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ABSTRACT
              In determining whether Spanish usage is a valid
indicator of ethnic identification, 669 Texas high school sophomores
(3 Negroes, 70 Anglos, and 596 Mexican Americans) were interviewed.
Mexican American respondents were then isolated on the basis of
response to 4 questions, and their responses regarding family were
grouped under 2 headings: (1) Characteristics of Family of
Orientation and (2) Aspirations for Future Family of Procreation.
Data were analyzed using the analysis of variance F-test, with
controlled variables being sex, place of residence (city, town,
country-nonfarm, and farm), and residence on/not on the Mexican
Border. Language usage as an indicator of ethnic identification was
concluded to be invalid by this study, but "the theoretical
significance of this fact must be explored." On the basis of this,
the author discounted language usage as a criterion to judge an
individual's success index, feeling and thinking index, and job
performance index. It was noted that, in educating the Mexican
American, forced acculturation should be discouraged while
encouraging bilingual education. (A related document is ED 023 512.)
(MJB)

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A STUDY OF THE VALIDITY OF LANGUAGE USAGE AS AN

INDICATOR OF ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

A Thesis

by
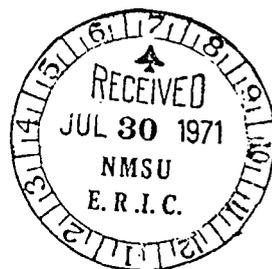
VICTORIA MORROW PATELLA

Submitted to the Graduate College of
Texas A&M University in
partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

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May 1971

Major Subject: Sociology

1

A STUDY OF THE VALIDITY OF LANGUAGE USAGE AS AN

INDICATOR OF ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

A Thesis

by

VICTORIA MORROW PATELLA

Approved as to style and content by:

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(Chairman of Committee)

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(Head of Department)

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(Member)   (Member)

May 1971

V

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following individuals:

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this thesis is to examine the valid-
ity of Spanish language usage as an indicator of identi-
fication with the Mexican American subculture. This
problem arose from the unexpected outcome of a study
done by Kuvlesky and Patella (1970) dealing with inter-
generational mobility aspirations of Mexican American
youth. The hypothesis of the researchers, which is
presented below, was founded upon two basic assumptions:
first, that the Mexican American subculture has a partic-
ularistic-ascriptive type value pattern, and second,
that mother tongue usage is a valid indicator of ethnic
identification. The first assumption rests upon Parsons'
assertion that the Mexican-American subculture is in
fact characteristic of the particularistic-ascriptive
type, an assertion which is very strongly supported by
the descriptive literature dealing with this subculture.
The second assumption is one very widely held by so-
ciological and linguistic investigators and only rarely

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The pattern for format and style of this thesis is
the American Sociological Review.

questioned, though its universal applicability has been
disproven in several cases.

Drawing upon these two assumptions, Kuvlesky and
Patella hypothesized that young Mexican Americans who
desired intergenerational mobility were rejecting to
some extent their ascriptive mother culture; thus, the-
oretically, they would be less strongly identified with
the ethnic subculture than those who did not desire
intergenerational mobility. The measure of the degree
of an individual's identification with the subculture
was an index of his use of the Spanish language as op-
posed to English: the higher an individual's index, the
more Spanish he used, and the more strongly he was con-
sidered to be identified with the subculture. Unexpec-
tedly, the hypothesis was not supported by the data;
there did not seem to be an inverse relation between
Spanish language usage and desire for intergenerational
mobility.

As the two assumptions underlying the hypothesis
are examined, the second, concerning the validity of
language usage as a measure of ethnic identification,
seems the most questionable and the most likely as a
basis for the unsupported hypothesis. The objective of
this thesis, then, is to evaluate this second assumption.

This will be done by determining the correlation of
Spanish language usage, a presumed indicator of eth-
nicity, with other presumed indicators of ethnicity,
using data from the same subjects as those used in the
Kuvlesky and Patella study. More specifically, the basic
hypothesis under test is the following: Relative use of
the Spanish language versus the English language is
directly correlated with identification with the ethnic
subculture.

<div align="center">Implications of the Research</div>

This investigation has relevance for sociolinguistic
theory in that it evaluates a widely held assumption of
sociologists and sociolinguists concerning the relation
of language and culture. The relation of this study to
prior research is described above. The study has
methodological significance as well in that an often used
measure of ethnicity, namely language usage, is being
challenged. As the particular bias of this researcher
dictates that the practical value and implications of any
research should be explored, some possible implications
of this study are suggested below. As conclusions are
drawn from the study, more specific implications and
recommendations are brought out.

The plight of Mexican Americans as members of a
minority group in this society is finally beginning to
be realized by the society at large. It is to be hoped
that any research dealing with this subculture would be
at least partially aimed at ameliorating the situation
of Mexican Americans in some way. The aim of this re-
search, in addition to dealing with an important the-
oretical question, is to discover something about how
Mexican American youth might be better dealt with in our
educational system than they generally are at present.
For example, educators make the same assumption as do
researchers concerning language usage; for them, if a
child speaks his mother tongue in an English-speaking
environment, he is totally rejecting the dominant
American culture. Typically, the educator's reaction
to this supposed rejection is either to punish the child
in an attempt to change his behavior, or to "give up"
on him, assuming he cannot be educated, even in the
Spanish language itself. An important step to be taken
in the amelioration of this situation which is supremely
unfair to the young people involved, is to determine
whether or not preference of the Spanish language implies
rejection of the dominant culture in favor of the subcul-
ture. In this study, an attempt will be made to draw

some conclusions concerning this point. Whatever the outcome, there will be important implications for the behavior of educators. If in fact, a strong preference for Spanish indicates rejection of the dominant culture, educators must be persuaded then to interest Mexican American students and involve them in the dominant culture in meaningful ways, while still allowing them their subcultural identification, rather than punishing them for non-conformity. If in fact use of Spanish by students co-exists with assimilation into the dominant culture, strong impetus might be provided for bilingual education programs. In either case, students should be allowed to learn appreciation of their culture. As conclusions and implications are drawn from the results of this study, suggestions will be made concerning how this should be done.

Source of Data[1]

The data for this thesis were collected in the spring of 1967 in two southwest Texas counties - Dimmit and Maverick - and two South Texas counties - Starr and Zapata. The subjects were sophomores in the seven high schools of these counties.

These counties were purposely selected for the

larger research project in that the populations were pre-
dominantly Mexican American, economically depressed and
predominantly rural and/or non-metropolitan. They are
especially appropriate for this study in that they are
on or near the Mexican border. It should be remarked
that the subject of interest here could have been in-
vestigated in any of various areas of the United States
where there is a substantial Mexican American population:
Southern California, New Mexico, Arizona, or Colorado.
In any case, the proximity to the border provides a the-
oretically ideal situation for this study of a bilingual
group in that subjects should have opportunity for a high
degree of contact with both the English and Spanish
languages there, as well as with both of the two cultures.
Thus an individual theoretically could identify with
either culture with equal ease.

There is a great deal of variability among the
seven schools in terms of size, curricula offerred, nature
of the students, and many other characteristics. The
youth interviewed for this study comprised nine-tenths of
those enrolled in the seven schools at the time. High
school sophomores were used in this study because soph-
mores had been used in other related studies, in order to
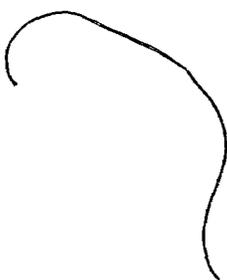
make this data as comparable as possible.

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[1]This thesis utilizes data from and contributes to a
larger regional project entitled "Human Resource Devel-
opment and Mobility in the Rural South." As stated in a
prior thesis contributing to this project (Juarez,
1968:20), this study is sponsored by the Southern Re-
gional Project H-2611, "under the auspices of . . . The
Cooperative State Research Service of the United States
Department of Agriculture. The general objective of the
overall project is to determine the characteristics of
and factors involved in the developmental sequences and
decision-making processes of people in the rural South
during selected stages of the life cycle." Information
concerning the source of the data was drawn from the
thesis of David W. Wright, Jr. (1968).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Sociolinguistic and sociological theorists and re-
searchers have long assumed that language usage patterns
of bilingual groups of people directly reflect people's
relative involvement with the ethnic mother culture and
the second culture. Joshua Fishman (1966:25), in his
comprehensive theoretical and empirical study of language
loyalty of various ethnic groups in the United States,
totally equates maintenance of the mother tongue with
identification with the ethnic subculture. According to
Kroeber (1964:vii),

> Language is easily the most nearly autonomous,
> self-consistent, and self-contained unit which
> is discernible within the totality of culture.
> Why this is - why perhaps it had to be - is
> something that we do not understand with clarity
> or conviction; and I shall therefore not try
> even to suggest an explanation, but accept the
> fact as something that students of language and
> students of culture both posit as a starting
> point, explicit or implicitly.

Christian and Christian (1966:300) in a theoretical
analysis of the interrelation of language and culture
state that these two together "form the basic orienta-
tion toward reality of any given person or group of
persons." They define the concepts included in this
statement in the following way:

> Reality - the total structure of that which is
> perceived and regarded as objectively valid by
> any definable social group; Language - a system
> of symbols with a coherent set of rules of ref-
> erence and transformation rules by means of which
> a social group finds it possible to communicate;
> Culture - a system of meanings, methods, and
> values which develops from the common frame of
> reference of a social group, and which remains
> relatively constant while the composition of
> the group changes.

The authors present a schema of interaction of these

three elements which depicts reality as creating language

and culture, and in turn being created by them. Likewise,

language and culture create, and are created by, each

other. Leach (1966:32) describes language as one of the

main indices of social cohesion. Hoijer (1964:456)

states that "the interrelation of language and other as-

pects of culture is so close that no part of the culture

of a particular group can properly be studied without

reference to the linguistic symbols in use."

Likewise, empirical investigators have assumed that

language usage is an indicator of ethnic identification.

Lambert (1966:483), in a study of French bilinguals in

Canada and two areas of the United States, indicates that

an individual's dominant language indicates that culture

with which he most strongly identifies. For example, he

states that "a very strong desire for a rejuvenation of

French culture in Louisiana can retard bilingualism;"

that is, if people strongly identify with the French sub-
culture, they will be disinclined to speak English.
Celia Heller (1961:31), in discussing the Mexican American
subculture, makes the following remark: "It has been ob-
served that from the Anglo point of view the wide use of
Spanish is the primary symbol of the 'foreignness' of the
Mexican Americans, but from the latters' viewpoint, it is
the primary symbol of La Raza." Hayden (1966) takes a
unique approach to the study of the preservation of the
ethnic group, in that he collects data concerning not
only the ethnic mother tongue as an indicator of eth-
nicity, but also observance of ethnic customs and tradi-
tions, and knowledge of cultural achievements and ideas.
However, as do nearly all other empiricists treating
language usage as an indicator of ethnicity, Hayden
accepts without question its validity as such an indica-
tor. Kloss (1966:212), in his discussion of German-
American language maintenance efforts, uses "ethnicity"
and "German-language maintenance" interchangeably.

However, the assumption that maintenance of the
mother tongue reflects higher involvement with the mother
culture than with the second culture, though widely
accepted, has also been challenged occasionally; more-
over, there is evidence to indicate that the assumption

is invalid in many cases. Simon Herman (1961), for
example, in his presentation of a theoretical framework
for analysis of the social psychology of language choice,
treats the above mentioned assumption as an unanswered
question. His major concern is with the development of
a framework for study of determinants of language choice
in situations where either of two languages could serve
as the medium of communication, but in his introductory
remarks he makes the following statement: "If group
identifications were, indeed, found to play a significant
part (in language choice), it would permit an approach
from the opposite angle: the choice of language could be
used as a behavioural index to group preferences and to
the direction of social adjustment - particularly among
immigrants and other newcomers in a society." Thus
Herman does not assume, as do so many others, that given
the state of the knowledge on the subject of language
usage and ethnic identification, language choice can
already be used as a behavioral index, but rather that
it might at some future time be so used, were it validated
as such an index. Kloss (1962:212), though he equates
mother tongue usage and ethnicity in general, also ques-
tions the long-held assumption of their identity by
pointing out a reason why they might in fact not go hand

in hand: "A high degree of ethnic pride and self-reli-

ance may, at first glance, seem definitely favorable to

language maintenance. Actually, these characteristics

may hasten the process of assimilation since they may lead

to the view that group life can be maintained without

linguistic continuity." Johnston (1966:449), in a study

of Polish post-war immigrants in Australia, made the

following finding: "Many older Polish immigrants in

Australia identified strongly with English, although they

hardly spoke or understood it several years after their

settlement. On the other hand many young immigrants spoke

English faultlessly and yet identified strongly with

Polish although they spoke it very poorly."

Fishman (1966:441), who like Kloss and others, tends

to identify mother tongue maintenance with ethnicity,

does question the assumption of their correlation:

> A determination of the circumstances under which
> language and non-language behaviors change con-
> currently, consecutively, or independently con-
> stitutes one of the major intellectual challenges
> currently facing this field of inquiry . . .
> Whether (or when) language habits change more
> or less quickly than others, whether (or when)
> language loyalties are more or less powerful than
> others, indeed, whether (or when) men can live
> in a supraethnic tomorrow without strong links
> (linguistic and non-linguistic) to their ethnic
> yesterday and today - these are questions to
> which there are currently no definitive answers.
> (1966:453)

Also he points out (1966:442) that maintenance of the
mother tongue and maintenance of the traditional culture
have not always gone hand in hand: "It appears that group
loyalty can be similarly (if not more) ubiquitous, con-
tinuing both with and without language maintenance." And
Fishman cites the following group of empirical studies
in order to back up this remark (1966:442); these studies
all question the assumption that "language maintenance is
a function of intactness of group membership or group
loyalty as nationalism." Weinreich (1953:100) states
that "the Raetoromans, like the Italian Swiss, cultivate
the fullest possible loyalty to their language, without
aspiring to such nationalistic goals as political in-
dependence." Also, the "Yiddishist movement in Eastern
Europe before and after World War I similarly concentrated
on a language program rather than on political organiza-
tion" (Weinreich, 1953:100). Fishman himself found
(Fishman and Nahirny, 1964) that "second and third gen-
eration Americans frequently maintain 'cultural bilin-
gualism' after ethnic group loyalty disappears at any
functional level." On the other hand, Hohenthal and
McCorkle (1955:288-300) in their study of the Guayqueries,
an aboriginal group in Venezuela, found that these people
"preserved their groupness by preserving their property

relations while giving up their language and religion."
Likewise Orans (1950:108-114) points out that "the lower
caste groups in India pursue Sanskritization (emulation)
rather than solidarity as a means of intact group mobil-
ity." Kuhn (1934) indicates that "many auslandsdeutsche
maintained their self-identification as Germans in the
midst of Polish or Ukrainian majorities, long after
completely giving up their German mother tongue."
Bronsnahan (1963:54-65) and Spencer (1963) both point out
that "language loyalty is low in many newly developing
and highly nationalistic African states." The aristocracy
in Czarist Russia provides a final example demonstrating
that a high correlation between language usage and eth-
nicity does not have to exist. They, and elites of
several other countries at various times, "preferred a
language other than their national vernacular without
changing their national identity or loyalty" (Fishman,
1966:442).

Thus it is apparent that the presumed correlation
which so many theorists and researchers have relied upon
is far from a necessary one, and an understanding of just
how mother tongue usage is related to other indicators of
ethnicity cannot be had without specific empirical study
of this correlation for specific ethnic groups and their

particular situation. The assumed correlation comes
under even more serious question if the complex of factors
which affect the language choice of an individual at a
given moment (and ultimately his language usage patterns)
are considered.

The universe of variables which may affect language
usage as described by sociolinguistic theorists and re-
searchers is a very large one. An attempt will be made
here to illustrate the number and variety of these
variables, without exhausting all of the known possibil-
ities.

Ervin-Tripp suggests that language choice varies
with the content of the communication (1968:302). Rubin
points out three main types of variables influencing
language choice in a bilingual situation: 1) the relation-
ship between the persons involved in the conversation,
i.e. their intimacy, their status, their sex; 2) the
attributes of the members of the conversation, i.e.,
class level, place of origin; 3) the aspects of the
situation, i.e., formality vs. informality, public vs.
private, location of the conversation, and the serious-
ness of the situation (1968:514-515). Besides these
main types, she also suggests several other variables:
the attitude of the school toward use of each of the two

languages, the individual's own estimate of his lin-
guistic proficiency, the trend toward bilingualism in the
particular community, and which of the two languages was
acquired first (1968:525-527).

Rubel, on the basis of his participant observation
study of a community in South Texas with a high propor-
tion of Mexican Americans, indicates that an individual's
awareness of the advantage with which skill in a partic-
ular language grants him affects his rate of use of it
(1966:11). Hymes feels that a subgroup's feeling that
their own language is inferior, or is treated as though
it were, affects their use of it (1968:129). Likewise,
Lambert shows that attitudes of a subgroup toward the
dominant group and its language affect not only their
choice of one language or the other, but even their abil-
ity to learn the second language (1968:482). Thus at-
titudes toward each of the two cultures involved in a
bilingual situation will affect the language choice of
the individuals involved. Kuhn deals with the rate of
shift from dominance of one language to dominance of
another in bilingual areas, and proposes several variables
which influence the stages of this shift: 1) the original
legitimization and concentration of the settlement of the
subcultural group; 2) the relative "cultural development

of settlers and their hosts;" and 3) the period of the
settlement and its age (1934).

Fishman emphasizes the importance of the "domain" in
the language choice of an individual, and defines the
term in the following way: "a socio-cultural construct
abstracted from topics of communication, relationships and
interaction between communicators and locales of commu-
nication in accord with the institutions of a society and
the spheres of activity of a culture in such a way that
individual behavior and social patterns can be distin-
guished from each other and yet related to each other."
Numerous other authors as well focus on domains as crit-
ical in language choice (Schmidt-Rohr, 1933; Mackey,
1956, Barker, 1945:228-234; Barber, 1952; Bronsnahan,
1963:54-65).

Weinreich points out that opportunity to use the two
languages is also important; "geographic obstacles or
facilitations" as well as other aspects of opportunity
have a strong influence upon language usage (1953).
Haugen brings out the role of education in language
choice (1954:116-122). Mackey specifies "'variables'
that may presumably modify language use: duration of
contact, frequency of contact and 'pressures' of contact
derived from 'economic, administrative, cultural,

political, military, historical, religious or demo-
graphic sources'" (1956:8).

In summary, then, the number and variety of variables
which may affect language usage is very great.

CHAPTER III

FRAMEWORK FOR STUDY

This thesis is founded upon the widely held assump-
tion that maintenance of the mother tongue is, in fact, a
valid indicator of ethnicity, and the implications of
this assumption will be examined here. It is important,
then, to consider those specific aspects of culture which
might theoretically be expected to correlate with main-
tenance of the mother tongue if the above assumption is
valid. The objective of this research is first to
examine those aspects of one bilingual subculture which
differentiate it from the dominant culture, and second
to discover which of those aspects, if any, are cor-
related with greater use of the mother tongue than of the
second tongue, and which are not. Those characteristics
of the Mexican American subculture which make it distinct
from the Anglo culture and which could, thus, be con-
sidered indicators of identification with the ethnic
subculture, have been treated at length in the literature.

Parsons points out this subculture as an example of
the particularistic-ascriptive value pattern, in contrast
with United States culture as a whole, which is char-
acteristic of the universalistic-achievement value

pattern (1951:199). Parsons states that the former type
pattern is exemplified by a "tendency for the organiza-
tion of the social structure to crystallize about the
relational reference points, notably those of kinship and
local community" (1951:198). Thus it would be logical to
examine these two areas, kinship relations and community,
for characteristics of the subculture which differentiate
it from the dominant culture. Christian and Christian
propose "the strict division of social roles" and reli-
gious affiliation with the Catholic church as well as
family (1966:302). Gonzalez also suggests the role of
the community, describing it as "the second primary
social unit to which Hispanos become attached," the first
being the family (1969:63). Included here as well might
be participation in ethnic organizations and ethnic
celebrations. Due to the limitations of the data, this
study focusses on family.

The universe of family characteristics which might ·
be examined is broad; an attempt will be made here to
describe the Mexican American family in ideal typical
terms, since the ultimate purpose will be to discuss
various degrees of deviation from an ideal type. To
begin with, the source of the culture, and a prime force
in its maintenance is Mexico: "Much of the traditional

Hispaño culture may be changed or even swept away within

a generation but for the imponderable factor of contacts

with Mexico" (Edmonson, 1957:52). Gonzales concurs:

"The proximity to Mexico has facilitated a continual con-

tact which has served to maintain and even strengthen the

Latin culture of the Southwest" (1967:29). In addition

to being strongly influenced by Mexico, the Mexican

American subculture, Parsons asserts, is characteristic

of the particularistic-ascriptive type value pattern

(1951:200). He describes cultures having this value

pattern in the following way:

> They tend to be traditionalistic for two reasons:
> first that there is no incentive to disturb
> tradition; on the contrary a strong vested in-
> terest in its stability; second that there is
> a high elaboration of expressive symoblism which
> is in fact a system of conventions. It can only
> serve this function if the symbolic meanings are
> highly stablized. Morality, therefore, tends to
> be focussed on the traditional acceptance of
> received standards and arrangements" (1951:199).

Literature concerning the Mexican American family em-

phasizes this traditionalism. The tie of the individual

to his family is described as being very strong, such that

it "overshadows all other bonds" (Rubel, 1966:55). Even

after marriage young people have an exceptionally strong

tendency to stay close to their families (Rubel, 1966:57-

58). Research concerning social interaction patterns of

Mexican Americans in rural and urban New Mexico indicates
that "most social intercourse occurs among relatives"
(Gonzalez, 1969:60). The highest rate of interaction of
all is found between persons related not only biolog-
ically, but also by a ritual kinship tie (Gonsalez, 1969:
63). The system of ritual kinship, known as compadrazgo
(co-parentship), according to various authors continues
to flourish among Mexican Americans (Rubel, 1966:83;
Heller, 1966:34). This is a system whereby a father asks
a close friend to act as godparent to his child, and thus
initiates a strong tie between his family and his friend.

Within the family, elders are treated with great
respect and submission (Rubel, 1966:59). In fact, "the
respect for one's elders is a major organizing principle
of the Mexican American family..coupled with the principle
of male dominance." An informant described the situa-
tion to Rubel in this way: "In la raza the older order
the younger, and men the women." The Mexican father is
described as the center of authority and responsibility
for the family as a whole (Christian and Crhistian, 1966:
302). He is not only the breadwinner, but also "fiscal
y juez" (prosecuting attorney and judge) and policeman as
well. No suitor must confront him, and his children
would not dare to smoke or drink in front of him (Rubel,

1966:61-62). This role description does not extend to both parents:

> The division of labor between the sexes is sharply
> defined. It is not considered proper for women
> to work outside the home or for men to engage in
> household activities...The Mexican woman tradi-
> tionally has no other concept of her role or
> function than as a housekeeper with children
> (Christian and Christian, 1966:302). Since she
> rarely uses effective methods of birth control,
> it is expected that she will bear children
> regularly, leaving no time for work outside the
> home even were it otherwise permissible (1966:
> 305).

Training of children reflects this sexual difference

involving great freedom for men and extreme restriction

for women (Heller, 1966:36). As Tuck describes chi`d

rearing practices, "The girl is trained for the home,

the boy for the world" (1946:124). Burma states that

"girls are closely supervised and taught that their place

is in the home" (1954:11).

Relations between parents and children are also

sexually differentiated. There is a great closeness

between mothers and daughters, one which is maintained

even after marriage of the daughter. Between fathers and

sons, however, this closeness does not exist, and the

relationship is marked, rather, by distance (Rubel,

1966:67-68). Sisters, like mothers and daughters, also

maintain very strong and intimate relations (Rubel,

1966:69).

Marriage is contracted by means of a complex pattern of rituals which is highly distinctive of the subculture. Dating procedures do not include the "serial dating" pattern common in the dominant culture, and chaperoning of young girls continues to exist (Rubel, 1966:76,79). Marriages between Mexican Americans and persons who are not members of the subculture exist, but are not fully approved of; Gonzalez describes the world view of the subculture as one which disapproves of exogamy and calls "the product of such marriages 'coyote'" (Gonzalez, 1969: 166). Gonzalez asserts that the practice of divorce is completely contrary to traditional beliefs and behaviors, and indicates that where it exists, a breakdown in traditional attitudes proscribing divorce has occurred (such as might obtain as urbanization occurs) (1969:129). The source of these beliefs is the Catholic church, which continues to be by far the predominant religion of the subculture, and to exert a powerful influence on the family (Heller, 1966:17-19). The Mexican American is typically traditionalistic in his religion as in other realms of his life, and thus the church's proscription of use of birth control measures is followed carefully and families tend to be large.

Education, an outstanding value of the dominant

culture, is not stressed in the subculture. There is

relatively little encouragement of children to acquire

education; it is seen as threatening to the father-son

relationship and thus is feared. Also parents fear the

frustration it may bring their children (Heller, 1966:

39-40). Education for girls is recommended even less

than for boys, an attitude which seems to be based on the

belief that if a woman knows more than her husband, she

may boss him or make him feel inferior (Rubel, 1966:68).

Due to the limitations of the data, this study

examines only a few of these family characteristics as

indicators of identification with the subculture. More

specifically, ethnicity is measured by means of the de-

gree to which the characteristics of the family are

consistent with, or different from, the above description

of the Mexican American family. Two classes of family

attributes are available in the data, and are utilized

here: 1) Characteristics of the family of orientation;

the assumption is that an individual from a more typical

Mexican American family would be more strongly identified

with the subculture than an individual from a less

typical Mexican American family, and in accordance

with the hypothesis being tested here, the former in-
dividual would have a stronger preference for Spanish.
(as measured by the index of language usage) than the
latter type individual; and 2) Aspirations for the future
family of procreation; the assumption here is that an
individual who aspires to have a family of his own which
is similar to the typical Mexican American family is more
strongly identified with the subculture than an individ-
ual who aspires to have a family of his own which is not
similar to the typical Mexican American family; in
accordance with the hypothesis under test, the former
individual would have a stronger preference for Spanish
than the latter.

The universe of characteristics of family of
orientation and aspirations for future family of pro-
creation is as varied as the family description above.
Data could fruitfully be gathered and ethnic identi-
fication measured for both of the above two classes by
means of information concerning attitudes and practices
in all of the following areas:

    1) Contact with Mexico

    2) Strength of the tie to the family and its
        importance relative to other goals and in-
        volvements (friendships, occupation,

education, money, etc.)

3) Social interaction patterns, their restriction to family

4) Nuclearity or extendedness of family

5) Compadrazgo

6) Relations between young and old

7) Male dominance over females

8) Role of the father and of the mother

9) Working of women outside the home

10) Birth Control and family size

11) Child rearing

12) Parent-child relations

13) Sibling relations

14) Contracting of marriage

15) Dating procedures

16) Exogamy

17) Divorce

18) Education

The data available for this study allow examination of the following areas of characteristics of family of orientation and aspirations for future family of pro-creation:

1) Family of orientation

   a) Contact with Mexico

    b)   Roles of the parents and working of
        women outside the home

    c)   Divorce

    d)   Education

2.   Family of procreation

    a)   Importance of family relative to other
        goals and involvements

    b)   Desire to marry - ideal family size

    c)   Working of women outside the home

While the data is limiting, it does, nonetheless, provide
a varied sampling of the important areas of family of
orientation; it is, however, weak concerning family of
procreation. Even so, the aspects of family of pro-
creation which are tapped are key ones, which should have
strong implications for other aspects not included.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Data Collection[2]

The schedule utilized in this study was pretested
during the summer of 1965 on selected Negro and white
male and female high school students in Bryan and College
Station, Texas. An 18-page revised schedule was ad-
ministered to high school students in selected East Texas
counties, and in two other Southern states in the spring
of 1966. The schedule was then revised to the final 12-
page form employed in the collection of data for the
study of which this thesis is a part.

The data collection took place in May of 1967, and
was performed by means of group interviews conducted by
trained graduate students in the selected schools. The
interviewers were introduced to the subjects as repre-
sentatives of Texas A&M University who were studying
youth in Texas. One of the interviewers read each ques-
tion aloud as the respondents answered on the question-
naire. Both the respondents and the school officials

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[2]Information concerning the data collection is
drawn from the thesis of David W. Wright, Jr. (1968).

involved were informed beforehand that all responses
would be confidential: names and addresses of the re-.
spondents were collected only for the use of the re-
searchers.   Administration of the questionnaire took
from 35 to 70 minutes, with the pace being altered as
appropriate for each group of interviewees.

Interviews were administered only to students
present on the scheduled day; this group included 669 of
the 765 sophomores enrolled in the study schools.   No
attempt was made to contact those not present.   Of these
only the 596 Mexican American respondents will be used,
290 males and 306 females.[3]   The remaining group of 73
students included 3 Negroes and 70 Anglos (neither Negro
or Mexican American).

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[3] In order to be certain of isolating all Mexican
American respondents from the group of 669, the responses
to four different questions were utilized, rather than
just a single indicator.   These were his name (then
compared to the Census Bureau list of Spanish surnames),
his indication of ancestry as described above, the
language he uses in various situations, and the birth
place of his parents (Wright, 1968: 43-44).   This method,
just as any other, cannot assure complete accuracy.

Indicators and Measurements

Language Usage

The literature on the subject of language usage
patterns described previously makes it clear that many
sources of variance and different domains of language
behavior must be examined if patterns are to be studied
and described. Joshua Fishman provides an outstanding
integration of much of the literature on this subject
and presents the following sources of variance: 1)
medium - variability must be expected to exist between
speaking, reading, and writing; 2) role - usage will vary
according to whether language is utilized for inner com-
munication (ego is both source and target), for compre-
hension (decoding; ego is the target, alter is the
source), or for production (encoding; ego is the source,
alter is the target); 3) situation - variation in lan-
guage usage occurs as the situation shifts from formal
to informal to intimate (Fishman, 1966:427). The domains
of language behavior which Fishman proposes likewise
encompass those described by others. He suggests the
following domains: 1) family; 2) neighborhood, dif-
ferentiated into "friends" and "acquaintances"; 3) mass
media; 4) ethnic organizations; and 5) occupation
(Fishman, 1966: 437). For Fishman's tabular presentation

of his schema, see Figure I. This schema is not exhaustive; a major lack to be pointed out, for example, is Ervin-Tripp's suggested variable - the content of the communication.

However, this schema nevertheless provides a useful summarization of the universe available to the researcher attempting to tap language usage patterns and describe them systematically. The indicators of language usage utilized in this study may now be examined within this larger framework, and evaluated with respect to the efficiency and thoroughness with which they may be expected to tap the universe. Respondents were asked the following questions (See Appendix for items exactly as presented):

1. (a) Do you speak Spanish?

   1 Yes   2 No

   (b) What language do you usually use when speaking with your parents?

   1 English   2 Spanish   3 About the same amount of both

   (c) What language do you usually use when talking with your close friends in your neighborhood?

   1 English   2 Spanish   3 About the same amount of both

FIGURE I

Fishman's Schema of Domains, Sources of Variance, and Media of Language Usage.

Media	Role	Situation	Family	Neighborhood		Mass Med.	Ethnic Orgs.	Occup.
				Friends	Acquaints.			
Speak.	Inner	Formal						
		Informal						
		Intimate						
	Comp.	Formal	X	X		X		X
		Informal	X	X		X		X
		Intimate	X	X		X		X
	Prod.	Formal	X	X				X
		Informal	X	X				X
		Intimate	X	X				X
Read.	Comp.	Formal				X		
		Informal				X		
		Intimate				X		
	Prod.	Formal						
		Informal						
		Intimate						
Writ.	Prod.	Formal						
		Informal						
		Intimate						

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(d) What language do you usually use when speaking
with your close school friends outside of class?

    1   English   2   Spanish   3   About the same
                                              amount of both

2. How many of the radio programs you listen to are
broadcast in Spanish?

    1   None   2   Some   3   More-than-half   4   All

3. How many of the magazines and newspapers which you
read are in Spanish?

    1   None   2   Some   3   More-than-half   4   All

If Fishman's schema is accepted as including the prin-
cipal life domains of language behavior and as being a
useful description of the media of communication and the
roles of language, then usage patterns may be discussed
in terms of 108 medium versus role versus situation
versus domain cells, as they are presented in Fishman's
table. Those cells which could be filled by the data
collected in this study are indicated in the table. As
this study did not differentiate among situations, the
24 individual cells which are indicated in the table as
being filled by the data actually comprise only 8 cells
(or 8 blocks of 3 cells each). Thus there are obvious
limitations on the data which are available for this
study. The data are heavily weighted in favor of the
speaking medium over reading, with writing totally

neglected. They include both comprehension and produc-
tion roles, with some emphasis on comprehension, but
completely neglect the inner role. However, they are
more thorough with respect to the domains, including four
of the six. Thus the inferences to be drawn from the
data must be tempered with this perspective on the rela-
tion of the data to the universe.

It was decided to combine the five indicators of
language usage into an index as the inferences to be
drawn from such a multi-faceted single indicator would be
broader than those possible on the basis of the individ-
ual items. Various approaches to the relative weighting
of the five indicators in the index of language usage
could be employed. This sort of index was utilized in
previous research (Kuvlesky and Patella, 1970) with all
items weighted equally. The drawback to this approach
is that it assumes that the interaction context
(Fishman's "speaking") is more important than the non-
interaction contexts (reading and writing), as there are
three indicators of the former and only two of the
latter, thus giving the former greater weight. There is
no basis in theory or research to date to either support
or refute this assumption, and thus it would be less
arbitrary for the present to weight the interaction and

non-interaction contexts equally. Another alternative
would be to separate the index into two or three sub-
scores; that is, either an interaction subscore and a
non-interaction subscore, or scores for speaking, read-
ing and writing. The subscores would then be used sep-
arately in the analysis. The advantage of this approach
is that it avoids any assumption concerning the relative
weights which should be assigned the various media.
However, there are two strong disadvantages to this
approach: 1) the process of analysis becomes unmanage-
able; 2) more importantly, much of the value of an index
is obviated. The aim of an index is to tap multiple
aspects of a subject; if subindexes are created, however,
each taps only a very limited realm of language be-
havior. Also, to be meaningful this study must
ultimately make generalizations concerning language be-
havior as a whole, and this would not be possible except
to a limited extent if the index were not used as a whole
in the analysis. Therefore, it was decided to utilize
all five items, and to equally weight the interaction
items in the index with the non-interaction items.

A preliminary analysis of inter-item correlations
among the five language usage items was performed in
order to determine whether or not any two items might be

tapping the same things (Tables 1-4). There were two reasons for this analysis: first, it would provide more thorough understanding of the index; and second, in the case of the first three items, if any two of these were found to be highly correlated with each other but not with the third, one of the pair would be eliminated from the index. In this way the aspect tapped by those two items would not be unjustifiably given twice the weight of the aspect tapped by the third item. The interaction items, the first three, were examined for correlations in pairs, and the non-interaction items, the fourth and fifth, were tested for correlation. Four three-by-three contingency tables were prepared, one for each of the four comparisons. In the tables are presented numbers of respondents who gave each of the possible pairs of the responses 1, 2, and 3 to the two items under consideration. A chi-square test for independence of responses on the two items was performed in each case. All of the four hypotheses of independence of the pairs of items were rejected. On the basis of the chi-square values obtained, all of which were extremely high, it was concluded that there was a high dependence among all of the first three items, and a high dependence also between the fourth and fifth items.

Table 1.   Numbers of Respondents Giving Each of the
Possible Pairs of Responses to Items 29b,
Language Used With Parents and 29c, Lan-
guage Used With Close Friends in Neigh-
borhood.

29c

29b	Response			
	1	2	3	Total
Response				
1	22	1	12	35
2	20	205	163	388
3	41	32	100	173
Total	83	238	275	596

$$\chi^2 = 138.73^*$$

*This value is significant at P<.01

Table 2. Numbers of Respondents Giving Each of the
Possible Pairs of Responses to Items 29b,
Language Used With Parents, and 29d,
Language Used With Close Friends Outside
Class.

29b	29d			
	Response			
	1	2	3	Total
Response				
1	31	1	7	39
2	60	114	197	371
3	66	12	108	186
Total	157	127	312	596

$$X^2 = 99.6^*$$

*This value is significant at p<.01

Table 3.   Numbers of Respondents Giving Each of the
Possible Pairs of Responses to Items 29c,
Concerning Language Used With Close Friends
in Neighborhood, and 29d, Language Used With
Friends Outside Class.

		29d		
29b	Response			
	1	2	3	Total
Response				
1	63	1	18	82
2	22	108	108	238
3	72	18	186	276
Total	157	127	312	596

$X^2 = 405^*$

Table 4.   Numbers of Respondents Giving Each of the
Possible Pairs of Responses to Items 30,
Concerning Radio Programs Listened to, and
31, Magazines and Newspapers Read.

		31		
30	Response			
	1	2	3 or 4	Total
Response				
1	128	23	2	153
2	170	146	3	319
3 or 4	33	67	24	124
Total	331	236	26	596

$X^2 = 186.54^*$

*This value is significant at $P<.01$

On the basis of this test, it was decided to formu-
late the index by including all of the first three items
in the index, with a total weight equal to that of the
last two items. Thus the index draws half of its weight
from the three interaction items and half from the two
non-interaction items. More specifically, the responses
were coded in the following way: for the first three
(language used with parents, with close friends in the
neighborhood, with close friends at school), answers re-
ceived these values, English = 1, Spanish = 5, about the
same amount of both = 3. For the fourth and fifth,
answers received the following values: none = 1, some =
3, more-than-half or all = 5 (these two were combined so
that the scoring of these two items would parallel that
for the other three).[4] Thus, for example, if a particular
respondent answered such that his scores for the first
three items were 3, 3, and 5, and his scores for the last
two were 1 and 3, his index would be computed as follows:

$$2/3(3+3+5) + (1+3) = 11.33$$

Family

The specific indicators of ethnicity as measured by

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[4] This particular coding, rather than, for example, 1,
2, and 3, was utilized in order to maximize the range of
variability of the index.

characteristics of family of orientation and aspirations
for future family of procreation in each of the areas
described in the framework for study are discussed in
detail below and related to the hypothesis under test.

Characteristics of Family of Orientation.

Contact with Mexico. As stated above, Mexico is an
important source of Mexican American culture. Ideally
this area of investigation would be tapped by means of
data concerning travel of individuals between the United
States and Mexico, and concerning contact with persons
residing in Mexico or recently arrived from Mexico. How-
ever, this study will examine the area of contact with
Mexico only in terms of whether or not an individual's
parents were born there, by means of the following ques-
tion: "Where were your parents born? (Give the town and
state.)"[5] Answers will be coded simply with respect to
birthplace in Mexico or in the United States. The assump-
tion here, admittedly a broad one, is that a parent born
in Mexico would cause a greater input of the Mexican cul-
ture in his family than a parent born in the United
States. Thus as birthplace information is examined in
relation to language usage, it is assumed that if both

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[5]See Appendix for all items as presented.

parents of a respondent were born in Mexico, the influ-
ence of the subculture (which has Mexico as its source),
and thus identification with it, will be strong; if one
parent was born in Mexico and one in the United States,
the influence will be less, as will identification with
the subculture. If neither parent was born in Mexico, the
influence and identification will be weaker yet. In
accordance with the hypothesis of this study, preference
of Spanish should be greatest for the individual both of
whose parents were born in Mexico, less for the individual
one of whose parents was born in Mexico and one in the
United States, and least of all for the individual both
of whose parents were born in the United States.

Roles of the parents and working of women outside
the home. The description of the roles of mother and
father above indicates that the father in the typical
Mexican American home is the breadwinner, having major
responsibility for support of the family, and that the
mother is expected to remain within the home. This area
will be tapped by means of three questions: (1) "Who is
the major money earner in the family? (Father, Mother,
Brother, Sister, Other, or Insurance, Social Security or
something like this.)"; (2) "Is your father (or step-
father) presently employed outside the home? (Yes, full-

time; Yes, part-time; No, but is looking for work; No,
docs not work and is not looking for work outside the
home; Have no father or stepfather; Don't know.)"; (3)
"Is your mother (or stepmother) presently employed out-
side the home? (Same responses as above.) With respect
to the first question, given that the father is living,
the family situation most typical of the Mexican American
subculture would be one in which he himself was the major
money earner, rather than someone else. An atypical
family would be one in which someone other than the
father was the major money earner. Thus, under the
hypothesis, an individual from the former type of family
would be expected to show a stronger preference for
Spanish than an individual from the latter type. With
respect to the second question, likewise, the family
situation most typical of the Mexican American subculture
would be one in which the father works or is looking for
work while one where he does not would be atypical. Thus,
according to the hypothesis, an individual from the
former type of family would be expected to show a stronger
preference for Spanish than an individual from the latter
type. With respect to the third question, the family in
which the mother works or is looking for work would be
atypical in the Mexican American subculture, while a

family in which the mother does not work and is not
looking for work would be typical. Thus, under the
hypothesis, an individual in the latter situation would
be expected to show a stronger preference for Spanish
than an individual in the former situation.

Divorce. On the basis of the above description of
the Mexican family, divorce may be considered atypical of
the subculture. By extension, separation may be con-
sidered likewise atypical, but not as strongly in con-
flict with the subculture as would be divorce. The
following question was used to determine marital status
of the parents: "What is the marital status of your
mother and father? (Both alive, living together; both
alive, separated; both alive, divorced; father not
living; mother not living; neither father nor mother
living.)" Of the respondents who gave any one of the
first three answers, the first is most typical of the
subculture, the second less so, and the third least of
all. Under the hypothesis, then, an individual with the
first type family would be expected to show the strongest
preference for Spanish, the second, a weaker preference,
and the third, the weakest of all.

Education. The description of the Mexican American
subculture indicates that education is less emphasized

for girls than for boys, and it is felt by members of the
subculture that a woman should not have more education
than her husband. Education of the parents was deter-
mined here by means of the following question: "What
was the highest school grade completed by your father
and mother? (Did not go to school, grade 1-7, eighth
grade, some high school but didn't graduate, graduated
from high school, went to vocational school after gradu-
ating from high school, some college but didn't graduate,
college graduate, don't know.)" Thus, of those respon-
dents who gave any but the last answer, the situation
most typical of the subculture is one in which the father
has a higher level of education than the mother. A
situation in which both parents had the same level would
be less typical, and a situation in which the mother has
a higher level of education than the father would be
least typical of all. Under the hypothesis, an individ-
ual in the first type family would be expected to show
a strong preference for Spanish, an individual in the
second, a weaker preference, and an individual in the
third, a weaker preference yet.

Aspirations for Future Family of Procreation

Importance of family relative to other goals and
involvements. Information concerning this area was
gathered by asking respondents to rank the following life
goals: "To have lots of free time to do what I want; To
get all the education I want; To earn as much money as I
can; To get the job I want most; To live in the kind of
place I like best; To have the kind of house, car furni-
ture, and other things like this I want; To get married
and raise a family." On the basis of Parsons' assertion
that the Mexican American subculture is typical of the
particularistic-ascriptive type value pattern, the
achievement oriented goals above would all be inconsis-
tent with the subculture, while "To get married and raise
a family" would be a goal highly consistent with the
subculture. Thus, an individual who strongly identified
with the subculture would be expected to give that goal
a rank of "1." Likewise, the lower the rank assigned
this goal, the less strong the identification with the
subculture. Under the hypothesis, then, the higher the
rank an individual assigns to the family goal, the
stronger would be his preference for Spanish.

Desire to marry: This information was obtained by
means of the following question: "Do you want to get

married some day? (Yes, No, Already married.)" In accordance with the high importance of the family in the Mexican American subculture, desire to marry or present status of being married would be considered typical of the subculture, while desire not to marry would be atypical. Under the hypothesis, an individual who desired to marry or was married would be expected to have a stronger preference for Spanish than a person who did not desire to marry.

Ideal family size. This area was measured by means of the question "How many children do you want?" Given the strong influence of the Catholic church in the subculture and its proscription of birth control, a small projected number of children would be atypical of the subculture, and would reflect a weak identification with it, while a large number would be typical of the subculture and would reflect a strong identification with it. According to the hypothesis, then, individuals who gave each of these responses, from the low numbers to the high, would be expected to show an increasing preference for Spanish.

Working of women outside the home. This area was tapped by means of the following question: for girls, "What do you want to do about work outside the home after

you are married?"; for boys, "If you get married would
you want your wife to work outside the home? (Not work
outside the home at all, work part-time until I have a
child, work full-time until I have a child, work part-
time even after I have children, work full-time even
after I have children.) As was mentioned above, working
of women outside the home is definitely inconsistent
with the Mexican American subculture. Thus the first
response would be the most typical and would reflect the
strongest identification with the subculture. The suc-
ceeding responses involve progressively greater commit-
ment of the wife outside the home, and lessening of
commitment to the home. Therefore the responses are
successively less typical of the subculture and reflect
progressively weaker identification with the subculture.
According to the hypothesis, individuals who gave each
in this series of responses would be expected to show a
decreasing preference for Spanish.

Controls

It was pointed out in the discussion of language
usage above that there are numerous factors influencing
language usage. Thus it is clear that in order to
evaluate the correlation of language usage with the
specific isolated family characteristics listed above,

it is important to control as many of the variables which
might disguise the hypothesized relationship as possible
within the limitations of the data. Among the many
theoretically influential variables discussed previously,
three may be controlled in this study: sex, place of
residence (city, town, country-non-farm, and farm), and
residence on/not on the the Mexican border (see Appendix
for these items as presented). Since these were
theoretically important variables posited with reference
to bilingual groups in general and not to this partic-
ular group, it could not be known whether or not these
controls were necessary until these particular data were
examined. Some evidence does exist to indicate that sex
and place of residence are influential variables for this
population. Kuvlesky and Patella (1970:7), using a
slightly different index based upon this same data, found
that while boys and girls demonstrated a similar pattern
of language usage in the three interaction situations,
the use of Spanish in all three was greater for boys than
for girls. Thus sex should definitely be examined as a
tentative control. Skrabanek (1969:7), in a study of
Mexican Americans in a rural and urban area of Texas,
found that "the urban household heads use Spanish
slightly less than the rural residents." Thus the place

of residence variable is worthy of consideration as a
control in the study which concerns a population similar
to that of the Skrabanek study. There is no evidence
known to the author concerning the importance of the
border/non-border variable for this population, so it
will be examined solely on the basis of more general
.literature (discussed in the Review of Literature). As
these three controls may be important then, but at the
same time would complicate the analysis a great deal, it
was decided to subject them to a preliminary analysis.

In order to determine whether or not the data could
be considered to be normally distributed, and thus
would allow the use of a parametric statistical test, a
Riedwyl Goodness of Fit Test for normality of the index
.(Speed and Smith, 1969) using both males and females was
performed (Table 5). As the standard deviation and the
mean had to be estimated from the data, the Modified
Riedwyl Tables were used. On the basis of this test   .
with a significance level of .05, the hypothesis of
normality could not be rejected. Thus it was considered
valid to utilize an analysis of variance statistical
model.

Each of the three tentative controls was analyzed
in its relation to language usage patterns. Due to the

Table 5. Riedwyl Goodness of Fit Test: Frequency
          Distribution for Index by Sex.

Index	Males	Females	Total
4	5	13	18
5	7	16	23
6	9	12	21
7	3	7	10
8	19	24	43
9	16	14	30
10	39	35	74
11	27	31	58
12	43	36	79
13	19	28	47
14	45	29	74
15	7	15	22
16	31	18	49
17	1	3	4
18	12	12	24
19	0	0	0
20	6	8	14
Total	289	301	590

$n^2 Tn = 31^1 = .05$

Note: In this table and in the frequency and per-
       centage distribution tables in the Appendix,
       there are no respondents with an index
       value of 19. This is because such a value
       is an arithmetic impossibility given that
       the three possible code values are 1, 3,
       and 5, and the weighting of the items in
       the index which was utilized.

[1] The hypothesis of normality could not be rejected
as this value was not found to be statistically signif-
icant.

sampling procedure[6] it was considered statistically im-

portant to include county and high school as tentative

controls. As border/non-border residence was determined

on the basis of high school attended, the high school

variable was considered to be a suitable tool for

evaluating the border/non-border control under considera-

tion. The results of this analysis are presented in

Table 6.[7] The Anova yielded highly significant F values

for sex ($.01 > P > .005$) and county ($.005 > P > .001$), while

place of residence and high school (border/non-border

residence) were not found to be significant. It was

decided then that both of these factors should be

statistically controlled in the main analysis; however,

only the sex variable will be incorporated into the

discussion of language usage in relation to the various

family characteristics.[8] County is excluded from the

---

[6]The respondents comprised the entire tenth grade
Mexican American population in all the seven high schools
of the four counties present at school on the day of the
data collection.

[7]The computer program utilized in the analysis was
the GLHYP/HOH, September 1, 1969 version, which is ap-
propriate in light of the unbalanced cell sizes here and
the nested character of the tentative controls.

[8]Frequency and percentage distributions of the
index for sex, place of residence and border/non-border
residence are provided by way of supplement in the
Appendix.

Table 6.   Analysis of Variance With Respect to Index of
           Language Usage.

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Sex	1	90.1521	90.15	7.28[1]
County	3	172.063	57.35	4.63[2]
High School in County	3	73.9465	24.65	1.99[3]
Place of Residence	3	71.2038	23.73	1.92[4]
Pooled Interactions	38	522.825	13.76	1.11
Within	541	6697.98	12.38	
Total	589	7635.33	12.96	

[1]The sex variable was found to be significant at
a level of .01>P>.005.

[2]The county variable was found to be significant
at a level of .005>P>.001.

[3]The high school in county variable was found to
be not significant for P = .10.

[4]The place of residence variable was found to be
not significant for P = .10.

Table 7. Mean Index by Sex, Place of Residence, and
          Border/Non Border Residence.

	City	Town	Country	Farm
Male				
Border	12.175439	12.303030	12.880000	12.000000
NB	11.866667	12.358974	12.833333	12.156863
Female				
Border	11.498471	11.398148	12.313725	11.541667
NB	11.333333	11.437500	11.925926	12.583333

discussion because it is presumed to be theoretically

meaningless in relation to the subculture.[9]

Statistical Analysis

All data will be analyzed by means of the analysis

of variance F-test, with tables of mean indices being

consulted in each case as well.[10]

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[9]However, the author intends to pursue this in-
teresting finding of such highly significant variability
in the near future.

[10]The computer program used will be the Zerbe Least
Squares Analysis.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

The purpose of this section is to examine the anal-
ysis of variance and the table of means for each of the
eleven segments of the data utilized. As explained above,
the aim is to determine the existence, as evidenced by
this data, of any correlation between relative usage of
Spanish and certain family characteristics which are
considered to be indicators of ethnic identification.
Or, more generally, the aim is to determine the validity
of language usage as an indicator of ethnicity. The
segments of the data are discussed in the following
order:

    Characteristics of family of orientation:

        (1)   Birthplace of parents
        (2)   Major money earner
        (3)   Employment of father
        (4)   Employment of mother
        (5)   Marital status of parents   .
        (6)   Relative education of parents

and

    Characteristics of future family of procreation:

        (1)   Relative importance of family
        (2)   Desire to marry
        (3)   Desire of males for wife to work
        (4)   Desire of females to work after marriage
        (5)   Ideal family size.

Characteristics of Family of Orientation

Birthplace of Parents

The F-test on the questionnaire item concerning
birthplace of parents (Table 8) yielded a value signif-
icant at a very high level (for males, .001>P>.0005; for
females, P<.0005) for both males and females. Examina-
tion of the table of means indicates that for both males
and females, the mean index of language usage decreases
from left to right; that is, respondents both of whose
parents were born in Mexico had the highest mean index,
and respondents both of whose parents were born in the
U.S. had the lowest mean index, with those respondents
having one parent born in each country having a mean
index falling between the other two. The magnitude of
the significant difference in means in index points is
not especially great for the males (1.5 index points)
but is quite large for the females (4 index points).
Thus the table of means discloses that the significant
differences found by the F-test between the three treat-
ments exists in the direction predicted by the hypoth-
esis. The general hypothesis of a correlation between
preference of Spanish and identification with the sub-
culture is upheld in this case.

Major Money Earner

In this case, the F-test (Table 9) failed to yield
a significant statistic for either males or females.
Thus the hypothesis was not upheld by the data for either
the males or the females.

Employment of the Father

The F-test (Table 10) indicates a rather highly
significant difference between the two treatments for the
males $(.05 > P > .025)$, but examination of the table of means
indicates that the difference found is in the direction
contrary to that predicted by the hypothesis. The mean
index of language usage is higher for those respondents
whose father is not working or looking for work, rather
than the reverse. For the females, there was also a
significant difference found between the two groups, and
the difference is in the direction predicted by the
hypothesis. However, as the table of means indicates,
the magnitude of the difference is small, only about .44
index points. This difference is not considered to be
meaningful. Thus the hypothesis is not supported by the
females and is strongly contradicted by the males.

Employment of the Mother

The F-test (Table 11) yielded a significant value of

the statistic for the males (.10>P>.05). The table of
means supports this result in that the mean index of
language usage is higher for those respondents whose
mother is not working or looking for work than for the
others. This significant difference, though not espe-
cially large (1 index point), is thus in the direction
predicted by the hypothesis. The value of F yielded by
the data of the females was not significant. Thus in
this case, the hypothesis is supported by the males but
not by the females.

Marital Status of Parents

The F-test (Table 12) yielded a significant value of
F for both males and females (.10>P>.05). But as before,
the table of means shows the significant difference to be
not in the pattern predicted by the hypothesis. According
to the hypothesis, the mean indices of language usage
should decrease from left to right across the table.
However, as shown in the table, the lowest mean index was
achieved by those males whose parents are separated, and
the intermediate value of the mean index, by those whose
parents are divorced. The highest mean index, on the
other hand, was achieved as predicted by those whose
parents are living together. Thus the hypothesis was not

supported by either males or females, although it should
be noted that the group of males whose parents are living
together did support the hypothesis. However, the dif-
ference between their mean index and that of the males
whose parents are divorced (.57 index points) would
probably not be shown to be significant.

Relative Education of Parents

The F-test (Table 13) on this item yielded a statis-
tic for the males which was not significant. For the
females, the F-test yielded a highly significant statis-
tic (.025>P>.01). However, once again examination of the
table of means indicates that the significant difference
found between the treatments is not in the direction pre-
dicted by the hypothesis. Rather the highest mean index
is that of the "Equal Amounts" category of respondents.
Likewise contradictory to the hypothesis is the fact that
of the other two categories, that of "mother's education
greater" has a higher mean than "father's education
greater". Thus the data for neither the males nor the
females support the hypothesis.

Aspirations for Future Family of Procreation

Relative Importance of Family

The F-test (Table 14) in the case yielded a signif-
icant result for the males (.10>P>.05). However, the
mean indices for the male increase with great regularity
from left to right, that is, in the direction opposite to
that predicted by the hypothesis. The F-value for
females was not significant. Thus the data in this case
do not support the hypothesis for either males or
females.

Desire to Marry

Likewise in this case, the F-test (Table 15) failed
to yield a significant result for either males or fe-
males. Thus the data fail to support the hypothesis
which predicted that the mean index for those respondents
desiring to marry or now married would be significantly
higher than for those not desiring to marry.

Desire of Males for Wife to Work

The F-test (Table 16) failed to yield a significant
statistic, and the hypothesis, which predicted that the
value of the mean index would decrease from left to right
acorss the table was not supported. The categories were

not significantly different.

Desire of Females to Work After Marriage

In contrast, the F-test (Table 17) in this case
yielded a rather highly significant value (.025>P>.01).
As well, the table of means shows this significant dif-
ference among the categories to be in the direction
predicted, fairly large (2.5 index points), and highly
regular as well. The values for the main index decrease
from left to right as the involvement with work of the
females increase, thus supporting the hypothesis.

Ideal Family Size

The F-test (Table 18) yielded a rather highly sig-
nificant result for the males (.025>P>.01). Examination
of the table of means demonstrates that this very sig-
nificant difference between the categories is generally
in the direction predicted by the hypothesis and is quite
large. The smallest ideal family size (1 child) category
has likewise the lowest mean index of language usage.
The values then jump sharply to about 12, increase to
about 13 at the family size 5, and generally stay there,

with one exception (7 children).[11] Thus this data for the
males may be said to support the hypothesis. The F-test
for the females likewise yielded a highly significant
result (.05>P>.025), but examination of the table of
means shows that this significance was probably produced
in great part by the value in the category "7", where the
mean index is the highest possible, 20. If, however,
this category containing only one respondent is ignored,
the predicted trend still does not exist; there is no
semblance of a regular increase in the value of the mean
index from left to right. Thus, while the data of the
males does support the hypothesis, that of the females
does not.

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[11]It should be noted, however, that this category has
a very small number of respondents in it (Appendix,
Table 35).

Table 8.   Results of Anova and Mean Index of Language Usage of Mexican American Males and Females With Respect to Birthplace of Parents.[1]

	Anova		Birthplace of Parents			
			Mean Index			
Sex of R	F	P	Both in Mexico	One in US/ One in Mexico	Both in US	Magnitude of Difference in Index Points: Approximate
Males	6.96*	.001>P>.0005	13.47	12.43	12.02	1.5
Females	8.29*	P=.0005	14.41	12.44	10.58	4

[1]See Appendix D and corresponding table number for complete analysis of variance for this and all succeeding items.

Table 9. Results of Anova and Mean Index of Language Usage of Mexican American Males and Females With Respect to Major Money Earner.

			Major Money Earner	
			Mean Index	
Anova				
Sex of R	F	P	Father	Other
Males	2.66	P=.10	12.11	13.06
Females	1.52	P=.10	11.63	11.61

Table 10. Results of Anova and Mean Index of Language Usage for Mexican American Males and Females With Respect to Employment of Father.

			Employment of Father	
			Mean Index	
Anova				
Sex of R	F	P	Working or Looking for work	Not working or looking for work
Males	4.96*	.05>P>.025	12.10	13.71
Females	2.88*	.10>P>.05	11.63	11.19

Table 11. Results of Anova and Mean Index of Language Usage for Mexican American Males and Females With Respect to Employment of Mother.

| | Anova | | Employment of Mother | | |
| | | | Mean Index | | |
Sex of R	F	p	Working or looking for work	Not working or looking for work	Magnitude of Differences in Index Points: Approximate
Males	2.98*	.10>P>.05	11.63	12.65	1
Females	.154	P=.10	11.31	11.78	

Table 12. Results of Anova and Mean Index of Language Usage of Mexican American Males and Females With Respect to Marital Status of Parents (where both are alive).

| | Anova | | Marital Status of Parents | | |
| | | | Mean Index | | |
Sex of R	F	p	Living Together	Separated	Divorced
Males	2.57*	.10>P>.05	12.37	7.87	11.80
Females	2.80*	.10>P>.05	11.65	11.85	10.40

Table 13. Results of Anova and Mean Index of Language Usage of Mexican American Males and Females With Respect to Relative Education of Parents.

Relative Education of Parents

Mean Index

	Anova		Father's Greater Than Mother's	Equal Amounts for both	Mother's Greater Than Father's
Sex of R	F	P			
Males	1.87	P=.10	11.99	12.74	11.87
Females	3.85*	.025>P>.01	10.62	12.39	11.37

Table 14. Results of Anova and Mean Index of Language Usage of Mexican American Males and Females With Respect to Relative Importance of Family.

Relative Importance of Family

Mean Index

	Anova		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sex of R	F	P							
Males	1.86*	.10>P>.05	10.56	11.43	11.74	11.83	12.86	12.83	12.26
Females	1.35	P=.10	12.40	12.12	10.14	11.56	12.44	11.25	11.72

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Table 15. Results of Anova and Mean Index of Language Usage of Mexican American Males and Females With Respect to Desire to Marry.

Desire to Marry

Mean Index

	Anova		Desires to Marry or is now Married	Does not Desire to Marry
Sex of R	F	P		
Males	.161	P=.70	12.29	12.04
Female	.359	P=.70	11.60	11.74

Table 16. Results of Anova and Mean Index of Language Usage of Mexican American Males With Respect to Desire for Wife to Work.

Desire for Wife to Work

Mean Index

Anova		Not Work	Part-time til Child	Full-time til Child.	Part-time After Children	Full-time After Children
F	P					
.43	P=.70	12.38	11.68	12.46	11.75	11.83

Table 17. Results of Anova and Mean Index of Language Usage of Mexican American Females With Respect to Desire to Work After Marriage.

Desire to Work After Marriage

Mean Index

Anova							
F	p	Not Work	Part-time til Child	Full-time til Child	Part-time After Children	Full-time After Children	Magnitude of Difference in Index Points: Approximate
3.3*	.025>P>.01	13.32	11.18	11.03	10.72	10.80	2.5

Table 18. Results of Anova and Mean Index of Language Usage of Mexican American Males and Females With Respect to Ideal Family Size.

Ideal Family Size

Mean Index

	Anova										Magnitude of Difference in Index Points: Approximate
Sex of R	F	p	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or More	
Males	2.42*	.025>P>.01	6.67	12.25	11.77	11.90	12.92	13.69	11.56	13.09	6.5
Fe-males	2.17*	.05>P>.025	15.20	12.06	11.32	11.11	12.67	11.81	20.00	8.48	

Summary

The results are complex, and are therefore sum-
marized in Table 19. In general, the hypothesis was not
supported by this data. The following cases, however,
were exceptions to that pattern and did support the
hypothesis:

1. Birthplace of parents; males and females
2. Employment of the mother; males
3. Desire of females to work after marriage
4. Ideal family size; males

The magnitude of the significant difference found in
these cases varied from a small one in the second case to
a quite large one in the fourth case.

Table 19. Summary of Results

Variable Under Consideration	Results of Statistical Evaluation		Support of Hypothesis
	Significant F value	Direction of Difference as Predicted	Magnitude of Difference in Index Points Approximate:
1. Birthplace of parents	M, Yes F, Yes	Yes Yes	1.5 4	Yes Yes
2. Major money earner	M, No F, No	No	No	No
3. Employment of the father	M, Yes F, Yes	No Yes	.44[1]	No No
4. Employment of the mother	M, Yes F, No	Yes	1	Yes No
5. Marital status of parents	M, Yes F, Yes	No No		No No
6. Relative education of parents	M, No F, Yes	No No		No No
7. Relative importance of family	M, Yes F, No	No		No
8. Desire to marry	M, No F, No	No		No

Table 19. Summary of Results (continued)

Variable Under Consideration	Results of Statistical Evaluation			Support of Hypothesis
	Significant F Value	Direction of Difference as Predicted	Magnitude of Difference in Index Points: Approximate	
9. Desire of males for wife to work	No			No
10. Desire of females to work after marriage	Yes	Yes	2.5	Yes
11. Ideal family size	M, Yes F, Yes	Yes	6.5	Yes

[1]It was decided that differences in magnitude of less than one index point would not be interpreted as sociologically meaningful. This is clearly an arbitrary cut-off point.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Conclusions

This chapter will concentrate upon evaluation of the
results presented in the preceding chapter. The aims
will be several: first, to discuss why the data generally
did no- support the hypothesis, and explore reasons for
the four exceptional cases in which it did; and second,
to draw such conclusions as are possible from this data
concerning the validity of language usage as an indicator
of ethnicity.

In light of the unsupported hypothesis, two possible
explanations must be recognized: one, the true life situ-
ation does not support it, or two, the indicators are
faulty and do not measure reality. If the first of these
is concluded to be the case, it must be reconciled with
the basic assumptions which led to the hypothesis, and
these assumptions must be reformed where necessary. If
the second is to be given responsibility, then the weak-
ness must be sought in the indicators. All of these av-
enues of explanation will be investigated. First, if the
actuality of language usage and ethnicity has been tapped

by the indicators, and the true life situation simply
does not support the hypothesis, then a faulty assumption
led to the formation of the hypothesis. In this study,
the individual hypotheses related to each item were based
upon assumptions concerning the nature of the Mexican
American subculture. The description of the subculture
from which each of the assumptions was drawn is a widely
accepted one, verified throughout the literature con-
cerning Mexican Americans. This literature, however, is
open to challenge on one score, namely that it is
primarily subjective and descriptive, there being little
hard objective data concerning the nature of the sub-
culture. Until such data exists, we will have to settle
for the more subjective understanding of the subculture
that we have to date.

Second, responsibility for the unsupported hypoth-
esis may rest with the indicators used, and thus they
must be evaluated in detail to determine how well they
may have tapped reality. If the indicators are partic-
ularly weak, the explanation for the unsupported hypoth-
esis will have to rest here until better ones are de-
veloped and utilized. If, on the other hand, the indi-
cators generally should have done their job, we will
have to return to the above explanation for the

unsupported hypothesis, namely that it simply is not true to the best of our knowledge at this point.

The index of language usage may be questioned for the reasons set forth in the original discussion of it. The index is heavily weighted in favor of the speaking medium over the reading medium, with writing totally neglected. Likewise both comprehension and production roles are tapped, with greater weight on the former, but the inner role is not tapped at all. It was felt that the elements of the index as available were too valuable to discard, even in view of these limitations. It may be, however, that the imbalance of aspects has yielded a completely unrealistic picture of language usage, and thus the unsupported hypothesis. Only a more detailed investigation of language usage patterns of Mexican Americans than has ever been attempted would reveal the degree of validity of the index utilized here.

Likewise open to question in view of the generally unsupported hypothesis, even if the index of language usage is valid, are the indicators of ethnic identification. The first item, concerning "Birthplace of parents," was considered in the original discussion of it, a somewhat weak indicator of contact with Mexico. The items concerning the major money earner and the

working of the two parents outside the home are very
direct and should tap the area of interest very ad-
equately. The item concerning marital status is like-
wise very direct and should be expected to tap the area
of interest well, as should the items concerned with
relative education of the parents, relative importance
of the family, desire to marry, desire for the females
to work outside the home after marriage, and ideal fam-
ily size. These items are all well constructed and
straightforward, and seem to be capable of tapping their
respective areas as well as possible. The indicators as
a group do not, however, measure the entire broad spec-
trum of subcultural aspects which might be utilized as
indicators of ethnic identification. They seem to in-
volve many important areas, but excluded is a large group
of potential indicators of a behavioral nature. For
example, a profitable area might be membership in sub-
culturally oriented volunteer associations such as UMAS
(United Mexican American Students) or MAYO (Mexican
American Youth Organization), the latter having an in-
creasing popularity among the geographical and age group
of the subjects. Another possible area, much more dif-
ficult to tap, is the subtler behavioral identifiers
used among members of the subculture to identify

themselves to each other as loyal and proud members of
the ethnic group. These might include details of ges-
ture, dress, word usage, accent, ideas, etc. It cannot
be known if this type of indicator would yield results
consistent with those found here until they are examined
empirically.

Needless to say, the researcher is always faced with
the question of the ability of his subjects to report
their actual beliefs and behavior. Then too, he must be
hounded by doubts concerning the efficiency of his data
collection, the role of interaction between the subjects
and the interviewers, especially in a crosscultural situ-
ation such as this. But these problems were dealt with
as well as possible at the outset of the project. The
other remaining major question concerns the choice of
population; can it be questioned for some reason, or
considered atypical of Mexican American subgroups in
this country? But it too can only be described as
particularly appropriate for this study, as was explained
in "Source of data."

As far as can be determined here, then, the indi-
cators, with the one exception noted, must be accepted
as sound. The conclusion must be that our understanding
of the nature of the subculture is not complete,

although it may well be valid as far as it goes. Ex-
ploration of subtle characteristics, behaviors, and atti-
tudes which may truly signal ethnic identification will
probably explain that the unsupported hypothesis is due
to the fact that ethnicity is not, for this subculture,
tied to the obvious and perhaps superficial subcultural
characteristics relied upon here, but rather to more elu-
sive aspects. For this subculture as tapped by the in-
dicators used here, the hypothesis generally does not
reflect reality; language usage is not a valid indicator
of ethnic identification. The exceptions which supported
the hypothesis cannot, of course, be ignored. If the
hypothesis is generally untrue, why was it upheld in
several cases?

In the first case, that of "Birthplace of parents,"
two explanations must be explored; one, this indicator
may be simply too weak, as discussed above, to tap
reality; two, this indicator may be in a class apart
from the others; with respect to the latter possibility,
the individual hypotheses related to each item were, in
general, based upon assumptions drawn from the nature of
the subculture. The hypothesis concerning "Birthplace
of parents" is an exception, for it is based upon a
broader sociolinguistic assumption concerning how the

young acquire their mother culture, whatever it be; this
assumption is not tied to any specific assumptions in
regard to the Mexican American subculture alone. It may
be, then, that this assumption is more firmly founded
than the others, which, as was remarked above, rest alone
upon subjective description of the particular subculture.
Acceptance of this possibility thus sheds doubt on the
reliability of the existing understanding of the Mexican
American subculture. This researcher finds no clear
basis for supporting either of these two possibilities
over the other. Therefore, the following conclusion with
respect to this exceptional item is put forth: it will
be assumed until a better indicator can be tested that
this one is too weak to be valid. A reservation accom-
panies this assumption; until solid objective data is
collected concerning the nature of the subculture, the
possibility that a true misunderstanding of it exists
cannot be denied.

The second item which supported the hypothesis
instead of failing to support it as did the majority
dealt with "Employment of mother." The hypothesis re-
lated to this item was based upon an assumption that the
subculture is male-oriented with the father having full
responsibility for the support of the family, and upon

the much-described ethic of "machismo" which exists.
However, the fact that the results of the data in this
case were contrary to the results in general, and were
split, with the males supporting the hypothesis and the
females not supporting it demands a re-examination of the
assumptions. The most likely explanation for this dis-
parity is that males and females should not be expected
to react to these elements of the culture in the same
way. It is necessary in developing this explanation to
consider not just this one exceptional item, but rather
all three of the items which were based upon the same
assumptions, namely those items concerning "Major money
earner," "Employment of father," and "Employment of
mother." The "machismo" ethic could cause a young man
whose mother worked outside the home, and thus challenged
the masculinity of the man in her family, to become
alienated from his subculture in order to rationalize
this cultural inconsistency. A young woman, on the other
hand, would not be subject to this ethic, her mother's
working would not affect her in the same way, and thus
this circumstance would have little or no implication
for her identification with the subculture. Thus, lan-
guage usage may be a good indicator of ethnicity for
males in this case, but not for females, because working

of the mother carries more emotional implications for
the males than for the females. Likewise it may be that
unemployment of the father occurs only involuntarily on
the father's part, and is looked upon by his children,
male and female, as only an unfortunate circumstance
which has no implications for him in his masculine role
as head of the family. Thus, if the question concerning
major money earner had been dealt with differently, with
the "mother" category separated out from the general
"Other," the same effect may well have been observed
among the males. In summary, then, the inconsistent re-
sult obtained on the "Employment of mother" item was
probably due to a faulty assumption concerning the im-
portance of the "machismo" ethic for males as opposed to
females.

The third exception to the general trend of an un-
accepted hypothesis occurred in relation to the "Desire
of females to work after marriage." Again, this item
must be examined in tandem with another closely related
item, that concerning "Desire of males for wife to work."
It is important to point out that in the case of the
group of items discussed above, we were dealing with
ascribed characteristics of the respondents' families,
while in this case we are dealing with respondents'

aspirations. Thus while the subjects had no control over
the former, they do have control over the latter, and the
assumptions underlying the hypotheses, which were es-
sentially the same for both groups of data, may be ex-
pected to operate differently in the two cases. That
is, the nature of the subculture worked upon the respon-
dents with no interference from them in the former case,
while in the latter, they are capable of exerting per-
sonal influence as they place themselves in response
categories, rather than being placed there by ascriptive
characteristics of their families. Thus while a young
female may be passive and little affected by her mother's
working in terms of her own identification with the sub-
culture, she is very much affected when it comes to
making a personal decision about her life's course,
namely whether or not she will work after marriage. And
as she makes this active decision, she must deal directly
with the subculture and either accept or reject what it.
has taught her about her role in society and in the
family. Thus for the females, language usage is a good
indicator of ethnic identification. As with the females,
who were more passive bystanders than the males in the
case of "Employment of mother," the males in this case
are making choices for their wives, not for themselves.

Thus while the "machismo" aspect of the subculture no doubt has some effect on them, this effect is outweighed by the fact that they are not as directly involved with the choice as are the females, and thus do not make the same strongly active acceptance or rejection of the mother culture as do the females in deciding whether females should work after marriage. Thus it seems that here again a faulty assumption was made that the subculture should act in the same way upon both sexes, and that any assumptions based upon the nature of the subculture will apply in the same way to both.

The fourth and final exception to the rule of an unaccepted hypothesis concerned "Ideal family size." It seems that two factors may be operating here, but again both coming under the classification of "mistaken assumption that both males and females are affected in the same way by the nature of the subculture." The first of these two factors is the Catholic religion which prescribes large families, and proscribes the use of birth control. This, and the fact that the women are known to be more active practitioners of the religion would lead one to expect that if an inconsistent result were to be obtained on this item, it would be in the opposite direction; that is, the females would support the

hypothesis, while the males would not. However, another
aspect of the culture enters in here, and was not ad-
equately developed in the consideration of the hypothesis
related to this item. That aspect is, again, the
"machismo" which is taught so thoroughly to the males.
It seems that this element must have outweighed the
others in the following way: the male has a stake in a
large family which the female does not. The larger his
family, the greater proof there is of his virility. The
female not only is not affected in the same way by this
consideration, but also she is the one who will have
almost sole responsibility for the care and rearing of
the children, a fact which might tempt her to limit the
size of her family. In conclusion, language usage, then,
may be considered a valid indicator of ethnicity in the
case of the males with regard to "Ideal family size,"
but not in the case of the females.

It should be noted again that the data are in two
categories, the ascribed characteristics of family of
orientation, and the aspired for characteristics of
future family of procreation. In the case of the first
category there would be no reason to expect differences
between males and females, as they have not chosen their
own response categories for the questionnaire items, but

rather have been assigned to them by their family situa-
tion. This fact renders noteworthy the two cases within
this first category in which the F-values for males and
females were not either both significant or both not
significant, but rather mixed. The first of these two
cases is "Employment of mother." In this case the fact
that a significant statistic existed for males but not
for females is difficult to explain other than as a re-
sult of chance difference between the life situations of
the particular respondents of this study. The second
of the two cases is that of "Relative education of par-
ents." In this case a significant statistic existed for
females but not for males. This may well be due to
simple ignornace on the part of the males as to the
actual level of education attained by their parents
which may have lead to guessing on their part. The fe-
males, on the other hand may have been more aware of
their parents' education because they tend to spend more
time in the home and to have a greater opportunity to
learn such things.

In summary, these conclusions point out that no
sweeping generalization may be made concerning the
validity, or lack of validity, of language usage as an
indicator of ethnic identification. It is clear that it

cannot be used generally nor in many seemingly obvious
cases of ethnicity, but it may well be used in specific
instances several of which showed up as the exceptional
cases in this study. Also, correlation of language usage
with a more behavioral type of indicator than those used
here could well be expected. Whatever the results of
future research aimed at specifying just which are the
correlates of language usage, it must be noted that the
numerous cases found here in which the correlation un-
expectedly did not exist point out the impossibility of
generalizing the validity of language usage as an in-
dicator of ethnic identification.

Implications

This chapter will focus upon the various implica-
tions of the conclusions drawn in the preceding section.
An attempt will be made to evaluate implications in the
following areas: 1) sociological theory; 2) past and
future research; 3) methodology; and 4) social policy.

Theory

It was stated in the introduction to this study that
the need to determine the validity of language usage as
an indicator of ethnicity became evident in light of the
results of the recent analysis by Kuvlesky and Patella

(1970). As was explained, the hypothesis in that study
was that a direct correlation should exist between up-
ward mobility aspirations and ethnicity as measured by
Spanish language usage. When this hypothesis was not
supported by the data, the two basic assumptions under-
lying the hypothesis were examined; one, concerning the
nature of the subculture, was considered a sound one in
spite of the results. The second, concerning the valid-
ity of language usage as an indicator of ethnic identi-
fication, was still open to question. This study, then,
has attempted to investigate that assumption. Given the
results and conclusions discussed previously, it seems
that in general language usage cannot be used as such an
indicator. Sociolinguistic theory must abandon this
naive notion which, as was pointed out in the review of
literature, has already been shown to be dubious, and
which in this study has been even further challenged. A
much more complex approach to the question of language
and culture, such as that suggested by Fishman, must be
taken. Theorists should address themselves to the fact
that culture and language interact differently for dif-
ferent individuals, especially where the difference is a
sexual one, and age and other factors will surely be
found to cause even further variability. Theorists must

begin to examine how and why language may relate in one
way to certain aspects of a subculture, and in other ways
to other aspects, even though all these aspects seem to
be tightly interrelated. Likewise they must begin to
consider as a part of the whole language versus culture
question the relative importance of behavioral char-
acteristics, and probe ways in which these might be re-
lated to ethnicity, and to language usage.

Despite the finding here that language usage is not
a generally good indicator of ethnic identification, it
will continue to be interpreted as such, and the the-
oretical significance of this fact must be explored. For
example, the mobility orientations of Mexican Americans
themselves may well be affected by their perception of
the role their language usage can play in the successful
realization of their aspirations. This perception would
probably lead to differences between aspirations and ex-
pectations for mobility such as those found by Juarez
(1968) in the same sample used in this study. This
possible source of the difference, to the knowledge of
the author, has not been investigated either theoreti-
cally or empirically.

Likewise actual mobility, known to be affected by
racial discrimination for this subculture and others,

may be particularly affected by language usage of Mexican American potential employees. Employers, no doubt, assume that language usage is a good indicator of ethnicity, and in turn of a whole constellation of attitudes, beliefs, and probable behaviors. Thus the effect of language usage on actual mobility should be explored theoretically, with attention given to the following distinct areas: 1) Relative use of Spanish and English in various domains; and 2) English language ability, regardless of amount of use. These two areas should be considered separately and in tandem. Language usage, in spite of its questionable use as an indicator of ethnicity, must continue to be an important element of all theoretical dealings with bilingual subcultures.

Research

The implications relative to past research, in particular the Kuvlesky and Patella investigation (1970), are clear: their interesting finding of a lack of correlation between ethnicity (i.e. language usage) and upward mobility aspirations is now open to some question. Their index of language usage, though weighted differently than that used here, was composed of the same items. The findings of this study suggest that their index, like the one used here, may not have been a valid

indicator of ethnicity. Until the index is evaluated

empirically in comparison with other indices, until more

is known objectively about the subculture, and until the

question of indicators of ethnicity, particularly be-

havioral ones, is explored further, it should be assumed

that the results of their study, and other similar ones

(i.e. Nall, 1962) should be interpreted in a less sweep-

ing sense. As was remarked in the discussion of theory

above, language usage, though questionable as an indica-

tor of ethnic identification, is still a meaningful

variable in its own right. The knowledge that the ex-

pected negative correlation between language usage and

mobility aspirations does not exist extends our under-

standing of the subculture and demands further investi-

gation of it.

Future research in this area, then, must investi-

gate two main problems: 1) language usage, seeking to

determine how it is best tapped for this subculture in

particular, and for bilingual subcultures in general;

and 2) ethnicity, aiming to discover empirically just

what are the salient aspects of the Mexican American

subculture, the "true" indicators of ethnic identifica-

tion, both behavioral and non-behavioral. Once these

two areas are explored, it will be possible to accomplish

on a grand scale that which was the aim at a more modest
level in this study: it will be possible to determine
precisely those aspects of ethnicity which correlate with
language usage patterns, and those which do not. If
the aim of the Kuvlesky and Patella study is to be ad-
vanced in the meantime, it will be necessary to use some
other indicator of ethnic identification than language
usage. Needless to say it will be difficult to find
such an indicator without running into the same limita-
tions as exist with language usage, namely the validity
of the indicator.

Methodology

The methodological insights to be gained from this
study are several. First, future investigation of the
index, and of language usage in general, should rely upon
Fishman's thorough table of domains, roles, and media,
utilizing a greater number and variety of them than were
availed of here. Also it should, instead of utilizing
the index approach alone, seek to discover whether
certain individual indicators of language usage will
correlate with ethnicity, as the latter is measured in
various ways.

Second, the sticky methodological problem of

determining ethnic identification must be explored. Perhaps it has not yet been tapped meaningfully. Future methodologists must apply their imaginations to direct and indirect means of eliciting this information from respondents. One interesting possibility, which has been used with this subculture in only a spotty fashion, is personal report. This method, even given the difficulties inherent in it, might well provide the most direct access to true ethnicity. As the Mexican American subculture continues to increase in awareness of the injustice which has been and is still being done it, the various members of the subculture, heterogeneous in many ways, may be becoming more homogeneous with respect to a feeling of common problems and causes. Thus the theoretical indicators to date may not be relevant, and a new indicator, accessible only via direct statement by the subjects may be the key.

Social Policy

The finding that language usage is not a generally good indicator of ethnic identification has practical significance in several areas. The most direct application is to the educational world, a critical one today for many Mexican American youngsters, as well as members

of other bilingual minorities such as the Indians.
Teachers must no longer assume that because they per-
ceive the language usage patterns of their students,
they are equipped to extrapolate them to all other as-
pects of the students' attitudes and values. It may well
be found ultimately that, for a given subculture, lang-
uage is a powerful correlate of many aspects of an in-
dividual's outlook and behavior. However, at this point
in time, the nature of those correlations is not known.
Therefore no teacher attempting to deal with a bilingual
youngster should assume that because "Juan" is very quiet
except with his friends, and then he speaks only Spanish,
he necessarily has any particular set of attitudes con-
cerning his own ethnicity or toward the dominant sub-
culture. The interaction of language and culture is a
complex one. The following case may well exist: one
particular youngster may speak predominantly Spanish,
consider himself more Mexican than American, and reject
certain aspects of Anglo culture while adopting others.
A second youngster may speak predominantly English, and
yet have exactly the same conformation of attitudes as
the other. Likewise two students may use just the same
amount of Spanish and have widely differing outlooks on
life. Teachers today, given the state of knowledge on

the subject, simply cannot understand their students'
values, attitudes, and behavior patterns just by hearing.
the language that comes out of their mouths; teachers
must maintain open minds. Too often in the past minority
youngsters have become victims of a self-fulfilling
prophecy made by the teacher concerning their probable
success in the school (eg. Deutsch, 1967). This un-
fortunate waste can be decreased significantly if
teachers can manage to free themselves of ill-founded
stereotypes such as those based on language usage.

The implications of the results of this study for
employers of Mexican Americans parallel those for
teachers. The employer must not attempt to deduce what
his Mexican American employees feel and think on the
basis of their language usage, nor should he try to
guess on that basis what the job performance of a pros-
pective employee will be.

More generally, these results point toward the need
for social policy, particularly in education, to direct
itself toward giving the people of Mexican American
heritage an even chance in this society. In the past
the schools have perpetrated a misguided effort to force
acculturation upon the members of this subculture (as
well as others). As a result, acculturation has

occurred to a high degree; withness the high mobility

aspirations held by Mexican American youth in spite of

the particularistic-ascriptive nature of the subculture.

However, this acculturation has been achieved at the

price of great violence to both a rich cultural heritage

and to the individuals who should be its proud bearers.

.(Needless to say, there is a certain bias on the part of

the author coloring this evaluation. But unless one be-

lieves that cultural subgroups in this country must be

forced to blend in with the dominant culture to the

point of rendering themselves indistinguishable from its

other members, the bias is not an extreme one.) In the

past, many educators have opposed bilingual education

for fear that teaching of the Spanish language, and of

the culture, would prevent acculturation (Andersson,

1969:72). However, this study has demonstrated that

language is not a reliable predictor of ethnic identi-

fication, or of any attitudes or beliefs that we know

of yet, so educators should not fear bilingual education

on these grounds. Moreover, the acculturation which has

begun will surely continue, and there is much reason to

believe that were the educational experience of young

Mexican Americans made more meaningful for them, they

would achieve greater success in Anglo schools, and thus

in the Anglo society (Spilerman, 1971:114). Bilingual

education, then, should be encouraged and expanded, and

the sooner the better, with the goal being to provide

bilingual education for all interested Mexican American

youth, and members of other subcultures as well.

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APPENDICES

Indicators

Mexican American Identity and Language Usage.

28. Are you of Spanish-American ancestry?
(Circle one number.)

    1   Yes   2   No

---

29. a) Do you speak Spanish? (Circle one number.)

    1   Yes   2   No

If you answered yes, you do speak Spanish, answer the following questions:

b) What language do you usually use when speaking with your parents? (Circle one number.)

    1   English   2 Spanish   3 About the same of both

c) What language do you usually use when talking with your close friends in your neighborhood? (Circle one number.)

    1   English   2 Spanish   3 About the same of both

d)   What language do you usually use when
     speaking with your close school friends
     outside the class? (Circle one number.)

     1   English   2 Spanish   3 About the
                        .   same of
                                       both .

---

30. How many of the radio programs you listen to
     are broadcast in Spanish?

     1 None   2 Some   3 More-than-half   4 All

---

31. How many of the magazines and newspapers which
     you read are in Spanish?

     1 None   2 Some   3 More-than half   4 All

Characteristics of Family of Orientation

32. Where were your parents born? (give the town
     and state.)

     Mother_____   .

     Father_____

25. Who is the major money earner in the family?
     (Circle one number):

     1 Father

     2 Mother

     3 Brother or sister

4 Other (Who?_____)

5 Insurance, social security, or something
   like this

24. Is your father (or stepfather) presently
     employed outside the home? (Circle one number):

1 Yes, full-time

2 Yes, part-time

3 No, but is looking for work

4 No, does not work and is not looking for
   work outside the home

5 Have no father or stepfather

6 Don't know

23. Is your mother (or stepmother) presently
     employed outside the home? (Circle one number):

1 Yes, full-time

2 Yes, part-time

3 No, but is looking for work

4 No, does not work and is not looking for
   work outside the home

5 Have no mother or stepmother

6 Don't know

20. What is the marital status of your mother and
    father? (Circle one number):

    1 Both alive, living together

    2 Both alive, separated

    3 Both alive, divorced

    4 Father not living

    5 Mother not living

    6 Neither father nor mother living

22. What was the highest school grade completed by
    your father and mother? (Circle one number
    for father and one number for mother.)

Father		Mother
1	Did not go to school	1
2	Grade 1 - 7	2
3	Eighth grade	3
4	Some high school but didn't graduate	4
5	Graduated from high school	5
6	Went to Vocational School after graduating from high school	6
7	Some college but didn't graduate	7
8	College graduate (4 years)	8

9   Don't know   9

Aspirations for Future Family of Procreation

27.   Listed below are a number of things that most
       young people look forward to. Rank them in
       order of their importance to you. For the one
       you think is most important put a number 1 in
       front of it; for the next most important one
       put a number 2; and so on until you have a
       different number (from 1 to 7) for each one.
       Read over the entire list before answering
       the question.

       _____To have lots of free time to do what I
            want.

       _____To get all the education I want.

       _____To earn as much money as I can.

       _____To get the job I want most.

       _____To live in the kind of place I like best.

       _____To have the kind of house, car, furniture,
            and other things like this I want.

       _____To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have used each number
from 1 to 7 only one time and you should have a
number in each blank space.

8. (a) Do you want to get married some day?

    (Circle one number):

    1 Yes   2   No   3 Already married

    (b) How many children do you <u>want</u>?

G-3 (a) What do you want to   (b) What do you actu-
         do about work outside   ally expect to do
         the home after you are   about work outside
         married? (Circle one   the home after you
         number.)   are married?

                                         (Circle one number.)

<u>Want</u>   <u>Expect</u>

     1 Not work outside the home at all

     2 Work part-time until I have a child

     3 Work full-time until I have a child

     4 Work part-time even after I have children

     5 Work full-time even after I have children

             <u>BOYS ONLY ANSWER THIS QUESTION!</u>

B-1 (a) If you get married,   (b) If you get married,
         would you want your   do you think (ex-
         wife to work outside   pect) your wife will
         the home? (Circle   work outside the
         one number.)   home? (Circle one
                                       number.)

Want   Expect

    1   <u>Not work</u> outside the home at all   1

    2   Work <u>part-time</u> until we have a child   2

    3   Work <u>full-time</u> until we have a child   3

    4   Work part-time even after we have   4
        children

    5   Work <u>full-time</u> even after we have   5
        children

Controls: Sex and Place of Residence

    2. Sex (Circle one number: 1 Male   2 Female

    4. Where have you lived most of your life?
        (Circle one number):
        1 City (over 2,500)
        2 Town or village (under 2,500)
        3 In the country, but not on a farm
        4 On a farm

Frequency and Percentage Distributions of

Index on Tentative Controls

Table 20. Percentage Distribution for Index by Sex:
Total Column Indicates What Percent of all
R's had Each Index, and Sex Columns
Indicate for Each Index, What the Sex Ratio
was.*

Index	Males	Females	Total
4	27.8(1.7)	72.2(4.3)	3.1
5	30.4(2.4)	69.6(5.3)	3.9
6	42.9(3.1)	57.1(4.0)	3.6
7	30.0(1.0)	70.0(2.3)	1.7
8	44.2(6.6)	55.8(8.0)	7.3
9	53.3(5.5)	46.7(4.7)	5.1
10	52.7(13.5)	47.3(11.6)	12.5
11	46.6(9.3)	53.4(10.3)	9.8
12	54.4(14.9)	45.6(12.0)	13.4
13	40.4(6.6)	59.6(9.3)	8.0
14	60.8(15.6)	39.2(9.6)	12.5
15	31.8(2.4)	68.2(5.0)	3.7
16	63.3(10.7)	36.7(6.0)	8.3
17	25.0(0.3)	75.0(1.0)	0.7
18	50.0(4.2)	50.0(4.0)	4.1
19	0.0(0.0)	0.0(0.0)	0.0
20	42.9(2.1)	57.1(2.7)	2.4
Total	49.0(100.0)	51.0(100.0)	100.0

*Parenthetical value indicates what percent of all
respondents of each sex had each index.

Table 21.   Frequency Distribution for Index by Border/
            Non-Border Residence.

Index	Border	Non-Border	Total
4	13	5	18
5	16	7	23
6	20	1	21
7	9	1	10
8	34	9	43
9	25	5	30
10	50	24	74
11	41	17	58
12	54	25	79
13	35	12	47
14	51	23	74
15	13	9	22
16	41	8	49
17	3	1	4
18	18	6	24
19	0	0	0
20	13	1	14
Total	436	154	590

Table 22. Percentage Distribution for Index by Border/
          Non-Border Residence: Indicates for Each
          Index Value What Percentage of Those R's
          Were Border or Non-Border. (Total column
          has same content as in Table 20.) Paren-
          thetical Value Indicates What Percentage of
          all Respondents Classified Border of Non-
          Border had Each Index.

Index	Border	Non-Border	Total
4	72.2(3.0)	27.8(3.2)	3.1
5	69.6(3.7)	30.4(4.5)	3.9
6	95.2(4.6)	4.8(0.6)	3.6
7	90.0(2.1)	10.0(0.6)	1.7
8	79.1(7.8)	20.9(5.8)	7.3
9	83.3(5.7)	16.7(3.2)	5.1
10	67.6(11.5)	32.4(15.6)	12.5
11	70.7(9.4)	29.3(11.0)	9.8
12	68.4(12.4)	31.6(16.2)	13.4
13	74.5(8.0)	25.5(7.8)	8.0
14	68.9(11.7)	31.1(14.9)	12.5
15	59.1(3.0)	40.9(5.8)	3.7
16	83.7(9.4)	16.3(5.2)	8.3
17	75.0(0.7)	25.0(0.6)	0.7
18	75.0(4.1)	25.0(3.9)	4.1
19	0.0(0.0)	0.0(0.0)	0.0
20	92.9(3.0)	7.1(0.6)	2.4
Total	73.9(100.0)	26.1(100.0)	100.0

Table 23. Frequency Distribution for Index by Location.

Index	City	Town	Country	Farm	Total
4	11	5	2	0	18
5	10	7	4	2	23
6	12	7	2	0	21
7	5	4	0	1	10
8	10	18	8	7	43
9	16	11	3	0	30
10	28	25	10	11	74
11	27	20	4	7	58
12	43	28	5	3	47
13	19	12	13	3	47
14	30	25	8	11	74
15	4	7	10	1	22
16	22	14	11	2	49
17	0	0	3	1	4
18	8	12	2	2	24
19	0	0	0	0	0
20	10	3	0	1	14
Total	255	198	85	52	590

Table 24. Percentage Distribution for Index by Location: Indicates for Each Index Value What Percentage of Those R's Were City, Town, Country, or Farm Residents. (Total column has same content as in Table 20.) Parenthetical Value Indicates What % of all Respondents Classified Either City, Town, Country, or Farm Had Each Index.

Index	City	Town	Country	Farm	Total
4	61.1(4.3)	27.8(2.5)	11.1(2.4)	0.0(0.0)	3.1
5	43.5(3.9)	30.4(3.5)	17.4(4.7)	8.7(3.8)	3.9
6	57.1(4.7)	33.3(3.5)	9.5(2.4)	0.0(0.0)	3.6
7	50.0(2.0)	40.0(2.0)	0.0(0.0)	10.0(1.9)	1.7
8	23.3(3.9)	41.9(9.1)	18.6(9.4)	16.3(13.5)	7.3
9	53.3(6.3)	36.7(5.6)	10.0(3.5)	0.0(0.0)	5.1
10	37.8(11.0)	33.8(12.6)	13.5(11.8)	14.8(21.2)	12.5
11	46.6(10.6)	34.5(10.1)	6.9(4.7)	12.1(13.5)	9.8
12	54.4(16.9)	35.4(14.1)	6.9(5.9)	12.1(5.8)	13.4
13	40.4(7.5)	25.5(6.1)	27.7(15.3)	6.4(5.8)	8.0
14	40.8(11.8)	33.8(12.6)	10.8(9.4)	14.9(21.2)	12.5
15	18.2(1.6)	31.8(3.5)	45.5(11.8)	4.5(1.9)	3.7
16	44.9(8.6)	28.6(7.1)	22.4(12.9)	4.1(3.8)	8.3
17	0.0(0.0)	0.0(0.0)	75.0(3.5)	25.0(1.9)	0.7
18	33.3(3.1)	50.0(6.1)	8.3(2.4)	8.3(3.8)	4.1
19	0.0(0.0)	0.0(0.0)	0.0(0.0)	0.0(0.0)	0.0
20	71.4(3.9)	21.4(1.5)	0.0(0.0)	7.1(1.9)	2.4
Total	43.2(100.0)	33.6(100.0)	14.4(100.0)	8.8(100.0)	100.0

Frequency Distributions cf Responses to

Each of the Main Items

Table 25. Frequency Distribution of Responses: Birth-
place of Parents of Mexican American Males
and Females.

Responses	Both in Mexico	One in Mexico/ One in U.S.	Both in U.S.	Total*
Sex of R				
Males	34	64	191	289
Females	50	68	183	301
Total	84	132	374	590

*Small differences in totals here and in Anova
tables due to the fact that Anova tables involve
only R's who answered all language usage items,
while these include those who did not.

Table 26. Frequency Distribution of Responses:
Major Money Earner in Family of
Mexican American Males and Females.

Responses	No. of Respondents		
	Father	Other	Total
Sex of R			
Males	221	47	268
Females	225	53	278
Total	446	100	546

Table 27. Frequency Distribution of Responses:
           Employment of the Father of Mexican
           American Males and Females.

No. of Respondents

Responses	Working or Looking For Work	Not Working or Looking For Work	Total
Sex of R			
Males	262	27	289
Females	285	16	301
Total	547	43	590

Table 28. Frequency Distribution of Responses:
Employment of the Mother of Mexican
American Males and Females.

No. of Respondents

Responses	Working or Looking for Work	Not Working or Looking for Work	Total
Sex of R Males	104	185	289
Females	107	194	301
Total	111	379	590

Table 29.   Frequency Distribution of Responses:
            Marital Status of Parents of Mexican
            American Males and Females.

No. of Respondents

Responses	Living Together	Separated	Divorced	Total
Sex of R Male	273	6	10	289
Female	281	9	11	301
Total	554	15	21	590

Table 30. Frequency Distribution of Responses: Relative Education of Parents of Mexican American Males and Females.

Responses	No. of Respondents			
	Father's Greater Than Mother's	Equal Amounts for Both	Mother's Greater Than Father's	Total
Sex of R				
Males	78	119	92	289
Female	108	96	97	301
Total	186	215	189	590

Table 31. Frequency Distribution of Responses: Relative Importance of Family for Mexican American Males and Females.

Responses	Rank One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Total
Sex of R								
Males	6	21	26	39	41	66	87	286
Females	15	23	24	49	32	65	92	300
Total	21	44	50	88	73	131	179	586

Table 32.   Frequency Distribution of Responses: Desire
            to Marry of Mexican American Males and
            Females.

| | No. of Respondents | | |
Responses	Desires to Marry or is Married	Does Not Desire to Marry	Total
Sex of R			
Males	270	19	289
Females	285	16	301
Total	555	35	590

Table 33. Frequency Distribution of Responses: Desire of Mexican American Male for Wife to Work After Marriage.

			No. of Respondents			
Response	Not Work	Part-time til Child	Full-time til Child	Part-time After Child	Full-time After Child	Total
Sex of R Females	68	69	80	40	29	286
Total	68	69	80	40	29	286

Table 34. Frequency Distribution of Responses: Desire of Mexican American Females to Work After Marriage.

No. of Respondents

Responses	Not Work	Part-time til child	Full-time til child	Part-time After Child	Full-time After Child	Total
Sex of R Females	68	69	80	40	29	286
Total	68	69	80	40	29	286

Table 35. Frequency Distribution of Responses: Ideal Family Size of Mexican American Males and Females.

No. of Respondents

Respondents	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Eight or More	Total
Sex of R									
Male	2	42	57	70	47	30	3	14	265
Female	5	64	51	91	22	32	1	7	273
Total	7	106	108	161	69	62	4	21	538

Complete Analyses of Variance for Main Items[1]

Table 8a. Analysis of Variance for Mexican American
Males and Females With Respect to Birth-
place of Parents.

Males

Source of Variation	DF	SS	M	F
Treatment	2	156.660	78.33	6.964[*2]
County	3	51.3242	17.11	1.52
Lack of Fit	6	115.775	19.30	1.72
Within	190	2137.09	11.25	
Total	201	2429.74		

Females

Treatments	2	319.265	159.6	11.90[*3]
County	3	60.9997	20.33	1.52
Lack of Fit	6	131.720	21.95	1.64
Within	169	2265.46	13.41	
Total	180	3000.44		

[1]In all Tables, the "treatments" are the response
categories for the questionnaire item under considera-
tion.

[2]This value of F is significant for .001>P>.0005.

[3]This value of F is significant for P<.0005.

Table 9a. Analysis of Variance for Mexican American
Males and Females With Respect to Major
Money Earner.

Males

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Treatments	1	29.8690	29.87	2.66[1]
County	3	49.3826	16.46	1.46
Lack of Fit	3	23.4981	7.833	6.97
Within	200	2247.80	11.24	
Total	207	2351.92		

Females

Treatments	1	21.7660	21.77	1.52[1]
County	3	314.825	104.9	7.30
Lack of Fit	3	13.0841	4.361	.304
Within	177	2542.78	14.37	
Total	184	2879.28		

[1]These values of F not significant for P = .10.

Table 10a. Analysis of Variance for Mexican American
Males and Females With Respect to
Employment of Father.

Males

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Treatments	1	57.5951	57.60	4.96[*1]
County	3	35.5560	11.85	1.02
Lack of Fit	3	17.5398	5.85	.503
Within	194	2252.31	11.61	
Total	201	2365.48		

Females

Treatments	1	40.2138	40.21	2.88[*2]
County	3	321.632	107.2	7.67
Lack of Fit	3	14.2346	47.45	.339
Within	167	2334.18	13.98	
Total	174	2721.23		

[1]This value of F is significant for .05>P>.025.

[2]This value of F is significant for .10>P>.05.

Table 11a.   Analysis of Variance for Mexican American
             Males and Females With Respect to
             Employment of Mother.

Males

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Treatments	1	36.4851	36.4851	2.98[*1]
County	3	41.8848	13.96	1.14
Lack of Fit	3	28.4487	9.483	.775
Within	193	2362.84	12.24	
Total	200	2473.99		

Females

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Treatments	1	2.29969	2.300	.154[*2]
County	3	319.809	106.6	7.13
Lack of Fit	3	16.8139	5.605	.375
Within	179	2677.00	14.96	
Total	186	3014.71		

[1]This value of F is significant for $.10 > P > .05$.

[2]This value of F is not significant for $P = .10$.

Table 12a.   Analysis of Variance for Mexican American
             Males and Females With Respect to Marital
             Status of Parents.

Males

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Treatments	2	57.8584	28.93	2.57*1
County	3	35.5742	11.86	1.05
Lack of Fit	4	44.5577	11.14	.989
Within	195	2195.88	11.26	
Total	204	2342.22		

Females

Treatments	2	77.2936	38.65	2.80*2
County	3	335.930	112.0	8.11
Lack of Fit	3	51.7921	17.26	1.25
Within	171	2361.57	13.81	
Total	179	2806.57		

[1]These values of F are significant for .10>P>.05.

Table 14a.   Analysis of Variance for Mexican American
Males and Females With Respect to Relative
Importance of Family.

Males

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Treatments	6	125.915	20.99	1.86[*1]
County	3	70.6014	23.5338	2.09
Lack of Fit	17	158.385	9.317	.827
Within	190	2139.76	11.26	
Total	216	2470.88		

Females

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Treatments	6	119.829	19.97	1.35[2]
County	3	302.481	100.8	6.79
Lack of Fit	16	199.372	12.46	.840
Within	169	2507.90	14.84	
Total	194	3141.06		

[1]This value of F significant for .10>P>.05.

[2]This value of F not significant for P = .10.

Table 15a. Analysis of Variance for Mexican American
Males and Females With Respect to Desire
to Marry.

Males

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Treatments	1	1.76825	1.768	.161[1]
County	3	60.9435	20.31	1.85
Lack of Fit	3	67.2315	22.41	2.04
Within	278	3048.39	10.97	
Total	285	3177.88		

Females

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Treatments	1	4.95005	4.950	.359[1]
County	3	293.203	97.73	7.09
Lack of Fit	3	41.7176	13.91	1.01
Within	288	3968.57	13.78	
Total	295	4303.93		

[1]These values of F are not significant for $P = .10.$

Table 16a. Analysis of Variance for Mexican American
Males With Respect to Desire for Wife to
Work.

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Treatments	4	19.1957	4.799	.427[1]
County	3	59.5231	19.84	1.77
Lack of Fit	8	57.6229	7.203	.641
Within	267	2998.60	11.23	
Total	282	3134.87		

[1]This value of F not significant for P = .10.

Table 17a. Analysis of Variance for Mexican American
Females With Respect to Desire to Work After
Marriage.

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Treatments	4	177.695	44.42	3.31*[1]
County	3	175.206	58.40	4.35
Lack of Fit	12	154.451	12.87	.958
Within	263	3532.18	13.43	
Total	282	4176.61		

[1]This value of F significant for .025>P>.01.

Table 18a.   Analysis of Variance for Mexican American
Males and Females With Respect to Ideal
Family Size.

Males

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Treatments	7	178.305	25.47	2.42[*1]
County	3	35.0383	11.68	1.11
Lack of Fit	16	252.350	15.77	1.50
Within	237	2492.34	1.052	
Total	.263	2959.11		

Females

Treatments	7	204.323	29.19	2.17[*2]
County	3	172.159	57.39	4.27
Lack of Fit	14	12.0934	8.638	.643
Within	245	3290.88	13.43	
Total	269	3844.79		

[1]This value of F significant for .025>P>.01.

[2]This value of F significant for .05>P>.025.

VITA

NAME: Victoria Morrow Patella

DATE OF BIRTH: July 16, 1946

PLACE OF BIRTH: Boulder, Colorado

PARENTS' NAMES: Willbert John Morrow
                  Lucretia Wilson Morrow

PERMANENT ADDRESS: 1020 Fulbright
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