

THE HISPANIC PARADIGM

TO ACCULTURATE OR NOT TO ACCULTURATE?

Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy Thesis

Submitted by Alberto Comenge

April 2004

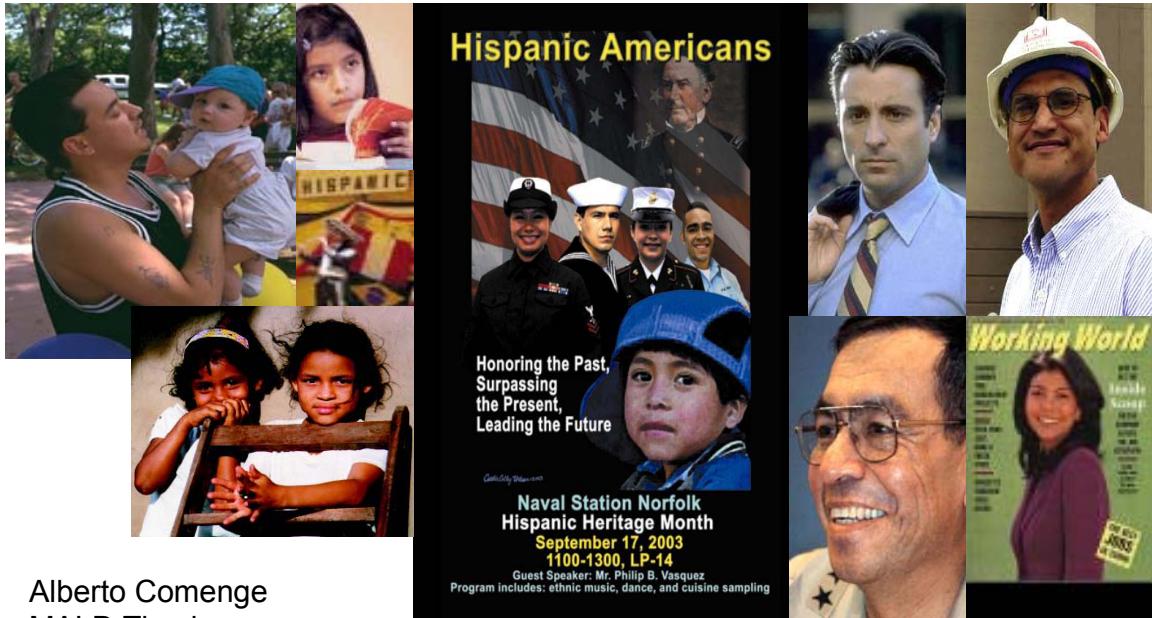
Under the advisement of Professor Bernard Simonin



THE FLETCHER SCHOOL

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The Hispanic Paradigm: To acculturate or not to acculturate?



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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the process of acculturation of minorities into American mainstream culture, providing a framework that analyzes the most important factors that influence the process of acculturation. The minority analyzed throughout the research is the Hispanic community because of two main reasons. The first reason is the controversial arguments published recently by Samuel Huntington that alert that Hispanics, especially Mexican-Hispanics, do not acculturate into American culture, which could potentially fragment U.S. culture for the first time in its history. The second reason why I have decided to prove these factors of acculturation in Hispanics is because it is the largest minority in the United States since 2002, with the high probability of becoming the second largest concentration of Hispanics in the world in less than ten years and the eighth largest purchasing economy in the world, ahead of Canada by 2007. Once understood all the factors and differences that affect the acculturation of Hispanics, the ending chapter will be dedicated to understand the marketing implications derived from the emergence of this minority, understanding how to segment most efficiently and analyzing within each segment different consumer behaviors, media consumption and more efficient ways to target and understand this important and growing segment of the U.S. population.

Table of Content

- 1. Introduction**
- 2. The Hispanic Market**
- 3. Acculturation or assimilation?**
- 4. Factors to measure acculturation**
 - a. Patterns of immigration*
 - b. Language usage and length of U.S. residency*
 - c. Economic Prosperity. Entrepreneurial activity and Purchasing power*
 - d. Education and visual experience*
 - e. Impact of media*
 - f. Value system. The difference between culture and acculturation. Patriotism*
- 5. Why acculturation is slower within the Hispanic community**
- 6. Marketing Implications and media consumption**
- 7. Conclusion**
- 8. Appendix. Analysis of Mariano Grandona's 20 factors**
- 9. Bibliography**

1. Introduction

The United States has always been a melting pot of values and ideals. Assimilation is a reciprocal and bi-directional process in which immigrants add some of their culture into America, while all eventually, as time passes living in the United States, adhere to the solid principles and values of the large majority, the principles that configure the United States as a great nation. The greatest virtue of the United States is the extraordinary capacity to integrate creatively different cultures under the principles of democracy, freedom, tolerance and equal opportunity under a unified flag which all look up to.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, quoted by Samuel Huntington in his essay *Culture Counts* in the book *Cultures Matters*, states:

“The central conservative truth is that it is culture, not politics that determines the success of a society. The central liberal truth is that politics can change a culture and save it from itself.”

Exposure to American culture and economic progress is contributing to the incorporation of Hispanics into American mainstream culture. A large bi-cultural Hispanic population is growing, closer to the white majority in culture and ethical values yet with a strong attachment to Hispanic values and culture. Slowly but steadily Hispanics are joining the U.S. middle class and learning about wealth creation.

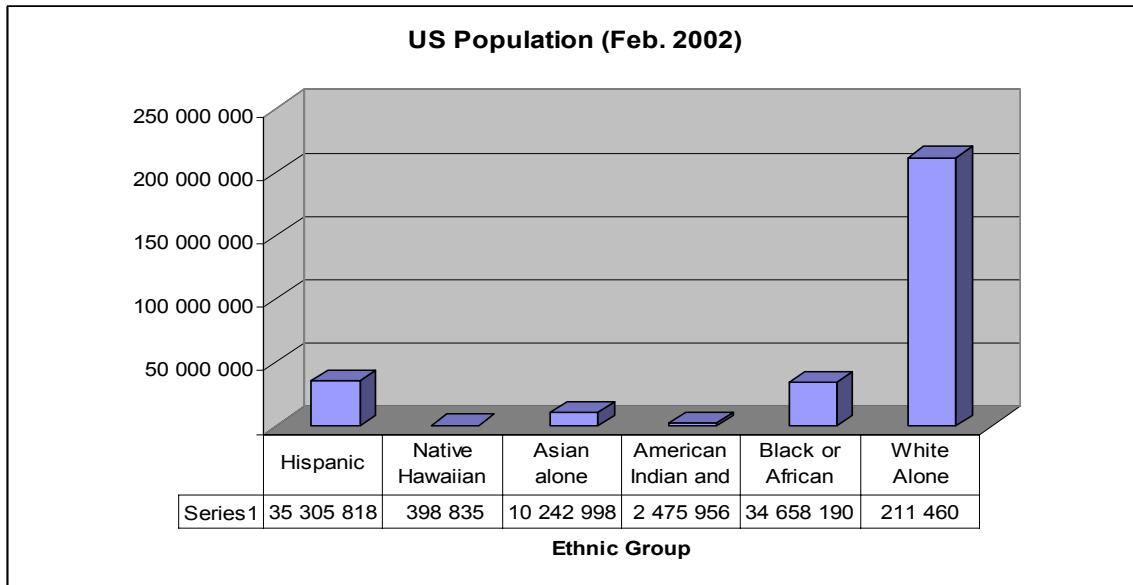
Hispanics are progressing in the United States, as I will demonstrate later in the chapter. By human progress, I take Prof. Samuel Huntington’s definition:

“The movement towards economic development and material well-being, social-economic equity, and political democracy.”

Hispanics in the United States, especially native-born, meet the standards of human progress. They are as economically prosperous as white Americans, have a similar socio-economic value system and embrace actively political democracy, participating actively in politics. They are, thus, becoming a successful and integrated minority. The United States is the Promised Land for immigrants who want prosperity. Whether the driver of cultural adaptation is U.S. politics, as Moynihan could suggest, or if it is that immigrants that enter the United States change their culture in response to a major trauma or economic development, as Huntington points, or even if it is globalization which has harmonized western values or immigration ideals throughout the American continent, the simple truth is that Hispanics go through human progress and acculturation.

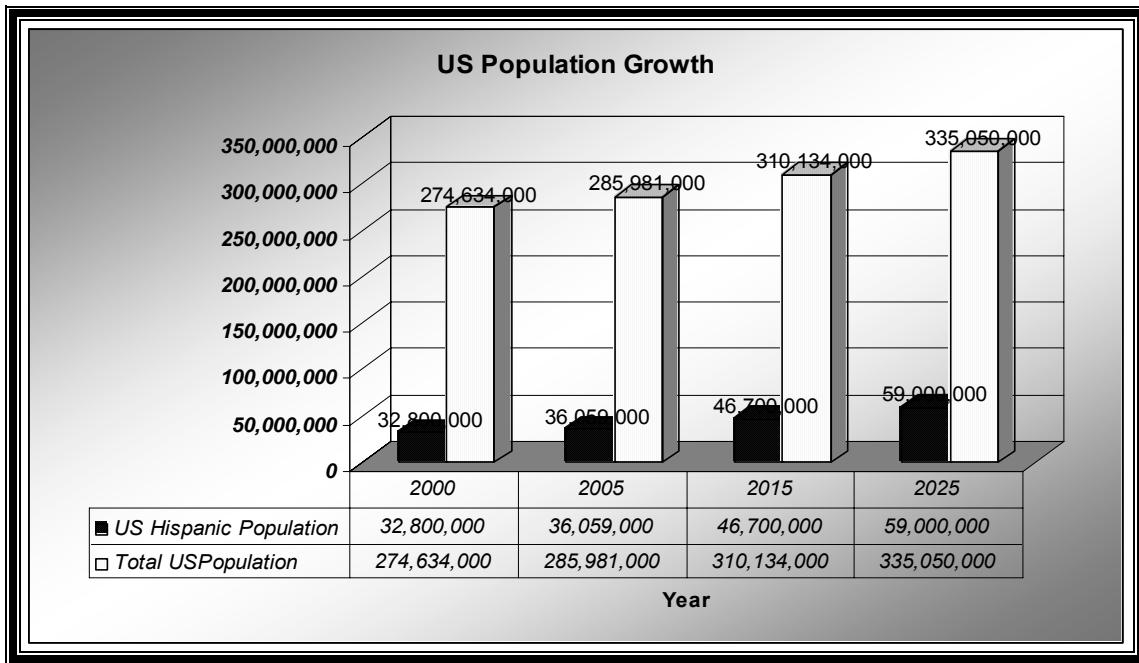
The Hispanic market has been in the center of many discussions due to its increasing importance in politics, purchasing power and rapid demographic growth. To understand the importance of this market for businesses trying to reach Hispanic households and for sociologists to worry about integration, some figures and a brief introduction to the Hispanic community are useful. This following brief chapter explains the dimension of the Hispanic market in the United States.

2. The Hispanic Market



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Demographic projections tell us that the Hispanic community is the fastest growing population group in the United States. According to Census figures, Hispanics are 12 percent of the total United States population and are growing at a faster rate than other minorities and the white majority due to constant inflows of Hispanic immigration and higher fertility rates. The Hispanic population has become since 2002 the largest minority in the United States, exceeding the African American population. They are the fifth largest Hispanic population in the world. By 2010, The United States is projected to have the second largest Hispanic population, only after Mexico. According to U.S. Census estimates by 2025 Hispanics will represent 18 percent of the population or 59 million citizens.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

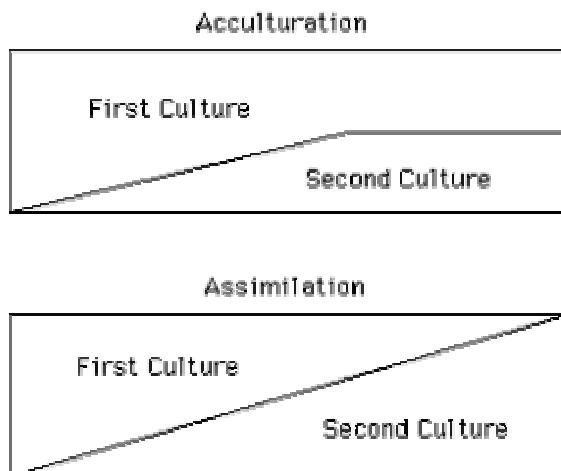
As of 2002, the median age of U.S. Hispanics was 26 years, compared to 30 years for African American, 33 years for Asian-Americans and 38 years for white non-Hispanics. Children and young adults account for nearly half of the U.S. Hispanic population. Over a third of all U.S. Hispanics are younger than 18 years of age.

Understanding this market is important for corporations in the United States for several important reasons: to deliver the right message in marketing campaigns, for understanding the different segments to target correctly and most importantly, if this heterogeneous market is understood correctly it can serve as a virtual link to Latin America's population of over 450 million consumers, helping mold and influence the region's buying patterns.

Although Hispanic purchasing power has grown to an estimated \$ 580 billion, or around 8 percent of the total U.S. purchasing power, only 1 percent of advertising budgets¹ are spent on reaching the Hispanic market. Purchasing power is further analyzed in the acculturation process.

The following chapter will analyze the question of acculturation and assimilation, helping understand where Hispanics stand in this equation.

3. Acculturation or Assimilation?



Acculturation is "the process of integrating native and traditional immigrant cultural values with the dominant culture's values."² The levels and rate of acculturation vary widely between the different ethnic groups within Hispanics, generations, regions and even within families. Hispanics are a very heterogeneous group and it is a common

¹ Source: Strategy Research Corporation data

² Falicov, 1982

mistake to generalize about Hispanics. As Linda Chavez, Stanford PhD, cleverly points out:

“Hispanics do not constitute a single racial group. There are black Hispanics, like Chicago Cubs outfielder Sammy Sosa; white Hispanics, like pop singers Gloria Estefan and Ricky Martin; Indian or Mestizo Hispanics, like actor Edward James Olmos; even Asian Hispanics, like Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori. Hispanics hail from twenty-four Latin American countries, as well as the United States itself.”

Hispanics acculturate into American mainstream culture, yet maintain certain behaviors and values which they learn at home, one of the most important cultural institutions in the Hispanic world. These Hispanic values and attitudes dilute during the habitual process of adapting to a new dominant culture, during the process of assimilation. As Isabel Valdes³ signals:

”As with immigrants of other cultures, upon arrival in the United States, today’s Hispanic immigrants come into contact with a different culture. Almost immediately, they begin to realize that their lifestyles, customs, aspirations, and values found in the new society are different from their own. What they considered a given in their own country is now questioned, reassessed, and sometimes replaced with a different viewpoint, lifestyle or way of doing things. As they become familiar with the traditions and the way of life in the United States, Hispanics develop new approaches to interacting, living, and understanding the world around them. Slowly but steadily, the acculturation process begins and carries on.”

Hispanic acculturation is manifested in many different ways, some of which will be analyzed further in the chapter due to their importance. A study by William Perez and

³ Valdes, Isabel, *Marketing to American Latinos*

Amado M. Padilla (1995), suggests that within a few generations, most Spanish-speaking adolescents will have an orientation toward American culture, while still adhering to their family values. The study argues that the following three factors account for this acculturation: the early age at which children immigrate, the lack of cultural reinforcement at home and their tenure in American schools. Entrepreneurial activity and higher levels of prosperity as time is spent living in the United States, just as active political and military participation and important contributions to American art, sports, literature, films, are also strong evidences of the real acculturation process that Hispanics go through. Benicio del Toro, Andy Garcia, Jennifer Lopez, Isabel Allende or Pedro Martinez are good examples. There are also associations promoting acculturation by providing access to university through scholarships⁴.

Hispanics also provide their flavor into multi-ethnic America, offering interesting cultural inflows such as music, food or fashion that make richer an already diverse country. While the U.S. value system remains intact, there are interesting arguments that express that mainstream America adheres and enriches itself by assimilating some aspects of the original cultures of immigrants. The magic and richness of the process of assimilation is its bi-directionality, one of the great American virtues. Leonard Feins even argues that acculturation follows a different pattern when talking about Jewish immigration:

“At long last, I have figured it out. No, there is no need for us to be troubled by assimilation, the traditional terror of American Jewish life. Not, mind you, that there isn’t assimilation. Very much of it. But it works in exactly the opposite

⁴ www.futuramente.yahoo.com

direction from what we've been led to believe. It is not the Jews who are assimilating into America; it is America that is assimilating into the Jews.”⁵

The next chapter will cover the impact and extension of acculturation by analyzing the factors that influence this process through a proposed framework, understanding what is the actual situation and future trends within the Hispanic community in the United States. I have come up with a set of six factors that, from my understanding, influence the process of acculturation. It must be noted that is not a closed list and it does not lead to the creation of a precise function that measures acculturation with mathematical rigor. The results, seen mainly through changes in behavior, give very interesting insights about the acculturation process.

4. Factors to measure acculturation

Hispanics go through a slower, yet normal, process of acculturation that has certain peculiarities. My conclusions contradict, in some ways, the arguments of authors like Samuel Huntington, who expresses his concern, in his article *The Hispanic Challenge*⁶, about the lack of acculturation of Hispanics and their incapacity to adapt to the mainstream American protestant value system.

The framework proposed to analyze the degree of acculturation is made up of the following six factors:

⁵ Source: Leonard Fein, “Goldi-Lox and the three bagels,” Forward, 3 January 1997: 7

⁶ Published in Foreign Policy magazine
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=2495&page=2

- Patterns of Immigration
- Language usage and length of U.S. residency
- Economic Prosperity: Purchasing power and entrepreneurial activity
- Education and visual experience
- Impact of media
- Value system. The difference between culture and acculturation. Values maintained and values that change. Patriotism

I. Patterns of Immigration

The U.S. economy continues to absorb foreign-born professionals, especially unskilled and semi-skilled labor force to work in labor intensive industries. The NAFTA and business ties with Mexico and other Latin American countries are booming commerce and immigration. The United States and the European Union are competing in the task of reaching the large consumer markets and in influencing politics in Central and Latin America.

Journalist Enrique Krauze, in an op-ed piece published in *El País*, describes Hispanic immigration with the following phrase⁷:

“Hispanics are in the restaurants of Manhattan, the streets of Queens or on Sundays in central Park. Silent, obedient, cautious, pacific (especially pacific),

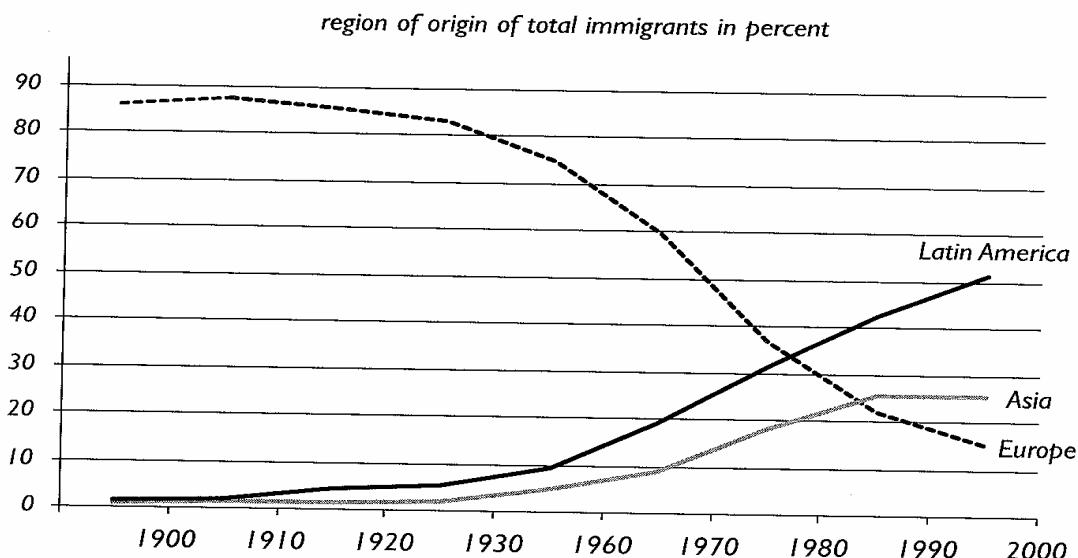
⁷ op-ed piece published in *El País* Wednesday, April 14th 2004

they work to send money to their families and dream (in Spanish or English, who cares) about a better future for their children.”

Even though immigration today is different due to advances in technology and transport which eliminate barriers and minimize the “being-close” factor, there are similar patterns that can explain the inflow of immigration into the United States.

There are three key elements to analyze in immigration: human progress as a driver, heterogeneous immigration and laws and border controls.

- a) Human progress as a driver.



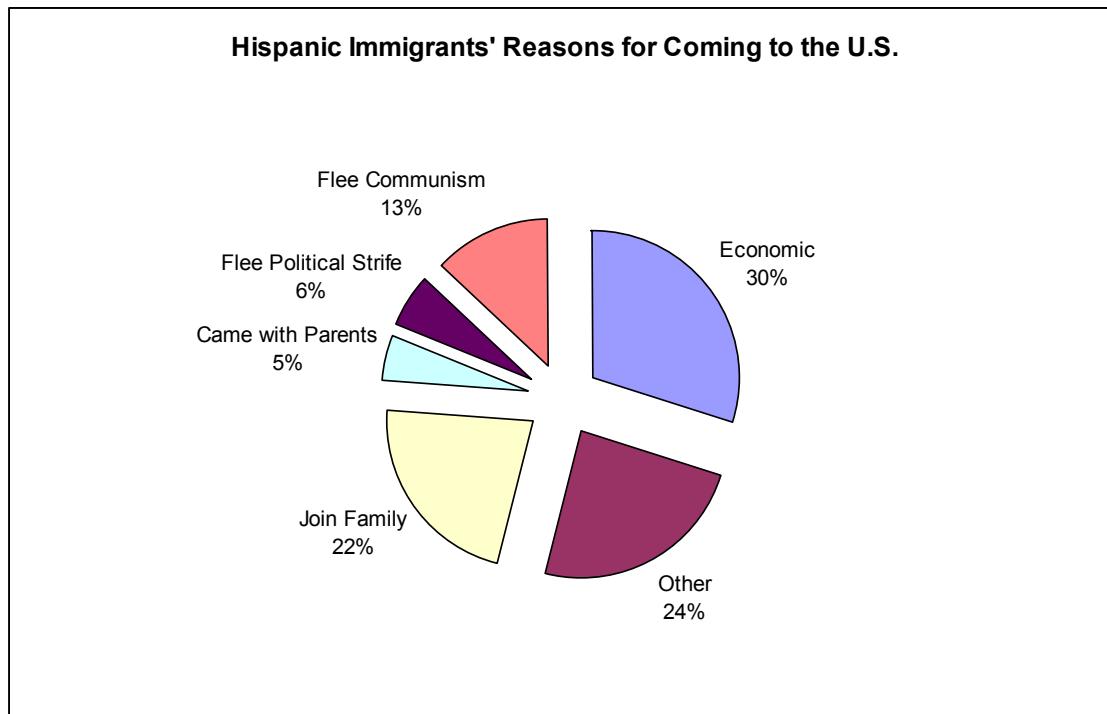
Source: U.S. Census

Between 1900 and 1930 more than eighty percent of the total immigration that came into the United States was from one continent: Europe, even though immigration laws became rigid in 1924. European immigration remained above fifty percent until 1970. All these years of immigration from the same continent have not originated problems of acculturation of the different immigrants. Even though Europeans crossed an ocean, breaking their roots and in most cases had similar protestant cultural values, the drivers of immigration to the United States follow similar patterns throughout history. These reasons are: aspiration for prosperity, for the American Dream and the values associated with it and escaping prosecution and totalitarian regimes. The Marshall Plan in Europe and prosperity after the Second World War throughout Western Europe⁸ eliminated progressively immigration to the United States. The causes of immigration from Mexico and Latin America follow similar patterns as the European immigration did in the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. If patterns of immigration are similar in both cases then the attitude of immigrants, regardless of their country of origin, is connected by similar dreams and aspirations. The United States represents prosperity, freedom; the values most immigrants seek. The common goal in immigration helps the adoption of a new value system that leads to the desired progress and thus acculturation begins to take place.

A good example of acculturation of a non protestant group is Italians that came in the turn of the 20th century to the United States. They acculturated without problems into mainstream American values even though they were a minority, they established in the

⁸ Eastern Europe was under soviet influence and thus not a major source of immigration into the United States

same areas, some of which are called today Little Italy in many U.S. cities, and had similar mindsets and values as Hispanics.



Source: Cultural Access Group, based on NALEO Educational Fund. Cited in Schick and Schick, 1991

These trends in immigration also have another analysis. The best solution to avoid large migratory flows, apart from restrictive laws like the one passed in 1924 which reduced inflows of immigration, is to help create prosperity in the countries which are the source of immigration. Like the Marshall Plan was to Europe, international institutions such as the World Bank or the IMF and wealthy nations lead by the United States could favor debt relief and help poorer countries progress through foreign direct investment, technology transfer, fund granting to help create infrastructure and education. The aim is

to invest in the social forms of capital: cultural, human, knowledge and institutional⁹, which are the best drivers for long-term growth.

Spain is a very explicit and clear case to contrast these hypotheses. Human progress since democracy was established in 1975 has changed the migratory flows. Spain changed from being a net exporter of citizens to Latin America and Europe to becoming a net receiver of immigrants from Latin America and Northern Africa. Recent news argues that there are more than one million illegal immigrants (around 4 percent of the population) in Spain. Spanish immigrants who crossed the ocean to settle in Mexico or Argentina in the early twentieth century searching for prosperity became some of the wealthiest and most patriotic Mexican and Argentinean citizens. Immigrants to the United States go through the same process.

Some authors express Mexican resentment and aspiration of re-conquest of the territories lost in the Mexican-American 1847 war. Enrique Krauze, Mexican intellectual, argues against this fact. He argues that 1847 was a long time ago. He points out, additionally, that it is only some elites that have an anti-American sentiment. Within them, the right “Hispanista” wing and the left Marxists keep this debate open. As he argues:

“The middle class are not anti American. Globalization and the fall of communism minimized the issue. Young people have learnt English, listen to pop music, want material prosperity and don’t despair with the newly established democracy.”

Immigrants have always faced critics from domestic citizens throughout history, even in the most tolerant cultures. Immigrants are conceived as the cause of all problems, yet

⁹ Source: Monitor Consulting Company Presentation “Building the competitive advantages of Jordan” 1999

they are the source of sustainable economic growth, the people who fill the unsatisfied employment offers in labor-intensive industries or lower-skilled labor. They are the guarantors of the sustainability of social security systems in developed countries. Edward Roybal, as the head of the National Council of La Raza, one of the oldest and most respected Hispanic advocacy groups, said in 1990:

“Each decade offered us hope, but our hopes evaporated into smoke. We became the poorest of the poor, the most segregated minority in schools, the lowest paid group in America and the least educated group in this nation.”

In the United States, or in Spain, whose fertility rates are the lowest in the world, immigrants are the essential drivers for future growth. They are the youngest workforce and will be essential inputs to sustain public investment due to their tax contributions. Yet most citizens always focus their most important problems; unemployment, crime, terrorism or cultural clashes as caused by immigrants. Examples from history support these arguments. In Spain, we have always had a defensive attitude with immigrants, blaming them for many problems and for the high unemployment rates. The religious intolerant unified Spanish kingdom, in 1492, expelled the Jews and the moors that did not convert to Catholicism. We lost the economic prosperity and the plurality, even though we had the largest empire and colonies were rich and possessed gold, the most precious commodity at the time. There is not a more prosperous economic and cultural period in Spanish history as when Muslims, Jews and Christians lived in Granada, during the Nazari Dynasty (1130-1492).

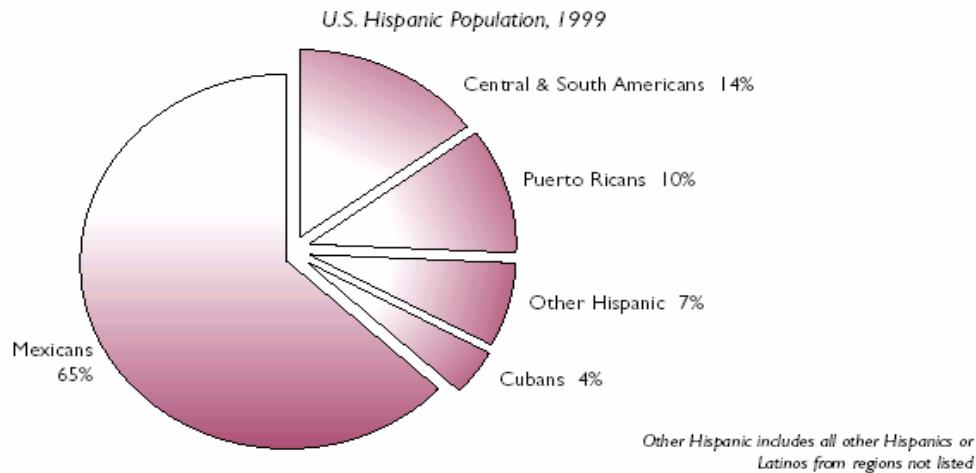
Peter Carlson, in an article in the Washington Post called *Hey Professor Assimilate this*, points out some historical examples of situations in which immigrants have been accused in the United States of not acculturating or being the cause of trouble¹⁰:

- Benjamin Franklin denounced German immigrants as “generally the most stupid of their nation” and grumbled that “few of their children know English”.
- In 1855 Massachusetts Governor Henry J. Gardner denounced Irish immigrants then swarming into his state as a “horde of foreign barbarians”.
- In 1906 H.G. Wells, British novelist and futurist, warned that the influx of Jews, Italians and Eastern Europeans threatened “huge dilution of the American people with huge profoundly ignorant foreign peasants”

Huntington signals that the United States is scoring lower than ever in levels of trust, and blames Hispanic immigration. The fact that trust is lost can't be explained by Hispanic immigration. It is the responsibility of governments and businesses that have led to loss of confidence within U.S. citizens. Declassification of documents proving undemocratic interventions of the executive branch, Watergate or Enron are clear examples that would generate mistrust of citizens in political institutions or corporate actors.

b) Hispanic immigration is heterogeneous

¹⁰ Source: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A41786-2004Mar8?language=printer>



Source: © Cultural Access Group, from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

U.S. Census data from 2000 tells that 58.5 percent of Hispanic immigrants come from Mexico, a substantial reduction from the data provided the previous year.

Hispanic immigration is heterogeneous. A large variety of countries of origin and ethnicities within Hispanics makes it an extremely heterogeneous group. Even though, country of origin determines geographical concentration mainly due to family regrouping, incumbent Hispanics are settling in regions which offer employment opportunities. In this sense, the largest growths in Hispanic buying power from 1990-2000¹¹ are North Carolina (up 912.2 percent), Arkansas (up 777.6 percent), Georgia (up 711.2 percent), Tennessee (up 654.9 percent), Alabama (up 466.0 percent), and South Carolina (up 463.2 percent). None of the top ten growth markets are the regions where Hispanics are more concentrated, meaning that geographical dispersion is becoming a reality in the United States.

The top five, in percentage of population, concentrated Hispanic cities according to year 2000 Census figures are:

¹¹ Selig Center for economic growth, Terry College of Business. The University of Georgia, July 2002

- San Antonio, TX where 58.7 percent of the population is Hispanic, out of which 70 percent comes from Mexico.
- Los Angeles, CA where 46.5 percent of the population is Hispanic, out of which 75 percent comes from Mexico.
- Houston, TX where 37.4 percent of the population is Hispanic, out of which 73 percent comes from Mexico.
- Dallas, TX where 35.6 percent of the population is Hispanic, out of which 79 percent comes from Mexico.
- Phoenix, AZ where 34.1 percent of the population is Hispanic, out of which 81 percent are from Mexico.

In none of the cases of these major cities where Hispanics are concentrated, the population of Mexicans exceeds the majority of the total population.

- c) Immigration Laws and border controls affect all immigrants.

There are interesting similarities between Spanish and U.S. immigration enforcement and border controls. They are both prosperous economies. Spain receives immigrants from all countries in Northern Africa, many illegal, and Latin America, even though the majority comes from Morocco, there has been a recent increase in sub-Saharan immigration. The United States receives mainly Mexican immigration, yet Central and South American immigrants are also increasingly important percentages of immigrants. Both territories, hypothetically, are relatively easy to access geographically; the strait of Gibraltar separates Spain and Africa by only ten miles. The U.S.-Mexican border is separated by a

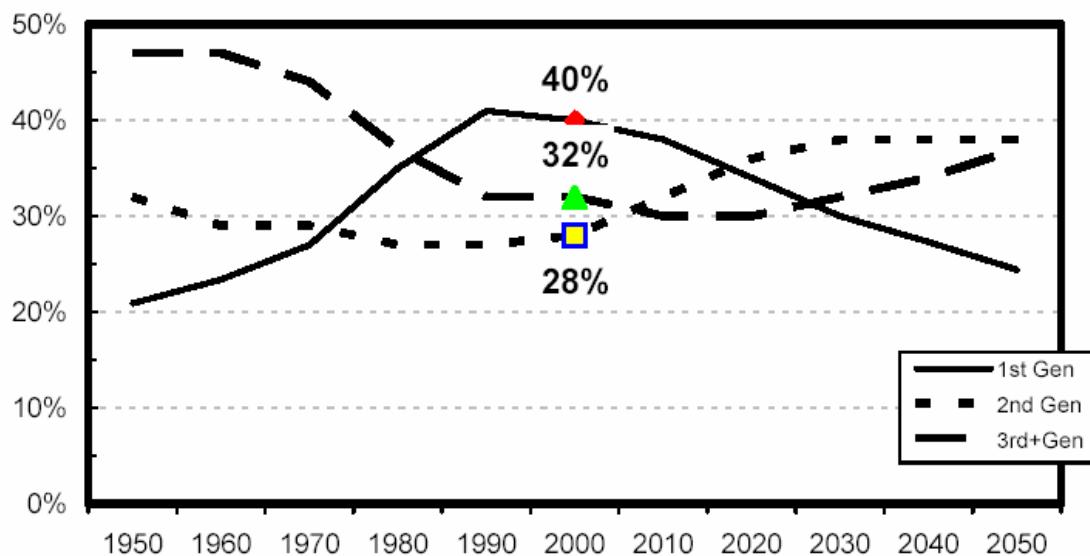
shallow river. Border controls are very strong in both cases. Spanish immigration laws, just as U.S. laws, have become restrictive to avoid massive inflows of immigration and to solve national unemployment. Spain has become increasingly efficient in controlling illegal immigration from northern Africa, with strong cooperation from the EU to have a unified immigration policy, due to the Schengen Agreements which eliminate border controls of legal residents within the signatory countries. Nevertheless, we can't forget that the strait of Gibraltar must be crossed, with fierce currents and rough sea at times, just as the Rio Grande must be crossed with fierce immigration officials and the most guarded border in the world is on the other side. All these facts don't keep immigrants from trying to enter the country, to dream of prosperity in the other side. Some authors argue that proximity and geographical conditions favor illegal immigration. Illegal immigration is a reality, but is heavily controlled through strong police and judicial efforts that apply the strong restrictive immigration laws of both countries, making deportation easy. In Spain around 4 percent of population is illegal just as in the U.S. (8-9 million immigrants). We can't forget that there are certain industries that require cheaper labor to keep profitable and to be able to compete globally. The Bush administration has recently passed a law that gives three years of grace to illegal immigrants to reside and work in the United States because the economy needs these workers to maintain growth.

II. Language and length of stay

Acculturation has a very strong correlation with the adoption of the English language, which is at the same time proportional to the length of stay in the United States. As The

Pew Hispanic center survey¹² done in 2002 demonstrates, third generation Hispanics are English-dominant or bi-lingual. English is the language of modernity and globalization, the language of commerce and progress. Third generation Hispanics will be the expected majority of the Hispanic population in less than fifty years.

Chart 3: Shares of the Hispanic Population by Generation 1950 to 2050



Source: Pew Hispanic Center, October 2003

Primary Language of Latinos, by generation in the United States

| Generation in the United States | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| | 1st Generation | 2nd Generation | 3rd Generation and Higher |
| English Dominant | 4% | 46% | 78% |
| Bilingual | 24 | 47 | 22 |
| Spanish Dominant | 72 | 7 | - |

Source: Pew Hispanic Center survey 2002

It is interesting to observe, derived from the same survey, how the values change in function of the language preferred by the respondent and how different values are

¹² The survey was done on 2929 Latino's, with a 2.41% margin of sampling error
<http://www.pewhispanic.org/site/docs/pdf/ASSIMILATION%20AND%20LANGUAGE-031904.pdf>

important to English-dominant or bi-lingual Hispanics. English-dominant, the majority of third generation Hispanics, have a very similar value system as white Americans and are less conservative than their predecessors. The differences that can be appreciated from the following results are:

Table 1: Topics that Highlight Differences in Attitudes Held by Spanish-Dominant, Bilingual, and English-Dominant Latinos

| | | Latinos by primary language | | | Non-Latinos |
|--|--|-----------------------------|-----------|------------------|-------------|
| | | Spanish-Dominant | Bilingual | English-Dominant | |
| SOCIAL VALUES: For each, thinking about your own values and morals, I'd like you to tell me whether you think in general, it is acceptable or unacceptable. | Divorce | | | | |
| | Acceptable | 47% | 63% | 67% | 72% |
| | Unacceptable | 50 | 33 | 29 | 26 |
| | Sex between two adults of the same sex | | | | |
| | Acceptable | 16 | 27 | 38 | 35 |
| | Unacceptable | 81 | 70 | 60 | 62 |
| | Having a child without being married | | | | |
| | Acceptable | 49 | 60 | 67 | 55 |
| | Unacceptable | 48 | 38 | 31 | 43 |
| | Abortion | | | | |
| GENDER ROLES AND IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY: Will you tell me for each of the following whether it is something you personally agree with or disagree with? | Acceptable | 10 | 22 | 36 | 41 |
| | Unacceptable | 88 | 73 | 59 | 55 |
| | In general, the husband should have the final say in family matters | | | | |
| | Agree | 43 | 34 | 27 | 29 |
| | Disagree | 56 | 65 | 71 | 70 |
| | It is better for children to live in their parents' home until they get married | | | | |
| | Agree | 95 | 75 | 52 | 46 |
| | Disagree | 5 | 24 | 47 | 52 |
| | Elderly parents should live with their adult children | | | | |
| | Agree | 76 | 71 | 69 | 56 |
| | Disagree | 23 | 26 | 28 | 41 |
| FATALISM | Relatives are more important than friends | | | | |
| | Agree | 94 | 88 | 79 | 67 |
| | Disagree | 6 | 11 | 19 | 31 |
| | It doesn't do any good to plan for the future because you don't have any control over it | | | | |
| | Agree | 59 | 31 | 24 | 17 |
| | Disagree | 40 | 68 | 75 | 82 |
| | Are willing to work long hours at the expense of your personal life | | | | |
| | Agree | 17 | 33 | 45 | 45 |
| | Disagree | 81 | 66 | 55 | 54 |
| | Get along with people of different races and cultures | | | | |
| ATTITUDES ABOUT THE BEHAVIOR THAT LEADS TO SUCCESS IN U.S. WORKPLACE: Now let me ask you about the kind of values and attitudes that you may have encountered in American workplaces. Do you agree or disagree that you can be more successful in American workplaces if you... | Agree | 97 | 97 | 97 | 97 |
| | Disagree | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| | Do what is best for yourself rather than what is best for others | | | | |
| | Agree | 68 | 55 | 47 | 33 |
| | Disagree | 29 | 44 | 50 | 64 |
| | Which of the following statements do you agree with more ... | | | | |
| | I'd rather pay higher taxes to support a larger government that provides more services | 62 | 63 | 52 | 35 |
| | I'd rather pay lower taxes and have a smaller government that provides fewer services | 31 | 31 | 43 | 57 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| ATTITUDES TOWARD GOVERNMENT: Trust in government and attitudes about the size of government | | | | | |

Note: "Don't know" and "Refused" responses not shown.

Source: Pew Hispanic Center Survey Brief about Hispanic assimilation

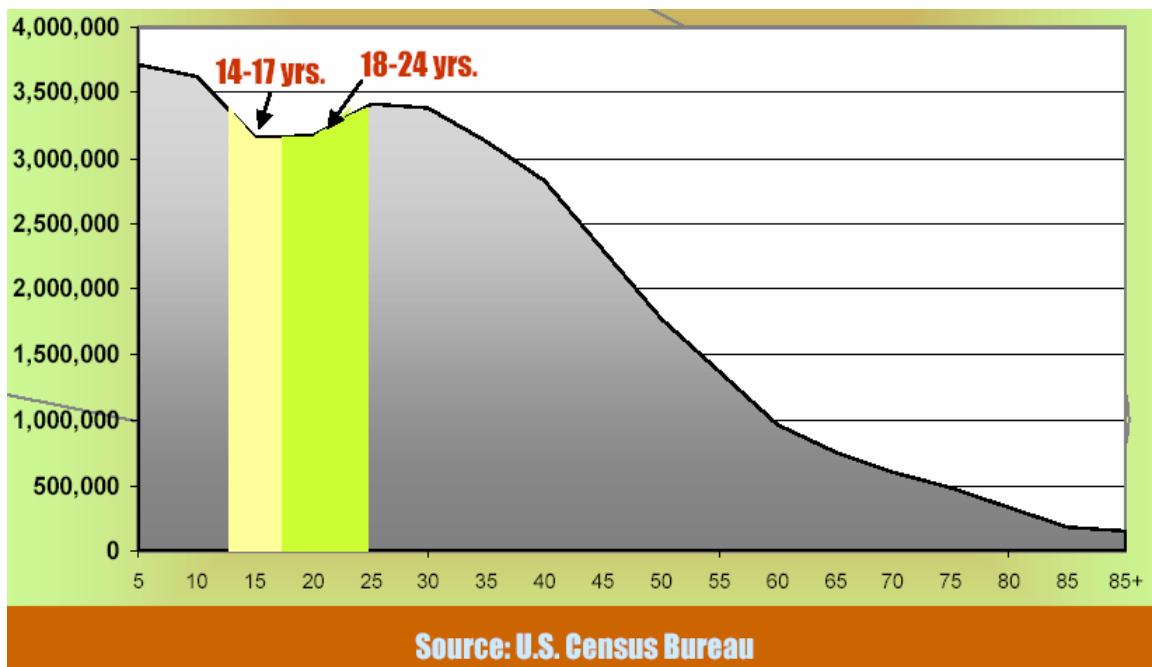
- Social values are similar. They are determinant in prosperity, key in human interaction and extremely important for achieving successful acculturation. There are very little differences between third generation Hispanics and American values.
- Family values differ slightly. The family is the main Hispanic institution, as it is of other cultures and the pillar which remains strongest in the process of acculturation. Even acculturated Hispanics believe it is better for children to live in their homes until they get married and that elderly parents should live with their adult children. It is not a determinant factor against acculturation. Italian or Confucian origin families have very similar attitudes and family oriented values, yet have acculturated without problems.
- Fatalism, due to the catholic relevance, is slightly higher. This also affects the higher degree of rejection of abortion in conjunction with the importance of the family.
- Regarding attitudes about the behavior that lead to success, the only difference is that acculturated Hispanics are more self-oriented versus collective good.
- The attitude towards the government changes importantly. Hispanics prefer a government which collects more taxes but provides more services. They are closer to the liberal political mentality yet have a strong entrepreneurial vocation as we will later observe.

Paternalism and collectivism could be the only barriers to prosperity in Hispanic acculturated families, yet data of purchasing power capacity of tell us that it is not a real handicap.

A presentation done by the Cultural Access Group in 2002 that contrasts behaviors of Los Angles and New York children reveals the dominance of the English language in the younger generations. This study demonstrates how Hispanic children go though acculturation. One of the main arguments employed to attack the lack of acculturation of Hispanics is the usage of the Spanish language as a threat. It is used for practical terms by corporations to give support to clients or to target recently arrived Hispanic immigrants who do not speak English fluently yet. As time is spent living in the United States. English becomes the predominant language of Hispanics as this study proves. The preoccupation, as a sign of lack of acculturation, of the usage of the Spanish or its threat to become a second official language in the United States is an exaggeration. Brazil has adopted Spanish as a co-official language and this has not created any important change or challenge in society, even though it is surrounded by Spanish speaking nations. We must not forget the growing importance of the English language, the language of commerce and globalization throughout the world. It is the language of the western culture.

The methodology used in this study was to realize 250 telephone surveys of 15 minutes length and 25 qualitative interviews with children between 14 and 24 years of age from Los Angeles (LA) and New York City (NY), the two largest Hispanic cities in the United States.

Hispanic population by age group



The Quantitative research results where:

- Half of the respondents were in the 14-17 range
- Large majority were born in the U.S. (78 percent in NY versus 60 percent in LA)
- Over 75 percent are students (79 percent in NY versus 78 percent in LA)
 - Study only (40 percent in NY versus 51 percent in LA)
 - Work and study (39 percent in NY versus 27 percent in LA)
- Strong preference of English overall, especially those in NY (87 percent in NY versus 57 percent in LA)
- The choice for the language of the interview was predominantly in English (90 percent in NY versus 74 percent in LA)

- Spanish is preferred at home for children in LA and English among those in NY, though most households are bilingual. For both markets English predominates with friends.

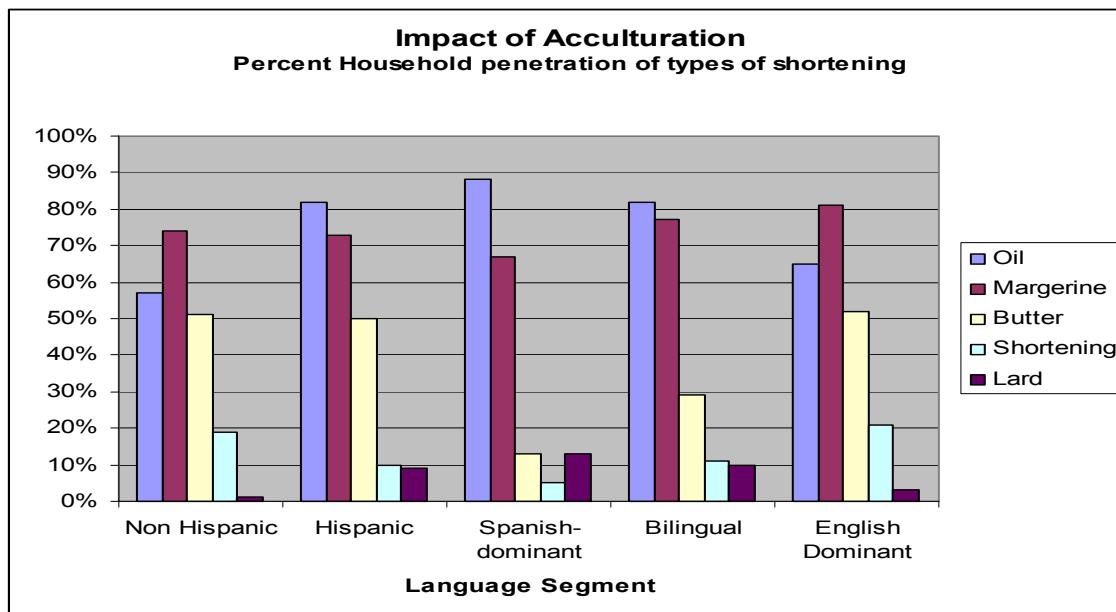
| How often do you speak Spanish/English at? | | | | |
|---|----------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| | Spanish (Home) | Spanish (Friends) | English (Home) | English (Friends) |
| Never | | | | |
| Los Angeles | 4.5% | 11.3% | 10.0% | 6.0% |
| New York | 8.8% | 28% | 2.8% | 1.2% |
| Rarely | | | | |
| Los Angeles | 6.5% | 23.1% | 11.2% | 4.0% |
| New York | 14.8% | 26.4% | 8.4% | 2.8% |
| Sometimes | | | | |
| Los Angeles | 32.9% | 43.3% | 41.4% | 22.3% |
| New York | 42.4% | 36.4% | 25.2% | 14% |
| Always | | | | |
| Los Angeles | 56.1% | 22.3% | 37.3% | 67.3% |
| New York | 33.2% | 8.4% | 63.6% | 82% |

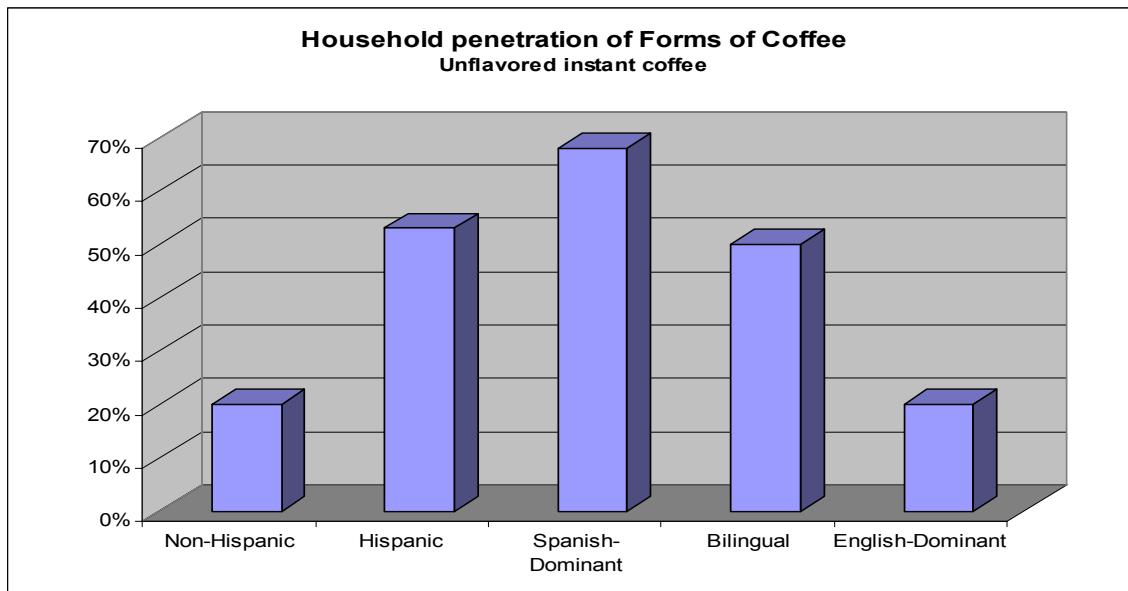
Acculturation also affects Hispanic consumer behavior. Consumption habits change as time is spent living in the United States. Health related issues are more important in the United States than in the countries of origin of immigrants. These are reflected in the large inflows of general health information or nutritional facts exhibited in all consumer products and heavy advertising. Additionally, the awareness of alternative products and large varieties of brands affect decision making when selecting products. Adoption of new standards and culinary habits is proven further by these facts. Rich culinary cultures, such as the Mexican cuisine, are incorporated to the varied selection of American

products, offering alternatives and broader selections to all American citizens, yet as acculturation takes place, Mexican origin U.S. citizens consume differently.

The link between acculturation, behavior change and new product adoption can be seen clearly in household penetration levels of lard, oil, vegetable oil, vegetable shortening, and butter. As we can see in the following trends acculturated Hispanics, the English dominant segment, consume very similarly than non-Hispanics. The use of oil decreases and the use of butter and margarine rise considerably as acculturation take place.

Another good example that proves different patterns of consumption is the analysis of instant coffee consumption by Hispanics. It is one of the most popular beverages in most Latin American countries, one of the preferred drinks of first generation immigrants. As English becomes the preferred language, that is, as the Hispanic acculturates he consumes less instant coffee and more ground coffee.





Source: AC Nielsen Homescan Hispanic panel and Scantrack

III. Economic Prosperity

The 2003 Stanford university incoming class had the highest GPA and SAT scores in the history of the institution. Seventy-five percent of the students had at least one parent who was born outside of the United States¹³.

Max Weber, the father of sociology, argued in *“The spirit of protestant ethic and capitalism”* that wealth creation was a positive force in human progress. He found in his studies that protestant societies were more inclined to progress because of their values. Hispanics are reaching high levels of wealth creation due to their assimilation of American protestant values. Wealth creation is exponentially larger when correlated to the amount of years spent in the United States. Wealth creation in Hispanics is a direct consequence of cultural change and new mindsets.

¹³ Source: Stanford’s Dean opening speech to first year college students.

Mariano Grandona argues the following in his essay *A Cultural Typology of Economic Development*¹⁴:

“The revolution of economic development occurs when people go on working, competing, investing, and innovating even when the values pursued, which promote prosperity, do not vanish as prosperity arrives.”

Hispanics do not return to their homeland when prosperity arrives. As Javier Barajas¹⁵, Mexican immigrant indicates:

"That was my idea: to come to the United States, make money and go back and put a business over there or something. But after I live here for a few years, no, I really don't want to go back."

Grandona continues arguing that *“the values prevailing at the crucial moments of decisions leading to economic development must be intrinsic and not instrumental.”*

When we talk about intrinsic values, we could say we are talking about values which Hispanics have already incorporated to their value system, that they are no longer an economic instrumental value, but a way of living for them and their families. As Grandona continues:

“This non-economic “something” may be salvation, survival, safety, excellence, prestige, or even empire; any value that will always be wanting”.

¹⁴ Source: Culture Matters. How values shape Human Progress by Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington

¹⁵ Source: <http://www.klas-tv.com/Global/story.asp?S=463333>

This is the Hispanic case, even though these values at most times are “pro-economic”.

The long-term gratification expected by the Hispanic immigration, converting themselves into U.S. citizens and developing with their families in the United States, presupposes adoption of values and acculturation. As Grandona concludes:

“Development or underdevelopment are not imposed on a society from an outsider; rather, it is the society itself that has chosen development or underdevelopment”.

Michael Porter argues that productivity is the basis for competitiveness. Hispanic immigration has contributed actively to the U.S. economy. This is not only due to lower labor costs, which are about 70 percent of corporate expenditures¹⁶ and declining financing rates which have kept profit margins up as of 2004, but also because of higher productivity growth rates than inflation (3.5 percent annualized growth versus 2 percent average inflation). Large growth in entrepreneurial activity from the Hispanic community in the last few years could lead to thinking they are contributing to this productivity increase. As Porter would argue:

“Unless companies operating in a nation become more productive, an economy cannot become more productive.”

Hispanic corporations are certainly contributing to American prosperity even though we can't forget that other factors contribute to prosperity and data given is of small business

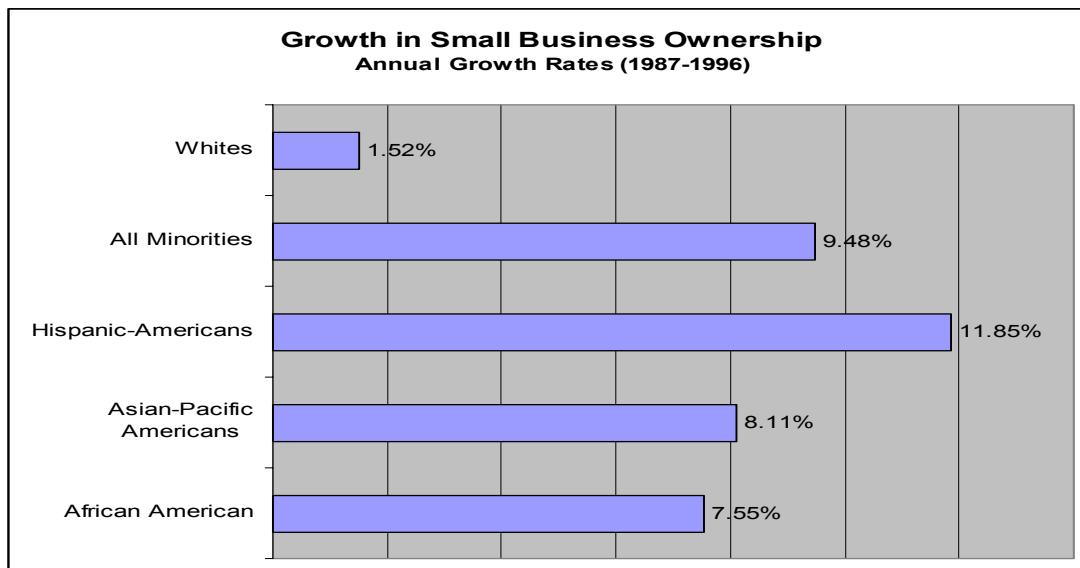
¹⁶ According to JP Morgan presentation by Christopher Wolfe, Global Head of Equities, about economic outlook, investment themes and opportunities

ownership. Data of 1997 reveals that Hispanic-owned firms where 1,199,896, revenue 186.3 Billion \$ and 1,388,746 the number of employments created¹⁷.

Some interesting indicators tell us that purchasing power and business ownership have increased, especially within domestic born Hispanics.

a) Business Ownership

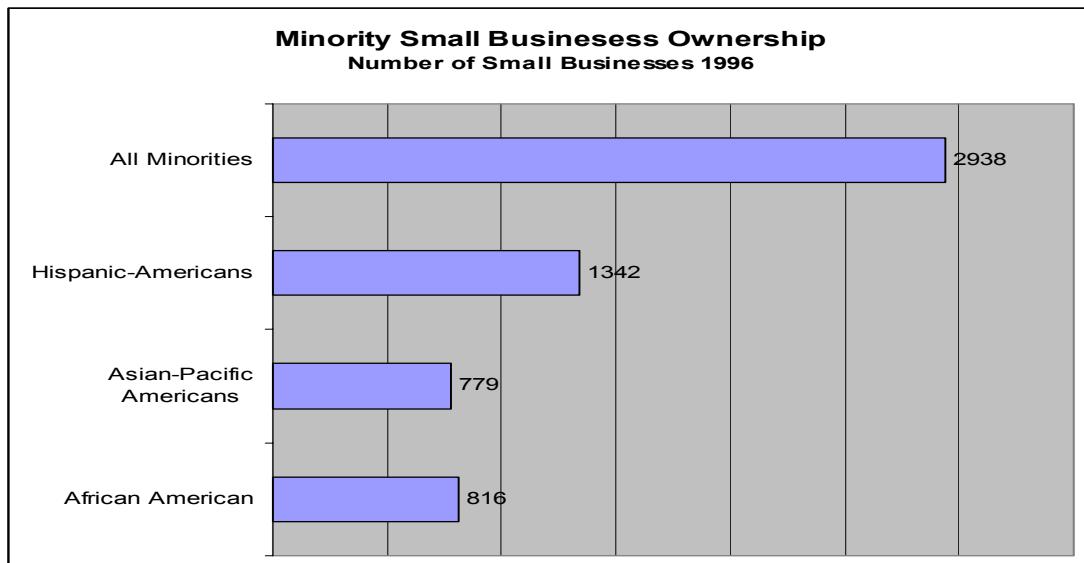
Hispanics are the fastest growing minority in opening businesses. Schumpeter wrote in his *Theory of Economic Development* in 1911 his famous theory of entrepreneurship. He argued that entrepreneurs created technical and financial innovations in the face of competition and falling profits, and that it was these sorts of activity which generated economic growth. If we follow these principles, we could argue that prosperity and development heavily depend on entrepreneurial activity. Hispanics are the fastest growing segment of the population in business ownership.



Source: Census Bureau; National Center for Education Statistics

¹⁷ Source: U.S. Census Bureau. Economic surveys.

Hispanic small business ownership accounted for 46 percent of the total small businesses of minorities in the United States in 1996. Hispanics are far more entrepreneurial, as of 1996, than African Americans, having similar numbers in population. Census numbers of 2002 say there are around 35 million Hispanics and African-Americans. It is to be noted that only 39.3 percent of Hispanic-owned firms are Mexican, probably due to large inflows of immigration, their lower qualification and recent arrival to the United States. If entrepreneurial activity is a clear indicator of acculturation and prosperity, Hispanics are outperforming earlier immigrants already acculturated. Even though the total number of small businesses in the United States is 24.7 Million, the growth of Hispanic entrepreneurial activity is very promising. We can't forget, however that growth is also conditioned by the constant inflow of Hispanic immigrants into the United States and that small percentage increases in large figures are larger absolute growths than high growth rates in lower figures.



Sources: 1987, 1992 survey of Minority Owned Businesses; Small business Administration

b) Purchasing Power

If we only see the big picture without disaggregating, it is evident that the purchasing power of Hispanics is far lower than other minorities and of the white majority. The main reason that explains this is again the constant inflow of immigration and the time needed to acculturate. At aggregate level, parity with the average U.S. citizen seems a long time down the road and data is discouraging. However, according to the Multicultural American Dream Index, if current trends continue, minorities will achieve proportional economic parity with non-ethnic America by 2007¹⁸. The Selig Center provides data that Hispanics' economic clout nationally rose from \$223 Billion \$ in 1990 to 490.7 Billion \$ in 2000 to 580.5 Billion \$ in 2002. By 2007, director of the center, Hispanic buying power will top 926.1 Billion \$¹⁹. If the Hispanic market in the U.S. is already larger than all but 11 countries in the world, it may exceed the GDP of Canada, the eighth largest economy in the world by 2007. Additionally, on average, a Hispanic teen²⁰ spends 4 percent more (320\$)²¹ per month than does the average non-Hispanic teen.

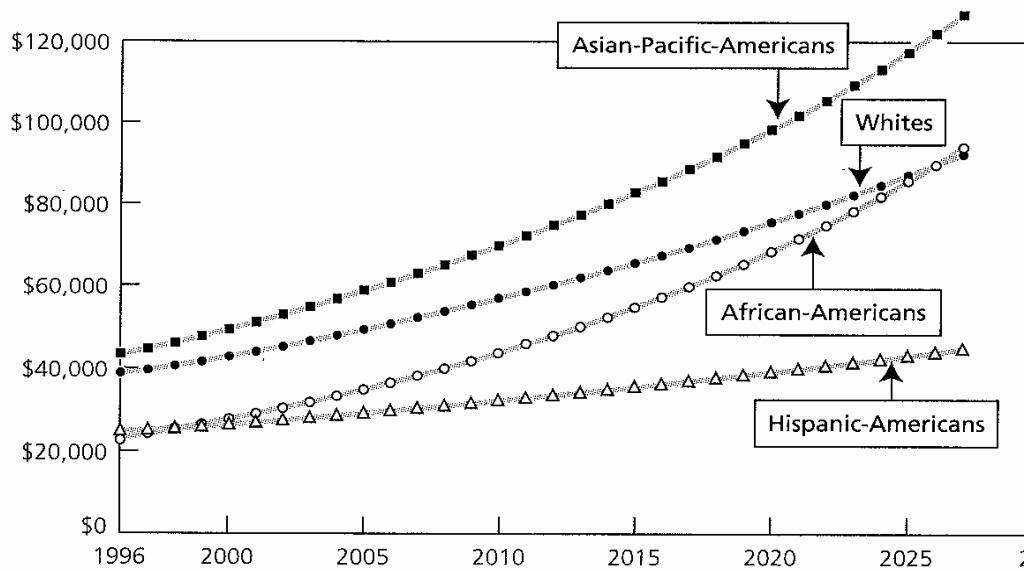
¹⁸ Source: Alfred L. Schreiber, Multicultural Marketing

¹⁹ Source: Jeff Humphreys, director of the Selig Center argues

²⁰ Generation N, age 10-19, 6.1 million Hispanics

²¹ Source: Isabel Valdes

Projections: Median HH Income
 When median HH income of minorities will equal that of whites



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; National Center for Education Statistics; MCAD Index projections

However, if we do a generational segmentation of the Hispanic Market it is extremely interesting to find the following data²²:

| Segment | percent of the Hispanic Market (Adults) | Place of Birth | Household Income (\$) | Spanish Speakers Definition |
|--------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Newcomers | 14 | Foreign | 17,500 | Less than 25 percent of life has been 93 percent lived in the U.S. |
| Transitional | 21 | Foreign | 22,500 | Between 25 percent and 50 percent of life has been lived in the U.S. |
| Transplants | 22 | Foreign | 35,000 | More than 50 percent of life has been 75 percent lived in the U.S. |
| First Born | 23 | U.S. | 45,000 | At least one parent is foreign born |
| Deep Roots | 20 | U.S. | 45,000 | Both parents were born in the U.S. |

²² Source: C. Arce, PhD paper presented at The National Hispanic Corporate Council Institute Seminars, NHCCI, 1998, and Hispanic Opinion Tracker HOT tm Study 2001, People en Español

The Tomas Rivera Institute²³ compared average incomes of foreign born Mexicans versus domestic born and their conclusions are on the same line. For Mexicans born in the United States the average income in 1998 was \$50,423, compared to \$38,172 for those born in Mexico who had emigrated. Census Bureau figures go additionally on this direction. As of 1999 Foreign-born Hispanics have an average income of \$35,170 versus 43,303\$ of U.S.-born. The median household income for white American as of 2000 census data was 44,232\$. This indicates that domestic born Hispanics are just as prosperous as white Americans, an additional argument to justify acculturation. Household income could be misleading, however, since the cost of living and purchasing capacity varies significantly from one city to another.

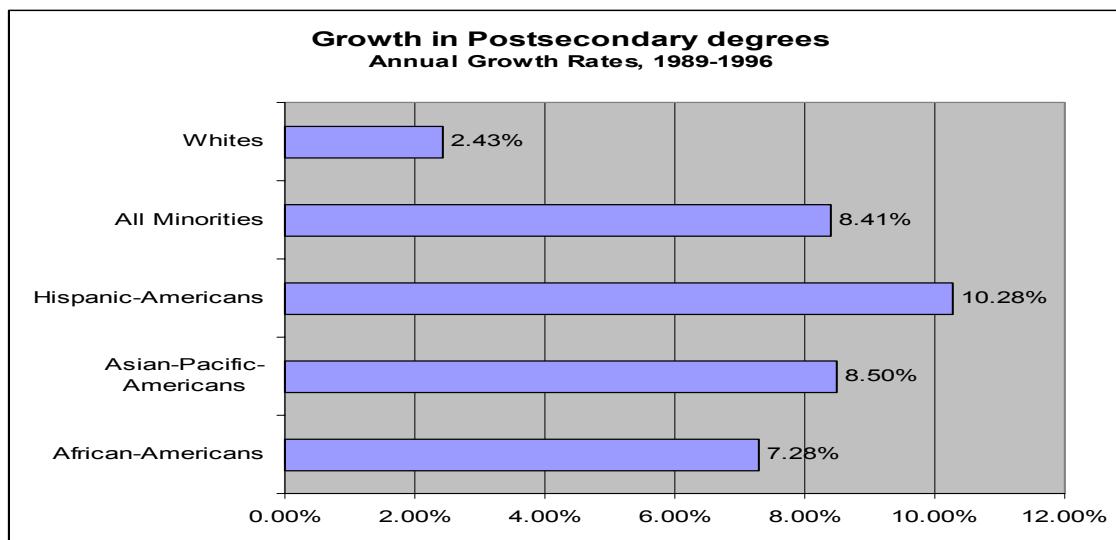
IV. Education and visual experience affect perception and values

Visual experience and education play a very important role in the process of acculturation. The way domestic born Hispanics conceive the world is influenced by the visual images they perceive, by the way people around them live, by the education they receive under the American education system. Their perception of history obviously affects their mindsets and attitudes and is completely different than foreign born adult Hispanics. Domestic-born Hispanics do not seek revenge for the territories lost in the Mexican-American war of 1848. They don't live surrounded by the poverty their immigrating parents experienced, they perceive unconsciously social equity in their

²³ www.trpi.org

everyday life; they are exposed to a different reality in society, politics, rule of law and human behavior. They can't blame, like their fathers did, history, as the cause of their impoverishment, sometimes an argument that is established to them since early education. Most of the problems the world faces today are the increasing gaps between rich and poor nations which are used as a political argument to favor resentment. These obvious different paces in progress between nations are being constantly manipulated by radical groups and politicians in less developed nations, throwing the blame of poverty in the exploiting first world nations. This is the way people are explained their misery, as an act of economic colonialism and exploitation of the advanced world and not as a cause dependant on their own.

Hispanics are the fastest growing minority in pursuing postsecondary degrees yet this is not proportional to the increase in immigration inflows. Education is the aspect of acculturation in which Hispanics are lagging the most.



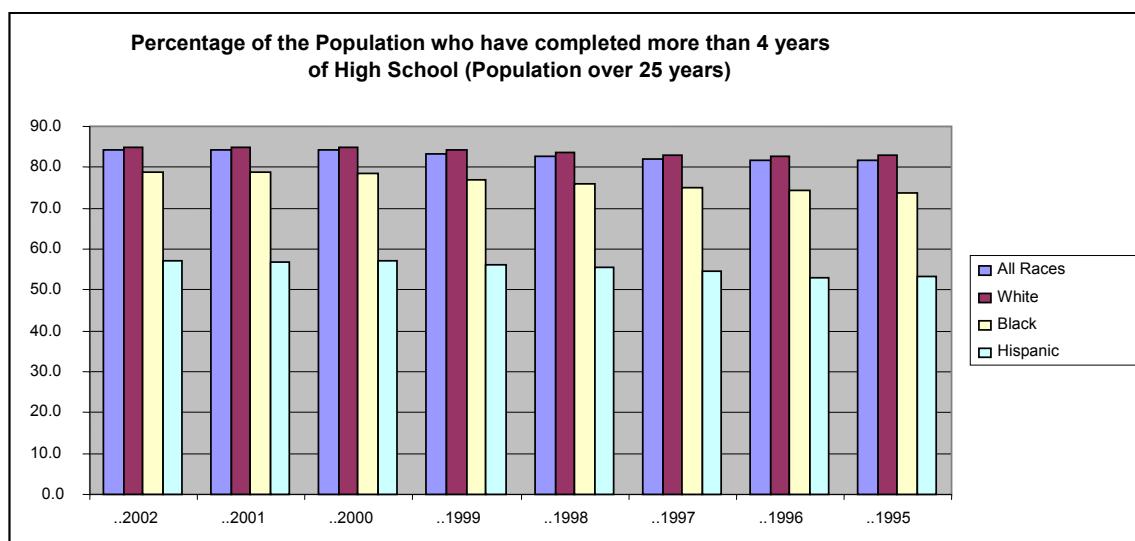
Source: U.S. Census Bureau; National Center for Education Statistics

Hispanics have the largest drop-out rates in education (7.1 percent for Hispanics in the tenth to twelfth grade) and are lagging behind generally in high-school; 36.5 percent of Hispanic high school students are below their grade level.

| High school and beyond | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Percent of 18-24 year olds | High School graduate | Some college | College graduate |
| Hispanic | 29.7 | 22.3 | 4.6 |
| Asian | 19.9 | 43.4 | 20 |
| Black | 34.2 | 29.4 | 7.5 |
| White Non-Hispanic | 30.2 | 38 | 13.5 |

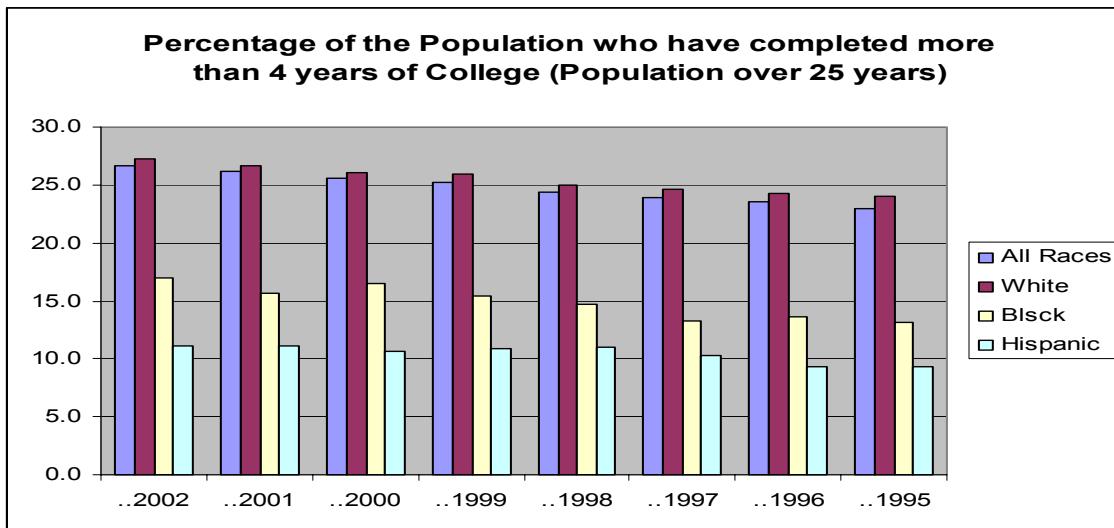
Source: Educational Attainment of the Population 15 years and Over, March 2000. U.S. Census Bureau

The Bush administration has realized the potential problem of significant school failure within Hispanics and has passed the *White House Initiative on Education Excellence for Hispanic Americans*²⁴. The current administration has identified the opportunity of intervening in one of the most important aspects of acculturation: education.



Source: U.S. Census

²⁴ Source: <http://www.yic.gov/> and http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/policy/whi/4_hispanic.html



Source: U.S. Census

One of the main reasons that explain the poorer levels of education of Hispanics is that most Hispanics who arrived to the United States did not have university degrees in their countries of origin and came as unqualified labor, to work in labor-intensive industries. If we segment Hispanics different data comes out. If we compare Cuban and Mexican adults aged 25 and over it is interesting to contrast the differences; 73 percent of Cubans graduated from high school versus 51 percent of Mexicans and 23 percent attained a bachelor's degree versus 6.9 percent. Cuban immigrants have spent more years in the United States, and thus are more acculturated.

Additionally, if we regard the data from another perspective, it could be encouraging. Out of the 15.3 million college students enrolled in the United States in 2000, 9.3 percent were Hispanic²⁵. If we realize that only few of these students' parents had the opportunity to go to school beyond a few grades, it is miraculous that so many Hispanic children make it through the school system. Most Hispanics have learnt that college is important

²⁵ Source: U.S. Census Bureau

in succeeding in the U.S. labor market, and families, scholarships awarded to minorities and the American financial system's involvement in granting loans with good rates to students are supporting children to complete secondary education. This is encouraging.

V. The impact of media

A study done by Nielsen Media research in 2000 found that younger Hispanics prefer to watch television in English, even in households where adults speak Spanish. This represents a strong signal of acculturation. The Cultural Access Group survey analyzing language behavior of Hispanic children has the following interesting data:

- 75 percent of respondents admit they speak “spanglish” (71 percent in NY versus 74 percent in LA)
- Respondents favor English over Spanish media. Twice as much in TV and radio in LA versus three times as much in NY, and five times more for print in LA.
- The majority has internet access (83 percent in NY versus 65 percent in LA) and visit English content web sites (95 percent in NY versus 91 percent in LA). Only 3 percent of content is in Spanish, which means that Hispanics in the media business use English as the way to communicate ideas or that there is still room for Spanish content webs.

Hispanic teens prefer to watch television in English, probably due to the influence of friends and peers. They have already established different cultural inflows than their predecessors in their lives.

A Family Affair

Percentage of Hispanic Teens who say they usually spend time watching TV with...

| | Spanish-Language TV | English-Language TV |
|--------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Mom or Dad | 62% | 21% |
| Brothers or sisters | 23 | 64 |
| Other adults in the home | 11 | 2 |
| Friends | 9 | 17 |

Source: Starcom Worldwide's Kidscope Study, quoted on American Demographics, April 2001

We can't forget that Hollywood's exports to Hispanic countries far exceed Hispanic media involvement in the U.S. market. Additionally, United States investments in Mexico have continued to escalate, especially after NAFTA.²⁶ It is Globalization and western ideals that have created modern advertising, even to the Hispanic communities in the United States and even though in the early years of Hispanic media development, most programming was imported from countries of origin, especially from Mexico²⁷.

²⁶ Source: McAnany and Wilkinson, 1996

²⁷ Source: Until 1980 90% of the programming of Azcarraga's Univision came from Mexico

Hispanics, as a minority, have the strongest media Networks in Spanish yet one of the two large platforms, Telemundo, is not controlled by Hispanic-American capital and FCC rules prevent extensive foreign ownership of media. It is globalization that led advertising agencies to operate in Spanish as Arlene Davila argues:

“The dominance of Cubans in the development of the Hispanic advertising industry arose from previous attempts at globalization by the international advertising industry, whose early extension into places such as Cuba and Mexico was fundamental to the subsequent development of advertising agencies targeting U.S. Hispanic populations.”²⁸

Media also contributed to eliminate discrimination of some of the Hispanics, who felt ashamed of their identity due to pressure from mainstream America. As Eduardo Caballero, founder of Caballero Spanish media argues:

“What happened is that we Cubans got here with no fear of being discriminated against. We did not think of discrimination. And perhaps they were discriminating against us, but we were not aware of it. We just thought that we should speak Spanish because that’s what we spoke. We had not passed through the process that many Puerto Rican’s and Mexicans had gone where you could not present yourself as a Hispanic. I have Mexican American friends whose mothers packed Mexican food for lunch and who threw it away before arriving to school, just because they knew that if they were caught eating a tortilla or a taco, they’d be hit. And they spent the whole day without food. I remember traveling in the subway here in NY, back when I used the subway before I had made it in my business, and I saw all of those Puerto Ricans-because most people where Puerto Ricans back then-and you saw people reading El Diario but covering it up with the Daily News, hiding the fact that they were reading Spanish in public...So the

²⁸ Arlene Davila., Latino’s Inc.

problem was a lack of identity, or more exactly people's shame about their identity. It was only with the growth of the media that Mexican Americans realized it was OK to speak Spanish; that it was no crime."

Discrimination by natives usually generates resentment while reaffirming differences and the importance of maintaining one's original culture. This happened with African American discrimination for some time, which created the emergence of figures such as Malcolm X or Martin Luther King that fought for civil rights of minorities very actively. Discrimination is a factor against acculturation. In this sense, discrimination towards Hispanics might have lead to geographical concentration, maintenance of a different language and slower degrees of acculturation.

VI. The value system of Hispanics. The difference between culture and acculturation. Values maintained and values that change. Patriotism.

The difference between culture and acculturation

Realizing the difference between culture and acculturation is a critical element in understanding today's Hispanic consumer. Hispanics retain certain cultural elements that diffuse through time spent in the United States.

Culture can be defined as "The system of social institutions, traditions, values and beliefs that characterize a particular social group and which are systematically transmitted to

succeeding generations.²⁹ Culture affects the way we are “programmed” to live life, configuring our values. According to Fons Trompenaars in *Riding the waves of culture* a chain reaction takes place:

1. Programming created beliefs
2. Beliefs create attitudes
3. Attitudes create feelings
4. Feelings determine actions
5. Actions create results

Values Maintained

There are some interesting cultural differences between Hispanics and Anglos. These differences decrease as time is spent living in the United States.

Value Orientation Differences Between Hispanics and the American Middle Class

| | Hispanics | Anglos |
|--|--|---|
| How we see and define ourselves | As part of a family clan or group | Within ourselves, as individuals |
| Whom we rely on for help | Family, friends, community (Hispanic “social security”) | Ourselves and institutions |
| What we value in people | Stress differences, show respect | Minimize differences, everybody's the same |
| What we stress in relationships | Respect, cooperation, formality | Symmetrical interpersonal relationships, informality, competition |
| Children | Dependence, obedience | Independence, egalitarian |
| Family | Defined roles, hierarchy, old men know more than young men | Role diffusion, “democracy,” younger men have a say |
| Sex roles in social relationships | Male dominance, machismo | Sex equality |

Source: Cultural Access Group based on M. Isabel Valdés, 1990–1994

²⁹ Habburg 1975

The most important cultural aspects retained within the Hispanic community can be summarized as the following:

- Hispanics prefer interpersonal group relationships that are nurturing, intimate, and respectful. Hispanics generally perceive that the good of the group outweighs the needs of the individual. This contrasts individualistic, competitive and achievement oriented values dominant in mainstream American culture. As Kagan and Madsen (1971) have characterized it, Spanish-speaking people are inclined to be more cooperative, while Anglo-Americans are more competitive³⁰.
- Emphasis on, and orientation towards, close interpersonal relationships and friendships. Behaviors inherent to this cultural trait are loyalty, honesty and generosity towards friends; hospitality towards others.
- Hispanics place the family as the center of their lives. This makes them a cohesive group in which the family is the nucleus of most relations. The attitude of the white majority is different in this sense. Children at college age leave the family home generally never to go back. They prefer to migrate away from the kin networks³¹. This reality affects the household structure of the Hispanic community, which is the largest within all minorities.

³⁰ S Kagan and M. Madsen *Cooperation and Competition of Mexican, Mexican-American and Anglo-American Children of Two Ages Under Four Instructional Sets*

³¹ William Vega (1995) mentions that Spanish-speaking people differ from the white majority in the United States because the later group prefers to have fewer family contacts than the Spanish speaking Community and they are satisfied to maintain these at long distance.

Hispanics face individual criticisms associated to behaviors or culture which are exaggerated and could be applicable to other immigrant groups. Some examples of stereotypical behaviors attributed to Hispanics are: Sanctification of religious holidays³². Mexicans marry mostly between them³³. Hispanics keep their language³⁴. Hispanics gravitate under the family nucleus and the figure of the mother³⁵.

The Hispanic values which are preserved through several generations do not threaten the value system established by the founding fathers, and are not sufficient reason to create a cultural division that is able to segregate the value system for the first time in the history of the United States. The value system is expressed in its laws, human interaction or business practices which are very well protected by the system itself.

³² So do Irish and Jews

³³ So do Italians and Jews

³⁴ The Jewish keep the Yiddish for several generations

³⁵ So do the Chinese, Italian, Irish or Jewish

| Culture and Traditions | Percentage |
|---|------------|
| Family/Commitment to Family | 56% |
| Spanish Language | 54% |
| Respect for Elders | 47% |
| Religion/Church | 37% |
| Holidays/Celebrations | 35% |
| Foods/Beverages | 33% |
| Music/Songs | 27% |
| Spanish Language stories/ Literature/Books | 19% |

Source: Cheskin Market Insights study on Hispanic Trends 2002

Values that change

Signs of changes in cultural values can be found in the 2001 Macho Poll conducted by the magazine *Selecciones* which argues that Hispanic men are abandoning the stereotype of the dominant sexual conqueror. The survey found an unprecedented number of Hispanic men, especially the 30-44 age group, reported buying and using contraceptives, engaging in family planning and educating their children about sex.

Recent studies, such as the Cheskin study, focusing on marketing to Hispanics find evidence that there are significant changes in traditional values. These are:

- Simplification in the house. Hispanics realize that changing certain habits can improve their lives. They embrace innovative products and/or services. Dual household incomes are a reality in many Hispanic households. Nowadays, while Hispanic mothers still maintain a central role within the family, they embrace new habits such as consuming disposable versus durable products. Frozen foods or canned products are a clear example of products consumed in acculturated Hispanic households. Hispanic fathers are increasingly more comfortable with debit and credit cards and other financial services. While maintaining traditional values, new practices are clearly accepted by Hispanics.
- Hispanics face a new accelerated rhythm in their lives. U.S. Hispanics are expanding their horizons and getting involved in activities outside the household. Women have new responsibilities beyond the household. They plan school events or after-school sports activities and take care of home financial matters. Some women are even attending school to learn English or gain computer skills and find new ways to enjoy themselves. Driving and shopping are two clear examples. Fathers are incorporated to household occupation, and are becoming vital in the new organization, becoming responsible at times for the youngest child or preparing dinner while the rest of the family is studying, relaxing or involved in other activities. Women are taking jobs like house cleaning, hotel or restaurant services, school assistance and managerial positions. Education is becoming increasingly important. Hispanics believe that education is the way to better economic situation and that it encompasses not only school, but also values, traditions, habits and behaviors.

- Traditional roles are evolving. More individualistic behavior is observed. Hispanic women are increasingly participating in decision making, supported by men. The collective family oriented culture has begun to change. It is shown in the responses Hispanics surveyed gave of weekly lifestyle and week-end activities. Some individualistic patterns are starting to be observed. Some of the responses of the questioned were: *“I’m taking yoga classes”, “we go dancing alone at least once a month”, “I’m going back to study”, “I know that taking a thirty minute walk is good for me, and I make sure I do it every day, no matter what”*. Some Hispanics are beginning to read self-improvement books, and are doing more community work. As they learn and participate, they gain a new position, role, and value within their communities and social circles
- The influence of technology. Cellular phones and the internet facilitate modern fast communication. Hispanics are not early adopters, but embrace demonstrated practical technology. Acculturation also indicates differences in behaviors. While eighty percent of domestic-born Hispanics own computers, only forty percent of foreign-born do. Interesting enough, within the foreign-born, Hispanics that have lived more than 15 years in the United States are also more likely to have a computer (43 percent versus 38 percent).³⁶
- Hispanics are becoming savvy consumers. Blind brand loyalty is more of a myth than a reality. Once Hispanic consumers try, taste, learn about and receive

³⁶ Source: U.S. Census Bureau data

samples of other brands and options, many do change their consumer habits and preferences, as we saw in the adoption of different products as acculturation took place. It is interesting to analyze some of these patterns. For example, as we saw Hispanic consumers consume less instant coffee, one of the most popular drinks in their home countries and more ground coffee as acculturation takes place. As seen in the AC Nielsen Homescan panel only 20 percent of on-Hispanic households consume instant coffee compared to 68 percent of Spanish-dominant households, 50 percent of bilingual households and 20 percent of English-dominant Hispanic households.

The dominant culture influences Hispanics to change towards values that are favorable to economic development, especially with the younger immigrants or domestic born Hispanics. We can't forget that the Hispanic population is younger than any other minority and than the white America. Social values are present at school, in the media and these influence domestic born Latinos favoring acculturation into American values. Taking a fast glance at Mariano Grandona's 20 factors³⁷ and contrasting them between foreign and domestic born Hispanics makes me reach the same conclusion. The search for a new value system to give a new meaning to life, one of prosperity is the root cause in acculturation.

³⁷ See Appendix

Patriotism

Patriotism is another interesting value which has importance in acculturation. Hispanics do not differ to other Americans when it gets to being patriotic. They believe in their country. Two aspects are important to measure patriotism: Politics and military participation.

In military participation, patriotism of Hispanic American troops can be seen in the recent war on Iraq, where many of the causalities have been of Hispanic and African-Americans. According to the Pew Center, Hispanics are over-represented in the categories that get the most dangerous assignments—infantry, gun crews and seamanship—and make up over 17.5 percent of the front lines. The idea of joining the military, which is not a respected institution in most of the countries of origin of immigrants³⁸, is because it also provides the possibility of formation and access to education.

In politics, the Hispanic Advertising agency found that 92 percent of Hispanics intended to vote in the 2000 Presidential elections. Hispanic Trends, a polling firm, found a significantly higher percentage of registered Hispanic voters than non-Hispanics (71 percent versus 51 percent). Hispanics have the tendency to have a liberal ideology and prefer paying higher taxes in exchange of more services. This is demonstrated in reality. In 2001, out of roughly 5000 elected Hispanic officials whose party was known, 1426 were democrats and only 126 were republicans.

³⁸ For example, in Mexico the army is seen as a corrupt institution

In the next chapter, after having understood the variables that affect acculturation, I will explain some of the causes that make acculturation take longer for Hispanics.

5. Why acculturation is slower within the Hispanic community

Some of the factors that could explain a slower acculturation process of Hispanics are:

1. Ongoing migration, which reinforces the culture on a regular basis. The fact that more than fifty percent of immigration into the United States is of Hispanic origin affects the acculturation process.
2. The level of acceptance of the dominant culture is sometimes low. Discrimination in the labor market of minorities has been a constant problem in the United States. Additionally there are areas where the local populations react with less tolerance to incoming immigrants.
3. Age of arrival. Most of the Hispanic population immigrated to the U.S. as adults. School and social interaction during the early years are very important in the process of acculturation.
4. Personal networks and family composition. Hispanic families are generally larger than non-Hispanic households. Hispanic households have an average of 4.1 people. 35 percent of households have more than 5, and 20 percent have 6 or more people living in the house. Women have a central role in Hispanic families. As acculturation takes place, intermarriage occurs, households become smaller and attitudes change. The attachment of recent incorporated immigrants to their

country of origin, having their families in these countries, slows down acculturation. 35 percent of households send remittances abroad.

5. The level of education is lower than other minorities and than the white majority from secondary education onwards. Education is an important factor in acculturation.
6. Size of the community. There is high concentration of same country of origin Hispanics in certain areas, especially in the following four states: NY, Florida, Texas and California. This causes the communities to be more resistant to acculturation.
7. Hispanic media presence with consolidated Hispanic networks in television and radio and wide spread usage of the Spanish language for business purposes generates additional barriers to acculturation.
8. Short traveling distance to countries of origin and advances in communications influence slower acculturation.

Intermarriage, education and time are the key elements that help achieve assimilation. Hispanics tend to intermarry at a relatively high rates compared to other minority groups³⁹.

According to a study done by the Strategy Research Group, 59 percent of Hispanics are bi-cultural. This is encouraging due to the recent inflows of Hispanic immigration. They have not assimilated completely into Anglo-American culture. Cultural assimilation is a very difficult process, as Prof. Prevalakis points out when talking about Diasporas,

³⁹ 1990 Census Data tells that one-third of Hispanics married non-Hispanics

arguing that it takes several generations of isolation in a certain space to occur. Assimilation is not only increasingly complicated in the information era, where globalization and the end of traveling distance as a limiting handicap, eliminate barriers in communication, but also that it is not relevant, as Harvard Professor Suarez-Orozco points out in an article titled “Everything you wanted to know about assimilation but were afraid to ask”:

“...in the global era, the tenets of unilineal assimilation are no longer relevant. Today there are clear and unequivocal advantages to being able to operate in multiple cultural codes – as anyone working in a major (and not-so-major) corporation knows. There are social, economic, cognitive, and aesthetic advantages to being able to move across cultural spaces. Dual consciousness has its instrumental and expressive advantages. Immigrant children are in the position to maximize that unique advantage.”

The last chapter of this thesis, before the conclusion, talks about the marketing implications and media consumption of Hispanics. Additional segmentations and examples could be added in this section. Also, further analysis of business opportunities and political implications are left for future research. Furthermore, it would be very interesting to analyze the topic applying principles of system dynamics.

6. Marketing Implications and Media Consumption

Marketing Implications

“The marketing challenge for companies wishing to sell to the Hispanic market is not only to identify Hispanics, but also to determine how they are different from non-Hispanics and whether they are homogenous as a group.”⁴⁰

It makes a big difference whether consumers are domestic-born or foreign born Hispanics. Native-born Hispanics differ considerably in terms of language usage, marketing maturity, media consumption and cultural traits, all of which affect consumer research, marketing and advertising strategies. It is vital for marketers to take country of birth into account when targeting Hispanics, particularly Mexican, Central-American and South American.

To be effective, campaigns targeting Hispanic consumers must be in consonance with Hispanic culture at all message levels: symbolic, explicit, visual and subliminal. This is called “marketing in-culture”⁴¹. Hispanics tend to be loyal to co-ethnic spokespersons, celebrities and sponsors.

Segmenting by language usage is very useful and provides very interesting results, as demonstrated with the coffee and butter examples earlier. English dominant Hispanics consume in a very similar manner as mainstream U.S. citizens, yet cultural peculiarities

⁴⁰ Source: Isabel Valdes. Marketing to American Latinos

⁴¹ Source: Isabel Valdes. Marketing to American Latinos

must be regarded to deliver the right message. Because a large proportion of Hispanics arrived in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s, the Spanish speaking segments are significant, particularly among adults.

To select the Hispanic Market segment, it is useful to separate U.S. born Hispanics versus foreign born in the marketing analysis. The marketing and communications strategy needed to successfully target each of these Hispanic market segments must be in consonance with the degree of acculturation of each segment, that vary as we have seen depending on the amount of years spent in the United States.

Presently, the greatest business opportunity for most products and services is found by targeting foreign-born Hispanics due to their large number. They are a large base of new potential customers even though they have substantial smaller purchasing power than those who are second or third generation. These households can be easily targeted via Spanish-Language media.

Hispanics enjoy high fertility rates and spend more per child than the non-Hispanic population. If we segment by age, we find there are many babies in the Hispanic population. Baby food processors must realize this opportunity. For every 1,000 Hispanic Households 42,000\$ is spent on baby food versus 12,900\$ of non-Hispanics⁴². The implications in marketing are very clear. Marketing Hispanic households yields greater dollar volume. Hispanic households spend two times more than the average U.S. household.

⁴² Source: AC Nielsen Household Panel

Due to the importance of the family as an institution, when marketing even a most basic product to Hispanic children, advertisers should also include parents, as they tend to have a stronger influence in the child's purchasing and decision making.

There are two bi-cultural, acculturated segments that are very important due to their size: Generation Ñ and the New Latina.

- Generation Ñ includes pre-teens, teens, and young adults. They are generally bilingual and open to adapting to the American way of life, yet don't want to lose all their Hispanic roots. By next year, Hispanic youths will be the largest ethnic youth population.

| Total U.S. Youth Under Age 18, 2000–2010 | | | | |
|--|----------------|--------|--------|-----------------------|
| | (in thousands) | | | |
| | 2000 | 2005 | 2010 | % Change 2000–2010 |
| Anglo (non-Hispanic) | 45,376 | 44,208 | 42,738 | -6% |
| Hispanic | 11,033 | 12,467 | 13,741 | 25 |
| African American | 11,268 | 11,792 | 12,153 | 8 |
| Asian | 3,299 | 3,816 | 4,304 | 30 |

Source: © Cultural Access Group, U.S. Census Bureau, 1998

- The “New Latina woman” wants to succeed in business and at home with her family. They live between both cultures. The fastest growing segments among first-time employed people are Hispanic women, which are found at every level of corporate America. This market is composed of about ten million women of age 18 and older. In comparison with the traditional Hispanic woman, New

Latinas are much more likely to indulge in clothes, accessories, makeup, personal-care products, perfumes, etc. They are also great consumers of American music and popular culture.

Media Consumption

Television, radio, and print, respectively, are the major media outlets favored by the Hispanic Market. Hispanics, on average, tend to watch more than four and a half hours of Spanish-language television a day. Close to an hour is spent on reading the paper and listening to the radio. The average Hispanic is exposed to more than five hours of Spanish-language media per day⁴³.

In television, Univision and Telemundo are the two major Spanish-language television networks. According to Nielsen's ratings, Univision is now the fifth largest network for prime-time viewers nationwide. There are a wide variety of channels offered by satellite providers to the Hispanic population, which also represents a sizable marketing opportunity.

Radio plays a major role in the Hispanic community; advertisers are now using more of this medium in their advertising mix. Presently there are over 400 Hispanic radio stations. Radio's reach in Spanish-speaking communities is higher than for the general population and the audience tends to listen for longer periods of time. More than 95 percent of the United States adult Hispanic population listens to radio daily and they spend over 25

⁴³ Source: Isabel Valdes. Marketing to American Latinos

hours listening to the radio each week, above the U.S. average of 22 hours 15 minutes⁴⁴.

Moreover, Hispanic radio listening tends to be concentrated in a relatively small number of geographic regions, with the largest 15 markets accounting for around 70 percent of the total U.S. Hispanic radio market. Spanish-language radio has been steadily increasing its share of the US radio audience, rising from 5 percent in 1995 to 7 percent in 2000⁴⁵.

Radio advertising also accounts for an unusually high proportion of Hispanic media expenditures relative to the average for United States advertising spending.

Hispanic print media outlets have increased over the past years. The last one is a Spanish newspaper called Rumbo⁴⁶ launched April 15th, which will be directed by Edward Schumacher, a Fletcher graduate student. The investment has been made by the Grupo Recoletos, a Spanish media conglomerate owned by Pearson, and is directed to the Hispanic audience in San Antonio, Houston, Austin and Lower Rio Grand Valley. Magazines such as Hispanic Business, Hispanic, Latina, Auto Mundo, and People en Español will continue their success in accessing a market starved for information.

Half of all Hispanic adults living in the U.S. have used the Internet in the last 30 days⁴⁷.

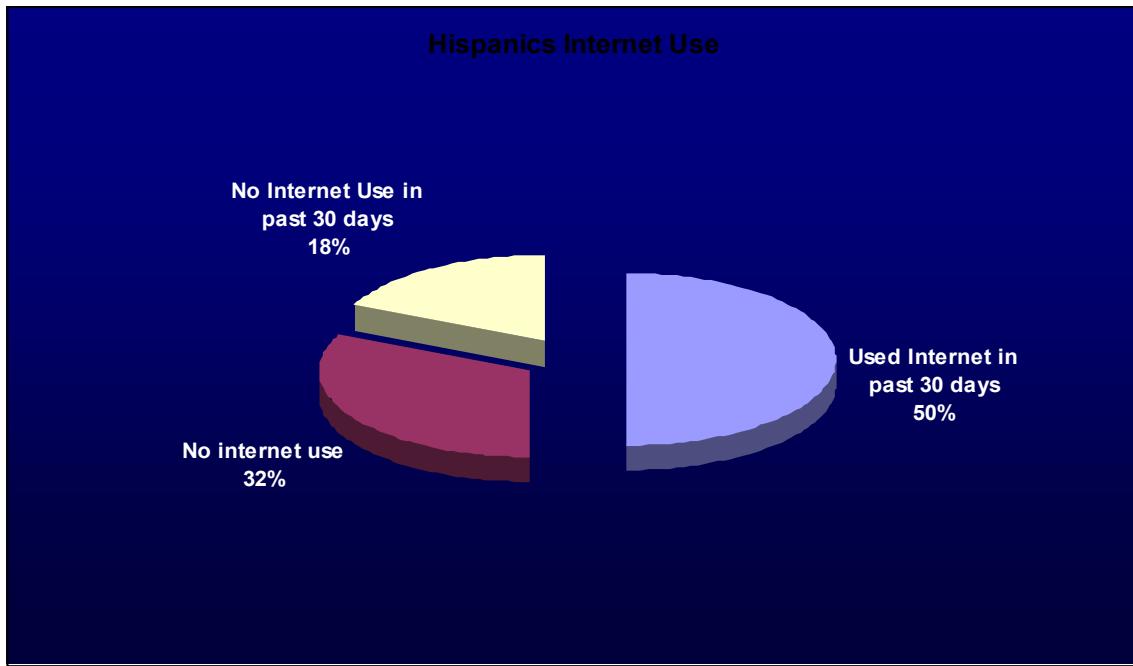
A study just released by the Pew Internet and American Life Project finds that Hispanics are the fastest growing user group.

⁴⁴ Source: Arbitron Radio Ratings

⁴⁵ Source: Katz Hispanic Media

⁴⁶ Source: http://www.pearson.com/media/press_release.cfm?itemid=416

⁴⁷ Source: Roslow Research



El Nuevo reported that Hispanics use the internet for similar reasons as the average user. Hispanics, however, concentrated in researching health and medical news and information on books and movies apart from Web surfing.

7. Conclusion

The fact that the United States keeps accepting unskilled labor, mainly Mexican, within its boundaries is due to several important economic and strategic reasons. The first is lower labor costs in labor-intensive industries which are vital to the United States. By vital I mean strategic industries such as the military, energy, textile or food which could guarantee their self-sufficiency without foreign dependence in a moment of crisis.

Another reason is the lobbying capacity of the few players that control these consolidated industries. These reasons explain why the United States follows protectionist attitudes on certain industries. It also reflects the preoccupation of the future of multilateral trade through the World Trade Organization (WTO). The latest failures, such as Ministerial Conference at Cancun, in developing further global concessions in world trade, and confrontation between developed and developing countries have several important readings. Trading blocks have become increasingly important versus the WTO. In this sense, capital rich countries, lead by the United States will have to try to solve their problems internally. Labor intensive industries are still very important in the United States and heavily dependant on cheap labor, which is accomplished by Mexican workers and through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Complete openness in trade and investment would have favored stopping large inflows of immigration, but failure to prosper and advance in multilateral negotiations create a future threat. The United States depends on producing abroad. Subsidizing these industries and trying to make them competitive with cheaper labor goes against competitive advantage theories which state that any industry is good and that sophistication is what derives prosperity.

Immigrants adhere to the value system of the country that adopts them. They adapt silently, pacifically and humbly to their recipients culture. Third generation Hispanics speak English, are as prosperous, patriotic, educated and even consume butter and drink ground coffee just alike any other U.S. citizen. They are hungry for creating opportunities for their children, work hard and suffer difficult integration due to their difference in color, habits or language. The protestant value of equal opportunity is not achieved effectively with incoming Hispanics. Data from 1999 reveals that more than two million women and minorities suffered intentional discrimination, according to the employment opportunity commission. Rejection and discrimination creates a higher sense of identity and a barrier to faster acculturation.

It is not only the normal process of acculturation into American mainstream culture that changes Hispanics. The change has been going on for some time now, even in their countries of origin. Exposure to progress, through the media generates dreams and drives aspirations for prosperity. Globalization drives not only consolidation in businesses, but also consolidation in culture. This great far reaching phenomenon is far more important than having coexisting heterogeneous cultures in the United States. Global acculturation expressed through progress and prosperity should make people who worry about plural societies rethink the real drivers in acculturation. Toynbee in *A Study of History* a 12 volume series written between 1934 and 1961 analyzes the growth, development, and decay of civilizations. He considers, just like Huntington, that the problems of history are considered in terms of cultural groups rather than nationalities. The main thesis of the work is that the well-being of a civilization depends on its ability to respond successfully to human and environmental challenges. Of the 26 civilizations studied, according to

Toynbee, only a three are alive and “Western Latin Christendom” or western culture predominates. It has been western culture that has driven progress and prosperity and generated the large differences between rich and poor countries. As Jeffrey Sachs argues in *Notes on a new Sociologic Development in Culture Matters* by 1820 the gap between Western Europe and the Worlds poorest region (sub-Saharan Africa) was only three to one⁴⁸ while by 1990 the differences rose to around twenty to one. These differences have a common denominator, western culture, with a few exceptions, such as the Asian tigers, who have adapted to prosperity without complete adherence to protestant values.

After the fall of communism as a mainstream political or ideological doctrine, we face a bi-polar world today where anti-progress cultures and civilizations are at war with progress and supra-development. The strong rigid Islamic institutions and organizations and Western democracies are the clashing cultures. Hispanic immigrants, however, even when they have observed poverty as their routine reality have searched for progress, and all Central and Latin American countries are democracies playing in the race for progress. Hispanics have western cultural values incorporated in their lives or are part of their aspirations; they have already unconsciously acculturated to human progress, which is materialized in the process of immigrating and establishing roots in the United States. The middle class aspires for prosperity, for the global values inherent in prosperity. Globalization has generated a world in which values compete with results observable through prosperity shown in the media. In this sense, progress resistant values now face a new source of competition derived form observable prosperity of other cultures. This is one of the main causes that force immigration, new values which favor progress and

⁴⁸ According to Maddision's Estimates

economic well-being of human beings. In this sense, immigrants do not only escape poverty, but also traditional values which have kept them historically in a bad situation.

As Prof. Lawrence Harrison argues, wealth is better than poverty, health is better than illness, peace is better than war. These are common values inherent to all human beings. Progress helps solve most of them. It is people who have nothing to loose and are lead by fanatics who are dangerous. That's the current fight the world faces, progress resistant cultures which find their isolation of prosperity a very difficult challenge to make and the progress oriented cultures which have created a world of disparities which is, as Schumpeter would argue, far too large. He predicts in his famous book Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (1942) the downfall of capitalism, one of the pillars of western values, in the hands of intellectuals due to the extreme inequality it generates.

The United States faces a new challenge in its future: integrating Hispanics. In the process, the United States can not be afraid of change, of incorporating into its richness some the flavor of the heterogeneous variety of Hispanics. After all, the United States has always applied innovation to adapt to changes. It is fear, as Franklin Delano Roosevelt pointed, that must be feared, and it is ideological fanaticism that must be beaten. The American values, as expressed in the most profound foundations of one of the greatest nations in the history of humanity, are in the heart of every human being, they are the dreams of immigrants. The American system has a great potential if it is able to restore the trust lost between its citizens and unite, as it has always done in the past, with magic, under the umbrella of values that the founding father established. Failing in this task by closing boundaries and reacting discriminately to new realities, will lead to segregation

and cultural division, it will lead to the problems of nationalisms that we face in Old Europe where a Catalonian is first a Catalonian, then a European and then a Spaniard. But in the United States, until now, the story is different. New blood dilutes historical confrontations, brings new dreams, new generations of hard workers that keep the system alive with their will for a better future for their families. Immigrants are patriotic. They embrace democracy, generate prosperity, and accept the challenge of competition. Globalization does the rest. This reality is shown through very efficient communication tools; the “western tools”: international commerce, technology or media which unconsciously shape the dream of prosperity. The fight is won; progress resistant societies cannot keep people’s eyes closed forever. People are reacting; they are starting to blame their progress resistant leaders for their impoverished situations. Iran is a clear example. Religious leaders promised change and have only delivered hopes and poverty. Now people are reacting to overthrow this government. We will possibly see a counter-revolution in a very short period of time in history, the revolution of western values and prosperity, the revolution of people who only want a better and more prosperous future for their children.

8. Appendix. Analysis of Grandona's 20 factors

1) Religion. Most Hispanics are catholic. It is evidently a more fatalistic religion than Protestantism. Domestic-born Hispanics give less importance to religion. One third of Hispanics marry someone from a different ethnic group. This means that most probably religion loses importance in further generations. **Resistant 1st Development**

Acculturated

2) Trust in the individual. Hispanics are more inclined to collectivism than individualism. This attitude changes with domestic born generations, which have the chance of accessing higher education. The value survey and changes in behavior suggest more individualistic behaviors are taking place. **Resistant 1st Development Acculturated**

3) The moral imperative. There are three basic levels of morality: highest is altruistic and self-denying, which is typical of catholic backgrounds, as Grandona suggests. The lowest is criminal, which implies a disregard for others and the law and the third one is what Raymon Aron calls “a reasonable egoism”, where the individual engages in neither saintly nor criminal behavior, reasonably seeking his or her own well being within the limits of social responsibility and the law. **Resistant 1st Development acculturated**

4) Two concepts of wealth. What exists versus what doesn't exist yet. Innovation comes when wealth is conceived as what doesn't exist. It changes with acculturation. British versus Spanish colonies (property of the crown versus property of those who worked the land) **Resistant 1st Development acculturated**

5) Different views of competition. Necessity to compete to generate wealth is not an act of aggression against others. Envy is the reflection of success, versus the appreciating success as the result of being better within a fair play scenario. It usually happens in catholic countries. **Resistant 1st Development acculturated**

6) Two notions of Justice. First is concerned with those who are alive now and the second with the interests of future generations. It is the dream of immigrants to provide education to their families and well being. Propensity to save is higher. **Pro Development both**

7) The value of work. Work is not highly valued in progress resistant cultures. This goes back to the Greeks, also in Confucianism. Hispanic immigrants are hard workers.

Development both

8) The role of Heresy. The questioning mind is one that created innovation, which is the source of economic development. Luther proposed the free interpretation of the Bible at a time when dogmatism dominated Christendom. Respect for elders, without question and importance of authority avoid progress. This is changing slowly in Hispanic culture due to the important structure that the family supposes in Hispanic lifestyle. **Resistant both**

9) To educate is not to brainwash. Individual discover his/her own truths versus the imposed ones. **Resistant 1st Development Acculturated**

10) The importance of utility. The developed world eschews unverifiable theory and prefers to pursue that which is verifiable and useful. **Development both**

11) The lesser virtues. A job well done, tidiness, courtesy and punctuality. It happens with people who are respectful to the needs of others. It is a common denominator in immigrants, to adapt to order and practices done in their host societies. Not being punctual would suppose loosing a job, which is the last thing an immigrant wants.

Development both

12) Time focus. Four possible categories: the past, present, the immediate future and a distant future that merges into the afterlife. Advanced societies focus on the immediate future. I believe immigrants do to, unlike most of the people in Latin and Central America, obsessed with the past, just like Mexicans venerating the Aztec culture. This is different with immigrants, who want to create a future for their children, they are forward-oriented. **Development both**

13) Rationality. Satisfaction that comes at the end of the day from achievement and progress is the consequence of a vast sum of small achievements. Immigrant Hispanics don't focus on grandiose projects, but on the contrary focus on saving to bring the rest of the family and realizable projects. **Development both**

14) Authority. In rational societies, power resides in the law, while arbitrary behavior is expected in underdeveloped societies. I believe that immigrants have the clear though of

the importance of the rule of law in the U.S., even though many try to enter illegally in the country. Hispanics are a very pacific minority. **Development both**

15) Worldview. The world is seen as a setting for action. The world awaits the person who wants to do something to change it. In cultures resistant to development, the world is perceived as a vast entity in which irresistible forces manifest themselves such as Prof. Harrison suggests that ha Haiti, nobody can change their destiny). Immigrants come with the dream of prosperity, with the goal to change their status and don't accept their destiny back at their countries of birth. **Development both**

16) Life view. Life is something that I will make happen, I am the protagonist. Most immigrants are conscious of this, that it is up to them to change their life. **Development both**

17) Salvation from or in the world. The goal is to save oneself from the world in resistant societies. The immigrant is searching for a better life standard, for improvement, not for a vale of tears. Predominant catholic religion could lead to this vision of the world. **Neutral both**

18) Two Utopias. Pope John Paul II went to India and insisted that all Indians have a right to a dignified life free of poverty, yet he rejects at the same time birth control. When the individual seeks an early utopia beyond reach it is characteristic of progress resistant cultures. For example, Hispanic families seek freedom, it is one of their motives for leaving their countries of origin, yet are have a protectionist and paternalistic attitude

within the hierarchies of the family, which Michael Fairbanks argues is one of the handicaps in progress and development⁴⁹. This eventually fades as the acculturation process takes place. **Resistant 1st Development Acculturated**

19) Nature of optimism. Hispanic immigrants leave their countries sick of promises which are not accomplished by their leaders, searching for new dreams in which they are conscious that what they do will make the difference. **Development both**

20) Two visions of democracy. Political power is dispersed among different sectors and the law is supreme, versus the traditional vision of absolutism. It is one of the main reasons why immigrants go to the U.S., to seek real democracy and flee authoritarian political regimes. **Development both**

Hispanic immigrants that come to the US struggle between progress resistant attributes and development attributes, while we can argue that domestic born Hispanics clearly have a development attitude. The criterion expressed here is subjective and depends mostly on my perceptions of the Hispanic mentality. Further study must be programmed to understand and apply scientifically this model.

⁴⁹ Michael Fairbanks, Stace Lindsay, Plowing the Sea. HBS University Press

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