Assimilation: An Empirical Test of Milton Gordon's Model on Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan

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ASSIMILATION: AN EMPIRICAL TEST OF MILTON GORDON'S MODEL ON MEXICAN AMERICANS IN HOLLAND, MICHIGAN

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College in partial fulfillment of the Degree of Master of Arts

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
December, 1977
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to express her sincere gratitude to the committee chairperson, Dr. Lewis Walker, for his contributions of knowledge, guidance, time, effort and patience. A great deal of credit goes to the insights gained from Dr. Morton Wagenfeld, who served as a committee member. I would also like to thank Robert F. Wait, thesis committee member for being available inspite of his own dilemma. A great deal of thanks go to Mr. Fernando Munoz for his major input in data collection and insight on the Mexican way of life. Special thanks to those Mexican American respondents in Holland who made this investigation possible. Appreciation is also given to Dr. Charles Warfield for providing the continuous inspiration to persue graduate study. I am forever in debt to Mrs. Shirley Marvin for her assistance in typing this document. I would like to thank Pat, Lois and Penne, departmental secretaries, and the Sociology graduate students for keeping morale high. The author wished to thank all those names I have not mentioned, who have reinforced completion of this thesis. Finally, and most important, I thank my husband Rodney -- words cannot express the contributions of love.

Denise L. (Gipson) Tyiska

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CHAPTER I
ETHNIC ASSIMILATION
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ETHNIC ASSIMILATION
INTRODUCTION

Developmentally, the sociology of race relations has been largely atheoretical, descriptive, and speculative. The most influential early theories within the sociology of American racial studies have been those of the race relations cycles advanced by Robert Park, who posited the idea that contact between dominant and minority groups is largely characterized in terms of successive stages of competition, accommodation and assimilation. Although Park, for his students, did not rigidly specify the dynamics that inevitably led from one stage to another, the assumption that assimilation was the likely end product of ethnic and racial diversity was widespread in American sociology. A rival perspective, of course, has been one advanced by the pluralists. Essentially, then, the analysis of ethnicity in America has been dominated by these two perspectives, with the assimilationist one holding sway the longest. The assimilationists' position is that cultural differences between national origin groups pass through later generations in progressively diluted forms and ultimately disappear in
modern society.\textsuperscript{1} On the other hand, the pluralistic position emphasizes the persistence of cultural heritage as the basis of the continued importance of the ascribed group.\textsuperscript{2}

In spite of the strong arguments made by Horace Kallen, and other proponents of cultural pluralism, virtually every ethnic group that came to the United States, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, felt the impact of assimilation. This is especially true after World War I when the instrumental public felt that America had come of age and that the national character of the society should be one of Anglo-conformity.\textsuperscript{3} This is not meant to imply that every ethnic group was treated alike nor did each group respond in the same way to the pressures of assimilation. Moreover, owing to the racist character of the society, certain groups were systematic impeded in their drive toward becoming assimilated into the larger society. For example, Native Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, Black Americans, and Spanish speaking Americans were forced to take on some of the trappings of the society while at the same time they were coerced into a subordinate position in the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Yancey, Williams, Erickson, and Juliani, "Emergent Ethnicity: A Review and Reformation," American Sociological Review, (1976), V. 41, p. 391-403.
\item \textsuperscript{2}Abramson, Harold, Ethnic Diversity in Catholic America, New York: Wiley, (1973).
\end{itemize}
social order.

Problems associated with ethnic/racial assimilation have been further confounded by important developments in recent years. More specifically the turn of events during the civil rights movement in the 60's made a profound impact on the thinking of the various ethnic groups in the United States. It was during this time that many black power advocates began to question the legitimacy of the total American system; its values, culture, political system, and so forth. Important questions were raised about the desirability of becoming part of mainstream America and its implications. At least in the minds of some of the leaders, the answer was that the American society was a decadent system and should be changed, and that the culture of one's own group was important, thus, steps should be taken to preserve it.

A resultant of these and other developments has been a "resurgence of ethnicity", i.e., one ethnic group after another has sought to revive its cultural heritage while deemphasizing the importance of so-called middle class values and culture. This new emphasis further complicates any effort to assess the extent of assimilation that groups have experienced as well as makes it difficult to predict future racial/ethnic relations in the American context. Regarding the latter issue, a series of important questions can be raised. For example, will this new found ethnic pride
increase social distance between the various ethnic groups, thus, an increase in intergroup tensions? Or, will the resurgence of ethnicity bring about greater tolerance of ethnic differences, thus, a decrease in ethnic/racial antagonism? Although such questions fall outside the scope of this study, they are important ones and should receive serious attention from sociology scholars who are interested in studying intergroup relations.

Critical attention is warranted regarding the resurgence of ethnicity if sociology as a discipline is to avoid making the same serious mistake committed just prior to the 1960's. Sociology, as a discipline, was totally unprepared for and did not anticipate the racial turmoil of the 1960's. As an explanation for the failure of sociology in anticipating new racial developments, Hughes (1963) suggests that the concern with professionalism among sociologists has impaired their capacity to empathize with the movements of lower class strata. Pettigrew and Back (1967) refer to timidity of funding foundations; the obstacles placed in the way of race relations by diehard white segregationists, and "a sociological bias in race relations toward studying the static and

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L. Paul Metzer utilizes this perspective in his article, "American Sociology and Black Assimilation: Conflicting Perspectives". It is the thesis of Metzer's article that this failure can be attributed in part to the theoretical framework through which most American sociologists have viewed race relations in the United States. The particular framework to which Metzer refers rests essentially on an image of American society provided by American liberalism. This liberalistic view is one wherein the ethnic problem is defined in the narrow sense of providing adequate, if not equal opportunities for members of ethnic groups to arise as individuals into the mainstream of the dominant culture. Using this approach, America is the land of "milk and honey". It is the land of opportunity through competitive struggle in the marketplace; in this sense it can, and will, provide opportunities for all to gain adequate rewards for their individual merit.

By and large, sociologists have accepted this image of Horatio Alger in the Melting Pot as the ideal definition of American society. Although they have repeatedly documented the discrepancy between social reality and social myth in


7ibid, p. 75.
America; they have also taken the view that assimilation of America's ethnic groups into the mainstream culture is virtually inevitable. (Pease, Form and Rytina, 1970)

Successful assimilation, moreover, has been viewed as synonymous with equality of opportunity and upward mobility for the members of ethnic groups; "opportunity" in this system is the opportunity to discard one's ethnicity and to partake fully in the way of life of the dominant society; in the same sense, assimilation is viewed as the embodiment of the democratic ethos. To be sure, many ethnic group members also subscribe to this view, but there was little in sociology that suggested the turn of events that occurred during the latter part of the 1960's... riots, separatist tendencies and so forth.

One of the most crucial issues in the United States, and other countries, is the problem of how persons of different ethnic groups, be it based on nationality, race or religion, can work harmoniously within the same national society. Thus, this study will investigate one such ethnic group... Mexican Americans -- in an attempt to ascertain how it is responding to the pressures of assimilation while at the same time adjusting to an American system that is becoming increasingly plural in content. Milton Gordon, in Assimilation in American Life, states, "it is equally important logically prior, and substantially neglected problem of the nature of group life itself that so-
ciologist should concern themselves with". It is Gordon's paradigm that will be investigated in this work.

The Problem: Mexican American Style

Mexican Americans, not unlike many other racial/ethnic groups in the United States, have felt the dominant group's pervasive influence toward assimilation. At the same time, they have also experienced various aspects of subordination, often manifested in the form of overt discrimination in housing, employment, and education. Such a problematic existence became even more so for Mexican Americans with the resurgence of ethnicity such as, an emphasis placed on the importance and value of maintaining one's own ethnic culture and life style. As was pointed out in the preceding discussion, this thrust became a central theme of the Black Power Movement in the late 1960's, and was rapidly embraced by virtually every other ethnic group, regardless of their state of assimilation. For example, reservation Indians (low on assimilation), Irish Americans (high on assimilation) and, of course, many other groups, all began to extol their new found pride in their cultural heritage.

The problem in this study is a twofold one, namely; 1) to test Milton Gordon's assimilation model, using Mexican Americans as a test case; and 2) to assess the extent

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to which "ethnic pride", or an emphasis on group identity and group maintenance may be working against assimilation and toward cultural pluralism in the United States. More specifically, along with other issues, this study will attempt to answer the following questions: 1) To what extent are contemporary Mexican Americans in a Midwestern City assimilated into American life?; 2) What categories of Mexican Americans are most likely to experience culture conflict or marginality, and where are they located on the assimilation continuum?; 3) What, if any, role does the length of residence play in assimilation?; and 4) Is group maintenance and identity of crucial importance to Mexican Americans? The last question will focus specifically on the resurgence of ethnicity in an attempt to answer at least partially the question: "How does an ethnic group survive in a plural system where there are persistent dominant group pressures toward assimilation in the form of Anglo-conformity?"

In the remainder of this Chapter, the writer will discuss various perspectives on assimilation and aculturation since the central focus of this study is on the assimilation of Mexican Americans. Moreover, some attention will be given to the issue of culture conflict and marginality, and finally, Milton Gordon's assimilation model will be presented from which some specific testable hypotheses will be formulated.
Assimilation and Acculturation: Toward a Definition

The meeting of various groups of people takes place under a variety of circumstances in the modern day world. The circumstances for the "meeting of peoples" in the American context have involved the displacement and attempted incorporation of the American Indian, the enslavement of Africans and involuntary migration of this group, and the massive immigration of over 41 million people, largely from Europe and Mexico. What happens when diverse groups meet, either by colonial conquest, military occupation, reestablishment of national boundaries to include diverse ethnic groups, large-scale trade and missionary activities, displacement of an indigenous population and voluntary immigration which increases the ethnic diversity of the dominant society? The processes and results of the meetings of different peoples have been described by various sociologists and anthropologists who use such terms as "acculturation" and "assimilation", the former term being used mainly by anthropologists, while "assimilation" is more commonly used in the language of sociologists. Often the terms are used interchangeably, or they have overlapping meanings.

The term "assimilation" carries a certain amount of ambiguity. Milton Gordon concurred with the idea that there is a compelling need for a "rigorous and systematic analysis of the concept of assimilation which would break it down into all the possible relevant factors or variables which
could conceivably be included under its rubric."\(^9\) Such an analysis is attempted by Gordon in his book, *Assimilation of American Life*, which is an examination of the existing definitions of the concepts which social scientists have used in the literature to describe the meeting of people.

One of the first definitions of "acculturation" was formulated in the 1930's by a Subcommittee on Acculturation, appointed by the Social Science Research Council. Many distinguished anthropologists such as Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville Herskovits comprised the special group. They declared that "acculturation"...

"comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."\(^10\)

It is noted by Gordon that the term acculturation is used to designate one factor or dimension in the meeting of peoples: cultural behavior. The changes may take place in the cultures of either one of the two groups or there may be a reciprocal influence whereby the cultures of both groups are modified.\(^11\) There is no mention in this definition about social relationships between groups; the degree

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\(^9\) *ibid*, p. 5.


\(^11\) *op. cit.*, p. 6.
or nature of "structural" intermingling, the questions of group self-identification and other possible variables.

One of the earlier and most influential definitions of "assimilation" was given by two sociologists, Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, whose definition reads as follows:

"Assimilation is the process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience with history are incorporated with the in a common cultural life."  

Early in the 1940's, two essays were prepared as "dictionaries" of sociological terms. In one, Hand Book of Sociology, "social assimilation" is defined as"

"The process by which persons who are unlike in their social heritages come to the same body of sentiments, traditions, and loyalties."  

This definition changes emphasis to changes in cultural values and behavior. It is not possible to precisely describe the author's conception, but it seems as if his use of the term, "loyalties", points to a psychological variable of some type. In the other "dictionary" of sociological terms, social assimilation is said to be:

"The process by which different cultures or individuals or groups representing different cultures

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are merged into a homogenous unit.\textsuperscript{14}

By carefully examining this definition, several questions come to mind. What does "merged into a homogenous unit" mean? Were social relationships included? Was the merging largely a one-way process? An attempt to answer these questions is found in Joseph Fichter's definition of "assimilation", where he views it as:

"A social process through which two or more persons or groups accept and perform one another's patterns of behavior. We commonly talk about a person, or a minority category being assimilated into a group or a society, but here again, this must not be interpreted as a 'one sided' process. It is a relation of interaction in which both parties behave reciprocally even though one may be much more affected than the other."\textsuperscript{15}

An important, but largely ignored dimension of assimilation was brought out by John Cuber who felt that, "group rivalry and its subsequent elimination should be included in a definition of assimilation. Tersely, Cuber stated that:

"Assimilation may be defined, as the gradual process whereby cultural differences and rivalries tend to disappear."\textsuperscript{16}

Arnold Green departs from the view of earlier assimilation.


islationists and adds another factor, "social structure participation". Green begins his discussion of assimilation by quoting Parks and Burgess and then goes on to make a differentiation between cultural behavior and social structure participation.

"Persons and groups may 'acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups and at the same time be excluded from sharing the experiences... and find themselves indefinitely delayed in being incorporated with them in common cultural life'. Why is this so? Green goes on to say, because many of the memories, sentiments and attitudes of the receiving group are common property; the inclusive ones in America such as patriotism, christianity, respect for private property, and veneration for legendary heroes are vested in the total society and are readily accessible to all. On the other hand, the matter of sharing experience and incorporation in a common life is limited, first, by a willingness on the part of the receiving group, and secondly, by a desire on the part of the new arrivals to foster social participation although it is usually the receiving group which erects the barriers to social participation, the immigrant group or segment of it, may likewise wish to do so."

The type of differentiation made by Green is a crucial one. Within the author's distinction between cultural behavior and social structure lies a major key in understanding the assimilation process of ethnic groups in the American experience. This distinction was also discerned by Gordon in a discussion of the nature of a pluralist society as the difference between "behavior assimilation" and "struc-

ural assimilation", a distinction which will be discussed later.

The possibility of cultural pluralism has been explored by some authors as an alternative framework to the assimilationist perspective. In the following discussion of two monographs, the process of interaction among immigrants is further explored.

The authors have preferred the terms, respectively "asorption" and "integration" of immigrants. S.N. Eisenstadt's study of immigrants in Palestine and the State of Israel is highly sensitive to the function of primary groups, elites, structural and psychological contacts between immigrants and natives of the receiving society, and also makes good use of role analysis in considering the process of immigrant adjustment.\textsuperscript{18} The importance of Eisenstadt's works center around his use of his concept of "institutional dispersion", that is, "the extent of the immigrants dispersion or concentration within various institutional spheres of the society.\textsuperscript{19} The implications of the concept of institutional dispersion pinpoints a significant dimension of the assimilation process.


\textsuperscript{19}op. cit., p. 13.

The fact of the matter is that the United States has not assimilated the newcomer nor absorb him. Our immigrant stock and our so-called 'native' stock have each integrated with each other. That is, each element has been changed by association with the other, without complete loss of its own cultural identity, and with a change in the resultant cultural amalgam, or civilization if you will, that is vital, vigorous, and an advance beyond its previous level. Without being meta-physical, let us say that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, and the parts, while affected by interaction with each other, nevertheless remain complementary but individual.

It will be apparent that this concept of integration rests upon a belief in the importance of cultural differentiation within a framework of social unity. It recognizes the right of groups and individuals to be different so long as the differences do not lead to the domination or disunity. 21

The above discussion, has provided a sampling of the many usages and meanings of terms used to describe the processes and results of the meeting of peoples, and also, noted some of the different variables associated with the terms by various sociologists. The foregoing discussion is essen-

21 Ibid, pg. 2.
tial to an understanding of the forces and dynamics operative upon Mexican Americans. It might be sufficient to say at this juncture that Green's distinctions between cultural behavior and social structural participation seems to be most applicable to Mexican Americans in that many, if not most Mexican Americans, have acquired some of the cultural traits of Anglos. Yet "incorporation into a common life is limited, first, by a willingness on the part of the receiving group (Anglo's) and secondly, by a desire on the part of new arrivals (Mexican Americans) to foster participation. 

Even in the diminution process (addressed by Borric in earlier discussion) it is usually the minority who losess its cultural traits as the differences between them and the dominant group decreases. It is becoming increasingly apparent in the case of Mexican Americans. There can be found numerous persons of Mexican origin that are now totally bilingual. Many may even prefer to speak English over Spanish. These persons have not yet been completely engulfed by the dominant culture, but have attempted to "blend" their Mexican traits with those of the Anglo. In their attempt to "blend" two cultures, Mexican Americans often face the perils associated with the term "culture conflict", one of the to-

\[22\] Green, Arnold. Sociology: An Analysis of Life In Modern Society, New York; McGraw Hill (1958), pg. 66. (*parentheses added)
pics of discussion in the following section. Identification, culture conflict and marginality.

Personal identification with the host society is another central theme in the literature on assimilation. A person belonging to an ethnic group may strongly identify with the dominant group, but is unable to do so on all occasions on account of structural societal barriers.

In her survey of second generation Polish immigrants in Western Australia, Ruth Johnson states, "broadly speaking, identification can be considered as an enduring predisposition or a stable attitude, and as such, it has three components extending to the cognitive, affective and conative aspects." If identification means to approve of something for oneself, the cognitive aspect is inherent in the word 'approve', that is to consider 'that something' as just and proper. To be willing and happy to adopt the object of identification connotes the feeling of pleasure and satisfaction which accompany the adoption. These feelings form the affective aspect of identification. The conative component of the same attitude is demonstrated in the action of the identifying person who accepts what he approved of for himself.²³

An approach like this to the concept of identification

gives only an analysis into the psychological state of an identifying person. There are indications of non-psychoanalytical literature pointing to a conceptualization of the term identification which are very much similar to the one given.

H. Rieger talks of rational identification which is the same as the cognitive component in Johnson's version. The emotional identification is synonomous with the affective aspect treated by Johnson.

Kurt Levin highlights all three mentioned components of identification in his analysis of group belonging. He states: "Even if the cognitive structure in regard to a group is modified in an individual, his sentiments toward this group may remain unchanged. It may reach the level of verbal expression and not of conduct." Levin's terminology differs from the first two authors, but his use of the terms 'sentiments' and 'conduct', respectively, can apply to the affective aspect, and the conative aspect -- the overt behavior of the identifying person.

According to Johnson, for immigrants identifying with representatives of the receiving society, all three phases must come into play for identification to place.

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25 Johnson, ibid.
person must first, approve of the culture represented to him by the members of the host society; second, he must be willing to behave the way they do; and third, he must also experience satisfaction in doing so.

Identity and identification are two terms which are in common usage, yet there is a great deal of confusion. Some writers use the two terms interchangeably. At the empirical level, Center and Hammond studied identification in connection with social class belonging. They asked a cross section of adult white males in the United States to which class they thought they belonged. The authors found that people who classified themselves into the middle class identified with people of that class. The author concluded that: "If the people's class identifications are the same, their attitudes tend to be similar even though their objective occupation positions are different.\(^{26}\)

Rose and Rose treat the phenomenon of identification in a temporal sequence and predict that it will occur within a minority group whenever the group's ethnic cohesion is faced with discrimination. These authors define identification as . . . "all the ways in which members of a group feel a sense of unity with one another, and the ways

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they manifest that unity.  

When using the term identification and its processes, it cannot be assumed that the dominant society will automatically accept the members of the minority group once the identification process has begun.

E. Franklin Frazier gives this example of the identification crisis of Black Americans in his work, Black Bourgeoisie:

"There is much frustration among the Black Bourgeoisie (middle class) despite their privileged position within the segregated Negro world. Their 'wealth' and 'social' position cannot erase the fact that they are generally segregated and rejected by the white world . . . . Their incomes and occupations may enable them to escape the cruder manifestations of racial prejudice, but they cannot insulate themselves against the more subtle forms of racial discrimination."  

The illustration given by Frazier is also relevant to Mexican Americans. There is evidence to support a rising middle class within Mexican American communities in the entire United States. Yet, even though these persons have achieved this particular status, structural barriers within the society have retarded their 'full' acceptance into the Anglo society. This often leaves the person on the border of two societies, accepted in neither, accompanied by the

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frustrations surrounding this phenomenon.

The term culture conflict is usually reserved for conditions applicable to second, third and fourth generation ethnic persons. It is implied that children of immigrants especially are invariably exposed to culture conflict since they live in a setting where the culture of their parents differ from the culture of the host community.

An argument is usually put forth that first generation minorities seem to escape the difficulty of living in two cultures because they are very much engrossed in their own culture and live only on the perimeters of the dominant culture. Young, looking at the Russian Molokan community in America, sums up the situation for old and young Russian immigrant in the following way: "The whole process of adjustment of an immigrant group to American life involves not only an intellectual understanding of our ways of acting and thinking, but it most frequently involves uprooting of old habits, deep-seated emotions, and lasting sentiments. A stabilized group of older men and women are incapable of such psychological transformation, and necessarily remain alien."

According to Young, the fate is different for second generation immigrants. They are greatly influenced by the American culture which leaves an indelible mark on their

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29 Young, P.V., "The Russian Molokan Community in Los Angeles; American Journal of Sociology, (1929), pgs. 39, 393-402.
personalities. Consequently: "Conflict of culture is a result of such polarity of social experience . . . The Molokan youth soon become the cultural hybrid . . . he is not fully incorporated into either of the cultures which he represents.\textsuperscript{30} The author goes on to say: "Not infrequently, the young people are torn between two divergent standards. Hence, they become confused.\textsuperscript{31}

Cultural conflict, as the name suggests, involves a dilemma of choosing between two cultures within which an individual lives. Persons belonging to an ethnic group are usually those who are exposed to influences of two different cultures. The conflict, suggested by students of assimilation is due to the inability or indecision of choice between one or the other culture; a question of accepting one mode of life or another, relative to the culture involved.

The individual who engages in frequent and sustained primary contacts across ethnic group lines, especially racial and religious, runs the risk of becoming in standard

\textsuperscript{30}ibid, pg. 398.
\textsuperscript{31}ibid, pg. 400.
sociological parlance, "the marginal man".\(^{32}\) This is a person, according to Milton Gordon, who stands on the border of two cultural worlds, but is fully a member of neither.\(^{33}\)

A marginal person may be a child of a racially or religiously mixed marriage where they are neither accepted by one or the other. He or she may have drifted away from the security of their cultural ancestry. Venturing from one's own cultural group may result from factors involving the individual's personality and experience. This would predispose him to seek wider contacts outside his own cultural community, and enter into the social world of the dominant society which appears more alluring.

The literature supports the opinion that the marginal man is a frustrated person, not fully accepted by the dominant society which he has illusions of entering. He may have severed his ties from the social roles of his own culture, and is ambivalent in his attitude toward this more restricted social world. There are other problems associated with marginality which further complicate the issue. The person that is on the border of two cultures is ultimately


\(^{33}\) *ibid*, pg. 10.
beset with conflicting cultural standards, those of his own culture, and those belonging to the society which he aspires membership. According to the classic perception, he then develops certain personality traits such as hypersensitivity, excessive self-consciousness, nervous strain, moodiness and insecurity. Personality traits of marginality have not been decisively disproven in the literature. Authors, such as Everett G. Hughes, have pointed to the possibility of such desirable personality traits as, greater insight, self-understanding creativity resulting from a state or marginality.\textsuperscript{34}

Numerous sociologists have taken strong positions toward marginality. The one most pertinent for this discussion would be that of the social deviant from standard ethnic behavior. The person who has stepped across subsocial lines of ethnicity to seek, among other things, friendship, social groups and organizational affiliations that make up his world of primary group relationships.

Milton Gordon states that 'systematic' primary group contacts across social lines are indicators of vertical social mobility. Upward mobility in social class position is a well-recognized and generally approved phenomenon since the American value system places emphasis on 'bettering one-

\textsuperscript{34}Hughes, Everett, \textit{Social Change and Status Protest}, New York, (1960), p. 33.
self', the 'rags-to-riches' theme, triumph of 'individual merit' and so on. It is probably that problems of changing social relationships in upward social class mobility, while they are not entirely absent by any means, are not of the same magnitude as the problems involved in frequent inter-ethnic, primary group relationships.  

This brief look at the topic of identification, culture conflict and marginality is certainly pertinent to a better understanding of Mexican Americans, especially since they do not constitute a 'racially homogenous' population. Generally, they range in skin color graduation from very dark skinned to very light, owing to the interbreeding of Indian, Spaniards and Africans. Thus, the possibility exists that some Mexican Americans view themselves closer to Anglos, and are more willing to accept Anglo culture and behavior patterns. To the extent that they are rejected by the white society and are unwilling to accept the culture of their ancestors, such persons may very well find themselves in a 'marginal position'. One of the tasks of this study is to investigate situations and other aspects of marginality as they relate to Mexican Americans.

A Look at Gordon's Model: A Theoretical Perspective

The problem of how people of diverse racial, religious and nationality background can live to-

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35 Hughes, ibid, p. 34.
gether peaceably and creatively within the same national society is one of the most crucial issues facing mankind, second in importance only to international war itself. The United States of America . . . has by no means been free of a residue of unfulfilled personal hopes, psychological scars and unjustified hardships for those who were not born with the majority sociological characteristics of being white, Protestant and of Anglo-Saxon cultural origins. In the main, American minority ethnic groups have been, by patronizing omission, long deprived of their past in America, and of a rightful pride in the nature of their role in the making and shaping of the American nation. It is time for a systematic overview, group by group, of this long neglected portion of American experience, one that avoids filioprestistic banalities, and on the other, does justice to the real and complex of the American multi-ethnic experience.

In his book, *Assimilation in American Life*, Milton Gordon presents a multi-dimensional approach to the conceptualization of the term, 'assimilation' and factors it into various component processes, at the same time offering certain hypotheses concerning the way in which these processes were related to each other. The response by students of inter-group relations has been highly encouraging toward a framework of this nature.

In an attempt to provide some order to the question of assimilation, Gordon provides a model that analyzes some of the factors that influence this process. The four principle social categories in Gordon's Model are: ethnic group; social class; rural or urban residence; and geographical

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location. In addition, Gordon provides two sets of stratification structures -- social status gained largely through economical and/or political power, and the race-nationality-religion structures. From the interaction of these variables, attempts can be made to prejudice such behaviors as social participation, cultural behavior and group identity.

An important contribution made by Gordon was his differentiation of what happens in the assimilation process into major phases - behavioral and structural. This is a useful dichotomy, focusing as it does on two matters; that of culture and community posing the alternatives of retention of the ethnic culture or acquisition of that of the dominant group and the person of ethnic origins. Whatever phase of assimilation the person reaches, it is not easy, he or she does not have total control over what happens in their lives.

One way of understanding the Mexican-American stage of assimilation is to compare them with other selected groups. Gordon hypothetically charts the assimilation of four groups in the United States: Blacks, Jews, Catholics and Puerto Ricans, along his model of assimilation variables. (See Table 2, page 31).

According to Gordon, there are seven major variables involved in the process of assimilation. The full list of assimilation subprocesses or variables with their general names is given in Table 3. (See page 32).
Gordon states that, "whenever such a process of assimilation is feasible is beside the point. It is an 'ideal type' abstraction against which we can measure the realities of what actually happens. Our point here is that seven variables of the assimilation process which we have isolated can be measured against the 'melting pot' goal as well as against the 'adoption to the core society and culture' goal. Theoretically, it would be possible to also carry out the goal-system of 'cultural pluralism'.

In taking a closer examination of Gordon's work, two major propositions were found. They are: 1) Cultural assimilation or acculturation is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene; and, 2) cultural assimilation or acculturation of the minority group may take place even when none of the other assimilations occur simultaneously or later and this condition may continue indefinitely.\(^3^8\)

Several other relationships are posited by Gordon. Structural assimilation is directly related to marital assimilation. Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow. Structural assimilation produces acculturation, but the latter does not produce structural assimilation.


\(^{38}\)ibid, pg. 77.
Table 1

Gordon's Paradigm of Assimilation Applied to Selected Groups in the United States*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Cultural</th>
<th>Structural</th>
<th>Marital</th>
<th>Identificational</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Behavior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negroes</td>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>Substantially Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Substantially No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholics (Excluding Negroes &amp; Spanish Speaking)</td>
<td>Substantially No</td>
<td>Partly by area</td>
<td>Partly</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Partly</td>
<td>Mostly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Ricans</td>
<td>Mostly No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Japanese</strong></td>
<td>Variation by Generation &amp; SES</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Partly by Area</td>
<td>Partly by Area</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**This group is not from the original Gordon Model, but has been added for comparison by Harry Kitanu.
### Table 2
Gordon's Assimilation Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Type or Stage of Assimilation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Change of Cultural patterns to that of the host society.</td>
<td>Cultural or Behavioral Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large-scale entrances into cliques, clubs, institutions of the host society, on a primary group level.</td>
<td>Structural Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large-scale intermarriage.</td>
<td>Marital Assimilation (Amalgamation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society.</td>
<td>Identification Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of Prejudice.</td>
<td>Attitude Receptional Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of Discrimination</td>
<td>Behavior Receptional Assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of Value and Power Conflict.</td>
<td>Civic Assimilation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Structural assimilation seems to play a starring role in the assimilation process. However, the price of structural assimilation for the ethnic group is the disappearance of the ethnic group itself.

It is from this particular paradigm by Milton Gordon that this work originated. How do Mexican Americans fit
into this framework? Can Gordon's model encompass the variables that describe the Mexican American experience. Thus, using Mexican Americans, a test will be made of salient variables of the model, i.e., cultural assimilation, structural assimilation, identificational assimilation and civic assimilation. Based upon a hypothetical continuum of assimilation ranging from the category of 'very Mexican' to Anglo, (see Figure 1), the following hypotheses were generated:

Figure 1 Assimilation Continuum

\[ H_1: \]

As the socio-economic status of Mexican Americans increase there will be a significant decrease in the cultural or behavioral manifestations commonly associated with the Mexican life style, thus a closer move toward Anglo
assimilation.

$H_2$:

There will be a significant decrease in a sense of identification with the Mexican-American life style as the socio-economic status of Mexican Americans increase.

$H_3$:

As the socio-economic status of Mexican Americans increase, there will be a major shift in thinking (attitudes) which is favorable to Anglo assimilation.

$H_4$:

As the socio-economic status of Mexican Americans increase there will be a tendency to decrease the number of memberships within civic and other voluntary associations, thus a closer move toward Anglo assimilation.
CHAPTER II

MEXICAN-AMERICANS: THE UNASSIMILATED AMERICANS?
CHAPTER II

MEXICAN AMERICANS: THE UNASSIMILATED AMERICAN?

Mexican Americans comprise one of the largest ethnic groupings in the United States, second only to Blacks. Despite their large numbers, it is said that Mexican Americans have not been completely absorbed as a race into the mainstream of the dominant society as have other ethnic groups. There is a growing consensus in the field of sociology that ethnic groups of European extraction are, in fact, acculturated if not always assimilated. This type of conclusion cannot always be drawn for groups that are not of European decent, as in this case, Mexican Americans. Mexican Americans are characteristically viewed as an unacculturated and therefore, a highly unassimilated group.39 This particular view is widely supported by text in the area of race relations along with support from the general body of sociological literature.

Some authors have not just taken it for granted that Mexican Americans are an unassimilated group. They have found factors within the Mexican American experience which have, to an extent, retarded the process of assimilation.

One major factor concerns the sustainment of Mexican American communities in the Southwest United States. These communities were well developed because of their close proximity to Mexico. The people who came to the United States continued to live on land with the same physical characteristics. They did not have to change their faith, alter their language, nor relinquish cultural ties to be accepted. This to a considerable extent played an important role in the assimilation into the Anglo society. Other factors contributing to the slower assimilation process of Mexican Americans includes the following:

1. Mexican Americans in the Southwestern United States have ancestry which is a cross between Spaniards and Indians. Because of the groups high degree of visibility, they have suffered poverty, discrimination and have been forced to exist in the lower social strata; and

2. Many Mexican American immigrants viewed their years in the United States as temporary ones. Their stay was dependent on work. Many had hopes of eventually returning to Mexico.

Of course, the two factors mentioned above are primarily exclusive to deterring assimilation in the initial years of mass Mexican immigration. As the flow of immigrants increased, other factors came into play. The peasant or migrant worker was not enthusiastic about education for his children. Survival of the family was more important and children were kept home from school to work. Also, education for Mexican American children was practically non-existent until the 1930's. Many stereotypes developed
due to a lack of familiarity with Mexican customs. Good manners were misinterpreted as docility, illiteracy for ignorance, and the lack of the puritan work ethic as laziness.

Among the factors which influence resistance were those which protect the existence of the community. The status quo of the community provides comfort and security. Once again, the community is the place where cultural ties, heritage, beliefs, etc. are kept in tack and are passed on from generation to generation. Lastly, Mexican Americans who accept the ways of the dominant society have and will face immense social prejudices.

Mexican Americans have not yet developed an Anglo "middle-class" way of life as a group. There are studies which support a rising Mexican American middle-class, but it cannot be used to characterize the entire group at the present time. The point must be made, however, that this is not to say that Mexican Americans are seen as truly Mexican in their culture; but instead that Mexican Americans are viewed by the author as representing an ethnic group living in a pluralistic society. Mexican Americans are standing between two cultures.

Most of the European immigrant groups found it easy to "fit" themselves into the dominant society. The process of adjusting to their new roles only took a few years. They were rarely visible in society as immigrant or minor-
ity groups. So great has been the movement of Spanish speaking persons to America that the census records for March, 1973, revealed more than 10 million people of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban and other Spanish speaking origins in this country. Persons of Mexican origin total about 6.3 million, over 75 percent of whom live in the Southwestern United States. These figures do not account for the many persons who arrive here illegally and are not counted by the federal government. Only in the last few years have historians, sociologists, politicians, journalists and government officials become increasingly aware of the Mexican American presence. During this period, while others were becoming aware of the Mexican American, the Chicano movement began. Out of this movement arose a new awareness of the Mexican American culture and prominent Chicano leaders who advocated Mexican pride and dignity.

Signs, information and other census data indicate Spanish vitality everywhere in the United States. Hundreds of Spanish speaking radio and television broadcasts are heard from California to New York. Shops display signs

41 Ibid, p. 93.
indicating, "Aquí se habla Español", in their windows. Many large cities have Spanish speaking contingents; New York is known for its Puerto Rican flavor, Los Angeles for its Mexican influence, and on and on.

**Historical Background**

Mexican Americans have a proud past and a great many Mexicans in the United States can trace their "roots" back many centuries. Yet, it is this same history that has assisted in the oppression of these people. Generalizations and stereotypes have been circulated in the United States for the last 130 years. Adjectives such as "treacherous", "lazy", "adulterous", and terms such as "meskins" or "greaser" have become synonymous with "Mexican" in the minds of many Anglo Americans. Sometimes the incompleteness or bias of analysis by historians have perpetuated factual errors and created myths. They have portrayed the Mexican American as "the enemy".

The beginning of many myths can be found in the 19th century when Anglos began to infiltrate Mexican territory in Texas (most of what is now Southwestern United States was first occupied by the Spanish and then Mexicans.) These myths were then nurtured by Anglos who had Mexican neighbors in the clash between Anglos and Mexicans in 1836. The Mexican American War erupted in 1846 and Anglo "heroes" were glorified at the expense of the Mexican people whose only
concern was to protect their invaded homeland. The United States annexed most of the Southwest at the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. The United States government guaranteed Mexican citizens the right to retain their property and traditions in this treaty. Since there was no border patrol, the influx of Mexicans, legal and illegal, increased as the Southwest region developed and grew.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Mexicans began to provide much of the cheap labor for industries which resulted from the completion of Southwestern railroads and farm expansion. Migratory workers were born from the need of mobile labor to deal with increased agriculture.

During the First World War, many factors contributed to an increase in Mexican migrants in the United States. First, European immigration dropped. Second, many American males were being called to war. Lastly, expanding farms needed workers. As a result, the contract labor laws were temporarily suspended in 1917 and many more Mexicans were brought across the border for labor purposes. The Depression of the 1930's curtailed Mexican immigration. Local governments often encouraged and forced Mexican families to return to Mexico. Between the years, 1929-1940, more than one-third of the Mexican population in the United States had been removed.

World War II opened new "opportunities" for Mexicans in American factories, foundaries and shipyards. The Bra-
Braceros Program (1942-1947) imported contract laborers to work in fields and on railroads as the seasons permitted, and then returned them to Mexico. The Braceros Program guaranteed work days, adequate wages, and suitable living accommodations. The program has been criticized by many because the Government (United States) did not live up to all expectations of the contract. Furthermore, the program served as an avenue to continually exploit Mexican labor.

Major protest by Mexican Americans began in the 1960's as a spin-off from other civil rights movements. Immediately following these protests, an activist Chicano movement arose to; 1) improve the economic lot of the group, and 2) foster a self-conscious nationalism. The basic philosophy is to maintain ethnic identity while raising the standard of living for all Mexican Americans.

**Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan**

Holland, Michigan, is a small town located in Ottawa County in Southwestern Michigan. Its population is made up predominantly Anglo persons of Dutch origin. The community is integrated to a certain extent. There are about 9 percent Mexican Americans in Holland and 40 percent blacks, according to census data.* One half of the Black people

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*All the data in this section was taken from the Human Relations Commission Report based on statistics from the 1970 United States Census.*
who were counted in census data are students at Hope College. Therefore, based on 1970 census data, Mexican Americans comprised 9 percent of the population. The Census Bureau estimates from questions asked a 15 percent sample receiving the long form of the census data in Holland (1970) and determined that approximately 18 hundred persons were from homes where Spanish was spoken by one or more family members. Seven percent of Holland's 26 thousand plus residents were estimated to be classified as Spanish speaking persons.

The Latin American population of Holland, Michigan can be broken-down further to persons of Cuban, Mexican, and Puerto Rican descent. The census Bureau estimated the largest portion of Latin Americans in Holland are Mexican Americans, one-third of these persons were either born in Mexico or have a parent who was born in Mexico. There are approximately 200 Puerto Ricans and few of Cuban descent.

The majority of Holland's Spanish speaking persons have lived in the United States for at least two generations and almost 90 percent are native born Americans. The Census Bureau reports that the number of Mexican Americans in the labor force in Holland is half of the total Mexican American population. This, in part, is due to the fact that over half of the Spanish speaking population is under twenty years of age.
Mexican Americans: Some Comparisons

Five percent of the total Holland families were reported below the poverty level as compared to 12 percent of the Spanish speaking families. Very few Mexican Americans were receiving public assistance. In Holland, Spanish speaking persons are not distributed across occupational categories in a manner similar to other persons in the labor force. Two percent of the Spanish speaking persons were in professional managerial or sales positions. This estimate is based on census data computed from extremely small samples and hence, subject to error. By contrast, about 31 percent of all employed Holland residents fell into these categories.

There are large differences in the average family income of Mexican and Anglo persons in Ottawa County and in Holland. Table 3 indicates these differences.

Table 3
Average Family Income in Holland, Michigan and Ottawa County*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Origin</th>
<th>Holland</th>
<th>Ottawa County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spanish Speaking Families</td>
<td>$ 8,750.00</td>
<td>$ 8,386.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglo Families</td>
<td>$10,200.00</td>
<td>$10,445.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Based on 1970 Census Data
The median yearly income for male heads of households also differed between Anglo and Spanish speaking males. Anglo males average income totaled $7,800.00, while Spanish speaking males made $5,500 per year. It was found that the average size of family differed among Spanish speaking and Anglo homes. Spanish speaking households average 5.2 persons, Anglo households averaged 3.1 persons (these figures include immediate family members living in the home). Nine percent of total households in Holland, Michigan are headed by females as compared to 13 percent Spanish speaking households headed by females.

In the area of formal education, the largest differences indicated are the part found in different educational attainment. Just focusing on persons in Holland, over twenty-five years old, 52 percent Anglos graduated from high school, with 12.1 median number of years schooling completed. 12.1 percent Spanish speaking persons over twenty-five represent 9 percent of high school graduates and a median number of years schooling completed as 6.1. Once, again, these large differences may be attributed to educational attainment differences. When looking at persons under twenty-five, these differences become smaller still because educational attainment is increasing for all elements of the population. Still, education for Mexican Americans is a relevant issue. Of all Anglo males between the ages of sixteen and twenty years of age, 8 percent were
not high school graduates or enrolled in classes. Spanish speaking males of the same age group had 44 percent who were not high school graduates or enrolled in classes. This figure is five times greater than that of Anglo males.

In the State of Michigan as a whole, Black and Mexican American minorities are quite comparable educationally and economically to those in Holland. In comparison with the remainder of Michigan residents, both groups have completed fewer years in high school. Both have an average per capita income that is approximately 30 percent less than other Michigan residents. The unemployment rate among Spanish speaking persons is about midway between that of blacks and anglos.

Compared to other Spanish speaking communities in Michigan, the population in Holland has less favorable conditions. The difference between 1970 median income of Anglo and Mexican males was $1,100 ($9,000 versus $7,900). In Holland, the difference was double $2,300 ($7,800 versus $5,500). About 2 percent of Spanish speaking employees residing in Holland were estimated to be engaged in professional, technical, managerial or sales work. In the State of Michigan, 20 percent of Spanish speaking employees were engaged in such positions. The Census Bureau estimates the median number of school years completed by Spanish speaking persons over twenty-five years of age was 10.5 years in Michigan, but only 6.1 years in Hol-
land; that 25 percent of the sixteen to twenty-one year old Spanish speaking males in Michigan were not in school and had not graduated from high school, compared to 44 percent in Holland; and that whereas 85 percent of sixteen and seventeen year old Spanish speaking persons in Michigan were enrolled in school, only 68 percent in Holland were enrolled in school.

Mexican American persons in Holland cannot be perceived any differently than millions of other persons of Mexican decent in the United States. They do not form a homogenous group with identical values, customs and aspirations. The Mexican community can be divided along class (economic) lines, from the affluent rancher, businessman or public official to the migrant farm worker or isolated, self-sufficient farmer in the mountains of New Mexico.42 One can also divide the Mexican community on the basis of the degree to which the individual has become Anglicized according to the degree of Caucasian ancestry which they possess or according to whether or not they prefer to be classified as Mexican or Chicano. Whatever type of classification system used, it is clear that there is no single way of life possessed by Mexican American people.

Nonetheless, it is possible for purposes of genera-

lization to ignore these individuals who are non-typical and to concentrate upon a large majority of Mexican Americans who have many things in common.

The Mexican American Community: A Pluralistic World

The Mexican American community possesses many internal agencies which serve to maintain a sense of belonging to "La Raza" and which also serve to carry forward aspects of the Mexican heritage. By means of folk-level educational agencies such as benevolent societies, patriotic organizations and the extended family, many Mexican traits are kept alive either as functioning parts of the individual's personal life or at least as items with which he feels some degree of familiarity. Mexican music, dance, arts and crafts, the Spanish language, concepts of the community and family structure are all maintained in this manner. In rural areas in the Southwest United States as well as in some totally Mexican urban districts, most adults could be classified as part of the culture of North Mexico. The Spanish language is spoken and preferred over English. There are relatively few nuclear type families but the bilateral extended family provides a strong social background for the individual.

John H. Burma states that, "in other urban districts,

43 ibid, p. 14.
as well as suburban areas, one finds numerous Mexican Americans who are completely bilingual or who in some cases favor English over Spanish. "These people have not yet become "Anglos", but their Mexican cultural heritage has become blended with that of the Anglo traits." Unfortunately, many younger second and third generation Mexican Americans educated in predominately white schools have suffered identity crises. They have not been able to relate in a positive manner toward either their own or Anglo culture. The public schools, up until recent years, attached or ignored the heritage of many major ethnic and racial groups. Youth subject to this kind of pressure often feel rejected and do not ordinarily take on the Anglo traits. These people frequently develop a subculture based on a dialect of Spanish heavily modified by incorporation of English words and new expressions.

Summary

There are many factors, some which have been investigated and some which have not, which retard the complete assimilation of partially Anglicized Mexican Americans into the larger society. One of these factors evolves from the large majority of Mexicans who live in Southwest Uni-

\[44 \text{ibid, p. 15.} \]
\[45 \text{ibid, p. 15.} \]
ted States. The status quo for these persons has provided comfort and security. Assimilation meant a totally new way of life. A way of life which Mexican Americans have resisted. Part of this resistance is due to the close physical proximity of Mexico to Southwestern United States. Newcomers can continue to live in the same physical surroundings, do not have to change faith, alter language patterns or relinquish any other cultural ties to be accepted.

Complete absorption into the host society has been retarded because of the high visibility of Mexican Americans, similar to the plight of black individuals. Ninety-five percent of Mexican people are part Indian, 40 percent are full-blooded Indians and most mixed groups have more Indian ancestry than not. Mexican Americans are, therefore, a racial as well as a cultural minority and the racial differences which set them apart from Anglos cannot be made to "disappear" by any assimilation stages except total for emalgation.

Mexican American communities as a whole are in the process of a rapid cultural transition. Most individuals are becoming assimilated at least to the first stage of cultural assimilation. They are living in a Anglo-Mexican mixed culture. Smaller numbers are marrying into or otherwise being absorbed into the dominant Anglo society.

\[46ibid, p. 16.\]
It is sad, but undeniably true, that those who accept the ways of the dominant society ultimately have and will face immense social prejudices. Barriers within the society will block many individuals from reaching the point of structural assimilation. According to Milton Gordon, structural barriers are found in the overall social structure. Structural assimilation must occur before the other types of assimilation follow. Structural assimilation plays an important part in the assimilation process, but will result in the disappearance of the ethnic group. Extremely Mexican traits such as a strong extended family, Spanish language, artistic and musical traditions, folk dances, cooking, and such personality characteristics as placing more emphasis upon warm interpersonal relations than upon wealth acquisitions, tend to be replaced by what critics might suggest are the lowest common denominator of materialistic acquisitive, conformist traits typical of some elements within the Anglo-American population. On the other hand, the community in its entirety is a vital, functioning social unit with considerable ability to determine its own future course of development. It may succeed in existing in a type of pluralistic world which would provide a reality atmosphere for future generations. In any case, we can be sure that because of the proximity of Mexico, a con-

\textsuperscript{47}ibid, p. 16.
tinual flow of Mexican cultural influences will come from across the border and the Mexican American community as a bicultural population will not soon disappear.
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

This chapter is divided into two major sections with several subsections: the first section (labeled Pretest) is concerned with the purpose of a pretest in this study, a description of the population, sample data, sampling procedures, instrumentation, and the major variables investigated. The second section discusses all the areas addressed in section one (pretest) but will refer to the actual data collected for this research.* In addition, this section will include a description formulation of research hypotheses and the analytical procedures used in this study.

Pretest

The research design of this study called for the use of a pretest for the purpose of developing criterion reference groups and to ascertain what if any, refinements should be made with respect to the research instruments. Thus, the pretest was viewed as a means of testing materials, methods, interviewers and instruments before embark-

*Data for this research were collected by the author in conjunction with Mr. Fernando Múnoz, also a graduate student in the Dept. of Sociology, who is presently studying assimilation and the use of mental health facilities among Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan.
ing on the data collection phase of this study.

**Population**

The population for the pretest consisted of those adult Mexican Americans residing in Holland, Michigan in the 18 and over age category. It is the purpose of this study to examine a sample of this population to assess their degree of assimilation by using Gordon's model. This assessment will be made from responses given by participants.

**Sample**

On April 24, 1977 the pretest sample data used in this study were gathered by Mr. Fernando Munoz who being a resident of Holland, was able to attend a social gathering of Mexican Americans held every Sunday after services at St. Francais DeSalles Church. A systematic sampling procedure was used because of its random characteristics and the convenience of this type of sample. This technique identified every fourth person coming from church service to the gathering as a perspective respondent. Five persons refused to be interviewed and a total of twelve questionnaires were returned. (N=12)

The interviews were self-administered and respondents were given to choice of an English or Spanish questionnaire. (A copy of survey pretest instrument can be found in Appendix A.) Four respondents preferred the Spanish
questionnaires and eight English questionnaires. Respondents received instructions for completing questionnaires by the interviewer.

Two major weaknesses were found in the pretest sample data; namely, 1.) the small size of the sample relative to the population, and 2.) the fact that all respondents were Catholic. Owing to these weaknesses which suggest the existence of possible error in small sampling size, the author felt that the limitations made it impossible to safely make any inference to the total Mexican American population in Holland.

**Characteristics of Pretest Sample**

The relatively clustered distribution of the variables age, income, occupation and education did not support the authors notion of extracting 3 criterion reference groups based on age and socio economic status. The pretest sample data included 50 percent male representation and 50 percent female representation. All respondents fell into the category of age ranging from 21-30 years old. 67 percent of respondents had received high school diplomas or their equivalent. 83 percent were classified as professional or white collar persons, occupationally. 75 percent of persons surveyed were employed. 58 percent of total respondents reported their family income being $10,000 and over, eight percent reported a family income of $4,000-
9,999 and 34 percent had family income of $3,999 or less. This and other data taken from the sample supports the idea that the pretest did not provide adequate representation of persons in all ranges of age or socioeconomic status. Though the pretest was not a valid or reliable criterion reference.

**Pretest Instrumentation**

Information was gathered by means of a self-administered questionnaire in Spanish or English depending on the participants' preference. The interview took place at St. Francais DeSalles church in Holland, Michigan. Interviews ranged from 30 minutes to one hour and fifteen minutes. The interview was conducted by Fernando Múnoz. The interviewer has been trained in the area of social sciences, has a B.S. degree in Sociology, is currently completing a Masters thesis and has experience in ethnic communities.

The interview questionnaire was based largely on questions developed by the author and Mr. Múnoz. Questions were also drawn from other studies which have purported responses demonstrative of an assimilation perspective. A number of questions were also developed to elicit additional information. There were few open-ended questions, to avoid coding problems. There were three indices used in the questionnaire. The ethnicity index is an ad hoc
scale developed by author consisting of items. The sex role identity index was adopted from the work of Dr. Lewis Walker, 48 Dept. of Sociology, Western Michigan University. The alienation scale was taken from Leo Srole's 49 alienation scale used in his work "Social Integration and Certain Corollaires."

The investigators discovered that the respondents were having difficulty with the first version of the instrument in that many respondents did not understand the questions and their meanings had to be explained thoroughly by the interviewer. The Spanish questionnaire had to be retranslated into "Tex-Mex" which is a mixture of formal Spanish and Mexican dialect. The open ended questions that were included proved not to be reliable measures as the diversity of answers did not provide a logical way to code data.

Major variables
1.) Ethnicity - This score was operationally defined as the sum of the scored responses to a six item scale developed by the author. Each item was arbitrarily scored giving a total possible range from 24-6 (highest to lowest).


2.) **Length of Residency in Holland** - This variable was determined from respondents answers to the question: "How long have you lived in the Holland area?" Values range from 5 to 1 (highest to lowest) 5 (less than 1 year), 4 (1-3 years) 3 (4-6 years), 2 (7-9 years) and 1 (10 or more years).

3.) **Socioeconomic Status (SES)** --- The social economic status variable was obtained from information provided by the respondents based on their occupation, income and education. Values range from High (8-10 score) Medium (7-5 score) and Low (4-3 score).

Population and Sample

Sample data were drawn from a population of adult Mexican Americans, male and female, residing in the Holland, Ottawa County area, in the 18 and over age category. It is the purpose of this research to analyze a sample of this population to make an empirical test of Milton Gordon's assimilation model.

Sample

To reduce the change of obtaining an atypical sample, the author decided to use a stratified sampling technique. The key idea in stratified sampling is that already existing knowledge is used "to divide the population into groups such that the elements within each group are more alike
than are elements in the population as a whole". The greater the accuracy of the stratified sample derives from the fact that it cannot obtain a disproportionate number of units in each stratum. This makes it virtually impossible to obtain many of the more nontypical samples that might be obtained by using a simple unstratified random sampling procedure.

The stratified sample is thoroughly a random procedure. Each person has the same chance of being selected as every other person in the stratified sample which has the same probability as an unstratified sample. The definition of a random sample is that each member either has an equal chance of falling into the sample or it is known what chance the person has of falling into the sample. Bias enters only when members have an unknown chance or no chance at all. If there were errors in the original stratifying information, however, and the three SES (socio economic status) strata do not differ, nothing is lost by the stratification. The results will be as accurate as an unstratified sample, although they will be no better if the basis of stratification were inaccurate.

A major difficulty found with stratified sampling is identification of the people who belong in each stratum.

---

A list of 250 subjects of Mexican American decent was compiled with the assistance of the following resource persons; Mr. Al Gonzales, Executive Director, Human Relations Admission of Holland; Ms. Linda Almanza, Assistant Director, Human Relations Commission (The purpose of Human Relations Commission in Holland is to gather demographic data on minorities in Ottawa County.); and Mr. Sal Sandwal, Assistant Director H.O.Y. (Helping Our Youth) Program, (H.O.Y. is an organization to assist persons with problems in the area of substance abuse and mental health). Criteria for judges was based on their long time residence in Holland and their experience in ethnic community affairs. The list of subjects compiled was then stratified into three strata based on persons socioeconomic status. A table of random numbers was used to enumerate the population from which persons were drawn to be perspective respondents.

It was found that many addresses were in error or nonexistent, therefore a back up list of 50 persons was also prepared with the assistance of a table of random numbers.

**Instrumentation and Interview Schedule**

The interviews were conducted by the author and Mr. Fernando Munoz. Both interviewers have been trained in methods of social science research, have Bachelor of Science degrees in Sociology and are involved in this research as a partial fulfillment of requirements for a Masters Degree.
in Sociology. Mr. Munoz played an enormous role as an interviewer. His bilingual capabilities often served as the initial 'ice-breaker' for communications with respondents. The original interview schedule was to begin May 20, 1977 and run for two weeks or until a sample of 150 questionnaires were returned. Initially all interviews were conducted in the subject's homes while interviewers waited. All interviews were conducted in late evening and on weekends. Subjects were notified by phone prior to the interview date. This scheme however, did not prove to be the most efficient one. Questionnaires contained a total of 81 items, (see interview questions, Appendix A). It was often the case that respondents required up to an hour and one half to complete the questionnaire. At this rate a maximum of only four questionnaires were being completed in one evening. It was then decided to notify subjects by phone in advance but to indicate to them that questionnaires would be dropped off and picked up the same evening or the following day. Upon the arrival of the interviewer, participants were given a briefing of the study, instructions for filling in the questionnaire, and appointments were set to pick them up. Even though this technique saved time, it was still not efficient since numerous revisits were required obtaining the questionnaires.

In the case of respondents not being home at the initial contact, subjects were selected from a prepared back-
up list. There were no outright refusals to participate in the study but there were indirect refusals. For example, interviewers were told to return some specified time only to find that the questionnaire had not been completed or the respondent not being at home. In several instances, it became apparent that completed questionnaires were not forthcoming, while perserverance proved fruitful in obtaining useable questionnaires from other less cooperative respondents.

By June 21, 1977 (one month and two weeks longer than anticipated) a total of 144 questionnaires had been obtained and it was decided to terminate data collection.

It might be mentioned that although, the research design was developed to facilitate the gathering of information on 150 subjects; 50 being lower class, 50 middle class, and 50 from the upper class, the many incidents of persons from the back-up lists introduced a threat to the validity of the sample design. This threat is due to the fact that the back-up list had not stratified persons according to SES, thus, the resultant could very well be an uneven distribution of respondents of socioeconomic status. The data in Table 4 show, however, that a fair representation of each group was indeed obtained.
Table 4

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Mexican Americans Respondents by Socio Economic Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Economic Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sample consisted of 144 persons, 71 males and 73 females. Table 5 through 9 provide univariate frequency and percentage distributions of respondents by age, employment status, birthplace, length of residency in Holland and religious affiliation.
Table 5
Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50 yrs. and over</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-49 years of age</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40 years of age</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30 years of age</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 years or less</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total = 144</td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 shows that 53 percent of the sample population fell into the age category labeled 21-30 years of age, with the mean age of sample being 28.8 years. The next largest category was 31-40 years of age represented by 18 percent of the sample, while the other respondents, 29 percent, were dispersed into the remaining age categories.
Table 6
Frequency and Percent Distribution of Respondents by Employment Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in table 6 show that most of the respondents in the study (79 percent) were employed, while 2 percent of the subjects were in the "no response" category. This small percentage was viewed as insignificant and posed no biasing threat to the sample.
Table 7

Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Place of Birth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwest United States</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total =</strong></td>
<td><strong>144</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 7 is found the frequency and percentage distribution of sample populations by birthplace. The largest category (66 percent) was made up of persons born in the Southwest United States. Persons who listed either Mexico or Michigan as their birthplaces each made up 14 percent of the sample. The "other" response category included California, New York, Illinois and Florida as the places of birth for some respondents.
Table 8
Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Length of Residency in the Holland Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 or more years</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-9 years</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-6 years</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than one year</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no response</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>144</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The length of residency in the Holland area is shown in table 8. Respondents were scattered throughout all categories on this variable. The largest percentage of the sample 39% had lived in Holland area for "less than one year." Again, the 4 percent in the "no response" category was viewed as an insignificant percentage.

According to the data in table 9 the overwhelming majority of the respondents (80 percent) are Catholics, and that the Protestants are represented by only 9 percent of the subjects in this study. Six percent of the respondents said that they were religiously unaffiliated at the time of the interview. Both respondents in the "other" category...
listed their religious affiliation as Jehovah Witness.

Table 9
Frequency and Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Religious Affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Affiliated</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Response</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Major Variables

A total of 36 variables were explored for the purpose of this research, six of these variables were used to test Gordon's assimilation model. These variables were; 1) cultural assimilation, 2) structural assimilation, 3) behavioral receptional assimilation, 4) identificational assimilation, 5) attitudinal receptional assimilation, and 6) civic assimilation.

Eight proxy variables and two dependent variables were used to measure the variables posited by Gordon in his assimilation paradigm. These variables are operationally defined in the following manner;
1.) **Age** -- refers to the chronological age as provided by each respondent.

2.) **Birthplace** -- refers to the place of birth of each respondent. Person born in Mexico were coded 3, persons born in Southwest United States were coded 2, persons indicating birthplace as Michigan were coded 1.

3.) **Perception of Social Class** -- this variable refers to the social class based on the respondent's perception of where he/she fits into the social structure of the society. This variable was measured by respondents answer to the question: "If you were asked to use one of the following names for social class, which would you say you belong to?" Categories of this variable were coded 3, 2, 1, for upper class, middle class and lower class, respectively. No response was coded as 0.

4.) **Length of residency** -- length of residency in the Holland area was measured by subjects response to the question, "How long have you lived in the Holland area?" Values range from 5 to 1, (highest to lowest). 5 indicates residence for less than 1 year, 4 (1-3 years), 3 (4-6 years), 2 (7-9 years) and 1 (10 years or more.)

5.) **Religious Affiliation** -- religious affiliation
was determined by participants responses to the question, "What is your religious affiliation?" Catholics were coded 3, Protestants 2, non-affiliates 1, 4 other and 0 no response.

6.) **Voluntary group association** -- degree of voluntary group association was determined by respondents answers to two questions. The first, ask respondents to "Please indicate number of group(s) to which you are a member. Second the respondent was asked how often he attended meetings. Values for number of voluntary associations ranged from 4-0 (highest to lowest). A high score was coded as 4, medium 2-3, and low 0-1. How often do you attend meetings? Values range from 2-1 (highest to lowest) and data were code 2. High, indicating 2 or more meetings a month; 1 low, indicating 1 or 0 meetings a month.

7.) **Sex role identity** -- this score was defined as the sum of the scored responses to an 9-item highest type scale indicating female roles. Each item had a range from 5-1 (highest to lowest.)

8.) **Degree of alienation** -- this score was operationally defined as the sum of the scored response to a 5-item scale developed Leo Strole to measure powerlessness and alienation. Values range from 5-1 (highest to lowest.)
9.) **Socioeconomic Status*** -- this is the dependent variable, and it was obtained from data provided by the respondents concerning their occupations, family income and educational status. Values range from high (8-10 score) medium (7-5 score) and low (4-3 score.)

10.) **Degree of Ethnicity*** -- this variable was operationally defined as the sums of the scored responses to a 9-item scale developed by author. Each item was arbitrarily scored, giving a total possible score ranging from 35-9 (highest to lowest).

**Research Hypotheses**

The major research hypotheses of this study are listed as follows:

HR$_1$: There is an inverse relationship between socio-economic status and the degree of assimilation among Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan.

HR$_2$: There will be an inverse relationship between socio-economic status and group identification among Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan.

HR$_3$: There is a direct relationship between socio-economic status and attitudes toward assimilation among Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan.

*Scale items have also been broken down into individual variables for further analysis.
can Americans residing in Holland, Michigan.

HR₄: There is an inverse relationship between socio-economic status and degree of civic association among Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan.

**Data Analysis**

To test the research hypotheses and answer other related questions (see Chapter I) a variety of summary statistic were computed for descriptive purposes. Analysis of ordinal and interval level variables was made with the assistance of appropriate statistics for each level. Chi squares were calculated for test of differences for ordinal level data, Gamma statistics were also calculated as measures of association. Cross-Tabulations and stepwise regressions were computed and all analysis was done at the .05 critical level.
CHAPTER IV
FINDINGS

The aim of this chapter is twofold: 1) to report the findings of this analysis in respect to the degree of assimilation of Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan and, 2) to assess the nature of that assimilation using Gordon's assimilation paradigm. The task now is to examine the sample data of Mexican Americans in Holland as an empirical test of Gordon's model. Gordon views the process of assimilation by degrees and list seven variables involved in the total process. For the purpose of this study only six of Gordon's variables were examined. These were cultural, structural, identificational, attitudinal receptional behavioral receptional and civic assimilation. The seventh variable was marital assimilation or amalgamation. This variable was not assessed although it is a strong indicator of assimilation in many studies. There seemed to be no evidence among the census data supporting large scale intermarriage among Mexican Americans and Anglos in Holland. A more detailed discussion of the marital assimilation variable is found in chapter 5.

The findings in this chapter will be presented in their relation to the proposed general hypotheses (see Chapter three), working or research hypotheses and alternative hypotheses or research questions. It seems appro-
appropriate at this point to describe the sample data in terms of our respondents positions on the socioeconomic scale and the degree of ethnicity scale. The socio-economic status and degree of ethnicity variables are imperative in the analysis of the sample data as the research design is based upon the relationship of the respondents in the high, medium and low categories of each variable and the principal independent variables indicated in Chapter three. The dependent variables socio-economic status and 'degree of ethnicity' are both scale variables. Each variable consist of the categories high, medium, and low. Referring back to the assimilation continuum, detailed in Chapter one, a score of 'low' on the socio-economic status variable corresponds with a "very Mexican" position on this continuum. A "medium" score on socio-economic status corresponds with the bilingual/bicultural position on the assimilation continuum and a "high" score on SES corresponds with an "Anglo" position on the same continuum. In respect to the assimilation continuum, the ethnicity scale variable also has categories which correspond to the three different positions on the continuum. A score of "low" on the degree of ethnicity variable is equivalent to an "Anglo" position on the assimilation while "medium" and "low" scores correspond with bilingual/bi-cultural, and "very Mexican" positions, respectively.
Figure 2 Frequency and Percentage Distribution of the Scale Variables Socioeconomic Status and Degree of Ethnicity Along the Continuum of Assimilation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very Mexican</th>
<th>Bilingual Bi-Cultural</th>
<th>Anglo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SES - (26%)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>(42%) 61</td>
<td>(32%) 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity-(32%)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>(57%) 82</td>
<td>(11%) 16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2 graphically represents the sample population along the proposed assimilation continuum in respects to their ethnicity and socio-economic scores. This table shows the bi-lingual category of assimilation having the largest representation of both variables (42% on SES, 57% degree of ethnicity). The next largest representation was the "Anglo" position on the continuum in terms of socio-economic status, and the "very Mexican" position in relation to degree of ethnicity (32% for both categories). A large proportion of the sample population, according to their socio-economic status was bi-cultural or Anglo in terms...
of the assimilation process. The data in figure 2, indicate that Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan are moving along the continuum toward Anglo assimilation based upon these SES scale scores. However, the same data shows that respondents have maintained a great deal of their Mexican culture, only 11 percent of the total sample fell on the "low" ethnicity or Anglo position of the continuum.

Beginning with the first general hypothesis (H₁) as the socio-economic status of Mexican Americans increase there will be a significant decrease in the cultural or behavioral manifestations commonly associated with the Mexican lifestyle, thus, a closer move toward Anglo assimilation. A working or research hypothesis was then derived from which sample data could be tested.

(HR₁) There is an inverse relationship between the socio-economic status and the degree of assimilation among Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan.

An ad hoc scale was devised by the author to measure the degree of assimilation and, in this regard, the dependent variable scales (SES and ethnicity) were used.
Table 10
Percentage Distribution of Scale Variable SES by Degree of Ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic Status</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Degree of Ethnicity</th>
<th>Med.</th>
<th>High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHI Square 3.645
Percentage = 9.488

Data in table 10 represents the percentage distribution of socio-economic status by degree of ethnicity, with row, column and total percentages given. Using SES as the dependent variable and degree of ethnicity as the independent variable, the data do not suggest an inverse relationship between the two. The chi-square statistic of independence was calculated to determine association, since there were indications of a relationship if not an inverse one. Chi-square for table 10 is 3.645 with 4 degrees of freedom at .05 significant level. By consulting the chi-square distribution this statistic was not found to be near or in the critical region. This finding suggests an association therefore further analysis of other independent var-
variables was undertaken.

Table 11

Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Socio-economic Status and Type of Social Relationship Scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Economic Status</th>
<th>Social Relationship Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium 17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High 10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Low 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium 19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High 21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium 10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High 14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data in table 11 represents the percentage distribution of the dependent variable (socio-economic status) by the independent scale variable (type of social relationship). The social relationship scale is used as an index of primary group relationships among Mexican Americans. A low score indicates primary group relations with "mostly" or "all" anglo persons. A high score indicates primary relationship with only persons of Mexican origin. The descriptive data in Table 11 indicate a slight direct relationship between socio-economic status and social relationships. A very small representation of respondents was found in the low social relationship category regardless of socio-economic status. Yet there is a slight increase
in the social relationship score as socio-economic status increases. These data, however, do not show any evidence of an inverse relationship between SES and the degree of assimilation.

Tables 12-15 are percentage distributions of independent variables used as indicators of degree assimilation of Mexican Americans. Table 12 is the percentage distribution of respondents on socio-economic status by their response to the question "Should Mexican American children have padrinos?"* The variable has four categories, ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree. The higher scores represent the "very Mexican" position on the assimilation continuum and the low scores, the "Anglo" positions.

*Padrinos are godparents. This seems to be a tradition in most Mexican American communities.
Table 12
Percentage Distribution of Scale Variable SES by Response to 'Should Mexican Children Have Padrinos?'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Economic Status</th>
<th>No Response</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHI Square = 11.892  Probability = 15.5
Gamma = -4.716  z = -6.063

In Table 12 there was a high rate of no response to the question, "Should Mexican children have padrinos?" Twenty-five percent of the total sample were in the no response category. Almost half (12 percent) of the respondents in the no response category also had a middle SES score. These data suggests a direct relationship between socio-economic status and whether respondents felt Mexican children should have padrinos. The largest distribution respondents was in the 'agree' category, (13% for both middle and high categories of SES). These data again support the finding that although Mexican Americans may be high on SES they still maintain cultural characteristics similar to those at the "very Mexican" position on the continuum. The Chi-square was calculated at 11.892 with .05
level of significance and 8 degrees of freedom. This statistic is within the boundaries of the critical region, supporting the association of the two variables. However, after calculating Gamma, (a statistic testing significance), a z score of -6.063 was given. This statistic proved within the critical region indicating non support of an inverse relationship between SES and degree of assimilation, thus the first hypothesis is rejected on these variables.

Table 13
Percentage Distribution of Respondents
Opinion on the Statement, 'No Matter How Far Relatives are More Important Than Friends'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Economic Status</th>
<th>Importance of Relatives</th>
<th>No Response</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHI Square = 9.6 Probability - 15.5
Gamma = 4.6 z = 6.07

Table 13 is a percentage distribution representing responses to the statement, "no matter how far, relatives are more important than friends." Agreement with this statement would correspond to the "very Mexican" position of our assimilation continuum, while strong disagreement
would be a more "Anglo" response. A small percentage (10.6%), of the respondents in all SES categories "strongly disagreed" with this statement. The modal category was found to be where respondents had middle scores on socio-economic status and were in agreement to the statement, this category had a relatively small representation, (15 percent). The chi-square statistic was calculated at 9.6 with 8 degrees of freedom at the .05 level. This statistic falls within the boundaries of the critical region indicating an association which may be described as a slight direct relationship between SES and "whether relatives are more important than friends". Gamma was calculated as 4.6 with a z score of 6.07. This statistic is within the critical region and further warrants the rejection of the first hypothesis based on these two variables.
Table 14

Percentage Distribution of Respondents by SES Completing the Statement I Speak Spanish...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'I Speak Spanish'</th>
<th>SES</th>
<th>no res.</th>
<th>never</th>
<th>only to relatives</th>
<th>only at home</th>
<th>all the time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 8.073  Probability = 15.5
Gamma = .117  z = 1.46

The data in Table 14 indicate neither a direct or inverse direction to the relationship between these two variables. The chi-square statistic was calculated as 8.073 with 8 degrees of freedom at the .05 level of significance. This statistic falls within the boundaries of the critical region indicating an association between the two variables. The gamma statistic given is .117 with a z score of 1.46. This statistic is within the critical region with 43% of the sample falling between it and the mean.

The data in Table 14 seemed to be widely dispersed throughout all categories with the exception of the I speak Spanish all the time category. This category had the highest percentages in all of the SES categories and also the lar-
gest category in the entire distribution. Eighteen of the persons with high SES scores speak Spanish "all the time", while 27% of those in the middle SES category spoke Spanish "all the time" and only 10.4 percent in the low SES category did the same. Contrary to the hypothesis stating an inverse relationship between SES and assimilation, these data suggest that persons with high SES scores explicit responses typical of persons on the "very Mexican" position on our assimilation continuum. Again evidence found in this table warrants rejection of the first hypotheses.

Table 15

Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Socio-Economic Status and Whether They Speak Spanish, English or Both

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SES</th>
<th>Only English</th>
<th>English/Spanish</th>
<th>Only Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 13.89 .05 significance level
Gamma = -.304 z = 3.5

Data in table 15 represents responses to whether respondents spoke Spanish, English or both. This is also de-
terminated by the SES dependent variable. The data strongly indicated an inverse relationship between socio-economic status and the language spoken. Chi-square was calculated at 13.59 at .05 level with 5 degrees of freedom. This statistic falls within the boundaries of the critical region, suggesting an association between the two variables. Gamma test of significance score for this data was -.304 with a z score of 3.5. This score is also within the boundaries of the critical region with 49 percent of the sample falling between this score and the mean.

The analysis of the independent variables, -- degree of ethnicity (Table 10), types of social relationships (Table 11), should Mexican children have padrinos (Table 12), importance of relatives (Table 13), and language spoken (Table 14) -- failed to support the existence of an inverse relationship between socio-economic status and degree of assimilation. The date in Table 14, regarding when respondents spoke Spanish, showed the only partial support for the first hypothesis.

**Hypothesis 2**

**General Hypothesis H₂:** There will be an inverse relationship between socio-economic status and group identification.

Data in Tables 10-15 represent variable items used to measure the independent variable group identification. Table 10 is a percentage distribution of respondents by
the SES score and their church service preference. The largest concentration of respondents fell in the middle SES category and the "Both Spanish/English" category of church service preference.
Table 16
Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Socio-economic Status in Response to Their Church Service Preference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic Status</th>
<th>Church Service Preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 19.48  Probability = 15.5
Gamma = 1.09  z = -18.06
Data in table 16 represent a unimodal percentage distribution with the largest category on both variables being 22% of respondents on the "middle" SES score and the "both English/Spanish" church service preference. Regardless of SES, 50% of the total sample preferred to have their church service in both English and Spanish, while another 24% of the sample said they preferred their church services in "only Spanish". Ten percent of the latter group was in the "high" SES category. Chi-square was calculated at 19.48 with 8 degrees of freedom at .05 significance level. This statistic falls within the critical region and suggest no association between the two variables. The Gamma statistic was 1.09 and the score of -18.06 was within the critical region suggesting no significance and warrants rejection of the second hypothesis based upon these two variables. There was no evidence of inverse relationship between SES and group identification.
Table 17

Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Socio-economic Status and Their Response to 'I Prefer to be Identified as...'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic Status</th>
<th>I prefer to be identified as:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Mexican/ American</td>
<td>Chicano</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHI-Square = 5.78 Probability = 0.01406
Gamma = -9.6 z = -18.4

Table 17 presents a percentage distribution of respondents' identificational preference by their socio-economic status score. Regardless of SES, over 52 percent of the respondents preferred to be identified either as "Mexican American" or "Chicano". There seems to be no relationship between the two variables. The chi-square statistic computed -5.78 at the .05 significance level with 7 degrees of freedom. This statistic falls within the boundaries of the critical region suggesting a negative association; yet the gamma statistic (-9.6) and z score (-18.4) indicate no significant relationship. These data warrant rejection of the second hypothesis which posits an inverse...
relationship between SES and group identification.

Table 18

Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Socio-economic Status and Their Response to the Statement, "Mexican Child, if they are to Succeed must be More Like Anglos."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic Status</th>
<th>Mexican Children Should be More Like Anglos if they are to Succeed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Don't Know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi-Square = 20.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gamma = .415</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data in Table 18 show the responses of the respondents in respect to their socio-economic status scores and attitudes concerning Mexican children being more like Anglos. First let it be stated that 22% of the respondents "did not know" if Mexican children should be more like Anglos, and only 8% strongly agreed that Mexican American children should be more like Anglos. Those "high" on SES and disagreeing that Mexican children should be more like Anglos had the largest representation in the sample. Twelve percent strongly disagreed and those persons were also "high"
on SES. The Chi-square statistic was 20.7 with .05 level of significance and 8 degrees of freedom. This is beyond the critical region, indicating no association. Gamma was .415 and score 2.73. Both statistics show no evidence to support an inverse relationship between SES and group identification, warranting rejection of the second hypothesis on these two variables.

Table 19
Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Socio-economic status in response to 'I Feel Good About Being Mexican'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic Status</th>
<th>'I feel Good about Being Mexican'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square 7.611 Prabability = 14.06
Gamma = 1.76 = 4.92

Data in Table 19 represents respondents by their socio-economic status and their completing the statement, "I feel good about being Mexican...". Again, regardless of SES, the majority of the respondents (81 percent) said that
they felt "good" about their Mexican identity "all the time". The chi-square statistic was calculated at 7.6 with .05 significance level and 7 degrees of freedom which was within the boundaries of the critical region and suggested a slight association. The gamma statistic 1.76 and the z score 4.9 are not within the critical region but on its boundary. This suggests a slight significance, but not enough to support an inverse relationship between SES and group identification. Hypothesis two was rejected based on these data.

Table 20

Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Socio-economic Status and Their Preference of Mexican Food

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic Status</th>
<th>'I would rather eat Mexican Food...'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square 2.44 Probability = 12.5
Gamma = -6.01 z Score = -18.09

The data in Table 20 represents how respondents in
the three SES categories responded to their preference of Mexican food. Approximately 46 percent of the respondents, regardless of SES, said they preferred to eat Mexican food "all of the time", and the appropriate statistics failed to support the second hypothesis based on these two variables.

Table 2 is a percentage distribution representing respondents on 3 levels of socio-economic status and their preference of Spanish Music. There were relatively few 3.2% Mexican Americans who said that they "never" prefer to listen to Spanish music, and the data show over half of the respondents (59%) said they prefer to listen either "half of the time" or "all of the time". About 32 percent of the respondents said they prefer to listen to Mexican tunes "some of the time". The Chi-square was 7.651 with 6 degrees of freedom at the .05 level. This statistic is within the boundaries of the critical region indicating an association. The Gamma statistic for this table was -6.01 and the z score -18.09. The chi square shows an association but the gamma statistic indicated that the association was not significant to support an inverse relationship between SES and group identification.
Table 21
Percentage Distribution of Respondent Based on Socio-economic Status and Listening Preference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic Status</th>
<th>&quot;I prefer to listen to Spanish Music....&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 7.657 Probability = 12.5
Gamma = -6.0 z = -18.09

The analysis of data in the independent variables — church service preference (Table 16), and attitudes about Mexican children (Table 18) did not support an inverse relationship between socio economic status and group identification. Data on the independent variable — identification preference' (Table 18) indicates a negative association between this variable and socio economic status. But test of significance did not support an inverse relationship between SES and group identification. On the variable, "I feel good about being Mexican", (Table 19) there was a high association between this variable and SES; yet the test of significance did not support an inverse rela-
tionship between SES and group identification. "Preference of Spanish Music" (Table 21) also indicated an association between this variable and SES inverse relationship. The total analysis of these independent variables warranted the rejection of the second hypothesis.

**Hypothesis 3**

**General Hypothesis H₃.** As the socio-economic status of Mexican Americans increase, there will be a major shift in thinking (attitudes) which are favorable to Anglo assimilation.

**Research Hypothesis**

**HR₃:** There is a direct relationship between SES and attitudes toward Anglo assimilation.

The independent variables used to analyze the data in relation to the third hypothesis were;--Importance of relatives, should Mexican children have padrinos?, preference to Spanish music, preference of Mexican food, should Mexican children be more like Anglos if they are to succeed in life?, and curandero usage.

The author has already analyzed the data regarding the above variables and found little or no support for the first and second hypothesis, so rather than present duplicate tables and chi-squares values for this third hypothesis, the writer will refer the reader to Tables 13 through 21. Moreover, since the data in those tables indicated that
Mexican Americans in Holland are not embracing assimilation, but rather clinging to their cultural heritage, it is safe to conclude that, based on the chi-square values and scores, the third hypothesis that "there is a direct relationship between SES and attitude toward Anglo assimilation" is not supported.

Table 22

Percentage Distribution of Respondents on Socio-economic Status and Their Response to 'Whether Members in Their Family Consult a Trained Physician'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic Status</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-square = 9.43  Probability = 15.5
Gamma = -8.6  z = 5.87

Regarding the third hypothesis, the data in Table 22 show the percentage distribution of respondents with respect to the three SES categories and their response to members of their family who prefer the use of a trained physician when they are ill. Twelve percent "didn't know"
and 81 percent of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that members of their families consulted a trained physician when they are ill. There was no evidence of any relationship between these two variables. Although the chi-square statistic suggests an association, the gamma (-8.6) and z score = 5.87 indicate no significance thus the above data also failed to support the third hypothesis.

**Hypothesis 4**

**General Hypothesis H₄**: As the socio-economic status of Mexican Americans increase there will be a tendency to decrease the number of membership within civic and other voluntary associations, thus a closer move toward Anglo assimilation.

**Research Hypothesis HR₄**: There is an inverse relationship between socio-economic status and degree of voluntary association.
Table 23
Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Socio-economic Status and Their Attitude Toward Group Belonging?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic Status</th>
<th>Don't Know</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Dis-Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-square = 14.195  Probability = 15.5
Gamma = 9.0  z = -18.8
Table 24
Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Socio-economic Status, and Number of Voluntary Associations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-economic Status</th>
<th>Number of Voluntary Associations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-square = 21.3  Probability = 14.6
Gamma = 0.39  z = -2.26

The data in both Tables 23 and 24 represent the percentage distribution of respondents by socio-economic status and "importance of belonging to a group" and "number of voluntary associations" respectively. Data in both tables show distributions of variables relative to degree of civic assimilation and/or degree of membership in voluntary associations. In Table 23, 31.6% of the sample "didn't know" whether they felt it important to belong to a group. This table indicates a slight inverse relationship between SES and group membership. The Chi-square value (14.195) supports the association but the z score computed from Gamma, (z = 18.8) implied no significance, thus, the data do not support the fourth hypothesis based on these two.
variables.

Data in Table 24 represent the number of voluntary associations to which respondents belonged by SES. The Chi-square computed at 21.3 shows no association, since this statistic falls within the critical region, and suggests that an inverse relationship exists between SES and number of voluntary associations. The Gamma statistic (.29 and score of -2.26) supports this relationship and indicates that the fourth hypothesis is in part supported based on these two variables. Finally, based on the above findings perhaps the original hypothesis may be stated in the following manner:

HR_1 - There is no relationship between socio economic status and the degree of assimilation among Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan.

HR_2 - There is a direct relationship between socio economic status and group identification.

HR_3 - There is no relationship between SES and attitudes toward Anglo assimilation.

HR_4 - There is partial support of an inverse relationship between SES and the degree of voluntary association.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS
CHAPTER V
INTRODUCTION

In the final chapter of this study the writer will discuss many issues surrounding the central focus of this research, assimilation of Mexican Americans. The first section of this chapter will take a conclusive look at Milton Gordon's model as applied to Mexicans in Holland, Michigan. The next major section of the study makes some general comparisons between assimilation and cultural pluralism perspective. The final two sections deal with the specific findings of this study and recommendations for future investigations.
Table 25

Paradigm of Assimilation
Applied to Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan
Basic Goal Referent: Adaptation to Core Society and Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Cultural*</th>
<th>Structural</th>
<th>Marital</th>
<th>Identificational Reception</th>
<th>Attitudinal Reception</th>
<th>Behavioral Reception</th>
<th>Civic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexican-Americans</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variation By Class
Table 25 represents Gordon's assimilation model as applied to a sample of Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan. Comparatively, Mexican Americans are one of the oldest and largest minorities in the United States, yet we find that assimilation has not taken place on most of the other salient variables. Only "cultural" assimilation has been partly achieved. This supports two of Gordon's propositions; one, that cultural assimilation or acculturation is likely to be the first to occur, and may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously or later. Gordon further explains the process of assimilation by stating that after the birth of the republic, as each succeeding wave of immigrants ... has spread over American, the first process that occurs has been the taking on of the English language and the American behavior patterns. Not unlike Gordon's immigrant groups, 86 percent of the Mexican Americans in this study spoke only English. They differ however because they have not totally taken on the behavior patterns of Anglo persons. As shown in Chapter 4, Mexican American respondents have high ethnicity scores, especially in the "middle" and "high" socio-economic status categories. There are still holidays which are celebrated that are totally Mexican, the primary group relations of respondents are predominately with persons of Mexican origin. Spanish music is preferred over Anglo tunes, and preference is higher for Mexican vis-a-vis Anglo food. More-
over, a significant number of respondents disagreed that "in order for children to succeed in life they had to take on more Anglo characteristics". In terms of our assimilation continuum, 57 percent of respondents (see Figure 2, Chapter 5) are "bi-cultural" as determined their ethnicity scores, thus indicating while Mexican American respondents in Holland may be culturally assimilated they still hold onto many of the cultural manifestations which are part of the Mexican American lifestyle. On the other hand, having reached this stage of "cultural" assimilation has by no means guaranteed entry of Mexican Americans into the primary groups and institutions of the dominant society. Similar to Blacks, Mexican Americans, although assimilated culturally, are a highly visible minority group and full assimilation with reciprocal respect from the dominant society may be a long time in coming. Not unlike several other minority groups used in Gordon's paradigm, Mexican Americans have not overcome the structural barriers within the societal system that would allow for structural assimilation into the dominant society. Interaction on the primary group level has not taken place.

As mentioned earlier, the variable of martial assimilation was not assessed because, census data did not point to a large degree of inter-ethnic marriage in Holland. This would be supportive of Gordon's idea that structural assimilation is followed by marital assimilation. Since
there is no evidence to support the entrance Mexican Americans into social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the dominant society, there is no channel that leads to a substantial amount of intermarriage. The lack of intermarriage may only be representative of this specific group of Mexican Americans in Holland, these generalizations should not be to cover all Mexican Americans of members other than ethnic groups.

Gordon makes the generalization that once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to cultural assimilation, all other types of assimilation will follow. It seems then that structural assimilation rather than cultural assimilation, is the key variable in the whole process. The price of this type of assimilation, however, is the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation of its distinctive values. Mexican American respondents, however, have not passed the stage of cultural assimilation and according to Gordon it is possible for a group to remain in this position for an indefinite period of time.

**Assimilation or Cultural Pluralism**

Over the course of the American experience three central ideological tendencies have been emphasized: (1) Anglo conformity; (2) the melting pot; and (3) cultural pluralism. Gordon's paradigm is based solely on the adaptation of ethnic groups to the "core society" or dominant
society, which is referred to in theoretical works as the "Anglo conformity" perspective. By using Anglo conformity as a goal referent, Gordon's paradigm indicates that the majority of ethnic groups, with the exception of Catholics and Jews, are assimilated culturally but not structurally. Similar results were found when Kitano used Gordon's paradigm to assess assimilation among Japanese Americans and when the present writer examined Mexican Americans in Holland. These observations lead the author to this query. "If full assimilation of minority and ethnic groups is indeed the desire of the total society, why are there so few examples of ethnic groups (especially those with a high degree of visibility) that have achieved all of the subprocesses on conditions of assimilation." Surely there are individual exceptions which are "credits to their race" but is the nature of inter-group behavior which concerns us in this work.

Typically, the assimilationist perspective has often been presented as a liberal one, promoting rapid assimilation to provide the opportunity for upward mobility. Yet we, as students of sociology, are distracted by this approach from the actual racist axis on which assimilation revolves. A instructive example of this would be the institution of public education. One of the latent, and in some cases manifest, functions of public education is to Americanize children for their future societal roles.
Standardized testing and other instruments of measurement used in the public school system are philosophically based on Americanizing future citizens. What happens if a child has problems "fitting" and adapts slowly or not at all toward Americanization? The child is punished by being labeled a failure or put into remedial classes, or expelled or suspended, and so forth. This example was given purposefully to show that the pressures to assimilate or to take on the characteristic of the dominant society begin early in the life of persons belonging to an ethnic group. Not only do these pressures become apparent early, they are also continuous. In such a dilemma, the maintenance of group identity becomes a crucial issue.

According to Gordon, cultural pluralism as an articulated "goal system" vis-a-vis assimilation, is a relative late-comer on the American scene, being predominantly a development of the experiences of the 20th century. Prior to the middle of the 20th century or pre-World War II, Americans adhered to theories which postulated either the Anglization of the non-English population or a new "American type" composed of diverse cultural heritages. Around the Second World War, the situation changed drastically. Several factors are involved here and are listed briefly below:

(1) Reduced and selective immigration;

(2) Materialization of the "melting pot" ideal;
(3) Blatant racism of Nazi Germany;
(4) Development of social sciences.

The above listed major factors and other subsequent factors suggested that a pluralistic setting contains many more alternatives than other existing frameworks.

The question remains, "Is cultural pluralism a viable alternative?" The goals of Anglo conformity or a melting pot society have not been universally shared, especially by those persons belonging to an ethnic grouping. Historically, immigrants developed de facto ethnic societies to assist in the settlement of their various groups, and to preserve the customs, beliefs and norms of their ethnic origins. Thus the emergence of ethnic churches, schools, clubs, newspapers, etc. It may be argued that cultural pluralism was a fact before it became a theory. In the case of Mexican Americans (and I would suspect other ethnic groups), based on this research, conclusions can be stated supporting the existence of cultural pluralism. Holland, since it has a majority population of conservative persons of Dutch origin, may not place the pressure on its ethnic groups which may best serve the interest of those Mexican Americans concerned with maintenance of group identity.

Summary of Findings

The overall findings of this study may be briefly summarized as follows:
1.) It was found that 31% of the sample fell in the 'high' SES category, 42% were in the "middle", and 27% were in the "low" SES category.

2.) It was found that 89 percent of the sample of Mexican Americans in Holland, Michigan, were "above the low" degree of ethnicity category (57 percent of that figure belonging to the "medium" category), and 32 percent in the 'high' category. Only 11% of the respondents were found in the 'low' category.

3.) It was found that there was no relationship between socio-economic status and group identification. The majority of persons were clustered around the "middle" categories on both the variables.

4.) A direct relationship was found between socio-economic status and the preference of Mexican Americans in Holland toward Mexican food and Spanish music. There were small percentages of respondents found on the socio economic status variable regardless of category that preferred to 'never listen to Spanish music,' (SES = high .6%, middle .6% and low 2%). The significant percentages were dispersed throughout the middle categories of both variables. Those persons reporting that they preferred Spanish music "all the
time” were 6.2% in the 'high' category on SES, 14% in the middle category and 7% in the low category on socio-economic status.

In regards to preference of Mexican food, there were no respondents on any SES category that answered they would 'never' prefer Mexican food. 20% of the respondents who were 'high' on SES preferred Mexican food "all the time". 26% of the respondents in the 'middle' SES category preferred Mexican food "all the time" and 20% in the 'low' category of SES reported they preferred to eat Mexican food "all the time".

5.) It was found that there was no relationship between SES and group identification. The majority of persons were clustered around the "middle" category on both variables.

6.) Regardless of SES, Mexican Americans in Holland had a high preference for Mexican menus and music.

7.) There was no significant relationship found between social economic status and the attitudes of Mexican Americans in Holland toward Anglo assimilation. The data suggested that Mexican Americans are not embracing Anglo conformity.

8.) A low degree of participation in voluntary association regardless of their socio-economic sta-
The findings of this thesis represent an on-going process of acculturation for Mexican Americans. Acculturation is used rather than assimilation because it is believed that there is a strong subcultural network among Mexican Americans in Holland. The findings of this study suggest that assimilation is not being embraced by Mexican Americans in Holland. Thus, an important question seems appropriate at this point. "Will the consequences of defending and maintaining group identity be detrimental to the progress of Mexican Americans?" At this juncture there is no clear-cut answer, perhaps the future prospects of Mexican Americans will be similar to that of Japanese Americans. Research done by Kitano suggests that Japanese Americans have maintained a great deal of their ethnic heritage, yet they have achieved a large measure of structural assimilation, i.e., large scale entrance into clubs, cliques and institutions of the host society on a primary group level.

Recommendations

In this final section of the chapter, the writer will discuss some of the limitations of the present study and offer some recommendations for future study. Regarding the latter, the data collected for this research only represent a sample of Mexican Americans, in a moderately size Mid-western city, who may or may not be representative of the total population of Mexican Americans residing in Hol-
land, Michigan. Therefore, the author recommends that future endeavors attempt to select a sample of respondents that is known to be truly representative of the people being investigated. Moreover, we recommend that comparative studies be made of Mexican Americans living in rural areas, barrios and the inner-cities. Such studies would be useful in assessing the assimilation processes among diversified groups of Mexican Americans in various environs.

The present writer also thinks that future studies should also attempt to assess Mexican Americans and other ethnic groups to ascertain the extent to which there are parallel developments regarding acceptance-rejection of assimilation in American life. Such studies should also include a longitudinal approach so that scholars can make a more definitive statement about the dynamics of interethnic relations in this country.

The pretest and the instruments used in this study may be viewed as two limitations which should be corrected in any attempt to replicate this study. Regarding the pretest problem, the author recommends that other sources be used to compile a list of potential respondents, e.g., telephone directory, mailing lists, census block statistics, and so forth. Moreover, the number in the pretest sample should be increased with particular attention being paid to socio-economic status and other important demographic variables.
In the present study, four ad hoc scales were used and this posed a threat to the internal validity of the research. Therefore, it is recommended that any future investigation should attempt to obtain standardized scales that have proven validity and reliability. Failing that, the author recommends that the pretest should be so designed that data could be collected which would enable the investigator to construct scales that are valid and reliable.

Finally, since this study only included adults, future efforts should also include cohorts of Mexican American youths to ascertain whether they are accepting or resisting "Anglo conformity". The writer views this as an important focus because the information provided by Mexican American youth could very well enable us to predict the future of Mexican American/Anglo relations.
PRETEST INSTRUMENT

Background Information

1. Sex
   ________ Male
   ________ Female

2. What is your marital status?
   A. ________ Married
   B. ________ Single
   C. ________ Divorced
   D. ________ Separated

3. Where were you born? ________________________________

4. Are you presently
   A. ________ Employed
   B. ________ Unemployed

5. What is your occupation? ________________________________
   Give a brief description of your job duties.
   ________________________________
   ________________________________
   ________________________________
   ________________________________

6. What is your age? _____________
7. What is the yearly income of your family?

A. ______________ less than $2,999.00
B. ______________ $3,000 - $4,999
C. ______________ $5,000 - $7,999
D. ______________ $8,000 - $9,000
E. ______________ $10,000 and over

8. How many years of school have you completed?

A. ___________ (elementary or grade) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
B. ___________ (junior high) 7 8 9
C. ___________ (senior high) 9 10 11 12
D. ___________ (junior college) 13 14
E. ___________ (college) 13 14 15 16
F. ___________ (Did you receive a degree) __yes ___ no
G. ___________ (graduate study) MA level/Degree?
   __ yes __ no
   Ph.D. level/Degree?
   __ yes __ no

9. If you were asked to use one of the following names for social class, which would you say you belong to?

A. ______lower       D. ______don't know or can't
decide
B. ______middle
C. ______upper

10. Where did you live prior to coming to the Holland area?
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11. How long have you lived in this area?

A. ______ less than one year
B. ______ 1-3
C. ______ 4-6
D. ______ 7-9
E. ______ 10 or more

12. Why did you (or your family) move to this area?

A. ______ to work or look for work.
B. ______ to live with relatives.
C. ______ educational opportunities.
D. ______ it's a better place to live.

13. Do you intend to live in this area all of your life?
   ___yes   ___no
   Why? ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________

14. Do you own or rent your own home?

A. ______ rent
B. ______ own (finished paying)
C. ______ still paying
D. ______ other (please specify)

   ______________________________________________________
Ethnic Characteristics

15. I prefer to be identified as:  
   A. _____ Mexican  
   B. _____ Chicano  
   C. _____ Mexican-American  
   D. _____ American  
   E. _____ Other  
   (please specify)

16. I speak:  
   A. _____ Only Spanish  
   B. _____ Both Spanish and English  
   C. _____ Only English

17. I speak Spanish:  
   A. _____ All of the time  
   B. _____ Only in the home  
   C. _____ Only to relatives  
   D. _____ None of the time

18. I prefer to listen to Spanish music:  
   A. _____ All of the time  
   B. _____ Half of the time  
   C. _____ Some of the time  
   D. _____ None of the time
19. I eat Mexican foods:
   A. _____ All of the time
   B. _____ Half of the time
   C. _____ Some of the time
   D. _____ None of the time

20. I would rather eat Mexican foods:
   A. _____ All of the time
   B. _____ Half of the time
   C. _____ Some of the time
   D. _____ None of the time

21. "Capirotada" is the traditional food during what time of year?
   A. _____ Lenten Season (Easter)
   B. _____ X-Mas
   C. _____ Thanksgiving
   D. _____ Don't know

22. Members of my family consult or use "folk medicine" (curanderas):
   A. _____ All of the time
   B. _____ Half of the time
   C. _____ Some of the time
   D. _____ None of the time
23. Members of my family prefer to go to a professionally trained medical doctor when they are sick.
   A. _____ strongly agree
   B. _____ agree
   C. _____ don't know
   D. _____ disagree
   E. _____ strongly disagree

24. If Mexican children are to get ahead in life, they should grow up to be more like Anglo persons.
   A. _____ SA
   B. _____ A
   C. _____ don't know
   D. _____ D
   E. _____ SD

25. I feel good about being Mexican.
   A. _____ All of the time
   B. _____ Most of the time
   C. _____ Some of the time
   D. _____ None of the time

Family Dimensions
26. If married, how many children are there in your family?
   A. _____ None
   B. _____ 1-3 children
   C. _____ 3-6 children
   D. _____ 10 or more
27. Where do most of your relatives live?
   A. ____ in the Holland area
   B. ____ in Southwest United States
   C. ____ in Mexico
   D. ____ other (please specify)

28. Specify the number of relatives that live in the Holland, Ottawa County Area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son(s)</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daughter(s)</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother(s)</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather(s)</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aunt(s)</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncle(s)</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cousin(s)</td>
<td>_____</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29. Relatives no matter how distant, are more important than friends?
   A. ____ SA
   B. ____ A
   C. ____ Don't Know
   D. ____ D
   E. ____ SD
30. All Mexican children should have "padrinos".
   A. _____ SA
   B. _____ A
   C. _____ Don't Know
   D. _____ D
   E. _____ SD

31. Indicate those relatives listed below that live in your home.
   A. _____ Grandparents
   B. _____ Uncles, Aunts, Cousins
   C. _____ Padrinos
   D. _____ All of these
   E. _____ None of these

32. Do you participate in home-centered activities such as:
   Sunday dinners, holidays, birthday parties, talk and television, with relatives?
   A. _____ All of the time
   B. _____ Half of the time
   C. _____ Some of the time
   D. _____ None of the time

33. To me my family is the most important thing in my life.
   A. _____ SA
   B. _____ A
   C. _____ Don't Know
   D. _____ D
   E. _____ Strongly disagree
Religiosity

34. What is your religious affiliation?
   A. ___ Catholic          D. ___ Not affiliated
   B. ___ Protestant         E. ___ Other (please specify)
   C. ___ Lutheran

35. If you are religiously affiliated, how often do you attend church services?
   A. ______ Once a week or more
   B. ______ At least once a month, but not weekly
   C. ______ Less than once a month, but more than once a year
   D. ______ Less than once a year

36. The church I attend has a congregation that is:
   A. ______ All Mexican
   B. ______ Mostly Mexican
   C. ______ Less than one-half Mexican
   D. ______ Mostly Anglo

37. I would prefer our church services to be:
   A. ______ In Spanish only
   B. ______ Mainly in Spanish
   C. ______ In both Spanish and English
   D. ______ Mainly in English
   E. ______ In English only
Social Relationships

38. My close friends are:
   A. ______ All of Mexican origin
   B. ______ Most of Mexican origin
   C. ______ Some of Mexican origin
   D. ______ None of Mexican origin

39. How often are you in close personal contact with Anglo persons during the week?
   A. ______ Never have contact
   B. ______ Seldom have contact
   C. ______ Occasionally have contact
   D. ______ Frequently have contact

40. Do you belong to any group(s) in which all of the members are Mexican?
    _______Yes _______No. If yes, please list them.

41. Outside of the home, activities that I participate on are:
   A. ______ All Mexican
   B. ______ Mostly Mexican
   C. ______ Less than half Mexican
   D. ______ Most Anglo
42. I would prefer to participate in social events that are:
   A. _____ All Mexican
   B. _____ Mostly Mexican
   C. _____ Less than half Mexican
   D. _____ Mostly Anglo

43. I usually celebrate holidays with persons that are:
   A. _____ All Mexican
   B. _____ Mostly Mexican
   C. _____ Less than one half Mexican
   D. _____ Mostly Anglo

44. I believe that personal problems should be discussed only with relatives or friends of Mexican origin.
   A. _____ Strongly Agree
   B. _____ Agree
   C. _____ Disagree
   D. _____ Strongly Disagree

Activities in Voluntary Associations

45. I feel that it is important to be a member of some group(s) or organization(s).
   A. _____ SA
   B. _____ A
   C. _____ D
   D. _____ SD
   E. _____ Don't know
46. Please indicate any of the groups listed below of which you are a member.
   A. _______ Latino American Society
   B. _______ Latinos United for Progress
   C. _______ Neighborhood or block clubs
   D. _______ Religious groups
   E. _______ Union
   F. _______ Sports Club
   G. _______ PTA
   H. _______ Political Organization
   I. _______ Fraternal Club
   J. _______ Other (please specify) _______________

47. How often do you attend meetings?
   A. _______ 0-1 a month
   B. _______ 2 or more times a month

Sex Role Identification
48. Mother brings most money into the family.
   A. _______ All of the time
   B. _______ Most of the time
   C. _______ Half of the time
   D. _______ Some of the time
   E. _______ None of the time
49. Mother gives the money to pay the rent or house note.
   A. ______ All of the time
   B. ______ Most of the time
   C. ______ Half of the time
   D. ______ Some of the time
   E. ______ None of the time

50. The mother should be the one to spank children for misdeeds.
   A. ______ All of the time
   B. ______ Most of the time
   C. ______ Half of the time
   D. ______ Some of the time
   E. ______ None of the time

Powerlessness

51. A person's future is largely a matter of what fate has in store for them.
   A. ______ SA
   B. ______ A
   C. ______ Don't know
   D. ______ D
   E. ______ Strongly disagree
52. Nowadays, people do not realize what an important role luck plays in their lives.
   A. ______ SA
   B. ______ A
   C. ______ Don't know
   D. ______ D
   E. ______ SD

53. Getting a job depends on being at the right place at the right time.
   A. ______ SA
   B. ______ A
   C. ______ Don't know
   D. ______ D
   E. ______ SD

54. The government is run by a few people; the little man has no power over his own life.
   A. ______ SA
   B. ______ A
   C. ______ Don't know
   D. ______ D
   E. ______ SD

55. There is nothing I can do to change the way things are today.
   A. ______ SA
   B. ______ A
   C. ______ Don't know
   D. ______ D
   E. ______ SD
RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer the following questions honestly and to the best of your knowledge.

Background Information:

1. Sex: ( ) Female
   ( ) Male

2. What is your marital status:
   ( ) Married
   ( ) Single
   ( ) Divorced
   ( ) Separated

3. Where were you born? ______________________________________

4. What is your employment status?
   ( ) Employed
   ( ) Unemployed

5. What is your occupation? _________________________________

6. If employed, give a brief description of your job duties:
   _______________________________________________________
   _______________________________________________________

7. Age: ( ) Over 50 years old
   ( ) 41-49 years old
   ( ) 31-40 years old
   ( ) 21-30 years old
   ( ) 20 years or less

8. What is the yearly income of your family?
   ( ) Less than $2,999
   ( ) $3,000 - $4,999
   ( ) $5,000 - $7,999
   ( ) $8,000 - $9,999
   ( ) $10,000 - and over
9. How many years of school have you completed?
(Circle Grade Completed)

( ) Elementary 1 2 3 4 5 6
( ) Junior High 7 8 9
( ) Senior High 9 10 11 12
( ) G.E.D.
( ) Junior College 13 14
( ) College 13 14 15 16
( ) Graduate Study 17 18

10. If you attended college, did you receive a degree?

( ) Yes
( ) No

11. If you received a degree, what level:
(You may check more than one)

( ) B.S. or B.A.
( ) M.A.
( ) Ph.D.
( ) Specialist

12. If you were asked to use one of the following names for social class status, which would you say you belong to?

( ) lower
( ) middle
( ) upper
( ) don't know or can't decide

13. Where did you live prior to coming to the Holland area?

________________________________________________________

14. How long have you lived in this area?

( ) less than one year
( ) 1 - 3 years
( ) 4 - 6 years
( ) 7 - 9 years
( ) 10 or more years

15. Why did you (or your family) move to this area of Michigan?

( ) to work or look for work
( ) to live with relatives
( ) educational opportunity
( ) it's a better place to live
16. Do you intend to live in the Holland area for the rest of your life?

( ) Yes
( ) No

Why? _____________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________

17. Do you own or rent your home?

( ) Rent
( ) Own (paid for)
( ) Still paying for
( ) Other ____________________

18. I prefer to be identified as:

( ) Mexican
( ) Chicano
( ) Mexican-American
( ) American
( ) Other: ____________________

19. I speak:

( ) Only Spanish
( ) Both Spanish and English
( ) Only English

20. I speak Spanish:

( ) All of the time
( ) Only at home
( ) Only to relatives
( ) Never

21. I prefer to listen to Spanish music:

( ) All of the time
( ) Half of the time
( ) Some of the time
( ) Never

22. I eat Mexican foods:

( ) All of the time
( ) Half of the time
( ) Some of the time
( ) Never
23. I would rather eat Mexican foods:

( ) All of the time
( ) Half of the time
( ) Some of the time
( ) Never

24. "Capirotada" is the traditional food during what time of year?

( ) Lenten Season (Easter)
( ) Christmas
( ) Thanksgiving
( ) Don't know

25. Members of my family consult or use (curanderas) "folk medicine".

( ) All of the time
( ) Half of the time
( ) Some of the time
( ) Never

26. Members of my family prefer to go to a professionally trained medical doctor when they are sick:

( ) Strongly Agree
( ) Agree
( ) Don't know
( ) Disagree
( ) Strongly disagree

27. If Mexican children are to get ahead in life, they should grow up to be more like Anglo people?

( ) Strongly Agree
( ) Agree
( ) Don't know
( ) Disagree
( ) Strongly Disagree

28. I feel good about being Mexican:

( ) All of the time
( ) Most of the time
( ) Some of the time
( ) Never
Family Dimensions

29. If married, how many children are there in your family?

( ) 10 or more
( ) 7 - 9
( ) 4 - 6
( ) 1 - 3
( ) None

30. Where do your relatives live?

( ) in the Holland Area
( ) in the Southwest U.S.
( ) in Mexico
( ) Other _____________

31. Specify the number of relatives that live in the Holland, Ottawa County Area: (Check relative and write number of each relative in blank provided)

( ) Father(s) ___________
( ) Mother(s) ____________
( ) Son(s) _______________
( ) Daughter(s) __________
( ) Grandmother(s) _______
( ) Grandfather(s) _______
( ) Aunt(s) _____________
( ) Uncle(s) ______________
( ) Cousin(s) ____________
( ) Brother(s) ___________
( ) Sister(s) ____________

32. Relatives no matter how distant, are more important than friends?

( ) Strongly Agree
( ) Agree
( ) Don't Know
( ) Disagree
( ) Strongly Disagree

33. All Mexican children should have "padrinos".

( ) Strongly Agree
( ) Agree
( ) Don't Know
( ) Strongly Disagree
( ) Disagree
Religiosity

34. What is your religious affiliation?
A. ________ Catholic  D. ________ Not affiliated
B. ________ Protestant  E. ________ Other (please specify)
C. ________ Lutheran

35. If you are religiously affiliated, how often do you attend church services?
A. ________ Once a week or more
B. ________ At least once a month, but not weekly
C. ________ Less than once a month, but more than once a year
D. ________ Less than once a year

36. The Church I attend has a congregation that is:
A. ________ All Mexican
B. ________ Mostly Mexican
C. ________ Less than one-half Mexican
D. ________ Mostly Anglo

37. I would prefer our church services to be:
A. ________ In Spanish only
B. ________ Mainly in Spanish
C. ________ In both Spanish and English
D. ________ Mainly in English
E. ________ In English only

Social Relationships

38. My close friends are:
A. ________ All of Mexican origin
B. ________ Most of Mexican origin
C. ________ Some of Mexican origin
D. ________ None of Mexican origin

39. How often are you in close personal contact with Anglo persons during the week?
A. ________ Never have contact
B. ________ Seldom have contact
C. ________ Occasionally have contact
D. ________ Frequently have contact
40. Do you belong to any group(s) in which all of the members are Mexican?

______Yes ______No  If yes, please list them.

41. Outside of the home, activities that I participate in are:

A. ______ All Mexican
B. ______ Mostly Mexican
C. ______ Less than half Mexican
D. ______ Mostly Anglo

42. I would prefer to participate in social events that are:

A. ______ All Mexican
B. ______ Mostly Mexican
C. ______ Less than half Mexican
D. ______ Mostly Anglo

43. I usually celebrate holidays with persons that are:

A. ______ All Mexican
B. ______ Mostly Mexican
C. ______ Less than one half Mexican
D. ______ Mostly Anglo

44. I believe that personal problems should be discussed only with relatives or friends of Mexican origin.

A. ______ Strongly Agree
B. ______ Agree
C. ______ Disagree
D. ______ Strongly Disagree
The following questions deal with mental health. Please assist us by answering them to the best of your knowledge.

45. If you were aware that either you or a member of your family had an emotional problem such as depression, anxiety of suicidal thoughts, would you seek help from:

A. ________ Your family doctor
B. ________ Your relatives or compadre
C. ________ A friend
D. ________ Your priest or reverend
E. ________ Community Mental Health Agency
F. ________ A private psychiatrist or psychologist
G. ________ A curandero
H. ________ Other. Explain ___________________

46. Have you or any member of your family consulted a curandero for an emotional or physical problem within the last two years? yes ______ no ______

47. Have you or any member of your family ever consulted a curandero?

yes______ no ______

48. Are you familiar with the Ottawa County Community Mental Health Agency and the different services that it offers? yes______ no_______

49. Do you know where any branch of the Community Mental Health Agency is located?

yes______ no_______

50. If yes, do you feel that these locations are easy for you to get to?

yes______ no_______

51. Have you or any member of your family ever received services from any branch of the Ottawa County Community Mental Health Agency?

yes______ no_______

52. If yes, were the services satisfactory? yes ___ no____

53. Do you know the names of any Spanish-Speaking employees of the Community Mental Health Agency?

Yes______ no_______

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54. Have you or any member of your family ever had an alcohol related offense for which you had to appear in court?

yes______ no_______

55. If you or any member of your family had an alcohol problem would you seek help from:

A. ________ The Ottawa County Community Mental Health Agency
B. ________ A relative or compadre
C. ________ A friend
D. ________ Your priest or reverend
E. ________ Your family doctor
F. ________ A curandero
G. ________ A private psychiatrist or psychologist
H. ________ Other. Explain ________________________

56. Do you feel that there is a problem with alcohol among the Spanish-Speaking people of the Holland area?

yes______ no_______

57. If you or any member of your family had a problem with drugs (marijuana, heroin, cocaine, pills, etc) would you seek help from:

A. ________ Your priest or reverend
B. ________ A private psychiatrist or psychologist
C. ________ Your family doctor
D. ________ A relative or compadre
E. ________ A friend
F. ________ The Community Mental Health Agency
G. ________ A curandero
H. ________ Other. Explain ________________________

58. Do you feel that there is a drug problem among the Spanish-Speaking people of the Holland area?

yes______ no_______

59. If I were to consult a psychologist, counselor, or social worker, I would prefer for that person to be able to speak:

A. ________ Only English
B. ________ Only Spanish
C. ________ Both English and Spanish
60. If I were to consult a psychologist, counselor, or social worker, I would prefer that the person be:

A. ________ Of Mexican descent  
B. ________ Of Anglo descent  
C. ________ It doesn't matter.

61. Have you or any member of your family ever used "folk medicine" such as herbs, curing the evil eye, curing for fright, etc?  yes_______ no ________

62. If your answer was yes, how often do you do this?

A. ________ Very often  
B. ________ Once in a while  
C. ________ When there is no other alternative  
D. ________ Very frequently

63. If you or any member of your family were having marital problems, would you seek help from:

A. ________ A relative or compadre  
B. ________ Your priest or reverend  
C. ________ A private psychiatrist or psychologist  
D. ________ The Community Mental Health Agency  
E. ________ Your family doctor  
F. ________ A friend  
G. ________ A curandero  
H. ________ Other. Explain ____________________________

64. If you had a drug, alcohol, marital, or emotional problem would you prefer to visit an agency which was known to be:

A. ________ Totally for the Spanish-Speaking  
B. ________ For both Anglos and Spanish-Speaking  
C. ________ Mostly for Anglos  
D. ________ Mostly for Spanish-Speaking  
E. ________ It doesn't matter
Activities in Voluntary Associations

65. I feel that it is important to be a member of some group(s) or organization(s).
   A. ______ Strongly Agree
   B. ______ Agree
   C. ______ Disagree
   D. ______ Strongly Disagree
   E. ______ Don't know

66. Please indicate any of the groups listed below which you are a member.
   A. ______ Latino American Society
   B. ______ Latinos United for Progress
   C. ______ Neighborhood or block clubs
   D. ______ Religious groups
   E. ______ Union
   F. ______ Sports Club
   G. ______ PTA
   H. ______ Political Organization
   I. ______ Fraternal Club
   J. ______ Other (please specify) ____________

67. How often do you attend meetings?
   - 0-1 a month
   - 2 or more times a month

We would like to know your feelings about your mother's role in the family. Please assist us by answering these related questions.

68. The Mother should bring most of the money into the family.
   A. ______ All of the time
   B. ______ Most of the time
   C. ______ Half of the time
   D. ______ Some of the time
   E. ______ None of the time

69. The Mother should give the money to pay the rent or house note
   A. ______ All of the time
   B. ______ Most of the time
   C. ______ Half of the time
   D. ______ Some of the time
   E. ______ None of the time

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70. The Mother should give money to buy food for the family:

A. ________ All of the time
B. ________ Most of the time
C. ________ Half of the time
D. ________ Some of the time
E. ________ None of the time

71. My Mother decides which person in the family will pay the rent or house note:

A. ________ All of the time
B. ________ Most of the time
C. ________ Half of the time
D. ________ Some of the time
E. ________ None of the time

72. My Mother decides upon the kind of recreation for the children:

A. ________ All of the time
B. ________ Most of the time
C. ________ Half of the time
D. ________ Some of the time
E. ________ None of the time

73. My Mother is the real breadwinner in the family.

A. ________ All of the time
B. ________ Most of the time
C. ________ Half of the time
D. ________ Some of the time
E. ________ None of the time

74. My Mother is the real authority in the family.

A. ________ All of the time
B. ________ Most of the time
C. ________ Half of the time
D. ________ Some of the time
E. ________ None of the time

75. The Mother should be the one from whom the child(ren) receive(s) permission to do something.

A. ________ All of the time
B. ________ Most of the time
C. ________ Half of the time
D. ________ Some of the time
E. ________ None of the time

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76. The Mother should be the one to spank the children for misdeeds.

A. ______ All of the time
B. ______ Most of the time
C. ______ Half of the time
D. ______ Some of the time
E. ______ None of the time

Please indicate how you feel about the following statements.

77. A person's future is largely a matter of what fate has in store for them.

A. ______ Strongly Agree
B. ______ Agree
C. ______ Don't Know
D. ______ Disagree
E. ______ Strongly Disagree

78. Nowadays, people do not realize what an important role luck plays in their lives.

A. ______ Strongly Agree
B. ______ Agree
C. ______ Don't Know
D. ______ Disagree
E. ______ Strongly Disagree

79. Getting a job depends on being at the right place at the right time.

A. ______ Strongly Agree
B. ______ Agree
C. ______ Don't Know
D. ______ Disagree
E. ______ Strongly Disagree

80. The government is run by a few people; the little man has no power over his own life.

A. ______ Strongly Agree
B. ______ Agree
C. ______ Don't Know
D. ______ Disagree
E. ______ Strongly Disagree
81. There is nothing I can do to change the way things are today.

A. ______ Strongly Agree
B. ______ Agree
C. ______ Don't Know
D. ______ Disagree
E. ______ Strongly Disagree
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