

DISSERTATION

**NARRATIVES OF
A THIRD GENERATION
MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILY
IN
NORTHERN COLORADO**

**Submitted by
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**In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Colorado State University
Fort Collins, Colorado State University
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WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION PREPARED UNDER OUR
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GENERATION MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILY IN NORTHERN COLORADO** BE ACCEPTED
AS FULFILLING IN PART REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY.

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

NARRATIVES OF A THIRD GENERATION MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILY IN NORTHERN COLORADO

This dissertation is a study of one Mexican-American family over time in the context of the larger Mexican-American and Anglo-American communities in northeastern Colorado. The research is a continuation of a previous study that focused upon the first and second generations of this particular family, who originally came to Colorado around 1920 in search of employment opportunities and in hopes of improved styles of living. From this sample family, the study seeks an understanding of the changes in the personality profile of the larger Mexican-American community. This study differs from other cultural and historical studies in that it utilized oral narratives and visual stories as the primary data resources.

This is the first in-depth study of this type for the Mexican-American population in northeastern Colorado, specifically in the South Platte River Valley of Larimer and Weld counties. Besides the presentation of a complex story of a particular immigrant family over time and place, a persistent challenge has decorated this study: to integrate anthropological and educational theory and methodology with a narrative and visual approach to cultural ethnography. This type of interdisciplinary approach involved a social process of mutual orientation and exchange developed in interactive dialogue. Through this interactive exchange oral and visual narratives emerged that represented how each family member perceived and interpreted past experiences in meaningful contexts, today.

This study began in Mexico and followed Hinojos and Carmelita from northern Mexico to the fields of northeastern Colorado, and further accompanied their children, the second generation into the urban barrios where they were initially exposed and immersed into the dominant Anglo arena. Family members of the second generation told stories about poverty, education, new jobs and residencies. As adults, some moved away from family and neighborhoods and, thus, from traditional ties to suburban communities. Others remained in the ethnic neighborhood. All family

members, however, changed and represented a diversified personality profile for the second generation. Finally, this study attempted to understand the variability of the third generation. In spite of the transformations that resulted in their increased exposure and immersion into the dominant Anglo community, the third generation Mexican-American family emerged on a foundation strengthened by origins and traditions in Mexico, and by the dynamics of adaptability over time and place.

The result of this research was a revealing profile of the cultural evolutions that took place over three generations in two counties of northern Colorado, Larimer and Weld, a region that experienced a Mexican-American population who originally were isolated residing near their work in the fields to one that, over time, moved to urban neighborhoods and eventually became embedded in the dominant Anglo cultural arena. In this evolutionary process it was the second generation who were torn between tradition and new ways of thinking and behaving, between poverty and economic mobility, and between marginalization and acculturation. It was the third generation who in the process of acculturation had limited or no access to traditional knowledge funds and found this not important or relevant, or chose to create a "folk culture" based on what knowledge they did have with that which was imagined.

A specific objective of this study was to distinguish the Mexican-American story in this geographical area from other stories in Colorado. Research questions asked if the third generation represented a unique cultural profile, and if so, what factors contributed to the changes across generations? The data from this research revealed an evolutionary personality profile for the third generation family members. Although many aspects of the previous generations prevailed, more had changed. In a proposed inductive style, stories emerged to explain the reasons for changes in interpretation and meanings across generations. What was important for second generation family members no longer had significant meaning for the third generation. In this sense, a distinction can be made across generations but one that is blurred by individual differences, settlement patterns, socioeconomic status, educational levels, changing world views, and the adaptation to and adoption of dominant Anglo styles of living, ideologically and behaviorally. In essence, it can be suggested that the second generation was more unique to

northern Colorado than the third. The blending into a more universal "American" profile by third generation family members proposed a less geographically-based one.

It is not unreasonable to emphasize that the Mexican-American population comprises an integral part of Colorado's historical panorama and presently is expanding into a dominant population factor for northern Colorado. It is becoming imperative that public institutions recognize the dynamic demographics in northern Colorado and realize that in order to respond to growing needs they will need to understand increasing ethnic diversity. Hopefully, this study will provide a framework and some much needed data in order to help understand the larger picture, as well as provide a basis for future research.

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This study has been a rewarding and a challenging endeavor, rewarding in that it has stepped across academic and community borders, and challenging because of varied and often conflicting meanings and interpretations of human experiences both in academia and community interaction. The objective of the research was to provide an opportunity for a third generation family who were descendents of first generation immigrants from Mexico, to tell their stories. Nine family members of the third generation patiently and consistently answered numerous questions and invited me to participate in family events for the past seven years. They have shared their thoughts, histories and traditions, as well as their hearts with me. To each of them, I owe a debt of gratitude for allowing me the privilege of sharing their lives. In addition, again, a sincere appreciation to their parents and grandparents, who made these stories possible.

I wish to thank my committee for their continuous interest, enthusiasm, and support. Together, we met the challenges of interdisciplinary approaches and ideologies. To Dr. James Banning, College of Applied Human Sciences, Department of Education, who contributed professional guidance, interesting and unique learning experiences, and enduring emotional support for over four years, I wish to extend a sincere thanks. I wish to express a special thanks to Dr. Tim Davies, Community College Leadership Program, Department of Education, for his interest, support, and technical skills. I wish to express a special thanks to Dr. Lenora Bohren, Departments of Anthropology and Industrial Arts, who offered professional direction and support through this entire research process beginning in 1996. Our regular lunch meetings at the Rainbow Café, motivated and guided my research process as well as made this endeavor interesting and enjoyable.

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To the children and grandchildren of Hinojos and Carmelita, my committee members, my family, and my friends, I wish to express my sincerest thanks for your support and patience. You have each added a bit of yourselves to this project, which has meant so much to me.

DEDICATION
TO
DOUG HAWHORNE
For your enduring patience

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**It is a capital mistake to theorize before
one has data. Insensibly one begins to
twist facts to suit theories, instead of
theories to suit facts.**

**Sherlock Holmes
in Arthur Conan Doyle's *A Scandal in Bohemia*
(1891)**

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The Mexican-American people who live in the South Platte River Valley of Larimer and Weld Counties in northeastern Colorado are relatively recent immigrants. Attracted to this area by possible employment opportunities and improved styles of living, many came from Mexico by way of northern New Mexico and the San Luis Valley in southern Colorado; others came north via Texas. They came to work in the sugar beet, potato, and onion fields, in the stone quarries, and for the beet sugar factories, and the railroads (Galarza, Gallegos, & Samora, 1970).

It was not until 1900 that northern Colorado experienced an influx of Spanish speaking peoples to its area. Recruited by immigration agencies of the Great Western Sugar Company, the Spanish and Mexican-Americans first came from southern Colorado and northern New Mexico. They were, however, not the first group of immigrants to be recruited to the areas comprising Larimer and Weld counties. In 1888, the Colorado Agricultural Experiment Station developed a sugar beet culture, which evolved into a "very successful" new prospect for Colorado agriculture (Steinel, 1926). Continuous attempts were made to establish a beet sugar industry along the eastern slope of Colorado. The first factory began operation in 1901 in Loveland, followed by a factory in Fort Collins in 1904, both owned by the Great Western Sugar Company. Wagon loads of German-Russian (Volga-Deutsch) immigrants were brought from Nebraska and Kansas to work in the fields near Fort Collins. Construction of homes on Peter Anderson's farm, thereafter, known as "Andersonville" in Fort Collins began in 1904. "Buckingham Place" was also established in 1904 on land owned by a wealthy Boulder banker. These communities were built adjacent to the beet sugar factory and originally housed the German-Russian workers and their families, who by 1910 were able to purchase farms or had secured different jobs in the city, and moved away from these communities. By 1910, to reassure an adequate labor supply, the Great Western Sugar Company recruited Spanish and Mexican-Americans from southern Colorado and

Texas. These workers and their families moved into Andersonville and Buckingham Place, replacing the German-Russian families. In 1923, the Great Western Sugar Company planned for a permanent "colony" of Mexican-American workers. Dwellings were constructed of adobe and the Company furnished straw, lime and gravel to the laborers, who were encouraged to build and own their own homes. This assured the Company of a steady and dependable work force. Thus, "Alta Vista" or "Spanish Colony" was platted and registered by the Great Western Sugar Company, "a no-man's land" with few if any city amenities" (Swanson, 1975, p. 63).

Among the first Mexican-American workers in the South Platte River Valley were Hinojos and Carmelita. These first generation immigrants from northern Mexico arrived separately in the Valley around 1920, seeking work and opportunities in the beet sugar industry. Hinojos and Carmelita met and were married in Fort Collins, Colorado, in 1933. They eventually had ten children. Hinojos and each of the children, as they were able, worked in the fields. They planted, thinned, weeded, hoed, and harvested sugar beets. They also worked in the harvest of potatoes, corn, beans, peppers, and onions. In the off-season, Hinojos worked at the Great Western Sugar factory in Fort Collins, Colorado and for the local railroad. Carmelita managed the home and raised their ten children.

Traditionally, Hinojos and Carmelita shared a strong bond with the Catholic Church and their ideal of family unity. As first generation immigrants to the area they were united to other Mexican-American immigrants by language, tradition, and origins. Their children, however, members of the second generation, emerged as a multidimensional personality profile. Many factors contributed to this changing profile including farm mechanization, urbanization, occupational changes, and social mobility which pushed the Mexican-American worker into the dominant Anglo-American arena. Daily interaction with Anglo individuals and families became necessary and commonplace. Mandatory education exposed Mexican-American children to new and different ideas, behaviors, vocabularies, and artifacts. In the classroom is where the second generation Mexican-American individual began to acquire the skills for living in two separate worlds (Hawthorne, 2000).

Educational achievement provided the Mexican-American individual the means for occupational advancement and social and economic mobility. Elevated economic status allowed many second generation Mexican-American individuals and families to choose new lifestyles outside the parameters of their insulated ethnic barrios (neighborhoods), and provided an opportunity for them to adopt Anglo-American lifestyles and values. By moving away from ethnic neighborhoods, first generation cultural and historical values diminished, extended families were separated, and the Catholic religion once a strong magnet of ethnic preservation took a secondary and adaptive role. As perspectives and lifestyles changed, Mexican-American characteristics and identities were becoming acculturated into the Anglo-American systems of thinking and behaving (Hawthorne, 2000).

Some Mexican-American individuals, although exposed to the dominant culture's educational system were either unable to achieve higher educational levels or chose not to value educational achievement, often thought of as an Anglo ideal. These individuals, therefore, achieved minimal levels in schools. They most often embraced and accentuated their traditional values, lifestyles and identities. They remained living in isolated barrios, attempting to avoid much of the influence of the dominant Anglo-American world. For them, occupational achievements, economic gains and social and economic mobility remained static (Hawthorne, 2000).

It was the second generation, therefore, by exposure and blending that diversified. Those who chose to or were able to move into the Anglo arena by means of educational achievement, job security and mobility, resettlement, and/ or language proficiency were not fully embracing or accepting of the entire Anglo-American system but were selective in their adoptions and were able to adapt them to their own needs and desires. It was the second generation who created a distinct and dimensional identity; one of duality and adaptability. They reorganized traditional structural and functional cultural patterns by applying new rules, acquiring new and different artifacts, and applying newly modified and appropriate behaviors. They realized that acculturation was inevitable, yet chose to be active participants in its process. They were also aware that they remained deeply entrenched in Mexican tradition as well as limited by discriminatory attitudes and behaviors, prohibiting them access to particular opportunities by the dominant Anglo society. For

many, these barrios were prevailing and prevented any opportunities for acculturation (Hawthorne, 2000). Richard Rodriguez (1991) described the second generation Mexican-American individual as one who “commuted between past and future (1982, p. 48) . . .lacked a public identity (p.136) . . .remained profoundly alien (p. 138). . .and perched (themselves) on a hyphen” (p. 159).

In Colorado, Hinojos and Carmelita and their ten children were representative of a population that was unique both historically and culturally. Most of the Mexican immigrants who immigrated to northern Colorado from Mexico came primarily in search of better jobs and improved lifestyles. They were not an indigenous population nor were they a population who was conquered in warfare. They were not landowners stripped of their land by fighting nations, but were poor and dependent from the onset of their arrival upon the Anglo-Americans for survival. The first generation was distinct because most were agricultural workers, who not long after their arrival were forced from agricultural work into the urban centers including Fort Collins, Greeley, Loveland, and Eaton by farm mechanization. The second generation were urban dwellers who resided in ethnic enclaves or barrios as children, and who either remained there or moved into the dominant Anglo-American communities as adults (Hawthorne, 2000).

Third generation characteristics, therefore, reflect a profound exposure and interaction with the Anglo-American population. As individuals living within or outside the ethnic neighborhoods, they are not isolated from Anglo-American beliefs, language, behaviors, and or/or artifacts. The third generation is an integrated and blended part of the “whole culture” that comprises the South Platte River Valley character profile (Hawthorne, 2000).

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this ethnographical study is to describe, explore, and visualize the characteristics and identities of members of a third generation extended Mexican-American family. The focus of the research is multifold. First, the study describes the cultural characteristics of a third generation Mexican-American family in northern Colorado. Second, the study examines changes that have occurred between generations and the factors that may have significantly contributed to these changes. Third, from a theoretical perspective, the study

explores similarities and differences in these cultural elements by addressing Mexican-American identity profiles and the factors that contributed to the processes of acculturation for this particular population. And fourth, from a methodological foundation, the data are analyzed based on narrative *Interpretivist* and *Constructivist* theoretical paradigms. The important questions asked are: What are the important cultural elements of the third generation family profile? Is there a significant change in a particular Mexican-American extended family profile that occurred across the second and third generations? What are the significant factors that contributed to social and cultural changes for this family? and, How has the process of acculturation defined the identities of the third generation for this particular extended family?

The major objective of this research is to present an in-depth study from one Mexican-American extended family over time in the context of the larger Mexican-American and Anglo-American communities in the South Platte River Valley of northeastern Colorado. From this sample family, the study seeks an understanding of the changes in the identity profile of the larger Mexican-American community, including changes that may have occurred in family and social networks, belief systems, social identity, attitudes regarding discrimination, and the role of education.

Definitions

An *ethnographical* approach is a means of collecting data that describes a particular human culture (Bernard, 1995). In this study, narratives will be used as ethnographic tools. **Mexican-Americans** are those individuals of Mexican descent whose parents, grandparents or great grandparents were born in Mexico. In this study, focus will be upon the second and the third generations. The **first generation of Mexican-Americans** are those individuals who were born south of the Rio Grande River in the Republic of Mexico, and who have immigrated to the United States. They may or may not be American citizens. In contrast, **second generation Mexican-Americans** are those individuals who were born in the United States to parents who immigrated to the United States from Mexico. They are American citizens. The **third generation Mexican-Americans** are those individuals who were born in the United States to parents of Mexican

descent who were born in the United States and were citizens. They also are American citizens. **Barrio** refers to a Mexican-American neighborhood. **Acculturation** refers to the process by which important changes take place within a culture as the result of contact with another culture. The process of **assimilation** is a complete loss of ethnic identity by which a situation of complete conformity at all social and cultural levels is experienced by an ethnic group (Hicks & Gwynne, 1996, p. 421).

Limitations

Limitations are conditions that restrict the scope of a study or may affect its outcome. One obstacle in this study was access to the Mexican-American population because of my **Anglo-American origins**. Many Mexican-American individuals are distrustful and suspicious towards *outsiders*, especially of Anglos. Often these attitudes are deeply engraved in many Mexican-American individuals, especially those who have or are working in the fields, and were and are used as defense mechanisms against discrimination and geographical and social isolation. The problem of **disclosure** is significant and certain family members may refuse to be interviewed and/ or to be audio-taped.

The scope of this study is limited by its **sample size**. The intent is to establish a foundation for further research on the Mexican-American population, specifically in northeastern Colorado. Its intention is not to describe and analyze the entire Mexican-American population in the United States, in the state of Colorado, nor in a particular area, in this case Larimer and Weld counties.

The use of interviews as primary data sources made evident the role of **subjective values** in its inquiry. Questions directed at interviewees were created and asked from an Anglo-American perspective and were woven with biases associated with social and economic class, educational levels, belief systems, age and gender, and communications styles..

Written data on the Mexican-American population in northeastern Colorado is not copious, reliable and/or consistent. Most often, this specific population is generalized with the Hispanic populations of the San Luis Valley and Huerfano and Las Animas counties in the southeastern

quadrant of the state of Colorado. Although they may share similar cultural elements and language, they do not share similar histories or cultural profiles.

Communication barriers which include verbal as well as non-verbal communication skills may emerge in communication processes. Although all members of the family speak English, members of the second generation learned English as a second language and often were unable to express exactly what they meant in their second language. All members of the third generation spoke English although for some, English was not their first language. Non-verbal characteristics such as kinesics, proxemics and paralanguage may also dictate limitations for this study.

Delimitations

The selected **subject sample** was determined and defined within one extended family over three generations. The first generation represented a family that immigrated to northeastern Colorado from Mexico around 1920. As was typical of many Mexican immigrant families, this family escaped the instability of Mexican political turmoil in their search for work across their northern national border. The second and third generations are extended family members, descendants of the first generation immigrants. The family is not a random selection nor is it necessarily representative of the entire Mexican-American population in northeastern Colorado, or even of Larimer or Weld counties. The sample selection was chosen based on size, history, ethnicity, accessibility and their interest and willingness to participate in this inquiry. Population sampling in qualitative research is seldom random or representative, but is purposive (Bernard, 1995). It is intended to provide maximum insight and understanding of what it studied by exploiting competitive and multiple perspectives regarding similar events as fully as possible (Ary, 1996).

The **geographical area** is significant for this study because it represents a Mexican-American population with a unique history. The Mexican-American individuals and families in northeastern Colorado were not indigenous to the area nor were they a population that was conquered and suppressed in warfare. Most Mexican-American individuals came to northeastern Colorado as immigrants from Mexico; a few others came north from southern Colorado and northern New

Mexico, primarily in search of better jobs and better lifestyles. They were not landowners who were stripped of their land, but were dependent upon the dominant Anglo-American population for survival. As a population, therefore, they were unique, both historically and culturally.

The third generation extended family members represent a diverse continuum of individuals, including members who remain living in the barrio who remain close to traditional ways, and those who have sought higher education and have acquired independent lifestyles within the dominant Anglo-American arena. This **diversity** adds a further dimension to the study.

Of utmost consideration to this study is the familiarity and **trustworthiness** that they and I have developed over the past seven years. Time and trust are essential elements to any qualitative research.

Need and Significance

The purpose of this study is to describe and explore the characteristics, perspectives, and identities of members of a third generation Mexican-American family, by describing historical and cultural elements characteristic of the first, second and third generations and by exploring and explaining factors that may have contributed to any changes or staticism across generations.

It has been determined that the Hispanic population is the fastest growing population of Colorado's minority groups, growing at a rate of 73 percent statewide between 1990 and 2000. According to the 2000 Census Report, the state's Hispanic population grew to 735,601 in 2000, just over 17 percent of the population. This is a far larger population percentage than the national average of 12.5 percent. In contrast, the Anglo-American's share of the overall population fell from 81 percent in 1990 to 75 percent in 2000. In Larimer County, Hispanics grew from 6.6 percent to 8.3 percent; and in Weld County, from 20.9 percent to 27.1 percent between 1990 and 2000 (United States Census Bureau, 2000). Colorado's fast growing Hispanic population poses new challenges for many of the state's government programs, especially in the fields of health care and education. From a social and economic standpoint, a better understanding of the impact of this overall change in the state's ethnic landscape is essential in addressing the developing needs of a growing Hispanic community.

Historical and cultural data can contribute to these needs by providing useful information to governmental agencies, educational systems, Colorado residents and to the Hispanic community as a whole. Historical and cultural data can offer Hispanic residents a record of their origins and backgrounds and define an identity and place for them in the cultural landscape, promoting self awareness, self esteem and pride to Mexican-American individuals and families. The community as a whole can benefit by achieving a better awareness and understanding of the Mexican-American identity profiles, which in turn will provide a foundation to better address and confront the inevitable challenges that lie ahead. The state of Colorado will be able to increase Hispanic access to opportunities for social and economic stability and assist them in the processes of adaptation and acculturation.

This is the first in-depth study of this type for the third generation Mexican-American population in northern Colorado. A specific objective of this study is to bring the Mexican-American story out of the closets of Colorado's past by presenting an in-depth analysis of one extended family. Generally, in the past, researchers have continually given us questionable larger pictures, sadly without much or any detailed data on the lives of real people particular to northern Colorado. Rather northern populations are often embedded into the general history and culture of the entire state of Colorado. Hopefully, this study will provide a framework and some much needed emic and etic data in order to help understand the larger picture as well as provide a basis for future works for other researchers.

Researcher's Perspectives

As researcher and writer, I share a long and enduring interest with the Mexican-American culture in northeastern Colorado. I was born in Denver, Colorado, but spent most of my years in Larimer and Weld counties, where I am a third generation Anglo-American. As a child, I watched the Mexican-American family members toil in the sugar beet fields. I sensed the strong essence of the beet sugar industry in northeastern Colorado. Sugar beet agriculture was part of my education as well as one of my first experiences. As a cultural anthropologist, I focused my research and studies on this specific population. I have achieved a trusting and sharing

relationship with many of the Mexican-American families in the area. In 2000, I researched and developed a *Thesis* on the first and second generation of this extended Mexican-American family. My interest and my heart find comfort in conversations with these family members. My goal is to share their experiences by means of personal oral and visual narratives. In so doing, I hope to enlighten all individuals to their contributions and sense of place in Colorado's history and culture and offer a better understanding of their beliefs, behaviors, and contributions.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The present research concerning the emerging changes in the third generation of an extended Mexican-American family in northern Colorado is based on an integrated blend of interactive dialogic narratives, visual presentations assembled and presented by family members, written survey questionnaires addressing demographic data, and a review of primary and secondary materials, all grounded in a theoretical framework derived from anthropological and educational perspectives. Demographic and qualitative data were compiled and analyzed as important aspects of an ethnographical study that will explore and compare the cultural and historical themes of a particular Mexican-American family over three generations.

Agricultural labor needs in the 1920's lured first generation family members to northern Colorado in search of job opportunities and improved styles of living. By the 1940s, however, farm mechanization was replacing animal and human labor, forcing many workers and their families into urban centers within the area. Although in general all second generation family members worked the fields of northern Colorado as children, they lived in ethnic communities in urban centers where they by law, attended neighborhood schools that exposed them to dominant Anglo-American ideas, behaviors, vocabularies, and artifacts. The process of acculturation, thus, was initiated in the second generation. As adults, the second generation family members diversified in subsistence strategies, settlement patterns, religious and political ideologies, social and economic mobility and status, and in world view and values; some adopting Anglo-American ways, and others attempting to sustain a traditional mode of living. By the third generation, attachments and knowledge of heritages in Mexico were held only tentatively in memories of the second generation, and generally, not passed on to or known by the third generation.

The previous study provided an overview of literature that was pertinent to the understanding of the cultural and historical evolution of one immigrant family from Mexico to northern Colorado

by reviewing past research in Mexican immigration and acculturation patterns with a focus on the factors that significantly contributed to social and cultural changes and to identity formation over generations and time (See Appendix A). This chapter will provide an overview of literature associated with third generation individuals of Mexican descent who immigrated to the United States. Salient issues that are relevant to the characteristics of the third generation Mexican-American profile, and social and cultural changes that influence identity are discussed in relation to a particular family as the unit of analysis in relation to the following research questions: What are the important cultural elements of the third generation family profile? Is there a significant change in a particular Mexican-American extended family profile that occurred across the second and third generations, and if so, what are the important factors that occurred across generations? What are the significant factors that contributed to social and cultural changes for this family? How has the process of acculturation defined the identities of the third generation for this particular extended family? This is a limited review of literature because data collection is primarily focused on narrative and visual inquiry. Unlike most ethnographical research, this study does not primarily rely on documentation and other written materials. It is important that the researcher allows the storytellers to position the study in its context within the literary field and direct the researcher in a significant search for relative data resources.

Although specific written data on the Mexican-American population in northern Colorado is rare, generally not reliable or consistent, research material will be reviewed concerning social and cultural change and identity in relationship to the third generation of the Mexican-American population in the state of Colorado and in the United States. A primary and secondary literature review will enhance the primary knowledge base that is constructed through data collection attained in narrative and, thus, will allow the researcher to acquire a thorough knowledge of salient elements of this population from an emic point of view which will direct the design of the study.

Consistent with the objectives proposed above, the approach to reviewing relevant literature composed of the following topic areas: The role of family history, family and social networks, world views associated with religious beliefs and values, social identity in relation to language and

ethnicity, the effects of discriminatory attitudes and behaviors directed at this particular population, and the value placed on education in definitions of "success" and levels of acculturation.

In a previous study, *Cultural History of a Mexican-American Family in the South Platte River Valley of Northern Colorado* (Hawthorne, 2000) the first generation, Hinojos and Carmelita, and eight of their ten children the second generation, were interviewed and their narratives were presented and analyzed in a *Thesis* for the Department of Anthropology at Colorado State University. In this study, the following question were addressed, "What are the characteristics of the northern Mexican-American population, and what makes this particular population profile unique?" The paramount objective of this research was to present an in-depth study from one Mexican-American family over time in the context of the larger Mexican-American and Anglo-American communities in northern Colorado. From this sample family, the study sought out an understanding of the social and cultural changes of the personality profile of the larger Mexican-American community, including changes in subsistence strategies; settlement patterns; family organization, systems, and values; religious ideologies and practices; social mobility; and identities over two generations.

Several major conclusions were evident from material discussed in this study as observed by the family members. Foremost, the data revealed the emergence of a multidimensional personality profile during the second generation, commencing around 1940. Many factors contributed to the emergence of this dimensional profile. The unfolding and thus "splitting" of personalities in the second generation was first stimulated by the pervasive utilization of mechanized farm implements by the agricultural industry in northern Colorado. When machines replaced hand labor in the fields Mexican-American field workers, who were socially and economically isolated in rural settings, were forced into nearby urban centers in search of new and different jobs.

Second, urban settlement (*barrio-ism*) and occupational changes pushed the Mexican-American worker into the dominant Anglo-American cultural arena. The Mexican-American barrios remained socially and physically isolated from the surrounding Anglo-American neighborhoods or business districts. Although the two cultures lived separately, daily interaction

between them became necessary and commonplace. Included in this interaction was the mandatory education for children. For the first time, Mexican-American children were required to attend school on a regular and permanent basis. Through education they were exposed to new and different ideas, behaviors, vocabularies, and artifacts. It was in the classroom where they would begin to acquire the skills for living in two separate worlds.

Third, educational achievement provided the Mexican-American individual the means for occupational advancements and economic gains which in turn offered upward social mobility. Elevated economic and social status allowed many Mexican-American families to choose new lifestyles outside the barrios (*debarrio-ism*). Many of these families chose to move into Anglo-American neighborhoods and to adopt Anglo-American lifestyles and values.

Fourth, by moving away from the isolated ethnic barrios traditional values diminished. Extended family members were separated and the Catholic religion took on a secondary and adaptive role as perspectives and identities were becoming acculturated into the Anglo-American social and cultural systems.

Not all Mexican-American individuals, however, were mobile. Many individuals and families, although exposed to educational opportunities, were either unable to achieve higher educational levels or chose not to value educational achievement and, therefore, attained minimal educational levels in school. Erlinda and Marta were unable to accomplish higher education because they were needed to help support and care for their younger siblings. Some Mexican-American individuals rejected educational achievement as an "Anglo ideal." These particular individuals often embraced and accentuated their traditional values, lifestyles, and distinctive identities by remaining in the barrios. They avoided acculturation into the Anglo-American world and chose to remain "traditionalists" with distinctive identities (*rebarrio-ism*). Occupational advancements, economic gains, and social mobility remained static for the traditionalists.

Through educational exposure and achievement many of the second generation Mexican-American population diversified and a heterogeneous personality profile began to evolve. On one end of the profile was an emerging middle class with higher educational achievement levels. Although highly acculturated into the Anglo-American social and cultural arena, they were not fully

embracing or accepting of the entire Anglo-American system but were selective in their adoptions and were able to adapt those to their needs and desires. Other factors also contributed to acculturation levels. Of utmost significance were discriminatory attitudes and behaviors and the limiting accessibility to opportunities by the dominant Anglo-American society.

Thus, through the acculturation process many of the family members of the second generation created their own distinct personality and identity, one of duality and adaptability. This unique personality had reorganized traditional structural and functional patterns by applying new rules, acquiring new and different artifacts, and applying appropriate behaviors. They realized that acculturation was inevitable, yet chose to be active in its process and limiting in its absorption. They were aware that emotionally and intellectually they remained deeply entrenched in Mexican tradition. The process of acculturation for the second generation was best summarized by Richard Rodriguez (1982; & 1992) as one in which an individual "commutes between past and future (1992, p. 48). . . .lacks a public identity (1982, p. 138). . . .remains profoundly alien (1992, p. 135). . .and is perched on a hyphen (p. 159)."

When asked the question, "Was the Mexican-American population in northern Colorado distinct?" The answer was yes, both historically and culturally. Historically, they differed from other Mexican populations in the state in that northern Colorado had not been a part of Spain or Mexico. The Mexican immigrants in northern Colorado came from Mexico primarily in search of jobs and improved lifestyles. They were not an indigenous population nor were they a population who were conquered in warfare. They were not landowners who were stripped of their land by fighting nations but were poor and despondent individuals who from the onset were placed in a dependent and vulnerable position by the Anglo-American population for survival.

Their predominant distinction, however, was their immigration into northern Colorado as agricultural workers. Forced from the fields by farm mechanization only twenty years after their arrival, they were faced with finding a place in a dominant Anglo arena. Many secured jobs for the State and City Government or the local Universities where they were able to move up the social and economic ladders in two generations. They were no longer "cultural islands" but integrated and essential parts of the "whole" culture that comprised the northern Colorado character.

This study provided a structural framework, as well as important data for constructing a personality profile of a first and second generation Mexican-American family who originally emigrated from Mexico in the early 1920s to work in the agricultural fields of northern Colorado. It laid a foundation for allowing a continuation of family narratives in the current study that proposes to explore and examine the social and cultural changes that occurred for third generation family members.

Third Generation: Cultural Staticism or Change Across Generations and Time

My parents knew only that they desired us to be like American children. . . .they must step down from the throne of parental authority, and take the law from their children's mouths; for they had no other means of finding out what was good American form. The result. . . makes for friction, and sometimes ends in breaking up a family. . . .The sad process of disintegration of home life may be observed in almost any immigrant family of our class and with our traditions and aspirations. It is part of the process of Americanization. . . .It is the cross that the first and second generations must bear (Antin, 1912, pp. 271-273).

Specifically, this section will address family and social networks; their structures, roles, and function; world views, religious beliefs and values systems; the roles of language and ethnicity in social and cultural identity; discrimination and other barriers in the process of acculturation; the role of education on social mobility or staticism; and the new multidimensional identity profiles that have emerged through the processes of acculturation, both internally and externally across generations and time.

Immigration in its larger perspectives is one of the dynamic trends that shaped American culture. Most of those who came to America were peasants, displaced by economic factors in their country of origin (Hanson, 1952). Gamio stated (1971) that Mexican immigration into the United States fundamentally was an economic phenomenon, the automatic result of increasing demand for labor in the one country and available supply of laborers in the other (p. 30). First generation individuals and families who came to America were immigrants looking for jobs and opportunities for better living conditions. They began immigrating to northern Colorado in the early 1900s and most worked as fieldworkers in sugar beet agriculture, as laborers for the beet sugar industry, in the local stone quarries, or in building the networks of railroads. These Mexican laborers served as the principal work force in the industrialization and development of

agribusiness in the southwestern United States. Without Mexican labor, high profits and large-scale expansion in industries, transportation, and agribusiness would have been impossible (Romo, 1975).

The Mexican immigrants came with a different language and value system that positioned them in unpredictable and capricious contexts, generally following the crops as migrant laborers. Their problems were further compounded by the way the employment system was organized. The migrant worker had no control over the order and regularity of their daily lives. Exposed to the values of the dominant society, yet outside of it, migrants were in a position of consistent ambiguity. They learned quickly that discontinuity and unresolvable uncertainty was to be expected (Nelkin, 1970). They lived in nomadic isolation dependent upon crew leaders in fear of the dominant White world. Nelkin stated, "It was the first generation whose goals were influenced by the values of the larger society, but their experiences told them that they were not within its grasp" (p. 486).

Hansen (1952) perceived the second generation as one where in the classroom they were too foreign and at home they were too American. Language, religion, customs, and parental authority were not to be modified by the first generation. When the son or daughter refused to conform to traditional ideas and behaviors, his and her actions were considered a rebellion of ungrateful children for whom so many advantages had been provided. In an article that examined how *Mexicana* identities are created, shaped and developed through the construction of narratives, a *Mexicana* stated, "My mother's *consejos* (stories) help me because I do not want to live like my parents. My father works in the fields and my mother in the restaurant. I do not like either working in the field or in the restaurant. With a career I can find a better job. With a job that I like and that I know how to do I can come out ahead" (p. 97). The gap between the two generations was widening. The second generation questioned how they would reside in two worlds. They would forget and lose the evidences of foreign origins.

Gans (1992) addressed the concept of "fear of second-generation decline" (p. 173). Specifically, a fear that some members of the second generation, especially those whose parents did not themselves escape poverty, could in adulthood finish in persistent poverty because they

would either not be asked or would be reluctant to work at immigrant wages and hours as their parents did, but would lack the job opportunities, skills, and connections to do better (p. 174). Gans stated, "This could happen if the children of the immigrants, having shed the immigrant parental work norms, do not find the income, job security, and working conditions they expect but are not asked to take, or they turn down jobs involving minimal security, low wages, long hours, and unpleasant working conditions because they have become sufficiently Americanized in their work and status and their expectations to reject 'immigrant' jobs" (p. 182). They also did not have the long-ranging goals that persuaded their parents to work long hours at low wages. From their perspective, immigrant jobs were demeaning. One result of second-generation decline was higher unemployment and the consequences that are associated with poverty. Some delayed acculturation, insulating themselves from American work and work ethics. For others, acculturation was more partial or segmented or what Rumbaut (1991) has called "bicultural." According to Rumbaut (1991), "The development process for second generation individuals can be complicated by experiences of intense acculturative and intergenerational conflicts as they strive to adapt in social identity contexts that may be racially and culturally dissonant" (p. 753).

Second generation Mexican-Americans in northern Colorado were forced into urban environments because of farm mechanization beginning in the 1940s. By the 1960s, people of Mexican descent were no longer able or were unwilling to work in agricultural jobs but were often excluded for lack of skills or other reasons from better jobs. In Fort Collins and Greeley, Colorado, service-oriented jobs were opening up at the State government level and through the State universities. Many Mexican-American individuals of the second generation were able to obtain these jobs and were able to escape the poverty of their parents' generation (Hawthorne, 2000).

It was the third generation who wished to remember the first. Hansen (1952) described this common phenomenon as "a spontaneous and almost irresistible impulse (that) arises, which forces the thoughts of many people of different professions, different positions in life, and different points of view to interest themselves in that one factor which they have in common: heritage"

(p. 497). Third generation individuals who are American born lack substantial command of Mexican culture and express regret that they cannot pass on more traditions to their children (Keefe, 1992). It is the second generations, their parents, however, who do not stress Mexican traits and emphasize an Americanized upbringing as "probably for the best. . .I don't tell them about Mexico because they are happy the way they are" (p. 41). According to Macias (1985), "during the first half of the twentieth century, most European immigrant groups did not pass on their native languages intergenerationally" (p. 306). Lopez (1982) observed, "The degree to which third and subsequent generations continue to use and pass on Spanish is more questionable, but the best evidence is that while there is a sharp drop between the second and third generations, the latter are still more 'language loyal' than the third generations of other ethnic groups" (p.1).

Although it is true that Mexican-Americans come from different realities, it is also true that a new reality is being born among them in the United States in their struggle against political, economic, and social structures that are loaded against them (Gonzalez, 1992). It is a new reality that will not allow itself to be classified according to the parameters established by the dominant Anglo culture. It is a combination of traditional ways with new ones that are created out of contact with Mexican and American cultures, which form the web of the new reality in America (p.15). The new "reality" is staged in the third generation of Mexican-Americans in America, in their family and social networks, values and world views, language, ethnicity, and identities; and is continuously influenced by external forces including education, discrimination and pressures to acculturate. A literature review concerning third generation Mexican-American profiles will include these multidimensional "realities."

Family and Social Networks

Staples and Mirande (1980) in their decennial review of the literature on minority families, reported that research and models describing the Mexican-American family fall into three historical groupings. First, social and cultural researchers, including Madsen (1964), portrayed the Mexican-American family as very traditional in structure and values and distinguished by an extended patriarchal structure with firm sex roles best exemplified by *machismo* and *marianismo*.

R. Jones (1948) noted, "In spite of the scarcity of accurate and detailed knowledge of the characteristics of Mexican immigrants and their descendants, it is perhaps legitimate to make certain generalizations drawing upon case records. . . (yet) it should not be forgotten, however, that there are great variations in the background of these people" (p. 451).

During the 1970s and 1980s, a second wave of literature concerning the Mexican-American family was primarily authored by social scientists of Mexican-American descent, including Montiel ((1970) and Mirande (1977), who began to question the methodologies and assumptions of the Mexican-American family and criticized previous viewpoints as being overly ethnocentric (Del Castillo, 1984). These authors, instead, focused on positive representations of Mexican-American families, especially on their "adaptive capacities and the supportive content of parental roles" (Vega, Patterson, Sallis, Nader, Atkins, & Abramson, 1988, p. 858). Montiel (1973) emphasized that previous generalizations about the position of the Mexican-American family were not based on reality. Instead, he emphasized that the same complexity and multiplicity that is found in the general Mexican-American population is also found in the family of virtually every Mexican-American.

Also in the 1970s and 1980s, articles associated with empirical research contradicted previous arguments surrounding the structure and role of the Mexican-American family. According to Vega, Patterson, et al (1988), these studies were "isolated research investigations . . . (that were) certainly not definitive, (and) remain(ed) few in number. . . (as well as) they have limited sample sizes" (p. 858). Regardless, these authors applauded their consistency in finding little evidence to support the earlier emphasis on the patriarchal family prototype for the Mexican-American family. For example, these studies did not find supportive indications of inflexibility in the division of labor, exclusively male dominance in decision-making, or egalitarian family dynamics as normative ideologies or behaviors (Grebler, Moore, Guzman, 1970; Cromwell & Cromwell, 1978; Ybarra, 1982; & Zinn, 1980 in Vega, Patterson, et al, 1986).

In particular, Zinn (1975) researched the process of acculturation, and its effects on traditional family relationships. Her findings indicated changes in the structure of the Mexican-American family; however, she emphasized the importance of understanding that the extended traditional

family remained a protective device, a source of trust, and a refuge for individuals of Mexican descent in the face of adversities in an oppressive society. The family was, thus, a resource for individuals to draw upon for resistance and identity; and that the structure of families cannot and should not be attributed solely to acculturation or modernization. Keefe, Padilla and Carlos (1979) agreed. In their study, they compared and contrasted the family structure of both Mexican-American and Anglo ethnic groups and their reliance on kin for emotional support. They found that extended family networks in Mexican-American families were more available, both emotionally and geographically and, therefore, more accessible for visiting and reciprocal exchange. What they questioned, however, was the ideal and the real. They explained, "In sum, although our research shows that Mexican-Americans rely greatly on familial support, there is no indication that this is a uniquely Mexican-American trait" (p. 151).

In addition, Kramer (as cited in Keefe, 1979), argued that "although after one or two generations, ethnic groups in the United States tend readily to adopt the majority's cultural patterns, they remain separate social groups ("gilded ghettos") with distinctive, ethnically enclosed primary group relations" (p. 350). He noted that although Mexican-American individuals have continuous contact with Anglos at the work place, in schools, and in public arenas, they may have no intimate relationships with Anglos and, therefore, no comprehensive knowledge about them, regardless of their socioeconomic or acculturative status. Prejudice and discrimination by the dominant Anglo society are powerful barriers that restrict primary relations between ethnic groups; however, Keefe (1979) believed that separation may also be the result of the desire to share certain feelings of ethnic pride and feel comfortable with others of similar background. Given these situations, the family continues to be the core for support and comfort, regardless of acculturation, social mobility, or urbanization.

Del Castillo (1975) disagreed, "It seems evident from what can be observed in the experience of the Chicano family that modernization did significantly alter traditional family" (p. 90). He further hypothesized that Chicano families living in urban neighborhoods, were "drastically affected by currents of economic change, much more than European immigrant families in similar situations"

(p. 94). Later, in a publication "La Familia" (1984) he stated, "in the popular imagination, Mexican-Americans, including the most recent immigrants from Mexico, are assumed to be family oriented . . . a constellation of paradoxes. . . within the family Mexican Americans are supposed to be unusually warm, caring, and protective. . . (and) have a great respect for the elder family members and a great respect for parental discipline and familial authority. . . while also being authoritarian, dysfunctional, and essentially un-American" (pp. 2-3). Del Castillo emphasized regional, cultural, social and economic class, and ethnic complexity and variability of the Mexican family in the United States; and noted that the salient issues in most Mexican-American families was the disruptive effects of industrialization and urbanization which he identified as, "the continuing dilemmas posed by Mexican immigration, intermarriage with the non-Mexican heritage population, changes in the values surrounding the patriarchal family, and the problems of family solidarity in a fast-changing environment" (p. 8). A conflict between what people have valued and expected in America, and what they actually have been able to achieve, between the ideal and the real, are central to all Mexican-American families.

Moore (1970) considered *familism* to be one of the most important culture-specific values of Hispanics. Familism was generally described as including a strong identification and attachment of individuals with their families, and strong feelings of loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity among members of the same family. In a study by Mindel (1980), the results of a comparative investigation of extended familism among 455 Mexican-Americans, Anglo, and Black participants living in an inner city were examined. Findings indicated that Mexican-Americans exhibited the highest level of extended familism. The study found that Mexican Americans were more likely to have both nuclear and extended kin present in the community; they tended to interact with their kin more than other ethnic groups; and they appeared to engage in more extensive kinship interaction. Mindel concluded, "The most cursory examination of the findings lead immediately to the conclusion that there is no single, truly "American" family system. . . Each family pattern is a consequence of unique social, historical, and cultural experiences" (p. 31).

An interesting study on the relationship of acculturation and sociodemographic characteristics to social supports was studied in a representative sample of adult Mexican-Americans by Griffith

and Villavicencio (1985). Respondents named persons on whom they depended when personal problems arose. Results found that later generation Mexican-Americans had larger support networks, more contact with network members, more reciprocal assistance, and depended more on primary kin for social support than did earlier generation members.

Vernon and Roberts (1985) attempted to define social networks: "social networks may be viewed as the structural framework within which support is provided, while social support includes all of the resources, both emotional and material, that are available to an individual" (p. 386). Using this definition, they were not able to address the issue of whether and how measures of social support may be culturally biased; nor did the data speak to the issue of whether or not questions were interpreted similarly. For example, they stated, "it is possible that the process of giving and receiving support among Mexican-Americans may differ in quality from that for Anglos and be evaluated differently" (387).

Sabogal, Marin and Otero (1987) investigated the effects of acculturation on attitudinal familism in a study of 452 Hispanics and 227 Anglos and concluded that familism is indeed a core characteristic in the Hispanic culture. Familial obligations and the perception of the family as referents appeared to diminish with acculturation levels; however, perception of family support, both emotional and institutional had not changed.

In a study examining the relationship between acculturation level and family functioning, Rueschenberg and Buriel (1989) asked the research question: "As families of Mexican-American descent acculturate, do they become increasingly involved with social systems outside the family while the basic internal family system remains essentially unchanged?" (p. 232). The results indicated that patterns of intrafamilial relationships and interactions do not appear to differ substantially from one generation to the next despite the fact that English becomes the primary language and family members become active participants in American society. They found that the Mexican-American family does not decline despite decreasingly cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty. The only external family system variable that did not change with acculturation was moral-religious emphasis. The overall results of this study support a differential relationship between acculturation and family functioning. They do suggest, however, that acculturation into the

dominant American society may be better explained by a bicultural model that accounts for differential patterns of acculturation while viewing acculturation as a multidimensional process (Ramirez, 1983). According to Rueschenberg and Buriel (1989), "Perhaps, the more salient question is not whether families change during acculturation but in what areas of family functioning these changes take place" (p. 242).

As the twentieth-first century emerges, the acculturation process operates as more and more a salient issue for the Mexican-American family. According to Del Castillo (1984), a new era of economic and cultural changes has added to the complex mosaic which is the Mexican-American family, a mixture of older traditions with newer ones and by a conflict between ideals of family life and everyday reality. The Mexican-American family continues to have to be flexible, pluralistic, and adaptive to survive.

World view: Religion and Values

Alexander and Suzuki (2001) defined "world view" as a "set of beliefs, values and assumptions that undergirds behavior and emotional reactions; provides an implicit frame of reference for the interpretation of all the world and its experiences; and is derived from a person's social and cultural world (including family, primary group, secondary social cultural groups, community, and nation" (p. 502). Variables that impact world view are gender, age, occupation, immigrant status, race, nationality, majority versus minority status, and religion. Shannon (1979) avowed, "world view of persons within each group can be accounted for in part by a combination of place of socialization and early life experiences" (p. 60). For the Mexican-American population, it has been assumed that world view is centered within belief systems based on religion, specifically the tenets of the Catholic Church and around the concept of "familism," which acts as the core for individual, family, and community value, ideological and behavioral systems.

Religion

Christiano (1993) suggested that "religious devotion among Hispanic Catholics is rooted in a richly textured folk piety that is conveyed through common people and centered in the home"

(p. 27). He added that this folk religion is "active and celebratory, not decorous and restrained . . . (and) mediated by grandmothers, mothers, and women in general, who communicate their religious ideologies in an oral tradition within the context of the 'barrios'" (p. 27). Its significance is not in the cognitive, but in feelings sensed through the processes of ritual and symbolic enactment. Primary concern was placed on immediate experiences of God, strong orientation toward healing, and a tendency to personalize or individualize one's religion with the divine: a mythology made real through ritual. Today, however, according to Christiano, "large numbers of Spanish-speaking Catholics are looking to other religions for something they cannot find in the Catholic religion" (p. 59). Further, he noted, "the Catholic Church represents an unreachable hierarchy of officials who represent a coldly mechanical liturgy. . . Clergy is thought to be harsh and judgmental and neglectful of cultural differences" (p. 59). Using data from the General Social Surveys of the American population, Greeley (1988) estimated that, in a fifteen year period extending through the 1970s and the 1980s, approximately one million Hispanic Catholics left the Church for Protestant Church affiliation. Why? According to Christiano, the Protestant Church offered comfort in an environment attune to different cultural styles. In addition, Protestant affiliation represented an "Americanized" status associated with higher education and a middle-class social economic level.

In a study using data from three generations of Mexican-Americans in San Antonio, Texas, Markides and Cole (1984) found that the overwhelming majority of respondents were Catholics and that "little change in religious affiliation took place from generation to generation" (p. 618). Catholics constituted 85.2 percent in the first generation, 83.3 in the second; and 81.1 in the third generation (1984). They added, ". . . religious affiliation is a dominant force in the maintenance of ethnic identity" (p. 623). Later, Greeley (1988) found that approximately 10 percent of the Hispanic Catholics in the United States were defecting to Protestant denominations, usually Baptist or Fundamentalist. Greeley stated two reasons. First, because the Catholic Church was not reaching the poorest of its Hispanic members and that a "vacuum had been created into which the (Protestant) sects rush with their enthusiasm, their grass-roots ministry, their concern about the religious problems of ordinary people and their *native* clergy" (p. 62). In addition,

Greeley believed that the Protestant denominations have a special appeal to the new middle-class because they provide a means of breaking with the old traditions and becoming responsible and respectable members of the American middle-class niche that allows some upward mobility.

Greeley stated, "The Catholic Church's failure to this perspective is to provide community and respectability for the upwardly mobile Hispanic American" (p. 62). Gans (1994) observed that in the past, upwardly mobile immigrants or their descendants gave up their religious affiliation in exchange for a more prestigious American one. Today, however, he noted, "the increase in religious pluralism and the declining importance of religious membership as an indicator of prestige and a means of a higher-class position. . . have reduced the need for conversion" (p. 587), affiliation, or attendance especially in the Catholic Church.

Levin, Jeffrey, Markides, Kyriakos, Ray and et al (1996) conducted a study to examine the effects of religious attendance on life satisfaction for 624 three-generational Mexican-Americans in Texas. The study revealed a cross-sectional association between religious attendance and life satisfaction in the two older generations. Findings confirmed earlier work pointing to the importance of regular, formal religious involvement for the well-being of Mexican-American families. Further, the frequency of religious attendance has been found to decline with successive generations of three-generational Mexican-American families despite high levels of intergenerational consistency in Mexican-American families (Markides & Cole, 1984). Levin, et al also found that "religious attendance serves as a source of connectedness to one's cultural traditions and, thus, for older and middle-aged adults represents a salient correlate of life satisfaction. For members of the youngest generation, more acculturated than their elders and less regular in their religious participation, religious attendance may not be as direct a source of contemporaneous life satisfaction" (p. 462).

Gans (1994) identified religious affiliation as a *symbolic ethnicity*, a consumption of religious symbols apart from regular participation in a religious culture or organization, for the purpose of expressing feelings of religiosity and religious identification" (p. 577). This "symbolism" identified an individual with a particular ethnicity without participation in the existing ethnic organizations or without practicing in the organized ethnic culture. "*Symbolic religiosity*, according to Gans, is the

consumption of religious symbols apart from regular participation in a religious culture and in religious affiliations in order to create minimal complications or barriers for dominant lifestyles (p. 582). In other words, religion has been forced to be flexible and accommodating to other primary interests in third generation individuals becoming a "home-centered" ideology that enables participants to neglect or abbreviate the religious rituals and free themselves from the objections of religious dogma and officials and/or from the social control of community members. According to Gans (1994), American religion is increasingly similar to American ethnicity; it is also becoming almost completely voluntary. Because religious practices, organizations, and cultures are subject to acculturation processes, Gans noted that a marked decline of several religious practices was discernible from the first to the third generation, ". . . perhaps this suggests that religious homogamy is being replaced by educational homogamy" (p. 582) made manifest by spousal choices for third generation Mexican-Americans.

Kalmun (1991) also observed the declining salience of religious boundaries in the Mexican-American population and that this decline has been accompanied by a rising importance of educational boundaries in spousal selection. Herberg (1955) regarded the "high degrees of religious endogamy as evidence that religion defines social groups whose members share a sense of group identity while maintaining a distance from others in primary relationships" (p. 787). While Herberg contended that there had been a shift from national to religious boundaries, Kalmun examined the declining importance of religion. He acknowledged that associated with this decline, the importance of education in assortative mating has increased. Inter-marriage across religious borders reflects a secularization of cultural differences between religious groups, a convergence between Protestant and Catholics in attitudes about marriage and family roles and beliefs. This general shift from ascriptive group boundaries to achieved characteristics like education suggests that marriage choice has become individualized. Kalmun emphasized, "the importance of this study was in its rejection of the traditional view that in American society religion plays a central role in defining communal groups" (Lenski, 1961 cited in Kalmun, p. 798). The observed "weakening" of religious boundaries in marriage choice can be interpreted as evidence that the traditional American "communal" religion has given way to an "associational" religion.

Values

Montiel (cited in Zinn, 1979) assumed similarities between value orientations among Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. The conceptual framework of culturally accepted values included male dominance, especially in the role of father in the family context and the necessary and absolute self-sacrifice of the mother. Falicov (1982) also recognized this conceptual framework based on the notion of *familism*. Familism was interdependence in a lateral and vertical family support system, whereas, the father was the disciplinarian and protector of his family; the mother was the nurturer and supporter of her children in an idealized role of self denial; children were expected to be obedient and respectful of family members and elders; and community members should socialize with *respeto* (respect), *dignidad* (dignity), and *pobre pero honesto* (poor but honest).

Life situation and subculture were examined to determine how they influenced beliefs about manageability of the future in association with the concepts of risk and uncertainty in a study by Turner and Kiecolt (1984). Dealing with risk and uncertainty depends on how the past, present, and future are experienced. According to Turner and Kiecolt, Mexican-Americans have a greater preoccupation with future and share with Anglos a disposition to believe that the future is predictable and have faith that they can have a role in its management. This perspective is contradictory to usual findings that Mexican-Americans are more fatalistic and less future-oriented than Anglos. This study, however, found that they became less fatalistic as they move to urban centered and experience better opportunities and life situations.

Arredondo (1994) in a video "Cultural Considerations for Working More Effectively with Latin American Individuals" summarized *Latina/Latino* value orientations (see Table 1). These value orientations tend to reflect those suggested earlier, whereas, values were based on concepts of familism and Catholicism.

Segura and Pierce (1993) argued against the assumption that Chicanas and Chicanos "maintain and affirm a distinct culture that emphasizes familism, *compadrazgo* and a collectivist orientation that is devalued by the dominant culture's emphasis on individualism" (p. 70). They suggested that this type of assumption indicates that Chicana/o families are primarily associated with the working class and often among the working poor. They argued that in the Chicana/o

families, "the blending of gender, identity, and ethnicity creates forms of masculine and feminine personality distinct from that of the European-American middle class" (p. 73).

Table 1

Latino Value Orientations

RELATIONSHPS	AUTHORITY	GENDER	RELIGION	EDUCATION
Personalismo	Typically male/older	Religious influence	Primarily Catholic	Typically high school
Loyalty	Respeto	Marianismo	High power focus	Not as valued for women
Supportive	Defer to status/title	Machismo	Curanderos	
Formal		Specific roles/function	Priests, etc	
Interdependent				
Family centered				
WORK	HEALTH	MOTIVATORS	FAMILY	
Loyalty	God's will	Orgullo	Comes before self	
Perseverance	Alternative	Ganas	Collective good	
Self-discipline	Holistic	Family	Pride	
Makes out of home	Mind-body connection		Traditionality	
Females in the home				
Pride				

Note. From "Cultural Considerations for Working More Effectively with Latin American Individuals, by P. Arredondo, 1994, *Video*, Microtraining Association for Latina/Latino Counseling and Psychotherapy.

Ethnicity and Identity

On a personal level for me, ethnicity means my language and it means my languages. And how I combine my languages, and how I express myself. And it's a primary part of my Identity, but it's only a part. It means my birth family, and my home, and my childhood memories, and the senses and smells of my past and also of my present (Nieto, 1997, p. 177).

Ethnic culture is the component of ethnicity that refers to that pattern of behaviors and beliefs that sets a cultural group apart from others. Ethnic group membership is the social component of ethnicity that refers to the network of people with whom an individual is in contact and the ethnic affiliation of those people and the groups they form (Keefe, 1992). An ethnic group is the reference group with whom people share a common history, physical features, and culture, and it is through interaction with reference group members that people identify themselves as members of a given group and incorporate an ethnic identity (Niemann, Romero, Arredondo & Rodriquez, 1999). For some, group membership is a given, an inherent aspect of one's life; for others it is more situational in nature, determined by the social context---"depending on where I'm at" (Keefe, 1992, p. 39); and for others it is more a matter of forced membership. Regardless, group membership evolves through the process of answering the question "Who are my people?" and "What is my cultural heritage" (p. 40). Ethnic identity is used to refer to the perceptions of and affiliation with ethnic groups and cultures. It consists of the identification of one's own versus other ethnic groups and the kind and degree of sentiment attached to each group and its heritage (p. 37). Ethnic group identity is based upon finding the proper "fit" between oneself and a particular ethnic group. It is a matter of "what one is and is not" (p. 39).

Identity development

Ingroup attitudes are generally assumed to emerge at a very young age. Ethnocentric views instill a belief that one's group of reference is superior to other groups. Aboud (1980) speculated that ethnocentrism may be a necessary first step in the acquisition of ingroup affiliation or identity. Perceived ingroup similarity and outgroup dissimilarity have been found to develop sometime between the ages of three and six years. It is believed that visual discrimination develops later than attitudes, and may become enhanced as a student evolves through elementary school. Many children learn to identify themselves in terms of verbal ethnic categories sometime before or during the first grade, and classification according to ethnic labels emerges around seven years of age. Aboud observed that the acquisition of a positive ingroup preference affects negatively one's attitude towards people who are not part of that ingroup.

Aspects of cognitive social learning, cognitive developmental, and self-system theories were integrated into a theoretical framework for a study of ethnic identity and its development in Mexican-American children by Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo and Cota (1990). They stated, "ethnic identity is an important part of one's self that distinguishes members of one ethnic group from members of other groups. Variations in ethnic identity are related to important differences in attitudes, values, and behaviors among members of ethnic groups" (p. 3). Their research was designed to investigate ethnic identity as a construct or set of self-ideas about one's own ethnic group membership. They described components of ethnic identity as the following: ethnic self identification; ethnic constancy; use of ethnic role behaviors; ethnic knowledge; and ethnic preferences. The findings indicated that ethnic self-labeling was significantly related to age. The ability to correctly group themselves develops after six year of age. Second, the emergence of constancy of one's own ethnicity has been reported to occur at age eight or later; ethnic knowledge and preferences appear to increase with age; and their use of ethnic role behaviors was not related to age. The findings indicated that the more children knew about their Mexican identity and background, and the more they engaged in and preferred ethnic behaviors, the more likely they were to speak Spanish. Heller (1987) added that the use of the ethnic language permits the development of shared ethnic background knowledge and culture.

Key elements or dimensions of identity formation

Key elements that contribute to an individual's ethnic identity, according to Phinney (1991), "are self-identification as a group member; attitudes and evaluations relative to one's group; attitudes about oneself as a group member; extent of ethnic knowledge and commitment; and ethnic behaviors and practices" (p. 194). Phinney stated, "When individuals self-identify as members of a particular group, and evaluate their group in a positive way, are comfortable with group membership, are interested in and knowledgeable about and committed to the group, and are involved in ethnic practices; then they may be said to have a high ethnic identity" (p. 195).

Awareness of one's ethnic identity results primarily from contact with other ethnic groups; in a homogeneous setting, one's identity as a group member is likely to have little salience (Phinney,

1991). Cultural awareness is also reflected by an individual's familiarity with her or his culture through parents' and extended family members' experiences, as well as her or his own experiences. Certain preferences in language usage, identification with group names, and ethnic loyalty (i.e. attitudes and feelings) are indicators of cultural awareness (Keefe, 1992).

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory, originally formulated by Tajfel (1978) and later elaborated by Turner (1982) considered the roles of both the individual's internal self-concept and the external social context. The theory is a framework for understanding how group membership influences our behavior and relations with members of our own and other groups. The theory rests on three basic assumptions: (1) we categorize our social world into units comprised of similar others (ingroups) and units comprised of dissimilar others (outgroups); (2) we strive for a positive self-concept which is derived, in part, from our membership in the ingroup; and (3) the positive or negative valence of our self-concept is partly dependent on how we evaluate the ingroup relative to outgroups (Bernal, 1991, p. 144). According to the theory, categorization and social comparison play a dominant role in determining how we come to construct views of ourselves and others in the social environment. Consequently, "categorization of a person into groups serves to define their position within a given social matrix and allows us to draw inferences about individuals based on their group membership" (p. 145). Once categorization occurs, we engage in social comparison as a means of determining our self-evaluations or self-worth (Festinger, 1954). Bernal observed, "If we are a member of a disadvantaged or devalued group, we might have difficulty achieving a positive self-concept as a function of the valence associated with our group" (p. 145).

Outgroup Exposure

Ethnicity is a concept based on a subjective identification of a single dimension or aspect of the broader concept of assimilation and as a multidimensional concept including language, behavior, values, knowledge of ethnic group history, and subjective identification (Rogler, 1980). Rogler

assumed that the "strength of ethnic identity decreases with receptivity to influences stemming from the outgroup host society and according to the degree of exposure to such influences" (p. 195). Variables related to exposure included number of years of residence, ethnic composition of the residential neighborhood, generation, sex, education and family cohesion.

Internal Social Identity

Social identity, however, is multifaceted, an individual generally, not always, may choose or reject different social categories for self-definition (Lalonde & Taylor, 1992). Development of a positive sense of belonging to one's ethnic group may preserve the individual from the potentially negative impact of prejudice and discrimination (Phinney, 1990). Two possibilities for the successful integration of ethnic groups have been proposed in the literature: biculturalism and assimilation (Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993). Biculturalism or integration is indicative of a strong identification with both groups. A strong identification only with the dominant culture reflects assimilation; with only the ethnic group, separation; and with neither group, marginalization (Phinney, 1991). Advocates of biculturalism have argued that a positive ethnic identification, together with feelings of understanding and belonging to the mainstream culture result in superior psychological functioning among ethnic groups (Padilla et al, 1991, in Sanchez & Fernandez., 1993). According to Ramirez (1983) assimilation, in contrast, promotes the breaking of sociocognitive links with one's culture as a way to integrate into the mainstream

An alternative social identity theory was introduced by Gans (1994), who described the concept of symbolic ethnicity which he conceived as the consumption and other uses of ethnic symbols for the purpose of feeling or being identified with a particular ethnicity, but without either participating in an existing ethnic organization (formal or informal) or practicing an ongoing ethnic culture (p. 578). Alba (1990) and Waters (1990), indicated that symbolic ethnicity covers a wide range of ethnic identifications. They observed that "some people use it as a way to express their individuality or a special communal allegiance that does not conflict with other identities, while for many it is little more than a label they recall when asked the right interview question. For most it is something in between" (p. 579). The future of symbolic ethnicity is shaped as much by needs,

desires, and opportunities that originate in the larger society as by those created from internal changes in the ethnic group (p. 588).

Brewer (1991) stated that "social identification is derived from the resolution of tension between the needs for distinctiveness and assimilation. In our case, the degree of ethnic identification may be a function of the individual need for distinctiveness, whereas, mainstream acceptance would fulfill her or his need for assimilation" (Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993, p. 658). Bipolar approaches of ethnic identification, however, reflect a harmful and potentially inaccurate conceptualization of ethnic pride and mainstream acceptance as mutually exclusive attitudes (p. 666).

Bicultural identity

According to Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez (1980), the process of becoming bicultural involves learning communication and negotiation skills in two different cultural environments. They suggested, "in those instances in which immigrants reside in bicultural communities, they characteristically need to participate in both communities. . . particularly true with second generation, who directly experience the contrast between familial and educational institutions, where the former transmits the culture-of-origin norms and the latter introduces the host-cultural norms" (p. 354). The tendency appears to be that some members of the second generation tend to overacculturate and give up their roots as they become more "Americanized." In the process of shedding traditional roots they reject their parents, which in turn gives rise to intergenerational acculturation conflicts. Others underacculturate, retaining their Mexican roots by remaining close to their families and generally isolated failing to learn adaptive Americanized behaviors (Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernandez, 1980).

The United States, historically and presently, is a heavily stratified society with distinct boundaries and rigid barriers around socially and culturally defined groups. According to Brown (1990) those individuals who belong to two racial or ethnic groups must know firsthand what the identity of both implies and be able to interact between individual and social definitions a dialectic between identification by others and self identification. Brown observed, "the struggle for biracial

persons is related to adequately adjusting to and functioning within mainstream society without sacrificing the integrity of one's personal identity. . . (asking) does one dissociate oneself from the victims and associate with the aggressors in order to gain mastery over the dilemmas of survival?" (p. 328).

Outcomes

An essential element of the national self-image is the ideal of America as a land where individuals of diverse origins have created a new nation. In a study of Anglo and Chicano adolescents of West Texas, Grossman, Wirt, and Davids (1985) proposed a theoretical model in which ethnic group, sex, and socio-economic status were treated as antecedents of self-esteem, which is in turn a precursor of behavioral adjustment. The results of this study indicated that Chicanos are in particular need of assistance in combating feelings of unworthiness. They showed lower self-esteem, lower behavioral adjustment, and lower socio-economic status than Anglos. According to Grossman, Wirt, and Davids, "availability of appropriate resources and services appears to be a significant problem" (p. 67). In contrast, Rotheram-Borus (1990) presented mixed results concerning the effects of adolescents' reference group on psychological adjustment. Whereas, she found self-esteem to be unrelated to ethnic identification, her results also indicated that mainstream-identified Hispanics presented fewer behavioral problems than other groups (Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993, p. 656). In theory, self esteem should be lower in dissonant social contexts where the level of social dissimilarity is higher along with exposure to negative stereotypes and reflected appraisals about one's group of origin (Rumbaut, 1994).

Other consequences of ethnic identity include discrimination, low group status, and a struggle with justice (Niemann, Romero, Arredondo, & Rodriguez, 1999). A product of these consequences is often made explicit through "labeling." The range of terms commonly used to describe or to refer to persons of Mexican heritage, as well as what these individual's rationale is for choosing one term over another is difficult and complex for both people of Mexican descent and those who are from other origins. The question abounds, Is this group to be referred to as *Hispanic*, *Latino*, *Latin American*, *Mexican-American*, *Chicano* or *American*? It is a choice which

is influenced by the attitudes of the dominant cultural society in which they were raised. How have they been defined in the dominant society? As the immediacy with one's parental or grandparental cultural roots is more a reality of the past, the young experience a tension between their elder's values and that of the dominant society in which they function. Pineda (1993) observed, "The choices they will ultimately make span a continuum from the decision to maintain only the Hispanic culture as passed on to them by their parents to opting for total assimilation into the social, cultural, and religious norms of the dominant society" (p. 439).

Fishman (1987) noted, "There is considerable evidence that much of Hispanic life on the United States mainland may be described as *dislocated*, that is, as unable to regulate substantially its intercultural boundaries and to control the rate and direction of its cultural change" (p. 13). Hispanics are dislocated within United States society because they have been given a designation, *Hispanic* by non-Hispanics that includes all persons of Spanish-language descent (Aguirre & Bustamante, 1993, p. 126). It is assumed that no one arrived in the United States with the self-designation Hispanic. It was only after crossing their northern border that the externally formulated designation Hispanics had caught on internally as well. Fishman (1987) added, "The external appellation derives from the common stereotype of outsiders which seizes on a few similarities at the expense of manifold differences. The internal acceptability of the external appellation in itself indicates the shrinking of the differences, a shrinking that reflects the breakdown of traditional authenticity, frequently in advance of the articulation of a new, unified, overarching system of behaviors and values" (p. 14). As a result, according to Aguirre and Bustamante (1993), "the various segments of the Hispanic population are constrained in the expression of their own sociocultural and ethnolinguistic identity. Similarly, Munoz (1989) proposed that the term Hispanic "ignores the complexities of a multitude of different cultural groups, each with its own unique history, class realities, and experience in the United States" (p. 10).

Portes and MacLeod (1996) analyzed the adoption of the pan-ethnic label Hispanic in contrast to national designators and non-hyphenated American identities. The study explored the determinants of ethnic self-identities and the potential consequences of the adoption of one of

these symbolic labels on children's self-esteem, educational expectations, and perceptions of discrimination. The emergence of new ethnic labels as a cultural outgrowth of accelerated immigration is not new. The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' waves of immigration to the United States were accompanied by the proliferation of such labels along with the attendant stereotypes (Handlin, 1941; Rosenblum, 1973). Now, as well as in the past, an important characteristic of the process is that the symbols forged by American society seldom correspond to the self-identities that immigrants themselves bring along (Glazer, 1954). The label Hispanic is arguably the most conspicuous contemporary result of this process. According to Portes and MacLeod, the term was "adopted by the United States census in 1980 to deal with the enumeration of the Latin American population in the United States, a stroke of the bureaucratic pen created the country's second largest minority" (p. 75). Originally no more than a statistical term of convenience, the label has been gradually transformed by public use into a real social entity. "Real, that is, from the perspective of American society; its acceptance by the groups so designated is more problematic" (p. 75).

Massey (1993) denied that the label Hispanic has any real existence beyond its original use as a statistical device. He stated, "There is no Hispanic population in the sense that there is a Black population. Hispanics share no common historical memory and do not comprise a single, coherent community" (p. 453). Espiritu (1992) added, "An imposed category ignores subgroup boundaries, lumping together diverse peoples in a single, expanded ethnic framework" (p. 6).

Hurtado, Gurin and Peng (1994) predicted that the structure of social identification will be more differentiated among later generations than among first-generation immigrants. For them the history that matters is the history of how Mexican origin people came to live in what is now the United States, and how they have been treated as United States citizens. Multiplicity is the cultural and historical legacy of the later generations. The label *Mexicanos* has little to do with their cultural adaptations; whereas, the social identities of the *Chicanos* are more broadly involved in their cultural adaptations. In one of the *platicas* or popular conversations in "Formations of Mexicananess: Growing up *Mexicana*" by Gonzalez (1998) it was stated, "I want to be *Mexicana* first and to practice my culture the way I know it. I cannot be a *Chicana* because I was not born

here; they think they are better than us. I am going to tell the truth; they think they are better. . .because we (*Mexicanas*) are different, they (*Chicanas*) say look at her she is born over there (Mexico) and how she came over here and how she looks in comparison to us (U.S. born *Chicanas*" (p. 93).

But why a label? The dominant force has been on the beneficial consequences of adoption of the symbolic categories preferred by the mainstream. Earlier in the twentieth century, the emphasis was on the social advantages, as conformity with mainstream viewpoints was the first step towards entry into American circles and towards economic and social mobility. More recently emphasis is on political advantages, as adoption of the officially sponsored labels leads to greater group sway and access to material benefits granted on the basis of these categories. An opposite viewpoint regards ethnic identities imposed from the outside pressuring persons of particular heritages to cede their original identities out of an inability to resist external pressures (Portes & MacLeod, 1996, p. 79). The contest between new and old ethnic labels continues, yet reaches an especially sensitive point in the second generation. It is, thus, among the second generation where adoption or rejection of the new pan-national identity labels are likely to take decisive turns (p. 80).

In addition to identity conflicts of "who am I?" resettlement and Protestantization often leaves Hispanics with even weaker traditional, cultural identities. Because Hispanics are typically dependent on the dominant society for all of its promises and rewards, it is increasingly dislocative for Hispanics in their capacity to regulate, control, and restrict the dominant cultural influences. An example is language knowledge and usage. Fishman observed that in the third generation, 55 percent of the individuals are English monolinguals and the remaining 45 percent use English usually, even if they are bilingual. Knowledge and usage of the Spanish language is dependent on the presence of first-generation Spanish monolinguals, making it possible and necessary to acquire and activate the Spanish language.

Portes and MacLeod (1996) found that approximately 17 percent of a study sample of 5,288 second generation youths in southern Florida and southern California identified themselves as plain Americans. The most popular self-designation was as hyphenated American (35 percent).

The pan-ethnic label Hispanic was adopted by 25 percent (p. 84). Findings indicated that second-generation youth who identify themselves as Hispanic have significantly lower college expectations, lower self-esteem, and report experiencing greater discrimination than those calling themselves American, hyphenated or not. It appears clear that adoption of a Hispanic identity is not associated with a positive adaptation profile but with several dimensions of disadvantage.

In a study of 5,000 eighth and ninth grade children of immigrants in San Diego and Miami by Rumbaut (1994), over one quarter (27 percent) identified by national origin; another 40 percent chose a hyphenated-American identity; about one-tenth (11 percent) identified as unhyphenated Americans and two-tenths (21 percent) selected racial or panethnic identity labels. Defining an identity for themselves, a meaningful place in society often alien to them or not accepting of them, is a complex, conflictual, and stressful process. In the final analysis, Rumbaut emphasized that "it is the crucible without that shapes the crucible within" (p. 790).

In a recent study by Ono (2002) processes governing the ethnic identification of second and later generations of Mexican immigrant descendants was explored. The results supported the view that cultural continuity, a lower level of assimilation, and an experience of ethnic competition were evident. The chance of *Mexican* identification as opposed to an *American* identification was found to decline by 50 percent in the second generation, and consistent with the presence of an ethnic competition process, the perceived experience of discrimination was found to double the respondents' chance of Mexican identification. Also, degree of "darkness" of skin color was associated with a 60 percent increase in the chance of Mexican identification. Compared to second generation, third and later generations of immigrant descendants were significantly less likely to identify with an ethnic label. The results also revealed that the chance of Mexican-American identification was not significantly associated with education, language, experience of discrimination, and skin color; that some Mexican-origin people use "*Mexican-American*" as a symbolic identity.

The examination of the expression of identity among cross-generational individuals of Mexican descent is very important not only to combat stereotypical images about them, but also to better understand their insertion and accommodation into the dominant society. According to social

theory, there is a strong link between social action and perceived identity (Somers & Gibson, 1994). Ethnic boundaries are socially defined and ethnic labels have become primary categories for understanding the actions and characteristics of individuals in American society, in the past and presently. People in America are constantly screened, categorized and classified according to their ethnic origin. According to Fina (2000), "The widespread use of ethnic categories favors the formation of a stereotyped vision in which "who individuals are" is strongly determined by their ethnic affiliation and the social meanings associated with that affiliation." She added, "Encoding becomes a dominant way of looking at people" (p. 135).

Discrimination and Other Obstacles

Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group (Allport, 1954, p. 10).

Discrimination is to make a distinction in favor of or against a person or thing on the basis of the group, class, or category to which the person or thing belongs rather than according to actual merit; or to note or observe a difference (Random House, 1996). According to Goffman (1963) "society establishes the means of categorizing persons and the complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural to members of each of these categories" (p. 2). If an individual possesses some attribute which makes him or her different from others in the category, and this particular attribute is of the less desirable variety, Goffman suggested that "this person is then reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted and discounted one depending on the nature and severity of the attribute. This discrediting attribute becomes a stigma and if it is a condition based upon race, then the attribute is generally *incorrectable*, thus, discrediting an individual or a group and setting them up in a perpetual pattern of social exclusion and discrimination.

Menchaca (1993) offered a historical analysis of the racial expression or discrimination experienced by people of Mexican origin in the United States. Beginning in 1847, federal and state racial laws accorded particular legal statuses to Mexicans on the basis of their racial appearance. Those of predominately Indian descent were more severely discriminated against

than those classified as "White." In 1848, after ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, government representatives of the annexed region of Mexico began to pass new racial-restriction citizenship laws. Most American Indians were prohibited from obtaining citizenship. Those classified as Mexican Indians were not entitled to exercise full political rights or even basic civil rights. Article VIII of the Treaty stated that the United States agreed to extend American citizenship to all Mexicans who remained in the ceded territories, regardless of their ancestry. In Article IX, the United States further agreed that those who chose to become citizens would have all attendant rights. Article X followed and stipulated that, "Mexicans, who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic. . .shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time. . .to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States" (p. 587). Regardless, the United States government refused to ratify racial equality laws of Mexico, and Mexican *mestizos* and Indians entered a new racial-caste system in which their civil rights were limited. They were not entitled to exercise full political rights or even basic civil rights, including not being able to vote, practice law, or run for office. In other words, citizens of the United States of darker physical appearance were subject to severe human rights infringements.

In 1865, the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, freeing African Americans and releasing Native American Indians who were being held in indentured bondage. Following in 1868, the 14th Amendment was passed with the intention of legislating a uniform citizenship law and eliminating the states' right to establish citizenship eligibility. Menchaca observed, "Ironically, although the 14th Amendment became the paramount law of the land and people born in the United States were granted full citizenship rights, including the right to vote, the amendment excluded the American Indians from its protection. Thus, this legislation adversely affected the Mexicans because "Anglo-Americans continued to argue that most Mexicans were Indians and, therefore, should receive the same treatment" (p. 592). In 1883, segregationist rulings upheld state rights for segregated services. It was not until 1940 that the United States government changed the language of the naturalization laws that conferred privilege to Mexican Indians, and it was not until 1964 that these laws were

overturned by the passage of the Civil Rights Act, an attempt at equal opportunities for Mexican citizens. In 1968, however, over fifty percent of Mexican origin students remained in segregated schools. Until 1960, even labor unions discriminated against Mexican-Americans. The economy reduced the number of better paying jobs forcing Mexican-American workers onto welfare rolls or into service, agricultural, or industrial jobs that offered lower wages, minimal security and no benefits (Aguirre & Turner, 2004).

Ethnic segregation remains an adaptation due to language, physical appearance and religious differences that heightens visibility and holds Mexican-American people within traditional environments (Roucek, 1978). In a recent study, Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti (2000) noted that "group level characteristics, such as cultural and ethnic distinctiveness (i.e. visibility) of the immigrant group, cultural "fit" (i.e. compatibility of cultural norms, values and behaviors) between the immigrant and the host populations, and the average time of residence in the host country" (p. 2) proved to be apparent predictors of group differences in the prevalence of discrimination experiences. Root agreed, "Growing up, people queried me in ways that exposed their own confusion over ethnicity, race and nationality. As a young child, insistent questions about where I was from. . .cued by questions that basically demanded an explanation for the way I looked. . .I became aware at a young age that this line of questioning told me I was different" (p. 114). Because of ambiguous phenotypes, people of mixed-race origins are often marginalized. Root continued, "In essence, from the beginnings of my conscious memory, I learned to negotiate the margins and became quite comfortable there" (p. 115). Connected to variable appearances, Mexicans are often portrayed in highly negative and stereotypical terms "often as inferior and biologically tainted by Indian blood" (Aguirre & Turner, 2004, p. 146) experiencing negative treatments as a consequence.

For clearly identifiable ethnic groups in the United States, such as Hispanics or Mexican-Americans, attempts at assimilation may be met with prejudice and discrimination (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). Furthermore, such attempts may provoke negative sanctions from their own ethnic group members who feel the individual is betraying his or her group (Steele, 1990).

Other factors contribute to prejudice and discriminatory behaviors, as well. Lower socio-economic status due to lower wages and benefits, local labor markets, social support systems, educational and occupational levels, and resource accessibility also were contributing factors to discrimination against Mexican-Americans (Sherraden & Berrera, 1997, see Table 2).

Table 2

Poverty levels, income differentials, occupational distribution and levels of attained education by Latinos in the years 1998 and 1970.

	1998	1970
Poverty levels	27.7percent	26.8percent
percent to other incomes	63.0percent	69.0percent
Occupation distribution		
Professional	12.9percent	10.2percent
Clerical	25.2percent	30.4percent
Farm/labor	29.6percent	17.2percent
Educational attainment levels		
High School	48.6percent	33.3percent
College	7.5percent	4.3percent

Note. From American Ethnicity: The Dynamics and Consequences of Discrimination, by A. Aguirre & J. Turner, 2004, Boston: McGraw Hill, pp. 135, 138, & 139.

Housing segregation limits opportunities for Mexican-Americans by confining a particular ethnic group to areas where jobs, education, health care, and security are less available (Aguirre & Turner, 2004). "The maintenance of language and other features of Mexican culture have served to segregate Mexican-Americans, perpetuating incentives to marry within the Latino population

and to sustain traditional behavioral and social patterns. "Many Mexican-Americans speak Spanish or speak English with an accent and have slightly darker skin. . .together, these differences create a relatively high degree of identifiability which, historically and currently, is the basis for discrimination" (p. 143).

Roucek (1978) observed that Mexican-Americans often live in urban *barrios* or neighborhoods, which generally are located in the poorest sections of town, contain the worst housing conditions, and are segregated both physically and culturally from the dominant population. Del Castillo (1975) stated, "it is apparent that upward movement for Chicanos into mercantile and skilled occupations was blocked to a degree" (p. 92). Static positions were related to factors that indicated Anglos dominated the upper ranks of occupational strata to the exclusion of Chicanos. Barriers in acquiring quality education were often blocked by educational tracking that discouraged attendance (Sherraden & Barrera, (1997). Sherraden and Barrera noted that "downward assimilation is particularly likely when immigrant youth encounter ethnic prejudice" (p. 609). Torn between two cultures, it was labeled "good" to eject ethnic identity and culture (Aguirre & Turner, 2004, p. 152).

Historical and current attitudes regarding Mexican-Americans have legitimized discrimination, generally based on "fears" by the dominant society that this increasingly growing population was historically, is presently, and is increasingly becoming a threat. Discrimination remains both subtle and blatant and continuously perpetuates negative consequences for individuals and groups of Mexican descent.

Education

Hispanics constitute an important segment of American pluralism. With a median population that is very young, a high birthrate, and rising immigration, Hispanics contribute significantly to the American population profile, now and they will continue to in the future (Arias, 1986). The educational attainment levels of Hispanics, however, falls well behind that of the population as a whole. According to Arias, "Hispanics are the most undereducated group of Americans, next to Native Americans" (p. 26). The educational condition of Hispanics has been "characterized by

below-grade-level enrollment, high attrition rates (over 50 percent) in many school districts, high rates of illiteracy, low numbers of school years completed, and consequently, great under representation in higher education" (p. 26).

The rapid growth rate of the Hispanic population is one of the most compelling social developments in the last quarter of the twentieth century in the United States. The fact that as a population they represent a significant portion of public school enrollments has allegations for educational policy now and in the future. Arias (1986) emphasized, "The fact that Hispanics are characterized by great diversity in language use, in recency of arrival, and in socioeconomic status points to a need to understand the heterogeneity of this population" (p. 27).

Theories: Purpose/function of Education

An emic perspective on the function of education is one in which teachers and schools teach students to speak and write English, so that students have an advantage in obtaining legal immigration status and/or citizenship, have better job opportunities, and have better opportunities to attain power in interactions with public figures (Romo, 1984). Ogbu (1987) stated, "American folk theory asserts that one gets a good job that pays well by getting a good education" (p. 324). There is a strong ethos in America that suggests that education is a means to socioeconomic mobility and independence (Vasquez, 1982, p. 148).

In the United States, educators must deal with a highly diverse history, economy, political, cultural, and regional tapestry (Delgado-Gaitan, 1988, p. 355). Etic explanations for what is happening in American education revolve around the tendency of teachers "to use clinical labels and to attribute internal traits to students (i.e. unmotivated) rather than seeing what is happening in terms of invisible cultural differences" (Erickson, 1987, p. 337). Thus, cultural differences can, for a variety of reasons, be an initial and a continuous source of trouble between teachers and their students. Erickson noted, "Teachers and students in such regressive relationships do not bond with each other, mutual trust is sacrificed (and) over time the students become increasingly alienated from school" (p. 348).

It is generally thought by anthropologists that some groups do well in school because their cultures are congruent with school culture. Poor school performance and academic difficulties are generally attributed to cultural discontinuities. Ogbu (1982), hypothesized that cultural discontinuity distinguishes among three types of "cultural" discontinuities associated with schooling: (1) universal discontinuities experienced by all children; (2) primary discontinuities experienced as a transitional phenomenon by immigrants and non-Western peoples being introduced to Western-type schooling; and (3) secondary discontinuities, which are more or less enduring among caste-like or subordinate minorities within Western nations (p. 291). According to Ogbu, the cultural discontinuity hypothesis dates back to the early part of the twentieth century, although anthropological ethnographical research of education did not begin until the late 1950s. Even prior to 1950, however, anthropologists including Boas and Malinowski felt "justified to criticize the form and content of schooling for subordinate groups because of their acquaintance with the way these groups raised their children or with indigenous education" (p. 291). Philips (1976) summarized this viewpoint, "... minority and poor children are not culturally deprived; nor are they deprived of stimulating learning home environments; instead, minority children do poorly in school because they are provided with culturally different learning environments" (p. 30). It is apparent, therefore, that for all children there exists a discontinuity between home and school environments in language use, contextual learning, and style of learning (Ogbu, 1982).

How do these children overcome these discontinuities? Why are some children more successful than others in coping with disconnections? Ogbu (1982), suggested that it is not cultural differences per se but types of cultural differences (primary and secondary) that distinguish successful students. Primary cultural differences result from developments prior to American or Western contact and secondary cultural differences develop after members are in contact with dominant society members or after a particular group has initiated participation in an institution controlled by this dominant group. Secondary cultural differences usually develop as a response to a contact situation, especially a contact involving stratified domination (p. 298).

Theories: Barriers and failure

Failure in education is a crucial problem facing individuals of Mexican descent in America today. When asked about the *greatest obstacle* faced by Hispanics who enter the workforce, educational background was mentioned twice as often as discrimination and almost fifteen times as frequently as language barriers in a survey conducted by the Hispanic Policy Development Project (1984). It is generally assumed that education plays a powerful role in occupational opportunities, yet statistics show that dropout rates are constant and that the percentages enrolling in college are not increasing noticeably in spite of the noted strong rewards for education (Orfield, 1986).

Various barriers to the successful participation of Mexican-Americans in education have been acknowledged. Low achievement, discipline problems and policies, retentions, fighting at school, inadequate programs, and insufficient bilingual staff loomed as major problems confronting Chicano children in the schools (Romo, 1984, p. 648). Etic attitudes directed at Mexican-American students associated with "resignation" represent stereotypical perspectives usually held by teachers and school administrators who perceive Mexican-American students lacking drive and determination (Simoniello, 1981). These attitudes contribute to students' lack of success in education and in general segregate and distinguish these students from other more successful Anglo students (Orfield, 1986). Because members of the dominant society may associate minority groups with subordinate status, discriminatory practices on their part might take the form of low ability expectations, inferior teaching, or denigration of Mexican-American students and their culture (Bernal, 1991). These and other perceptions are described as a barrier to understanding "created by the fact that even when they speak the same language, students and teachers do not have a joint discourse" (Patthey-Chavez, 1993, p. 56). In higher education several barriers have been identified by Vasquez (1982) including sex-role socialization and negative messages about the Mexican-American culture. These barriers result in conflicts between home and school environments and promote low self-expectations at school that eventually result in decreased motivation directed towards academic achievement and feelings of

"not fitting in," isolation, and alienation which, in turn result in difficulty with financial sources and low socioeconomic levels

In a study of Mexican-American school children, Delgado-Gaitan (1988) asked Kathy, a teacher's daughter, to discuss her reasons for leaving school. She stated, "the lack of cultural relevance in school and the disrespect for (her) intelligence wore on her motivation (p. 363). In addition, "uncaring teachers and boring classes" were at the top of the postulated syndrome that led many students to break away from the academic path" (p. 363). Tony Lopez, who "constantly shifted from house to house due to economic pressures, constructed a barrier of indifference around himself which, in turn, made the teachers' job of reaching him almost impossible" (p. 363). Another student, Tony was in the lower curriculum track and he was bored; he never made an effort and as a consequence he received poor grades, which further demoralized him and made it easier for him to join his brother in escaping the dullness of school by getting high. His brother, Felipe had been an honor student in junior high, but when he transferred to high school, he was profoundly bored and felt as if school had no relevance to his life. He took on increased responsibility in the home as the family moved around because he was the oldest in the family. Felipe never felt comfortable about sharing problems about school with his mother because "she was overloaded" (p. 364). Felipe and Tony eventually became involved in drinking, stealing, burglaries, robberies, and drugs and dropped out of school. Similarly, a fellow student, Bob could not keep up with the instructor and in his frustration at attempting to obtain additional help, he began a practice of missing classes to avoid the escalating situation. He felt like a failure and believed that the situation was totally his responsibility. Delgado-Gaitan noted that "the problems at the base of some students' failure in school lie in the comparative nature and organization of the schools" (p. 366).

Mehan, Hubbard and Villanueva (1994) stated, "Distinctive cultural knowledge is transmitted by the families of each social class. As a consequence, children of the dominant class inherit substantially different cultural knowledge, skills, manners, norms, dress, styles of interaction, and linguistic facilities than do the sons and daughters of lower-class origin. . . .Students from the dominant class. . .are provided the means of appropriating success in school" (p. 93).

Educational institutions contribute to the replication of inequity by developing a curriculum that rewards the cultural resources of the dominant classes and systematically diminishes that of the lower classes. Consequentially, students in minority status either "challenge or disengage from the prevailing ideology of American society; either they buy into it, or they have given up on the belief in hard work and individual effort by withdrawing from academic pursuits" (p. 94). By resisting the conventional American folk myth regarding education and success, students refuse to develop skills, attitudes, manners, and language that are necessary for the upward social and economic mobility in a capitalistic society" (p. 96). How? By dropping-out. Their unwillingness to participate stems from their assessment of the costs and benefits of playing the game: "it is not that schooling will not propel them up the ladder of success; it is that chances are too slim to warrant the attempt" (p. 97). Ogbu (1991) explained, "social actors (contribute) to their own plight. . . victims contribute to their own victimization" (p. 97).

School performance is not due only to what is done to or for the minorities; it is also due to the fact that the nature of the minorities' interpretations and responses makes them more or less accomplices to their own school success or failure. There are three sources contributing to the school failure of the minorities who are not doing well in school, society, school, and community (Ogbu, 1987). According to Ogbu, "schools contribute to the academic problems of minority children intentionally and unintentionally because they operate according to the norms of American society and according to the norms of the communities in which they exist. The failure of school personnel to understand and respect children's culturally learned behaviors often results in conflicts that obstruct children's adjustment and learning" (p. 319).

Romo (1984) emphasized the importance of considering differences within particular ethnic groups, when investigating educational variability in the United States. Data from a study conducted by Chandler (1979) revealed that a substantial difference existed between Anglos and Mexican-Americans, with the former scoring much higher than the latter on all modernity dimensions. Of the Mexican-Americans, 45 percent responded in such a way as to indicate close attachment to family of orientation and reliance on kin in comparison to 3 percent of Anglos (p. 156). On the scale as a whole, 92 percent of the Anglos had scores placing them in the modern

category, compared with 44 percent of the Mexican-Americans (p. 158). Modern orientations appear only after some period of modern influences, and some types of traditional attitudes persist longer than others.

Ogbu (1987) observed that "minority students who adopt the school style in communication, interaction, or learning may be accused of acting *white*. Even more serious a problem is that castelike minority students may define academic effort or success as a part of the white cultural frame of reference or white way of behavior. The dilemma of involuntary minority students is that they have to choose between "acting white" and "acting minority." Consistent forms of refusal to learn in school can be seen as a form of resistance to a stigmatized ethnic or social class identity that is being assigned by the school. Erickson (1997) emphasized that "students can refuse to accept that negative identity by refusing to learn. Yet, the sensitivity and salience of stigmatized ethnic identity among youth who are members of domestic minority groups is not a phenomenon that derives exclusively from within a school" (p. 351).

Rong and Grant (1992) explored immigrant generational effects on educational attainment for generation-by-ethnicity effects on Hispanic, Anglo and Asian informants aged between fourteen and twenty-four. Two theories dominate research on educational attainment of immigrants and their children in American educational institutions: cultural discontinuity and cultural ecological models (Suarez-Orozco, 1989). Cultural discontinuity models propose that language, cultural, and social interactional conflicts between home and school disadvantage immigrant youth (Carter & Segura, 1979; Cook-Gumperz, 1981; Perlmann, 1988; Trueba, 1987). This paradigm predicts that educational achievement will increase as generations experience longer-term residency and acculturation in American schools. The cultural ecology model posited that a complex interplay of factors including motivation to immigrate (i.e. perceptions of educational opportunity) explain attainment gaps between generations (Ogbu, 1978, 1987). Rong and Grant found that the Hispanic pattern differed from both Anglos and Asians in that Hispanics have lower attainment levels in all generations, but each successive generation in America increases in attainment. Hispanics were the only group for which attainment of native-born (third generation) individuals was higher than that of children of immigrants (second generation). They stated, "Hispanics

across generations show attainment patterns closely aligned with cultural discontinuity predictions. Attainment improves with each successive generation, perhaps resulting from greater acculturation of students to schools and/or schools' increased adaptation to minority cultures" (p. 633).

Several studies addressed gender issues associated with Mexican-American education. Of interest was a study conducted by Simoniello (1981). He stated, "In reviewing the existing literature, it would appear that theoretically professional Mexican women should not exist" (p. 122). Factors that contribute to this perspective revolve around stereotypical perspectives that Mexican or Mexican-American women are expected to marry and have a family after high school. Howarth (1994) defined this conception of education for Mexican-American women a double exclusion: first from access to education and then by the lack of specific and detailed research concerning this exclusion.

Considering the numerous barriers, both externally and internally affecting educational achievement for Mexican-American students, how do they adapt? Adaptation refers to behavioral or attitudinal changes in response to cultural, social, and interpersonal demands (Bernal, 1991). The types of adaptations that particular populations such as Mexican-Americans make vary and may include changes in communication and interaction styles, and in affiliations, associations and loyalties with their own or other ethnic groups. In education, it is important how these individuals adapt to the dominant Anglo's values in that education increases an individual's opportunity for social mobility. The problem, however, is in their realizations that barriers exist in the educational system that promote a belief that their chances of obtaining a good education are not an option for them to make it socioeconomically. The resulting behavior surrounding this type of mistrust and disbelief in the educational system promotes cultural inversion and an oppositional social identity (1991). Cultural inversion is the tendency of a particular group to see behaviors, events, meanings, and symbols of the dominant group as inappropriate for them. As a means of repudiating the derogatory images placed on them by Whites, opposing behaviors such as absenteeism or low grades are generated. "This new social identity promotes patterns that result in school failure" (Ogbu, 1987, p. 323).

Theories: Overcoming Barriers and Success

Not all Mexican-American students fail at school. Many develop skills to overcome the numerous barriers that often stand in their way of achieving in the American educational system. Various factors that contribute to success in educational achievement were identified by Vasquez (1982). Positive expectations and encouragement from significant people clearly affect academic persistence of Mexican-American students (p. 161). Case studies conducted by Delgado-Gaitan (1988) revealed factors that contributed to success in school including "family support and encouragement, family members who placed value on educational achievement, and participation of family in the educational processes" (p. 371).

In a recent research study Zsembik and Llanes (1996), they evaluated generational patterns of educational attainment among Mexican-Americans. They found that generational status significantly affects educational outcomes; however, the specific pattern is outcome-specific. The number of years of completed education increases distinctively between the first and second generations and levels off between the second and third generations. Their analysis fails to show upward intergenerational education attainment and, therefore, social and economic mobility with successive generations of American residence and acculturation (p. 372).

Rodriguez (2002) examined generational differences in the perceptions of family environment and achievement of Mexican-American high school students. There were several important findings in the study. First, there were significant generational differences in grades and perceptions of the family environment among Mexican-American high school students. Second, family involvement and family monitoring were also related to achievement as measured by grades. Third, third generation students reported higher levels of family involvement than first or second generation students perhaps because they were more familiar with the school system and more prepared to participate, or they were more acculturated. Fourth, third generation students reported lower grades than first or second generation students. Rodriguez suggested that this may be due to first and second generations students' retention and maintenance of traditional values and practices and family monitoring, whereas, third generation students indicated higher

levels of acculturation. Rodriguez linked family support to academic resilience and achievement for all three generations (p. 93).

Howarth believed that Hispanics have created a private brand of survival skills in the absence of *cultural capital*. He emphasized that “these skills drive them to create ways in which to confront their exclusion and to educate themselves by means of anger, independence, separation, the recognition of school and parent ambivalence to educational needs and desires, and a conscious search for education outside of the public sector” (p. 54).

Simoniello (1981) researched the factors that professional Mexican women perceived to be influential in their attitudes toward achievement and success in personal or professional goals. One informant stated, “My parents brought with them a high value for education, learning for the sake of learning” (123). Another woman added, “our parents have an opportunity through their children that they never had” (p. 124). It is interesting to note that for these women parental expectations for educational achievement were consistently high; their daughters were expected to excel, the daughters accepted this prophesy, and they did excel. The high value placed on educational achievement for both the parents and their daughters was motivated by their belief that it improved economic status.

A study by Gandara (1982) identified background factors and experiences that commonly contributed to women’s educational accomplishments: parental support, knowledge and interaction in the dominant Anglo culture, and educational values and behaviors. Garza (1998) suggested that variables including “parental support, parental expectations, and early educational experiences external to the university contributed to Mexican-American women’s educational success” (p. 121). Mothers, despite their levels of education or occupation were described as “my biggest cheerleader, my confidant, and my main source of support” (p. 126). It was apparent from this study that most parents wanted their daughters to become educated and viewed education as the key to their daughters’ achieving better lives.

Resolutions

Velez-Ibanez and Greenberg (1992) stated, "Our position is that public schools often ignore the strategic and cultural resources, which we have termed funds of knowledge that households contain" (p. 313). They argued that household funds of knowledge provide the foundation for understanding the cultural systems from which Mexican-American children emerge, and they also are important resources in the classroom. "Fracturing" of home from school environments has several unintended and intended consequences. First, it separates parental participation and their ability to communicate in the schools, and second it precludes transmission of cultural knowledge from parent to child. Generations become disconnected. The elimination of institutionalized "fracturing" could be accomplished by providing teachers with opportunities to learn how to incorporate the funds of knowledge from their students' homes into learning modules that approximate the total reality of the population (1992). Literacy, knowledge, identity, and pride in ethnicity, rather than failure could be the result.

Patthey-Chavez (1993) observed, "Trends (in American education) have made the multicultural and multilingual classroom a reality" (35). It seems a forgone conclusion that uniform education is impossible; yet a uniform education based on a curriculum designed to accommodate a homogenous student body and modeled on a mainstream Anglo model, is what most school districts persist in supplying (1993). Modern industrial-urban-bureaucratic social structure requires for its successful operation individuals who have internalized values, norms, and beliefs compatible with such a structure. Chandler explained, "It follows that individuals who adhere to traditional viewpoints will experience difficulties in understanding, adjusting to, or changing already established societal arrangements of the modern type" (p. 153).

Schools are one of the arenas in which people can work to change the existing distributions of power and knowledge in the American society. Erickson (1997) noted, "When school practice is conducted according to the existing conventional wisdom, minority students, especially domestic minority students usually do not fare well. . . . Hegemonic practices. . . permeate and frame the school experience of students who are members of stigmatized social groups" (p. 352). These practices are enacted by particular social actors, people who "choose to cooperate with the

reigning ideological definitions of what minority students are, what curriculum is, what good teaching is" (p. 353). The politics of legitimacy, trust, and assent, therefore, seem to be the most fundamental factors in school success.

Education and Anthropology

What works best for whom? Regardless of whether the focus is on problems of cognition, communication, interaction, or social organization and relations, teaching and learning styles, literacy or writing, the logic of applied ethnography is not and cannot be an explanation (Ogbu, 1987). The challenge for educational anthropology is to explain the variability in the school performance. Why are some minorities successful in school even though they face barriers in culture, language, and difficulty with postschool opportunities (1987)? There appears to be no simple or single answer. Delgado-Gaitan (1988) stated, "It appears that most of the research continues to address the polemics of these issues from the school's conception of success and failure. Certainly, the student and family's perspective are equally necessary" (p. 357).

McDermott (1982) attempted to explain the negative educational experiences for individuals of Mexican descent. He stated, "At first they were deprived; then they were curiously different in language, skills, attitudes, and overall culture; and more recently they have been understood as passively reproduced, put through the mills of inequality, and shaped into a pap form marked only by cross-generational failure" (p. 362). What McDermott emphasized was that their situation has been misinterpreted as their circumstance alone. He stated, "by our explanations and by our successes; similarly, those who fail in school by their presence, by their being explained, by their failures, make our successes possible" (p. 362), suggesting that we as an American society assist in making failure impossible.

Acculturation

A. L. Kroeber (1948) defined "acculturation" as "those changes produced in a culture by the influence of another culture which result in an increased similarity of the two" (p. 233). According

to Kroeber, this blending of cultural elements can be reciprocal or over-whelmingly one-way.

Kroeber (1948) noted:

The process of acculturation tends to be gradual rather than abrupt. It is perhaps always gradual and long-range enough for acculturation phenomena to fall within the scope of history, even if the phenomena examined be contemporary ones. In fact, in so far as history is more than the story of particular events and particular individuals and deals with social and cultural changes, a large part of all history the world over, possibly more than half of it, deals ultimately with the results of intercultural influencing—that is, acculturation (1923, p. 233).

Young and McDermott (1988) defined acculturation as the “power of various experiences and institutions to induce among individuals and groups the acceptance of new values, norms, and behaviors” (p. 195). Acculturation involves an accommodation to a host culture on the part of a member of a migrant culture in an adaptive process that involves the adjustment (Mena, Padilla, & Maldonado, 1987) and modification of the person's customs, habits, language usage, life style, and value orientations (Szapocznick, 1978). Acculturation is a multidimensional process whereby, acculturating individuals may attain a bicultural or monocultural orientation (Thomas, 1995; Berry, 1986). Acculturation is change in behaviors, attitudes, and values and is a long-term intergenerational historical process (Chapa, 1988), or as Herskovits (1980) observed, “an acculturated Aboriginal society have on the whole adapted themselves with considerable success to the impact of Western civilization. . . (in such cases) the culture is not the traditional culture, nor is it the civilization of the European inhabitants. It includes elements of both; but they have been combined into a new and distinctive pattern” (p. 65).

The acculturative process begins as a result of contact and interaction between two or more cultural groups or subtly “induced through media, schooling and the workplace” (Neal, 1990, p. 221). Changes may occur as a result of psychological, biological, political, economic, cultural or social factors. At the individual level, existing identities and attitudes often shift away from those held prior to contact resulting in acculturative stress (Berry et al, 1987). Indicators of acculturation may be reflected in behaviors or ideologies including language use in varying contexts, choice of leisure time activities and social networks, food preferences, celebrations, and/or things an individual chooses to own (Burnam, Telles, Karno, Hough, & Escobar, 1987). Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal and Perex-Stable (1987) emphasized the significance of language in the acculturation process (p. 196). In their study, language accounted for

approximately 55 percent of the variance in acculturation process of Hispanics, especially an important factor in self-identification (p. 196).

In America, acculturation of particular populations is often directed by the dominant culture who generally perceive it as a positive process, one that must be desired. Uniformity or standardization has a way of commending itself to majority populations. On the other side, the minority population generally makes a conscious effort to preserve or defend their own cultural characteristics. Those individuals who strongly reject being supplanted by the dominant culture often envelop themselves with a sort of "halo" around the culture that is passing away and attempt to reaffirm or re-establish it or at least parts of it (Kroeber, 1948).

Adaptation is the term used to refer to both the strategies used during acculturation and to its outcome. It is proposed that different strategies lead to different varieties of adaptation (Berry, 1992). For the individual, according to Berry (1992), three such strategies have been identified: adjustment, reaction, and/or withdrawal. In association with these three strategies of adaptation are varying ways individuals can attempt to acculturate.

During the process of adaptation, acculturative stress arises during the acculturation process as a result of contact and interaction between two or more cultural groups when they attempt to resolve cultural differences and includes behaviors experienced by individuals that are a direct consequence of the process of acculturation and adaptation to a new society. According to Thomas (1995), these stressors include lack of English language skills, employment and economic status, educational background, family life, and sociopolitical and immigration status. Other stress factors include self-esteem, coping ability, knowledge of the new culture, cognitive attributes and the degree of tolerance for and acceptance of cultural diversity within the mainstream society (Hovey, 2000). The most stressful phase of the acculturation process is the reevaluation of identity or the attempt to find a role in an alien society.

The acculturation process poses many conceptual and measurement challenges to researchers because its content is expansive and multi-faceted (Vega, Alderete, Kolody, & Aguilar-Gaxiola, 1998). Because the process of acculturation is a multifaceted occurrence composed of various dimensions, factors, and constructs, Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso (1980) noted

that “values, ideologies, beliefs, and attitudes appear to be important components of acculturation as are cognitive and behavioral characteristics such as language, cultural customs, and practices” (p. 209). What determines the outcome of adaptation is dictated by the concept that the greater the dissimilarity with the dominant culture the greater the acculturative stress in the immigrant. Coping is defined as a cognitive response that decreases or removes the negative effects of stress (Mena, Padilla, & Maldonado, 1987).

Theoretical Models: Acculturation process

A number of theoretical models have evolved concerning the acculturation process. The underlying assumption of assimilation models is that a member of one culture loses his or her original cultural identity as he or she acquires a new identity in a second culture (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). *Unidimensional* models are based on the implicit assumption that change in cultural identity takes place along a single continuum over the course of time. Individuals are perceived as being in a process of relinquishing the attitudes, values, and behaviors of their culture of origin while simultaneously adopting those of the new society (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Gans, 1979). In theoretical terms, the unidimensional point of view fails to consider alternatives to assimilation such as the emergence of integrated or bicultural identities (Dion & Dion, 1996 in Ryder et al, 2000).

Gordon's (1975) *model of assimilation* treated assimilation as a unidirectional and ongoing process which involves incorporation of minority group members into the dominant society (Hirschman, 1983) on the basis of seven dimensions of assimilation including cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude receptional, and civic. Gordon proposed three hypotheses in his model: (1) in dominant-minority group contact acculturation will occur first; (2) acculturation may occur even though none of the other types of assimilation also occur and this condition of “acculturation only” may continue indefinitely; and (3) once structural assimilation occurs, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types will inevitably follow (Hazuda, Stern, & Haffner, 1988, p. 690).

The development of an intergeneration/acculturation model by Szapocznick (1978) concerning the process of acculturation suggested that individual acculturation is a linear process that progresses as a function of the length of time a person has been exposed to the host culture. He noted, "the more time an individual has been exposed to the host culture the more complete the person's acculturation will be" (p. 114). This hypothesis also suggested that the rate of acculturation is a function of the individual's age; the younger an individual is exposed to the host culture, the more rapidly acculturation will proceed. And he hypothesized that the rate of acculturation differs for males and females, with males acculturating more rapidly than females; and based on previous research by Campisi (1947) and Carballo (1970) is that there are at least two distinct dimensions of acculturation, behavioral and value orientation.

Another model of cultural acquisition was articulated by Olmedo and Padilla (1978) and focused on the cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty of the individual to determine his or her status of acculturation. This model suggested that an individual's preference for the minority, versus the majority culture provides a measure of acculturation. The model hypothesized that acculturation levels should be lowest for first-generation Mexican-Americans and increase with succeeding generations, but argued for a multidimensional understanding of the cultural acquisition process.

The *acculturation mode* like the *assimilation model* focused upon acquisition of the dominant group's culture in a unidirectional relationship that assumes a hierarchal relationship between the dominant and minority cultures. Smither (1982) stated that one of the distinguishing characteristics of the acculturation process is its involuntary nature. In contrast to the assimilation hypothesis this model implies that the individual, while becoming a competent member of the dominant society will always be identified as a member of the minority's culture, regardless of being forced to learn the new culture in order to survive economically.

Burnam et al (1987) noted, "we must be cautious, however, in drawing the conclusion that the construct of acculturation is best described as unidimensional" (p. 123). They hypothesized that one of the reasons for the difference between the groups was that the individual who chooses to

migrate may have a stronger sense of self and may, therefore, be better equipped to cope with acculturative stress.

The proposition that unidirectional acculturation for Mexican-Americans is positively related to successful performance in school receives little support from data collected from a study conducted by Vigil and Long (1981). In fact, they deduced that in general, those individuals who are bilingual and have not disassociated themselves from traditional culture often do better in school. They stated, "If assimilation to the dominant culture consistently yields less beneficial results than addition of that culture to the minority groups' existing culture, then ways by which the educational institutions can assist in the process of nativist acculturation should be explored" (p. 276). Fernandez-Barillas and Morrison (1984) found that differences in cultural affiliation were related to the kinds of problems Mexican-American college students encountered in their adjustments to college life. Among male students, a bicultural affiliation appeared to foster greater interpersonal adjustment to the college environment than a monocultural affiliation with the traditional culture. Their findings suggested that knowledge of a student's style of cultural affiliation may be important in understanding the types of academic and interpersonal problems experienced by Mexican-American students in college contexts (pp. 858-859).

The common assumption of *unidimensional* theories of acculturation is that participating in two cultures is psychologically undesirable because managing the complexity of dual reference points generates ambiguity, identity confusion, and normlessness (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935 cited in LaFromboise et al, 1993). Theorists who adopted a *bidimensional* perspective argued that acculturation can be more completely understood when heritage and mainstream cultural identities are seen as being relatively independent in their culture of origin. Thus, individuals may adopt many of the values and behaviors of the mainstream culture without giving up facets of self-identity developed in their culture of origin (Ryder et al, 2000; Berry, 1997). Such models are based on two core assumptions. According to Ryder et al, the model presupposed that individuals differ in the extent to which self-identity includes culturally based values, attitudes, and behaviors; and individuals are capable of having multiple cultural identities, each of which may independently vary in strength (p. 50).

The *alternation model* of second-culture acquisition or biculturalism supposed that it is possible and acceptable for an individual to participate and gain confidence in two different cultures or to use two different languages, perhaps for different purposes by "alternating one's behavior according to the situation. . .depending on the demands of the social context" (Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi 1986, cited in LaFromboise, 1993, p. 400) This model allows the individual to participate in two cultures without having to compromise his or her identity and to maintain a positive relationship with both cultures without having to choose between them. This model does not assume a hierarchical relationship between two cultures and permits an individual to assign equal status to the two cultures (1993).

In the *behavioral model* developed by Bandura (1978, 1986), the concept of *reciprocal determinism* suggested that in order to be culturally competent an individual would have to (1) possess a strong personal identity, (2) have knowledge of and facility with the beliefs and values of the culture, (3) display sensitivity to the affective processes of the culture, (4) communicate clearly in the language of the given cultural group, (5) perform socially sanctioned behavior, (6) maintain active social relations within the cultural group, and (7) negotiate the institutional structures of that culture (p. 396). This model assumed that the more levels in which one is competent the fewer problems an individual will have functioning effectively within two cultures.

Garza and Gallegos (1985) proposed a *humanistic interaction model* to the study of acculturation. They found high levels of adjustment and positive capabilities to be associated with high levels of multiculturalism. These findings suggested that multicultural individuals can develop adaptive strengths and flexibility, and that a multitude of factors contribute to an individual's adapting to a complex multicultural society. Fitzgerald (1971) explained, "acculturation is not a simple linear process of change but is a complex, dynamic process wherein the direction of change can be reversed in any acculturative stage by a wide variety of situational factors. . . This interactional conceptualization stresses the element of individual choice and displays the complicated process of decision-making in multiple social and cultural situations" (p. 368). People make conscious choices regarding both their exposure to cultural influences and the adoption of corresponding behaviors. In other words, according to Garza and Gallegos (1985), a person can

choose whether or not to acculturate into the mainstream culture by adopting and/or rejecting particular elements or by adapting certain of its aspects to its own cultural composition. People who are multicultural have a much broader range of cultural constructs available to them than do monoculturals (p. 370). Biculturalism or multiculturalism, however, entails more than simply a union of two cultures, it is involved in the construction of a third cultural construct that is greater than the sum of its parts. For example, according to Burnam, Telles, Karno, Hough and Escobar (1987) "individuals may adapt to a new culture in such a way that a distinctive subcultural lifestyle is developed, which differs both from their country of origin and the host culture. Or the host culture may encourage new members to adopt its language and norms but restrict access to social groups, occupations, and economic and political power, thereby preventing assimilation" (p. 107).

Berry (1992) developed a *multicultural model* of acculturation that promotes a pluralistic approach to understanding the relationship between two or more cultures. The model is based upon the observation that in culturally plural societies individuals and groups must confront two important issues. First, they must decide whether their own cultural identity and customs are of value and should be retained. The other decision involves the desirability of inter-ethnic contact. The question arises as to whether relations with the dominant society are of value and should be sought. This model hypothesized that an individual can "maintain a positive identity as a member of his or her traditional culture while at the same time can develop a positive identity by engaging in complex institutional sharing with the larger political entity comprised of other cultural groups" (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993, p. 401). This model also suggested that retention of ethnic affiliations and attachments may actually become an asset rather than a liability (Reitz & Sklar, 1997).

According to Thomas (1995), the eventual outcome of the multicultural acculturation process is that of adaptation through a three phase course: (1) contact or the encounter of two groups of people, (2) conflict or a state of dissonance between giving valued features of one's culture and accepting the values of the host culture, and (3) adaptation, a variety of ways in which to reduce or stabilize conflict (Thomas, 1995). In the adaptation stage, four distinct varieties of acculturation

are: (1) assimilation, (2) integration, (3) separation, and (4) marginalization. The *assimilation* option involves relinquishing one's cultural identity and moving into the larger society as reflected in substantial behavioral changes which match those behaviors typically found in the larger society. The *integration* option implies some maintenance of the cultural integrity of an individual's or groups' traditional societal norms generally reflected in acts of resistance as well as the movement to join the dominant societal framework. This strategy requires learning and unlearning a range of behaviors and involves conflict of ideas, values and meanings. The *segregation or separation* option or constraint occurs when there are no substantial relations with the dominant group. Maintenance of ethnic identity is either desired by the acculturated group or imposed by the dominant group. In segregation, an individual or a group reaffirms his or her heritage behavior. *Marginalization* occurs when groups lose cultural and social contact with both their traditional culture and the dominant society either by exclusion or withdrawal (pp. 71-73).

Cultural pluralism, rather than assimilation, was the national goal of Canada. According to Bibby (1993), "Canada was to be a mosaic---a beautiful complementary collage of cultures" (p. 415). The American ideal of the "melting pot" was not to be found in "pluralistic thinking." Pluralism emphasizes tolerance, respect, appreciation for diversity, and the insistence that people must be free to think and to behave according to their individual consciences. Diverse expressions are thought to have equal merit and that "everything is relative" (1993). In celebrating differences and minimizing regularities, Canada's dream of a "mosaic" became fragmented by "me versus they" mentalities that were unable to relate with one another in a state of "equitable coexistence." The result according to Bibby was a multiculturalism program that preserved cultures and enhanced participation, but it also failed to bring Canadians together for the conversation, reflection, and evaluation that are so essential to producing that "richer life for us all." "Unity was the goal by means of respect for diversity or pluralism but it was only a myth, a multi-everything society. . . (that has) left us fragmented, visionless, and mindless" (p. 423).

The concept of *segmented assimilation* was introduced by Portes and Zhou (1993) to describe the diverse possible outcomes of this process of adaptation. They explained, "growing up in an

immigrant family has always been difficult, as individuals are torn by conflicting social and cultural demands while they face the challenge of entry into an unfamiliar and frequently hostile world . . . yet the difficulties are not always the same" (p. 75). The focus of culture acquisition in this model emphasizes several distinct forms of adaptation: (1) acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle-class, (2) away from acculturation into a static state of poverty and assimilation into the underclass, and (3) rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the traditional community's values and solidarity (p. 82). This model recognizes variable factors that contribute to the course of acculturation that are associated with individual, family, and context. In the contemporary context of segmented assimilation, the options have become cloudy. Second generation Mexican-American individuals may not even have the opportunity of gaining access to middle-class society's resources, no matter how acculturated they become. Portes and Zhou noted, "Joining those native circles to which they do have access may prove a ticket to permanent subordination and disadvantage. Remaining securely ensconced in their coethnic community under these circumstances may be not a symptom of escapism but the best strategy for capitalizing on otherwise unavailable material and moral resources" (p. 96).

Measurement of Acculturation: Scales Models

A variety of approaches to measure acculturation among Mexican-Americans have been proposed. Burnam et al (1987) emphasized, ". . . many subjective judgments must be made about what is and is not relevant for the measurement of acculturation" (p. 123). Cuellar, Harris and Jasso (1980) developed an acculturation scale for Mexican-American participants to differentiate five distinct types of Mexican-Americans based on level of acculturation: very Mexican, Mexican-oriented bicultural, "true" bicultural, Anglo-oriented bicultural, and very Anglicized. The data supported the concept of unidirectional acculturation, however, realizing that the process of acculturation is multidimensional (Olmeda, 1979), is composed of multiple constructs and factors (Padilla, 1980), and occurs in at least two directions (biculturally), although not necessarily at the same rate in both directions (Cuellar, Harris, & Jasso, 1980). Factors that significantly measured

acculturation included "language familiarity and usage, ethnic interaction, ethnic pride and identity, cultural heritage , generational proximity, and ethnic distance and perceived discrimination" (p. 202).

Barriers, Costs and Outcomes of Acculturation

Different types of ethnic attachment may have different effects on acculturation. Visible physical indications of "foreignness," language proficiency, non-normative behaviors, gender, identification, social networks, religious affiliations, residence, and socioeconomic status affect the acculturation process. Hazuda, Stern and Haffner (1988) found that Mexican-Americans as a whole have a certain "cultural tenacity" about maintaining a religious orientation which places a strong value on performing according to God's will, have a present-oriented outlook that emphasizes luck as a dominant factor in directing one's life experiences, and have a "fatalistic" point of view regarding health and death (1988). Reitz and Sklar (1997) suggested, "ethnic costs are imposed only for those with the strongest ethnic bonds, such as are found among immigrants" (p. 259). What are these costs? They entail significant costs in greater discrimination or denial of opportunity.

According to Berry (1992) eventual behavioral outcomes will vary depending on an individual's or a groups' acculturation strategy. He noted, "of particular interest, is whether a person or group succeeds in establishing the degree of contact with the larger society that one desires; the larger the difference, the greater the stressors" (p. 77). Outcomes of the acculturation process and adaptation strategies include disorientation, problems with family structure and relationships, and inequalities in social and political status. Race also affects the process of acculturation and associated discriminatory experiences.

Oberg (1960) focused on the concept of *culture shock* that is triggered by the anxiety that results from losing all familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse (Westermeyer, 1989). The concept of culture shock relates to the sense of disorientation and confusion that may accompany entering a new culture or experience and the yearning for a more "predictable, stable and understandable environment" (Furnham & Bochner, 1986).

Family disruption occurs as a result of intergenerational differences in acculturation (Gonzalez-Reigosa & Del Castillo, 1975). Intergenerational conflicts often emerge when children acculturate at a more rapid rate than their parents creating a generation gap in communication. The parent-child relationship generally changes as a result of dominant societal influences, often resulting in an imbalance in the traditional power structure of the family (Thomas, 1995). Family life is also generally affected by parents unavailability to their children as a consequence of working long hours or more than one job to feed, clothe, and provide shelter for the family. Parents are unable to attend school functions or provide emotional support for the acculturating child (Thomas, 1995). In addition, migration is likely to disrupt attachments to supportive networks in the society of origin and to impose on the immigrant the difficult task of incorporation into the primary groups of the host society (Rogler, Cortes, & Malgady, 1991). This may result in feelings of loss and lead to a reduction in effective coping resources (Hovey, 2000).

Immigrants may also experience cultural strains that are specific to the new environment. Adaptation to new languages, behavioral norms, and values is often difficult; as are experiences with discrimination and feelings of not belonging (Hovey, 2000). Lack of social and financial resources, unemployment or underemployment, and low or no incomes are exaggerated by limited education, which creates extensive barriers to the accessibility of resourceful jobs (Thomas, 1995). In addition problems of *economic survival* and *social mobility* in an unfamiliar socioeconomic system confront the immigrant. Economic assimilation is affected when "foreignness" is most visible, presumably based on color, regardless of specific culture, identity, behaviors, or social network affiliations (Reitz & Sklar, 1997). Generally in the past it has been assumed that persons who affiliate and identify with traditional ethnic cultures experience personal costs in lost opportunities for good jobs and substantial earnings (Reitz & Sklar, 1997).

Madsen (1964) described the alcoholic *agringado* as, the Mexican-American whose *alcoholism* stems both from his attempts to adopt Anglo cultural patterns without being accepted by his new culture of orientation and from having been rejected by his own ethnic group because of this attempt at acculturation. Markides, Karause, and Menendez de Leon (1988) found higher drinking

rates among the least acculturated second generation men, thus, supporting the perspective that the stress encountered in the acculturation process may result in increased alcohol consumption. Vega et al (1998) found that the process of "Americanization" accelerated risk for illicit drug use, as well.

A tendency by minority group members to accept subordinate social positions and attempt to incorporate the value judgments of dominant groups often results in *social marginality* (Lewin, 1948 in Curtis, 1990). Social marginality is another potential consequence of the acculturation process. Increased acculturation facilitates the internalization of dominate-society cultural norms among which are damaging stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes toward Hispanic people (Rogler, Cortes, & Malgady, 1991). Low self-esteem may follow if individuals reject their ethnic culture and assimilate to the larger one or if in their attempt at acculturation the dominant society does not accept them because of their ethnicity (Pawliuk, Grizenko, Chan-Yip, Gantous, Mathew, & Nguyen, 1996).

Conclusion

The acculturation process and its outcomes, however, are variable and multifaceted. According to Olmeda (1978), Mexican-Americans exhibit a wide range of individual differences in the extent to which they have assimilated the behaviors and values of the dominant Anglo society (p. 184). Not surprisingly first generation immigrant populations have a better cognitive grasp of traditional culture than their descendents. Later generations' salient dimensions are more based in an emulation of the dominant culture and, thus, differ widely on the degree to which they are in sympathy with their parents' or grandparents' culture (Pierce & Clark, 1978). A large part of the Mexican-American population has not been assimilated in terms of educational and economic measures of assimilation, but instead has maintained a separate social and cultural structure and subculture (Chapa, 1988). In the Mexican-American population in northern Colorado, both trends are apparent: those that choose or are able to blend with the dominant culture, and those who are unable or do not choose to merge with them. Hazuda et al (1987) recommended that further research on Mexican-Americans include "careful attention to sociocultural differences within this

ethnic group (and indicated the) importance of examining multiple dimensions of the acculturation and assimilation process" (p. 704).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The study was an ethnographic reconstruction of three generations of a Mexican-American extended family in the South Platte River Valley of northern Colorado. Unlike most ethnographical research, this study did not primarily rely on documentation and other written materials. Written data on the Mexican-American population of the South Platte River Valley were not plentiful, reliable and/or consistent. Most often, this specific population was generalized with the Mexican-American populations of the San Luis Valley and Huerfano and Las Animas counties in the southeastern quadrant of the state. Therefore, the objectives which the present study sought to accomplish were to collect information pertinent to the history and characteristics of the Mexican-American culture specifically in Larimer and Weld Counties in the South Platte River Valley of northern Colorado from oral and visual histories and written questionnaires. It was the intent of the present study to add to the written historical record.

The purpose of this chapter was to specify the methods of design, data collection, data interpretation and analysis, and procedures used to understand the processes of cultural and social changes and acculturation for three generations of a particular Mexican-American family in northern Colorado. Of equal importance was the discussion of the theoretical approaches that guided the methodological strategies employed.

Consistent with the objectives proposed above the approach to the study was composed of four major phases:

1. Researching the existing primary and secondary materials.
2. Collecting original data by way of oral, written, and visual narratives and questionnaires.
3. Integrating data generated from the above referenced material.
4. Analyzing the integrated material in order to arrive at some conclusions.

Phase One: Researching the Existing Primary and Secondary Materials.

The purpose of phase one was essentially that of seeking primary and secondary materials concerning the characteristics of the third generation Mexican-American individual and comparing these characteristics across time and generations. Literature was reviewed that was pertinent to social and cultural change for this particular population.

Phase Two: Collecting Data

The purpose of phase two was that of collecting data through interviewing, visual imagery, surveys, and historical documents. By integrating oral and visual narratives with historical information, the study will attempt to understand the particular characteristics of this extended family over time.

Interviewing

The objective of collecting oral information was to develop an interview guide that would elicit information about the cultural characteristics of the third generation in relation to those of the first and second generations (See Appendix B). According to Cayliff (1985) the researcher and informant relationship operates as a microcosm of the larger American social structure. He further stated, "it reflects the beliefs, stratifications, tensions, and injustices that exist in American society. . . (as well as) replicates (its) power dynamics" (p. 345). Because of these obvious disadvantages, interviewing had inherent obstacles. One obstacle was obtaining trust and rapport with family members who are of Mexican-American descent, because of the author's Anglo-American origins. Many Mexican-American individuals are distrustful and suspicious towards "outsiders." Often these attitudes are deeply engraved in many Mexican-American individuals, especially those who have worked in the fields, and an evasive posture is used as a defense mechanism against discrimination and geographical and social isolation. Different approaches were attempted to minimize these obstacles. First, ample time and space was provided for trust to develop between the author and the family members. Mutual trust and rapport were essential elements in the process of interactive dialogue (Vontress, 1971). Second, in order to establish

trust, confidentiality was established for each member of the family. Names that appear in this study were changed and purposely do not reflect the identity of any particular individual. Third, a letter of introduction was provided prior to each interview (See Appendix C). This letter explained the purpose, the procedures, and the significance of this study. And finally, a genealogy was sketched (See Appendix D), which allowed the informant control within the interview and at the same time provided an overall framework of family kinship patterns over time.

A second obstacle was the realization that my own perceptions, as a researcher, were shaped by my culture in which I mainly participate as were the perceptions of the family members shaped by their cultures. Because both I and the informants brought to the interview preconceived ideas and attitudes it was important that all participants understood that a potential tension was evident, and it was important that meanings derived from the interview process were constructed and interpreted in a shared and collaborative manner.

A third obstacle was the awareness that I could not insure a true understanding of the cultural-bound practices, behaviors and beliefs of my informants. My lack of understanding was due to various factors. The first was my assimilation into the dominant Anglo-American culture. I am seventh generation Anglo-American on my father's side of the family, and on my mother's I am sixth generation Anglo-American. My ethnic origins are multiple, ambiguous, and generally unknown. Also, my academic training placed me in a potential position of misreading as does my social-economic position, age, and gender. Not sharing the same ethnic and social backgrounds has not necessarily made me less knowledgeable about meanings of family member's feelings, values, and practices (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993); rather, it illuminated the importance of collaborating stories to allow both family members and researcher to cross various social and cultural borders, and connect (Neumann & Peterson, 1984). In realizing social and cultural differences, I paid specific attention to multiple locations and interpretations, and I emphasized the value in sharing intersubjectivities as the product of the research process. This product has not constituted a unified discourse; rather, it has reflected a range of possibilities within a broader social and cultural framework. Gumpart (cited in Neumann & Peterson, 1997) noted, "The relationships I have had with people in interviewing gave me deeper human experiences" (p. 189). And Tierney

(1996) added, "...and made me recognize my task as researcher is not to discover the true interpretation, for none exists, but my challenge is to uncover multiple voices at work" (p. 99)). An attempt was made to address this challenge in a collaborative development of text that was dependent in large part on who I and the informants were as well as on our relationship with one another at a particular place in time.

The objective of the interviews was to provide an opportunity for each family member to share personal recollections of historical and personal events as perceived within each member's own cultural environment. The taped interviews were intended to provoke narrative by relating observations and experiences in uninhibited, spontaneous, and natural manners and to reveal an intensity of feeling and a sense of identity through the spoken word. The purpose of using narratives was to see how particular individuals imposed order on their life experiences and made sense of the events, behaviors, and emotions in their lives. In so doing, narratives composed identities from an emic point of view, so what was represented was less biased by etic subjectivity.

The task of anthropological interviewers is to provide the interactional and discursive conditions that will arouse desire to communicate, to share in dialogue, and to invite the participant to determine the direction of the narrative (Chase, 1995). The intention of the interview format for this study was to invoke narrative within an interview discourse that was based on three particular questionnaire formats. The first interview was designed to provide information regarding individual family histories. The second interview was focused on roles, role expectations, family and household structures, belief systems, acculturation, education, discrimination, and cultural values. The third interview was intended to create a social network around each informant and thereby establish the importance of particular social relationships and identities. The fifty-two questions were arranged to maintain rapport with informants. The order of the questions were purposely arranged to avoid misconceptions or repetitions. Delicate questions were presented towards the end of each interview; whereas, more detailed questions requiring less intimate and shorter responses were asked at the beginning of the interview. The focus of each question was upon simplicity and clarity. The time required for each interview varied from one hour to three hours. The time variance was due to such factors as personality

differences, amount of information known, amount of information disclosed, time restrictions, interest in the study and trust. Where difficulties arose in oral responses the informants were offered an opportunity to respond in writing. This occasion arose with Ricardo, who declined being interviewed and would not respond to a written format of questions, nor did he return visual photographs. Linda and Mark, who are residing in Santa Fe, New Mexico, were not available for interviews.

Visual Imagery

Visual ethnography is about observation. It explores a holistic vision through the use of photography. Individuals are limited observers learning to see only what pragmatically needs to be seen and, thus, observing only a fraction of our surroundings. The camera as a research tool has a holistic and impartial vision. It clarifies and modifies our understanding of humanistic and physical environments. (Collier & Collier, 1986).

The nonverbal language of photographic imagery is a powerful means of communication across cultures, more so than written or spoken words. Photography gathers precise records of material reality. It has, however, its limitations. Its principle limitation is on who is behind the camera, on who is choosing the subject and taking the pictures. According to Collier and Collier (1986), "seeing the stranger as she or he *really* is in ethnographic (research) too often becomes a casualty of the researcher's own subjective values and incomplete observations. This distortion can be found in all ethnographic research" (p. 10)

The question of objectivity or realistic representation, thus, lies in who is holding the camera. The solution is placing the camera in the hands of the *observed*. Through the medium of film, the informants are able to share their own perspectives of the processes at work in their cultural worlds from an emic understanding. In this study combining the informants' visual worlds with their verbal and written dialogues allowed information to be more dimensional with a richer and more valid data base. It provided the observed the "authority to tell their own stories" (Hall, 1966, p. 157). In this manner visual ethnography uncovered the hidden dimension that is most often missed in ethnographic research. Themes and topics of emic significance were initiated,

described, and analyzed from an emic point of view. The emic perspective offered both an emic and an etic audience a critical insight into their own culture (Asch & Cardozo, 1991), thus, creating a semiotic relationship of visual images with discourses of power and privilege. The researcher's role changed from one of analyst to one of manager. By understanding the manner in which subjects become creators and more importantly the manner in which creators become subjects lent an air of credibility to the research (Feldman, 1977).

Surveys

The general purpose of a sample survey was to obtain information from a few respondents in order to describe the characteristics of a larger subpopulation or population (Salant & Dillman, 1994). To accomplish this purpose, the sample size must be large ($N = 100$). Because interviews were based on exploration and narrative took on a course of its own a survey based on objective individual demographic characteristics allowed the study to associate these variables with more subjective concerns such as settlement patterns and acculturation levels. A survey in this study served as a supplementary source for demographic data. Information from a survey of this type was very useful and valuable in facilitating interpretation of narrative and visual content across generations.

Historical Data

Second, this research project utilized a historical research methodology. Historical research attempts to establish information from the past. The researcher systematically and objectively locates, evaluates, and interprets the oral and documentary evidence for the purpose of increasing the knowledge of how and why past events occurred, and the process by which the past became the present (Ary, 1996). It must be realized that historical inquiry has its limitations. No control exists over what documents, artifacts, or records survive the passage of time or what informants remember over time, except perhaps the faculty of making fortunate discoveries by coincidence.

Documentary research in local historical records and newspaper files were utilized. Published primary sources were examined at local and regional libraries and historical society's archives. Genealogical histories were constructed, and genealogical data were utilized in order to reveal feelings and attitudes that implied certain behaviors and beliefs (Langness, 1965, p. 93). Personal documents in the form of birth certificates, baptismal and confirmation records, marriage licenses, death memorials and cemetery records, property abstracts, and media coverage were examined when available. Family papers, scrapbooks, diaries, journals, Bibles, and household inventories and memorabilia were perused to fill any gaps or give added depth to the study.

The data obtained from personal interviews, personal documents, and direct observations were combined, compared, and analyzed to determine cultural patterns, explored for competing viewpoints, and given a fuller perspective.

Phase Three: Integrating Data

The purpose of phase three was to review and integrate the particular data. The general approach was qualitative. Qualitative research embraced a range of procedures including participant observation, interviews, and documentary analysis, which resulted in detailed, descriptive information of human experiences. This descriptive information was reviewed and integrated on the basis of related constructs or categories without attempting to manipulate variables. Constructs or categories were based upon the interaction between the researcher's and the informants' value systems, therefore, utilizing subjective ends for objective assumptions and conclusions.

The qualitative paradigm is termed the constructivist approach (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), the interpretive approach (Smith, 1983), or the postpositivist or postmodern perspective (Quantz, 1992). According to Creswell (1998), "Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The research builds a complex, holistic picture; analyzes words; reports detailed views of informants; and conducts the study in a natural setting " (p. 15). Qualitative analysis is the search for patterns in data and for ideas that help explain the existence of these patterns. Bernard (1995) noted, "As

you develop ideas, you test them against your observations; your observations may then modify your ideas, which then need to be tested again; and so on" (p. 360).

Because qualitative inquiry acknowledges the role of subjective values in its inquiry and requires interaction between researchers and respondents, it is often claimed that the findings of such studies are simply a matter of opinion. To lessen that claim, qualitative researchers may employ a variety of methodologies to demonstrate credibility of the data gathered and confirm their established insights (Ary, 1996). The use of multiple sources of data and/or multiple methods of data collection enhances the reliability of such information by finding support for observations in more than one way.

In order to more reliably substantiate the observations and data in this study, the qualitative research included a variety of approaches and resources. This research design integrated three particular approaches of inquiry and interpretation of data: ethnographic, historical, and theoretical.

Phase Four: Analyzing Data

"It is perhaps as difficult to write a good life as it is to live one" (Strachey, 1918).

The purpose of this study was to describe, explore, and visualize the characteristics and identities of members of a third generation Mexican-American family. This study was not intended to be analytical in a higher theoretical sense, however, a brief analysis was appropriate in explaining and reconstructing certain data.

This study applies a qualitative paradigm to its focus upon the exploration and interpretation of humanistic issues and concerns. It does so from an *Interpretist* and *Constructivist* point of view; and by means of an ethnographical approach founded in oral and visual narratives. Analyses are collaborative and interpretive deriving meaning by exploring the interwoven threads of personal lives and shared cultural values and customs. According to King (1987), "Our methods of

understanding, collection, and presentation of data are not scientific, but are humanistic. We add to their culture our own experiences" (p. 50).

In this study, a qualitative research format will provide the opportunity for both researcher and participants to examine perceptions that are filtered, denied, and unconscious (Hassell, 1985) in strategies of data sharing that solicit insider's perspectives in making meaning of their experiences. Qualitative research analysis brings together theory and process through dialogue in discovering and examining unexpected, salient issues by means of inductive, and interactive construction of meanings (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993).

Ethnography

How I listen for the knowing of persons whom I interview---how I imagine their lives---how I imagine their lives---how I sense the limits of their words to convey what they feel and know---how I sense my own inability to comprehend what they know. . .as they speak" (Neumann, 1997, p. 91).

The aim of anthropological research is to construct both concepts and broader theoretical structures that describe and explain the meaning of culture, what human's do, think and have. For over a century, a debate concerning how cultural behavior should be studied, interpreted, and analyzed has lingered. The practice of ethnography, the description of culture, has its roots in 18th century Jesuit philosophies and practices. Information about "primitive institutions" shared Locke's perspective that emphasized the relationship between conditioning environmental factors with those of human thought and actions. Locke believed that humankind had no innate ideas but instead acquired all knowledge through the process of enculturation. Individual differences were determined by different experiences or differential exposure to the environment (Harris, 1968).

Traditionally, ethnographic methodology in anthropological research was directed as a scientific discovery of universal laws of human behavior inspired by the physics of Newton. Human behavior was believed to share empirical regularities of social life and humankind within an orderly realm of sociocultural events (1968). Traditional ethnographical research was based on observation and description. This approach generally implied a neutral position, one that indulged a "disinterested attitude where the inquirer was warned not to become more than a marginal native and to discipline his or her subjectivity" (Schwandt, 1994, p. 131). Anthropological

research was not intended to "interpret" actions, nor by its process "contaminate" data. Geertz (cited in Rabinow, 1985) described this separation of texts from the research process:

"the anthropologist establishes his unique authority by showing that he was there and then disappears from the text" (p. 4). But by its own interference, it was later realized that no position of research is neutral and that this type of perspective implied a researcher's "privileged position" and "power-laden" relationships between the anthropologist and his or her informant in the field (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993). The dilemma emerged as not whether to interfere in the local culture, but how much to interfere (Fetterman, 1983).

The development of the *emic* or *New Ethnographical* approach to anthropological methodology in the mid-20th century, owed its origins to certain features of the Boasian *Historicalist* paradigm. According to P. Pelto (1970) Boas, an anthropological theorist, promoted participant-observation in field research by emphasizing the importance of collecting data in the "form of verbatim texts from native informants in order to preserve the original (informant's) meaning of the information"(p. 68). Margaret Mead (1959, p. 58 cited in Harris, 1968), a student of Boas, commented on his *emicist* point of view:

To get the depth of understanding he (Boas) required, meant submerging his thinking in that of another. It meant learning to think in another's terms and to view the world through another's eyes. The most intimate knowledge of an informant's thought processes was mandatory and could only be obtained by intensive work over a long period. . . Boas conceived of his main task as the adoption of an informant's mode of thought (p. 316).

Boas and other "New Ethnographers" denied the idea of *definitional relativity*. Instead they adopted the assumption that "native's" categorization of behavior is the correct one (Pelto, 1970, p. 69). The basic methodological concept of the *New Ethnography* advocated as a first step the researchers must identify particular "segregates" or meaningful behavioral items that are grouped together as sets of contrasting responses through participation, observation, and interviewing in the field. A second step was to ascertain and analyze particular themes followed by a final step by which the researcher identified the dimensions of somantic domains or dimensions of contrast that have cognitive significance in the study. This systematic study of somantic domains was called *componential analysis* (Pelto, 1970).

The Boasian “emic” methodological approach was assumed to embrace reliability and validity in ethnographic analyses by grounding data in emic, verbal description. This type of analyses, however, was deemed inappropriate in analyzing nonverbal behavior by Marvin Harris, who in turn, proposed a different and opposing *New Ethnography* or *eticism* to anthropological theory, based on the premise that informant’s verbal descriptions should not be used as the primary data for behavioral meanings. The two schools of thought divided anthropological theory for decades.

Early in anthropological methodology and theory, Paul Radin (1934) advocated the life history approach to cultural inquiry. He stated, “the life history approach may be the only acceptable form of (emic) ethnography, because it ideally mirrored the individual’s perspective” (p. 238). Boas (cited in McBeth, 1993) disagreed with Radin stating that life histories “are not facts, but memories, and memories are distorted by the wishes and thoughts of the moment. The interests of the present determine the selection of data and color the interpretation of the past” (p. 149). Life histories remained in the background of ethnographic interpretation for almost a century.

In the 1980s, Clifford (1981) developed a paradigm based on his theory of *ethnographic surrealism*. This theory stated that culture and cultural norms were an artificial arrangement, a utopian construct created by anthropologists in the field. He stated, “But is not every ethnographer somewhat of a surrealist?—a reinventor and reshuffler of realities?” He further added, “Ethnography, the science of cultural jeopardy, presupposes a constant willingness to be surprised, to unmake interpretive syntheses, and to value—when it comes—the unclassified, unsought Other” (p. 564). Russell (1999) expanded this theory by emphasizing her paradigm based on *experimental ethnograph*, an expansive term in which culture is “representative from many different fragmented and mediated perspectives” (p. xii). By the year 2000, ethnographic research had now embraced a reorientation toward cultural pluralism and hybridity embedded in the Interpretivist and Constructivist schools of thought.

In the field of education, ethnography is a description of a culture or the collection of data that describes a culture generally centered within a subculture surrounding educational processes in Western cultures (Creswell, 1995). There are various theories on how ethnography should be approached, interpreted, and analyzed in educational theory. Wolcott (1994) looked at narrative

process and how this process constructs subject matter by beginning with a description of a particular culture and followed by an analysis of the data. According to Wolcott, analysis includes determining and presenting salient patterns, contextualizing data, and possibly comparing it across various resource bases. And finally, the researcher must interpret the findings "both within the context of the researcher's experiences and within the larger body of structural research on the topic" (as cited in Creswell, 1998, p. 183). Emerson, et al (Creswell, 1995) addressed an ethnographic study as a "thematic narrative" or a "story analytically thematized. . . (and) constructed out of a series of thematically organized units of field note excerpts and analytic commentary" (p. 170). The thematic narrative evolves inductively around predetermined central themes which are reflected and elaborated on throughout the study.

Currently in both the fields of anthropology and education, ethnography is a description and an interpretation of a cultural or social group or system. Creswell (1995) stated, "The researcher examines the group's observable and learned patterns of behavior, customs, and ways of life. As both a process and an outcome of research (Agar, 1980 in Creswell, p. 58) ethnography is a product of research, typically found in book-length form (p. 58). Data are remembrances of the past, interpreted in accordance with the present ideas of what is important in a continuous movement of construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction (McBeth, 1993). Focus is upon construction of meanings and the processes by which these meanings are created, negotiated, sustained, and modified within a specific context of human action (Geertz cited in Schwandt, 1994). Interpretation, not causation, is the explanation and culture is the context. For this purpose, this study will utilize an ethnographic approach in describing cultural themes and in interpreting meanings that inductively emerge in a process of social interaction during the research process.

Oral Narratives

It is obvious that in using ethnography as an approach for obtaining data and an understanding of cultural meaning that the use of personal oral narratives is imperative. The employment of narrative in research is not a new methodology. What is new is its acceptance as a valid source

of information. In traditional anthropological and educational methodologies, data obtained through interviews was generally considered "massaged and manipulated" by the researcher (Yow, 1994).

In anthropology, personal narrative has been used as an important source of information for over a century. During the 19th century, there was considerable interest in the cultures of the Native Americans. At this time, personal narratives were in the form of autobiographies or biographies that according to DuBois (cited in Gottschalk, Kluckhohn & Angell, 1945), "were a series of controlled interviews, the purpose of which is less to give a chronological life story than to get at the predominating emotional and social preoccupations of the subject and to secure inferentially of such preoccupations" (p. 102). Early in anthropology narrative was inconsistent, incomplete, unevenly representative (mostly men), and unreliable. It wasn't until the emergence of an Interpretivist perspective that narrative was considered a valid and reliable resource base in anthropology, especially for emic interpretation.

Currently in both anthropology and education, narratives have emerged as significant and powerful sources of information. According to Reissman (1993), researchers "do not have direct access to another's experience. We deal with ambiguous representations of it--talk, text, interaction, and interpretation" (p. 8). The concept of representation entails looking at the constructed nature of social scientific work. Said (cited in Reissman, 1993) further stated, "(The) real issue is whether indeed there can be a true representation of anything, or whether any and all representations, because they are representations, are embedded first in language and then in the culture. . . of the representer" (p. 16) and the interpreter.

Narratives tell stories about how a story teller remembers, perceives, and interprets an event, thought, or feeling. Narrative stories are an attempt to convey simply and seriously the most important experiences of an individual's life (Labov, 1997). The Personal Narrative Group (1989 in Reissman, 1993) addressed narrative representation, "When talking about their lives, people lie sometimes, forget a lot, exaggerate, become confused, and get things wrong. Yet they are revealing truths. . . truths of our experiences. . . unlike the Truth of the scientific ideal, the truths of personal narratives are neither open to proof nor self-evident. We come to understand them only

through interpretation" (p. 22). Narratives are interpretive. They do not speak for themselves but through interpretation. They aim for an understanding through the process of interactive verbal and nonverbal communication.

Human agency and imagination determine what gets included and excluded in stories, how events are plotted, and what they are supposed to mean (Reissman, 1993). Telling tales is not so much recounting past events as it is a reflection of present cultural values, a recreation of the past for present purposes (Hejaiej, 1996). The narrated life story represents the narrator's overall construction of his or her past and anticipated future, in which relevant experiences are allied with a provisionally and thematically consistent pattern that has meaning at the time of narration. The narration becomes a representation of a sequence of mutually interrelated themes, a "thematic field" (Rosenthal, 1996). Rosenthal explained, "In order to understand its meaning, the analysis involves reconstructing the narrator's system of knowledge, their interpretations of lives, and their classification of experiences into thematic fields (pp. 61 & 69). Reissman (1993) added, "analysis includes how it (narrative story) is put together, the linguistic and cultural resources it draws on, and how it persuades a listener of its authenticity" (p. 5).

Because narrator and audience do not hold still for their portraits, meaning is fluid and contextual, and reality is selective, partial and imperfect. Narrativization assumes points of view, thus, revealing multiple constructions and interpretations of the same event. Narratives are based upon subjective perceptions, filtered data, and often forgotten information (Garza & Gallegos, 1985). The act of narration, thus, is dynamic; it is a place where imagination and reality cross, characters interact, storyteller intermingles with tale, performer relates with audience, performance mixes with audience, and continuity blends with change (Hejaiej, 1996). In this sense, narrative stories become legendary or traditional with or without a determinable basis of fact or a consensual explanation and mythical in their multiple interpretative positions.

Visual Narratives

In addition to oral narratives, this study will focus on visual ethnography. Photography and video are becoming increasingly important cultural texts in ethnographic research. Sarah Pink

noted, "Visual images and technologies now form the areas, methods, and media of ethnographic research and representations (2001, p. 1). In this study, the camera was put in the hands of the informants with the purpose of having them create a visual narrative.

Each culture has its own symbolic form of communication, both verbally and nonverbally. The selection of objects and the nature of their presentation constitute nonverbal expressions of thought, behavior, emotion, and of what tangible artifacts are important to them as an individual defined within a community. Photographic narratives or essays are cultural data that are consequences of differences in individual experiences (Tomaselli, 1997). Each narrative or essay is composed of different arrangements of cultural products and contexts (Holliday, 2000). Each image is more than a random recording of a significant event, a special person, or an important artifact; but rather, is selected in support of an idea or prior image (Byers, 1964) that is representative of a highly selective sample of a particular individual's real world (Becker, 1986). A photographic survey or inventory, thus, is capable of offering a researcher or viewer a very compelling source of data.

Photographic images are specific and dependent upon context and time. Each image isolates and frames a particular moment in time by which the viewer is able to examine the complexities of this specific moment because the image offers greater information and detail than the moment's availability. Photographs, thus, are generally "islands in time." Their messages are "incomplete" and dependent on some external medium of circumstances and presuppositions. Their meanings are subject to cultural definitions that constitute an arena that is limited and enclosed by shared experiences (Sekula, 1975)

Family photographs are even more limited by their shared interpretations, remembrances, and identifications that generally involve posing participants in different and purposive combinations in order to depict different associations, relationships, and bonds. The personal nature of the family photograph makes a strong distinction between public and private display. Topics are often special events or people and/or new or used possessions of familiarity, their significance generally recognizable to family members alone. These images are "planned" and seldom, if ever represent "negative" aspects of shared family experiences. Posed individuals, specific aspects of

events, and selected inventories of possessions, should “look good.” Although often deemed unrecognizable because of lack of context, to family members they are deemed “appropriate.” The format of the visual narrative is informed and organized by what will have meaning and interest to family members, now and in the future. The exclusivity and critical selectivity of the photo sampling is recognizable by cultural members outside of the family arena, and is focused by a system of particular cultural conventions and rules; but is stridently delimited in its meaning to members outside of the family. The family photo essay becomes “folk myth” whereas, meanings and interpretations assume a visual embodiment based upon metonymic forces that transcend the perceptual and become active metaphoric symbols of “who we are” within a family environment. Identities are, thus, objectified or exemplified in concrete performances and material displays (Pink, 2001). Photo essays become maps of “who we are” in the contexts of family and cultural folk mythology (Holliday, 2000). Reality is, therefore, not really reality, but is self-reflexive, where “self” is positioned in multiple and subjective points of view (Ruby, 1990).

In the past, because the camera was most often in the hands of the anthropologist as the observer or viewer, interpretations and meanings were assumed to be “skewed” (Byers, 1964). By repositioning the camera in the hands of the “observed” it is assumed that the photo gives voice to the voiceless (Ruby, 1991) creating a third reality, a relationship between the observer and the observed (Rouch cited in Young, 1995). The photos expose a different reality or surreality based on a subjective foundation of truth and fiction, whereas the camera becomes an extension of the self, thus, dissolving boundaries between the producer and consumer for a better understanding of the photographic image (Clifford cited in Debouzek, 1989). The image, thus, erases the distance between representation and reality. The “observed” are able to share in the definition of meaning (Harper, 1988).

Ethical visual research and representation ought to be collaborative, reflexive and represent emic agency. Visual diaries should be visual representations and processes through which identities are negotiated and performed, rather than products of anthropological observation. Visual images do not represent objective truth, no matter who holds the camera. Reality itself is not necessarily visible (Pink, 2001). Empowerment is using photographic documentation of

everyday lives as a tool to record and reflect cultural elements, interests, and needs; to promote dialogue and understanding within cultures and cross-culturally; and to encourage action by giving voice and evoking audience in the politics of representation. This allows access to engage in self-portraiture and collective sharing of knowledge. Empowerment is, thus, access to knowledge, decisions, networks, and resources. Envisioning a self-defined space where he or she can freely and openly express in photographic imagery what is worthy to remember is prevailing (Wang & Burris, 1994). In so doing, photographs preserve and enlighten culture (Feitosa, 1991).

Theoretical Approaches

Stories or narratives told by individuals suggest the power of agency by giving voice to people of diversity. Determining themes and interpreting and analyzing what is significant in these voices becomes an exercise in critical judgment for the researcher (Smith, 1994). The role of anthropologist according to Malinowski (1922) is to bring along the best of contemporary theory when he or she goes into the field setting.

The art of writing narrative carries a complex assemblage of problems and dilemmas. Decisions and interpretations that researchers continuously must make in a study are constituted by ambiguity "that is part of the excitement and the agony of doing biography" (Smith, 1990, p. 289). "One of the most significant driving questions in narrative is from what perspective should the framework be situated in determining, interpreting, and analyzing salient themes from data" (p. 289)?

Geertz (1973) noted that "personal narrative interpretation is concerned with the way specific individuals perceive and construe their world, which moves the interpreter toward the subjects point of view. . . (labeled by Geertz as) experience *near* as opposed to experience *distant* conceptualizations" (p. 296). Emic perspectives and emotions identify individuals in time and relationships (Smith, 1994). By applying *Interpretivist* and *Constructivist* approaches in doing narrative analyses of data, a researcher and informant are together actively constructing a profile of the life experiences and perceptions of self identity in particular social and cultural contexts.

The aim of this study was to provide an opportunity for meaningful dialogue and to unfold narrative stories that addressed important questions and issues of ultimate concern for the informants, the researcher, and associated listeners. This was to be accomplished through interactive dialogue and imagery. The aim of this type of process is to obtain an understanding and an awareness of multiple realities and identities that may emerge in the process of research. The theoretical approach to this study blended the philosophies of *Interpretivist* and *Constructivist* frameworks to understand meaningful cultural themes derived from oral and visual narratives.

Interpretivism of Oral Narratives

Narrative research, as a subculture of qualitative research, focuses on "self" or on the individual as the primary source for data collection and analyses and employs narratives or stories as contextual foundations from which the researcher can generate interpretive analyses (Bloom, 2002). Narrative interpretation, therefore, deconstructs the individual through dialogic and behavioral interchanges between the narrator and her or his audience.

Stories people tell about themselves are not only about life events, relationships, and ideas but are significant in their construction. According to Rosenwald and Ochber (1992), "to the investigators of psychological or cultural representation, the object of study is not the 'true event' . . . but the construction of that event within personal and social history" (p. 7). From their construction and form, it is assumed that stories are told and understood within narrative cultural frames which determine and limit the agency of narrative commands. The power of stories is inevitably shaped by the prevailing language of discourse and by the cultural norms of communication.

Traditionally in anthropology, narrative or life stories were used as significant data resources in describing an informant's cultural experiences, and were generally perched on what was perceived to be an objective platform that was dictated by scientific empiricism, a perspective based on value-free or neutral facts. Stories like photographs were to be interpreted as objective descriptions void of hermeneutic considerations that recognized that human experience gains its

value through emic or subjective and interactive or intersubjective (etic) interpretation (Blecher, 1980).

This type of "objective" cultural description as revealed in narrative storytelling has become questionable both in anthropological and educational arenas. Theorists including Geertz (1973) were speculative over how coherence could be understood through events themselves and objected to the empirical program of cultural analysis that was defined by a set of theoretical models known as *structuralism*, *ethnoscience* or *cognitive anthropology*. Instead, Geertz preferred to define the analysis of human experiences as an interpretive science in search of meaning (p. 3). Culture for Geertz was a more complicated and fundamentally an irreducibly interactive, hermeneutical phenomenon that begged for interpretation, not causal explanation.

Rosenwald and Ochsberg (1992) referred to both anthropological and educational theory in their observations. They noted, "personal accounts are read with an eye not just to the scenes they describe but to the process, product, and outcome of the telling itself" (p. 4). This dismantling of the *realist* position in the social sciences has positioned the coherences of life stories and narratives in the interpretation of the storyteller. In the story maker's hands, "coherence derives from the tacit assumptions of plausibility that shape the way each story maker weaves the fragmentary episodes of experience into a history" (p. 5).

Of theoretical importance when considering individual attitudes and subjective responses is the groundwork laid by *Interpretivist* points of view. In opposition to traditional theoretical positions, *Interpretivist* theory promotes and sanctions the idea of multiple realities. These perspectives are especially useful in the present study because they explain and clarify the meanings and values that each individual family member used to define their own situations. In personal narratives, the Personal Narrative Group (In Riessman, 1993) explained, "It is precisely because of their (personal narratives) subjectivity ---their rootedness in time, place, and personal experience, in their perspective-ridden character---that we value them" (p. 5). In this study interpretation of data will not merely be a description of events, but a union of an interactive process emerging through dialogic conversations and based on an *Interpretivist* approach to meaning.

Constructivism

Interpretivism and *Constructivism* are proponents of understanding and making meaningful the world of human existence from the perspective of those who live it, and both share in an effort to develop a natural science of the social in a reaction against logical empiricist methodology. Together these perspectives, thus, aim toward a more humanistic viewpoint of the world of existence.

Schwandt (1994) stated *Constructivists* are "preoccupied with related but somewhat different concerns from those of *Interpretivist* counterparts" (p. 125). *Constructivists* are concerned with the construction and organization of differences and reject the idea that any knowledge or truth is essential or exists independently from the observer. Humans construct their own realities and interweave them into meaningful contexts, and they invent strategies to understand and interpret them (Schwandt, 1994). *Constructivists* believe that knowledge and truth are created. Each participant shares his or her lived reality that is constructed in particular places, at particular times, in association with particular meanings, and through complex processes of social interactions.

In narrative, Neumann (1987) explained, "stories are constructed through weavings of bits of talk, touch, looks, signs, through moments of closeness and distance, through remembrances of conversation that stop and switch and turn even in mid-thought" He added that narratives are "stories constructed from the knowing that unworded feelings create" (p. 96). Smith (1994) noted that narratives are "organizations of human memory. . .the underlying 'life myth'---the major inferences into the character and personality of the (narrator). . . (that they are constructed) like a tapestry, which shows images on its front side and displays the underlying construction on the back of life experiences" (p. 291). Narrative stories emphasize pluralistic, dynamic and malleable realities, and they disperse or share ethnographic authority (Rabinow, 1985). The goal of *Constructivists* is to achieve and capture a consensus of these multiple realities at a given time (Guba & Lincoln, 1985).

Constructivist philosophy forms the foundation for this study. It adopts the theory that through nonverbal and verbal communication systems, humans create multiple realities (Goodman, 1984). The study recognizes that the social and dialogic nature of inquiry is central to *Constructivist*

thinking (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). The study also acknowledges that a focus must be placed upon the researcher's self reflective understanding of owned social constructions, as well as to the social constructions of the informants. The union of social constructions in the process of interactive discourse and reflexivity is the purpose of enriching the vocabulary of understanding (Gergen & Gergen, 1991, p. 88).

Interpretivism of Visual Images

Theoretical philosophies that form the foundation for visual interpretative research methods are significant to this study because they define how the images and processes through which they are created are used to produce knowledge in the study. MacDougall (1998) remarked "Anthropology has had no lack of interest in the visual; its problem has always been what to do with it." S. Pink (2001) explained, "While images should not necessarily replace words as the dominant mode of research or representation, they should be regarded as an equally meaningful element of ethnographic work. Thus, visual images, objects, and descriptions should be incorporated when it is appropriate, opportune or enlightening to do so" (p. 1).

So far, according to MacDougall (1998), assessing the content of the image has been a matter of applying labels derived from cognitive categories defined by particular cultures. Yet, there exists empowerment behind the camera in its capability to manipulate a manufactured appearance of reality by means of selecting what is accessible to the viewer and reaffirming what is significant to the photographer (Schwartz, 1993). By selecting and organizing representations of reality, a syntax or grammar, a language of social and cultural categories and patterns emerges in the visual narrative that portrays, describes, and analyzes cultural phenomenon (Harper, 1988). Visual records of information present an individual in relation to her or his environment and reflect and define her or his social and cultural categories of meaning. For the researcher or viewer, photographs are commanding resources in that they can make the invisible, visible by leading researchers to often overlooked or unnoticed phenomenon (Harper, 1988).

It is not the photographic images themselves, however, which inform but rather the analysis of them (Schwartz, 1989). The image "triggers meaning that is already in the viewer" (Hall, 1966), or

researcher. Most viewers or researchers respond to visual images by reflecting upon their own cultural realities. Photo literacy is learned. A photograph communicates by means of its association with some tacit text. Photographs have different meanings to different audiences and constitute a collaborative, communicative interaction between photographer, subject and viewer" (Caldarola, 1985).

Throughout the world today, people are increasingly learning about others through visual media. Multiple cultural aspects, multiple interpretations, multiple meanings, and multiple positions exist in the creation and consumption of visual representations of culture. According to Ginsburg (1994), this diversity produces a *parallax effect*, an illusory perception of displacement of an object observed, due to changing positions by the producer and the viewer. In the past, anthropological photography in the field has been almost useless because of the special bias of the photographer, a unidimensional position. Holliday (2000) stated, "any thorough investigation of any culture in Western society in the current period is one saturated with multimedia imagery. (One) surely needs to examine both text and experience, and the interplay of both" (p. 509).

Subject Selection

The selected subject sample was one vertically and horizontally extended family. They represented a first, second, and third generation Mexican and Mexican-American family that originally immigrated to northern Colorado from Mexico around 1920 (See Appendix D). As was typical of many Mexican immigrant families the first generation family escaped the instability of Mexican political turmoil in their search for work across their northern borders. Because of language barriers, lack of variable and available employment, unskilled work experience and abilities, and other factors Mexican immigrants most often became agricultural field workers and/or unskilled factory laborers. In northern Colorado this type of work centered on the fields and factories of the beet sugar industry.

The primary focus of this study was on the oral and visual narratives as told by nine of the twelve grandchildren of Hinojos and Carmelita who were first generation immigrants to northern Colorado. Hinojos and Carmelita had ten children. All but one member of the second generation

are presently residing in the Fort Collins, Colorado area with their vertical offspring extending to a fourth generation. Some members of the third generation live in diverse areas of Fort Collins, Colorado, including two members who reside in ethnic barrios, one who lives in a northside contemporary barrio, and four who live in suburban communities. Two others reside in areas adjacent to Fort Collins in Loveland, Colorado, and three family members have moved out of the state of Colorado, two to Santa Fe, New Mexico and one to Indiana. Reference may be made to members outside this nucleus including lateral and vertical relatives of Hinojos living in northern California.

This family was not a random selection nor was it necessarily representative of the entire Mexican-American population in northern Colorado or even in Fort Collins. The sample selection chosen was based on size, history, ethnicity, accessibility and their interest and willingness to participate in this inquiry. Population sampling in qualitative research is seldom random or representative, but is purposive (Bernard 1995, p. 71- 98). It is intended to provide maximum insight and understanding of what is studied.

The Family

For over six years I have been acquainted with this family and have over time and dialogue been able to gain their trust and feel comfortable in their family gatherings. Family members of the second generation were interviewed from 1999 to 2000 and information from the interviews was analyzed in a previous study, *The Cultural History of a Second Generation Family in the South Platte River Valley of Northern Colorado*. Information from this study laid the foundation for the present study.

Generation 1

Hinojos and Carmelita, who were first generation immigrants to northern Colorado were not interviewed but were embedded in the narrative stories told by second and older third generation family members. They passed away prior to this research. An introduction to the past members

of the first and second generation family members and of the historical context of this extended family is important in understanding the cultural characteristics of the third generation.

Hinojos

Hinojos was known through the eyes of his descendants. His children and the older grandchildren remembered him as a quiet man who was often evasive and uninvolved in family interactions. He was a strict disciplinarian with his children and held a profile of authority and respect within his family and community. He was described by some of his children as a hard worker and provider, while other children emphasized his lack of financial and emotional support for his family. He was a gentle man, easy going yet rigid in his concept of culturally defined roles and expectations. Hinojos passed on to his children these values including the ability to work hard and remain humble. From Hinojos came the respect and values for opportunities in jobs and lifestyles that each of the children have established and secured in their present life situations.

Carmelita

Carmelita was a remarkable humanitarian. Not only did she stand as the backbone for her children and older grandchildren but also as their spiritual guide, provider, healer, and teacher. She honored all humans and impressed upon her children and grandchildren the values of respect, love, and humility. Carmelita was a diligent worker who raised ten children with minimal economic or emotional support. She maintained a clean and healthy household often in despicable conditions neglecting her own welfare for that of her children. Carmelita was the reason that each of her children had a secure lifestyle. Her emphatic focus on getting her children educated and her realization that education was their only road to success promoted their acceptance and involvement within the dominant community of Fort Collins. She understood that immersion could be accomplished without losing the pride of one's own ethnic and cultural heritage. Carmelita was loved, honored, and highly respected by all of her children.

Generation 2

The second generation family members were of different ages, however, their experiences were most often shared. In common, all shared the desire to see that attention be paid to the history of the Mexican-American people in the South Platte River Valley of northern Colorado. Graciela stated, "I am glad for this opportunity. It has helped you learn about the Mexican-American culture—family first, roots, what we are made of—this has opened your eyes to see our struggles. (personal interview with Graciela, 1999).

Erlinda

Erlinda is 70 years old and is the eldest daughter of Hinojos and Carmelita. She is married to Manuel and resides in the Holy Family Neighborhood. Erlinda refused interviewing with the audio tape equipment. She did, however, answer questions addressed at her in unstructured interviews and allowed the interviewer to write her answers as she spoke. Since it was only by chance visits that we conversed, conversations were limited in time and scope. Nevertheless, her recall of the events of her childhood and young womanhood made it possible to glean a good deal of information about life in the fields of northern Colorado in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. Erlinda later joined her other siblings for the first time in 20 years to share her stories about the family history in a group interview.

Paula

Paula is the second eldest daughter and has been physically handicapped from birth. Deprived of independence and a normal lifestyle by her disability she became the "quiet observer." Her contagious sense of humor and her loving smile affected many of the interviews. Alone she would remain silent but when joined by her family she spontaneously offered some rare information regarding her mother's early life in Colorado.

Marta.

The opportunity to meet this strong and courageous woman was a tremendous privilege. Of all the siblings Marta's role remained one of caretaker and provider. She, Erlinda, and Paula were the only children who were not able to complete high school. Marta was required to work in the fields alongside her father and to care for her younger sisters and brothers. She cared for both her mother and her father in their final needful years. Marta cares for her sister Paula and the two remain in residence at their childhood home in the Holy Family neighborhood of Fort Collins, Colorado. Marta is especially true to her cultural history and traditions. Devoutly religious, she told her story as a player in the Catholic faith.

Abelardo

Abelardo is the eldest son of Hinojos and Carmelita. It was Abelardo and Marta who provided a vivid picture of life in the Colorado fields. When Abelardo was old enough he began to help support his family. He worked alongside his father during the 1950s and 1960s, hoeing and thinning sugar beets and harvesting onions, beans, sugar beets, tomatoes, and cucumbers. Children of farm workers during this time often did not receive much formal education because they were needed in the fields. The hard work in the fields had made Abelardo defy these odds. He realized early that agricultural labor was not his intention in life. Determined to never work in the fields when he grew up, Abelardo pursued an education at Colorado State University. The young man clearly had places to go but opportunities to seize that goal were not to be found in the restricted life of the sugar beet fields. After one year at the University, he was offered a government position where he has remained for 30 years.

Placida

Placida offered the interviewer a unique perspective. Divorced from the traditional ways and old neighborhoods of her childhood, Placida had chosen to adapt to a world outside her cultural and ethnic arenas. Living within the predominant Anglo-American community she remained close

to her siblings but felt oppressed by her Catholic faith. Because of her quiet and private nature she answered questions concisely yet cautiously.

Maria

Maria shared her traditional attitudes with modern perspectives. Alone she embraced the traditions she learned from her childhood but chose for her children a more nontraditional approach. Devoutly religious Maria shared her story of entering the convent as a young woman and the consequences of her three years in studying to become a nun. In these years, the Catholic Church and its tenets structured her family life. After three years at the Convent however, Maria made a decision not to devote her life to the institution and returned to her family in Fort Collins. It was always pleasurable to experience Maria's firm and decisive viewpoints yet gentle nature.

Pepe

Pepe, the second eldest son, was anxious to share his insights as to what it meant to be Mexican-American. Pepe emphasized his deep devotion and respect for *la familia*, his Catholic religion, and his Mexican-American identity. Of special importance were his shared opinions for his father Hinojos who was a man he most admired for his physical prowess and hard work. After the oral interview Pepe chose to reflect on the questions asked and respond further in writing. By this approach he offered a distinct and powerful perspective.

Graciela

Graciela initiated this study by providing endless information and time. She introduced the interviewer to other members of her family and promoted the study to them as well as too many members of the extended family in California. The previous study included a trip to California to meet this extended family and attend and participate in a family party for over two hundred members of the family. The youngest child of the second generation family to be interviewed but not the youngest of Hinojos' and Carmelita's children, Graciela was happy to tell her own story

which reiterated the theme of economic distress that we noted in all the interviews. She also demonstrated the strength of the adventurous and restless spirit of the Mexican-American woman. Without Graciela, this story would never have been told. I am particularly grateful to Graciela for her trust and friendship.

Third Generation

The third generation range in age from 21 to 50 years old. Two members have college degrees, one has attended Colorado State University, and four have or are presently attending Front Range Community College. Eight of the third generation members have children and of these three are married. Members of the third generation range in occupational status from high-end administrative and managerial positions to unemployed dependents of State assisted programs. In common they share in the importance of family and cultural heritage. It will be the data gathered from the third generation interviews and surveys that tie or untie the first and second generation's hold on tradition. As interviewer I look forward to the opportunity of sharing these family members' perspectives and values.

Sofia

Sofia is the daughter of Erlinda and is the oldest member of the third generation. She holds an MA degree in Education from Colorado State University and works in an Administrative position for the State of Colorado. Sofia stated that she "would like to see it (this study) be an educational piece for the others, the younger people, educating them, you know, on that change, on that process; and to demonstrate the importance of their background and their culture. . . I would like to see this in a way that these younger kids, my cousins can read and say, 'Oh, that's what their life was like', and learn something from it."

Frederico

Frederico is the younger brother to Sofia and the only son of Erlinda's. Both he and Sofia grew up in the Holy Family neighborhood closely tied to Mexican tradition. He resides in a suburban

area on the southern and western peripheries of Fort Collins, Colorado. Frederico focused on *accuracy* of the study, "I think the accuracy has a lot to do with it, which I think the educational piece, that would be a nice touch."

Bernardo

Bernardo is the son of Placida, brother to Erika, and half brother to Lori. He stated, "Ah, I don't know, I think when coming in (to the interview) I thought there would be more. I kind of looked at the list (of questions) and then I thought, "This is what I'm going to say. And then when I got here, Did I say that? I think a lot of it is appreciating what my family has done for us, my aunts and uncles and my mom, and my grandma and grandpa, and having them understand yeah, it did mean a lot to us. It does mean a lot to us. I think the older I am I think the more misguided in some aspects they were. And I know they didn't know, they were probably going by 'OK, this is what I'm going to do, this is what I'm going to show you, this is how you do it'. I think their approaches should have been taken in some cases but I think they've learned from it. I think all of them have become better at communicating with their kids for one."

Erika

"I really think that for me, you know, even if I wanted my kids to read it (this) I would want them to hear all the good and all the bad and get a realistic picture of what I am because setting unrealistic goals for your children is the worst thing you can do. I really think that I would want them to know why I am the way I am and what struggles I really have that nobody wanted to talk about. You know, through the tears or whatever, I really want them to know. 'You know, she lived through hell, and she did it and she is fine and she may not have finished everything she wanted to start but she started everything she ever wanted'. And I want them to know that I was really funny and I could have a really good time and that you didn't have to be perfect with me. But I wasn't going to unconditionally love everything you did. And I want them to know that I was a hard worker, that (pause) I was funny, that I could have a good time, that I had realistic, I want them to have realistic ideas about me--- she just never dropped out of school. I dropped out of school but I

went for four years'. You know, I want them to be knowledgeable about everything, like, I don't know how to put that in words, where I am human and I know that they're going to make mistakes and I'll always love them because they're my children but they can't go out and murder people and expect me to (laughs) stand right by them all of the time because there's a limit to what parents can take; and I want them to know that I worked very hard to make them the people that they are but that I make mistakes and they're probably going to get screwed up in one way or another. There's nothing I can---there's no real proof for another twenty years whether or not I screwed them up. I want them to know it was not my intention but that I've never been a person of intention because intention doesn't get you anywhere

I think if you wanted to reward your readers instead of yourself, you just be really truthful and honest and realistic in that all comes with the bad and the good. You know, like, 'Oh, yeah, they were down in the dumps and they were eating from the dumps but where are they now. ? . . . It's not even that we are who we are, that we are who we are in spite of everything, in spite of all of it'. And why aren't they giving back to those people who aren't---still eating in the dumps?' Because it's just a curse still and we're not any better off in Fort Collins than we ever were; it's just that we've forgotten where we came from. And, even if we can remember, it's only for ten minutes on tape."

Tomas

Tomas is the oldest son of Maria. He grew up in the Holy Family neighborhood near his grandparents Hinojos and Carmelita. He emphasized, "I was not a good one to call there because I wasn't around my family. I went and started my own family, those friends I mentioned about, those who I went with, stuck with all my life until I got her and had a baby with her and then I left my friends and stayed with her this whole time." Tomas values his various occupations, "(I) had a lot of them (occupations). I've had concrete, sidewalks, walls, driveways, foundations; then I went to stucco---those are walls---freon, contrails. I've done plumbing, roofing, siding, drywall, carpet, framing, a lot of labor work, warehouse work, inventory, stocking, and I cook. I would want

to go back to plumbing—I made the most money there. I had my own crew there and did my own stuff; went to work, got off when I wanted. That was good stuff.”

Ricardo

Ricardo is the only son of Marta. He resides in the Holy Family neighborhood. “Rico” decided not to participate in this study.

Carmenlita

Carmenlita recently moved to the state of Indiana to pursue a career in flying. Her dream since she was a young girl was to become a pilot. Now her son shares in this goal. Carmenlita is the daughter of Magdalena, who died in a tragic death in 1979. At this time Carmenlita was two years old and went to live with her father and stepmother. Her connection to her mother’s family is with Graciela who has a firm commitment to family and tradition. I greatly appreciate that Carmenlita made a trip from Indiana to Colorado for this interview. Her commitment to her mother’s family is commendable.

Chelsea and Teresa

Chelsea and Teresa are daughters of Abelardo’s. Chelsea holds a BA degree in psychology from Colorado State University and resides in Loveland with her daughter, Faith. Teresa presently resides and works in Fort Collins, Colorado, and has a son Andrew.

Linda and Mark

Linda and Mark are the two younger children of Maria. They presently reside in Santa Fe, New Mexico and were unavailable for this study.

Lori

Lori is the youngest daughter of Placida from Placida's second marriage. She is starting to attend Colorado State University in the fall of 2004. Lori has played the violin since seventh grade. She is the youngest member of the third generation.

The following chapter was told by these third generation family members. Their perceptions and insights were presented in their voices and imagery in as clear a manner as was possible. It was important that they were agents of their own voices for the reliability and validity of this study. Each of the family members addressed the following issues: family history; childhood in the barrios; social identity; belief systems; language, ethnicity and acculturation; discrimination and other barriers; and education and success.

CHAPTER 4: NARRATIVES



Figure 1. Hinojos and Carmelita

Table 3. Family Members and Spouse of Generation 1, 2 and 3

<u>Generation 1</u>				
HinojosCarmelita				
<u>Generation 2</u>	<u>Spouses</u>	<u>Generation 3</u>	<u>Spouses</u>	<u>Generation 4</u>
Erlinda	Manuel	Sofia	Joe	Leah
		Frederico	Linda	James, Mark, Joann
Paula	No	No	No	No
Marta	No	Rico	No	No
Abelardo	Alicia	Chelsea	No	Faith
		Teresa	No	Andrew
Placida	Johnnie	Erika	Daniel	Ilena, Jame,
Lisa		Bernardo	No	No
		Lori	No	No
Maria	Ramon	Tomas	Cara	Raquel, Joette
		Linda	No	Tomas
		Mark	No	No
Pepe	No	No	No	No
Graciela	No	No	No	No
Magdalena	No	Carmenlita	No	Miguel
Angelica	No	No	No	No



Figure 2. Third Generation Family Members

Oral Narratives

Family History: Generation Three About Generations One and Two

Sofia and Frederico:

Frederico: My grandparents were born in Mexico, both my grandma and my grandfather. I believe it's (they came to Colorado) mostly for work, that's as far as I know.

Sofia: As far as I know they (my grandparents) were both working fieldwork. (My grandmother's name was) Carmelita. (My mother's) stepfather was Hinojos and I don't remember her real father's name. I want to say---I don't know. I don't remember. I can see his picture but I don't remember.

Frederico: I don't remember either.

Sofia: I think they initially started in the fields and then they worked themselves up towards other things and I recall my grandfather worked with the railroad.

Frederico: Ah, huh, he (my grandfather) worked at the railroad. He did fieldwork and they picked apples and were in the beet fields, as well.

Sofia: Cherries.

Frederico: And cherries.

Sofia: Mom took care of the kids while grandma and grandpa were out in the fields working. She took care of the kids a lot and I remember her saying that when she got to the seventh grade she had to quit school to go to work to take care of the kids and she worked at the hospital in the kitchen area preparing salads and cutting chickens.

Frederico: When he (my father) came over he was working in the fields, as well. And then he did construction work, probably 90percent of his life, I imagine. He was born in Mexico. (He came to northern Colorado) for a job, work.

Sofia: Both of his parents, our grandparents came here for that purpose. He initially started at the pickle factory. He (my grandfather) worked for a number of years there and then when they closed that down, the processing part of it down, he moved into construction. (My mother also worked in the fields).

Frederico: We did (worked in the fields). Yeah we did.

Sofia: They put us out there so that we could know what it's like.

Frederico: I think just not to leave us at home they took us with them and on the days that my dad was working we'd go with my mother and the rest of the family----actually it was my father's family that came out here to work the fields and they would take us to the fields with them. For a kid it (working in the fields) was kind of neat, really. It was just so wide open and you know it was just different than staying at home and playing in the streets or whatever. It was hot. It was also nice in the mornings---you know, like the landscape and stuff like that---I thought that was pretty neat. Hot and heavy work, dusty.

Sofia: The days were long. I remember that. It was hot and the days were long and bathrooms were smelly (laughs). I remember that. Typically our grandparents would have a house, a farmhouse that they would live in and one way or another part of the family was at that farmhouse and part of it was staying with us. And so we'd go out and we'd be able to use that house for eating and washing up and stuff like that. But the houses were always very dilapidated. They were just really bad. I always remember the homes that they stayed in and I always wondered how come they stayed in these homes? But, I do remember the fieldwork being hot and the days being very long.

Frederico: They would have probably up to dozen or maybe fifteen people in a small house that all worked the fields. They were all related somehow or another. I remember picking pickles, watermelon, and hoeing beets----and there was another one, I don't remember---oh---picking cherries.

Sofia: (pickles) Ah, huh. (watermelon) Ah, huh. (hoeing beets)---hoeing beets. Cherries yeah. (We were) very young, very young because we picked cherries when we were older. Cherries, we were maybe ten.

Frederico: Ten maybe yeah.

Sofia: That's what I was thinking but the beets and the other stuff, we were much younger.

Frederico: We didn't know much about hoeing beets. We just got out there with a hoe.

Sofia: We just got out there.

Frederico: Yeah we would work during the summer.

Barb: Tell me your story about your family history?

Frederico: That's a tough one for me.

Sofia: I think there was a history that involved, you know, learning a lot from our grandparents, learning what their life was like, getting a taste of that life, working in the fields, and just how they were always happy with what they had and never complained with the little that they had. They could be in the worst, you know, house, living in the worst house available here in Fort Collins during the summertime but they were happy with it. They were just happy with life.

Frederico: (They) always made do with what they had. (**Sofia:** Made do with what they had.) But I think they were always content. I don't ever remember them complaining about conditions or anything.

Sofia: Never complained about conditions. No.

Frederico: No, they never did, did they?

Sofia: No, they had some pretty bad houses that they lived in (**Frederico:** Sure) but they never complained, so they were happy.

Frederico: And I think, same with my parents. I didn't hear them complaining much about the things they didn't have, and could have had, and so forth. And I think Sofia and I were always first on their list as far as, you know, if we needed something. It was pretty much centered around us, you know, if we needed something for school. I think we always came first.

Sofia: Yes, I think that's one thing for sure is they made sure we had everything for school. We always had new clothes and stuff like that for school

Frederico: Sure.

Bernardo

On my mother's side (my grandparents were) Abelardo and Fabiana. I was really close to my grandma, very close. I knew my grandma very well, as well as anybody could for my age but I was kind of like---I used to get picked on a lot by Magdalena and Angelica, you know, all the aunts

and uncles because I was the oldest of the youngest (laughs)—so, she (my grandmother) had to protect me a lot like, "leave him alone, quit teasing him," stuff like that.

(My grandparents came to northern Colorado because) one, was to escape Pancho Villa and because they (their family) had money in that area (of Mexico), and they were well to do. So Pancho obviously was recruiting a lot of the sons or pretty much running *rush eye* over the whole area, so they fled the United States. I also heard that it was to have a better life, to see what they could do to make it better. Mostly it comes down to fleeing from Pancho Villa and pretty much leaving everything behind and just leaving. And, what I also understand is that most of them went to California and Hinojos came this way to Colorado. I'm not sure if he had a brother or someone with him but I do understand that he was over here and the rest of our relatives on my mom's side are in California.

(When my grandparents got here they were) pretty much migrants. Ah, without having any kind of citizenship or anything like that I would think that that was all they would be able to do. But from the stories that I've heard it was a really hard life for my aunts and uncles and my mom, etc. because they had to work the fields and there's a lot of stories that I've heard that you know, they would have to take care of Paula because obviously she couldn't do anything and people would sit with her in the shade. And they wouldn't have any water and things of that nature that leads me to believe that unfortunately they did work very, very hard for whatever they had and it wasn't much. There's also a story that I know, that the hardship. My grandma in a sense had to dig in the city dump which was right over here by the Aztlan Center at that time just to feed the kids for with whatever they didn't have.

My dad works in construction. My biological dad works in construction. He was always in concrete. That's all I've ever known that he's ever done. My mom's worked at the hospital my whole entire life as far as I know. I don't know if she did anything before that; I pretty much doubt that she did except for volunteering at the school at Holy Family or something like that. I think when she got on here (at the hospital)—she's pretty low-key— she's pretty stable. (Stability) is a big thing for her and I think that was the only thing that was stable in her life. And so she stayed with the hospital for as long as she has. She was born here (in Fort Collins).

Barb: Do you know if your grandparents or parents worked in the fields in northern Colorado?

I do. From what I understand they did. Essentially they processed beets for sugar to make sugar, the granulated sugar, because I remember the big GW (Great Western) sign, the big GW grain elevators here in Fort Collins and like the one in Loveland, of course. I do remember my grandpa having to work with them, not so much when I was a kid but I remember the stories and I do remember him having to communicate to them whenever they started cheating him with scales and everything. He would have to pretty much stand his ground and say, "Look, this is what we did and this is what you promised." As far as that goes I don't really know much more about it but I do understand how hard it is because when we were eleven or twelve---I think I was twelve---we were sitting around one summer and my Uncle Ramon is like, "I know how we can make some good money." They were upset because we were just sitting inside watching TV and he finagled my sister and myself (and) Ricardo to go and pick onions outside Ault. I'll never forget it. And we thought well, "OK, it's going to be good." He (Uncle Ramon) told us that the bags would be very short, you know, maybe three, not even that, two feet high, and the onions would be very big. "Put your hands together and you would see big onions." Well we thought, "It can't be too bad, you know, and they pay a lot of money if you give them more bags." Then we found out when we got there. "Well," he said, "fifty cents a bag," and we're like, "That's not very much." And he said, "But if you do so many you're going to make a lot of money." So we figured, "Well, gees with things like that." Well I was like, "sure we can make a lot of money." So, he was a good con-artist for sure! So we got there. It was really interesting because we got all of our stuff and he had a big teepee we got behind my grandma's house. We all slept in the teepee and tents and I don't know why; it was just more I think that just so we were all on the same page. We were all going to get up early; we have to be there by six o'clock. We're all going to be in the same area, be ready to go and take our lunch, take some water, but we didn't take any gloves, we didn't take anything to cut the onions, which we found out we needed to provide when we got there. We also picked up these two guys from Mexico that actually talked to my uncle into it, I think, and so we went with them and they had big jugs of water and all their tools and everything. And we were just like, "Wow, wonder how this is going to go." And as kids we're just like, "Wow, whatever; we'll just go

and if we don't like it we'll just leave. We won't have to. It won't be that hard. It won't be hard at all because how hard can it be?" So we get there at six o'clock and the days were pretty hot like they are now and we get there and there is a guy who is from Mexico, a big fat guy who's running everybody. He's telling, "OK"---they called him the *patron*. He's the one who's taking care of all the rows and saying, "OK, who is going to do what and who's going to get assigned what." So we're like "OK." We looked at the rows and like, "Oh my God, that's a mile away; the rows are a mile away and we have to go ahead." And we're like, "OK, well that will take us all day but that's OK because that's what we're here for." And then (laughs) we looked at the bags and the bags were as tall as I was---a little bit shorter than I was, about 4 feet. And we're like, "Right!" You know we are getting a little bit scared, but we're like "whatever, how hard can this be right?" So, I pick two rows, my sister picks two rows---yeah---and then Ramon and Tomas get two rows each. Ricardo gets two rows by himself and then the Mexican guys they each take six rows. And we're like, "Wow, they must be really good." Whatever. Oh, and then one of Marta's friends, I forgot her name but she was with us and she was a character anyway, and she got to pick two rows too. So we're like "all right" and we start going and he (patron) shows us because we had never done it before. The patron comes over and he's like, "OK," pulls the onion out, "You chop it and then you put it in the bag. You can't cut it because then the ends aren't any good." Ok, whatever. So we start picking them out and we start going. It's about seven o'clock this time after everything is all settled and we're ready to go and we're starting to go and we start snipping. About two hours later, it is hot, very hot because it was a very hot day. (At) nine or nine-thirty we're like, "Who has the water; where is the drinking water?" OK then we're fine and then we're going and we are like not even a fourth of the way through our row, my sister and I. We're trying to keep pace, we're talking to each other; and we're like "OK." We're laughing and the Mexican guys, they're already almost done with one row. "OK, that's cool, wow, those guys are cool." So we keep going. By twelve o'clock we were done with water. There was no water. We're dying of thirst. Our hands are blistering because of the scissors. The shears that they had given us---and we didn't have any gloves. It is now twelve o'clock and we're hungry. We eat lunch. We're out of water. And us kids we're just like, "We want to go home. I'm not doing this anymore. This sucks, this sucks

really, really bad." And in the meantime my sister and I have maybe two bags between us. Ricardo has a half a bag, Tomas and Ramon have a bag, and those other guys are already almost done with their second row. You know it's like, "Wow, God, those guys are fast." So we're drinking our water and well we ran out of water. Like I said that was a big thing because we really did run out of water and we were so thirsty and we sat by the tree. We're sitting by this little canal and the water looked so good and it's like, "We can't drink that water because it's not clean water." So when lunch was over with---we spent forty five minutes instead of an hour---(we) got back into the routine and three o'clock comes around and my sister and I we're almost done with our two rows. My uncle and his son Tomas, as him being younger, they're a little bit behind but Ramon is working really hard trying to get done. The guys are almost done with their rows and Ricardo, yeah, he's way down. You can barely see him. He's like, "Poor Rico, you know, whatever." He's by himself so because my sister and I, we're doubling up to help each other out, and so we get---it's five o'clock---we get to the end of our rows. We can't leave until our rows are done because we picked those rows; so it's not like, "Let's leave, we'll pick this up tomorrow." You have to finish your rows before you're done. "OK." So we ended up finishing our rows. We have to help Ricardo finish his rows. The lady that's with us, her and Ritchie finally teamed up together but we had to help them with their rows. The Mexican guys come back and finish all of our rows and whatever bags that they make, theirs are theirs. We're like, "Whatever, they did the work, who cares." Well, when it was time for payout we come down and the guys like, "OK, fifty cents a bag for each one." Meanwhile my hands are blistered; I mean they are blistered and we're cutting onions left and right. We don't care. It's just, "Get them in the bag. Let's get this done. I want to go home. It's hot. It sucks." And so they finished up and then we (said), "Who cares about quantity? We've got quantity. Let's go." So my sister and I, between us both we decided to pull our money and we make eleven dollars together. I made six, she made four but who is counting; whatever, eleven dollars together. Ricardo made a dollar. He got two bags together, which was pretty impressive for Rico---he was way back there. I think Ramon and Tomas made thirteen dollars, you know, which was fine. Those other guys, I don't know, I think they made like fifty or sixty dollars. Then (laughs) the lady that was with us, she wanted a "Forty,"

a forty-ounce beer. And she made a dollar-two so we had to give her fifty cents so she could buy a "Forty" (laughing). She's like, "I quit drinking but I need a beer." And so, because I think that's why she was staying with Marta, that's because she was on some kind of "rehab" or whatever, and she's like, "Forget this, I'm drinking." And let me tell you if I could have drank that time, I would have gotten really drunk. So we're in the back of the truck, we're getting ready to go home, we're outside of Ault and Ramon pulls up to this farmer's house. He asks them if we can use their hose. And you know I didn't think about this until now, or until later, but I didn't know how--- stereotypical how bad it looked---I guess how sad it really looked, how pathetic it really was but we were so thirsty and so hot. We all jumped in the hose and we didn't care. The farmer's just like "Whoa" because we were just literally dying of thirst. And we're like, "OK." We're lucky none of us had a heat stroke but you know (we) jumped in the hose. We're all drinking as much as we can and it just really looked funny. I think if I had pictures now or a camera it would just be pathetic but I think we were so hot and we were so tired. So we go into Ault, drive through Ault to get home and we stop by a convenience store or something, yeah a convenience store---I can't remember that lady's name---so she could buy her "Forty"; and we bought some pop. Then we went home. I remember Ramon saying, "OK, so what are we going to do tomorrow"? We're like, "We're not going back! I don't care! I don't care how much you hate us! We're not going back!" Because our hands were literally so blistered we could barely close them. I know I had blisters on every single one of my fingers, in-between my fingers, on my palms, everywhere. I wasn't the only one: my sister, Rico, all of us. What it did teach us though was how hard people have to work; and I will never forget that. And I will never ever (forget) when people say, "Oh, God, I can't believe you did that." There are a lot of worse things out there to do and being a migrant farmer is one of them! I very much respect those people that do that work day in and day out. But for me, "No, that's not for us." And we're lucky enough that we'll never have to actually rely on that. One day and that was enough and that was enough to let us know exactly what, and realize and be thankful for what we really have. I changed that summer. I think it changed all of us.

Erika

I think it is important to know your history. I think it's important. And it's not that it's even not relevant because I think then it starts to become irrelevant, and it will circle back and it will start all over with all the discrimination. I really think that it's important to know where you came from and why you are the way you are. It's important to know your language. It's important to revisit your origins. I think it's important to stay connected with the people, you know, that you're related to. I think blood-ties are really important and that you know who your cousins and you know who your sister is. I think that's important. And I think it's important for everybody to know where they came from. I think it's really important to get a really good sense of culture and spirituality and all that. I strive for that, the older I get. The older I am, I am so interested but I'm not really interested in the American part of all of it at all, like what happened in America to my family. I'm interested more---like if I really wanted to go back---it would be in Mexico. So yeah, I guess the answer is I would want to go to Mexico.

I think that history is important because you can see where you came from. I don't always think that it helps you everyday and that's just because I don't obviously have a really strong history. It's not that I don't care about it, it just doesn't get me anywhere. It's not doing anything for me right now and I've always been really, really practical and realistic. It goes against everything I think inside my head to tell you, to tell my kids it's not important because it's not that I don't believe it's not important, it's that I have never been interested in history.

It's mostly fantasy. Most of it is fantasy. Nobody can remember anything. It's not even the highlights I think that I remember. I think everybody remembers all the bad and that sort of thing and are so torn apart. I don't know. Like it is filled with sooo much emotion and most all of it's bound on something bad but nobody wants to talk. I bet you had to pull teeth to get anybody to talk to you about anything back then because all of it was probably just a surface---like nobody wants to talk about it.

Tomas

Ohhh yeah, my grandpa's name was hard to pronounce like Hin---- or something like that. (And, my grandmother), I always called her "Grandma." Yeah, (I remember her) a little bit. I was still young. (They, my grandparents came from) Mexico. I don't know what part. I don't know why (they came to Colorado), no. No, I don't know none of that (how they got to Colorado). (But when they got here) ah-huh (they) picked beans? Fieldworkers probably, I don't know. I don't know what my grandmother did.

Here. My mom's (was born) here (in Fort Collins). My dad (was born(in Wyoming maybe. I know my Uncle Abelardo was a forestry ranger. He goes up and cuts wood; he goes up for a month at a time and chops. As for everybody else, my mom was a hair cutter, she cut hair. That's about it. Oh, my Aunt Placida, she's always been at the hospital. She's always been a nurse, since the last I remember. She's still there. I don't think Marta or Paula---Marta took care of Paula, that was her (Marta's) occupation, (to) make sure she (Paula) was all right.

Barb: Tell me about fieldwork.

Yeah, yeah. Fields, somewhat, I've heard of it. I worked them fields before. Yeah I worked once picking potatoes or onion and you only got like fifty cents or a dollar a bag. They were about twenty pound bags. We all went one time, the whole family went out there to pick just for a day. I didn't want to do it no more---did it once---not for no dollar per bag. There was long fields and we had about fifteen or twenty bags---not for all day. We only made about twenty bucks all day, huffing and puffing.

That's all we did was pick onions, one line all the way down to the never ending line of the fields. It was so long. I only did one row. I think me and Ricardo, we shared a row, one opened the bag and the other threw it in. We took turns on each bag all the way down. That was about it. I don't really remember much about my past. I don't know why---hung over days, maybe.

Carmenlita

Barb: Do you remember your grandparent's?

Carmenlita: My dad's.

Barb: Did you ever know your mother's parents?

Carmenlita: You know, I don't really remember them all that well. I do remember my grandfather a little bit though.

Barb: Do you know what their names were?

Carmenlita: Carmelita. No, actually I don't.

Barb: Do you know where they came from?

Carmenlita: I think they came from Mexico I believe.

Barb: Why do you think they came to Fort Collins from Mexico?

Carmenlita: To provide a better life for their family.

Barb: Do you know what occupations they had when they came here?

Carmenlita: No I don't.

Barb: Do you know where your mother was born?

Carmenlita: I believe here.

Barb: Is it important to you to know your family history?

Carmenlita: Yes because I don't know a whole lot of it and I do not still today. I have a lot of questions and you know just to be able to pass on to my son, also. I don't know much about my mother's side of the family, as far as my grandparents or my mother, and I do think it's very important.

Barb: Why don't you have that information?

Carmenlita: When my mother died it was pretty devastating for everybody, so it just wasn't really talked about.

Barb: Do you think it is because of your mother's death that it was not talked about?

Carmenlita: Ah, yeah, I think a lot of it was because I didn't find out how she actually died until I was in junior high school. I just knew she died. And I guess I never really asked. I'm sure somebody would have told me had I asked but I just never thought to ask either. But when I did ask questions my dad kind of would go around it or would change the subject or he'd say, "Not right now." Today it hurts him pretty bad, still today. A lot of it is probably because we weren't very curious. We never really asked. I'm sure that he would have (told me).

Barb: Do you think that family history is important to him?

Carmenlita: Oh yeah, most definitely, most definitely. Once my grandparents (on my father's side) went to Texas and to Mexico our family doesn't get together because we used to go there every weekend, in the evenings (and) we'd have breakfast with my grandparents every weekend. The family just has just drifted away. We don't see each other as much.

Barb: What generation are your grandparents on your father's side?

Carmenlita: They came over from Mexico.

Barb: So you are third generation on both sides of your family?

Carmenlita: Yes.

Barb: Did your father ever work in the sugar beet fields?

Carmenlita: I don't know. I think he might have when he was a child. I think he said something about it a couple times actually.

Barb: Do you know what a sugar beet is?

Carmenlita: Yes

Barb: Do you know what the beet sugar industry was?

Carmenlita: No

Barb: Do you know what the sugar beet mills look like?

Carmenlita: No

Barb: Do you know what significance they had in this area of northern Colorado?

Carmenlita: No, I don't.

Barb: If I was to ask you a history of your Mexican heritage and your families what would you tell me?

Carmenlita: I couldn't tell you a lot.

Barb: What could you tell me?

Carmenlita: All I know really is that they came from Mexico. They did work in the fields but I do know that they came to provide a better life for their family, to give them more. That's about it.

Chelsea

Barb: Where were your grandparent's born?

Chelsea: I believe, well, from the Master's Thesis I remember they were born in Chihuahua, Mexico.

Barb: Do you know where your parent's were born?

Chelsea: My father was born in Chihuahua, and my mom was born in a small town in Nebraska. I don't know remember the name of the town.

Barb: Do you remember you grandparent's names on your dad's side?

Chelsea: Hinojos I believe or something, and I don't remember my grandma's name.

Barb: Did you ever meet them?

Chelsea: I was too young.

Barb: Do you know why your grandparents came here from Mexico?

Chelsea: I don't know exactly why, probably just for work because they wanted to; maybe they just wanted a better life. I don't really know exactly but I would assume because they needed work out here and work was very readable.

Barb: Do you know what occupations your grandfather had in Colorado?

Chelsea: Ahhh, you know I think he just mainly worked out of the fields and they picked beets and I don't remember what else.

Barb: What about your grandmother, Carmelita?

Chelsea: I think she worked mainly in the house. I don't think she worked outside of the house. She was mainly taking care of the kids. Actually she may have been in the fields too, a little bit. But I know her main duties were to watch out for the children and cook and just pretty much take care of the household.

Barb: What did your parents do for a living?

Chelsea: My dad, when he was younger worked in the fields also. I think he worked in the fields probably most of his life until he got his position at the forest service, which I think was probably seventeen, or eighteen. I think he started like janitorial work there. My mom you know, I know she did mention she worked in the fields too.

Barb: How much education did your father have?

Chelsea: Dad had just a little bit of college. (He) didn't get a degree but I know he had a couple college level courses. My mom, just high school.

Barb: Do you know what the beet sugar industry is?

Chelsea: No.

Barb: Do you know what a sugar beet is?

Chelsea: Yeah I've heard of it.

Barb: Have you ever seen one?

Chelsea: No, no.

Barb: Do you know what role the sugar beet played in the history of northern Colorado?

Chelsea: I don't.

Barb: Have you ever worked in the fields?

Chelsea: No.

Teresa

I'm not quite sure exactly where my grandma was brought up. *Um*, I never knew my grandfather from my mom's side---um---but with my mom growing up, she grew up in Nebraska, Ogallala, Nebraska. Then they moved down here shortly after that—so. I don't (know my grandparent's names on my dad's side). *Um*, if he told me I would know but I don't know them right off the bat. He doesn't speak too much about his parents so I don't know too much about you know, his background and about his parents. I have (seen a picture of them). It's their marriage picture, the black and white, that's the one I did see. I GOT ONE!!! (laughs).

I don't (know where my father grew up). I would imagine maybe down the north end of town on Cherry maybe. Actually Marta lives off of, oh what street is that, is it Whitcomb? OK, then that was his parent's house and then Marta took over the house. I have been there.

Barb: Do you know what the beet sugar industry is?

Teresa: No

Barb: Do you know what sugar beets are?

Teresa: (pause). I don't know what they look like but (laughs) no, not really.

Barb: Do you know what the Great Western Sugar Company is?

Teresa: No

Barb: Have you ever worked in the fields?

Teresa: No

Barb: Have your parents?

Teresa: I know my dad worked in the fields---um---I don't know if it's the sugar beet fields or not. It's sad that I don't know too much, you know, about my parents when they grew up. I guess I never sat down and asked my parents about their childhoods. There's stories here and there but it's mostly what's going on at that point in time. (They haven't told me) probably because I haven't asked. I haven't sat down and really asked too much about, you know, about how they were brought up. It's I hear bits and pieces but now that you do say it, it's I don't know because my father never spoke of his parents. I don't see why anyone should be limited into learning anything. I think it's just because, you know, he's (my dad) doing what he's doing and I'm doing what I'm doing and we never really have mutual time to sit down. No, I don't think (he doesn't want me to know). I don't think that's how my dad is. I think he would be more open to sharing more stuff if I actually sit down and said, "Here, -----."

Barb: Tell me your story.

Teresa: (pause) Um-----it would be a very boring story. I would think it would be boring because I don't know too much about my background, I guess. It would be more so what I told you about how my dad traveled in the summer and how my mom was at home. It was more like we all went our separate ways. I guess we all basically did our own thing, really. Like I said, like on holidays, birthdays, something of that sort, we would be together as a family (and go) to Aunt Marta's house. She's so great. She always has something to tell.

Lori

Barb: Grandparents: Do you remember their names?

Lori: No, not a clue.

Barb: Do you remember where they came from?

Lori: Ah, not really, no. My parents didn't really talk about them.

Barb: Do you remember where they lived in Fort Collins?

Lori: No.

Barb: Where do you think that they were born?

Lori: I don't think that they were born in Fort Collins.

Barb: Do you know what they did for a living?

Lori: Ah, I'm sure my grandmother stayed home but I don't know what my grandmother did.

Barb: What about your parents? Where was your mother born?

Lori: Fort Collins.

Barb: What about your dad?

Lori: Fort Collins.

Barb: Do you remember any occupations that your mother had?

Lori: I remember she was a nurse for awhile and then she said she had a back injury or something and became a ward clerk. That's what she's doing now.

Barb: Did she have any jobs prior to that?

Lori: Not that I've ever heard of.

Barb: Do you know what the beet sugar industry is?

Lori: No.

Barb: Do you know what sugar beets are?

Lori: No, not really.

Barb: Have you ever worked in the fields?

Lori: No.

Barb: Do you remember if your grandparents ever worked in the fields?

Lori: I've heard stories of it, yeah.

Barb: Do you think that your mother or dad ever worked in the fields?

Lori: I don't think my dad ever did but I think my mom did.

Childhood and the Barrio: Generation Three

Sofia and Frederico:

Sofia: My first recollection (of where I grew up) is on Pine Street, right by the dump.

Frederico: Ah, hah.

Sofia: Then our second house was on Maple.

Frederico: Yeah, I don't remember those two houses. The only thing I remember about the North Loomis home is when I first went upstairs, I remember running around looking in the rooms and stuff like that, playing with the door latches or something but that's my earliest recollection I have of any of the houses that we lived in.

Sofia: Yeah, we lived on Pine Street. It's on the north side of town but it's not Buckingham.

Frederico: It's west of El Burrito. (**Sofia:** It's still there).

Sofia: It's in the area north of Aztlan Center. That used to be a dump there and we lived right next door to it and I always remember my grandfather, "Lalo" would come home from work on the railroad and would immediately go to the dump and pick fruit from boxes and stuff like that; bring us bananas and stuff back. I remember him doing that quite a bit. We had a small house there. It was right next to the alley and it had a white fence. It was like a chainlink fence. And then the Maple Street where Espirita lived.

Frederico: I remember. I think it was called Giddings Machine Shop or something right on the corner there. I think the building is still there (**Sofia:** Ah, hah). And I don't know what's in there now but I remember that it just always intrigued me about how big that building was and all the machinery and stuff they had indoors. And that always—when I was out there—I'd kind of peek around the corners. I think that was, well maybe, that is one of the recollections I have from the Pine Street house come to think of it.

Barb: Did you live with your grandparents there?

Sofia: No. (**Frederico:** Never). (We had a separate home) all the time. They (my grandparents) always lived next door to us, like when we were on Loomis they lived right next door to us.

Frederico: It's the street that runs east and west (by Marta's)

Barb: This would be in the Holy Family neighborhood (See Figure 1). Tell me about living in the Holy Family neighborhood.

Sofia: Well, we would have been in school because we would have been going to LaPorte Avenue School, so we were in kindergarten, first grade. The streets were dirt streets. They weren't paved. Streets were dark; kids were always outside playing around and I mean we always hung out with my aunts and my uncles---my aunts really. I guess we were kids (laughs). I think some of the happiest times I remembered (were when I was growing up). I can think of happy times with both sides of the grandparents and involves the grandparents and that's the family reunions, not reunions but the, like when my grandmother came down from Texas. There's always one or two nights when everybody got together. They had music. There was dancing---how Orlando used to dress up with a scarf around his head and a dress and stuff and he would be dancing with grandmother---and just lots of fun, lot's of fun you know, lot's of giggling, lots of laughing. And then on (my mother Erlinda's) side of the family the same thing; that was more often because they were here but you know, Christmases, and fiestas. There was always food and tamales and stuff like that and that was always fun. That was always such a warm feeling to be able to be part of a large family.

Frederico: That was a good moment there. A lot of the things that we did---I remember going to the lake with mom and dad and Sofia, going to the lake on a Sunday and we'd do fishing or play in the water. I remember those things. I remember traveling back to Texas to visit my dad's Family. To me that was great. I like riding in the car, just seeing all the sights, and stuff like that. On the holidays with the (my mom's) family just having grandma cooking; she'd always cook up a storm. Going over, spending the night or the weekend at her house, playing with the kids, I mean granted, they lived a block away but still it was just nice to go out and do that. Dances down at the Hall down there at Holy Family were always a lot of fun. I enjoyed those. There was just time to run around out there and play with your friends and whatever, t see the family out there having a good time.

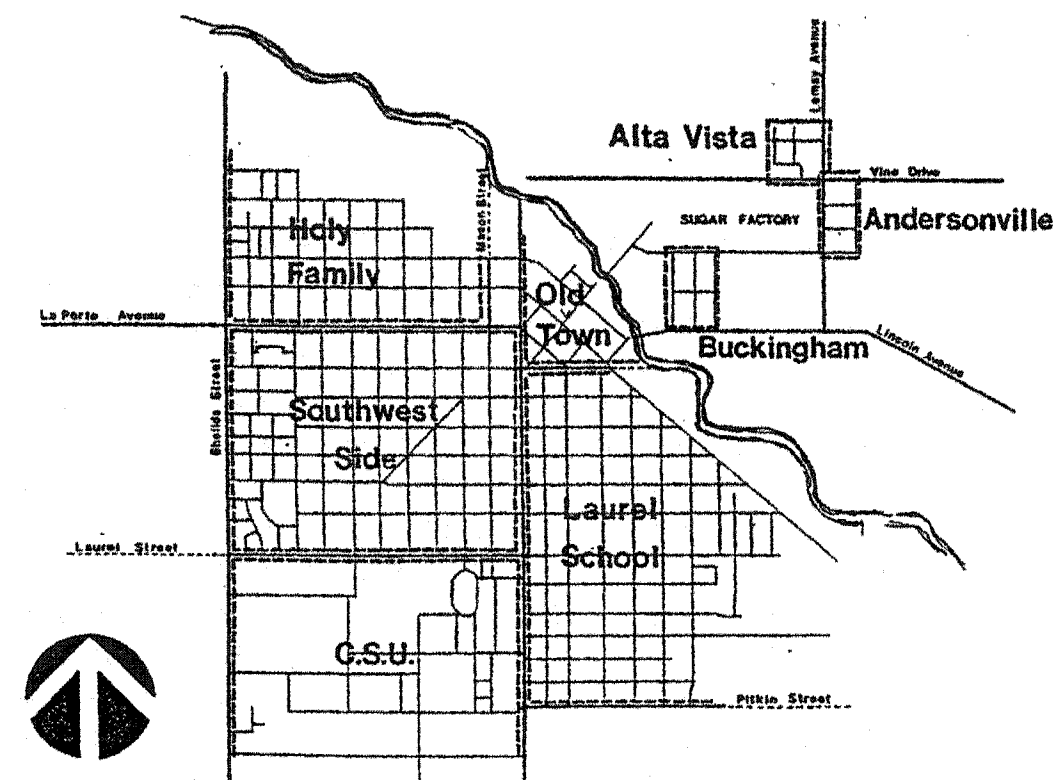


Figure 3. Fort Collins, Colorado original townsite and its relationship to the barrios. (Feinberg, 1983, p. 6).

Bernardo

(I grew up in) the Cherry Street area, Whitcomb, Maple, that's my neighborhood, that's where we grew up. I was born at Poudre Valley, lived right next to my grandma on Whitcomb Street growing up until I was about nine, ten, until my grandma passed away actually. And then my mom and dad split up and my mom moved in with (my Aunt) Graciela. They like rented together and things like that so we moved around the city after that, but mostly all through elementary school that's where I grew up, that's what I know.

Ah, that neighborhood (Holy Family) I would say, is---the houses were built very early in the century, very cheaply, very small---two bedroom, three bedroom houses, and the bedrooms are

very small---one level, basements partial, big back yards, big lots, very close. The houses are very close together and they're all the same, I guess that's what I'm saying. They're all the same I would say, not your typical Mexican, Hispanic area. But as I grew up that's what I figured out, it was a typical Hispanic area, the old town area, lots of big trees, the roads are small, and there's alleyways in the back.

(Holy Family neighborhood was an "ethnic" neighborhood). When I was growing up it was, very much so. I do recall in elementary school all my friends being Hispanic or of Hispanic origin, and they all lived two or three blocks away, four blocks away maximum. I was one of the odd men out who had white friend. The white kids, I adapted to the white kids. I mean I befriended the white kids. They were bussed into our area and they all lived by the Country Club area, places like that.

My mom, she was always working. It was never like, "Oh, I love you, mom." Even with Aunt Graciela it's not like, "I love you." It's like, "You need something? What do you need?" "OK, well I'll take care of it." And then we would get embarrassed, my sister and I especially if we knew mom didn't have any money. We knew she'd have to ask Uncle Pepe or Aunt Marta or somebody for some money. We just wouldn't ask for it. We'd go like, "Wow, we can figure it out." And I think that hurts me and Erika a lot because I think we got jealous of everybody else who did have somebody that they could go ask and say, "Oh, this is what I need," whether it was emotional or financial or whatever, some kind of support. We never really did. Rico had Aunt Marta's friends. it seems like there was always somebody who was able to help Rico get what he needed. Aunt Maria and Uncle Ramon, they were together. They always worked together. Yeah, maybe it wasn't the best all of the time but they worked really hard getting what they needed for her kids. Uncle Abelardo, you know, he had the money and things like that, the tools to get what he needed for Chelsea and Teresa. Same with Sofia, even though she's on our level as far as cousins went, she had the same types of tools available to her to get whatever (her daughter) Leah needed. And I think what I don't understand is Sofia and everybody could be on the fast track to go to college and succeed and do things but like the rest of the kids, like myself, Erika, Ricardo, Tomas, Linda, Mark, mostly us because we were the ones that hung around together. We were always

fighting. We didn't have those values. And I think what I think happened was we were left with our (Aunts) Marta and Paula and my grandma a lot, more so than I think we should have been and they did not see college as something. All they saw was high school, "finish high school and you'll be good"; whereas I think (Aunt) Erlinda realized that you need to go to college. She put that into Frederico, into Sofia, "Yeah, you have to succeed." And they're older but I don't understand why they didn't influence the other part of the family, "Oh, look what I'm doing. This is how you can succeed. This is what you should do; helping out the other kids more." (Uncle) Abelardo and (Aunt) Alicia same thing, same difference. I think they could say, "OK look, this is what I'm going to do to help you because I care about you." Yeah they have kids and yeah they're struggling and they have their own problems but I think if you really truly care about your whole family in general, you've got to help everybody to succeed. I think my sister did a very good job for what she has and I admire her for that.

Erika

You know, like I never have vivid memories of my grandparents. I can tell you everything in their house. I bet you my mother and my aunts and uncles couldn't even tell you what the house looked like. Bernardo and I can probably describe every corner of her house. Bernardo and I can probably tell you the colors of the walls, the ways the lights turn off and on, the bricks, the color of the pattern on the mirrors. I could tell you everything about my grandma's house. Yeah, and it's not that she had a beautiful house; it's just that her household ran in a circular pattern. You had the front room and you walked in but the dining room, which seconded as a bedroom was always a bedroom with a pull-out couch---never had a wall. You know how when you have a door that opens up? There were no doors to get into the kitchen, which was like the whole of the whole house. You had the front room when you walked in and then there was no wall to the dining room, it was just kind of like a little four foot space, and then---I should draw it for you (See Figure 2). It's just really fantastic how her house---I mean it wasn't even that it was---it was just like every other house I'm sure on the block. What I remember is that you could get around the whole house in a circle without having to come back the other way to get out. It was really, you know,

fantastic! Like here's the porch and here's the front door. My grandmother's name was Carmelita. I just called her "ama." There were pillars, I remember all that. She had multicolor carpet---somebody like wouldn't even, I don't know if they just wouldn't do her carpet---but she had, I'm not kidding, she had a thousand pieces, little pieces of different colored carpet on her front porch. I don't know what. It was just like a thousand different pieces of carpet, all different corners, shapes that had just been cut up. They must have just gotten a bunch of scraps and glued it to the front of her porch, and she had like three steps, and it was all cement, and then you came into the front room and she had this one really, really, big planter with like actual live flowers so you could smell like, not even mold but you could smell soil right when you walked into her house. And she hung beads; she hung plastic beads from the door so the doorways were all plastic beads from one door to the other. I don't know why she hung beads. She must have thought it was really cool. So there's a bunch of different beads so every time anybody came in the house you'd never hear the door open, you'd just always hear the beads. You'd hear all the beads moving and then she had this like really weird red brick planter with live flowers in it. So she was growing flowers inside her house. Then she had this huge, long glass, I'm not kidding. It was like a least as big as that like three yards by four yards of---it must have been popular in the 70's---it was like glass in this mirror but it had big sailboat. It had a bunch of sailboats running across it and it must have been just like---it was square, little panels of each glass---and it was actually put together and made that big picture on the wall right when you walked in. And there were couches and then you came in here, this was second as a bedroom and this is where my grandma used to sleep at night with (Aunt) Paula. My grandma and Paula slept together every night.

(This is the same house that Marta and Paula live in now) but it's been remodeled since Marta lived there. So then my grandma and Paula always slept on the couch together and then it went right into the kitchen and the kitchen was just like---there's the doorway but there's no doors---there's absolutely no swinging doors. And then the kitchen was here and they always rearranged it like if there were a cleaning---and I mean they cleaned really good---but every time they

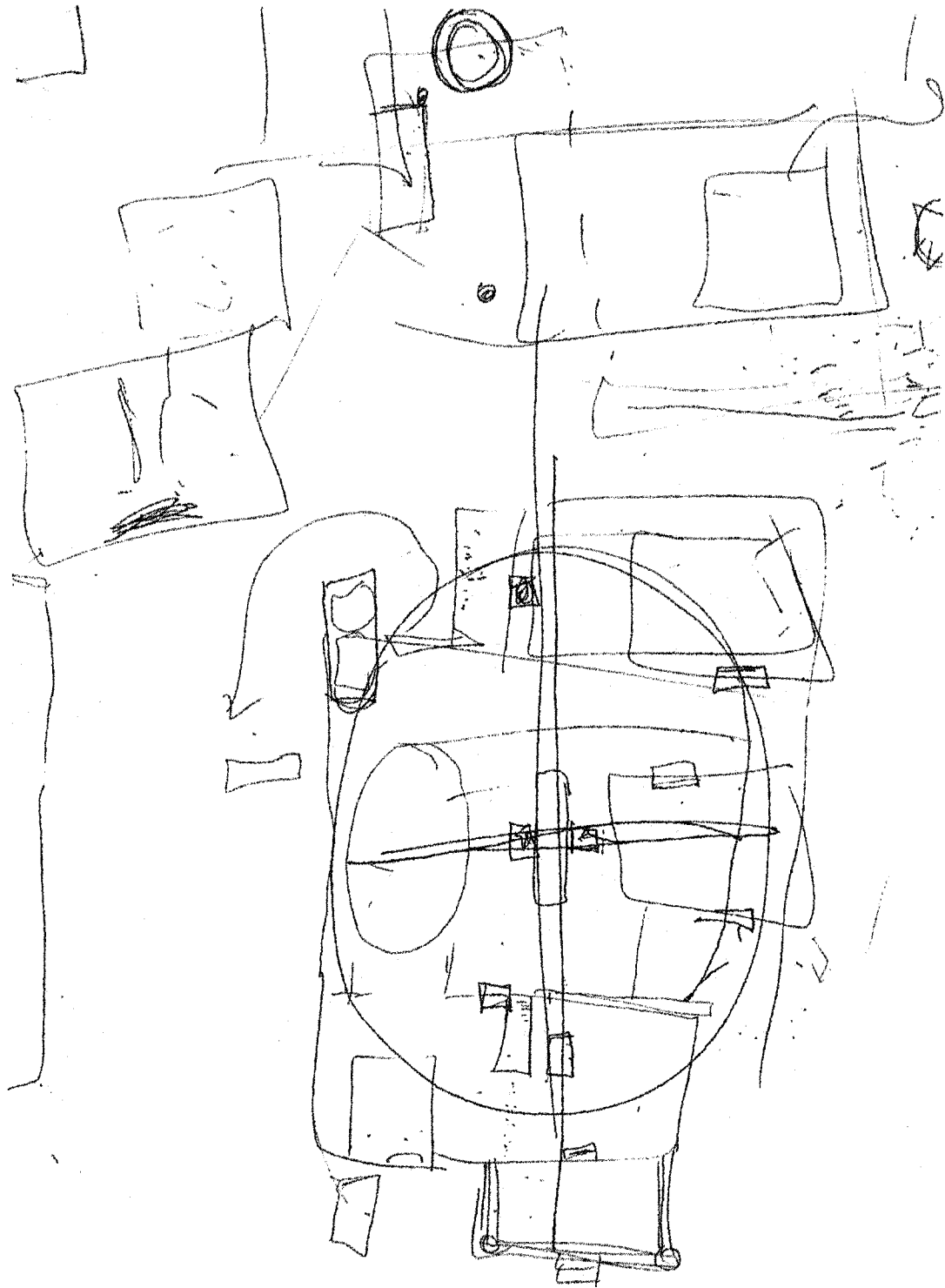


Figure 4. House on Whitcomb in the Holy Family Neighborhood, Fort Collins, Colorado (Erika, 2004)

cleaned they moved the furniture. It was like I even remember the day that my Aunt Graciela bought my grandma this huge table---as big as this only round---and the house is like, you know, like a two bedroom house, and it had wheels on all the chairs so you could roll around all the whole kitchen in the chairs and they rearranged everything. And then the washer and dryer wasn't even, it didn't have a door. It was just right there in this like cubby; and then there was a big cellar thing down here and my grandpa lived in the cellar. He didn't live on the first floor. It was a one bedroom cellar. It was a one-room cellar. He lived in a cot downstairs. No, (the basement wasn't finished). I think it was dirt because we used to always just assume he had buried all this money when he died and I even think somebody went down there to look through all the stuff to see if he had buried any money downstairs. And he just had a little cot that he slept on and it smelled like mildew down there and it was real cold and you knew there were spiders and nobody ever wanted to go down there. And there was a light switch at the top so if you were down below you could turn it off on somebody, and we used to. And we had wooden stairs but there was a space in-between all of them that were large enough for a kid to fall through, so we weren't even allowed to walk on the stairs, and it dead ended at the bottom of the stairs. There was just like all just cement, like brick cement and it was just a little room and he lived there. He never came upstairs except after she (my grandmother) passed away. He started sleeping on the couch upstairs but he lived in the basement---that was just where he was all the time---and then there was like a little coat thing and everybody hung their little coats right there and then there was one bedroom here that everybody slept in and another bedroom here, and the bathroom was here and this was the hallway. This bedroom's bigger. This was the hallway and so there was a door to the bedroom; there was a door from this bedroom to this bedroom; there was a door from this bedroom to the bathroom; there was a door from the bathroom to here; there was a door from this bedroom to the front room and you could get around the whole house and through the bathroom and out the front and back door from every room. You could go all the way around. You could cut through here, you could go all the way around. So when we would mess around, we would just be RUNNING the full length of the house. I mean you never---the houses today, you have to like go all the way

back---come into the bedroom or come all the way back out the same door. And so she had such a---I mean it wasn't obviously her doing, they didn't hand pick it---but everybody could travel all through the house. So when there was a lot of people, there was people in every room, every room was utilized, every single day, every day.

And then the shed, they had everybody living in there too, you know, like my Aunt Maria and (Uncle) Ramon and their kids lived there. It had a stone chimney and was in the backyard---full-fenced in years later---and they finally paved that driveway and there was a little scary shed right here. It was like a haunted shed. They tore that down. It used to be a shed and then it had like a kennel back here---they used to like put the dogs---and then our house had a big shed back here and then our house was right there. So when you passed between the houses---we lived next door with my mom and dad when my grandparents were living and my dad and mom bought the house next door. I wasn't born in that house. My mom lived in a trailer with us over by City Park or somewhere when we were first born and then my dad finally bought the house. Well, they were obviously making payments. I think the sale price then was \$4,000.00 for the house and she made him buy her the house next door to my grandma's. Then, even before my grandparents died, Bernardo and I were left alone in the house while my dad and mom went to work and they just always assumed that we'd be fine because we were living next door to my grandma. And my grandma never hardly ever came over. We just always went there for dinner or whatever. Then my grandma in her backyard, she had tons of flowers everywhere but she used to have like a horse---it was a circular stone, it looked like a well only it was about five feet tall for a horse to drink out of---kind of like in front of the museum. She had one of these right here---I don't know if they burned trash in it. I think it was just a trash pit where they burned trash and then the shed was here and then she had roses all along here but she also had like a peach tree here and an apple tree here and then all the roses, and then she had like an indented garden---it was like at least sixteen to twenty inches deep---the length of this whole thing. She always said she wanted to be buried in her garden, and she was in her garden every day for like three or four hours. It was filled up with all kinds of different flowers. She was an avid gardener. She really did a lot of that. And then she had a swing on the front of her porch that she always sat in. And it hung right

here and then there was a huge tree here in front of the yard that is now gone. But then she always wore an apron, she never didn't have an apron on. She always wore an apron just like (Aunt) Paula always has an apron, my grandma always has an apron, and she smoked like three packs of cigarettes a day. She always had a cigarette in her hand. I never really saw her brush her hair; it was just always in braids. I don't know, she must have done it at night or in the morning. Like she had a dresser right here that she kept her change purse in, money for the ice cream. She (my grandma) died when I was like five or six.

Bernardo and I could tell you the colors. We can tell you there was like a heater that heated the whole entire house that was in-between the front room—actually I think it was like right here between the kitchen and the bedroom—and it was a double-sided heater so heat came out of both sides. We used to always sit under that and keep warm and hide between. We used to get in trouble a lot—turning on and off the light would get you a spanking—and we used to turn on the light on and off the lights about forty times. And my grandpa would just race around the whole house chasing us with a belt, and I'd always hide like in-between the refrigerator and the wall and watch all the kids get hit because they'd always hide in the easiest places—because the chair-length of table you could see everybody under the table. You could see everybody by the washer and dryer. I just used to always hide in the same spot. I never got caught. But like Bernardo probably knows more than I do because he remembers a lot more than I do. Like he'll always say, "Don't you remember that one time that that person was really mean to us." And I was like, "No, I don't remember." He's two years older. I mean he really, he would remember more. I remember so much about my grandma's house. And all of the light switches were the push button kind.

Oh wow, God she (my grandmother) was, you know, she only spoke Spanish. It wasn't even that I thought that she was sooo beautiful, you know—you know how, when children can't see that the horrible monster that is taking care of them isn't just beautiful. I never thought she was just beautiful but I was never afraid of her and I always just kind of—I mean I know I loved her and she defended myself and Bernardo quite a bit because we used to get a lot of it from everybody,

like Magdalena and Angelica were relentless. Oh my God, they were our babysitters and they just absolutely hated us. They were just relentless, always fighting with us, always being mean because (Aunt) Magdalena had Carmenlita and Carmenlita was one year old, and Carmenlita was the baby and you couldn't do anything to. You couldn't go near her. If she cried, it was your fault. And I mean we got countless beatings from Magdalena and Angelica. They were so mean; they could be so mean. (Carmenlita is 5 or 6 years younger than I am). She's younger enough from me for her to annoy me. She was younger enough to annoy me, and everybody thought she was sooo beautiful, so gorgeous, the token child. Bernardo and I were just running around with no parents that loved us; so if your own parents didn't love you, nobody else can. Like they were just relentless, they were just brutal. They were so mean. We were like the errand kids, "Go get that, run and get this." At eleven o'clock at night, cross two houses, in the dark, by yourself, barefoot, "Get my cigarettes out of the car." And we'd get in trouble if we didn't do it. We cried because we didn't want to do it because it was scary. That was just too bad, "Just go and do it." They just laughed; we used to be the butt of their jokes. The two of them together could be really mean. And they were really nasty, you know, like they could be really nasty—and yeah they were stuck with us. They didn't want to baby-sit us either but they were stuck. Angelica lived with us when she was murdered. They were our live-in babysitters and my mom was always at work so Angelica was always stuck with us, and Magdalena was always with Angelica and they'd have to take us everywhere. She moved at one time to like right by CSU, it's called Prospect Plaza now, before it was called something else, and I remember the push-buttons to get into her apartment and that's when she first—like you'd have to buzz yourself in—and I remember being underneath the crib and breaking one of Carmenlita's toys and being just so in trouble. So my grandma used to shield a lot of that—when I was in trouble and I was going to get a spanking for sure, we just sat behind my grandma, hid behind my grandma—we'd lay on the couch just to try to not get beat up. (laughs). They were soooo mean. We were bad kids. We were terrible. I have terrible, terrible memories of how mean I was, how nasty I was, and angry I was, and how hateful I was, you know. You know Bernardo and I were two little devils in that house all by ourselves with nobody to watch over us.

Well, (Aunt) Maria and (Uncle) Ramon, as poor as they were---granted they never had jobs, I mean they didn't get their first jobs until Linda was like twenty-one, they never worked---they always lived on welfare and they never wanted to work. Frankly (Aunt) Maria always wanted to be with her kids and never believed she needed to work and (Uncle) Ramon just never would work. That's another story (laughs). But you know when they had their three kids and they lived on the property and they lived around the property or they lived like around town, they came and got everybody. When they went to the lake, it wasn't just them and their three kids---it was everybody and they didn't have a dime. Maria and Ramon had no money. I have so many examples of how they makeshifted everything and made it possible. Like every Fourth of July we went to the lake and set off fireworks and it was so "ghetto" and it was wonderful and it was Ramon and Maria, and Ramon and Maria had all the kids. Ramon and Maria, they always had all of us, all of us. And that's why we grew up together. It was Bernardo and then Ricardo, and Mark, Linda and me and anybody else who would come around. And it was always like Marcus Arbata and his family because they used to party a lot together so it was always at least ten kids, all of us. And Maria and Ramon never said "no" to going places; and they did everything for free in town and we did everything. They took us to the park, we always went picnicking, we always went to the mountains, they used to take us everywhere and they never, never left one kid behind. They were really generous with their time. I mean they weren't perfect or anything but Maria had a really good heart, and Maria could never tell you no. She'd mind her own business, she was really good about, like everything. You know, she was just really closed-mouthed. Even though she hates you, she'd never say it. So she was really---Maria really taught me a lot about what it means to endure (laughs) almost anything---they never left a kid behind. They always had time for their kids and they were really good parents---although their kids didn't turn out any better for it. It's just that I remember Maria and Ramon. You know there were birthdays. I would have birthdays that only Maria would remember. Like it would be five o'clock and I wouldn't even know it was my birthday and Maria would make a cake, and we'd have a small birthday party in the shed, behind the house---like I never had a party, like we didn't have presents. Maria always made sure she remembered your birthday. I had birthdays where I didn't even know it was my birthday and Maria

always reminded you that it was your birthday. You know, I mean they taught me how to tie my shoes, they taught me a lot. And (Aunt) Marta, I would say that Marta—I respect Marta because she's lived just in extreme poverty and is still spiritual for it. I mean she's got some sob stories too—you know she's really good at telling you just about how baddddd her life is every single day; but you know it's not. I'm like, "OK, I know it's bad, but it's not that bad." (laughs). And she's just, you know like, she didn't have a choice, because she lived in her mom's house, to kick anybody out although she would have loved to I think at times said, "No, absolutely get out." But Marta is the place I would go if I had nowhere else to go and Maria is the person I would go to if I had no one else to go to.

(I was) always in survival mode and so was Bernardo. I'm sure Bernardo was. Like we lived alone. Bernardo and I got up every morning—Bernardo took care of me my whole life—he was like my mom, which is why we don't get along—we get along like mother and daughter—because we always fight. And he got us up everyday, got us ready and we walked to school by ourselves. We went to school all day by ourselves, got home (and) nobody was home. My mom worked two to eleven, Monday through Friday, and my dad was never home and my grandma died you know and it was just (Aunts) Marta and Paula next door. Everybody was in grief for about ten years so just nobody ever cared about us, ever. Like I don't know how anything ever got done and what we ate—I don't even remember a meal, except for I'm sure that my mom would write a bad check just for food (laughs) because I think I remember that. And we were by ourselves until Johnnie came along and we both split as soon as my mom remarried and they had another baby. I think I was ten or twelve. I think that Lori is ten years younger than me. Well we left and I went to live with (Aunt) Graciela and he (Bernardo) went to live with (Uncle) Pepe, or (Aunt) Maria, or (Aunt) Marta, or somebody, and then Bernardo and I didn't live together off and on for a couple of years but we both ended back up at (Aunt) Marta's for about three years. And then we moved in with my mom for a couple of years and then we went to (Aunt) Graciela's and then he (Bernardo) got married and I kind of followed them, and then I got out on my own. But we haven't lived with my mom since I was, well, off and on. We were transients, Bernardo and I. We just went wherever, whoever would take us for how ever long they would take us.

Tomas

(I grew up in the Holy Family neighborhood). Everybody around there is Mexican over there. Actually it's starting to change no, it's getting diversified. When we grew up there, it was all Mexicans. We'd always walk the same six blocks it seemed like; make sure we still owned them. The high class and low class, that's where they put you; that's why they're all Mexicans over there.

I worked out of there (the barrio. I worked my ass off, my butt off for all that. I had my own contracting, subcontracting (business). I had my own pencils, names—my own name on a truck —(for a) good six years. (I didn't always want to move away from the barrio) oh, no. No, actually I wanted to be there because I owned it. I did what I wanted. I walked in the middle of the street there. No one messed with me. No, I don't think (I want to move back there) because we have our own house now; it's kind of "middle class" close to the "upper class." You know what I mean, "there ain't no parties, no breaking into your car there; you don't have to watch your stuff." Where I am now its way better, I think. I don't have to worry about that. I don't have to worry about my kids getting jumped like we were all the time. So now where they're at their neighbors are cool. We talk to our neighbors. They look out for our house when we're gone, that's pretty nice. I like that part; plus it's a big house, not two bedrooms with six kids in it. We've got a three bedroom that five of us live in. That's pretty good. I like it.

Yeah I always like to stay in the "hood" though. I like to live over here but I like to party in the "hood" (laughs) because I still own them streets. I still got the respect when I go there. It feels like "home." I grew up there. I walked all the streets. I still know where all the peaches and the rhubarb and the apples are. I take my kids out, we'll go from (Aunt) Marta's house and we'll "walk the walk" I used to walk through the alleys. We'll pick up grocery bags of apples, rhubarbs, and raspberries. There aren't too many peach trees around any more—I think I know of two—peaches only get yeah big now. The plum trees are pretty good still though. The school, we still run at the school. I show them the shortcuts back to Aunt Marta's house, stuff like that.

Carmenlita

Barb: Have you ever been to (your Aunt) Marta's house in the Holy Family neighborhood?

Carmenlita: Yes.

Barb: What is it like?

Carmenlita: It's pretty normal to me, very comfortable. The neighborhood? It's pretty nice. You know, you can tell it's an old neighborhood but it's a nice place. It's not as wealthy as the neighborhood that I grew up in. The houses are a lot smaller, older. Where I grew up the houses are pretty big, a lot nicer.

Barb: Do you know where Andersonville is?

Carmenlita: Ah, hah.

Barb: Buckingham?

Carmenlita: Yes.

Barb: Alta Vista?

Carmenlita: Ah hah, yes.

Barb: How would you describe those neighborhoods?

Carmenlita: Where most of the Mexican families live. My dad's sister, my Aunt Olivia lives in Alta Vista, has her house on that street.

Barb: Do you think that people would like to move out of these neighborhoods?

Carmenlita: Yes I do.

Barb: Why don't they?

Carmenlita: I think it's more themselves because I think anybody can do anything they want to if you work at it and there's nothing anybody can't accomplish if you don't try, and I just think that they hold themselves back.

Barb: What would be the key for them to move out?

Carmenlita: (pause) I don't know. Like with my generation they didn't set goals for themselves, a lot of them didn't finish school. A lot of them drink a lot; I mean a lot of them haven't set high standards for themselves.

Barb: Why?

Carmenlita: I have thought about it and I think a lot of it is it could be the family, you know. I mean I know if they don't have a good family name a lot of people think, "Oh, that's so and so." You know, being brought down by either your family name, or just people are going to assume that that's what you should do so they do and just fall into the pattern, you know. And growing up, if their families were alcoholics or whatever, and they grew up with that, that that was normal to them.

Chelsea

You know I know they (my grandparents) lived on the north probably, well the northern part of Fort Collins. Umm, I don't know exactly where. I know they did live in a little area, which is now Buckingham I believe. They had a little house there and then they moved I think to the house that my Aunt Marta currently lives in. And they lived there for a long time, and that's still the house that she has.

Ah, yeah. (Holy Family neighborhood is) definitely (an "ethnic" neighborhood). Well, I just feel that, you know. That area of town seems to only consist of Mexican-American, mainly Mexican-American individuals so it's very "ethnic" because of that. I don't know why but maybe because housing down there isn't as, it's affordable. And so that attracts more people.

(The neighborhood is) ah, kind of, it's run down, kind of sad. I'm used to not being in a, in a bigger environment. (It's) just not clean, that's pretty much it. Maybe if they (people in this neighborhood) wanted to make their life better (they would) move to a nicer part of town, you know.

Teresa

Um, (pause) gee, last time we were down there (in Holy Family neighborhood), I guess it wasn't too long ago, it's a real homey neighborhood—ah, a community it feels like—the Church being there right down the street, neighbors that are friendly from what I've gathered from when I've been there. We spent a lot of time down there when we were growing up, a lot more than when we were older because (Aunt) Marta took care of us for awhile there. I remember being

pretty mean to her, and it's so sad. I know it's so sad to think Aunt Marta and the hell we put her through but I love Aunt Marta; she's a good Aunt.

Um, (where I grew up) it was more on the south side of Fort Collins. Um, it was closer to elementary schools over on the south side where it was a higher income, more so than the north end of town. I guess you can probably compare it with a---there are more kids over where we grew up---over on the south end of town. I don't really remember too many kids., playing with too many kids when we were at my aunt's house. Ah (pause), I guess I never really paid too much attention to, you know, the difference between them. I don't know, I guess it felt a little bit more like home on the other end than at my aunt's house, on the south end (more) than at my aunt's house because that's where I grew up, instead of being on the north end of town with my aunt seeing how they live more so than the difference with how I was brought up.

I would think the north side where Marta lives, I guess, more so down on Cherry Street, somewhere down there (is an "ethnic" neighborhood). (I think that someone would live in an "ethnic barrio") maybe (because) they were brought up there; maybe they're more comfortable being around people that they grew up with. Maybe their situations at home were different---they need to stay there in order to, you know, to help out maybe with money---everybody's situation is different. Maybe they like the Church community because the Church is right there. I don't know. I guess people choose a neighborhood to their liking. Maybe (they would want to move out) to explore different things, different neighborhoods, (pause) maybe location, closer commute to work. I guess it could be a number of things. Also I don't know, (maybe) neighborhoods, parks.

Lori

Barb: Where did you grow up?

Lori: I think she (my mom, Placida) said I lived on Cherry Street when I was a baby and then we moved down to Leisure across town, and then to where we are now over by I25.

Barb: Describe that neighborhood.

Lori: Um, there's a lot of kids there, a lot of people to play with, a lot of lakes and stuff, a lot of outdoors. I had a dog once, a dog to play with.

Barb: Who did you grow up with?

Lori: Mostly my mom and dad. When we lived in our apartment on Leisure my brother and sister, Erika and Bernardo, lived with us for a little while but it wasn't very long.

Barb: How much younger are you than Erika and Bernardo?

Lori: Um, I'd say about twelve, thirteen years. They were quite a bit older than me

Barb: Have you ever been to Aunt Marta's house?

Lori: Yes

Barb: Do you know what an "ethnic barrio" is?

Lori: No

Barb: Why do you think that neighborhoods are particularly based on Mexican-American ethnicity or Hispanic ethnicity?

Lori: Uh, I don't know.

Barb: What do you think the differences might be between the neighborhoods that you have lived in and the one that (Aunt) Marta is living in now?

Lori: Economic differences probably. The neighborhood that my parents live in now has bigger houses and people have a lot of cars and everything. The one where my aunt lives are smaller houses.

Family and Social Networks

Sofia and Frederico

Family.

Frederico: (What does family mean to me?) It's kind of tough (laughs). Just a group of individuals that respect each other, that will take care of each other, look out for each other, be there when, you know, when a time comes where someone needs help or something, someone to talk to; someone to look up to. When I talk to somebody I like to have their attention as I give them my attention. I feel that they should do the same to me and they get on the same wave length and talk about the same things. Pretty much it, I think.

Sofia: I think family for me is someone who shares some common beliefs, some common values and that are there for each other. Well, I have a lot of acquaintances and very select friends and when I look at my friends what I found in them was just the ability to be myself; not have to pretend to be somebody else, and we may not necessarily share the same ideas and goals or anything; it's somebody that we can talk to, I can talk to, and feel comfortable and know that they respect what I have to say and I respect what they have to say.

Frederico: I agree with that.

Social Network: Most Important Individuals in my Life.

Frederico: I think in general, for me, the troops who are out fighting for our freedom. I think I'll group that as maybe as one individual. That's a tough one. (pause). I would have to say, mom and dad, my sister, her husband, my wife and her family, her mom and dad, and Leah, can't forget Leah, Sofia's daughter (pause).

Sofia: I think for me, I'd have to agree, it would be my family, my immediate family. You know, I keep thinking back at my grandparents because they did so much with so little, and they were important parts of our life in very different ways. You know, my dad's parents coming every year; they were important and they brought---I think they brought to us---a different perspective of life, something that we weren't familiar with; so they educated us in that, not necessarily educated us, but we've learned something different from them because they came from a different life. So that was important because I think it made us grow. And then if I look at my mom's side of the family, my grandma and grandpa on that side they also, even though they weren't always here---weren't coming every year---they also taught us, you know, the importance of family and religion. So that's important because it's part of who I am now. And they all worked very hard. (**Frederico:** Very hard). So I would say my native family, my grandparents on both sides.

Sofia: I think we try to maintain (family occasions) as much as we can, you know, like Christmas and Thanksgiving. I, you know, I try to do a lot more with my mom and dad just because I know that they are getting older and I know it's really important for my mom to have that family. So I make a real special effort to try and do things with her more often, like Sunday, we all ended up

being over there at the same time. I know it gets her kind of nervous but you know, I know it's important to her to have family. So I try, you know, to keep that going for her. (As far as extended family), I don't think they have a concept of what it feels or what it's like for everybody to be together because they don't do it.

Frederico: I think everybodys' just busy doing their own thing. It's really hard to coordinate stuff like that. Yeah, it's something like if you practice it every year it's a lot easier to do it, and it's just that we've never done it. It would be somewhat awkward and probably somewhat uncomfortable I imagine because there's so many different people outside the family (that) are actually "family" you know, friends and boyfriends or whatever from the other relatives, that would be different.

Bernardo

Family.

I think (family); it's a combination of all. I think from my experiences, that's where my values come from. I think anybody in my family who's ever taken care of me has always said, "Family first, no matter what." And I think (Aunt) Graciela said it best, "No matter when those persons are gone in your life, your family is your family and you're always going to have your family so you need to stick with your family, and your family is who you are." That being said, you could put yourself together as one person, that's your family. There are certain parts of yourself that you're not going to like because there are certain parts of yourself that you can't get along with (laughs) but you take that for what it is. And when it comes down to, "Yeah, we all fight, we don't get along, we don't talk to each other," when it comes down to somebody hurting one of them, it's a regrouping that comes back and it's like we're family. I think that's with anybody. I don't think it's just Latinos or Black people. I think any type of family structure whoever it is they pull their forces and they say, "You can't hurt us anymore; this is how we're going to stop you from doing that." I see it with a lot of non-traditional type families because of where I work. There's a lot of people that are homosexual who are thrown out of their houses, they live with their lovers, or they live with their friends and they have an extended family. That to me is the same family; their family is the same as my family because my mom and my dad was gone, never around. My mom always

had to work so my family had always been (Aunts) Marta, Paula, Graciela, my aunts and uncles, everybody who's helped take care of us, my sister. Whereas, you see the same type of family unit come over here. Those people pull together and you always have brothers and sisters, cousins, whatever. And I also see it with single families, the girls get together, and the moms get together, and the kids and they go do things on the weekend and then they're really tight and it's not really a dad or mom situation but it's like a support structure, more aunts and sisters and everything like that for the kids. The kids have cousins who are really just friends, that's their family.

Family to me is more of a, ideally a social type of environment where you are doing picnics on the weekend or you are taking trips together, where everybody gets together for somebody's birthday and they acknowledge it and you're getting that whole direction instead of, "Oh yeah, it's your birthday, happy birthday, I'll see you sometime, I'll call you when I need you," that kind of family structure right now that we have. I think that comes down to my grandma always having her Sunday dinners or whatever was where people were always at the house and they were together. But family is just the idea of family, is any type of group who associates themselves as a family, calls themselves family; they're there for each other like family, no matter what. They will stick together through thick and thin. I think blood is thicker than water, absolutely, but I think you also have those people out there that really do stick together more so than some types of blood relations would. And that to me is family, people who associate themselves and call themselves family, that's family. Calling yourself family, being a family because you guys have the same last name doesn't necessarily give meaning.

Social Network: Most Important Individuals in my Life.

Ah, my sister for one, Erika, we've always had to be there for each other and that's still the same case. We get tired of each other; absolutely we do but never to the point that we hate each other. We can get mad at each other and the next day, "Oh yeah, what was I mad at you about?" This is what we're going to do and we get over it. Well, my sister, I really admire her dedication to herself, trying to be a better person and to her kids, making up for the mistakes that she's dealt

with. We call mistakes that are in her life just bearing crossroads that she's overcome; that's she's done very well with. I do admire her very much and I think---I won't ever let her know that so that it's never so it's like I'm always the "big brother"---but I do, really do.

My friend Ron, he came into my life when I was getting divorced from Donna. He helped me purchase a car, he helped me get a place to live, he helped me out a great deal, and he still continues to help me to this day. We're very, very good friends. He's more of my "father-figure" now; in fact, I call him "dad" (laughs). My Uncle Pepe, just because he's always been there when I needed him no matter what, he would be there. My Aunt Graciela, as much as she is a "pain in the butt," yeah she still is important to me. Ah, along with all my aunts and uncles I would have to say Maria, Paula, and Marta. I'd put them all at the same level, for people in my life.

I don't have a real lot of really close friends. I do have a couple of friends at work right now that I've become very, very close to. There's actually five of them. It was like "our gang, our group" when we're all together. I would consider those five are always going to be friends in my life, be part of my life. And friend Ralph, he was my friend growing up; he's been there. Most of his characteristics I do care for. He has very high integrity, he's very honest, very straight-forward. We were both odd because we didn't really have anybody to play with or be associated with because he's gay, he's very gay. he didn't know it in the seventh grade but everybody else did. I think I befriended him because everybody didn't like him, because I've always been that way and in the same way that I didn't really fit in with the Mexican crowd, the kids because they were all in classes that I wasn't in, more advanced classes. I didn't really fit in with all the "white" kids either because I'm just this Mexican guy in all their classes and they're like, "Oh, who are you?" You know, and Fort Collins being as small as it is, that's always been the case. And I'd throw my mom in there with my aunts and uncles. I do appreciate that she's still, I mean that we have a relationship. It's not a very close one. But I've never really had anybody out there who I have admired so much and I hate to say that because that makes me sound very egotistic but there's never been anybody out there who's endeared themselves to me or done---I haven't even done anything---never been there for me, where it has been unconditional. It's like "you're my friend, this is how it is, this is what we do" and that I've really respected and admired what they've done

and I don't know why. Other than that I think my grandma, for sure. She taught me a lot about how you treat people and what you do, and what you don't do, and what is important. Those people, Magdalena and Angelica and my grandpa, those are my core people. Those are my core family; they all fall in the same line.

Erika

Family.

I'd never gone to the grocery store with my mom. I'd never bought anything with my mom. You know, like my mom was just not---I'm not disrespecting her---I don't have one memory of going grocery shopping with her. I don't have one memory of you know, like the simple things. She just didn't have that loving, maternal, it was always an inconvenience like to even give a bedtime kiss. She'd just be like, "Oh, hurry up." You know, she's just not very emotional. She's very disconnected. She just doesn't have that loving, gentle, I don't know. I guess being that young in the lineup. See, that's been my dilemma, like when I first heard about the interview I was just like, "I don't have anything good to say about my family." You know, I just always wanted the real out-of-body story about everybody because they played their parents up too much and now they can't live up to themselves because nobody can be as religious, or as kind, or as good, or cook that great, or just have everything and then you always fall short the rest of your life. And I don't think any of them are falling short, it's just that they really think that they have. They don't have a real picture of who their parents' were. They don't even talk. They don't even like each other.

Social Network: Most Important Individuals in my Life.

Margarita, Daniel's mom is my Carmelita. She is just like my grandma all over again, like they're kindred spirits and I recognize her for who she is. I really feel like Daniel and I are living the "Placida-Mariano," had it worked out because we're living next door to my in-laws and we are raising our family and we have good jobs and I don't know, like, we have the family connection and everybody's always with us. My grandma bore children in the house I live in now because

they used to live right next door on Cherry Street. Daniel's grandmother, his dad's mother, owned twelve houses when she died. She was a Mexican woman in Fort Collins and she owned twelve houses free and clear. And my grandmother rented the house next door; and my grandmother and Daniel's grandmother were best friends. And she had (Aunt) Marta and I think Marta was definitely born in the house I live in now; and so I live in the home my grandmother used to live in only we own it, you know, like I'm next door from my in-laws. I really feel like I'm re-living my parents' life in a right way. It's important to me that we own the house my grandma used to live in. It's important to me that I live next door to my mother-in-law and I take care of her. Like she doesn't need to be taken care of, she takes care of us pretty much but that we haven't—I mean we're going to eventually move so it's not that we just live right next door—it's just that Daniel and his mother have such a good relationship and Daniel's brothers and sisters are so close and to see their family and to be invited into all of that is like reliving my family all over that never happened. Margarita still lives the lifestyle that my grandma had where she's every Sunday having dinner at her house, and every Sunday everybody comes over for coffee. And she always has everybody stop at her house, and she's still the matriarch in her family and to see her living it I get a better picture of what my grandma must have lived like. Because she's still living like that where you have all the neighbors come and visit you and have coffee at your house and everybody brings you stuff. She's always out there taking care of everybody and she's extremely religious and like she's there and we live next door and I'm able to see it and my kid's see it and Daniel's family. So Margarita and Daniel and my three kids are the first five. And those are the only people that I invest any amount of time in, that's it. And if I had to choose five people from my family that I even still get along with and enjoy (laughs) my cousin, Tomas I really enjoy. He's a really good entertainer. Like I find a lot of comfort and joy in him. I really enjoy him. He's very funny, smart. I enjoy him a lot. So I think Tomas' the only one I could hand pick. Bernardo, I just have to say out of respect (laughs) because if I don't say him, I won't be able to sleep tonight. It's just that something happened. When two people live through a train wreck, I think they have a hard time staying in contact with each other for the rest of their lives. That's what we lived through.

Tomas

Family.

Oh, let's see what family means to me? Respect, manners, discipline. Me, Cara, Raquel, Tomas, Joette, Ralph, Elena, Billy, Santana, Linda, Mark, Maria, Ramon, JayJay, That's family right there. That's my immediate family. Ah yeah, yeah there's a difference (between my family growing up and my family now). I really don't know that family of mine growing up, like I was always off doing my own stuff. I wasn't really home much at all. I was always out running around. Now I'm at home all the time worried about them (my children) not doing what I have done, things like that, you know what I mean?

My dad, (he was the) one that we asked to do stuff, permission, discipline. (But decisions) oh, that would be my mom. You had to run everything by her; she had to give the OK. (Decisions, now?) (laughs). That would be me. The same, she (Cara) does the decision making. I lay down the law, do the discipline.

(My family, now are together) oh, a lot. Camping, we all go camping for the weekend, stuff like that. The immediate family that I mentioned we'll all go together. Our family is so big, on her (Cara's) side too. There are graduation parties and stuff like that. We go dance, mingle, swap, look at the low-riders'. Her dad has a "rider" that he enters every year. He won second place this year.

Social Network: Most Important Individuals in my Life.

Family, friends, grandma and grandpa, my mother and father (Maria and Ramon) and my father-in-laws, friends, my best friend Theodore, Franco, cousins---Rico, Frederico, Magdalena, Joe---that's it, that is most of the people I've ran with in my life. I've always been around them---fifteen years from now. I wanted to (be around them); we've always been together. They're the only guys I still hang around with since high school. (I value) their friendship for one, I guess. (Rico), he's familiar when like I need him. I like to go hang out with him, keep in touch with my

family---what's left. It's tough, just talk stuff, hang out. I still go take my friends out in sports, playing basketball, football, whatever is in season.

Carmenlita

Family.

Family is (pause) just the people you're with, you know, you grow up with and that you do things with and that you can go to for all times or share things with. My son, my father, my stepmother, my siblings, (Aunt) Graciela, my mother's side of the family, they've all just been wonderful and everything. My dad's side of the family, I have a stepbrother, he's older, he's just by marriage; and then it would be my younger brother and my younger sister, my grandparents, half siblings. So I have a great family.

It's been difficult since I was little because I mean, I've got my family with my dad and my stepmother, I have them. (pause). I always knew I had my mother and I always had questions because I don't remember a whole lot about her, so I always had questions but it was kind of difficult to ask because when I did it wasn't really allowed to be spoken in my household, you know. I think it was more my dad didn't want to make her uncomfortable, you know, and stuff like that; but then when I come here to (Aunt) Graciela's and on my mother's side of the family they would express it a lot more. So then that would make my curiosity a lot more, you know. Yeah I mean, I had a great childhood but I still always have, I've always had questions and I've always wondered. That whole thing is unfulfilled, not knowing anything about it. Yeah, I know how they (my mom and aunt) died, how she died; and you know I wish I remembered her. I was two. (And) yes, most definitely, most definitely, (it is) very important to understand.

When I was little, I saw (Aunt) Graciela a lot. In fact I always called my dad, "Can I go see Graciela," tell my dad, "I want to see Graciela." So he would bring me over there a lot and so you know when I came around, since they didn't get to see me a lot, when I did come around it was--- we would all get together---just mostly play with all the cousins, you know, and stuff like that. Graciela used to take us out, take me out shopping or just to hang out or, you know, I'd just come visit or something or I'd just come visit at (Aunt) Marta's. I'd just hang out over there. I just

mostly played with Linda and Mark and Tomas. And then you know, as I got older it was a lot more on holidays and stuff like that, so---

My father (was the dominant figure in my family)—well, I would have to say my father and Graciela (laugh)—Graciela has always been, made sure she was a dominant part of my life. Graciela has always been like a “mother” figure also. As far as I knew that no matter what, I could come to her for anything. You know I would come to her before I would go to my stepmother and my father. Also, I wasn’t real close to stepmother growing up.

My dad was the ultimate (laughs) decision-maker. I am (now). He was (also) my nurturer. He worked, he provided for everything. Growing up, that one’s tough. (pause). I wasn’t close to my stepmother. We had a relationship but, and I knew I could ask her stuff and everything (pause). I guess I was just pretty angry, pretty disappointed because I didn’t know my mother a lot. My half sister you know, she kind of liked to rub it in my face sometimes, so it was kind of tough. (Now) my sister and I are really close, to be able to just call up whenever I’m down or to go out with, to go shopping---

No. No, (my family growing up was not) the traditional Mexican family. They’re pretty close-knit and we weren’t, we weren’t really at all. My dad worked all the time, all the time. He felt that he had to provide for us. My stepmother worked also. We weren’t expected to have dinner together. The only time we ever really did anything that traditional families do as far as you know was around the oldies (laughs). I would love to have my son have all of that. I believe the family is very important but also know too, that I have to go to school to be able to provide for him to get a better education.

Social Network: Most Important Individuals in my Life.

My son, of course, (Aunt) Graciela, my father, my brother, my best friend who lives here in Colorado, (pause) really that’s all, I don’t have ten (laughs). Oh, my son is my life. Every decision I make now is what is going to be best for him. My dad also is just very important. He’s just so loving, very affectionate. I don’t know my mother so my dad has always been very, very important to me and so I don’t think I could stand to lose him either so. And (Aunt) Graciela also, she’s just,

she's always been there; and my best friend. I can call her no matter what, whenever, you know, and she comes. She's one of the only friends that I, you know, she comes out to see me, visits me.

Chelsea

Family.

A group of people who work together who, you know live together. You have to work together to live together. It kind of works as a little system. Definitely my mother and father, my sister not so much because you know we don't interact too much; of course, my daughter. But I would consider even my boyfriend part of my family because we have to work together to get along and to, you know, just to get along.

I would say my mom (was the dominant figure in my family growing up). Dominant to me means ultimately decisions are made by my mom. My father, as much as he likes to feel that he is the dominant figure in the house, it ultimately comes down to what my mom would like to do and that's what happens. I'm the major decision-maker in my household but when it's the group or me, my boyfriend and my daughter in a group, it's usually mutual. It's not only me that makes decisions.

Holidays, birthdays, or just special occasions (bring my family together). You know there was something going on that for some reason somebody mentioned let's have dinner together, those are the three main reasons. (My extended family gets together on) holidays you know in the past, Christmas, Thanksgiving, even Easter; but Christmas and Thanksgiving were the main holidays. And now more so just in the recent past it's been, I know they get together for the holidays and we get together with my mom's side on Christmas and Easter and Thanksgiving.

Social Network: Most Important Individuals in my Life.

Faith, my father, my mother, my sister (pause) probably my boyfriend, my best friend in Tucson, probably my grandma on my mom's side, that's really it. (Faith) because of her love, she's always there for me. She's very understanding. (pause). You know that would be the characteristics for a lot of them. You know they show compassion, they're there for me. You

know that the one big thing is that I know that I can trust them and I know that I can go to them if I need something or if I need to vent or whatever. Just the stability they give.

Teresa

Family.

Um, someone who will be there for your support, being there when you need help. (When we're together we) just spend some time getting to know people more, um, you know what they're doing day-to-day. I don't see my sister too much anymore so it would probably be more so my mom, my dad, and my niece.

Huhm, (pause), I would say my dad (is the dominant figure in my family growing up) even though like he wasn't there---hmm. (He) sets the rules, um; whatever he says goes. My dad traveled in the summertime so in the wintertime I would probably say my dad but with you know, during the summertime it was my mom, so I guess the roles would change. (Now) it would probably be myself; I'm very independent.

(My family gets together on) Christmas, Thanksgiving, Easter, not too much Fourth of July, birthdays, I think that's about it. (We) cook a lot of food (laughs), a lot of Mexican food takes a while to cook, it's a lot of work, so it would be like a lot of barbeque stuff, play a lot of outside games, um maybe watching a movie---

You never really have personal time anyway so when you do have personal time you do what you want to do. It's more so that even for Christmas we see them (my extended family), maybe for a split second to drop off presents or something like that and to thank them on the phone and usually that's as much contact as we have with my aunts and uncles on my dad's side of the family. I guess with Christmas, it would be more so celebrated with my mom's side of the family because it's, I don't know if it's because they put forth the effort, plan something or exactly what. I think if I would have saw maybe my Uncle Pepe---I don't see him too much---if I would see him on the street or something I would say, "Oh hi, how are you doing Uncle Pepe." I would think that he would have to sit there and say, "I haven't seen you for awhile, who are you?" you know but then it would be hard to recognize him over a period of time and I haven't seen him for over a year. It's

been awhile; it's been quite some time. My Aunt Placida, I couldn't even tell you the last time I saw her. It's weird that I see so much of my mom's side of the family but not my dad's. It's I don't know. It's funny to see Lori because last time that I saw Lori, man, she was God only knows. I remember her when she was really, really small and then we got a graduation notice in the mail. It's like, "Oh my gosh she's that old already, she's already graduating." It's sad that I'm not close to my cousins.

Social Network: Most Important Individuals in my Life.

Uh, (pause) that's a difficult question. (pause). Of course my parents, my sister, my son, my niece, (pause) my grandma, (pause). I don't really see too much of my aunts and uncles too much on my dad's side of the family, um, so I'd probably say---tough question---I'd probably say my friends more so, my roommate Aaron, a girl,--um----then I would probably do (pause) employees at work because I'm constantly around them. That's a tough question (laughs) because like I said I don't see my aunts and uncles too much on my dad's side of the family.

(What do I value about these individuals?) Um, probably the support, um, (pause), being there when I have a problem. (Employees at work), that's just like more of a day-to-day kind of relationship because I know just telling them what I did last night or what my plans are, what I did with my son you know, it's just little bits and pieces.

Lori

Family.

I guess it would be my parents, my aunts and uncles, my brother and sister, and I don't know, they're just the people that I care for and I know that they'll be there for me if I need anything. I think I would (also) include friends in my family. I like the structure in my family, that my mom works. I definitely would have us get together more often because I like a lot of people together. And we're not really big on doing family. (We) probably (get together) mostly at Christmas, it is the only one I can think of where we get a bunch of people together and even then it's usually just

like in groups because we usually have to go from house to house and eventually get to everybody. Usually we just sit around and talk.

(Dominant figure in your family?) That would be my dad (laughs). Nothing goes through without going through him first. My dad's not big on spending a lot of money and so sometimes me and my Mom will have to sneak around and spend a little more.

Social Network: Most Important Individuals in my Life.

Definitely my Aunt Graciela, my mom, my sister Erika, my brother Bernardo, my dad, my Grandma (dad's side), (pause) probably my Uncle Abelardo, my Uncle Pepe, (pause) the owners of the store that I work for. It's pretty much with all of them, just independent. They can take care of themselves---very strong willed. Uh, (I have) a pretty close one (relationship with my family). Sometimes I wish it could more, wish my family could get together more often but I think if they could they would (play a very supportive role in my life). (They are important in making decisions), yes; and (I do consult them) yes.

Belief Systems

Sofia and Frederico

Values.

Sofia: (My mother emphasizes) religion, education, and honesty and fairness. (My father taught me) to work hard. I think that was the one thing that I learned from him is to work very hard and work not necessarily to please but to excel, and education because he didn't have that so he wanted us to have that.

Frederico: Dad was kind of a "hands-on" type of guy. I learned a lot, some of the stuff that I know from him from the construction sites that he worked at and you know we'd work around the house and he'd show me things like that. Tinkering with the cars you know, anything that had to be repaired around the house. I hung around and kind of watched and it just kind of intrigued me, which I still enjoy you know. (My father taught me) I think probably a certain type of independence, just to do it and if you did it right fine, if you did it wrong then do it again. Don't give

up, you know, don't cry, stuff like that. Education I think was one of the (**Sofia:** He pushed that on us)—yeah—they pushed that on us. I think my dad's pretty dependent on my mother sometimes. And I try not to do that kind of thing, that's probably one of the ones that stands out. My dad don't like the public at all. I don't know if he's just insecure that way or what the deal is but he comes over to the house at Christmas or whatever and he's comfortable for awhile but you know he kind of went to sleep after awhile. And like going to ball games and stuff like that, he's very uptight about. I don't know if he just doesn't like crowds or just being in public, you know away from the safe environment that he has in the Holy Family area. (My mother) same thing that Sofia just said, yeah, that pretty much summed it up real good.

Sofia: It's interesting to hear him (Frederico) say that he thinks that my father is very dependent on my mother and that's true and that's because of the language and the communication. He's lost without my mother being able to communicate (**Frederico:** Exactly) because he can't read, he can't communicate so in that sense he's very dependent on her and she's very dependent on him.

Religion.

Frederico: And one thing that she (Sofia) mentioned earlier about the values that she's taught her daughter Leah; one of them was the religion part of it. We're not a very religious family at my household. Again, I tried but I just didn't push hard enough. I think (pause) to me, I felt at certain points of my life, I felt pushed into religion. I think being an altar boy, and we went to a seminar one time in Denver to be a priest or whatever, I think at that point I felt I was being pushed into carrying on the Catholic tradition of being an altar boy, priest and so forth. I kind of shied away from that. I felt I had a different direction I wanted to go.

Sofia: I think for me, I just spent a lot of time with my grandmother and she was very religious. I guess I never recognized my mother as being very religious. It was my grandmother who was very religious. I was always spending time with her and so it just became part of my life and it's hard to turn something off. And I did turn it off for awhile but you know I've come back to it. So, it's just part of my growing up. And it was something that I wanted (my daughter) Leah to have

and even though I did push her into the Last Sacrament, which was Confirmation, she thanked me later for that. But sometimes you do have to do a little bit of pushing. Leah doesn't go to Mass and stuff like that but she's very religious in her own way.

Bernardo

Values.

Um loyalty, loyalty's a big one; understanding; unconditional understanding. I think part of it is loyalties to your family, I think that's a big one. Support, whether it be financial or emotional or if you need something, they're there to help you. Vice versa, it's also two ways, everything has to be between you both. Selfishly, that's really all I care about. Everything else, who cares? I don't care who you marry, I don't care what you're doing, I don't care who you're with, I don't care if you live in Nebraska or whatever. It's that core. But I think individually valuing each person as a person, as a self, as an individual you know, and not just grouping us all together or grouping them together because they're the Salinas that's how they are. "No," that's Maria, that's Marta, that's Paula, whoever it is, Linda, you know, Mark, that's who they are, they're the individuals.

Religion.

Religion's a big part of my life. When I got married I got married in the Church. I am trying to go through an annulment right now—the annulment process. I am in communication with my ex-wife, she is all-aboard, she doesn't care, she's decided that she's born again so it's fine with us because we're Catholic. I can go ahead and get an annulment. I believe that I don't necessarily agree with the Church on a lot of things but I do believe it is important that I need a core, something that I've always had and something that's always kept me stable. When I have problems or when I have issues I can always go to the Church and light a candle and meditate a little bit and understand where I am and put myself back together in my own place, that's something that I have. I go to church probably once or twice a month depending on the mood. I know all of the priests here in town very well—I mean they all know me by name—which usually isn't the case unless you go to a small church like Holy Family. (I'm) really good friends with Father Doug and Father Willett at John XXIII and they've helped me a lot on some things that I've

had to struggle with personally, as far as my self confidence, who I think I am. I believe that religion definitely plays a big part because I think my grandma that was very important to her so I believe that should stay important to me as well.

Do I think everybody should be Catholic? No, I think you should be Catholic if you were brought up Catholic. I think straying or going to another religion is being disloyal to my grandma because she's instilled this value into us. That's how I see it as not loyal, being disloyal.

Erika

Values.

My values are education. It's hard to say that because even though I'm not in school my kids don't miss their homework. Like I may not be learning about biology today but my children are learning about math, reading, science, and English today.

Religion.

I don't think religion and spirituality is, for me it's not. I really think that I lost my spirituality in my childhood because I don't believe in a God that can let all that happen to a kid. And it's not that I don't believe in God because I would never renounce him but I never got the religion from my family. They dragged us and dropped us off and went back home to go to bed.

Tomas

Values and Religion.

Yes (religion is very important to me); it is. I am still Catholic. (My children) they will be Catholic. I just got to get confirmed again. I went to all the classes and the day I was supposed to go to get confirmed I didn't make it. I never went back and then I started my kids through it so my daughter is going to be confirmed next year and my son will be confirmed this year, not confirmed, communion this year. Parents are supposed to put your kids out for sacraments, for life sacraments and so. (For me, I want) to be a "foot-soldier" of Christ and I want my kids to be there too.

Carmenlita

Values and Religion.

My grandparent's were Catholic. My dad is, he's Christian. My stepmother also is. My mother was Catholic. It's kind of tough on that one because like on my mother's side they're all Catholic so they all, you know have the Catholic religion as well as, you know, they express that very well to me growing up. They would like me to be Catholic. So and my dad with him being Christian, would like me to be in the Christian Church also.

I will let him (my son) know that it (religion) is important. It is important because I believe in God, very much so. I would like him to believe in God too but I will also express to him that whatever religion he chooses is OK too. You know it's hard for me because as far as like the Catholic religion you know growing up, yeah, I believed in it wholeheartedly and everything and I wanted to be Catholic because that's what my mother wanted me to be and so I thought that it would be important. You know my Aunt Marta and everybody wanted me to do my First Communion, which I still haven't done today. I started and everything else but then I don't believe I need to confess my sins to a priest so that part, as far as the Catholic religion, is very hard for me because I don't believe that I need to confess anything to a priest, that the only one who is going to forgive me is God anyway. I don't believe ten rosaries is going to forgive me you know, so that sometimes does push me towards the Christian religion because I don't have to do, you know, so I want my son to be able to have the choice

Chelsea

Values.

Um, I don't know if they (my parents) attempted (to teach me values) you know. Maybe just even seeing my father being a hard worker, I've learned to be a hard worker. I'm a very honest person and you know I don't really ever remember them trying to instill that in me either but I am now. Those are the big things, being just an honest person. You know I learned a lot from just

being with my friends and just growing up outside of my parent's, kind of you know helping out in that area.

Teresa

Values.

I want to do as much as I possibly can to teach him (my son), um, how I grew up (pause). It's kind of hard because with his dad and me not being together it's really, really hard because usually when he goes with his father on the weekends I see a totally different change when he comes home. So it's like I try to teach him what I believe in but I don't know what he's (his father's) teaching him so I don't know if he's actually getting, benefiting from anything that I'm teaching him compared to what his father is teaching him. So it's kind of in the air with my son you know but I want to try to teach him as much as I possibly can with my family, how I was brought up, a little bit of the language that I do know.

Religion.

Actually, you see, when we were little my parents put us in private school. So we went to St. Joes for the first six years of our education. From what I remember my first introduction to religion was at St. Joe's school. It's kind of hard um, it wasn't really pounded into me, it was more so um, this is your background and this is your religion you know. My parents wanted me to learn more about you know, my religion. So I think that's why they put me in private school, but I had fun. I had fun when I was in elementary school. I had fun you know going to church with my friends. Let's see, we had religion class but I don't really remember too much from my religion class. I think it's more of the hand's on, more visual stuff that really stayed with my mind more so than sitting at a desk in front of a book reading something. But now that we grew up and we went to public school it was more in the back of our minds more so than you know, than right in front of you. We would go to church every Friday you know. It was really, it was very beneficial, extremely beneficial because I breezed through junior high school because we leaned so much in private school. That junior high was just a breeze, so that's one thing I do appreciate. I think

that's why my dad always says you need to get back into going to church because to me it would feel like maybe it was a waste because I'm not you know going to church on Sunday. I don't know. I guess it would be a disappointment if they don't see me back in the Church---my parents. But now that I'm so busy with my son and work you know working on Sundays, it's just I'm tired when I come home. I don't go to church too much and that's something my dad wants me to really get back into is going back to church.

I don't think let's see, for myself personally, going to church and praying in a church is too, I don't really want to say it's too commercial. I don't know what the right word is but you can do your own praying at home, you don't really need to be in the building itself you know. You have your own prayers, you can have your own private praying time with God any time you want.

It's difficult because I've been put in (a dilemma) now because I'm Catholic and my son's father is (pause) I don't know, anyways he's a different religion than I am so it's going to be hard in raising my son because he might want him baptized into his church and my parents want my son to be baptized into the Catholic Church so it would be that we would have to sit down and talk about it. But with, it's just I don't really want to get to that point, I'm putting it off and it's bad. I'm putting it off because I don't want to fight you know. I don't want to say that my religion is more important than his, it's just, it's probably too big of a subject right now but when my son gets older you know, he would have an option to go where ever he would want to go. I'm not going to force him and say "You're going to be Catholic" because you know, he can make his own decision. There's choices.

Lori

Values.

Barb: What would be the highlights (values) of looking back on your life?

Lori: Friendship and loyalty. Trust, definitely.

Barb: If I were to put a paragraph about you on the Internet what would you like me to say?

Lori: (laughs). Uh, um, uh, I have no idea, no.

Barb: What do you value in others?

Lori: (I value) someone who is always there for me, is trustworthy, I can count on them like Bernardo. (I value) Uncle Pepe because he is a fun guy who is there for me. Last summer I had to move and he was willing to rearrange his schedule so he could help me move pretty much at the last minute. (I value) independence and generosity, someone who is fun to be around.

Religion.

(Religion has what role in your life?) Um, not too much. There's not a real big emphasis on it now, maybe in the future. (I do think that religion is part of my culture) yes the Catholic religion. (I will) probably, yeah (teach my children religion) um (because) it would just give them something to believe in.

Language, Ethnicity, and Acculturation

Sofia and Frederico

Language.

Sofia: (The first language that I learned at home was) Spanish. English (was my second language).

Frederico: Spanish. As a matter of fact, when I went to kindergarten on my first day in school I didn't hardly know a word of English so I kind of had to find my way through. (I learned English) just from the neighbor kids and school had a lot to do with it.

Sofia: Same thing, kindergarten because I'm older. I was there first and I basically learned it from being in school.

Frederico: And she would teach me words when she came home from school. She would teach me certain words.

Sofia: And I would read to mom and dad out of my little books. (My father knows) a little (English), very little.

Frederico: He can kind of make his way through some of it but I don't know if he comprehends exactly what some of the words are.

Sofia: Mostly baseball numbers—he knows that. (**Frederico:** Baseball numbers and stuff like that).

Ethnicity.

Frederico: For me it is (Mexican ethnicity), I think, sharing a lot of things, a lot of cultures and the stuff that, their ways of life. I think sharing that part with any individual is important whether it be Mexican family or Black family or whatever. I think it's great. I think that's what makes a lot of things work you know.

Sofia: I agree. It is very important to me because like I said you know without those sets of grandparents being here and educating us. I mean all of it is based on ethnicity, their values, and everything else is based on ethnicity and so that's what made us today. So it's very important.

Acculturation/Biculturalism.

Sofia: I think to a certain extent (it is important to be acculturated). We're already part of it I think because we've given up some of our culture already and we're already part of this and that's why it's so important to me not to let go of any of that. And that's why it's important for me to keep my connections with my parents because through them is where you learn.

Frederico: There's not too many of the traditional things that I've taught the kids. I'm guilty of that part of it. I look back and I think maybe I should have, could have. That's kind of tough for me sometimes because I do wish that I should have done that you know, and I didn't. I tried, I tried (to teach my children about the Spanish culture) but I think my kids are kind of like, they learn in reverse (laughs) you know. They have to go through it the hard way and then come back to it. And then I tried hard to get them to learn the language and take Spanish classes in school and then when they were young, mom had them at the house and she would teach them words and stuff like that, which you know they enjoyed but they just, just the environment that they're in right now has a lot to do with it. And my kids hang around with a lot of white kids. It's very rare that they have a Mexican friend and even some of the Mexican friends that they have don't have that, don't speak the language. They're in the same boat my kids are.

Sofia: I taught (my daughter) Leah the language. She speaks it. She serves as an interpreter for the store when they need her. I try to teach her you know, the religion. I made sure that she was confirmed in case she ever wants to get married. At least she's gotten over her sacraments, and I taught her the meals and taught her as much as I could about the culture, the traditions that we have.

Frederico: (Is it important to keep a connection with your ethnic heritage?) I think so. My reading in Spanish isn't that good but I can make my way through it and get just what's going on.

Sofia: I watch my *telenovellas* every night (laughs). I have a friend that I work out with every morning and he speaks Spanish and we keep, that's how we practice.

Frederico: I've lost the vocabulary.

Bernardo

Language.

The first language I learned as far as I know was Spanish. I remember having a difficult time speaking any English when I was very, very young. I would say maybe I was four when they put me in "Headstart." I had a really thick accent and it was hard for me to understand some things that were being said. But then I went to Holy Family in Kindergarten and I had to go two years because I remember the Sister held me back because I was too shy, but also think it had something to do with my social skills and also my language skills---now that I think back about it. I wouldn't pay attention but I only think it's because I didn't want to pay attention because I don't think I understood. I think maybe now I realize that it was maybe an English problem that I had at that time. But after the two years in kindergarten and then going to the public school, and being immersed, and then my grandma passed away during that time so my Spanish is pretty much, I haven't used it very much since then. I don't know if that's something too, that maybe when my grandma passed away then I figured maybe I'll never have to use that anymore. And I haven't really determined that yet. I just know that it makes me very, very uncomfortable using my Spanish now because I should know it better than I do and so then I have problems conversing and trying to think in Spanish and trying to get my work done. I did all the Spanish classes. I did

everything that I could to learn Spanish and I can read and write Spanish. I can understand Spanish pretty well but my language skills are very, very bad and I get embarrassed and I don't like that.

I don't remember (who or where I learned English)---I know my mom used to talk in English all of the time but my grandma was all Spanish and my grandpa was all Spanish and my biological dad was all Spanish and his family was all Spanish---probably (through immersion into the public schools). (I speak) English (now). If I have children I would want them to be fluent in Spanish and English and I also believe another language. If I have kids they would know at least three or four languages. I really think that they'd be more valuable. It would help them not only socially but it will help them academically because it will help think on different planes.

Ethnicity.

At first it (an ethnic identity) wasn't, it wasn't important at all. (When I was child) because I didn't want to be associated, I didn't want to be known, I didn't want to have, I wanted to be "White." I didn't want any kind of an identity other than being just "American" and that was all during high school, and even at (work) I didn't want anybody to know. I think after I started working at American Technological College, that's when it hit me that it does mean something, that I should identify more with who I am. But everything that I've known hasn't really been something that I've been proud of personally. Yeah, the culture and everything like that I like and yeah, OK, this is what we did back then, this is our culture, this is how we do, this is how we cook, you know but as far as teaching values, family values, I definitely take to heart. That's one thing I've learned. But mainstream now, it's like being bilingual is a big thing and I'm really upset that I'm not bilingual and I blame that on my parents and anyone who was my support group who brought me up. It makes me feel they didn't care about what I was going to be brought up; whereas, I see a lot of people that are affluent and their parents' instilled that they need to learn to keep their Spanish and their English and I'm pretty upset that that didn't happen, that's more of a family thing.

Also, a lot of the stereotyping that still goes on now days, it's very hard to get away from even with my last name. People, they'll be like so "what is your nationality?" I'll be like "well, I'm Mexican-American." Actually I'm American, my family's from Mexico. And they're like, "Hell, you don't even look Mexican." "Well, what does a Mexican look like?" But more so lately I have identified with who I am, where my family's from, and how important it really is to keep that, and that it's my responsibility as an individual to change peoples' perception on what is a Mexican-American, what is a Latino-American, whatever. (Who you are? Would ethnicity be an important part of that?) no.

I wouldn't be ashamed (to be called a "Chicano"). I am not. The only reason that I say that I'm not is because my understanding of Chicano is more of a militant type of segregationist of attitude from the mainstream, away from being Latino or being Mexican-American or being part of one culture. It's more of "We are Chicano, *brown power*" and things of that nature because that's all I know about it. "Brown Berets" come to mind right away when you say Chicano and trying to separate yourself from Mexico. What I probably identify with the Chicano movement, probably more than somebody who's from Mexico, somebody who identifies themselves as Mexican first.

A lot of it (providing information about my ethnic heritage) is they (the second generation) wanted to get away from it. They wanted us to learn English. They wanted us to be able to assimilate into the mainstream and make sure that we aren't the "odd people out." Some of it's embarrassment I think of where we came from, trying to get away from being poor Mexican people that came to the United States, and not embracing being proud of everything that they have accomplished. I don't think a lot of my aunts and uncles or mom or anybody feels that they've accomplished anything very substantial. So I think a lot of it comes down to not having a foundation themselves to be proud of whom they were because they were told, "You need to learn English, you need to know this, and this is what you need to be" and so that's what we were told.

Acculturation/Biculturalism.

There will always be certain barriers (to assimilation) just because of where they came from and who they are and what they will keep with them. I think there's a certain amount of culture in

family and respect that are instilled as kids being Latino because you always want to protect your own and I think family is a big part of it. As far as assimilating being part of the norm, yeah absolutely; I think we've seen it already with our Mayor Ray Martinez. It doesn't even matter that his last name is Martinez because I've been a member of the Poudre River Trust and other organizations here in Fort Collins where they are mostly "white" individual males that are married, that pretty much run everything in Fort Collins and they think so highly of Martinez that it's not even like he's Mexican. It's more like this is how he thinks about us and I think Fort Collins is really good about that and some aspects but the older your age group that you're talking to are or communicating with are, the more racism, prejudice that you will see around people in general ---or any color, especially Mexicans here in Fort Collins.

(Bicultural/switch codes?) Absolutely. I feel I can do it. I wouldn't necessarily say I would feel very comfortable. Sometimes I surprise myself how well I can go back and forth between both (languages/cultures) but when I have to identify myself as Latino (pause) and go that way, and segregate, and be part of that group, it's very hard for me. I wouldn't necessarily be in this area. I would definitely succeed because I do have some language skills that other people don't as far as "Anglos" go. That does make me a little more valuable. Who they think I am, then they realize, "Oh, look how educated he is or look how articulate---whatever it is." Then they're like, "Wow, he's really something." Then I can be up here as far as a level. Going back on this side where you go back to tradition all you think about is, "Oh, who's marrying who and who has this car, who has whatever important to them in that area." I would say other than education or knowing some other different types of skills, computers and things like that, or it's not the norm, yeah I feel a little bit more odd, more on a lower level because I can't really communicate or I don't have the same interests that a lot of them do. It's been my experience---it could just be the people that I've been having to associate with where I'm working at now---in general it's usually focused on how many kids they have, what they're going to do this weekend, who's family they're going to go see this weekend, this new truck that I bought, or I'm going to do some projects at home to fix up the home, things that are very, very family oriented. Where on this side, it's more individual and yeah you can pretty much say "Oh go yeah, I know that" and they will talk about it; and here it's more on

the surface, it's more in depth and they really they want to know who you are and that's part of the culture. But when you don't have all those things or those things aren't your interest then it really just leaves you with, "Like oh, that sounds really cool." Because my family is not very close and if my family was closer, I could definitely understand, "Oh, yeah, we're going to do this weekend, or yeah we're going to do that or we're going to with so-and-so," but that's not the case.

TRADITIONAL _____ ACCULTURATED _____ X _____ ASSIMILATED

(See Appendix E for comparison with Generation 2)

I would put myself right around assimilated and acculturated, right here, um, only because I am "brown." There's no way of getting around that. That's the only barrier that I have whenever I'm in a---and my last name, Fuentes---that, in certain cases I do see some hesitation as far as, "You're not this."

As far as I'm concerned I'm assimilated very well. I think in English, the things that I eat, even when I go out, what I eat at home are very I would say American, steak or whatever. Without the Spanish, the chili, the cultural twist it's more, "OK, this is more American" even if its going to Taco Bell. That is American in the sense that, "OK, here you go, it's fast food Taco Bell." There are occasions when I feel like, "OK I'll make enchiladas, I'm going to talk to my neighbors and we're going to make menudo. I'm going to go talk to Lynn Aguillar and make tamales; we're going to do something that's going to help me feel better about not being in touch with my family, my traditions, things like that that I think are still important. But I do those things to placate myself to say, "Hey you still are Mexican." And that's the only reason I do it.

Erika

Language.

I have some sort of problem (with the Spanish language). I haven't got past something in my life that won't let me speak it fluently because my dad doesn't speak any English and my grandma didn't speak any English. Bernardo got held back from kindergarten because he didn't know

enough English, because he only spoke Spanish. Spanish was the only language that we spoke in our home until I went to school and then when my mom and dad got divorced my mom never spoke Spanish again.

No, I just haven't (taught my children Spanish). I think because I don't know it well enough, I haven't taught them but I can hold a conversation with anybody. I'm really timid, like I really think about what I say. I say a lot of words wrong but I have the accent. I'm not afraid to speak Spanish although I'm afraid to speak it wrong. In Fort Collins people who think you know Spanish, even if you just understand it, are so relieved---like a relief that shows on their face---it's just tremendous to find somebody who knows fluent English that can actually even understand them. It's just like such a sense of relief because they know that if you can just understand them then you can help somebody else understand them too. Especially at Steele's, I didn't hardly know any Spanish when I was at Steele's and everybody who came in---if I could just understand them and help them get what they wanted---they would be so grateful. And I'm like, "I didn't really help you." "Yeah you helped me. You know the fact that you can even say hello to me is just a big deal." That you respectfully greet them in their own language is enough even if you don't know anything else. So I can read Spanish; I can listen to anybody speak Spanish and know what they are saying but it's something that I haven't gotten past in my life to make me speak it because all the vocabulary's there, I just can't say it. Probably when my dad passes away I'll be able to speak it.

Ethnicity.

Well my father, I'm a first generation American from my father's side. My father is from Mexico. He's been here in America since I was born but he was born in Mexico and he didn't get here until he was twenty-five, so I'm his first. Bernardo and I are his first children born in America. But on my mother's side we are second generation. He (my father) grew up in Mexico and he's 100 percent Mexico and "machismo" and *vaquero*, and cowboy, and everything, and we are you know, so we have all of that from him.

I have a real longing to be Mexican, to be in Mexico. I have a real strong urge and desire, like Daniel and I speak often of just buying a house in Mexico and moving there you know. And we

went there for our honeymoon. Like that's just where we want to be, that's where I want to be. I really feel like I'm, I don't know, like I'm not American, that I'm Mexican and I should be in Mexico and I have a real, like my spirit is in Mexico and it's only because I always envisioned it being something glamorous and something that it's not. And I know that because every time I travel there it's not, it's been just horrible (laughs). You know like you can't eat anything, you can't go anywhere, you have to worry about being an American in Mexico, like I'm not—I'm a Mexican in America and I'm a American in Mexico—you know. That's a little cliché, everybody says that but really it's like that you know, like here I'm just a Mexican and there I don't know anything. I don't know anybody.

(On campus) I've had one professor tell me, "You're Mexican play it up. You're going to get everything you want. Get in here, do the work, you're going to be fine, use being Mexican to get ahead. It will work here on campus and that's what you need to know on campus." I was just like (laughs), "What do you take with that information, well OK." You know being a Mexican on campus you have to be in class every day because the teacher doesn't know when that Anglo guy with the baseball cap isn't there because there are fourteen others just like him but when you're the only Mexican in class you've got to be there because they know when you're not there. You know, I like just had to be there. I did because I knew somebody was going to know when I wasn't. Really, sometimes that was the only reason I went because I usually needed to skip a class to catch up on others though. I thought, "I better just go and get my homework in there if I need to."

Acculturation/Biculturalism.

It isn't just a generation gap. It's not even that we're clueless, although some of us are. It's just that I know Spanish, I know how to cook Mexican food. It truly is, it's not the barrier, it's not the language, for me it's not the disconnection of my culture, it's just that my culture has had such a negative impact on anybody older than me. I can play both worlds I guess because it's not that any of them are caught up in any of them. I think if you took apart each one of them none of them are caught up in it, none of them, individually none of them are sooo Mexican or such a minority.

They all have high standing jobs, they're all model citizens (laughs), they really already have been deculturalized even in their generation and it's not that I have a lack of culture it's just that from my perspective I'm able to take the good and the bad from both. Normally it's not the discrimination because I've done all the activism when I was younger, it's just that I found it fruitless

I really think that although people think that it's so negative in America, you can't live without it (acculturation).

TRADITIONAL _____ ACCULTURATED _____ **X** _____ ASSIMILATED

I've had like five ethnicity classes and I really think acculturation, like you I would say that like when you walked into the room there are only about four or five areas that you definitely can't be from (laughs). You could definitely be from South Africa, definitely be from Europe. You could definitely be from Mexico. I know Mexicans that are lighter than you are. I really think that there are no places that you can't be from you know, like except for one or two regions that you can probably just rule out; but I think for me that there are only four or five that I can't be from. I can be from Cuba; I can be from Mexico; but I probably can't be from France; I probably can't be from South Africa; I probably can't be—I don't know. There are places I can't have been from and there are definitely places that you always can come from. It just must be the pigment you know. You know what is really appealing to me every time I go to Mexico is everybody looks like me. It is such a comfort. It's a comfort, it really it. Like in Mexico when you go there, if I keep my mouth shut I appear to be just like everybody else. (It feels good) to sink right in or to be part of a group, you know there's great assumptions.

Tomas

Language.

(My first language was) English. They tried teaching me Spanish. I guess I wasn't into it or whatever. I couldn't stay focused on them trying to teach me that when I already knew English.

(Do you speak Spanish now?) No, not really. I know a little. I understand a little, but no. I wish I did know Spanish.

Ethnicity.

(I like to be called) Mexican or Hispanic. that don't really bother me. It's just everybody is Mexican, everybody I know is Mexican, (but it's not important) no, not really. (It is important, however, to have an ethnic heritage?) Yeah. You should know where you're coming from, your background (and to teach this to your children) yeah, they'll know. Everyone that they are around is all family. We're always with our family, always eating dinners and when we go out to graduations and stuff they're there too. They meet all of the family. They go to all of the funerals and all of that stuff, birthdays. I mean it's like three states long the family now.

Acculturation/Biculturalism.

Our cooking, we always keep our house clean and stuff, respect other people, other people's property. I'll try and get them to go and learn Spanish when they are going to junior and high school. I want to get them to speak Spanish, that way they will teach me.

TRADITION _____ **X** _____ ACCULTURATED _____ ASSIMILATED _____

I'd be somewhere in here. We like to go to church every Sunday. We like to go and get together with all the family; make Mexican dinners, make tortillas, beans and rice, tostados, tacos, chicken enchiladas. I'm getting hungry now (laughs).

I've never really been to Mexico so my whole life I have been Americanized. I don't speak Spanish, you know what I mean. Well they don't have nothing like that (baseball). Soccer I think is the only one that they've got there. You know what I like to do, I like sports. I don't know if I like soccer. I don't run unless I'm being chased (laughs) but other than that I like baseball, football. I was always good at all of that stuff, horseshoes, you name it, I was good at it. Bowling, I mean its all like American sports. I'm just good at all sports.

Carmenlita

Language.

(My first language was) English. When I was young, (Aunt) Graciela says I knew Spanish but then after my mother died I went to live with my dad then. It just wasn't spoken in my family, in my household so I don't know it. My dad is very fluent in Spanish (and English as well). I'd like my children to be bilingual. I'd like them to know Spanish and English so they can communicate with my dad's side of the family as well as my mother's---they all speak Spanish also. I'd like for him (my son) to be able join conversations speaking Spanish and know what's going on.

Ethnicity.

(I think that my ethnic heritage is very important) very much so. My dad raised tried to raise us in that way, (with) values of family, the values of how important religion is. The same with (Aunt) Graciela and my mother's side is. Even though as everyone's gotten older and we don't get together as often or as much it's always still very important how important family is you know, to pass things on.

I really don't have a preference (on what people call me regarding my ethnicity). (pause). I mean there is a lady at work actually who had asked me if I spoke Spanish and I told her I didn't and she says, "And I thought you were Mexican?" And I said, "Well you know I was born in the United States so that would make me an American but if you want to look at my heritage they are Mexican; they did come from Mexico." So to me it doesn't really make a difference. (I am proud to be Mexican) Yes. (What about "Chicana"?). I'm not and I would correct them because I'm not. My dad has always enforced that though, "That's not what you are." You know and I'd ask him, "Well, explain it." "Oh you're Mexican, we came from Mexico, you're Mexican. You were born in the United States." You know I guess it was pretty much more my dad drilling it into us that we're not Chicano, we're not and all that. I remember one of my cousins on my dad's side always calls himself "Chicano" and my dad just sits back and laughs at him.

Acculturation/Biculturalism.

TRADITIONAL _____ ACCULTURATED _____ **X** _____ ASSIMILATED

(Do you need to be acculturated or assimilated to be successful?) Yes and no. I don't believe that I need to be like anybody just to be successful. As long as I push myself to do what I need to do I'm going to do what I want to do. But there are some situations that you know, or some things that you do that you have to, you know, adjust to. (I think we should hold onto some of our ethnic heritage) yeah, I think we can. I mean that's a lot of why people from other countries come here, we have the freedom of speech, we have the freedom of religion, we have the freedom of everything pretty much. And we don't have to be one way and live one way.

Chelsea***Language.***

(My father speaks) English and Spanish and (my mother speaks) English and a little bit of Spanish. (My grandfather on my dad's side of the family) I believe that was just Spanish, maybe more so Spanish on my grandfather's part. My grandmother probably both, mostly Spanish.

(Is it important for you to learn Spanish? No. (Teaching your daughter Spanish?) (pause). Not so much, no it's not important.

Ethnicity.

Barb: What TV shows do you watch?

Chelsea: Honestly, I watch a lot of reality TV.

Barb: Why?

Chelsea: It's something that my daughter also likes. It's kind of like an odd bonding experience, we just watch them together. And it's something we both like so it works for us.

Barb: What is your favorite music?

Chelsea: Music, I like classic rock. Faith likes the more pop stuff that little kiddy bop stuff.

Barb: Favorite food?

Chelsea: You know I'm not really picky. A burger and fries is what we've been eating a lot of lately, chicken (laughs)

Barb: What about ethnic Mexican food?

Chelsea: You know I never learned to cook any of that Mexican food that my mom cooks. I've been craving it actually and asking her to cook it. We haven't gotten that meal yet but I never learned how to cook it and I don't know how to cook it.

Acculturation/Biculturalism.

TRADITIONAL _____ ACCULTURATED _____ XASSIMILATED

Teresa

Language.

So with me going into school and being in Spanish class I didn't know anything you know except for the basic "hello," just a little colors, numbers, something basic. They never really spoke Spanish to myself or to my sister in order for us to learn more of the language. So that's why when you called me up about doing the questionnaires I was like, "Well I don't know exactly what really to talk about." It's seems from when my parents were little they had a lot more to do because their parents all they spoke was Spanish what from what I understood, and from when we were growing up we never had that so we are kind of you know, starting off in the dark.

(The first language that I learned at home was) English. I wasn't taught Spanish at home, except for---see because with my dad traveling and mom, you know working at the hospital before she got sick, it was just mostly us playing around---we really didn't get taught much except for what we did at school. (My dad speaks) Spanish, that's all I am aware of Spanish and English. (My mom speaks) a little bit of Spanish. She doesn't speak it as much as my father. Um, usually when people call on the phone they ask, "Do you speak Spanish?" She's like, "No." She doesn't want to bother you know talking (Spanish) on the phone. So I haven't really heard my mom speak

Spanish so I'm not quite sure if she is fluent in Spanish or if she knows little bits and pieces. I'm not quite sure. I've heard her (my grandma) speak Spanish on the phone, actually the other day she has some Spanish-speaking friends. She does speak a little bit of "Spanglish" I guess, little bits of English and Spanish but mostly English.

I don't (speak Spanish) fluently. With my son I do my hardest (laughs) to teach him the little bit that I do know, you know eyes, hair, feet. Other than that I really don't speak much Spanish. (Is it important to you to teach your son Spanish?) Um, I guess it's more for him to be I don't know, I guess aware but yeah there is other things there. I want him to possibly learn more than what I did.

Ethnicity.

(Ethnicity) It's not, I really don't find me personally, I haven't had any racism. It was more so everybody's just there growing up with each other. It was never broken down into any group really. (pause). I don't really find—I consider myself as Hispanic you know; it's my background and I'm a little bit Indian—actually when I meet someone I don't say, "What ethnic race are you?" It's very little importance to myself. It's more so the person, their attitude, getting along. I think it's more so the personality more so than their ethnic background.

(What about "Chicana"?) Something like that wouldn't bother me. More so what would bother me is that they would categorize me as a "screw-up" you know. I guess if people have that mindset, "You're Hispanic or Latino or anything like that you have to be involved with gangs or drug dealers or stuff like that." It's just more I guess that would bother me more so than anything else. I don't really divide them (ethnic origins) up into groups. I just really consider them as a whole you know, having the background of say Hispanic or Latino, anything like that. I usually think a lot of people don't really categorize them. I think they all group them into one. The way people look at them they think that they're "drop-outs"; they're not going to be successful, drug-users, and a lot of gangs (pause). Yeah, I guess that they just usually categorize it as all being bad more so than a positive way.

I don't stereotype it because that's part of me. I guess you can say I'm in the same boat as everyone else really. There can be in the Hispanic community stereotypes to Caucasians. It's everywhere you know but I think everybody has their role of things here and there. But you know I don't see it being a big problem just as long as you, yourself can find the good in someone.

Acculturation/Biculturalism.

TRADITIONAL _____ ACCULTURATED X ASSIMILATED

It would have to be between these two. I think it would be maybe in here. Because I do choose what I've gotten from my parents, what I still think is important for my son to learn I guess. It is important to me to go ahead and teach my son as much as I possibly can about how I was brought up and of course the food and a little bit of the language. He already does now. I think I do have a little bit more now that I've been talking about it, I do have some values but I don't have as much as you know my Aunt Marta or my Aunt Paula or someone over there you know would, my aunts over there.

Lori

Language.

Barb: What languages does your mother speak?

Lori: Just English.

Barb: What languages do you speak?

Lori: English and a little Spanish. I took two years in school.

Barb: What grades did you take Spanish in school?

Lori: I took the classes in sophomore and junior of high school but I had a little ever since third grade through high school.

Barb: Did your mother, your grandparents or anyone in your family ever teach you Spanish?

Lori: No.

Barb: Why did you choose to learn Spanish?

Lori: I remember my sister she was taking classes at CSU, taking a Spanish class and learning all of the writing and stuff and I just thought that was interesting and I should learn it too.

Barb: Do you speak Spanish?

Lori: Not very well.

Barb: Do you write Spanish?

Lori: Uh, kind of. I can get out little sentences.

Barb: Do you read it?

Lori: I can usually make sense of it; get the general idea of what it is trying to say.

Barb: Would you like to speak Spanish fluently?

Lori: Oh yeah, definitely.

Ethnicity.

Barb: What ethnicity do you consider yourself?

Lori: Mexican-American

Barb: Do you feel that it is important for you to have that identity?

Lori: Yes

Barb: Do you share that identity with others?

Lori: Yes

Barb: Why do you think that it is important?

Lori: I just think it's good to be proud of who you are and know where you came from.

Barb: In what ways does your family or you celebrate or ignore your ethnicity?

Lori: I don't think we really do, not that I can think of. Not too much, sometimes around Christmas is when they'll make a whole bunch of Mexican food and music and so forth.

Barb: Look to your extended family. Do you celebrate anything with them associated with ethnicity?

Lori: No.

Barb: Do you want to pass on this ethnicity to your children?

Lori: Yes

Barb: How will you do that?

Lori: I don't know. I'd have to learn a lot more about it. My mom doesn't really talk about it.

Barb: Where do you think you can learn it from?

Lori: I don't know.

Barb: What parts of your Mexican ethnicity are important to learn about?

Lori: Probably the history, overall culture, religion.

Acculturation/Biculturalism.

Barb: Where would you place yourself on a continuum of assimilation?

TRADITIONAL _____ ACCULTURATED _____ **X** _____ ASSIMILATED

Barb: Why did you put yourself there?

Lori: (laughs and pauses). I'm not really sure.

Barb: Why would you not consider yourself "traditional"?

Lori: Basically because I really don't have a background or the history or anything like that. I don't have any of the celebrations or anything like that.

Barb: What do you think one of the major things that would contribute to movement on this chart?

Lori: Just pretty much not acknowledging their ethnic background and just going with the majority of other people. (going with the dominant cultures---adopting their ways).

Barb: Do you think you need to go from here (traditional) to here (assimilated) to be successful in America? Why or why not?

Lori: No. Because I don't think that you have to be like the majority to be successful.

Discrimination and Other Barriers to Acculturation

Sofia and Frederico

Frederico: I think it starts with the individual. If you're out there and you push someone kind of like religion, if you push somebody to be of your religion they're going to shy away from you. If you're just out there as an individual and you say, "Here, this is what I believe, this is my culture" and you know if you explain it to them and see that they understand what you're all about, I think that can break down a barrier if there's one there. A lot of people I think sometimes walk around with a chip on their shoulders because they think everybody's prejudice towards them. And I think that that's one of the biggest mistakes I see if you're trying to be accepted by a different culture.

Sofia: First of all I want to make a comment because you said that like my parents or the other people that you interviewed talked a lot about discrimination. I think part of that is because yes it was happening but they didn't know how to deal with it. They weren't maybe educated enough to respond to it or they let it happen or I don't think they were assertive enough to assure that it wouldn't happen again. They just let it happen and we're different because we are educated and we're looking at it differently or if it does come upon us we deal with it differently. And "have I been discriminated against?" Most definitely and I think part of it is how the individual approaches or is out there. You know, "Are they out there with a chip on their shoulder?" But there are situations when you are discriminated against without having that chip on your shoulder, you're just there and it happens and I think that even to be able to respond to that immediately and not let it happen again. Examples are like if you go to a grocery store or if you go to Foley's shoe department and there is a White person and there's a Hispanic family, "Who are they going to first go to?" Of course the White family. But nowadays personally I'm more assertive and I'm going to say, "Hey, I was here first." Or you're at a meat counter and they go to the White person first, "Excuse me I think I'm here next. It's my turn." Or somebody crowds in front of you in a grocery line and you say, "I'm sorry you just stepped in front of me." Or for example, at work--- these are all personal things, I was doing---my responsibility was doing foreign admissions. A departmental secretary called me and said, "You admit all the Mexican students very easily and

you're not as easy or you don't admit these other students as easily. You know you're just admitting Mexicans too easy." I had a professor tell me, "No one ever asked you to take the TOFU exam. Why are you asking these students to take the TOFU?" So you know, those are things that were put upon me without me having that chip on my shoulder. So it doesn't happen anymore because I responded to it and I think that other generations didn't respond to that. I think they were too afraid or didn't know how to. And I think the education part of it has made us more assertive and makes us realize that we're just as good as they are and don't be afraid to say, "Hey, I'm sorry."

Frederico: You shouldn't really jump out there and say, "Hey, I was next" and be rude about it you know. I was trying to think of an example. If you think you've been discriminated against I don't think you should jump out there and just say, "Hey, you did that because I'm Mexican" or whatever. I mean you should be polite about it and at the same time assertive.

Barb: Do you think that there is discrimination in this area today?

Frederico: I think so yes.

Bernardo

Yeah (I have experienced discrimination) and I didn't know it until I really thought about it. Discrimination is nothing like it used to, like the stories I've heard, that you see on TV. There's been many times I've gone to the store and I've had to wait a half an hour or forty minutes for somebody to come up to me and then when a white person walks up, "Oh," then I get helped because I'm there. Seeing that I walked in one of the gals from when I worked at ATC, she was black, and we walked in and we stayed in there for a good forty minutes and she just wanted to wait because she wanted something from there. "This is wrong." And she's like, "Well, they're busy." And it's like, "They're not busy they're just not helping us." Sure enough a white lady came up and then they got somebody to help her and then they helped us. I couldn't believe it. I couldn't believe it because it was like eight years ago. I think there has been times in school, elementary school, junior high school—for one Lincoln Junior High School is very hard. There was one gal, one teacher who I had my hand up as I was waiting for her approval and her help

and I needed her to help me but she ignored me until the class ended. She helped everybody else in the class. I was the only brown person in the class. Also my friend Ralph copied my computer homework, I mean he did exactly the same thing I did and it was only because I was brown, anyway it was the same lady and she didn't like me at all. I think you don't really see it unless you really evaluate the situation and then it makes you angry. Blatant discrimination right now, I can't think of any. I'm sure there are. I think I just don't really care about it.

It (discrimination) just makes you feel really bad. It really devalues you as a person. No matter how much you try to play it off first it angers you, it angers you to no end. The first initial thing is hurt, you're so hurt and you can't believe, "Gosh, what did I ever do to them, why don't they like me? That hurt my feelings a lot." And you get this really sick hurt feeling. And then it's anger. The more you think about the more you think, "Oh, I hate that person." And then you start building your own prejudice about that type of person or those types of people, that person in general or anybody who looks like them, "I hate that person." You know why because she looks like that lady who discriminated against me. You have to tell yourself you can't do that because then you're doing the same thing that they've done.

(We need) communication. You have to be able to understand---understanding, knowledge---it's ignorance that's all it is. It's always been. Ah, and self-evaluation. If you want to be, if you're prejudice or you're having those feelings against somebody look at yourself, "Why? Is it because something in my past history is making me feel this way? Or do I just not like that person? Why don't I like that person? What makes me not like that person? Is it because they're brown or white or whatever, why is that? Because I choose to?" And then you decide yourself, "OK I'm prejudice and I don't like them because I just don't like them." And then you have to be "Ok this is why I don't like them." But when you do that you're very ignorant because you need to go find out why you don't like them. If you don't look at that it's just stupid to be and I think---I've been to a lot of multicultural activities that there's been a lot of dialogue out there---I think the biggest way to be able to get over being prejudice is be discriminated against or have something happen to you but I also think that they really need to learn or be immersed into that type of situation and say, "OK, I hate black people, I'm going to go live with some black people for five

days and find out why. "Oh, look, it's not so bad, yeah they're cool." Same thing with Mexicans, "I'm going to go to one of their dances and see." You have to put yourself into a situation where you want to be able to be nice and to understand but if you don't then you always will be ignorant and there's nothing that you can do to get people passed that. Then hurting them in some way, that's going to make them feel so awful, and helping them understand that the person who can help them is somebody that they totally and entirely can't stand for no reason.

It (discrimination) comes from when you were brought up. Whoever brought you up in your entire lifetime, your experiences and the people who brought you up, they're the ones who instill the prejudice in your head. There's a reason we don't like black people in my family and I don't know what it is but "Oh" it's always been a derogatory statement "Oh, I don't care who they are but they can't be black." Sometimes in some cases it is white, "Oh, gringo" or whatever but that comes from our families. It comes from our elders and it comes from those people and they get it from their people who taught them and it's just a cycle and how do you break the cycle? Communicating and I think a lot of those workshops. I think people think it's really corny, a lot of those multicultural type workshops, and a lot of times it's very boring and if you've been to one you've been to them all but it's still something I think everybody should experience. And just because of all the role playing and things like that, that makes people think in some ways, in ways they never thought they could think or should think before.

Erika

I thought it was so ridiculous. Every single time I've been discriminated against I've just thought it so ridiculous. Like this one time I was in this group---I don't know if I was with Upward Bound or MESA or something, I was everything you could get in to go anywhere. I've been with every group that there was and I might have been with LDZ---and we had gone to New Mexico for like a session. You know what LDZ is? It's youth leadership, it's political. So you go there to become a future political force as a minority group for young children. You have to be Latino or Hispanic and you have to be within a certain percentage education-wise, like you have to be in the top 5percent of your class. You have to you know, like there are requirements you have to meet.

You have to write a resolution and you have to be accepted and then you travel and you go congressional—it's like mock senate, a mock lawyer, mock judge, mock whatever—and then you become engrossed in that and they're training you how to be an active voice politically as a young Hispanic. We went there one time and we stopped in Grand Junction and went into the bathroom and there was an older Anglo lady and she just grabbed her purse right when I walked in and I thought that was so funny. I was just like, "Oh, you're just so ridiculous"—like it's so blatant. But I think it's all that invisible stuff that gets me more. Like I work for the Federal Government and there's discrimination every day. And I work for a leading, aspiring (department) where people really want that job and you know hundreds and hundreds apply and only ten people get it. You would think that sort of rigorous requirement, having to process, you know having to pass Federal guidelines, having to be finger-printed, having to have a clean-perfect driving record, perfect police record, perfect everything to get a job that I have, you wouldn't face any of that. And I swear it is worse than the last job I ever had. They are so racist. Everybody there is so—it's like forty to sixty year old, white males, two Mexicans, no black people, some women—it is just blatant, the innuendos like about you know, about homosexuality. It is just rampant.

I think you get the ringleader and you get rid of him because it really is just one person and fourteen people laughing. I think that if you make them believe that laughing and going along with it silently is just as terrible as the actual crime itself like not per se the Matthew Sheppard but the one in Texas where the man was dragged for forty miles. Everybody had laughed at a joke, a racist joke in their lifetimes. And everybody had not spoken up that one time. To be more active and not silent and not to go around and speak up you know, I think that is the greatest thing because they say that if you can laugh then you are capable of the actual crime. I think that if you can teach them that the first level is just as terrible as the final one then you'll have done a great justice because people don't think that the passive laughing-no response is bad. People don't think it's bad. I really think that if you can just teach them (people) that being passive and not standing up, not fighting or not saying anything is just as bad as actually throwing a stone or dragging somebody by your car. If you could teach them that pacifism is just as terrible as the actual act, you will have done a great thing because I never learned that growing up. I never

learned that if you could sit back and watch it happen that you were just as much at fault. I mean they said that if you don't stand up for anybody then there won't be anybody left to stand up for you, and it's true.

As a minority in Fort Collins we're not better off than we were because the construction site is a "bean field" of thirty years ago, you know like the house cleaners and the gardeners and like the construction workers, the cleaning-up crew. They're all the fields of yesterday. I'm just saying that in Fort Collins it moved from the bean fields to the construction site and that Fort Collins is no different, and I'm sure if you see a lot of migrants coming in to do seasonal work it's because they're still migrating, and they're still sheep-shearing, and they're still farming but now they're on the construction site too and now they're also in the hotels. And it's just extended a little further past the fields and so you're not in rural Fort Collins anymore you're inside of the City and the lifestyle is no different. I could take you to a house right now over on north College that has forty-five men living in it and everybody is sleeping on the floor. Like it's not that the (our) family has changed the community, it's that the community has moved across town (laughs). You know what I mean? So here's the community and here's everything that's going on inside of it and there's (our family) in different houses all around Fort Collins, and it's still going on in Fort Collins, like nothing changed for minorities in Fort Collins. It's just that the (our families) have moved on and can't find a fieldworker in the family and that's because what poverty does to you is it makes you forsake everything else to get what you can for you and your family. It's just upper mobility.

Tomas

All the time, Court rooms, cops (laughs). I'd say like we go to IHop now and we'd be there waiting and I'd see people coming in, like white people coming in and they always get served before we would. We are the last ones to get served. Like at court the other day I was the first one in the courtroom and the last one to leave because I was the last one he called to go talk to. I don't know (why). I was the only brown guy in there (laughs). I didn't like that. It's always like that. I can't even drive down the street without getting pulled over because I am a Mexican. They've got something on me or there is something in my car or I've done something wrong.

I don't know (if it's worse than it was say even five years ago), probably better because back then I've heard stories about that you can't come in the shops, they can't go in some stores, stuff like that, but now you can go in the stores but when you go in the stores they always watch you like you're going to steal something or something like that, that's still around.

I have no idea (how anyone can change discrimination). It's always going to be like that with all of the stereotyping. They'll always have the same stereotypes, same as for blacks. They think we are thieves, yeah thieves, drug dealers, fighters (laughs). I don't know. It's still like that more or less. Oh yeah (I'd like it to change). I don't like being harassed all of the time. Cops pull me over for no reason just cuz I'm Mexican. I don't like that part.

Carmenlita

You know I didn't (experience discrimination). I do remember a time when I was at Rocky Mountain there was written on the bathroom wall, "Mexicans go home." But, it wasn't huge; it wasn't a huge issue (pausing).

I did (experience discrimination in Eagle Pass, Texas). I did actually. It was uncomfortable. In fact it made me angry with my dad that he didn't express it on us more. Even today I believe that I wished that he would have had us learn it (Spanish). It was cuz I couldn't make friends because I didn't speak Spanish. It was difficult.

Teresa

I think a lot of (stereotypes come from the) papers of course, the media, hearing stories that have happened. OK, say someone held up a gas station and they were of Hispanic background then I would think, "Oh, OK." Some people might say, "Oh, we've got to be careful of the Hispanics because they may have the same tendencies to go out and rob something else." I think the media has a lot to do with it. Some of it might be from parents, how they brought up their own children, their own beliefs but I think number one would be media. School doesn't have too much (discrimination) you know. They usually say to combine everyone in one big family, so be family.

I think (schools are) there to educate us on how it was from like history class and from there. Kids take their own whatever they get from the information and they develop their own thoughts and opinions about different cultures. I guess I would probably ask the number one question, "What makes this race better than this one?" I guess that would be the number one question, "What can they do better than this other person can do? If there is the same education, the same training so what makes them more qualified for the job? Just because of their race?" I don't see any problem just as long as if you're trained or if you studied in some subject. I don't see the problem just as long as you can get what you can do for your expectations to be met. I guess that would be the number one question, "What makes one person better than the other?"

Lori

Barb: Have you ever experienced discrimination?

Lori: Not that I can think of, no.

Barb: Have you ever seen discrimination?

Lori: Yes.

Barb: Explain.

Lori: Well it's usually my friends at work like somebody will come in who'll be Hispanic or whatever, usually a male, and the girls get scared because they are afraid that they are going to hurt them for some reason just because he's a Hispanic male.

Barb: Do you think that discrimination ever happened with your parents?

Lori: Yes

Barb: Have they ever shared that with you?

Lori: I remember my mom telling me one story of her brother trying to take her to a store or something and the sign said, "No dogs or Mexicans allowed."

Barb: Will you teach your children about discrimination, is it important to you?

Lori: Yeah.

Education, Interests and Goals: What is Success?

Sofia and Frederico

Barb: How did you become exposed and comfortable outside the ethnic neighborhood?

Frederico: Schooling for me and just hanging out with my friends. I had a lot of friends that used to like to run around you know away from the neighborhood and that's where I picked up a lot of my getting away from. And then later on I think the education had a lot to do with it too. There was a lot of things out there that you just can't learn staying in one place.

Sofia: The same for me. I think the education piece especially when you get to high school, that's when you know. I went to parochial school up until the---what was it seventh grade---and then I went to Lincoln Junior High School and that was fine but it was when I went to high school that my eyes were opened and I saw that there was a lot of opportunities out there. And the one good thing for me was that I took a business course or business track which led me into other things and that was what helped me in being more, feeling more comfortable in doing things.

Barb: Do you think that there is a difference between the second and third generations regarding educational opportunities and attitudes.

Frederico: I think there's a small gap you know. We grew up with them (second generation), played with them and hung out with them all the time. I always respected them but there's a little bit of a gap there because we all just pretty much went our own ways. And I think everybody had the same idea, like my Uncle Abelardo. I think he was pretty much the first one to kind of distanced himself from the family to a certain extent and I think part of that was the education thing again.

Barb: What do you think may have been some of the factors that contributed to changes over generations?

Sofia: I think it's just the (pause) being able to go out there and socialize more and learn more things and not be at home isolated. So I think that's the biggest difference between you know, why we're so different, just because we took that extra step and got educated, went to school, learned new things, and weren't afraid to try new things, and possibly even realize what their

(second generation) limitations were with what they had, and just wanting more—and not only wanting more for ourselves but for our kids.

Barb: Did limitations exist for the second generation?

Sofi: Their limitations. Education because without that education you can't get a good job.

Frederico: You tend to get bored. I think we get bored with some of the things that we do so we take another step towards something else. Sometimes I don't see that from for instance, Marta. She's comfortable in her environment which is fine. And I think she does a great job caring for Paula you know. She's always had that.

Barb: Define success.

Frederico: To me just having a good house, nice family, good job. I'm not you know real greedy (laughs). My education is just high school no college education. I've never really had the inclination to go. I was working when I was I think my first job I had it at twelve or thirteen, and I kind of liked that money part of it. So I figured if I get a job and worked hard and worked a lot of hours I could have some of the things that I wanted. That's my simple explanation of success.

Sofia: For me success is kind of an ongoing thing. To me once you succeed you're finished, now what? So to me I don't like to say that I've succeeded. To me it's an ongoing thing and I keep just going and going and going. (**Frederico:** That's a good point). And I don't like to say that I'm successful, that I have succeeded. I've accomplished a goal and now I'm going on to another one.

Barb: What would you say was success for your children?

Frederico: First and foremost is education I think, work hard, education, don't be satisfied with what you do and where you go. I use myself as an example to them. Sometimes I get a little comfortable in my surroundings and where I'm at and I just keep telling them you know, try for more, strive for more.

Sofi: And for me I think you need to insert the word happiness in there. So I think you need to be happy with what you're doing and without that I mean, all the money in the world cannot make you happy. So you first have to be happy with yourself and then like Frederico says you can always strive for more.

Barb: Did you have a mentor(s) when you were children?

Frederico: One of my uncles I think from Texas I kind of clung to. My grandpa I think probably more----it would be my step-grandfather on dad's side. And he was pretty much a handyman and I kind of liked a lot of things that he did. He showed me a lot of things just like dad showed me hammers and nails and stuff like that, he showed me stuff like that as well. He liked kids and he happened to like us quite a bit so we kind of stuck by him. I always like him for; I just looked up to him.

Sofia: Well when you said that the first person that came into my mind was my mom. I'm not sure why but I guess I always admired her for being able to keep a house together and not being educated. She knows so much and I don't know where she gets it from but she knows so much. So I think I look up to her just in her ability to keep things together and not really have a really good life but yet be happy. So I'd say my mother.

Barb: What about dreams growing up?

Frederico: (pause) I think I had a certain amount of dreams, race car driver, fireman, and stuff like that. Otherwise I don't think I really had any big dream as far as what I wanted to do.

Sofia: For me I guess my dream was the dream that my mom and dad always had for me. They always wanted me to be a secretary so that was always my goal. That's why I took that business track in high school because of their dream that I be a secretary because to them that was the ultimate job. And that was always my dream, trying to live their dream through my goals or through my doing. Aside from that if I try and think of my own---a dream that I had of my own---I guess I really didn't have any other aspirations.

Bernardo

A lot of it is they (second generation) wanted to get away from it (speaking Spanish). They wanted us to learn English. They wanted us to be able to assimilate into the mainstream and make sure that we aren't the "odd people out." Some of its embarrassment I think of where we came from, trying to get away from being poor Mexican people that came to the United States and not embracing being proud of everything that they have accomplished. I don't think a lot of my

aunts and uncles or mom or anybody feels that they've accomplished anything very substantial. So I think a lot of it comes down to not having a foundation themselves to be proud of whom they were because they were told, "You need to learn English, you need to know this, and this is what you need to be" and so that's what we were told. I think being uneducated—I don't want to say it that way—without having a formal education had a lot to do with it as well. I see (Uncle) Abelardo and the way he interacts with his kids. It's more of an intellectual type of understanding and this is what you should do and this is what you shouldn't do because of his knowledge, because of his formal education and understanding the entire picture. I also think that everybody in my life that's brought my sister and myself up never really had that base to go off of just the ignorance that they just don't know. And I think that so instead of dealing with the history, forget it, we don't need to know about it, just throw it away, just forget about it, don't think about it.

It (my mentors) changed I think. There was nobody in particular. It ranged from being a policeman to a fireman when I was a kid thinking that I could go ahead and to go that route. And then I thought being some kind of professional athlete, the same typical things like you see when you're growing up. But after high school I would have an MBA by the time I was twenty-eight and I would be living on the east coast in Boston somewhere and this is why I don't feel like I'm very traditional. I would be by myself on that side making lots of money, driving a Beemer. That's what I thought, that's what I was going to do. I was going to do that. Then I got married and "That's all she wrote" (laughs). As far as a personal goal, I was going to have that when I was twenty-eight so when I turned twenty-eight I was very depressed that birthday and like "What's wrong with you? You're not even 30." I could see it at twenty-five, maybe thirty. It was just like there were some things that I wanted to do that just never got done.

They've (my dreams have) modified a little bit. I still want an MBA. I think I need to have that for my own sake, that I need to finish school, and I want a Master's. I don't care if it's a Master's in business; I care that it's a Master's in some type of field. Ah, never really looked into the doctorate thing so I don't really care about that. Music is a big thing because I can usually, if I'm tense or mad or I'm hurt or whatever, instead of expressing it because I'm really not good at expressing a whole lot of my feelings—contrary to popular belief, yeah—I still bottle them up a lot.

I think that music helps me let it go. I do want to have a home, one in Fort Collins or this area. I have been playing around with Phoenix or New Mexico some places like that but you always come home again, you're always going to be home. I think when (Aunts) Marta and Paula finally pass away it's going to be like that part's closed. I think that will be a real sad part for me because that will be the end of any type of real kind of close family. But having a home, something that's not going to break down I need to drive, and a Master's of some sort, I think that would make me in my mind successful. And some day to have kids would be nice but right now having nieces and nephews is fine.

Right now I'm living at Poudre Valley Mobile Home Park, not where I thought I would want to live at now but I've been living there for the last ten years and it works well for me. My Spanish isn't very good and I really hate that it isn't and so I get to utilize my Spanish, my speaking skills out there in that area. Most of that area is Mexican nationals because the lot rents are so cheap. That's one reason why I've stayed there because the lot rent is so cheap. It helps out so that I make sure that I have enough money. I don't like the area so much as the stereotype that comes with it. Even around work and everything like that it's known as "Little Mexico" or the "ghetto," which is fine with me because I really don't care but that's what it's known. It's never been known as a good place to live, a high crime area per capita as far as the people. It's just really, really odd; it is like Old Mexico at certain times, everything is in Spanish and English. To communicate with anyone you have to know Spanish.

And I know in my heart, in my head, who I am and I think a lot of my attitude and confidence comes off (pause) just better than that (laughs). And people they're like, "You're always so nice and you don't drive a fancy car, you're always driving Ron's truck, you live in Poudre Valley." I'm like, "Yeah, and I'll get to where I want to be where people can see me and I'll be flashy and I'll be show things like that" but right now I'm working on that stuff. Right now I don't want people to see where I live, I don't want people to see what I drive, I don't want people to know who I am because I want them to be able to see me later on, "Oh yeah, I remember when that sucked and I had to live in the trailer park, had to do this." But right now I'm pretty low key. It's like, "You know I don't care, whatever." But confidence wise that's my one thing that I've had to take to heart and

tell myself that I can do something, I will do it, and I am better than what people may think that I am.

Success is feeling successful, whatever it is for yourself. I think it is defined by the individual. People can tell you, "Oh you have a car, you have a house, you have a good job, you're successful." But unless you feel successful, feel that you've accomplished what you set out to do in your lifetime or what you thought you were going to do, then that's what I think. When you've reached those goals that's when I think you're successful.

Erika

Well yeah. I had a lot of potential. The only reason that I have it is because I didn't have anywhere else to go but school. That's the only place I got a hot meal. I learned very early that the better your grades are the more you get to do. Well gee, I had terrible grades in junior high so I don't think I learned it until high school. But I used to get terrible grades. We'd miss like thirty-two days a semester every single semester. We were living with (Aunt) Marta and Marta didn't really care. We never really went anywhere, we just stayed home. Nobody cared if we went to school. And then they'd threaten us with (Aunt) Graciela because she's "town police" you know. And then we'd shape up and go a little bit longer. I swear my grade point average was just like (bad) all through junior high, terrible grades. I flunked two grades in ninth grade. I didn't think I was going to go on. And then I hit tenth grade and I screwed up really bad. I snuck out one night at Marta's house and they made me go live with my mom again and once I got back with my mom and Johnnie I just didn't have it. I hated it there. It was disgusting. I just didn't like it. And I learned that I needed to just go to school and I went to school tenth grade year and I just got really good grades. Like I just started liking it more. I always like school, I just never went.

Well I got into "Upward Bound" and you had to go with "Upward Bound," and I only got into Upward Bound because everybody else was getting in at the time. I didn't know what it was. Like I just, my friend Cathy was going one day to some orientation and I was like, "What are you doing?" And she's like, "I'm going to go be in Upward Bound." And I was like, "Well, I'll just go with you." And then that day I signed up and my mom would sign anything. You know we'd call

my mom from like 7-11 or McDonald's, "Oh, yeah, just tell her at school we got a flat tire." And she'd call in and say, "Oh, my kids aren't going to be at school for the next two hours." Bernardo got terrible grades so I don't know what it was. The better I did in school the less questions anybody asked me. From tenth grade on was straight A's. I stayed out every night til two in the morning, did whatever I wanted. Nobody cared as long as I had good grades; it didn't matter. I never had a curfew. I could come in and out the front door whenever I wanted. Nobody ever asked me where I was. Like I don't know, nobody every cared as long as I was getting good grades I was fine.

Yeah I couldn't live without it (education, now). I was like a year away from getting my Bachelor's. I'm not in any hurry. I'm not a very good mother when I'm in school. I left school when I was pregnant. The semester before I had Ilena I left school. Jame was seven and Lisa is five and Ilena is two and I left school when she was—because I couldn't. The reason I stopped was because I didn't like it and I wasn't doing very good and I didn't like being pregnant at school. I was already ten years older and it's just not "in" to be pregnant in school (laughs). It was two years ago anyway. And I seriously worked full-time and went to school. So I would go to school Monday through Friday and work Friday, Saturday and Monday to get forty hours and whenever I could I'd get more. Like I never had a less than forty hour week and I always carried more than twelve credits because I was on "first generation." So I always had "first generation." I got "first generation" and quit school when I was eighteen. I graduated from high school and then they give you one free summer at CSU on the program and I did that, did terrible got an incomplete and a C. I started CSU that first semester and I couldn't do it, I just couldn't do it. I was living with my mom at the time and I never was going to class and I had a wonderful boyfriend that I just loved soooo much so I of course I couldn't go to school and then he turned out to be "dirt bag" and I wished I'd stayed but I was already in the work force then. I couldn't afford not to work so I just didn't want to go. I withdrew my first semester and when you don't complete a whole semester and you withdraw before you get bad grades you can reapply back to "first generation." The rule is if you hadn't completed a whole semester in college you're eligible. It's for a four year scholarship, having never attended before. So since I withdrew that first semester I went back

when I had Jame. So from 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 I did nothing, worked, slept, partied, nothing. It wasn't until I had Jame—I guess I was going to Front Range, but that doesn't count because I was just taking like one accounting class here, a typing class, a Spanish class—it was off and on junior college just whenever I felt like it because I felt like I should be doing something I guess. And then when I had Jame then I was like, "I need to go back, like I'm never going to make more than \$8.00 an hour, never going to be able to do this." So I applied again for "first generation" and was granted another four years at CSU. So I got "first generation," got back in and went for four years. And then I continued to go to school until I had Ilena. So like I went another three years. So I finished my "first generation" scholarship. I just didn't get done in time because I was only taking twelve credits. I always ended up dropping one here or there so like I've got three or four years at CSU but I'm out of "first generation," so I just haven't gone back. I paid for a few math classes and that was burning my pocket really bad and I was like, "I don't need that bad." As soon as Ilena is in school I think I will go back.

My values are education. It's hard to say that because even though I'm not in school my kids don't miss their homework. Like I may not be learning about biology today but my children are learning about math, reading, science, and English today. I value the sense of knowledge and the worth and the reward that it brings you and not where it can get you. Reward is when everybody inside of your family is talking to you and they love you and you have time to spend and you talk to everybody every single day and you spend time with each other and everybody helps each other. So that's my view on success. Like a lot of people in my family think that they're successful and they're not because they don't even talk to their brothers or sisters or nephews or nieces. (They) don't even know their niece's or nephew's kid's names. They haven't been around anybody in a year and they don't see each other at Christmas anymore. But that's not me and my family. I would say family, strong family unity is success for me.

As a matter of fact Daniel and I have been looking for houses and we don't want to leave north Fort Collins. We can afford a house anywhere on the other side of town but we don't want to move there because we can't sit outside on our front porches and hang out and look and see everybody and know everybody. I know everybody! I mean I worked at the downtown (Steele's)

store and that helped a lot. I know everybody and it's important for me to know everybody. Like I can go anywhere and I will know somebody. So you know it's really important to me to know everybody, to have a real connection with everybody and say, "Oh yeah, how's your mom doing or how's your sister, what's going on?" But I really don't think I'm, I think that it's just turned around and now I'm focusing all my education on my children where they're needing to learn. So I still think education is really important.

Tomas

Well, elementary school gees, I don't know, I was scared at first. I hate moving around. I was real shy. I hated moving around. I wouldn't even finish a year at school before I had to move to another school. We were always moving around. That's about it. I remember about school. Then junior high was all (laughs), it got worse, more fights, girls in fights, that was about it. I like to fight, everybody likes to fight, back then----actually all of the people I like to hang around with---that's all we did actually. High school that's when I started to learn. I had to spend an extra two years in high school because I didn't pass in junior high because I wasn't there, we just got sidetracked, wanted to do other things, take off, go ride bikes around town. We were just dumb kids but it started soaking in. (When I had) my kids I had to stop being a dummy, get on the ball, graduate and get a job that paid good. That's when it started becoming interesting to me, I guess. I had to get it done. I had to get along so I started putting my efforts into it. I graduated from high school (and now) I have too many kids (to be able to go back to school). Oh yeah they'll have money. I need to get on the roll, on the ball actually, start saving some money.

(Education is) top priority. I like them (my children) to be well educated. It gets you a long ways if you're more educated than not. There are more job opportunities and you just don't want to be dumb (laughs). I don't want to be like that I guess. I know a lot, more job wise. I've been working since I was sixteen so I've been around every job there is practically. And that's a lot of smarts there, all the numbers you need to know, where everything goes, and why, and all that.

No, I don't think that I had a role model back then. If I were to have one now I don't have any role models in my head. Hey, I'm the role model! I'm the one that's supposed to be the role

model I guess. (Dreams?) No I don't. I don't even know where are the dreams I have now, they're nightmares. They wake me (laughs).

Barb: Tell me your life history.

Tomas; Ah, gees. My kids that would be it right there. I didn't really do nothing. I was a foul-up as a kid. I got in trouble.

Barb: Why?

Tomas: I ran the streets too much.

Barb: Do you want your children to be this way?

Tomas: NO NO! Them ones are going to be different than I was.

Barb: What was it like at the different high schools?

Tomas: I know everybody in this town. I mean I get along with everybody, my Mexican side, friends that's all. We'd meet at Poudre. I went there first, hook up with the friends and it was the same thing at Lincoln we'd all get together and agree not to go to class. The only class we went to was gym to play basketball, lift weights.

Barb: What did you base friendship on?

Tomas: Friendship, friends, just hang around. We all played sports. It takes like nine or ten of us to go play hoops, softball, or run around so it would be that same ten always going to the same pack, go to City Park and play against the other packs. You know what I mean, that's what we would do. I'm a real sports fanatic everyday.

Barb: Tell me one sentence about high school.

Tomas; (pause) High school, I don't know. I was really smart in math. I'd always have all my work done and get to play the teacher in chess and stuff like that. What do they call that type of thinking, possibility thinking or whatever it is through high school. I had my kids in high school so all I wanted to do was get out of there and get my own job.

Carmenlita

I live in Lafayette, Indiana. It's hard (laughs). All my family's here and it's difficult not knowing a lot of people and I want to go to school there though, so. I would like to be a pilot. (I moved to

Indiana) to go to school. That's my main goal. (Education plays a) big one (role in my life) because I feel that without an education there's not a whole lot that I would be able to do and I want to teach him (my son) that you have to have an education to be able to get pretty far in the world, to accomplish whatever goal he sets for himself.

Growing up I'd say it was more towards high school that I started to do more what I wanted, more or less, whether I wanted to go to school or not (laughs). I did graduate from high school. I graduated a year late. I graduated from Eagle Pass High School in Texas. I moved to Texas, as a matter of fact to stay with my dad's sister in order to graduate because I wouldn't go to school (Rocky Mountain High School) here. It wasn't important to me. I just didn't care. I got bored. I got really bored. I wanted my dad's attention though because he worked so much and he was my nurturer, he was everything but I really wanted his attention too. I was a cheerleader in school my sophomore year and he never came to watch. You know in junior high we used to play basketball and sports and everything and he was never there. I understand it now, today why he couldn't be. Just being a mother myself now I understand it but then I didn't. It didn't matter what we did but he never came and watched or he would just blow things off, and so I started to do more things to get his attention and that wasn't getting his attention. By then I just didn't care. I hadn't been in school for awhile and it was hard to get back into; also because I was very behind you know, so once I got behind it wasn't as important to go because I didn't know what I was doing for the most part and I got involved I guess quote, unquote in the wrong crowd you know. We would just leave or we'd just you know, and that became the most important thing is "Oh, I want to go hang out with them," or whatever.

One day I came home and my dad said, "You're going to go to Texas and you're going to finish school." I really didn't have a choice (laughs). No (it was not more motivating). I wanted to do it for myself. When I was out there I was away from all of my friends. I didn't have any influences there where I lived. It was pretty much dominate Spanish-speaking because it was a border town and so I didn't have the influences that I had here. My aunt would make sure I got up every morning and took me to school and she picked me up every day. She would make sure that I did my homework every day.

My older brother (was my role model, growing up). Whenever he wanted something he went out and got it and he was just---whenever I was down, he always made sure that I was Ok or he'd always try to talk to me or whatever and when he graduated from high school he went into the military and just was always doing something for himself. He's still (my role model), very much so.

I've always wanted to fly, actually I wanted to fly for the military but I'm too short so I can only do commercial airlines. I was pretty young (when I started dreaming about flying). And then as I got older too it was always there. But I also---when I started to learn more actually about my mother's death and everything else---some day I'd also like to do criminal, be a lawyer.

(Success to me is) setting your own goals and accomplishing those. It doesn't matter if you have a high paying job or you work at McDonalds. Setting your goals and accomplishing what you set for yourself. I don't believe that I need to be like anybody just to be successful. As long as I push myself to do what I need to do I'm going to do what I want to do but there are some situations that you know or some things that you do that you have to, you know, adjust to.

Chelsea

I don't think I did have one (mentor). I have an idea of a person but it's not a definite person you know. I was really kind of the instigator in my circle of friends, the person that kind of instigated stuff so I don't really feel like I wanted to emulate anybody. You know the most important thing in my life is my education and supporting my daughter, just being able to support myself and say that I did it on my own that's what's most important to me. I know I want to be a successful person who achieves her goals but that encompasses many people and to get my degree and just to achieve the goals that I want to achieve.

Teresa

Let's see elementary, I went to St. Joe's for six years and after that, actually we lived on the south side of town and they brought us to school. Then we went to let's see, Weber Junior High and then after that it was Rocky Mountain High School. Um it (Rocky Mountain) was school to me. I wasn't really into groups, any clubs, anything like that, it was just school. I was there to

learn you know, when I showed up (laughs). It was something I had to do, it's expected for kid's to at least graduate high school

I guess it would depend on the classes (whether I can say I like school). (I liked) a lot of the computer classes. Actually I took all of the computer classes they had to offer. I don't know, gym. You know a lot of kids hate gym (laughs). I liked it. Art class, history, it was, I don't know it was an OK class, English I really didn't like. I hated English class, biology, I love biology. I think it had a little bit more to do with maybe how the teacher talked about things. Some classes it was just all taking notes, monotone. Other teachers really got into it, actually wanted to teach you stuff---biology---actually my friends and I were just talking about this the other night, about dissecting things (laughs), I just loved learning about stuff like that, how things work.

I graduated from high school. I didn't go on to college. I think it was more so because I needed a break. It was just so much of the time because in my senior year of high school I was working and going to school so it was more of an overload. So after my senior year I just decided not to go back for awhile, it's turning into six years (laughs). We'll see what happens, I don't know. I want to go back to Front Range and start slowly maybe taking a class here and there; it's just finding the money and the time.

I see a lot of people going to college and getting degrees and having a hard time finding jobs and its like why work so hard, spend all the money and you can't find a job; you're still in the same boat. So that's probably why I'm not pushing myself too much to go right now because you can't find jobs.

(Success to me is) living comfortably, doing the things that you want. I don't really think (pause), I guess it would be whatever interests you have and you excel in your interests, then you're successful. (Education is not) necessarily (essential to have to be successful in America) because once you have your foot in the door you have the option of learning what you can in order for your to succeed, in order for you to climb the ladder.

Lori

(In my elementary years) I had to go to three different elementary schools even though I only moved once because all of the elementary schools were connected, so every year I had to switch schools. And then I went to junior high, which was pretty fun. There were a lot of fights in school though so it was pretty hard not to get in a fight but I didn't (emphasized)—quite an accomplishment. And then high school just getting into music and so forth. In elementary school I pretty much had C's and D's in school; then I started music in seventh grade and got a 4.0 through ninth grad, then pretty much kept that up in high school.

(High School) it was pretty fun. There were a lot of little groups of people and everything that got pretty annoying but I mostly stayed in the music department, stayed with all of those people in the theatre and it was pretty fun. I played in the orchestra and sang in the choir and had about five music classes. I play the violin (since) seventh grade. In sixth grade the high school teacher came down and had us play different instruments to see which ones we liked and had us pick an instrument to do and then we took a summer course before seventh grade and then started classes after that.

I feel it (education) is very important. I'm starting CSU this fall to get a psychology degree and hopefully work very hard to get that. (Going to CSU will) give me an opportunity to see what I can do, see what I am capable of.

(Success is) just being able to take care of yourself and having everything you need.

Visual Narratives

Sofia



Figure 5. Three Generations: Leah (Sofia's daughter), Sofia's grandmother on her father's side of the family, and Sofia



Figure 6. Frederico



Figure 7. Erlinda, Sofia's mother



Figure 8. Donario, Erlinda's father and friend



Figure 9. Donario, Erlinda's father

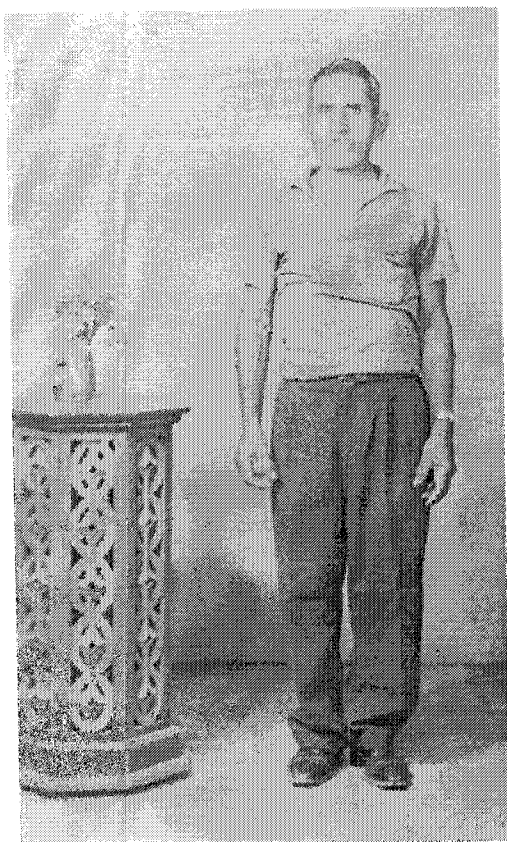


Figure 10. Andres, Manuel's Father



Figure 11. David, Manuel's Stepfather



Figure 12. Sofia and Frederico

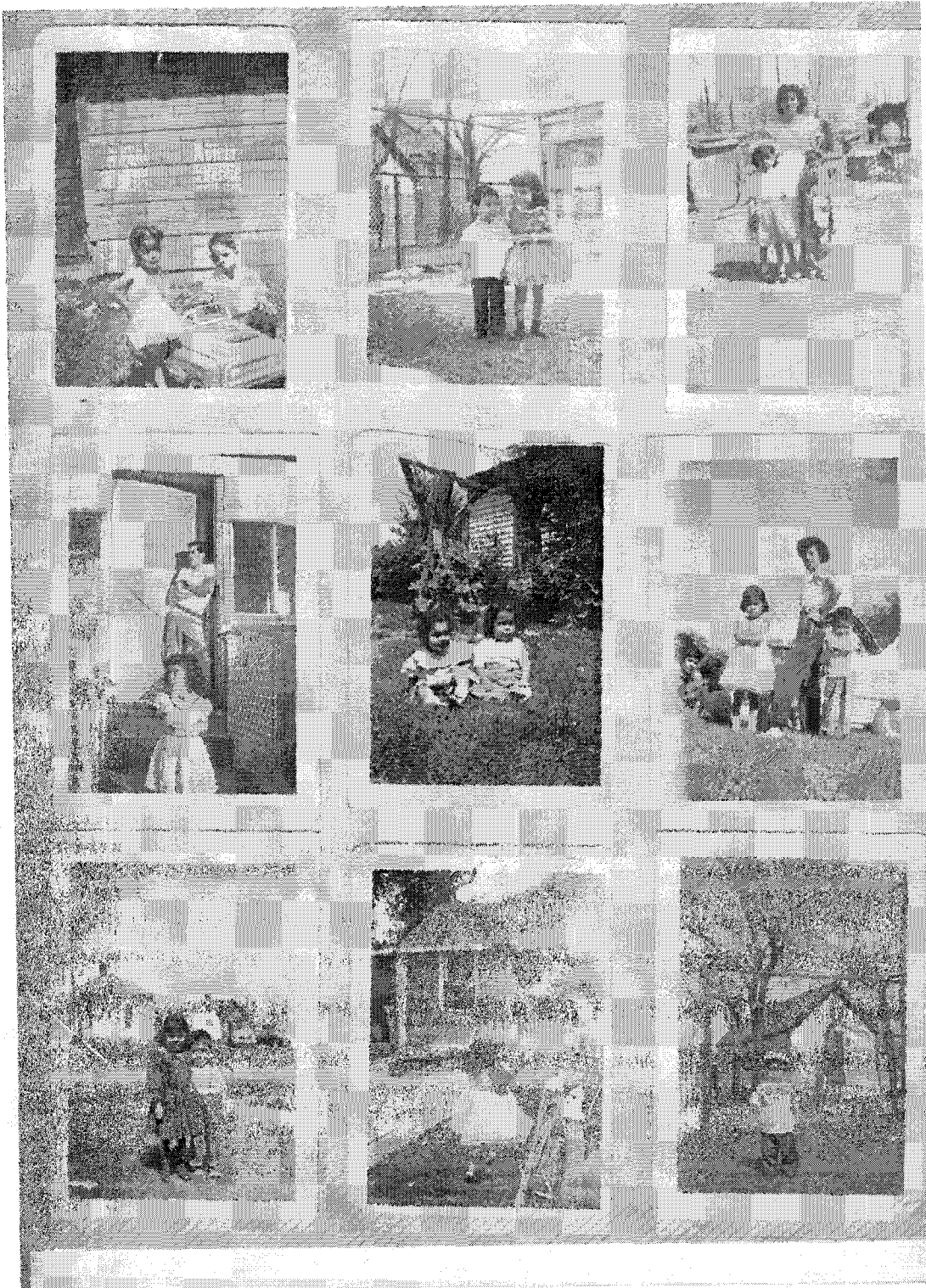


Figure 13. Family Pictures: (from left to right). Top row: Sofia and Uncle Pepe; Frederico and Sofia; Sofia, Erlinda (mom) and Frederico. Middle row: Sofia and Manuel (dad); Magdalena (aunt) & Sofia; Sofia, Erlinda (mom) & Frederico. Bottom row: Sofia and Frederico; Sofia and Frederico; Frederico with his Easter hat.

Frederico



Figure 14. Barrio home:
Holy Family Neighborhood

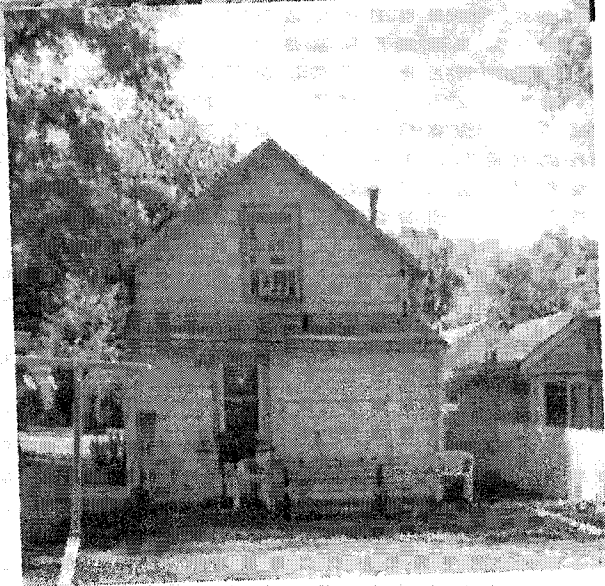


Figure 15. Barrio home

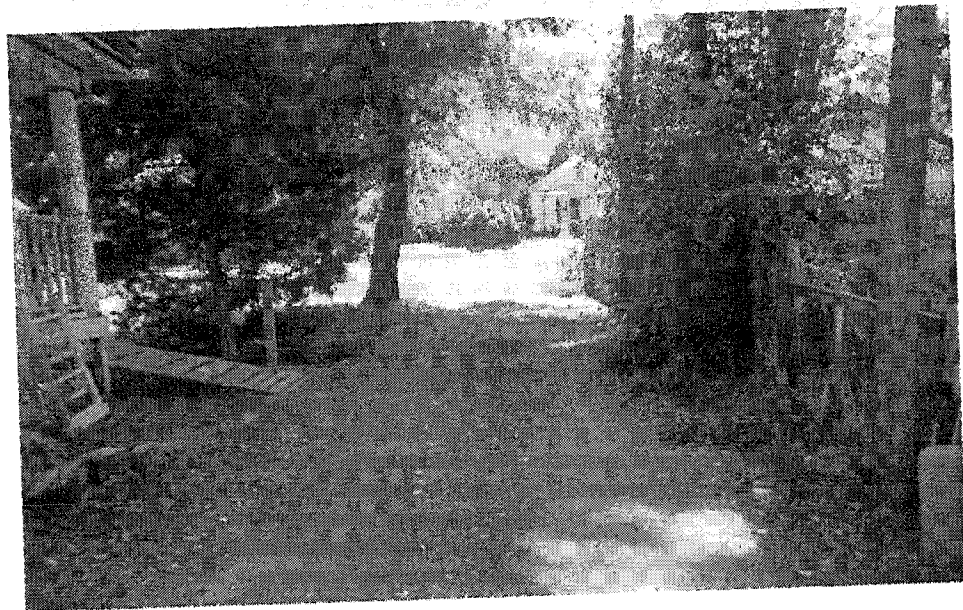


Figure 16. Barrio: Holy Family Neighborhood

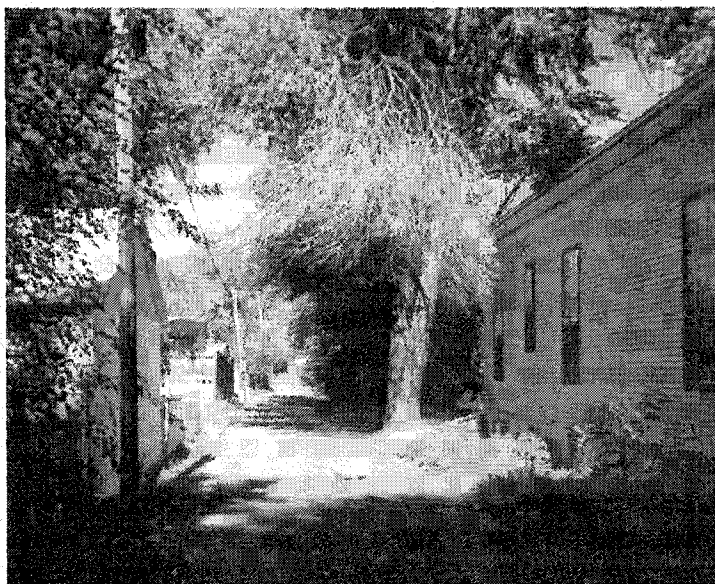


Figure 17. Alley in the Holy Family Barrio

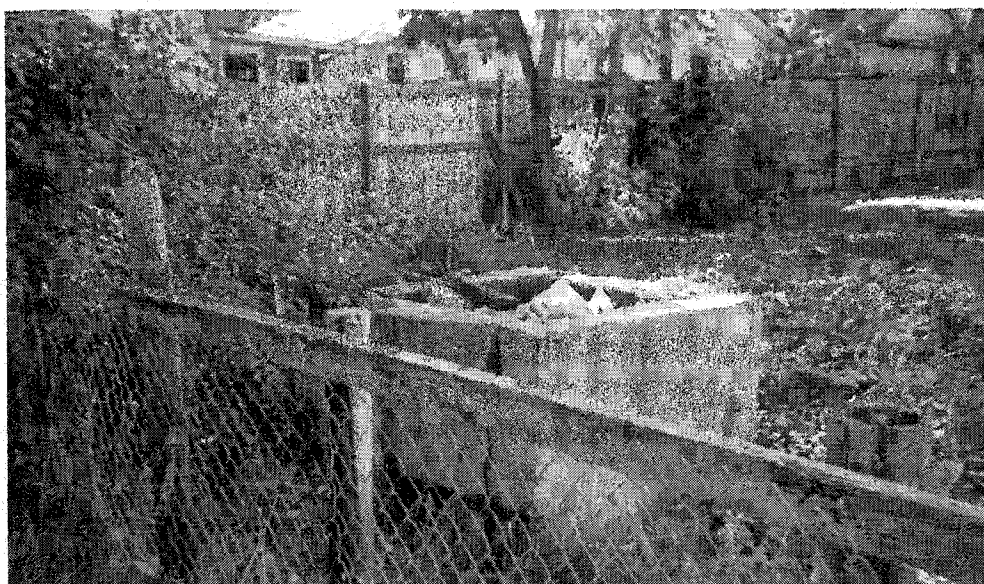


Figure 18. Backyard in the Holy Family Barrio

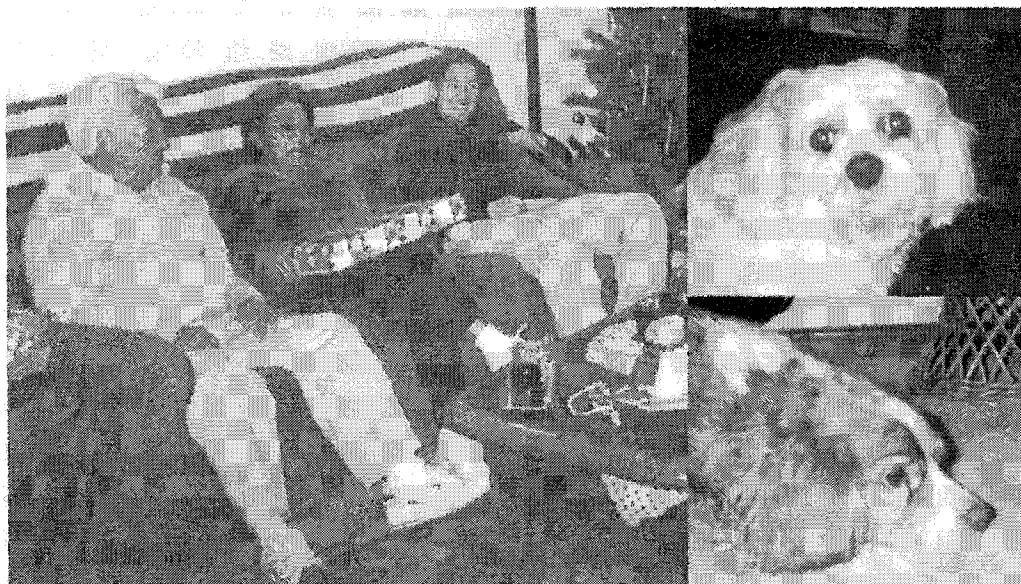


Figure 19. Manuel, Erlinda & Linda (Frederico's wife)

Figure 20. Misty & Biscuit



Figure 21. Family members: Manuel, Matthew, Tom, Leah & Joe

Bernardo

Figure 22. Friends at work

Good friends (where I work) in Fort Collins, Colorado (See Figure 22). I enjoy being a Supervisor. I was agent, resource agent, lead agents and now (I am) a Supervisor. I work hard and enjoy my job supervising others. I love to see my agents, succeed and move up the ladder.



Figure 23. This is my very best friend and I, her name is "Molly"

She is a mixed breed; her mother was a Dandie Dinmont Terrier (pure bred) and her father was a Bedlington Terrier (pure bred). There were seven puppies. Molly (See Figure 23) was the smallest. They were being given away because they had NO value to the owners who bred Dandie Dinmont Terriers. Finally there was only one puppy left and nobody wanted her. The owner was going to drown her. She has been with me ever since. When people pick a dog I will recommend a mongrel. They are clearly superior in disposition and vigor. Molly fulfills all of my needs as a dog. I love her personality. She is very smart. She is very loving, gentle, and spirited. She hates loud noise or violence. She is very kind and is very smart. She seems to understand my needs without me ever speaking. She loves my music and is like my child, more like a daughter than a pet. The pictures are taken in front of the trailer I own. It is completely paid for and while it isn't much, it is all mine. It is in Poudre Valley Trailer Park, sometimes called "Little Mexico." I really enjoy getting a daily dose of my culture.



Figure 24. Bernardo, "I am a Roman Catholic"

I am a Roman Catholic (See Figure 24). I grew up near Holy Family Church at 326 North Whitcomb Street (See Figure 25), only one block from my grandmother's home. I went to Kindergarten there with the Nuns. I was baptized and confirmed there. I was married there and I

am working with the current priest to get that marriage annulled by the Church. I was very close to Father John C. Bowe, not so much with Father Jose Romero, but I really love Father Doug Hunt the current priest there. He is funny and very nice. He is great for and with my Aunt Paula. He arranged for her and Marta to go to Mexico and see the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe.

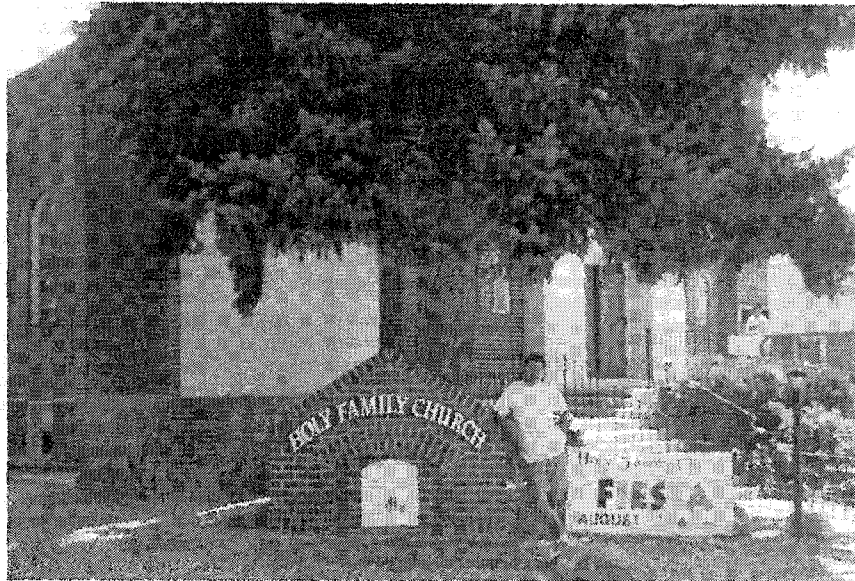


Figure 25. Holy Family Catholic Church, Fort Collins, Colorado

I pray every day and go to mass as often as I can, not at Holy Family, it is getting to be a church for the elderly and I prefer John XXIII (See Figure 26) over by CSU.

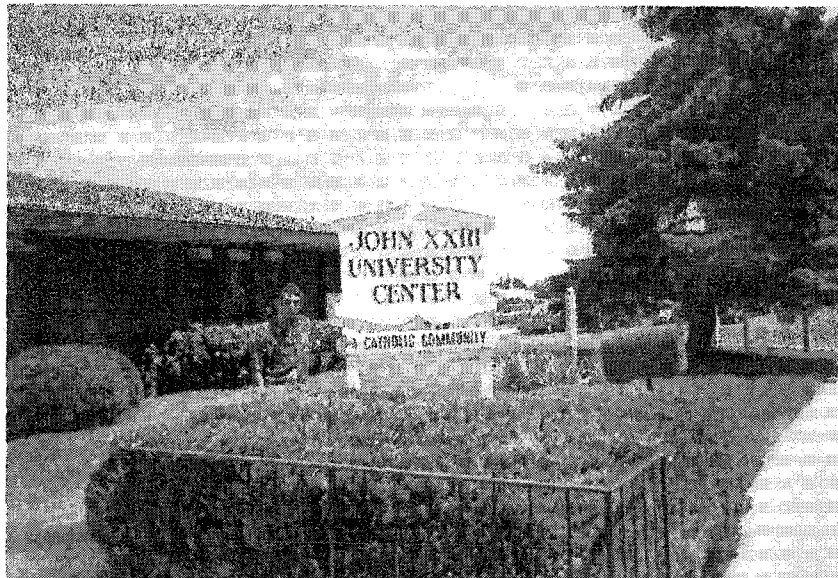


Figure 26. John XXIII Catholic Church, Fort Collins, Colorado

I feel that the church will always be a very important part of "who I am" thanks to Grandmother Carmelita. To me being Mexican is being Catholic. The two define me as a community member. I know the church has lots of problems and issues today, like sex scandals and unpopular stances on many issues, but I will always remain loyal to the church; it defines me as a person and what I believe. I was deeply touched and somewhat embarrassed when Dorothy M. Speiser, an Estes Park artist, asked me to pose as the model for her painting of St. Juan Diego the first Mexican saint. I was humbled by the experience. I hope the print will sell well and will allow people to see something special in the man who was visited by Our Lady of Guadalupe. It honored me both as a Mexican with Indian blood and as a Catholic. The Priest is Father Willett of John XXIII Campus Center.



Figure 27. Bernardo and Larimer County Democrats

I am a member of the Democratic Party (See Figure 27). It isn't only the Nation's oldest political party. It has played a vital role in the shaping of America. Presidents Jackson, Cleveland, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Truman, John F. Kennedy, LBJ, Jimmy Carter, and Bill Clinton were all also members of the Democratic Party. I believe it stands for a clean environment, a solid education for all of its people, the arts. It is a party that has supported labor and the working

class, health care, low income housing, and has been the most pro-active in civil rights issues. These are all issues very important to me. I have worked in every election since I have been old enough to vote to elect Democrats whenever possible. I was also a member of the *Poudre River Trust and VIPS, Volunteers in Public Schools*. I help Marta fill out her ballot every year and really work to get the entire Mexican community registered and voting. This is a big part of who I am and how I feel. I think I got interested because of Magdalena and Angelica being "Brown Berets." I know I am very proud of Fort Collins for electing a Mexican Mayor even if he is a Republican. We have come a very long way. Anyway the last year (2002), The *Larimer County Fair* was held down at the old Loveland site. I worked the Democratic Booth on Sunday, August 3, 2003. It was hot as blazes but a lot of fun. That is also an example of who I am. I was asked to do this by Ann P. Harroun who has chaired the Larimer County Democrats for a long time. She is in the picture with me.

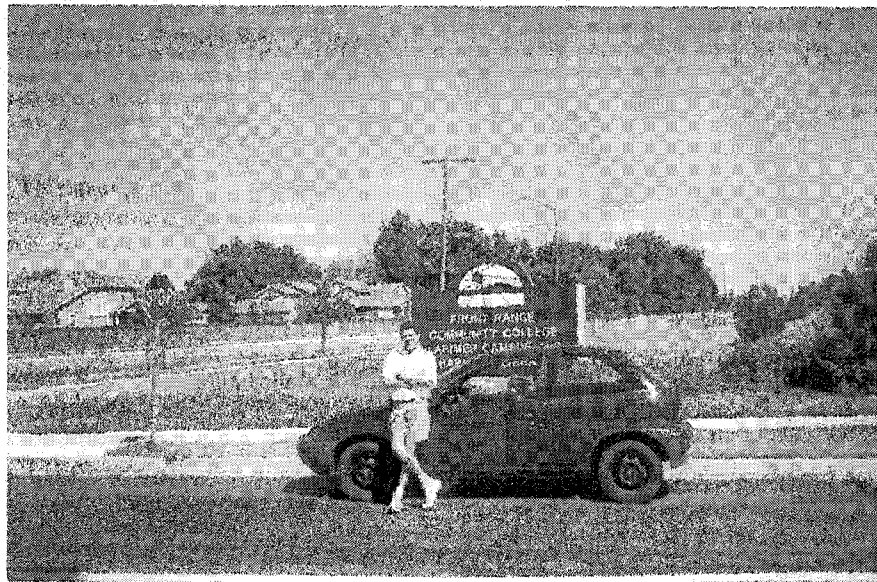


Figure 28. Bernardo at Front Range Community College, Larimer Campus

The last group of pictures shows me as I hope to be seen in the future. I want to be seen as an educated man. I have long wanted to return to school and study business, computers, and human resources. There is no shortage of uneducated Mexicans. I have seen the advantages

and disadvantages of having a good education, the respect it commands, the money, the power and the value it can bring a family, a community and a whole group of people of any race or culture. For me it begins at Front Range Community (See Figure 28) and will continue at either Colorado State University (See Figure 29) or maybe Denver University. I hope to one day have an MBA and an emphasis in either computers or Human Resources. I love helping, training, and managing people, which is what I do at NCC. One disadvantage is that sometimes it can separate the educated from the uneducated in our community. I don't ever want to be separated from my friends and family with the resources to obtain a good education but I need to do this for myself real badly. True friends and most of my family will understand; the others will just have to accept me as the man I become, as the man I truly am. These pictures are my future and the direction I want to move.

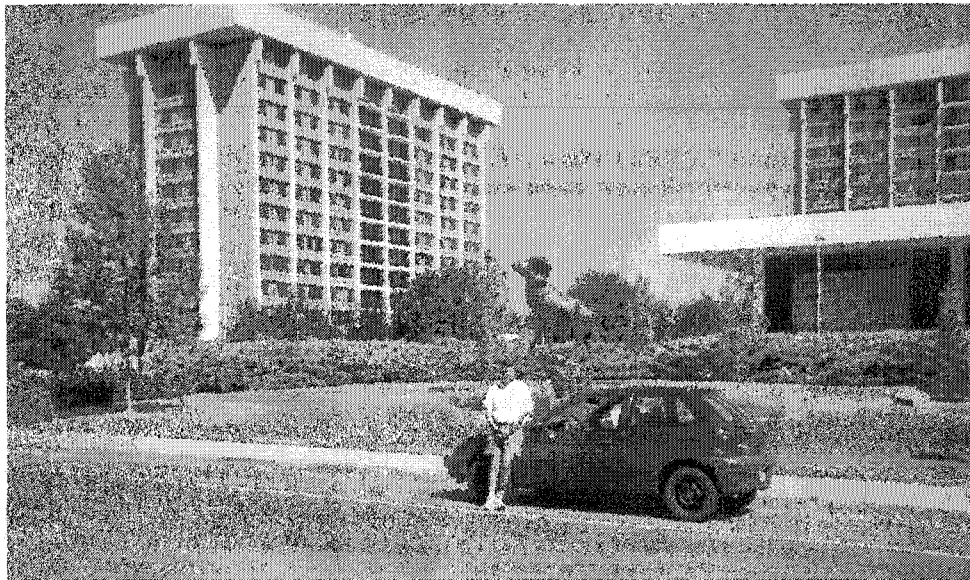


Figure 29. Bernardo at Colorado State University and "little red car"

The little red (See Figure 29) car is a thirty-fourth birthday present from Ron to me so I can return to college.

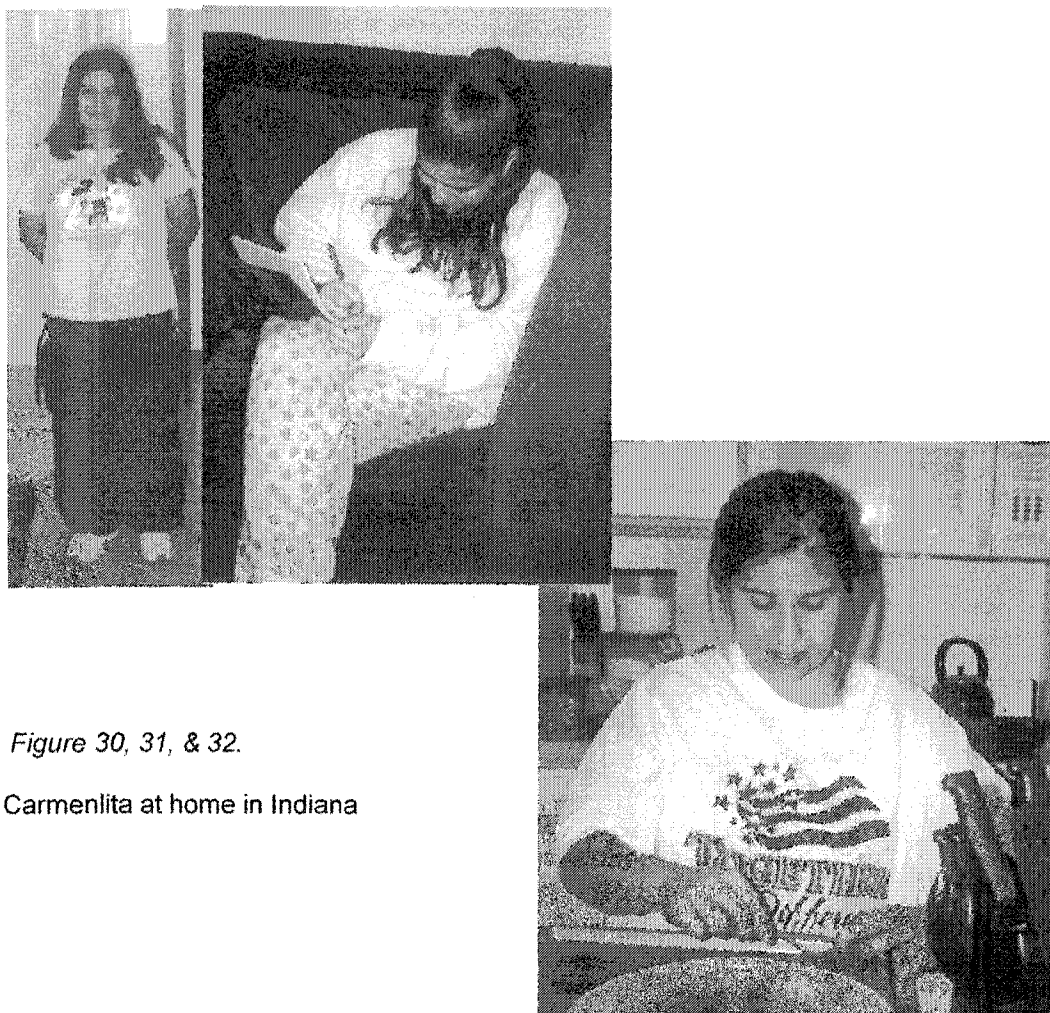
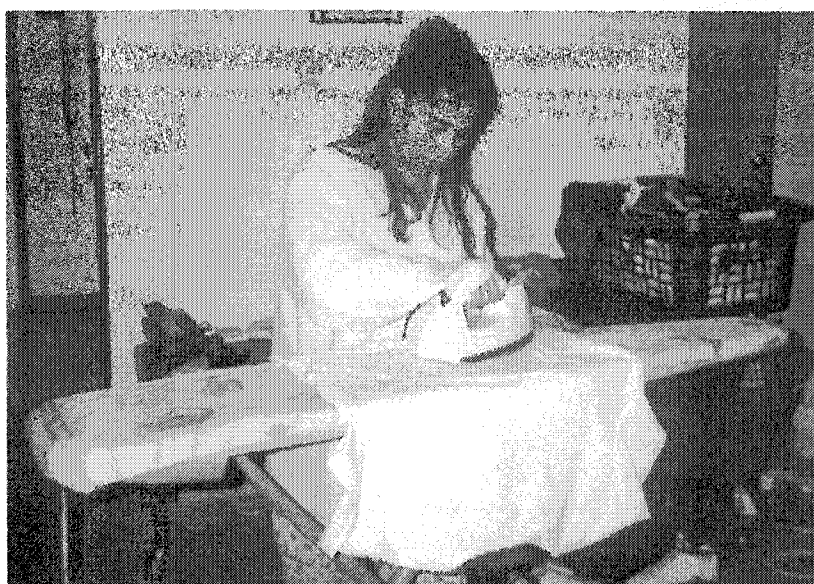
CARMENLITA

Figure 30, 31, & 32.

Carmenlita at home in Indiana



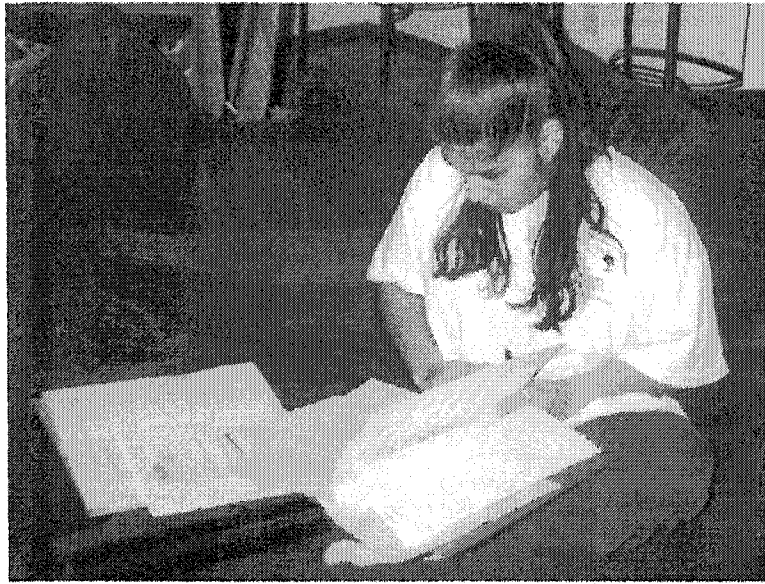


Figure 33. Carmenlita studying



Figure 34. At the computer

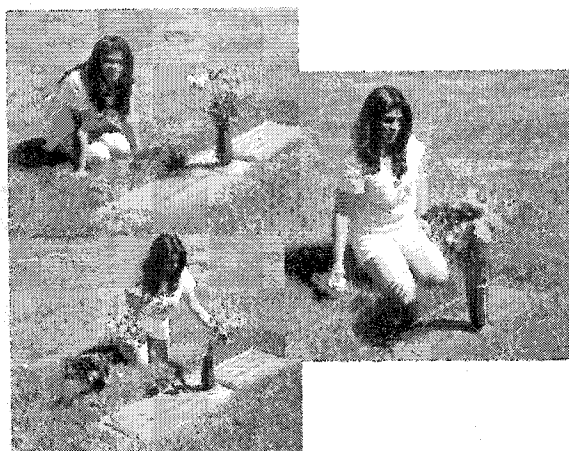


Figure 35. Past

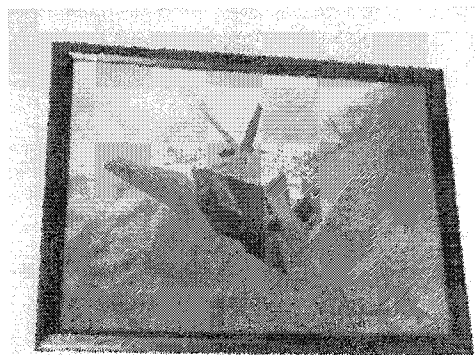


Figure 36. Future



Figure 37. Present

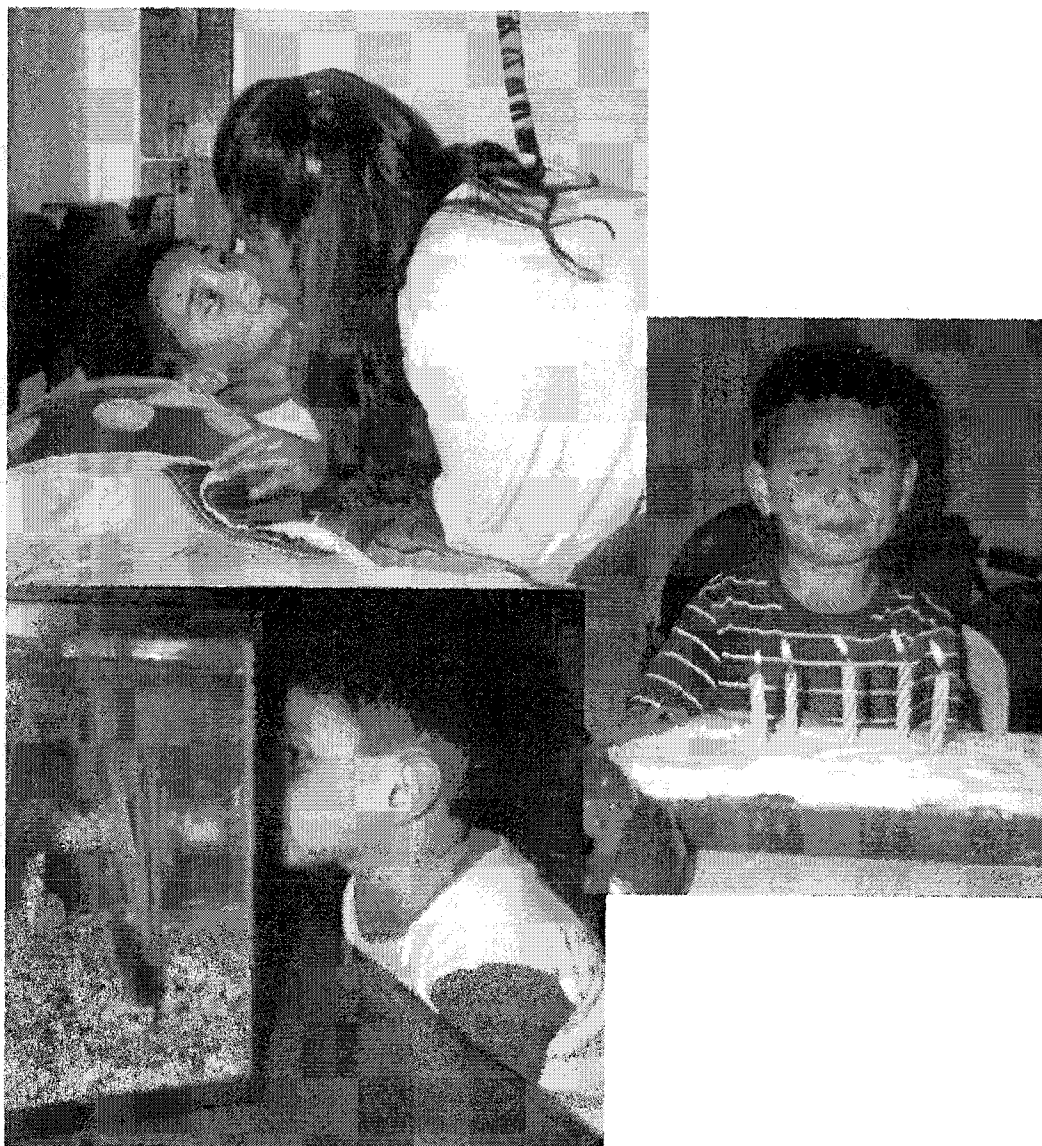


Figure 38. "My son"



Figure 39. Carmenlita and son, Miguel

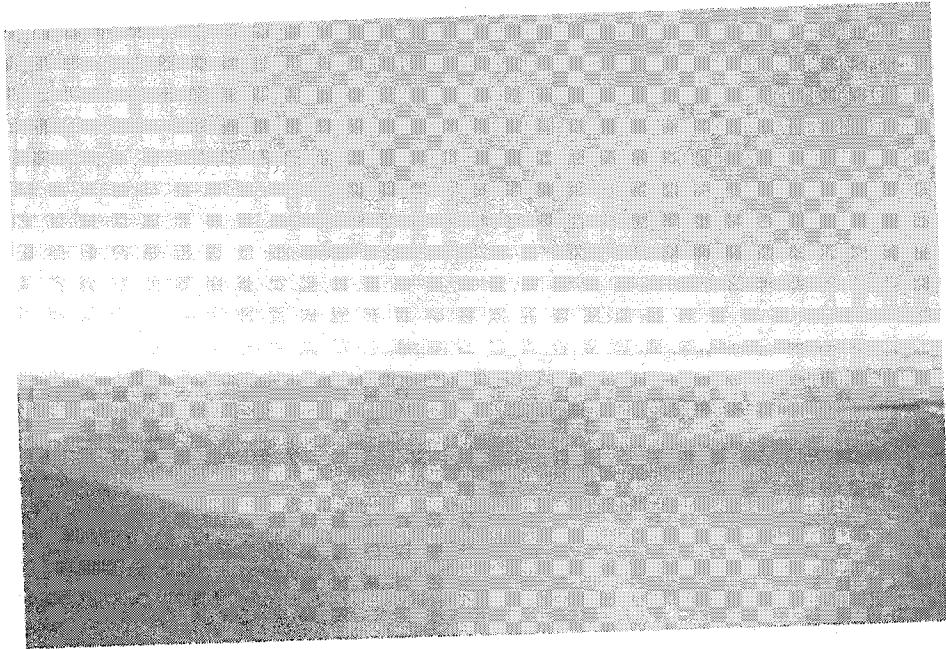
CHELSEA

Figure 40. Northern Colorado

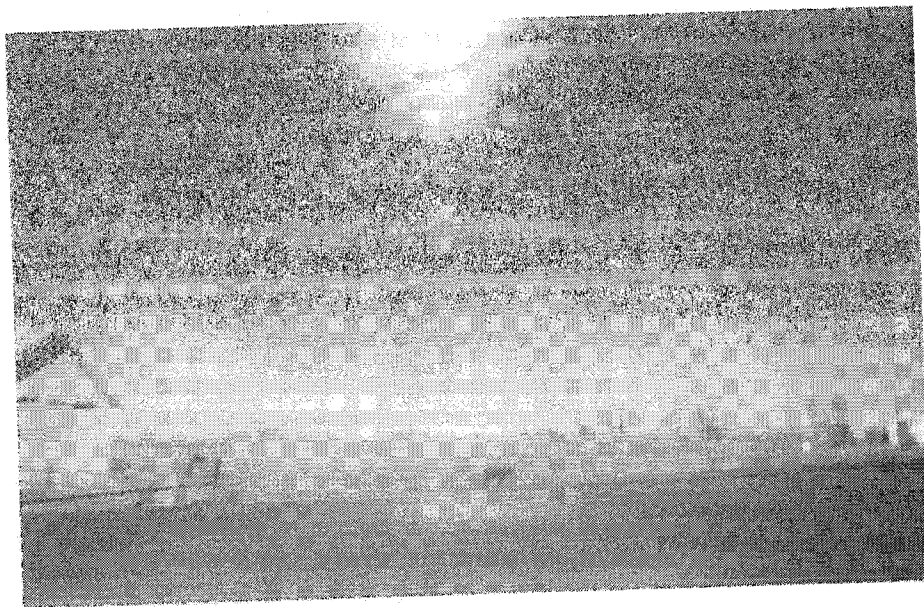
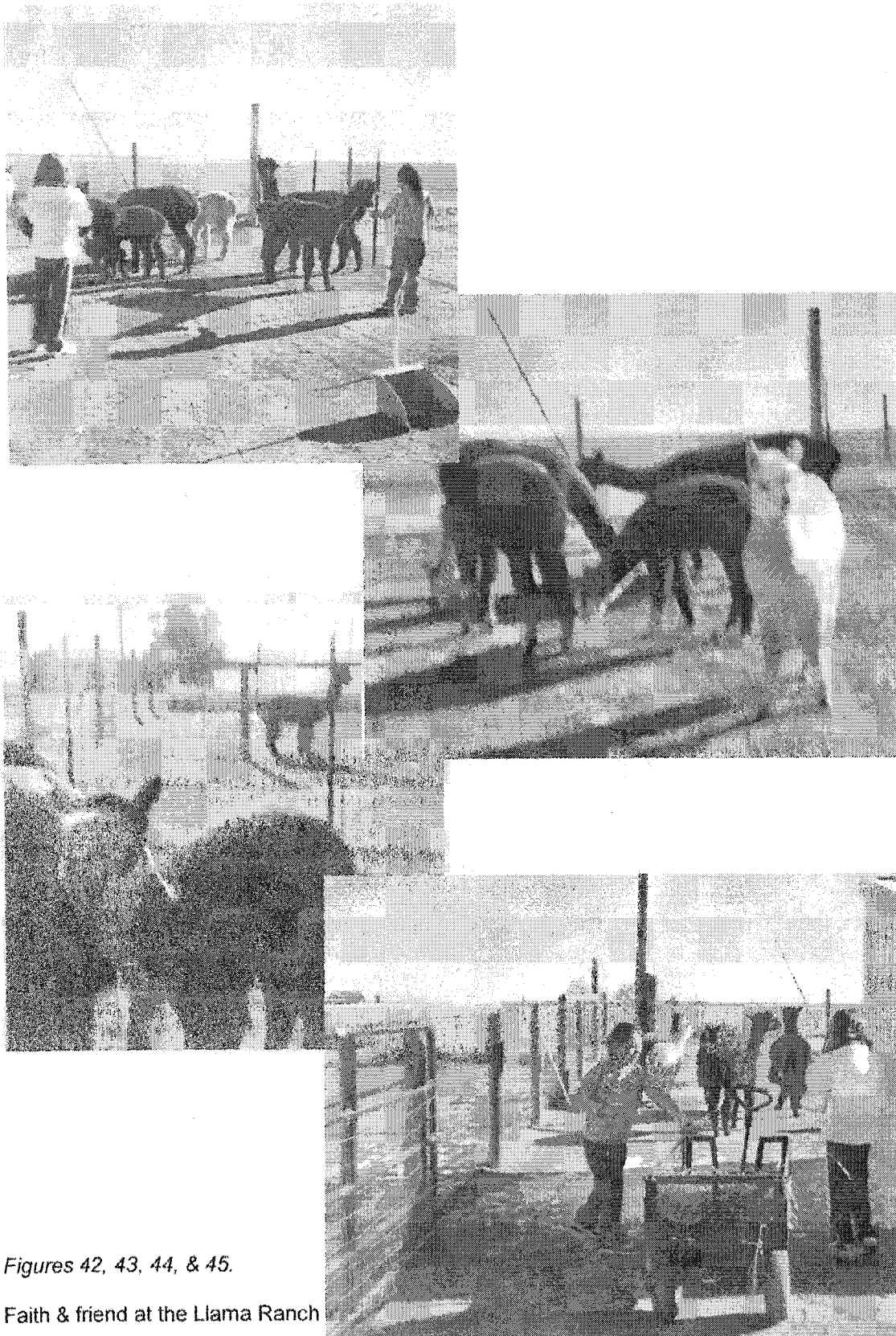


Figure 41. Farm in northeastern Colorado



Figures 42, 43, 44, & 45.

Faith & friend at the Llama Ranch



Figure 46. Chelsea & Friend



Figure 47: Family Dog



Figure 48. Faith & Cousin Andrew

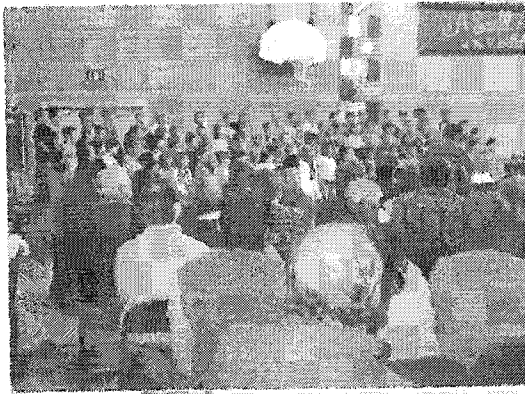


Figure 49 & 50. Faith's School

Figure 51. Faith at Halloween

Figure 52. Faith Swimming



Figure 53. Faith and Friends at Birthday Party

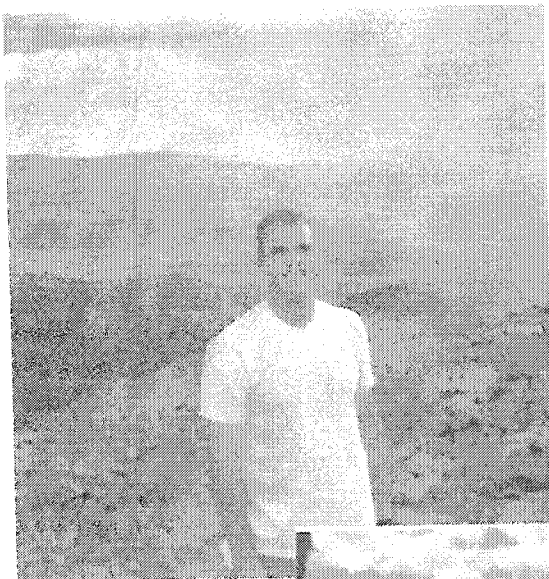


Figure 54. Friend

Figure 55. Rocky Mountains, Colorado

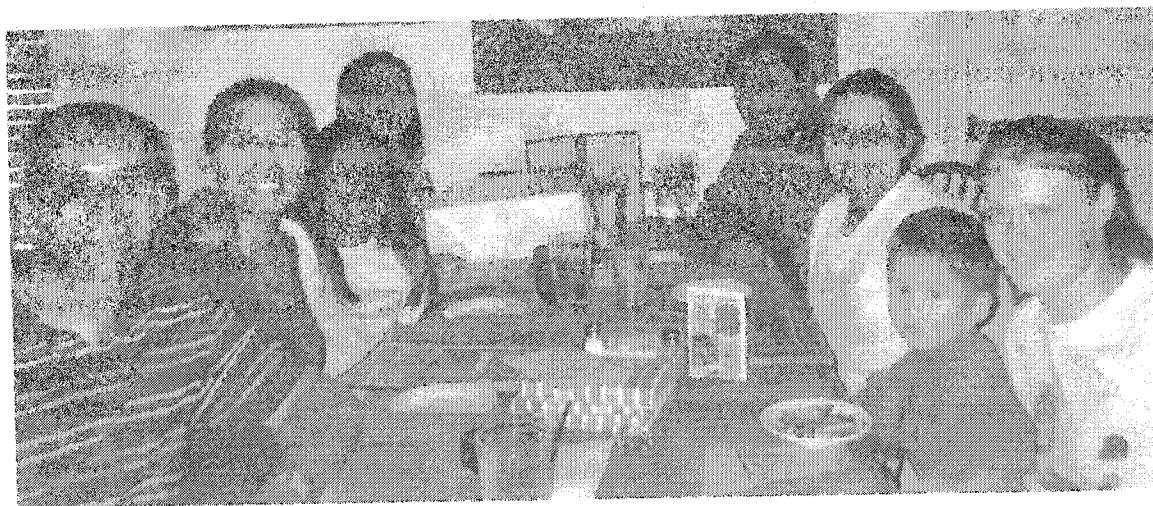
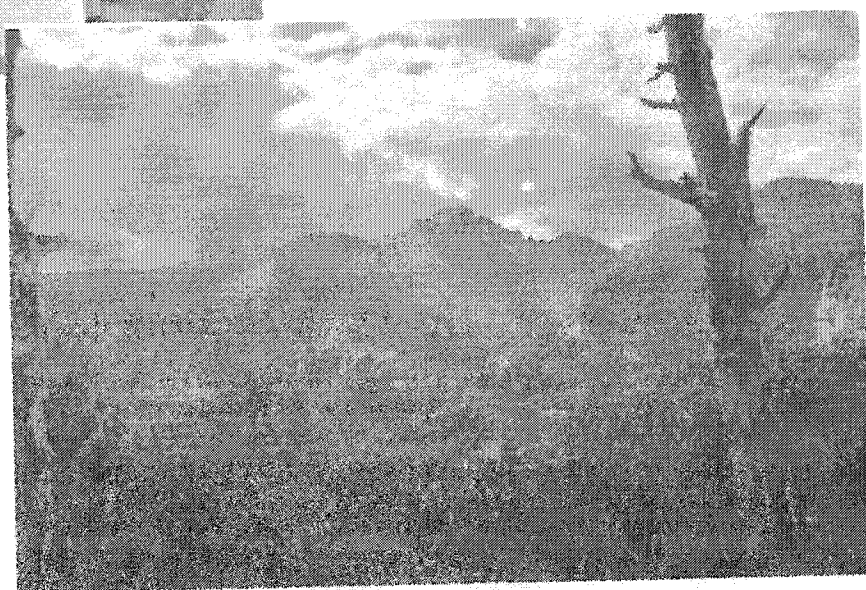


Figure 56. Family members: Alicia(mom), Faith, Chelsea, Friends, Andrew, Teresa & Abelardo

TERESA

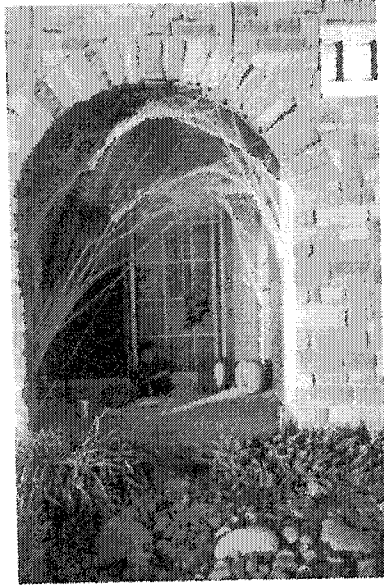


Figure 57. Home

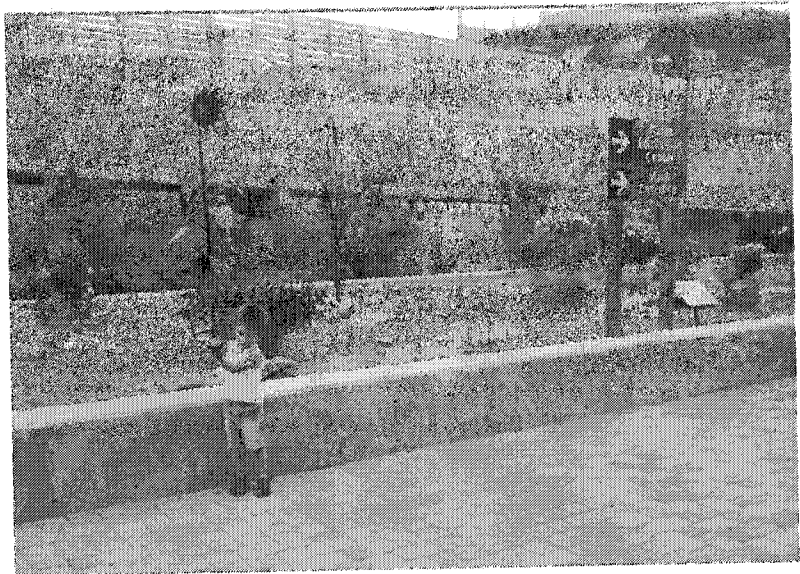


Figure 58. School for Andrew

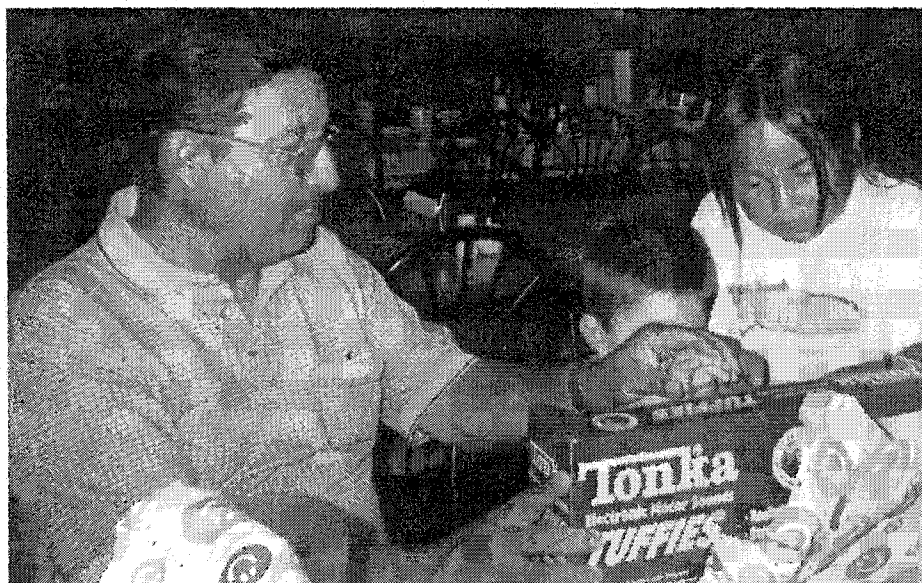


Figure 59. Abelardo (Teresa's father) and his grandchildren: Andrew and Faith



Figure 60. Chelsea, Faith & Andrew at Birthday Party

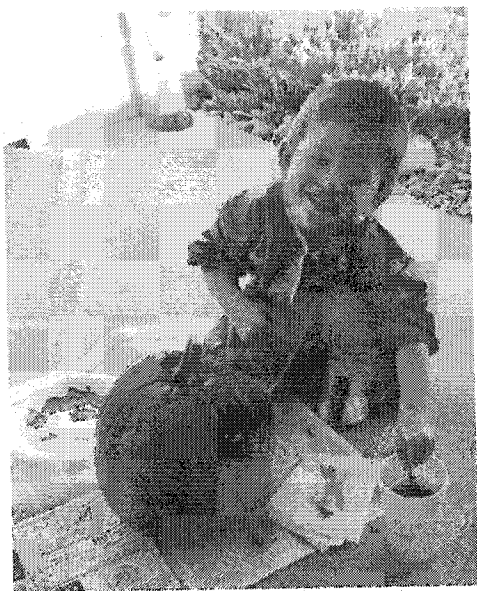


Figure 61. Andrew at Halloween

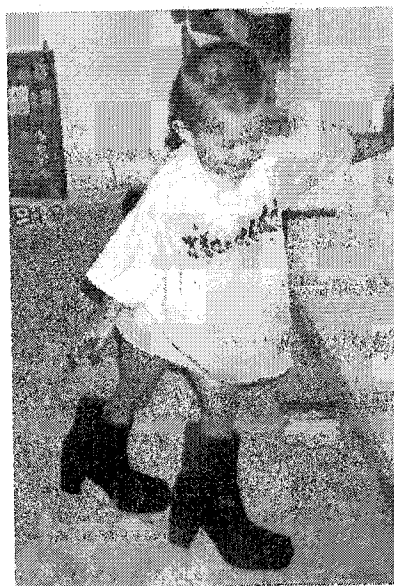


Figure 62 . Andrew in the closet

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to describe, explore, and visualize the characteristics and identities of members of a third generation extended Mexican-American family in northern Colorado. In the beginning of the interview with Erika (2004) she described her family:

I don't think that it is any different than any other family, which is why it's appealing, especially to Anglos. I have a lot of Anglo friends that just are so fascinated, and I'm like, "We're no different than your family. I think you think our culture is just as rich, if not richer than your own, but you're looking for something you're not going to find. We're all the same, we've all gone through it, it's just that we speak Spanish and you don't, we eat Mexican food. Like it's no different. The power of people and love and connection obviously extends through every race and every age, and so I think that your appeal in it, you know, is delightful but at the same time it's like, "Oh, it's not an outsider looking in, just somebody else who wants to know because everybody's got their own story." So you know, it's interesting, but I wonder, well, "What about you, what about your family?" I don't really think it's about the race, you know, and the interest is wonderful and we should just be happy that anybody's interested because you know we all have tremendous examples of why and how we intermingle. I think it's great that you have an interest; I just don't think that my family is this interested in themselves. It's not that they don't know the stories because they know them already---you don't even have to ask. (Interview with Erika, 2003).

This research process began with a discussion about the history and culture of the Mexican-American population in northeastern Colorado. The foundation of the present research was a multidimensional approach that spans several decades of Mexican-American history in this region and three-generational responses to regional scenarios of change. In conjunction with other qualitative information, data collected through narratives have provided the essential temporal and cultural context for valid social change and trend analysis. The purpose of this section is one of addressing the following research questions: What are the important cultural elements of the third generation family profile? Is there a significant change in a particular Mexican-American extended family profile that occurred across the second and the third generations? What are the significant factors that contributed to social and cultural changes for this family? and How has the process of acculturation defined the identities of the third generation for this particular extended family?

The major objective of this research has been presented as an in-depth study from one Mexican-American family over time in the context of the larger Mexican-American and Anglo-American communities in northeastern Colorado. From this sample family the study sought an understanding of the changes in the generational profiles of the larger Mexican-American community including changes in family and social networks, world view systems associated with religious ideology and values, language and ethnicity as they relate to identity, educational processes and attitudes, and the effects of discrimination on social mobility and acculturation.

The approach employed for this research study was multidimensional including collecting information from oral interviews in association with participant observation, from visual data constructed by family members, and from researching the existing primary and secondary written resources. This study differed from other cultural and historical studies in that it utilized oral and visual narratives from one specific resident family as the primary data resource. The purpose of a focus on narratives was multifaceted. Primarily it was an attempt to bring to light the family members' personalities and perspectives in their own words. Nine of the twelve grandchildren of Hinojos and Carmelita who shared their experiences to create this study were interviewed between 2003 and 2004. Their remembrances were not shared from diaries or written accounts of daily activities but were vocal and visual reflections of a myriad of life experiences. In this way, it was hoped that the study would present the "human" side of their lives. By personally sharing their experiences in oral and visual narratives, they themselves were able to create their own personality profiles and theories uncorrupted by interpretation and analyses. Its purpose was to yield data of relevance, significance, and quality through the analysis of historical and cultural data from the experiences within one selected family group over time.

In order to retain the authenticity of the individual's language, the narratives themselves have been carefully transcribed to maintain the integrity of the rhetoric of the interviewees. It was important that their rhetoric speak in their own voices. In order to strengthen the readability of the narratives, however, certain words, sentences, and phrases were paraphrased to avoid repetition and to maintain balance, clarity, and coherency. To accomplish this task, every effort was made

to make changes that would not affect the meaning or distract from the essence of the stories being told.

In accordance with the objectives of this study, following an Introductory section, Chapter II reviewed primary literature that explored the historical and cultural precedents of the third generation of the Mexican-American population in northeastern Colorado and specifically examined the major factors that contributed to the third generations' personality. Literature was considered that addressed various cultural topics related to the Mexican-American population in the United States. Chapter III addressed methodological strategies that were employed in this research for the purpose of collecting various types of data.

Chapter IV represented the voices and visual images of family members. Its purpose was one of exposing certain distinct characteristics of third generation family profiles, comparing any significant changes in characteristics between the second and third generations, and examining what factors contributed to social and cultural changes for this family.

Characteristics of Third Generation Family Members

Several leading deductions were evident from data discussed in this study as observed in the family and its members. Foremost, the narratives revealed a continuing diverse personality profile for the third generation, a profile that delineated this generation from the previous one, but also one that distinguished age sets within the third generation itself. Because third generation family members ranged in age from the eldest at fifty years of age to the youngest at twenty-one years of age, distinct characteristics identified those who had been exposed and were often embedded in the first and second generation's traditional system of values and behaviors.

Family History

The first distinction was the differences in knowledge and perceptions of family members concerning family history. There were several factors that contributed to this diversity, particularly associated with age. First, elder family members of the third generation were acquainted with Hinojos and Carmelita, their grandparents by living with them, residing nearby in the same

neighborhood, or joining with them in family gatherings or celebrations. Bernardo stated, "I was really close to my grandma, very close. . . I knew (her) very well, as well as anybody could for my age." Their "first-hand" knowledge base provided them with access to family history and identified them with a cultural past rooted in Mexico. Often, the youngest members had never known their grandparents because Hinojos and Carmelita had passed away either before they were born or when these family members were too young to remember them. Generally, second generation family members had not passed on historical information to their children. Teresa explained, "I don't know my grandparent's names. . . He (my dad) doesn't speak too much about his parents."

Second, settlement patterns contributed to this condition. Many of the second generation family members had moved away from the ethnic barrio into suburban neighborhoods dominated by the Anglo population, and they and their children, because of improved socioeconomic factors, seldom returned to their parent's or grandparent's home or neighborhood. Teresa recalled, "We all went our separate ways." Third, some family members felt that family history was important but not relevant as affirmed by Erika, "I really think that it's important to know where you came from and why you are the way you are. . . It's important to revisit your origins. . . (but) it's not that I don't care about (family history), it just doesn't get me anywhere, it's not doing anything for me right now. . . it's mostly fantasy. . . nobody can remember anything."

Others felt it was very important to have family history and had a strong interest and desire in passing it on to the next generation, but they lacked access to family history either because a parent had passed away, as in the case of Carmenlita: "(Family history) is important. I don't know a whole lot of it and I do not still today. . . I have a lot of questions. . . when my mother died . . . it wasn't really talked about"; or they had not been told. Teresa was saddened by her lack of knowledge of family history. When asked to tell me a story about her family background she replied, "It's sad that I don't know too much, you know about my parents when they grew up. . . (My story) would be a very boring story. . . because I don't know too much about my background."

An interesting discovery in this study was the lack of understanding or knowledge of sugar beet agriculture or of the beet sugar industry. Agricultural work opportunities, especially field work involved with planting, thinning, hoeing, weeding, and harvesting sugar beets was what brought

Hinojos and Carmelita to northeastern Colorado in the 1920s. Work in the sugar beet fields was the first generations' means of survival and the impetus that brought the second generation to pursue an education and emphasize the importance of higher education to their children of the third generation. Two of the older members of the third generation, Sofia and Frederico had worked in the fields. Frederico remembered, "They put us out there so that we could know what it's like." Others including Bernardo, Erika, and Tomas told stories about working in the fields for one day: "I worked them fields before. . . I didn't want to do it no more---did it once---not for no dollar per bag. . .we only made about twenty bucks all day, huffing and puffing." Younger members were unfamiliar with agricultural work. Most had heard of sugar beets but few knew what the beet sugar industry was, what the sugar beet mills looked like, or what role they played in their grandparents' or parents' life experiences. "No, no (I've never seen one). . . I don't (know what role the sugar beet played in history). . . (and) No, I have never worked in the fields" (Interview, 2003, p. 127).

Childhood and the Barrio

Narratives that addressed "growing up" elicited surprising responses from family members. During the process of interviewing second generation family members, various strategies were utilized for the purpose of attaining descriptive accounts of the physical and social contexts in which these individuals experienced their childhoods. Not one member described the neighborhood where he or she grew up with a focus upon or interest in physical aspects. Instead, each told stories of the interaction of people and the general atmosphere (i.e. smells of Mexican cooking) surrounding daily events. "Growing up" for the second generation was shared in a context of family and community where people and their relationships and behaviors were at its core. When asked for details of what the neighborhood, the houses, and the yards looked like, responses did not include dimensions or any depiction of a tangible nature. This was a frustrating attempt at developing a setting, a corporeal context for first and second generational experiences and thoughts.

All members of the third generation either grew up in or visited their grandparents' or their parents' neighborhood home in the Holy Family district of Fort Collins, Colorado. Unlike members of the second generation, older members of the third generation, who had lived their entire childhoods with or near their grandparent's home, shared similar and very detailed descriptions of the physical environment of their neighborhood. Although they spoke of people and behaviors, their focus was generally on things such as home structures, furnishings, and landscapes and their corresponding shapes, contours, and dimensions. Erika explained, "I never have vivid memories of my grandparents. I can tell you everything in their house. I bet you my mother and my aunts and uncles couldn't even tell you what the house looked like. Bernardo and I can probably describe every corner of her house. . . It was really, you know, fantastic!" Unlike the second generation, third generation members developed contexts derived from physical characteristics and their relationships within the neighborhood.

Atmosphere and situations in the neighborhood, however, were also illustrated by older members of the third generation. Sofia recollected, "I think some of the happiest times I remembered (were when I was growing up). There was always one or two nights when everybody got together. . . they had music, there was dancing." Frederico added, "and on the holidays with my mom's family, just having grandma cooking, she'd always cook up a storm. Going over, spending the night or the weekend at her house, playing with the kids."

Of particular interest was the detailed description by Erika of her grandparents Hinojos and Carmelita. Erika described her grandfather Hinojos: "My grandpa lived in the cellar. He didn't live on the first floor. It was a one bedroom cellar. He lived in a cot downstairs. . . that's just where he was all the time"; and her grandmother Carmelita: "She was an avid gardener. . . and she had a swing on the front porch that she always sat in. . . she always wore an apron. . . and she smoke like three packs of cigarettes a day". It is interesting to note that family members of the second generation gave very little account of their parents in everyday situations outside of work in the fields or special events such as Christmas gatherings. It was the third generation who supplemented their images outside of the fields.

Chelsea and Teresa, younger family members of the third generation had visited their grandparents' home in the Holy Family neighborhood but found it "pretty normal, very comfortable . . . a real homey neighborhood. . . (that) feels like a community with the Church being there right down the street"; and compared it to the neighborhood that their parents live in now: "the neighborhood where my parents' live now has bigger houses and people have a lot of cars and everything. Lori added, "The one where my Aunt (Marta) lives are smaller houses---economic differences probably."

For most third generation family members, childhood recollections were grounded in the ethnic barrio, the Holy Family neighborhood, or were influenced through experiences shared in childhood. Memories of people and events associated with growing up happened there with family and community. Early identity was formed and family and social networks were developed that influenced their future world views, behaviors, and ideas in relation to the larger arena that surrounded them. Tomas, who grew up in many neighborhoods described the Holy Family neighborhood in the context of a sense of place, an identity which he held in high esteem. "I grew up in the Holy Family neighborhood. . . I like to live over here (a suburban neighborhood near Fort Collins) but I still got the respect when I go there. It feels like home."

Family and Social Networks

In association with Mexican-American family history were the structures and roles of family. It was generally believed that Mexican-American social networks were homogenous, family based, centered around the male family members and the passivity of female members, and adhered strongly to the Catholic Church. The tendency was for researchers to de-emphasize the heterogeneous nature of urban Mexican-American society and to emphasize stereotypes and generalizations. A covert and sometimes overt assumption of many researchers was that the family was responsible for preventing the full assimilation of Mexicans into American society (Del Castillo, 1984). The familistic behavior and the pervasiveness of family solidarity, however, is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon including an interaction of many intervening and

contributing variables. In this study family and social networks were examined to discover changing or static patterns across generations and individuals.

When family members were asked what family means, generally answers described family as a group of individuals who shared respect and support for one another. Frederico described family as "someone to talk to, someone to look up to." Bernardo noted that family was representative of common beliefs and values: "that's where my values come from. . .your family is who you are"; and for Tomas family was an authoritative structure that "shaped discipline and manners and that demanded respect." For most family members family was a social unit where everybody gathered together for special events or for visiting or fun on the weekend. For Erika defining family was a dilemma. She explained, "they really don't have a real picture of who their (second generations') parent's were. They don't even talk. They don't even like each other." Chelsea defined family as "a group of people who work together, who, you know, live together." Ideally, therefore, the concept of family remained the same across generations. What noticeably changed across the second and third generations was not the concept of family as the core of all social networks but the reality of its importance.

Third generation family members emphasized that social networks found their center in nuclear family members and acknowledged that extended family members rarely, if ever, gathered for social events: "I (Sofia) don't think (my family members) have a concept of what it feels, or what it's like for everybody to be together because they don't do it." Reasons for not getting together usually revolved around time or convenience issues as Frederico described, "everybody's just busy doing their own thing. . .it's really hard to coordinate." In addition, he noted that most family members were unaware of shared values or belief systems. Some felt it would be "somewhat awkward and probably somewhat uncomfortable" because it is not expected to gather together for family occasions and that social networks included "so many different people outside the family."

Family networks expanded beyond family for some members of the third generation. Bernardo named his immediate and extended family as important members of his social network, but tended to place emphasis on friends as well. Tomas included friends with whom he had grown up

with in the Holy Family neighborhood: "most of the people I've ran with in my life I've always been around. . . I wanted to be around them. . . I value their friendship," and when Teresa was asked who the most important people were in her life she responded, "That's a difficult question. Of course, my parents, my sister, my son, my niece, my grandma. I don't really see too much of my aunts and uncles too much on my dad's side of the family, um, so I'd probably say---tough question---I'd probably say my friends."

Erika emphasized her husband's family members, "Margarita, Daniel's mom, is my Carmelita. She is just like my grandma all over again." It is important for Erika to live close to her affinal family members because, in addition to her children, they comprise her fundamental social network, and they represent to her a family connection in their daily events: "I get a better picture of what my grandma must have lived like because she (my mother-in-law) is still living like that, here you have all the neighbors come and visit you and have coffee at your house and everybody brings you stuff. . . and I'm able to see it." In this sense, by living in the Holy Family neighborhood next door to her in-laws in a house where her Aunt Marta was born offered her a family identity that is reflected in this similar environment: "We have the family connection. . . my grandma bore children in the house I live in now."

Regardless of third generation family members' continued perception of the family's 'ideal' role as protector and provider, family networks in reality have changed significantly between the second and third generations. Second generation family members included nuclear and extended family members explicitly in their social networks. As Graciela explained to Bernardo, "No matter when those persons are gone in your life, your family is your family, and you're always going to have your family." Second generation family members made efforts to gather routinely for family occasions and offered financial and emotional support to one another in times of need. This trend, however, tended to diminish after the first generation family members passed away. Those family members who no longer resided in the Holy Family neighborhood adopted different life styles and seldom found time or relevance in returning to the traditional environment. And, although all third generation family members revealed that they had an interest and desire to be with nuclear and extended family members more often, few have made the effort. "I (Teresa)

don't really see too much of my aunts and uncles." The process of separation that occurred when second generation family members moved outside of the *barrio* and adopted "Americanized" things, ideas, and behaviors has regenerated in the third generation an interest in reestablishing family connections. Lori summarized their general attitudes, "I wish my family could get together more often, I think they could play a very supportive role in my life."

Belief Systems: Values and Religion

Separation of extended family members in the second and third generations has influenced perspectives surrounding religious ideologies and value systems. By moving away from the isolated barrios, traditional values diminished and the Catholic religion took on a secondary and adaptive role (Hawthorne, 2000, p. 216). As perspectives and lifestyles changed, Mexican-American profiles were becoming acculturated into the Anglo-American social and cultural systems. At the foundation of the acculturation process were changing world views.

World view is a set of beliefs, values, and assumptions that form the foundation for a person's behaviors and offer an implicit frame of reference for the interpretation of the world and its experiences (Alexander & Suzuki, 2004). World view is derived from a person's social and cultural experiences combining place of socialization and early life experiences (Shannon, 1979). World view envelops religious ideology and systems of personal values and is ever-changing and malleable. Values are worthwhile or desirable principles.

Religion and familism were believed to be the core values of peoples' of Mexican descent. In the past, most people of Mexican descent were of Catholic religious faith. Hispanic Catholicism was rooted "in a richly textured folk piety that is conveyed through common people and centered in the home, (is) active and celebratory and not decorous and restrained" (Christiano, 1993, p. 56). Deck, a theologian elaborated,

Their (Mexican) Catholicism is hardly the reflection of a rigorous religious formation based upon accepted catechetical texts. Rather, theirs is a popular faith. . .deeply rooted. . .(and) communicated orally, from person to person, within the context of family. . .or *barrio*. . .It eschews the cognitive in its effort to appeal to the senses and the feelings. It does this through symbol and rite. (p. 57).

Mexican-Americans are currently experiencing a pattern of population change that has created entirely new opportunities for the promotion of ideas. Often, they are sought out more frequently than members of other ethnic groups by other denominational religions. Although, many are identifying with the Catholic Church, it has been forced to play an accommodating or secondary role in their lives. Others are defecting from the Catholic Church seeking out religious denominations that more clearly meet their personal needs and are more adaptable to their life styles.

In this study, not all family members of the third generation attended church. Although most retained affiliation with the Catholic religion, it was not considered imperative. Sofia attended Holy Family Catholic Church to retain a connection with the neighborhood, and because it was part of her upbringing. She explained, "I think, for me, I just spent a lot of time with my grandmother and she was very religious. . .and so it just became part of my life. . .part of my growing up." Tomas expressed that the Catholic religion was very important to him and that he wanted to "be a foot-soldier of Christ and I want my kids to be there too." Bernardo stated, "Religion's a big part of my life. . .I believe that I don't necessarily agree with the Church on a lot of things but I do believe it is important that I need a core, something that I've always had and something that's always kept me stable..

For Carmenlita, it has become a dilemma. She stated, "Religion is important, I believe in God . . .I don't believe I need to confess my sins to a priest (however). . .(and) my dad is a Christian . . .my mother was Catholic. . .I want my son to have a choice." Teresa believed in the Catholic religion but cannot find time or the energy to attend. She stated, "I'm not you know, going to church on Sunday. . .I'm so busy now with my son and work, it's just I'm tired when I come home from work on Sundays." For others it was not important. Frederico explained, "We're not a very religious family at my household. I tried but I just didn't push hard enough. . .I felt I was being pushed into carrying on the Catholic tradition. . .I felt I had a different direction I wanted to go." For Erika religion and spirituality were "not for me." As a child, she explained, "They dragged us and dropped us off and went back home to go to bed." And for Lori, religion had "no role."

As religion changed from a primary position into one of secondary importance and required flexibility and adaptability to modern life styles to remain significant, educational achievement was emerging as its replacement as a core component of Mexican-American faith. In this extended family, Carmelita emphasized the importance of education for her children of the second generation. Education was highly valued in the second generation family members as well, and passed on to the third generation. Thus, the suburbanization of Catholics and a declining status gap between major religious groups all suggested that traditional religious and value boundaries had lost their impact on patterns of social interaction, and they have been replaced by secularization, the rise of individualism, the diminishing influences of parents on children, (Christiano, 1993), and the importance of educational achievement.

Education

Educational achievement has provided the Mexican-American individual the means for occupational advancements and economic gains, which in turn has offered upward social mobility. Elevated economic and social status allowed many Mexican-American families of the second generation to choose new lifestyles outside the barrios ("de-barrio-ism"). Many Mexican-American chose to move into Anglo-American neighborhoods and to adopt Anglo-American lifestyles and values.

Generally, first generation immigrants from Mexico realized that opportunities in America were certainly improved from their country of origin, and they perceived that educational achievement offered hope for better opportunities and access to easier and more rewarding life styles. Yet, in reality the educational system for the second generation failed to recognize invisible cultural differences that lead to systematic and recurrent miscommunication in the classroom. Differences in language, speech networks, and appearance, for instance, provoked conflict between teacher's and students' cultures. Because pedagogy tended not to be responsive to differing cultural styles of communication, mutual trust and, thus, school legitimacy were suspicious. Erickson (1987) stated, "Repeated failures due to mistrust of school systems and

administrators promoted resistance and oppositional identities. Hegemonic practices permeated and framed school experiences. . .dominating and alienating (them)" (pp. 353-355).

Third generation student attitudes regarding the role of education in success ranged from believing that efforts devoted to school success would likely pay off in future employment to "seeing little reason for their coursework. . . (and being able to) envision how schooling will help them achieve their goals" (Mehan, Hubbard, & Villanueva, 1994, p. 94). Good academic work habits and perseverance in school performance were believed to be instrumental in assisting an individual in securing a good job that paid well and offered opportunities. Those who were discouraged and did not believe in education as a means of achieving an improved life style, believed that education lacked cultural relevance, was boring and demoralizing, and was meaningless and frustrating. In addition these same students felt that teachers were indifferent and disengaging, and they felt that they were inadequate and failures because they had difficulty keeping up with assignments. They preferred perceptions of the future dictated by peer groups who offered more support, less conflict, and directly challenged conventional American wisdom regarding the relationship between academic preference and occupational success. Though, third generation students have developed appropriate skills and behaviors in an educational system that equated school success with assimilation into the dominant Anglo culture, they tended to prefer "accommodation without assimilation" (p. 105).

In this study, educational achievement was considered very important and was initiated by Carmelita in the first generation. Not all family members, however, had an easy road in school, nor did all family members have similar views regarding its importance as young students in elementary and junior high school. For Frederico, "schooling was just hanging out with my friends". Tomas moved around his entire childhood from one neighborhood and school to another. There was not one year where he didn't attend more than one school. He remarked, "I hated moving around. That's about all I remember about school. I wouldn't even finish a year at school before I had to move to another school". . . I didn't pass because I wasn't there." Erika learned early on that good performance in school offered her freedom to come and go as she

pleased, with few questions asked. As a young child school for Erika was a hot meal and something to do. For these family members educational achievement had secondary functions.

For other family members, educational achievement was considered important for other reasons. Frederico explained that it was important because it exposed him to the world outside the barrio and made him realize that "there were a lot of things out there that you just can't learn in one place." Sofia agreed, "When I went to high school, my eyes were opened, and I saw that there were a lot of opportunities out there." Bernardo realized that education was a means for assimilation into the mainstream culture. He explained, "The second generation wanted us to assimilate into the mainstream and make sure that we weren't the 'odd people out.'" Education was also considered a means for achieving certain goals. For Carmenlita, it was a way to become a pilot, and for Chelsea and Lori it offered an education at Colorado State University.

Although all family members of the third generation have achieved a high school education, some family members wish to accomplish a higher level of education. Currently, Sofia has a graduate degree and Chelsea has a Bachelor's degree from Colorado State University. Erika is just shy of receiving her BA from the same university, and Bernardo hopes to acquire a MBA. Regardless of educational achievement levels, however, all family members at present regarded education as a means of learning new things, attaining better job opportunities, and accomplishing individual goals, and all stated that it was important to pass on the value of education to their children. Erika added, "My values are education. . . I value the sense of knowledge and the worth and the reward that it brings you." Certainly, it can be suggested that education replaced religion as a core value for third generation family members.

Social Identity: Language, Ethnicity, and Acculturation

How does this dynamic ideology affect Mexican-American identity? In this study, identity formation was explored for the purpose of discovering factors that are significant in influencing how a person views his or herself, and how other's perceived him or her in particular contexts. In this sense, identity is a blending of self and meta-perspectives in a continuous interaction of internal and external collaborative linguistic and behavioral communication. Identity is perceived

through the processes of sharing ideologies, values, and knowledge of history, and by placing a particular attention upon communal standards of success and status which individuals apply to themselves, and others have related to them.

For the Mexican-American individual the use and preference of language and ethnicity held an evident and poignant position in identity formation. Language knowledge and usage often affects self and metaperceptions. In this extended family, first generation family members did not speak, write, or read in English. Second generation family members learned the Spanish language first, and later out of necessity learned English in school settings. Third generation members varied in their skills and preference for the Spanish language. Again, older family members learned Spanish at home, and English at school. Sofia and Frederico learned Spanish as their first language. Although their mother spoke English as a second language, their father did not speak English. Frederico remembered, "As a matter of fact, when I went to kindergarten on my first day of school I didn't hardly know a word of English, so I kind of had to find my way through by learning English from the neighbor kids." Sofia agreed, "Same thing, kindergarten, I was there (at school) first because I'm older and I basically learned it (English) from being in school." Bernardo and Erika also learned Spanish as their first language. Bernardo observed, "My grandma was all Spanish, my grandpa was all Spanish, and my biological dad was all Spanish, and his family was all Spanish. . . The first language I learned as far as I know was Spanish." I remember having a difficult time speaking any English when I was very, very young. . . I had a really thick accent, and it was hard for me to understand some things that were being said." For Tomas, English was his first language, "they tried teaching me Spanish, I guess I wasn't into it. I couldn't stay focused on them trying to teach me that when I already knew English." Carmenlita learned Spanish first, but after her mother passed away she went to live with her father and "it (Spanish) just wasn't spoken in my household, so I don't know it." Chelsea and Teresa were not exposed to the Spanish language as children. Teresa explained, "They (my parents) never really spoke Spanish to myself or to my sister (Chelsea). . . The first language that I learned was English."

Although older family members of both the second and the third generations learned the Spanish language at home, they were forced out of necessity to learn English at school in order to

communicate, thus, they later adopted English as their primary language. The second generation did not emphasize Spanish nor did the third generation. Only in circumstances where it was commonplace to speak Spanish in the home was it a primary language (i.e. for Sofia and Frederico). A difference between the two generations was that the third generation had mixed attitudes and emotions about knowing and speaking Spanish. Bernardo stated, "Maybe when my grandma passed away, then I figured I'll never have to use Spanish anymore. . . I know that it makes me very, very uncomfortable using my Spanish now, because I should know it better than I do. . . I have trouble trying to think in Spanish." Although Bernardo took Spanish classes in school and can understand Spanish "pretty well," his language skills are "very, very bad, and I get embarrassed when I speak it." Erika, on the other hand remarked, "I'm not afraid to speak Spanish although I'm afraid to speak it wrong." Chelsea did not think knowing or speaking the Spanish language was significant: "No" it is not important to learn Spanish," nor is it important to teach her daughter the Spanish language. Teresa and Lori took classes in school but they do not believe that they speak Spanish fluently. All third generation family members, however, with the exception of Chelsea, wished to have their children learn and speak the Spanish language.

Because language is closely associated with identity and identity with status in the American society, it is important to note that its usage is contextual and adaptable. Where it did not serve a particular purpose, it was ignored often to the degree of losing knowledge of vocabulary, grammar and syntax. In the dominant Anglo arena, the Spanish language was neither necessary, nor was it always advantageous. In the *barrio*, however, it often was the basis for relationships and promoted esteemed status. Erika observed, "that if you respectfully greet them (customers that she encountered at Steele's Market) in the Spanish language. . . they are so grateful." For the older family members of the third generation, having the ability to speak in both languages provided them with additional tools in dealing with and adapting to two different worlds (bilingualism/biculturalism).

Ethnicity is sharing a common and distinctive cultural heritage, including language, behaviors, ideologies and values, and history. For this extended family, ethnicity also meant sharing Mexican cultural heritage, customs, and physical features. For Frederico, "Mexican ethnicity is sharing a

lot of things, a lot of culture and their way of life." And for Sofia, "It is very important to me because those sets of values from my grandparents, they are based on ethnicity. . .that's what made us today." As a child, Bernardo wanted to be "White." "I didn't want any kind of identity other than being just 'American'. . .and even at work I didn't want anybody to know. . .but now I'm really upset that I'm not bilingual and I blame that on my parents' and anyone who was my support group who brought me up." Now, he prefers being Mexican-American, identifies with his family's heritage in Mexico, and emphasizes the importance of knowing "who he is" but is often questioned, "Hell, you don't even look Mexican." Bernardo replied, "Well, what does a Mexican look like"? Bernardo was not ashamed, but preferred not to be labeled "Chicano": "I am not (Chicano). . .because my understanding of Chicano is more of a militant type of segregationist of attitude from the mainstream from being Latino or being Mexican-American. . .it's more of 'We are Chicano, 'Brown Power'. . .separating yourself from Mexico."

Erika felt like she was not "American," that she was "Mexican," "like my spirit is in Mexico, and I should be Mexican, and it's only because I always envisioned it being something glamorous and something that it's not. . .when I travel there. . .it's been just horrible (not glamorous)." She described how she identifies herself, "I'm Mexican in America and I'm an American in Mexico." Carmenlita believed that her ethnic heritage is very important, including values, religious beliefs and family. She was proud to be to of Mexican heritage; however, she found how other' see her *ethnicity* interesting. She explained, "A woman at my workplace asked me if I spoke Spanish? I replied, 'No', and the lady said, 'I thought you were Mexican?' I answered, 'Well, you know, I was born in the United States, so that would make me an American but if you want to look at my heritage they are Mexican, they did come from Mexico.'" For younger family members of the third generation, ethnicity was not as significant. Teresa stated, "I think it's more so the personality than their (Mexican-American's) ethnic background. . .I guess what would bother me is that they would categorize me as a "screw-up."

Discrimination

Individual and group preferences, pertinent funds of knowledge, and behaviors associated with ethnicity are represented and affected by self perceptions and metaperceptions, which often are expressed through labeling. Labeling invites discriminatory attitudes and behaviors and influences identity formations. Factors that contribute to discrimination and consequences that result from acts of discrimination are important in this study for the purpose of understanding both covert and overt processes that influenced and still affect the emic and etic perceptions of Mexican-American individuals, families, and communities in northeastern Colorado. For first and second generations Mexican-Americans residency was most often segregated limiting opportunities and confining ethnic groups to areas where jobs, education, health care, and security were less available. Reduced accesses to resources and restrictions to funds and references of knowledge based on physical location maintained Mexican-American individuals and families in marginal economic strata with often minimal educational levels and subsequent low paying jobs with few benefits, and little opportunity for social or economic mobility. The absence of economic opportunity was associated with downward or static assimilation. Visible ethnic distinctions including language usage, cultural preferences, and physical appearance contributed to a high degree of identifiability. Often, what was visual together with prejudicial metaperspectives that associated their character, ethics, values, and reliability with being deviant; provoked expressions and behaviors based on these negative stereotypes by the dominant society members who believed that Mexican-Americans didn't "fit" with cultural norms.

Six of the ten second generation family members moved out of the Holy Family neighborhood into Anglo neighborhoods after completing high school. Four second generation members remain living there today. Of their offspring, two family members reside there currently out of choice, mainly because they preferred to remain near their family. Thus, it can be suggested that third generation family members do not share the same restrictions that their grandparents and parents experienced living in one of the ethnic *barrios*. Yet, discriminatory labeling and associated attitudes and behaviors still exist in northeastern Colorado. In this study, family members

discussed discriminatory attitudes and behaviors that they had each experienced and they explored causes, consequences, and possible resolutions in their narratives.

All members had either experienced or witnessed acts of discrimination in public arenas; and most offered examples. More significant, however, were their explanations of why it occurred? Bernardo explained, "Discrimination comes from when you were brought up. . . your experiences and from the people that brought you up. . . it comes from the elders, and they get it from their people who taught them, and it's just a cycle---how do you break the cycle?" Teresa agreed but added, "Some of it (discrimination) might be from parents, how they brought up their children, their own beliefs, but I think number one would be the media." Sofia agreed that discrimination remained evident, but emphasized, "Yes, (discrimination was and is happening) but they (the second generation) didn't know how to deal with it. They weren't maybe educated enough to respond to it or they let it happen, or I don't think they were assertive enough to assure that it wouldn't happen again. . . I think they were too afraid. . . we're (third generation) different because we are educated, and we're looking at it differently. . . (and) we deal with it differently." Frederico believed that discriminatory attitudes and behaviors start with the individual. He observed, "If you're out there and you push someone. . . they're going to shy away from you. . . If you're just out there as an individual and you say, 'Here, this is what I believe, this is my culture and if you explain it to them and they understand what you're all about I think that can break down a barrier.'" Erika found acts of discrimination ridiculous, yet generally covert. She explained, "I thought it was so ridiculous every single time I've been discriminated against. . . most of it's so blatant but I think it's all that invisible stuff that gets me more."

What are the reasons for continued discrimination in northeastern Colorado presently? What are the stereotypes that are imposed upon Mexican-American individuals? According to Tomas, it occurs in the court rooms, in public restaurants, in retail stores: "I don't know if it's worse than it was before, probably better because back then I've heard stories about that you can't come in the shops; they can't go in some stores, but now you can go in the stores, but when you do they always watch you like you're going to steal something. . . that's still around." Teresa stated, "people's mindsets, they think that they're (Latinos or Hispanics) 'drop-outs', they're not going to

be successful, drug-users, a lot of gangs. . . some people might say, 'Oh, we've got to be careful of the Hispanics because they may have the same tendencies to go out and rob something else . . . I guess that they just usually categorize it as all being bad more so than a positive way."

What does it feel like to be discriminated against? Bernardo explained, "It just makes you feel really bad. It really devalues you as a person no matter how much you try to play it off. . . the first initial thing is hurt, you're so hurt and you can't believe it. 'Gosh, what did I ever do to them? Why don't they like me?' . . . and then it's anger. The more you think about it, the more you think, 'Oh, I hate that person'. And then you start building your own prejudice about that type of person."

Teresa's reaction was to question "What makes one person better than the other. . . what can they do better than this other person can do. . . Is it just because of their race?"

How can stereotypes and resulting acts of prejudice be resolved? Sofia and Frederico believed it is in the approach; how an individual responded to discriminatory acts or attitudes. Bernardo suggested, "Communication, you have to be able to understand; understanding is knowledge. Discrimination is ignorance, it always has been. . . People who discriminate need to be immersed into that type of situation. . . you have to put yourself into a situation." Erika suggested, "I think you get the ringleader and you get rid of him because it really is just one person and fourteen people laughing. I think that if you make them believe that laughing and going along with it silently is just as terrible as the actual crime itself."

In analyzing third generation family member's descriptions of discrimination their ideas associated with its history in northeastern Colorado, how it feels, and possible resolutions drew attention to the issue of whether there existed significant differences among the generations. It became apparent from the narratives that generally evidence of discriminatory attitudes or beliefs was no longer manifested in visible and tangible displays in public arenas, but at the same time, it appeared that consequences were similar. For these family members, individual responses varied and resolutions were approachable. Erika summarized her perspective of the generational differences over time in northeastern Colorado that was affected by discriminatory attitudes:

As a minority in Fort Collins, we're not better off than we were. Because the construction site is a "bean field" of thirty years ago, you know, like the house cleaners and the gardeners and the construction workers and the cleaning-up crew; they're all the fields of yesterday. I'm just saying that in Fort Collins it moved from the bean fields to the construction site and that Fort Collins is no different, and I'm sure if you see a lot of migrants coming in to do seasonal work it's because they're still migrating, and they're still sheep-shearing, and they're still farming but now they're on the construction site too, and now they're also in the hotels. And it's just extended a little further past the fields, and so you're not in rural Fort Collins anymore, you're inside of the City and the lifestyle is no different. I could take you to a house right now over on north College that has forty-five men living in it and everybody is sleeping on the floor. Like it's not that the (our) family has changed the community; it's that the community has moved across town. You know what I mean? So here's the community and here's everything that's going on inside of it and there's (our family) in different houses all around Fort Collins; and it's (discrimination) still going on in Fort Collins. Like nothings changed for minorities in Fort Collins. It's just that they have moved on and can't find a fieldworker in the family, and that's because what poverty does to you is it makes you forsake everything else to get what you can for you and your family. It's just upper mobility.

Social and Cultural Changes Across Generations

As revealed in a previous study of this extended Mexican-American family, a multidimensional personality profile emerged in the second generation. Many factors contributed to this profile including primarily the mechanization of the agricultural industry in northeastern Colorado. When machines replaced hand labor in the fields, Mexican-American field workers, who were socially and economically isolated in rural settings, were forced into nearby urban centers in search of new and different occupations. Urbanization pushed the Mexican-American worker into the dominant Anglo-American cultural arena, albeit in isolated ethnic enclaves, both geographically and culturally. Although they lived separately in ethnic enclaves, it became necessary and commonplace for children of the second generation to interact daily with the Anglo population, which was especially promoted by mandatory education. For the first time, Mexican-American children were required to attend school on a regular and permanent basis. Through education these children were exposed to new and different ideas, behaviors, and artifacts. It was in the classroom, where they began to acquire the skills for living in two separate worlds (Hawthorne, 2000).

Educational achievement provided the second generation Mexican-American individual the means for occupational advancements and economic gains which in turn offered upward social mobility and the opportunity to move out of the ethnic barrios into Anglo-American neighborhoods

("de-barrrio-ism"). By moving away from the barrios, traditional values diminished, extended families were separated, and the Catholic religion took on a secondary and adaptive role. Some individuals, however, although exposed to educational opportunities were either unable to achieve higher educational levels or chose not to value educational achievement and, therefore, achieved minimal achievement levels in school. Some Mexican-Americans rejected educational achievement as an "Anglo ideal." These particular individuals often embraced and accentuated their traditional values, lifestyles and distinct identities by remaining in the barrios. They avoided acculturation and chose to remain "traditionalists" with distinct Mexican identities ("re-barrrio-ism"). Occupational advancements, economic gains, and social mobility remained static. Thus, through educational exposure and achievement, most of the second generation Mexican-American population diversified and a heterogeneous personality profile began to evolve.

According to Rumbaut (1994), generational movement becomes increasingly distant from the original immigration experience, and its ethos moves toward greater identificational assimilation, accompanied by upward socioeconomic mobility, increasing acculturation, and decreasing discrimination. This hypothesis dictates that all individuals evolve along a linear pattern of acculturation. What this theory fails to do is account for individual differences. The gap that widened between the first and second generations also broadened between individual family members of the second generation. For some, generational movement moved them by means of increased acculturation into the dominant society's arena. In their adaptive capacity, they no longer chose to conform to their parents' culture nor were they able to communicate between generations. Those who no longer recognized or found their past significant were often considered "traitors who lacked substantial command of Mexican traditional culture and deliberately threw away what had been preserved in the home" (Gans, 1992). These family members of the second generation who chose or were forced into moving away from tradition, entered into a bicultural, hyphenated profile that was unstable and difficult to maintain. For others, generational movement straddled the middle, retaining elements of both the parent's traditional culture, yet selecting or being forced into aspects of the dominant cultural arena while still others

remained static, still identifying with the original immigrant experience, either out of choice but most generally out of necessity.

The third generation was a new force with new interests. They were American born sharing the same language and culture with the dominant world. Yet, they were the generation that had developed a spontaneous and almost irresistible impulse to interest themselves in their heritage (Hansen, 1952). This study focused on the changes that occurred between the second and third generations, and what factors significantly contributed to cultural change.

Third generation characteristics emerged as complex, variable and individualized. They more resembled the dominant Anglo-American profile that emphasizes individuality, independence, educational achievement, social and economic achievement, and comfortable lifestyles surrounding the immediate family or household. Instead of primary roles for the individual, extended family loyalties and attachments, and religious affiliations and participation needed to be flexible and adaptable. Family and religion had taken secondary positions in relation to other more significant issues in everyday life experiences. Social networks were beginning to extend beyond the family core as families became more distant both physically and emotionally. Identity formation was becoming more complex and ambiguous pressuring members of the third generation to identify themselves as "Americans," but preventing them from full assimilation in "America." Ethnic pride and a desire to reestablish ties with origins in Mexico, however, emerged as salient and insistent issues for third generation family members. In their adaptation and immersion into the mainstream arena, third generation family members, thus, represented a unique profile, one that was neither "Anglocized" nor "barrio-cized," but instead, had emerged as a generation that was variable and multi-profiled, characterized by an immersion and adaptability to the American mainstream culture with an eagerness to connect with tradition.

Was there a significant change in a particular Mexican-American extended family profile that occurred across the second and third generations? Definitely. Although, values appeared similar, they had become "symbolic" in the third generation. Familism was "symbolic" in that family had become an ideal that was no longer a necessity. Religious dependency was symbolic, a memory, an ideal that had become just one element of many that comprised a new, more complex and

diverse identity. Well-paying jobs earned by means of educational achievement were goals that offered comfortable living styles and socioeconomic status. World views had broadened, become more complex, more "American" in style and more individualized in nature. No longer was there a dependency on family or church to provide needs or interests.

What factors contributed to this change across generations? Educational achievement through the processes of acculturation has provided third generation family members with an increased awareness of different opportunities and a more accessible means to resources.

Acculturation Process

The importance of addressing family and social networks, world views, identity, education, social and economic status, and discrimination in this study was to evaluate their various roles in the process of acculturation. Acculturation is the process of changes, modifications, and adaptations in behaviors, values and attitudes that are induced on individuals who have migrated from one culture into another. Acculturation is not a discrete event, but a long term intergenerational historical process (Chapa, 1988, p. 1). Neither is acculturation a simple or a linear process, but one that is a complex and dynamic interaction of situational factors involving choice through persistent and complicated decision making. Generally acculturation paradigms view cultural change as merely movement toward a dominant culture, thus, minimizing or negating personal choice. Douard (1985) emphasized this type of linear interpretation of cultural change through the process of acculturation often denotes "degeneration." He further stated, "A truly anthropological model of acculturation should not imply direct subordination of a society to a dominant one. . . rather it should be considered a short-hand device defining a process of culture change with no hardening effect on the notion of community boundary" (p. 230). Within such a nondeterministic model, acculturation is simply an internal shift of emphasis, a transition without necessary loss, that is perceived as cultural change not from an etic, ethnocentric point of reference, but instead, from one that is based in an emic point of view.

Mexican-Americans are exposed to the mainstream cultural patterns of the United States and modifications in their values, norms, attitudes and behaviors may be expected to occur because

of this contact (Marin, Sabogar, Marin, Otero-Sabogal & Perez, 1987, p. 184). In the process of cultural interaction, an individual develops a new cultural identity, one influenced by individual variations and preferences and often limited by perceived discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. A multitude of factors contribute to a wide range of individual differences in relation to the degree of acculturation. Relative knowledge of the culture of origin and the host culture; value orientations, beliefs, and attitudes; socioeconomic status; neighborhood and household type; educational and occupational levels; language familiarity and usage; cultural heritage; ethnic distance, pride, affiliation, membership and identity; geographical location; socialization; exposure to the dominant community; influence from media; and other factors all contribute to differences in both emically and etically perceived differences across ethnicity, generations, families, and individuals. In addition, personal factors determine decision-making processes associated with the value of retaining versus adopting of original or host society's cultural elements.

Consequences of these choices or limitations on moving toward Anglo-culture are generally heterogeneous. Some individuals may experience family disruption, particularly between first and second generation family members, because they are no longer able to communicate values, perceptions or behaviors. Cultural disorientation and entropy may ensue for individuals who are not able to adapt to new and foreign manners, resulting in rejection of dominant cultural methods and reaffirmation of one's cultural heritage; and/or in acceptance of subordinate positions in the margins of the dominant societal arena. Others may have a sense of belonging in two cultures without compromising his or her sense of cultural identity, and are able to appropriately adapt their realization of duality to different situations. Sofia clearly acknowledged, "I think to a certain extent it is important to be acculturated. We're already part of it, I think because we've given up some of our culture already; and we're already part of this. . .and that's why it's important for me to keep my connections with my parents." And Bernardo noted the importance of biculturalism, "Absolutely. I feel I can do it. . .Sometimes I surprise myself how well I can go back and forth between both; and Erika, "I'm able to take the good and the bad from both (cultures). . .I really think in America, you can't live without it (acculturation)." Still others may grasp their adopted culture and reflect its preferences and interact in its social networks. When Lori was asked, "Why

would you not consider yourself 'traditional'?, she replied, "Basically because I really don't have a background or the history. . . or any of the celebrations."

How has the process of acculturation defined the identities of the third generation for this particular extended family? The process of acculturation has generally not eliminated knowledge or perspectives from the traditional culture; however, for some family members it has separated them from the country of origin. For most, its movement away from tradition and country of origin has regenerated an interest in all family members to connect with their origins, to make an attempt to learn their history. The acculturative process has provided the third generation with a bicultural assemblage of mechanisms to adapt to multiple arenas. Garza and Gallegos (1985) stated, "In the final analysis, people in every society are the end product of different socio-cultural influences, resulting from interactions with family, peers, and other aspects of the external world. In essence, then everyone is multicultural to some extent. Not only that, but the specific cultural characteristics of each individual are unique, different even from other family members" (p. 376). In this sense, it was central that analysis of family members was not oversimplified by categorizing them according to etically conceived notions of distinction. Family members of all three generations varied widely regarding orientations, and, thus, distinctions could not be determined solely by age and generation, but were recognized in association with their individual and personal characteristics. Through the acculturation process many of the individuals in the second generation developed their own distinct personality and identity, one of duality and adaptability. This unique personality had reorganized traditional structural and functional patterns by applying new rules, acquiring new and different artifacts and applying appropriate behaviors. They realized that acculturation was inevitable yet chose to be active in its process and limiting in its absorption.

Oral and Visual Narratives

Narratives are representations of perceived experiences organized from memory into a framework that is meaningful today. They are a creation of self, an expression of "how I want to be known" to others. The analysis of narratives by a researcher involves a reconstruction of the informants' system of knowledge and experiences into meanings that are interpretative to a

specific audience. Narratives are, thus, constructs developed through a social process of interaction among informant, researcher and audience. In this sense, they create a "third reality," an "aggregate of fluid and contextual reality that is selective, partial and imperfect" (Personal Narrative Group, 1989, p. 5).

In this study, oral and visual narratives were presented in an attempt to convey salient features of the third generation family members' lives. Human agency and imagination determined what was included and excluded, how events were plotted and what they were supposed to mean (Reissman, 1993). In the oral narratives, stories were developed from structured interviews. Although storytellers generally diverted from and elaborated on the original format, the questions were constructed and presented by the researcher at a particular place and time.

The visual stories, however, were products of individual selection and their construction was based on a plot that emphasized unique identities embedded in cultural templates that did not constitute a unified discourse but rather reflected a range of possibilities within the larger social framework (Rosenwald, 1992; & Hejaief, 1996). The visual images illuminated how each family member perceived their lives within this framework and presented each in relation to his or her environment by reflecting and defining his or her social and cultural categories of meaning. The polysemic nature of the visual image, however, presented the possibility that meaning was open to a broad range of texts (Sekula, 1978) and that the photographs have different meanings to different audiences. Their interpretation, as in oral narratives, constitutes a collaborative, communicative interaction between photographer, topic of the visual image, and viewer in a meeting place for different (Caldarola, 1985) and dynamic points of view. In this sense, both the oral and visual narratives represented multiple realities.

Again, we noted in the photographs differences in age-sets among the third generation family members. Older members focused their images on family history and growing up in the barrio. Sofia's images were focused on the family, both in past generations and in her childhood. There was no picture of her immediate nuclear family or her daily experiences. Frederico began his visual story with pictures from the Holy Family neighborhood where he remembered his childhood. At least half of his pictures were centered there. The other half showed family members who had

gathered together for a Christmas celebration and included individuals who were not direct relatives but were friends of the family and part of an emerging social network.

Bernardo included descriptions with each of his images. He told a story of what was important to him in his daily life and what was significant for his future. From the images, the viewer was able to note an expanded social network that included friends at work and a family that now included friends and his dog, Molly. Carmenlita also told a story of her daily life and included what she does at home and at work. It was also important for Carmenlita to include a visit to her mother's grave during a recent trip to Fort Collins, Colorado, and an image of her future aspirations to become a pilot. Several pictures included her son and one captured her entire nuclear family. Chelsea and Teresa focused upon their children and family events. In addition, Chelsea included pictures of scenery and Teresa one picture of her house. Although, Tomas, Erika, Rico, and Lori were provided with cameras, they did not include them for this study.

Of interest was the supportive character of these visual images to the oral narratives. Together they told a story of age differences, an emerging sense of individuality, an importance of self identity apart from the family context, a nuclear definition of family, and an emerging social network outside of the original family format. Families now reflected friends, and even canine members. Religion was noted but not emphasized by most members; and family history played a role in only one visual story. Pictures associated with education reflected 'American' ideals that were associated with individual success (i.e. college educations, pictures of children's schools, and the wish to study to become a pilot). Household images represented small households that included immediate family members and few showed a "connection" to their origins in Mexico. Pictures of third generation members gathering together with extended family were absent.

Together, the oral and visual narratives told a story of distance from their ethnic origins and an immersion into the dominant Anglo arena. Although aware of their cultural heritage, they were embedded in the dominant Anglo culture, no longer "profoundly alien" (Rodriquez, 1992, p. 138), "lacking a public identity (Rodriquez, 1982, p. 138) nor did they remain "perched on a hyphen" (1992, p. 159).

Conclusion

The result of this research was a revealing profile of the cultural evolutions that took place in two counties of northeastern Colorado, Larimer and Weld, a region that experienced a Mexican-American population who originally were isolated residing near their work in the fields, to one that over time moved to urban neighborhoods and became embedded in the dominant Anglo cultural arena. In this evolutionary process, it was the second generation who were torn between tradition and new ways of thinking and behaving, between poverty and economic mobility, and between marginalization and acculturation. It was the third generation, who in the process of acculturation had minimal or no access to traditional knowledge funds, and either found this not important or relevant or chose to create a "folk culture" based on what knowledge they did have with that which was imagined.

This is the first in-depth study of this type for the Mexican-American population in northern Colorado, specifically in the South Platte River Valley of Larimer and Weld counties. Besides the presentation of a complex story of a particular immigrant family over time and place, an importunate challenge has decorated this study: to integrate anthropological and educational theory and methodology with a narrative and visual approach to cultural ethnography. This type of approach involved a social process of mutual orientation and exchange. It was a means of entering another person's world to create a world of shared intersubjectivity with the objective of understanding differences (Tedlock, 1983, p. 70). The construction of experience out of sharing memory in an interactive dialogue constitutes how an author perceives past experiences today (Rosenthal, 1996, p. 64), and speaks of cultural details in representations of self in connection with another. In essence, this study of culture was reflected in "hyphenated realities" that constituted cultural meaning and organized past experiences in current, well-known patterns (Gubrium, 1999, p. 239).

The "hyphenated" or highlighted realities for third generation family members were centered in nuclear family relationships and events, seldom including extended family networks. Although family members expressed a desire to "get together" with their aunts, uncles, and cousins, it remained an "ideal." Extended family members were estranged and no longer served as

providers either in an emotional or financial capacity nor were they considered supportive or protective. Individuals outside of the nuclear family, including friends and co-workers, now held these significant roles for third generation family members. The Catholic religion remained relevant for most individuals but not in similar ways. For some, the Church was a link to traditions both in the country of origin and in past generations who had settled in America. For others Catholicism became "symbolic" in that it was associated with both self and social identities even though attendance or participation in religious events and adherence to belief systems were minimal and sometimes nonexistent. And, for a few, the Catholic religion remained a vital element in their lives. Values outside of family and religion expanded beyond traditional expectations and resembled more dominant Anglo values including individualism, educational achievement and economic success. "Success" was generally related to economic stability, but also focused upon the immediate family and their desire to provide adequate means for fourth generation family members so that they could experience a comfortable and rewarding lifestyle. Thus, the concept of "familism" that had constituted a central core stereotype for populations from Mexico for decades was redefined and reevaluated by the third generation.

Discriminatory attitudes and behaviors, nevertheless, survived and prevailed in the area but were being approached differently. Third generation family members were more aware, less intimidated, and more assertive about their positions in society. Although reasons for discrimination and consequential feelings and behaviors resulting from prejudicial thoughts and actions remained compelling in the area, they were also related to socioeconomic status as well as ethnic characteristics. Educational exposure and upward socioeconomic mobility had provided most family members with the tools needed to confront discrimination and either use it to their advantage or make every effort to triumph over it.

This study began in Mexico and followed Hinojos and Carmelita from Mexico to the fields of northeastern Colorado. It further accompanied their children, the second generation into the urban barrios and examined their initial exposure and immersion into the dominant Anglo arena. Family members of the second generation told stories about poverty, education, new jobs, and residencies. As adults, some moved away from family and neighborhoods to suburban

communities and, thus, from traditional ties. Others remained in the ethnic neighborhood. All family members, however, changed and represented a diversified personality profile in the second generation. This study attempted to understand the variability of the third generation. In spite of the transformations that resulted in their increased exposure and immersion into the dominant Anglo community, the third generation Mexican-American family had emerged on a foundation strengthened by origins and traditions in Mexico, and by the dynamics of adaptability over time and place.

A specific objective of this study was to distinguish the Mexican-American story in this geographical area from other stories in Colorado. Research questions asked if the third generation represented a unique cultural profile, and if so what factors contributed to the changes across generations? The data revealed an evolutionary personality profile for the third generation family members. Although many aspects of the previous generations prevailed, more had changed. Early on in the research process it was discovered that questions used in previous research with the second generation lacked meaning and/or relevance for the third generation. In a proposed inductive style, stories emerged to explain the reasons for changes in interpretation and meanings across generations. What was important for second generation family members no longer had significant meaning for the third generation. In this sense, a distinction can be made across generations but one that is blurred by individual differences, settlement patterns, socioeconomic status, educational levels, changing world views, and the adaptation to and adoption of dominant Anglo styles of living, ideologically and behaviorally. In a sense, it can be suggested that the second generation is more unique to northern Colorado than the third. The blending into a more universal "American" profile by third generation family members proposes a less geographically-based one.

Recommendations for future research should include a more emic assessment of the acculturation process. The distinction in anthropology between emic and etic approach is relevant to the often highly slanted pattern in assessments of Hispanic levels of acculturation and its outcomes. As researchers we must confront the issue of addressing the process of acculturation, its contributing factors, and resulting outcomes from more comprehensive points of reference,

rather than rely on data interpreted and limited by measures originating from strictly etic point of views that may be markedly different from those being studied. Emic information pertaining to perspectives and/or means of acculturation is best obtained through narratives.

It is not unreasonable to emphasize that the Mexican-American population comprises an integral part of Colorado's historical panorama and presently is expanding into a dominant population factor for northeastern Colorado. It is becoming imperative that public institutions recognize the dynamic demographics in northeastern Colorado and realize that in order to respond to growing needs, particularly in education, they will need to understand increasing ethnic diversity. Hopefully, this study will provide a framework and some much needed data in order to help understand the larger picture as well as provide a basis for future works of other researchers in such fields as education, business, sociology, medicine, psychology, and anthropology.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Literature Review for the First and Second Generation

(Hawthorne, 2000)

First Generation: Immigration and Fieldwork in Northern Colorado

The purpose of the first topic of concern was essentially that of seeking primary and secondary materials concerning Mexican-American immigration and labor patterns in northern Colorado.

One of the most demanding and frustrating features of the previous study of the first generation was the impressive lack of past or recently published data on Mexican-American people in northern Colorado.

In studies of immigrant populations, it is especially important to know background information concerning the culture and history of their origins. There exists an abundant resource base that is available on international, national and statewide bases. Specific local information, however, tended to be generalized and focused in southeastern Colorado. Of special interest, however, were the statewide resource project reports on migrant and seasonal labor in Colorado from the 1920s to the 1970s. These reports offered a chronological profile of agricultural and mining laborers (including child) throughout the state and included the following: *Children of the Fields* by E. N. Clopper and L. W. Hine (1916); *Outline: Mexicans in Rural Colorado* by W. E. Skinner (1920); *Mexicans in Rural Colorado* by Dr. R. D. McCracken (1920); *Children Working in the Sugar Beet Fields of Certain Districts of the South Platte River Valley* by S. A. Brown, R. O. Sargent, and C. B. Armentrout (1925); *Children Working on Farms in Certain Sections of Northern Colorado Including Districts in the Vicinities of Windsor, Wellington, Fort Collins, Loveland, and Longmont* by B. F. Coen, W. E. Skinner, and D. Leach (1926); *Migrant Farm Labor in Colorado: A Study of Migratory Families* by H. E. Thomas and F. Taylor (1951); *A Social Profile of Agricultural Migratory People in Colorado* by A. M. Potts (in association with the Colorado State Department of Education, 1959; and *Migrant Farm Workers in Colorado*) by Dr. R. D. McCracken (1979). These reports provided the only published information on living conditions, and population

characteristics, needs and problems specific to the area of study, associated with this population over time.

Data resources regarding immigration into the United States from Mexico were obtained from various sources including *The Mexican American's of South Texas* by William Madsen (1964), an ethnography of the early agricultural immigrants who established communities in southern Texas. This study told a story of the first Mexican-American barrios in the United States that set a pattern for most other Mexican-American settlements throughout the United States, including those in the South Platte River Valley of northern Colorado.

Mexican-Americans in the Southwest by E. Galarza, H. Gallegos, and J. Samora (1970) drew a picture of the settlement patterns of Mexican people in the southwestern part of the United States, including Colorado. Surrounding the new immigrants were factors contributing to emigration from Mexico, and the problems in living conditions, employment, education and attitudes of discrimination that confronted them when they arrived, and continues to be a problem at the present time. Galarza, Gallegos, and Samora specifically emphasized how these problems affected settlement patterns among Mexican populations.

The *Mexican American Family Album* by D. Hoobler, and T. Hoobler (1994) contributed personal narratives concerning immigration strategies and settlement patterns in the United States, and told of family values and religious beliefs that were brought across the border and established in American ethnic enclaves. *Household Labor Patterns Among Mexican-American's in South Texas, Buscando Trabajo Seguro* by E. K. Briody (1986) provided a recent resource on immigration, settlement patterns, and subsistence strategies of Mexican immigrants. Briody (1986) examined the "changing role of labor in low income Mexican-American households residing in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of southern Texas between 1948 and 1983 (p. 2). She theorized as to how this role was affected by various factors such as history, occupational skills and opportunities, origins, interrelations between classes, ethnicity and law, government and private assistance programs, migration and settlement patterns, identities, ideologies and education.

W. H. Friedland and D. Nelkin (1971) interpreted and organized firsthand accounts of lives of east coast migrant agricultural workers in the United States in their study *Migrant Agricultural Workers in America's Northeast*. For this study, data were collected through student-participant's observations in migrant labor camps. The study is concerned with how the system affects its participants, their lifestyles and life experiences and the problems and the "adjustments made by the people to the circumstances in which they live (1971). According to Friedland and Nelkin, three themes pervade the study. The first is the unpredictability, inconsistency, and insecurity of migrant life. The second theme regards the migrant laborer's adaptation in daily life to the disorganized character of his or her experiences. And the third theme is the extent to which the migrant laborer's social system confines its participants with obstacles to social change within the system that are not easily removed merely by providing *opportunities*. The importance of this book is in its implications that extend beyond the geographic area covered in its study. The problems of the migrant agricultural laborer in the United States are similar due to common conditions that override ethnic and regional characteristics.

Local history sources that addressed the culture and history of agriculture in northern Colorado were particularly important to this study. *The History of Agriculture in Colorado* by A. T. Steinel (1926) proffered a chronological record of the evolution of farming and livestock production surrounding the beet sugar industry from 1858 to 1926, an especially distinctive interval of time that embraced the first generation of immigrant Mexican fieldworkers in northern Colorado. C. R. Shwayder (1987) in *Weld County, Old and New* elaborated on the history of sugar beet agriculture and the beet sugar industry, specifically in northern Colorado. Information from this resource utilized in association with information obtained from the Loveland Museum's exhibit on the *Great Western Sugar Company* (1999) and three videos produced by the Company: *Great Western Sugar Company Story*, *1924 Great Western Sugar Company Film*, and *The Beet Seed Story* contributed multidimensional perspectives of northern Colorado's sugar beet agriculture and production from the early 1900s through the 1960s. Each of these resources integrated the field laborer with the beet sugar industry in a distinctive way, allowing the researcher to access different ways of approaching the topic.

Also perused for supplemental historical information were the following: *A History of Larimer County, Colorado* by A. Watrous (1911 & 1980); *Colorado and It's People: A Narrative and Topical History of the Centennial State* by L. R. Hafen (1948); and *Larimer County in Words and Pictures, the Fabulous First Century and Twenty-five Years of Larimer County, Colorado History, Volume II*, edited by the Curtis Media Company (1987).

Mexican-Americans/American Mexicans: From Conquistadors to Chicanos by M. S. Meier, and F. Ribera (1993) provided a historical resource that was divided into five broad periods. Of importance to this study was the third period from 1848 to 1900, the migration of thousands of Mexican citizens to the Southwestern area of the United States; and the fourth section that embraced the rapidly rising rate of migration from Mexico during the Revolution of 1910 which ejected its political and social refugees. Due to extreme poverty and future uncertainty in Mexico at the time, citizens of Mexico were impelled to move to the industrial and agricultural areas of the Southwestern and the Midwestern areas of the United States.

Other resources gave personal accounts of immigration and settlement in America. Of special significance was *Barrio Boy* an autobiography by E. Galarzo (1971) that revealed the author's personal journey from Mexico to Sacramento, California. Galarzo told a story of the turmoil and instability that existed in Mexico during the early 1900's and how his family left Mexico in search of work and security in America. He retold firsthand his experiences surrounding work, education, and family and community relationships in California, and how his childhood experiences in America influenced and shaped his identity as a second generation Mexican-American in the United States. This resource was significant in that it provided a model for Hinojo's journey (first generation) into Colorado in 1920. Since little information was obtainable from his family regarding his journey, this resource was invaluable.

Principal information was gathered from *Interviews and Narratives* of second generation family members. These interviews addressed issues concerning immigration processes and strategies and agricultural fieldwork issues and concerns in northern Colorado. Stories were told of parents who migrated to the United States in the early 1920s. Information was vague, however, and no two stories were the same. An understanding of the reasons for their parent's migration

northward and/or their method of transportation were obscure. Any contact with relatives that remained in Mexico was nonexistent because there was no known or obtainable personal or governmental information about them. Numerous stories, however, were told of working in the fields. These were the stories that introduced the first generation and gave detailed accounts of daily living in the fields with their parents by their side. This was invaluable information because it was the only firsthand information about daily life experiences of a specific ethnic laborer in northern Colorado.

Second Generation: Farm Mechanization, Urbanization, and Acculturation

The primary source of information regarding the second generation was obtained from interviews and narratives with eight family members. Additional data were reviewed from numerous and various primary and secondary literary resources.

Of special interest was *Bessemer: A Sociological Perspective of a Chicano Barrio* by I. I. Blea (1991), an ethnographic study of a contemporary Mexican-American community in central urban Colorado. The value of this study was in its comparative population, a population that consisted of first generation immigrant individuals and their families who were recruited by the local Colorado Ironworks, Company to work in the local steel mills during the first half of the twentieth century; and their offspring, a second generation community of working-class individuals and families that have remained in the ethnic barrios even though the mills have closed. Blea (1991) focused upon the factors that may have contributed to this phenomenon by asking, "Why a culture that could economically afford to move away from the crowded, depressed urban barrios, remained?" (p. 198). She hypothesized that perhaps they remained partially out of choice but primarily out of external social pressures to keep them there, separated from the mainstream by the dominant Anglo-American society that surrounded and built physical and social boundaries that were based on ethnic origins (1991). Similarly, the population in northern Colorado was recruited to the area by the Great Western Sugar Company in the first part of the 20th century. Beginning in the 1940s, farm mechanization forced them into urban centers where they also congregated in ethnic barrios; however, many individuals and families have been able and others

have chosen to move into the dominant Anglo-American communities because of improved social and economic conditions, even though there existed external pressures to keep them from doing so.

One of the few documents specifically devoted to Mexican-American populations in northern Colorado is "Andersonville: A Case Study in Poverty," a *Master's Thesis* for the Department of Economics at Colorado State University, by A. V. Maury (1969). In this study, Maury compared living conditions of various segments of America's population to those in Andersonville, a Mexican-American subdivision or one of the four ethnic barrios or neighborhoods in Fort Collins, Colorado. Maury noted that the effects of religion, education, and family were significant factors that continuously contributed to the poverty in Andersonville by keeping its residents bound by traditional values and beliefs. Although Maury stated that the majority of Mexican-American residents in Andersonville had moved into more permanent service oriented jobs, they were held in a state of poverty that required changes within the Mexican-American value system. This resource was significant in that it provided a model for Hinojos' journey (first generation) to Colorado in 1920; it provided a comparative study to Blea's of two distinct but similar ethnic neighborhoods, both dependent on local industries for survival; and it represented a model for ethnic and social-economic differences that kept certain populations confined to the marginal areas of urban developments during and after the closures of the steel mills and sugar factories in Colorado.

Architecture and History of Buckingham Place, Alta Vista, and Andersonville Neighborhoods, and *Architecture and History of Holy Family Neighborhood* two projects directed by J. Feinberg (in association with the Community Services Collaborative in Boulder, Colorado, and the City of Fort Collins Planning and Development Department, 1983) contributed historical and cultural summaries and structural frameworks of the development and establishment of the four barrios in Fort Collins, Colorado, two of which housed the family of interest in this study. Each of these projects provided vital blueprints that were used to analyze settlement patterns and changes in these important ethnic enclaves.

Two resources were of special interest concerning Mexican-American identity issues in the United States particularly for first and second generation individuals. The following two perspectives regarding Mexican-American identity issues offered an insightful awareness into the complexities that evolved through acculturation and/or assimilation into the dominant Anglo-American society. *Knowing People: A Mexican-American Community's Concern of a Person* by D. Sewell (1989) is an ethnographic study of Mexican-American culture. Sewell described her study as "a report on how some Americans think about and identify the people they encounter in everyday social life, how they go about deciding what to think about and do with people" (1989, p. 10). It is a study of a rural community in California, "Lakeland, a community in the middle of large and small farms" (p. 19). Sewell's interest was in Mexican-American ways of thinking about themselves and their identities. Lakeland community subsistence strategies were concentrated in lower paying and unskilled jobs and most community members believed that education meant earning more money, but avoided college because it was an alien concept.

In *Hunger for Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez*, an autobiography by R. Rodriguez (1982) he stated, "It is education that altered my life" (1982, p. 5). He described himself as "the scholarship boy who returns home one summer from college to discover bewildering silence, facing his parents" (1982, p. 5). He realized then his alienation from his family and community. His advanced education had separated him as "the Brown Uncle Tom. . . (as an American he) was no longer alien in gringo society. . . (He was able to) seek the rights and opportunities necessary for full public individuality" (1982, p. 27).

Data concerning *la familia*, religious beliefs and practices, occupational and educational achievements, and identity formation were gathered from two essential resources. First, information from *Mexican Families* by C. J. Falicov (1982) was vital in its analyses of ethnic identity issues and family roles and expectations. Narrative stories told by family members also provided indispensable and personal information regarding their experiences and perspectives surrounding *la familia*, their religious devotions, their struggles with acculturation and identity, and their emotions associated with external forces such as discrimination.

APPENDIX B

Examples of Interview Guidelines

The interviews were based on three particular questionnaire formats. The first interview was designed to provide information regarding individual family histories. The second interview was focused on roles, role expectations, family and household structures and cultural values. The third interview was intended to create a social network around each informant and thereby establish the significance of particular social relationships. The fifty-two questions were arranged as a guide to maintain an unstructured open-ended rapport with each informant.

The objective of the interview questions was to provide an opportunity for each family member to share their personal recollections of historical and personal events as perceived within their own cultural environment. The taped interviews related observations, perspectives and experiences in uninhibited, spontaneous and natural manners.

EXAMPLES OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: 1

1. WERE YOU BORN IN THE FORT COLLINS AREA?
2. WHAT AREA OF FORT COLLINS DID YOU GROW UP IN?
3. WHAT AREA OF FORT COLLINS DO YOU NOW LIVE IN?
4. WHERE WERE YOUR GRANDPARENTS BORN? RESIDE?
5. WHERE WERE YOUR PARENTS BORN? RESIDE?
6. WHY DID YOUR GRANDPARENTS COME TO THE FORT COLLINS AREA?
7. ARE YOUR PARENTS STILL LIVING IN THE FORT COLLINS AREA?
8. WHAT OCCUPATIONS DID YOUR PARENTS HAVE WHEN YOU WERE A CHILD? AS AN ADULT?
9. DESCRIBE THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOU GREW UP IN.
10. WHAT LANGUAGE DID YOU SPEAK IN YOUR PARENT'S HOME?
11. WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK IN YOUR HOME?
12. IN NAME, WHICH DO YOU PREFER: "HISPANIC," "MEXICAN-AMERICAN," "LATINO/A,"
"CHICANO/A" OR "AMERICAN?"
13. WHAT WERE YOUR HOPES AND DREAMS AS A CHILD?

14. WHAT IS YOUR PERCEPTION OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN HISTORY IN THE FORT COLLINS AREA?
15. WHAT OCCUPATIONS HAVE YOU HAD? HAVE YOU EVER BEEN EMPLOYED AS AN AGRICULTURAL SEASONAL OR CONTRACT LABORER?

EXAMPLES OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: 2

1. HOW DO YOU DEFINE YOUR FAMILY?
2. DESCRIBE OCCASIONS THAT BRING YOUR FAMILY TOGETHER.
3. DESCRIBE WHAT YOU DO ON THESE OCCASIONS.
4. DID YOUR FAMILY ALWAYS EAT MEALS TOGETHER AS A GROUP IN A PARTICULAR SETTING?
5. DEFINE YOUR HOUSEHOLD. IS IT DIFFERENT THAN THE HOUSEHOLD YOU GREW UP IN? IS IT DIFFERENT FROM YOUR OTHER SIBLING'S HOUSEHOLDS?
6. HAS YOUR FAMILY STRUCTURE CHANGED SINCE YOU WERE A CHILD?
7. HAVE YOUR FAMILY ROLES CHANGED SINCE YOU WERE A CHILD?
8. AS A CHILD, WHO WAS YOUR ROLE MODEL? AS AN ADULT?
9. DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF AS ONE WHO ADHERES TO A TRADITIONAL ROLE IN YOUR FAMILY?
10. DEFINE GENDER ROLES IN YOUR FAMILY AS A CHILD. AS AN ADULT.
11. WHO MADE THE DECISIONS AT YOUR HOUSE?
12. DEFINE THE ROLE OF MOTHER.
13. DEFINE THE ROLE OF FATHER.
14. DEFINE THE ROLE OF GRANDPARENT.
15. DESCRIBE THE EXPECTATIONS OF CHILDREN IN A FAMILY.
16. DEFINE THE ROLE OF ADULT DAUGHTER.
17. DEFINE THE ROLE OF ADULT SON.
18. DEFINE THE ROLE OF SISTER, AS A CHILD AND AS AN ADULT.
19. DEFINE THE ROLE OF BROTHER AS A CHILD AND AS AN ADULT.
20. WHO WAS THE DOMINANT FIGURE IN CHILDREARING IN YOUR FAMILY? EXPLAIN

21. WHO WAS THE DOMINANT FIGURE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD AS A CHILD? AS AN ADULT?
EXPLAIN.
22. WERE THERE ANY OTHER PEOPLE THAT PLAYED A ROLE IN CHILDREARING IN YOUR
FAMILY?
23. DESCRIBE THE IMPORTANT VALUES THAT WERE TAUGHT TO YOU AS A CHILD?
24. DEFINE MARRIAGE.
25. WHAT ARE YOUR THOUGHTS REGARDING MIXED ETHNIC MARRIAGES?
26. DESCRIBE A "TYPICAL" MEXICAN-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLD IN FORT COLLINS.
27. DESCRIBE A "TYPICAL" MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILY IN FORT COLLINS.
28. WHAT ROLE DOES RELIGION PLAY IN YOUR FAMILY? IN YOUR PARENT'S GENERATION?

EXAMPLES OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: 3

1. NAME UP TO 10 PEOPLE THAT YOU VALUE IN YOUR LIFE.
2. DESCRIBE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH OF THESE PEOPLE INCLUDING GENDER, AGE,
OCCUPATION AND RELATIONSHIP TO YOU.
3. WHAT IS THE FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH EACH PERSON? DO YOU SEE THEM DAILY,
WEEKLY, MONTHLY? DO YOU TALK ON THE PHONE OR MEET WITH THEM IN PERSON?
4. WHAT IS THE PURPOSE FOR THE INTERACTIONS WITH EACH CONTACT?
5. WHAT IS THE CONTENT OF THE INTERACTIONS WITH EACH CONTACT?
6. WHAT IS THE SETTING FOR THE INTERACTIONS WITH EACH CONTACT?
7. WHAT IS THE AVERAGE DURATION FOR EACH INTERACTION WITH EACH CONTACT?
8. WHAT IS EXCHANGED DURING THE INTERACTIONS WITH EACH CONTACT? FOR EXAMPLE:
GIFTS, ADVICE, INFORMATION.

APPENDIX C

Letter of Introduction and Informed Consent

TITLE OF PROJECT: ETHNOGRAPHY OF A THIRD GENERATION MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILY IN THE SOUTH PLATTE RIVER VALLEY OF NORTHERN COLORADO.

NAME OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: DR. JAMES BANNING, EDUCATION AND/OR DR. TIM DAVIES, EDUCATION

NAME OF CO-INVESTIGATOR: Barbara Hawthorne

PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT: The purpose of this research project is to describe the history and culture of the Mexican-American family in northern Colorado. You will be asked to participate in not more than three (3) separate interviews not to exceed two (2) hours each. You are encouraged to share any personal documents, photos, memorabilia or other material that may be relevant to the history or culture of your family or your heritage with me. The research will be conducted between February 2003 and March 2006.

PROCEDURES TO BE USED: You will be asked to participate in 1 to 3 informal interviews with me. The interviews will be audio taped and transcribed into a written format. Questions will include information about you and your family and friends. You may answer only those questions you wish to answer. You may be asked to share family photos and documents that may be relevant to the study, or be photographed for research purposes. At any time, you may withdraw from the research, and you will no longer be contacted. All data and tapes gathered in this research will be held and owned by Barbara Hawthorne. At no time will this data be available to any person besides those mentioned.

RISKS INHERENT IN THE PROCEDURES: There are no known risks. It is not possible to identify all potential risks in an experimental procedure, but the researcher has taken reasonable safeguards to minimize any known and potential, but unknown, risks.

BENEFITS: Although there are no direct benefits to the participants of this research project, it is important to understand that the Mexican-American population in the Fort Collins area is a vital contributor to the personality of the Fort Collins cultural composition. An awareness and understanding of the Mexican-American history and culture is important to the future of the community as a whole, for only through understanding of cultural differences, can a future of cultural diversity be successfully established.

CONFIDENTIALITY: All data generated from this research project will be anonymous and not in any way reflect the identity of the individual observed, interviewed, photographed, taped or questioned. All participants will be represented by a name code. All research material will be the property of Barbara Hawthorne.

Page 1 of 2 Subject Initials _____ Date _____

LIABILITY: THE COLORADO GOVERNMENTAL IMMUNITY ACT DETERMINES AND MAY LIMIT COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY'S LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY IF AN INJURY HAPPENS BECAUSE OF THIS STUDY. CLAIMS AGAINST THE UNIVERSITY MUST BE FILED WITHIN 180 DAYS OF THE INJURY.

QUESTIONS ABOUT SUBJECTS' RIGHTS MAY BE DIRECTED TO CELIA A. WALKER AT (970) 491-1563.

YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS RESEARCH IS VOLUNTARY. IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY, YOU MAY WITHDRAW YOUR CONSENT AND STOP PARTICIPATION AT ANY TIME WITHOUT PENALTY.

YOUR SIGNATURE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT YOU HAVE READ THE INFORMATION STATED AND WILLINGLY SIGN THIS CONSENT FORM. YOUR SIGNATURE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGES THAT YOU HAVE RECEIVED, ON THE DATE SIGNED, A COPY OF THIS DOCUMENT, CONTAINING 2 PAGES.

PARTICIPANT NAME (PRINTED)

PARTICIPANT SIGNATURE

DATE

**INVESTIGATOR OR CO-INVESTIGATOR
SIGNATURE**

DATE

PAGE 2 OF 2 SUBJECT INITIALS-----DATE-----

APPENDIX D

Family Members

First Generation

Hinojos (1898-1979) and Carmelita (1912-1979)

The Second Generation of Descendents of

Informal interviews were held with the following members of the family in the year 1998, with the exception of the two deceased siblings.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>
1. Erlinda	1930
2. Paula	1933
3. Marta	1942
4. Abelardo	1943
5. Placida	1945
6. Pepe	1948
7. Maria	1949
8. Graciela	1951
9. Magdalena (deceased)	1956-1978
10. Angelica (deceased)	1957-1978

The Third Generation

Informal interviews were held with the following members of the family in the years 2003 and 2004

<u>NAME</u>	<u>YEAR OF BIRTH</u>
1. Sofia	1954
2. Frederico	1956
3. Bernardo	1969
4. Erika	1971
5. Tomas	1975
6. Ricardo "Rico"	1975
7. Carmenlita	1976
8. Chelsea	1977
9. Teresa	1978
10. Linda	1978
11. Mark	1981
12. Lori	1982

Kinship Chart

Descendants of Hinojos y Carmelita

GENERATION 1

Hinojos Carmelita

GENERATION 2

Erlinda Paul Marta Abelardo Plácido Pepe Maria Graciela Magdalena Angelica

GENERATION 3

Sofia Frederico Ricardo Chelsea Teresa Bernardo Erika Lori Tomas Mark Linda Carmenlita

GENERATION 4

Leah James, Mark & Joann Faith Andrew Ilene, Jame & Lisa Raquel, Joette & Tomas Miguel

APPENDIX E

Acculturation Assessments

