

THE SOUTHWEST  
SPANISH - SPEAKING MINORITY:  
A STUDY OF ASSIMILATION  
AND BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE

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## ABSTRACT

### THE SOUTHWEST SPANISH-SPEAKING MINORITY; A STUDY OF ASSIMILATION AND BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE

by

Jacquelyn D. Bass

Recent events in connection with Negro-white relations in the United States call attention to problems surrounding the relationships between the dominant society and other disadvantaged minorities. This study reviews the various approaches to dominant-minority relations and attempts to deal with the conceptual divergence evident within the literature on assimilation. A recent trend toward recognition of a minority's basic "right to plurality" is examined.

If the right of people who want to be different (as well as protection from being treated as different against their will) is upheld as part of the contemporary version of the American Creed, then all sub-populations should have their right to a choice of adaptation, but the position is taken that they do not have identical long-range prospects for the same mode of relationship; structural-cultural pluralism is realistic for the Mexican-American ethnic minority but not for the "culturally American" Negro.

The Mexican-American minority is considered in terms of the



factors contributing to its incomplete assimilation and it is hypothesized that this condition is partly attributable to a predilection for ethnicity on the part of its members. The problem is cast in terms of concepts of the PAS Model (boundary maintenance-systemic linkage roughly corresponding to pluralism-assimilation), and the hypothesis is tested using data from a sample of the Spanish-speaking population in five southwestern states.

A systematic multivariate analysis is performed using the method of subgroup comparisons. Findings are presented in a series of fourfold contingency tables relating attitudinal and behavioral boundary maintenance and relevant sociological variables.

Although the empirical data, as operationally applied to a test of the research hypothesis, do not strongly support the general hypothesis, the findings suggest the possibility that there may be some preference for continued ethnic minority identification among the younger, urban Spanish-speaking respondents with more years of schooling.

This widely neglected subpopulation deserves considerably more research attention from social scientists in view of the urgency of minority relations as a social problem. The present study claims a contribution in the area of conceptual "spadework" requisite to meaningful problem statement in future research on assimilation of the Mexican-American minority.

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A STUDY OF ASSIMILATION AND BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE

by

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION: MINORITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

In this country, where most of the two hundred million people who call themselves "Americans" can trace their origin to some other nation, minorities and the problem of their relation to society are nothing new. Often referred to as "a nation of nations," the United States is characterized by its heterogeneous population which includes people from almost every part of the world -- only the half-million who are American Indian can be considered indigenous and even this group constitutes a "minority". Persons in racially defined sub-populations number over twenty-four million and some ten million others are members of so-called "ethnic" minorities.

While the number of persons who have experienced minority status throughout American history has been substantial, a few relatively distinct sub-populations have occupied much of the nation's attention in recent years. Table 1 on the page following shows currently available census counts or estimates of the size of most of these groups.

Table 1. Numbers of Minorities in the United States, 1960.

Negroes	18,848,619*
Mexican-Hispanos	5,189,839**
Puerto-Ricans	892,513***
American Indians	546,228*
Japanese	473,170*
Chinese	236,084*
Filipinos	181,614*
Jews (1965)	5,725,000****
Catholics (1966)	46,864,000****

\*Source: U.S. Census, 1960, Subject Report; Non-white Population by Race. Final Report PC(2)-1c.

\*\*Census Bureau estimate for U.S. cited in Minorities in American Society, Charles Marden, N.Y., 1968, p. 7.

\*\*\*Source: U.S. Census, 1960, Subject Report; Puerto-Ricans in the United States. Final Report PC(2)-1D.

\*\*\*\*Source: 1967 Yearbook of American Churches cited in The 1968 World Book Year Book, Chicago, 1968, p. 475.

As was its purpose, this table indicates that the Negro population, followed by the Mexican-Hispanos, are the two largest of the nation's minorities differentiated on bases other than religion. This presentation suggests several other crucial points which may not be as readily apparent but will be shown to have important implications both for the minority involved and for the study of their problems. Here attention is merely called to these points; they will be developed further as the discussion progresses. First, in this brief list groups are identified in terms of race, nationality, and religion which indicates that there is no single basis for minority identification. Such groups are in fact delineated in numerous additional ways including language, citizenship, nativity, "culture," and physical traits. Moreover, many persons are accorded minority status on more than one basis as in the case of those whose religion is that which predominates in their nation of origin. (It is for this reason that Catholics are included in the table even though, numbering nearly a fourth of the population, Catholics per se might not be considered a

minority.)

The basis for identification of "a minority" is not as clear as a tabular presentation would suggest and it follows that there is a great deal of uncertainty regarding their size and geographical distribution since estimates vary according to the means of identification employed. Accurate and objective identification of an individual member of one of these sub-populations is fully as difficult and further complicated by stereotypes and misunderstanding, some of which stems from lack of definitional consensus on identificational terms among the professionally interested as well as laymen. Such words as "race," "culture," and "ethnic" are frequently misused and there is considerable disagreement on their exact meanings. Even definitions of "minority" differ. Since this notion is meaningful only with respect to dominance, "minority" has come to apply to whatever population is not "dominant". In effect, this assigns the minority label to persons in the United States who do not possess all of the characteristics of dominant group members, namely whites who are Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. These considerations have a profound impact on the relations between people and make difficult their study and improvement.

#### PROBLEMS OF CONCEPTUAL DIVERGENCE

In addition to lack of consensus on identificational terms and their application, definitional divergence surrounds many of the concepts employed in dealing with dominant-minority relations and disagreement exists on the theoretical relationships of these concepts to one another. Among social scientists, "assimilation," "acculturation," "pluralism" and related terms have numerous definitions and implications; among the general

public the more commonly used "integration" has various meanings and connotations.

The context of any study of minorities can be described only in the conventional terminology so it becomes imperative to avoid the pitfalls of conceptual inconsistency. To this end, an attempt is made in Figure 1 to distinguish four different conceptualizations and place the concepts into juxtaposition. Following, several definitions for each concept will be presented to show the basis upon which they were assigned their schematic positions. The purpose of this diagrammatic summary is to clarify the meaning of the terms which must be used in expressing the primary issues involved in so-called "dominant-minority relations" so as to reduce their ambiguity and overlap and divest them of misleading connotations. Hopefully, these terms are thereby made more useful for the purpose of reviewing some of the "theories of assimilation" contained in the literature, for presenting the general problem under consideration in this thesis, and for relating the context of the general area of research to the theoretical framework in which the investigation is couched.

This schematic (Figure 1) is a comparative representation of major concepts and the manner in which they are theoretically related according to four different theoretical approaches in the area of dominant-minority relations. The first line of the diagram establishes "INTEGRATION" (in the popularly-used sense) as a benchmark by which the terms "ACCULTURATION" and "ASSIMILATION" have been positioned. These are the most widely employed concepts in the literature despite general acknowledgement of their ambiguity. Other less commonly used words are placed in the scheme with reference to these basic terms. It should be made clear that this is simply an attempt to "sort out" similar concepts and should not imply that



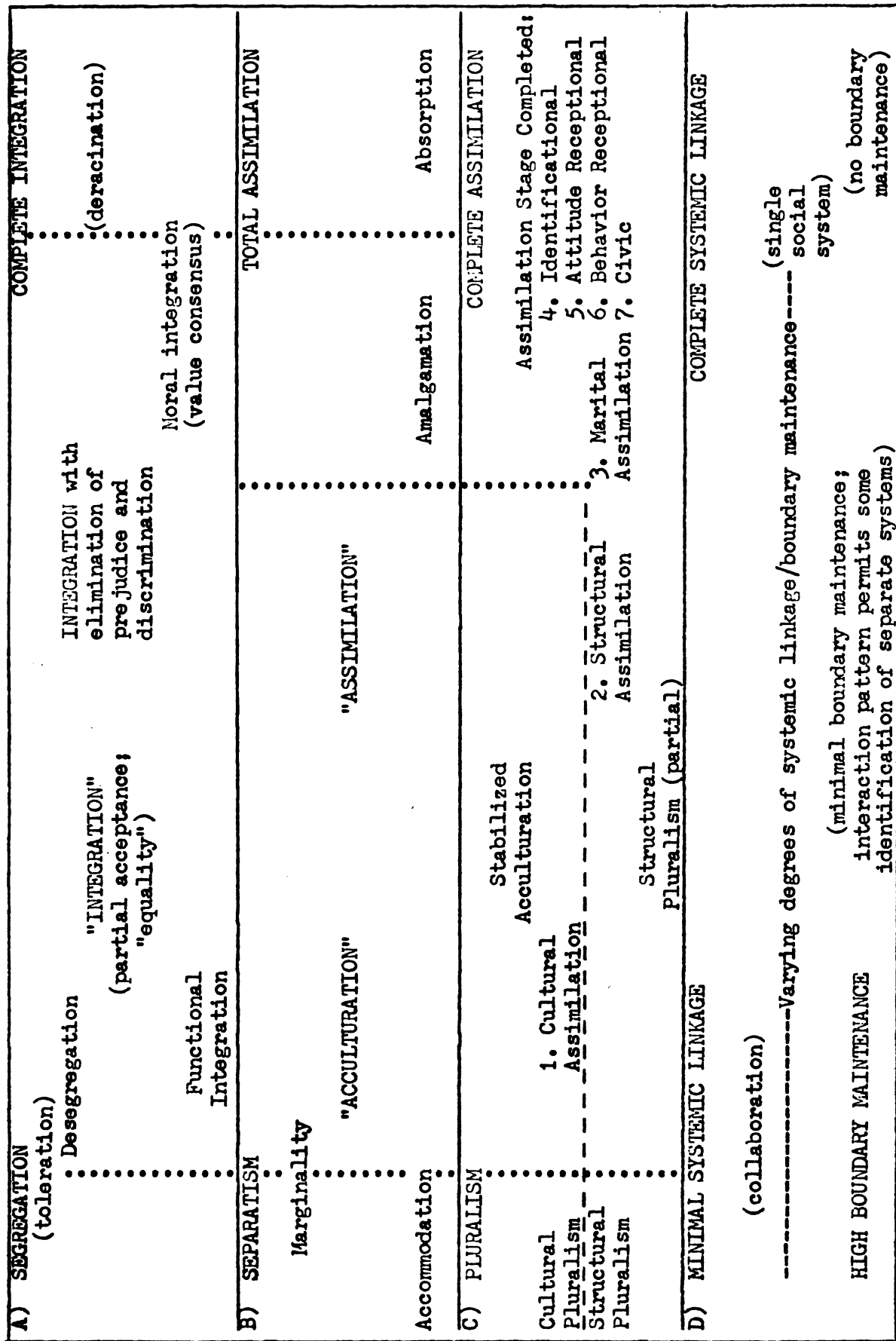


Figure 1. Schematic Representation of Conceptualizations of Assimilation Theories.

usage or the indicated polarity of the particular terms shown as extremes conforms to this system in every case.

Part B of Figure 1 utilizes the terminology most frequently employed by academicians in dealing with minority relations; it illustrates the sequential relationship often posited between acculturation and assimilation and further suggests that varying degrees of assimilation is sometimes implied. While parts A and B represent conceptual composites, part C attempts to portray the scheme developed by Milton M. Gordon in which assimilation is conceived as a process occurring in degrees through seven stages. (4:71) He distinguishes cultural and structural aspects and argues for "structural pluralism," finding support in Marden and Meyer who equate this term with their own, "stabilized acculturation". (7:49) Part D sketches a few aspects of the theoretical model used in the present study and indicates the appropriateness of casting a minority relations problem in this framework. This part of the schematic presentation will be given further attention in another chapter.

The vertical lines suggest where these conceptualizations, by statement or implication, seem to concur. Although each set of concepts is represented as an axis, this does not imply that there is consistency in their treatment as variables or as aspects of processes. It is hoped that the following examination of some of the definitions of these terms and the theories relating them will help to reveal the significance of the points brought to light by the diagrammatic presentation -- and the plethora of minority-relations terminology as well.

## CONCEPTS OF MINORITY RELATIONS LITERATURE; SOME DEFINITIONS

### Part A, The Segregation/Integration Axis:

#### SEGREGATION:

Segregation is the policy, enforced by custom or law, which excludes a group from joint participation. Characteristic forms are residence, occupation and education. The effect is to minimize association between the races and to restrict the association that does occur to clearly defined subordinate-superordinate roles. (Leonard Broom) (2:495)

#### DESEGREGATION:

Desegregation refers to the elimination of racial criteria in the operation of public or quasi-public facilities, services and institutions which the individual is entitled to as a functioning citizen of the community, equal in legal status to all other citizens. .. the achievement in full of what is usually referred to as his 'civil' rights. (Kenneth Clark) (4:16)

#### INTEGRATION:

Integration refers to policies that permit Negroes and whites, for example, access to areas of community life on the basis of free and equal association. (Broom) (2:496)

A plurality such as .. a society or an invisioned totality united in a one world community may be said to have integration if its members carry on or can engage in cooperative activity or team work. When this is the case the plurality is said to have functional integration. Also it is usually assumed that members of pluralities which are integrated share at least some values .. there is some consensus on ends and norms. This latter quality is sometimes called .. moral integration. (Charles Loomis) (6:1)

Integration may be defined as the process of making whole or entire. Social integration refers this process or its resultant state to the social system ... constituted by the dimensions of cultural integration (consistency of normative patterns with one another); normative integration (articulation of normative patterns with motivational processes so that conformity is achieved); consensual, communicative integration (sharing and transmission of normative patterns among members of the social system); and functional integration (interlocking of claims, expectations and overt acts. (Dictionary of the Social Sciences) (5:657)

Integration presupposes the elimination of hard and fast barriers in the primary group relations and communal life of the various ethnic groups of the nation. It involves easy and

fluid mixture of people of diverse racial, religious and nationality backgrounds in social cliques, families, private organizations and intimate friendships. (Milton Gordon) (4:246)

Integration as a subjective and individual process involves attitudinal changes and the removal of fears, hatreds, suspicions, stereotypes and superstitions. (It) involves problems of personal choice, personal readiness and personal stability. (It) deals poignantly with the problems of changing men's hearts and minds. (Kenneth Clark) (4:246)

The Negro challenge has led to the emergence of the concept integration in sociological literature in recent years. Its extensive use can substantially be dated from 1954 as the positive way to state the negative connotation of desegregation in the Southern school situation. It arose because of the inadequacies of the previously well-established concepts of acculturation and assimilation to describe the placing of Negroes into a situation alongside whites on equal, at least in formal status, basis. The concept of integration assumes a pluralistic society. Integration occurs in the equal association of individuals when the minority still identifies itself as a minority. In this way it differs from assimilation. When the individual cooperation between dominants and minorities on the basis of equality occurs we have the phenomenon of integration. Different from the experience of other minority persons, "integrated" Negroes are acculturated at the outset but not assimilated.

Integration does not have a common definition among social scientists. We see no need to use it as Kenneth Clark does to include the elimination of prejudice which then makes integration synonymous with the term "assimilation". (Charles Marden) (7:47,352)

## Part B, The Separatism/Assimilation Axis:

### SEPARATISM:

Separatism represents the decision to eschew the structure of the dominant society in order to retain values which have led to discrimination in the society from which the group has separated.

The Black Muslims is the largest and most significant of the separatists' movements. (It) is anti-integrationist. (Marden) (7:29,336)

### ACCOMODATION:

.. the mutual adjustment of groups that retain their own identity and interests. In an unstable accomodation .. the conflicting groups adapt themselves to immediate realities despite existence of unresolved issues. A stable accomodation resolves the major differences of interest. (Broom) (2:34)

Park saw accomodation as a temporary suspension of conflict. A subsequent emphasis is contained in the definition of accomodation by Kimball Young and Raymond Mack: "a condition, a state of equilibrium between individuals or groups in which certain working arrangements have been agreed on or accepted." We would stress accepted .. emphasizing that accomodation is a mode of adaptation about which the minority has no choice. (Marden) (7:436)

#### MARGINALITY:

The individual who engages in frequent and sustained primary contacts across ethnic group lines .. runs the risk of becoming what, in standard sociological parlance, has been called "marginal man" .. the person who stands on the borders of two cultural worlds but is fully a member of neither. (Gordon) (4:56)

In the theory of minority adjustment which assumed that minority groups moved through a series of steps to ultimate assimilation .. groups were sometimes defined as being in a marginal stage. (Marden) (7:44)

#### ACCULTURATION:

Acculturation refers to a group's taking on elements (beliefs, values, practices) from the culture of another group. (It) has also been used as a synonym for socialization, the acquisition of ways of behaving and valuing by individuals. We reserve the word for the process of cultural change induced by contact with foreign cultures. Usually both cultures are changed. (Broom) (2:8,499)

Acculturation is one of the sustaining processes whereby minorities are incorporated into the dominant culture. The term, when used to define a process, refers to the changes in individuals (and, if sharing the same experiences, groups of individuals) whose primary learning has been in one culture and who take over traits from another culture.

The process .. takes place on two levels: behavioral versus attitudinal or external and internal (in contemporary writing on acculturation). External acculturation is behavior in which material culture, everyday language and secular roles are acquired. (Marden) (7:35,437)

The term acculturation is widely accepted among American anthropologists as referring to those changes set in motion by the coming together of societies with different cultural traditions. The term remains somewhat ambiguous but persistent usage gives it the meaning of cultural assimilation, or replacement of one set of cultural traits by another, as in reference to individuals in contact situations as more or less "acculturated".

As defined by Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton and Melville Herskovits, as members of the Social Science Research Council, in 1935: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."

(International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences) (9:21)

Sociologists and cultural anthropologists have described the processes and results of ethnic "meetings" under such terms as "assimilation" and "acculturation". Sometimes these terms have been used to mean the same thing; in other usages their meanings, rather than being identical, have overlapped. Sociologists are more likely to use "assimilation"; anthropologists have favored "acculturation" and have given it a narrower but generally consistent meaning. (Gordon) (4:61)

The process of learning a culture different from the one in which a person was originally raised is called acculturation. Learning the first culture is sometimes called socialization, sometimes enculturation. Learning other cultures is called acculturation. The process of an outsider's being accepted as a genuine member of a new social group is called assimilation. One is acculturated to a culture, assimilated into a society. One process can occur without the other. (Berelson and Steiner) (1:646)

#### ASSIMILATION:

Assimilation is a process in which persons of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds come to interact, free of these constraints, in the life of the larger community. Complete assimilation would mean that no separate social structure based on racial or ethnic concepts remained. As a concept in American sociology, assimilation has had various meanings. Fairchild (1913) equated (it) with Americanization. For some scholars assimilation and acculturation are synonymous. More often assimilation has included acculturation. According to a widely quoted point of view (Park and Burgess, 1921): "Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons or groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups and by sharing their experiences and history are incorporated with them in a common cultural life."

Assimilation may be distinguished from accommodation, a process of compromise characterized by toleration, and from acculturation, cultural change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more cultural systems or the transference of individuals from their original societies and cultural settings to new socio-cultural environments. Assimilation is to be distinguished also from amalgamation or biological fusion.

Complete segregation and total assimilation are opposite ends of a continuum along which may be located varying degrees of limited desegregation, the substantial pluralism found in many

communities, hypothetical integration which values structural and cultural differences while insisting on equal life opportunities, partial assimilation, individual assimilation, and group assimilation. (9:438)

(International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences)

The term assimilation literally means the process of becoming "alike" ...; as used in sociology it denotes (a) the process whereby a group, generally a minority or immigrant group, is through contact absorbed into the culture of another group; (b) the result of such absorption. Thus (it) denotes the process in which one set of cultural traits is relinquished and a new one acquired ... the change is gradual and may take place in any degree. The concept is distinct from the biological process of racial merging through interbreeding or amalgamation. Full assimilation means the incorporation of new members into a society so that they are not distinguishable from former members.

While there is little important variation in the sociological usage of this concept some scholars, especially in anthropology, have used acculturation in a closely related sense. The process by which a minority group finds a place for itself in the wider society may be said to be one both of assimilation and acculturation. (Dictionary of Social Sciences) (5:38)

#### AMALGAMATION:

Amalgamation is a biological process, the fusion of races by interbreeding and intermarriage. Assimilation on the other hand is limited to the fusion of cultures. (Park and Burgess, 1921) (4:63)

Amalgamation is the biological merging of previously distinct "racial" or "subracial" stocks. (Marden) (7:51)

#### ABSORPTION:

Total assimilation would involve the disappearance of a separate (Negro) subcommunity and group identity, ultimately leading to the absorption of (Negro) genetic strains in the white race. (Marden) (7:347)

#### Part C, Gordon's Sequential Steps, Pluralism/Assimilation:

##### PLURALISM:

Pluralism denotes the views which hold that political, cultural and social systems may (or should) be conceived as being constituted from a multiplicity of autonomous but interdependent groups. (Dictionary of Social Sciences) (5:507)

When we speak of America as a pluralistic society we mean that there are many groups which retain differences derivative from their tradition and some degree of collective identity.

In the case of minority groups, this would include some cultural or physiognomic traits. (Marden) (7:439)

#### CULTURAL PLURALISM:

Pluralism may be used to denote (besides political forms) diversities in religious and ethnic groups. An important notion in the United States has been that of cultural pluralism, "a state of affairs in which each ethnic group maintains in large measure a separate way of life, with its own customs, its own supplementary schools, its special organizations and periodicals and perhaps even its favored secondary languages." (N. Glazer, 1957) This term was introduced by N. M. Kallen (1956) although the concept had existed for a long time prior to the term. (Avery Leiserson) (5:508)

Cultural pluralism (is) used to describe the model of American society as a composite of groups which have preserved their own cultural identity. (Gordon) (4:38)

#### STRUCTURAL PLURALISM:

In the United States acculturation for all groups beyond the first generation of immigrants, without eliminating all value conflict, has been massive and decisive, but structural separation on the basis of race and religion -- structural pluralism, as we have called it -- emerges as the dominant sociological condition. (The term) denotes a situation in which primary group contacts between members of various ethnic groups are held to a minimum, even though secondary contacts on the job, on the civic scene, and in other areas of impersonal contact may abound. (Gordon) (4:235)

#### STABILIZED ACCULTURATION:

Association in work, in politics and public life do much to break down "social distance" between disparate groups. The public recognition of the achievement of minority individuals has enhanced the "respectability" of minority descent.

"Respectability" means that at least in the secular spheres of life, acculturation .. has taken place, minority institutional patterns have modified and become more coherent with dominant norms. Yet within this frame of acculturation there persists, it is argued, a preference for intimate associations with people whose cultural and/or religious and racial heritage is like one's own. We have called this mode of adaptation stabilized acculturation. More recently Milton M. Gordon has used the term structural pluralism. (Marden and Meyer) (7:49)

#### ASSIMILATION:

Gordon (1964) sees the assimilation process and its sub-processes as a matter of degree but complete assimilation would cover 7 variables. This conceptual scheme provides the most

satisfactory criteria yet proposed for measuring assimilation and determining to what extent it is taking place. (International Encyclopedia) (9:439)

With regard to the term "assimilation," particularly there is a certain amount of confusion, and there is a compelling need for a rigorous and systematic analysis of the concept .. which would "break it down" into all the possible relevant factors or variables which could conceivably be included under its rubric.

Not only is the assimilation process mainly a matter of degree, but obviously each of the stages or subprocesses may take place in varying degrees. For some of the particular assimilation subprocesses there are existing special terms. The full list of assimilation subprocesses or variables with their general names and special names, if any, is given in the table.

#### The Assimilation Variables

<u>SUBPROCESS OR CONDITION:</u>	<u>STAGE OF ASSIMILATION; Special Term</u>
1) <u>Change of cultural patterns to those of host society</u>	Cultural or behavioral assimilation (ACCULTURATION)
2) <u>Large-scale entrance into host society cliques clubs &amp; institutions on primary group level.</u>	Structural assimilation
3) <u>Large-scale inter-marriage.</u>	Marital assimilation (AMALGAMATION)
4) <u>Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society</u>	Identificational assimilation
5) <u>Absence of prejudice.</u>	Attitude receptional assimilation
6) <u>Absence of discrimination.</u>	Behavior receptional assimilation
7) <u>Absence of value and power conflict.</u>	Civic assimilation
*Adapted from Table 5, p. 71. (Gordon) (4:61,70-71)	

This collection of opinions about terminology in the area of assimilation speaks for itself. Spelling out the differences and similarities, the ambiguities, contradictions and biases implied in these definitions would constitute a study in itself. Particular note should be taken, however, of the lack of generality in some of the statements as in reference to a particular racial minority. It is expected that the position assigned the various terms in Figure 1 serves to indicate the

meanings embraced and the posture of objectivity assumed in the present treatment. The reader should also be convinced of the advantage accruing to a researcher in the area of assimilation by using PAS Model concepts in achieving clarity, objectivity and flexibility.

#### THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO ASSIMILATION

Disagreement on the meaning of terms which describe modes of dominant-minority relations extends into the various approaches to this relationship as expressed in the theoretical connections of these concepts to one another. Some of this lack of accord is evident in the diversity among the definitions presented above. While detailed analysis of conceptual divergence is beyond the scope of this paper, a brief review of the most important assimilation theories, the ways these modes of adaptation have been viewed, will give perspective to the research problem to be posed shortly.

Robert E. Park, an early and influential figure, viewed the major modes of adaptation as patterns of interaction. His "race relations cycle" of the early twenties (Contact-Competition-Cooperation, occurring sequentially in this order) was extended to include accommodation and eventual assimilation, making it applicable to other than racial minorities. This approach "has been criticized for its assumption of the inevitability and irreversibility of the process." (9:438) The basic terms accommodation, acculturation, assimilation, are also viewed as describing continuing structured relationships, that is, stabilized forms of adaptation between dominants and minorities or the goals of minorities in their minority status. (7:436)

To the present day controversy surrounds the notion of assimilation -- whether it is a condition or a process, an inexorable process or one

which can be retarded or hastened, a condition which is inevitable or is sometimes unattainable, and at what point is one "assimilated". In one way or another the key issues, as suggested by the viewpoints presented above, seem always to have centered about the question of the inevitability of assimilation.

Park believed that minorities and dominants were caught in the same volutionary process and had no choice. Louis Wirth .. also saw assimilation as the inevitable outcome and any alternatives as temporary delays. Etsioni has challenged the a priori assumption of assimilation as the only alternative choice. In the writings about dominant-minority relations there is as yet no clear consensus as to which if any sentiments and traits may be retained when a person of minority origin considers himself assimilated and is accepted. (7:439)

In American historical experience there have been three chief "philosophies" or "ideological tendencies" with regard to assimilation: Anglo-conformity, the "Melting Pot Theory," and Cultural Pluralism. Anglo-conformity "demanded complete renunciation of the immigrants' ancestral culture in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group." (4:85) It was assumed that immigrant peoples would be absorbed, which was largely true as long as migration was mostly of Caucasian stock from northern Europe. This ideology contributed to the entrenchment of the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant ethnic group as dominant. Coupled with this assumption was the belief that some peoples were "unassimilable," a notion used as a platform for limitation of Asian migration. Although Anglo-conformity, in various guises, has probably been the most prevalent ideology of assimilation, it is accepted as a realistic expectation today "only by the most unsophisticated white Protestants." (11:125)

At the turn of the century a variant on the earlier belief began to develop: the Melting Pot Theory, which claimed that "from the merging

of the many ethnic heritages a new type of persons -- the American -- would evolve." (7:48) This view was somewhat more generous and idealistic in that it envisioned "the evolving American society not simply as a slightly modified England but rather as a totally new blend, culturally and biologically, in which the stocks and folkways of Europe were, figuratively speaking, indiscriminately mixed in the political pot of the emerging nation and melted together by the fires of American influence and interaction into a distinctly new type." (4:115) However, as Gordon points out,

A neglected aspect of this model ... is whether all groups make an equally influential contribution to the boiling pot. At one extreme of interpretation ... the melting pot concept embraces a view of acculturation which is hardly distinguishable in nature from that of Anglo-conformity except that the conformity is to be exacted toward a cultural blending to which the cultures of immigrant groups from Northern and Western Europe have conceded an earlier contribution. (4: 125)

In contradistinction to the "melting pot" view was the ideology of cultural (or ethnic) pluralism "which provides for a measure of group autonomy for minorities within a unifying social order." (2:459) Early popularity of this concept was coincident with the heavy migration around 1900 and the development of urban nationality subcommunities. Taking a more appreciative view of the cultural heritage of the immigrant, this approach to assimilation was not absorption but a "progressively more tolerant integration of diverse cultural tendencies." (3:183)

The cultural pluralism approach is criticized as socially invalid and as "unrealistic"; many scholars dismiss the argument of those who would strive to maintain ethnic identities as "largely academic." Each of these criticisms seems to originate from a too literal interpretation of the term cultural pluralism. Those who find plural cultures unthinkable envision a society threatened by really diverse value systems

and increased discrimination. As expressed by Marden and Meyer, "Cultural pluralism, in the visionary sense of the early decades of the twentieth century, proved incongruent to the effective needs both of minorities and of the total society, however humanistically appealing it was as a philosophy." (7:49)

Most modern critics find cultural pluralism unrealistic. It can be inferred from their writings that they believe the idea of (literally) multiple cultures in America to be nonsense because nearly all groups are to some degree acculturated. They point out that the only truly separatist communities have been small groups who kept their cultures intact by geographic or institutional separation (such as the Amish, by choice, or the Indians, by force); other groups, through interaction, have acculturated to some degree.

Since few would differ with this, most of the seeming disagreement may be attributable to lack of consensus on the concept implied by the term cultural pluralism. A better understanding of this notion (and the entire problem of minority relations) might be reached by considering the pluralism-assimilation axis as both a continuum, implying attainment by degrees, and as two-dimensional (cultural, and structural or social). This conceptualization gets away from viewing each mode of minority adaptation as a discrete condition.

Berelson and Steiner make this distinction in asserting that acculturation and assimilation can occur separately. They claim that one can be acculturated (to a culture) without being assimilated (into a society) -- as with the Negroes; or assimilated more than acculturated -- as the Amish. But, they add, "The latter is more difficult and far less frequent." (1:655) This is much the same point made by critics of cultural

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pluralism, ie., taking on a culture occurs more readily than entrance into a society so "plural cultures," taken literally, would imply that it is very unlikely the groups in question would ever be assimilated at all.

Gordon makes a fruitful contribution to solving the problem by examining the nature of cultural pluralism and declaring the term a misnomer. Conceding the success of acculturation, he suggests that "a more accurate term for the American situation is structural pluralism rather than cultural pluralism, although some of the latter still remains."

(4:159) According to his analysis, for plural cultures to be maintained, they must be carried on by subsocieties which provide the framework for communal existence; cultural pluralism cannot exist without the existence of separate subsocieties but, he says, "It is possible for separate subsocieties to continue their existence even while the cultural differences between them become progressively reduced and even in greater part eliminated." (4:15)

This viewpoint takes into account an aspect of modes of dominant-minority relations often neglected by earlier writers, that assimilation and pluralism are a matter of degree. Gordon warns of the dangers of an excessive degree but believes that "structural and cultural pluralism in moderate degree are not incompatible with American democratic ideals." (4:239)

Current views of assimilation are the product of these historically important ideologies and the experiences of minorities under the policies which evolved from them. As restrictive laws have slowed immigration and European ethnic peoples have in large measure been merged into the dominant population, attention is turned more toward those minority

groups which seem to have eluded the supposedly inexorable process of assimilation. The persistent visible minorities have not melted as theorized and the events of recent years indicate that they cannot be ignored.

This discussion has dealt mainly with assimilation historically, as a theoretical concept; current views, as they affect social policy, must take into account the widespread prejudice and discrimination operative in the situation. This is the primary reason that assimilation has not been consummated, particularly with respect to racial groups. The structural-cultural separation which prevails is largely due to the prejudice of the majority. The position taken here is in keeping with the American Creed which holds that all members of American society should have equal opportunity without experiencing prejudice or discrimination based on racial, religious or nationality identity or lineage.

Protection of minorities from being treated as different against their will is only half of the problem, however. While the primary goal of social policy should be directed toward the total elimination of prejudice and discrimination, the problem remaining is how to protect the right of people who want to be different, who wish to retain the habits, customs, and traditions of another land. The elimination of discrimination against minorities should not require the elimination of subgroup culture and social structure. This plea for the basic "right to plurality," the theme of much current literature, represents an opposite stand from Victorian notions of total assimilation but is not to be taken as in favor of unqualified separatism. This statement from Minorities in American Society is representative:

The right to retain cultural pluralism or structural pluralism based on religion or ethnicity, and, if racial groups wish it, race, should not be denied. The qualification is that such pluralism should incorporate basic identity with the American value system. All members of the society should be firmly acculturated both externally and internally to the basic core of American values. In short, all should be Americans first and members of subgroups second. (7:459)

#### A MODE OF ADAPTATION FOR THE MEXICAN-AMERICANS

In presenting this overview of the various approaches to dominant-minority relations without reference to any particular group, we have tried to show what modes of relationship are theoretically available to a minority given it has the right to make a choice. This review reveals that assimilation-pluralism has been considered almost exclusively from the dominant viewpoint; the literature has dealt mainly with aspects of a group being assimilated in one way or another, seldom touching on possible opposition to assimilation except to cite the more extreme separatists such as the Amish. Recent activities of the Black Muslims has brought attention to the possibility that minority peoples may have another goal, or at least the right to their choice of adaptation.

We have tried to show that minority problems are complicated by the use of ambiguous, value-laden terminology; problems of social policy have not been solved by approaching them in terms of broad concepts describing "modes of relationship" for minority groups in general. The diversity in conceptualization may be a result of the necessity for interpreting terms differently according to their use in reference to particular groups, even though some have stated definitions of general concepts with criticisable specificity. What is suggested is that, while every minority should have a right to choose, they do not have identical prospects for the same mode of relationship. This is true of the two largest

American subpopulations, the Negro and Mexican-American.\*

Few disagree with the assertion that the Negro minority is acculturated; in language, religion and tradition, these people are culturally American. For this group, a reasonable long-range prospect is not likely to be structural or cultural pluralism for "an American Negro subcommunity with no distinctive cultural basis would have only the common feature of race as a unifying bond. This would put emphasis on the very factor that in general social science has been tending to de-emphasize as having any valid social relevance." (7:351)

The same cannot be said of the Mexican-American minority which has retained a foreign ethnic-language background and whose ranks continue to be filled by immigration. These people have very real prospects for retaining their identity as members of a subgroup along with their identity as Americans, if they so desire, and there are strong proponents for this position among them. One of the most prominent is Professor Rafael Guzman of California State University who is presently involved in a four year Ford Foundation study of Mexican-Americans. His views were presented recently in a national news magazine as follows:

As with the blacks, the question for those who lead the Chicanos is whether progress means separatism or assimilation. Cal State Professor Rafael Guzman warns that the barrio is potentially as explosive as the black ghetto. He argues for a new pluralism in the U.S. that means something other than forcing minorities into the established Anglo-Saxon mold; each group should be free to develop its own culture while contributing to the whole. (10:21)

This "new pluralism" of which Guzman speaks is conceptually that which Gordon refers to as structural pluralism and Marden and Meyer have

\*In 1960 Mexican-Americans were estimated to be 2.89% of the population of the United States, the Negro nearly 11%. (7:129)

called stabilized acculturation. The position assigned these terms in Figure 1 suggests the essential aspects of this mode of assimilation; it assumes considerable acculturation and some degree of structural assimilation have occurred. Placement on a continuum implies that this mode may be, as Marden and Meyer puts it, "a transitional reality to be followed by complete incorporation of the dominant values and affiliations including the private spheres of behavior and sentiment"; not forced or total assimilation but a solution for a minority group in adjusting to the dominant society which may be held by some of its members as ideal. (7:51) The group's level of acculturation is seen as typically generational -- the child of the immigrant is more acculturated than his parents and he socializes his own children to more of the dominant culture.

Minorities may, however, choose stabilized acculturation and resist complete assimilation as a mode of adaptation. This may be because they value a specific historic tradition of which they are a part. Or they may feel that identity with a group that shares the same cultural tradition gives security. Or it may be their assessment that even with total acculturation all barriers to participation in the society will not be lifted for them. (7:37)

While the prejudice of the majority is partly responsible for the structural-cultural separatism of this ethnic group, we propose to show that it is brought about in part by a desire to maintain its communal identity and subculture. Borrowing Marden's term for describing a mode of adaptation which, for the Mexican-American minority leaves the choice between separatism and assimilation to the Chicano himself, the main subject of consideration in this study is the proposal that "stabilized acculturation" is an appropriate approach to integration for the Spanish-speaking minority of the American Southwest.

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## Chapter 2

### STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Continued identification of the Spanish-speaking subpopulation as a minority within the dominant American society is taken as an indication that this group has not been completely assimilated. Factors which tend to retard complete assimilation of a minority population may be categorized as externally imposed deterrents and self-imposed deterrents to assimilation. Externally imposed factors take the form of discriminatory practices (particularly in the areas of education, occupation, and housing) and prejudice directed against its members. Some evidence that these externally imposed deterrents are operative in the case of the Mexican-American minority is presented in these findings:

#### Educational Discrimination

As reported by the UCLA Mexican-American Study Project, "In the Southwest, adult Mexican-Americans had on the average 7.1 years of schooling as against 12.1 for Anglos." Median attainment of the Spanish surname group in 1960 ranged from 8.6 years in California to 4.8 years in Texas, compared with 12.2 and 10.3 for Anglos." (5:3)

Relatively low educational attainment, according to Burma, can be attributed largely to school drop-out, most often the result of the language handicap. Language difficulties also contribute to de facto school segregation. (3:74)

While there are few legal restrictions, discrimination occurs in subtle forms of inequitable educational opportunities including improperly trained teachers, inferior facilities, lack of interest in enrolling Mexican children and encouraging attendance, especially of working

children. (10:138)

### Occupational Discrimination

Walter Fogel reports as evidence of labor market discrimination against Mexican-Americans:

(1) Comparison of incomes of Mexican-Americans and Anglos who had completed the same number of school years shows incomes of Mexican-Americans were 60 to 80 percent those of Anglos. (2) Disproportionate representation of Mexican-Americans in low wage occupations; within 6 or 7 major occupational categories, Mexican-Americans hold inferior jobs to those in which Anglos are employed. (6:191)

### Residential Discrimination

In 1954, Burma wrote: "Always in the Southwest ... the Mexican lives in a segregated section of town. He calls it the barrio or colonia; Anglos call it 'Mextown' or 'Spiktown' ... By whatever name it is known it can be recognized as a distinct and substandard area." Upwards of 75 percent of all Mexican-Americans live in such a residential enclave in urban areas. (3:88)

The Mexican-American Study Project reports similar findings on residential segregation in the urban Southwest. They point out that urban residential segregation is significant in itself since about four-fifths of the Mexican-American group live in cities, and also because it is associated with many other kinds of separation -- in jobs, schooling, income, languages, social relations and political participation. Segregated ethnic areas tend to be low-income areas with poor housing, a pattern reflecting the generally subordinate position of an ethnic group. (13:3)

Of discrimination in general, Cumberland writes:

Ugly discriminatory practices, some overt and some covert, have been characteristic of relations between the dominant and

minority groups in the border area. In most of the area virtually every aspect of the material culture of the Spanish-speaking is at a lower level than the remainder of the population. Unlike the Negro in the south, discrimination against the Spanish-speaking is not supported by law; but the social acceptability of the practice, and the social unacceptability of non-discriminatory practices, act as enforcing agents. It has been only in recent years that there has been any general recognition, even by thoughtful people, that the practice existed or had any meaning for society in general. (3:71)

Incomplete assimilation of the Spanish-speaking population is further explained in terms of self-imposed deterrents, some of which may be categorized as "involuntary" in that they are essentially self-segregating phenomena, not directly imposed by the dominant society but over which minority group members have little direct control. This is primarily an analytical distinction, however, since self-imposed factors functioning in social separation of the group are obviously interrelated with one another and with the externally imposed factors discussed above. Important among "involuntary" self-imposed deterrents to Mexican-American assimilation are continued immigration, proximity to the border, endogamous marriage patterns, and retention of Spanish language and Catholicism.

#### Immigration

Broom observes that one of the reasons the Japanese have assimilated to a greater degree than the Mexicans is the continual immigration of Mexicans which causes this group to remain large and in turn re-enforces ethnicity. (2:500)

Burma describes the probable extent of illegal immigration since 1940 as exceeding the number entering legally. (3:44) Census figures indicate that, of the 3,465,000 Spanish-surname persons in the five southwestern states in 1960, 524,814 were foreign born. (16)

### Proximity to the Border

Physical proximity provides opportunity for association with the mother country and language facility enhances communication; these factors promote retention of Mexican culture in bordering states. Loomis' data attest to the permeability of the United States-Mexican border: almost three-fifths of the respondents in the southwest sample and almost one-fourth of the informants in the urban Mexican sample report visiting across the border. Over a third of the Latinos receive radio or television programs from Mexico. (7:74,13)

### Intermarriage

According to a recent study of Mexican-American intermarriage in Los Angeles County, while marriage patterns are affected by demographic and social variables, the fundamental factor is social distance. They report a higher rate of out-group marriage among third generation than first or second generation Mexicans implying gradual assimilation, but "the majority of Mexican-Americans still tend to marry other Mexican-Americans. Assimilation through intermarriage is still not imminent." (12:96)

### Language

Charles Marden observes:

The practice of speaking another language in the family or among close associates may serve as a mode of identification in both a derogatory sense for the dominant group, or in a sense of cultural pride for the minority. (10:26)

Burma cites the 1949 study by William Altus of English-illiterate draftees, approximately 48 percent of whom gave Spanish as their mother tongue although they had been raised in the United States. According to figures taken by Burma from the 1940 Census, 36.6 percent of the persons listing their mother tongue as Spanish were native born of native parents; of nearly 700,000 Mexicans of foreign or mixed parentage in

1940, English was the mother tongue of 7 percent, the lowest percentage of the 19 mother tongues tabulated. (3:73)

Presently, "in Texas 40% of Chicanos are functionally illiterate and in Los Angeles only an estimated 25% speak English fluently." (14:21)

### Religion

Loomis points to the integrative function of religion: "A common religious heritage ... shared by the vast majority of a society's members ... tends to bestow a certain degree of integration of the society." He reports Lenski's finding that over eight out of ten white Catholics (in Detroit) thought friends or relatives would discourage them from changing their religious faith. (8:184,199)

Religion as a barrier to out-group marriage among Mexican-Americans is shown in this excerpt from The American Catholic Family:

Catholics form about 30 percent of the populations of both San Antonio, Texas, and Marquette, Michigan, but the rate of Catholic interfaith marriage is only about 5 percent in San Antonio, while in Marquette it is close to 40 percent. (2:418)

The vast majority of the population of Mexico is Catholic; while the Mexican Catholic church, when transplanted to the United States, loses some of its fervor and emphasis on supernatural occurrences and emotional experience, most Mexican-Americans remain nominally Catholic, observing Catholic rites despite irregular attendance. Even among those who become Protestant, the church reinforces the separateness of the group as a consequence of segregation typically existing in southwestern churches based mainly on language differentiation. (3:81)

Of the 105 respondents in the Southwest Spanish-speaking sample of the Five Nation Study, nine are reported as non-Catholics. (7:51)

The foregoing discussion has outlined the kinds of externally imposed and "involuntary" or spontaneously self-imposed factors which

function in separation of minority populations; some evidence was presented which shows these kinds of factors to be operative in impeding assimilation of the Mexican-Americans. On this basis, then, for the purposes of the present study, it will be assumed that incomplete assimilation of the Mexican-American minority into the dominant society is in part attributable to deterrents directly imposed upon the group in the form of prejudice and discrimination, and in part attributable to "involuntary" self-imposed deterrents over which members of the minority have little control.

The issue to which this investigation is specifically directed, however, is the possibility that, beyond these factors, a voluntary deterrent to complete assimilation may be functioning among the Mexican-Americans. Incomplete assimilation of this minority may be partly attributable to assimilation impeding behavior which stems from a desire for ethnic identification on the part of its members. Aspects of this predilection for ethnicity as a factor contributing to structural-cultural separatism are included under the rubric of stabilized acculturation discussed in the previous chapter. Although there seems to be no published study of the desire to maintain ethnicity as causally contributing to continued minority identification, the literature contains several references to this possibility in connection with Mexican-Americans. The following excerpt from Ruth Tuck's widely quoted work suggests this relationship to be a distinct possibility:

Self-respecting pride in one's background and origins strikes a rather new note in American immigrant histories. The man who changed his name, denied his background, and was ashamed of the old folks with their accented English and foreign ways is a commonplace type among other immigrant groups. He is a distinct rarity among Mexican-Americans....

"Assimilation! I am tired of that word," said one of the

colonia's leaders. "Fusion is what we want -- the best of both ways." (15:134)

Preliminary reports issued by the on-going UCLA Mexican-American Study Project contain repeated references to the possibility of the preference for pluralism as, for example, in this statement from the report of a study of residential segregation: "There is a pervasive controversy in literature about Mexican-Americans as to whether their separation from various aspects of American life is the result of their exclusion or of their desire to be excluded." This study investigated as "relatively conscious cultural factors" two constructs described as follows:

(a) the acceptability of the subpopulation to the dominant population (or the "taste for discrimination" against a subpopulation).

(b) the cohesiveness of the subpopulation and its desire for assimilation (or the "taste for segregation" of the subpopulation itself). Although this concept is not elaborated in the literature, it would include such matters as the degree of acculturation of the subpopulation and the extent of the traditionalist values among its members. It is clearly associated with "taste for segregation," though analytically distinct. (13:26,24)

Drawing on Census figures for data the researchers were unable to find a satisfactory statistical proxy for "taste for discrimination" which could be used in multiple regression analysis; after rejecting a number of alternatives to "express empirically the lack of acculturation of the Mexican-American population and their presumed propensity for voluntary segregation" (including percent of Spanish-surname who were foreign born), they operationalized the concept as traditional familism measured in terms of households with five or more persons. Interpreting the proportion of large households as an indicator of acculturation, they found it to be significantly related to residential segregation although confounded by correlation with income. (4)

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In an earlier study of social change in El Cerrito, New Mexico, Charles P. Loomis uses the term "polite separatism" which is suggestive of the same phenomenon, as seen in this excerpt from his report:

Polite separatism characterizes the basic nature of boundary maintenance of Spanish-speaking groups in New Mexico. The evolution of this pattern is complex and has developed over the many decades of Anglo-Hispano interaction. In a brief space we can only sketch certain aspects of polite separatism as a boundary maintaining device. Suffice it to say that even before the annexation of New Mexico by the United States in 1848 and in ever-accelerating measure thereafter, "invading" Anglos who generally maintained an exalted belief in their own superiority pushed their business and other interests in "the Anglo way," ... Against this aggressive and industrious Anglo enterprise the natives were unable to compete.

The results of this interaction have been summarized by Zeleny: 'The average Spanish-American drawing what security he needs from the family, community and church, as an individual possesses a serenity, a lack of competitive zeal, and a contented enjoyment of leisure and simple pleasures... (They) have voluntarily remained aloof from social intercourse with the Anglos in part because of hostile attitudes toward them.'

In terms of the basic cultural and social components of El Cerrito, the device of polite separatism has been an effective boundary maintaining device. Social-cultural linkage to the society outside has not meant that the basic value orientation and social structure has greatly changed. (9:67-69)

The supposition that such a desire as has been described may exist and be operative in the relationship between the Mexican-American minority and the dominant society is basic to the issue under investigation, viz., that incomplete assimilation of the Spanish-speaking subpopulation is in part a reflection of the members' resistance to total assimilation. Some aspects of the behavior of the members of this minority which has the effect of impeding its complete assimilation rests upon a desire to retain their ethnic structural-cultural identity within the dominant society. This, the general hypothesis, is tested on the basis of data drawn from a sample of the southwestern Spanish-speaking population.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING MINORITY

The population to which the findings of this research may be inferred to apply is uniquely difficult to define. Leo Grebler, director of the extensive UCLA study comments,

The study of any minority population raises a host of questions concerning its identification... In the case of Mexican-Americans, these problems are compounded by semantics. Every study of Mexican-Americans in the United States -- in fact practically every conversation about or within the group -- begins inevitably with questions of definition. (11:vi)

The Mexican-Americans are accorded minority status on the basis of language, nationality, race, and religion, despite the ambiguity of some of these designations. Ample evidence of this is seen in the changing Census identification of this population. The 1930 Census attempted to enumerate the Spanish-speaking people under the heading "Mexican" (defined as people born in Mexico or native born of Mexican born parents) but this excluded the third or more generation Hispano population and the designation was abandoned. The 1940 Census reported only on persons of Spanish mother tongue, meaning those habitually speaking Spanish in the home. Of this group (in 1940) 428,360 were foreign born; 714,060 were native white of foreign or mixed parentage and 718,980 were native white of native parentage. (3:36) This produced a total lower than the number of persons correctly called "Mexican-American" because it excluded those who were Spanish-speaking in derivation but did not speak the language in the home. In the 1950 and 1960 Census, persons having Spanish surnames (Mexican ancestry but not Indian) were distinguished separately from "other white" in five southwestern states; this excludes those who anglicized their names and women who intermarried (and exactly comparable data is unavailable for the nation as a whole).

Even the members of the group designate themselves variously as Latinos, Spanish-speaking Americans, Mexican-Americans, Mexicanos (or Chicanos) and Hispanos. The latter, although often used by Spanish-speaking people interchangeably with other terms is used in the literature about this minority with particular reference to those Spanish-speaking people who are descended from Spanish-Mexican lineage indigenous to the area at the time of annexation, some of whose ancestry goes back to the 16th century. "In view of the general statistical confusion concerning Americans of Latin ancestry, their numbers and proportion are difficult to establish. It is clear that in New Mexico and southern Colorado a very large proportion of the Spanish-speaking people derive from this Hispano lineage as distinct from migrant Mexican lineage; in Texas and southern California the situation is roughly reversed. (10:49) The rural Hispanos residing primarily in northern New Mexico constitute something of a minority within a minority; they are often referred to as "the forgotten people" because they have, in relative isolation, kept alive the culture of past centuries. In recent times, however, many Hispanos have migrated from rural areas to cities, becoming newcomers to the urban colonia.

These definitional problems have implications beyond the immediate consequences of inexact enumeration. As already noted, this multiple basis of identification is reflected both in the prejudice of dominants and in the self-identification of the Mexican-Americans themselves. If the Mexican-American leaves the colonia he is still identifiable by his name and language; even if he speaks English he may still bear a Spanish surname; if he anglicized his name, he might still be differentiated in terms of visible physical traits or religious preference. This entire

configuration of cultural elements or "ethos," together with the value system with which the Spanish-speaking are typically identified, has been traditionally associated with the concept of La Raza. Literally "the race," this is a cultural concept of peoplehood and destiny creating deep psychic bonds uniting the people of Latin-American descent. La Raza has this traditional significance for the older Mexican-American; among the second and third generation youth it is becoming "at best, a rallying cry betokening a mild form of cultural nationalism; at worst, it connotes outright racism." (14:18) The pervasive problems of minority identification have far-reaching implications not evident in a straight-forward attempt to characterize the population relevant to the present study.

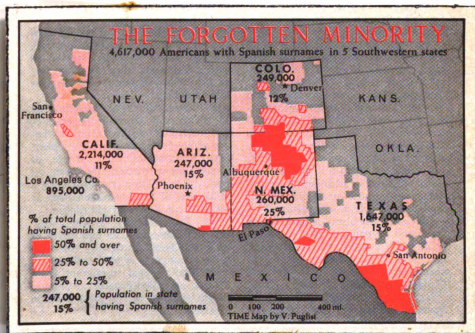


Figure 2. Distribution Spanish-surname Population 5 Southwestern States.\*

\*Time, 94, July 4, 1969, p. 17. Used with permission Time, Inc.

The data used in testing the hypothesis is drawn from a sample of Spanish-speaking adults residing in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas. This region contains about 78 percent of all the Mexican-Americans in the United States, see Figure 2. As far as can be ascertained, the Southwest Spanish-surname designation used for the Census includes all but about ten percent of persons living in the area who are of Mexican descent. Since few Spanish-surname persons in the southwest are not of Mexican descent, it is general practice to construe Census data for "white persons of Spanish-surname" as applying to Mexican-Americans in the southwest.

Table 2, following page, shows the distribution of the 1960 southwest Spanish-surname population over the five states and the proportion of each state's population included in this designation. For comparison, the same percentages are shown for the Negro population in this area. Table 3 breaks down the Spanish-surname group by nativity and parentage indicating the preponderance of native born Mexican-Americans in each state.\* In the southwest as a whole, about 12 percent of the total population is Spanish-surname compared with 7.4 percent Negro, .6 percent Indian, .6 percent Japanese and .4 percent Chinese. The 1960 Census sets the total southwest Spanish-surname population at 3,464,999, a 51 percent increase over 1950; a recent article in Time magazine claims the total is 4,617,000 which is probably a reasonable estimate for 1969. In each state, the Spanish-surname population is primarily urban, as shown in Table 2. (16)

These statistics tend to corroborate earlier statements regarding the significance of the relative size of the Mexican-American minority and

\*85% of Mexican-Americans are native born; 50% are third generation. (10:131)



Table 2. Distribution of Spanish-surname, Other White, and Negro Populations, Southwest by State.\*

State	Percent of State		Percent of		Percent of	
	Population	Population	Spanish surname	Negro	Span. Pop.	Negro Pop. Southwest
Arizona	14.9	3.3	5.6	2.0	2.0	4.2
California	9.1	5.6	41.2	40.7	40.7	56.4
Colorado	9.0	2.3	4.5	1.8	1.8	6.7
New Mexico	28.3	1.8	7.8	.8	.8	2.6
Texas	13.4	12.7	40.9	54.7	54.7	30.1
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3. Nativity and Parentage, Spanish-surname Persons, Southwest by State.\*

State	Total		Native of Native		Native of Foreign	
	Spanish Surname	Parentage	Parentage	or Mixed	Born	Born
Arizona	194,356	95,825	64,281	34,250	64,281	34,250
% urban		77.4%	76.6%	64.6%	76.6%	64.6%
California	1,426,538	656,674	484,533	285,331	484,533	285,331
% urban		86.4%	85.3%	83.3%	85.3%	83.3%
Colorado	157,173	135,277	16,415	5,481	16,415	5,481
% urban		68.7%	69.7%	73.0%	69.7%	73.0%
New Mexico	269,122	235,342	23,167	10,613	23,167	10,613
% urban		58.2%	58.0%	45.7%	58.0%	45.7%
Texas	1,417,810	776,234	442,387	199,139	442,387	199,139
% urban		76.5%	80.8%	81.6%	80.8%	81.6%

\*Source: U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname Final Report PC (2)-1B. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

its general location in close proximity to Mexico. The obvious implications of these facts have already been eluded to: (1) prejudice and discrimination are more prevalent and severe in areas containing large proportions of the minority group according to the results of a number of studies (1:515); (2) proximity to the mother country enhances cultural links and sustains minority identification.

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## Chapter 3

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: PAS MODEL CONCEPTS

"Social change may be defined as alteration in the systemic attributes of society and its sub-systems either through the development of new systems, the alteration of old ones, or a combination of these two." (5:165) According to this definition, minority assimilation may be viewed as a process of social change appropriately examined in terms of the "PAS Model" concepts developed by Charles P. Loomis. This theory of systematic social change is set forth in detail in Social Systems; Essays on Their Persistence and Change from which the following definitions of concepts basic to the present study have been taken.

#### Social System

Interaction (of pluralities) which is mutually oriented and mediated through shared expectations and symbols may be said to constitute a system. The greater intensity and frequency of specific types of interaction\* on the part of members as compared with non-members may constitute a characteristic of systems permitting their delineation. (2:6) American society constitutes a social system exhibiting an orderly uniformity of interaction; likewise the interactions of members of language

\*"This simplified means of delineating social systems requires accurate use. It has been observed for instance that actors of a given family whose members are scattered about in an industrial society may retain solidarity as a family but interact less frequently with family members than non-members on the job and in other places. Because there is a difference in the type of interaction and resulting bonds among the family and non-family members, the phrase 'specific types ....' is important." The type of interaction may be determined in terms of intensity, duration, direction, nature and extent of integration, etc. (3:4)

and ethnic groups may be considered systems if the members interact more with one another than with non-members. (2:6) "For any system boundary maintenance of the system itself is important and necessary." (1:13)

### Boundary Maintenance

Boundary maintenance is the process whereby the identity of a given social system is preserved and the characteristic interaction pattern maintained. Boundary maintenance is facilitated by war, use of disparaging terms, discriminatory practices, ascription of low rank and reluctance to accept members of a group not one's own; boundary maintenance devices include use of distinctive language, reluctance to change, and practice of endogamy. The various categories into which these devices fall suggest their wide array. They may be primarily physical or they may be primarily social; they may be spontaneously or unconsciously applied or they may be planned and rationally applied. They may be expressed in group contraction or they may be reflected in group expansion, as similar groups find boundary maintenance facilitated by joint effort. The latter classification obviously has significance for the process of system linkage which in many respects is a corollary of boundary maintenance. (3:32)

### Systemic Linkage

Systemic linkage is the process by which the elements of at least two social systems come to be articulated so that in some ways and on some occasions they may be viewed as a single system. Whereas the process of boundary maintenance refers to the limits set upon intergroup contact, the process of systemic linkage refers to the organizational arrangements for group interdependences. While neither extreme actually

exists, without boundary maintenance social groups would be indistinguishable among a mass of individuals; without systemic linkage an unthinkable parochialism would deny to groups any form of contact outside their own boundaries.

It is assumed that linkage may be operationalized as a variable property. Thus a given ethnic plurality might at a given occasion be completely linked to a mother country, but on another occasion have no discernible linkage. Complete linkage may be defined as that state of a system, composed previously of two or more systems, in which actors of the sub-systems, when paired by sociologically similar status-roles, exhibit no significant differences with respect to norms, goals, sentiments and beliefs. "Low boundary maintenance is interpreted as high systemic linkage potential." (2:39)

#### Desire for Boundary Maintenance

When actors express eagerness to delimit the membership of pertinent social systems to actors embodying the characteristics of the present membership, they are assumed to be expressing a desire for boundary maintenance. Actors voluntarily carrying on activities which constitute boundary maintaining devices can be assumed to desire to maintain boundaries, thus "social distance" may be viewed as an indicator of the desire for boundary maintenance, the inverse of systemic linkage desire. (2:7) It is possible for boundary maintenance to be a unilateral action on the part of one of the systems, preventing linkage possibly desired on the part of the other.


Various studies focusing on boundary maintenance/systemic linkage have demonstrated that the utility of these concepts surpasses that of the more global and spongelike concept acculturation. This is

particularly true if the distinction between social and cultural systems is maintained (ie., as in Parsons' statement: "A cultural system does not 'function' except as a part of a concrete action system, it just 'is.'" (4:55) The term systemic linkage (earlier called social-cultural linkage) is similar to acculturation in meaning and significance but for these reasons is a superior analytic tool and further, because it may be utilized in terms of behavioral and attitudinal aspects, as suggested in these defining statements. Figure 1, part D, presented in the introductory chapter, suggests the flexibility of the systemic linkage/boundary maintenance conceptualization as described here, and indicates its similarity to the term acculturation.

A study of the actual and desired linkages between Mexican and United States citizens (reported by Loomis, Loomis and Gullahorn in 1966) which utilizes the concepts defined in this chapter is considered precedential for employing the model in this study. In the former, the two nations were viewed as social systems separated by political boundaries and the investigation centered about systemic linkage; it undertook to determine what linkages exist and to isolate factors and conditions of further linkage. The present work deals with systems not physically or politically separated so that some degree of systemic linkage is assumed; it is logical therefore to stress the negative side of the dual concepts, seeking knowledge of factors and conditions that are boundary maintaining.

#### THEORETICAL FORMULATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The general research problem presented in Chapter 2 may now be restated in terms of the theoretical concepts as defined above.



By definition: The United States dominant society and the Spanish-speaking subpopulation are identified as social systems. Identification of this ethnic minority as a social system is perpetuated by the process of boundary maintenance. Boundary maintenance is facilitated (and systemic linkage retarded) by behavior on the part of members of a social system such as ascription of low rank, prejudice and discrimination directed against the members of another system. Complete systemic linkage is also prevented by boundary maintaining devices "spontaneously or unconsciously applied" by members of the subsystem such as use of distinctive language and preference for endogamy. Some evidence of the nature and extent of these kinds of boundary maintaining activities on the part of members of the particular social systems under consideration has been presented. The present study proceeds from the assumption, then, that boundary maintenance of the Mexican ethnic group is partly a consequence of actions directed against its members and is also partly attributable to involuntary devices spontaneously employed by Mexican-Americans. The specific hypothesis central to this study follows from the definition of boundary maintenance desire: members of a social system may also engage voluntarily in activities which constitute boundary maintaining devices which function to perpetuate the system's identity. Thus the research hypothesis may be stated as follows: Boundary maintenance behavior is directly related to boundary maintenance desire on the part of members of the Spanish-speaking population represented by the sample under consideration.

Boundary maintenance behavior (hypothesized as partly a manifestation of desire for separation) is indicated when members of an ethnic group interact more with one another than with non-members. Boundary

maintenance behavior is measured on the basis of the extent to which primary and secondary group interaction is limited to Spanish-speaking associates.

Boundary maintenance desire is operationally defined in terms of attitudes which favor delimiting membership of the system to persons embodying the characteristics of the present membership, thus "social distance" is viewed as an indicator of the desire for boundary maintenance.

Details of indices constructed for measurement of these variables on the basis of the foregoing operational definitions appear in the chapter which follows.

## FOOTNOTES

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## Chapter 4

### METHODOLOGY

#### Data Collection and Sample

The data used to test the hypotheses in this research are taken from Phase One of the Five Nation Study (Loomis, et al.) which involved the United States and Mexico. The study was financed by the Carnegie Corporation, the U.S. Public Health Service, the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station and the Center for International Programs of M.S.U. under a grant from the Ford Foundation. The present research is based on data from the sample drawn to represent the Spanish-speaking population of southwestern United States. It is defined as an augmented sample of Spanish-speaking adults in five Southwestern states -- Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas -- with findings based on 105 personal interviews (one per household), half with urban Spanish-speaking adults and half with rural and farm Spanish-speaking adults. (3:1)

The Gallup Organization was responsible for interviewing, coding, providing marginals, and developing sample plans; fieldwork took place during the period November 1963, through January 1964, using Spanish-speaking interviewers and a Spanish language version of the schedule used with respondents in the general United States population sample.

#### Design of the Sample

Using the 1960 Census of the Spanish surname population by counties in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas, 30 counties were drawn with probability of selection proportional to the size of their combined urban and rural-farm Spanish surname population. Each county, so selected, was designated as a sampling area where four interviews

would be made with Spanish-speaking respondents who were United States citizens. In the rural areas, the persons selected were living in households where the chief wage-earner was a farmer or employed in a farm occupation.

Within each county the four interviews were distributed between the urban and rural-farm population in accord with the distribution of the Spanish surname population. Thus, if the Spanish surname population was entirely within urban areas of a selected county, all four interviews would be made in the urban areas. If one-half of the population was located in urban areas and one-half in rural-farm areas, two interviews would be made in each type of area, and so forth.

Because information about the distribution of the Spanish surname population was not readily available for blocks within cities or for specific areas in the rural-farm stratum, all urban areas and rural areas included in the sample were subdivided into large segments of roughly equal population size. The necessary number of segments for each designated county were then drawn at random. Interviewers were then instructed to determine from local officials where eligible respondents could be found within the boundaries of each assigned segment. Households selected under this procedure were then contacted. (3:8) The composition of the sample is shown in Appendix B.

## OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE VARIABLES

## Variables of Main Hypothesis: Operational Definitions, Index Construction

Boundary maintenance behavior (hereafter "BMB"), the dependent variable, is operationally defined in terms of intragroup interaction consistent with the assumption that the Spanish-speaking subpopulation, as a consequence of the process of boundary maintenance, constitutes a social system. (According to the definition of a social system stated earlier; "The interactions of members of language and ethnic groups may be considered systems if the members interact more with one another than with non-members.") (6:6) Thus BMB is measured as the extent of contact of respondents with Spanish-speaking associates in five interaction arenas: among (1) personal acquaintances from church, (2) personal acquaintances in formal organizations, (3) relatives, (4) neighbors and friends, and (5) work associates. The interview schedule includes two items in connection with each interaction arena making it possible to determine the extent to which MOST or SOME associates are Spanish-speaking. An index of BMB based on these ten responses combined by summation yields measurements ranging from maximum BMB, "all or most associates are Spanish-speaking in all five arenas" to minimum BMB, "no contacts with Spanish-speaking." Details of the recoding procedure and construction of the BMB Index may be found in Appendix A.

The independent variable, boundary maintenance desire, is operationally defined as an attitudinal orientation which favors delimiting the membership of the system to actors embodying the characteristics of the present membership. BMD is measured as the extent of rejection of members of the dominant society by ethnic group members (using the Social

Distance Scale\*) and also in terms of three attitudinal aspects reflecting Spanish-speaking respondents' orientation toward the dominant society compared with their ethnic socio-cultural milieu. Measurement of the dimensions of this attitude is based on the following three components of the BMD Index: (1) attitude toward the United States as a nation (the dominant society) compared with Mexico (the mother country), (2) attitude, in terms of "friendliness" toward members of the dominant society, compared with citizens of Mexico, (3) attitude about boundary maintenance existant between the ethnic subgroup and the dominant society as social systems. These four components, combined by summation to form a compound index, are described separately as follows:

Component #1 -- social distance from members of the dominant society (referred to collectively as "Anglos" by the Spanish-speaking): Since the interview schedule did not include this designation, social distance in terms of race was used in measuring this aspect of BMD. Four items afforded respondents the opportunity to express a preference for rejection of whites as neighbors, as fellow workers, as family members by marriage, and as citizens of our country. The rationale for the decision to measure rejection of "Anglos" in terms of race is based upon an analysis of responses to this question given by Mexican citizens with regard to United States citizens, available from the Linkage Study mentioned earlier. The Social Distance Scale included in the interview schedule tapped rejection of "Mexicans" in the version used in the United States and rejection of "North Americans" in the version used in Mexico,

\*Social distance denotes the degree of sympathetic understanding or intimacy felt by one party to a social relationship towards the other party. The notion that feelings of closeness and nearness in sympathetic feeling are intimately bound up with attitudes of superiority and inferiority was the basis of Bogardus' Social Distance Scale. (4:653)

as well as using race and religion as designations. In order to utilize this instrument to measure the extent of rejection of non-Mexican Americans (Anglos) by other Americans who are of Mexican descent, it was necessary to employ either the religion or race designation. Many of the Spanish-speaking prefer to reject Protestants from the family relationship; this is shown in the distribution of social distance response frequencies, Appendix B, Table B3.

The decision to use race as the designation was reached after it was determined that Mexicans tend to reject North Americans more in terms of race than religion, as evidenced by consistently higher correlations between "North American" and "white" than between "North American" and "Protestant" (see Table 4). It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that social distance from whites may be used as an indication of rejection of Anglos by Mexican-Americans even though there is no consensus with regard to their differentiation as a minority on the basis of race.

Table 4. Within-sample Correlations: Social Distance, N. American Designation Compared with Race, Religion.

Reject North-  
Americans as:

Relative	.74	.84				
Neighbor			.39	.62		
Co-worker					.18	.82
Citizen						.54 .68
	<u>Prot. white</u>	<u>Prot. white</u>	<u>Prot. white</u>	<u>Prot. white</u>	<u>Prot. white</u>	<u>Prot. white</u>
Reject as:	Relative	Neighbor	Co-worker	Citizen		

(Urban Mexico sample: N=1126)

Component #2 -- attitude toward the United States as compared with Mexico: Two self-anchoring ladder items for evaluating each of these nations as a "place where things are very good/very bad" are used in the measurement of this aspect. The recoding procedure by which responses to these items result in a comparative evaluation is detailed in Appendix A; in general, it yields scores indicating that Mexico is ranked above the United States as a nation (maximum contribution to BMD Index), that they are equally ranked, or that the United States is ranked over Mexico.

Component #3 -- attitude regarding boundary maintenance assumed extant between the dominant society and the ethnic subpopulation as social systems: This component is measured through a self-anchoring ladder item by which the respondent ranks himself as "a person who is living the best/worst possible life right now." It is reasoned that, since the ethnic subgroup is identifiable as a system, boundary maintenance is operative; the assumption that satisfaction (of an ethnic group member) with his present life reflects a positive attitude toward existing boundary maintenance is based on examination of the concurrence of responses to the measuring item with responses to certain other meaningful items.

The wording of the question permits ranking of one's life at zero (worst possible) through a range to best possible (step 10). As indicated in Table 5, below, of the 91 Spanish-speaking respondents who ranked their life as satisfactory-to-best (steps 5-10), the great majority had most of their personal associations within their language group.

Table 5. Distribution of Respondents Giving Positive Evaluation Present Life, by Extent Intragroup Friendships.

*All close friends Spanish-speaking	51
*Most close friends Spanish-speaking	16
*Some close friends Spanish-speaking	13
Most friends, neighbors, coworkers Spanish-speaking	7
*No close friends Spanish-speaking	0
Most friends, neighbors, coworkers English-speaking	2
(No response regarding friendships)	2
	<u>91</u>

\*Based on responses to Item 51: Is your racial or language background the same as all, most, some, none, of your close friends. Where no response, Item 46 was used: To which (white English-speaking, Spanish-speaking) language or racial backgrounds do most of your friends, neighbors and co-workers belong.

It is significant that most of the Spanish-speaking respondents in fact gave a positive ranking to their present life; of 105, only five ranked their life near the worst possible (0-2). Forty-two persons selected medium range steps 3 through 6 (which tends to be a common pattern with ladder items in general); thirty-four used steps 7 and 8, indicating an evaluation of their life as "good," while twenty-three considered theirs at or near the best possible (steps 9 and 10).

Since the schedule included the "Who Am I" item, an attempt was made to explore the concurrence of responses revealing ethnic self-identification with self-ranking of the quality of one's life. However, the marginals provided by the Gallup Organization indicate zero frequency with respect to categories identifying "any reference to nationality, race, ethnic or language group" and also for "any reference to a religious organization." About 97 percent of the sample gave no response at all to the question. Of the nine out of 105 Spanish-speaking persons who mentioned the United States, eight ranked their life on step 5 or above in the ladder.

Inter-item correlations between this component and the ladder for evaluation of the United States did not prove useful because top-most ranking of the United States was nearly constant among the Spanish-speaking respondents. Some idea of the tendency of these scores to occur at the same level may be gained from the percentage distribution shown in Table 6; responses of the U.S. General Public sample (N=1528) to the two items are presented for comparison.

Table 6. Distribution of Responses to Self-anchoring Ladder Items for Evaluating Present Life, United States as a Nation.

<u>Step</u>	<u>U.S. General Public</u>		<u>Spanish-speaking</u>	
	Eval. Life	Eval. U.S.	Eval. Life	Eval. U.S.
10	16.0%	45.3%	17.7%	80.9%
9	6.3	15.5	4.7	11.3
8	20.1	18.8	21.2	5.2
7	14.0	8.2	13.3	1.8
6	14.2	3.3	11.4	-
5	18.8	4.2	19.0	-
4	5.3	1.0	4.4	-
3	2.3	.8	3.0	-
2	.7	.2	1.8	-
1	.6	.2	0.0	-
0	1.0	.2	2.0	-
NR	.7	2.3	1.4	.8
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

In the absence of items designed to determine more directly the feelings of Spanish-speaking minority persons with respect to closer association and collaboration of their group with "Anglos," it is contended on the basis of these facts, that satisfaction with one's life implies an attitude favoring acceptance of conditions which impede further linkage. Inasmuch as the validity of this component measure may be still open to question, it should be noted that it represents a very modest contribution to the total BMD Index. A degree of satisfaction with one's life ranked at 5 or more is recoded to a score of 1, the

maximum increment of this component to the overall measure.

Details of recoding and summation procedures by which the four components are combined to form the BMD Index appear in Appendix A together with item intercorrelations for the indices described above.

#### The Sociological Variables: Operationalization and Hypotheses

As noted in Chapter 2, a number of interrelated factors contribute to boundary maintenance. In conjunction with the testing of the main hypothesis, four sociological factors, hypothesized to be related to boundary maintenance behavior and desire in their broader aspects, are investigated. It is expected that exploration of these key variables will provide information regarding conditions promoting the association between behavioral and attitudinal measures of boundary maintenance. The four independent (and control) variables considered are age, size of place of residence, level of education and an index of nativity-parentage called "origin."

It will be recalled from the introductory chapter that there is believed to be some pressure for what Guzman called "a new pluralism" among Mexican-Americans, and he warned of the potential explosiveness in the barrios. Although Mexican-American minority leaders have stimulated less attention than those working for black civil rights movements, several incidents have occurred which seem to bear out Guzman's words. Tijerina's "little war" in New Mexico in 1966, was looked upon by many as "humor in the news" but it stemmed from a movement, said to involve over 20,000 supporters, for establishment of a separate state on former Spanish grant lands. More recently, the grape boycott has come to be widely known among Mexican-Americans as la causa; under the leadership of Cesar Chavez, it actually represents not only the grape pickers' protest

but the wider aspirations of the entire minority. In Los Angeles the Brown Berets, led by 20 year old David Sanchez, pattern their militant organization after the Black Panthers. If these examples do portend the beginning of a Mexican-American activism, and if such a movement were indeed directed toward a form of separatism, it might be expected that active participants would be sociologically similar to the black ghetto militants -- young, and residents of urban areas.

Educational attainment also is believed to figure in the BMD-BMB relationship. Many references to findings indicative of the relation of level of education to prejudice (viz., the effect of better education, reflected in reduced ethnocentrism and stereotyping, on attitudes) are contained in the literature. This association, increased tolerance and acceptance of members of other groups occurring with higher levels of education, was also noted in Gullahorn's comparative study of social distance. (5:96) It follows that increased interaction with persons of ethnic-language backgrounds other than one's own might be expected as concomitant of more schooling.

The previously mentioned Linkage Study found support for the hypothesis that educational attainment and systemic linkage are directly related. This expectation was founded in part on the notion that "in many ways education as a process of socialization is viewed as a process of systemic linkage." (6:47) The close connection between acculturation and socialization was touched upon earlier in dealing with concept definitions; socialization is in fact called "enculturation" by some authors (meaning a process of learning one's first culture as opposed to learning subsequent cultures). (1:646) The relations between acculturation and systemic linkage and between systemic linkage and boundary maintenance

have also been established, so findings pointing to an association between better education and higher systemic linkage suggest that evidence of lower boundary maintenance should occur with higher educational attainment in the present analysis.

On this rational foundation, the following hypotheses concerning boundary maintenance as related to these three sociological variables are set forth:

- H1: Age is inversely related to boundary maintenance.  
(Higher BMD and BMB are expected among younger respondents.)
- H2: Size of place of residence is directly related to boundary maintenance.  
(Higher BMD and BMB are expected among urban respondents.)
- H3: Level of education is inversely related to boundary maintenance.  
(Lower BMD and BMB are expected among respondents with more years of schooling.)

Age, size of place of residence and level of education are operationalized in terms of the appropriate interview schedule items. Details of the recoding procedures by which code values are combined into dichotomous categories for each of these measures are presented in Appendix A along with univariate frequency and percentage distributions of responses for each of the dichotomized sociological variables.

The remaining variable (origin) is, in a sense, an indicator of ethnicity and as such is fundamental to the broader aspects of assimilation germane to this study. The sample itself is linguistically defined and represents an ethnically differentiated population characterized (by Census tabulations) as relatively young and primarily urban.\* Thus origin is integrally associated with all the variables under consideration

\*Median age, 1960, was 19.6 years; 79% of the Spanish surname population resides in areas designated by the Census as urban. (8)

here as well as with other factors contributing to boundary maintenance. As an example, a cultural continuum was operationalized similarly in the intermarriage study cited earlier, by which Mexican-American individuals were categorized in a range from highly Mexicanized ("more Mexican") to highly Americanized ("more American"). It was found that the rate of outmarriage varied inversely with ethnicity. (7)

It is believed that the index constructed to measure this variable effectively distinguishes degrees of ethnicity within the Spanish-speaking sample. In so doing it may shed additional light on the basic question of incomplete assimilation of the Mexican minority in addition to the more immediate function of elaborating the relationship between BMD and BMB.

Origin is operationally defined in terms of respondents' nativity and parentage, thus measuring the degree of (Mexican) ethnicity among the Spanish-speaking persons. The expectation is that those with "more Mexican" origin would be least inclined to interact with members of other ethnic groups or to hold attitudes favoring a merging of the minority and dominant systems and conducive to complete attainment of membership in the other system. The hypothesis regarding origin and boundary maintenance, based on this rationale, is stated as follows:

H4: Origin is directly related to boundary maintenance.  
(Higher BMD and BMB are expected among respondents having more Mexican nativity-parentage.)

Construction and dichotomization of the Origin Index is explained in Appendix A. In general, the measure is based upon respondents' place of birth and rearing with Mexico and/or the Southwest contributing to the values of the index indicative of "more Mexican" origin. Further contribution to the index is based upon the number of parents and grandparents

coming from Mexico. "Mostly United States" nativity-parentage is indicated by the lower values of the Origin Index, higher values refer to "mostly Mexican" origin.\*

A correlation matrix (Table B2, Appendix) indicates that these variables are, as expected, all interrelated to some degree, particularly age and size of place of residence, age and level of education, and level of education and size of place of residence. (Perhaps superior quality and accessibility of schools in cities accounts for the education-urban connection.) None of these correlation values, however, indicates a sufficiently strong relationship to assert that the measures are too highly contaminated to be meaningful with the analytic procedure undertaken in this study; in fact three of them indicate a fairly weak association.

A complete discussion of statistical tests of the hypotheses will be presented in the following chapter.

\*The influence of Mexican grandparents is suggested by Burma's observation that Spanish-speaking grandparents living in the home encourages the use of the language by children. He also suggests the importance of nativity in noting that the proportion of foreign born in an ethnic group is frequently used as an index of assimilation. (2:12,172)

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# Chapter 5

## ANALYSIS OF DATA

To test the main hypothesis that boundary maintenance behavior and desire are related, the distributions of BMD and BMB Index scores were cross-classified and measures statistical significance and association computed. This bivariate distribution is shown below:

Table 7. Bivariate Distribution, BMD Index Scores by BMB Index Scores.

		<u>BMD</u>											
		(low) 1		2		3		4		5		6 (high)	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>BMB</u>	(low) 0	0		0		4	7.7%	0		0		0	4
	1	0		0		3	5.8	1	14.3%	0		0	4
	2	2	20%	9	26.4%	11	21.2	1	14.3	0		1	100%
	3	4	40	10	29.4	11	21.2	2	28.6	1	100%	0	28
	4	3	30	12	35.3	17	32.7	2	28.6	0		0	34
(high) 5	1	10		3	8.8	6	11.5	1	14.3	0		0	11
		10=100%		34=100%		52=100%		7=100%		1=100%		1=100% (N=105)	

$$\chi^2=16.6 \text{ (25 degrees of freedom); } r= -.11 \text{ } C=.37$$

The obtained value of chi square is not statistically significant at an acceptable level [ $\chi^2(.90,25)=16.5$ ] and the correlation coefficient indicates that the weak relationship which does appear is opposite the expected direction. Since the response frequencies are much heavier in the middle range on both variables, the measuring operations were reviewed to determine how such distributions might have been produced.

Exactly half of the sample scored 3 on the BMD Index in a possible range 0 through 9. To this index, as detailed in the appendix, the social distance component could contribute a maximum of 4 points with rejection by the respondent of whites from all relationships, but only 3.8% rejected whites as relatives and rejection in other relationships

was negligible. Component #2, comparative ranking of the nations, could contribute 2 points; as seen in Table 6, over 80% ranked the United States at the top (and none below 7) while these same respondents ranked Mexico across the possible range, (Table 8) so only about a fifth of the group achieved the 1 or 2 points for ranking Mexico over or equal to the United States. The 3 point BMD score must, then, have resulted mostly from Components #3 and #4; the nearly 70% who ranked friendliness toward the people of Mexico at 10 scored either 1 or 2 points on this component by ranking this feeling for people of the United States at 10 or below.

Table 8. Percentage Distribution of Rankings of Mexico as a Nation.

<u>Ranking by Step</u>	<u>Percent</u>
(top) 10	11.9%
9	25.4
8	10.8
7	12.2
6	12.5
5	13.0
4	8.6
3	1.8
2	0.0
1	.8
0	1.4
No response	1.6
	<u>100.0%</u>

On Component #4, about 88% of the respondents scored 1 point by ranking satisfaction with their life (implied approval of boundary maintenance) at 5 to 10. In general, desire for boundary maintenance, as measured by the BMD Index, appears to be quite low when judged by the incidence of scores at 3 or below from a potential range zero through nine.

The BMB Index also shows heavier frequencies around the middle. Examination of the raw data frequencies for the items involved in the index may help explain this result; as seen earlier, BMB is measured as in-group interaction with a score of 1 resulting when either MOST or SOME

of the respondent's contacts in a given arena are with Spanish-speaking persons.

Table 9. Percentage of Spanish-speaking Associates in Five Arenas.

Associates' Background:	relatives	friends	church	coworkers	group
MOST Spanish-speaking	86.8%	70.9%	67.0%	27.2%	10.5%
SOME Spanish-speaking	2.7	10.2	12.9	10.7	6.4
Most English-speaking	4.5	14.0	22.7	16.5	8.8
No response to item	3.0	3.4	1.0	49.6	74.2

With five arenas investigated, 86 out of 105 respondents scored 2, 3, or 4 points on this item out of a possible range zero through five. The heavy frequency of in-group associates among family, friends and in church groups suggests that the 52 persons scoring 2 or 3 probably had MOST Spanish-speaking contacts in these arenas while the 34 who scored 4 may have had MOST in these same arenas plus SOME in one of the others. The high percentage in the "no response" category results from the low frequency of respondents reporting any participation in formal group activity. Similarly, the proportion of "no response" regarding co-workers' backgrounds reflects the fact that half the sample was drawn from rural areas with a large proportion of farmers and farm laborers; since farm work is often family work it seldom involves people of other backgrounds.

Further importance will be attached to this information as the four sociological variable dichotomies are introduced to elaborate the conditions surrounding the relationship of BMD and BMB. To carry out this part of the analysis, categories of the main variables were collapsed into "high" and "low," dividing the distributions as evenly as possible. The dotted lines (Table 7) indicate the cutting points.

To facilitate making comparisons among the analytic tables using control variables, the value of Yule's Q statistic was computed as a measure of association for BMD and BMB as dichotomies, unstratified. The obtained value,  $Q = -.113$ , may be compared with the value of Q for each of the first order partial tables which follow. Tables 10 through 13 examine the relationship between the main variables with each of the sociological variables held constant. In addition to Q (which can range from -1. to +1. indicating direction of relationship), the chi square statistic with Yates' correction for continuity is computed for each table. As an additional measure of association, the contingency coefficient (adjusted for use with fourfold tables, by dividing the obtained value by .707, the maximum value for a 2x2 matrix), is shown for each table. This set of multivariate tables with these statistics appears below. (1:230)

Table 10. BMD by BMB Index Scores, Stratified by Age.

(YOUNGER)				(OLDER)			
	<u>BMD</u>				<u>BMD</u>		
	low	high			low	high	
low <u>BMB</u>	55% (11)	51% (17)	(28)	low <u>BMB</u>	58% (14)	64% (18)	(32)
high <u>BMB</u>	45% (9)	49% (16)	(25)	high <u>BMB</u>	42% (10)	36% (10)	(20)
	(20)	(33)	(53)		(24)	(28)	(52)
$\chi^2 = .000$ , $C = .045$ , $Q = .07$				$\chi^2 = .022$ , $C = .268$ , $Q = -.125$			

Table 11. BMD by BMB Index Scores, Stratified by Level of Education.

(LESS EDUCATION)				(MORE EDUCATION)			
	low	<u>BMD</u> high			low	<u>BMD</u> high	
low <u>BMB</u>	64% (16)	72% (21)	(37)	low <u>BMB</u>	47% (9)	44% (14)	(23)
high <u>BMB</u>	36% (9)	28% (8)	(17)	high <u>BMB</u>	53% (10)	56% (18)	(28)
	(25)	(29)	(54)		(19)	(32)	(51)
$\chi^2 = .135$ , C = .126, Q = -.192				$\chi^2 = .001$ , C = .045, Q = .073			

Table 12. BMD by BMB Index Scores, Stratified by Size Place of Residence.

(RURAL)				(URBAN)			
	low	<u>BMD</u> high			low	<u>BMD</u> high	
low <u>BMB</u>	59% (13)	67.7% (20)	(33)	low <u>BMB</u>	54.5% (12)	48% (15)	(27)
high <u>BMB</u>	41% (9)	33.3% (10)	(19)	high <u>BMB</u>	45.5% (10)	52% (16)	(26)
	(22)	(30)	(52)		(22)	(31)	(53)
$\chi^2 = .071$ , C = .109, Q = -.161				$\chi^2 = .025$ , C = .093, Q = .123			

Table 13. BMD and BMB Index Scores, Stratified by Origin.

(U.S. ORIGIN)				(MEXICAN ORIGIN)			
	low	<u>BMD</u> high			low	<u>BMD</u> high	
low <u>BMB</u>	58.6% (17)	58.8% (20)	(37)	low <u>BMB</u>	53% (8)	56% (15)	(23)
high <u>BMB</u>	41.4% (12)	41.2% (14)	(26)	high <u>BMB</u>	47% (7)	44% (12)	(19)
	(29)	(34)	(63)		(15)	(27)	(42)
$\chi^2 = .057$ , C = .0099, Q = -.004				$\chi^2 = .032$ , C = .028, Q = -.045			

## RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Although the hypothesized direct relationship of BMD and BMB did not appear in the initial cross-classification, a very weak relationship in the expected direction turns up among the younger and better educated; only among the urban do most respondents with higher boundary maintenance desire scores also show more interaction with ethnic group members. The inverse desire-behavior relationship shown in the unstratified table increases in magnitude with less educated, older\*, rural respondents. This could mean either high desire for ethnic separation along with little ingroup interaction or else mostly Spanish-speaking contacts accompanying low boundary maintenance desire. The marginals indicate that high desire/low behavior is the more likely combination since all tables have greater frequencies in the high category on desire and all but one in the low category on behavior.

The apparent inverse relationship among older, rural, less educated people may simply reflect the low frequency of formal group and occupationally centered interaction and a lack of choice of associates available to them. Those living in sparsely populated areas or engaged in farm occupations have little involvement with formal groups or "co-workers" and their church and neighborhood interaction may be infrequent and involve whomever is available. This contrasts the urban dweller who has opportunities for contacts with persons of other backgrounds even though he may confine his activities to his ethnic group. The foregoing

\*The category name "older" refers to persons over 39; it includes 21 in their forties, 18 in their fifties, 13 over sixty. "Younger" includes 20 in their twenties and 31 in their thirties but, since the sample is restricted to adults over 21, it includes no teen-age youth.

explanation seems born out by the fact that the best indication of the expected association between high scores on both desire and behavior occurs among the urban respondents who evidence some preference for maintaining ethnic group identity and also interact primarily within its membership.

The result of stratification of BMD and BMB by origin is of interest. Although not a strong relationship initially, it vanishes when origin is controlled, an indication that the desire-behavior association depends upon this factor and that both BMD and BMB are related to origin. This outcome is important in that it tends to show that the indices are measuring as expected. The relationship of origin (which reflects "degree of ethnicity" of ethnic group members) to both attitudinal and behavioral boundary maintenance is fundamental to the research design.

None of the contingency tables, however, represents a configuration unlikely to have occurred by chance and, although the control variable analyses point to interesting avenues for speculation, there is no evidence on which to base acceptance of the main hypothesis with any acceptable degree of confidence. Further insight into the problem is gained by exploration of the effect of the sociological variables on BMD and BMB individually. The four attributes used as control variables in elaborating the conditions surrounding the relations of the main analytic concepts will now be treated as independent and control variables in a systematic consideration of their relationship to boundary maintenance behavior and desire.

To test the hypothesis appropriate to this portion of the analysis, each of the key variables is first cross-classified with BMD and with BMB and the measures of association and significance computed as

described earlier. A third variable is then introduced for the purpose of interpreting and elaborating the original relationship. The entire series of fifty-six fourfold tables showing the analysis in detail with cell frequencies and percentages and marginals appears in Appendix C. Summary measures computed on each table are presented in Table 14, by means of which the variation in the dependent variable can be observed.

The effect of size of place of residence upon in-group social interaction among the Spanish-speaking appears again in this part of the analysis. All residence-BMB tables show the greatest percentage occurring in the cell for low BMB/rural except Table #44, the "more education" partial. Stratification by age brings the best indication supporting the explanation for low behavior scores among rural respondents offered earlier; in Table #37, a .21 percentage difference occurs, with lower behavior for rural and higher for urban. This age-residence relationship appearing with the behavior measure is consistent with the results of the sociological variable intercorrelations. Although no value of "r" is very high, there is a tendency for "younger," "urban," and "more education" to vary together.

Superior quality and accessibility of schools in urban areas has been mentioned as possibly responsible for the tie between urban residence and better education and data from the UCLA Mexican-American Study suggests that educational attainment among younger Spanish surname persons generally exceeds that of the elder. (2) This effect of youth and education on boundary maintenance behavior is reflected in Table #46, for which the obtained chi square is significant at the 20% level, and the cell percentages clearly indicate more boundary maintenance behavior among the relatively younger respondents with more years of schooling.

These variables, age and size of place of residence, do not have a similar effect on desire for boundary maintenance. Although the Q values summarized in Table 14 indicate that the expected direction of relationship prevails (younger, more desire), the magnitude of relationship between desire and both age and residence is insufficient to support any conclusion. The inclination of behavior but not desire to respond to the factors of youth-urban-more schooling more than their degree of intercorrelation would seem to dictate is further elaborated by the BMB partials with education as the independent variable. The strongest evidence of predictive power of any of the four sociological factors with respect to the main variables occurs in partial Table #7, boundary maintenance behavior with education as the independent variable and age held constant. Chi square computed for the younger respondents ( $\chi^2=7.84$ ) is statistically significant at the .01 level and the (positive) value of Q is substantial, whereas the initial relationship of education and BMB disappears in the other partial. It also bears noting that with this exception, the unstratified behavior-education relationship remains virtually unchanged in the other partials. Clearly, attainment of a greater number of school years (believed to occur most often among younger urban respondents) is associated with a greater tendency of Mexican-Americans to interact with others of their ethnic-language background. Attitudinal boundary maintenance is not similarly related -- in fact in the corresponding table education with age controlled is unrelated to BMD.

The general picture suggested by these observations is that of the somewhat younger Spanish-speaking adult for whom, as a city dweller, schooling tends to be more available, associating mostly with

Table 14. Summary of 2x2 Contingency Tables, BMD and BMB by Sociological as Independent/Control Variables.

	BMD by Age			BMD by Residence			BMD by Education			BMD by Origin		
	$\chi^2$	C	Q	$\chi^2$	C	Q	$\chi^2$	C	Q	$\chi^2$	C	Q
UNSTRATIFIED	.456	.124	-.172	.011	.177	.016	.547	.129	.184	.717	.055	.211
Age:												
YOUNGER				.030	.024	.037	.000	.051	.077	.783	.225	.327
OLDER				.011	.079	-.118	.222	.149	.222	.011	.035	.053
Residence:												
RURAL	.004	.071	-.108				.026	.027	-.043	.026	.027	-.043
URBAN	.365	.174	-.257				1.424	.283	.411	1.632	.296	.416
Education:												
LESS	.182	.133	-.200	.456	.184	-.273				.456	.184	-.272
MORE	.014	.035	-.054	.112	.126	.197				3.986	.431	.607
Origin:												
U.S.	.005	.031	-.045	.298	.141	-.202	.298	.141	-.202			
MEXICAN	.485	.219	-.320	.271	.058	.273	3.993	.478	.652			
<hr/>												
	BMB by Age			BMB by Residence			BMB by Education			BMB by Origin		
	$\chi^2$	C	Q	$\chi^2$	C	Q	$\chi^2$	C	Q	$\chi^2$	C	Q
UNSTRATIFIED	.494	.119	-.176	1.206	.011	.252	4.955	.347	.452	.040	.141	.081
Age:												
YOUNGER				1.337	.276	.407	7.844	.552	.750	.008	.034	-.049
OLDER				.063	.009	.014	.063	.008	.014	.118	.126	.189
Residence:												
RURAL	.001	.068	.106				1.062	.259	.389	.045	.103	-.167
URBAN	.594	.204	-.302				1.827	.311	.455	.167	.132	.186
Education:												
LESS	1.186	.263	.425	.009	.040	.064				.009	.040	.064
MORE	1.966	.325	-.467	.029	.093	.143				.031	.020	-.028
Origin:												
U.S.	.617	.184	-.262	.032	.078	.114	3.012	.345	.479			
MEXICAN	.049	.020	-.028	1.230	.303	.439	1.058	.287	.405			

N=105.  $\chi^2$  computed with Yates' correction; df=1. C adjusted for fourfold tables.

Spanish-speaking acquaintances. In reporting considerable social interaction among members of his own ethnic group, however, this "typical" respondent may not necessarily be exhibiting behavior consequent to more intellectual training. (It is worth noting that the 51 cases included in the category "more education" include 21 who did not graduate from high school, yet these are "more" educated in view of the fact that half of the sample completed only 7 or fewer grade levels.) The education variable may simply reflect the structured situation in which urban Mexican-Americans find themselves by attending public schools with de facto segregation based on language or geographic districting, or at least they are likely to have experienced a recurrent social situation wherein other ethnic group members were available to be in contact with. This would seem to account for much of the effect of level of education on boundary maintaining behavior. The fact that the initial BMB-education relationship remains virtually unchanged when stratified by origin seems to indicate that since it is unaffected by degree of ethnicity, in-group behavior could be largely a matter of expediency. For the reasons suggested earlier, rural persons often have less interaction with anyone outside the family while urban adults surely have more potential contact, possibly many representing acquaintanceships initiated during attendance at larger city schools. This line of reasoning is consistent with the proposition stated in Chapter 2, that Mexican-American identity is based partly on externally imposed factors and self-imposed factors not directly under control of the ethnic group members and that all of these deterrents to complete assimilation are inter-related with the voluntary factors under analysis, ie., extensive interaction of ethnic group members with one another.

Because of this complex interdependence of behavioral factors, it is difficult to analytically separate out the antecedents to behavior which is voluntarily boundary maintaining, beyond attempting to reveal the conditions that seem to facilitate such interaction patterns. A review of the effects the sociological variables have on the direction of attitudes with regard to resistance to total assimilation may clarify the findings about behavioral boundary maintenance.

The comments of the previous paragraph seem to explain the smaller magnitude of all the summary measures of relationship (in Table 14) between BMD and the other factors as compared with those involving behavior. Only two partial tables produce a chi square value which is statistically significant at the .05 level and both of them indicate greater boundary maintenance desire with "more Mexican" origin and more years of education. The initial relationship with BMD of both origin and education are affected by stratification on size of place of residence; in each case specification of the relation indicates an increase in desire among urban and virtual disappearance of the relationship in the other partial. While none of the unstratified tables permits acceptance of the hypotheses regarding BMD, the important association between "more Mexican" origin and desire to retain ethnic identity is acceptable" given attainment of at least an 8th grade education. On the other hand, the expected decrease in boundary maintenance desire with more education definitely does not occur and that hypothesis is rejected. Although the age-BMD relation is in the expected direction it is not sufficiently strong to be conclusive. Unlike the youth-more education effect on BMD, BMD occurs with youth most strongly among Mexican origin respondents.

\*Decision based on obtained  $\chi^2=3.986$ , significant at 5% level.

Size of place of residence does not appear to have an effect on BMD beyond its involvement with other factors. The pattern which seems to emerge then, is that of a somewhat stronger desire to delimit ethnic membership among respondents with more Mexican parents and grandparents and/or who are closer to being first generation, who are urban dwellers and who, perhaps as a consequence of city living, are somewhat better educated, and possibly somewhat younger.

Although none of the hypotheses involving BMB could be accepted on the basis of statistical significance of chi square values, the hypothesis of decreased BMB with more education must definitely be rejected, particularly in view of the strength of direct relationship between these variables given younger respondents. Overall the pattern of variables affecting BMB generally follows that of BMD, with more ethnic-reinforcing behavior associated with more education, urban residence, a greater degree of Mexican ethnicity, and to a lesser extent, relative youth. The tendency for both major variables to be related to the same factors when subjected to independent analyses suggests the possibility that BMD and BMB may be related to each other more strongly than was evident in the original bivariat table shown on page 61.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Blalock, Hubert M., Social Statistics, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960.
2. Fogel, Walter, Education and Income of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, Los Angeles: UCLA Mexican-American Study Project, 1966.

## Chapter 6

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The general hypothesis, that incomplete assimilation of the Mexican-American population is in part a reflection of its members' preference for continued ethnic minority identification, cannot be accepted on the basis of the findings. Strong evidence of a direct relationship between BMD and BMB was required to support the contention that Spanish-speaking Southwesterners are in accord with the stand favoring stabilized acculturation as the mode of dominant-minority relationship most congenial to this group. Nonetheless some insight into the attitude and behavior of these people has been gained by the exploratory aspects of this analysis.

The generally higher scores on behavioral boundary maintenance (in-group interaction) were shown as possibly reflecting the extent of opportunity for social contacts, thus making it difficult to distinguish between "voluntary" boundary maintaining behavior and that which occurs spontaneously in response to the situation. The unexpected increase in BMB with more years of schooling, concomitant with urban residence and relative youth, seems to bear out this explanation of the variation in extent of Spanish-speaking contacts. Although the BMB Index had these shortcomings when used to operationalize the main dependent variable, the performance of this measure is generally consistent with the pattern of behavior which, as discussed in the opening chapter, tends to retard assimilation and is frequently used as a measure of this phenomenon.

BMD, on the other hand, is not as defensible as an indicator of attitudes favoring "pluralism". Measuring minority-sustaining behavior by the extent of in-group association seems to have face validity, but the direction of the attitude in question was actually determined for

most respondents on the basis of friendliness toward Mexicans (greater than or equal to friendliness toward fellow Americans) and general satisfaction with one's life. At best, measurement of a subjective notion of this sort is difficult and often in secondary analyses it is a matter of operationalizing the variables as accurately as data from an instrument designed for another study permits. The fact that "desire," so measured, did increase with "more Mexican" origin suggests that it could be getting at the attitude as intended. The rationale for the use of the ladder ranking life satisfaction, presented earlier, seems no more implausible than to base pro-ethnicity on warm feelings toward the people of one's homeland since this may often include friends and relatives, some living quite near by across an "open" international border. This is to say that while the BMD Index is probably not a really valid measure, it cannot be deemed entirely "bad"; in view of this uncertainty, however, it should probably be considered as the greatest weakness in this study.

Despite the ambiguous nature of the measuring device, the effect of education with respect to BMD is interesting. It was expected on the basis of findings of the Linkage Study that education, by reducing prejudice and generally producing a more cosmopolitan outlook, would increase the desire for linkage of the two systems. That study, however, was dealing with linkage/boundary maintenance between members of systems separated not only socio-culturally but by physical and political boundaries, quite unlike the focus here, upon the wish of a sub-national group to remain apart from the dominant society. Although only speculation, with better education, minority people may become somewhat more articulate, less submissive, perhaps gain an increased sense of ethnic identity and pride through knowledge of their history. Seen in this way, the "desire"

in question is not so much conceived as ethnocentrism, and the occurrence of an opposite effect of more schooling is quite plausible.

Examination of the contingency tables constructed for this analysis might suggest other meaningful possibilities but further speculation is precluded by the following admonition: "The analyst should remember that rather large samples are required to detect complex relationships reliably and all the little 'jiggles and bounces' in the data are not grounds for excitement."\*

\*James A. Davis and Ann M. Jacobs, "Tabular Presentation," in Sills, David L., ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 15, New York: Crowell, Collier & Macmillan, 1968, p. 503.

## **APPENDIX A**

### **Operationalizing Details**

## BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE DESIRE INDEX

Operational Definition:

Extent of rejection of members of dominant society by ethnic group members; also measured in terms of three attitudinal aspects reflecting Spanish-speaking respondents' orientation with respect to the dominant society as compared with their ethnic socio-cultural milieu.

Component #1: Social Distance Scale

Component #2: Attitude toward dominant society (U.S.) as compared with attitude toward Mexico.

Component #3: Attitude toward members of dominant society as compared with attitude toward citizens of Mexico in terms of "friendliness."

Component #4: Attitude about linkage-boundary maintenance between the dominant society and the Spanish-speaking minority as social systems; since these can be identified as separate systems it is assumed that boundary maintenance is operative, hence it can be inferred that satisfaction with present life implies satisfaction with, or positive attitude toward boundary maintenance.

Index Construction:

Component #1: Social distance from people of other system, i.e., Anglo members of dominant society. Since the schedule did not include this designation, social distance in terms of race was used as a measure of this aspect: rejection of whites from each of four relationships.

Interview Schedule items: "Prefer not to have as ....."

Item 94: ... neighbors

95: ... fellow workers

96: ... family members by marriage

97: ... citizens of our country

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode value*</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
1	rejected	1	prefer exclude whites from relationship
2	not rejected	0	do not wish to exclude whites
9	DK, no resp.	0	"

\*These recode values are included in total BMD Index by summation. Social distance component summed across recode values of items yields range 0-4, higher value contributes to high BMD.

Component #2: Attitude toward U.S. compared to Mexico; self-anchoring ladder for evaluation of the nation "as the place where things are very good/very bad."

Interview schedule items:

A. Item 99a: Attitude toward U.S. as a nation

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode value</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
00	most negative	0	
1-8		0	
9,10	most positive	3	high evaluation of U.S. as nation

## B. Item 99b: Attitude toward Mexico as a nation

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode value</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
00	most negative	1	
1-8		1	
9,10	most positive	2	high evaluation of Mexico

Construction, Index Component #2: Comparative evaluation, U.S. and Mexico. Sum across recode values for two items yielding comparative scale as follows:

<u>summed recode value</u>				<u>recode (for inclusion in BMD Index)*</u>	<u>ranking as nation:</u>
Item A	Item B	Sum			
0	+	1	= 1	1	equal
0	+	2	= 2	2 (contributes to higher BMD)	Mexico higher
3	+	1	= 4	0 (lower BMD)	U.S. higher
3	+	2	= 5	1	equal

\*These recode values included in total BMD Index by summation.

Component #3: Attitude toward people of U.S. compared to people of Mexico; self-anchoring ladder for ranking feelings of friendliness toward people.

## Interview schedule items:

## A. Item 100a: Friendliness toward people of the U.S.

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode value</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
00	least friendly	0	
1-8		0	
9,10	most friendly	3	friendliness toward U.S. people

## B. Item 100b: Friendliness toward people of Mexico

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode value</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
00	least friendly	1	
1-8		1	
9,10	most friendly	2	friendliness toward Mex. people

Construction, Index Component #3: Comparative friendliness toward people of U.S. and Mexico. Sum across recode values for two items yielding comparative scale as follows:

<u>summed recode value</u>				<u>recode (for inclusion in BMD Index)*</u>	<u>meaning</u>
Item A	Item B	Sum			friendliness:
0	+	1	= 1	1	equal
0	+	2	= 2	2 (contributes to higher BMD)	more to Mex.
3	+	1	= 4	0 (lower BMD)	more to U.S.
3	+	2	= 5	1	equal

\*These recode values are included in total BMD Index by summation.

Component #4: Attitude about boundary maintenance extant between dominant society and ethnic subpopulation as social systems.

Interview schedule item:

Item 8a: Self-anchoring ladder for ranking oneself as "a person who is living the best/worst possible life right now."

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode value*</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
0	worst	0 (low BMD)	dissatisfied
1-4		0	"
5-9		1 (contributes to high BMD)	satisfied
10	best	1	"

\*These recode values are included in total BMD Index by summation.

Construction, total Boundary Maintenance Desire Index:

Sum recode values across four components:

<u>Component</u>	<u>Range of possible values</u>	<u>Interpretation of highest value</u>
#1	0,1,2,3,4	4=reject whites, all relationships
#2	0,1,2	2=ranks Mexico over U.S. as nation
#3	0,1,2	2=friendlier toward Mexican people
#4	0,1	1=satisfied with present life

Total summed recode values range as follows:

0=low desire for boundary maintenance against dominant society

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9=high desire for boundary maintenance against dominant society

## BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE BEHAVIOR INDEX

Operational Definition:

Extent of contact with Spanish-speaking associates in five interaction arenas. Contact with Spanish-speaking among:

1. personal acquaintances from church
2. personal acquaintances in formal organizations
3. relatives
4. neighbors and friends
5. work associates

Index Construction:

Interview schedule items:

A. "To which language or racial background do MOST of these people belong?"

- Item 29a: church  
 35a: formal groups  
 40a: relatives  
 46a: friends and neighbors  
 76a: work associates

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode value</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
2	Spanish-speaking	1	mostly Spanish-speaking
1,3	English-speaking	0	not Spanish-speaking
4-99	mixed; other; no resp.	0	"

B. "Which background (do any others come from)?"

- Item 29c: church  
 35c: formal groups  
 40c: relatives  
 46c: friends and neighbors  
 76c: work associates

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode value</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
1	Spanish mentioned	1	some Spanish-speaking
0	Spanish not mentioned	0	not Spanish-speaking
8,9	no response	0	"

Construction, total Boundary Maintenance Behavior Index:

Sum across recode values for ten items yielding a range of possible scores as follows:

5=contacts with Spanish-speaking in 5 interaction arenas (high BMB)

4

3

2

1

0=no contacts with Spanish-speaking (low boundary maintenance behavior)

Certain of the items incorporated in the BMB and BMD Indices were utilized in the construction of similar indices for measuring behavioral and attitudinal linkage between the United States and Mexico in the study by Loomis, Loomis and Gullahorn. Table A1 lists the items used to operationalize linkage in that study; those also used in the BMD and BMB Indices are identified with an asterisk; a double asterisk indicates items combined to yield comparative evaluations prior to their inclusion in the desire index in the present work, unlike their treatment in operationalizing linkage. Table A2, adapted from the Linkage Study (Table 3, Appendix A, p. 85), shows correlations between the starred items which are relevant to the present research.

Table A1. Schematic Pyramiding of Indexes; U.S.-Mexico Linkage Study.\*

ITEMS DESIGNED TO MEASURE BEHAVIORAL LINKAGE BETWEEN MEXICO AND U.S.:

D. First-hand Contact;

- d1. Have you any Mexican friends?
- d2. Have you ever been to Mexico?

E. Contact with Spanish-speaking Mexicans in Interaction Arenas:

- \*e1. Have you contacts in church with Spanish-speaking?
- \*e2. Have you contacts in formal groups with Spanish-speaking?
- \*e3. Have you contacts among relatives with Spanish-speaking?
- \*e4. Have you contacts among neighbors with Spanish-speaking?
- \*e5. Have you contacts among work associates with Sp.-speaking?

F. Second-hand Contact with Mexico;

- f1. Have you contacts with Spanish-speaking via relatives?
- f2. Have you contacts with Spanish-speaking via close friends?
- f3. Have you contacts with Spanish-speaking via your spouse?

ITEMS DESIGNED TO MEASURE DESIRED LINKAGE BETWEEN MEXICO AND U.S.:

G. Attitudes Toward Mexico/U.S. and Linkage with, as a Nation:

- g1. Our leaders should cooperate.
- g2. We should have closer connections.
- g3. Would consider moving to Mexico.
- \*\*g4. Ladder rating Mexico/United States as a nation.

H. Attitude Toward and Linkage with Mexicans/N. Americans as People:

- h1. Desire to have more Mexican friends.
- \*\*h2. Friendliness toward people of Mexico/U.S.

I. Social Distance from Mexico/United States:

- \*i1. Prefer not to have as neighbors, Mexicans/N. Americans.
- \*i2. Prefer not to have as co-workers, Mexicans/N. Americans.
- \*i3. Prefer not to have as family members, Mexicans/N. Americans.
- \*i4. Prefer not to have as citizens, Mexicans/N. Americans.

\*Adapted from Table 1. Loomis et al., Linkages of Mexico and the United States, E. Lansing: MSU Agr. Exp. Bull., 1966, p. 9.

Table A2. Intercorrelations; Linkage Measuring Items Also in BMD, BMB Indices.

	e1	e2	e3	e4	e5	g4	h2	i1	i2	i3	i4
e1	-	17/69	27/68	30/67	24/60	-07/07	-02/02	-	-	-	-
e2		-	17/1.	17/67	09/24	05/05	02/12	-	-	05/05	-
e3			-	44/86	01/03	02/02	04/04	-	-	-04/04	-
e4				-	18/18	-06/06	-02/02	-	-	-05/05	-
e5					-	08/08	04/04	-	-	-11/11	-
g4						-	37/88	-	-	-24/-1.	-
h2							-	-	-	02/1.	-
i1								-	-	-	-
i2									-	-	-
i3										-	-
i4											-

Two measures of association are reported for each entry; the correlation coefficient appears first followed by Gamma for underscored entries, otherwise Contingency Coefficient. Decimals omitted.

\*Adapted from Table 3, Appendix A. Loomis C., Linkages..., p. 85

Items identified as e1 through e5 (in Table A2 above) are BMB Index components measuring extent of Spanish-speaking contacts in five inter-action arenas. Items g4, h2, and i1 through i4 are BMD Index components measuring attitudes favoring ethnic group separation.

Operationalization of Sociological Variables

1. AGE

Operational definition based on Item 68: "What was your age on your last birthday?"

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
00-19	19 & under	-	unused; sample all adults
20-39	under 40 years	0	younger
40-80	40 and over	1	older

2. LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Operational definition: number of grades completed

Item 69: "What was the last grade or class you completed in school?"

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
0-2	none to 7th	0	less education; lower level
3-8	8th & beyond	1	more education

3. SIZE OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Operational definition: character and population of area in which respondent resides.

Item 104: "So that the Gallup Organization office can check my work in this interview if it wants to, may I have your name and address please." (address coded by Gallup Organization)

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
1	farm resident	0	rural
2	open country	0(non-farm)	"
3	places under 2500	0	"
4-12	2500 or more	1	urban

4. ORIGIN

Operational definition: ethnicity as indicated by respondent's nativity and parentage measured by index based on place of birth, place of rearing and number of foreign-born parents and grandparents.

Interview schedule items:

A. Item 91a: "Where were you born?" (nation)

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
2	Canada, U.S.	0	N. American nation
3	S. America	1	S. American nation
0,1	China, Africa	-	zero frequency
4,5	Europe	-	"
6-9	other	-	"

B. Item 91b: "Where did you grow up?" (state, identified in region)

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
0	Ariz., Calif., Colo., N.M., Texas	1	Southwest
9	not in U.S.	1	Mexico*
1-8	other U.S. region	0	not reared Mexico or southwest

C. Filter - Item 92a: "Did any of your parents or grandparents come to this country from another country?" (introduces item included in index)

Item 92b: "Which ones?" (parents)

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
1	father only	1	1 parent from another country**
2	mother only	1	"
3	both	2	both parents from another country
8	NA (filtered)	0	both parents American origin

D. Follows from filter question 92a cited above.

Item 92b: "Which ones?" (grandparents)

<u>code</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>recode</u>	<u>recode meaning</u>
1 1	foreign grandparent	1	1 or 2 grandparents from another country**
2 2	" "	1	"
3 3	" "	2	3 or 4 grandparents from another country
4 4	" "	2	"
5	all in "old" country	2	"
8	NA (filtered)	0	all grandparents of American origin
9	other; DK	0	

\*Item 91b, "Where did you grow up?" (nation) shows that those not reared in U.S. were reared in Mexico.

\*\*Item 92b taps specific country from which parents, grandparents came; shows that virtually all those not of American origin came from Mexico.

INDEX CONSTRUCTION: Sum across recode values for four items yielding a range of possible scores as follows:

0=parentage, nativity mostly U.S.  
1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6=parentage, nativity mostly Mexican



Table A3. Percentage and Frequency Distributions, Six Variables

## INDEPENDENT VARIABLE: Boundary Maintenance Desire (BMD)

	<u>code</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>percent</u>	
(low)	1	10	9.52%	
	2	24	32.38	(44=41.9%)
	3	52	49.52	
	4	7	6.67	
	5	1	.95	
(high)	6	1	.95	(61=58.1%)

## DEPENDENT VARIABLE: Boundary Maintenance Behavior (BMB)

	<u>code</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>percent</u>	
(low)	0	4	3.81%	
	1	4	3.81	
	2	24	22.86	
	3	28	26.67	(60=57.14%)
	4	34	32.38	
(high)	5	11	10.48	(45=42.86%)

## AGE

	<u>code</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>percent</u>
(younger)	0	53	50.48%
(older)	1	52	49.52

## LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	<u>code</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>percent</u>
(less)	0	54	51.43%
(more)	1	51	48.57

## SIZE OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE

	<u>code</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>percent</u>
(rural)	0	52	49.52%
(urban)	1	53	50.48

## ORIGIN INDEX

	<u>code</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>percent</u>	
(U.S.)	0	0	0.0	
	1	33	31.43%	
	2	8	7.62	
	3	22	20.95	(63=60%)
	4	13	12.38	
	5	21	20.00	
(Mexican)	6	8	7.62	(42=40%)

## **APPENDIX B**

### **Supplementary Data**

Table B1. Composition of the Sample

Total number of interviews: 105

Sex of respondent		Race of respondent	
Men	52	White	97
Women	53	Non-white	8
Age of respondent		Education of respondent	
21 to 29 years	21	College	11
30 to 49 years	52	High School	31
50 years and older	31	Grade School	62
Undesignated	1	Undesignated	1
Size of community		Five southwestern states	
500,000 and over	13	Arizona	7
50,000 to 499,999	24	California	28
25,000 to 49,999	16	Colorado	7
Under 2500 non-farm	28	New Mexico	11
Under 2500 farm	24	Texas	52

The Gallup Organization, Report GO/6370 SW, March 1964, p. 9

Table B2. Simple Correlations Between the Sociological Variables

Age	1.000			
Education	-0.277	1.000		
Origin	-0.109	0.140	1.000	
Size Residence	-0.314	0.353	0.187	1.000
	Age	Education	Origin	Size Residence

Table B3. Response Frequencies, Social Distance Attitudes, in Percents.

REJECT AS:

	U.S.	S.W.	MEX	U.S.	S.W.	MEX	U.S.	S.W.	MEX	U.S.	S.W.	MEX
Whites	4.2	3.8	22.6	.6	1.2	17.9	.2	.5	17.9	0.0	.8	18.2
Mexicans	55.1	1.0	--	21.3	0.0	--	11.5	0.0	--	6.9	0.0	--
Negroes	77.1	62.8	59.0	43.7	21.4	43.2	19.2	8.0	39.2	5.2	4.3	41.5
Catholics	17.4	3.6	1.8	2.3	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.2	1.3	.8	.8	1.3
Jews	30.7	34.7	70.6	6.0	7.6	62.4	4.1	10.5	59.3	1.9	1.8	60.6
Protestants	5.7	31.0	67.7	.3	3.1	59.6	.1	0	56.0	.1	0.0	46.7
N. Americans	--	--	36.0	--	--	25.8	--	--	25.6	--	--	24.9

(U.S. General Population sample, N=1528; Mexico urban sample, N=1126; Southwest Spanish-speaking sample, N=105)

## **APPENDIX C**

### **Contingency Tables**

## AGE

**Hypothesis:** Age is inversely related to boundary maintenance.

Higher BMD and BMB are expected among younger respondents.

**Table C1. Bivariate Percentage, Frequency Distributions, BMD and BMB by Age.**

#58		(AGE)		
<u>BMD</u>		<u>younger</u>	<u>older</u>	
	low	37% (20)	47% (24)	(44)
	high	63% (33)	53% (28)	(61)
		(53)	(52)	(105)
$\chi^2=.456$ , $C=.124$ , $Q= -.172$				

#62		(AGE)		
<u>BMB</u>		<u>younger</u>	<u>older</u>	
	low	53% (28)	62% (32)	(60)
	high	47% (25)	38% (20)	(45)
		(53)	(52)	(105)
$\chi^2=.494$ , $C=.119$ , $Q= -.176$				



Table C3. Bivariate Distributions BMD, BMB by Age, Stratified by Level of Education.

#33	(LESS EDUCATION)		#34	(MORE EDUCATION)	
	<u>younger</u>	<u>older</u>		<u>younger</u>	<u>older</u>
low	40% ( 8)	50% (17)		low 36% (12)	39% ( 7)
		(25)			(19)
<u>BMD</u>					
high	60% (12)	50% (17)		high 64% (21)	61% (11)
	(20)	(34)		(33)	(18)
		(54)			(51)
$\chi^2=1.182, C=.133, Q=-.20$					
$\chi^2=1.014, C=.035, Q=-.054$					
<u>BMB</u>					
low	80% (16)	62% (21)		low 36% (12)	61% (11)
		(37)			(23)
high	20% ( 4)	38% (13)		high 64% (21)	39% ( 7)
	(20)	(34)		(33)	(18)
		(54)			(51)
$\chi^2=1.186, C=.263, Q=.425$					
$\chi^2=1.966, C=.325, Q=-.467$					

Table C4. Bivariate Distributions BMD, BMB by Age, Stratified by Origin.

#29	(U.S. ORIGIN)		#30	(MEXICAN ORIGIN)	
	<u>younger</u>	<u>older</u>		<u>younger</u>	<u>older</u>
low	44.8% (13)	47% (16)		low 29% ( 7)	44% ( 8)
		(29)			(15)
<u>BMD</u>					
high	55.2% (16)	53% (18)		high 71% (17)	56% (10)
	(29)	(34)			(27)
		(63)		(24)	(18)
					(42)
$\chi^2=.005$ , C=.031, Q= -.045					
$\chi^2=.485$ , C=.219, Q= -.320					
<u>BMD</u>					
#41	<u>younger</u>	<u>older</u>	#42	<u>younger</u>	<u>older</u>
low	52% (15)	65% (22)		low 54% (13)	56% (10)
		(37)			(23)
<u>BMB</u>					
high	48% (14)	35% (12)		high 46% (11)	44% ( 8)
	(29)	(34)			(19)
		(63)		(24)	(18)
					(42)
$\chi^2=.617$ , C=.184, Q= -.262					
$\chi^2=.049$ , C=.020, Q= -.028					

## SIZE OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE

**Hypothesis:** Size of place of residence is directly related to boundary maintenance. Higher BMD and BMB are expected among urban respondents.

**Table C5. Bivariate Percentage, Frequency Distributions, BMD and BMB by Size Place of Residence.**

#60		(SIZE OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE)		
<u>BMD</u>		<u>rural</u>	<u>urban</u>	
	low	42.3% (22)	41.5% (22)	(44)
	high	57.7% (30)	58.5% (31)	(61)
		(52)	(53)	(105)
$\chi^2=.011$ , $C=.177$ , $Q=.016$				

#64		(SIZE OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE)		
<u>BMB</u>		<u>rural</u>	<u>urban</u>	
	low	63% (33)	51% (27)	(60)
	high	37% (19)	49% (26)	(45)
		(52)	(53)	(105)
$\chi^2=1.206$ , $C=.011$ , $Q=.252$				

**Table C6. Bivariate Distributions BMD, BMB by Size Place of Residence, Stratified by Age.**

	(YOUNGER)			(OLDER)	
#25	rural	urban	#26	rural	urban
low	39% (7)	37% (13)		44% (15)	50% (9)
		(20)			(24)
BMD			BMD		
high	61% (11)	63% (22)	high	56% (19)	50% (9)
	(18)	(35)		(34)	(18)
		(53)			(52)
	$\chi^2=.030, C=.024, Q=.037$			$\chi^2=.011, C=.079, Q=-.118$	
#37	rural	urban	#38	rural	urban
low	67% (12)	46% (16)		62% (21)	61% (11)
		(28)			(32)
BMB			BMB		
high	33% (6)	54% (19)	high	38% (13)	39% (7)
	(18)	(35)		(34)	(18)
		(53)			(52)
	$\chi^2=1.337, C=.276, Q=.407$			$\chi^2=.063, C=.009, Q=.014$	

Table C7. Bivariate Distributions BMD, BMB by Site Place of Residence, Stratified by Level of Education.

(LESS EDUCATION)			(MORE EDUCATION)				
#31	<u>rural</u>	<u>urban</u>	#32	<u>rural</u>	<u>urban</u>		
low	42% (15)	56% (10)		low	44% (7)	34% (12)	(19)
		(25)					
high	58% (21)	44% (8)		high	56% (9)	66% (23)	(32)
		(29)					
		(54)					
		(18)					(51)

Table C8. Bivariate Distributions BMD, BMB by Size Place of Residence, Stratified by Origin.

(U.S. ORIGIN)		(MEXICAN ORIGIN)	
#27	<u>rural</u> <u>urban</u>	#28	<u>rural</u> <u>urban</u>
low	42% (15)      52% (14)	low	44% (7)      31% (8)
	(29)		(15)
<u>BMD</u>		<u>BMD</u>	
high	58% (21)      48% (13)	high	56% (9)      69% (18)
	(34)		(27)
	(36)      (27)		(16)      (26)
	(63)		(42)
$\chi^2=.298, C=.141, Q=-.202$		$\chi^2=.271, C=.058, Q=.273$	
#39		#40	
	<u>rural</u> <u>urban</u>		<u>rural</u> <u>urban</u>
low	61% (22)      56% (15)	low	69% (11)      46% (12)
	(37)		(23)
<u>BMB</u>		<u>BMB</u>	
high	39% (14)      44% (12)	high	31% (5)      54% (14)
	(26)		(19)
	(36)      (27)		(16)      (26)
	(63)		(42)
$\chi^2=.032, C=.078, Q=.114$		$\chi^2=1.230, C=.303, Q=.439$	

## LEVEL OF EDUCATION

**Hypothesis:** Level of education is inversely related to boundary maintenance. Lower BMD and BMB are expected with fewer years schooling.

**Table C9. Bivariate Percentage, Frequency Distributions, BMD and BMB by Level of Education.**

#57		(LEVEL OF EDUCATION)		
		<u>lower</u>	<u>higher</u>	
<u>BMD</u>	low	46% (25)	37% (19)	(44)
	high	54% (29)	63% (32)	(61)
		(54)	(51)	(105)
$\chi^2 = .547$ , $C = .129$ , $Q = .184$				
#61		(LEVEL OF EDUCATION)		
		<u>lower</u>	<u>higher</u>	
<u>BMB</u>	low	68% (37)	45% (23)	(60)
	high	32% (17)	55% (28)	(45)
		(54)	(51)	(105)
$\chi^2 = 4.955$ , $C = .347$ , $Q = .452$				

Table C10. Bivariate Distributions BMD, BMB by Level of Education, Stratified by Age.

(YOUNGER)			(OLDER)		
#5	<u>less educ.</u>	<u>more educ.</u>	#9	<u>less educ.</u>	<u>more educ.</u>
low	40% ( 8)	36% (12)		low 50% (17)	39% ( 7)
		(20)			(24)
<u>BMD</u>					
high	60% (12)	64% (21)		high 50% (17)	61% (11)
	(20)	(33)			(28)
		(53)		(34)	(18)
					(52)
$\chi^2=.000, C=.051, Q=.077$					
$\chi^2=.222, C=.149, Q=.222$					
97					
#7	<u>less educ.</u>	<u>more educ.</u>	#11	<u>less educ.</u>	<u>more educ.</u>
low	80% (16)	35% (12)		low 61.8% (21)	61.1% (11)
		(28)			(32)
<u>BMB</u>					
high	20% ( 4)	64% (21)		high 38.2% (13)	38.9% ( 7)
	(20)	(33)			(20)
		(53)		(34)	(18)
					(52)
$\chi^2=7.844, C=.552, Q=.750$					
$\chi^2=.063, C=.008, Q=.014$					

Table C11. Bivariate Distributions BMD, BMB by Level of Education, Stratified by Size Place of Residence.

(RURAL)				(URBAN)			
#13	<u>less educ.</u>	<u>more educ.</u>		#19	<u>less educ.</u>	<u>more educ.</u>	
low	42% (15)	44% ( 7)	(22)		low	56% (10)	34% (12) (22)
<u>BMD</u>				<u>BMD</u>			
high	58% (21)	56% ( 9)	(30)		high	44% ( 8)	66% (23) (31)
	(36)	(16)	(52)			(18)	(35) (53)
$\chi^2=.026$ , C=.027, Q=-.043				$\chi^2=1.424$ , C=.283, Q=.411			
#16				#22			
	<u>less educ.</u>	<u>more educ.</u>			<u>less educ.</u>	<u>more educ.</u>	
low	69% (25)	50% ( 8)	(33)		low	67% (12)	43% (15) (27)
<u>BMB</u>				<u>BMB</u>			
high	31% (11)	50% ( 8)	(19)		high	33% ( 6)	57% (20) (26)
	(36)	(16)	(52)			(18)	(35) (53)
$\chi^2=1.062$ , C=.259, Q=.389				$\chi^2=1.827$ , C=.311, Q=.455			

Table C12. Bivariate Distributions BMD, BMB by Level of Education, Stratified by Origin.

(U.S. ORIGIN)			(MEXICAN ORIGIN)		
#1	<u>less educ.</u>	<u>more educ.</u>	#3	<u>less educ.</u>	<u>more educ.</u>
low	42% (15)	52% (14)		low 56% (10)	21% ( 5)
		(29)			(15)
<u>BMD</u>					
high	58% (21)	48% (13)		high 44% ( 8)	79% (19)
	(36)	(27)		(18)	(24)
		(63)			(42)
	$\chi^2=2.298$ , C=.141, Q= -.202				
	$\chi^2=3.993$ , C=.478, Q=.652				
<u>BMD</u>					
#2	<u>less educ.</u>	<u>more educ.</u>	#4	<u>less educ.</u>	<u>more educ.</u>
low	69% (25)	44% (12)		low 67% (12)	46% (11)
		(37)			(23)
<u>BMB</u>					
high	31% (11)	56% (15)		high 33% ( 6)	54% (13)
	(36)	(27)		(18)	(24)
		(63)			(42)
	$\chi^2=3.012$ , C=.345, Q=.479				
	$\chi^2=1.058$ , C=.287, Q=.405				

## ORIGIN

Hypothesis: Origin is directly related to boundary maintenance.

Higher BMD and BMB are expected with more Mexican nativity-parentage.

Table C13. Bivariate Percentage, Frequency Distributions, BMD and BMB by Origin.

#59		(ORIGIN)		
<u>BMD</u>		<u>more U.S.</u>	<u>more Mex.</u>	
	low	46% (29)	35% (15)	(44)
	high	54% (34)	65% (27)	(61)
		(63)	(42)	(105)
$\chi^2=.717, C=.055, Q=.211$				

#63		(ORIGIN)		
<u>BMB</u>		<u>more U.S.</u>	<u>more Mex.</u>	
	low	59% (37)	55% (23)	(60)
	high	41% (26)	45% (19)	(45)
		(63)	(42)	(105)
$\chi^2=.040, C=.141, Q=.081$				

**Table C14. Bivariate Distributions BMD, BMB by Origin, Stratified by Age.**

	(YOUNGER)		(OLDER)
#6	<u>U.S. origin</u>	<u>Mex. origin</u>	<u>U.S. origin</u>
	low	45% (13)	29% (7)
			(20)
			BMD
	high	55% (16)	71% (17)
			(33)
			(53)
			X <sup>2</sup> =.783, C=.225, Q=.327
#8	<u>U.S. origin</u>	<u>Mex. origin</u>	<u>U.S. origin</u>
	low	52% (15)	54% (13)
			(28)
			BMB
	high	48% (14)	46% (11)
			(25)
			(53)
			X <sup>2</sup> =.008, C=.034, Q= -.049
#10	<u>U.S. origin</u>	<u>Mex. origin</u>	<u>U.S. origin</u>
	low	47% (16)	44% (8)
			(24)
			BMD
	high	53% (18)	56% (10)
			(28)
			(52)
			X <sup>2</sup> =.011, C=.035, Q=.053
#12	<u>U.S. origin</u>	<u>Mex. origin</u>	<u>U.S. origin</u>
	low	65% (22)	56% (10)
			(32)
			BMB
	high	35% (12)	44% (8)
			(20)
			(52)
			X <sup>2</sup> =.118, C=.126, Q=.189

Table C15. Bivariate Distributions BMD, BMB by Origin, Stratified by Size Place of Residence.

(RURAL)				(URBAN)			
#14	<u>U.S. origin</u>	<u>Mex. origin</u>	#20	<u>U.S. origin</u>	<u>Mex. origin</u>		
low	42% (15)	44% (7)		low	52% (14)	31% (8)	(22)
high	58% (21)	56% (9)		high	48% (13)	69% (18)	(31)
	(36)	(16)			(27)	(26)	(53)
	$\chi^2=.026, C=.027, Q=-.043$			$\chi^2=1.632, C=.296, Q=.416$			
<u>BMD</u>			<u>BMD</u>				
#17	<u>U.S. origin</u>	<u>Mex. origin</u>	#23	<u>U.S. origin</u>	<u>Mex. origin</u>		
low	61% (22)	69% (11)		low	56% (15)	46% (12)	(27)
high	39% (14)	31% (5)		high	44% (12)	54% (14)	(26)
	(36)	(16)			(27)	(26)	(53)
	$\chi^2=.045, C=.103, Q=-.167$			$\chi^2=.167, C=.132, Q=.186$			
<u>BMB</u>			<u>BMB</u>				



Table C16. Bivariate Distributions BMD, BMB by Origin, Stratified by Level of Education.

		(LESS EDUCATION)		(MORE EDUCATION)	
#35		<u>U.S. origin</u>	<u>Mex. origin</u>	#36	<u>U.S. origin</u> <u>Mex. origin</u>
	low	42% (15)	56% (10)		low 52% (14) 21% (5) (19)
<u>BMD</u>				<u>BMD</u>	
	high	58% (21)	44% (8)		high 48% (13) 79% (19) (32)
		(36)	(18)		(27) (24) (51)
	$\chi^2=4.56$ , C=.184, Q= -.272				$\chi^2=3.986$ , C=.431, Q=.607
#47		<u>U.S. origin</u>	<u>Mex. origin</u>	#48	<u>U.S. origin</u> <u>Mex. origin</u>
	low	70% (25)	67% (12)		low 44% (12) 46% (11) (23)
<u>BMB</u>				<u>BMB</u>	
	high	30% (11)	33% (6)		high 56% (15) 54% (13) (28)
		(36)	(18)		(27) (24) (51)
	$\chi^2=.009$ , C=.040, Q=.064				$\chi^2=.031$ , C=.020, Q= -.028

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## LIST OF REFERENCES

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