

ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN ADULTS OF
MEXICAN DESCENT: SPANISH
AS HERITAGE LANGUAGE

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ETHNIC IDENTITY IN ADULTS OF
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ABSTRACT

Immigrants who acclimate to society in the United States encounter the challenge of maintaining both cultures. The fluency of Spanish in individuals of Mexican descent may be an essential component of the culture, and ultimately their ethnic identity. In this study six young adult of Mexican descent were interviewed over their perspectives regarding their ethnic identity, heritage, and use of languages. Participants were also given a picture book and performed a narrative task in both English and Spanish. Responses from the questionnaire were compared to their results including, rate of speed and clausal complexity. Findings demonstrated a relation between the heritage language and family interaction, in participants whose native language is Spanish. Some bilinguals were also ambivalent towards their ethnic identity and level of fluency in the languages. Results indicate heritage language is an aspect of culture and identity that is fundamental to these individuals; therefore heritage language maintenance should be considered as an option to strengthen individual's ethnic identity.

I. Introduction

The continuing increase of ethnic diversity has become prominent in metropolitan areas of the United States. Immigrant families from various countries bring with them their culture, language, and ideologies. Their children are socialized in the cultural context at home and also adapt characteristics from their American surroundings, balancing aspects of both cultures.

The concentration of multiple ethnic groups stimulates cultural awareness among the community. Ethnic diversity facilitates the ability for an individual to distinguish themselves from other groups. Cultural differences are salient, therefore the characteristics are clearly manifested in each culture. In an ethnically uniform society factors that would contribute to a person's identity would include gender or age; whereas, heritage is less significant. However, heritage becomes relevant as a way to differentiate oneself from others in an ethnically diverse society. Haarmann (1999) argues there is an increasing self-awareness of cultural traditions and values across the world. This is due to the awareness that ethnicity is important in promoting group cohesion. Because of the multitude of coexisting cultures, ethnicity becomes a significant identity marker for the individual.

As minorities or immigrants acclimate themselves to American society, they confront adaptation to and/or assimilation of the dominant culture. The former requires the individual to modify their lifestyle to accommodate their new cultural surroundings, while the latter requires absolute conversion to reflect the new culture, which may result in neglect of the heritage culture. Despite the lack of a federally-mandated official language policy in the United States, mainstream culture pressures minorities to conform

to a monolingual society. The language associated with the minority or immigrant culture can additionally be cast aside since the dominant language is given priority.

Purpose of this Study

The purpose of this study is to discover the significance of the Spanish language in the ethnic identity of young adults of Mexican descent living in the United States. The study will explore how individuals have used Spanish throughout their lives to determine its function. Participants' perspectives regarding Spanish and the Mexican community will also be examined to provide an understanding over the importance of the language in the lives of adults of Mexican descent.

II. Literature Review

The literature review will give an overview of the Hispanic immigrant population, specifically the Mexican population. This population will be categorized according to three different generations. The responses given from the participants in this study will reflect their experiences as individuals from one of the listed immigrant generations. Ethnic identity will be defined and the ethnic identity process will be discussed from childhood to the adolescent stage. In addition, elements of the construct of bicultural identity will be explained, including identity struggle and cultural shift. These elements were mentioned in the participants' responses as they shared their experiences as members of a minority group in the United States. Frequent terms in the literature will be defined such as heritage language, native language, second language, and proficiency. The hegemony of English in the United States and its effect on heritage language will be mentioned. Finally, language and culture will be explained in the context of their close association with each other and their respective relation to ethnic identity.

Immigrant Population

In 2012 Hispanics were ranked the largest minority population in the United States at 17 percent of the entire population and are projected to reach 31 percent by 2060 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). The immigrant population from Latin America has continued to increase exponentially since 1960. Latin Americans represent 53 percent of all foreign-born residents currently living in the United States, including Mexicans who make up more than half of this population. More specifically, Mexico is the birth country of 29 percent of all foreign-born U.S. residents. The Latin American foreign-born population has the highest concentration of residents in California (5.5 million), followed by Texas (3 million), and Florida (2.8 million) (Acosta & De la Cruz, 2011). In addition, the foreign-born population does not include children of these individuals, nor does it include the continuing generations of this minority population.

Immigrant Generation

According to Rumbaut (2004), acculturation varies depending on the age and life stage of immigrants upon arrival in the new country. Generation levels are categorized by age during migration. Depending on immigrant generation, each level can have distinct influences on a person's language, accent, ethnic identity, and transnational attachment.

First generation immigrants are adults who were born and socialized in another country and who migrated to the United States during adulthood. This generation often experiences the difficulty in adapting to a new environment, since adjusting to the new cultural environment may require acquisition of a new language and lifestyle.

The children of these immigrants are second generation immigrants, born and socialized in the United States. This population learns English when entering school, if

not spoken at home. They often learn their parents' native language to some degree, as it commonly forms part of the home language(s).

The 1.5 immigrant generation describes immigrants who have migrated to the U.S. during childhood. They have characteristics of both, the first and second generation, being foreign born and learning the new culture at a young age. This immigrant generation continues to be socialized in the U.S. after relocating during pre-adolescence, before the age of 12. The majority of their lives and schooling is spent in the United States. This group may feel either alienated from, or connected to one or both cultures. The 1.5 generation may stay attached to their cultural roots, but adapt habits and customs of the new culture as well (Rumbaut, 2004). Varying experiences in each generation will impact the individual's level of acculturation.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity is a dynamic, multidimensional construct that refers to one's identity, or sense of self, as a member of an ethnic group. An ethnic group can be thought of as a subgroup within a larger context sharing common ancestry and one or more of the following elements: culture, race, religion, language, kinship, and place of origin (Phinney, 2001). Ethnic identity is a central defining characteristic of many individuals, particularly those who are members of minority or lower status groups. Fishman (1977) characterizes ethnicity as the self-recognition and outsider's recognition that is multifaceted with inherited and acquired aspects, which are both stable and changing. Significance of one's ethnic identity becomes salient within an array of cultures. It is developed and modified as individuals become aware of other groups and the ethnic

differences between them. This process also includes an attempt to understand their ethnicity in a larger context (Phinney, 2001).

Ethnic identity formation is a process that starts at an early age and continues throughout adolescence. Initial awareness is limited to superficial characteristics including food or attire; by adolescence, it develops into abstract concepts such as ideologies, customs, and values. Children's attitude and outlook regarding their ethnicity is influenced by both family and the community. As families embrace and appreciate their ethnicity, children's views are likely to be favorable toward it. A vital ethnic community also provides a context in which children can form a positive sense of their group (Phinney, 2001). An environment that reflects the child's ethnicity creates a unity within the ethnic group, reassuring ethnic identity. If a group is held in lower esteem and is deprecated, negative attitudes may become internalized. Children may then hold conflicting or negative feelings about their ethnicity and express the desire to belong to another group. During adolescence, identity formation is a critical developmental task, particularly in complex modern societies. The process of ethnic identity has been conceptualized in terms of stages, with an individual moving from the unexamined attitudes of childhood, through a moratorium or period of exploration, to a secure ethnic identity at the end of adolescence (Phinney, 2001). The final result of the child's ethnic identity is characterized by the experiences throughout this developmental process. If heritage language contributed during the process, it may carry an association with identity.

Bicultural Identity

Bicultural identity refers to a person who embraces a combination of two cultures. In some instances, the individual will lean towards one culture if society views one of these cultures as inferior. The individual may try to switch groups and/or actually no longer speak their heritage language with normal proficiency because they have distanced themselves from it so completely (Dorian, 1999). However, if a minority group experiences intentional alienation of their heritage language by society, it may encourage them to make conscientious efforts to preserve it. In such an instance the ethnic group will persist in having their language be recognized in a society where there is another preferred dominant language. In most cases, ethnic groups are not able to keep their identities intact after dislocation from their country (Fishman, 1999). As a result, the new culture will be additive to their already existing culture. Over time, both cultures will be intertwined in the individual's identity, if assimilation has not occurred.

Identity Struggle and Cultural Shift

When migrating to the United States young immigrants experience a cultural shift due to the change of surroundings. Group identity issues arise when individuals and groups move across national and cultural borders. Ethnic identity may be renegotiated throughout life in response to individual, contextual, and historical changes. It also varies in the short term over differing contexts, with strong ethnic feelings emerging in settings where ethnicity is highly salient (Phinney, 2001). Cultural shift depends on the context of the environment and how it affects a specific individual. The age at the time of migration and generation also affect the degree of change in ethnic identity. Adults are typically more resilient regarding this shift and maintain a strong cultural identity. Children adapt

quickly and are able to identify with both their ethnic group and the new society.

Bicultural children experience an identity conflict by feeling they belong to both cultures, yet feeling distanced from each of them. This search for a meaningful ethnic identity can lead to a wide range of emotional reactions, both positive and negative. Individuals may become deeply involved in learning about their ethnicity (Phinney, 2001). If individuals who aspire to retain their ethnic identity, language and customs receive encouragement, their ethnic identity will remain resilient. When individuals have the freedom to express their values and practice their ethnic customs, they develop positive attitudes toward their heritage. Societies that thwart the desire of ethnic group members to affirm and express their group identity may experience turmoil and violence (Phinney, 2001).

Heritage, Native, and Second Language

Bilinguals can acquire their second language in different stages of their lives and in multiple settings. A native language or mother tongue refers to the language a person learns as their first language. Some children learn to speak two or more languages during infancy, and they are thus considered to have multiple native languages. The native language is spoken at home and usually continues to be family's home language throughout the lifespan.

The heritage language is the language spoken by the ancestors of an individual. This can either be an individual's native language, second language, or one that the individual does not acquire at all. Multiple factors can affect the acquisition of the heritage language. Two related factors include parental use of the language and intrinsic motivation to reconnect with one's ancestral history.

The second language is one that is learned in addition to the native language. This learning may occur early in life, but the result of this early learning is not considered a native language. Spolsky (1999) defines second-language learning as the process by which an individual who has, during the first few years of life, acquired one language (or, often, more than one language) from his or her caretakers or peers, and goes on to add one or more new languages to his or her repertoire. During this process the proficiency in the first language supports that of the second language and influences it. The second language can either be learned in an academic setting or by cultural immersion.

Children are able to grasp concepts from a culture and intertwine them with their languages. An emotion or experience is attached to words in a language, which are then internalized and form an idea. Padilla (1999) explains that through language the young child learns what his or her parents and community value by way of their cultural beliefs and practices. Thus language becomes associated with the emotional and behavioral texture of what it means to be a member of a certain group. As a child acquires the language, he or she is embedding the cultural aspect within it. Meaningful responses are elicited when using the language and its acquisition, at this stage, is highly significant and personal to the child.

Division of Languages

Children of Mexican descent living in the U.S. may experience difficulty integrating both Spanish and English in their lives because societal views tend to lean toward a monolingual society. Shannon (1995) discusses the hegemony or dominance of the English language in the U.S., causing other languages to be perceived as inferior, which affects speakers of those languages by having them abandon their heritage

language. The bilingual child is expected to use only one language, at any given time, and moreover the one that is deemed appropriate for the specific setting. For instance, popular view holds the idea that English should be the only language spoken in public. This notion creates a separation of language and discourages bilinguals from using both languages comfortably. In one of her studies, Torrez (2013) observed how migratory families struggled to demarcate language usage to specific domains: English in the public spaces and Spanish in private spaces. In this study the Sosa family used language dualistically: in socializing children to engender community relations, and toward socioeconomic mobility. In a monolingual society, children may be pressured to choose between the two languages and in turn, decrease their proficiency in the one that ends up being used less often.

Language Proficiency

The National Standards Collaborative Board (2015) defines proficiency as the ability to use and produce language successfully for a specific purpose. Another term that was frequently used in the literature was fluency. Although fluency was not clearly defined in the studies consulted for this thesis, it was understood to have the same meaning as proficiency.

Bilinguals may have different levels of proficiency in each language, or be highly proficient in both. According to Portes and Hao (2002), proficient bilinguals are able to communicate easily in both languages, while limited bilinguals have a halting command of one or both languages. Limited abilities in one or the other language can be due to the nature of acquisition or to the languages being used only in narrowly-specified domains. Some minorities who are not exposed to their heritage language at school may not

develop strong reading or writing skills. This population practices speaking and translating in their heritage language, yet they lag behind in reading and writing. The lack of formal education in the heritage language can contribute to the decrease or limit of language proficiency. The heritage language is typically used for oral interaction, therefore reading and writing is not developed to the same proficiency level.

Different factors contribute to an individual's proficiency in a language and may fluctuate throughout the life span depending on the way it is used. For instance, a change of language exposure due to the environment can affect the proficiency in an individual. Societal and personal attitudes toward the language can also promote or discourage the use of language and affect how often it is practiced. External attitudes influence the individual's motivation to use the language. If there exists a negative view, proficiency will likely decline due to the lack of desire to speak the language.

Language, Culture and Ethnic Identity

Most scholars agree that language has a significant association with culture. Giles (1997) notes that language has a greater function than being a mere symbol of ethnicity. Language parcels ethnicity, being an expresser of the culture, carrying rich content, and being heavily relied on. With multiple purposes for the ethnic group, it is highly valued and seen as independent and more than a means of communication. Dorian (1999) explains that even though many behaviors can mark identity, language is the only one that actually carries extensive cultural content. The distinctive sounds uttered in speaking a particular language encode meaning, and the link between ethnic group and ethnic language becomes much more important at this level. Dorian states that each language in the world encodes personal human experience in its own fashion. Also, associated with

each language is a large body of special cultural lore that is accurately understood and expressed in that particular language.

Language and culture seem to be so intertwined that attempting to translate a notion from one language to another can pose issues. Dorian notes that culture-specific abstract concepts are notoriously difficult to express adequately in another language. Padilla (1999) also explains that the language a person speaks often takes on extralinguistic characteristics that go far beyond the need to communicate. For members of many ethnic groups with their own language, the language itself comes to be symbolic of the group's vitality and place in the world. Spanish operated as a vehicle to pass specific cultural knowledge from one generation to the next. Having to translate the meaning, even to another native Spanish speaker, was difficult and lost its central tacit knowledge (Torrez, 2013).

However, Smolicz (1981) states that language is only relevant in culture if there is a significant tie to the values of the ethnic group. He further explains that values can be regarded as forming one of the most fundamental components of a group's culture, representing an ideological system, and being symbolic of the group's membership. When language provides the core of an ethnic or minority culture, and where the majority's ideological system is that of linguistic monism, the individual's chances for constructing a viable personal ethnic linguistic system become somewhat more problematic (Smolicz, 1981). If heritage language is suppressed in nearly all contexts, the individual may feel that the culture associated with this language is being rejected as well. Immigrants may encounter conflicts in maintaining their heritage language in a monolingual society, which could have a negative effect on their ethnic identity. This

study will examine how heritage language is used and valued in individuals of Mexican descent.

III. Methodology

Interview Procedures

Six participants residing in Texas were invited for a face-to-face interview that consisted of a 45-question survey in discussion form, and a narration in both English and Spanish of a short picture book. Young adults of Mexican descent between 20 and 29 years of age (mean age: 24) were selected from different immigrant levels. A male and a female participant were interviewed from each of the following generations: first generation immigrants, 1.5 generation and second generation. The purpose of selecting participants from each generation was to explore the differences in experiences and to analyze how the experiences from each generation affected their view on ethnic identity and their heritage language.

Questionnaire

For the survey, participants were asked to respond orally to a series of question that explored their perception of their own ethnic identity. The interview also invited participants to explore their attitudes regarding their heritage community and how they have used Spanish and English in their lives. For several questions, a scale was provided so the participant could rate their answer from 0 to 10, where 0 indicated a minimum and 10 reflected a maximum gradation. For example, participants rated themselves over how strong their views were or with what frequency they used their languages.

The questions in the interview were regarding the participant's identity, what aspects are significant to them, and how confident they are in describing their identity.

These questions were geared towards discovering the major components that the participants viewed most significant about their identity and how they identify themselves. Other questions pertained to the heritage community involving interaction and encounters. A complete copy of the questionnaire can be found in the appendix.

Narrative Task

After completing the questionnaire, participants were invited to perform a story narration task, in which they narrated the book *Frog, Where Are You* (Mayer, 1969). The book, which contains no text, consists of illustrations of a boy and his dog who realize one morning that the boy's pet frog had escaped. They search for the frog in the woods and come across different animals. After ending up in a pond, they hear a sound that turns out to be a family of frogs, including the boy's lost pet who happily returns home with the boy and the dog. Participants were asked to narrate the book using both English and Spanish. More specifically, they were given the choice to begin narrating with their preferred language and to then switch languages mid-way through the story. The decision to use narration as a means to evaluate proficiency in a language followed from the task's relatively high linguistic demands. Since successful spontaneous narration would seem to require fairly well automatized linguistic production using any necessary vocabulary and grammar, it was thought that the task would reveal any underlying differences in a participant's relative proficiency in each of their languages.

In the field of applied linguistics, Mayer's series of frog books have been widely used in narration elicitation tasks. Many researchers have elicited narrations for the purposes of analyzing multiple linguistic aspects of different languages. The adventurous journey depicted within the book provides various opportunities for a narrator to express

and connect ideas within it, thereby producing rich linguistic data for analytical purposes. The book was first used by Bamberg (1987) in his research on narrative discourse. The book has also been used for developmental and crosslinguistic studies, including a widely-cited collection of narrations of the book in five languages (Berman & Slobin, 1987).

The purpose of the present use of Mayer's book is to obtain narrative-based data from this study's participants in both Spanish and English. Multiple performance measures in both languages were used for evaluating the narration task. Measures of linguistic production speed (specifically, speaking rate) and linguistic complexity (specifically, clausal complexity) were calculated for the same portion of the narrative for all participants. Narrations in both Spanish and English were compared with each other to distinguish which language was used with greater proficiency. This was further compared to the participant's questionnaire answers regarding their views on their two languages.

Participants

Cristina immigrated to the United States as an adult. Although she was born in the United States, her family moved to Monterrey, Mexico during her infancy. She attended college in Mexico and has lived in Houston, Tx for the past three years. Cristina works for an oil and gas company, where she is able to use Spanish frequently with her supervisor and coworkers. She lives in an area of Houston that is highly populated by Hispanics, specifically Mexicans. Due to the high number of Spanish speakers there, it is common to find people communicating in Spanish in local businesses and restaurants. At her work, she is surrounded by Mexicans, to whom she can socialize with. She enjoys learning different languages such as Italian, French, and some German. She considers

herself to be multicultural, as she has lived in several European countries, and notes that she has an appreciation for cultural diversity. Judging from her questionnaire, she appears to have a solid understanding of her identity and a great fondness for her heritage language.

Alejandro was born in Mexico and moved to the United States to attend college and study engineering. He was admitted to a Historically Black College and University in Mississippi where he discovered the impact of ethnicity has on American society. There he observed the dynamics of ethnic groups and how they interact with one another. Coming from a country where ethnicity is not relevant to daily life, the prominence of ethnicity was a new concept to adjust to. After living in the United States for 10 years, Alejandro feels that he has now acclimated to societal norms and lifestyle. He is an ocean engineer living in the suburbs of north Houston. He primarily uses English in his career, although Spanish may be required for occasional projects. Alejandro is one of the few people who are of Mexican descent at his work place, thus he enjoys speaking Spanish with other Hispanics that he encounters in his daily life. Despite his family's ability to speak English, the language used with one another continues and will likely continue to be Spanish. Alejandro feels that Spanish is a strong indicator of his identity because it integrates him into his cultural and familial environments. He believes it is important to hold on to one's culture because one can become overwhelmed in a society as diverse as the United States.

Yvette is a kindergarten bilingual teacher in northern Houston, an area with demographics that reflect a high concentration of Hispanics. She moved to the United States at the age of 10 and describes herself living in Mexico as a spoiled girl with

luxuries. Her parents had several businesses in Mexico and were financially stable; however, her lifestyle changed after moving. When she arrived in the United States, she had no alternative but to adapt to a new culture, which entailed altering her goals. She became determined to learn English with high proficiency. Yvette's mentality changed in that she became more tenacious in accomplishing her goals and in that she realized she had to become independent and could not rely on her parents as she navigated through a foreign environment. She continues to use Spanish as the home language; however, she often speaks to her sister in both languages. As a bilingual teacher, she uses Spanish very frequently during instruction and when communicating with her students' parents. Yvette views her experiences as the most important factor that shapes her identity. The way she overcomes challenges reveals her identity. She also emphasized that values characterize a person's identity, but that heritage or language has a comparatively minimal role in self-identity. She feels that Spanish is not a major component to her identity; instead, it is a resource that she uses to enhance her performance in her career. Still, she believes Spanish is significant because it has contributed to her multiple unique experiences as a bilingual individual.

Oscar was raised in El Rio Grand Valley, Texas. At age of five, he and his family immigrated to the United States from Mexico. Living in close proximity to the Mexican border allows him to reflect on the difference between Mexican nationals and people of Mexican descent who are raised in the United States. He also frequently visited Mexico throughout his childhood, which allowed him to compare the culture in both countries. After moving to central Texas to attend graduate school, he noticed differences between a border town and the atmosphere of central Texas. He considers himself to have more of

an American identity because he is constantly reminded of how “American” he is from interacting with family when he visits Mexico. Even though Oscar may feel a slight disconnect towards his heritage as he did not grow up in Mexico, he is very fond of Spanish and believes that anyone who has the opportunity to learn their heritage language should do so, as it is beneficial in many aspects. Both languages are used to communicate within his family. Spanish is used more often with his parents, while English is used with his siblings. Oscar also code switches, speaking in one language and changing to the other, very often when he speaks to his family or friends.

David is from Brownsville, Texas, a town that borders Mexico. He now attends college in central Texas. When he returns to Brownsville, he speaks Spanish and often translates English for his parents or extended family members. He reports having gained insight on the difficulties experienced in Mexico through witnessing how people in Mexico struggle to reach the border in hopes of having the opportunity to pursue a better life. He is constantly reminded of the many obstacles people face when immigrating to the United States. This experience has led him to hold pride in his heritage because Mexicans are determined, hardworking people, despite the hardships they endure. His native language is Spanish, however he acquired English during his beginning elementary school years in a bilingual classroom. David strongly preserves his Mexican culture and likes to express his heritage to others. He has a great appreciation towards his heritage community. He gradually started using English more frequently throughout his life, making him more conscious of his reduction in practicing Spanish. English is now his dominant language, but he still does not feel confident that he speaks either language flawlessly. David visits Mexico and interacts with his cousins, who only speak Spanish.

He has then realized that he does not speak Spanish with full proficiency as Mexican residents do. He seems to intertwine the languages in his speech and thought. He holds a deep love for and connection to the Spanish language because his family only uses Spanish, so it brings him back to the sense of what home is. He is loyal to the language and he predicts when his proficiency decreases, he will make an effort to speak only Spanish.

Ashley is from Channel View, Texas, a town that forms part of the Houston metropolitan area. During her childhood, she did not encounter many people from Mexican descent; however, there is a gradual increase of Mexicans in the area, which she notes has made her feel more comfortable. Ashley does not speak Spanish, because her parents spoke to her solely in English during childhood. As she grew older, she realized that Spanish is relevant to her heritage and her environment. She then made a conscious effort to learn it and enrolled in a Spanish class in high school. She believes her identity has been shaped by the way she is viewed and treated by society. Ashley reports feeling disconnected to both Americans and Mexicans. Since she was socialized in an American context, she feels that she is able to navigate through society with ease compared to her Mexican national counterparts. Ashley explains that the ambience in the Mexican community is one of friendliness and a welcoming hospitality. She has great motivation to learn Spanish and mentioned it as one of her goals. When she is socializing with her friends, she attempts to use words and phrases in Spanish. She believes that if she learns Spanish it will help her communicate better with her grandmother and keep close to her roots. She is also impelled to learn Spanish because others assume or expect her to know the language and culture.

IV. Findings

Some key demographic variables of the study's six participants are shown in Table 1 below, including immigrant generation, languages, and occupation. Ratings given by each participant regarding the significance of Spanish on their ethnic identity are also provided.

Table 1

Participants of the present study (n=6) according to immigrant generation, languages, and occupation.

Participants	Immigrant Generation	Dominant Language	Native Language	Significance of Spanish in Identity (0-10)	Occupation
Cristina	1	Spanish	Spanish	10	Oil and Gas Company Employee
Alejandro	1	Spanish	Spanish	10	Ocean Engineer
Yvette	1.5	English and Spanish	Spanish	8	Bilingual Teacher
Oscar	1.5	English	Spanish	10	Graduate Student
David	2	English	Spanish	10	Undergraduate Student
Ashley	2	English	English	5	Houston Theater District Employee

Within the significant aspects of identity mentioned by each participant, there were family related influences in all six participants. Other common influences included education or societal impacts. Oscar, David, and Ashley were ambivalent about their ethnic identity and which label accurately portrayed them. These conflicting perceptions were caused by their American nationality and Mexican heritage. Other participants' conflicts in ethnic identity were characterized by balancing both cultures and not identifying with the stereotypes of Mexicans that exist within the United States, with the exception of Cristina. She expressed no conflict with her ethnic identity. Alejandro

explains he encountered conflicts with his ethnic identity when he became aware of Mexican stereotypes in the United States.

I felt like gradually I started embracing it and finding my place and just being really proud of it more than anything. So I went from super proud, to not so proud, and right now I just feel really comfortable. I don't really care, I guess I feel more confident with my identity. (Alejandro, personal communication, January 8, 2015)

Below are quotes from David and Yvette who experienced difficulties as bicultural individuals.

When I was young I did go through that stage and I found that most people of a similar situation as me go through, that stage where you are trying to assimilate and adjust to both cultures, without feeling guilty of losing one and replacing it with the other. I think that is a struggle that many people from my background feel, a guilty feeling of losing your heritage. (Yvette, personal communication, December 20, 2014)

When I went to go visit my dad's family in San Luis Potosí, I didn't speak the right language. I was speaking Spanglish and when I spoke to my cousins they would have doubts about the way I spoke. I had to repeat myself multiple times. That made me have doubts about being Mexican.

(David, personal communication, January 23, 2015)

Although Ashley's native language is English and she has lived in the U.S. her entire life, she still feels slightly distant from the American community.

Even though I feel like I navigate American community well, I still don't feel like I belong. I feel like I am not supposed to be there, or know that, or be a part of that because I look so different. (Ashley, personal communication, January 9, 2015)

In her interview, Ashley mentioned that she feels comfortable with other people of Mexican descent and that she enjoys other aspects of the Mexican culture, such as the food and many holidays. These participants' daily challenges arise from integrating two cultures in their identities.

The native language of all the participants is Spanish, with the exception of Ashley. These individuals learned their second language, English, in elementary school. Cristina and Alejandro were instructed in English at the age of five, while living in Mexico. The remaining participants attended school in the United States and learned English there, in addition to socializing in the American community. Oscar and David received bilingual education until third grade; complete English instruction was given thereafter. No Spanish instruction was provided for Yvette, who therefore had been immersed in English at the age of 10.

Five participants report Spanish as being the language that is consistently spoken at home. Participants from the 1.5 generation, Yvette and Oscar, also use English with their siblings. Ashley expressed that only her parents occasionally speak to each other in Spanish. When interviewees were asked in what setting they use their heritage language, their responses were in their home and around other Spanish speakers. Cristina revealed that her supervisor is a Spanish speaker, allowing her to frequently use Spanish in the work place.

Attitudes regarding heritage language were overall positive with a desire to maintain or improve proficiency. Some participants reported that Spanish is a notably expressive and rich language. Cristina said “Me encanta, tengo mucho respeto al idioma, es muy rico. Trato siempre de mantenerlo puro” (*I love it, its very rich and I have a lot of respect towards the language. When speaking it, I try to use pure Spanish*) (Cristina, personal communication, January 9, 2015). Yvette said that she felt Spanish was not extremely significant to her ethnic identity but that “It has tailored the experiences I have been exposed to and those shape who you are” (Yvette, personal communication, December 20, 2014). Ashley, who is not proficient in Spanish, responded with the following:

I feel like I need to know Spanish to feel connected to who I am. I want to learn Spanish and that why it’s significant. But I know if I never learn it its not going be the end of my life. It’s not going to make me have a breakdown or midlife crisis or anything. Ill just feel like I never accomplished something that I wanted to accomplish. I still feel like its part of my identity, so it’s a half and half. (Ashley, personal communication, January 9, 2015)

With the exception of Ashley, all participants stated that their ethnic identity would change drastically and that their lifestyle would differ if they were to no longer have the ability to speak Spanish. Oscar and David said that it would decrease the frequency of socializing with their heritage community, and that they would no longer be able to assist people whose dominant language is Spanish. Even though Ashley is not proficient in Spanish she mentioned that if she did not have any experience with the

language she would be disheartened and would have no hope of ever learning the language and connecting with her heritage population. David indicated that he would feel less Mexican, and would therefore not be interested or motivated to be involved in his heritage community. He would also feel lost in Mexico and would have no reason to continue visiting. Several participants said that their relationship with their family would be detrimentally impacted because Spanish is the means of communication for them. Alejandro feels it is central to his culture stating that, “It wouldn’t fit in with everything else that is part of the culture and who I am. I might as well change my name too in that case” (Alejandro, personal communication, January 8, 2015). The Spanish language is significantly part of Cristina’s life, she responded in Spanish saying “Ni siquiera lo puedo imaginar. Yo hablo Español y aunque domino el Inglés siento que el lenguaje no es suficiente para expresarme como yo quiero a veces. Solo en Español lo podrá hacer. Cambiaría totalmente, no existiría.” (*I can’t even imagine it. I speak Spanish and even though I am proficient in English, I cannot express myself how I would like to sometimes. I can only do it in Spanish. My identity would completely change; I/it wouldn’t exist*) (Cristina, personal communication, January 9, 2015). It was also mentioned that Spanish contributed to many experiences in an individual’s life. Oscar said that, “If I didn’t know Spanish I don’t think I would identify myself the same way that I do. It’s very significant to who I am as a person. It signifies what I do and whom I communicate with” (Oscar, personal communication, February 3, 2015). Also, family relationships were considered when participants think about how their identity would change if they were to lose the ability to speak Spanish. David responds with the following:

It makes me the person I am today because I speak Spanish with my family and family is something I hold dearest to my heart. I feel a little bit more passionate when I am speaking Spanish because I feel more of a connection. (David, personal communication, January 23, 2015)

David also mentions that the absence of Spanish would affect his motivation to preserve his heritage.

I wouldn't feel Mexican. I wouldn't bother to care about my heritage or anything. I wouldn't be able to communicate with my family and listen to my grandma's stories talk about generations and my roots. Why go to Mexico if I don't know Spanish. I would be lost in that world and I'd be touching the unknown. (David, personal communication, January 23, 2015)

Ashley believes her identity would not significantly change, but it would affect her desire to learn Spanish.

My identity wouldn't change too much if I completely lost my ability to speak Spanish because I already don't know a lot of it and I feel a certain way for not knowing it. If I didn't have the ability to speak it or learn it, I would feel a loss and very dishearten for my life. I can never hope to learn this so my identity would change. I would probably feel sad. (Ashley, personal communication, January 9, 2015)

Analysis of Narratives

Table 2 below depicts the results from the narratives of the book *Frog Where Are You*. Duration of the narratives is expressed in minutes and seconds. Speed was

calculated by counting syllables per second for each half of the book. Clausal complexity corresponds to the number of clauses per individual utterance produced in each narrative. All results reflect raw (i.e., untransformed) data. As this was a limited sample size, no statistical correlations were run between any of the variables in the present study. From this presentation of the production data, it appears that Cristina took slightly longer to complete the narrative in Spanish, but she narrated almost twice as fast in Spanish compared to English (difference: 1.5 syllables per second). Her clausal complexity was also higher in Spanish (difference: .5 clauses per utterance). Alejandro took more time to narrate in English but his speed in English was very nearly what it was in Spanish (difference: .3 syllables per second). His clausal complexity was also very nearly the same in both languages (difference: .1 clauses per utterance). Yvette completed her narrative faster in Spanish (difference: 8 seconds). While her speaking rate was incrementally faster in English (difference: .3 syllables per second), her clausal complexity was slightly higher in Spanish (difference: .3 clauses per utterance). Oscar's Spanish narration was considerably shorter than his English narration. He was able to speak faster in Spanish (difference: .7 syllables per second), yet his clausal complexity was slightly higher in English (difference: .5 clauses per utterance). David had balanced scores, though with a longer overall duration in his English narration. He spoke somewhat faster in Spanish (difference: .4 syllables per second) and his clausal complexity was slightly higher in Spanish (difference: .3 clauses per utterance). Ashley's results were only given in English because she did not have sufficient knowledge of the Spanish language to perform the narration task. Her results in English were similar to

other participants, however her speed in English was the highest out of all participants. Results are shown below in Table 2.

Table 2
Participants of the present study (n=6) according to narrative results.

Participants	Duration of English Narration (min:secs)	Duration of Spanish Narration (min:secs)	Speed in English Syllables per Second (sps)	Speed in Spanish Syllables per Second (sps)	English Clausal Complexity (clauses per utterance)	Spanish Clausal Complexity (clauses per utterance)
Cristina	0:20	0:32	2.8	4.3	2	2.5
Alejandro	3:08	2:47	2.2	1.9	2.6	2.7
Yvette	1:00	0:52	2	1.7	2	2.3
Oscar	0:55	0:15	1.7	2.4	2	1.5
David	0:35	0:23	2.2	2.6	1.7	2
Ashley	0:35	N/A	3.3	N/A	2	N/A

Results of three participants from the narrative task largely coincide with their perception of language use and language dominance. Cristina discussed her preference for Spanish and rated herself with a 10 with respect to her fluency and ability to accurately express herself using the language. Her production data certainly indicates a dominance in Spanish; she was able to speak Spanish nearly twice as fast as English, and her clausal complexity in Spanish was also slightly higher. Production data from Alejandro and Yvette reflect balanced proficiency in both languages as do the self-reported perception of their abilities.

Production data from Oscar indicate higher degree of clausal complexity in English, though his speed was greater in Spanish. He rated himself a 10 with respect to frequency of use in both languages. However, his overall fluency ratings were different in English (self-rating of 7) and Spanish (self-rating of 9). In addition Oscar evaluated his ability to express himself sufficiently and accurately with high ratings of 9 (English) and 10 (Spanish).

Production data from David indicated a slightly higher clausal complexity and speed, in Spanish. However, he rated himself a 5 in terms of frequency of use of Spanish and a 7 for his fluency, both lower than English (in which he rated himself 8 for both frequency and fluency). When asked to evaluate how accurately and sufficiently he uses the language, he rated himself a 9 in Spanish and a 5 in English. In additional remarks that he made, David explained that he has trouble expressing himself in English and is at times inarticulate.

In the case of Ashley, only data for the English narration was collected from Ashley, due to her inability to narrate in Spanish. She was however able to express several Spanish words and phrases: during the Spanish portion of the narration, she was able to say *ay Dios mío*, *abejas*, *niño y perro*, *triste*, *mas triste*, and *mira*. Ashley explained that she could recognize and recall Spanish words if she were to see them, but that her limited Spanish lexicon did not allow her to construct novel phrases or sentences.

In the questionnaire participants were asked to rate themselves according to their fluency and accurate expression in both English and Spanish. Table 3 shows their ratings and their dominant language. These responses were compared to the results from the narrative task. Cristina rated her fluency and accurate expression in both languages with a 10, yet reported that her dominant language is Spanish, and her narration results suggested higher proficiency in Spanish. Alejandro's dominant language is Spanish and he rated himself slightly higher in Spanish according to fluency and accurate expression, although his narration results were fairly balanced. Yvette gave her self slightly higher ratings in Spanish but she stated she considers both Spanish and English as her dominant languages; her narration results were also balanced. Oscar reported English to be his

dominant language and rated Spanish slightly lower than English, yet his results for the narration task were balanced. David rated his fluency and accurate expression lower in English. However his dominant language was reported as English, but his narration results suggested he had higher proficiency in Spanish. Ashley noted her dominant language to be English and rated her self considerably lower in Spanish. Her narration results were only recorded in English since she was not able to narrate in Spanish.

Table 3

Participants of this study (n=6) according to self-rating.

Participants	Dominant Language	Self Rating of English Fluency	Self Rating of Spanish Fluency	Self Rating of Expression in English	Self Rating of Expression in Spanish
Cristina	Spanish	10	10	10	10
Alejandro	Spanish	8	10	7	9
Yvette	Both	8	9	7	9
Oscar	English	9	7	10	9
David	English	8	7	5	9
Ashley	English	8.5	.5	10	0

V. Discussion

Amongst all the interviews, the participants had experiences that prompted them to express similar perspectives over their ethnic identity and heritage language. Each participant had challenges that influenced their perceptions regarding heritage and language. Despite the variation of unique experiences and different immigrant generations, the participant's answers were characterized by similar concepts, which they stated were essential to their ethnic identity.

The participants who frequently encountered people from different cultures were better able to distinguish cultural differences and could answer how they were similar to the Mexican or American community. However, the participants who were from towns

that border Mexico had difficulty, possibly due to a lack of exposure to prominent differences that would presumably emerge when comparing a Mexican community to an American community. They were uncertain as to which characteristics would apply to the American community, since differences in culture were not obvious.

The aforementioned challenges of maintaining the heritage culture in participant's daily lives suggested that they felt it was important to preserve it. Participants highly valued their cultural heritage, demonstrating its fundamental role in ethnic identity. Heritage proved to be a major influence for their personal identity. In addition, all participants reported striving to strengthen or maintain their heritage language. Preserving specific traits that contribute to an individual's heritage promotes a stable ethnic identity and Spanish manifested itself as part of the heritage attributes present in the majority of these individuals.

Spanish as the heritage language proved to be an essential component of participant's familial relationships. Responses to the questionnaire suggested that the absence of Spanish would decrease communication and otherwise deteriorate participants' family relationships, which every participant listed as one of the major influences that form their identity. The heritage language holds an essential role in the lives of most participants when used in the context of a familial setting. As the native language, it is cherished and esteemed. The home language has emotional attachments resulting from acquisition during childhood. Therefore, the heritage language supplies a vital function by supporting the bond between the individual and the family. For those individuals who acquired it in the home, maintaining the heritage language is integral to the stability of their heritage culture and family relationships. In participants who

mentioned the use of heritage language in their childhood within the family, they reported that the language was very significant to their ethnic identity. However, Spanish was not essential to identity in the participant whose language of communication at home was English: for Ashley, the heritage language, Spanish, was not necessary for communication with family. Thus, for this participant Spanish did not have an essential attachment to family, nor was it utilized in her childhood. For most participants, the heritage language is a relevant feature of ethnic identity when it is intertwined with multiple factors in the individual's life, including family communication. A multitude of individual factors contribute to and influence the formation of ethnic identity. The heritage language is therefore one factor that either may or may not be essential, depending on its function.

One of the limitations in this study is that proficiency was analyzed using one aspect of language production, which was a narrative task. This context does not reflect authentic language production in real life, since individuals frequently use language for purposes other than narration. Measuring other types of language production could give more clarity as to how these participants use their language, and could provide more fine-grained assessments of proficiency. Finally, it appears from the present results that participants' speaking rates and clausal complexities were in most cases superior in the native language. In contrast, participants' self-reported dominant language did not seem to be a reliable predictor of performance. A larger-scale study would be needed to further address the impact of these two constructs upon linguistic performance.

VI. Conclusion

Constituting a large percentage of the minority population in the United States, millions of Mexican immigrants and their children strive to find their identity in an ethnically diverse society. Young adults of Mexican descent encounter difficulties while maintaining their heritage language within a monolingual community; suppressing the heritage language can potentially disturb the individual's ethnic identity and familial bond. Understanding the function of the heritage language in the Mexican population will help elucidate its role in society. If Spanish is a prominent aspect of ethnic identity for a large percentage of the population, maintaining Spanish in the Mexican population will help avoid possible conflicts in ethnic identity.

VII. Implications

Participants who mentioned they had exposure to their heritage language during childhood also said the language was significant to their ethnic identity. Parents who are proficient in the heritage language have the advantage of teaching their children the language at home. In this study Ashley had parents who were proficient in Spanish but who refused to foster the language in their children. She mentioned that as a result, she feels at a loss, and is therefore making an effort to learn the language as an adult. Taken together, these findings seem to suggest that parents of Mexican descent should encourage proficiency in Spanish in their children to prevent any identity conflicts that might arise in the future. Additionally, families who have children that are proficient in Spanish should facilitate maintenance of the heritage language by practicing it continuously throughout the child's life.

A further implication, and one that also concerns the promotion of heritage language use during childhood, is to make Spanish available to children of Mexican descent in the school setting. Even though the United States has several bilingual programs in place, the goal of these programs is to use Spanish as a support for transition into English-only classes. The findings of this study suggest that the goal of these bilingual programs should perhaps be to also encourage heritage language maintenance, which would include the extension of these programs to the secondary schools rather than only to primary school grades.

Participants who noted that Spanish is the home language also reported that they thought the absence of Spanish would negatively affect the relationships with their family members because they would no longer be able to communicate easily with one another. An implication for future research is to explore the dynamics of potential changes in communication and family relationships in current families of Mexican descent who have members with decreasing proficiency in Spanish.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Consent Form

You are being asked to be part of a research project. This study explores your perception of self-identity, heritage, and use of language. Its purpose is to identify the relationship between language and ethnic identity. If you agree to form part of this study, your participation will consist of completing a survey and narrating a story. Participating in this research project will take approximately 60 minutes. This research is being conducted by Marcela Salisbury m_s242@txstate.edu (281-768-0192) and Dr. Peter Golato pgolato@txstate.edu (512-245-2360) of Texas State University.

There are no anticipated serious risks to you as a participant. However, you may find some questions to be personal (for example, sharing your attitudes towards the American community).

If at anytime you feel uncomfortable answering a question, you may choose not to respond for any reason.

You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research study. However, society may benefit from its results.

The interview will be anonymous, however your responses will be recorded for qualitative data purposes. Only the researcher and Dr. Peter Golato will have access to the interview documents and recordings. These documents will be stored in a personal file at Texas State University and will be destroyed 1 year after the research project is completed.

This project EXP2014T622175M was approved by the Texas State IRB on November 21, 2014. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB chair, Dr. Jon Lasser (512-245-3413 – lasser@txstate.edu) and to Becky Northcut, Director, Research Integrity & Compliance (512-245-2314 – bnorthcut@txstate.edu).

Your participation is completely voluntary and refusal to participate will not result in any penalty. You may discontinue participation at any time.

A summary of the findings will be provided to you upon completion of the study, if requested. To obtain a summary of the results, contact Marcela Salisbury.

Participant Signature Date

Witness Signature Date

APPENDIX B

Forma de Consentimiento

A usted se le está invitando a participar en este estudio de investigación sobre su identidad, herencia y uso de sus idiomas. El propósito del estudio es averiguar que relación tienen los idiomas con respecto a la identidad. Si acepta de manera voluntaria ser parte de este estudio, su participación será por medio de una entrevista. Completará un cuestionario de 45 preguntas y narrará un libro con imágenes. La entrevista durará aproximadamente una hora. Esta investigación será conducida por Marcela Salisbury m_s242@txstate.edu (281-768-0192) y Dr. Peter Golato pgolato@txstate.edu (512-245-2360) de la Universidad Texas State.

No tendrá riesgos por su participación en este estudio. Sin embargo podría encontrar algunas preguntas personales. Por ejemplo, se le pedirá que comparta su actitud sobre la comunidad Americana.

Si en algún momento se siente incómodo con una pregunta, puede abstenerse de responder.

Usted no recibirá beneficios por su participación, no obstante la sociedad se puede beneficiar de los resultados.

La entrevista será anónima, sin embargo sus respuestas serán grabadas para el uso de datos cualitativos. Solo la investigadora y Dr. Peter Golato tendrán acceso a los documentos de la entrevista y la grabación. Estos documentos serán guardados en un archivo en la universidad y serán destruidos un año después de completar el estudio de investigación.

Este proyecto EXP2014T622175M fue aprobado por el Texas State IRB el día 21 de Noviembre, del año 2014. Si tiene preguntas sobre la investigación, sus derechos como participante, o lesiones que resulten de la investigación deben de ser dirigidas al IRB chair, Dr. Jon Lasser (512-245-3413 – lasser@txstate.edu) y Becky Northcut, Director, Integridad de la Investigación y Complimiento (512-245-2314 – bnorthcut@txstate.edu).

Su participación es completamente voluntaria y tiene el derecho de abandonar el estudio en cualquier momento. No habrá penalizaciones.

Un resumen de los resultados será presentado al final del estudio, si es requerido. Para obtener el resumen de los resultados favor de contactar a Marcela Salisbury.

Firma del Participante Fecha

Firma del Testigo Fecha

APPENDIX C

Identity, Heritage, and Language Questionnaire

This study will explore your identity, heritage, and use of languages. Take a moment to reflect on your identity. Who are you? What influences your identity? During the interview, answer according to your own perception and opinion. Answer each question with the first thing that comes to mind and rate if necessary, using the scale as 10 being the greatest/very often and 0 as none/never. Then fully discuss and explain your answer with the interviewer.

1	Where are you from? How long have you lived in the United States?
2	How do you classify yourself? (American, Mexican-American, Chicano(a), Hispanic, Latino(a), or Mexican)
3	What influences in your life form your identity?
4	From the list above which are the most significant? Why?
5	Rate the significance of each influence.
	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

6	Rate how confident you are in describing your identity.	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
7	What questions or conflicts arise when describing your identity? Explain.											
8	To what extent is your heritage population represented in the area in which you live?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
9	Where do you see them and rate to what extent in each place?											
		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
10	How was your heritage population represented in your childhood?											
11	How did your childhood experiences affect your perception of your ethnic identity?											
12	To what extent do you interact or socialize with people from your heritage? (Excluding family)	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
13	Where do you socialize or interact with people from your heritage? (Excluding family)											

14	Rate the extent to which Spanish is necessary for interaction with your heritage community.	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
15	Rate the extent to which you are similar to the Mexican culture. Explain in what ways.	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
16	Rate the extent to which you are similar to the American culture. Explain in what ways.	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
17	What are your attitudes towards the Mexican community?											
18	What are your attitudes towards the American community?											
19	To what degree is your heritage a part of your identity? Why?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
20	Rate how connected you feel to the Mexican community.	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
21	To what degree is the American community a part of your identity? Why?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
22	Rate how connected you feel to the American community.	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
23	What is your dominant language? Has it changed throughout your life?											
24	What is your native language?											
25	Where did you learn your second language? How did you learn it?											

26	What language(s) do you speak at home? Has it been consistent throughout your life?	
27	Rate how often you use Spanish. Has this changed throughout your life?	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
28	In what setting do you use Spanish?	
29	Rate how often you use English. Has this changed throughout your life?	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
30	What are your attitudes towards your heritage language (Spanish)?	
31	Rate your fluency in Spanish.	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
32	Rate your fluency in English.	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
33	Has your Spanish fluency been consistent throughout your life? What has influenced it?	
34	Has your English fluency been consistent throughout your life? What has influenced it?	
35	How native-like would you rate your pronunciation of Spanish?	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
36	How native-like would you rate your pronunciation of English?	10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0
37	Are you able to modify your speech in Spanish according to a formal or casual setting?	

38	Are you able to modify your speech in English according to a formal or casual setting?																			
39	Do you express yourself accurately and sufficiently when speaking Spanish? To what extent?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
40	Do you express yourself accurately and sufficiently when speaking English? To what extent?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
41	Rate how connected you feel to those who speak English?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
42	Rate how connected you feel to those who speak Spanish?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
43	To what extent is Spanish significant to your identity? Why?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
44	How would your identity change if you were to lose your ability to speak Spanish?																			
45	Is there any additional information you would like to share that you feel is important?																			

5		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
6		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
7		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0

5		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
6		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
7		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0

		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
6	Evalúa qué tan seguro(a) te sientes cuando describes tu identidad.	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
7	¿Qué preguntas o conflictos surgen cuando describes tu identidad?											
8	¿En qué medida está representada la población mexicana en el lugar donde vives?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
9	¿Dónde encuentras personas mexicanas y en qué medida se representan en cada lugar?											
		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
10	¿Cómo estuvo representada la comunidad mexicana durante tu niñez?											
11	¿Cómo afectaron las experiencias de tu niñez, la percepción que tienes de tu identidad étnica?											
12	¿En qué medida interactúas o socializas con personas de tu propia cultura? (Excluyendo la familia)	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0

25	¿Dónde aprendiste tu segundo idioma? ¿Cómo lo aprendiste?																			
26	¿Cuál o cuáles idiomas hablas en casa? ¿Ha sido consistente a lo largo de tu vida?																			
27	Evalúa con cuanta frecuencia usas el español. ¿Ha cambiado esto, a lo largo de tu vida?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
28	¿En cuáles ocasiones usas el español?																			
29	Evalúa con cuanta frecuencia usas el inglés. ¿Ha cambiado esto, a lo largo de tu vida?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
30	¿Cuáles son tus actitudes hacia el español?																			
31	Evalúa tu fluidez en español.	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
32	Evalúa tu fluidez en inglés.	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
33	¿Ha sido tu fluidez en español, consistente a lo largo de tu vida? ¿Qué lo ha influenciado?																			
34	¿Ha sido tu fluidez en inglés, consistente a lo largo de tu vida? ¿Qué lo ha influenciado?																			
35	Cuando hablas español, ¿cómo evalúas tu pronunciación?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
36	Cuando hablas inglés, ¿cómo evalúas tu pronunciación?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								

37	¿Puedes modificar tu manera de hablar español en un ambiente formal o casual?																			
38	¿Puedes modificar tu manera de hablar inglés en un ambiente formal o casual?																			
39	¿Cuando hablas español, ¿te expresas correctamente y de manera adecuada? ¿En qué medida?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
40	Cuando hablas inglés, ¿te expresas correctamente y de manera adecuada? ¿En qué medida?	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
41	Evalúa qué tan conectado te sientes con las personas que hablan inglés.	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
42	Evalúa qué tan conectado te sientes con las personas que hablan español.	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
43	¿Qué tan importante es el español en tu identidad? Explica.	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0								
44	¿Cómo cambiaría tu identidad si perdieras tu habilidad de hablar español?																			
45	Hay alguna otra cosa importante que quisieras compartir?																			

5		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
6		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
7		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0

5		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
6		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
7		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0