hay mal que dure cien años, ni cuerpo que lo resista"). The grandmother recalled her father using this adage with his clients at his law office, when she worked with him as a secretary after she graduated from high school. The purpose of the adage was to encourage his clients, who sometimes got disheartened under the stress of fighting a legal case. With this adage he advised them to look at life with optimism, that bad times would not last forever.

She learned the values portrayed in this adage by hearing her father's words of encouragement. She always understood this adage in the sense that hard times always end, and she learned to look at life with optimism ("Un significado bastante interesante, porque al menos yo le he captado siempre en ese sentido: de que... pronto se acaban los males. Que a la vida hay que hacerla lo más positiva, con más optimismo, porque "no hay mal que dure cien años". Eso tiene que acabarse pronto"). She captured the value of optimism her father intended to teach with this adage, but she added the values of hope and self-confidence in her interpretation of this adage's teaching, based on her experience with it ("Que hay que tener confianza, que se va a superar cualquier cosa. ¿no? Tener confianza en sí mismo").

The third adage ("There is no evil that does not bring something good" or "Every
cloud has a silver lining”; "No hay mal que por bien no venga") was used in the
grandmother’s family relations while she was growing up. She identified the values of
encouragement and optimism that were transmitted by it. She remembered her father’s
saying it when he noticed that his children were discouraged about something that had
happened to them. Her voice turned serious and profound as she adopted her father’s role
in encouraging his children (“Por ejemplo, cuando habíamos tenido una dificultad y
estábamos un poco desanimados, entonces él nos decía: ‘No, no hay mal que por bien no
venga’”). The children’s reaction was to understand that they needed to get rid of that
discouragement, because there was something good behind it (“Entonces teníamos que
entender que ese desánimo tiene que desecharse, porque va a servir, de todas maneras,
para algo bueno”). She learned this value in her childhood and lived it all her life. Her own
interpretation added another dimension of a positive attitude toward hardships with the
trust that there is a blessing in disguise, as the adage portrays (“Significa que cualquier
cosa que suceda en la vida la tomemos para bien, aunque sea mala, que la tomemos para
bien”).

The Mother

The mother, like the grandmother, classified the first adage “To bad weather, a
good face” (“A mal tiempo, buena cara”) as a moral adage, describing the value as a
positive outlook on life under all circumstances (“Yo creo que todo el mundo tiene algún
tipo de problemas; lo importante es la actitud que se tiene frente a ellos. No importan las
circunstancias difíciles que se esté viviendo, es importante mantener la calma”). She
recognized the optimistic attitude in her mother’s lifestyle, and how she always remembered that example of fortitude to face problems. She considered her mother the best example of how to react when facing adversity (“Esa actitud de optimismo que aprendi de la forma de ser de mi mami. Recuerdo que esa fortaleza me ha ayudado a enfrentar mis problemas. Es el mejor ejemplo que he tenido al enfrentar adversidades”).

The mother frequently used this adage with her children and with people in general when it was necessary to encourage them in times of difficulties (“Yo lo uso regularmente con mis hijos y en general, cuando se trata de animar a gente que está pasando por dificultades”).

The mother’s interpretation of the second adage, “There is no sickness that lasts 100 years, nor a body to endure it” (“No hay mal que dure cien años, ni cuerpo que lo resistir”), was similar to the grandmother’s with some additional values. She elaborated on the values of endurance, comfort, perseverance, and freedom. She explained that while somebody is going through hard times, this adage always brings comfort (“Este, por ejemplo, ‘No hay mal que dure cien años’ viene a dar como un consuelo cuando uno está pasando por algo malo”). She laughed as she finished her explanation of the logic of this adage, that in reality there was no hardship that would last 100 years, nor a body that would endure it (“Porque sí, es que ‘no hay mal que dure cien años’, porque el cuerpo mismo no lo va a resistir”).

As she explained the content of this adage, which she liked very much, the value of perseverance emerged. She clarified that perseverance was necessary to endure difficult times and to achieve one’s goals (“Significa, sin irse a los extremos, que hay que pasar por
In the third interview, the mother added a third value of freedom, considering this adage as one that also frees her spirit ("Uno que dice 'No hay mal que dure cien años, ni cuerpo que lo resista.' Me gusta mucho . . . ¡me libera el espíritu!"). With emphasis in her voice, she pointed out that in this adage she found encouragement to keep fighting ("'No hay mal que dure cien años, ni cuerpo que lo resista'. Es como que le da a uno ánimos para seguir luchando").

This adage clearly transmitted values. The grandmother’s father used it at work to encourage his clients in trials. He transmitted optimism. The grandmother learned that value and added hope and self-confidence. The mother heard it and used it often and added the values of comfort in hardships, perseverance, freedom, and endurance. The grandmother and the mother applied this adage to themselves and to people in general.

The mother also learned the third adage, “There is no evil that does not bring something good” ("No hay mal que por bien no venga"), but had a slightly different interpretation. With honesty, she admitted that she neither believed nor liked this adage ("Este refrán no me gusta a mi personalmente"). She reasoned that bad situations are never good ("Yo pienso que las situaciones malas . . . ¡no son buenas nunca!"), insinuating that the adage is not true. Then she rationalized about the message of this adage, trying to justify its truth by explaining that perhaps the adage is referring to the fact that “after a bad situation, the sun comes out again for everybody, and we feel better again” ("Y tal vez se indica así el refrán, porque . . . supuestamente, después de una situación mala. el sol vuelve a salir para todos y volvemos a sentirnos bien"). Even with this possibility, she
concluded forcefully that good does not necessarily come as a result of a bad situation ("Pero no es necesariamente porque ha habido un mal").

After meditating for a while, she concluded that this adage teaches the values of **endurance** and **perseverance** that are necessary to go through difficult times and to achieve one’s goals ("Significa, sin irse a los extremos, que hay que pasar por cosas difíciles para... conseguir algo mejor, tal vez").

**Respect and Thoughtfulness**

**Adage 1:** “*No hagas a otros lo que no quieres que te hagan a ti*”
(Do not do to others what you do not want done to you)

**Adage 2:** “*Haz a otros lo que quieres que te hagan a ti*”
(Do unto others as you want them to do to you)

**The Grandmother**

The grandmother identified this adage, “Do not do to others what you do not want done to you” ("*No hagas a otros lo que no quieres que te hagan a ti*"), as being one her father often said to his children. With 12 siblings, she recognized that there were many occasions when her father had to intervene to teach them a lesson on how to get along. She described times when one of the siblings bothered another. Their father would use the adage to advise them not to do to others what they would not like done to them. She explained that this adage was used to teach an attitude of respect for their siblings ("Ese es un refrán que mucho decía mi padre, y es importantísimo. Porque en las circunstancias en que vivíamos entre hermanos, cuando uno le molestaba al otro, él siempre nos decía ‘*No hagas a otros lo que no quieres que te hagan a ti.’* Tú sabes muy bien, si no quieres que te pegue tu hermano, no le pegues. Entonces, eso hay que respetarse"). The grandmother
believed her father learned this from his parents, whom she remembered as using adages all the time.

The value this adage taught was learned in family experiences while she was growing up. She later found it in the Bible when she tightened her ties with the Word of God, as she reported ("Yo pienso que éste, por ejemplo, está precisamente en la Biblia. ‘No hagas a otros lo que no quieras que te hagan a ti’. Yo lo conocí como refrán, pero después que he tenido la oportunidad de estrechar mis lazos con la lectura de la Palabra del Señor, yo he visto que está allí en la Biblia"). She reported practicing what the adage taught, advocating its value in close relationships, first with her family and then with God.

Her interpretation of the adage expanded the value of respect for other people. She added respect for others’ physical space. She emphasized that the value of respect was very important but had been lost in modern times ("Es una actitud, en realidad, de respeto tan importante que también se ha perdido mucho... en este tiempo. Una actitud de respeto... no solamente a los mayores, sino al espacio físico de cada ser, ¿no es cierto?").

The Mother

She confirmed the grandmother’s data, identifying it as a well-known adage. She said that she had been unaware of its biblical origin until she discovered with surprise that it was in the Bible ("Aquí recuerdo uno de la Biblia ‘No hagas a otro lo que no quieres que te hagan a ti’. Siempre hemos sabido, pero resulta que está en la Biblia"). Her excitement continued as she acknowledged that she had recently learned another adage
that she considered to be the most beautiful one, "Do unto others as you want them to do to you." ("Y el más hermoso es el que recién nomás aprendí: 'Haz a otros, lo que quieras que te hagan a ti'). She explained that both were the same. While the form of the adage changed from negative to positive, the value remained the same.

Her interpretation of these adages included the value of respect but expanded to consideration for others. Her explanation of the meaning of this adage was clear, to the point, and without hesitation: As we do not want to harm ourselves, we should treat others with the same consideration with which we would like to be treated ("O sea, uno no quiere el mal para uno mismo. Entonces, tenemos que hacerle a otros, ... es decir, tratar a otros con la misma consideración con que queremos que nos traten a nosotros"). Her conclusion was that, if everybody would do this, there would be no problems ("Y el rato que todos hicieran eso, no habría problemas").

She used these two adages most frequently in parenting with the purpose of teaching respect and thoughtfulness for others. She concluded that while "Do not do to others what you do not want done to you" could encourage a selfish attitude, the golden rule was better. "Do unto others as you want them to do to you" ("Es un poco egoista. porque al decir: 'No hagas a otros lo que no quieras que te hagan a ti.' podemos cruzarnos de brazos y no hacer nada. Pero es mejor la regla de oro que es: 'Haz a otros, lo que quieres que te hagan a ti'").

This adage was transmitted by two earlier generations before the grandmother learned it from her father and transmitted it to her daughter.
Love, Respect, and Service

Adage: “Del árbol caído todos hacen leña”
(From a fallen tree everybody makes firewood)

This adage alludes to the condition of people taking advantage of exploiting the weak.

The Grandmother

The grandmother’s interpretations of the value related to this adage applied to a poor person who is in bad circumstances, or a person who has fallen and is mistreated by others. Her version of the saying was more a warning: Do not make firewood of a fallen tree” (“Porque es cierto que cuando alguien está pobre, está mal, cuando alguien ha tenido alguna caída, todos acaban con él. Entonces eso es ‘Del árbol caído todos hacen leña’”).

She claimed to have learned this adage from both her parents, suggesting a congruent parenting practice to teach their children values with adages. She recalled her parents using this adage frequently to teach the values of love and respect for others in all circumstances by not criticizing them. She practiced those values in her childhood and they had become a lifestyle habit in her mature years as she practiced opposition to criticism (“Yo no hablo nada de la gente así, cosa de acabar y peor cuando no sé. no tengo elementos de juicio, verdaderos. Si tengo, no hablo. Peor todavía sin tener”). She emphasized the need of treating others with respect and charity, mainly with charity (“Y entonces, uno siempre tiene que mantener una actitud de respeto, de caridad. Principalmente ¡de caridad hacia los demás!”). She concluded that adages like this had helped her in her attitude and behavior toward criticism (“¡Y en esto sí han ayudado tanto
estos refranes! Porque, ya le digo . . . les tengo pendientes, ¿no? Del árbol caído no hay que hacer leña”). She personalized the adage to fit her explanation.

The grandmother considered this a relevant value today when there is a lack of charity and respect toward others. She described how some people “skin” (despellejar) other people with criticism (“Es lo que mucha falta hace ahora. ¡Porque no hay respeto, no hay caridad! ¡La gente despelleja al otro! ¡Con la mayor tranquilidad!”). The values she learned in childhood were applied to relationships in her adulthood. She illustrated her opposition to criticism in social gatherings, describing her methods of stopping criticism in a subtle way, confronting those who were criticizing or changing the subject of conversation (“¡Yo, sí corto! Si no puedo cortar sutilmente hablando de otras cosas, sacando otro tema para ver si se evita el continuar con la crítica, le digo: ‘Bueno, bueno, ya terminemos esto, no sigamos con estas críticas. ¡Vamos con otro tema!’ ¡Punto! ¡Porque es fatal eso!”). She also illustrated this adage with a recent political incident, expressing her disagreement with people’s criticism of a political figure who had used state monies to help some charity projects. She said that justice would prevail.

She concluded that adages had helped a lot (¡Muchísimo! ¡Muchísimo! ¡Yo creo que muchísimo! ¡Porque usted está viendo, como estoy recordando a cada momento las cosas que me hablaban siempre en refranes!”).

The Mother

Although the mother learned the same value, her approach was slightly different. She said this well-known adage teaches a value that is the opposite of what it says: “From
a fallen tree, everyone makes firewood.” “This adage teaches what should not be done”
(“Hay un refrán que dice: ‘Del árbol caído, todos hacen leña.’ Es un refrán que está
enseñando lo que no se debe hacer!”). But what this adage is teaching is different from the
statement. It teaches that we should not ruin a person in distress just because he, like the
tree, has fallen (“Pero, el ejemplo que enseña es que de una persona que está en muy malas
circunstancias, no debemos arruinarle más de lo que ya está”).

She explained that the custom was to destroy one who had fallen. But she believed
that was the occasion when the true “values” are seen in those individuals involved. With
irritation in her voice, she described how badly people in trouble were treated
(“Usualmente, se acostumbra hacer eso. Desgraciadamente. Pero justamente ahí se ven
‘los valores,’ entre comillas, que han tenido todas esas personas. Que a la persona que está
caida, o en mala suerte, o enferma, o que está en malas, en general, le abandonan, o le
dejan, o le pisotean, o le calumnian”). She concluded that all she had said was the meaning
of this adage (“En todo caso, eso significa ‘Del árbol caído, todos hacen leña’”). The
mother confirmed that this adage teaches a lesson that was opposite to its literal meaning,
and acknowledged her use of the adage with her children. She taught them not to forsake
a person who has fallen, but to help the person who is in need.

Respect and Endeavor

“Le dan la mano y se coge del codo”
(They give him a hand and he grasps the elbow)

The Grandmother

This adage describes a person who takes advantage of one who offers help, yet
it instructs on what not to do. It was another adage used to teach respect for others that
the grandmother learned from her father. She recalled his using it frequently to teach his
children to respect others and to always strive to improve their lives. He always said it
with a deep sense of duty, trying to help them learn to be the best ("Papá siempre decía
eso con un sentimiento profundo de tratar de mejorar la vida. Nos enseñó eso; de que
siempre hay que ser mejores").

The internalization of this adage was evident in her acknowledgment that she lived
a life of respect for other people by not abusing one who might help and not taking
advantage of his/her generosity. With conviction she counted one’s parents as people who
help their children to learn to walk and who should not be taken advantage of ("Incluso de
sus propios padres. Porque ellos, claro, nos dan la mano todo el tiempo. pero es para
ayudarnos a caminar. no para sólo estar aprovechándonos de ellos"). She continued the
transmission of those values and lifestyle to the next generation, trying to help them to
maturity, respecting others. Her description of those who take advantage of others was
colorful: "parasites" ("Esa idea hemos tenido siempre. y creo que también les he
transmitido a los míos. Tratar de hacer que maduren pronto, que no sean personas que
vegeten y se sirven de los demás, que sean como parásitos").

The grandmother experienced the long-term benefits of striving to be the best. She
explained that early encouragement helped her all her life by guiding her with that desire
for personal improvement that was implanted by her father. She illustrated the
effectiveness of this adage with her own experience, being 64 years old and still improving
("Quizá eso es lo que me guía hasta este momento a mí. Soy una persona de sesenta y
The Mother

The mother did not define the value but she gave an instance when this adage is used and concluded with conviction that one should never take advantage of people who help you (“Por ejemplo, cuando alguien le está ayudando en alguna forma y abusa de esa persona, eso es ‘Te doy la mano y te coges del codo. ‘ Nunca hay que aprovecharse de la ayuda que le dé alguna persona”).

She reasoned that this is a negative adage that teaches the opposite of what its words actually say, and explained that the illustration used facilitates the understanding of the message. The image of advancing from somebody’s hand to the elbow interprets the meaning of this adage as taking advantage of somebody’s assistance, abusing his generosity.

The mother recognized that this adage is well known and is appropriate in modern times when there are so many selfish people taking advantage of others. She explained that it was an act of ingratitude to take advantage of someone who is helping, concluding with the advice given by the adage (“Este es muy apropiado para este tiempo en que hay tanto egoísmo. cada uno buscando su propio beneficio. Es una verdadera ingratitude el abusar de una persona que le da la mano, no hay que cogerse del codo”).
Prudence

“Quien ama el peligro, en él perece”
(Whoever loves danger, dies by it; or,
Live by the sword and die by the sword)

The Grandmother

This adage was frequently used by the grandmother’s father-in-law (“Quien ama el peligro, en él perece.” Esto le he escuchado mucho a mi suegro”). The value in this adage was identified as prudence exercised in behavior (“Quien ama el peligro, en él perece, ‘es que uno no tiene que arriesgarse, ser sensato, en todas las cosas. Entonces tienes que ser muy prudente en todas las cosas. Ser prudente”). She explained that her father-in-law used this adage frequently with his sons to restrain their impulsiveness and daring (“Cuando hablaba con los muchachos, con los hijos. Porque cuando uno es joven, quiere no más . . . ¡lanzarse a todo! Entonces le frenan un poquito hablándole así”). This adage was used with the boys more than with girls because the girls were more secure, living in the house. Since there was more danger outside, women stayed at home more (“¡Sí! Porque sobre todo, como le digo, las mujercitas estábamos más seguras. Era una vida más segura en casa, porque había más peligro afuera, entonces la mujer estaba más en casa”). She explained that the opposite happened with the boys during the time she was growing up, when boys were encouraged early to go out, “to become men” (“Y en cambio los muchachos, no, pues. Antes era que los muchachos que se vayan pronto, que salgan pronto afuera, que se hagan hombres. ¡Porque así era antes!”).

The Mother

The mother remembered hearing her grandparents use this adage a lot (“El que les
he escuchado bastante a mis abuelos es `El que ama el peligro, en él perece’”). She
classified it as a moral adage and reported it was used frequently (“Es de tipo moral,
digamos, y lo he escuchado bastante, a menudo”). In her interpretation of the value taught
by this adage, since she was having difficulty in identifying it by name, she used examples
of actions like “love oneself,” “to take care of oneself,” “to take care of others,” “to be
consistent with others” (“Por ejemplo, el amarse a sí mismo, el cuidarse, el cuidar de los
demás, el ser consecuente con otros”).

The mother used this adage to teach her adolescent children to take care of
themselves, advising them to avoid things that might harm them (“‘El que ama el peligro,
en él perece.’ Sería indicarle que él tiene que cuidarse, . . . evitar los peligros para que su
persona no sufra ningún contratiempo”).

Transmission of Values Over Two Generations: From Mother
to Granddaughter

Appreciation and Consolation

Adage 1. “Más vale malo conocido que bueno por conocer”
(Better the bad already known than the good yet to be known)
Adage 2: “Ojos que no ven, corazón que no siente”
(What the eyes don’t see, the heart doesn’t feel, or Out of sight, out of mind)

The Mother

The mother classified this adage, “Better the bad already known than the good yet
to be known” (“Más vale malo conocido que bueno por conocer”), as a moral adage and
reported using it often. She acknowledged that it was a well-known adage that people use
all the time to teach appreciation of what they possess and not to covet what they do not
have. Thinking about her own experience with this adage, she recognized that she had
used it with her children but did not remember a specific occasion.

The Granddaughter

Although her mother did not recall a circumstance when she used this adage at home, the granddaughter remembered a recent occasion when her mother had used it in a conversation with her children. With this adage, the mother advised her son, who was going to get married and leave home, to live in a foreign country with his wife. Her counsel to him was that when he should go to make a living in a developed country, not to forget his roots and to appreciate his native country in spite of all its shortcomings ("Que es difícil ir a otro país. Aunque uno piense que va a ser bueno, pero es un bueno por conocer. Que, bueno, aquí, aunque sea malo por decir... ya es conocido, ya uno está seguro... no es tan difícil como irse uno afuera y arriesgarse a lo que pase"). The granddaughter recognized in the adage the value of appreciation of what one has even with its defects ("Enseña que tenemos que apreciar lo que se tiene no importa los defectos que tenga").

The granddaughter also recalled her mother using the adage when talking with her daughters about her son who would be absent soon and the difficulties he would experience in adjusting to his new environment. As a comfort, she used another adage, "What the eyes don’t see, the heart doesn’t feel, or Out of sight, out of mind)" ("Ojos que no ven, corazón que no siente"). This expressed her perspective that she would not feel her absent son’s struggles, since she would not be present to see his trials. Besides, she reasoned, there would be two to face the challenges.
The granddaughter’s information that adages were recently and often used during intimate family gatherings suggested that since the theme of those conversations were her brother’s marriage, adages were used to advise and guide in the short time he would be with the family. They also would comfort the mother who would stay behind.

The fact that the mother did not recall her use of adages on those occasions suggested that there are many more adages and values transmitted that the informants were unable to remember at the time of the interview. They repeatedly acknowledged that it was difficult for them to remember adages out of context. They explained that they remember them easily when the right circumstances occur saying that “adages jump” (“los refranes saltan”), suggesting they emerge from the subconscious, where they are stored.

Caution, the Value of Life, Patience, and Responsibility

“Más vale perder un minuto en la vida, que la vida en un minuto”
(It is better to lose a minute in life than life in one minute)

The Mother

The mother described this adage at length in all four interviews as she reported using it in parenting adolescents. In the first interview she acknowledged using it to caution her children not to drive fast (“Ahora que yo he estado pensando y recordando, por ejemplo, otro de los refranes es este que he repetido bastante: ‘Más vale perder un minuto en la vida, que la vida en un minuto’”). She explained that it is a recommendation she often gives to them, since it is not easy to think clearly when one is rushing (“Es una cosa que les recomiendo mucho al respecto, porque a veces los apuros impiden pensar y actuar tranquilamente”). She reasoned in general terms that it is good to be punctual, but
it is better to be late to school or work than to have an accident and never arrive ("O sea, que realmente es mejor no atrasarse al trabajo, al colegio, o a la escuela. Es mejor estar a tiempo en todas partes, pero si por cualquier circunstancia no se puede estar a tiempo, es preferable llegar atrasado, antes que no llegar. Porque puede tener algún accidente por el apuro").

She gave an example from her own experience, recalling this adage she used as "quick advice." She described a very common scene in the morning when her adolescent children were leaving home in a hurry to go to school or to work. In the middle of the hustle, she shouts her last advice to be cautious using this well-known adage. She calls this "her last resource," since there is no time for long recommendations ("El rato que van a salir mis hijos, con el apuro y corriendo, y yo les grito ahí. Como último recurso: 'Más vale perder un minuto en la vida, ¡que la vida en un minuto!'"). To use the adage in that appropriate situation was considered a spontaneous action done "absolutely mechanically" ("Es algo absolutamente mecánico que lo hago, se puede decir"). She described in detail those hectic mornings with everybody rushing to leave, and no time for long talks. The mother worried about her children having an accident in their rush and could not let them leave without her last piece of advice. In the last seconds before they departed, the motherly instinct brought out the wise words of this well-known adage to advise them.

What amazed the mother was the effectiveness of this traditional teaching tool, in spite of the inconveniences of the circumstances. The adage carried its message to the children's minds; the advice hit home. The mission has been accomplished! Her experience has given the mother confidence in the effectiveness of adages and gives her peace of
mind. Although her adolescent children heard her brief counsel while rushing through the door and did not have time to reason and process the value they just heard, she was convinced her counsel was something her children would carry with them to remind them to be cautious with their driving (“Aunque oyeron el consejo en su apuro sin tener tiempo de pensar, sin embargo, ellos ya van llevando eso. Y... se frenarán un poquito, ¿no? Eso me da tranquilidad, además, todos saben que este dicho es verdad”).

In the second interview the mother added another value to this adage, the value of life. She emphasized that although punctuality is important, as she had stated previously, life is much more important (“Es decir, como ya dijimos antes, que siempre hay que estar a tiempo. ¡Es muy importante la puntualidad! ¡Pero más importante que la puntualidad, es la vida misma! ‘Más vale perder un minuto de la vida, que la vida en un minuto’”). She ended her comments with an open, honest laugh at the play of words used in this adage. The play on words to convey a different meaning makes this adage amusing to the ear.

In the third interview she confirmed her frequent use of this adage in parenting adolescents, mainly when children left the home in the mornings, as a warning message to be careful and not to drive fast (“Ya, lo que más he utilizado es cuando salían a la calle y yo les decía que ‘más vale perder un minuto de la vida, que la vida en un minuto.’ O sea, que quería decir que tengan cuidado, que no vayan rápido”). While talking about the message this adage carries, a correlated adage that she had also used came to her mind: “Slow down. I’m in a hurry.” Its English equivalent, “Make haste deliberately” (“O este otro que es ‘Despacio, que voy de prisa’”). She laughed at the absurdity of this adage since there is an apparent contradiction in the adage, requesting one to go slow because he
is in a hurry.

**The Granddaughter**

The granddaughter confirmed her mother's use of this adage, "It is better to lose a minute in life than life in one minute" (Más vale perder un minuto en la vida que la vida en un minuto). Her information corroborated her mother's report of using this particular adage with her children to advise them to be cautious and not risk their lives. She recalled her mother using this adage when they left home in the mornings or when the mother picked her up from school. If the daughter encouraged her mother to go fast before the traffic light turned red, her mother would say the adage, reminding her that it is better to be cautious than to lose their life ("Ese . . . yo le he oído a mi mami en las mañanas cuando salíamos de la casa. También cuando mi mami viene, supongase, en el carro, me recoge de la universidad y venimos para acá . . . y yo por cualquier cosa le digo que se cruze el semáforo. Entonces me dice: "No. 'Más vale perder un minuto en la vida que la vida en un minuto' ").

By frequently hearing her mother say this adage, the granddaughter learned the values this adage teaches and internalized both the adage and its values. Her interpretation of the value of this adage was similar to her mother's, to teach caution, using the term prudence, while adding the value of patience in doing things ("Que hay que ser prudente y que hay que hacer las cosas con calma y esperar cada cosa . . . su turno, su sitio, su lugar").

Convinced of the effectiveness of adages in raising children, the granddaughter is
determined to use adages with her future children. One of the adages she would use frequently is, “It is better to lose a minute in life, than life in one minute” ("Más vale perder un minuto en la vida que la vida en un minuto"). It will teach the value of responsibility. Teaching responsibility will include caution about time, taking things calmly, and being responsible for their life ("Para enseñar responsabilidad, 'más vale perder un minuto en la vida que la vida en un minuto', para que él sea responsable y sea consciente que no importa perder tiempo pero hacer las cosas con calma y ser responsable de su vida").

In the description of the content and use of this adage it was clear, once again, that in the intergenerational transmission of values through adages, there was often an expansion of the interpretation and application of the value contained in the adages.

Respect, Service, and Friendship

"Quien a buen árbol se arrima, buena sombra le cobija"

(The one who leans on a good tree gets good shade)

The Mother

This adage implies that influential friends help one to succeed. The mother classified it as a moral adage and recognized it as one she often used in conversations with her children. She considered this a very interesting adage, which could be seen from several viewpoints ("Entonces es un refrán bastante interesante. aunque puede tener algunos puntos de vista, según como quieran verle"). She explained that the positive outlook of this adage teaches respect for people, which was one of the basic values she tried to teach her children. With conviction she explained that she tried to teach them that
respect includes friendliness and helpfulness, which she believed her children had learned
(“Yo, básicamente, lo que les he querido enseñar, y... es que en primer lugar, hay que
ser muy atento con toda la gente. Esa era mi enseñanza, al menos. Esa era la idea que yo
les he querido dar”). She concluded that by being kind and helpful to others, they would in
turn benefit (“Y al ser atento con toda la gente, realmente, pueden ellos tener el apoyo de
alguna persona a la que ellos han ayudado siempre, o han estado dispuestos a ayudar. Y
que después les va a dar un buen beneficio”). She said that the positive aspect of the adage
was the value of respect as she had been using it in parenting with very effective results
(“Entonces, yo le veo como positivo, enseñar el respeto como yo he usado con mis hijos y
he visto que han aprendido”).

She also explained the possible negative connotation of this adage if the person
respects others with selfish motives, thinking about the future benefits he/she could reap as
a consequence of being friendly and helpful (“Pero como digo, podría cogerse por el lado
de que haya algún interés y verle como negativo. Que haya un interés tras la persona que
se está arrimando, podría ser tras una persona poderosa... Poderosa en el sentido de
tener poder, o tener una economía grande. Entonces, apoyarse en esa persona, con el
objeto exclusivo de tener beneficios para sí. Eso podría ser”).

The mother verified the importance of service whereby people give themselves to
others unselfishly. If benefits come from helping others, so much the better (“Pero yo creo
que es importante, o sea para mí, es muy importante que la gente se dé a la gente. No
solamente porque pueda tener algún beneficio, sino porque hay que darse a la gente, y
ayudar. Pero si, de paso, le dan el beneficio, qué mejor”).

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The Granddaughter

The flexibility of adages was exposed in the different words used for this adage by both generations while preserving its meaning. The mother used the form, "Quien a buen árbol se arrima, buena sombra le cobija" (The one who leans on a good tree gets good shade), and the granddaughter said, "Al que a buen árbol se arrima, buena sombra le da" (To whom leans on a good tree, good shade it’s given). While the mother’s interpretation of this adage focused on respect and service to others with some benefits received from them as a bonus, the granddaughter’s interpretation of the adage was from a personal angle that made the adage relevant for her. She pointed out that man is essentially a social being and needs to associate with others. Therefore, it was important to choose good friends and become like them. Her deduction was focused mainly on peer influence ("Al que a buen árbol se arrima, buena sombra le da. Como el hombre es de naturaleza social tiene que estar con gente. Entonces uno tiene que hacerse de buenas amistades para . . . ser uno también bueno, ¿no?").

In her last interview, the granddaughter confirmed the value of friendship that she previously identified in this adage and emphasized the importance of taking care of friendships. She concluded with assurance in her voice that friends always help anytime ("Lo que se enseña este refrán es en cuanto al valor de la amistad. ‘Al que a buen árbol se arrima, buena sombra le da’ es . . . que hay que tener en cuenta la amistad y cuidarla. Porque siempre los amigos . . . en cualquier momento ayudan").
Transmission of Values Over Two Generations: From Grandmother to Granddaughter

Courage and Responsibility

"A lo hecho, pecho"

(Face what was done)

The Grandmother

This adage teaches the need to face the consequences of what one has done. In the third interview, the grandmother described the use of this adage in a family gathering recently held to celebrate Father’s Day. While they were talking at lunch, among other things, this adage, “A lo hecho, pecho” (Face what was done) was used by one of her granddaughters (“Entonces, justamente en el momento del almuerzo, estábamos conversando y en un momento determinado una de mis nietas dijo un refrán: ‘A lo hecho, pecho’

The ensuing discussion revealed some interesting data on the meaning of this adage for individuals in three different generations. The grandmother recalled that her adult son commented that sometimes adages could be negative (“Y como estábamos hablando justamente de refranes, mi hijo comentó que hay refranes que pueden ser negativos”). She disagreed with his opinion and argued that some adages were said in a negative form, to teach the opposite of what the adage’s words say. She concluded with emphasis that adages could never be negative or teach something bad (“En verdad, hay refranes que al decírlos son negativos, pero pensándolos, se trata de hacer lo contrario de lo que se está diciendo en el refrán, entonces, nunca puede ser un refrán ser negativo o enseñar algo malo”). The tone of her voice made it obvious that the grandmother’s
comments to her family about the two sides of some adages called negative was said with authority.

The discussion continued as the two generations expressed their differences of opinion about their interpretation of adages. Her son held that this adage could teach resignation to suffer consequences for one’s behavior and to do whatever he pleases ("Pero discutimos, porque justamente mi hijo dijo: ‘Posiblemente alguien puede conformarse, por ejemplo con éste: ‘A lo hecho, pecho’. Alguien puede conformarse y decir ‘Bueno, pues, hago cualquier cosa y ¡punto!’"). With passion, the grandmother described in detail what she had said to her son who was suggesting this adage was negative, and to her granddaughter who had used the adage in a controversy. She explained that this adage teaches the positive, to face the consequences of one’s actions instead of doing a wrong action and justifying it with the adage ("Entonces, justamente yo. ahí le hice una reflexión y dije: ‘¡No! por ejemplo tú acabas de decir Laurita: ‘A lo hecho, pecho’. Es un refrán que tiene una connotación ya final. Es decir, que te salió algo mal y, bueno, ahora hay que enfrentar: ‘A lo hecho, pecho’. Pero no es que vas a hacer algo malo para después justificarte con el refrán: ‘A lo hecho, pecho’!").

After that long explanation about her interpretation of this adage, the grandmother concluded with authority that adages always teach something positive. She said the last word slowly, with emphasis and conviction ("Entonces, los refranes siempre tienen una enseñanza positiva").

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The Granddaughter

This adage’s value was identified by the granddaughter as courage to face the consequences of one’s actions ("'A lo hecho, pecho.' Yo pienso que también enseña valor, . . . cuando uno hace una cosa, debe tener el valor de afrontarlo"). She explained that one could take advantage of the saying and do something that is not appropriate. For example, one might say “I am going to do this. I know I’ll be scolded, but I’ll do it anyway” ("Se puede usar en un sentido negativo, porque uno puede aprovecharse del refrán para decir: ‘Bueno, voy a hacer tal cosa. Yo sé que me van a hablar, pero voy a hacer tal cosa.’ Y cuando ya uno lo hace, dice: ‘Bueno, ‘a lo hecho, pecho’"). After the long explanation, her firm conclusion was that one should not take advantage of adages to behave badly ("Entonces no hay que aprovecharse del refrán para . . . hacer lo que uno no debe").

Summary

Chapter 5 has presented the analysis of the values transmitted through the use of adages. The most important of these were application to study, justice, service, a good reputation, respect, appreciation for elders, faith, work, diligence, gratitude, good judgment, friendship, honesty, courage, moderation, discipline, optimism, self-confidence, comfort, freedom, thoughtfulness, love, endeavor, prudence, appreciation, consolation, caution, the value of life, patience, responsibility, and courage.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of the study and the conclusions derived from it.
CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was to explore the transmission of values in three generations of women in an Ecuadorian family. This study is important at a time when society is reconsidering the values that this generation is emphasizing and the methods by which these values are transmitted through generations.

Adages are well-known short sayings that transport values a collection of folk wisdom. Values refer to the significance people attach to what composes their world, which influences the social, cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects of life. A large volume of literature reveals that adages have been used over many generations in numerous cultures since ancient times. They survived the transition from the oral to the literate culture and were preserved in literature. Spanish adages were brought with the Conquest to the Latin American culture, where they fused with the indigenous sayings. Today’s adages in Ecuador are a blended product of both of these cultures.

Various intergenerational studies support the significant role of the family in the transmission of values, since values are transmitted in the home through language in the process of socialization and reinforced by modeling. The goal of the transmission of values
is the internalization of these values, which generally begins in early childhood and may be reviewed during the adolescent years for relevancy. Some values will be preserved, others modified, and others discarded.

Although the intergenerational transfer of values in various countries has been clearly documented in several studies, none were found addressing the effective method of using adages in raising children with values.

Adages in the Latin American culture have been traditionally used in families to teach children values, to guide their behavior, and as an element of resistance to peer pressure. Whereas the transfer of values with adages has occurred in Ecuador, there were no previous studies to indicate the intergenerational transfer of values in that culture through adages mainly used by the women. This study brings this power to light and elaborates on its significance.

Methodology

This study implements the ethnographic method. The ethnographic process can be summarized in two phases: (1) the discovery of intergenerational transmission of values with adages through fieldwork through several interviews and four levels of analysis of data, and (2) the communication of the findings.

In the stage of discovery, the grandmother, mother, and granddaughter were interviewed separately, in that order, in their natural setting in Ecuador. The informants' descriptions introduced me to the settings and times when adages were used. I learned to see the unique and elaborate world of adages through their eyes, in their individual
generations.

The inductive analyses started with the specific and progressed to the general, through four steps. First, in the Domain Analysis numerous categories surfaced naturally from the informants' descriptions of the use of adages. This produced hypothesized domains that were tested with the informants in the fourth interview.

Second, the Taxonomic Analysis produced clusters of domains which revealed a wealth of information, projecting a structure in the process of the transmission of values through adages. Third, the Componential Analysis revealed the specific function of each adage mentioned in the interviews in the transmission of values. And fourth, the Cultural Theme Analysis facilitated the organization of voluminous raw data collected in former analyses and a clear understanding of the function of adages in the process of the transmission of values.

Perhaps the most challenging task was the second phase of the research process, reported in chapters 4 and 5. It was an overwhelming task to gather all the bits of information from the analysis of the interviews to arrange in a logical manner, to grasp the informants' perspective, and to attempt to transfer their perception of the intangible cosmos of adages beyond words without losing their transcendent presence in that culture.

Findings

Chapter 4 contains the theory that evolved from this research, and chapter 5 covers the values transmitted over two or three generations. As recommended by the ethnographic method, an attempt to bring life to the description was made by adding some
of the informants’ narratives of their experiences with adages. It is only fair to allow them, as experts, to communicate their perceptions.

Although the informants were unconscious of the process of intergenerational transmission of values through adages at the beginning of the first interview, they gradually became aware of this process after they started to describe their experiences with adages during the interviews. In their exploration, with surprise they discovered the important function of adages in training children and expressed their appreciation of them. Through their descriptions of the use of adages in everyday life, I also began to perceive that there was a process beyond the portrayal of their accounts. Their narratives opened a window to amazing “discoveries” about the world of adages which have been through centuries ingrained in the culture as an implicit tradition. Each analysis unveiled a complex process of the transmission of values with usage of adages, generating groundbreaking theory of that cultural system.

The informants reported several sources of adages. Some from the Spanish tradition arrived with the Conquest and mixed with the native adages. Some came from biblical passages that were adopted as commonly-used adages. One had a foreign origin. The roots of those adages revealed important aspects of the Ecuadorian culture, historic events, and the strong influence of religion in people’s lives.

Adages were classified as religious, moral, and humorous, with religious adages regarded as the most important ones.

The use of adages in the transmission of values as a traditional parenting method was clearly delineated and confirmed with each of the informant’s narratives, revealing the
didactic purpose of adages. The information gathered showed that some relevant adages were used with children, adolescents, and young adults; there were also gender differences in the use of adages.

The process of the transmission of values through adages takes place unconsciously in the natural setting of the home, in everyday life where innumerable circumstances generate teaching moments. The didactic nature of adages is revealed in their two-fold constitution, a body and a soul. Their poetic structure is combined with the conciseness of statement captivating the listener's attention while penetrating in his conscious with a meaningful message. The adage and the value that it encloses remain in the enigmatic labyrinths of the subconscious as a guiding light. They become life companions influencing all aspects of the life.

Distinctive factors were delineated that strengthened the effectiveness of the transmission of values. Some of those determinants are the relevance of adages used in parenting, the close relationship between parents and children, and the cooperation of home, church, and school. The long-lasting benefits of adages unconsciously acquired in childhood was uncovered in the informants' lives. Values learned with adages in childhood became a lifestyle and were used in their adulthood relationships.

The analysis of the transmission of values uncovered several values that were transmitted over two and three generations, such as responsibility, studiousness, justice, service, to obtain and preserve a good reputation, respect, and appreciation for elders. More values were transmitted from grandmother to mother than from mother to granddaughter, or from grandmother to granddaughter.
The informants reported the declining usage of adages due to changes in modern society that affect family life, although they believed that adages may be used more frequently in rural settings where people live a more simple life, having more time for their families. They recognized the need to teach values in modern times and the necessity of recovering the use of adages for that purpose. Convinced of the effectiveness of adages, they decided as a family to make a conscious effort to preserve adages by using them more often. Their appreciation of adages as an effective didactic method with children and adolescents inspired them to commend the use of adages to others. Their recommendations focused on the need of rescuing adages to teach values that are being lost in an individualistic and materialistic society. The mother even suggested that it should be taught as a regular course. The granddaughter strongly suggested that adages should be rescued and used with her generation, because adages help one to comprehend values easily, those values that youth need in order to stand firm against peer pressure. Based on their experience with the power of adages, while facing the threat of the increasing loss of values, the three informants resolved to make an effort to recover the use of adages in their own families. The granddaughter, convinced of the effectiveness of the use of adages in moral training, decided to use it when she became a mother, without gender distinction, which suggested a difference in the gender use of adages in parenting in two generations. While the grandmother’s description reveals some gender bias in the use of adages with children in her time, the granddaughter emphasized her plans for using the same adages in parenting her sons and daughters, implying a more equal gender treatment in her generation.
The three informants expressed their confidence that adages would prevail, since they have already survived for generations.

**Conclusions**

This study has found that intergenerational transmission of values occurs in this Ecuadorian family with the use of adages. It has shown that parenting with adages is a traditional method in that culture, in which mothers are the main value transmitters in the family. These values imparted in early childhood are internalized and remain in the individual's life, influencing attitudes, choices, feelings, and behavior. Significant factors enhance this unconscious process of the transmission of values.

The data obtained in this research are the testimony of three informants in three generations confirming its authenticity. I know this firsthand because I have seen it through their eyes. The informants' life experiences with adages made them experts in this subject. All the information they provided was based on their experience with adages. Therefore, they felt secure and talked with conviction as experts in the field.

Although the findings exposed a larger number of values being transmitted from the grandmother to the mother than from either to the granddaughter. I strongly suspect there are many more values transmitted over the three generations. If we consider that the grandmother and the mother have already been parents. we may find a logical reason for the transmission of more values between those two generations, which leads us to the conclusion that we might not yet know all the adages which have been transmitted among these three generations studied. The granddaughter had not experienced parenting, and
when the conditions arise when moral instruction is needed, it is expected that appropriate adages will be recalled and used.

The findings of this study support previous research in the transmission of values, identifying the home as a natural setting for early childhood values education, which is encouraged by a warm environment with close relationships among parents and children, reinforced by modeling, supported by parental agreement, and strengthened by church and school educational efforts. What is singular in the study's findings is that they brought to light the significant and unique role of adages in intergenerational transmission of values which has been unconsciously used for generations as a traditional parenting method.

The study also corroborates the research about adages as anonymous brief popular sayings with a poetic form that communicate values as practical instruction. The product of people's experiences, adages are a compendium of practical popular philosophy of life. They reveal an accurate portrait of human nature and are intertwined with human life from childhood to old age. This study has expanded the horizons of previous research in exploring the use of adages in the family, uncovering the depth of this simple traditional parenting method dealing with intricate issues in life, guiding with a natural psychology to enrich relationships to self, others, and the world. In the process of transmission, not only adages but the values they enclose become part of oneself. "hecho carne", a "baggage" one carries throughout all life (in the informants' language), becoming invisible counselors reminding values that influence attitudes, decision making, behavior, and finally becoming a lifestyle.

The findings in this study are relevant today in providing a useful tool to parents,
teachers, religious leaders in all cultures who are searching for methods to instill values in new generations. People in all Spanish countries are encouraged to preserve this treasure in their culture. Parents of Hispanic descent in foreign countries, who are dealing with acculturation and other forces of change can also use adages. Reinforcing or rediscovering the use of adages as a familiar reference point can provide stability in the midst of rapid change. They are also relevant to any culture, since adages are present in all cultures as a patrimony of humanity. Their universal messages have survived time.

When I left Ecuador after the first field trip, the informants’ voices rang clear in my memory. “Everybody knows adages,” they had said. Indeed, adages are ingrained in that culture; people use them continually without thinking. I held securely the precious treasure I was taking with me in those recorded interviews. It had been a long journey, but all the hard work required to execute the analyses was compensated by the excitement of the venture. Only when I was completely immersed in the world of adages, the intriguing domains of adages started to unfold their secrets that were kept in the informants’ narratives. It was only through that experience that I discerned the depth of wealth I had capture. A profound sense of responsibility pierced my conscious, responsibility to my informants, to their culture, to the world, and to myself.

The most difficult task has been to put on paper and share the knowledge and legacy of a culture with others. I have discovered it takes a fine discernment to tune with the superb values hidden in values, and great care to handle such precious gems. I found that an adage has a form and a content, a body and a soul. Its body is clothed with color and rhyme, its character is didactic and its soul is wisdom. It is as old as humanity, it has
been passed on from one generation to another, as a precious jewel. The personality of the adages reflect the simplicity and the purity of a child, the ideals of youth, and the insight of the elderly. Adages possess the knowledge of the sciences and the beauty of the arts. They are well traveled, for they are present in every culture on the earth, speaking the native language and graciously allowing its people to own them and adapt them to their traditions and customs. They are acquainted with all the intricate issues of life, their knowledge is like a hidden treasure waiting to be discovered by those who search. Adages are very human.

Recommendations

Though I have learned a great deal about the transmission of values in the family with adages, I am deeply aware that the study of this topic is not exhaustive. I have only scratched the surface. There is much more to be explored and learned beyond the scope of this study. My recommendations include:

1. A larger study of this topic should be conducted to include families in other parts of Ecuador. This might yield broad-based findings from which generalization could be made about the country.

2. Similar studies should be conducted in other cultures to compare the findings on intergenerational transmission of values through a variety of societies.

3. These findings should be made available to clergy and educators, which might facilitate their understanding of this important tradition in the Latin culture. This could, in turn, enhance their curriculum.
4. On the basis of this study, the researcher is writing a book and a workbook to be used for teaching a course on the process of the transmission of values in the family with adages. It might be used in Latin-American studies, women’s studies, cultural diversity, Spanish, and other courses related to culture.

5. The researcher has also been developing a parenting seminar that could be used by family-life educators to help parents become aware of the effectiveness of adages in moral education, while encouraging families to preserve valuable traditions.

While the discoveries here brought an awesome understanding of the importance of adages in the transmission of values in the family, they also brought mixed feelings. Having manipulated the terms, concepts, and ideas that built a theory, I feel as though I have violated a sacred site and uncovered a hidden treasure. While writing the findings of the world of adages to report to others, my hope is that I have not destroyed the beauty of the unknown by revealing the mystery that clothed adages in their pilgrimage in human life.

As I began this journey with the informants, I end it with their acknowledgment that adages are jewels that need to be preserved in their worthy mission to transmit values from one generation to another!
APPENDIX A:

SAMPLE DESCRIPTIVE QUESTIONS
SAMPLE DESCRIPTIVE QUESTIONS

1. Grand Tour Questions:
   What are your earliest recollections of people using adages?
   (a) Typical Grand Tour Question: How is a typical day at home?
   (b) Specific Grand Tour question: How is this adage used in child-rearing?
   (c) Guided Grand Tour Question: Could you take me, with your imagination into your family reunion? What are the things I would see and hear?

2. Mini Tour Questions:
   Where were you when your mother said that adage?
   Could you describe the situation?

3. Example Question:
   Could you give an example of a religious adage?

4. Experience Question:
   Could you relate an experience you had as a mother when you were using adages to teach values to your children?

5. Native language Question:
   Another term for adage is __________.

6. Hypothetical-Interaction Question:
   If I were at the dinner table with your family, what adages would I hear?
APPENDIX B:

OUTLINE OF THE THIRD INTERVIEW
OUTLINE OF THE THIRD INTERVIEW

A. Miscellaneous questions

B. Card activity:
   1. Categorization of adages
   2. Identifying values enclosed in adages
   3. Frequency of use of adages

C. Contrast Questions
APPENDIX C:

UNIVERSAL SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS
1. Strict inclusion  \( X \) is a kind of \( Y \)

2. Spatial  
   \( X \) is a place in \( Y \)
   \( X \) is a part in \( Y \)

3. Cause-effect  
   \( X \) is a result of \( Y \)
   \( X \) is a cause of \( Y \)

4. Rationale  
   \( X \) is a reason for doing \( Y \)

5. Location for action  \( X \) is a place for doing \( Y \)

6. Function  
   \( X \) is used for \( Y \)

7. Means-end  
   \( X \) is a way to do \( Y \)

8. Sequence  
   \( X \) is a step (stage) in \( Y \)

9. Attribution  
   \( X \) is an attribute of \( Y \)
   \( X \) is a characteristic of \( Y \)
APPENDIX D:

DOMAIN ANALYSIS WORKSHEET
DOMAIN ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

Page #
1. Semantic Relationship: ____________________________
2. Form: __________________________________________
3. Example: _______________________________________

Included Terms  Semantic Relationship  Cover Term
---          >-- is a kind of --->          ---
---          
---

Structural Question (s): _______________________________

Example of the analysis of a domain

Page 7 Interview 1 Grandmother
1. Semantic Relationship: Cause-effect
2. Form: X is a result of Y
3. Example: The grandmother used to hear adages from her parents all the time. As a result, she has learned them, kept them, and transmitted to her children.

Included terms  Semantic Relationship  Cover Term
she heard adages  >-- is a result of -->  The frequent use of adages by her parents.
she learned them
they stayed in her memory
she remembered them
she used adages with her children

Structural Question: What are the results of the frequent adage use by your parents?
APPENDIX E:

TOPICS OF CONFIRMED HYPOTHESES
TOPICS OF CONFIRMED HYPOTHESES

Adages
- Origin of their adages
- Characteristics of adages
- Kinds of Adages
- Popular names for adages
- Purpose of adages

Adages in the Culture
- Adages and culture
- Adages as a cultural communication practice
- People who use adages
- Adages generating a cultural dilemma
- Language and adages

Adages in the Informants’ life
- Adages in their childhood
- Adages in their present family life
- Adages used in the family
- Their attitude about adages
- Their reactions to adages
- Results of the use of adages
- Their recommendation of adages to be used as a didactic tool

Intergenerational Value Transmission
- Religion
- Adages and Values used in parenting
- Family transmission in three generations
- Steps
- Society’s changes and their effect in values
APPENDIX F:

OUTLINE OF THE TAXONOMY OF THE TRANSMISSION OF VALUES THROUGH ADAGES
OUTLINE OF THE TAXONOMY OF THE TRANSMISSION OF VALUES THROUGH ADAGES

Intergenerational Transmission
  Catholic Religion
  Traditions
  Values
  Adages

Adages
  Names for adages
  Classification of adages
  Requirements to understand adages
  Use of adages: Places and People
  Didactic purpose of adages used in parenting
  Cultural themes revealed in adages
  Her reactions to the use of adages
  Effectiveness of the use of adages
  Learning adages
  Remembering Adages

Values learned with the use of adages
  Names
  Classification
  Difficult to define values
  Importance of values
  Reclaiming values

Values transmitted with adages
  Transmission in three generations
  Transmission of adages, values, beliefs, attitudes, lifestyle.
  Internalization of values learned by adages
  Conditions for the effectiveness of value transmission by the use of adages

The informants language
  Native words and Endearments

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APPENDIX G:

WORKSHEET FOR THE COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS
WORKSHEET FOR THE COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS

"El tiempo es oro." (Time is gold.)

Who transmits?
1. 
2. 

What is being transmitted?
1. Values
2. Beliefs
3. Attitudes
4. Behavior
5. Lifestyle

To whom is it transmitted?
1. With children
2. With Adolescents
3. With adults

How is the transmission done?

Where does the transmission take place?

G. When is it done?

Other information:
APPENDIX H:

CULTURAL THEMES
CULTURAL THEMES

Adages
- Attitudes and reactions
- Adages used in relationships
- Adages used in parenting
- Adages and “Sentencias”
- Benefits of adages
- Classification
- Connection with childhood memories
- Cultural descriptions
- Didactic nature of adages
- Effectiveness
- Gender difference in use of adages
- Native language
- Remembering adages
- Sources

Values
- Biblical source
- Changes in last decades
- Defining values
- Internalization
- Values enclosed in adages

Value transmission through adages
- Modeling
- Requirements
- Principles
- Purpose
- Value transmission in the family
  - Values transmitted over 3 generations
  - Values transmitted over 2 generations

Miscellaneous

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APPENDIX I:

VALUES TRANSMITTED THROUGH ADAGES
OVER TWO AND THREE GENERATIONS
VALUES TRANSMITTED THROUGH ADAGES
OVER TWO AND THREE GENERATIONS

Values Transmitted with Adages Over Three Generations

From the Grandmother to the Mother and to the Granddaughter

Teaching Responsibility, and Application to study
"Date fama y échate en la cama." Get fame and go to bed

Justice and Service
"Dar al César lo que es de César y a Dios lo que es de Dios." Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s.

A Good Reputation
"Cuando el río suena, piedras trae." When the river sounds, it brings stones.

Respect and Appreciation to Elders
"Más sabe el diablo por viejo que por diablo." The devil knows more from being old than from being the devil.

Values Transmitted Over Two Generations

From the Grandmother to the Mother

Faith and Work
"A Dios rogando y con el mazo dando." Praying to God while pounding with the mallet.

Diligence
"Al que madruga, Dios le ayuda." God helps the one who gets up early; or, The early bird gets the worm.

Gratitude
"A caballo regalado no hay que mirarle los dientes." Don’t look at the teeth of a horse that’s been given to you; or, Don’t look a gift horse in the mouth.
"Cria cuervos, para que te saquen los ojos." Raise crows and they will peck your eyes out.
Good Judgment, Friendship, and Good Reputation

"Dime con quien andas, te diré quien eres." Show me your friends and I will show you your character; or, The man is known by the company he keeps.

"Dios les cria, y ellos se juntan." God creates them and they get together.

"Quien con lobo se junta, a aullar aprende." He who associates with wolves, learns to howl.

Honesty, True to Oneself, and Courage

"Más vale un rato colorado que cien amarillos." Better a red moment than 100 jaundiced ones.

Moderation and Discipline

"Bueno es culantro, pero no tanto." Coriander is good but not too much.

Optimism, Endurance, Hope, Self-Confidence, and Freedom

"A mal tiempo, buena cara." To the bad weather, a good face.

"No hay mal que dure cien años ni cuerpo que lo resista." There is no sickness that lasts 100 years, nor a body to endure it.

"No hay mal que por bien no venga." There is no evil that does not bring something good; or Every cloud has a silver lining.

Respect and Thoughtfulness

"No hagas a otros lo que no quieres que te hagan a ti." Do not do to others what you do not want done to you.

"Haz a otros lo que quieres que te hagan a ti." Do unto others as you want them to do to you.

Love, Respect, and Service

"Del árbol caído todos hacen leña." From a fallen tree everybody makes firewood.

Respect and Endeavor

"Le dan la mano y se coge el codo." They give him a hand and he grasps the elbow.

Prudence

"Quien ama el peligro, en él perece." Whoever loves danger, dies by it; or, Live by the sword and die by the sword.
Courage and Responsibility

"A lo hecho, pecho." Face what was done.

From the Mother to Her Daughter

Appreciation and Consolation

"Más vale malo conocido que bueno por conocer." Better the bad already known than the good yet to be known.

"Ojos que no ven, corazón que no siente." What eyes don’t see, heart doesn’t feel, or, Out of sight, out of mind.

Caution, the Value of Life, Patience, and Responsibility

"Más vale perder un minuto en la vida, que la vida en un minuto" It is better to lose a minute in life than life in one minute.

Respect, Service, and Friendship

"Quien a buen arbol se arrima, buena sombra le cobija" The one who leans on a good tree gets good shade.
APPENDIX J:

INFORMANTS’ PROFILES
INFORMANTS’ PROFILES

The Grandmother:
Age: 64
Place of birth: Quito
Education: High school
Occupation: Housewife and social service
Family:
Parents: Her father is deceased and her mother is alive.
Siblings: Four brothers and seven sisters.
Status: She has been married for 44 years.
Children: two daughters and one son (one of the daughters is deceased)

The Mother:
Age: 42
Place of birth: Ambato
Education: Junior College
Occupation: Housewife and she also works with her husband managing their hostel
Family:
Parents: Both are alive
Siblings: One brother and one sister (deceased)
Status: She has been married for 23 years
Children: one son and two daughters

The Granddaughter:
Age: 21
Place of birth: Quito
Education: College (Catholic University in Quito)
Occupation: Student and also works as assistant to the auditor in a firm
Family:
Parents: Both are alive
Siblings: One brother and one sister
Status: Single (at the time of the research)
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Publications:


      “Cristo, justicia nuestra.” Ibid, pp. 171-172


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Community Leadership and International Experience:


1989  The Second US Army Commander Award for Outstanding service in Development of Family Assistance Programs for Military Units throughout Tennessee.

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