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Interethnic Marriages of Mexicans in Chicago

Peter Wan-Lee Keng
Loyola University Chicago

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LIFE

The writer was born in Shangtung, China, June 25, 1925.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS

One of the social phenomena that have been familiar to American social scientists is the problem of intermarriage. In a pluralistic society like the United States the various ethnic groups, by virtue of living together, are drawn closer and closer day after day through constant contacts, motivated by common interests; and inevitably such contact would develop into a closer personal relationship, one of which is intermarriage.

Sociologists have long recognized that marriage between the various groups that make up this heterogeneous amalgam not only involves the mixing of different value systems and norms but also brings into play a whole host of attitudes and sanctions of approval or disapproval current in society as a whole. That such attitudes promote or deter interracial and interethnic marriages has been well documented in Hawaii where little social pressure is put upon groups to marry their "own", with the consequent high incidence of intermarriage. In the continental United States, however, we not only have many states with legal prohibitions against various forms of intermarriage; but even where these do not exist, the social atmosphere has been negatively charged, in varying degrees of intensity, against both interracial as well as interethnic marriage. Sociologists have endeavored to subject these attitudes to scientific analysis and measurement. To simplify matters, intermarriages have been divided into two general types, the "permissive" and the "proscribed". "Permissive inter-
marriage is a marriage of an ingroup and outgroup, when these group affiliations are relevant to mate selection, and where no taboos exist in the culture's norms against such marriage. Proscribed intermarriage is marriage between an ingroup and an outgroup, when these group affiliations are relevant to mate selection, and when they involve taboosed deviation from norms governing selection of mates.\footnote{Simon Marcson, "The Prediction of Intermarriage," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (University of Chicago, Chicago, 1950), p.195.} According to this definition of intermarriage a union between a Pole and a German is permissive intermarriage and between a white and a Negro is a proscribed intermarriage.

At this point a question will be raised with regard to Mexican intermarriage: What type of intermarriage is the Mexican intermarriage? The answer to this question will be given later in this chapter when we define intermarriage.

Interrmarriage has been viewed in this country as a social problem, first of all, because interracial marriage is in a way a violation of a social taboo and sometimes even of local laws. Despite this opposition interracial marriages have and still do take place. Furthermore, with the recent attempt of social scientists to study the values and norms of social systems, research into the importance of such cultural values in a person's life, his personality, his beliefs and attitudes has become a new field of scientific research. The fact that two individuals of different cultures are united by matrimonial vows, does not minimize the differences between them. If such unions are to work out successfully, a great deal of adjustment will be required from both of them. Consequently sociologists are not content to describe the social
background in which intermarriages of various kinds take place but much attention is also being paid to the manner in which these intermarriages fare. Apart from the specific interests and emphases of the different scientists in this new field of research many are trying to find out the answers to two important questions: What factors played decisive roles in intermarriages and how successful were these marriages?

World War II seemed to produce a new aspect and new direction of marriage research. A great number of American soldiers married women in great numbers from different races and different countries and brought them to the United States. Such marriages, on the international level, so to say, have simply added another dimension to this type of research, that of international relations. Thus "Madame Butterfly" type of literature became a new fashion in social research. Hence it has even been stated that scientists have over-


Cincinnati Enquirer, "8,000 Mixed Marriages in Japan Give Clue to 'What She Got That We Haven't Got?';" (March 1952).
looked the importance of intergroup relations within the home country. One of the poorly studied situations is Mexican intermarriage which without doubt has increased constantly in recent years.

The writer has singled out the Mexican group from many other ethnic groups in the city of Chicago for research for many reasons. In the first place, there was evidence that the Mexican intermarriage has noticeably and constantly increased in the last 15 years in Chicago. Also this is a neglected problem due to the fact that the Mexicans as a group are relatively recent immigrants. Besides, the cultural differences and traditions with regard to many aspects of life are more acute in Mexican intergroup relations than in other ethnic group relations. The importance of these facts surely deserves an extensive and systematic study. Nonetheless, although there have been many studies and efforts with regard to other aspects of Mexicans and their social problems in Chicago, little was known of their intermarriage in this city.

It is the purpose of this study to provide a group of systematic data with regard to this "terra incognita" in the field of social science in order to compare, from the scientific point of view, the results of this work with that of others in the field with the hope that this analysis of Mexican intermarriage with other groups in Chicago will give some insight into intermarriage in general as well as point up the differences that may be found peculiar to social conditions here. In pursuance of this purpose the writer hopes to utilize other materials available on other aspects of Mexicans and their social problems in getting a clearer background for this research. It is hoped then that, with the help of these works, this investigation would be capable of making a significant contribution to the understanding of intergroup relations
in the city of Chicago, and would also initiate a scientific interest for more extensive research in the future in this neglected field.

One of the confusing facts in social science is the lack of uniformity in terminology. Each individual researcher seems to have his own terms and uses them according to his own interpretation.

Thus in order to avoid this confusion, the writer feels, it is necessary to define the concepts and terms employed as tools to convey ideas in this study before he presents the data of his investigation.

The first question will be the identification of the subjects: Who are the Mexicans under this study? Keeping in mind the complications in classification of Mexicans in the United States, the term "Mexican" does seem somewhat ambiguous to indicate definitely the subjects of this study. Urban sociologists and immigration experts divided Mexicans into many types: "the people who are passing through Chicago, migrant workers making their annual round of the United States; the people who have come here to stay for a few years, as strangers; the people from Mexico who have settled in Chicago, but still speak only Spanish; the people who were born here of Mexican parents; and the people who are of Mexican descent." Technically the last three groups are all included in this work.

According to American immigration law nationality is determined by country of birth. The term is not used exclusively in this sense but simply refers to ethnic affiliation. Thus those who have Mexican derivation, identifying them-

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3 Chicago Research Group: A Report on the Pilot Interviews of Mexicans, (March 1957). This report was based on the interviews of 57 individuals, 29 men and 28 women, made in March, 1957 by Chicago Research group.
selves and being identified by others as Mexicans, are the subjects of this investigation.

The term "community" has reference to the geographical divisions in Chicago where the three Mexican colonies are located and from which the sample was drawn. The term was adopted from Chicago Local Community Fact Book.

In recent urban research there is a tendency to use the expression "local area" as a basic unit for social study. It is described as having similar socio-economic and geographic factors, conditioning the social behavior of the total population living within its boundaries. Following this suggestion in study of Catholic parishes in the Bronx, New York, Scheuer, Schuyler, and Santopolo used the parish as locality area. Their effort in this attempt was to group census tracts as accurately as possible according to official parish boundaries. Defining locality area in this manner would eliminate the scope of research into a smaller territory, namely, a parish.

What we need now is a term that the respondent would recognize as covering what was for him an area in which he engaged in most of his social activities. Thus the term "parish locality area" does not seem to be comprehensive enough since all Mexicans are not concentrated within the boundaries of one parish but are spread out over a much larger area. Owing to this sprawling and mixed character of residence it was thought best to use the more comprehensive term "community." According to Chicago Local Community Fact Book the city of Chicago


\[5\] Ibid.
is divided into 75 local communities, each of which was described as having three general characteristics: 1) its own history, 2) its name, and 3) the awareness of the same common interests. The descriptions fit perfectly into the areas we covered. The three communities involved in this study are known as West Side Community, South Chicago, and Back of the Yards Community (or New City district).

The term "intermarriage" in the use of this paper simply denotes a marriage between an ingroup and an outgroup. It is a concept opposed to the term of intramarriage, namely, a marriage that takes place between two individuals within a given group, racial, ethnic or religious.

Terminology for intermarriage is rather confusing in many studies. Some sociologists apply "mixed marriage" for any type of intermarriage, whereas to Catholic sociologists this term refers to a marriage between a Catholic and a non-Catholic. In the Jewish faith mixed marriage is a marriage of a Jew with a gentile who is not converted, while intermarriage is between a Jew and a converted gentile. In Landis' usage mixed marriage was used with a much broader meaning. Any marriage that involves extreme differences is termed a mixed marriage. In his book, Building A Successful Marriage, he specifically selected the term of internationality marriage for marriage between an American and a foreign subject, but he did not have a particular term for marriage

6Philip M. Hauser and Evelyn M. Kitagawa, Local Community Fact Book for Chicago 1960 (University of Chicago, 1953).

7Judson T. Landis and Mary A. Landis, Building A Successful Marriage (New York, 1943), p.132.
between two individuals of different ethnic affiliation. The term "ethnicity" refers to culture rather than nationality or race in the present study.

All of this raises the question as to how we define Mexican intermarriage and what term should be used in this study? In doing so, we are facing a somewhat difficult problem. According to the immigration law Mexicans as a minority group in the United States are classified as white since 1930; that is, in the 1940 and later censuses. However, this legal classification seems to contradict popular identification in practice. Frequently Mexicans are socially treated as non-white, especially in case of marriage. Hence their intermarriage should be permissive by law, on one hand, and, on the other, proscribed by society.

For lack of a better terminology the writer proposed a term of interethnic marriage for Mexican intermarriage, in order to avoid social and racial identification which is difficult to establish in a particular case. In the text this term will be used in an abbreviated form "Mexican intermarriage" or simply "intermarriage."

In each intermarriage three distinct aspects can be studied, namely 1) the causal factors, 2) the patterns of selection, 3) the consequences. In this preliminary study, all these three aspects will be covered as extensively as possible. The arrangement of chapters will follow a logical sequence of the materials presented. After this introductory chapter the second chapter will be a short review of the pertinent literature. The third chapter will give an explanation of the research methods. The fourth chapter will be a presentation of the general background information, sociological and geographical, personal and social, economic and educational, religious and others. These
three chapters are preparatory in nature for a better understanding and better
treatment of the Mexican intermarriage problem. In the fifth chapter the
writer will discuss the principal factors that were believed to contribute to
the incidence of Mexican intermarriage in Chicago. The sixth chapter will be
a brief examination of the pattern of selection with regard to various ethnic
groups and sexes. The seventh chapter will deal with the controversial
aspects of intermarriage, i.e., the consequences of the Mexican intermarriage
with emphasis upon the adjustment problem, success and failure, as measured by
divorce, desertion and separation. The final chapter will be a brief summary
in which an attempt is made to draw some general conclusions with the help of
the statistical data and other knowledge secured in this study.
CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF LITERATURE

Since World War I a new channel has been opened for social research. It was discovered that one of the important aspects of human relations had been overlooked for many years. This new challenge for social scientists is intermarriage.

The hypothesis that "like attracts like" has been tested by many studies. The findings would seem to verify its validity. Under normal conditions people of the same religion and or race marry. This would likewise hold true of social status and education, age and intelligence, nationality and physical characteristics.


James H. S. Bossard, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVIII (September 1932), 219-224.
There is much evidence, however, that mate selections are frequently made in non-homogamous fashion. Thus in a heterogeneous society like the United States where one finds many different ethnic groups living very closely together, social relationships take place in spite of racial prejudice, group isolation, group loyalty and group differences. At the outset, the relationships may be based upon economic and occupational levels. In a long-term relationship, the individuals would develop an emotional attachment and find themselves in love. Under these circumstances intermarriage is the result.

Due to the facilities of modern communication, intermarriage takes place not only on the national level, but also appears on the international scene. Immigration and emigration certainly facilitate the process. Strangely enough even war can be a matchmaker. World War I brought 10,000 French women as wives of American soldiers. This was also true of World War II, since intermarriage between American soldiers and women from foreign countries abroad occurred on a large scale.

Two people with different cultural backgrounds are apt to encounter some conflicts or difficulties in marital life. These differences in backgrounds that are most likely to create marital tensions or conflicts challenge the attention of sociologists and students of marriage. In their approach to the problem they expected their findings would give a scientific answer to the following questions: What pattern do these marriages follow under normal conditions? What problems arise in such interethnic marriages? And how do they adjust to and solve some of these problems?
A. Causal Factors

Any heterogeneous society is a good field for this kind of research. The United States, Hawaii and Brazil are perhaps the best known and most frequently studied examples. Although the peculiarities of a situation in a given society may lead to different findings with regard to one or more particular factors, the results, by and large, yield to some universal generalizations. Upon a close analysis of the results of many studies of this kind, Barron\(^2\) was able to list a few social factors that to some extent are applicable to all situations or places: 1) unbalanced sex ratio; 2) the development of cultural similarity and social proximity through intergroup relations; 3) propinquity, both economical and spatial; 4) the lack of control of Church and State due to social change. These four factors, according to social scientists, seem to be most influential in promoting intergroup marriage.

The imbalance of the sex ratio is said to be the more prominent and the more influential factor in most cases. This hypothesis was tested by a few scientific studies. Panunzio in his study, "Interrmarriage in Los Angeles", found out that the sex ratio in Filipino groups seemed to be the only explanation for the high ratio of intermarriage between Filipinos and Anglos in that city.\(^3\) Sister Annella's findings, in her study of intermarriage in Washington, D.C., seemed to agree with Barron in this regard. She states that "In 1940:


white females exceeded males by 20,000 and that there were 10,000 more Negro women than Negro men. Furthermore, white and Negro women have outnumbered men in the District in this proportion since 1850.4

Next to the sex ratio, culture seems to play an important influencing role in intermarriage. This has been proven by results of many studies. Panunzio pointed out that of Mexican intermarriages, a large proportion of mates was selected from Latin culture. And a similar trend was also observed in Los Angeles: over half of the Japanese intermarriages were with Chinese and over half of the Chinese intermarriages were with Japanese.5

It should be noticed that even when people are willing to cross nationality lines they still very sentimentally stick to the culture that is very similar to that of their own. To what extent the cultural factor would dictate a decision depends upon many other related factors. Social conditions such as "the size of ethnic group, rigidity or laxity of the mores, intensity of religious cohesion, patriotism and many other cultural traits" are supplementary.6

The importance of the size of different groups as an influencing factor can be very well illustrated by Cheng's study of different rates of inter-


5Panunzio, p. 700; cf. also Cheng, p. 81.

marriage in Hawaii. "There is a trend for small racial groups to have higher outmarriage rates than those of large racial groups. The Korean and the Puerto Rican group are the smallest in size, but their outmarriage rates are higher than those of other racial groups. On the other hand, both Japanese and Caucasian groups were the largest in size, yet their outmarriage rates were lower than those of the other racial groups."  

This is very obvious because a small group in a heterogeneous society like Hawaii finds it very hard to maintain cultural isolation for any great length of time. Once cultural isolation is broken down intergroup marriages follow as a natural consequence.

In a study of cultural factors in New Haven, Hollingshead has singled out five cultural factors. He emphasized the importance of religion as a molding factor in intermarriage among the various groups studied. Ninety-one per cent of the interethnic marriages in his study were among people who professed the same religion. Thus he pointed out that as far as marriage is concerned, religion had divided New Haven's population into "three pools" of intermarrying groups.

Ethnicity within a religious group has been a very potent fact in influencing the mate selection process in both the parental and the present generations, but it was stronger a generation ago than it is now. Although ethnic lines are crossed within the Catholic and the Protestant faiths more frequently in the present than in the parental generation, this is not true for the Jews. Furthermore, ethnic lines in both generations were crossed, for the most part, within religious groups. This means that the Catholics are becoming a mixture of Irish, Polish and Italian as result of intermarriage between these groups. The Protestants, on the other hand, select marriage partners mainly from the British segment of the city's population:

7Cheng, p. 80.
a majority choose a partner from a Northwestern European group.  

The rates for these religious groups were: Jews 97.1, Catholics 93.8, and Protestants 74.4, respectively. Thus he was convinced that the "Triple Melting Pot" theory is an advocable hypothesis.

Thomas' findings seem to be not in agreement with Hollingshead's hypothesis. He questioned whether Hollingshead's sample was representative enough for drawing such a generalization. The evidence of Thomas' study pointed up the fact that various Catholic groups all over the United States are marrying non-Catholics with ever increasing frequency. This would mean that on the national level, Catholics are not following the pattern of Hollingshead's "melting pot" but rather seem to be taking their mates from other religious "pools". This fact was borne out by a study of attitudes of students with regards to marriage.

Thomas' method of determining rates of Catholic mixed marriages is based upon three factors: 1) the percentage of Catholics in the total population; 2) the presence of cohesive ethnic subgroups; 3) the socio-economic status of the Catholic population in the community. It is interesting to note that "the rates of mixed marriages were surprisingly low" in cities of 100,000 and over in his study of numerous parishes in cities throughout the country. His explanation follows:

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8Hollingshead, p. 620 (His five factors are: age, race, religion, ethnic group, and class.)


10Landis and Landis, p. 148; Cf. also John L. Thomas, The American Catholic Family, p. 121.
A more intensive comparative study of the individual parishes indicated that the major subgroups concentrations were in the larger cities of the territory from which the samples were drawn. It was discovered that those large urban parishes in which minorities were located uniformly had low per centages of mixed marriages. Hence, the conclusion that the presence of these groups in the community is an important determining factor in the rate of intermarriage.\textsuperscript{11}

Besides the size of ethnic groups the influence of the group mores as well as public opinion play also important roles in marital selection. For instance, the social pressure in the United States against whites marrying Negroes is so great that many look upon Negro-white marriages as a crime. This is particularly true in the South. The punishment inflicted by society is so severe that sociologists refer to this act as "sociological suicide".

In speaking of black and white relation in the city of Chicago, Roberts maintains the existence of "caste" or at least of "quasi-caste" system. Therefore marriages across the color bar are not merely opposed by the family, but are also looked upon as a violation of the moral code. This violation is punished in some way by society or forbidden by the state.\textsuperscript{12}

Being culturally determined, the social pressure or situation varies from one society to another. It is possible that one situation may exist in one country and not at all in another. The racial situation in the Hawaiian Islands, for instance, would serve as a good illustration. Contrary to the continental United States, public sentiment in Hawaii seems willing to accept interracial marriage. The reason for this acceptance is because this kind of

\textsuperscript{11}Thomas, \textit{The American Catholic Family}, p. 157.

marriage would "bring to native women practical advantages both social and economic." 13 A similar situation has also been discovered in Panama with regard to the marriages between Americans and Isthmanians. 14

Although theoretically individual members of minority groups are free to choose their prospective mates from other groups, actually the choice is limited to certain patterns or ranges and in turn is prescribed by many other factors such as residence, occupation, education, age, racial status, generation and so on.

All these factors exert great influence both in ordinary mate selection as well as in case of interracial and interethnic marriage. Together with particular local conditions they determine marital selection, and under ordinary circumstances, individuals are to a large extent dictated by such social restrictions. That does not mean, however, that individuals are prey of societal determinism. In the final analysis, an individual has free will, and the final decision is still up to him or her, in spite of the social conditions that surround them. This would explain why some unexpected cases of intermarriage which would ordinarily seem impossible actually take place. As a science, therefore, marriage prediction can do no more than outline certain probabilities based upon a thorough knowledge of the general trends; one must always reckon with the role of free will of the parties concerned making the final decision.


It should be remembered, therefore, that in order to complete the picture, individual attitudes and/or personal preferences are to be taken into consideration. Among these in the United States, a powerful factor is the idea of "romantic love". For this social contact, of course, is taken as a "prerequisite".  

It has been discovered that other factors such as residential propinquity, amount of education, social status, and age groups, were very closely associated with mate selection. The reasons for this are that individual members of a given group would have more opportunity to contact those from the same neighborhood, of the same social status, educational level, and age group; and moreover in these kinds of contact individuals would feel more at home.

These factors are not necessarily of equal influence in all societies and at the same time. As studies have pointed out, the influence and importance of each of these factors depends upon the total situation in a given society. Therefore, one of these factors that would seem outstanding in one study might not be found so pronounced in another study.

For instance, although it is generally agreed that socio-economic status is important in mate selection, the study of Panunzio on intermarriages in

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15 Barron, p. 18.

Los Angeles surprisingly came up with quite contrary results. These were attributed to the particular situation that obtained in that city at the time of the study. Thus Filipino males tended to marry white girls with a social status lower than their own, mostly taxi dancers. The situation of extreme unbalanced sex ratio in the Filipino group forced the Filipinos to find prospective mates from an outside group, while the white females, most of whom were young and away from home, felt lonesome and looked elsewhere for the affection they failed to find readily in their American group.

Likewise there is disagreement on the influence of residential propinquity. Barron studied intermarriage in Derby and found out that residential propinquity undoubtedly operated in mate selection in that town. He remarks: "In 1940, 16.66 per cent of the ethnic intermarriages both groom and bride had premarital residences in Derby. The most propinquitous one was an Italian-Polish couple who had the same premarital residence, and the least propinquitous was a British-German couple separated by approximately a mile and three-quarters."  

Sister Lynn agreed with these findings. In her study in Washington, D.C., she discovered that about one-third of the interracially married couples had lived at the same address while about three-fourths of intermarried couples lived within sixteen blocks.

Clarke, however, seems to give us the impression that his study produced different results. From the evidence in his study he concluded "the spatial

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17Pannunzio, p. 695.
18Barron, p. 286.
19Sister Lynn, p. 82; Cf. also Landis, p. 82.
factor is probably a result rather than a cause operating in marital choice."20 In this statement he probably does not mean to overlook the importance of this factor entirely but to show that its influence can be conditioned by particular local situations.

Another effort to understand the whys and wherefores of intermarriage was made in Freeman's study which was based upon personal interviews of 22 Hawaiians who had married interethnically. His approach is a socio-psychological one. He maintains that in order to study this problem, attention should be given to the person himself rather than the social situations surrounding him.

He criticized other studies on the basis that all of them have failed to explain "intermarriage," and thus he established a set of seven systematic interrelated hypotheses which, he was convinced, should lead to full understanding of the problem.

In his opinion, those who are married across ethnic lines are people who are emotionally frustrated and rejected by their own groups and seek emotional solace from an outside group. To quote his own description on the emotional processes:

Partners were chosen on the basis of ethnic differences rather than similarities. As it worked out, however, the situation led to choices which were homogeneous in their own ways. While social heterogamy was sought, the resulting associations were homogeneous in the sense that the pairs involved tended to share a common psychological make-up and social adjustments. In their attempt to escape from their groups, persons sought members of other groups as mates but succeeded in attracting only those who were rebels from those other groups. Both were rebels and both were rejectees. They had

similar experimental backgrounds as rejectees, similar basic attitudes as rebels and similar patterns of social adjustment through inter-ethnic mate selection. As individuals, they have much in common. Thus these dating and marriage pairs exhibited a pattern of selection which was ethnically heterogeneous but homogeneous with reference to mode of social adjustment and psychological background."21

Therefore, according to the principle, "like attracts like", he says, this kind of person can only attract the person who has the same emotional disturbances. Thus externally they are exogamous marriages, but internally the pattern of this type of intermarriage is "homogamous."

B. Patterns of Intermarriage

As one's choice in marriage is controlled to a large extent by social conditions, it is expected that intermarriages fall in certain ranges and follow certain patterns. It is this regulation that makes it possible to predict marriage choices under normal conditions. Marcson in his study "The Prediction of Intermarriage," found out that the marital practices very closely follow a general pattern along "the length of residence in this country."22 "A clear-cut pattern with regard to ethnic and religious intermarriages according to generation was discerned. The proportionate number of ethnic intermarriages increased within each ascending generation. At the same time, the proportionate number of religious intermarriages decreased with each ascending generation. Each additional generation gave the ethnic groups greater mobility and

21Linton Freeman, "Homogamy in Interracial Mate Selection" Sociology and Social Research, XXXIX (July 1955), 376.
22Marcson, p. 200.
acceptability, but the marriages tend to be more and more confined within religious groups."^23

It is interesting to note from the above statement that a diverse pattern for religious groups exists as contrasted with that of ethnic groups. In the religious intermarriage, the second and third generations tend to practice heterogamy, while in the ethnic intermarriages, heterogamy is the usual pattern after the first generation.

In the same study, the pattern was also disclosed on the occupational and educational level. "Ethnic intermarriage occurred most frequently in all the occupational groups and status intermarriage least, except in one group - the proprietors."^24 And educationally heterogamy is practiced mostly on college levels and homogamy on non-college levels.^25

A discernible pattern in sex groups was also observed by many studies. The pattern for males in intermarriage is different from that of females in all groups. The general tendency is for men to outmarry to a greater extent than for women.^26

This tendency can be explained by the unbalanced sex ratio in some instances but not in all. There are two exceptional cases in which the sex ratio

^23 Ibid., p. 198.

^24 Marcson, p. 199.

^25 Marcson, p. 166.

seemed not to associate with the rate of intermarriage. For instance, in Canada the sex ratio in the Jewish group is almost equally balanced and yet the number of Jewish men intermarried is still constantly larger than that of Jewish women. This tendency was also found among Jewish groups by other studies made both in this country and the countries in Europe. The next exception to the general tendency was found in the Japanese groups in Hawaii. "The Japanese population constituted the most numerous and the most evenly-balanced group in terms of sex ratio, and yet they tended to (following the general pattern) intermarry with people of other races, without necessity to intermarry."28

Since the above cases were not caused by the unbalanced sex ratio, they were determined mostly by particular social conditions. Such exceptions are not only found in different places but also among different minority groups in one place or country. For instance, in Canada, the number of Catholic women who intermarry is greater than the number of Catholic men who intermarry.29 The same tendency was also reported by Cheng in his study of intermarriage in Hawaii. "Between 1945-1954 of the 8,426 Hawaiian and part-Hawaiians who married non-Hawaiians, 5,846 or 69.4% were women. Of the 2,496 Chinese who married non-Chinese, 1,350 or 54.1% were women; of the 4,561 Japanese marrying


28 Cheng, p. 80; Cf. also Baber, p. 716; Barron, p. 555.

29 Simpson and Yinger, p. 555.
non-Japanese, 3,541 or 77.6% were women." 30

After this short discussion of the pattern of incidence of intermarriage let us turn our attention to another aspect of intermarriage problem, namely, the pattern of selection. As to individual preference, theoretically speaking, an individual is entitled to marry a member of any group in a democratic society but actually members of a particular group would show a preference in selection of one group over another, or from one group as opposed to all the other groups combined. As one study showed, the most popular in Italian selection was the Irish and vice versa; and then members of both groups selected the Polish. The German was always selected as third choice in the selection of both groups; the Irish and the Italian. It was surprising, however, to note that the German and the Polish have nothing to do with each other as far as mate selection is concerned. 31

In racial selection, however, as revealed by studies, Negroes - both men and women - select whites and near-whites more frequently than members of any other racial groups. 32 The same tendency exists in Filipino groups in Los Angeles and their next choice would be Negroes, then Mexicans. 33

As we have pointed out above, there is a close relationship between social conditions and pattern of selection. This was a generally agreed fact that change in social conditions would produce the change in pattern of marital

30Cheng, p. 80.
31Barron, pp. 203-204.
32Ibid., p. 196.
33Ibid., p. 198.
choice. This was borne out by the study of the social changes in racial composition in Hawaii. There was a general trend toward a "greater equalization of the sexes" in Hawaii from 1900-1950. The normal marriage pattern before 1930 had taken place uniformly between Hawaiian, part-Hawaiians, and non-Hawaiians, but since 1945, a "new pattern has appeared on the social scene of Hawaii." As a result, the marital practice of non-Hawaiians has broken that unique "Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian" line so as to broaden the range of their choice, and to cross the lines of all co-existing races.34

C. Adjustment of Intermarriage

It was a common presumption that intermarriages are bound to have conflicts. Brother Schnaupp thinks that such conflicts may be likely in many cases not only as a result of the diverse cultural backgrounds but also because only too frequently, as the facts seem to indicate, these marriages may be too hastily contracted.35 Many of the studies made of intermarriage were undertaken with these presumed conflicts taken for granted. Fortunately some objective research has been done in this matter which has subjected these "expected conflicts" to scientific and empirical tests.

Robert's exact study of Negro-white intermarriages in Chicago indicates that, despite the fact that social pressure against such marriages is not so great in Chicago as one finds elsewhere, especially in the South, interracial couples find most of their marital adjustments linked up with the whole racial

34Cheng, p. 77.
35Schnaupp, p. 48.
problem. As was noted above, he referred to the whole situation in Chicago as involving a "caste" or "quasi-caste system." Interracial couples not only find themselves outside the pale because they have violated this local taboo but both groups, white and Negro, ostracize them. "In effect, a white person who violates the taboo on intermarriage loses his status in the white group without, in most cases, gaining acceptance by the Negro group."36

The whole problem between white and Negro that has existed in the United States for years stemmed from a false theory of racial superiority plus the sentiment, attached to skin-color, that has been socio-culturally and, most of all, emotionally learned and developed, often unconsciously, among white minority groups. Unfortunately this color problem not only dooms the mixed couples themselves, but will also afflict their offspring as well. The disagreeable experiences of children of mixed racial ancestry might well induce such couples to avoid having children altogether. It is highly pertinent to note, and much insight into the whole American race-prejudice syndrome can be gained from the fact, namely, that this same disparaging attitude with regard to Negro-white intermarriage obtains in other marriages involving crossing of the color bar, e.g., whites and orientals.

As Baber remarks: "In spite of the brilliance of the Chinese and Japanese civilizations the prejudice of color presents an almost impossible barrier."37

36Roberts, p. 77.

Baber made this observation twenty years ago. There are many indications that such attitudes still persist and are applied with varying degrees of intensity to any marriages that popular social definition has put in this category of "crossing the color bar". More studies of this matter are in order. It is important to keep in mind not only that such attitudes stem from popular stereotyping of what constitutes the "color bar" but that the main difficulties in such marriages come from cultural differences. As Walters says:

"Whatever problems these couples did have, have not resulted from their different racial backgrounds but rather from their different cultural backgrounds." 38

Some social scientists claim that recent evidence seems clearly to indicate that this "impossible barrier" reported in Baber's study does not exist any more, or at least not so markedly. This attitudinal change may follow closely social changes that have taken place in this country which Schnepf refers to as "growing tolerance in economic, political, and to a lesser extent, social relationships".

At any rate all studies agree that the real problems these interethnic couples face are not from racial but cultural differences. The most common of these problems, as revealed in Walters' and Schnepf's studies are the differences in customs, foods, religion, language, and role expectations. Out of this list language has been singled out as the most persistent stumbling block barring the way to smooth social relations. 39

38 Walters, p. 182.
39 Schnepf, p. 49.
With all these known difficulties in mind it has been almost taken for granted that these marriages would almost inevitably be unhappy. Much to the surprise of the social scientists their dire predictions remained unsubstantiated by actual case studies. As a matter of fact, the over-all picture showed more happy than unhappy marriages. The ratio of happy over unhappy marriages in Walter's study was five to one and Baber's three to one.\textsuperscript{40}

American-Filipino marriages are faced with the same adjustment problems, with the addition of other specific difficulties arising from certain Filipino culture patterns. Of these the most frequently mentioned are the managing of the family's finances and relations with relatives.\textsuperscript{41}

According to their custom, money matters should be handled by the wife exclusively, with no interference on the part of the husband.\textsuperscript{42} It is also customary to have "joint-households" which is most strange to an American husband who is used to an individual family system.

In addition to these, religion might be another source for marital conflicts, since the Filipino wives are mostly Catholics and the American husbands Protestants. The data, however, in Hunt's study did not give much evidence of marital frictions stemming from religious differences. Perhaps the

\textsuperscript{40}Walters, p. 159; Cf. Baber, p. 71b.

\textsuperscript{41}Hunt, \textit{Social Forces}, XXXII, 226.

\textsuperscript{42}This might be symbolized by the giving of few Centavos of groom to bride in wedding ceremony.
explanation for these negative results goes all the way back to the situation so often found in the Philippines where the women are devout Catholics while the Filipino men, Catholic in name only, are often indifferent to religion. As Hunt points out:

This fits into the usual picture in the Philippines in which the wife is a faithful attendant at religious services which the husband seldom attends except upon special occasions, and, although he is usually a nominal Catholic, he may have developed anticlerical tendencies. In this setting, even though the religious background of the American husband was different from that of the locality, his pattern of action was somewhat similar to that of the Philippine husband.43

A similar situation was found in Isthmus, Panama with regard to religious behaviors and institutional role-expectations. In the culturally religious attitudes and behavior, Panamanian husbands, like Filipino men, are expected to go to church only on special occasions such as fiestas, Christmas and New Year's Day. As to the role-expectations there is also a great difference between the culture in Panama and that in the United States. American husbands customarily give their wives more freedom, attention and loyalty, while Panamanian wives do not expect too much from their husbands in these respects and ordinarily play a much more submissive role in marriage.44 When Panamanian women marry American men, therefore, the obvious cultural differences are levelled out, so to say, or at least made compatible, by the "expectant characteristics" which the Panamanian women vis-a-vis the male, bring to marriage regardless of whom they marry.

As could be expected this pattern of cultural accommodation is only ob-

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43Ibid., p. 226.
44Biesanz and Smith, p. 821.
ained in marriages between American men and Panamanian women, but when American women marry Panamanian men, the very opposite results and conflicts simply mushroom in such marriages for the American women have not been culturally conditioned with regard to marriage in this manner and as Biesanz aptly points out such marriages "have a far smaller chance of success."[45]

The extremely different results that were encountered in different types of interethnic marriage have made the social scientists more and more cautious in the predictions concerning the outcome of such marriages, so much so, that there seems to be a general consensus in scientific circles today that the patterns of adjustment in interethnic marriages offer so many variables that it is impossible to reduce them to some simplistic sociological formulae or rules. How complicated for the social scientist the study of interethnic marriage may become can be seen from the divergent results in two interethnic marriages of the same type which, however, took place in two different localities. Thus American-Panamanian marriages in Panama might eventuate quite differently if they happen in the United States. Only a thorough knowledge of the respective locales of the marriages, each impregnated with its own peculiar cultural patterns, offers any hope of assessing what will happen in such marriages. Diverse ethnic norms and a whole host of factors that play a role in intergroup relations must be taken into account. Biesanz and Smith single out these two areas of research as offering the most enlightenment on interethnic

[45] Ibid.
marriage. Their experience and that of others, as will be seen later, induced the writer to make "ethnic factors" as well as local social attitudes and behavior special areas of research.

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46Bissans and Smith, p. 821.
CHAPTER III
THE METHODS USED IN THE STUDY

In most scientific research, methodological problems always seem to be present either because of the time when the study took place or because of the particular conditions of a given locale. This study was no exception. Since the study dealt with a particular group, the Mexicans, from among many minority groups in Chicago and with a particular problem, that of interethnic marriages between Mexicans and non-Mexicans, and the fact that the nature of the study demanded more information than mere names and addresses, the available resources such as the Chicago telephone directory, the city directory, the voters' registration, and so on could not, unfortunately, be used as a "universe" from which to pick a sample of any kind. These sources have no way of distinguishing a Mexican from the rest of the Spanish-speaking groups nor provide information about the marital status of the people, all of which was particularly important.

A good bibliography that contained literature directly and indirectly concerned with the Mexicans in the United States in general and in the city of Chicago in particular was prepared and used. In addition, other resources were secured from various agencies functioning to serve Mexicans, especially those in the Chicago area. Materials such as the publications of three Mexican churches, of the settlement houses that exist in the Mexican colonies or
in the adjacent communities, of the Cordi-Marian Sisters, a religious congre-
gation which devotes itself to serve Mexicans in the Chicago area, were found
very useful in providing a deep insight and understanding of the Mexican and
his life here in Chicago. Public officials whose office it is to deal direct-
ly and indirectly with the Mexican people here in Chicago were interviewed.
These included, Joseph B. McEgan, Executive-Secretary, Back of the Yards
Neighborhood Council; Lester Hunt, an officer of the Industrial Areas Founda-
tion; Anthony Sorrentino, Chicago Area Project; Sister Marie, superior, Cordi-
 Marian Sisters. The priests of the adjacent parishes and the representatives
of the Mexican and non-Mexican groups supplied additional information.

A. Sample

Since supposedly the Mexicans are all Catholics, the marriage book in
two of the Mexican parishes was found to be the most useful resource for se-
lecting a sample and for securing extra information on each individual mar-
riage. Although the marriage books did not provide information about the
couples' ethnic origin nor about any invalid marriages, they did state whether
it was a revalidation. Nevertheless, it was presumed that the priest would
know which marriage from his files was an interethnically mixed marriage be-
cause such do not occur often.

With the cooperation of each pastor, it was hoped to be able to secure a
master list of all the couples in each of these parishes who had contracted
such a marriage. The work was encouraged whole-heartedly by two pastors and
their cooperation was promised immediately.

The first Mexican church was St. Francis of Assisi, located on the Near
West Side, 813 West Roosevelt Road. It is the only Mexican national and non-territorial church in Chicago. It officially takes care of all Mexicans in this city. A list of 200 couples in the order of the date of marriage was obtained. Of these, premarital addresses for 155 couples and only the names for the others were given. This list dated from the establishment of St. Francis as a Mexican church in 1926. Couples came from different neighborhoods just for the wedding ceremonies. The group of 45 couples having no information in the parish files other than their names could easily have come from other cities and then settled here or returned, or they could have been migrant workers who lived in Chicago for only a short time. A small proportion of the whole group was registered in the parish as parishioners.

A second list was obtained from the pastor of the Immaculate Heart of Mary Vicariate, situated in the heart of the Back of the Yards community, 4501 South Ashland Avenue. This provided the names of another 20 couples and covered a period of 32 years, from 1926 to 1958. These couples were all currently registered as parishioners and, therefore, their present addresses were available. In addition to their names and addresses, information such as the number of children and the condition of their marriage (whether it had been revalidated or existed only in a civil state) was also given. Sociologically this information is very meaningful for this study.

Although no sympathetic cooperation was received from the pastor of the third church which is located in the south Chicago community, it was thought that the number of couples given above was enough for valid research and work was started with the couples on this combined original list.

One shortcoming of the first portion of the list was that it only record-
ed the premarital addresses. Using the Chicago telephone directory a small number of the couples could be traced to their present addresses. All the couples were written to, either at the premarital address or at the address found in the telephone directory.

For checking the validity of the sample, the twenty families from the Immaculate Heart of Mary Vicariate parish were chosen to be interviewed so that the two findings (the mail returns and the twenty personal interviews) could be matched to see whether there would be a conspicuous difference between the two groups. This selection of the 20 families was based upon two practical reasons: present addresses were available and all lived in an area accessible to the writer's residence.

Since the Mexicans are the most mobile ethnic group among all the minority groups in the United States, it was not too much of a surprise to learn that almost thirty per cent of the total letters mailed was returned a few days later marked as undeliverable for some reason or other. Forwarding addresses were just not available.

The study now rested on the remaining seventy per cent for a response. Two weeks later the number of responses was still unbelievably small. Seventeen couples out of the remaining 140 couples had filled out and returned the questionnaires. This result was rather shocking. Such a small amount of answers was hardly enough for a scientific study. It appeared a rather hopeless situation. There were two alternatives: give up the work or start it over.

Not knowing whether those who had not returned the questionnaire would agree to a personal interview, the second alternative was hard to envision.
With the encouragement and suggestions of the Reverend Sylvester Sieber, the thesis advisor, it was decided to start the study over again.

A personal interview seemed to be the only way to obtain a response if the study were to be continued. Action was taken immediately. First, 19 couples, whose addresses appeared in the telephone directory, were picked again from the original list. Six of these had agreed to a personal interview. The others either had answered the questionnaires or did not want to be interviewed.

The next question was how to find couples who were members of the parish of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church from which cooperation had not yet been secured. This was a new territory and it was thought that perhaps some persons from this neighborhood would be most helpful for this purpose. Jesse Escalante, who is employed by the Cardinal's Committee for the Spanish-Speaking People, a committee under the auspices of the Archdiocese of Chicago, came from this parish it was learned. Upon contact he showed a great interest in the undertaking and promised his cooperation in the interviewing of some couples from his own parish. A list of twelve couples thus was secured.

Additional information was sought from other informants such as priests who had worked among the Mexicans for years, and from the Cordi-Marian Sisters. Four names were added from Sacred Heart Church, 19th and Newberry Street; four more from St. Rose of Lima Church, Ashland Avenue at 48th Street, and four more from Sister Marie, the superior of the above mentioned order.

With all of these couples as the starting point, the painstaking investigation began. Personal visits to each of these families were made and these families were then interviewed. At the end of the interview each was asked to
give the names of some of their friends whom they knew to have contracted interethnic marriages.

As a result of three months' work, 83 families were interviewed and their questionnaires were filled; together with 17 mail returns it totaled one hundred. The total sample was composed of 72 Mexican males with their correspondent non-Mexican wives and 28 Mexican females with their correspondent non-Mexican husbands. It was drawn from the three main concentrations of Mexican people and the nearby neighbor communities, but a small number came from far and isolated neighborhoods. A few families lived close to Midway Airport and a few had moved into Calumet City. They were included in this study because all of them had been brought up in one of these colonies and had been married there. They had just recently moved from their mother community for either occupational opportunities or for other reasons.

If a random sample as it is defined by Goode\(^1\) is selected on an accidental basis, none seems to be more accidental than the sample in this study. So far as the selection of the sample was concerned, the plan as to the number from each community or from which territory could not be controlled. An equal opportunity, casual as it was, was given to each community in the selection. Therefore, there would be no reason for biased findings to result. The randomness of the selection would manifest the validity of the sample under study.

The sample was composed of lower status and low income group. About 80 per cent were manual laborers employed by three main industries. Those who lived in the South Chicago area worked in the steel mills; those in the Near

West Side community, railroad yards; and those in the Back of the Yards neighborhood, in the stock yards, packing houses, or the canning companies.

The Mexican group was mostly second generation, whose parents, as laborers, had emigrated from Mexico many years ago. Eighty per cent of their parents were born in Mexico and of the rest only a few of the parents were born in Texas. Of the non-Mexican group, the majority of the parents were American-born. This group then was third or higher generation. The parents who were born in this country were from a wide range of ethnic origin. Numerically, the Polish nationality was the largest group, next the Italians and the Germans. The parents born outside of the United States came from the central European countries, with the exception of one who came from Canada.

The group was composed mainly of high school students with a small exception: one Mexican female did not have any education. While four Mexican males and three females went to college, 2 non-Mexican males and 2 females also attended college. In regards to education completed, the non-Mexicans as a whole were slightly higher than those in the Mexican group on both the high school and college levels. Most of the Mexican group had been educated in the United States.

As to their religion, the majority of the couples, of course, were Catholics. The Mexican group supposedly were all Catholics, being at least baptized in the Catholic Church, although there were two Mexican males who belong to the Baptist denomination.

B. Questionnaire

After the sample had been collected, the next question was how to col-
lect the information. The commonly used scientific devices through which a sample could be studied are: 1) questionnaire, 2) interview. The use of these two devices, of course, depends upon the nature of the group studied and its accessibility. Because of the particular locales or social situations, the questionnaire might be the only possible way to contact the study population in some cases, but in others, these two devices could be combined.

In constructing the questionnaire all scientific regulations were faithfully observed and all precautions were taken so that all unnecessary inconvenience affecting the response would be reduced to a minimum.

The time element was also considered and filling the questionnaire would take no more than fifteen minutes. It contained fifty questions arranged in the order of simplicity to complexity which were mimeographed on two sheets of paper. The questions covered a wide range of aspects of the couple's life: from their individual personal relations to the relations of their social life, both before and after their marriage.

Briefly, the questions concerning their personal background covered such items as, the place of birth, age, ethnic affiliation, education, occupation, religion, residence, etc. The questions concerning their social aspects of life dealt with their social activities before and after their marriage. In the former group the inquiries were concentrated around their personal contacts such as how they met, distance of residence between them, attendance of the same school, working in the same place, joining the social and religious organisations or clubs, having the same interests, what attracted them to each other, and questions of this sort. All these questions mentioned above were constructed in a simple but a closely associated fashion with a hope of elic-
iting the necessary information for determining the factors responsible for
the occurrence of the Mexican intermarriage in this city.

In the latter group the questions mainly concerned the problems that might
be caused by such marriage, namely, their happiness and adjustments, personal
and social, and success and failure of their marriage. The questions in this
group can be summarized in terms of the reactions of their parents toward
their marriage, of society (their neighbors and friends); influence upon their
job opportunities; renting an apartment; language difficulties; food difficul­
ties, in-law frictions; marital conflicts caused by cultural differences, num­
ber of children and so on.

Two sets of the same questionnaire were mailed in each envelope to the
husband and wife. Each was asked to fill it out individually, the presumption
being that since this kind of marriage is, in a sense, a deviation from the
norm, it might provoke quite a marked pattern of reactions from each side.

As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, the sample was drawn from a
lower status group, both educationally and economically. All came from poor
residential sections, the so-called "wrong side of the tracks" and were the
children of blue collar workers. All these were considered. A commonly known
fact is that such a group of people, because of their social background is
less familiar with scientific work and less appreciative of the value of so­
cial research. Hence, a long questionnaire to them is but a nuisance and auto­
matically is tossed into the waste basket. The time element should be also
taken into account. After a long day's work and in a state of exhaustion no
one likes to spend extra effort answering so many "silly" questions.

Under these conditions, emotional appeal would have to be utilized. The
inconvenience of filling the questionnaire should be carefully avoided or cautiously removed. A letter addressed to each couple was mailed with the two sets of questionnaires and a self-addressed, stamped envelope were included. The letter contained an explanation of the purpose of this study and aimed at clearing up the prima facie suspicion and any possible misunderstandings. In order to be a personal letter, each was individually typed and dated accordingly.

Provision was also made for dissolving any further suspicion or doubt by including the writer's telephone number in case someone wished to call for a personal contact. Emphasis was made that the couple would be seen personally, and gladly, if they so wished.

As a preliminary procedure, 125 letters were mailed by the end of April, 1959.

C. Interviewing

With the majority of the interviews no previous arrangement had been made because, as was pointed out earlier, either the couple had no telephone or the interviewer did not know them. As was learned from the interviews, the financial condition of some of the families would not possibly permit them a private telephone. As a matter of fact, many of the families actually lived in the rear of a four or five family cheap apartment house. This held true particularly in the case of the couples who lived in the stock yards neighborhood. Thus the interview was like a blind date — to go and see.

One of the most important aspects in interviewing is to establish rapport between the interviewee and interviewer. To some degree, tension and suspi-
sion are present in each case of interviewing. To reduce such tension and sus-
picion, the conversation was carried on as informally as possible. The purpose
of the undertaking would be explained right at the beginning of the interview,
emphasizing that all information gathered would be considered strictly confi-
dential. However, because the interviewer was a priest, it was much easier to
establish confidence in the interviewer. The impression was given that all of
the couples were quite frank in talking about their private and personal prob-
lems. So there is no reason to think they would not answer truthfully the
questions in the questionnaires.

For some other practical reasons, like observing the skin-color of the
Mexican, it was decided that both husband and wife would be better interviewed
together at the same time. This actually made the interview even more pain-
staking because a time suitable to meet both at home was not easily arranged.
The time most convenient for this purpose seemed to be after dinner, that is,
from 7 until 10 p.m. Otherwise the interview might cause unnecessary inconve-
nience and thus bring resentment to the interviewee and thus would probably
affect the response.

As the interviews progressed, more complications arose. Some of them
could be anticipated and others were simply beyond one's control such as reli-
gious problems (invalid marriage or lapsed religion), immigration difficulties
(illegal entry) and suspicion of the nature of the study and its purpose. In
such cases the party concerned was not cooperative and in some they were even
rude in language and manner. Situations like these, of course, were not only
time-consuming but also rather discouraging. Nevertheless the Mexican fami-
lies as a whole, especially those of the younger generation, were very courte-
ous and helpful. Most of them, husbands and wives, showed a sincere interest in this undertaking for which they were willing to sacrifice their time. They did their best to make the writer feel at home by offering him soft drinks and cigarettes. Thus often, at the end of an interview, the writer was asked to visit again.

Interviewing is a rather slow and involved task. It took the writer three months to complete the interviewing. The actual interviews varied from thirty minutes to two hours. At this rate, from two to four families on the average, could be interviewed in one evening. Many other unforeseen events added to the inconvenience and difficulties of carrying out the project.
CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE STUDIED POPULATION

The main purpose of this chapter is to deal with some social characteristics of the couples under study. It would be proper to devote a little time to acquire some important information on their social backgrounds before we go further into the investigation. It is hoped that the knowledge which we gain here will provide us with some indispensable insight in understanding the problems these interethnic couples must face. We also hope that this survey will give us background data on social status, socio-economic composition, degree of assimilation and racial composition, amount of education, kinds of occupations and so forth.

For convenience, the writer thought it would be well to treat the social characteristics of the husbands' parents separately from those of the wives' parents. Under the heading of social characteristics of the parents the items discussed are birthplace, nationality and occupation of the parents.

The parental group is composed of two hundred sets of parents. As the preliminary investigation shows, the parental group has an almost exclusively urban background with exception of three farmers on the wives' side and two farmers on the husbands' side. Three of these five farmers are parents of the Mexicans. These three Mexicans were all born in Mexico and have migrated to the United States either alone or with their parents. In length of residence,
they are all first-generation. They are strangers to American culture in comparison with those children whose parents as old immigrants settled down in the city of Chicago and established longer records of residence in this country. Culturally speaking, the latter have, to a greater degree, assimilated the American culture, and their children (the second-generation) are educated exclusively in American schools. The children speak English as well as any other American children and they feel more at home in the city of Chicago. As brought up in an industrialized city background, they are adjusted to the ways of American city life which is extremely different from the pattern of rural or village life in Mexico. In other words, they are completely Americanized and they refer to themselves proudly as "Americans" or "American Mexicans". But those who were born in Mexico may be still struggling in the first step of Americanization, e.g., language and obviously they do not feel at home in an American city as their cousins do. Owing to the language barrier, they have encountered some problems which the native born children otherwise would not have to face. Therefore, other things being equal, adjustment is much harder for them than for those who are American-born.

Furthermore, it is believed that one's personality is in great part the by-product of one's cultural or social environment. Two persons, therefore, who come from two different environments would most likely develop different personality traits.

In adjustment these two persons would also adopt different patterns of adjustment. It comes as no surprise that people of such diverse backgrounds encounter specific problems of adjustment not only to others but also with
regard to their marriage partner. It may well be, therefore, that in one and the same marriage the degree of adjustment and happiness rating of one spouse may differ from that of the other.

So far we have been discussing the different patterns in adjustment to American culture stemming from length of residence of both parents and children in this country. Next in order for our consideration are the birthplace and nationality of the Mexican and non-Mexican parents.

**TABLE I**

**BIRTH PLACE AND NATIONALITY OF 200 MEXICAN AND NON-MEXICAN PARENTS OF THE STUDIED COUPLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTH PLACE</th>
<th>NATIVITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MEXICAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. born</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign born</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One foreign born</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. In one family the father is from Mexico; the mother was born in Norway.

Out of 200 parental couples who were born in the same country, 63 of the couples were born in the United States and 110 couples were born in foreign countries. There are 18 families in which one parent, either father or mother,
was foreign-born. As Table I indicates, there are only 6 Mexican parents
(against 57 non-Mexican parents) in the "American-born" group. Thus the num-
ber of non-Mexican U.S. born parents is more than nine times as many as the
Mexican families. The reverse, however, was found with regard to the foreign
nativity between two groups (by comparison), the Mexicans and the non-Mexicans.
Out of a total of 110 parents from both groups who were born in countries other
than the United States, a comparative figure is 79 for the Mexican as against
31 for the non-Mexican. This time Mexican parents numbered less than three
times as many as the non-Mexicans.

As we approach the third category of the parental birthplace in which
either father or mother was born in a foreign country, as shown in Table I, it
was disclosed that the Mexican parents still outnumber the non-Mexican parents
by 11 to 7.

Table II will show the origin of the non-Mexican parents who were born in
the same foreign country. Poland provides the largest number of the parents
and Italy is next in rank. These two countries alone produce seventeen par-
ents which is almost twice as many as the rest of the countries produced to-
gether.

As to the origin of the Mexican parents, sociologists have made quite a
few significant observations. It was said that definite patterns have been
followed. "Within a general movement of Mexicans to the United States there
are 'distinct shallows' - those who settle in Texas and the southern part of
the United States come in the main from the northern part of Mexico while
those settling in the industrial cities of the north come from the central
region. Those who migrate to California and other western states originate in
the adjacent states of Sonora, Lower Baja California and Sinaloa.  

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-MEXICAN BORN PARENTS BY COUNTRIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Number of Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Here are not included three couples who are foreign-born but in different countries; otherwise the total number is 31.

As to those in Chicago, Felter in his study found out that "the majority of the Mexicans in Chicago come from the South Central Plateau. Some 57% of them are from the three states of Jalisco, Guanajuato and Michoacan."

1Mary John Murray, Sister, "Socio-Cultural Study of 118 Mexican Families in Low-rent Public Housing Project in San Antonio Texas," Unpublished Master's Thesis (Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1954), (Quoted by her from Paul S. Taylor.)

### Table III

**Origin of the Mexican-Born Parents by Provinces**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michoacan</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquas Calientes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guanahuato</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalisco</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zacatecas</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamaulipas</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuevo Leon</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Luis Potosi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chihuahua</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guerrero</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>79</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this regard the finding in the present sample is almost in perfect agreement with that of Felter's study. It showed the same tendency, although the percentage of Mexican immigrants originating from these three states is not as high as in his study. The three states, as Table III indicated, constitute

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF MIXED NATIONALITY PARENTAGE
ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRIES</th>
<th>MEXICAN</th>
<th>NON-MEXICAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
statistically a total of 34% of the whole group in our study.

We turn our attention now to the countries of the parents of mixed nationality. Some of the parents were born in the United States but from different ethnic stocks while others were both foreign-born but not from the same country. Further complication is the fact that one parent was born in the United States and the other parent was born in a foreign country.

**TABLE V**

**NATIVITY OF ELEVEN MEXICAN PARENTS OF MIXED NATIONALITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nativity</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother U.S.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father U.S.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total*</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Not including the case in which father was born in Mexico and the mother in Norway.

From the Mexican parents group there are eleven of mixed nationality. Table V shows that 8 mothers and 3 fathers were American-born. Inversely that gives 3 fathers and 8 mothers who were Mexican-born. Of the American-born, 4 mothers and 1 father were born in Texas. The marriage pattern in this group is therefore "exclusively" Mexican-American with the exception of one family in which the father was born in Mexico and the mother was born in Norway.

Table VI summarizes the nativity data on the 10 non-Mexican parents of mixed nationality. As Table VI clearly shows, 4 mothers were foreign-born and 4 American-born, while foreign-born fathers outnumber American-born fathers by 7 to 1. The pattern of marital practice of the 3 foreign-born parentage
couples takes the form: "English-German," "Lithuanian-Polish" and "Austrian-Czechoslovakian." The countries for the mates of the American-born mothers are Russian and Czechoslovakia, Spain and Ireland. In addition, there is one family where the father was born in the United States and the mother was born in Canada.

**TABLE VI**

**NATIVITY OF TEN NON-MEXICAN PARENTS OF MIXED NATIONALITY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIVITY</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>FATHER</th>
<th>MOTHER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both parents foreign-born</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>Poland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>Slovakia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother U.S.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father U.S.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Probably the most significant aspect of the parental origins is revealed when the parents of the Mexicans are compared with those of the non-Mexicans. The difference is quite marked. The Mexican parents, by and large, had a much larger number of the foreign-born than the non-Mexican group. Both groups, however, had uniformly an urban background with the exception of a few farmers. But even these are no longer engaged in farming.

It may also be noteworthy to recall here what was indicated above, namely, that all of the Mexicans in our marriage sample are concentrated in three colonies on the south side of Chicago while the non-Mexicans derive from a more scattered distribution. Whether or not, as some have assumed, this residential factor alone would of itself demonstrate the lower socio-economic status of the Mexican half of our sample, would be difficult to say.

Sociologists seem to agree that the place of residence is one of the indices of social status. We should keep in mind, however, that important as this factor might be, it is only one of many social characteristics that can be used to measure one's social status. Other factors as well must be taken into account such as place of work and types of occupation, social conditions and rental value in the neighborhood, etc. The general observation is that the majority of the parents in the present study are factory workers. Those residing in South Chicago for the most part are employed at the Illinois Steel Company mills. The Stock Yards area residents work in the stock yards, or the American Can Company and the railroads; West Side neighborhoods most of them

are Santa Fe Railroad workers.1

Table VII shows that 38 percent of husbands' fathers and 24 percent of the wives' fathers are laborers. They constitute a total of 31% of the group. In fact, the statistical figures should be higher because 24 husbands and 29 wives, - a total of 36 percent of those sampled, failed to answer this question. Their failure to answer this question may be explained in this way: They either don't know or don't want to talk about it. In either case, it

TABLE VII

OCCUPATIONS OF THE PARENTS OF THE INTERMARRIED COUPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION</th>
<th>FATHERS OF HUSBANDS</th>
<th>FATHERS OF WIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor and kindred</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and kindred</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsman and kindred</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and kindred</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceased</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No-answer</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Edgar Anita Jones, "Mexican Colonies in Chicago" Social Service Review, II (December 1928), 12.
seems fair to say that they are also in the general category of laborer. In addition a small proportion of parent's occupation falls into six other occupational categories.

The general profile of the occupational status of the parents of both husbands and wives appears to be the same, although those on the wives' side seems to be slightly higher than those of the husbands. In the higher category the occupations of parents on the husbands' side are: one businessman, one tavern-owner, one store-owner, one garage owner, and one construction man. On the wives' side we have: one businessman, one maintenance man (of South Chicago Community Center), two store managers, and one store-owner. The rest are scattered around three other categories: clerks, craftsmen, and operatives.

Let us now turn to the social characteristics of the couples themselves. The items on which we have information are: age, occupation, education, language, and food habits.

1) Age of the Couples

Table VIII indicates that the ages of the husbands and the wives range from 19 years to 60 years and over. The majority is concentrated in the two general ranges of 20 - 29 and 30 - 39. Forty-seven percent of the husbands fall in the range of the 20 - 29 as against 60 percent of the wives, and 33 percent of the husbands and 19 percent of the wives appear in the range of 30 - 39. Thus statistically these two ranges account for almost 80 percent of the husbands and 79 percent of the wives from the sample. The rest is scattered unevenly in different age categories. To match the husbands and wives the
The general picture is that the age of the wives is lower than that of the husbands.

**TABLE VIII**

PERCENTAGE OF AGE RANGE OF THE INTERETHNIC COUPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>HUSBANDS</th>
<th>WIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 and over</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table IX shows that the median age for husbands and wives is 29.5 and 25.5 years respectively.
TABLE IX
THE MEDIAN AGE OF THE STUDY POPULATION BY HUSBANDS AND WIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Husbands</th>
<th>Wives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Median age</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) Education

Generally speaking, the sample represents mainly the high school educational group. Comparing husbands with wives we see that 70 percent of the husbands and 75 percent of the wives are on the high school level. There are only 36 individuals of grade school level. As the table indicates, the larger number of school attendance falls in the high school category and it totals up to 145 out of 200. The college attendance is about even on both sides; the husbands number 6 percent while the wives number 5 percent.
### TABLE X

**Formal Education of Interethnic Couples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>HUSBANDS</th>
<th>WIVES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade school</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>72.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE XI

**Formal Education of the Interethnic Couples by Mexican and Non-Mexican**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>HUSBANDS</th>
<th>WIVES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MEXICAN</td>
<td>NON-MEXICAN</td>
<td>MEXICAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade school</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If we match the Mexican group against the non-Mexican, we find that the number of Mexicans who attended college is slightly higher than the non-Mexicans. The ratio is 7 to 4. Again, Mexican husbands with a college education were twice as numerous as non-Mexican husbands; while Mexican wives were one and one-half times as numerous as the non-Mexican wives.

Such a small college attendance demands an explanation. First of all, the educational opportunities are not always available to all, as other studies have pointed out. The chances of going to college are influenced by the parent's occupational and economic status. The main barrier for college education is not ability alone, but "the line which divides fathers into white collar occupations and blue collar workers."\(^5\)

Another reason is that the children of lower status lack parental encouragement and aspiration.\(^6\) In this regard, Mayer explains: "For the cultural milieu of lower class homes also often obstructs the educational development of their children. Many working class parents do not excel the virtues of education, emphasizing rather the importance of going to work and contributing to the family income. Under said circumstances, children with the requisite ability for higher education may lack the necessary aspiration and motivation to go on to college."\(^7\)

---

\(^5\)Mayer, p. 36.


\(^7\)Mayer, p. 38.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>MEXICAN</th>
<th></th>
<th>MEXICAN</th>
<th></th>
<th>NON-MEXICAN</th>
<th></th>
<th>NON-MEXICAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>MALE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade school</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>72</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Taking college attendance as an index of social status, the rare number going to college in the present sample would give us another indicator of the position of our sample in the American social scale, i.e., comparatively low.

Table XII was prepared to show the number of students in each grade. Table itself is self-explanatory. As it indicates, the concentration of the school years is largely around 3 years of high school, namely, 2, 3, and 4. These three years include more than half of both groups; husbands and wives; 64 and 65 respectively. The rest of the sample is spread out in various grades from third grade up to fourth year in college.

The median year of education is 11.25 years for the Mexicans and 11.33 for the non-Mexican group. From this point of view these two groups, Mexican and non-Mexican, show no significant difference.

3) Occupation

We use the same standard by which the parental occupations were measured to classify the occupation of the sons. If the hypothesis of social mobility holds true, we should expect some movement upwards between the two generations. This belief seems not without basis after a detailed investigation. It is a commonly agreed fact that one’s education is very closely related to one’s occupation. As the figure of median years of education in the three areas disclosed by the Community Fact Book, the amount of education between the father and son generation differs markedly.\(^8\) The median year for the father generation is 8.6, and that of the sons is 11.5 years — that is, the present generation has about 3 years more education than their parents. From the

\(^8\)Hauser, p. 118.
above two premises, the conclusion seems to be that the present generation should have a better chance in and engage in higher types of occupations.

TABLE XIII

CLASSIFICATION OF THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE INTERETHNIC MARRIED MALES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional and technical men.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors and managers.</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and salesmen.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen and kindred</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operative and kindred</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled workers and kindred</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers and kindred</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table XIII gives statistical figures of the sons' occupations to compare with those of the fathers' in Table VII. As we match them we can see there are some changes in movement along the occupational scales between the two generations, although a great number of the sons, about 32 percent, still remain at the bottom as laborers. The number of the sons who are skilled workers is almost five times as many as that of the fathers, while twice as many sons are doing operative work. The same trend also appears on the craftsman and clerk level. Almost three times more of the sons are clerks than in the father's generation. Although the movement is not so pronounced in the craft-
manship category, the number in the sons' generation engaged in this kind of work is still at a ratio, 1:4 to 3.

In speaking of occupational movement or mobility, Mayer disclosed that "as high as 70 percent of the sons are engaged in occupations different from those of their fathers." This movement is not in a single, but in two directions: upward and downward. The present sample indicates that 72 percent of the sons have jobs different from those of their fathers. Thus Mayer's general characterization is borne out in our sample to within two percent, a difference that is practically insignificant.

Studies of other social scientists pointed to a general trend of the vertical mobility up or down the social ladder of no more than one step a generation. Thus the sons of skilled workers are most likely to become either operative workers if they move up, or common laborers if they move down.

In general the direction of occupational movement is more upward than downward in our study. Table XIV indicates that 26 of 55 sons, who were available for matching, moved up, and 14 moved down with 15 remaining at the same level. The percentage of mobility is 47 which is in a perfect agreement with a study made in Minneapolis. That study revealed that 47 of the sons had risen above their fathers' level.

---

9 Mayer, p. 70.
10 Ibid, p. 70.
11 Godfrey Hochbaum, J.C. Darley, E.D. Monocheci and Charles Bird, "Interrelations of Socio-economic Variables in A Large City" American Journal of Sociology, (1956). (Quoted by Mayer p. 70.)
# TABLE XIV

**OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF THE MALES UNDER STUDY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVELS OF MOBILITY</th>
<th>NO. UP TO</th>
<th>NO. DOWN TO</th>
<th>NO. EVEN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors and managers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and salesmen</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen and kindred</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operative and kindred</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Worker and kindred</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers and kindred</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*We have only 55 sons and fathers available for matching because there are 37 fathers' and 8 sons' occupations unknown.

As pointed out earlier, the educational opportunity is affected by the social distinction between white collar workers and blue collar workers, this holds true also for social mobility. The sons of manual workers very rarely become the members of non-manual workers group and members of each group, if they change, do so within the same general level of occupation.

It should be kept in mind that status mobility does not follow automatically the change of occupation. Strictly speaking, they are two variable factors that may or may not correlate. On the surface it would seem logical enough for these two factors to parallel each other but social scientists long ago learned that it is dangerous to engage in such "logical speculation."
Only an empirical test of the facts is decisive in each case. As a matter of fact, the passage from one social status to another involves more than the acquisition of this or that diagnostic characteristic of a particular status in a particular society. Status, especially in a highly complicated society like that of the United States, represents an intricately bound cultural complex made up of symbols, attitudes, behaviors, and acceptance which requires many adjustments.

What difficulties this social process entails was borne out in the present study. Only a few of these interethnic families were able to bridge that gap up but one rung on the social ladder. In the many interviews and on the observations the first step seems to be a change of residence from the poorer class neighborhood to one of finer homes, at times, even to the suburbs. To make such a move possible the husband had to have a higher paying job. Then ensued the difficult task of maintaining oneself in this higher level. This soon forced the husband to get a second job. The standard of the new neighborhood soon became interwoven in every phase of these couples' lives. Mayer expressed this very well: "Moving into a better residential section is an important way of expressing status aspirations, not only because it represents an outward sign of success but also because residential location helps to determine informal association."12

Mexican families like other American families are motivated by "American dreams" but for many attachment to the Mexican cultural pattern is very great.

12 Mayer, p. 46.
Just to point an example: Mexican husbands are culturally assigned as bread winners of the family and they do not believe in the wife working. There are only nineteen working wives in this study: one works in a factory, one (divorced) in a bindery, two are employed part-time and the rest are working as clerks and secretaries. All of these wives seem to work out of financial necessity. Among these nineteen wives is one with a sick husband, one separated and a number whose husbands are unemployed. Although most of these Mexican families find it difficult to make ends meet, and despite the open and hidden pressures to possess more of the luxuries and gadgets that clutter up the American scene, 81 percent of the wives do not work. This is just the reverse of the national average, which in January of 1958 found that 79 percent of the married women 25-34 and 87.5 percent of the 35-44 age group working. Despite the fact that individual factors play a role here, e.g., children, etc., this great difference in the interethnic Mexican families from that of the national average coincides well with the Mexican culture pattern in this regard.

4) Language

One study of Mexicans in Texas found that all of the families spoke Spanish although 85 percent of them understood English. It was believed that their concentration there in a homogeneous culture area had much to do with this. The Chicago situation is quite different from that in San Antonio.


14Murray, p. 19.
The Mexican colonies here are too small to maintain any great degree of isolation.

Moreover, the Chicagoans are working side by side with the members of other minority groups. This seems to force them into "linguistic" conformity. Of course this conformity promises many advantages in many ways. Along with this, we find that the Mexicans in Chicago are assimilated to "American culture" to a greater degree than those in Texas.

There are many other factors that make Mexicans here different from those in Texas. Since these are not, strictly speaking, the concern of this paper, the writer does not want to go into detail on this question at this place and is satisfied with this general observation.

**TABLE XV**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number of Couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table XV shows the difference most graphically. It is surprising to note that of a total of 100 families, only two families speak only Spanish at home. The majority of them adopt English while 12 families use both English and Spanish.

Even more surprising to the writer was to find out that most of the Mexi-
cans in this study do not know how to speak Spanish. The fact that they are second generation probably had much to bring this about. Not only were they born and educated here they also look upon themselves as "Americans". Most of all, they are very proud of this fact and prefer to associate with other Americans. This might be somewhat of a reflection of the tendency among the Mexicans in Chicago to conform to the prevailing customs. As so often happens in the American "Melting Pot" second generation is wont to cut itself away from the ancestral national culture. Thus also among these Mexicans there is little if any emotional or patriotic attachment to Mexico and the Mexican way of life. Those who have paid a visit to Mexico seem to come back highly critical of what they found there and reaffirm their total dedication to American ways of thought and behavior. This fact was brought to light by a research made by Chicago research group in connection with University of Chicago.

5) Food Habits

Next to language another indication of cultural assimilation of Mexicans here in Chicago are their food habits. As seen from Table XVI, there is only one family which eats Mexican food exclusively. A percentage of 75 of these families eat both American and Mexican food at home and 18 percent eat American food exclusively. Whatever we have said on the question of assimilation holds true also of food habits to some extent, but not entirely. Food habits

---

15 Observation in interviews.

16 Chicago Research Group by University of Chicago. The study was based upon a research made of 29 Mexican men and 28 Mexican women, in March, 1957.
are acquired from one's childhood. Until they get married, the Mexicans in our sample have no choice as far as food is concerned, due to the fact that most of the mothers do not know how to cook American food. As long as the taste has been developed it would be one of the last things to be changed in the process of assimilation.

**TABLE XVI**

**FOOD EATEN AT HOME**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of Food Eaten</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican only</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This fact may throw some light on the question of adoption of food habits. It may also explain partly why only 18 families eat American food at home, while the majority of them follow a pattern of both kinds. Another explanation would be that the majority of non-Mexican wives do not know how to cook Mexican food, but they make an effort to please their husbands by learning Mexican cooking. In the routine of cooking, however, this may be an alternative or was demanded by their Mexican husbands.

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17 Information through interviews.
Summary

By way of summary the general picture of our sample with regard to their social status is that both parents and the sons are of lower socio-economic status. Sixty-one percent of the husbands' parents and about fifty percent of the wives' parents belonged to the labor group. From the standpoint of occupational mobility between these two generations, the statistics indicate a trend of moving (either up or down) on almost every occupational level, although a large number of the sons remained at the bottom levels of occupation. Seventy-two percent of the sons were reported as having jobs different from those of their parents: 47 percent were moving up and 25 percent moving down.

As to the couples themselves both husbands and wives largely belonged to a homogeneous group with regard to both education and age. Educationally they were mostly of high school students. Seventy percent of the husbands and 75 percent of the wives had only high school education. As to age, a great percentage of the couples fell in one age group (20-29): 47 percent for the husbands and 60 percent for the wives. The median age for both husbands and wives was 29.5 and 25.5 respectively. Thus husbands as a whole were relatively older than their wives by a difference of 4 years of age.

Culturally there should be sharp contrast between these two groups, the Mexican and non-Mexican. Since the majority of the Mexican spouses in our study were American born, the adoption of American cultural patterns seems almost complete in many cases. As our records show, 86 percent of the couples speak English at home and 93 percent of them (18 percent for American exclusively and 75 percent for both American and Mexican food) eat American food.
Nevertheless, in a sharp contrast with the national scene with regard to American women working is the fact that 81 percent of the wives in this study were not working. This is strictly of the Mexican cultural pattern in which labor division in Mexican culture determines the role of husband as breadwinner and that of wife as house-maker. In spite of many changes in family patterns this tradition was very well maintained. Such difference between these two groups, the Mexican and the American, does not only indicate the tendency of cultural coherence among the Mexicans but also suggest specifically the necessity of adjustment in their marriage as resulted from these differences.
CHAPTER V

PRINCIPAL FACTORS THAT ARE INVOLVED IN THE MEXICAN INTERETNIC MARRIAGES IN CHICAGO

There is much evidence that intermarriage is a growing phenomenon in the United States and elsewhere. As a social problem it has challenged social scientists and there is a crying need of research into its many ramifications. Much effort has been made to answer the question: Under what circumstances do such marriages occur? What factors are most frequently involved? What effects do such marriages have on society?

In speaking of intermarriage factors, sociologists hesitate to use the term "cause" because there is no one single factor that can be responsible for its occurrence.

Factors, as generally defined, are "the forces that induce or obstruct intermarriage."¹ And scientists have adopted more than one approach to investigate them. For over-all summarizing purposes we can divide these efforts into the orientation of one being sociological and of the other psychological. The sociologists have confined their attention almost exclusively to the

¹Barron, p. 3.
factors that are external to the individual such as residential propinquity,\textsuperscript{2} religion,\textsuperscript{3} socio-economic status,\textsuperscript{4} and race,\textsuperscript{5} and so on. Their success can be measured by a growing list of factors which are believed to have influence upon marital choice. On the other hand, psychologists have been more interested in internal forces or factors rather than external forces. They have mainly focused upon psychological characteristics of interethnic couples and the formation of personality of the individual who enters this kind of marriage. Thus the psychological analyses they offer usually result in a listing of "personality types" that can be expected to prefer interethnic mates in:


\textsuperscript{5}Romanso Adams, Interracial Marriage in Hawaii, 1939; cf. also Panunso, pp. 690-701; Annella, Journal of Negro Education, (Fall 1956), 380-391; Cheng and Yamamura, Social Forces, XXXVI, 77-82.
marriage. 6

In addition some sociologists have discussed the problem of intermarriage in the frame of reference of "assimilation." Thus intermarriage has been considered an index of cultural assimilation and social distance. In answering the question of why intermarriage takes place they maintain that social characteristics or social visibility is the only factor related to intermarriage; and when this social visibility disappears in the process of assimilation, people begin to intermarry. 7

However, there was disagreement among sociologists with regard to this opinion. The findings of other studies would seem to indicate that was not necessary in every case, although there is, of course, some relationship between assimilation and intermarriage. They argued that if the theory of assimilation were true, the rate of intermarriage should increase as the length of residence of an ethnic group in the United States increases. As a matter of fact, as some studies have pointed out, the number of interethnic marriages among "old Americans" was very small in some localities. 8

As we noted before, intermarriage is not the effect of one cause but a by-product of many factors, sociological as well as psychological. Not all


8 Marcson, p. 77.
the factors, however, have the same influence in selection but the weight of each individual factor depends upon local conditions. It is entirely possible that the influence of one factor or condition stands out very prominently in one locality but does not appear at all in another. Social pressure, for instance, against interracial marriage in the continental United States is not evidenced in Hawaii. Instead of social ostracism that was caused by interracial marriages on the mainland, intermarriage between Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians in Hawaii brings social prestige and higher social status to Hawaiians. This situation is believed responsible for a great number of mixed marriages on the islands.

One of the objectives of this study is to test the application of results of other studies to conditions that exist in Chicago with regard to this particular group. Another purpose is to check the differences, if any, by matching the findings of this study with those of others, which might be caused by the conditions peculiar to this city and this particular ethnic group.

Upon a close analysis of the data here established there are some general aspects of social conditions which are believed to contribute to the process of Mexican intermarriages. They will be discussed extensively in this chapter. They are: 1) ecological-social factors, 2) personal-social factors, and 3) socio-economic factors.

A. Ecological-Social Factors

One of the prominent works on religious intermarriage was made by Father Thomas. In his study he found that the rate of religiously mixed marriages
in cities of 10,000 and over was markedly low. His explanation for this low figure is that in the larger cities there are larger ethnic communities which are numerically large enough to maintain their group cohesion and cultural isolation.

It was believed that the attitude of group cohesion and group solidarity has been slowly in changing in recent years, following the rapid social changes in the United States. For one thing, social mobility certainly has something to do with the changes in intergroup relations. The fact is that the instability of members of a given group, because of social mobility, tend to loosen group ties. Conversely this promotes social contact with the members of other groups, and in the course of time, other things being equal, leads to intermarriage.

Since the changing of attitudes or assimilation is strictly not the concern of this paper, only those aspects of this phenomenon that have a bearing on our study need to be pointed out. Among the most obvious factors that tend to promote a change in interracial attitudes and relationships is mass education, which not only introduces the individuals to the different cultures of other minority groups and acquaints them with the common American culture, but through which they also learn the common values and ideas that are part of the American way of life. It is through the knowledge here acquired that they develop a sense of belongingness to this great nation. And it is through this process that the great principle is brought home: "Everyone is created equal."
Thus, they begin to see the uniformity of the way of life in spite of individual differences that they inherited from their individual cultures.
Furthermore, the economic system of this country would definitely contribute to this process of Americanization by equalizing all groups on the economic level. With regard to this economic equality there is a theory that all Americans belong to one big class, the middle class.\textsuperscript{9} They work in the same conditions and live according to the same standards.

It is believed that under these unifying conditions social visibility and individual group characteristics gradually disappear.

There is much evidence that group hatred, isolation, and misunderstanding which are caused by social visibility do not play too much of a role any more in intergroup relations in the United States; especially in big cities. For instance, in Chicago 20 years ago, social conditions with regard to intergroup relation would present a very different picture from what we find today. This can be illustrated by the following statement:

The enmities of Back of the Yards were fantastic. Its eighteen nationalities battled and insulted one another — that is, the plain folk did; the leaders simply did not speak. The Poles and Lithuanians hated each other and the Slovaks quarreled with the Bohemians; the Irish looked down on all the rest as foreigners. Everybody pushed the Mexicans around and the Negroes who crossed Packingtown to work in the Yards were beaten up if they ventured off the main business artery. \textsuperscript{10}

Now there is more tolerance among different groups and they are mingling more freely with each other. The decreasing number of the national Catholic parishes and increasing number of intermarriages in the Archdiocese of Chicago

\textsuperscript{9}Mayer, p. 221

\textsuperscript{10}Helena Huntington Smith, "We did it ourselves" Women's Home Companion (May 1947), 24 and 78. The writer also interviewed personally Joseph Meegan, Executive secretary, Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council, who referred to the same social condition in this neighborhood 20 years ago and its change in late years.
would be a sure index of this change. In such a situation it is hard for a minority group to maintain its complete isolation. Economic and social necessity make contacts inevitable. As we have mentioned above, these contacts might have only a formal basis at first, but later they develop into informal, emotional, and personal relationships. These relationships, according to the writer's opinion, are the first step toward intermarriages.

With regard to the importance of contact on marital practices Barron has this to say: "What group A thinks of group B as desirable or undesirable marriage partner is largely conditioned by their contact or lack of contact in church, school, and neighborhood, and their similarity and dissimilarity in such aspects as economic and educational status." 11

Barron indicates very clearly that contacts can take place on various levels, such as educational, occupational, religious, recreational, and so on. The strength of each contact in an individual's interrelationships in terms of marital choice depends largely upon the nature of particular social conditions of the individual locality, the opportunity given to its members and the degree of social pressure on such mixed relationships.

1) Contacts in Recreational and Voluntary Associations

So far as first contacts and first meetings are concerned, no generalization can be drawn from studies, because an adequate answer requires consideration of many social variables. Thus each study with its particular local background might produce findings entirely different from other studies.

The evidence of the data of the present study, however, indicates that

11 Barron, p. 75.
recreational activities did not seem to appear outstanding because a large percentage of contacts was provided by friends and the place of employment.

TABLE XVII

FIRST CONTACT OF THE COUPLES UNDER STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How They Met Each Other</th>
<th>Number of Couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreations$^1$ . . . .</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Place . . . . . .</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School . . . . . . . .</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives . . . . . .</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others$^2$ . . . . . .</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$^1$Ten at settlement houses
$^2$Others including:
- 3 in the neighborhood
- 1 at a Baptism gathering
- 1 through military service in Germany
- 1 at a restaurant
- 1 coming from work
- 1 in a library
- 1 through business

A careful analysis of the responses to the question "How did you meet your husband or wife?" depicted the different statistical figures for the various activities or ways of meeting one's partner which are given in Table XVII.

As we can see on the top of the table, a little over 50 percent of the couples reported that they met each other through "friends".

This finding was very different from that of some other studies in which recreational activities have been the main contributing factor in providing
opportunities for first premarital contact. In the light of his findings, Barron concluded that the most frequent forms of meeting one's marriage partner in Derby were found at recreation. This holds true not only of intermarriage but also of inmarriages as well, in that area. A frequency score runs almost to one-half of the total sample in his study, i.e., 45.45 percent of the sampled couples who reported their first meeting at recreation.

The studies of other communities would seem to confirm these findings. The study of the interracial marriages in Washington, D.C. found that recreation played an important role as a meeting place for the interracially married couples. So far as the meeting places are concerned, there were differences for the different groups. For the Chinese group, the recreational contacts scored much higher than any other forms of meeting and for the Negroes, as they came to the Capitol for better occupational opportunity, marriage partners met, by and large, at places of employment.

However, in the present study friend contacts, instead of recreation, played most an important role in meeting one's partner. The high percentage (52 percent) found in the present study was in a sharp contrast to the percentage (18 percent) revealed in Derby. There were only 17 percent in our study whose answer was that they met at recreation. Added to the 7 couples who stated exclusively that their first meeting had taken place through recrea-

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12Ibid., p. 276.


14Barron, p. 276.
tion, there were 10 couples who reported that they have met at Settlement Houses. The reason for combining these two groups was the recreational nature of activities and services in Settlement Houses.

Although the findings with regard to the influence of friend contacts and occupational contacts as contributing factors for first meeting in the present study were proved to be much different from the findings of the above mentioned studies, they were somewhat similar to one of the studies made in Chicago. Roberts in his study of interracial marriage in Chicago pointed out that "roughly two-thirds of the white men and Negro women and three-fifths of the Negro men and white women first met through either occupational relationships or mutual acquaintances."15

From the evidence produced by the data of the present study, the writer would have no other alternative but to conclude that recreation as a factor in our study does not seem to play much influence in marital selection with regard to the present sample. The reasons for this fact were not provided by the data obtained in this study. A tentative explanation, however, might well be the immense size of the great city of Chicago with its many associations and clubs which offer many and more varied opportunities for contacts and marital choices than a comparatively small place like Derby. Also in a milieu of multi-choice opportunity like in Chicago there would be less tendency to look upon first friendly contacts as "not-to-missed" chances to choose a prospective mate for marriage. Under these conditions one tends to select and make a choice from among many friends known through different organizations.

15 Roberts, p. 57.
Moreover, if the data established here in this study can be analyzed from another point of view, it might provide us with another tentative explanation of why the role of recreation in this study was not so apparent in meeting one's partner. There seems to be a close relationship between the contacts at recreation and the contacts through friends. Thus some writer even suggested that the contacts through friends should be consolidated into a general recreational category because in most cases relations hereby initiated would continue on a recreational basis.\textsuperscript{16} If so, 52 percent of friend contacts as combined to 17 percent of recreational contacts would make the score as high as 67 percent of the total sample, in the present study. However, since this was not clearly shown in our data, we cannot definitely claim this is the case without due research.

In addition to recreational activities "membership" in recreational organizations may provide opportunities for couples to have first pre-marital contact. Its influence in this regard is conditioned to a great degree by the nature and the scope of the organization to which the couple belonged before their marriage. The general observation from the data obtained by a few studies in this regard is that, if the organization is too ethnocentric, the narrowness of contacts provided by the organization would probably narrow down the choice of their members in mate selection. The influence of the membership in organizations was clearly shown in the study of Derby:

\textsuperscript{16}Barron, p. 277.
## TABLE XVIII
THE COMMON INTERESTS BETWEEN HUSBANDS AND WIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMON INTERESTS</th>
<th>CLASSIFICATION</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>In-door</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S P O R T S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roller skating</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boxing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bowling</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hockey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baseball</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Football</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hunting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Swimming</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Horseback riding</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Race Track</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Water Skiing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Out-door</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing and Music</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Kinds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traveling</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Playing Cards</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Collecting Coins</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Going to Shows</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families having no common recreation and Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>150*</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total number is necessarily larger than 100 (families) because a couple can have different kinds of recreation. Thus the counting is over-lapping and one family might be counted two or three or even more times if they happen to engage in two or three kinds of recreation.*
Those who recreate in organizations affiliated with their own churches or nationalities tend to in-marry, whereas those who belong to no such organizations or belong to and recreate at secular and non-ethnic organizations tend to intermarry. Of these ethnically intermarried, 60 percent of the grooms and 90 percent of the brides belong to non-ethnic organization.\textsuperscript{17}

The organizational influence upon marital choice was not too clear among the Mexicans in Chicago. First of all, there was only a small number of organizations to which the Mexicans belonged in the first place; and secondly, only ten of the couples in our study belonged to any organization at all. Of the organizations only two were affiliated with the Mexican church, and these were also exclusively ethnic organizations. The rest were secular and non-nationality organizations. This fact does not convincingly indicate the organizational influence on meeting one's mate in this group.

At this point another question will be asked: Why the percentage of membership of this sample in various organizations was so low? Before we answer this question we should turn our attention to the problem of relationship between socio-economic status of minority groups and the tendency of participation of their members in organizations on the national level. Then we can see the finding in this regard in the present study was not exceptional but fitted into the national scene. It was believed that the matter of joining formal organizations was strictly a middle and upper class affair and lower classes probably confine themselves to informal leisure time activities.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{17}Barron, p. 329.

\textsuperscript{18}Mayer, p. 44; informal recreational activities are especially true in the case of the Mexicans; for this reference see Sister Mary Immaculate's Mexican Cultural Patterns, p. 5.
TABLE XIX
PARTICIPATION OF THE STUDIED POPULATION IN
VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORMS OF VARIOUS ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>NO.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Family Society</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Francis Club*¹</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riding Club</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Club*²</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing Club*³</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*¹) The Club doesn't exist any more.

*²) This Club is for the young married people sponsored by the Settlement Houses.

*³) This is sponsored by the Settlement Houses in the three main colonies for those who were not married.

This is very true because, first, the members of lower classes would not have so much spare time for organized activities; secondly, being members of the lower class, they would not appreciate the social value of membership in organizations; and lastly, they could not afford the extra expense for membership fees which in most cases are quite expensive. For instance, not even one Mexican in our sample was reported as a member of golf clubs or other high prestige organizations.

As seen from Table XIX, out of 10 organizations, there are only two
church organizations, one of which was already out of existence at the time of
our study and the other the Holy Family Society. Even for these two cases we
cannot definitely relate the organizational influence upon their marital selec-
tion because we simply do not know whether they have joined these organiza-
tions before or after their marriages.

The fact that the percentage of participation in parish organizations was
so small in these parishes makes one wonder what has happened. Is there any
relationship between parishes and parishioners besides relations which are
strictly sacramental and religious? The increasing rate of religiously mixed
marriages in city parishes in late years, came as a surprise to Catholic soci-
ologists. If the correlation established by scientific studies between the
membership in organizations and the incidents of intermarriage is true, the
answer for this little influence of organization upon intermarriage would be
simply this: either parish organizations are not available for the younger
parishioners, or if there are some, they are certainly not active enough to
attract young people. From the ecclesiastical point of view this situation
is not calculated to aid in maintaining the religious status quo because a
great number of Catholics are lost through mixed marriages.19

2) Social Contacts in School and at Work

Table XVII (Page 79) indicates that of the couples who answered the
question: "How did you meet your husband or wife?" Twelve percent reported

19 Thomas, The American Catholic Family, p. 162; in the finding of the
present study in this regard, fifty percent of the Mexican husbands who mar-
rried interreligiously lapsed in religious practice and 66.6% of the Mexican
wives married this way went to church less than before.
through work and 8 percent at school. Both scores are very low. This low percentage, however, cannot be said to be a phenomenon particular to Chicago. In Derby, for instance, 16 percent of the marriage partners was uncovered through employment and 18 percent through schools.²⁰

Although the percentage with regard to these two places for first meeting presented in both the present study and the Derby study did not show too much influence in these two as factors in the matter of mate selection, the difference in the two studies, however, deserves an explanation. Statistically, the percentage secured from the data of the present study is much lower than that in the Derby study as they are matched by these two questions. The school as a meeting place in Derby shows slightly (about 2/3) higher than in Chicago.

What are the factors that might be responsible for these differences? When the differences in these two studies are weighed over against the respective background conditions in each study it is not too difficult to reconcile them.

First of all, from the occupational point of view, the nature of the jobs in which the husbands are engaged in this study do not allow for equal occupational opportunity for both sexes. The majority of the husbands are manual laborers. Few women are engaged in manual labor.

Secondly, in the Mexican culture, boys, especially the elder sons, are supposed to share the father's responsibility for supporting the family, even in their early teens, by taking full time or part-time work. This is clearly indicated by a high percentage of the responses to the question: Give the

²⁰Barron, p. 276.
reasons for quitting school when you did. The majority of the answers, about 2/3 was given as, "had to work".

Moreover, as many other studies show, the lower class of minority groups does not appreciate the high value of academic achievements. As a group, the Mexicans might also be included in this class and therefore there is the tendency among Mexican parents to take their sons from schools and put them to work as soon as they are able. This earlier responsibility for supporting the family would possibly separate them from other non-Mexican youngsters of comparable age. Thus while many of the Mexican boys are already out of school and working, the non-Mexican boys and girls are still in school with a role culturally prescribed for "teen-agers."

In addition, the difference in years of education and the difference in age might also provide another explanation. Out of 100 couples, 52 percent of husbands and wives had from one year to five years difference in education. A mean year of difference is 2.25 years. This means that, even if both husband and wife were in the same school, they were separated academically by 2.25 years. Also the great difference in age between husbands and wives must be taken into account. The mean difference in age is 4.66 years. This difference is even more pronounced than that in school attendance. This difference was two times higher than the difference in educational years. This would separate them still more. Sociologically speaking, these differences can be not only a physical but also a psychological barrier between them.

From this evidence it seems fairly clear why these two categories as factors in determining the relations between husbands and wives presented such a low score, in comparison to other factors in this study, as well as with the
scores in same categories in other studies.

Roberts, in his study of interracial marriages in Chicago, found out that "more than one-third of the Negro husbands met their wives through occupational contacts." The percentage of occupational contacts in Robert's study was almost three times higher than that presented by the data in the present study. This difference in score is solely a difference in work situations. The work situation for the Mexican group, as we have pointed out before, was largely a situation for merely one sex; whereas the situation for the Negro group in Robert's study involves both sexes. Their occupational situations as described by Roberts are: "coachman (or chauffer) and maid in the same household, waiter and pantry girl in the same hotel, cook and waitress in the same restaurant, and waitress and customers in a restaurant." An almost identical situation was disclosed in another study in Los Angeles among Filipinos. Their wives are mostly taxi dancers, fellow women employees in hotels, restaurants, hospitals, and in private homes.

The percentage of interracial marriage, introduced through occupations in Sister Lynn's study in Washington, D.C. was even higher than that in Robert's study. The ratio was 4 to 10 of Negro-white intermarriages, that is 40 percent. Her explanation was that social mobility was responsible for this high rate of intermarriage. As she stated, a great number of Negroes and other

21 Roberts, p. 57.
22 Lynn, p. 71
24 Lynn, p. 71.
minority group members came to the capital to take advantage of job opportunities and the better types of occupation that the capital had to offer in which both white and Negro, men and women were employed. Thus they had more opportunities to meet their white wives than in any other category of social activities.

3) Social Contacts through Friends

Friends are believed to be an important source of situations in which future husbands and wives meet each other for the first time. A number of studies pointed to the fact that a large proportion of interethnic husbands and wives met through mutual acquaintances. This was particularly true in large cities. In a city like Chicago where one finds many sub-communities in the larger community, the introduction of friends seems a most useful means, if not the only one, for individuals to meet. In a thorough analysis of the data secured from a few studies made in Chicago, Simpson and Yinger summarized three general conditions which are believed responsible for a great number of marital practices in this place: "Typically in Chicago intermarried couples became acquainted through occupational contacts, or as neighbors living in the same districts, or through common friends."25

In the present study the intermediation of friends contributed a greater number of interethnic marriages than either recreation or occupation. This is in marked contrast to the Derby study by Barron which indicated the greater influence of recreation, and when friends did play the influential role in that study, especially when joined to recreational activities, these cases all

25 Simpson and Yinger, p. 562.
had to do with people somewhere in the upper social classes.\textsuperscript{26} All those in our study were in the lower classes.

It was found in our study that over 50 percent of the couples who became acquainted fell into "friends" category. This ratio was almost three times higher than the Barron's study in Derby. The statistics alone would show this since the figure for Barron was 18.18 percent and in our study 52 percent fell into this category in Chicago.

The same trend was also seen in the study made by Roberts of intermarriages between Negroes and whites in Chicago but the percentage revealed by his data was almost three times smaller than the one obtained in our study. The ratio in the present study was 52 percent as compared to 20 percent in his study.\textsuperscript{27}

4) Contacts through the Church

Since Mexicans are supposedly Catholics, we are inclined to presume that the church would certainly have some influence upon them with regard to the matter of meeting each other through both religious as well as non-religious church-sponsored activities. The data of this study in this regard seem to indicate a result that is contrary to this presumption.

As we remember from the earlier chapter in Table XIX (page 85) there were only two families who reported that they were members of two religious organizations, Holy Family Society and St. Francis Club. The latter has been out of existence for many years. The correlation between their marriages and

\textsuperscript{26}Barron, p. 276.

\textsuperscript{27}Roberts, p. 57.
membership in these organizations cannot be established simply because they were members of these organizations. No trait of this influence has been disclosed from any source in our data. As Table XVII (page 79) clearly indicated, not even one of them reported that the premarital contact was made through the parish organizations. The same finding was found in other studies. Simpson and Yinger made some observation and concluded "Few of these marriages were the result of school, political, or religious contacts." 28

If church organizations failed to have any influence upon its members with regard to such an important matter, we are tempted to ask: What other influence in this regard can the church exert upon its members? What about the church membership? Is there any observable relationship between membership of husband and wife and their marriage? Studies also provided some scientific data in this regard.

In one study it was revealed that "In 31.57 percent of the total number of ethnic intermarriages (in Derby) in 1929-1930 and 1940 which are at the same time religious inmarriages and in which both mates had premarital residences in the community, the groom and bride attend the same church." 29 The percentage found in the present study, however, was smaller than that in Derby. There were only 20 percent of the total sample which are Catholic inmarriages and in which husbands and wives had premarital residences and attended the

28 Simpson and Yinger, p. 562.

29 Barron, p. 302.
Nevertheless, the evidence produced in these two studies seems to support the hypothesis that the incidence of interethnic marriage is probably related to church membership. And yet in one of his statements Barron gives the impression that "the church membership does not appear important." How can this be explained? When Barron made this statement, he was talking about "first contact." In this statement he simply explained the fact that so far as the first contact is concerned the church influence is not so significant as other factors. He further explained that such influence was more clear in case of new-comers than in case of old-timers. His reason seems simple and logical. New-comers who were new in the community need some institutions such as the church as an agency to lead them into new acquaintances. For old residents such an intermediary service is not necessary, because they lived in the same community and, therefore, knew each other even without the church's recommendation.

5) Residential Propinquity as Factor

In the study of social stratifications, sociologists use ecological areas as indices for assigning the various socio-economical statuses to different groups in American cities. Fr. John Thomas, S.J., for instance, in his study of 132 parishes utilized "rental area" as a measurement of social classes among the Catholics in each of these parishes. The same technique was employed by Kenkel in his study of social stratification in Columbus.

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30Ibid., p. 277.
Ohio. For the same purpose "residential area" is used in other studies. West pointed out that the residential areas, in his study of "Plainville U.S.A.," were used by the raters as criteria for class distinction. It was believed in this particular place that geographically the up-hill folks are generally composed of better classes, whereas the lower classes are the down-hill dwellers. Likewise Warner and his associates in their study of Jonesville took the geographical location of individual residence in this town as a reflection of social status. Here is their observation: "It makes a difference whether he comes from the "northside" or "eastside," whether he lives "up on the hill" or "down by the river."

All these studies would add to the evidence that there is a close relationship between residential area and social status. In American cities the physically and ecologically described territories or communities are not homogeneous but heterogeneous in the sense that there are many ethnic sub-groups who live in close contact with each other. The people in these communities are described as a homogeneous group sociologically, although each of these sub-groups might occupy a small segment of the big communities, but close ethnic ties only with their "own." This situation seems to be typical in the


city of Chicago. For instance, in the Stock Yards community there are 17 ethnic groups who live side by side and preserve to some extent their own sub-cultural characteristics; in these small areas there are 21 churches (17 Catholic and 4 non-Catholic) and 24 schools (16 parochial and 8 public) to serve them. 35 A similar situation of ethnic composition in this community is also found in other communities.

In spite of all the cultural or subcultural characteristics, individuals are thus classified by residential location as members of particular social groups. It should be kept in mind that there is a distinction between social group and ethnic group. 36 A social group is identified indiscriminately by a general ecological area in which many ethnic groups are cohabitants. Supposedly each social group has a general value system that is reflected in its socio-economic status. In this sense the members of this social group think alike, act alike, and live alike. Thus the social relationships of these ethnic groups are largely confined to those groups of the same socio-economic status within the same community, particularly the more intimate relationships. No other form of social relationship is as intimate as the marriage relation between two groups. Thus interethnic marriages would normally take place in a social group, if there is nothing to prevent them.

There are two conditions which seem to be most influential in effecting marriage choices in these multi-ethnic cultural areas, namely, a) the numerical size of the ethnic groups and b) the amount of cohesion and solidarity

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35 Annual Report of the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council 1959
36 Mayer, p. 46.
within these groups. The larger the group the greater degree of group solidarity and, consequently, the lower the rate of intermarriages. In the study of 132 Catholic parishes throughout the East and Middle West, Thomas found out that the percentage of mixed marriages in cities of 100,000 and over was markedly lower than in smaller cities and can thus be explained: "The major ethnic subgroup concentrations were in the larger cities of the territory from which the samples were drawn. It was discovered that those large urban parishes in which minorities were located uniformly had low percentages of mixed marriages."\(^{37}\)

This statement clearly indicates the positive correlation of group cohesion with the rate of intermarriages. From the above premises a supplementary conclusion might be drawn that the smaller the ethnic group is in a big community, the larger the number of intermarriages. Hence, if a minority group wishes to preserve ethnic purity, the best way is to maintain group solidarity.

In order to check the degree of group solidarity and its influence upon the rate of intermarriage, the first thing to know is the total number of the studied population in an area. Unfortunately no materials are available to provide us with accurate statistics of the total number of the Mexican population here in Chicago. It was estimated, however, that the population increased from 13,000 in the year of 1934, to 50,000 in 1959.\(^{38}\) This means a 300 percent increase in 25 years. This figure actually includes all the Mexi-

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38 This information was obtained from competent informers in the interviews.
cans in the city of Chicago as well as migratory workers. Thus the actual number of the Mexicans in these three main colonies would be smaller. It constitutes about 50 percent of the total population, according to Felter's computation. In other words, roughly the total number is about 35,000. Being the largest of these three colonies, South Chicago would possess over half of the 35,000 and the rest would be divided almost equally among the other two colonies: Near West Side and the Stock Yards areas, i.e., 7,500 each.

Thus numerically speaking the Mexican group in each of these three territories is comparatively small. And even in these colonies they are not actually concentrated as a unit but are split into separated sections, separated either by occupational necessity or by natural barriers. In the Stock Yards area, for instance, the main group is around Ashland and 45th Street and is mostly employed in the Stock Yards. Meanwhile a few smaller groups cluster around several packing houses, the American Can Companies, and the railroad companies, for working convenience.

With regard to the South Chicago area besides the main colony which is located in the area, "bounded by the Illinois Steel Company Mills on the east, Commercial Avenue on the west, the railroad tracks on the south," there are other smaller settlements. One group lives near one of the northern gates of the Illinois Steel Company in what is called "the bush" north of the Belt Line tracks between Eighty-seventh Street and Eighty-sixth Street while another

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group is located on Torrence Avenue between One hundred fourth and One hundred seventh Street just to the west of the Wisconsin Steel Company Mills.40

In the Near West Side area a large group of Mexicans is centered around St. Francis Assisi Church which is the Mexican national parish located at 813 West Roosevelt Road. It has been known as the largest Mexican colony in the city of Chicago but during the last 15 or 20 years it endured a tremendous change of population. A large number of Mexicans moved along Eighteenth Street and Halsted Street. They became parishioners at St. Procopius, St. Joseph, St. Pius and closer parishes.

Thus the Mexicans have not only a comparatively small number but many live apart from other Mexicans and are thus cut off from the main colonies. In such a widespread and disadvantageous position it would be hard for them to maintain group cohesion and group isolation. As a result, their ties with the main colonies have become quite loose and the tendency toward interaction or intergroup relations grows stronger and stronger as times go on.

As a consequence of this change two other changes follow. The group's control on such matters as marriage is gradually weakening and the attitudes of the Mexicans toward other groups and those of others toward them are also changing. This condition would partly explain the trend in the increase of outgroup marriages among the Mexicans in Chicago in the last 15 or 20 years.

The hypothesis that the smaller the group numerically the higher the rate of outgroup marriages has been scientifically verified by other marriage studies. This is just the general trend but there can be exceptions. In

40Ibid, p. 12.
Boston the Negro population was almost the same (from the lowest rate, 2 percent, to the highest, 2.2 percent) through a period of 20 years from 1900 to 1920, and yet the rate of the Negro and white intermarriages was constantly decreasing which, according to Simpson and Yinger’s opinion, can hardly be explained by the above hypothesis. 41

Such exceptions may well indicate that numerical size of ethnic groups alone does not determine the rate of intermarriages but other conditions should also be taken into consideration. It is Barron’s thesis that the incidence of intermarriage is not the result of a single factor but of all factors and conditions combined. Thus he criticized Adams, Silcox, and Fisher on their overemphasis of "numbers" to make their points. To him it is not the "absolute" number but its social implications that are far more important in intergroup relationships. 42

The degree of influence of group size upon the incidence of intermarriage depends upon the type of neighborhood in which the group interaction takes place. In a neighborhood or community where various ethnic groups coexist neighborly and children are free to have contact with each other, this interaction most probably would lead to much closer relationships, and often lead to marriage. The studies of residential propinquity have proved with empirical data such correlations between the rate of intermarriage and residence.

Our data indicates that about 91.5 percent of the hundred couples were

41 Simpson and Yinger, 549-552.
disclosed as having premarital residence in the city of Chicago whereas only 8.5 percent did not have. The finding of the present study on this aspect is quite different from that of Derby. It was revealed that over 16.67 percent of the intermarried couples, both husbands and wives, had their premarital residence in Derby. The explanation for this great difference seems obvious. In measuring the physical sizes of these two localities we would have a fair idea of why the results of two studies are so different. Compared with a metropolitan city like Chicago, Derby is a small town that, according to Barron's description, has only three "associated communities." If we take the three general areas where the Mexican colonies are situated as bases for residences, the percentage would appear much smaller.

Table XX will show the percentages of those who selected their marriage partners from the same community and those who did not in each of these three general areas.

**TABLE XX**

**NUMBER OF COUPLES WITH PREMARITAL RESIDENCE IN THE SAME COMMUNITY AND THOSE WHO HAD NONE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENERAL AREAS</th>
<th>THE SAME COMMUNITY</th>
<th>NOT THE SAME COMMUNITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Chicago</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>21.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock Yards</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>7.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near West Side</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>65%</strong></td>
<td><strong>35%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As we can see from Table XX, two areas presented high percentages of those who came from the same community, except one—the Near West Side which had a zero percentage. This might indicate the fact that this colony is a changing neighborhood, as we have mentioned before. The statistics for the two other areas show a total of 65 percent of intermarriages in which both husbands and wives had premarital residence in the same communities. As compared with the percentage revealed by Barron's study this figure is still about four times higher than in Derby. The reason for this difference may stem from the fact that the three communities in Derby might not be as heterogeneous in ethnic composition as the ones in Chicago. An industrialized city like Chicago might be more attractive to the groups of lower economic and social statuses who have the tendency to in and outmarry on the same economic and social level.

What has produced such a low percentage for residential propinquity in effecting intermarriage in Derby was not too clearly explained by Barron. That fact, however, certainly did not impress him enough to stress the importance of residence in regard to intermarriage in this particular place. As he never came to deny its role in this matter he felt that it would be necessary to add two conditions that might reinforce it as a contributing factor. If the residential factor is facilitated by conditions such as premarital contact and economic and cultural similarity, its influence would be more pronounced. This opinion seems to be backed up by another sociologist. Upon a detailed analysis of residential factor in his study, "An Examination of the Operation of Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Mate Selection," Clark would seem to

agree with Barron as he remarked: "The spatial factor is probably a result rather than a cause operating in marital choice."\textsuperscript{44}

What Barron and Clark tried to say, in the writer's opinion, is that residential propinquity alone cannot produce intermarriage unless working together with other factors or conditions. However, evidence produced by all studies of this sort would seem to leave no doubt that there is some relationship between the intermarriage rate and residential proximity. Table XXI will provide some additional data in the present study concerning such relationships as measured by the standard city blocks, or miles in case the couples came from different communities or from different places.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Residential Propinquity as Measured by the Standard City Blocks and Miles}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\hline
Distance & No. of Families \\
\hline
Within 16 blocks & 52 \\
Within 24 blocks & 13 \\
Within 10 miles & 8 \\
Within 20 miles & 4 \\
Within 40 miles & 9 \\
More than 40 miles & 10 \\
Unknown & 4 \\
Total & 100 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{44}Clark, p. 22
As Table XXI shows, 52 percent of the couples under study had lived within 16 blocks and 13 percent within 24 blocks of each other. This is very close to other studies of propinquity. Bossard made a particular study of the residential addresses of 5,000 applicants for marriage licenses in the city of Philadelphia to determine whether the premarital residence had any discernible influence upon them in the matter of marital selection. The answer given by the evidence of his study was positive. The data indicated that over half (52 Percent) had lived within 20 blocks of each other, one-fourth (24 percent) within two blocks, and one-third (33 percent) within five blocks.\textsuperscript{45}

In his study of 281 families, Clark pointed out that 53.4 percent had lived within 16 blocks at the time of application for license.\textsuperscript{46} The same percentage has been revealed by Keller's study: Fifty percent of 1,200 men studied have selected their wives from within 15 blocks.\textsuperscript{47}

Table XXII will give a further analysis of the proximity of 65 husbands and wives within 16 standard city blocks. The table is self-explanatory. In the most propinquitous category there are 7 couples who live within one block and the least propinquitous are 9 couples who were within 16 blocks. Out of these 7 couples who were in one block, the three closest are a Bohemian-Mexican couple who were "next door", a Mexican-German family whose husband lived "just across the street" and a Serbian-Mexican who lived "around the block."

\textsuperscript{45} Bossard, pp. 219-224.
\textsuperscript{46} Clark, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
### TABLE XXII

**NUMBER OF CASES OF COUPLES WHO LIVED WITHIN THREE MILES BEFORE THEIR MARRIAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLOCKS BETWEEN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 8 16 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 8 10 8 2 5 3 9 13</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Barron's study, the closest family was an Italian-Polish family which had the same premarital residence.\(^{48}\) Among other studies of intermarriages, Sister Lynn in her study in Washington, D.C. has reported the largest proportion of the families who had the closest premarital residences. "Over one-third of the couples were living at the same address at the time they applied for a marriage license and three-fourths were living within sixteen blocks of each other at that time."\(^{49}\)

For 65 percent of the couples in this study who had premarital residences in the same community (within 24 blocks), the average distance was approximately by 6.55 blocks. The proximity for the rest of 23 percent of the couples from the third category (within 20 miles) to the fifth category (more than 40 miles) in Table XXII falls into a wide range of distance extending from the

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\(^{48}\)Barron, p. 286.

\(^{49}\)Lynn, p. 32.
town in the State of Illinois to those in other states in U.S.A. and other countries in Europe. There are two families in which one partner was born outside Chicago. There is an Irish-German wife from Dugenio, Illinois and another (German wife) from Sterling, Illinois. There are nine wives who came from other states: Scotch-German—Spartanburg, South Carolina; Polish—New Haven, Connecticut; Irish—Slade, Kentucky; Indian—South Dakota; Norwegian—Roseau, Minnesota; Indian—Irish—Los Angeles, California; Italian—Kansas City, Missouri; Slovak—Bohemian—Bentleyville, Pennsylvania, and Irish—English—Harlan, Kentucky. There are two war brides who were brought to the United States by their GI husbands from overseas: one German and one English.

B. Personal-Social Factors

In the earlier part of the chapter we dealt with some external forces that have been shown to be responsible for the rate in intermarriages among the Mexicans in Chicago. They are external factors because they are the situations in which individuals are exposed to opportunities to meet potential marriage partners. Now we turn our attention to some other forces which are more personal in nature. They are so personally attached to each individual that they may not be noticed by the individuals themselves but can be tested through empirical and scientific inquiry.

1) Age as A Factor at Marriage

Age as a factor can be discussed from two different viewpoints: the age as a factor for mate selection, and best age for a happy marriage. In the present chapter we are interested only in the first aspect—age as a factor in marriage selection. Our investigation is focused on such questions as, At what age the present group studied were most frequently married? What are the
differences in age between husbands and wives? What are the differences in the finding of this study and those of others? What would be the factors responsible for the difference?

Before we go further, reference should be made with regard to age in marriage in the general population. The knowledge of this would provide us with a broader perspective in understanding of this problem and, therefore, enable us to cross-examine similarity and dissimilarity of this group with the rest of the population. If there is any difference, it will be our concern to know what would be the causes or factors responsible for this difference.

In general, Americans marry at an earlier age than people in other western countries. According to the United States Bureau of the Census in 1890, median age at first marriage in the general population was 26.1 for males and 22.0 for females. In 1950, it was 23.9 for males and 21.6 for females. As seen from Table XXIII, there is a discernable trend of lowering the median age through the years for both sexes on the national level.

These statistics show that with each generation Americans are marrying at an earlier age than their parental generation. The data of the present study follows also the general patterns in the age of marriage as the general trend...

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Landis and Landis, p. 36. This statement cannot, without qualifications, be applied to Oriental countries. The culturally mature age in China is twenty for the male, and no one is mature socially and ceremonially until he is married. There is also the custom of baby engagement through the parents of both girl and boy, who have the same social status and enjoy the same prestige. This type of engagement is found more frequently among wealthy families. Finally, the custom of child brides prevails in some parts of China, and in this custom the young girl is sent without ceremony to her future father-in-law's home to stay with them until the marriageable age is reached. This age tends to be earlier than would otherwise be expected.
on the national level. The median age was found in this study to be 22.0 for husbands and 19.5 for wives during the period of 1926-1958. From this point of view the present finding appears very different from other studies.

**TABLE XXIII**

**MEDIAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE IN THE U.S., 1890-1957**

**SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>25.9</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Not available for 1957; 22.9 for 1956.*

Adopted from *Information Please Almanac 1959*

In her study of interracial marriages in Washington, D.C., Sister Lynn found 29 years for males and 26 years for females during the period of 1940-1947.51 In a study of American-Filipino intermarriages the median age for husbands was found 29 years and for wives 23 years.52 Burma also gives a full account of difference in age of interracial marriages among the various groups in Los Angeles, some of which were even higher than the latter study. The high—

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51 Lynn, p. 35.

52 Hunt, Social Forces, XXXV, p. 224. The difference for the median age was quite marked for husbands and wives in this case. In this regard the writer had an opportunity to make a personal observation during his six years' stay in that country. In general, the Filipino girls and boys appear older than their age because of their facial complexion and skin color.
Age at marriage in his study was for white-Negro marriages: 29; the second to the highest was 28 for Anglo-Mexican marriages whereas the lowest was 25 for three other types of intermarriages: Anglo-Japanese, Anglo-Chinese, and Anglo-Filipino. All the evidences produced through these studies would seem to agree on one fact that the median age for intergroup marriage, by and large, should probably be higher than ingroup marriage.

However, the disagreement or difference of our study from others would raise another question: What factors would possibly make this difference? The answer to this question would perhaps have something to do with the generation. By generation we mean the length of residence in the United States. It is a general supposition that in the first generation the age of first marriage tends to be older than the second generation. Thus the difference in the findings would lie in the fact that in this study there was only a small percentage (11.5 percent) of the first generation, while other studies would probably have a larger group of representatives of the first generation. A close examination of this 11.5 percent of first generation representatives revealed that there were 19 males who were born in Mexico and 4 non-Mexican females who were born in other countries.

In order to show the correlation between generation and age for first marriage the age of the first generation men and women involved in the present study was carefully analyzed. A noticeable difference was found between the group of the first generation and that of the second generation. For men of the first generation the median age was 27.6 years and for women 20.5. This re-

minds the writer of another study made of Greek intermarriages in Chicago. In that study the median year for first generation Greek men was 28.74 and 22 for the first generation women. In this regard there is a close resemblance between these two studies.

Turning away from the discussion of median age of this sample as a group, our investigation is now directed to the facts of the actual ages of the individuals involved. Table XXIV will account for the number of the husbands and the wives for each of these five age groups. A highest frequency was found around two particular age groups: the group of 15-19 and the 20-24.

**TABLE XXIV**

AGE OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES AT MARRIAGE BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE RANGE</th>
<th>HUSBANDS</th>
<th>WIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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54 Mistaras, p. 20.
As Table XXIV shows, the age for the husbands and the wives appeared different with regard to the frequency score in age range. A little over 50 percent of the husbands fell in the group of 20-24 with a percentage of 17 above and 13 below, whereas 50 percent of the wives concentrated in a younger group of 15-19 and only 35 percent of them were found in the group of 20-24. This clearly indicates that the husbands as a group tended to marry wives younger than they were.

Only 12 percent of the husbands and 6 percent of the wives were in the last two higher age groups: 30-34 and 35-39. As the evidence indicates, these last two categories were either first generation marriages or were remarriages. The total number of remarrying husbands was 6 out of which there were 4 Mexicans and 2 non-Mexicans: one Serbian and another Slovak-Bohemian. Of these 6 remarried men, 4 fell in the last two age groups: 3 Mexicans and 1 Serbian. On the wives' side there were 10 cases of remarriage of which only three remarried women were included in the last two age groups: Polish-German, German, and Irish, one each. The age for remarried wives in general would more frequently fall in the younger age groups, namely, 20-24 and 25-29.

It is believed that there is a strong association between age and the incidence of marriages. As this belief was confirmed by Table XXIV, it gives us only a general picture of this tendency on the group basis but does not provide us information on each individual case. This information is more necessary to determine how closely the age could be related to marriage. For this purpose Table XXV was prepared.

As Table XXV indicates, there are three general tendencies that stand out very clearly with regard to age. First, there was a tendency for the husbands
and the wives to marry in the same age group. This fact would account for more than 40 percent of the marriages under study. Secondly, the tendency for husbands and wives to marry in their own age group was greater when both were under 20 years of age. Thirdly, after 20, however, the tendency was for the husband to marry girls who were in the same five-year group and younger. This finding is not unique in Chicago. Hollingshead in his "Study of Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates" has reported the same tendency in age for intermarriage in New Haven.55

TABLE XXV

AGE OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES AT THE TIME OF MARRIAGE
BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE OF HUSBANDS</th>
<th>AGE OF WIVES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>20-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55 Hollingshead, 619-627.
From the above discussion it was revealed that the age of the couples was definitely related to their marriages. And it was also learned that the husbands as a group tended to be married to girls who were younger than themselves, despite the tendency of marrying among their own age group. While this seems to be a scientifically proved and culturally ascribed pattern for marriage in American culture, and marriage of a wide disparity in age between husband and wife is still not frequent. Nevertheless, as Table XXV shows, there were more than 50 percent of husbands and wives who were married to persons not from their own age group. At this point a very interesting question will be asked: From what age groups these husbands or wives more frequently selected their mates if they selected their marriage partners from groups other than their own? And what would be the preference or pattern of selection and how many years separated them if both were from the same age group?

Table XXVI indicates that approximately 30 of the husbands were older than their wives by an age difference of between 8 and 12 years, whereas there was only 1 wife found in this category, since this marriage for her was a second marriage. Again 22 husbands were older than their wives by less than 3 years and another 22 by between 3 to 8 years. Such marked difference in age would certainly indicate that the men tended to have more freedom in age selection and were less bound by the age restrictions of society than the women. In the case of wives older than their husbands, as a rule, they were not more than 3 years older, and any age difference greater than that was very uncommon.

Thus, the overall picture suggested in Table XXVI was that the number of the husbands older than their wives was almost six times as many as that of the wives. In other words, three-fourths of the husbands under this study were
older than their wives. Less than one-eighth of the wives were older than their husbands.

**TABLE XVI**

**AGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HUSBANDS AND WIVES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE DIFFERENTIAL</th>
<th>HUSBAND OLDER</th>
<th>WIFE OLDER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 3 years</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 3 and 7 years</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 8 and 12 years</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteen years and over</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same trend in age differential was also observed by another study made by Walters in his study of 35 American-Japanese intermarriages. As he reported, in a large percentage of the cases the wives were older by not more than 3 years than their husbands but in the case of the husbands who were older the difference as a rule was more than 3 years and the majority of them fell in the age groups of between 3 and 7, and between 8 and 12 years. However, the general finding in his study was that the Japanese wives as a group tended to be older than their American husbands. The reason as he explained was because of the age difference between American girls and Japanese girls in the process of maturing. In this regard his observation and also his personal experience

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56 Walters, p. 32.
(because he himself was married to a Japanese girl) was that "Japanese girls in their late teens don't look physically as mature as American girls in their early teens. Thus the American (soldier) tends to date with Japanese girls of at least his age or older." 57

2) Education as a Factor

What role did education play in mate selection? Do people generally marry someone of about the same educational achievement as themselves? Studies seem to furnish enough evidence to answer these questions. It is generally recognized that there is the tendency for a person to marry someone on the similar educational level in the general population. Whether this tendency is applicable to particular minority groups, with regard to their inmarriage and outmarriage as well, can be scientifically tested.

As seen in Table X (Page 58), the general composition of our sample is of high school students. In the husbands' group there were 70 percent high school students and in the wives' group 75 percent high school students. These two groups amounted to a total of 145 high school students who were 72.5 percent of the total cases (about 3/4 of the whole sample). This means there was only one-fourth left who had education other than high school.

Table XXVII shows how many couples who did marry partners from equal educational levels and how many who did not. Table XXVII is self-explanatory. Of the husbands, 64 percent were married to girls of high school level, 8 percent on grade school level, and only 3 percent on the college level. These three groups made a total of 75 percent of 100 couples who followed the rules

57 Ibid, p. 31.
of educational similarity in selection. The evidence here established seems to confirm strongly the hypothesis of educational homogeneity which is not only true of ingroup marriages but also intergroup marriages.

**TABLE XXVII**

**NUMBER OF THE COUPLES WHO MARRIED ON EQUAL EDUCATIONAL LEVELS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels of Education</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade school.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>7*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Including one Mexican wife who had no education.

The finding in this study with regard to the influence of educational similarity in mate selection can be verified by other studies. In the light of evidence of his study, Nimkoff was convinced that there was a high correlation between marital practice and educational similarity. In his study, 45.9 percent of the husbands who completed the junior year in high school married girls who had the same educational achievement; 51.6 percent of high school seniors married high school seniors; and 47.1 percent of men with one or more years of college married women of the same educational status. 58 Barron in explaining

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the tendency among Catholic women to intermarry more frequently than Catholic men referred to the fact that because usually more Catholic girls than boys attended both public and Catholic secondary schools and they, therefore, tended to marry persons outside their religion on the same educational level as their own. 59

Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that the selection is not made actually on the basis of education alone but it probably is related to other factors such as religion and social status and so on.

TABLE XXVIII

NUMBER OF COUPLES WHO HAD EQUAL AMOUNTS OF EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grade school</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 29

The role of educational similarity in mate selection is even more clear in Table XXVIII. As the table shows, out of 75 couples who married on the same educational level, 25 couples had equal amount of high school education, 3 couples with the same number of years in grade schools and 1 couple who had 3 years of college education. Thus a total of 29 couples married partners having the same amount of educational years.

Table XXIX will give us another aspect of our analysis, that is, the ones

59 Barron, p. 299.
who crossed educational lines and married someone not from their own educational level but from other levels.

### Table XXIX

**Eighteen Couples Crossing Educational Lines**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>College</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husbands</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wives</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The educational implications of 18 couples who selected their mates from over or below their educational level is shown here. There were 6 couples who crossed high school-college lines and 12 grade school-high school lines. In the first category 2 husbands married up (2 college girls) and 4 married down (4 high school girls) while in the second category there were 7 high school husbands who married down (girls who had only grade school education) and 5 grade school husbands married up (high school girls).

Table XXX was prepared for a further analysis and it will show the years of difference in education of the couples who did not have the exact amount of education. Because of incomplete responses the writer had only 52 couples that are available for the purpose of matching. In general, when the husbands as a group were compared with the wives, and the latter group, by and large, had higher education than the former. As Table XXX shows, a number of 36 wives had higher education from one year to four years than their husbands; whereas,
there were only 16 husbands who had higher education than their wives. Statistically the wives who had higher education were twice as many as the husbands.

Table XXX

YEARS OF DIFFERENCE IN EDUCATION OF FIFTY-TWO COUPLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS OF DIFFERENCE</th>
<th>HUSBANDS HIGHER</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>WIVES HIGHER</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MEXICAN</td>
<td>NON-MEXICAN</td>
<td>MEXICAN</td>
<td>NON-MEXICAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One year</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What would be the explanation for the fact that more wives had a higher education than the husbands? Upon close analysis it was disclosed that a proportionally large number of the husbands were foreign born. There were 11 Mexican husbands who were born in Mexico. On account of their migratory status it can be taken for granted that they would have lower education. It was also found that a comparatively large number from this sample was from the families of mixed parentage: 18 non-Mexican males, 6 non-Mexican females, and 1 Mexican female and 2 males. For them such a marital practice perhaps was simply a matter of following the example of their parents who had already crossed the
ethnic lines without too much consideration of the rules of education with regard to mate selection. In this sense they might be less conservative in observing the general regulations in their selection than those who were the first one to cross the ethnic lines. Furthermore, it was believed that the Catholic girls as a group had more education than the Catholic boys. This situation might be even more true in case of Mexican boys. The culturally ascribed responsibility for supporting the family would force many Mexican boys out of school a little earlier than non-Mexican boys. Out of these 36 couples in which the wives had higher education than their husbands there were 25 Mexican husbands. The above-mentioned situations would certainly, to some degree, seem to be responsible for such an unbalanced educational achievement among the husbands and the wives.

3) Personal Preference VS. Parental Attitude

As we recall from our earlier discussion, in speaking of the racial condition here in Chicago, Roberts has referred to them as a "caste system" or at least "semi-caste system" with regard to Negroes. To what extent this would hold true of other ethnic minority groups might be learned by research into the Mexican group we are studying as it is one of the minority groups in the city of Chicago. So far as intermarriage is concerned, we can state without much argument that in the eyes of many people, intermarriage between Anglos and the members of other ethnic groups is looked upon as something unusual and, apparently, is even frowned upon by a great majority of the Anglo groups. This was borne out by both objective observation and the subjective reactions of the couples interviewed and their responses in the questionnaires. One always had the impression that something involving tension or anxiety was touched
upon whenever questions with regard to marriage were asked. For example, one Mexican housewife resented the interview and told the writer frankly: "You are prejudiced against our marriage, otherwise why are you asking so many questions about us? I don't see any difference in our marriage from the rest of them. Marriage is strictly a private matter and should be left alone." Her reaction would be a sure indication of the consciousness of ethnic discrimination and social pressure against this type of marriage. Although this kind of reaction cannot be used as a scientific measure of the discriminative attitude toward the Mexicans, it certainly reflects to some degree the general attitude toward marriage with Mexicans.

In spite of this pressure, the Mexican intermarriage takes place. As a matter of fact, this marriage practice has increased in the last 25 years. This fact might be a reflection of a change in attitudes with regard to this matter at the present time. The change took place not only among Mexicans, (especially the second generation) but also in other ethnic groups as well. It was believed that the change was caused by the American cultural values such as "romantic love", "individualism", "democratic ideals", "personal liberty", and "Christian teaching" which are conveyed through education. 60

Although we recognize there is distinction between belief and practice in interracial or intergroup relationships, in a democratic country each individual is free to do what he believes is right "under ordinary circumstances." If such a distinction between one's belief and practice is not reinforced by positive legal prohibition, then the meaning of this distinction would remain

60 Roberts, p. 47.
only in the academic sense but not in the case of two individuals who believe they have a right to fall in love. Thus they would stick to their belief and hereby make their own decision as to choice in marriage although such a decision, sometimes, does not proceed in intermarriage as smoothly as in ordinary marriages. Adams in his study of interracial marriage in Hawaii admitted such personal forces in marital selection:

If there is some inborn tendency on the part of men and women to prefer marriage with those of their own race, if there is some native antipathy toward members of other races, such preference or antipathy is, when unsupported by a social code, not strong enough to prevent a considerate amount of outmarriage. There is the influence of propin­quity and there are the purely personal preferences. Not infrequently these personal preferences run counter to such race preference or antipathy as may exist.61

In this statement he clearly indicated a few important facts that he found in Hawaii. In the first place, there seemed to be some racial preference or antipathy. Secondly, in spite of this fact, the individual's preference played an important role in the matter of marital choice. Lastly, there were conflicts to some degree between the individuals and society with regard to marriage selection, i.e., to marry a person who is not socially defined as a desirable mate. Such a tendency in outmarrying among individuals sometimes can be so strong that, in order to preserve the purity of race of ethnic groups, society should take positive action as Adams suggested:

If society is to prevent the intermarriage of men and women across race lines it must resort to some sort of social control—public opinion, religious doctrine, and ritual, or legal prohibitions or all together. There must be severe penalties for those who do not conform and their mixed-blood children must suffer also. So ele-

61 Adams, p. 45.
mental and powerful are the urges that influence choice in marriage that only a strong social control can be effective. 62

Religion, law and parents in Barron's terms are "peremptory" factors. Among these the parental attitudes are more influential not only in the formation of personal attitudes but also in applying these learned attitudes or preferences in life situations. Thus parental influence can be functioning in both positive and negative directions. And their objections, therefore, might sometimes be strong enough to control or prevent their children from entering into such a marriage on one hand and, on the other, parental practice might be a contributing factor to the tendency or attitude in their children. Their examples might have "accumulative results" so that their children's marriage is an imitation of the pattern of their own practice. This parental influence was also observed in Washington, D.C.:

It would seem that interracial marriages are somewhat traditional in the families of some of those who married interracially. There were ten instances out of fifty-three in which the parents of the non-white party had intermarried and in some instances too the grandparents had also been interracially married. In addition five non-white women who intermarried had siblings who married non-white males. 63

This statement indicates that the influence is not only contributed by parents but even by grandparents and relatives. By the same token it would not be too presumptuous to say that such influence should be seen in intermarriages in Chicago. Of course such influence is a matter of degree, and it depends very much on local situations. In the following paragraphs the writer would like to discuss in more detail the positive and negative influences of the par-

62Ibid.
63Lynn, p. 45.
Analysis revealed that 40 percent of the non-Mexican parents and 4 percent of Mexican parents had crossed ethnic lines and selected their marriage partners from outside groups. It was further disclosed that in many cases, especially in the non-Mexican group, the parental generation was not the first generation who had broken through the ethnic curtain but followed their parents' suit in this marital practice. In 4 percent of the intermarried couples, both husbands and wives, were from families in which interethnic marriage had been an established pattern of marital practice. One case, for instance, included four different nationalities: English, French, German, and Scotch.

The percentage secured from this data perhaps would be the highest with regard to intermarriage of parents among most of the studies. Twenty-two percent of intermarried individuals were the children of mixed parentage. Compared with the findings in the study in Derby, this finding was much higher. In Derby there were only 6.31 percent of the ethnically intermarried individuals whose parents had outmarried this way and 1.05 percent of inmarrying persons who were the children of ethnically intermarried parents. 64

The correlation between two generations, the parental and present generation, with regard to the tendency in outmarrying was more clearly shown in the present study. The percentage in this study was almost seven times as high as in Derby. Despite this difference in the findings the evidence produced by these two studies would conclusively point to the fact that parental marriage undoubtedly exerted some influence upon the sons and daughters in mate selection.

64Barron, p. 313.
Besides their positive and liberal influence, parents can exert a negative or conservative influence upon their children by either directly or indirectly objecting to this kind of marriage. And in many a case they succeeded in preventing the prospective marriages.

The objections expressed by the parents in this study are seen in Table XXXI. Their objections were based upon different motivations. In general, the objections of the Mexican parents were largely concerned with the age for marriage of their sons and daughters, while that of the non-Mexican parents was almost exclusively based upon discriminatory attitudes toward the ethnicity of the son-or daughter-in-law.

Out of the 9 Mexican parents who have ever objected to their sons' and daughters' interethnic marriages, 4 of them did so on the grounds of their young age. As to the non-Mexican parental group, while over half of the parents were in favor of their children's marriage, 30 percent of them were not. Out of these 30 percent the majority objected because their sons and daughters were marrying a "Mexican." This strongly suggests that there exists a prevailing prejudice against Mexicans in Chicago even at the present time. Such a discriminatory attitude toward the Mexicans stems from many sources. Among others there are the cultural misunderstandings, ignorance, and lack of social contact. Perhaps the most frequent form of reasoning in this regard is that, since few of the non-Mexican parents cannot make the distinction between Mexican-American and migratory Mexican workers, in a confused way they would tend to consider Mexican-Americans as second-grade citizens and of lower social status than their own. To marry a Mexican is something disgraceful in their eyes and a hindrance in the American dream of social mobility. This attitude
is even more true of those minority groups who were just free from discrimina-
tory hazards by the simple fact of length of residence and proud of being
successful in the process of Americanization. Thus the parental objections
were more frequently from third generation parents than those in other genera-
tions.

TABLE XXXI

ATTITUDES OF THE MEXICAN AND NON-MEXICAN PARENTS
TOWARD INTERETHNIC MARRIAGES IN CHICAGO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIONALITY</th>
<th>ATTITUDES OF PARENTS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FAVORABLE</td>
<td>UNFAVORABLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others*</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In the category "others" are included: a few who did not answer, few
parents who passed away, and some cases in which only one parent ob-
jected.
Out of these parents who objected, there were 12 Polish parents, 3 German, 4 Irish, 3 English, 3 Lithuanian, 2 Italian and 3 Bohemian. There were 6 parents (3 Polish, 1 Irish, 1 Italian, 1 Bohemian, and 1 Lithuanian) who had gone so far as to actually disown their daughters.

Nevertheless, the general impression in this study is that there were more parents both Mexican and non-Mexican who favored intermarriage than those who did not. This seems to point to a growing tendency among ethnic groups to accept such close ethnic relationships which 20 years ago would have been violently opposed.

The attitude toward intermarriage was believed to be closely associated with the length of residence of minority group members in this country. It is said that there is a strong tendency among the older Americans to intermarry more commonly than those of the first and second generations. This statement must be qualified in two respects. First, it is true in that the old timers more frequently marry from older groups than from younger groups. Secondly, it is true when this liberal attitude is applied to intermarriage among Anglos but not to those between Anglos and non-Anglos.

Table XXXII indicates the difference in attitude toward Mexican intermarriage in each generation among various groups. The third generation tended to disapprove of this kind of practice: the number with unfavorable attitudes being almost twice the number found among the second generation, and this rate prevailed among all ethnic groups except the Germans. For the latter, it was revealed, the second generation had more objections than the third.

The explanation of this fact would throw some light upon interethnic relations between Anglo groups and the Mexicans. As we mentioned before, although
legally speaking, the Mexicans are considered as "white" by the United States Census Bureau, socially they are treated as a minority group with a status which is slightly higher than that of the Negro in American cities. Discrimination against them has been seen in the field of employment, housing, education, and practically every other aspect of intergroup relations.

TABLE XXXII
THE UNFAVORABLE ATTITUDES OF THIRTY NON-MEXICAN PARENTS TOWARD MEXICAN INTERMARRIAGE BY GENERATION AND ETHNIC GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUPS</th>
<th>GENERATIONS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65 Ruth Tuck, Not with the First: Mexicans in a Southern City (New York, 1946), Cf. R.A. Schermehorn, These Our People: Minority in American Culture (Boston, 1949), p. 190.
This discriminatory attitude was revealed in our study as well. The most frequent objection of the non-Mexican parents toward this kind of intermarriage was this: "because he is a Mexican." In many other cases they did not exactly use these words but the bitterness expressed by the non-Mexican parents, however, suggested that they were highly emotional about it. This emotional display is not often seen in other interethnic marriages but is found in interracial marriage between white and Negro.

The parental objection as a factor in mate selection can be strong, but the individual preference, as proved in the present study, was even stronger in many cases. There were 39 cases in which the individuals from both Mexican and non-Mexican groups married against the will of their parents. Thus the importance of individual preference in making a decision on mate selection cannot be overlooked and its power was also noticed by other writers: "Undoubtedly the 'preferences' are determined by the situation in the community which governs availability, but in addition, there are tendencies and preferences which exert themselves over and above this condition." 66

Admitting its influence, personal attitude or preference, as the data indicate, does not alone determine intermarriage but it functions together with many other factors.

4) Skin-Color as a Factor in Mate Selection

If social visibility plays a role in intermarriage, the skin-color must also play a part in mate selection because no other group characteristic

is more visible than this. Skin-color in this country carries a particular cultural meaning which originally and traditionally refers to racial and ethnic inferiority, particularly in the case of the Negro. Social distance in inter-group relations is too often measured by this physical characteristic and thus skin-color becomes a basis for prejudice and discrimination. In this regard, Schermerhorn made the following remarks concerning the Mexicans:

The various prejudices against him (a Mexican) are largely in terms of color or language differentiations. For the most part, the very dark skinned Mexican will meet with somewhat the same exclusion that the Negro experiences. A man of medium dark skin will be able to find services in a lower class restaurant frequented by poor Anglos but could not do so in a more expensive dining place. A light brown skinned Mexican cannot get accommodations at one of the better hotels, although a light skinned one may do so especially if he speaks fluent English. Only experimentation on his part determines where he will fit in.67

It goes without saying that skin-color is even more important in marriage than in other aspects of social relations. A light skinned Mexican, especially a girl, by and large, would have much better chance in intermarriage than her dark skinned cousins. This has been borne out by a study of interracial marriages in Los Angeles. The Mexicans are treated as non-white in mating, "especially in the case when the person's skin is pronouncedly brown."68 This situation seems to be true, to some extent, also in the city of Chicago.69 Skin-color, in general, is more important to a woman than to a man in social relations. On this aspect, this study provides some interesting data.

67Schermerhorn, p. 190.
68Panunzio, p. 69.
69Information secured from interviews.
Table XXXIII shows a sharp distinction in terms of skin-color between the Mexican men and women. The degree of importance of skin-color in intermarriage is measured by the percentage represented in each of these three color classifications.

**Table XXXIII**

Complexion of 59 Mexican men and 22 women in interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SKIN COLOR</th>
<th>MALES</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dark Brown</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not clear</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The number here included only those interviewed.

Out of 22 Mexican wives, 10 of them can be classified as light skin colored and they represent 45.5 percent of that group.

The percentage for them in each of these classifications decreases as the color increases while a reverse is the picture for the Mexican husbands. Among them 42.5 percent had "dark brown" skin-color while only 17.1 percent were found in the "light" classification. This would be a clear indication of the fact that color has played a more important part in the intermarriage of the
Mexican girls than in the case of the Mexican boys. But in the case of men it may well be that the skin-color represents a picture of muscle or strength. In this sense the darker skin may symbolize attractiveness to the non-Mexican women. In the next section we will extend our discussion to the question of physical attractiveness together with personality at greater length.

5) Physical Attractiveness and Personality

In the study of interracial marriage, Roberts pointed to the fact that "one of the reasons given by the great majority of men and women interviewed...for contracting their intermarriages was romantic love." And he continues: "in this respect they do not differ from other Americans, for love and romance are generally considered to be prerequisite to marriage in modern American civilization." Since romantic love is taken for granted for each marriage, we presume that the intermarriages under this study are not different from other marriages. However, such a term, love, is too vague to tell us about how they fell in love and how they decided to marry. How people fall in love is still a highly debated question. Those who believe in love at first sight hold that two people will meet someday at the right place. Landis' opinion on this hypothesis is that they overemphasized physical attractiveness in love. A true love involves more than physical attractiveness and it grows gradually through contact in most cases.

Love which leads to happy marriage may begin with a physical attraction that impels a couple to seek association with each other. This is only the starting point. Necessary to the development of love is the discovery of mutual interests, enjoyment of each other's company, a certain measure of agreement on life goals and values, and the ab-

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70 Roberts, p. 47.
sence of personality traits that cause irritation or quarrels between the two. When all the necessary elements are present, the couple usually find that they are "in love," and logically they begin to consider marriage. 71

The discussion of love elements in the present study was provided by a detailed analysis of the responses to the question of "What attracted you to your wife or husband?" The statistical figure for each factor and for their combinations is given in Table XXXIV (page 133). The highest percentage fell into the category of "personality" in both groups, husbands and wives. Although there is much difference in percentage between husbands and wives with regard to this category, the high percentage for both groups indicates clearly that the majority of husbands and wives in this study considered personality as the highest quality for marriage, and that the selection was mostly based on a deliberate and mature process. This certainly has very much to do with their marital adjustment, as we will see in a later chapter. From this point on, however, the tendency in emphasis upon the factors between husbands and wives was divided into two different directions. Husbands, as a whole, were over represented in the category of physical attractiveness while wives stressed more the factor of personality. Statistically, 22 percent of husbands said that they would consider physical attractiveness first and then personality in selection whereas only 4 percent of wives admitted this. Without overlooking the importance of physical attractiveness in selection in both cases — husband and wife — we would say that in general women tend to emphasize personality more than physical attractiveness, because the girls were more frequently warned against "marrying a man in order to reform him." Nine

71 Landis, p. 43.
percent of wives reported that they considered personality first (over physical attractiveness) and only 3 percent of the husbands did so. This would indicate that physical attractiveness is more important to men than to women.

| TABLE XXXIV |
|---------------------------------+--------------+---------------|
| PERSONALITY AND ATTRACTIONNESS AS FACTORS IN MATE SELECTION IN INTERETHNIC MARRIAGES |
| DETERMINING FACTORS | HUSBANDS | WIVES |
| Physical Attractiveness | 16 | 9 |
| Physical Attractiveness and Personality | 22 | 4 |
| Personality* | 39 | 55 |
| Personality and Physical Attractiveness | 3 | 9 |
| Love | 2 | 5 |
| Others | 16 | 15 |
| Unknown | 2 | 3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

*The personality traits mentioned are: good manners, nice, trusty, dependable, good disposition, good quality, understanding, considerate, good talker, kind, clean and neat, honest, polite, good provider, quiet, modest well-groomed, good humor, religious, level-headedness, friendliness, and one even mentioned "introvert."

It was said that women are more practical than men so far as mate selection is concerned. Comparing the attitudes of 2,000 students of a midwestern college in 1949 and of 642 students of an eastern university in 1930, Baber
found 39 percent of the men who would marry a woman who was decidedly not good looking; and both generations (1949 and 1930) almost unanimously agreed that they would not marry a person of unattractive disposition and personality.72 This finding would be another indication of that beauty matters more to the men than to the women, as personality is equally important to both men and women.

What constitutes an attractive or unattractive personality is still controversial. Attractiveness of personality in actual situations perhaps depends upon the type of personality of the two individuals, and their personality needs. As to personality type one kind of personality might be charming to one individual but not at all to another. Thus, for instance, an extrovert man might be an ideal mate for an extrovert woman but not for a girl who is an introvert by nature and vice versa. Following the general principle that "like attracts like," persons who have similar personalities would be more attractive to each other. However, this is just a general tendency, but it cannot be said of each individual case because the love relationship or marriage is much involved and complicated. In some cases dissimilarity in personality may well be as attractive as similarity. Dissimilarity as an attractive factor is frequently determined by personality needs of individuals. This union would result in a type of marriage like "leader-follower."

73Clement Simon Mihanovick, Gerald T. Schnepp, and John L. Thomas, Marriage and the Family (Milwaukee, 1952), p. 27.
What was said about dissimilarity in personality as a contributing factor in mate selection might be true, to some extent, of dissimilarity in physical characteristics and attraction. Such differences exist in almost every inter-ethnic marriage but appear more pronounced when intermarriage takes place between persons of two nationalities that are characterized by differences in skin-color. To what extent this dissimilarity actually operates is very hard to determine for two reasons. First, sociology is not so advanced as to discover an adequate technique to measure this. Second, marriage complicated as it may be, certainly does not result from one single factor but is conditioned by many (personal and social, physical and psychological) factors.

Scientific evidence, however, undoubtedly indicates that racial or physical differences play a part in mate selection. In a study of interracial marriages in Hawaii, Adams found out that to such differences can be added elements of attractiveness. 74 In agreeing with Adam's opinion, Reuter comments:

The existence of some racial differences within a population or between populations closely associated operated rather definitely as a sex stimulant. Moderate differences in racial type appeal in a very direct way to the universal wish for new and stimulating experience. . . . But the range of difference may not be great else the offended aesthetic sensibilities overshadow the sex appeal. The spontaneous negative reaction toward persons of strange race decreases with familiarity. Habituation through association leads to the toleration of traits initially highly offensive; things at first offensive became indifferent, they may even become in a manner attractive. . . . As the repulsion due to differences declines through familiarities, the tendency to sex contact increases; the sex attraction overcomes the repulsion of race and culture difference.75

74 Adams, p. 45.
75 Barron quoted from Reuter, p. 19.
6) Sex Factor in Interethnic Marriages

There seems to be a general agreement in the findings of many researches on intermarriages that there is a tendency for men to outmarry more than women. This is not a hypothesis any more but has become a scientifically established fact.

The result of the present study is in a perfect agreement with the above statement. As Table XXXIV shows, 72 percent of the hundred Mexicans were married to the non-Mexican girls; and only 28 percent of the non-Mexican boys were married to Mexican girls. This means that the men outmarried almost three times as frequently as the women.

**TABLE XXXIV**

**NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF THE MEXICANS AND NON-MEXICANS BY SEX IN MEXICAN INTERMARRIAGES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>MEXICAN</th>
<th>NON-MEXICAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other studies have also shown that minority group males have had stronger tendencies to outmarry than females. In a study of interreligious marriages, Biber revealed that Jewish men married Catholic and Protestant women almost twice as often as Jewish women married Catholic and Protestant men, although
there seemed to be no need for outmarrying. The same tendency was found by Roberts in his study of interracial marriages in Chicago. According to his report there were close to four-fifths of the total sample in which Negro men were married to white women.

What would be the reason for this difference? In answering this question Simpson and Yinger mentioned four general reasons which they thought to be responsible for this:

1) The women in these groups have fewer opportunities for meeting the men in other groups than the minority men have for meeting women outside their own group; 2) religious and institutional controls of behavior may exert a stronger influence on minority women than on minority men; 3) men take the initiative in dating and courtship; 4) marrying a woman in the majority group, or a woman in the minority group whose appearance and manners closely approximate those of the majority group women, is a symbol of success, of prestige, of being accepted in the larger community.

Of course, these are just general conditions in which intermarriage can be explained without reference to particular local differences. In addition to these there is a demographical factor that could not be, at any rate, overlooked, that is, sex ratio. Unbalanced sex ratio was believed responsible for a great number of intermarriages in many minority groups. This was the case in Los Angeles and in Washington, D.C., where a pattern of intermarriage was more of white females and non-white males. The same situation was found in

76 Baber, American Sociological Review, II, 710.
77 Roberts, p. 10.
78 Simpson and Yinger, p. 555.
79 Panunzio, pp. 691-701.
80 Lynn, p. 22.
Hawaii. Cheng believed that "the male predominance in the outmarriage patterns of the Caucasians and the Filipino groups was largely the result of their rather abnormal sex ratio." 81 Again, Baber, explaining the fact that non-Anglo men married Anglo women four times as frequently as Anglo men married non-Anglo women in New York, pointed out that because there was always a surplus of men in non-Anglo groups searching for wives. 82

Nevertheless, unbalanced sex ratio as a factor in mate selection, important as it may be, cannot be the whole answer or an adequate explanation for exogamous tendencies in all the minority groups all the time. Under ordinary circumstances sex ratio seems to be a strong motivating factor for men and women in minority groups to outmarry. Some cases, however, require an explanation more than just abnormal sex ratio. It is possible and often happens that members of one minority group might show a particular interest in outmarrying even though there is no necessity to do so. In other words, such a tendency cannot be explained by sex ratio if sex ratio is normal and well balanced. An illustration for this exceptional group would be a Japanese group in Hawaii. According to Cheng and Yamamure, they constituted the largest ethnic and most evenly balanced group, yet they tended to intermarry with people of other races more frequently than any other ethnic groups. 83 This contributed to the great change that took place in Hawaii with regard to intermarriage in the last fifteen years. It was a general trend for all ethnic groups to broaden the

81Cheng and Yamamure, p. 80.
82Baber, American Sociological Review, II, 705.
83Cheng and Yamamure, p. 80.
pattern of selection. Before 1945 the prevailing pattern of intermarriage in
the Islands was predominantly marriage between Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians but
since that time the tendency was to select marriage partners from among all
ethnic or racial groups.

Another illustration is the interreligious marriage in Canada. Simpson
and Yinger mentioned that in Quebec the number of Catholic women who outmarried
was greater than Catholic men. Since there was no pronounced difference in
sex ratio in religious groups (Catholic and Protestant), sex ratio would not be
an answer for the marital behavior of Catholic women there. Among the reasons
given by them two are more prominent: "Catholic women may prefer to marry
Protestant men because their economic status tends to be higher than that of
Catholic men; the average Catholic girl is educated beyond the level of the
Catholic boy."85

The same tendency was also found in the Jewish group in Canada. The num-
ber of Jewish men who marry non-Jews is regularly larger than the number of
Jewish women who intermarried with non-Jewish men, although, as Barron says,
the sexes in the Jewish group are almost equally divided.86

Sex difference in tendency to outmarry is not only seen in religious
groups but also in ethnic groups. In New Haven, for instance, "women of
British-American... and Italian tend to marry ingroup whereas the contrary is

84 Silcox and Fisher, p. 240.
85 Ibid.
86 Milton L. Barron, "Incidence of Jewish Intermarriage in Europe and
true of the Irish and Poles. 87

TABLE XXXVI

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF NON-MEXICANS WHO MARRIED MEXICANS ACCORDING TO SEX AND NATIONALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIONALITY</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to the latter two groups, the results of the present study seem to agree with the findings in New Haven. As a matter of fact, the tendency for women to intermarry does not only appear in these two ethnic groups but

87 Kennedy, p. 332; cf. also Wessel, p. 105.
also in every other group except the Bohemians. As Table XXXVI indicates, the Polish and Irish women intermarried more frequently than women in any other group in Chicago. The ratio of female versus male was 4 to 1 and 10 to 1 respectively. The Germans also followed the general pattern of intermarriage in which their women outnumbered the men by 5 to 2. So far as the Germans are concerned, the tendency revealed in this study does not represent German groups in other places. Kennedy had a different finding with regard to the latter group and he pointed out that there was no sex difference among the Germans and Scandinavians in New Haven.\textsuperscript{88}

This pronounced tendency among women of all ethnic groups in Chicago to outmarry found in other studies as well, has been the subject of speculation for some time. Two explanations have been offered, namely, an abnormal sex ratio or economic differences. As the evidence produced in this study shows, neither of these two factors would seem responsible for this tendency in those we investigated. According to the Local Community Fact Book, sex ratio is very normally balanced in each of these three communities from which our sample was drawn. In the South Chicago area the female-male ratio is 105 for the group of 15 years and older, and 102 for the group of 20 years to 44; in the Stock Yards (or New City District) area, 101 for the group of 15 years to older and 102 for the group of 20 to 44; on the West Side, 121 for the group of 15 and older and 102 for the group of 20 to 44.\textsuperscript{89} These ratios do not seem to be out of balance and the small surplus would hardly explain the outmarriage rate.

\textsuperscript{88}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{89}Hauser and Kitagawa, p. 118.
The second possible reason might be an assumption that women perhaps tend to marry for social status. As we have discussed before, the two groups in our sample, by and large, belong to the same social status and are in the same type of occupation. This would indicate that women of the non-Mexican groups did not marry for social status or social prestige. Thus, the writer concludes from the above evidence that, neither the sex ratio nor the social status argument is acceptable.

C. Occupational Factor in Intermarriage

Our discussion so far has covered two general conditions: personal similarities and spatial propinquity as related to the incidence of Mexican intermarriage in Chicago. As a result, the writer found out that no single factor can be fully responsible for its occurrence although each contributed.

The next factor to be analyzed is occupation. The question that concerns us is whether a correlation exists between the occupations of the spouses in these interethnic marriages.

We must first address ourselves to a problem involved. The fact that few wives have ever been engaged in jobs would raise a question of how or what would be the basis for comparison. To solve this problem Centers suggested a method by which the occupational status of husbands and wives can equally be matched. He proposed the father's occupation as a basis for assigning the wife's status.90 "An important advantage," as he explained, "lies in being able thus to give every wife a definite place," whether she had a job or not at the time she married. The writer decided to make use of the same technique.

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for his investigation because, since the majority of the wives in this sample have not had any jobs, this method is not only adaptable but also seems to be the only possible way in this study.

**TABLE XXXVII**

PERCENTAGE OF THE MALES MARRIED TO VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL STRATA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL STRATA OF MALES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PROFESSIONALS</th>
<th>PROPRIETORS</th>
<th>CLERKS SALES</th>
<th>CRAFTSMEN</th>
<th>OPERATIVES</th>
<th>SKILLED WORKERS</th>
<th>LABORERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and Salesmen</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftmen</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Workers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Upon a close analysis of the data accumulated in this study a few general tendencies in marital practices were discovered, some of which confirmed the findings of other studies while some were peculiar to our study. Table XXXVII shows the percentages of males who were married to females of different occupational strata. It was found that men tended to marry women whose fathers' level was the same as their own, or on the lower strata: skilled workers and laborers.
In this regard, this finding is in agreement with that of Centers.91

A second tendency can be seen in the above table, namely, among men of higher occupational levels, they tended to choose wives from much lower occupational levels. This finding seems to be something peculiar to our sample.

TABLE XXXVIII

PERCENTAGE OF MALES MARRIED TO FEMALES OF THEIR OWN OR CONTIGUOUS OCCUPATIONAL STRATUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL STRATUM OF MALES</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
<th>STRATA INCLUDED IN EACH CASE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerks and Salesmen</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Proprietors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftmen</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Operatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Craftmen, Operatives, and Skilled Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Workers</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Skilled Workers and Laborers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Skilled Workers and Laborers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table XXXVIII shows, another prevailing tendency is for men to select their mates from the occupation levels one step up or down. This is even more manifest in the lower strata than in the higher ones. The same tendency was also shown in New Haven that not only appeared in in-marriage but also in inter-

91Centers, p. 533.
An interesting question arises here as to whether, on an occupational basis, there was any overall direction in the selection of mates by the men as compared with the women. As is apparent from Table XXXIX, the men in all occupational groups except that of laborers married down much more frequently than up. The only evenly balanced group was the skilled workers whose members married at their own level or down at equal rates. This figure differs somewhat from that of Center's study. In his study the more evenly balanced was the

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92Baron, People Who Intermarry, p. 293.
"clerk-salesmen" group. The ones represented in our sample from this group shied away entirely from marrying from their own occupational level, 40 percent marrying up and 60 percent down. The proprietor and professional groups similarly avoided selection from their own level, all marrying downward.

SUMMARY

In summary, we would like to say that, in general, factors that operate in other marriages, such as residential propinquity, similarity in age, similarity in education, and so on, also function in Mexican intermarriages. From this point of view this kind of marriage is not different from other marriages. Sex ratio does not seem to play any noticeable role in selection. Skin-color tends to be more important in women than in men. The most influential and decisive factors, however, were personal preferences and occupational or socio-economic status. As marriage choice cannot be reduced to one factor, it is obvious that each case represents a unique configuration. In our sample personal preference and socio-economic status seemed to form a core around which the other factors grouped themselves such as they do in other marriages.

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93 Cantara, p. 533.
CHAPTER VI

PATTERNS OF THE MEXICAN INTERMARRIAGES IN CHICAGO

In this chapter an effort is made to check a few questions that are very closely related to the problem of intermarriage. Intermarriage does not take place at random but follows certain patterns which might be attributed to particular local conditions, such as sex ratio, religion in the community, social status, and other factors. An examination of the data in the present study reveals that intermarriage takes on some form or fashion with regard to sexes, ethnic groups, and generations. For the sake of convenience, the discussion in this chapter is divided into three general topics: 1) the pattern of incidence of Mexican intermarriage, 2) the patterns of selection in Mexican intermarriage, and 3) the pattern of interreligious marriages.

1) The Pattern of Incidence of Mexican Intermarriage.

When we speak of incidence of intermarriage, the first question that comes to our mind is whether a type of intermarriage is increasing progressively from year to year. To answer this question, no generalization can be drawn from studies, since their data showed a considerable variation, not only from one study to another, but also from one period to another.

It is, therefore, often possible that two studies will bring different results even in the same locality. The reason of these different findings is not the change in the rate of intermarriage but the use of a basis for deter-
mining its incidence. Some students of marriage measured the increase of intermarriage with the increase of total population of a given group and others measured it by the number of years married. These two methods can produce very different results in so far as the question of increase or decrease is concerned. The incidence of intermarriage decreases if the ratio of occurrence should be matched with the ratio of increase of population, even though the number of intermarriages might actually increase for each year.

However, if the number of years married is used as basis for study, the general trend in intermarriage will be increasing. As Marcson remarks:

The analysis of the overall trend in intermarriage showed that there is an increasing tendency toward heterogamy. If the number of years married is used as a basis for determining the trend in intermarriage patterns, the tendency is towards an increase. The more recently married participated in heterogamous marriages to a significant degree while those couples which had been married seventeen years or more tended to marry homogamously much more than heterogamously.\textsuperscript{1}

In the present study the sample covered a period of 33 years, beginning with 1926 and continuing through the first part of 1959. The number of intermarriages in 1959 was not the total incidence of the year because the intermarriages that took place in the second part of 1959 were not included in this study. If the period of 1926 to 1959 were divided into two parts at the point of 1945, as Table XL shows, the statistics of each period would certainly indicate a great difference in incidence in each period. During the last 15 years in the period from 1945 to 1959 intermarriage took place 84 times, while in the first period which covered 19 years from 1926 to 1944 the total incidence was only 16. Thus the number of incidence of intermarriage in the last

\textsuperscript{1}Marcson, "The Prediction of Intermarriage," p. 199.
15 years was more than 5 times as many as in the first 19 years. Such a difference between the two periods left us no doubt about the fact that the Mexican intermarriage in Chicago has been numberically and progressively increasing in the last 15 years.

TABLE XI

NUMBER OF INTERMARRIAGES IN EACH YEAR IN THE SAMPLE STUDIED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years Married</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>1954</td>
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<td>1955</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>1956</td>
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<td>1957</td>
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<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The increasing tendency of intermarriage in the Mexican group in Chicago, however, cannot be applied to all other groups in the city. We cannot generalize from the above evidence that the total incidence of intermarriage in each of these ethnic groups here involved is constantly increasing. First of all, this study covered only a small proportion of incidence of intermarriage of each individual group. Secondly, as studies show, there is a group difference in so far as the tendency of outmarrying is concerned. In the Derby study, it was revealed that the incidence of intermarriage was actually decreasing among all the ethnic groups except one, namely, the Italian. The rate of intermarriage among them was reported on the increase although they were the group which inmarried the most. In addition to group difference, there is also sex difference within ethnic groups. It is said that, in general, males tend to outmarry more frequently than females. This statement is merely a generalization and cannot be said of all the ethnic groups. It was evidenced that in some ethnic groups females had a higher rate of intermarriage than the males.

To quote Marson:

These studies, too, do not reveal any consistent pattern for intermarriage preference by sex for either all groups or only one particular group. A sex ratio in a group predominantly male or female does not always lead to the excessively numerous sex intermarrying more frequently than the other sex. For instance, the Irish, although having a predominance of females, showed higher male intermarriage rates in Wright County and Derby. ²


³Ibid.
He clearly indicated in the above statement that sex ratio of a group does not necessarily determine the rates of intermarriage of one sex or the other. The present study seems to be a case in point. In examining our data it becomes clear that the tendency to outmarry showed a marked difference between the two sexes among the various groups, although there was no necessity for them to do so because the sex ratio in these three communities, as we have shown before, was rather evenly balanced. In general the tendency in this study is to show that the pattern of intermarriage in the Mexican group was predominantly male while in the non-Mexican group the outmarriage was largely female with few exceptions in the smaller ethnic groups. Table XII shows the incidence of intermarriage on a sex basis. It is self-explanatory and there is no need for us to go into the details.

Next to the influence of sex difference, generation is another factor that plays a part in determining intermarriage. There is a tendency for people in both inmarriage and intermarriage to marry those of similar generation. In one study it was found that "in 1940, 81.90 percent of the inmarrying grooms and 52.39 percent of the intermarrying grooms had brides of the same generation as their own." It seems that the influence of generation was stronger in inmarriage than in outmarriage. The percentage for outmarriage was much smaller than that for inmarriage. This is probably the reason for our having a percentage even smaller than the percentage of intermarriage in the above study. It was found that in 29 percent of the cases, the grooms married brides of their own generation; 23 couples of the second generation, 5

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of the third generation and only 1 of the first generation. This low percentage, the writer believes, was caused by a situation which is peculiar to the history of immigration in Chicago. The Mexicans as compared with other groups are relatively late immigrants. Thus the Mexicans involved in this study were mostly of second generation, whereas the non-Mexicans were largely of third generation.

Studies also showed that the effect of generation, as represented by length of residence in the United States, was seen in each generation of each ethnic group. It was said that the first generation, by and large, tended to practice endogamy and second and third generation, exogamy. With regard to generational control Marson has remarked:

An examination of the study's data revealed that the marital practices of the oldest, most recent and largest ethnic groups were that of endogamy. At the same time the "middle-aged" (in length of generational residence) groups showed a majority of exogamous marriages. . . .

Of these three generational groups the first generation had the highest endogamous rate, the fourth and more generations had the second highest rate, while the second and third generational groups had the lowest rate.

In this statement it becomes clear that the pattern of intermarriage follows very closely the generational grouping. It was noted through various studies of interethnic marriage that the ethnic origin lost much of its control in the second and third generations and, consequently, the rate of intermarriage was higher for these two generational groups than other generational groups. This tendency holds good for both ethnic-intermarriage and religious-

---

5 Ibid., p. 280; cf. also Wessel, p. 106.
TABLE XLI

NUMBER OF INTERMARRIAGES ACCORDING TO SEX IN EACH GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIONALITY</th>
<th>MALES</th>
<th>FEMALES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovak</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
intermarriage. From the third generation up, the difference in incidence between interethnic and interfaith marriages is very noticeable. In the case of interethnic marriage heterogamy is increasingly practiced from there on, while in the case of interfaith-marriage, heterogamy is decreasing with each ascending generation.  

A clear-cut pattern of intermarriage, with regard to various ethnic groups, was observed in this study. The Mexicans as a group have a large number practicing heterogamy much more frequently in the second generation than in other generations. The high percentage of intermarriage for both their males and females found in this study would seem to confirm Marcson's observation. In the non-Mexican group the Poles had the highest record of intermarrying with the Mexicans and the tendency to do so was concentrated exclusively in the second and third generation. As far as this study is concerned, there was not even one Pole from the first generation who had engaged in such a practice. In this group the rate of intermarriage of males was comparatively smaller than that of females. However, according to our data, if the Polish males did intermarry, they followed strictly the generation pattern, namely, in the second and third generation.

The Germans, the Irish and the English were the three ethnic groups whose members intermarried with the Mexicans almost exclusively in the third generation and this was practiced equally by both sexes, except the Irish group in which the intermarriage was exclusively female. As to the Italians the strong tendency to intermarry was found in the second generation. Like the Poles,  

7Ibid., p. 203.
the Lithuanians and the Bohemians would tend to intermarry in both the second and third generations but such a tendency varied according to the sex groups in these two ethnic groups. In the Lithuanian group this tendency was persistently male; while in the Bohemian group it was female. In the French and Spanish groups such interest was shown clearly by females. With regard to the smaller ethnic groups the number of intermarriages involved was too small to make any valuable observation. Their practices, without further investigation, would rather be taken as something accidental. In spite of the differences with regard to the tendency to intermarry in the ethnic and sex groups, the overall picture of generational control was, however, one that largely confirmed the findings of other studies.

2) Patterns of Selection in the Mexican Intermarriages

Which group among all groups was most popular and which was least popular in the Mexican selection? According to our data, as shown in Table XII, it was found that there were three ethnic groups whose members were selected by the Mexicans more frequently than members of any other group. The Polish group was found to be the most popular, the German group was second, and the Irish ranked third. Statistically the Polish have been selected 30 times and this number exceeded the number of any group in the selection. As the second choice, the Germans and the Irish were taken 14 times and 11 times respectively. The frequency of selection in these three larger groups was as high as 57 percent of the total sample, that is, a little over half of the total selection. The next choices were the Italians and the English. The Italians were leading the English by a score of 8 to 7. The Lithuanians and the Bohemians, who were selected five and four times respectively, were the fourth choice.
### Table XLIII

**Pattern of Mexican Intermarriages by Generations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Groups</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First</strong></td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second</strong></td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Serbian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bohemian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third</strong></td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>German</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bohemian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slovak</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unknown</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A definite pattern with regard to sex difference in selection was also observed in many studies. In Derby the Irish males, for instance, intermarried more than the females but in other studies it was just the opposite, namely, females intermarry more. A similar pattern was also discovered in ethnic groups such as the Germans and the Poles whose females have entered intermarriage more often than their males. Such a tendency of outmarrying among females was also found in the present study with regard, not only to these three larger ethnic groups, but also to the majority of the smaller ethnic groups with only few exceptions. The exceptional groups were the Bohemian, the Slovak, the Austrian, and the Serbian. Thus, in general, the females of the majority groups in this study tended to intermarry more often than males, and the females were more often selected by the Mexicans than the males.

In the Mexican male selection, the Polish females had the highest record among all the ethnic groups and following them were the Germans and the Irish. The total number of selection from the Polish group was 30, which included 26 females and 4 males. The Germans, the second popular group, had 3 males and 12 females chosen. The Irish, who followed the Germans in choice and popularity with the Mexicans, were chiefly on the female side, in contrast to their males, 11 to 1. In the English and Italian groups a particular trend in selection with regard to both sexes was discovered, although the females as a whole seemed to show a slightly stronger tendency to intermarry than the males in both groups. Besides these larger ethnic groups there were a few smaller

9 Ibid., p. 138.
groups such as the Lithuanian, the Spanish, and the French in which the preference by the Mexican was exclusively female. The males of these groups did not attract the Mexican females. The same can be said of a few other small groups such as the Russian, the Norwegian and the Canadian. In sharp contrast with the general tendency there were two particular groups, the Austrian and the Serbian in which only males participated. This phenomenon of participation of only male or only female in these smaller groups might well be caused by the sex ratio. The size of these groups, being so small, males or females may not have been as available for selection as the males and females of the larger groups.

The selection in the Mexican intermarriages might be summarized in three general formulae. The first would state that the selection in general was based upon a mutual and reciprocal relationship. In other words, the Mexican, both males and females, selected and were selected. In the second formula, the non-Mexican females only were selected, while in the third type the non-Mexican males only were selected. These three general types constituted a total of twenty-six combinations, as follows:

- Mexican-Polish
- Mexican-German
- Mexican-Irish
- Mexican-English
- Mexican-Italian
- Mexican-Bohemian
- Mexican-Hungarian
- Mexican-Slovak
- Mexican-Indian
- Mexican-Lithuanian
- Mexican-French
- Mexican-Norwegian
- Austrian-Mexican
- Polish-Mexican
- German-Mexican
- Irish-Mexican
- English-Mexican
- Italian-Mexican
- Bohemian-Mexican
- Hungarian-Mexican
- Slovak-Mexican
- Indian-Mexican
- Mexican-Spanish
- Mexican-Russian
- Mexican-Canadian
- Serbian-Mexican
3) Pattern of the Religious Intermarriages

With regard to the religious influence on the pattern of selection, Marcson said: "The exogamous marriages would, however, nearly always be ethnic and limited to a specific religious group and social class. The tendency of intermarriage pattern would, therefore, be described as endogamous in religion and class, and partially exogamous ethnically. This pattern of mate selection expresses a rather rigid system of social stratification."¹⁰

Marcson's remarks on the pattern of intermarriage apply, to a large extent, to those in the present study. In 82 percent of the intermarriages in this study, both husbands and wives were of the same religion and their marriages, therefore, were Catholic inmarriages and ethnic outmarriages.

The effect of religious control upon marital selection was tested by many other studies and their findings indicated that intermarriages were rather strictly molded by definite religious groups. In his study of intermarriage in New Haven, Hollingshead claimed that religion, the most decisive factor, had divided the people of New Haven into three distinct religious pools, the Catholic, Protestant, and Jew, so far as the pattern of marital selection was concerned.¹¹ Another study was made in the same locale by Kennedy and his findings seem to be in perfect agreement with the findings of Hollingshead. He discovered that in the three main Catholic ethnic groups, the Poles, the Italians and the Irish, always selected from their own groups for their first


¹¹Hollingshead, p. 619-627; cf. also, Barron, People Who Intermarry, pp. 203-204.
choice and from such Protestant groups as the German and Scandinavians for their second choice. 12

The findings in the present study, although they agree with the above mentioned studies in the general tendency in religious selection, seem to be somewhat different from them with regard to the number of ethnic group selected. As we have mentioned before 82 percent of the Mexican spouses selected their mates from Catholic ethnic groups. As Table XII (page 153) shows, however, the number of selection from each ethnic group clearly indicates some pattern of preference of one particular group over another. For their first choice, the Mexicans, both males and females, chose their mates from one Catholic group only, namely, the Polish. Here the effect of religion seems very clear because the Polish are traditionally a Catholic ethnic group. As to their second choice, religious control does not seem to be as dominant as in their first choice. Their selections, therefore, included both Catholic groups and Protestant groups. Regarding the Mexicans' second choice, the Irish and German females were divided equally in selection, 10 and 10 respectively. Third in choice were the Italians, Lithuanians, English, Spanish and French, of which only the English group was a non-Catholic group.

As to the Mexican female selection, it was discovered that the tendency was somewhat similar to their males' selection. In this case the Poles again proved to be the most popular group and were selected by the Mexican females 6 times. This is a higher number of selection than from any other ethnic group. For their second choice, the Mexican females took their mates exclu-

12 Kennedy, p. 234.
sively from the Germans, a predominantly Lutheran group. Their third choice were the English, Bohemians, and Italians. From these three groups the Italians were the only group which is almost exclusively Catholic. A peculiar finding in this study was revealed concerning the Irish male. The Irish male appeared to be the least popular among the Mexican females. In the whole study there was only one Irish male chosen. Comparing this number with the number of Irish girls chosen by Mexican males, it was very small. Taking the Mexican female selection, as a whole, it was noticed that a large proportion in both second and third choice was taken from non-Catholic groups, the German, the English and the Bohemian. This might be an indication of a more liberal attitude held by the Mexican female toward marital selection. In other words, after the first selection, the control of religion did not seem to exert as much influence upon the Mexican female as upon the Mexican male.

Besides those 82 religious endogamous marriages there were 18 religious exogamous marriages in which there were 10 Catholic and non-Catholic intermarriages on the male side and 18 non-Catholic and Catholic marriages on the female side. Of these 18 intermarriages, 2 Mexicans were non-Catholic and 2 non-Mexican females were Catholic.

Table XLIII indicates the distribution of the actual selection from the various groups. Among the various ethnic groups, the Germans were the most selected group and were followed by the English group. The German group constituted over half (55.5 percent) of the total selection, while the English held a percentage of 16.66 which was about 1/6 of the total selection. The total percentage of these ethnic groups was 72.66 percent.

Table XLIV (page 163) describes the religious affiliations of the 18
couples who married interreligiously. As a religious group the Lutherans were the first choice in the Mexican selection and the Anglicans were second. This tendency was not only prevalent among the Mexican males but also among the Mexican females. Their third choice was the Baptist group whose members were the least popular among the Mexican Catholic males and females.

TABLE XLIII

NUMBER OF THE COUPLES WHO MARRIED INTERRELIGIOUSLY

BY NATIONALITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIONALITIES</th>
<th>HUSBANDS</th>
<th>WIVES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we have discussed before in this chapter, generation—length of residence—played an important role in marital selection with regard to ethnic intermarriages. It was a generally known fact that intermarriage increases with each ascending generation and interreligious intermarriage decreases with each ascending generation, and both interethnic and interreligious inmarriage was rare in the first generation. Besides this general tendency, there are
variations with regard to the patterns of selection of various ethnic and religious groups in different places. For, as social relationships are dictated by social situations, so also is the pattern of intermarriage influenced by particular local situations.

**TABLE XLIV**

**RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF EIGHTEEN RELIGIOUS MIXED MARRIAGES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION</th>
<th>MEXICAN</th>
<th>NON-MEXICAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HUSBAND</td>
<td>WIFE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whether this generalization can be applied to the pattern of interreligious marriages in the present study or a different pattern should be found in this kind of marriage in the city of Chicago, is to be checked in the following part of the chapter.

Table XLIV gives an account of the pattern of religious intermarriages, not only of generations, but also of both sexes in each individual generation.
It was found that, so far as the tendency to intermarry is concerned, the sex difference was marked between both groups, the Mexican and the non-Mexican. Table XLV shows, also, that the sex difference seemed to influence both sexes in each group with regard to religious intermarriage. The Mexican males tended to enter interreligious marriages more frequently than their females and a reverse pattern was found in the non-Mexican group in which the females intermarried more than the males.

**TABLE XLV**

**PATTERNS OF THE MIXED MARRIAGES ACCORDING TO THE LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LENGTH OF RESIDENCE</th>
<th>MEXICAN</th>
<th>NON-MEXICAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MALES</td>
<td>FEMALES</td>
<td>MALES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generation I</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generation II</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generation III</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, from the generational point of view, a difference regarding religious intermarriage was also observed between the Mexican and non-Mexican groups. For example, the second generation Mexican group had a stronger tendency to marry interreligiously than the same generation of the non-Mexican
group; whereas in the non-Mexican group such an interest was largely concentrated in the third generational group, including both males and females.

### TABLE XLVI

**THE MATES OF TWELVE MEXICAN MALES BY NATIONALITY AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES IN RELIGIOUSLY MIXED MARRIAGES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENERATION</th>
<th>GERMAN</th>
<th>IRISH</th>
<th>BRITISH</th>
<th>INDIAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE XLVII

**THE MATES OF SIX AMERICAN FEMALES IN RELIGIOUSLY MIXED MARRIAGES BY NATIONALITY AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENERATION</th>
<th>GERMAN</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>SERBIAN</th>
<th>INDIAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tables XLVI and XLVII are clarifications of Table XLV. From these two tables we can see very clearly which ethnic group and which generation was chosen most frequently. The Germans, with regard to religious intermarriage, were most selected by Mexicans both male and female. This finding seems to support the general findings concerning the German groups in other locales. In almost all cases their members tended to intermarry more than any other ethnic group. Moreover, if they do intermarry, they would most likely do so in the third generation or more. As the tables show, following the Germans were the Irish of which only 2 females were involved in mixed religious marriages. Upon further examination of the generations involved, we found the generational combinations in interreligious marriages as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mexican</th>
<th>Non-Mexican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Generation</td>
<td>Third Generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>First Generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>Second Generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Generation</td>
<td>Third Generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Generation</td>
<td>Third Generation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In conclusion we would like to pinpoint a few tendencies with regard to the pattern of the Mexican intermarriages. Sex difference was noticed between the Mexican and the non-Mexican groups. In the Mexican group the intermarriages were predominantly male; while in the non-Mexican group, they were predominantly female. Among the seventeen ethnic groups considered, the Poles were the most popular in the interethnic marriages and the Germans in the interreligious marriages. Ethnic origin obviously lost its control in the second
generation. Religion, as a factor in intermarriage, was not given as much consideration in the second and third choice as in the first. The general pattern of the intermarriages with regard to generations was a pattern of second and third generation.
CHAPTER VII
THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE MEXICAN INTERMARRIAGE

The purpose of this chapter is to answer a number of questions that naturally follow the treatment of the factors contributing to the occurrence of Mexican intermarriage in Chicago. These are: How successful or happy were these Mexican—non-Mexican marriages? Was the adjustment these couples had to face more difficult than those in ordinary marriages? If so, what were the main difficulties in their marriage? Was their marriage necessarily less happy than other marriages? How stable was this kind of marriage in comparison with others? Was the divorce rate in these marriages higher than in other marriages? All these questions will be the concern of this chapter and will be answered by checking the data presented in this study.

It was presumed that "extreme differences in background would foster marital discord rather than rapport" and "the element of mixture is a focal point for conflict in some cases of intermarriage in that it becomes the scapegoat for tensions which originate elsewhere in the marital relationship." This presumption has been subjected to empirical scrutiny in some scientific studies. The finding of one study would seem to support the above prediction. As it was reported in this study, 8,000 of the 10,000 original marriages between American soldiers and French women had ended in divorce.¹ In contrast

with this study, the studies of American-Japanese intermarriage and of other intermarriages seemed to present a totally different picture. Their findings depicted a happy union rather than an unhappy one.\(^2\) Granted that there were many difficulties which the young couples had to face, however, these couples, as a whole, adjusted themselves very successfully. This is what was generally agreed.

Nevertheless, these studies did not present a general pattern for a successful adjustment. Differences in local situations seem to have been decisive in different cases. The success or failure of adjustment depends upon the total situation in which couples find themselves and to which they adjust themselves. By total situation we mean all aspects of their relationships; personal as well as social. Thus there were two possible situations to which couples have to adjust: they have to adjust to each other with regard to many differences and they have to deal with others. These are the two situations that will determine whether intermarried couples succeed or fail in their adjustment.

1) Personal Adjustment

Marital adjustment is predicted on the basis of the differences that exist between husband and wife. Differences are believed to be causes for marital conflicts. What are those differences or sources of difficulties in the Mexican intermarriage? It was believed that in interethnic marriages, the sources of conflict largely come from the cultural differences. Cultural differences are expressed by the different norms of personal and social relation-

\(^2\) Walters, pp.171-172.
ships, the relationship between themselves and the relationship with others with whom they have had or continue to have contact. Cultural norms in one culture are different from those of other cultures. These cultural norms constitute a complex of behavior patterns, ways of thinking and of doing things. It goes without saying that disagreement upon these norms most likely would lead to marital tensions and conflicts. The differences, therefore, in this sense are the sources of marital difficulties. The possible sources of difficulties which were pointed out by other studies are generally role expectations of husband and wife, personality traits, language, religion, food, etc.

Table XLVII indicates the general areas of marital conflicts as a result of an examination of the information secured in this study. As in other ethnic intermarriages, in the Mexican intermarriages the most obvious conflicts, which come from cultural differences between husband and wife, are role expectations. The roles culturally ascribed to husband and wife in these two cultures are so different that they would inevitably create, on occasion, tensions and some misunderstanding. Such are the situations in which they have to adjust themselves in the course of their marital relationships. It was revealed that the most common complaints with regard to the role expectations on the part of the Mexican husband generally concerned such matters as "house work," "rearing children," while on the part of the non-Mexican wives, the disagreements were mostly centered around such things as the "position of wife in the family," the "husband's obligation toward his parents after marriage," "personal freedom in the participation in many family and social affairs, particularly the question of money."
TABLE XLVIII
THE GENERAL AREAS OF MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Areas of Misunderstanding</th>
<th>Number of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role Expectations*</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differences in Customs, Traditions.........</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference in Language.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference concerning Religion*</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Role Expectations: (the following items are differences mentioned)

1) The position of husband and wife at home.
3) Handling of money.
4) The Mexican man is supposed to take care of public and social affairs and the wife cannot interfere.
5) Freedom which American wife demands from her husband.
6) House work.
7) In-laws speaking Spanish in presence of daughter-in-law.
8) Cooking Mexican food.
9) Hearing of Children.
10) Husband's obligation to support his parents' family.

*Differences in Religious Practices:

1) Naming a baby.
2) Things concerned with the Baptism of a baby.
3) Religious ceremonies with regard to wedding.
4) Superstitions with regard to religious practices.
5) Indifferent attitudes toward faith of husband (one Mexican wife complained).
One of the situations in which misunderstanding is most likely to arise is the close relationship of the Mexican male with his mother which the American wives consider strange and abnormal. Culturally speaking, in the Mexican family the mother is the center of devotion and this warm relationship tends to be continued even after the son's marriage. Although the Mexican family system underwent a great deal of changes in the second generation, some of the customs and traditions are still well preserved. For example, the tradition with regard to the patterns of family life and family ties, as our study indicates, was very closely maintained in many cases.

For a Mexican male his culturally assigned obligation is to support his parents even at the expense of his own family and to consult his mother instead of his wife whenever necessity arises. This is something that the non-Mexican party hardly understands. This particular devotion of son to his mother would probably give her (the non-Mexican) a sense of less importance at home and, therefore, a sense of insecurity. In this type of situation a good adjustment, of course, depends inevitably upon the mutual understanding and an appreciation of individual cultural values. If both insist upon maintaining his or her own cultural pattern of behavior, and make no effort to adjust, marital conflicts can be expected. As Table XLVIII indicates, about half of the couples who had marital difficulties reported having problems in adjustment to role expectation.

Along with the son's devotion to his mother there are many other behavior

\[3\text{Murray, p. 42.}\]
patterns of the Mexican husband which are strange to the non-Mexican wife. According to the cultural standard in the Mexican family system, for example, the husband's position as head of the family demands more respect and obedience not only from his children, but also from his wife. The role of the wife in the family is restricted to the household work and to be subordinate. The equalitarian family of the American way of life is unknown and unconceivable to the Mexican. Therefore, in their relationship a Mexican would seem to demand more from his wife than a non-Mexican would do. Meanwhile the non-Mexican wife more than the Mexican wife would demand less restriction to the home and participation in all aspects of relationships that concern the family; financial matters internally, and social relations externally.

Very closely related to the culturally ascribed roles of husband and wife are personality characteristics. If the relation between culture and personality formation is true, then personality will be the expression of the different culture patterns. Each culture maintains a group of personality traits that differ from that of any other culture and these do much to make a person what he is. These differences in personality, if extreme, may be also the source of marital discord. Furthermore, the personality of a person is hard to change. Thus we can see what an important role personality plays in marital relations. In this regard, Terman made this comment:

What comes out of marriage depends upon what goes into it, and among the most important things going into it are the attitudes, preferences, aversions, habit patterns, and emotional response patterns which give or deny to one the aptitude of compatibility. In a large proportion of unsuccessful marriages it is possible to discover either in the husband or the wife, or perhaps both, numerous elements of the unhappy temperament and evidence that these elements have
played a casual role. 4

If different personality elements play such an important role in ordinary marriages, the role they play in intermarriage is even more obvious, because the differences in personality of two people who come from two different cultures may well be greater. Nevertheless, if fortunately the cultural differences in personality are compatible in some instances, such differences may not cause serious marital difficulties. This was borne out by many studies on intermarriage. For an illustration the writer cites the difference in personality with regard to the statuses of husband and wife in the case of American-Japanese marriages. The culturally assigned personality of obedience of a Japanese wife would fit perfectly into the cultural pattern of an American husband, being more considerate and helpful. Since the differences do not run counter to each other, such differences would not ordinarily cause marital difficulties but rather create more harmony between them. However, we should keep this in mind that not all cultural differences are compatible and consequently, they could intensify the difficulties in marital adjustment. The personality traits mentioned by the non-Mexican wives as the causes of their marital difficulties are: "bossy," "demanding," "inconsiderate," "jealous," and "drinking," which mostly are culturally oriented.

Next to the personality adjustment are the differences in religion which might also need some adjustment in their life. From this point of view, marital difficulties may result from two general respects: the difference in

4Lewis M. Terman, Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness (New York, 1955), pp. 142-166.
culturally accepted behavior patterns with regard to religious practices, and the difference in religious beliefs. With regard to the culturally established religious behavior patterns the difference between them was not to apparent for the simple reason that the majority of the Mexican parties was second generation who were more Americanized. However, in a few cases it was reported that the difficulties with regard to this matter resulted from such customs as naming a "baby," "baptizing the baby," "choosing of godfather and godmother," and some superstitions associated with many religious behaviors. These were only minor disturbances which might not cause too serious marital discord insofar as adjustment is concerned. But the major problems come from religious difference. Unlike the difference in the former case, which are transitory in nature, the differences in religion will be a life-time problem if no conversion takes place.

There may be quarrels in interfaith marriages over going to church on Sundays, to what church, or to whose church. All these situations would naturally have tremendous effect upon the religious practices of both husband and wife in the process of adjustment. Thus, as experience has often shown, religious zeal in this case might cool off gradually and change into indifferent attitudes towards one's religion. Such changes in attitude, sociologically are considered as a way or effort of individuals to adjust to something unpleasant or at least unusual situations. This effort can be measured by three general norms: church attendance, conversion, and apostasy.

The influence of mixed marriages upon religious attendance is clearly seen in Table XLIX. In 68 percent of the cases, both the Mexican males and females in interfaith marriages reported that they went to church less than
before they got married. If we check our data more carefully, the effects of interreligious marriage upon the Catholic party was even more marked. Out of the 7 Mexican males who said they attend church less, 4 dropped their religion entirely. They have either joined the religion of their wives or they have not gone to church at all. This is not a unique phenomenon in this type of marriage and the same tendency was found in other studies.

**TABLE XLIX**

RECOMMENDATION ON THE CATHOLIC MALES AND FEMALES WHO MARRIED INTERRELIGIOUSLY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELIGIOUS ATTENDANCE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More than before</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than before</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>68.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the *Dynamics of a City Parish*, Fichter discovered that more than 40 percent of the Catholics in mixed marriages did not make their Easter duty.\(^5\) Schnapp discovered that about 22 percent of the Catholic wives and 47 percent of the Catholic husbands in mixed marriages did not practice their religion.\(^6\) Likewise in his study, Thomas revealed that approximately 25 percent of Catholics in valid mixed marriages had become lax in their religious practices and


another 20 percent attended church services only from time to time. The highest figure of fallen away Catholics was perhaps seen in Leiffer's study. As he reported, over 50 percent of the Catholic men and approximately one-third of the Catholic women in the mixed marriages had dropped either all church affiliations or had not attended church in the past year, and a large number of others had gone to church irregularly. We found in the present study two cases in which both husbands and wives went to their own churches separately and individually. These, of course, were the exception. The general pattern of adjustment in the Mexican intermixed marriages was either that one party gave in or that both parties took an indifferent attitude toward their own religion. The latter seems to be the more common in such marriages.

The differences in language and food might be another source of marital difficulties when the difference is too great. However, language does not seem to be a problem in this study. As shown in Table XV (page 67), 86 percent of the couples spoke English at home and most of them did not even understand Spanish. But, if the non-Mexican party is bi-lingual, he or she would stand a better chance of working out a happy marriage than those who are not bi-lingual.

Adjustment in food habits perhaps is more difficult than that of language. Food preferences are culturally determined and, therefore, two people from two different cultural environments would presumably have formed different food habits. It is well known that Mexican food is very highly seasoned and very

7 Thomas, The American Catholic Family, p. 162.
different from American food. Moreover, in the Mexican diet many foods, such as "mole," "tortillas," "tamales," "enchiladas," etc., demand a great deal of cooking skill, and the non-Mexican spouse would often find them unpalatable. If the wife does not know how to cook Mexican food, the Mexican party complains and the wife feels inadequate. Such situations certainly put pressure on their marital relationship.

**TABLE L**

**MARITAL ADJUSTMENT AS EXPRESSED IN LANGUAGE SPOKEN AND FOOD PREFERENCES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>NO. OF FAMILIES</th>
<th>KIND OF FOOD</th>
<th>NO. OF FAMILIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This situation has often occurred, as reported, in marriages of American and Japanese. Knowing that she does not know how to cook American food, a Japanese wife would do her best to cook her native food in order to please her husband. The effect was often just the contrary. The husband's expression would be "Couldn't you cook something else just for a change?" Whereas the reaction of the Japanese wife was: "My cooking is not appreciated" and she would automatically conclude that "My husband does not love me any more." Thus,
psychologically she would develop a feeling of insecurity. Although differences in food habits are not so great between the Mexican and the non-Mexican spouses who were born in the United States, some adjustment in this regard was also needed.

The question "What kind of food do you eat at home?" was asked to find out how they had adjusted to such an everyday routine matter and yet so important in their life — food habits. As we checked the responses, it was found that different patterns were formed in their adjustment. There were only a few families who reported they ate Mexican food only or American food only. The majority of them proceeded democratically: both American and Mexican food were eaten at their homes.

It should be kept in mind, however, that the important thing in a successful adjustment is not the matter of differences but how they adjust themselves. A happy adjustment requires few necessary conditions: such as readiness to face the difficulties, anticipation of them, decision to make a successful marriage, willingness to adjust. These are the elements mentioned in the studies of intermarriages as necessary to make marriage successful. And to some extent, these elements were also found in the Mexican intermarriages. The high score of food habit accommodation would be indicative of the willingness to adjust to each other's food habits. Such willingness was clearer in the case of the families eating the "Mexican" or "American" food only. There were 18 cases in which the Mexican mates voluntarily gave up their food habit and followed that of their spouses, as was shown in Table L (page 178).

Furthermore, social pressures on Mexican intermarriages and parental objections to such marriages would certainly make them more aware from the outset
of the difficulties they have to face. In some cases the non-Mexican wives would even have to commit so-called "sociological suicide" in order to marry. The fact that they were ostracized by their own families and their own people would indicate a readiness to face difficulties and determination to make a successful marriage. All these factors would certainly contribute to happiness in the marriage and explain why the ratio for marital success was so high in this study.

2) Social Adjustments

It was maintained that "the consequences of any marriage depend upon the total situation and not upon the fact of mixture." That is, a marriage's inner solidarity is affected not only by its various parts but also by the influences of those with whom the couples have had and continue to have social ties.9 Among these social relations, the in-law relationship is one of the most important aspects of married life. As we have pointed out before, according to the cultural norms among the Mexicans, close family ties are maintained after marriage. In a Mexican-non-Mexican marriage should the non-Mexican party come from an ethnic group with different attitudes, in this matter, conflict may easily result. Our data revealed that 18 non-Mexican and 15 Mexican mates have had in-law problems.

The sources for the conflicts between in-laws were found somewhat similar to those between the husband and wife. Thus the common arguments among the in-laws had to do with differences in roles, customs, religious practice and belief, personality traits, in-law interference, rearing of children, superstitions,

9Barron, People Who Intermarry, p. 252.
and so on.

TABLE II
NUMBER OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES WHO HAVE HAD IN-LAW PROBLEMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NON-MEXICAN SPOUSES</th>
<th>MEXICAN SPOUSES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husbands</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wives</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Traditionally the first generation Mexican women are said to be superstitious, particularly in case of sickness. Lacking confidence in modern medicine, they prefer the traditional Mexican remedies. For instance, in the case of a sick baby, the mother-in-law would believe it to be a case of "Ojo" and insist on a cure through the medium of the "curandera,"¹⁰ rather than go to a doctor and/or hospital. This is a situation in which disagreement between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law frequently occurs. There are also many cultural restrictions with regard to pregnant women that may cause some unnecessary hard feelings between in-laws.¹¹ In the interviews a few wives told the writer that they also had trouble with their mothers-in-law about baby feeding.

¹⁰Murray, p. 122: "Ojo is a sickness caused by strange eyes......Its remedy is rubbing of the child's entire body with an unbroken egg in the form of a cross." "Curandera" is a healing woman.

¹¹Tuck, p. 79.
The mothers-in-law did not believe in baby formulas and insisted on giving the baby beans instead. Choice of the godfather and godmother can be another difficult situation. According to the Mexican tradition, next to the parents, the godfather and godmother play a very important role in the child's life.

Their obligation extends beyond the moral questions at the time of crisis, even to financial matters. Choice of a sponsor for Baptism is a very serious matter. Conflict or disagreement would arise in this regard because in the American culture godparents are nothing but a ceremonial necessity and, at the most, an expression of friendship.

Besides these sources of friction, there are many other similar situations in which difficulties with in-laws occur. For the purpose of this paper it suffices to mention a few of them in order to show what type of problems or situations are faced. One important aspect of marital adjustment in marriages of this type should be pointed out before going any further, and that is that the conflicts with in-laws are not on one side only but on both sides.

We are now ready to ask whether these in-law conflicts had any effect upon the happiness score of the Mexican intermarriages. The answer to this question will be furnished by analyzing the happiness rating of the two groups: the group which had difficulties with the in-laws and the group which did not.

Table II depicts the information we were able to gather.

As Table III shows, a high percentage of the unhappy families appeared in the group which had in-law difficulties and conversely a high percentage of the

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12 This is called the compradizo relationship and is found throughout Latin America. It comes from Spain.
very happy families was found in the group who did not have any in-law conflicts. In contrast to couples in the former groups which rated themselves as happy, the latter group usually reported themselves very happy. Out of 8 unhappy families there were 6 families which had in-law problems and only 2 families which did not. The ratio for unhappy families in the group who have had conflicts with in-laws was one for about every 5 families whereas the ratio in the group who have been involved in fewer in-law difficulties there was one in 30 families. This fact seems to indicate some effect of in-law difficulties upon their marital adjustment although we do not know how much or to what degree they have been influenced by other factors.

**TABLE LII**

**THE EFFECT OF THE CONFLICTS WITH IN-LAWS UPON MARITAL HAPPINESS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONFLICTS WITH IN-LAWS</th>
<th>VERY HAPPY</th>
<th>HAPPY</th>
<th>UNHAPPY</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Those who had</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who did not</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>55</strong></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>96</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* There were four couples whose statuses were unknown.

Another important aspect of the social relationships in intermarriages is the relationships with friends and neighbors. As part of the total situation, friends and neighbors play also an important role in a young couple's adjustment. It was learned in the interviews that the social pressure upon the Mexi-
can intermarriage still prevailed in Chicago. This pressure was expressed in
the attitudes of the non-Mexican neighbors towards the Mexicans. A few Mexican
wives reported that their children were not allowed to play with the neighbors' chil-
dren. In one case a Mexican wife had a fight with a neighbor on account of
such prejudices, the day before the interview. As she reported, the neighbor
slapped her children because her children had been fighting with children of
this neighbor. Such unpleasant experiences may occur in many ways. One of the
more frequent experiences that was reported had to do with the attempt to rent
an apartment. In a few instances, couples ready to move into an apartment were
refused entrance when the landlady found out that one was Mexican. Our data
indicate that 18 couples had this unpleasant experience. Such experiences
most frequently occurred to those couples who liked to live independently from
the mother community after they were married. The majority of these marriages
were the marriages in which the husbands were non-Mexican. As to the couples
who settled down in the original community, they would experience less unneigh-
borly attitudes than the former group.

However, on checking their post-marital residences, it was found that 26
couples (15 from South Chicago, 6 from the Near West Side, and 5 from Back of
the Yards) changed their residences one or two times since their marriages.
The reasons for this mobility did not appear too clear in the study. The fre-
quency of changing post-marital residence might suggest the effort of the
couples to adjust with neighbors although such changes can be caused by many
other factors such as better job opportunities, cheaper rents, and so on.

The public attitude and feeling toward Mexican intermarriage were not seen
only in the non-Mexican neighborhood but also in the Mexican neighborhood as
well. The term for a non-Mexican person is "Huato" which means white. This term is often used in a disparaging sense. Such an attitude toward the non-Mexican originated in the nationalistic sentiments which pictured the non-Mexican women as a threat to the traditionally established family system. The same attitudes were also found among the Mexican in-laws.

Friend relationships play an even more important role in the adjustment of a married couple. The continuation of their friend-relationship depends upon the attitudes of their friends toward their marriages. The acceptance by their friends certainly would promote adjustment. The prejudicial attitudes they often found in the neighborhoods also turned up in their friends. It is possible that a couple might be not accepted by friends, on either one side or on both sides.

It has been stated that intermarriage would certainly face social consequences such as "social ostracism" by society in general and perhaps by their friends and relatives in particular.\(^{13}\) No evidence, strictly speaking, has been found in this study to support the thesis, namely, that the Mexican intermarriage should suffer social ostracism that over-shadowed the interracial marriage of whites and Negroes. This does not mean, however, that the couples in these marriages are free from public sentiment or social disapproval that other marriages would not possibly have. As we have mentioned in the above two paragraphs, such antipathy was clearly expressed in some cases among their neighbors, but to be sure, to some degree it would appear among their friends. To illustrate this we quote the statement of a housewife: "My friends are

\(^{13}\)Simpson and Yinger, p. 506.
cruel in the cruelest way. They talk to my husband, never first, only if he speaks to them and then they talk about us behind our backs and pity me for marrying him. My mother turns up her nose and won't even speak to him. I think the Church should preach more about tolerance so that on Judgement Day, God won't have to punish His children for their prejudices."

**TABLE LIII**

**THE ATTITUDES OF FRIENDS TOWARD MEXICAN INTERMARRIAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ATTITUDES OF FRIENDS</th>
<th>NON-MEXICAN</th>
<th>MEXICAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HUSBAND</td>
<td>WIFE</td>
<td>HUSBAND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not accepted by friends of the Mexican party</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not accepted by friends of the non-Mexican party</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table LIII indicates various attitudes of friends of both parties toward their marriage. It is interesting to note that there was a general tendency among the friends of both husbands and wives with regard to unfavorable attitudes toward these outmarriages. The tendency was that, as the statistics show, the individuals who married outside of their national group were not usually accepted by their own friends and still less by the friends of the spouses. There were 7 Mexican husbands who were not accepted by their friends and 7 non-Mexican wives not accepted by their friends. There were 4 families who were rejected by friends of both spouses.
The data certainly indicate that there was a close association between the attitudes of the friends and the happiness of their marriage. A careful analysis of these data pointed to the fact that the happiness rating of the couples who were accepted by their friends was definitely higher than those rejected by friends. Out of these 24 families who were either unaccepted by the friends on one side or by the friends of both sides, 5 families were reported as unhappy and only one family as very happy. The ratio was one unhappy family out of about every 5 families which were not accepted by friends.

3) The Stability and Instability of Mexican Intermarriage

Is intermarriage necessarily less happy and less successful than in-marriage? As a result of the interest in this question there have been many studies made with regard to the consequences of intermarriage. Although there were local differences in those studies, the over-all picture seems to run counter to the common presumption. For instance, in his study of intermarriage Baber indicated that the happy marriages have outnumbered the unhappy ones by the ratio of 3 to 1.14 In a study of American-Japanese intermarriages, Walters had a ratio of 5 to 1.15 Likewise, Schnepp's finding in his study of Japanese intermarriages came to almost the same conclusion.16

The data in the present study revealed that out of 100 marriages six ended unsuccessfully, two divorces, three separations, and one desertion. In compari-

14Baber, American Sociological Review, II, 715.
15Walters, p. 172.
16Schnepp, American Journal of Sociology, LXI, 50.
son with other studies, this ratio for unsuccessful marriage was low. It was reported that the divorce ratio in Hawaii during the three year period, 1952, 1953 and 1954 was as high as 28.9 per hundred marriages. In Adams' opinion such a high rate of divorce was due to the social disorganization that has taken place in the Islands. As he believes, the disorganization was caused by local factors such as the high rate of immigration, the lack of family standards, the changes in roles and statuses in family, individual freedom and so on. To make his point, he also cited the low rate of divorce among the Chinese and Japanese groups. His explanation was that the strong family system in connection with ancestor worship had definitely a strong control over the members of these two ethnic groups with regard to the problem of divorce. Although, following the general pattern of the changes that took place in the Islands, these two groups have also undergone a great deal of change in many aspects of their traditional life, but due to the relatively large size of these two groups, they were able to maintain, to a greater degree, their traditional family norms.

Somewhat similar situations were found in the city of Chicago for an explanation of low rate of divorce in the Mexican intermarriages. First of all, the close group solidarity that was found in the three Mexican colonies in Chicago, made it possible that the changes have not affected them much as one could expect. For instance, in spite of such changes in their family life the family ties among the Mexicans, by and large, are still faithfully maintained.

17 Adams, p. 206
Secondly, the Mexican tradition does not believe in divorce and its culture emphasizes the value of marriage stability. In connection with the value of this indissolubility of marriage in the Mexican culture, we would like to make some reference to some historical facts that might have a bearing on marital practice of the Mexicans in Chicago. Historically speaking, there was a type of marriage which was called "Casamiento del Tiempo de Porfirio." This type of marriage was more or less based upon an experimental basis. If the marriage works out successfully after a test period, then an expensive church wedding takes place. This fact might throw some light upon a comparatively high rate of revalidation in the present study. According to our data, out of every 10 marriages one took place before a Justice of the Peace first and was later revalidated in church. This rate was calculated only for those marriages which were brought to the writer's attention in the process of interviews. In reality, however, the rate for civil marriage should be higher. An examination of one of the files of 3 Mexican churches indicates that the rate of revalidation in this church was doubled, namely, two out of every ten intermarriages that were performed in that church. Whether this was influenced by the above-mentioned tradition or was typical of intermarriage in general in the United States, was not too clear in the present study. Since the inquiry on this matter is not of our concern for the purpose of this study, however, it suffices to say that in general once a Mexican marriage was performed in the church, according to their norms, it should continue.

18 Tuck, p. 85: "The marriage in the time of Porfirio when there was no legal substitute for the comparatively expensive church wedding."
Thirdly, the great majority of our sample was Catholic. It is the teaching of the Catholic church that marriage is a Sacrament and is indissoluble. Before they were married, they all knew this. Such knowledge certainly has much to do with the decision to have a successful marriage. The difference between a Catholic marriage and non-Catholic marriage lies here. Stressing the difference between Catholic and non-Catholic marriages, Thomas maintained that Catholic marriages constituted a separate field of investigation by saying: "granted the belief in the indissolubility and the sacramental nature of the bond, one would expect to find a different pattern of marital adjustment."\(^{19}\)

All these mentioned factors would definitely contribute to the stability and continuity of the Mexican marriages.

After this short discussion of the rate of divorce, let us turn to the happiness of these marriages. Before we do so, two concepts should be clarified, namely, happiness and success. There is distinction between these two concepts, not only etymologically but also practically. We might presume that all happy marriages are stable and successful but not vice versa. It is possible that in some cases unhappy marriages are not broken up for some other reason, e.g., court costs of the divorce. Such a marriage would be rated as a successful marriage even though it is in fact unhappy. Thus success or stability is much easier to be observed scientifically than happiness. Stability of marriage can be measured by the number of divorces, separations, and desertions but happiness can never be so precisely studied for the reason that happiness and unhappiness in marriage involve many aspects, e.g. emotions, personality

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\(^{19}\) Thomas, *The American Catholic Family*, p. 178.
traits, etc., that are difficult to measure and to reduce to quantitative terms.

The most common device for studying happiness of marriage is the technique of "self-happiness-rating." To simplify the responses, three key-words were used in self-rating in the present study: "Very Happy," "Happy," and "Unhappy." Table LIV gives the results of the analysis of the responses answered by couples, husbands and wives, individually.

**TABLE LIV**

**SELF-HAPPINESS-RATING OF THE MEXICAN INTERMARRIAGE AND THEIR RELATION TO THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARITAL STATE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both very happy</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One very happy one happy</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both happy</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both unhappy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was noted that in over half of the sample rated their marriages as "Very Happy" and only 8 couples "Unhappy." Comparing the happy marriages with the unhappy ones we have a ratio of 12 to 1. This ratio is perhaps the highest among the intermarriage studies. This certainly indicates that the marital adjustment in the Mexican intermarriages in the present study was much better than in other intermarriages. As we checked our data more thoroughly, we found out
that there were many elements in these marriages which favored a successful adjustment. These elements are given, as follows:

1) The similarity in education, age, and religion.
2) The awareness and anticipation of the difficulties they have to face.
3) The willingness of both husbands and wives to adjust.
4) The familialistic attitudes and love of children.
5) The absence of in-laws.

All these elements were responsible for a good adjustment and happiness in the Mexican intermarriages under study, to most of which we have made our reference in the previous part of the chapter and there is no need to repeat them here. Now our attention will be focused mainly upon two facts, the relation of the number of children and the absence of in-laws as related to the happiness of their marriages.

A close examination of our data revealed that a good number of the in-laws on both sides were either deceased or did not live in Chicago. Table IV shows that 31 of the husbands and wives' parents were deceased and 16 were living in other towns. This makes a total of 47 husbands and wives who were free from many immediate conflicting situations with in-laws. Out of these 47 there were 7 couples whose parents on both sides were deceased and 1 couple whose parents (of both husband and wife) were living in another town. Such freedom would socially and psychologically make their adjustment in their marriages much easier. A similar importance of the absence of in-laws was also pointed out by another study made in Panama. One of the advantageous situations for a successful adjustment in Panama was the lack of in-law interference. Having higher prestige, the American husbands were generally accepted by the Panamanian in-
laws on one hand, and on the other, the Panamanian wives were free from the interference of American in-laws who were so far away. Such a situation, according to Riesanz and Smith, played an important role in the marital adjustment and happiness of these marriages.

TABLE LV

NUMBER OF THE ABSENCE OF PARENTS IN-LAWS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTY OF ABSENCE</th>
<th>DECEASED</th>
<th>IN OTHER TOWNS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Mexican</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another factor that is believed to be related to the happiness of marriage is the number of children. However, the correlation between number of children and happiness of marriage does not always occur. Some studies have found a positive correlation, namely, that happiness increases as the number of children increase. Others reported a negative correlation and still others detected no significant correlation one way and the other. Our data seem to be in accordance with the latter group of studies.

As seen in Table LIV (page 191), there is no marked difference among the three groups: 1) "Both Happy," 2) "Both Very Happy," and 3) "One Happy and Other Very Happy," so far as the number of children is concerned. It was fur-

20 Riesanz and Smith, p. 821.
ther disclosed that the number of children did not show any significant difference either between both the happy family group and the unhappy families. The average number of children for the happy family group (including families of both happy, both very happy, and one happy and other very happy) was 2.43 and for the unhappy families was 2.10. In the light of this evidence, we conclude that the number of children was not too clearly associated with the happiness of the Mexican intermarriages in Chicago.

As we know, the Mexican family is traditionally a large family. The average number of children, as pointed out by some studies, of Mexican families in San Antonio was 5.421 and the median size of the Mexican family in Chicago was 6.22 These figures were calculated for the mothers who were past the child-bearing age. Table LVI will give the number of children of the mothers in this latter category in the Mexican intermarriages of the present study. The average number of children for the mothers of this group was 3.5 which appears even low-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No families</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of children</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 Murray, p. 38.
22 Felter, p. 28.
er than that in San Antonio. The explanation for the low average number of children in Mexican families in San Antonio was that, according to Murray, as part of the Americanization process, the majority of mothers under her study desired fewer children.\textsuperscript{23} A similar tendency was found among the mothers in Chicago, as our data indicate.

The number of children for the mothers within the child-bearing age was 2.5 which was naturally smaller than that of the other mothers. Actually the number of children for the mothers within the child-bearing age should be higher because the majority of the mothers in the present study were younger and naturally they could have more children. We can figure out mathematically how many potential children each of these mothers could have in the future. If we compare the total number of children with the total married years, then we know how many children were born to them in each time span. According to this calculation, roughly, a child was born for every 4.3 years (52 months), and the average age for these young mothers was 25 years. Taking the age of 50 as definitely past the child-bearing stage, each of these mothers still had a potential 25-year span for giving birth to children. If, according to the above calculation, a child was born for every 52 months, then each of these mothers will be able to give birth to about five or six more children, before they reach their menopause. Consequently in such a process the size of family will be extended to about 6 or 7 children per family. This figure, as we can see, is very close to the regular size of the Mexican family. However, this is just a mathematical speculation and in reality they may never reach such a high score. Nevertheless, viewing

\textsuperscript{23}Murray, p. 60.
the younger age for the mothers, we can predict that the number of children for the younger mothers will be probably higher than that of the mother past the child-bearing age. As we have pointed out before, so far as our data go, there was no correlation between the number of children and the happiness of the marriages in the present study. But whether these potential children are going to affect their marital happiness or not, we have no way of telling at the present moment.

On the other hand, there seems to be sufficient evidence to allow one to assume that these potential children would not affect the happiness of these marriages since quite a few studies found that it was not the number of children but rather the attitudes of the parents toward children that seemed most decisive for happiness in these marriages.24

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CHAPTER VIII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The total sample of this study was composed of one hundred couples who were selected from three communities on the south side of Chicago. These three communities represent the three largest Mexican settlements in Chicago and many other ethnic groups live in these areas as well. Out of this hundred couples under this study there were 72 Mexican males with their respective non-Mexican wives and 28 Mexican females with their non-Mexican husbands. The majority of them, -- both the Mexicans and the non-Mexicans, -- were born in and were still living in one of these three communities at the time of this investigation.

As to the background of their parents, 79 percent of the Mexican parents were born in Mexico and 31 percent of the non-Mexican parents were born in foreign countries. The birthplace of the Mexican parents was almost exclusively from the South Central provinces in Mexico. As to the non-Mexican parents almost over half of them were from two European countries, Poland and Italy. The occupational status of parents both Mexican and non-Mexican belonged to the laborer class. Over half of the parents, available for analysis, were reported as factory workers. Engaging in the same type of work and living in the same neighborhood, both the Mexican and non-Mexican parents should be placed in the same socio-economic status. In addition, what else they have in common, sociologically speaking, was the urban experience of a highly industrialized section of Chicago.

Despite these similarities in the background the group studied did not
present a uniform picture, for great differences were found in many aspects of culture and tradition. Such cultural differences would naturally create different ways of life between a person who was born in the Mexican culture and a person of another cultural heritage. One of the objects of this study was to find out how these people happened to marry each other and how they minimized these differences in the process of their marital adjustments, etc.

In spite of these cultural differences, the whole sample would impress a sociologist, in many respects, somewhat as a homogeneous group. Thus ecologically both husbands and wives were an ingroup, owing to their common residence in the same communities which present an overall picture of sameness, a sameness compounded of geography and standard of living. They operated as a unit or ingroup fully conscious of their identity to themselves and in the eyes of other communities and groups which they looked upon as outsiders. This simply confirms the long acceptance of neighborhood or residence as an indicator of class position.

Economically also they had much in common. It was said that economical status generally corresponds with the type of occupation. The majority of our sample - 80 percent - fell into blue collar workers, namely, manual laborers. Thus they belonged to a definite class in the social stratification of city life and, therefore, were given a status ascribed to this class which they knew as did others and, in great part, acted accordingly.

Educationally they were also of a particular group, namely of high-school level. Statistically 70 percent of the husbands (50 Mexicans and 20 non-Mexicans) and 75 percent of the wives (22 Mexicans and 53 non-Mexicans) had a high-school education. The median year for the Mexicans and non-Mexicans was 11.25
and 11.33 respectively. Specifically 75 percent of the couples married on the equal educational levels: 8 percent in grade-school, 64 percent in high-school, and 3 percent in college level.

Chronologically they were also characterized by age similarity. The great portion of the husbands and wives fell in certain age range, 80 percent of the husbands and 79 percent of the wives were in the age groups: 20-29 and 30-39. The husbands and wives in the first age group (20-29) alone constituted over half of the total number of the husbands and wives in this study. The median age was 29.5 for husbands and 25.5 for wives.

Religiously they were also a homogeneous group, 98 percent of the Mexicans were Catholics and 84 percent of the non-Mexicans were Catholics. Therefore, their marriages were intermarriages ethnically but inmarriages religiously except for the 18 mixed marriages.

Techniques employed for securing information necessary for this investigation on the Mexicans in the city of Chicago were Questionnaires and Interviews. In fact the majority of the sample has been interviewed by the writer personally except the 17 couples who sent back the questionnaires by mail. For the general background information on the Mexicans in the city of Chicago as a minority group, materials available were utilised and the literatures of intermarriages in Chicago and elsewhere were examined. In matching the differences in findings among many studies, it was found out that some factors that operated in intermarriage in other places were present also in Chicago with regard to the Mexican intermarriages. There were, however, some situations which were proved peculiar to this study which stood out distinctly in their influence upon the intermarriages in our sample.
From the analysis of the data presented by this study and comparison of our data with the data of other studies, we are able to draw some general conclusions with regard to various aspects of the Mexican intermarriages under study. These conclusions will be brief and substantial. They will be summarized as follows:

1) Following the general social changes in the city of Chicago, intermarriage as a type of social change has been gradually but constantly increasing in the last 15 years. The situation, as it exists in Chicago, would seem to indicate a further increase of this type of intermarriage in Chicago in the future.

2) The existence of discriminatory attitudes toward the Mexicans and their intermarriages among the various ethnic groups has been proved by the present study and will continue for some time in the city of Chicago. Such attitudes were expressed more frequently in renting apartments and social relationships than in job opportunities. In fact, very few of the couples reported that they have been refused a job as a result of their marriage.

3) The same prejudicial attitudes toward the Mexicans and the non-Mexicans who intermarry was also found among the Mexicans. The general impression was that such marriages were looked down upon by the Mexican groups as well as by the non-Mexican groups, although the attitudes are slowly changing.

4) It was evidenced that the disapproval of the non-Mexican parents on the Mexican intermarriage was primarily based upon the frequent discriminatory attitudes toward the Mexicans in general in the United States. Statistically, however, there were more non-Mexican parents who were in favor of this type of marriage, than those who were not. It seems a well founded conclusion that the
general tendency points in the direction of social acceptance of many intermarriage with Mexicans in Chicago.

5) Organizational influence in effecting the first contact between Mexicans and non-Mexicans played a much smaller role than friends for over 50 percent of the total sample reported that their first meeting was made possible through mutual acquaintances.

6) Likewise, neither school nor employment seem to provide opportunities for first contact to any degree. The negative finding with regard to such factors as the difference in age and school years might well be related to the husbands' types of occupation.

7) Residential propinquity has been very closely associated with the incidence of the Mexican intermarriage in Chicago. Over half of the total sample (52 percent) were found living within 16 standard city blocks of the marriage choices and about 65 percent had premarital residence in the same communities, namely within 24 standard city blocks.

8) Similarity in age played a prominent role in mate selection. There were two general tendencies in so far as the correlation between age and mate selection is concerned. First, the tendency was very clear for the couples to marry within the same age group when both, husbands and wives, were under 20 years of age. However, after 20, the husbands showed a stronger tendency to marry girls from the younger age groups. Consequently, as a culturally accepted pattern, the husbands as a group were generally older than their wives. In fact 76 percent of the husbands were older than their wives. The age difference ranged from "less than 3 years" to "13 years and over." However, in the case of the older wives, as a rule, the age difference was generally not over 3
years. A wide disparity in age in this case was highly uncommon in the marital practice in the city of Chicago.

9) A high correlation has been found between educational similarity and the rate of intermarriage. Statistically 75 percent of the couples were married on the same educational levels, 64 percent on the high-school level, 8 percent on the grade-school level and 3 percent on the college level. Further analysis revealed 29 percent of the couples who had exactly the same amount of education.

10) Personal preference as expressed in the objections of the parents toward these intermarriages and in the disapproval by society, in general, undoubtedly had a great influence in determining the rate of intermarriage in the city of Chicago. The fact that the objections by the parents and society did not succeed in preventing these intermarriage points to the strength of personal choice in mate selection which prevailed over both parental and societal disapproval. This may well be a reflection of marital choice today which, sociologists agree, has become a purely personal matter in contrast to past generations when parents and the current attitudes of society exercised a much stronger influence in mate selection.

11) Skin-color as the expression of social visibility also played an important part in marital selection. Its influence was more important among the Mexican females than among the Mexican males. In this study, 45.5 percent of the Mexican females could be classified in the category of "light" skin, whereas only 17.1 percent of the Mexican males fell in the same category.

12) With regard to the best qualities considered in mate selection, the wives as a group seemed to have been more practical than the husbands. Fifty-
five percent of the wives considered "personality" as the first quality in their selection whereas only 42 percent of the husbands did so. Moreover, 38 percent of the husbands stated that "physical attractiveness" was their first consideration and personality second. In this case the percentage of the husbands was almost three times that of the wives who made their decision on this basis. This indicates that physical attractiveness as a factor was more important for the men while the personality factor was more decisive for the women. Nevertheless, a high percentage of both the husbands and wives put personality in the first place in their selection and thus we conclude that the general picture of mate selection was based upon a more mature basis.

13) Sex ratio did not seem to have much influence upon marital practice in this group under this study. The pattern of intermarriage in the Mexican group was predominantly male (72 percent) while in the non-Mexican groups the intermarriage was mostly female. Nevertheless such difference in the pattern was not caused by an abnormal sex ratio in the community because sexes in these three communities were evenly balanced.

14) Occupationally the general tendency was for men on the lower occupational strata (i.e. skilled worker and laborers) to marry women whose father's occupational levels were the same as their own. Conversely the men of higher occupational levels tended to marry girls from much lower occupational strata. Hence, the direction of marriage for the men in this study was almost exclusively "down" except for the two groups, the skilled workers and the laborers.

15) Generation as a factor lost its control over marital practice mostly in the second generation. Thus heterogamy was more practiced in the second and third generations with regard to both the ethnic marriages and the mixed reli-
igious marriages. This tendency was even more true for the women from the non-
Mexican groups than the men.

16) In the Mexican selection the Poles, both men and women, were the most
popular group among the Mexicans. The Germans and the Irish were the second
choice, and the Italians and the English as third choice. This was true for
both men and women in all these ethnic groups, except the Irish males who were
least popular among the Mexican females. The reason for the popularity of the
Polish group was probably the fact that they represent an exclusively Catholic
group. Thus, religion was more influential in their selection but, when we
come to the second and third choice, religious control was not so marked in
these cases as in the first choice.

17) The main sources of the marital conflicts in this study came mostly
from the differences between the husbands' and the wives' role exceptions and
personality. Language and food did not seem to have too much pressure upon
their marital life since both the husbands and the wives were mostly of the
second generation.

18) In-law conflicts and acceptance by friends were very closely related
to the happiness of marriages in this study. The ratio for the unhappy fami-
lies in the group of families who had in-law problems was one for every five
families, and about the same ratio was shown also for the families who have not
been accepted by their friends.

19) The number of children did not seem to have any obvious influence upon
their marital adjustment and the happiness in the Mexican intermarriages.

20) As to the mixed marriages, the influence of such a mixture seemed to
be very great on the Catholic parties. As our data indicated, the religious
attendance was reported by the great number of the couples who had married interreligiously as "less than before", and a few dropped their Catholic faith entirely, either to join their spouses' church or not go to any church.

21) The general picture of marital adjustment in this study was successful and there were more happy marriages than unhappy ones. The ratio was twelve to one, which was probably the highest among the studies of this sort. This high ratio was due to many factors favorable to a successful adjustment, namely, the similarity in age, education, religion, the awareness and anticipation of the problems, familistic attitudes and love of children, and the absence of in-laws.

The above conclusions are a few generalizations that resulted from the data accumulated through many months of painstaking investigation in this particular undertaking. To the best of his knowledge the writer sincerely believes that this study presented problems typical to the social relations of the Mexicans with other coexisting ethnic groups in these three communities in Chicago which have been measured scientifically in terms of marital practices and problems. Meanwhile the writer also frankly admits that, like any other research, this study too, unfortunately, had its shortcomings and limitations which were caused by situations beyond his control, such as the meager return of the mailed questionnaires. Thus the contemplated attempt to compare a sample of mailed questionnaires with a corresponding number of personally interviewed was nullified. Consequently, all comparative procedures in this research had to be limited to other similar studies.

Nevertheless, in our investigation we endeavored to follow faithfully the scientific procedures recommended by sociologists in the pursuance of such data and information and the validation of our findings, produced in this study,
should provide comparable material in further research in the matter of inter-
marrige in the city of Chicago. On account of time, finances, and other
limitations, however, the scope of this research has been quantitatively limit-
ed to this small selected group. Thus the validity of the findings found in
this study should be strictly confined to this particular group only and beyond
that one might easily commit the common mistake in making unwarrantable gener-
alizations.

Moreover, since the social changes with regard to this particular problem
seem to be proceeding at fast rate, whatever may be disclosed in future stud-
ies, would not necessarily contradict the result of this preliminary work, but,
will rather reveal new stages of development of the same problem in the city of
Chicago. To trace social trends in social change more comprehensive and follow-
up studies are needed. It is hoped that, with all its limitations, the find-
ings of this pioneer work not only offered some first-hand contributions to the
understanding of social relations among the various groups in Chicago, but also
will serve to arouse the interests of others to investigate the same problem
and make more extensive research in this very neglected field.
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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE USED

This Questionnaire is anonymous. Information will be strictly confidential. Do not write your name. And your cooperation is appreciated.

1. Place of birth: Town __________; State __________; Country __________

2. Your age __________; 3. Length of residence in the community __________

4. Place of birth of your parents: Town __________; State __________; Country __________

5. Where are they living now? __________________________________________

6. What is your nationality? __________________________________________

7. Circle the grades completed in schools:
   
   Grade school: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
   High school: 1 2 3 4
   College: 1 2 3 4 5

8. What school or schools did you attend? __________________________________

   __________________________________

   __________________________________

   __________________________________

9. Give the reasons for quitting school when you did?

   __________________________________

   __________________________________

   __________________________________

10. What is your occupation? ________________________________

11. Your yearly income? ________________________________

12. Occupation of your parents? ________________________________

   Annual income? ________________________________
13. Did you marriage influence your job opportunity? ____________________________

14. Have you ever been refused a job as a result of your marriage? ______________

15. What is your religion? Catholic? _____; Protestant? _____; Other _____; None? _____.

16. To what church did you go before your marriage? ____________________________

17. Does your church have a parochial school? ________________


19. Were you married before? _____; if so, why did it end? ______________________

20. What is the nationality of your first married partner? ________________________

21. Give the date of your present marriage? ____________________________

22. How many children do you have? _____; and their age: 1 __; 2 __; 3 __; 4 __; 5 __; 6 __; 7 __; 8 __; 9 __; 10 __.

23. Do you find any difficulty in sending your children to a parochial school? ______________

24. State the reasons why your children do not go to parochial school? ______________

25. What church do you attend now? __________________________________________

26. Do you attend church together with your husband (or wife)? ________________

27. Do you attend church more faithfully since your marriage? ___________________

28. How did you meet your husband (or wife)?

   through school? ________; through work? ________

   through friends? ________; through relatives? ________

   or through other means? ___________________________________________
29. Did your parents know the parents of your husband (or wife) before your marriage? _________; Very well? _________

30. How far was your home from that of your husband (or wife)?

31. Did you and your husband (or wife) go to the same school or schools?

   Yes____; No____; If yes, give the name________________________________________

32. Did you and your husband (or wife) work together? Yes____; No____;

   If yes, give the name of the Company________________________________________

33. Did you both belong to the same parochial organizations?

   Which are they?______________________________________________________________

34. Did you both belong to the same non-religious organizations?____________________

   Which are they?______________________________________________________________

35. Did you both have the same interests in recreations or hobbies?__________________

   Which are they?______________________________________________________________

36. What did attract you to your husband (or wife)?

   ___________________________________________________________

   ___________________________________________________________
37. What kind of food do you usually eat at home? Mexican? ___________ American? ___________; or both? ___________

38. Is your marriage happy? ___; very happy? ___; unhappy? __________

39. Did you have any misunderstanding between you and your husband (or wife) on account of the difference in Nationality? Yes ___; No ___;
If you have, which were they? __________

40. Have you ever been refused an apartment due to your marriage? __________

41. Did your parents object to your marriage? __________

42. What language do you speak at home? English ___; Spanish ___; or both? __________

43. What was the reaction of your parents toward your marriage? __________

44. What was the reaction of your friends toward your marriage? __________

45. Do your parents visit your parents-in-law? ___; How often? __________

46. Did you take your wife (or husband) to visit your family? ___; to visit your friends? ___

47. Did you ever have any difficulties with your in-laws? __________
Concerning what matter? _____
48. Did the people in your neighborhood approve of Mexicans marrying non-Mexicans, or disapprove? ____________________________

49. How do you get along with the people in your neighborhood?
Real well?______; Pretty good?______; or poorly?______

50. If you did not get along with your neighbors, could you give reasons why you did not? ____________________________

THANK YOU FOR YOUR KINDNESS AND COOPERATION!
APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Peter Wan-Lee Keng has been read and approved by a board of three members of the Department of Psychology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

Date

Signature of Adviser