1967

Aspirations and expectations of Mexican-American youth: An exploratory study

Joel Bevington Reed

The University of Montana

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd

Recommended Citation
ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN YOUTH: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts University of Montana

by

Joel Bevington Reed

Approved by:

Robert J. Herrera
Chairman, Board of Examiners

Fred H. Hultman
Dean, Graduate School

AUG 14 1967
Date
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special appreciation is due to several persons who have given invaluable assistance during the course of this research. From Professor Thomas J. Maloney came many valuable insights into the problems of Northern New Mexico and the ways of its peoples. From the members of the Graduate Committee came personal interest in the project and encouragement of this type of research. From my colleagues in the Department of Psychology, New Mexico Highlands University, came many useful insights into testing and a fine intellectual canabalism which helped from an idea into a research project. Two persons deserve special recognition here: Manuel Morales, whose Latin diplomacy opened doors to many avenues of information which might otherwise remained closed; and Professor Robert J. Dwyer, whose wisdom and experience shed light on many pitfalls. These friends and colleagues made this research possible, and to them it is dedicated.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major questions</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operational definitions</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research justification</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE LITERATURE</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican-American culture</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area Economic conditions</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other characteristics</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement syndrome</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Value differences</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruments</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classification</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of data</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.  DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family background</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirations and expectations</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allport data</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretation</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. CONCLUSIONS AND LIMITATIONS</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Conclusions</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions for design</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Kluckhohn's Model</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Occupation of Father</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Total Family Income</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Expectations by Group by sex</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Aspirations by Group by sex</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Allport Scores</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Allport Value Ranking</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This is an exploratory comparative study of the values, aspirations, and expectations of graduating high school seniors from two ethnic groups in the American Southwest. The purpose of this research is to establish some guidelines for further research in attitudes and value differentials which may influence the aspirations of Mexican-American culture, social stratification within this group, economic achievement of this group, and some of the historical factors involved. This study involves both a survey of the literature for factors and empirical background data to supplement this search for factors. The geographic location of this study is Las Vegas, a small agricultural city in Northern New Mexico.

Major questions. There is one major question which is basic to this research. That is whether the differences found between Anglos and Mexican-Americans in the same geographic area are due to social class or to ethnicity. It is assumed that the two groups are different to a significant degree in socio-economic status and in achievement, an assumption which is borne out by the literature. If ethnicity is
the major factor, further study of the youth of the Mexican-American group must be approached through the study of ethnic differences in values and experience. If social class is the major factor, further study should be directed toward understanding of social class as it is pertinent to Mexican-Americans. It is most likely that both of these factors are at work, and it then becomes a question of how much each factor is relevant at each socio-economic level.

Relevant to this consideration of ethnicity is that of differential rates of acculturation and assimilation. While there is no direct tool for measuring these factors used in this study, acculturation and assimilation may be approached indirectly through a comparative study of values and amount of language spoken in the home. It is expected that the value areas measured will reflect both assimilation and acculturation, and social and economic achievement in the middle-class structure of the geographic area. In other words, it is expected that Mexican-Americans who have achieved middle-class status will be more acculturated, as measured by the value differences and by spoken language, than those persons who have remained in the lower classes. If these expectations are
met, further study must be aimed at more rigorous testing of these results.

Another purpose of this research is to determine whether the Mexican-American population of the area is similar to that found in the rest of the Southwest. If this is the case, then further study can be aimed toward generalization. However, if this expectation is not met, this population must be considered as unique and generalizations cannot be made. It is expected that the Mexican-Americans of the Las Vegas area are similar to those found in other areas in value orientations and in some demographic characteristics.

Finally, one purpose of this study is to see whether there is any truth to some of the folk beliefs expressed by Mexican-Americans in the Las Vegas area. These folk beliefs hold that the Mexican-American is more socially and aesthetically oriented than his Anglo counterpart, and that the Anglo is primarily concerned with political power and economic achievement. If these beliefs are founded in fact, then the Mexican-American should score significantly higher on the aesthetic and social scales of the Allport test, and the Anglo should score signifi-
cantly higher on the economic and political scales.

In summary, the specific expectations of the empirical data may be listed as follows:

1) Mexican-Americans who have achieved middle-class status will tend to be more similar to Anglos than will other Mexican-Americans. This is expected for values, aspirations, and expectations.

2) Mexican-Americans of middle-class status will be more acculturated than lower-class Mexican-Americans, and this will be revealed by value scores, attitudes toward certain types of social contact between groups, and by the amount of Spanish spoken in the home.

3) The economic and social characteristics measured should show that the Mexican-Americans of the Las Vegas area are similar to those of other areas in the American Southwest.

4) There is very little actuality in some of the folk beliefs of the Mexican-Americans of the Las Vegas area; these represent cultural ideals rather than cultural facts.

Operational definitions. In this study, several concepts are used in limited ways and need to be defined.
The concept "value" is used in two ways. When speaking in terms of cultural values, value means some belief of reality as it should be. When used in this context, values refer to both core values and to relatively minor values. Such a value would be expressed either in terms of a folkway or a mos, such as a value on social relationships or on cutting cloth with a knife rather than scissors.

The second use of value refers to scales of the Allport test, in which six core value areas are presented. Here the use of value means value area, and will be referred to as such.

The concept "attitude" refers to some affective predisposition toward something. An attitude is seen as affecting the actor's actions toward some phenomenon, and his perception of it. An example of attitude would be prejudice toward certain minority groups in American society, or ascribing certain characteristics to an individual on the basis of his group membership rather than his personal characteristics. Attitudes are either favorable or disfavorable predispositions.

The term "aspiration" refers to the level which a person wishes to reach with consideration of his own poten-
tial. The two types of aspirations used here are educational aspirations and occupational or vocational aspirations. Educational aspiration refers to the amount of formal education which a person would like to have and believes he is capable of achieving. Vocational aspiration refers to the work in which a person would like to make a career and in which the person has some opportunity to participate. Occupational and educational "expectations" refer to the respective levels a person believes he will actually attain. For example, a Mexican-American senior might aspire to be a lawyer, and might believe that he has the potential and opportunity to do so. He might also believe that in light of his finances and other factors he might end up a field worker. For this reason both aspirations and expectations are important considerations.

The term "success" refers to economic and social achievement in the middle-class structure of the area studied. "Achievement motivation," or "success motivation," refers to motivation toward materialistic, legitimate goals. Achievement orientation refers to socialization toward these goals, whether this comes from the family or from another reference group. The person who is success
oriented is aiming at being able to afford the symbols of
success found in the American middle class; a good car, a
good house in a respectable area, a respectable occupation,
and respectable social contacts. This person is also
mobility-oriented; he is very much concerned with raising
his social status during his life-time, and that of his
family as well.

"Acculturation" here refers to the acculturation
of the Mexican-American into middle-class culture, with
all the value orientations and other connotations which
are applicable. It is true that acculturation has taken
place on the part of the Anglo group, but this is not a
major concern here. What is relevant is the effect that
the materialistically successful Anglo culture has had on
the values and aspirations of the Mexican-American youth
of the Las Vegas area. The measure is of acculturation
and assimilation into Anglo culture rather than the accul-
turation and assimilation of Anglos into Mexican-American
culture.

"Mexican-American" refers to any person who claims
identity with the Mexican-American group and who has some
Mexican-American ancestry. The important criterion is
identification of oneself with the Mexican-American group. "Anglo" refers to any other person who identifies himself as Anglo and who has European ancestry other than Spanish. This operational definition necessarily excludes members of other minority groups such as American Indian or Negro. Usually, Anglo is applied to persons of Northern or Central European ancestry, although this is not always the case. For this reason, identification with the Anglo group is the most important criterion. In cases of mixed Anglo and Mexican-American ancestry, identification with either group becomes the only criterion. The terms "Latin," "Latin-American," and "Spanish-American" are used interchangeably in the literature for Mexican-American, although the latter will be used here except in direct quotations.

The term "social class" is used in a dual sense here. First, it is used to describe national socio-economic groupings based on standardized criteria of occupation, education, income, and residence following Hollingshead. This use is for purposes of illustration between area subjects and more national populations. The second use of social class designates more or less natural socio-economic groupings found in the area and is based
largely on area criteria. The purpose of this usage was to demonstrate or illustrate natural groupings found in the subject groups rather than to classify individual respondents. The reason for this particular type of usage was that the area is economically unique and national or even regional criteria would be of little use in making classifications. In addition, this flexible approach was used to serve as some basis for establishing criteria for the area which could be better used than standardized national criteria in further study.

Finally, the term "dominant group" refers to both the Anglo group of the area and to the greater American middle class. In certain localities, Mexican-Americans may have numerical and economic dominance, but they do not represent a dominant group for a given county or state. Such places are largely dependent on the outside for many economic and social necessities, so they cannot really be classified as a dominant cultural or economic group. The characteristics of the dominant group are middle-class status, materialistic goals, pragmatic means, and economic and social dominance. This is the group which sets the economic and social pace for the area.
Research justification. Other than the philosophical justification of knowledge for its own sake, there are two major justifications for this research. First, there is not much solid information about the area and its people. Most information comes from historical accounts, essays about the area, or earlier studies done on partial aspects of the situation. Broom and Shevky have noted the diversity of Mexican-American culture in the United States and local and regional variations.\footnote{Leonard Broom and Eshref Shevky, "Mexicans in the United States," Sociology and Social Research, 36, 3, pp. 150-158.} If this variation does exist, understanding of the Mexican-Americans in the United States is dependent on knowledge of regional and local variation. Mexican-Americans in Northern New Mexico could not be studied on the basis of work done in Northern New Mexico. Since the aim of the field of sociology is to arrive at generalizations about human behavior in order to be able to predict it, such study of regional variations in behavioral patterns is

*Other specific terms used are either defined for the immediate usage or are used in their generally-accepted meanings.
necessary and justified.

At a more pragmatic level, Great Society programs are aimed at economic welfare, and are administered on the basis of program aims and perceived needs. It is becoming apparent that drawing board plans for social policy are not necessarily successful when it comes to field administration. If such welfare programs were based on empirical knowledge rather than common sense knowledge of what is needed, they would hopefully be more effective.

In speaking of the problems of Northern New Mexico, Knowlton states that these problems have become too complex to be solved by local leadership, and goes on to say,

Obviously, if the serious economic, social, and cultural problems of northern New Mexico are to be resolved, much research and planning are necessary; and new and adequate administrative and policy-making bodies will have to be set up. Basic research should be carried on essentially by the State's universities and colleges.

This research is also justified by the social and political and economic conditions of the area, with the hope of later providing information necessary for the relief of

---

pressing social problems.
CHAPTER II

THE LITERATURE

The purpose of the present chapter is to discuss the literature pertinent to the subject at hand. Several studies have been done on the subject of Mexican-American culture and there is a vast literature on ethnic and minority group values. The purpose of this chapter is to give the reader some insights into Mexican-American life in the United States, so only the most pertinent literature will be considered. The general format of the chapter will be a section on Mexican-American culture followed by a section on area economic conditions and a section on other characteristics of the Mexican-American community. Finally a summary will be presented to emphasize some of the more important points, and to draw the material together.

Mexican-American culture. Two studies are of particular importance here. One is a study of delinquency among Mexican-American youth by Heller, and the other is an ethnography on Mexican-Americans in southern Texas by

---

1 Celia S. Heller, Mexican American Youth, (New
Both of these studies are concerned with Mexican-American culture and how it is related to the acceptance of the Mexican-American in the United States. Although the two authors represent divergent points of view, there is agreement on the central points.

The ethnography by Madsen is based on a more extensive study done in Hidalgo County, Texas. In this study, Madsen gives a great deal of attention to stratification and ethnicity, and to the stratification within la raza, the Mexican-American group. Although it is not an empirical study, the Madsen ethnography does give some good insights into Mexican-American culture.

According to Madsen, the two ethnic groups are keenly aware of the differences which divide them. Feelings of resentment are caused by lack of understanding and "stances of superiority." Each group finds the other lacking in propriety and each feels superior in some respects. The Anglo population calls only itself

---


3 Ibid., p. 11.
"white" and this is deeply resented by Mexican-Americans who resent being lumped together with Negroes and other minority groups. The Anglos tend to regard the Mexican-American as being child-like, ignorant, emotional, and in need of parental-type custody, and feel that the Mexican-American should be remade in the popular American image. At the same time, employers do not want to lose the Mexican-American as a source of cheap labor and efforts to upgrade the Mexican-American are sometimes perceived as a threat.

On the other hand, the Mexican-American resents the economic dominance of the Anglo and the air of superiority that he feels the Anglo carries. Many Mexican-Americans believe that the Anglo lacks a true religion or a good set of ethics and is primarily concerned with self-advancement. The Mexican-American feels that this blind dependence on science has hindered the Anglo's social and intellectual development, and integrity as a

4Ibid. There is apparently a great deal of discrimination by Mexican-Americans toward other minority groups.
5Ibid., p. 12.
6Ibid.
man. He also feels that he is a victim of this lack of integrity and ethics and feels that the Anglo will do anything to get ahead, regardless of whom he has to climb over. One individual summed this attitude up very well, saying,

The Anglo-American will fit into almost any organization in any way if he can only get ahead. He is often so over-worked that even if he had faith in thinking, he would have little time for it. He accepts many facts although he does not understand them.7

The two communities in the city studied are spatially and socially divided into an Anglo and a Mexican-American district. The chain of historical events leading up to the present situation reinforces the barriers created by differences in language, appearance, customs, and social class. These differences are very real in the minds of both Anglos and Mexican-Americans and lead to what Madsen calls culture conflict. The two communities are different in time orientation, physical appearance, and population composition.8

From personal observations and from those of a

7 Ibid., p. 13.
8 Ibid., p. 9.
From personal observations and from those of a former instructor and advisor, this type of ethnic relationship seems to exist in Northern New Mexico. While it is not good to generalize from only personal observation, these conclusions were supported by a number of the staff at Highlands University in Las Vegas. Madsen also discusses other factors which were thought to be applicable to the area, notably the concepts of *la raza* and *machismo*.

The concept of *la raza* (the Race) refers to all Mexican-Americans who are united by "spiritual and cultural bonds derived from God." In explanation of this concept and particular philosophy of the Mexican-Americans, Madsen states that,

The spiritual aspect is perhaps more important than the cultural. The Latin recognizes regional variations in behavior and realizes that custom changes. The spirit of the Spanish-speaking people, however, is taken to be divine and infinite. As one Latin expressed it, 'We are bound together by the common destiny of our souls.'

---

*From Maloney. This material comes from lectures, seminars and informal discussions of the subject. New Mexico Highlands University, 1965-1966.*

9Ibid., p. 15.
This idea of historical destiny has been noted by another writer, Cesar Grana, who demonstrated the presence of this philosophy in Spanish-American literature from as early as the nineteenth century. This ethnic belief seems to be held not only in the United States, but also throughout Latin American and South American countries. At least, this ideology is reflected in the literature of these countries.  

Madsen makes some other interesting points about Mexican-American culture and philosophy which may also be evident in the Mexican-American culture of Northern New Mexico. In Madsen's words,

In all aspects of existence, the Latin sees a balance of opposites. Pain is balanced by pleasure, life by death, creation by destruction, illness by health, and desire by denial. God maintains this balance by seeing that no extreme exists without counterbalance. He does not give life without death nor pleasure without pain. 'One has to suffer to deserve', said Maria. It is a comforting philosophy for a subordinated group.


11 Madsen, p. 16.
Suffering is also made acceptable by a strong belief in fatalism. It is generally believed that the good or bad fortune of the individual is predestined and every occurrence in human existence comes to pass because it was fated to do so. Fatalistic philosophy produces an attitude of resignation, which often convinces the Anglo that the Latin lacks drive and determination. What the Anglo tries to control, the Mexican-American tries to accept. Misfortune is something the Anglo tries to overcome and the Latin views as fate.\textsuperscript{12}

In this fatalistic philosophy, the Mexican-American also considers man to be a part of nature throughout which God is evident and to whom man is subordinate. This is antithetical to the Anglo belief that man is the emergent dominant force, with the possible exception of Sundays and Christmas. This is a very important distinction in terms of values, a distinction which will be more thoroughly discussed in the next chapter.

One trait which is tightly woven into the fabric of Mexican-American culture is the high value placed on the family and blood relations. In a general discussion of traditional and modern society, Putney and Putney state that in the traditional type of society, self was fused with community, and a person tended to think in

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid.
terms of "we" rather than "I." The sense of identity was found from the immediate social group rather than in the individual, and status was largely ascribed. From the literature, it appears that the family in traditional Mexican-American society served the same function as the community. The individual gained identity and status through his family more than through his personal efforts. In Madsen's words,

The most important role of the individual is his familial role and the family is the most valued institution in Mexican-American society. The individual owes his primary loyalties to the family, which is the source of most affective relations.... The worst sin a Latin can conceive is to violate his obligations to his parents and siblings. Within the family, respect rests primarily upon the basis of age.... The old command the young and the males command the females. Latin society rests firmly on a foundation of family solidarity and the concept of male superiority.14

The Mexican-American family serves as a refuge for the individual from the storms of the outer world, a world which is considered to be hostile and full of greed.15

14 Madsen, p. 17.
15 Ibid., p. 44.
Not only is the family a source of refuge, but it also is a constant restraint on the individual. The individual is a walking symbol of his family and his actions reflect back on the whole family. The family places many demands on the individual, notably subordination to elders and males and defense of the family honor, and the individual is expected to increase respect for his family by the community through his personal efforts. If the individual disgraces his family and the shame is great, the family may sever relations with him and retract his source of refuge and affective relations. Without the protection of his family, the Mexican-American is at the mercy of the world, not a bright prospect to him. As long as the individual has a family, he always has food, shelter, and the other necessities of life in times of crisis.  

Time is taking its toll on the Mexican-American family in the United States. The Anglo concepts of democracy in the home and self-advancement, which are believed necessary to maintain the ideals of freedom, democracy,

---

16 Ibid., pp. 44-45.
and progress, are becoming well accepted in the upper classes of Mexican-Americans. The family, the main stronghold of _la raza_, is slowly being broken down into a nuclear type of family in the face of social change. The family is strongest in the Mexican-American lower classes, and the middle class is struggling to maintain the identity of the family. The emphasis on individual mobility is having a destructive effect on the traditional family, although the Mexican-American family, regardless of social class, has much stronger ties to its members than does the Anglo family. ¹⁷

The concept of _machismo_ in Mexican-American culture refers to the process by which a boy becomes a man in the eyes of his family and his community. _Machismo_ is also the process by which a man keeps proving his maleness to preserve his status. The honor of the individual depends on this process, for it is considered very bad for a man to appear to be "womanly," for this reflects on his family. There is only a thin line of distinction between family

¹⁷_Ibid., p. 46._
and individual honor. To keep his own honor and his family honor bright, a man must constantly prove himself. The Mexican-American man in traditional society spent his lifetime proving that the male was stronger, more reliable, and more intelligent than the female.¹⁸

Although machismo often requires a great deal of individuality outside of the family, it is subordinate to the best interests of the family. A young Mexican-American carries his family honor with him and must place it above his own. As a representative of his family, he must conduct himself so as to not get into situations which might bring disgrace to his family. In ascending priority, the Mexican-American's obligations are to himself, to God, and to his father. In cases where the latter two are in conflict, the young man must side with his father. However, this is rarely the case since it would be unmanly for a father to act contrary to the Will of God.¹⁹

---

¹⁸Ibid., p. 18.
¹⁹Ibid.
Machismo is proved initially in a peer group called palomilla. This is a loosely-tied play group which has no really defined size or membership. From the beginning, the palomilla serves as an institution for socialization and continues to be important throughout the life of the Mexican-American male. Within the group, special friendships are formed and there are varying degrees of intimacy among members. Basically, the palomilla serves as a friendly group within which members can test their strengths against each other.\textsuperscript{20}

As a media of socialization, the palomilla serves as the institution entrusted with sex education of the male. Sex instruction within the home is rare, and the young man must turn to his peers with questions concerning this subject. Within the palomilla the young Mexican-American learns the terminology and techniques of sex. Within the group, the young male learns of the sexual conquests of others and receives advice for his own. Sometimes the first introduction to sex comes from a date arranged by the palomilla.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid., pp. 54-55.
\textsuperscript{21}Ibid., p. 55.
The palomilla has other functions in the Mexican-American community. Within the group the young man learns various social skills such as verbal dueling, proficiency in sports, and ability to hold liquor. Whenever a member is married, this group gives a fiesta and whenever a member dies, the palomilla participates as a whole in the funeral. As the members grow older the palomilla moves from the vacant lot into the beer joint and activities change. The palomilla serves as a life-long association in which to gain and preserve status, although it never replaces the family as the principal reference group. 22

The palomilla should not be confused with another form of juvenile gang, the pachuco gang. While the palomilla is a respected institution within the Mexican-American community, the pachuco gang has very low status and is disliked. The palomilla is a sanctioned peer group which finds meaning within the Mexican-American community, while the pachuco gang is "an ingroup seeking identity and

22 Ibid., pp. 54-55.
community through revolt against society." The delinquent subculture of the pachuco gang is referred to as pachuquiismo by the Mexican-Americans and carries a whole set of separate symbols, such as dress and other outward appearance. The palomilla may experiment in delinquent behavior, such as occasionally smoking marijuana, but this is not normative behavior as it is among pachuco gangs.

Madsen notes a definite class structure within the Mexican-American community. He recognizes two lower classes, an emergent middle class, and an upper or elite class. Although he uses a number of criteria for making these distinctions, Madsen's major criteria are values, aspirations, and means of livelihood.

Although the two parts of the lower Mexican-American social class are quite similar and the line between them is hard to define, Madsen states that it is possible to

---

24 Ibid. In Hidalgo County, pachuquiismo is held in check primarily by the Mexican-American community through ostracism or threat of it.
25 Ibid. For a more complete discussion, see Chaps. 4 and 5.
26 Ibid. p. 30.
make a distinction. The lower-lower class is composed mainly of immigrant and first-generation workers in urban areas. The folk value system of *la raza* is strongest in this group, and fate is more acceptable and accepted. The values and world view of this group differs from its counterpart in Mexico in only two ways. The American-Mexican has no spiritual bond with the upper class, and he is a bit more economically motivated than his Mexican contemporary. Generally, the father in this class only wishes for his children to have enough education to "defend" themselves from being exploited by the *gringos* (Anglos), and wants the children to follow in his footsteps. There is little, if any, desire for intergenerational occupational mobility.  

The chief distinction between the lower-lower and the upper-lower Mexican-American classes in Hidalgo County is economic motivation. The father in the upper-lower-class family recognizes the importance of some training for the males, and sees that they get at least a grade school education. The father himself seeks year-

---

round labor rather than strictly following the crops, although some persons of this class do follow crops. The individual sees himself more as a master of his own fate, and there is a desire for intergenerational mobility. In contrast to the lower-lower class, this person wants better material things and strives for social and economic achievement. 28

According to Madsen, the Spanish-American middle class has emerged over a long period of time, but this process has accelerated quite rapidly since the end of World War II. This class came into being when refugees from the Mexican Revolution (1911-1920) with a little capital fled from Mexico and found political asylum in Texas. These persons established themselves as tradesmen and farmers and managed to maintain their economic standing. The return of veterans from World War II marked a change for Mexican-Americans. Many Mexican-Americans had learned trades in the military which enabled them to compete successfully with Anglos. These and other factors led to more and more acceptance of Mexican-Americans as

28 Ibid., pp. 33-34.
The middle class itself is best described by Madsen, who states,

The main characteristic of the Latin middle class is that its members earn their livelihood through occupational skills and the investment of capital. Although it is much smaller than the lower class, the middle class represents a far greater range of occupations including migratory labor contractors, store proprietors, small farm owners, mechanics, clerks, stenographers, and other white collar workers. Except for the farmers, the middle class regards manual labor as degrading and a reflection of the lack of intelligence. The mark of middle-class affiliation is a white shirt and a suit worn in cool weather. Work clothes are never worn except by farmers and truckers when they are on the job. Increasing anglicization is reflected in the tendency to christen children with English first names....

Like the class below it, the middle class is divisible into two levels. The line of demarcation between the two levels is often difficult to discern and is recognized by the Mexican-American only in terms of those who are financially better off or worse off than he is. Social mobility and interpersonal relations are significantly affected by identification with the upper or lower levels of the middle class.  

The middle class is much less affected by the folk beliefs of la raza, and this is reflected in their behavior.

\[^{29}\text{Ibid.},\text{ p. 35.}\]

\[^{30}\text{Ibid.},\text{ p. 36.}\]
The folk belief in and practice of inconspicuous consumption has been replaced by the familiar middle class pattern of conspicuous consumption. Rather than being kept in his place by fear of losing status in the eyes of his peers, a folk pattern, the middle-class Mexican-American tries to keep up with his peers who are also trying to get ahead.  

When speaking of the upper Mexican-American social class, Madsen makes a distinction between it and its Anglo equivalent. The upper class in the Anglo community is based on economic status characteristics and economic power. The Mexican-American upper class is based more on social characteristics and a personalistic ability to command authority. The title "don" is given to a few

---

31 Ibid., p. 39. It is very possible that this practice is a source of conflict within the Mexican-American community. Those who are content to stay in their places in the social structure and pursue the ways of la raza are referred to as cusanos by more aggressive, mobility-oriented Mexican-Americans. Cusanidad is roughly the Mexican-American equivalent to "Uncle Tomism" among American Negroes. Cusanos, on the other hand, often refer to mobility-oriented Mexican-Americans as gringos and call them traitors to their own race. Both terms are highly derogatory and are taken as personal and familial insults. It is also very possible that mobility-oriented Mexican-Americans find themselves socially isolated from both the Anglo and Mexican-American communities.
older males with this characteristic in Mexican-American rural folk society where there is no real upper economic class. In order to gain this title, a person must live up to the ideals of *la raza*, and usually it is granted only to older men.  

The upper class of Hidalgo County is composed of families who have owned their property since the Spanish land grants. These persons regard themselves as the true Texans and regard other Mexican-Americans as merchants, peasants, or upstarts. Anglos in the upper class are regarded as being boorish. Generally, this group is very clannish and stands by the old ways of *la raza*. However, the young are beginning to rebel and to move out into other social circles, much to the alarm of their parents.

The study by Heller, while concerned mostly with juvenile delinquency among Mexican-American youth, illustrates some important problems resulting from the conflicts

---

32 *Ibid.* It is interesting to note that this title is also given to some Anglo employers and businessmen who have gained the respect of the Mexican-American community. This is not too common a practice.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 41-43. In his book, Madsen also discusses acculturation of the Mexican-American. This will be discussed in the next chapter.
between traditional Mexican-American culture and Anglo culture. This study deals with aspirations, value orientations, and obstacles to Mexican-American success in the Anglo community. Taking the stratification pattern presented by Madsen into consideration, Heller appears to be dealing mostly with lower-class Mexican-Americans. 34

Heller states that from analysis of census figures, Mexican-Americans in the United States are a very homogeneous group. Controlling for urban or rural factors, birth factors (native or foreign born), or parental factors shows very little difference in socio-economic status. Generally, the Mexican-American population rates very low as ranked by standardized socio-economic characteristics. 35

This homogeniety seems to be related to little within group awareness, according to Heller. This is a contradiction to Madsen, but Heller does state that this

34 Ibid. See Chapters 4 and 5.

35 Heller, p. 16. It is interesting to note that there is variation among the Southwestern states. In terms of occupation, education, and income, Mexican-Americans rank highest in California and lowest in Texas.
was a California sample and that this sample was better off economically than in other areas. In the study cited, about half of the respondents felt that they could give an answer. Of these, one-third made differentiation in terms of acculturation factors, and the rest in terms of socio-economic factors. However, Heller does acknowledge several studies in which a definite stratification system was found.\footnote{Ibid.}

In regard to occupational and educational aspirations, Heller found that the aspirational level of Mexican-American youths were much lower than those of their Anglo contemporaries. This was evident among Mexican-American high school seniors as well as among those who did not reach that level. However, when the class factor was controlled, there was only a small difference between the Mexican-Americans and the Anglos. The difference was mainly due to lower occupational aspirations. Many of the youths anticipated skilled occupations rather than professions.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 82. This is of much importance in light of Rosen's findings that ethnicity was more important}{.} An explanation is offered by Tuck, who
says that the professions may be preferred by Mexican-American youths, but that realism leads them to believe that the skilled trades may provide better opportunities. 38

Initial results for educational aspirations showed lower aspirations for Mexican-Americans than for Anglos. However, when social class was controlled, these were reduced to such a degree that their significance is questionable. In actual figures, only five per cent of the Mexican-American fathers had attended colleges in this particular study, but forty-four per cent of the Mexican-American male high school seniors expected to at least attend college. 39

Heller points up one further variable in educational and occupational aspirations, the intensity with which they are held. In analysis of the Los Angeles study, Heller found that ninety per cent of the respondents said

than social class in determining occupational aspirations but not educational aspirations, value orientation, or achievement motivation. Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," American Sociological Review, 24, 1, 47-60.

38 Ruth Tuck, Not With the Fist (New York: Harcourt and Brace, 1946) p. 136. From Heller, p. 82.

39 Heller, p. 82.
that they would never relax their efforts as long as they were only doing just well enough to stay in the occupation. About one-third of this group said that they would never consider themselves successful enough to relax their efforts. The rest said they could consider themselves successful when they reached the average performance in the occupation. This finding indicates that the Anglo conception of the Mexican-American as a shiftless do-nothing is more myth than fact. At least as far as achievement values go, Mexican-Americans have been shown to be comparable to their Anglo peers.

In regard to other values commonly associated with success and achievement orientation, Heller says of Mexican-American students,

...not only do these high school seniors resemble their Anglo peers of the same social class in mobility goals but also in the endorsement of other values related to success. Among these are emphasis on hard work, 'toughness' in pursuit of success, willingness to give up something valuable to achieve it, and a readiness to try new ways and to defer gratification. This is especially noteworthy in light of the nature of their home socialization which is largely devoid of these values.

This being the case, it remains a very real question why

40 Ibid., p. 83.
41 Ibid., pp. 83-84.
so many Mexican-Americans are underachievers.

To try to answer this knotty question, Heller reinvestigated the Los Angeles data and found that neither the parents' occupation, education, or income, nor the country of birth really mattered. What Heller did find was that the segregation of schools played an important part in ambition. A significantly larger ratio of students from the integrated schools aspired toward nonmanual occupations than did those from the segregated schools.

Heller suggests that the quality of education may be the decisive factor in success orientation, and that whether or not the Mexican-American population will move toward the occupational distribution of the population at large will be determined largely by the rate of elimination of ghetto schools.  

Another study done by Watson and Samora on leadership patterns in a bicultural community gives some other

---

42 Ibid., pp. 86-87. Heller also gives several other factors which may account for a lack of achievement among Mexican-Americans. Among these are lack of success models, prejudice and discrimination, and lack of opportunities. Family ties are an especially great hinderance because of a value on proximity. For a more lengthy discussion of these factors, see Heller, Chapter Seven, "Obstacles to Upward Mobility, "
insights into Mexican-American culture. According to this study, the most outstanding features of the Mexican-American community are its lack of strong leadership and a very slow rate of acculturation. The lack of effective leadership in the Mexican-American community has not allowed the Mexican-American population to progress, and has contributed to its lack of economic achievement and political power. In speaking of this same general topic, other authors have noted that the Mexican-American in the United States has not formed defensive ghettos as have other ethnic groups such as the Jews and Greeks, even though these persons often live in segregated areas. There is a very strong probability that these two factors are related. Without strong leadership which can manipulate the community and provide an initial moving force, the tendency could be to accept the status quo and fall back on a fatalistic philosophy. While individual persons might try to raise their status, this is a very hazardous


44Ibid., p. 414.

45Broom and Shevky, p. 157.
course for one who has not been socialized toward these goals and has not been taught the appropriate means to attain them. If a successful individual should return to the ghetto and try to stimulate the group into trying to rise in status as a group, he would have to overcome generations of social inertia.

Watson and Samora also offer some noteworthy points in regard to the identification of the Mexican-American with la raza. First, they offer an interpretation of "our people" to the concept.\(^\text{47}\) In light of the "common destiny of our souls" belief of Mexican-American folk philosophy, this seems to be a better translation of the meaning of the phrase. This interpretation also fits in better with the belief of historic destiny in Spanish-speaking countries as noted by Grana.\(^\text{48}\)

A second point noted by Watson and Samora is that the Mexican-Americans in the United States do not themselves make a distinction between "real Spanish" and "Mexican." When speaking in Spanish, they refer to them-

\(^{47}\) Watson and Samora, p. 416.

\(^{48}\) Grana, op. cit.
selves as "Mexicanos," and when speaking in English, they refer to themselves as "Spanish." However, if an Anglo refers to the Mexican-American as "Mexican," it is resented because it is considered to be a derogatory term.\textsuperscript{49}

This identification is also noted by Grana, who refers to the concept of "mexicanidad," which is apparently some mystical felt presence rather than an objective phenomenon.\textsuperscript{50} This concept refers to a sense of belongingness or a state of mind which is believed to be inherent in anyone within la raza.

Achievement. In an article dealing with neuroses in the Mexican-American family, Diaz-Guerro notes a family pattern which is related to the concept of machismo.\textsuperscript{51} The two parts of this pattern are complementary and consistent with the beliefs in male superiority and the lineal form of relationship, and are the absolute authority of the father and the absolute self-sacrifice of the mother.

\textsuperscript{49} Watson and Samora, p. 420.

\textsuperscript{50} Grana, Part I, p. 398.

In a later study based on Díaz-Guerro's work, Trent and others speak of the Mexican-American father as a "somewhat castrating figure," implying that the socialization within the extended family affects the child's later achievement. In a later study of achievement and socialization in Brazil, which still retains much of the traditional Spanish-American family pattern, Rosen observed that a very authoritarian father seems to crush the development of achievement motivation in his sons. According to Rosen, this is bound up in the belief that the father is superior and consequently has authority, and is related to possible rivalry between the sons and the father. If the sons show too much aggressiveness or independence, this is apparently seen as a threat to the authority of the father. Because of this possible threat, such behavior is not encouraged in the sons; rather, they are taught to be obedient and to defer to the opinion of the father.

---


An authoritarian mother does not affect achievement motivation so much as an authoritarian father, according to Rosen. 54

Another author, in the field of anthropology, notes that the values and goals of Mexican-American culture are dissimilar to those of Anglo culture in the United States. According to Gillin, Mexican-Americans are not motivated by "pragmatic, materialistic, utilitarian" goals; rather, they are most interested in more "spiritual" goals. 55 Since goals are directly related to success and means, it can be seen that this would have a definite effect of the actual achievement of Mexican-Americans competing in a materialistic social system such as that of the middle class of the United States. There is evidence supporting this generalization. In a study of achievement orientation in Brazil, Rosen tried to establish why economic development was so retarded in a country which was rich in available resources. His conclusions indicate that an absence of the "achievement

54 Ibid.

syndrome," containing the components necessary for materialistic achievement, was a major factor. Since Spanish-American culture in Brazil is apparently very similar to that in the rest of Latin America and in the United States, this might also be the case in Northern New Mexico.

In an article dealing with actual achievement and intelligence, Garth and Johnson compared Mexican-American children with their Anglo peers. Their findings showed that on both intelligence tests and educational achievement tests (measuring IQ and EQ respectively), the Mexican-American children started out about the same as the Anglo children, but they tended to fall behind their Anglo peers fairly rapidly on both IQ and EQ. The authors also found that Mexican-American children tend to be more educationally retarded than Anglos. The chronological age was reported as being much higher for a given grade among Mexican-Americans, and the mental age was found to


be much lower than the chronological age.\textsuperscript{58}

In relation to achievement, Broom and Shevky reported a lack of success models in the Mexican-American community in the United States. Mexican-Americans who do make substantial gains in status tend to lose their identity with the Mexican-American community, and tend to move out of the ethnic enclaves.\textsuperscript{59} This tends to remove physical evidence of success in the Anglo world, and the persons who have made it across class lines and who could possibly provide leadership for the Mexican-American community are not to be found within its boundaries.

\textbf{Area economic conditions.} The economic and social conditions of Northern New Mexico are quite well delineated by two articles which appeared in a fairly recent \textit{New Mexico Business} reprint.\textsuperscript{60} Although the authors differ on

\textsuperscript{58}Ibid., p. 225. However, it must be taken into consideration that the test used were probably culture-bound. This would probably be more important the older the children which were tested.

\textsuperscript{59}Broom and Shevky, p. 154.

\textsuperscript{60}Thomas J. Maloney, "Recent Demographic and Economic Changes in Northern New Mexico" and Clark S. Knowlton, \textit{op. cit.}, in a \textit{New Mexico Business} reprint, September, 1964.
some points, their primary conclusion is the same.
Northern New Mexico is one of the most economically depressed areas in the United States, and this state of affairs is due to the social conditions of the area.

San Miguel County, in which Las Vegas is located, is typical of the area in its economic conditions. In 1961, when the unemployment rate for the whole state was about five per cent, that of San Miguel was sixteen per cent. In addition, the per capita welfare expenditures for the county were exceedingly high. For the fiscal year 1963, per capita welfare expenditure for the entire state was $27.10. That same year, the figure for San Miguel County was ($92.47, almost three and one-half times that for the state.

Other statistics bear out this grim picture of area economic depression, especially in San Miguel County. In 1959, the per capita income for the adjacent Santa Fe County, also classified as economically depressed, was $1,638. The San Miguel figure for the same year was $879. In the same year, the median family income for the state

---

61 Knowlton, p. 15.
was $5,731. The San Miguel figure was $2,905. In the decade 1949-1959, the per cent increase in median family income was slightly higher for San Miguel County than for the state, but actual dollar gain was much less. The entire state showed a net dollar gain in median family income of $2,676, while San Miguel County showed a net gain of only $1,456. Taking family and unrelated individual median income figures, the difference was much more striking, being $2,288 for the state and only $778 for San Miguel County. These figures clearly illustrate that "poverty" is one of the major problems of the county and the area around it.

The economic plight of the area is also illustrated by significant population trends. First, the area as a whole seems to be losing many of the workers to other parts of the country. In the decade 1950-1960, the whole area was hit hard, although San Miguel County lost little of its labor force. The loss rates varied from a high of 49.9 per cent of the employable inhabitants of Mora County adjacent to the north, to a low of 12.6 per

---

62 Maloney, p. 9.
cent for Sandoval County to the west. This loss of economic producers, and their families as consumers, could not have had other than a devastating effect on the area economy.

Two other interrelated and concurrent demographic trends are seen as having had an adverse effect on the area economy. These are a loss of total population for the area and an age shift in population composition. In the decades 1940-60, San Miguel County lost a total of 15.9 per cent of its population. This trend appears to have increased in the second decade, for the loss between 1940 and 1950 was 5.0 per cent, and that of the next decade was 11.5 per cent. The population of the larger area in 1940 accounted for about a quarter of the population of the state, but in 1960, this figure had declined to about one-seventh.

The composition by age of the state population during this period of 1940 to 1960 showed a gain of about sixty per cent in the age range of twenty to forty years.

---

63 Knowlton, p. 15.
64 Maloney, pp. 4, 5.
In this period, the northern area under consideration showed a net decline of more than twenty per cent. Since this age range is often considered to be the most economically productive years of a man's life, it is easy to see that this age shift would have a major effect on the economy. From these figures, one could come to the conclusion that the area is fast growing stagnant, with the possible exceptions of the cities of Santa Fe and Los Alamos.

Many of the Mexican-American men in Northern New Mexico have been traditionally employed in agricultural labor, and the shift to large, mechanized agriculture has left many without jobs. In 1950, 24.2 per cent of the jobs in the area were agricultural labor, but in 1960, this figure had dropped to 7.3 per cent. This represents a decline of 69.8 per cent. San Miguel County was not so hard hit as were other counties in the area, having a decline of 47.0 per cent, but this drastic change was devastating to many who depended on agricultural labor.

65 ibid., pp. 5,6. It is interesting to note that the 1960 Census found that 49.0 per cent of native New Mexicans of this age group were residing in a different state.
for a living. In the same decade, San Miguel's unemployment rate went up 42.2 per cent (as compared to 30.8 per cent for the area), from 10.2 to 14.5 per cent of the labor force. However, this was not so high a figure as that of Sandoval County, whose unemployment rate for the same period rose 236.7 per cent.\textsuperscript{66}

\textbf{Other characteristics.} In her book, Heller gives some other general characteristics of Mexican-Americans in the United States. This group is the third largest minority group and the second largest ethnic group in the United States. This group is centered in the American Southwest (New Mexico, California, Arizona, Colorado and Texas). Outside of this area, there are a number of cities which have Mexican-American communities, among them Kansas City, Detroit and Chicago.\textsuperscript{67}

Another characteristic reported by Heller is the lack of mobility (except for migrant work) among Mexican-Americans. This group was the only ethnic group reported for which comparison of first generation and second genera-

\textsuperscript{66}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{67}Heller, p. 10.
tion immigrants failed to show any substantial rise in socio-economic status. The absence of intergenerational status mobility was coupled with a concurrent lack of intergenerational geographic mobility. 68

Finally, as noted by many authors, the Mexican-American has had a long history in the United States. Much of what is now the Southwest was once under the claim and partial control of both Spain and Mexico. With the annexation of this territory, many Mexican-Americans remained and became United States citizens. At the time of annexation, there was a definite culture formed and in long standing among the Mexican-Americans of the area. Since this period, the Mexican-American population has grown through migration and internal growth mechanisms. Now, the Mexican-American population in the United States numbers 3,456,000, about eighty per cent of which is found in urban areas, and of which eighty-five per cent are native Americans. 69

Summary. The literature pertinent to many aspects

---

68 Ibid., p. 5. Based on 1950 Census figures.
of Mexican-American life has been presented. It has been seen that the Mexican-American in the United States has a definite ethnic group identity, a definite culture, and a different historical development from the Anglo population. It has also been seen that the achievement of the Mexican-American in some parts of the United States has been significantly lower than that of Anglos. This has been noted in both educational and occupational achievement and has been related to cultural differentials, social class, and segregation of schools. It has also been noted that aspirations of Mexican-American youth are generally lower, but this can be largely attributed to social class. Finally, the economic situation in Northern New Mexico has been noted and described as critical, and this has been related to social conditions of the area.

The purpose of this chapter has been to give the reader some background in the problem under consideration, and to form a framework with which to interpret the results of the empirical data. In the next chapter, CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, more literature will be presented from which a conceptual framework for the study of this ethnic group can be constructed. This material and that of the following chapter is the basis for this study of Mexican-American youth.
CHAPTER III

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter is mainly devoted to consideration of the conceptual framework of this particular study. It will also include consideration of theoretical points relevant to the comparative study of the Mexican-American ethnic group in the United States and in Latin America. The general areas covered will be acculturation, the achievement syndrome, and cultural value differentials as each is related to the aspirations, expectations, and general success orientation of Mexican-Americans.

Acculturation. The Mexican-American group in the United States has been in cultural and physical contact with the dominant Anglo group for a relatively long period of American history. Since both are based to some degree on the regional cultures of North, Central, and South Europe, there are some traditional similarities, such as the Christian religion. Since each culture was transplanted to the New World, each has diverged to some degree from that of the mother country. From the first quarter of the eighteenth century, each of these New World cultures has been in contact with the other, and has been changed to
some degree by this contact. For this reason, study of acculturation of the Mexican-American into the dominant Anglo culture is important to this research.

Several authors have noted the slow rate of acculturation of the Mexican-American in the United States.\(^1\) From the literature, it appears that Mexican-Americans in this country have taken only certain cultural traits and have rejected others of the dominant culture. For example, certain words of the English language have been "Latinized." The English word "car" (automobile) has been changed to "
caro" in certain areas of the Southwest. Another example is the use of the automobile by Mexican-Americans as a symbol of conspicuous consumption, while the residence is not used in this manner. This partial acculturation, the borrowing of certain traits and not of others can be a source of antagonism between the two groups. In terms of a means-ends schema, this borrowing of means and perhaps of intermediate goals can be a source of antagonism because the purpose of the means borrowed has been prostituted in the eyes of the lending group.\(^2\) An example of

---

\(^1\)Among those already cited are Madsen, Heller, Watson and Samora, Broom and Shevky, and Rosen.

\(^2\)George Devereux and Edwin Loeb, "Antagonistic
this would be the use of a scalpel as a murder weapon or the use of a sacred object for a profane purpose.

Devereux and Loeb state that contact between groups is always a challenge, and that cultural change is always the result. They suggest that such change can take place in three forms, purposive isolation, borrowing and lending, or negative acculturation (purposive dissociative change). In view of the lack of assimilation of Mexican-Americans, it is the last that we are primarily concerned with.

Occasionally an unassimilable trait becomes "encysted" or remains "free-floating" in the culture of the borrowing group, it fails to become integrated into the rest of the cultural system. Occasionally this takes place in either the "overt" or the "covert" aspects of behavior, but not in the other. An example of this would be the use of a material object (or a behavioral pattern) borrowed from another culture without the borrowing of the cultural meaning assigned by the lender. In this case, the object,

---

3 Ibid., pp. 137-138.
4 Ibid., p. 136.
or behavioral pattern, would be found within the borrowing group’s culture, but would not really be integrated into the culture or be a part of a trait complex. In the case of Mexican-Americans in Northern New Mexico, there is some evidence that some traits have been borrowed and assimilated into the culture or encysted, but that others have not. One of the purposes of this research is to see whether certain values have been assimilated by all or part of the Mexican-American youth represented in the samples drawn.

An alternative to acculturation and assimilation is antagonistic acculturation which is the diffusion of the means segment of either a covert or overt cultural trait complex without acceptance of the ends segment.\footnote{Ibid., p. 139.} Antagonistic acculturation can take various forms, ranging from adoption of means to defensive isolation and suppression of social contacts to cultural "regression." Often new means are adopted to support existing goals, often with the intent to resist adoption of attached goals. When this happens, there is often pseudo-adoption of the
relevant goals. Sometimes antagonistic acculturation takes the form of rigorous suppression of social contacts, but with relatively open encouragement of trading of material goods. At other times, "regression" takes place, in which a superhuman past is created as a defense. When this happens, an attempt is made to bring back the older ideal status quo by means of techniques borrowed from the hated out-group. Whatever the form antagonistic acculturation takes, there is an attempt to improve the status quo without sacrificing the unique identity of the group. In a situation like that of Northern New Mexico, where two groups have been in contact for some length of time, in which defensive isolation is neither feasible nor legally possible, and which both groups seem assured that their respective cultures are best, antagonistic acculturation is a definite possibility, if not a probability.

In speaking of the acculturation of Mexican-Americans in the United States, Madsen notes three basic American values (belief in science, progress, and the American Way)

---

6 Ibid., p. 140.
7 Ibid., p. 145.
which he says all Americans are expected to accept. Any ethnic group which fails to show these "core" values will be marked and pushed out of the mainstream of American life, retaining only marginal status. If such a group is visible by either physical characteristics or a foreign language or by both, the process of assimilation becomes much slower. Since Mexican-Americans in the United States have a different language and different physical features, and since the values of the majority of Mexican-Americans fail to show a belief in science rather than folk superstition, acculturation and assimilation of the Mexican-American has been slow.

Madsen also makes a distinction among three levels of Mexican-American acculturation. The lowest level of acculturation is the folk culture derived from that of Mexico, but reflecting the influence of American technology and economic factors. This folk culture retains the core values of folk culture in Mexico. The second level of acculturation involves individuals caught in a value conflict between the two cultures. They have learned the

---

8Madsen, op. cit., p. 1.
folk ways, have learned the ways of the dominant group, and have enough education to experience and recognize the conflict between the two cultures. These persons, according to Madsen, learn to compartmentalize their lives in order to live in both communities. The third level of acculturation includes those persons who have gained status in the Anglo world, and who have embraced the Anglo way of life. These persons generally share a belief in science and fit into the Anglo world well. Madsen notes that the three levels often represent a three-generational process, and concludes,

The three acculturative levels are further correlated with the class structure, and in general, Mexican-American folk society consists of lower-class, manual laborers. Acculturation is most actively pursued by the middle class. Here, value conflicts are most keenly felt and solutions are sought through Americanization. By whatever criteria one judges successful acculturation among Mexican-Americans, it is generally a middle- or upper-class phenomenon.9

Since the acculturation process for the Mexican-American is limited mainly to middle and upper class persons, and since the majority of Mexican-Americans fall into the lower economic classes, it seems reasonable that the

---

9Ibid., pp. 2, 3.
acculturation rate tends to remain very slow.

Two other studies both note the slow rate of acculturation of the Mexican-American and offer some suggestions why this has been the case. Broom and Shevky state that the acculturation process has been slow because of 1) mass employment in homogeneous groups isolated from the larger group, 2) frequent migration and instability of employment, 3) language barriers which have become symbolic of group differences, 4) lack of adequate success models, and 5) educational retardation and a ceiling on education resulting from the social structure. Watson and Samora point up three further reasons why the acculturation process for the Mexican-American has been so slow. First, they state that the Mexican-American has deeper traditional and environmental ties than most immigrants to this country. Second, there is less commitment to and less exclusive need for identification with the dominant cultural system; the Mexican-American group is able to

---

10 Broom and Shevky, op. cit., and Watson and Samora, op. cit.
satisfy the needs of its members for the most part. Finally, the Mexican-American has a high degree of cultural visibility and is discriminated against because of the differences in culture. These examples serve to point out that there are many variables involved in the study of Mexican-American acculturation and that there are many problems to be faced by the Mexican-American in the process of acculturation and assimilation. These acculturation variables make the study of Mexican-Americans difficult at best. Each geographic location seems to be different in cultural traits and the degree to which they are evident. In addition to the differences between cultural areas, there is heterogeneity within the culture of localities, a further confounding factor. 

Achievement syndrome. In several articles discussing achievement, Rosen refers to what he calls the "achievement syndrome." This syndrome is composed of psychocultural components which are seen to be determinants of economic and social achievement. In his first article,

12 Watson and Samora, p. 414.
13 Broom and Shevky, p. 152.
Rosen identifies two basic components, achievement motivation and value orientation. Achievement motivation is defined as an internal impetus to excel and value orientation is defined as a cultural phenomenon which defines and implements achievement-motivated behavior. In a later article, Rosen adds a third factor, culturally influenced educational-occupational aspiration levels, which must be related to an aspirational "base line" for a given cultural group. The interaction of these three major factors is seen as determining the success and achievement aspiration for a given individual.

In a study of race, ethnicity, and achievement, Rosen studied five American minority groups (French-Canadians, Italians, Greeks, Negroes, and Jews) to see what cultural differentials were evident. The findings showed that a comparison of ethnic-racial differences from the dominant group did not show the whole picture. When controlling for social class, Rosen found that there were also signifi-


cant differences between the social classes. In achievement motivation, Rosen reports that

Neither ethnicity nor social class alone is sufficient to predict an individual's score; both appear to contribute something to the variance between groups, but on the whole social class is a better predictor than ethnicity.\(^\text{16}\)

Generally, the scores for each group studied were directly related to social class, except for the Jewish group. Rosen could offer no explanation for this particular exception.\(^\text{17}\)

The findings of this same study for achievement value orientation showed that achievement values were related to both social class and ethnicity, but that social class again accounted for more variance than ethnicity. With each decline in social class, the mean score for each ethnic group also declined, almost without exception. However, Rosen warns that social class does not account for all the differences found. There are differences between ethnic groups, and while these may not be so important as those between social classes, they are still

\(^{16}\)Ibid., p. 53.

\(^{17}\)Ibid.
In this same study, Rosen also observed ethnic and class differences in educational and occupational aspirations. The results showed that social class was more related to educational aspirations than ethnicity. However, ethnicity was found to be more important than social class in vocational aspirations, although social class was still found to be very important. Effects of social class on occupational aspirations were more apparent in the working and lower classes.\(^{18}\)

In his earlier study, Rosen sees vertical class mobility as a function of class differences in motivation and values.\(^{20}\) In his discussion of class differences, Rosen discusses the importance of family structure and socialization procedures, and gives two reasons why the middle class is more achievement oriented. First, the middle class places more demands on the child at an earlier age, and there is a value on teaching independence to the

\(^{18}\) Ibid., p. 57.

\(^{19}\) Ibid., pp. 58, 60.

\(^{20}\) Rosen (1956), p. 204.
child. Second, there are more intense and frequent rewards for meeting these expectations from middle-class parents. 21 If the Mexican-American population is mostly lower class, and if the traditional values of la raza are more intensely held by this group, this would affect the achievement motivation and aspirations of the child. If the father actively discourages aggressiveness in his sons, and does not teach them to be independent like the middle-class child, it could reasonably be expected that they would be less achievement oriented and would have lower aspirations. Even if a male Mexican-American managed to graduate from high school, or from college, he would be at a disadvantage in the Anglo economic world. First, his concept of success would be much different from that of his Anglo peers, and second, he would not have been taught the values necessary for success in the Anglo world. In the upper and middle Mexican-American social classes, the Mexican-American would not be at such a disadvantage because the success values held by these classes are similar to those held by Anglos of the same class. 22 An Anglo from the

21 Ibid., p. 211.
22 Madsen, pp. 24-43.
lower economic classes also might experience difficulties competing in the middle-class American economic world for much the same reasons.

On the basis of the above discussion and from the discussion of Mexican-American culture, it is expected that the subjects involved in this study would follow the same patterns as the ethnic groups in Rosen's study. There should be ethnic differences in value orientations and educational aspirations, but these should not be so great as those between social classes. For occupational aspirations, the Mexican-Americans as a group should have lower aspirations, although the middle-class Mexican-Americans should have higher aspirations than those in the lower class. In certain value areas, Mexican-Americans should show value differences from the Anglo group, but those of the middle class should be less than those for the lower classes. It is to this we turn our discussion.

Cultural value differences. For the purposes of illustration of value differences between Mexican-American and Anglo cultures, construct types will be used. These types will be based on the conceptual scheme of Kluckhohn, who gives five basic areas in which cultural differences
may be contrasted. The five areas are beliefs or values concerning the innate predisposition of man, man's relation to nature, time, personality of the individual, and the modality of relationships.  

(See Table I below.) For the purposes of this study, the innate predisposition of man will be deleted, although it is an important area.

TABLE I

KLUCKHOHN'S MODEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Innate predispositions</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Mixed (not good nor bad)</th>
<th>Good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Man's relation to nature</td>
<td>Subordinate</td>
<td>Man in Nature</td>
<td>Superordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Dimensions</td>
<td>Past</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man's personality</td>
<td>Being</td>
<td>Being-in-becoming</td>
<td>Becoming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modality of Relationship</td>
<td>Lineal</td>
<td>Collateral</td>
<td>Individualistic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


*Based on a similar table in the above article, p. 378.
As can be seen from TABLE I, man's relationship to nature is divided into three basic relationships. The two which are pertinent here are man-in-nature and mastery over nature (Superordinate). Man-in-nature refers to man living as a part of nature and finding meaning in nature. Here, man is neither subjugated to nature nor the eventual master of nature. He merely exists in nature, perhaps as the highest intelligence, and uses nature to some degree to further his own ends. Ultimate answers about nature are not of supreme importance, and the stress is not necessarily on a rational, empirical explanation of nature. On the other hand, the man-versus-nature position is concerned with rational mastery over nature. Man is not seen as being a part of nature in that he is conceived to be the highest intelligence in nature; he is provided with an intelligence which will enable him to understand nature and thus control it. Mastery takes the form of a divine mission, and man, with or without the aid of a divine being, is the master of his own destiny and subject to nature only in that he cannot now control it because of lack of knowledge. Rational, empirical explanation is highly emphasized.
The time orientation factor is fairly self-explanatory. Past orientation is concerned with the glories of the past and the maintaining of the status quo; the meaning of life is to be found in the past. The present time orientation is concerned with immediate gratification; the present is to be enjoyed. The experiences of the present are what gives life meaning, and the present is to be savored. There is a time and place for everything and one must enjoy the present situation, for tomorrow is another day and will take care of itself. The future time orientation is centered around planning. The purpose of the past is to give wisdom and the purpose of the present is to prepare for future eventualities. The future is the time in which the results of present planning will be realized. Gratification is deferred in order to realize the benefits of the future, which will be greater for having planned them. One must accomplish as much as possible in the time allotted to him.26

The personality component is somewhat complex, and

26 Ibid., pp. 379-380.
the lines between the categories are not too distinct. Being generally describes who a person is. There is no need to do in order to realize who and what a person is; he is what he is because he is. There is no need for outside reference or action to realize self. It is there, known, and accepted. Being-in-becoming refers to a personality component which is self-contained and which controls itself through meditation and detachment which brings understanding. The doing component involves realization of self through action and achieving, and it is through action that the self has meaning. A person must constantly do and achieve to know what and who he is, and it is through the actions of others that he knows what they are.27

The modality of man's relationship to other men is one of the more important aspects of the schema. The central point here is the most salient characteristic of interpersonal relationships within a social structure.

27 Ibid., p. 379. These areas represent dominant areas for a group. To some degree, all types in all categories do exist within a given social system. What we are considering is the modal orientation of the system.
In the lineal type of modal relationship, interaction is based on hierarchical status. Status relative to those above and below it is the most important part of the social structure. In the collateral type of relationship, the individual is important, but the goals of the group are most important. In the individualistic type, the goals of the individual are most important, but there is some convergence of individual and group goals. Where in the collateral type, relationships are based mostly on primary or reference group relationships, in the individualistic type, relationships are based on goals.28

In construct types, the dominant profile of middle-class American would be individualistic, achieving, man-against-nature, and future time orientation.29 The profile for Mexican-Americans would be lineal, being, man-in-nature, and present time orientation.30 From these two construct types predictions of performance on the Allport test will be made. It must be remembered that

28 Ibid., pp. 380-382.
29 Ibid., pp. 382-383.
30 Heller, p. 20 Kluckhohn, p. 386.
these are construct types and are based on an overview of traditional culture. Hence, they may not exist in reality because of the various changes which have taken place in both cultures. One of the most important factors that these ideal types fail to take into consideration is acculturation and assimilation. For this reason, it is expected that there will be a great deal of variation from the type in the data gathered.

The predictions made on the basis of the construct types were as follows. Because of the value on social relationships in Mexican-American culture and because of the being orientation of the culture, lower-class Mexican-Americans are expected to score relatively high on the social scale, being much higher than the Anglos. Theoretically, the value measured by this scale is altruistic love of other persons. The Social Man values social relationships as ends in themselves, and is interested in other persons as unique entities.\textsuperscript{31} Another scale that the Mexican-Americans in this study are expected to rank relatively high on is the religious scale. The primary

value measured here is unity. Man tries to relate himself to the cosmos and is mystical in doing so. This mysticism is antithetical to the rational, empirical explanation of nature. Because of the man-in-nature orientation of Mexican-American folk society, and because of its disbelief in science as an epistemology, lower-class Mexican-Americans are expected to rank significantly higher on this scale. The present time orientation of Mexican-American folk society, and its value on more personalistic power indicate that lower-class Mexican-Americans should rank significantly lower on both the political and economic scales. Of the two, these persons should rank the political higher than the economic. However, because of the lineal system of relationships, the Mexican-Americans in the lower classes might be expected to rank higher on the political scale than their Anglo peers.

On the basis of the construct type, the Anglo is expected to rank higher than the lower-class Mexican-American on the economic, theoretical and possibly the political scales. The Economic Man is mostly concerned with what is useful and practical, and would rather be able to command economic rather than political
power.  

33 This expectation is based on the entire construct type, but mainly on the achieving and futuristic orientations. The theoretical scale is supposed to measure a value on truth, and the Theoretical Man is primarily concerned with empirical evidence, critical analysis, and rational procedure.  

34 This particular expectation is based on the man-against-nature orientation and on the future time dimension. Since the political scale is based on personal power,  

35 it may be that the Anglo will score higher on this scale because of the individualistic orientation of the Anglo culture. It is expected that the Anglo group will score lower on the Social and Religious scales.  

36 There are no real expectations of the middle-class Mexican-American group. This group may either be very much

\[\text{\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p. 5.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{36} While the use of construct types has some drawbacks, it does serve as a point of departure. To really use such types well, one would have to make constructs representing not only the traditional groups, but also varying degrees of acculturation and assimilation. At this time, not enough is known about the acculturation and assimilation of Mexican-Americans to construct such types.}\]
like the Anglo group or very much like the lower-class Mexican-American group. On the basis of the ethnography by Madsen, it could be expected that these persons would resemble the Anglo population much more closely, but this is conjecture. The basic purpose of this research is to see which they resemble most.
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Since this study is exploratory in nature, this particular chapter is not a discussion of the sophisticated analytical tools which could or should have been used. Rather, this chapter is devoted to the description of the simple tools used in gathering the data, the methods of analysis of and classification of the data, and of some of the procedures used to try to establish variables. Some of the tools used may seem rather crude and unorthodox, but these were born of necessity and were adequate for the level of precision desired. We are attempting to see what is in order to later ask how much.

Respondents. The subjects of this study were all graduating high school seniors between the ages of seventeen and nineteen. The median and mode ages were eighteen and the mean age was eighteen for the Mexican-American group and about seventeen and one-half for the Anglo group. The respondents were either of Mexican-American or Anglo descent. There were no Negroes or American Indians represented in the groups drawn. The total number of respondents was seventy-seven in the final analysis. Several had been dropped for various reasons.
One group was chosen at random from the graduating class of West Las Vegas High School (Class of 1966). At the graduation practices, requests were handed out to every fourth person going through the line. Out of about fifty such requests, forty-five agreed to respond, and forty-one of these were usable. Four either misread the instructions, or made other errors which made the questionnaire and/or Allport test unusable for analysis. This group will be referred to as the West group.

The West group was divided almost evenly by sex, there being twenty-two males and nineteen females in the usable group. Most of the West respondents were eighteen years of age, none being older than nineteen nor younger than seventeen. This was a surprise because in the Southwest it is not unusual to find persons of twenty or twenty-one years of age in almost any graduating class. There were no Anglos in this group, for the high school is entirely Mexican-American in student body and overwhelmingly so in faculty and administration.

The second group chosen was chosen by the administration of Robertson High School in the City of Las Vegas, and the representitiveness of the group drawn is
consequently questionable. The total group numbered thirty-six, eight of which were Mexican-American and constitute a subgroup for this study. The sex division of the Anglo portion of this group was nineteen males and nine females, and five males and three females for the subgroup. The average age for the Mexican-American subgroup was 17.4, a figure lower than that for the other groups. These two groups will here be designated as the Anglo group and the Spanish subgroup, respectively.

There were two major reasons why graduating high school seniors were chosen for this study. First, these persons are potential college enrollees if not potential college graduates. As such, these persons would be eligible for the higher status jobs and could be economically more productive. Consequently, one would expect that their occupational and educational aspirations would be higher than the rest of the population. One would also expect that their expectations might not be dampened by bitter experience as might be the case with older persons.

The second reason for the choice of high school seniors was that these persons seem to act on absolutes. In a crisis situation, such as taking an examination or
an unfamiliar social situation, a person many times tends to fall back on what he has been taught or on previous experience. As many high school teachers have observed, teenagers tend to act impulsively and tend to over-react to relatively simple situations. If this is the case, a test such as the one used might get a more clear-cut picture from using subjects of this age rather than persons who have learned of shades of grey and who might tend to guard their answers. The respondents at this age are believed not to be test-sophisticated, especially in a rather isolated city such as Las Vegas. Again, older persons, particularly college students, might tend to be more test-sophisticated. It is also believed that negativistic response due to alienation would not be so great among high school seniors as it would be among college students.

Other reasons why this particular age group was chosen were achievement, accessibility, and representativeness. First, these respondents were all about to pass a milestone in their lives, and probably were either looking forward to some job or to going ahead with their studies. These persons probably had given the future more thought.
than a younger group might have. Second, these respondents were very accessible and could easily be tested in a group. Finally, these persons are probably more representative of the total population than a college group would be, although the representativeness is doubtful.

Instruments. For the purpose of this study, two instruments were used. A questionnaire was constructed for background data, aspirations and expectations, and certain attitudes. The Allport Study of Values was used to determine group value profiles and rank ordering of values.

The questionnaire was constructed in eight short parts. Four of these were concerned with background data and data usable for establishing group socio-economic characteristics. The remaining four areas were used to gauge aspirations, expectations, and attitudes toward certain types of ethnic group contacts. The family data consisted of father's and mother's education, occupation, and income provision; family mobility; source of income; number of siblings; and so forth. The aspiration and expectation section was aimed at educational and occupational goals, and at geographic mobility aspirations.
One section was aimed at attitudes toward ethnic group contacts and attitudes toward the other ethnic group and toward the culture of the individual. Finally, a section was included which was concerned with attitudes toward school in general.*

The questionnaire was relatively short, being only four pages in length. The questions were direct and no attempt was made to be covert about the purpose of the questions. The questions were constructed to be understood by all of the respondents, but there was no pretest.**

In order of administration, the questionnaire was given directly before the administration of the Allport test. Directions were written out on the questionnaire and were explained verbally.

The Allport Study of Values is a standardized test, measuring six core value areas. The areas contained are based on the mutually exclusive areas of Theoretical,

*The original questionnaire questions are contained in the APPENDIX.

**However, the questions were constructed in conjunction with the Psychology Department at New Mexico Highlands University and were presented to a seminar for criticism and suggestions.
Aesthetic, Economic, Social, Political, and Religious orientation. The test is based on Spranger's *Types of Men*. The test is designed for men and women of at least twelfth grade education and was standardized on a college population. Reliability and repeat reliability for the test are quite good.¹

The Allport test was chosen because of the value areas it contained and also because it was geared to the educational level of the subjects. It was given directly after completion of the questionnaire and verbal instructions were given to supplement the written ones. The subjects were given all the time they needed to complete the test. There was little confusion on the part of the subjects as to the mechanics of the test.

Classification. In this research, no individual classification was made with socio-economic characteristics. There is no data telling how many of which subjects fell into artificial categories on the basis of standard socio-economic characteristics. Each group was analyzed on the basis of macroscopic tendencies, and the tendencies

¹Allport, op. cit. pp. 3-5.
were not subjected to statistical correlation. In other words, we were seeking general tendencies such as low level of income, large dependency on welfare, or a high number of professional fathers. In this manner, the more dominant tendencies could be measured crudely so that further research might better make use of sophisticated instruments and precise measurement.

The classification of father's occupation and mother's occupation was made on the same basis as the occupation expected and the occupation aspired to by the respondents. The classification necessarily took into consideration local factors as well as standardized factors. For example, a store owner would be put into category seven, professional and owner, if the store was medium-sized or large. However, if the store were small, the owner would be placed in the sixth category, management. (See TABLE II, p. 87). Another example would be military occupation, in which an enlisted man would be placed either in the skilled labor category or in the clerical category, depending on the rank. Officers would be placed in the fifth or sixth category, depending on rank and responsibility. In other words, classification
of occupations was made on a semi-structured basis to allow for maximum flexibility with a high degree of consistency. The categories themselves are self-explanatory.

Under principal source of income, four categories were used: employment, private service or business, welfare, and pension. The first three categories are fairly self-explanatory. The last category, pension, was designated as any outside source of income other than welfare which did not fall into other categories. Such sources would be railroad pension, social security, veterans' disability compensation, and so forth.

Educational classification is made in terms of the grade level completed. Generally, this will be presented in grade block categories, although mean education will be sometimes used. Education is a measure of formal education, including trade schools. On-the-job training is not classified as formal education here.

Analysis of data. The family background data will be presented for both the West group and both Robertson groups. No differentiation by sex will be made, nor will other variables be presented in this material. Each group will be described in percentage rates as to family
income, family size, parents' occupations, residence, mobility and parents' education. Trends will be presented, but no statistical tests will be run on this data.

Aspirations and expectations will be presented for each group with a control for sex. The Allport scores will be presented as mean scores for each group, both with and without a control for sex. No statistical tests will be used for this data.

There are two reasons why no statistical tests were run on the data. First, the sampling procedure for the Robertson group was not such as to assure representativeness. Since this group was chosen by the administration of the school, the randomness is in doubt and this doubt precludes any statistical tests based on the assumption of a random sample. Second, the West group is probably not representative of the Mexican-American community. These students represent the elite of the community as far as formal education goes. For these reasons, no statistical tests were used for there was no basis for statistical comparison.
CHAPTER V

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In the first part of this chapter, the data will be presented along four major lines. First, the family background of each group will be described in socio-economic and demographic terms to determine the difference between the two groups. Second, ethnic attitudes will be discussed with reference to ethnic group contact and acculturation questions. Third, group differences in aspirations and expectations will be presented. Finally, value differences as measured by the Allport test will be presented for each group and the subgroup. The second part of this chapter is devoted to the analysis and interpretation of these findings.

**Family background.** The differences between the Robertson group and the West group were dramatically illustrated by the differences in family background of the respondents. Generally, the West student came from a lower-class family, and the Robertson student from a middle-class family. The small sample of Mexican-Americans in the Robertson group was also found to have middle-class characteristics. These differences appear to be a
starting point for differences found throughout the data, for in almost every aspect of the study the Robertson Spanish subgroup seems to be more similar to the Anglo than to the West group.

The family income range for the West group was considerably lower than that for the Anglo sample. Of the entire group, 41.4 per cent reported incomes of four thousand dollars or less for the average yearly family income; 14.6 per cent reported incomes of less than two thousand. Of the entire group, 70.7 per cent reported incomes of less than eight thousand, and only one case reported an income of over eight thousand.

Other data concerning family income showed that a substantial portion of the West group families (36.6 per cent) depended on welfare or "pension" as a major source of income. Half the West group (56.1 per cent) reported employment as the major source of income, and only three cases reported private services or business ownership. Other income data showed that the father was the principal provider in most cases (63.4 per cent), but that the mother was also significant as a major provider of income (31.7 per cent). Of the West group, 61.0 per cent reported
that they worked part-time, and 31.7 per cent reported that they helped to support their families.

As far as formal education goes, the West respondent came from a poorly-educated family. Of the West fathers, 51.3 per cent never passed higher than the ninth grade, and 56.2 per cent never graduated from high school. Only 22.0 per cent graduated from, or went beyond, high school and only 12.2 per cent graduated from college. Only one case was reported in which a father started graduate school. The mothers in this group were slightly more educated than the fathers, but only 4.9 per cent were reported to have had any college experience. Only 9.8 per cent were reported not to have entered the seventh grade, and 61.0 per cent of the mothers completed the eighth through twelfth grades.

Occupationally, the fathers of the West respondents generally held lower status jobs. (See Table II, p. 87.) Three-fifths (61 per cent) reported job status of skilled labor (26.9 per cent) or semi- and unskilled labor (34.1 per cent). One-fifth reported father's occupation as minor clerical or white collar. There was no response higher than the white collar category. Of the group, 19.5
TABLE II

OCCUPATION OF FATHER

US - unskilled labor  
SS - skilled labor (semi-)
SL - highly skilled labor
MC - minor clerical, white collar, etc.
WC - white collar, low management, etc.
MG - management, small owner, etc.
PO - professional, owner, high management
UC - unclassified

West Group  
Robertson Spanish
Anglo
per cent reported that both parents worked, 9.8 per cent of the mothers holding minor clerical or white collar jobs.

The average family size of the West respondents was reported as being eight persons, the mode being five. The age range of siblings was found to be quite spread out, the mean range being 12.5 years. This figure indicates an average of about eighteen months for each surviving pregnancy for the child-bearing years up to the date of data collection. However, there is some indication that the child-bearing age for the Mexican-American mother is longer than that for the Anglo mother in Las Vegas. The number of surviving pregnancies may be higher for the Anglo population, but this data was not available.

The residence of the West respondents tended to be overwhelmingly in the Mexican-American community; 95.1 per cent reporting living in West Las Vegas, one case reporting living in a rural area, and only one case reporting living in the Anglo community. At the same time, only 4.8 per cent of the West group reported that their families moved to a different town every three years or less.

The family background of the Robertson group painted a much different picture. The family income range
clustered in the six-to-eight-thousand category, with this category representing 67.9 per cent of the Anglo group and 62.5 per cent of the Robertson Spanish. Only 7.1 per cent of the Anglos reported an income in the four-to-six-thousand category and none reported an income of less than four thousand. None of the Robertson Spanish subgroup reported an income of less than six thousand (TABLE III).

Source of income for the Anglos was mostly employment (60.7 per cent), and all other sources reported fell into the private service or ownership category. None reported pension or welfare as the major source of income. This pattern was the same in the Robertson Spanish subgroup, although one case did report pension. In all cases for both Robertson groups, the father was reported as the principal provider, although 53.3 per cent of the Anglo mothers and 37.5 per cent of the Spanish mothers were reported as being employed. Three-quarters of the Anglo group, and seven-eighths of the Spanish group reported part-time work, and only one case, an Anglo, reported helping support his family.

Educationally, the Robertson group parents were
TABLE III

TOTAL FAMILY INCOME

Income categories:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>$0 to 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>to 4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>to 6000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>to 8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>to 12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>to 16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>to 20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>20,001 +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Figures are in percentage rates.)
reported to have achieved a much higher level than the West group parents. For the Anglos, the mean education was 13.3 years for the father and 13.4 for the mother. For the Spanish group, the mean level for the father was 13.0 and for the mother was 13.3. Of the Anglo fathers, 21.4 per cent were reported having graduated from college, and of the Spanish, only one case had graduated, but this case had received a graduate degree. The Anglo mothers were reported to have completed college in 10.5 per cent of the cases, and the Spanish mothers, in 25.0 per cent of the cases.

Occupationally, the Anglos ranked much higher than the West group. The Anglo fathers were reported to be employed in the white collar to professional categories in 67.9 per cent of the cases, in the skilled labor category in 25.0 per cent of the cases, and in the semiskilled category in only one case. The Spanish group reported father's occupation to be skilled labor in 37.5 per cent of the cases, white collar in 50.0 per cent, and professional in the remaining case. 37.5 per cent of the Spanish mothers were reported to be working in clerical jobs, and none were reported for higher categories. (TABLE II).
The average family size for the Anglo group was 5.4 persons, and the mode was four. The sibling age range averaged 8.7 years and the mode was three. The Spanish mean family size was larger with a mean of 6.1 and a mode of six. The mean sibling age range was twelve years. Residence for the Anglos broke down into seventy-five per cent living in the Anglo community and twenty-five per cent living in rural areas around the city. Half the Spanish group reported living in the Mexican-American community and the rest were split evenly between the Anglo community and rural areas. Mobility was greater for the Anglos with twenty-nine per cent reporting moving to a different town on the average of less than every five years, and fourteen per cent reporting moving every three years or less. Only one-fourth of the Spanish group reported mobility of every three years or less, and no other mobility was reported.

Ethnic attitudes. In order to get some possible indicators for further research, several questions concerning ethnic group contacts were asked. The first question, directed primarily at Mexican-Americans, was whether the respondent had any American Indian ancestry. From the West
group, only 14.6 per cent answered that they did have such ancestry, and only 12.5 per cent of the Robertson Spanish gave this answer. These are very low figures when considering how much miscegenation between Indians and the Spanish invaders is reported in historical accounts. Of those reporting affirmatively in the West group, four out of six reported indifference, one reported shame, and one reported pride. The only case of affirmative reply in the Robertson group reported pride.

In regard to the question concerning the best way of life, the general response was ethnocentric. However, 28.6 per cent of the Anglo, 12.5 per cent of the Robertson Spanish, and 9.8 per cent of the West group reported "other", implying a mixture of Spanish-American and Anglo cultures. When asked which of several possibilities was closest to the respondent's own way of life, the response was "Spanish-Anglo" for half of the Robertson Spanish, 31.7 per cent of the West group, and only 10.7 per cent of the Anglos. For the "Spanish" response to this question, the West response was 56.1 per cent and the Robertson Spanish response was 12.5 per cent. Only one case reported "Anglo" in the West group, although 37.5 per cent of the Robertson
Spanish gave this response.

When asked if mixing Anglo and Spanish-American ways of life was good, most of the respondents answered affirmatively. Negative response came from 4.9 per cent of the West group, 12.5 per cent of the Robertson Spanish, and 17.9 per cent of the Anglos. When asked whether or not Spanish-Anglo marriages were bad, the negative response to this question came from 7.3 per cent of the West group, and 28.6 per cent of the Anglos.

When asked what language was spoken most in the home, the West group responded "Spanish" in 26.8 per cent of the cases, "English" in 22.0 per cent, and both equally in 51.2 per cent. The Robertson Spanish response to this question was 87.5 per cent "English" and 12.5 per cent for both equally. There were no "Spanish" responses for this group at all, and the Anglos answered "English" in every case.

Aspirations and expectations. Vocational expectations tended to be lower for Mexican-Americans than for Anglos, although the Robertson Spanish group had higher expectations than the West. (See TABLE IV). At the same time, males tended to have higher expectations than females
within a given group. Anglo males had the highest expectations and the Robertson Spanish the next highest. However, the "no response" rate was fairly high, especially among West males. Educational expectations tended to follow this same pattern, although Anglo females had higher expectations than both the Robertson Spanish and West groups. Anglo males had far and above the highest expectations with 73.5 per cent expecting to complete college or go on to graduate or professional degrees. This figure for the Robertson Spanish was 37.5 per cent and for the West males was 22.7 per cent. Again, the "no response" rate was quite high.

Generally, aspirations told a much different story than expectations. In vocational aspirations, Anglo females rated highest with 77.8 per cent wishing to have a white collar job or better. Robertson Spanish were next with 75.0 per cent wishing to be businessmen or professionals. (See TABLE V). The rate of "no response" was fairly high for West males, but they still ranked higher than Anglo males. It is interesting to note that West females aspired mostly to white collar category jobs, and that so many Anglos aspired to skilled labor or minor
TABLE IV

EXPECTATIONS BY GROUP BY SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocational Type</th>
<th>West group</th>
<th>Anglo</th>
<th>Robertson Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>F.</td>
<td>M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled labor</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White collar</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Education Level

| Trade School           | 13.6       | 5.2   | --         | --        | --         |
| High school            | 9.1        | 36.8  | 10.5       | 11.1      | 25.0       |
| Part college           | 13.6       | 26.3  | 5.2        | 22.2      | 12.5       |
| College                | 13.6       | 5.2   | 52.6       | 33.3      | 12.5       |
| Grad-MA, MS            | 9.1        | 5.2   | 15.7       | 22.2      | --         |
| Professional           | --         | --    | 5.2        | --        | 12.5       |
| Grad. PhD              | --         | --    | --         | --        | 12.5       |
| No response            | 40.1       | 21.0  | 10.5       | 11.1      | 25.0       |

(Figures are in percentages)
clerical category jobs. A further point of interest is that West females did not aspire to management or professional category jobs.

In educational aspirations, the Anglo males aspired the highest, with 89.1 per cent wishing to complete college or go beyond. This figure for the Robertson Spanish was 87.5 per cent, and for the Anglo females was 88.9 per cent. Compared with these three subgroups, the West group had much lower aspirations, with 52.4 per cent of the females wishing to complete college or go beyond, and only 49.9 per cent of the males wishing to do so. A figure which should be noted is the large number of West males (22.7 per cent) who wished to go to trade school. The only "no response" figure was that for the West females.

Allport data. Generally, the Allport scales showed that the Robertson Spanish were more similar to the Anglos than to the West group. (See TABLES VI and VII). This was particularly true in the Economic, Social, and Political scales. On the Theoretical and Aesthetic scales, the Robertson Spanish group was about equidistant from the two major groups, and on the Religious scale had the same score as the West group. However, the only scales on which
### TABLE V
ASPIRATIONS BY GROUP BY SEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vocational Type</th>
<th>West Group</th>
<th>Anglo</th>
<th>Robertson Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>F.</td>
<td>M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Labor</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White collar</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>57.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Educational level**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>West Group</th>
<th>Anglo</th>
<th>Robertson Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>F.</td>
<td>M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade School</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part college</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All college</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grad. MA, MS</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate. PhD.</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Figures are percentages.)
the differences might be considered significant are the Economic and Social. The group profile shows Anglos as being a good deal higher on the Economic and the West group as being quite a bit higher on the Social scale.

When a control for sex was added, the results were different. On group by sex profiles, greater differences were found between Anglo males and females than on any other comparison between subgroups. The West group sex differences were fairly small, the largest being smaller than the least Anglo sex difference. Generally, there was very little difference between West males and West females. Comparison of groups with control for sex showed what might be significant differences between different groups of the same sex. West males differed from Anglo males to a great degree only on the Social and Economic scales. On the other hand, West females differed from Anglo females to a significant degree on the Theoretical and Aesthetic scales. The rank order of the value areas is shown following.
TABLE IV

ALLPORT SCORES

A. By Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>T</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West group</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rob. Spanish</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. By Groups by Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>T</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West male, female</td>
<td>45.5</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo male</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Group Profiles

- West Group
- Rob. Spanish
- Anglo

![Graph showing Allport scores by groups and sex]
It should be noted that in the West group, both male and female, the Aesthetic scale is ranked lowest and the Social scale has a low rank. At the same time, the Economic scale is ranked high for both males and females. It is also noteworthy that except for the reversal of the ranks of the Political and Theoretical scales, the Robertson ranking is the same as that of the Anglo male.

**Interpretation.** Analysis of the data indicates that the Mexican-Americans in Las Vegas generally fall into the lower socio-economic classes, and that there is a middle class in the city composed of Mexican-Americans who have crossed class lines. In respect to the low socio-economic
status of the balance of the West group, it would seem that the Mexican-Americans of the city resemble those in other geographic areas. Most important is the fact that those persons who live in the Mexican-American community and attend the ghetto school there come from lower-class families and have different value orientations from those who attend the Anglo-oriented school.

Generally speaking the Robertson Spanish group was of higher socio-economic status than its West counterpart, had a higher level of parental education, and demonstrated a higher profile on the Economic scale. In part, the latter may be due to having attended the Anglo-oriented school, but the other two characteristics tend to discount this as being the whole cause. If Robertson Spanish group family background is middle class, this would probably be a stronger factor than school attendance. At the same time, most of the student body of Robertson High is Mexican-American and there is the probability that the peer group of a Mexican-American attending there would be other Mexican-Americans. It then appears that class status is the major determining factor. If there are differences among Mexican-Americans, and both the literature and data indicate this to be true,
attendance at an Anglo school would tend to reinforce these differences, especially if the middle-class Mexican-American found more in common with the Anglo than with his lower-class peers.

In light of the data, there is one other possibility which might explain the differences between Robertson Spanish and the West group. If the parents of the Robertson Spanish crossed class lines, they might be more class-conscious and might encourage their children to assimilate themselves into the middle-class world. If the grandparents crossed class lines, the Robertson Spanish student would probably have been brought up with middle-class values, and lower-class Mexican-American values might be far more alien to him than Anglo values. In the acceptance of the middle-class value system, there might be a hypercompensation for having a Mexican-American background. A Mexican-American who has crossed class lines may embrace middle-class values to such a degree that he becomes a zealot in order to be fully accepted by the Anglo community. Such a person would be alienated from the Mexican-American community and would probably demonstrate a high degree of acculturation on a test such as the Allport instrument. As a diehard member
of la raza put it, such persons become more "gringo" than the "gringos."

On the other hand, the Robertson Spanish group appears to be less ethnocentric than either of the other groups. If these were really converts to the Anglo way of life, one would expect that they would rally around the flag of acculturation. The only answer which is apparent at this time is that the value on the spiritual unity of la raza has carried over while other values inherent in this philosophy have not. The old means might have been rejected for the "better" ones of Anglo culture, but some of the old goals may still be retained. In Mertonian terms, it would be a case of innovation rather than a case of conformity or ritualism. However, one-quarter of the Robertson Spanish responded that the Anglo culture was the best, so there apparently is a great deal of acculturation which has taken place.

In response to the language spoken most in the home and the respondents' own way of life, the Anglos seem to be the least acculturated or the most ethnocentric, depending on interpretation. The Robertson Spanish response to these two items indicates that these persons are either the
most acculturated or the least ethnocentric. On the ques-
tion asking which was the best way of life, both the Anglos
and the West group were equally ethnocentric, while the
Robertson Spanish demonstrated the most tolerance. This
being the case, it would be safest to conclude that the
measure was of acculturation rather than ethnocentrism in
the case of this group. Probably acculturation has led to
a decrease in ethnocentrism from an Anglo or a Mexican-
American point of view. Ethnocentrism from a Mexican-Anglo
point of view might be very great.

There are three possible reasons why occupational
aspirations and expectations are lower for the West group
than for Anglos. First, there may be different status
assigned to the same occupation by the different groups. A
truck driver may have high status in the Mexican-American
community, especially if he is independent, while this same
person might have relatively low status in the Anglo community.
Finally, the Mexican-American might realize that higher
status jobs mean competition with Anglos in an economic
world governed by Anglo rules, and might fear discrimination
on the part of Anglos. Those who are successful probably
do not return to the ghetto, and consequently do not become
success models. Those who do return are most likely those who have failed and consequently become examples to those who aspire higher than their place in the social order. In this case, the risks involved may seem too great a price to pay for increased status in an unknown world.

The expectations that the Mexican-Americans would score higher on the Social scale of the Allport test and that Anglos would score higher on the Economic scale was borne out, although other scale expectations were not. These were the only scales in which real differences appeared, and the significance of these differences cannot be established. It was expected that these differences might have been much greater, and different samples might have given different results. Since the drop-out rate is quite high among Mexican-Americans, a random sample of all persons of this age group in the community might have yielded greater differences. Those who do graduate from high school represent the most achievement oriented, and perhaps the most acculturated, in the ghetto school. From the literature one must assume that there is no real value on formal education among Mexican-Americans in the United States, and that those who do go after a degree must have something
going for them besides the folk values and beliefs of la raza.

The two totally unexpected results of the Allport data were the homogeneity of the West group and the diversity of the Robertson Anglo group when controlling for sex (See TABLE VI, B.). The only real difference between West males and females was a difference of 3.7 raw points on the Theoretical scale and of 2.2 raw points on the Religious scale. Neither of these differences were as great as the differences between Anglo males and females, which ranged from absolute raw score differences of 4.8 on the Theoretical scale to 8.1 on the Aesthetic scale.

There are two possible explanations why the differences between the Mexican-American males and females were so great. First, it may be that the Mexican-American population of Las Vegas is very homogeneous. If this is the case, small differences could be expected. At the same time, the Anglo population may be very heterogeneous, which might explain in part why sex differences were so great. The data show that the West group experiences little mobility, so this may be the major factor involved. The pool of common experience would be much smaller for this group than for a
group with great mobility which is exposed to many different value orientations and behavioral patterns. Even migratory work cannot be really considered as mobility, for the Mexican-American field hand is socially and spatially isolated from the larger society when he travels. Both his work and the work camps encourage isolation, and the field hand does not have the money to travel elsewhere.

The second reason for the small differences in the West group is based on the status of the male in traditional Mexican-American society. If the male does have superiority and the female must give way to the male, there may be status jealousy involved. In this case, the female would recognize the advantages of being male and the disadvantages of being female, and might answer a value test in terms of what status she might desire rather than with reference to her own status. In other words, the female might take the role of the male in responding to a value test of the Allport type, in which status preferences are used.

The relative score differences among the groups does not give the whole picture of value differences. Study of differences in rank ordering of the value areas opens up a
further dimension for consideration. When looking at TABLE VII, one of the striking results is the relatively high rank of the Economic scale and the relatively low rank of the Social and Aesthetic scales among the West respondents. If the folk beliefs earlier cited were correct, one would expect that the Social and Aesthetic scales would enjoy high rank. This contradiction is coupled with another, the rank ordering of the Robertson Spanish group, which is the same as that of Anglo males with the exception of two scale ranks. These contradictions lead to the conclusion that either the folk beliefs are an expression of an earlier state of affairs or are part of the creation of a superhuman past as a defense mechanism against the invading Anglo culture. In view of the work of Devereux and Loeb, the latter is probably the case, and the Mexican-Americans of Northern New Mexico are attempting to make the Anglo the scapegoat for the social ills of the area by creating an image of themselves as subservient to nature and the Will of God, and by setting the Anglo up as an example of impious conquest and disobedience to the Will of God. If this is the case, the folk beliefs are an expression of antagonism rather than of a previous status quo.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND LIMITATIONS

The conclusions in this chapter are divided into two categories, those drawn from the data and those drawn from the study as a whole. The limitations are mostly concerned with methodological considerations.

Limitations. Due to the nature of the study, there are several limitations to the extent to which generalizations may be drawn. First, the groups chosen were not chosen at random from a representative population. The Robertson group was chosen by the administration of the school, and the method of selection is not known. The West group was chosen at random, but it is doubtful that this group is representative of the Mexican-American population of this age range. Since the samples are doubtful in representativeness, only very broad generalizations may be made, and these cannot be statistically supported with any confidence.

A second limitation is sample size. Because of the relatively small number of respondents used, controls for more than one variable at a time were impossible because of too much fragmentation. For example, it is very hard to
control for religion in this sample because of the very small numbers of Mexican-American Protestants or the small number of Anglo Jews. Because of these lack of controls, this research lacks fine precision.

A third limitation is the instruments used. There was no adequate pretest for the questionnaire, and the Allport test may be too culture-bound to produce any validity among Mexican-Americans. At best, the effect of a culture-bound test would be to measure acculturation. In addition, there is a question of the validity of the Allport test for any respondent. Although the test has been recently revised, this question is still a major limitation to the use of this instrument. The validity of the questionnaire is also in question, and there is the possibility that some of the items may have been rather leading.

A fourth limitation was that this study was exploratory in nature. Since the purpose was to search for variables rather than to test them, precision was not a major concern, and generalizations must be qualified. The nature of the study was much different from a rigorous research aimed at testing predetermined variables.

Finally the scope of this study was limited by the
resources available and by the time factor. Because of the limitation on funds and personnel, only the high schools in Las Vegas could be studied, and generalizations are consequently limited. Study should have included several other schools in the area, so that generalizations could have been drawn with more confidence.

Data conclusions. For the most part, the expectations of this study have been borne out. First, we have seen that middle-class Mexican-Americans resemble middle-class Anglos more than lower class Mexican-Americans. Middle-class Mexican-Americans tended to have higher status occupations, higher economic status, and more education than their lower-class peers. This difference is reflected in the value orientations of these persons as well as in their occupational and educational aspirations and expectations. The middle-class Mexican-American in this study tended to have very similar value orientations to the Anglo and tended to aspire to the same goals, with the exception of occupations in which they aspired higher.

Second, the value scores and the language used in the home indicate that the middle-class Mexican-Americans were more acculturated than their lower-class contemporaries.
This conclusion is supported by the questions concerning attitudes toward the mixing of cultures and certain types of ethnic group contact. In this part of the study, the Robertson Spanish were intermediate between the West group and the Anglos. In the process of attaining middle-class status, Mexican-Americans become acculturated, accepting certain values from Anglo culture, dropping certain values of *la raza*, but retaining others.

Third, the Mexican-Americans living in the ghetto in Las Vegas, New Mexico, demonstrated low socio-economic status, and in this way were similar to other groups of Mexican-Americans in the United States. Whether these persons share the same values as other ghetto Mexican-Americans in the United States is a question beyond the scope of this study, although it is highly probably that they do. The data did show that the Mexican-Americans in the study were different from the Anglos studied in rank ordering of values and on the Economic and Social scales. Since the reported characteristics of the Mexican-American population as a whole emphasize a value on social relations and a devaluation on economic success, the Las Vegas group may be similar in this respect. However, the ranking of the
scales showed that both the Aesthetic and Social scales were not given high rank, so this conclusion must remain highly tentative, even though it is probably the case.

Finally, there is little foundation at present for the folk beliefs cited earlier. From the data and the literature, the conclusion must be drawn that these beliefs reflect folk mythology or some status quo of the past. From the literature presented and from personal observations, a further conclusion is drawn that these folk beliefs are a part of the creation of a super-human past as a defense mechanism, with the function of belittling the Anglo culture in order to solidify the ranks of la raza. This mechanism can also be interpreted as serving the function of compensation for a feeling of inferiority due to the economic dominance of the Anglo.

Conclusions for design. During the course of this research, several further considerations have come to light concerning factors which should be further controlled in the study of Mexican-Americans in the United States. First, further research of this large ethnic group must be centered around acculturation. In the research on acculturation, antagonistic and relatively conflict-free ethnic
group contact must be taken into consideration. In the case of Mexican-Americans in Northern New Mexico, there was a definite culture established at the time of contact with the Anglo culture. Some historical foundation must be established for the period of contact between the two groups and the type of contact which obtained. Some consideration must be taken of ethnic group misconceptions which were formed during this initial period and how these have carried over into the present.

The languages of the two groups must also be studied to determine the amount of exchange which has taken place and the degree to which speaking of either language has become symbolic of group differences. A possible indicator of this is the amount of language spoken in the home and when each is and is not used. Local variations must also be taken into consideration.

Further research must also take into consideration the amount and type of spatial and social isolation of both the Anglo and Mexican-American groups. Involved in this would be the study of the regional differences among the Mexican-American groups. Intergenerational mobility, both status and geographic mobility, must also be studied.
As a tool for further research, some criteria for
classification of social class of respondents should be
devised. This tool should include area evaluation of status
in terms of occupation, education, and residence. Since
the area is rather unique in economic and social characteristics,
such a tool would probably prove more useful than a
standardized national scale. However, a word of caution
is needed. The classification cannot be made entirely on
objective criteria, and must necessarily include some
consideration of subjective factors. In many instances,
the social structure of the area is of the folk or gemein-
shaft type and status of a particular occupation may depend
largely on the status of the person who is occupying that
particular niche in the social structure. In the course of
classification of occupations, consideration must be taken
of personal ascribed status as well as niche status.

Finally, the degree to which each individual respondent has been acculturated must be studied. From this,
study must be directed toward establishing degrees of
acculturation and the consequent effects on the individual.
Alienation from either or both groups must be researched
along with this. This would serve to measure any cult of
alienation and to indicate how much of the population is marginal. In short, social and psychological factors must be taken into consideration.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. CITED SOURCES


Maloney, Thomas J. "Recent Demographic and Economic Changes


B. SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCES


Knowlton, Clark S. "Spanish Americans in New Mexico," Sociology and Social Research, 45:448-455.


Rosen, Bernard C., and Roy D'Andrade. "The Psychosocial


Sanchez, George. Forgotten People. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.


APPENDIX
BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions:

1. This is a general background questionnaire, and is the first part. This should be completed before you go on to the next part. All the answers that you give are strictly confidential and in no way will be connected with you personally. This is NOT a test and will not be scored as such.

2. Print your name and age, and circle "M" for male or "F" for female.

3. Fill in the blanks which call for specific information. Do not leave any blank. Special answers will have special instructions.

4. Multiple-choice questions should be clearly marked with an "X". Yes or No questions should be answered by circling the correct answer.

5. Print out all answers clearly. Do not write. If you are not sure of an answer, raise your hand and the tester will help you. Wait until you are told to start.
Name ____________________________ Age ________ Sex: M  F

"Nationality" background:
_____ Spanish-American
_____ Anglo-American       _____ Other (specify)

Number of brothers and sisters: _________
_____ Age of youngest
_____ Age of oldest

A. Family:
1. Father's job ____________________________
   Mother's job ____________________________
   Or Guardian's job ____________________________

2. Education of father (grade attained) _________
   Education of mother ____________________________
   Or education of guardian ____________________________

3. Grandparents' work
   Father's father ____________________________
   mother ____________________________
   Mother's father ____________________________
   mother ____________________________

B. Family income (total):
1. Do both of your parents work:  Yes  No
2. Do you work part-time:  Yes  No
3. Do you work to help support your family:  Yes  No
4. Which parent is the principal source of income?
   Father
   Mother

5. If a parent is not living, circle which.
   Father  Mother  Both
6. Source of income (major source)
   ______ Private service or business (owner, lawyer, doctor,)
   ______ Employment
   ______ Welfare
   ______ Endowment, pension, or retired income

7. Income range (total for the family) per year
   ______ $0-2,000 ______ 8,000-12,000
   ______ 2,000-4,000 ______ 12,000-16,000
   ______ 4,000-6,000 ______ 16,000-20,000
   ______ 6,000-8,000 ______ 20,000 and above

C. Residence:

1. Which part of Las Vegas do you live in?
   ______ East ______ Northwest
   ______ West ______ South and southwest
   ______ Northeast ______ Rural area

2. How often does your family move to a different town?
   ______ every six months or less
   ______ every 1/2-1 year.
   ______ every 1-3 years
   ______ every 3-5 years
   ______ every five years or more

D. Ethnic:

1. Do you have any American Indian ancestors? Yes No
   IF YES, how do you feel about this ancestry?
   ______ Proud of it
   ______ Ashamed of it
   ______ Indifferent of it

2. Which do you consider to be a better way of life?
   ______ Anglo
   ______ Spanish
   ______ Other (specify) _____________________
3. Which do you believe to be closest to your way of life?
   ___ Anglo
   ___ Spanish
   ___ Spanish-Anglo
   ___ Other (specify) ____________________

4. What language is spoken most in your home?
   ___ Spanish
   ___ English
   ___ Both equally

5. Do you feel that mixing of Spanish and Anglo ways of life is good? Yes No

6. Do you feel that Spanish-Anglo marriages are bad? Yes No

E. Political:
1. What is your political preference?
   ___ Democratic Party
   ___ Republican Party
   ___ Other (specify) ____________________

2. Which is the best system?
   ___ Democracy (complete free enterprise)
   ___ Socialism (Medicare, Social Security, etc.)
   ___ Other (specify) ____________________

3. Do you believe in public welfare? Yes No

F. Aspirations:
1. What work would you like to make a career of?
   ________________________________

2. What work do you think you will end up in?
   ________________________________

3. Where would you like to settle for life?
   ___ Las Vegas, N. H.
   ___ Somewhere in New Mexico
   ___ Some other state
   ___ Other (specify) ____________________
4. Where would you like to live?

- Rural area (including villages of 500-)
- Small town (6,000- population)
- Small city (up to 25,000)
- City (up to 125,000)
- Metropolitan area (over 125,000).

5. Mark "X" for the educational level you would like to have, and "O" for the level you think you will attain.

- Trade school
- High School
- College (two-year degree)
- College (four-year degree)
- Graduate degree (M.A. or M.S.)
- Professional degree (M.D., lawyer, engineering, etc.)
- Graduate school (Ph.D.)

G. Educational:

1. How do you feel about school (including extracurricular activities)?

- generally like it
- generally dislike it
- indifferent to it

2. How much do you participate in school activities?

- Quite a bit
- Average
- Very little
- Not at all

3. How do you feel about your teachers?

- Like most of them
- Dislike most of them
- Like none of them
- Indifferent.

STOP. WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE PROCEEDING.