

PRÓSPERO:
A STUDY OF SUCCESS FROM THE MEXICAN MIDDLE CLASS
IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

A Dissertation

by

SARITA MOLINAR BERTINATO

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2012

Major Subject: Sociology

Próspero: A Study of Success from the Mexican Middle Class in San Antonio, Texas

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Approved by:

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ABSTRACT

Próspero: A Study of Success from the Mexican Middle Class in San Antonio, Texas.

(August 2012)

Sarita Molinar Bertinato, B.A., University of the Incarnate Word;

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Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. William Alex McIntosh

Immigration is a topic that has experienced an evolution of social importance across centuries. While the United States has welcomed individuals seeking lives of promise and opportunity, its neighboring border with Mexico has also encouraged significant migration into the United States. Therefore, immigration into Texas was not a new and unusual development. However, the flood of Mexican citizens trying to escape the regime of Porfirio Díaz was noteworthy and left San Antonio residents struggling to accept their new neighbors.

The purpose of this dissertation is to study a historically Mexican middle class neighborhood in San Antonio, in order to identify factors that made it possible for some residents to experience socioeconomic prosperity while others were less successful. I believe that positive socioeconomic success resulted from two important factors: *high levels of human and social capital* and *the synergistic interactions of sociopolitical elements*. I begin by presenting an overview of the shared turbulent history between Mexico and the United States, the rise and fall of President Porfirio Díaz, and the role

that the Mexican Revolution played in San Antonio's 1910 immigration flux. Since this research focuses on the Mexican middle class, I explore the literature pertaining to racial/ethnic definitions, the middle class, and human/social capital, as well as the relevance of each concept within the context of my research question.

This research utilizes comparative/historical, qualitative, and quantitative methodologies. I present a quantitative analysis of Prospect Hill's residents, particularly those of an anomalous nature. Of the cases identified, I discuss the case of Rómulo Munguía, a native-born Mexican who presented as the third anomalous Mexican resident. Munguía moved to the U.S. in 1926 and established himself as a successful, middle class printer who became heavily involved with San Antonio's Mexican community.

Ultimately, Munguía's success indicates a dependency on two specific factors. First, he possessed considerable human and social capital that afforded him social, economic, and political advantages. Secondly, he settled into a community that desperately needed his skills and expertise. Munguía's case supports the hypothesis that immigrant prosperity requires both human/social capital and specific synergistic interactions to achieve success.

DEDICATION

To Alli—

Never be afraid of asking questions until you find your answer

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I think about all of the people who have contributed to my success, I become overwhelmed with appreciation. First, a million thanks to Christi and Brenda in the sociology office for helping me with paperwork, petitions, reserving rooms, and even conference calls. You two are truly the soul of the department. Special thanks goes to the staff at the Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin, who assisted me with obtaining copies from the Rómulo Munguía Papers, and to the always speedy and resourceful Evans Library staff at Texas A&M University.

I would like to thank my committee chair, Dr. McIntosh, and my committee members, Dr. Liu, Dr. Zheng, and Dr. Hinojosa. Dr. McIntosh, you have gone beyond the call of duty to guide me through this tedious process; I will never be able to adequately thank you for all that you've done. Dr. Liu, your perspective has always been the one that seems to break my writer's block. Dr. Zheng, I am especially thankful for your willingness to help me across oceans and continents and time zones galore. And to Dr. Hinojosa, your words of encouragement and enthusiastic reading suggestions have truly been a godsend.

To Dr. Joseph Jewell—I do not even know where to begin. Over time, I've come to realize that historical research is truly an art and a gift. After our first meeting, I was ecstatic to meet someone who did not think that it was crazy to love the smell of old historical documents. Working for you at RESI was one of the greatest experiences of my life because it never felt like work. Spending countless hours combing through

Ancestry.com while listening to jazz and sipping hot tea was heavenly. Thank you for helping me with developing and refining my comparative/historical skills. If I can be half as awesome as you, I will be happy.

To Christine—on that first day of orientation, I was sure that we would never be friends. Clearly, I was wrong, as you became one of my best friends. Thank you for always making me laugh, even if it was unintentional and at your expense, and for encouraging me when I was discouraged. Betsy, thank you for the lunch dates and for reminding me that *someone* was always busier than me (and you). To Roberta, thank you for always checking up on my progress, even if I *was* sometimes slow to reply.

At the beginning of my freshman year of college, I attempted to sign up for a psychology course that ended up being full. If not for the undergraduate advisor who registered me for the Introduction to Sociology class because, as he said, “it was just like psychology,” I would never have met Dr. Roger Barnes and I most certainly would not be a sociologist. Dr. Barnes, it is no exaggeration when I say that your class changed my life. Your love for the field of sociology and your ability to quote prolific passages from memory was, and remains, inspiring. Thank you for being a mentor, a colleague, and a friend. Thank you to Dr. Philip Lampe, a challenging professor and amazing scholar who expected the very best out of his students and completely gave of himself to get us there. Because of you, I learned how to approach sociology as a science, a lesson that I have never forgotten.

To my mother-in-law and father-in-law—I am forever grateful for your selflessness and generosity during a time when everything seemed so uncertain. I am

incredibly blessed to have in-laws that are so wonderful, supportive, funny, and just downright cool.

For my sisters, Rebecca and Laura—there is not a day that goes by where I do not miss you two. Whenever I found myself frustrated, tired, or elated, you two were always my loudest cheering squad, my strongest support system, yet never afraid to talk me back down to reality. The two of you are my very best friends in the entire world and I love you both infinitely. To my brother-in-law, Dave, I give my special thanks for being a constant source of Michael McDonald impersonations, excellent book recommendations, and overall entertainment.

I would like to thank my parents for *everything*. I know that I was a demanding child; how Dr. Marcus was able to recognize this fact just mere hours after my birth, I will never understand. Mommy and Daddy, for all of the times when you tackled and conquered the seemingly impossible, always know that you are not only my heroes but also some of my favorite people in the world.

To Liam, the greatest friend that I will ever have in this lifetime—you have faithfully been at my side to experience some of the most important life changes with me. You have shown me the importance of unconditional compassion and humility and laughter. Finally, to Chris—I have survived on nothing but words during these last few months, but they suddenly feel so inadequate at this moment. It seems appropriate, given the fact that you only managed one word during our first meeting. Few people can say that they are married to their best friend; even fewer can say that they are married to a real life rocket scientist. To my angel, my all, my very self—I love you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xii
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION.....	1
II HISTORICAL OVERVIEW	9
Pre-1900 History of the United States-Mexico Relations	9
Porfirio Díaz and the Mexican Revolution.....	19
Mexicans in San Antonio and the Creation of the Middle Class Enclave	24
III LITERATURE REVIEW.....	32
Definition of Racial/Ethnic Identities.....	32
Conceptualization of the Middle Class	44
Defining and Measuring Capital	53
IV DATA AND METHODS.....	77
Description of Data	77
Methods of Approach: Overview	80
Part One: Historical Data Collection.....	91
Part Two: Preliminary Analysis of Historical Data.....	93
Part Three: Selection of the Qualitative Case Subject	94

CHAPTER	Page
V ANALYSIS	97
Quantitative Analysis of the Prospect Hill Neighborhood.....	98
Presentation of Case Study: Rómulo Munguia	107
Qualitative Analysis of Rómulo Munguia.....	119
Munguia’s Success in Relation to the Human/Social Capital Variables	120
The Synergistic Interactions of Sociopolitical Elements	133
VI CONCLUSION.....	138
Limitations of Research.....	143
Implications for Future Research	146
REFERENCES.....	150
APPENDIX A	178
VITA	179

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		Page
1	Map of Colonial New Spain.....	9
2	Map of Independent Mexico, 1824-1836.....	10
3	Texas Claims and Post-Mexican War Boundaries.....	14
4	Present Day Boundaries of Mexico and the United States.....	18
5	Map of Downtown San Antonio and Surrounding Area.....	27
6	Distribution of Race/Ethnicity in Prospect Hill Neighborhood.....	98
7	Frequencies: Resident Age Range Variable.....	99
8	<i>El Hijo del Ahuizote</i> with Porfirio Díaz on Cover.....	109
9	<i>San Antonio Express News</i> : “Action/Express” (February 28, 1972).....	131

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		Page
1	Mexicans Admitted into the United States: 1894 to 1920.....	25
2	Variables that Impact Immigrant Mobility into Middle Class	49
3	Forms of Measurable Capital	54
4	Four Major Perspectives of Social Capital Literature	57
5	Conceptual Map of Cases.....	84
6	Frequencies: Birthplace Variable	100
7	Frequencies: Rented or Owned Residence Variable	101
8	Occupational Makeup Category by Race/Ethnicity Crosstabulation	102
9	Anomaly Case Index List (All)	103
10	Anomaly Case Index List (Mexican Only)	105

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Immigration is a topic that has experienced an evolution of social importance across centuries. At the same time that the United States has welcomed individuals seeking a new life full of promise and opportunity, its neighboring border with Mexico has been equally encouraging of significant migration into the United States. However, with the influx of new settlers also comes the reaction of the area's residents, some of whom called the location home long before these new immigrants.

For hundreds of years, many Mexicans migrated into California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, and particularly unique to these states was the fact that they had once been a part of Mexican Territory. Therefore, Mexicans living in the Southwest was not a recent development, nor was it particularly extraordinary. Yet, the white settlers neither understood nor accepted the rich, native history that Mexicans shared with the land. Instead, they found themselves treated as outsiders and peons who were only good enough for hard, menial labor and dismal living conditions.

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, Mexicans and Mexican Americans faced a barrage of scrutiny over whether they had the right to legally live in the United States. Many endured daily harassment from their white counterparts, low wages, and threats of

This dissertation follows the style of the *American Sociological Review*.

deportation. Over a century later, the aforementioned tune is roughly the same. Mexican immigrants, as well as those of Mexican descent, continue to bear witness to a prevailing anti-immigrant sentiment that never really seemed to go away in the first place. On April 23, 2010, Arizona governor Jan Brewer drew widespread criticism for her decision to sign S.B. 1070, or the “Support Our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act,” into Arizona state law. The official intention of this law was to “work together to discourage and deter the unlawful entry and presence of aliens and economic activity by persons unlawfully present in the United States” (Arizona State Legislature 2010). In order to accomplish this task, Arizona police would now have the legal authority to ask anyone whom they suspected of being in the United States illegally to provide evidence of their immigration status. If any persons were found to be in the United States illegally, or simply without immigration documents in their immediate possession, they would be detained, prosecuted, or even sent back to their home country.

The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, in response to the law’s passing, argued that the law would create “a spiral of pervasive fear, community distrust, increased crime and costly litigation, with nationwide repercussions” (Archibold “Arizona Enacts Stringent Law on Immigration” 2010). Mexican president Felipe Calderón denounced the bill by stating, “[T]he criminalization of migration, far from contributing to collaboration and cooperation between Mexico and the state of Arizona, represents an obstacle to solving the shared problems of the border region” (Cooper 2010). Within Arizona, as well as other states across the country, activists staged public

protests against this new law, threatening to boycott all Arizona-based travel and business dealings.

Unfortunately, Arizona is not the only state in which Mexican immigration presents challenges to the legal system, as well as to the prevailing culture. During a Republican Party debate held in September of 2011, Minnesota Congresswoman Michele Bachmann strongly advocated for the federal government to build a fence along “every inch” of the United States-Mexico border (Wall Street Journal 2011). In 2010, Texas Representative Debbie Riddle (R-Tomball) pushed for the Texas legislature to pass a law similar to Arizona’s SB 1070, stating that the “first priority for any elected official is to make sure that the safety and security of Texans is well-established ... If our federal government did their job, then Arizona wouldn't have to take this action, and neither would Texas" (NBC 5 Dallas-Fort Worth 2010). Sentiments like the aforementioned are dangerous because of the potential for all individuals of Mexican descent, whether legal or illegal citizens of the United States, to be pigeonholed, misunderstood, and mistreated. To paraphrase an old saying, anyone who does not learn from history is condemned to repeat it.

It is also important to understand how such a prevalent hostility toward immigrants has any bearing on their ability to attain social mobility. Throughout history, American nativists harbored tremendous hostility toward the Mexican immigrants because, in their opinion, they were “unassimilable . . . lazy and inferior . . . [and the] most undesirable ethnic stock for the melting pot” and did nothing but drain the socioeconomic resources of American society (Betten and Mohl 1973:378). Mexican

citizens moved to the United States for better opportunities, yet encountered constant difficulty while trying to gain employment because of their skin color, religion, and language proficiency. They were generalized as ignorant, simple, lowly, illiterate, lacking ambition, and unintelligent, even though there were many well-educated, literate, and highly skilled Mexicans who had left Mexico because of political persecution (Camarillo 1979; García 1978; Márquez, Mendoza, and Blanchard 2007; Weeks 1930). Still, American employers took advantage of the immigrants' willingness and desperation for jobs by paying them far less than what their white counterparts were earning and by hiring them for the jobs that no one else wanted. Simply put, opportunities for job mobility were scarce, as the only positions for which they were eligible were the menial and dead end jobs. Furthermore, the employers freely admitted that the Mexican workers were always at the front of the proverbial chopping block because they were not "real" Americans (Betten and Mohl 1973; Ortiz 1996).

These types of experiences set the tone for a difficult period where Mexican immigrants were stuck doing tedious work for practically nothing in return, thus making it difficult to live in a place that was even mildly adequate. They endured the countless mistreatments by white Americans who wanted them to go back home to Mexico. It became clear that as long as this intolerance was allowed to fester, the immigrants and their future generations would continue to encounter difficulties associated with attaining jobs, homes, mobility, acceptance, and success in the United States.

The purpose of this dissertation is to evaluate the residents of a historically Mexican middle class neighborhood in San Antonio, in order to identify factors that

made it possible for some residents to experience socioeconomic prosperity while others were less successful. The reason for selecting a middle class neighborhood is simple: much of the literature that I had read about Mexican immigrants seemed focused on either the plights of the poor or the wealthy. I hypothesize that positive socioeconomic success was the result of two important factors: *the possession of high levels of human/social capital* and *the synergistic interactions of sociopolitical elements*.

Support for my hypothesis will span across six chapters. Chapter I will provide a general introduction of Mexican immigration and public sentiment within the context of the present day, demonstrating how current prevailing anti-immigrant mindsets are actually quite similar to those from the past. I believe that addressing this issue is important because it acknowledges the stances toward immigration that have been, and remain, a part of United States history. Chapter II is the historical overview, beginning with Mexico's past as a Spanish colony and its declaration of independence. In addition, I will discuss the sociopolitical relationship between the United States and Mexico before the 1910 Mexican Revolution and Porfirio Díaz, specifically the events that led into the great immigrant influx that occurred in response to the Revolution. I will then address the topic of the Mexican refugees who moved to San Antonio, specifically those of the middle class who set up homes in the Prospect Hill neighborhood. Chapter III will be the literature review, leading into a discussion of the three theoretical issues that are relevant to the research—the process of defining racial/ethnic identities; the conceptualization of the middle class; defining and operationalizing social and human capital.

Chapter IV is the data and methods section. Here, I will elaborate on the methodologies through which the analysis will occur. In addition, I will provide some detail about Prospect Hill's selection as the study neighborhood, as well as the data collection process. Chapter V will provide a quantitative analysis of Prospect Hill's demographics, as well as of residents identified through quantitative software as anomalous cases. I will then present the qualitative case study of Rómulo Munguía, a native-born Mexican who established himself as a successful, middle class printer during post-Revolution San Antonio. After this presentation, I will move into a discussion of Munguía's middle class success within the context of my hypothesis. This dialogue is crucial to my hypothesis and the supporting data, which indicated early on that this type of socioeconomic success was uncommon for Mexicans. Finally, in Chapter VI, I will provide final thoughts on Rómulo Munguía, a man who was able to defy the negative stereotypes and roadblocks set up against the Mexican community of San Antonio. I will conclude by acknowledging the limitations of this study, as well as implications for future research.

Finally, to understand the reasons why I chose Texas for my research requires an explanation of why I also decided to focus on the city of San Antonio. I selected San Antonio as the focal point of my research for several important reasons. For anyone who has ever visited San Antonio, the city's ever-present and rich Spanish-Mexican culture is hard to ignore and difficult to forget. For every shopping center, one can find a beautifully built mission with a deep history that goes back to the city's former inhabitants. Every year, on holidays like *Cinco de Mayo* and *Diez y Seis*, you can

always count on vibrant and colorful parades marching through city streets that radiate a strong sense of pride for an ethnicity that continues to dominate San Antonio's social and cultural makeup.

Part of my ability to appreciate the wealth of culture that San Antonio offers comes from the fact that I was born and raised in the city. My early public school education included numerous field trips to the Alamo and the Missions. My parents complemented these school trips by bringing me to places like the Spanish Governor's Mansion and encouraging me to learn more about Juan Seguín. Yet, while I had always maintained an interest in my hometown's history, I will admit that I did not fully appreciate it. It was not until I arrived at Texas A&M University and began assisting Dr. Joseph Jewell with his San Antonio research that I was finally able to understand the value of what had been right in front of me during my entire life—a bountiful history full of cultures, political struggles, and uprisings. Therefore, I set out to learn as much as I could about Mexico and its historic stronghold over the American Southwest before turning my focus toward the experiences of Mexican citizens who sought better opportunities in the United States.

Over centuries, a substantial number of Mexican immigrants settled into the American Southwest. This region had long been a witness to a tempestuous past with Mexico that included wars, treaties, and invasions. Still, many Mexicans found themselves relocating to the Southwest, and even up to the Midwest, because of better job opportunities. Therefore, migration into Texas was nothing out of the ordinary. However, the heavy and continuous stream of Mexican citizens trying to escape the

regime of Porfirio Díaz by moving to San Antonio *was* a noteworthy occurrence, one that left residents struggling to accept their new neighbors. Even with the incredible history shared within the region, this would not be an easy task—and for some residents, it would not be a welcomed one, either.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Pre-1900 History of the United States-Mexico Relations

“Nations are like men. They must be studied and their motives understood.”
–Porfirio Díaz¹

Because of its close proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border, the city of San Antonio, Texas has long reflected distinctive cultural influences in its character, making it a “gateway to Mexican culture” (García 1991:24). Up until the mid-nineteenth

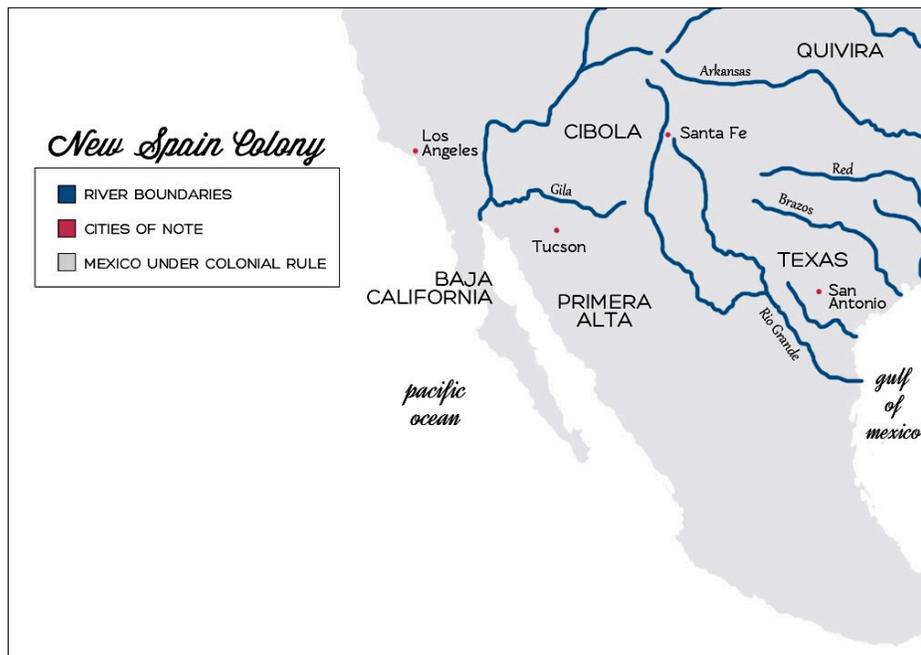


Figure 1. Map of Colonial New Spain

¹ Quote from 1908 interview with Porfirio Díaz in *Pearson's Magazine*.

century, much of Texas was part of Mexico, allowing Mexican citizens the ability to travel between the two locales at their leisure (Katz, Stern, and Fader 2007:165-6; also Gutiérrez 1995).

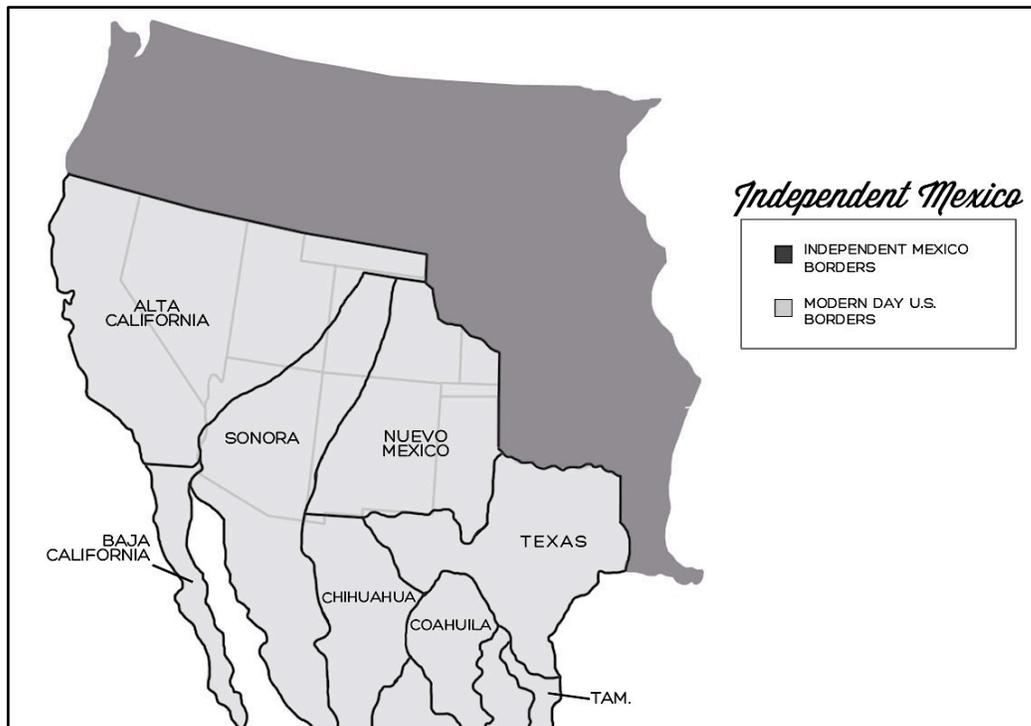


Figure 2. Map of Independent Mexico, 1824-1836

As Briggs (1975) explained the migratory activity around the U.S.-Mexican border, it had been “a fact of life as long as a political border ha[d] separated the two nations” (p. 3). The area now recognized as the U.S.-Mexican border region was originally a part of the Spanish colonial settlement New Spain (see Figure 1). For nearly two centuries, Spain had claimed ownership over this region and its subsequent

development, part of which included the city of San Antonio, founded as a colonial Spanish settlement in 1718 (Arreola 2002; Márquez et al. 2007).

Beginning in 1810, Mexico began its fight against the Spanish stronghold and when it finally gained independence from Spain in 1821, the land began its transition into the independent republic of Mexico (Estrada, García, Macías, and Maldonado 1981; Ganster 1998:1077; refer to Figure 2). However, this shift of power had seemingly little impact on the northern region of Mexico, both politically and economically. As Meier and Ribera (1993) elaborated:

Legislatures and other elements of local republican government were established; Indians and mestizos in theory were granted full citizenship. The ideology of republican and egalitarian ideals influenced a few leaders, but many found old authoritarian ways hard to give up. Wealthy land owners, *patrones*, continued to dominate both the economy and local government. (P. 38)

Additionally, beginning in 1819, the Mexican government had allowed Anglo settlers to move into Mexico's northern territory, including a part of present day Texas. The initial reasoning was, by encouraging settlers onto the land, the population would not only increase in size, but also in the number of supporters of the Mexican government (Estrada et al. 1981).

Foreigners living on Mexican soil were required to publically announce their loyalty to the Mexican government, as well as to convert to Catholicism (Alvarez 1973; Estrada et al. 1981). While the land's primary use was for mining and ranching, Mexico never fully developed the region into settlement and consequently, it evolved into a perpetual state of conflict and chaos. At the same time, Mexicans and foreigners who were living along the northern border were becoming increasingly frustrated with the

Mexican government. Before the mid-1830s, a great number of upper class tejanos felt a greater affinity to the political liberalist ideas associated with the Anglo Americans and were especially welcoming of the visitors from the United States (Brack 1969; Dysart 1976; Landolt 1976). However, the newly settled foreigners began to grow restless with the Mexican government. As Barker (1965) explained, “[T]he Texans saw themselves in danger of becoming the alien subjects of a people to whom they deliberately believed themselves morally, intellectually, and politically superior” (p. 52).

Between the sentiments of isolation and neglect on the part of the Mexican lawmakers, along with the “political instability of transitory governments in the Mexican capital,” northern Mexicans began to slowly move away from their government and toward independence (Meier and Ribera 1993:52; see also Calderón 1992). On November 7, 1835, Texas revolted against the controlling grip of Mexico by declaring conditional independence, thus beginning the bloody war between Mexico and Texas. By March 2, 1836, fifty-nine delegates from the Texas government named David Burnett and Lorenzo de Zavala as the provisional president and vice president, respectively, further cementing Texas’s declaration of complete independence. At the Battle of San Jacinto, Mexican president Antonio López de Santa Anna was imprisoned by the Texans fighting under Juan Seguín, leading to the eventual signing of the Treaty of Velasco, which allowed for Santa Anna to be released in exchange for Texas’s independence (Brack 1969; Meier and Ribera 1993).

The Mexican government did not support the terms of the treaty and tried to force the Texans back into resubmission. Yet, the wheels of independence had already

been set into motion. After successfully separating itself from Mexico's reigns of power, the Republic of Texas became official and incorporated San Antonio as a city of the new Republic on December 14, 1837, thereby encouraging the political and economic environments to evolve further (Corner 1890:106; Landolt 1976:17; Márquez et al. 2007:294). San Antonio was one of the places in Texas greatly affected by post-war conflicts. Mexican residents who had long maintained loyalty to Texas during the war suddenly found themselves suppressed, physically assaulted, and even expelled from their homes. The reason: "new people [who] distrusted and hated the Mexicans, simply because they were Mexican, regardless of the fact they were both on the same side of the fighting during the war" (Montejano 1987:27; see also DeLeon and Stewart 1983).

From the moment when Texas separated from Mexico, all parties involved became guilty of antagonizing each other through constant skirmishing. During the early 1840s, Americans often accused Mexico of instigating turmoil along the border and against American citizens, thereby encouraging feelings of resentment and justification for any potential intervention by the United States (Meier and Ribera 1993:61). The presence of American troops near the Rio Grande only seemed to clarify the intentions of the United States— not only did they wish to make the river serve as the new boundary between the two countries, but they made it clear that "an armed confrontation was inevitable" (Montejano 1987:19). The Mexican government was especially angry over the United States' involvement in the war between Texas and Mexico, as they felt that the United States had "hidden their complicity in the revolution behind the 'evil

mask of scandalous hypocrisy” (Brack 1969:179). Because Mexico refused to acknowledge Texas’s secession and independence, they issued a threat to the United States that should Texas go through with annexation, a resulting war was highly likely. In March of 1845, Texas received its formal admittance into the United States and a Mexican-American War seemed inevitable. The prevailing sentiment in Mexico pushed for the re-conquering of Texas by “launch[ing] a war against the ‘heretics of the north’ in order for Mexicans to preserve ‘their independence, religion and territory’” (Brack 1969:181). By May of 1846, the United States officially declared war against Mexico (Ganster 1998; Meier and Ribera 1993).

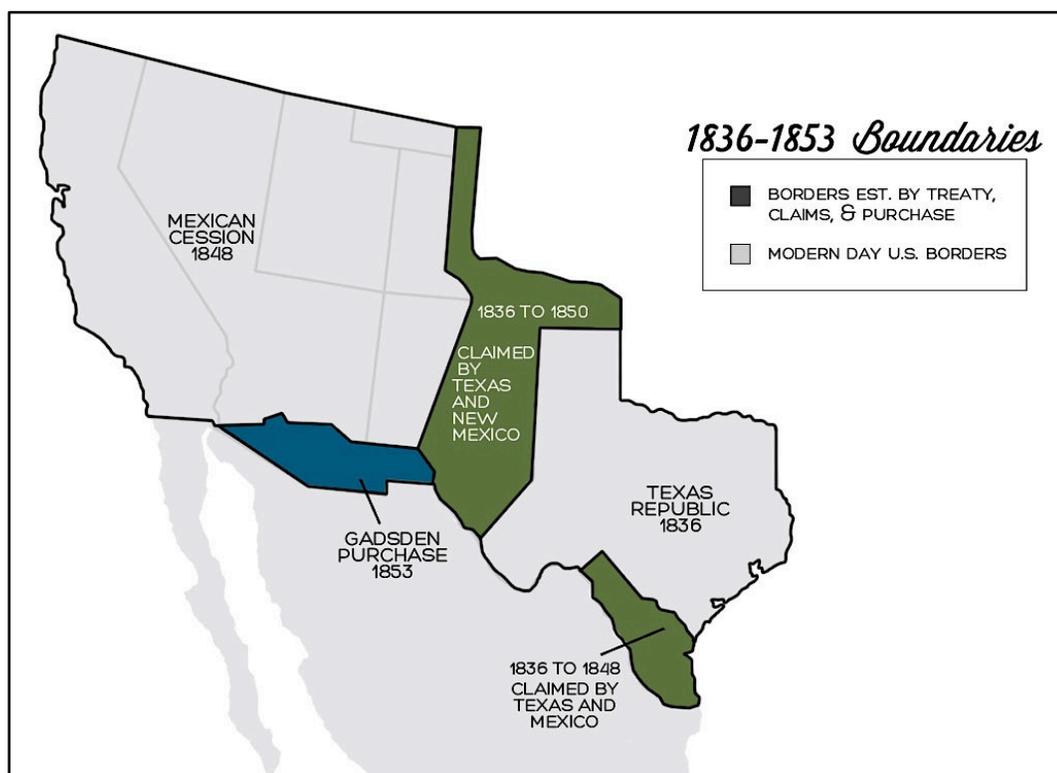


Figure 3. Texas Claims and Post-Mexican War Boundaries

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed on February 2, 1848, effectively ended the Mexican American War and handed over roughly fifty percent of its land to the United States, an area that Bolton (1921) referred to as the Spanish Borderlands (Noggle 1959). This included parts of modern day California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and Texas, Wyoming, Kansas, and Oklahoma (Alvarez 1973:924; Márquez et al. 1981:104; Barrera 1980:11; Meier and Ribera 1993:66; see Figure 3). What the treaty represented to the United States were numerous economic prospects tied to the “dynamic expansion of American capitalism” (Barrera 1980:18). However, the treaty also left the Mexicans already living in the United States displaced and in a position of being forced to retreat to Mexico or remain in the United States (Barrera 1980:11; Ganster 1998:1077; García 1991:16; Gutiérrez 1995:17). Officially, the treaty offered three options in regards to residency:

1. Mexicans could remain in the United States as permanent resident aliens while retaining Mexican citizenship, only needing to publicly making note of their intentions.
2. They could “remove” themselves by returning to Mexico.
3. They could do nothing, which, after one year, would effectively make them official citizens of the United States (Gómez 1992:47; Gutiérrez 1995:17).

In essence, for the Mexicans who decided to remain in the United States, though they might have been born in Mexico and spoke Spanish as their native language, they found themselves “collectively naturalized . . . scarcely conscious that their country had

changed hands and that they owed allegiance to the ‘Colossus of the North’” (Weeks 1930:608; also Gómez 1992).

During the years following the war, many Americans supported the possible annexation of Mexico, but they did not want the native Mexicans who lived within the territory. Some Americans believed that Mexican immigration would only hinder modernization within the Southwest region (García 1978; Gutiérrez 1995). For Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Mexicans were “impure” and their way of life was incompatible with the American culture and government; to incorporate both cultures would destroy the American political institutions (Allsup 1982; Gutiérrez 1995:16). Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan shared similar sentiments, stating, “We do not want the people of Mexico, either as citizens or subjects. All we want is a portion of territory, which they nominally hold, generally uninhabited, or, where inhabited at all, sparsely so, and with a population, which would soon recede, or identify itself with ours” (Gutiérrez 1995:16; also Camarillo 1979). It became increasingly clear that Mexicans were considered to be “racially inferior” to the Anglo Americans in the United States (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1970:xii).

For the United States, one particular benefit that came from gaining new land was the positive effect it had on the American economy. Since most of the land had previously been cultivated for railroad development, as well as for mining, agriculture, and ranching purposes, the Southwest region was subject to tremendous economic growth and development. Concurrently, any economic progress or development that occurred in Mexico had been wholly dependent on what was going on in the United

States, especially along the northern border. Ganster (1998) elaborated on this concept by explaining how the northern territory was so isolated from the national economy, leaving Mexican towns and cities to develop “in response to economic stimuli from across the border” (p. 1077).

Meanwhile, San Antonio also continued to flourish economically and culturally, with its population steadily growing by the decade. Unfortunately, for the Mexicans who remained in Texas post-war, they continually faced unfounded mistreatment. Some Anglo-Americans viewed Mexicans as “inferior, backward people” and treated them as such (Gutiérrez 1995:20). Another issue was a lack of opportunity for economic mobility. Due to Mexicans being forced into “stigmatized, subordinate position[s]” within the socioeconomic hierarchies and the fact that low-status jobs were dominated almost exclusively by Mexican American laborers only perpetuated the negative stereotypes of the period, the Anglo Americans living in the Southwest “came to associate Mexican Americans with unskilled laborer” (Gutiérrez 1995:21, 24-5).

By contrast, elite Mexicans (also called *ricos*) living in the United States had a different experience, in that they were able to cultivate and maintain varying degrees of political influence. Meier and Ribera (1993) described the upper-class Mexican experience as, “Upper-class, lighter-skinned tejanos, many of whom were Canary Islanders or their descendants, tended to be accepted and have their civil rights respected. They formed a small, tightly knit elite whose members considered themselves culturally superior to both Anglos and Mexicans” (p. 81). Montejano (1987) suggested that the Mexican-American War was responsible for “the basis and

organization for a powerful export-oriented upper class” (p. 20). The elites and their post-war relationships with Anglos consisted of the elites politically supporting the Anglos while maintaining influence over the Mexican population, with the additional benefit of the elites maintaining control over their land (Barrera 1980; Moore 1970; see Figure 4).

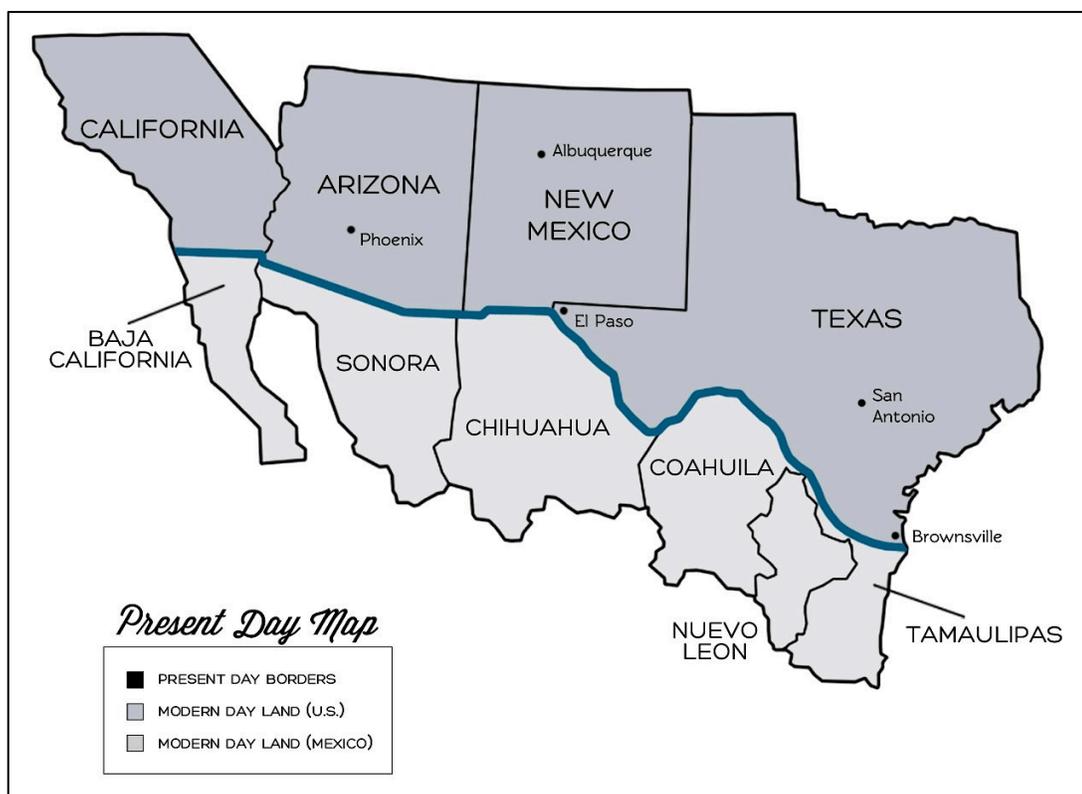


Figure 4. Present Day Boundaries of Mexico and the United States

These middleman-type relationships “forged successful, if tenuous, coalitions with Anglo leaders that helped to perpetuate their influence until after the turn of the century”

(Gutiérrez 1995:26; see also Acuña 1988; Oboler 1991). The elites believed that it was essential to retain their political influence out of economic necessity (Dysart 1976).

However, these experiences came at the cost of their ethnic identities, as the elites often reconstructed, or outright denied, their ethnic histories as a way of defying the generalized “Mexican” classification. The elites usually accomplished this by emphasizing their Spanish or European ancestry, all while downplaying their Mexican roots:

. . . many of the elite families insisted on referring to themselves as *españoles*, or Spaniards, to distance themselves from what they defined as the *gente corriente*, the common or vulgar working class people. As the position of the ethnic Mexican population eroded in subsequent years, the descendants of the former elite *gente de razón* families clung to such status distinctions even more tenaciously (Gutiérrez 1995: 33).

By 1900, as public opinion of the Mexican population began to reflect the permeating negative public sentiments, the elites found their social standing and influence over the San Antonio social structure waning, as they no longer held much political and economic significance (Márquez et al. 2007:296).

Porfirio Díaz and the Mexican Revolution

“He created a nation, but he destroyed a people.”
–Rafael DeZayas Enríquez²

Porfirio Díaz was born on September 15, 1830 in Oaxaca, Mexico. There was nothing particularly noteworthy about Díaz’s upbringing. His family lived in poverty and his father died during his early years, leaving him to shoulder the responsibility of

² Quote from 1908 book by Rafael DeZayas Enríquez, friend of Porfirio Díaz

providing for his mother and siblings (Godoy 1910). As a child, Díaz was fascinated by the military, often pretending to be a military soldier alongside the other neighborhood children. Though his mother wanted him to pursue the priesthood, he found himself unable to escape the calling of his country (Alec-Tweedie 1906; DeZayas Enríquez 1908). Díaz began his political career as a soldier and fought against the French invasion of Mexico (DeZayas Enríquez 1908; Meier and Ribera 1993). As his friend Rafael DeZayas Enríquez (1908) recalled, Díaz developed a reputation as an unyielding soldier who was dedicated to the honor of Mexico:

Although [he] entered the career of arms unexpectedly, he was not a half-trained soldier; he had studied the science of war practically, in the field, and was promoted grade by grade in rapid succession, but without any favoritism. He became general of a division at the point of the sword; through war he also gained reputation and popularity, and with his sword, his reputation, and his popularity, he won the Presidency of the Republic. (P. 9)

Díaz first ran for the presidency of Mexico in 1867 and then, in 1871, but lost both elections to Benito Juárez. After his second loss, he claimed that Juárez was guilty of electoral fraud and launched efforts to revolt against Juárez's rule (Meier and Ribera 1993). The efforts proved to be unsuccessful and in 1876, Díaz once again attempted to take the reins of the Mexican presidency, this time from Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, who had replaced Juárez upon his death in 1872. While exiled in Texas, Díaz planned a successful revolt against Lerdo, and by May of 1877, he officially became president for the next four years (DeZayas Enríquez 1908; Miller 1989). Díaz initially approached the presidency like a soldier—cautious and protective of the motherland. He benefitted from the initial support of Mexican citizens who held him in high esteem because of his preceding military reputation and valiant success during the French invasion (García

2002:13). Meier and Ribera (1993) described Díaz's truest intentions as "[f]rom his assumption of the presidency in 1876 to the end of the century he became increasingly the master of Mexico, directing its economy as well as the government" (p. 104).

With the new acquisition of power, Díaz was confronted with the realization that Mexico was in dire economic shambles, as the national treasury and credit standing were both dried out and Mexico's relations with other countries were in limbo (Alec-Tweedie 1906; DeZayas Enríquez:1908). Díaz worked to stabilize the politics and economy of Mexico by inviting prospective investors from abroad to visit Mexico and participate in the ever growing rail, mineral, oil, and land industries (Bryan 1976; Durand, Massey, and Charvet 2000; Meier and Ribera 1993). As he described the economic potential, "We welcome and protect the capital and energy of the whole world in this country. We have a field for investors that perhaps cannot be found elsewhere" (Creelman 1908:250).

Still, it became clear that only foreigners and the wealthy Mexicans were able to fully enjoy the benefits of the economic growth: "Indians were regarded as impediments to progress, and some . . . were 'pacified' in order to accommodate the drive for capitalist development in a largely traditional society. Peasants on *haciendas* were expropriated and debt peonage spread" (Bryan 1976:665; Miller 1989). Political and economic stability, it seemed, came at the price of the displacement and suffering of the lower classes across the land. For the Mexican citizens who had initially supported his presidency, they began to realize the crumbling of civil rights, the state, and the local governments, all while the powers of the central government increased. Mexico, it seemed, was on its way toward a dictatorship (García 2002:14).

Undoubtedly, Díaz had improved Mexico's prospect of economic growth, but he had also destroyed the prospects of future social development. Mexico was increasingly becoming a place of "limited opportunity, high cost of living, low wages, and political repression" (Gómez-Quiñones 1973:18). As Bryan (1976) elaborated:

By 1910, large segments of the Mexican population had been alienated from the central government and from its local representatives and it appears that many of the succeeding revolts originated in regions of rapid industrial and commercial growth which were populated by disgruntled middle-class and articulate working-class groups. Clearly, political development did not keep pace with economic growth, and the latter produced tensions to which Díaz could no longer respond. (P. 667)

Large groups of Mexicans were leaving Mexico for the United States because of the Díaz dictatorship and its "draconian land policies" (Gutiérrez 1995:39). Through his land policy, many poor Mexicans were forced off their land and pushed into a migratory labor stream (Gutiérrez 1995:44; Sánchez 1995:20). Adding fuel to the fire were Díaz's positivist supporters, who argued that some races, such as the native Indians in Mexico, were genetically inferior and incapable of developing a modern Mexico. As Meier and Ribera (1993) pointed out, "Mexico had become known as the mother of foreigners and the stepmothers of Mexicans" (p. 104). After years of neglect and frustration, the working class had finally reached their breaking point and, in 1910, the Mexican Revolution broke out.

Since the beginning of the Porfirian regime, economic conditions had been unfavorable for the majority of the Mexican population (Barrera 1980). By 1910, American investors actually owned more than one hundred million acres of Mexican land (Hart 1989:6). Thus, the original intention of the Mexican Revolution was to

invoke a movement that would overthrow Díaz while calling for a major overhauling of the labor and land laws (Miller 1989). Francisco I. Madero, a wealthy Mexican agricultural elite, previously spoke out against Díaz at the start of the 1910 presidential election for going against his promise that he would not seek a third presidential term, as well as for refusing to allow open elections (García 1981). In response, Díaz sent Madero to jail for having the audacity to challenge his authority, where he remained imprisoned until after the re-election. Upon his release, Madero traveled to San Antonio, where he convened with other exiled Mexicans who were living in the city, and drew up the Plan of San Luis Potosí. The plan called for a revolt against the Díaz regime, one that demanded “political reforms and the revitalization of the 1867 constitution” (García 1981:178; Meier and Ribera 1993; Miller 1989).

Consequently, during the Mexican Revolution, political and economic refugees began to flee, as well: “Hundreds of refugees, both rich and poor, fled Mexico to escape persecution by the different warring factions. Consequently, many Mexican elites fled Mexico and set up house at hotels and rooming houses” (García 1989:40). Sánchez (1995) noted how the wealthy and the poor had their own respective reasons for leaving Mexico: “*campesinos* . . . for their personal safety, hacienda owners . . . for fear of reprisals from their employees” (p. 20). In fact, most of Díaz’s most ardent supporters also fled the country, leaving him to resign in May of 1911 and move to France in exile (García 2002). Madero was soon elected into the newly vacated presidency of Mexico, thus inspiring new hope in Mexicans—exiled and non-exiled—

that their beloved country would be restored and that the revolution was finally over (Meier and Ribera 1993).

Mexicans in San Antonio and the Creation of the Middle Class Enclave

“ . . . it is the subordinate group which is expected to do the adjusting, conforming, and assimilating...” –Everett V. Stonequist³

Archer and Blau (1993) contended that the composition of a middle class is largely dependent on its then-current historical context, San Antonio being no exception. Beginning in 1910, the Mexican Revolution was responsible for a major influx of Mexican citizens into the United States and, in particular, Texas (see Table 1). The Revolution began as a protest against the dictator Porfirio Díaz, whose rule had established a political system where powerful families were not only incorporated into power, but also whose members held substantial economic and political influence over the other citizens (Knight 1980). In response, many Mexican citizens rallied against Díaz and more specifically, many fled to San Antonio as political refugees.

The focus on Mexican middle class mobility originates from the migration of Mexican citizens who were already part of an elevated class in their home country. Of those immigrating into San Antonio, middle class Mexicans suffered from a unique predicament. Whereas previously they had lived somewhat of a privileged status in their home country, they found themselves regarded quite differently upon arrival in San Antonio. They arrived in the United States as political refugees, making them more financially secure. Arriving in San Antonio with financial means and skills allowed

³ Quote from 1935 *AJS* article by Everett V. Stonequist, p.2

Table 1. Mexicans Admitted into the United States: 1894 to 1920

Year	Number Admitted
1894	109
1895	116
1896	150
1897	91
1898	107
1899	161
1900	237
1901	347
1902	709
1903	528
1904	1,009
1905	3,637
1906	1,997
1907	1,406
1908	6,067
1909	16,251
1910	18,691
1911	19,889
1912	23,238
1913	11,926
1914	14,614
1916	18,425
1917	17,869
1918	18,524
1919	29,818
1920	52,361

Sources: Hufford (1971); García (2002)

them to live comfortably, in comparison to the living conditions of the working class. As cited by García (1991), “The old Mexican elite lost prestige, since the Anglo ... tended to place all Mexicans in the same category and to look upon them as intruders and undesirables” (p. 42). In her research on black immigrants, Waters (1994) found that those immigrants who moved to the United States from the Caribbean believed that they were of a higher status, to the point of avoiding contact with the seemingly “lazy and disorganized” black Americans (p. 797). This phenomenon was not unlike that of the newly arrived Mexican middle class. In their minds, they were a different class than that of the lowly and poverty stricken Mexican laborers. However, because they physically resembled the other Mexican immigrants who were less financially secure, middle class Mexicans were lumped together with labor class Mexicans into a less prestigious category, thereby limiting the potential for upward mobility. These individuals, angry at this new assignment of identity, began referring to themselves as “Latin Americans” to distinguish themselves from the migrant labor class.

On the part of the Anglo Americans, a Mexican was a Mexican, regardless of whether they were born in Mexico or in the United States. Not only were they Mexican, but they were also viewed as being unsanitary, diseased, backward, slow, immoral, more than likely to depend on government assistance, and even “inferior even to the lowliest European immigrants” (Gutiérrez 1995:46-53; also García 1989:41; Gómez 1992; Reisler 1976). Many Anglo Americans generalized Mexicans as “menace[s] to public health” that were responsible for spreading diseases like tuberculosis, small pox, and typhus (Holmes 1929:620). As the wife of a ranch manager explained, “Let him have as

good an education but still let him know he is not as good as a white man. God did not intend him to be. He would have made them white if He had” (Montejano 1987:221).

Such discord and negativity was not limited to just Anglo Americans—it extended over to Mexicans and Mexican Americans, as well. As Wilson (2003) explained, “. . . although ‘Mexican’ was less a racialized identity for them than a cultural inheritance, even middle-class Mexican Americans nonetheless felt the sting of Anglo prejudices” (p. 212). The middle class Mexican Americans argued that they had been born in the United States, spoke English, and were acutely aware of their rights, thereby refusing to be mistreated like the “poor fellows who c[a]me fresh from the other side” (Gutiérrez 1995:62).

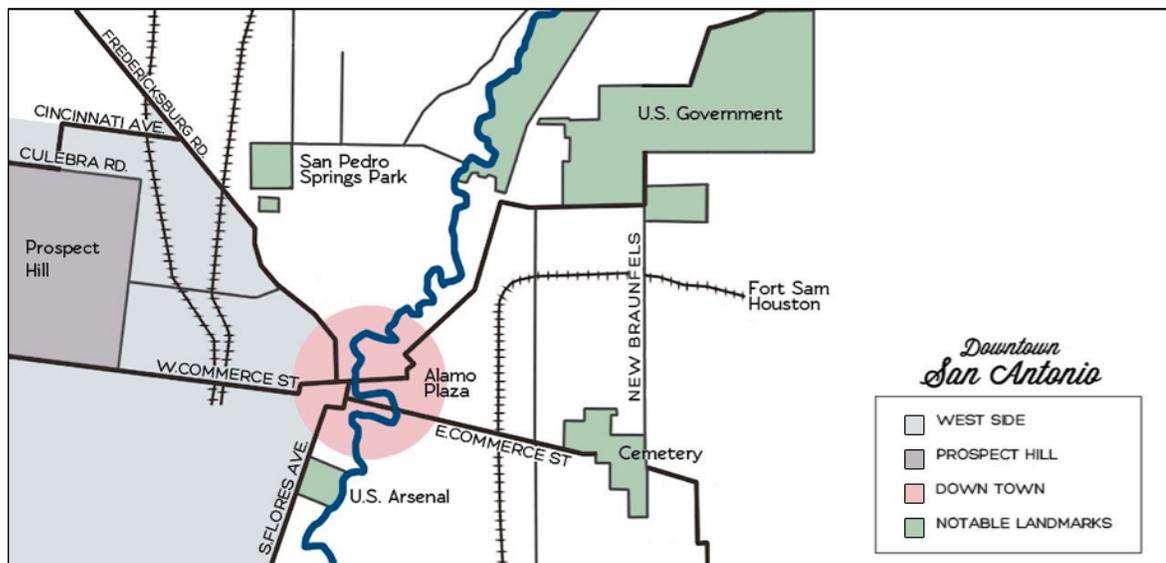


Figure 5. Map of Downtown San Antonio and Surrounding Area

Bogardus (1930) argued that Mexican communities seemed to settle in the areas that were further away from the rail tracks and where living conditions were dismal, poor, and less than desirable. He explained, “Why did the Mexicans come to this part of town? Because it was low and swampy and not good, and that is where the Americans will not go themselves” (Bogardus 1930:75). The housing in this part of the city left much to be desired, described as “. . . posts stuck upright in the earth—leaving an opening for a door and window—A thatched roof . . . the crevices stopped up with mud—and behold a Mexican home” (Eastman 1961:xxii; Remy 1968:567). Much of the Mexican population resided in the West Side of the city, an area that embodied a maturity of intellectual and cultural proportions (see Figure 5). García (1991) pinpointed this very atmosphere as what “permeated Mexican consciousness” (p. 24). Economically, there was no doubt that the residents lived in poverty, a fact established through the geographic and socioeconomic segregation. The West Side was generally described as a “slum” full of dilapidated housing units, uncleanliness, and despair (Landolt 1976:45). However, culturally, they flourished, experiencing a “heightened sense of ethnicity” from the other residents who labeled them as Mexicans. (García 1991:28).

As younger generations of Mexicans began to branch away from the railroad tracks while looking for homes, they began moving into areas that were seemingly conducive to a middle class lifestyle. One area in San Antonio where the most of the middle class immigrants settled was the neighborhood of Prospect Hill. Situated just outside of downtown, Prospect Hill was a predominantly middle class neighborhood

within an otherwise working class location. Socioeconomically, the middle class residents were better off than the labor class—they held slightly better occupations, statuses, and material possessions, and had enough financial capital to set up their own businesses—and were generally identified by the Anglo Americans as being clean and nicely dressed, unlike the “old greaser” appearance (Montejano 1987:244; also García 1991; Meier and Ribera 1993). The newcomers were mostly “landowners, merchants, and intellectuals” and while they sympathized with their working class counterparts, they established an invisible boundary between the two classes (Meier and Ribera 1993:109). The middle class was one composed of members of a different social echelon, a fact of which they were fully aware. For one, the middle class residents were actually able to purchase their own homes within Prospect Hill. Katz, Stern, and Fader (2007) found that property ownership was one way in which to measure immigrants’ financial success.

Gans (1999) argued that class is just as important as race in determining boundaries. Even in the cases of higher classed minorities, he explains that they were still more likely to be affronted than lower class white citizens. Both Lieberman (1981) and Hout (1986) explained that oftentimes, because the minority population is geographically segregated, many middle class jobs remain unfilled because the majority population does not wish to work in minority neighborhoods. In his study on blacks and the middle class, Landry (1987) found that blacks kept from integrating into white middle class occupations such as clerical work, scientists, and writers. Instead, “... the only middle-class occupations accessible to blacks were those that served the needs of

the black community—they could be teachers, ministers, social workers, and, occasionally, doctors and lawyers” (Landry 1987:2). Wilson and Portes (1980), in looking at Cuban immigrant enclaves in Miami, found that the immigrant entrepreneurs took advantage of existing ethnic loyalties, as well as language and cultural barriers, which could potentially provide them with “privileged access to markets and sources of labor” (p. 315).

In the case of Prospect Hill, these unfilled jobs indeed provided an opportunity for middle class residents to establish themselves professionally by opening their own businesses. One example of this opportunity is the Munguía family printing shop in San Antonio, which began printing for a neighborhood Chinese grocer who had encountered difficulty in finding a printer who would work for immigrant entrepreneurs. The encouragement of occupational and financial prosperity amongst the neighborhood business owners, this example seems to support further development of a middle class in the Prospect Hill neighborhood.

For elites and members of the middle class, they also found themselves adjusting to life in the United States with more ease than their working class counterparts. Meier and Ribera (1993) remarked that the change in geographic location did *not* indicate that they had changed their way of life. Instead, the immigrants found themselves actively pursuing political leadership and involvement at the city level. In San Antonio, the elites and the middle class found that even though they felt a sociopolitical disconnection with members of the labor class, the health and living conditions were problems that were serious enough to unite San Antonio’s entire Mexican community. They “aligned

themselves with their poorer Mexican brethren . . . giving rise to intra-social, cultural, cohesion within the West side community” (Márquez et al. 2007:305).

This chapter has delved extensively into the prejudice and discrimination encountered by Mexican immigrants prior, during, and after the Mexican Revolution. The reason for this is to paint a distinctive picture of the social, political, and economic conditions of the time, as well as the region. There is great irony in a situation that showed white American settlers treating Mexican immigrants like social pariahs for moving to a region that had once belonged to Mexico. Furthermore, it is without question that the Mexican immigrants, as well as their subsequent generations, encountered routine discrimination from every angle. This type of prejudice and discrimination had a tremendous impact on the immigrant’s inability to find shelter, employment, and acceptance in their new home country. In the following chapter, I will evaluate the factors that influenced an immigrant’s socioeconomic success. However, this irony cannot be lost, for without it, one will never truly learn from the mistakes of the past.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

This dissertation concentrates on members of the Mexican middle class who moved to San Antonio because of threats of political persecution and even death. Upon their arrival, they settled into a neighborhood recognized as an enclave for middle class Mexicans and their families. In this chapter, I will provide an extensive review of three concepts that are key to this research: the definition of racial and ethnic identities, the conceptualization of the middle class, and finally, the definition and measurement of capital. Reviewing the process of defining racial and ethnic identities is crucial because it puts two things into perspective—one, the difficulty in defining a dynamic and social concept; and two, understanding major social events within the context of this evolving concept. Studying how scholars conceptualize the middle class allows us to further understand the differences between the realities of the labor and middle classes, both of which were often publicly grouped together as one and the same. Finally, by reviewing capital and its measurable forms, we can grasp the fragility of an immigrant's success upon realizing its dependency on many overpowering factors.

Definition of Racial/Ethnic Identities

Contemporary race literature has asserted race as a social construct, used to distinguish subcategories within the general population. As Escobar (1999) explained:

As a social constructed concept, race is dynamic by definition. What attributes constitutes a race, which groups are defined as separate races, and how those

racess are treated change over time and may even vary from one race to another at any given moment. (P. 7)

Suggestions that certain racial groups possessed particular biological traits have remained unproven, leading Escobar (1999) to note that a race was more likely to experience “genetic variation” within itself than between other races (p. 7). Instead, he added, as groups have existed within racialized statuses over time, the foundation of this “racialization,” or “the social assumptions about a group that [has] maintain[ed] it as racially ‘other’” has evolved, as well (Escobar 1999:7). In the time following the Mexican-American War, Mexicans were often regarded negatively as racially inferior to the Anglo American population and even more likely to commit crimes (Escobar 1999; Garis 1926).

In a handbook designed to assist counselors to the Mexican American community, García and Ybarra-García (1985) included a quote from Manuel Ramirez about his racial and ethnic identity: “Being a member of the Mexican American culture implies duality, that is to day, Mexicanness as well as Americanism. The full implications of this cultural duality cannot be simplistically specified because of the great variance in cultural identification” (p. 1). Scholars have long recognized the complexity in assigning one name to an entire racial/ethnic group, and Mexicans and Mexican Americans are no different. Nagel (1994) argued that ethnicity was a construct based on a person’s language, religion, culture, appearance, and ancestry, with its boundaries constantly under redefinition (p. 151-52). A person’s ethnicity was the primary identification until scholars acknowledged that a person actually had more than one identity (Gómez 1992:49). As Gómez-Quñones (2000) elaborated on this concept:

Identity or being is too often treated as a ready-made label or a ‘platonic essence’ . . . [i]n everyday life, identity is rooted in practices in myths that are fundamental to individual social reaffirmations and cultural reproductions. Identity is created from the actions of existence, not academic abstractions. (P. 81)

Because social identity is the tension between change and continuity, it has the potential to result in more than one identity, such as those of an ethnic, national, or regional nature (Gómez-Quíñones 2000:81). Frable (1997) also found race and ethnicity, as social identities, to be “fluid” and “multidimensional” (p. 149-50).

Moore (1970) noted how the academic community had long tried to define the Mexican American community as “passive objects of study,” an approach that failed to acknowledge the community’s own ability to define themselves (p. 463). She explained, “The initial Mexican contact with American society came by conquest, not by choice. Mexican American culture *was* well developed; it *was* autonomous; the colonized *were* a numerical majority” (Moore 1970:464). The Mexican American culture, she surmised, was different in that its members were native to the Southwest region, discouraging the “uncritical application of the classic paradigms to all minorities” (Moore 1970:464). As Alvarez (1973) explained, “. . . *as a people*, Mexican Americans are a creation of the imperial conquest of one nation by another through military force” (p. 920). It is only natural to assume that Mexican American culture would be quite different from the culture of Mexicans from Mexico.

Calderón (1992) noted the unique history of Texas marked by American occupation and subsequent Mexican losses of power and leadership. Because Mexican immigrants alternated between “back-and-forth” tendencies and settlement, “a strong

cultural tradition carried over from Mexico” (Calderón 1992:38). He divided the historical development of this region into three types of experiences:

- Those who first resided in the Southwest region
- Those who immigrated to the United States from 1910 onward
- Those who descended from the abovementioned groups. (P. 38)

Group membership was not mutually exclusive and there was potential for group overlapping. As he added, “First-, second-, and third-generation Chicanos of various levels of acculturation ha[d] on the whole retained an ethnic identity” (Calderón 1992:38; Keefe and Padilla 1987:187). The forging of identities has undoubtedly affected Mexicans and their subsequent historical past—not only by the definitions of their own ethnic community, but those from a greater society (Gómez 1992).

Landolt (1976) recognized the complications that resulted from the United States government’s attempts to conceptualize “Mexicans” during the 1930 census. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Mexicans were “all persons born in Mexico, or having parents born in Mexico, who were not definitely white, Negro, Indian, Chinese, or Japanese” (Landolt 1976:5). However, he further described, there was a fundamental issue with this definition—later generations of Mexican Americans, in accordance to the census’ definition, were understatedly enumerated as white (Landolt 1976:5). In addition, some Mexican Americans were hostile to the idea of being a part of any race other than white. As a result, the 1940 census counted all persons of Mexican descent as white and used the “mother tongue” category as a way of identifying Mexican American residents. Unfortunately, as Landolt (1976) explained, “Substantial understatement in

the enumeration of Mexican-Americans again resulted, especially among the more highly assimilated native born who chose to give English as their native language” (p. 6).

According to Meier and Ribera (1993), three major complications influence the identification process:

1. Not all group members can and will agree on one common name.
2. Previous names once used for self-identification often share a connection to a person’s social class, geographical location, and historical context.
3. Over time, government agencies have used a variety of racial/ethnic identifiers that make it difficult to gain an “accurate historical picture” of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. (P. 6)

García (1982), referring to the work of Carlos and Padilla (1974), noted that past research efforts had attempted to define Mexican identity through cultural and psychological characteristics, all while ignoring what he designated as the “multidimensionality of the Chicano experience” (p. 296). Oboler (1991) described this problem as “put[ting] people of a variety of national backgrounds into a single ‘ethnic’ category” (p. 4). García (1982) argued that identification, identity, and consciousness were three essential components to a person’s ethnicity and were responsible for forming attitudes and behaviors. He defined the components as follows:

- **Identification:** a psychological awareness of individuals of Mexican origin that deal with “the perception of one’s similarity with social group categories.”

- **Identity:** the psychological product that comes from the identification process mentioned above—how and the way in which an individual defines his or her ethnic self.
- **Consciousness:** a broad concept that refers to cultural attitudes and preferences that manifest through the acknowledgement and practice of ethnic history and events (García 1981; García 1982).

For individuals of Mexican descent, Arce (1981) contended that they were more likely to preserve and maintain their culture because they were concentrated across geographic locations that were “out of the mainstream American culture and political and economic processes until the latter half of the nineteenth century” (p. 177). Additionally, the constant stream of immigrants had “replenished sources of cultural contact and preservation” (Arce 1981:177). Ethnic identities and ethnic labels are “dynamic and contextual,” with outcomes that are highly dependent on specific internal and external situations (Gómez 1992:46). Mexicans were treated as racially non-white and as such, they were often barred from participating in, and adopting traits of, mainstream white society. Therefore, they often found themselves asking three important questions: “*Who am I?*” “*What do I want?*” and “*Of what am I a part?*” (Gómez-Quñones 2000:83).

Naturally, discussions pertaining to racial and ethnic identities of immigrants often lead into the topic of assimilation. Assimilation is the process in which an individual (or group) acquires attitudes and sentiments of other reference groups. In addition, these attitudes and sentiments bridge together with their own attitudes and sentiments, thus incorporating them into what Arce (1981) called a “common cultural

life” (p. 178) and what Gordon (1961) described as “Anglo-conformity” (p. 265; see also Park and Burgess 1921; Teske and Nelson 1971). The works of Bogardus (1934), Borjas (1994), Peñalosa and McDonagh (1966), Teske and Nelson (1971, 1976), and Waters (1994) have all asserted that assimilation was generally seen in later generations, second and onward, who were living in the United States, were native born, and of foreign parentage. In particular, as Bogardus (1934) added, “while their grandparents speak chiefly Spanish, while their parents speak both Spanish and English, they (third generation Mexican Americans) are refusing to speak Spanish” (p. 3-4; also Ortiz 1997). While studying Caribbean immigrants, Waters (1994) addressed an important choice that children of immigrants face—do they self-identify as black Americans in their new homeland or should they maintain the same ethnic identities of their parents that characteristically separate themselves from black Americans? Park (1930) described immigrant assimilation as the point at which the immigrant learned the language, culture, and rituals of the new community without “encountering prejudice in the common life, economic and political” (p. 281). Borjas (2006) elaborated on this point by explaining how an immigrant’s economic place (and, by default, class placement) in society is largely dependent on acquiring skills that are desired by American employers, such as mastering the English language, moving into areas beyond the traditionally ethnic neighborhoods, and adopting American values (p. 4; Wilson and Portes 1980). In his study on Mexicans in San Antonio, Knox (1927) noted the particularly “shock[ing]” moment when the immigrant parent realized that their children were adopting the values of the dominant society (p. 10).

Teske and Nelson (1971) outlined three general theories that explain why some Mexican Americans assimilate, while others hold onto their original culture and values:

1. **Situational socialization:** by establishing social ties with other groups, the original group identity benefits through upward mobility and subsequent assimilation into the new cultural system.
2. **Routine socialization:** in some instances, parents who were middle class in their home country immigrate and suddenly find themselves positioned within a lower class. Their children are not only used to living as middle class, but are still socialized as such, all because the parents are trying to reclaim a place within the (American) middle class.
3. **Post socialization:** according to this theory, mobility that occurs only does so after an individual's life circumstances have changed. (P. 11-3)

Gordon (1964) combined all previous efforts of defining assimilation into a list of seven specific assimilation variables:

1. Marital assimilation
2. Attitude receptional assimilation
3. Behavior receptional assimilation
4. Civic assimilation
5. Cultural/behavioral assimilation
6. Structural assimilation
7. Identificational assimilation. (P. 71)

Of these seven variables, he identified three variables that he deemed to be the most significant pertaining to immigrant culture and identity:

- **Cultural assimilation:** when the subordinate group adopts the cultural patterns and behaviors of the dominant group.
- **Structural assimilation:** predicts the likelihood of the immigrants adopting all customs, behaviors, and culture of the dominant group through primary relationships.
- **Identificational assimilation:** the development of the subordinate group's social identity based on that of the dominant group's social identity (Gordon 1964:71; also Arce 1981:178-9).

The respective roles that historical and social cultures both play in the assimilation process are crucially important. As Hurtado, Gurin, and Peng (1994) elaborated, "Their social identities are socially constructed from the knowledge individual members have about their group's collective history and from their experiences in various social structures in the United States" (p. 130). While studying a group of Mexican Americans who were politically active at the local level, Calderón (1992) remarked that the loss of the Spanish language, along with the middle class mobility they experienced, made the members feel as though they were "Americans like everybody else" (p. 42). When Waters (1994) asked second-generation black Americans to identify their ethnic background, they replied, "I put down American because I was born up here. I feel that is what I should put down" (p. 807).

Equally important is the effect that an immigrant's physical appearance can have on assimilation. Lieberman (1981) acknowledged that physical characteristics like skin color, eye color, and hair are all factors used to distinguish members within a population. Similarly, Arce (1981) noted that immigrants whose physical appearance is similar to that of the dominant group are more likely to assimilate:

It has been asserted . . . that if Mexicans lost their cultural identity, those more light-skinned and Caucasian-appearing would "become a part of our class order and be capable of rising in our social hierarchy," while those darker would probably become semicaste and possibly merge with black or American Indian groups. (P. 180)

However, he added, many Mexicans are either direct or indirect descendants of Mexico's Indian populations, while only a small number are of either European or *mestizo* (part Indian and part European) descent. Landolt (1976), in his study of Mexican American workers in San Antonio, explained how darker-skinned migrant workers and unskilled laborers who were uneducated and poor were considered "Mexicans," while individuals with lighter skin, more education, and fluent English speaking skills were identified as "Spanish" (p. 4). Forbes (1960) believed that "as the status of a person improved, his race changed. He might begin life as a Negro, pure or otherwise, and end life as a mulatto or Eurafrican, mestizo, or Eurindian, or even as Espanol" (p. 225). With some nativists arguing that native Indian-blooded Mexicans were unclean and responsible for numerous public health issues, this only served to further heighten the group's racial and ethnic consciousness while adjusting to the new homeland (Reisler 1976). The response of an Anglo American woman, as quoted by

Simmons (1961), firmly cemented this mindset: “Mexicans are inferior because they are so typically and naturally Mexican” (p. 289).

The term “Hispanic” generalizes Latin American ethnic minorities into one category. However, this phrase is not widely agreed upon by both scholars and those identified as Hispanic. Portes (1998b) elaborated on this discussion by noting how the Hispanic label represented “a group-in formation whose boundaries and self-definitions [were] in flux” (p. 113). Oboler (1991) argued that the people grouped as Hispanic are viewed only as individuals of Spanish/Latin origin and not for their varying language, racial, and class differences. As she further explained:

It ignores the distinctions between descendants of U.S. conquest such as the Mexican Americans and people colonized by the U.S. such as the Puerto Ricans. It combines native-born Americans with economic immigrants who crossed the U.S. border yesterday (Oboler 1991:5).

To use Hispanic in reference to these people falsely operates under the assumption that they all shared the same racial, ethnic, class, and language identities and experiences—as Oboler (1991) clarified, “homogenize[ing]” them (p. 6).

This dissertation will utilize the following racial and ethnic definitions:

- **Mexicans:** Individuals who are born in Mexico, are generally descended from Spanish and/or early native tribes, and spend much of their time in the United States. They are not typically involved with cultural adaptation, as they frequently associate with other individuals of similar cultural, ethnic, and social standings. Traditionally, they are members of the labor or middle classes and are intensely aware of their Mexican identities. Other phrases of identification include *foreigner*, *Mexicano*, or *immigrant*, terms that generally

align with a “broad Latin American consciousness” (Hurtado et al. 1994:139; also refer to Ayala 2005; García 1981; Landolt 1976; Rosales 1999; Thompson 1956).

- **Mexican Americans:** Individuals born in the United States to Mexican-born parents, grandparents, or other relatives and develop their social identities through a combination of their ethnic background and environment. Members of this group also identify as *Americans of Mexican descent*, *Spanish American*, *Chicano*, *Hispanic*, or *raza*. During the latter part of the 1970s, *Hispanic* was a generalized label for groups of Latin American origin (Gómez 1992; Oboler 1992), while as early as 1911, *Chicano* referred to individuals of Mexican descent who were “un-Americanized” (Nostrand 1973). However, *Chicano*’s most common use came to represent an aggressive and militant type of “defiance and self-assertion and as an attempt to redefine themselves by criteria of their own choosing,” while *raza* was used to describe the political activities of the *Chicanos*. (Gutiérrez 1995:184). Interestingly, for some older Mexican Americans, the word *Chicano* still conjures up negative feelings of resentment that date back to the passionate activism of the 1960s (Alvarez 1966; Ayala 2005; Barrera 1980; Calderón 1992; Flores 1992; Hurtado et al. 1994; Nostrand 1973; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights: 1970).
- **Anglo Americans:** Caucasian citizens of the United States who are neither Mexican nor Native American and speak English as their native language.

Anglo Americans are also called *Anglos*, *whites*, and in some cases, simply *Americans* (Barrera 1980; Meier and Ribera 1993; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1968).

- **Tejanos:** Individuals of mixed heritage, such as Spanish, Native American, or African descent, who are born in Texas (Mason 1994).

Conceptualization of the Middle Class

As this study focuses on middle class Mexican residents living in San Antonio, an understanding of what exactly constitutes a middle class is essential. Remarkably, the current body of research lacks one cohesive definition of the middle class. This means that no one specific definition is widely used across class literature and discussions. In this section, I will discuss some of the problems associated with defining the middle class, as well as theoretical approaches often used when discussing class relations—particularly the middle class—as they pertain to minorities. I will also establish a definition of the middle class for use in this research on Mexican immigrants.

Class, as described by Lawler (2005), is “a dynamic process which is the site of political struggle, rather than a set of static and empty positions waiting to be filled by indicators such as employment and housing,” the product of history’s tendency to separate the bourgeoisie from everyone else (p. 430). Class is ambiguous, always in transition, and operates without clearly defined boundaries while remaining both reactive and productive (Ball 2003; Walkowitz 1999). Wright and Perrone (1977) pointed out how some sociologists have identified class as groups of people in common positions

within “status hierarchies,” while others have suggested that class is a conflict group that is defined by its position within a power structures (p. 33). Carle (2001) found that defining members of a class often resulted in assumptions being made over the types of problems and values shared by class members, while also noting how some scholars used educational attainment, the potential for economic mobility, and health insurance as determining factors of middle class status (p. 720). Hughes and Woldekidan (1994) maintained that the middle class is not the same thing as a middle-income group, but rather, is a “statistical entity” that has “recognizable social, cultural and political as well as economic characteristics” (p. 139). The fact that the middle class encompasses all three of these dimensions makes defining it a complicated task, though, as Hughes and Woldekidan (1994) noted, its economic dimension makes quantifying the middle class much easier (p. 130).

University of Wisconsin-Madison’s Institute for Research on Poverty (1979) described Wright’s viewpoint on class being related to income, stating: “Poor people constitute a lower class, middle-income people a middle class, and rich people an upper class” (p. 9). Many demographers (the statistical study of human populations) define the middle class as “persons living in households with annual incomes clustering around the median household income” (Carle 2001:721). However, Carle (2001) stressed that this income-centric definition failed to acknowledge the impact of variables such as living expenses, assets, and accrued debts—variables that affected a person’s financial wellbeing (p. 721).

References to a “middle class” have long raised questions related to its definitional constraints. Quite simply, scholars have encountered great difficulty in establishing a proper definition, which has encouraged some to take advantage of its ambiguity. According to Wahrman (1995), “when conceived in ‘sociological’ terms, the language of ‘middle class’ could refer to a surprisingly wide range of social groups, high and low, rural and urban ” (p. 16). Blumin (1989) described the difficulty of conceptualizing this group as “... a variety of less precise, less concise, and usually plural phrases expressed the idea of social intermediacy—‘people of middling rank,’ the ‘middling sorts,’ the ‘middle condition of mankind,’ occasionally the ‘middle (or middling) classes’” (p. 1). Ball (2003) also viewed the middle class as “by definition... a class-between,” one cultivated by contradiction and uncertainty (p. 4). The middle class, Blumin (1989) continued, was an elusive concept and one often used inaccurately, because the United States had never really had a middle *class*, but more of a middle-class *culture* (p. 2).

To C. Wright Mills ([1951] 2002), the United States was a society that was predominantly middle class, a class “so broad a stratum and of such economic weight” (p. 7), that even with the seemingly lack of information on the group, the middle class represented “considerable social and political potential” (p. xix). Indeed, much of the literature from this period referred to the middle class as a similarly positioned “immediate stratum within American society” (Blumin 1989:4). It was an “in-between” class; one that Ehrenreich (1989) argued was “insecure and deeply anxious” (p. 15).

Jackman and Jackman (1985) found that literature on social classes followed two particular lines of thought. The first line of thought examined the underlying rules that dictated occupational class assignments, which they argued followed Weber's conceptualization of class as an economic category (Jackman and Jackman 1985:23; Weber [1946] 1958). The second line of thought referred to how people defined their own social class membership, making class more of a social category and one that fell closer to Marx's idea that class was a combination of social and economic factors (Jackman and Jackman 1985; Marx 1964). Wright (1996) discussed the specific connection between class and Marxist theory—or rather, the perceived problem:

The Marxist concept of class is rooted in a polarized notion of antagonistic class relations... In the analysis of developed capitalist societies, however, many people do not seem to fit this neatly polarized image. In every day language, many people are 'middle class' (P. xxvii)

Wright found himself presented with a seemingly paradoxical dilemma: if Marxist theory viewed class as a polarizing notion, how was “middle” class able to fit within this framework?

Previous research that examined members of the African American middle class found that the members believed that, as a collective group, they were only worth as much as they and their fellow members were willing to provide for others less fortunate—financially and socially. Referring back to a shared discriminatory past, Vallejo and Lee (2009) explained how this shared history “le[d] to a sense of responsibility to give back to poorer kin and co-ethics” (p. 8). Regarding other minority middle classes, such as Mexicans, the authors have suggested that they might have encountered more difficulties and problems than middle class Anglo Americans, which

they attributed to the fact that minority networks tended to be “more class heterogeneous” than Anglo American networks (Vallejo and Lee 2009:10). As they further elaborated, a large number of middle class Mexicans not only felt pressured by their network’s obligation to provide financial and social benefits for their family members, but they believed that it actually hindered them from achieving upward socioeconomic mobility.

Clark (2003) evaluated the middle class on the bases of income and homeownership. By discussing the connection between the aforementioned factors, he reiterates how homeownership is a common response to wealth accumulation. He added, “[T]o the extent that ownership is closely tied to other assets, and in turn to retirement plans, the combination of income *and* ownership goes a long way toward an adequate measure of middle-class status” (Clark 2003:62). While it is true that some immigrants are able to move into the United States and the middle class at the same time, he stresses that this is generally not the case, as most immigrants are subject to slow climbs up the ladder of prosperity. In cases such as these, Clark (2003) listed seven specific variables that contributed to an immigrant’s ability to move into the middle class. The proceeding chart (Table 2) demonstrates how these variables can affect middle class mobility:

Table 2. Variables that Impact Immigrant Mobility into Middle Class

Variables	Effect on Mobility
<i>Age of individual</i>	When an immigrant arrives in the United States, as well as how long they remain in the country, improves their chances of mobility.
<i>Length of time in the United States</i>	The longer an immigrant is in the United States, the more likely they are to move up the socioeconomic ladder.
<i>Individual's professional status</i>	Improving upon an immigrant's professional status is greatly dependent on language proficiency and education level.
<i>Individual's citizenship status</i>	When individual arrived, as well as the length of time spent, in the United States. Combined, these factors increase the likelihood of mobility.
<i>Level of English proficiency</i>	Maintaining a high level of English proficiency increases the likelihood that an immigrant will receive promising job opportunities.
<i>Number of years of education</i>	An immigrant's language proficiency and years of education are recognized as two important factors in achieving middle class status.
<i>Presence of two workers living in the household</i>	This often indicates more economic stability and stability for the household.

Source: Clark (2003)

It is true that some scholars heavily rely on numbers to paint a picture of the middle class. Moralez (2010) expressed concern over this trend, as he felt that defining a middle class should go beyond quantitative data, since it expresses “an essential way of

describing our relationship to other people” through educational levels, domestic and work habits, and political involvement (p. 4-5). Assignment to the middle class category seems to imply financial stability, access to quality education, and even occupational mobility. Stearns (1979) has also argued against the scholarly tendency of only defining the middle class based on income, identifying three particular problems that plague middle class research:

1. The identification of middle class status through income
2. The relationship between bourgeois and middle classes
3. The relationship between upper and middle class

Additionally, he discussed how scholars have attempted to properly define the middle class, only to put forth “inadequate sets of definitional criteria” that failed to address the three above listed problems (Stearns 1979:383).

According to Hout (1986), the middle class is the result of the minority community maintaining a range of service professional and proprietary jobs, as well as positions in education and community service within mostly minority neighborhoods. In addition, minorities who shared backgrounds that were similar to those of the majority were more likely to experience upward mobility within professional, managerial, and skilled occupations (p. 216). Landry (1987) further expanded on this idea by explaining how, “between the owners of corporations and banks and manual workers, nonmanual workers came to be viewed as relatively well-off in the class structure” (p. 7). These workers, in contrast to blue-collar laborers, performed work that was generally cleaner, held in higher esteem, and more likely to receive higher incomes.

In their attempt to understand what exactly makes a middle class, Banerjee and Duflo (2008) commented that nothing seemed as middle class as one holding onto a steady and well paying job (p. 26). As they explained:

They run businesses, but for the most part only because they are still relatively poor and every little bit helps. If they could only find the right salaried job, they might be quite content to shut their business down. If the middle class matters for growth, it is probably not because of its entrepreneurial spirit (Banerjee and Duflo 2008:26).

Pushing through life on the belief that the “right” job exists is what Banerjee and Duflo (2008) called “the mental space that is necessary to do all those things the middle class does well” (p. 26). Wahrman (1995) found that as far back as 1822, the London newspaper *Examiner* had defined the middle class according to socioeconomic and occupational classifications. Furthermore, with the exception of professions in the military and legal sectors, “all persons of moderate or very small capital; and the still greater number with no capital at all, who, by dint of a decent parentage and respectable bringing up, may hope to succeed in the world by prudence and industry” (Wahrman 1995:261). What was important about this definition was the fact that it intended to be solidly socio-economic, yet curiously brought what he described as “behavioral and moral considerations” to the forefront (Wahrman 1995:261).

Many of the Mexicans who relocated to San Antonio during the Mexican Revolution had been part of a higher class in Mexico. Clark (2003) noted that, of foreign born members of the middle class who moved to the United States, many of them were either already part of a middle class back home or had worked their way up upon arrival (p. 63). However, when the middle class Mexicans began settling in Texas

at the start of the Mexican Revolution, they found themselves involuntarily relegated to a lower class standing. Unlike the working class Mexicans, the middle class Mexicans shared socioeconomic backgrounds closely aligned with those of the native born/immigrant white population. However degrading their change in class status might have been, they still had more opportunity for mobility than their working class counterparts. Jacoby (2004) described this distribution of immigrants and occupations as a kind of barbell effect, with the very wealthy on one end and the extremely poor on the other end (p. 18-9). Additionally, Mirowsky and Ross (1980) noted that within every social class level, minorities often “belong[ed] to a lower social caste than nonminorities” (p. 480). Nevertheless, while some Mexicans were fortunate enough to move into white-collar occupations, they otherwise dominated the blue-collar sector (Katz et al. 2007). This type of occupational segregation was the result of Mexican immigrants encountering discrimination because of their race and skill, as well as the result of Mexicans grouping together through “familiarity and mutual exchange” (Ortiz 1997:255-6).

Oboler (1992) discovered that some middle class Mexicans tried to socially distance themselves from the working class Mexicans by pointing out their educational superiority. Specifically, members of the middle class would often measure themselves socially by comparing themselves to others who had previously identified as socioeconomic equals (Oboler 1992:25). As Oboler (1992) elaborated, “. . . the middle-class informants tended to project their integration into this society and immediately adopt U.S. categories to measure their progress here” (p. 30-1). San Miguel (1983)

explained the Mexican middle class attitude as one that shied away from its dependency on Mexico and moved closer toward the United States, with the hope that its members would one day be able to partake in the benefits of U.S. citizenship (p. 345). Stoddard (1969) cited research that showed how the elimination of cultural values long associated as lower class values advanced the social mobility of Mexican Americans living in Southern California (p. 482).

Defining and Measuring Capital

Much of the current body of literature on immigrants acknowledges the concepts of human and social capital and their effects on immigrant assimilation and mobility, with Portes (1998a) even going so far as to claim that the concept of social capital has “evolved into something of a cure-all for the maladies affecting home and abroad” (p. 2). Massey and Espinosa’s (1997) empirical study on U.S.-Mexican migration determined that wages were not the sole reason why many immigrants left Mexico. Rather, they found that a combination of three factors—market consolidation, human capital, and social capital—were responsible for encouraging migration. In this section, I will review how sociological and immigration literature addresses human and social capital, as well as explain how capital will be measured when looking at occupational and socioeconomic mobility among San Antonio’s middle class immigrants (refer to Table 3).

Table 3. Forms of Measurable Capital

	Physical Capital	Human Capital	Social Capital
<i>Presentation</i>	A material form that can be seen	A person's skills and knowledge	Relationships with people
<i>Tangibility</i>	Wholly tangible	Less tangible	Intangible
<i>Examples</i>	An individual's accumulated wealth, income, and business ownership. Financial support can come from relatives or lenders from the ethnic community who provide loans to community members	Education levels of parents, learning environments, language proficiency, and business expertise. Education is also associated with the immigrant's class in their homeland.	Familial relationships and connections with those who have information and other resources to accomplish set goals, as well as social support, and personal connections.

Sources: Coleman 1988; Reynoso 2003; Sanders and Nee 1996.

Bourdieu (1985) defined social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (p. 248; also Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Knoke 1999; Massey and Espinosa 1997). Portes (1998a) implied that there are two essential components to Bourdieu's concept—one, that social relationships are *the* vital connection to resources that are owned by other people; and two, the quantity and quality of these resources.

Coleman (1988) also viewed social capital as the benefits accumulated by individuals or small groups, describing it as different entities that share two commonalities. As he explained, “they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors—whether persons or corporate actors—within the structure” (Coleman 1998:S98; also Portes 2000; Portes and Landolt 2000; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Putnam 1995; Robison and Flora 2003). Social capital defines itself according to its function and is productive and exchangeable, which makes it similar to human and physical forms of capital. Whereas physical capital is a tangible product created through tools of production and human capital is the output from when a person learns new skills and abilities, social capital is the product of interpersonal relationships. Thus, one rarely acquires social capital without “the investment of some material resources and the possession of some cultural knowledge, enabling the individual to establish relations with others” (Portes 2000:2). Furthermore, because social capital can produce socio-emotional goods that are capable of satisfying human needs, it is exchangeable for tangible goods and services and can even be converted into other forms of capital (Adler and Kwon 2002; Robison and Flora 2003).

The sociological research that followed Bourdieu and Coleman defined social capital as “the ability to secure resources by virtue of membership in social networks or larger social structures” (Portes and Landolt 2000:532). This definition considered three specific elements while highlighting Coleman’s emphases on control and community:

1. Social capital as a source of social control
2. Social capital as a source of family-mediated benefits

3. Social capital as a source of resources mediated by non-familial networks (Portes 2000; Portes and Landolt 2000).

Portes (2000) saw this theoretical focus as being important because it emphasized the benefits gained by individuals (p. 3). Simply stated, social capital had become a notable trait of the community, as its sources directly correlated with members' networks. Massey (1998) found that once migration commenced, two interconnected processes kept it moving forward: one that occurred within individuals and another that occurred within social networks with embedded individuals. The cycle would perpetuate itself as more people migrated, he concluded, "further expand[ing] the network of people with ties to migrants, yielding more social capital . . . induc[ing] new people to migrate, further expanding the network" (Massey 1998:24-5; Massey and Espinosa 1997:952; Portes and Böröcz 1989). To paraphrase Putnam (2000), being a member of a community that possessed a substantial amount of social capital *could* certainly makes life a little easier.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) emphasized that it was not *what* you knew, but rather, *whom* you knew that was important. They identified four main perspectives that are emerging from the current body of social capital literature (see Table 4).

Table 4. Four Major Perspectives of Social Capital Literature

	Communitarian	Networks	Institutional	Synergy
<i>Level</i>	Local level	Relationships between families and organizations	Strength of community networks is a result of political, legal, institutional environments	Bridges the network and institutional viewpoints
<i>Main Feature</i>	Value of social capital is dependent on number of members involved and their levels of involvement	Strong ties promote a stronger sense of purpose	High levels of trust equal high levels of financial growth	Explains the intricacies of relationship between the state and civil society

Source: Woolcock and Narayan (2000)

The first perspective, the **communitarian view**, is social capital at the local level—associations, clubs, and civic groups (Woolcock and Narayan 2000:229). This perspective argues that social capital is “inherently ‘good,’” as its value rises in accordance to the number of members and the level of involvement within the community. Some scholars (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998; Portes and Landolt 2000; Rubio 1997) have noted one aspect of the communitarian perspective that can have potentially negative consequences on the community: *perverse social capital*.

Essentially, perverse social capital is the opposite of the above described (otherwise referred to as *positive social capital*). As Woolcock and Narayan (2000) explained, “. . . where communities or networks are isolated, parochial, or working at cross-purposes to society’s collective interests, ‘productive’ social capital is replaced by . . . ‘perverse’ social capital, which greatly hinders development” (p. 229).

The second perspective, the *networks view*, focuses on both the positive and negative impacts of social capital, as well as associations between people, groups, and firms. This perspective is rooted in Granovetter’s (1973) work on social ties; specifically, how strong ties encourage families, communities, and organizations to develop a strong identity and purpose. Individuals who do not have, or maintain, strong inter-community ties that span across “social divides” are more likely to be led by their horizontal ties to pursue more narrow “sectarian interests” (Woolcock and Narayan 2000:230). Some scholars (Burt 1992, 1997, 1998; Portes 1995, 1997, 1998a; Woolcock and Narayan 2000) have argued that this perspective is actually comprised of two sub-levels of social capital:

- *Strong intra-community ties*, or **bonds**: the strong sense of loyalty among community members to provide assistance with job searches, emergency loans, or other life issues.
- *Weak extra-community networks*, or **bridge**: when the aforementioned loyalty and its subsequent benefits occur to the detriment of a similar group.

The network perspective has enabled us to understand how communities are molded to reflect the bounties of these two sub-levels, as well as realizing how variations of the sub-levels can produce a variety of outcomes (Woolcock and Narayan 2000).

The third perspective, the *institutional view*, maintains that the strength of community networks is the result of the corresponding political, legal, and institutional environment. Specifically, this perspective sees social capital as a dependent variable, where “the very capacity of social groups to act in their collective interest depends crucially on the quality of the formal institutions under which they reside” and where “high levels of ‘generalized trust’ . . . in turn correspond to superior rates of economic growth” (Woolcock and Narayan 1999:11; also North 1990). There are two types of research carried out under the institutional perspective:

- **Comparative-historical case studies:** the state is responsible for the level at which a civil society thrives (Skocpol 1995, 1996; Tandler 1997).
- **Quantitative cross-national studies:** by measuring institutional quality, indexes are created to indicate specific elements that are associated with growth (Collier 1998a, 1998b; Collier and Gunning 1999; Knack and Keefer 1995, 1997; Temple 1998).

One problem with this perspective is that it has difficulty explaining issues that either occur at the local level or those individuals who are “most directly affected... namely the poor” (Woolcock and Narayan 2000:235; also Evans 1992, 1995, 1996).

After reviewing a number international case studies that evaluated the relationships “between and within” the state and civil society, the final perspective, the

synergy view, was developed in an attempt to bridge the institutional and network perspectives (Woolcock and Narayan 2000). From these studies, scholars have concluded that:

1. The state and civil societies are not inherently good or bad. Rather, they function as variables because of the impact they have on collective goal attainment.
2. The state and civil societies are not powerful enough (resource-wise) to promote sustainable development, as they lack the partnerships that are necessary for fostering synergies.
3. The role of the state is vital to the development processes, partially due to its role as a public good provider, as well as its role as law enforcer. Scholars have argued that while the state plays a crucial role in developing connections between race, ethnicity, gender, and class, civil society are equally important in that they cultivate the conditions that “produce, recognize, and reward good governance” (Woolcock and Narayan 2000:236).

Where this perspective particularly thrives is in its ability to explain the dynamic relationship between the state and civil society, as well as in acknowledging a need for innovative solutions to unique conditions. It especially encourages all actors involved to establish a common platform on which they can work through shared ideas and goals.

Indeed, social capital allows immigrants to attain access to resources that they would otherwise not be privy to without personal connections. As Portes (1998a) elaborated:

. . . through social capital, actors can gain direct access to economic resources (subsidized loans, investment tips, protected markets); they can increase their cultural capital through contacts with experts or individuals of refinement (i.e. embodied cultural capital); or alternatively, they can affiliate with institutions that confer valued credentials i.e. institutionalized cultural capital). (P. 4)

Woolcock (1998) similarly viewed social capital as “information, trust, and norms of reciprocity” of social networks (p. 153). In fact, reciprocity is a notable issue that arises from dealing with capital gained through interpersonal connections. After all, individuals develop and cultivate relationships with other social actors in order to gain access to the latter individuals’ resources. A person’s “moral resources,” such as trust, confidence, and information, are strongly dependent upon these interactive networks (Knoke 1999:19). In their study on immigrants in British Sikh community, Gibson and Bhachu (1991) found that success is hugely dependent on understanding the overall functionality of the new home society, as well as developing social skills and maintaining pertinent social relationships (Brisson and Usher 2005; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch 1995). Furthermore, it is common (and even somewhat expected) for connections and transactions to carry underlying expectations regarding unspoken expectations and “the possible violation of reciprocity expectations” (Portes 1998a:4).

In evaluating how individual and neighborhood characteristics respectively affected bonding social capital, Brisson and Usher (2005) found that resident participation was the greatest indicator of an individual’s bonding social capital score (see also Putnam 2000). In addition, they also found that women and white residents both experienced low levels of bonding social capital. This might have been a result of either “the relative wealth of low-income neighborhoods [having] substantial effects on

the development of bonding social capital across gender, racial, and ethnic groups” or the impact that poverty can have on oppressed groups (Brisson and Usher 2005:650).

Stepick and Grenier’s (1993) research on Cuban immigrants uncovered that refugee groups often escaped with what they described as a “vertical slice” of their previous community, which included some of the more elite members of their society (p. 84). Sanders and Nee (1996) suggested that members of the middle and upper classes often immigrate with either a considerable amount of financial capital or familial connections that will provide the immigrants with the necessary capital. In the case of San Antonio, many Mexican immigrants moved into neighborhoods where other acquaintances and family members had already relocated, further developing into a community that provided aid, schooling, friendship, and cultural expression. Specifically, the *sociedades mutualistas* helped with services like medical emergency aid, economic protection, burial insurance, loans, legal aid, and libraries (Márquez et al. 2007:297). This created the close-knit community of support and ethnic solidarity that Reynoso (2003) called the foundation of a social capital that helps immigrants adapt to their new home. These social networks were immensely helpful to new immigrants who were not only looking for work and housing, but were looking for help with adjusting to their new surroundings (Flores 2005; Rodriguez 1993; Sarkisian, Gerena, and Gerstel 2006). Undoubtedly, social capital has a greater value when community members are “connected and working together” (Smith 2011:2).

Scholars have generally recognized social capital as the outward manifestation of one’s ability to benefit from social relationships and memberships, but Portes (1998a)

also saw it as a cause and effect, in that it “leads to positive outcomes, such as economic development and less crime, and its existence is inferred from the same outcomes” (p. 19). Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) established three specific questions that, upon answering, would assess the value of social ties and networks:

1. Is the main concern of social tie(s) to provide institutional support?
2. What is the quality of resources provided?
3. What is the degree of customized support that the individual is receiving? (P. 119)

It is clear that the contribution of this framework has been to structuralize “institutional agents . . . in terms of social capital” (Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch 1995:119).

Social capital continues to gain legitimacy as a concept used to explain a wide range of sociological activity, including issues pertaining to immigrant socioeconomic success and mobility. Portes (1998a) has expressed concerns that it is becoming the “go-to” for explaining a wide range of events and contexts, which runs the risk of blurring the lines of definition and distinction (p. 2). Wacquant’s (1998) argument is that social capital focuses on “the collective properties of the *population* trapped in the deteriorating racial enclaves of the urban core, notably the characteristics of their interpersonal networks, informal associations, and loosely arrayed cultural resources,” while ignoring the so-called “formal *organizations* present in (or absent from) the ghetto and their properties” (p. 25).

While studying Israeli emigrant families who moved west to the United States and the United Kingdom, Gold (2001) found that the Israeli community was extremely close

knit and deeply rooted within a strong culture that considered it their duty to the community to look after its children. Moreover, community members were privy to “a cultural orientation, expectations, connections and life experiences associated with an existence beyond the Jewish State” (Gold 2001:6). It was clear that highly educated Israelis were more likely to cultivate, possess, and maintain influential social networks and economic resources for migration. Furthermore, as Gold (2001) expounded, they “are often in the possession of occupational and cultural skills that are useful in Western States” (p. 5; Gold and Phillips 1996). As an interesting side note, he also explained that the Israeli views of class and ethnicity often overlap, thereby identifying the social boundaries that exist within western Israeli emigrant communities.

Scholars believe transnationalism encourages “border-crossing networks” that act as the starting point for migration, which Gold (2001) explained that “by retaining social, cultural and economic connections with many settings, people can surmount the impediments traditionally associated with long distances and international borders” (p. 1). In addition, the migration process is comprised of several important levels--demographic, political, economic, cultural, and familial—levels that, as Gold (2001) explained, are linked between multiple settings, rather than a “discrete” event represented as “a permanent move from one nation to another” (p. 1).

Researchers can measure human capital through professional abilities, skills and financial gains (Becker 1975; Kposowa 1995; Schultz 1961). Previous studies conducted on non-European immigrants indicated that social capital tied to families and ethnic communities produced human capital for the benefit of future generations (Zhou

and Bankston 1994:824). In addition, Borjas (1982) and Kposowa (1995) suggested that immigration itself is a form of human capital, the latter of which explained: “. . . it is up to the individuals, as well as in their best interest to improve their competitive position in the labour market by increasing their productive capabilities. Investment in human capital is an investment that promises to produce higher dividends” (p. 610). Examples of investments include formal and on-the-job education, both of which influence financial gains. For those who are employed in highly valued positions, Kposowa (1995) added that these individuals usually enjoy higher wages and subsequently, higher levels of socioeconomic status than most individuals (p. 611).

Education is a common measure of social capital amongst minority and immigrant communities. Schultz (1961) asserted that any money or effort spent toward education represented an “investment in human capital” (p. 1; see also Portes and Zhou 1996). Waldinger (1995) made a similar claim while discussing Korean immigrants hired as contractors in the United States. For immigrants who earned advanced degrees in fields like architecture or engineering while in Korea, they were more likely to see their formal education transfer over to the United States (p. 567). In Chicago, Wacquant (1998) found that the city’s public school system was “a veritable *academic reservation*” for poverty-stricken minorities, which was made apparent by the exodus of white and middle class families to private schools, magnet schools, and schools out in the suburbs (p. 32). These schools lack economic and cultural resources and consequently, prevent “the transmission and accumulation of the forms of cultural capital valued in the broader society and economy (p. 33). Many of the Israeli emigrants from Gold’s (2001) research

identified as middle class, which meant that they often arrived in their host country with higher education, professional job training, and valuable connections. These elements represented forms of social and human capital, which provided more opportunities for the new emigrants to land lucrative job opportunities and social network connections. On the other hand, emigrants who moved abroad without higher education, desirable job skills, or valuable connections often encountered difficulty in establishing themselves independently or within the ethnic community (Gold 2001:10).

Nee, Sanders, and Sernau (1994) suggested that an immigrant's command of the English language was another way to measure human capital. For example, if an immigrant had a limited understanding of English, their job opportunities would be extremely limited and their opportunities for job mobility even more so. While interviewing Korean and Chinese immigrants, the authors encountered individuals who came to the United States with a limited command of the English language and subsequently, found themselves only employable by small ethnic businesses. They acknowledge that, while some immigrants were able to move out of the trappings of the so-called "ethnic boundaries," those who lacked English proficiency and desirable job skills felt trapped. As one interviewee explained, "... you cannot free yourself, because you always face Chinese and never have the chance to speak English. You study English in school, but speak Chinese everyday, so you will forget what you learn in school" (p. 857).

Zimmer and Aldrich (1987) studied Asian immigrants residing in England and found that the immigrant capital levels could be evaluated according to:

1. The location of the capital source within the kin and friendship networks
2. The total amount of funding provided by the capital source. (P. 433)

By contrast, white business owners in England differed with their respective funding sources. Instead of relying on friendship networks to provide financial support like the Asian immigrants, they either depended on their family members for assistance or pulled money out of their personal savings. Ultimately, Zimmer and Aldrich (1987) explained that while there were differences in capital mobilization between Asian and white business owners, Asian immigrants were less dependent on capital sources in comparison to their white counterparts. They also agreed that the Asian immigrants were more likely to borrow from friends than the white owners, concluding that, “With multiple sources of capital available, Asians appear less isolated in their social networks than whites” (Zimmer and Aldrich 1987:433).

In the case of the Israeli emigrants who moved west, Gold (2001) noted that while most of their social capital networks and sources were “broadly inclusive,” some were comprised of particular emigrant subgroups that were defined according to factors like occupation, ethnicity, length of time within the host society, and gender (p. 6). Additionally, some of the subgroups stressed the importance of the emigrant’s home country and its subsequent transnational processes, while others simply focused on establishing a place within the host society (Gold 2001:7). Light (1984) suggested that some ethnic minority groups also emphasize the importance of business enterprise by encouraging its group members to become “socialized adults who prosper in business” (p. 199; see also Zimmer and Aldrich 1987).

However, this is not always the case, as “immigration and alien status release latent facilitators which promote entrepreneurship independently of cultural endowments” (Light 1984:199). Three of these facilitators are:

1. The psychological satisfaction gained from the experience of emigrating from a low-wage country to a high-wage country
2. Heightened social solidarity based from cultural minority status
3. Sojourning, the process in which immigrants intend to earn the most money in the shortest time frame and ultimately moving back to their home country (Light 1984:200; Wilson and Portes 1980; Zenner 1982).

For these immigrants, Light (1984) implied that they were able to achieve high rates of entrepreneurship and success because they had benefitted from ethnic resources that were not available to native groups, including cultural endowments, reactive solidarities, and sojourning orientation (p. 201; Portes 1987). He also noted a distinction between ethnic resources and class resources, the latter of which comes in two forms: cultural and material. Material includes forms of private property connected to production and distribution, human capital, and investment money, while cultural includes bourgeois values, attitudes, skills, and knowledge (Light 1984:201).

Upon settling into their new home country, the Israelis regularly encountered social, cultural, and even religious differences that further separated the American and Jewish communities. Gold (2001) found that the lives and networks of Jews already living in the United States and United Kingdom revealed vast differences in priorities and problems when compared to the Israeli emigrants (p. 7). The differences between

Jews— those who were native to the host country and those who were newly settled— indirectly encouraged hostility within the social networks, meaning that, as a result, the emigrants ended up staying within their “co-national community, one that maintains an orientation toward the country of origin” (Gold 2001:8)

Overall, many scholars argue that these networks do, in fact, provide easy access for its members to migrate freely and settle into an ethnic or cultural community. While studying at Chinese and Japanese immigrants who settled in California, Light (1984) found that, upon realizing that they were at a disadvantage within the general work market, the immigrants actually mobilized their ethnic resources to help each other succeed as entrepreneurs. In New York, Bailey and Waldinger (1991) interviewed Chinese immigrants business owners who admitted that they were more likely to hire and train referrals because “we know them; they also have friends or relatives in the shop” (p. 440).

Portes (1987) notes that most research is focused on placing small business successes within the context of financial capital—whether the immigrant possessed it or had a source from which to borrow. Immigrants who lacked these important resources would most likely remain in wage labor. For example, the Chinese immigrants who arrived in California during the 1970s concentrated their efforts on mobilizing financial capital, human capital, and bourgeois culture for success (Light 1984:203). While discussing the Cuban business owners who moved to the United States, Portes (1987) refers to the credit system that helped facilitate success amongst Asian immigrants, explaining that within the Cuban community, “Would-be immigrant entrepreneurs

face[d] the established credit system at a severe disadvantage . . . [because] they often lacke[d] sufficient collateral . . . a credit history, and they frequently encountere[d] discrimination among native-born bankers” (p. 362).

Many sociologists have theorized that minority entrepreneurs are the result of external factors, particularly “widespread discrimination or the needs of the dominant elites” (Portes 1987:348). For Korean immigrants who settled in Los Angeles, Bonacich, Light, and Wong (1977) found that of the 60,000 individuals evaluated on entrepreneurial success, employed Korean males were more likely to own their own small companies (roughly 40 percent) than they were to work for non-Korean companies (roughly 20 percent) (p. 204). They believed that several important factors were responsible for this entrepreneurial success:

1. The Korean immigrants were well educated, as according to their study, approximately 70 percent of the Korean men held college degrees
2. Many of the Korean immigrants arrived in the United States with financial capital that equaled between \$25,000 and millions of dollars
3. The Korean immigrants utilized language and cultural barriers that otherwise set them apart from the general population to encourage network solidarity and employment preferences
4. The Korean immigrants became involved with ethnic community credit organizations that encouraged the development of trade and political relationships with key city officials

The authors concluded that the Korean immigrants relied on numerous resources to

achieve socioeconomic success. Scholars studying other immigrant groups have suggested that they also benefitted from similar financial resources. Fagen, Brody, and O’Leary (1968) and Wilson and Martin (1982) noted that Cuban elites who moved to South Florida arrived with a respectable amount of financial capital that was available for opening new businesses in their new home country.

However, Portes (1987) warned that these presuppositions do not address the question of why only *some* immigrants are able to acquire access to financial capital and business skills. He explained, “Not all minority entrepreneurs had private access to capital or formal business training from the start and thus the question remains of how they managed to acquire them” (Portes 1987:343; also Cobas 1987). Indeed, social science researchers seem most concerned by the boundaries set by the social environment at-large than with behavioral tendencies. However, scholars like Borjas (1982) and Portes (1987) argued that even though some Cubans possessed an abundance of capital upon arrival, the fact that they knew that they would not be returning to Cuba anytime soon was enough of a push into entrepreneurship. Of the Asian immigrants residing in England, Zimmer and Aldrich (1987) found that successful Asian business owners employed more network members (family or friends) than their white counterparts. They suggested that this was likely due to the strength and size of Asian friend and kinship networks, as well as members living close in proximity and therefore, strongly bonded in ethnic solidarity (Zimmer and Aldrich 1987:436).

Some political refugees who moved to the United States did arrive with class resources that were unquestionably valuable, including human capital and financial

capital. The refugees worked to establish themselves within the entrepreneurial environment of their new home and consequently, were able to achieve a respectable level of success. However, Light (1984) explains that while class resources are instrumental to an immigrant's success, ethnic resources are just as important and cannot be ignored, as the "immigrant bourgeoisie utilizes ethnic resources in supplementation of class resources" (p. 203). This is especially apparent in the research of Portes and Zhou (1993) and Wilson and Portes (1980). While studying the Haitian enclave in Miami, Portes and Zhou (1993) found that immigrants who were committed to their community were more likely to achieve financial and educational mobility through the community's social and material capital resources (p. 81-2). Wilson and Portes (1980) noted that members of the Cuban immigrant enclaves were less culturally assimilated than the other ethnic minorities living in the area were fiercely protective of their native language and customs, and performed better financially than the minorities within the general economy (p. 296). As they explained:

Immigrant entrepreneurs make use of language and cultural barriers and of ethnic affinities to gain privileged access to markets and sources of labor. These conditions might give them an edge over similar peripheral firms in the open economy (Wilson and Portes 1980:315).

Furthermore, "The necessary counterpart to these ethnic ties of solidarity is the principle of ethnic preference in hiring and of support of other immigrants in their economic ventures" (Wilson and Portes 1980:315). This type of enclave economy provided immigrants with unique socioeconomic structure that encouraged its members to prosper and gain human capital (Nee et al. 1994:850).

Ethnic solidarity within immigrant communities implies a certain capability of

providing resources and connections. However, they do not have the ability to fix every problem encountered by network members. As an example, Gold (2001) cites the experiences of Koreans who moved to the United States and Chinese who moved to Indonesia because of political and economic reasons. Members of both groups faced tremendous opposition from their host societies, the result of the opinion that “the entrepreneurs’ accessing profit-making opportunities [were] too risky for exploitation by established members of the receiving society” (Gold 2001:3; Portes 1987:343). The opposition was constant and difficult, and leaving some of the immigrant entrepreneurs to watch their businesses succumb to the pressures inflicted by the members of the receiving societies (see also Cobas 1987:471).

Historically, most first-generation immigrants living in the United States have worked as wage laborers rather than as small business owners: “The fact that most ethnic minorities have been composed, from the start, by wage laborers is not fortuitous because this was precisely the purpose of opening the country’s door to foreign immigration” (Portes 1987:343). However, there was more of an expectation for immigrants to follow tradition and work in wage labor than there was to open their own businesses. Thus, many of the “domestic reactions” to this activity were less than positive and viewed as “‘deviant’ economic behavior” (Portes 1987:343). Yet, Portes (1987) also questioned the soundness of the psychological perspective, which asserted that certain character traits, such as delayed gratification and a propensity for risk taking, were crucial to becoming a successful entrepreneur. One reason was that the psychological perspective was unclear about how “individuals with the right

psychological traits gain access to credit, markets, business connections, and other conditions for entrepreneurial success” (Portes 1987:344). Instead, it simply leans on the old cliché of “where there is a will, there’s a way” without providing any further clarification or information.

Ultimately, transnationalism is an important contributor to immigrant success. Yet, as Gold (2001) also found with the Israeli emigrants, high status positions within class, education, and ethnicity groups were all equally important contributors to success. As he concluded, “. . . access to transnational networks and resources is a contingent process. Reflecting social structure, it varies according to the characteristics of migrants, the nature of the receiving society and conditions in the country of origin” (Gold 2001:19).

Therefore, I will be using a broad adaptation of the conceptualization originally employed by Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) in their study on social capital among Mexican American high school students. The seven original variables have undergone modification to six variables that suit the needs of this particular research project. In addition to outlining the six variables, I will also provide a brief explanation on how I will measure the variables. They are as follows:

- 1. Did the subject have contact with high status adults who served, or could potentially have served, as sources for informational and friendship support?**

- *Assessment of Information:* through autobiographical materials of the respective case study subject, I expect to uncover some discussion pertaining to this variable.

2. **What was the socioeconomic level of the subject's informational and friendship network?**

- *Assessment of Information:* through any information that can be ascertained through autobiographical materials, as well as from U.S. census records that indicate whether homes were rented/owned and, in some cases, the cost of rent per month, etc.

3. **In San Antonio, did the subject spend more time cultivating relationships with other Mexican residents or with mostly Anglo Americans?**

- *Assessment of Information:* through the autobiographical and biographical materials that discuss Mr. Munguía's social and political activities in San Antonio.

4. **What was the socioeconomic (SES) status of the case study subject?**

- *Assessment of Information:* through information recorded on U.S. census records that indicate the education levels and literacy for each family member. In addition, I presume that Mr. Munguía's formal education and vocational training will be discussed in his autobiographical and biographical papers.

5. **What was the primary language, as well as the level of language proficiency, for the case study subject?**

- *Assessment of Information:* through information listed on U.S. census records that note the case subject's primary language. I anticipate that Mr. Munguía's autobiographical information will shed some light, via direct or indirect discussion, on his level of language proficiency.

6. What was the occupation of the subject before immigrating to San Antonio? Were they able to continue with their old professions?

- *Assessment of Information:* from Mr. Munguía's autobiographical information, as well from U.S. census records and other literature that has briefly discusses his occupation(s) pre- and post- move.

CHAPTER IV

DATA AND METHODS

This dissertation utilizes a mixed methods approach of comparative/historical, qualitative, and quantitative methods of analyses. In the following chapter, I will provide a brief description of the data, an overview of the methods approach, and detailed explanations of the data collection and analysis processes. In short, I aim to support my research question by describing the Prospect Hill neighborhood through its demographic data, showing a distribution of the residents, and in particular, those individuals who were anomalous within the socioeconomic trends of the neighborhood. Furthermore, of those anomalous cases, I will determine how and why Rómulo Munguía was able to successfully navigate the socioeconomic waters of San Antonio to become a highly influential member of the Mexican middle class.

Description of Data

The initial data for this study consist of a sample of the Prospect Hill neighborhood recorded from the 1930 U.S. census. Personal information on roughly 487 individuals (as collected by census takers) recorded as part of a larger scale research project details the following categories:

- **Name of resident**—individual's name, as officially recorded by the census taker.

- **Age of resident**—numerical age recorded by the census taker. This category was measured according to chronological years. In some cases, ages that were younger than one year were recorded according to months.
- **Respective relationship in the household**—the individual’s position within the dwelling (for example, head of household, spouse, daughter, son, in-law, grandchild, boarder, etc.).
- **Resident’s racial/ethnic group**—identity constructed by the census taker. This category was operationalized by assigning a value of “W” for white, “NEG” for black, “CH” for Chinese, and “MEX” for Mexican.
- **Birthplace**—geographical birth location, as recorded by the census taker.
- **Head of household gender**—gender identity, as noted by the census taker. This was operationalized by assigning a value of “M” for male and “F” for female.
- **Home ownership**—whether the head of household owned or rented their home, as recorded by census taker. This category was operationalized by assigning a value of “R” for rent and “O” for owned.
- **Resident’s literacy level**—whether the individual could read or write. This was operationalized by assigning a value of “Y” for yes and “N” for no.
- **Native language**—this category recorded residents’ primary languages other than English.
- **Year of immigration**—the year during which the individual immigrated to the United States, as recorded by the census taker.

- **Occupation and industry**—occupational details pertaining to the residents’ employment situation(s), such as their official job title and other relevant details that were noted by the census taker.
- **Occupational group category**—constructed by researcher from census records and operationalized according to Thernstrom’s (1999) classification scheme. Further explanation is provided below.

It is important to mention that the census takers often constructed the resident’s racial/ethnic identity on a subjective basis. Specifically, though an individual might have had a Spanish-sounding surname, a physically darker skinned appearance might have resulted in an erroneous identification as black.

The occupational group category is one that I constructed for the purposes of this research project. I first recorded each individual’s occupation and industry, as notated by the census taker. Using the detailed classification scheme provided by Thernstrom (1999) in *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970*, I assigned each individual to a specific ranking— High White Collar, Low White Collar, and Blue Collar— according to their recorded occupations. Further classification occurred through assigning sub-rankings— professionals, semiprofessionals, clerks and salesmen, proprietors, etc.

A. High White Collar

- Professionals*: minister, physician
- Major Proprietors, Managers, Officials*: manager, merchant contractor

B. Low White Collar

- a. *Clerks and Salesmen*: agent, cashier, clerks, collector, inspector, mail carrier, messenger, pressman, salesperson, stenographer
- b. *Semiprofessionals*: draftman, musician, radio operator
- c. *Petty Proprietors, Managers, Officials*: peddler, proprietor

C. Blue Collar

- a. *Skilled*: baker, bricklayer, cabinetry, carpenter, mechanic, painter, paper hanger, plumber, printer, sewing/tailor, weighter, window trimmer
- b. *Semiskilled and Service Workers*: barber, butcher, car cleaner (railroad), cook, fireman, helper, housework, janitor, laundry, truck driver, waiter, watchman
- c. *Unskilled Laborers and Menial Service Workers*: keeper, laborer, porter, yardman

Methods of Approach: Overview

Most sociologists recognize a division between qualitative and quantitative research designs, one that has encouraged considerable debate over which method is best for explaining sociological phenomena. Outwardly, the two designs appear different—quantitative methods traditionally rely on numbers and statistics to provide generalized outcomes that are replicable, while qualitative methods focus on specific cases that are grounded by historical methods and interviews. However, King, Keohane, and Verba

(1994) suggested that these differences are actually due to variations in style and technique. They argued that using both qualitative and quantitative designs allowed scholars to “pose questions and fashion scholarly research to make valid descriptive and causal inferences,” thus encouraging a convergence of the empirical and the theoretical (King et al. 1994:3). Furthermore, it seemed that putting such an issue up for debate only perpetuated the idea that what one method lacks, the other method uses to excel.

There are two notable research approaches—case-oriented and variable-oriented. The case-oriented approach works to understand historical outcomes or processes across a limited number of cases, meaning that the causal significance of the event is dependent on the respective context. Meanwhile, the variable-oriented approach separates cases into variables and distributions in order to identify any patterns of covariation (Ragin 1987:xiii). Still, Ragin (1987) cautioned that while many scholars claim to use an equal combination of the two approaches, they unknowingly allow one approach to dominate over the other.

The comparative approach explores how and why important historical events occurred (Ragin 1987:11). Swanson (1971) once remarked that “[t]hinking without comparison is unthinkable. And, in the absence of comparison, so is all scientific thought and scientific research” (p. 145). Ragin (1987) made a similar observation of empirical research that conducted through qualitative and quantitative methods, noting that regardless of the method, making comparisons “provides a basis for making statements about empirical regularities and for evaluating and interpreting cases relative to substantive and theoretical criteria” (p. 1). Even Smelser (1976) argued that most

social scientific methods were comparative by nature. The historical outcomes that comparative/historical scholars find themselves curious about generally require detailed, complex explanations that can be quite difficult to prove, as Ragin (1987) described as, in “a manner consistent with the norms of mainstream quantitative social science” (p. 13).

The case study is not a newcomer to social science research, nor is it new to the research playing field at-large. Long utilized in anthropology, political science, psychology, and even business, some scholars have chosen to use case-centric research because of its ability to highlight micro-level elements (Gerring 2007). In sociology, case studies revolve around social groups acting as the main unit of focus because “the case study—of an individual, group, organization or event—rests implicitly on the existence of a micro-macro link in social behavior” (Gerring 2007:1).

Defining the term *case study* does not present a simple task, especially when one realizes that cases have become such a central part of the analysis process, while the concept lacks a formally established definition. Even further, the word *case* lacks a solid definition that has remained true over time, instead functioning as a repeatedly altered construct (Ragin 1992:3). As Gerring (2007) explained:

Case connotes a spatially delimited phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time or over some period of time. It comprises the type of phenomenon that an inference attempts to explain. Thus, in a study that attempts to elucidate certain features of nation-states, cases are comprised of nation-states (across some temporal frame); in a study that attempts to explain the behavior of individuals, cases are comprised of individuals, and so forth. (P. 19; see also Ragin 1992; Wieviorka 1992)

Some people argue that qualitative scholars study few cases, while quantitative scholars look at many cases. Gerring (2007) acknowledged that the phrase *case study* implies the evaluation of a single case in order to gain a greater understanding of a larger cluster of cases. As more cases integrate into a research project, the emphasis thereby transforms into a *cross-case study*. Ragin (1992) brought this argument full circle by agreeing with the suggestion that the meaning of *case* is muddy and confusing, explaining how “[i]n quantitative research, we use the terms ‘cases’ and ‘units of analysis’ interchangeably without considering the problems that might come from conflating data categories and theoretical categories” (p. 1; Ragin 1987:7-9).

Upon realizing that individuals utilizing the case study methodology were lacking a proper definition of *case*, Ragin and Becker (1992) began soliciting suggestions from other social scientists, in hopes of identifying the key elements of a case. From the responses received, they revealed two important dichotomies within the case conceptualization process:

1. Are they seen as employing empirical units or theoretical constructs?
2. As a consequence, are they seen as general or specific? (Ragin 1992:8)

Table 5 presents the aforementioned dichotomies as a conceptual map for further clarification.

The first dichotomy—whether cases are empirical or theoretical—situates within methodological discussions and philosophically mixes between realism and nominalism (Ragin 1992:8). Realism argues that cases are empirical (and thus, verifiable) units, while nominalism suggests that cases are theoretical constructs meant to “serve the

interests of investigators” (Ragin 1992:8). The second dichotomy, which looks at the level of specificity in case categories, asks whether cases are specific and uncovered through the research process or if they are more generalized and found on the outside of the research (Ragin 1992:8).

Table 5. Conceptual Map of Cases

		CASE CONCEPTIONS	
		<i>Specific</i>	<i>General</i>
CASES	<i>As empirical units</i>	Cases are found	Cases are objects
	<i>As theoretical constructs</i>	Cases are made	Cases are conventions

Source: Ragin (1992)

After cross-tabulating the two dichotomies, Ragin (1992) outlined four possible answers to the question, “What is a case?”

1. Cases are **found**: cases are empirically real, bounded, *and* specific and as such, must be identified as a case over the course of the research.
2. Cases are **objects**: cases are empirically real, bounded, but *not* specific; they are also conceptualized according to already existing definitions.
3. Cases are **made**: cases are *not* empirical; rather, they are specific constructs that come together during the research process.
4. Cases are **conventions**: cases are generalized theoretical constructs that are the result of scholarly research and interaction (Ragin 1992:9-10).

Still, as Ragin (1992) noted, there are more possibilities that go beyond these four conceptions because scholars have the ability to combine cases, categories, and units to better fit their research. As he explained further, “The point of [the table] is not to establish boundaries between different kinds of research, but to establish a conceptual map for linking different approaches to the question of cases” (Ragin 1992:11).

Platt (1992) suggested that researchers select cases to fulfill particular research needs and as such, scholars usually focus their primary concern on serving as a representative of the population under evaluation (p. 42; Vaughan 1992). She contended that case analyses must evaluate:

. . . the kind of case the whole work is and can be used as; the cases the work is about, theoretically; the cases the work has data on, and the cases the work does not have direct data on which these are taken to represent; the cases the work presents data on, and the relation between them and those it has but does not present data on; the cases the work uses in its argument without having collected, or possibly even providing, data on them (Platt 1992:48).

It is sometimes argued that case studies are largely associated with qualitative research, mainly due to the method’s propensity to lean toward “ethnographic, clinical, anecdotal, participant-observation, process-tracing, historical, textual, [and] field research” approaches (Gerring 2007:17). However, the problem with tagging case studies as a strictly qualitative approach sells short the method’s immense potential to strengthen quantitative-based research. Gerring (2007) argued that any efforts made to separate *experimental* and *observational* research are futile because both methods are ultimately striving toward the same goal.

Case studies present scholars with the opportunity to conduct direct and focused analysis on “an individual unit [that is] stressing developmental factors in relation to the

environment” (Flyvbjerg 2011:301) and as such, are recognized as an important precept of social science methodology (Ragin 1992). The scholar shoulders the primary responsibility of selecting the unit of analysis and its subsequent boundaries. As Flyvbjerg (2011) explained:

If you choose to do a case study, you are therefore not so much making a methodological choice as a choice of what is to be studied. The individual unit may be studied in a number of ways, for instance qualitatively or quantitatively, analytically or hermeneutically, or by mixed methods. (P. 301)

Analyses such as these can be quite detailed and exhaustive and, in response to “developmental factors,” can evolve over time (Flyvbjerg 2011:301). Platt (1992) also acknowledged the potential for evolution, noting that while authors often begin their research with one idea, it is only natural for their ideas to evolve and eventually represent an entirely different purpose (p. 41-2).

Case study methodology excels when studying individuals and small groups, primarily because of the method’s ability to understand “the ‘causal texture’ of the social life of communities” (Harper 1992:139). Harper (1992) noted the difficulty experienced by early theorists who were trying to understand social behavior and human action through the natural science lens, such as Auguste Comte, who drew comparisons between sociology and the natural sciences. Another theorist who embraced the issue early on was Max Weber, whom Harper (1992) described as:

[being] committed to the scientific method, but understood that ‘as soon as we attempt to reflect about the way in which life confronts us in immediate concrete situations it presents an infinite multiplicity of successively and coexistently emerging and disappearing events, both within and outside ourselves. (P. 140; Shils and Finch 1949:72)

Weber proposed that the natural sciences need not be discarded, but rather, should “transcend scientific reasoning and methodology, which reduce human life to simple causal sequences” (Harper 1992:140). Consequently, Harper (1992) asserted that the ethnographic case study is the “evolution of a mandate” that Weber referenced for “an interpretive sociology” (p. 141).

In utilizing case study methodology to understand community dynamics, an individual’s social actions are viewed as a collection of behaviors that are tangled within “a fragile web of community, itself a function of social forces operating at a macrolevel, an impersonal level” (Harper 1992:146). The basic idea is that, by first understanding the individual, scholars will then be able to understand the community. The most basic feature of a community is *change*, which Harper (1992) defined as the process of redefining social networks according to human interactive behaviors. He likened this to measuring Durkheim’s concept of social integration by the *quality* and *quantity* of social contacts and the moral integration being a result of common beliefs that encourage social interactions (Harper 1992:146).

According to Wieviorka (1992), there are two ways to approach a case study. The first approach is to use the case as an exemplification of elements on which the researcher wishes to focus, which is similar to the way in which chemists attempt to separate a pure element away from the compound (Wieviorka 1992:161). The end goal is either to evaluate the case through a sociological frame or to use the case as a foundation for developing a way to evaluate other cases. The second approach is to evaluate the case away from the rigidity of the “sociological perspective” and closer

toward one of a historical inclination (Wieviorka 1992:161-2). Relying on history to explain events means that scholars can “make a diagnosis in history or... exemplify a historical hypothesis” (Wieviorka 1992:162).

Flyvbjerg’s (2011) assertion that much of the information gathered from the empirical world is the result of case study research appears to conflict with his further argument that the methodology itself is less revered within the world of academia. Yet, case studies are very much misunderstood and often find themselves stuck in a sort of “methodological limbo” (Gerring 2004:341). One notable issue pertains to research that focuses on one particular occurrence. As Gerring (2007) explained,

A work that focuses its attention on a single example of a broader phenomenon is apt to be described as a ‘mere’ case study, and is often identified with loosely framed and nongeneralizable theories, biased case selection, informal and undisciplined research designs, weak empirical leverage (too many variables and too few cases), subjective conclusions, nonreplicability, and causal determinism. (P. 6)

Furthermore, it can appear as though some scholars expect case studies to serve as “an all-purpose excuse, a license to do whatever a researcher wishes to do with a chosen topic” (Gerring 2007:6). Maoz (2002) insinuated that case studies are used when researchers cannot recognize the importance of laying out specifics related to the research, therefore making conclusions based on “sweeping generalizations” and supposed lessons learned (p. 164-65).

Another potential problem with case studies is the fact that, as Gerring (2007) explained, the units evaluated do not expressly represent the entire population (p. 20). To illustrate this problem, he used an example of a H₂O molecule: “If, for example, one is studying a single H₂O molecule, it may be reasonable to assume that the behavior of

that molecule is identical to that of all other H₂O molecules” (Gerring 2007:20). However, Gerring (2007) added, this kind of evaluation would hardly constitute a case study because, especially in the social sciences, it is unusual to encounter such consistent behavior. Wieviorka (1992) also argued that “as long as it is defined by its singularity,” a singular event does not comprise a case (p. 160). Instead, scholars need to focus on the combination of multiple elements and factors (which, individually, might not be particularly noteworthy) as the source of the phenomenon.

In addition, Vaughan (1992) acknowledged the perils of data availability by explaining: “Sometimes we do not have access to information about individual actions and the structural determinants of those actions in the same research project, so we are unable to arrive at integrated explanations” (p. 182-83). At times, scholars face a denial of access to crucial people or documents, thereby hindering the research process by limiting it to only one level of analysis. In other instances, important documents, contacts, and other relevant records might be either missing or permanently unavailable. In either case, the process that Vaughan (1992) described as “the micro/macro connection” makes it difficult to simultaneously work the two levels (p. 183).

It is undeniable that case studies encourage researchers to take complete stock of their surroundings and process their findings along the way (Simon 1969:267). Regardless of how a researcher feels about the legitimacy of case studies, they comprise a large portion of social science produced research and, ironically, are “generally unappreciated - arguably, because [they are] poorly understood” (Gerring 2007:8). It is also clear that scholars are seeking a way to connect the empirical and theoretical worlds

through casing because the process provides “an intermediate product in the effort to link ideas and evidence” (Ragin 1992:224-5).

These basic tenets of case studies are not exclusive to qualitative research; they are equally applicable to quantitative research, as well. Efron (1982) pointed out how statistical samples provide the same opportunities to uncover valuable information as those experienced through case studies (p. 341; Gerring 2007:11). Case study methodology is unique because it relies largely on “evidence drawn from a single case” while simultaneously attempting “to illuminate features of a broader set of cases,” thereby implying that “the number of observations (N) employed by a case study may be either small or large, and consequently may be evaluated in a qualitative or quantitative fashion” (Gerring 2007:29). As social science research continues to evolve, more scholars are recognizing the fact that case studies are just as relevant to quantitative research as they are to qualitative research.

Therefore, a combination of comparative/historical data collection, quantitative, and qualitative analysis identify and evaluate notable relationships between the selected variables. First, I will employ comparative/historical research methods for the data collection process, which consists of recording resident information from the 1930 U.S. census records to create a significant sample of the Prospect Hill neighborhood. In addition, I will also use comparative/historical methods to locate and disseminate the personal history of Rómulo Munguía, an anomalous case of socioeconomic success that can answer my research question. Secondly, to help with the initial identification of patterns and/or relationships, I will organize my data into an Excel spreadsheet. Next, I

will run the data through a quantitative statistical program, in hopes of identifying any potential anomalous cases, as well as plotting a distribution of the Mexican residents of the Prospect Hill neighborhood. The benefits of this step are two-fold: it will reveal Munguía's anomalous position within the neighborhood demographics, as well as describe the overall demographics and characteristics of the neighborhood. Finally, I will present his biographical information in the form of a case study, after which I will address the questions of how and why Rómulo Munguía was able to achieve a higher level of socioeconomic success than the rest of his neighborhood counterparts.

Part One: Historical Data Collection

First, I identified the neighborhood that would be subject to analysis. García's *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio 1920-1941* (1991) identified many prominent Mexicans and Mexican Americans in San Antonio during this time period, including Rómulo and Carolina Munguía. As a result of the Mexican Revolution, the Munguías immigrated to San Antonio in 1926 and settled into the Prospect Hill neighborhood, an area which García identified as a predominantly middle-class enclave of Mexican immigrants. I obtained a copy of a 1930 city map from the San Antonio Public Library's Texana Collections that indicated the boundaries of existing neighborhoods near downtown, including Prospect Hill. This allowed me to identify the streets situated within the neighborhood.

Once I selected Prospect Hill as the neighborhood of focus, I began looking for public records that might provide detailed personal information about its residents, such

as household members, birthplaces, occupations, immigration years, primary languages, and marital status. Ancestry.com is a website that specializes in providing genealogy records online, particularly U.S. census records. Because of privacy restrictions during the collection process, census records were only available up to the year 1930. Therefore, I was able to look through the San Antonio census records of 1900 through 1930.

From this point, I began the process of creating a significantly sized sample of the Prospect Hill neighborhood. Using the information noted above, I began searching through the 1930 census records for some of the individuals identified by García (1991) as prominent Mexican residents in San Antonio. During these preliminary searches, I found confirmation that Rómulo Munguía and his family had resided in the Prospect Hill neighborhood. In addition, I was able to find the 1926 immigration records of the Munguía family's border crossing into the United States. Further evaluation of the census records identified their neighbors, which allowed me to compile a sample of approximately 487 individuals who lived within the boundaries of Prospect Hill in 1930 (Ancestry.com 2006). I entered information pertaining to these individuals, such as birthplace, gender, literacy level, primary language, immigration year, and occupation, into an Excel spreadsheet for reference.

Since I compiled the resident information into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet and intended to run the data through a quantitative analysis software program, I would need to convert the spreadsheet into a format that was compatible with my software program of choice. Since I decided to use SPSS for the analysis, I simply utilized SPSS's

importing option, which opened the spreadsheet into the program, and saved the newly opened file in SPSS's .sav format.

Part Two: Preliminary Analysis of Historical Data

After opening up the data spreadsheet in SPSS, I was able to perform some preliminary analysis on the relationship between the variables **Race/Ethnicity by Occupational Group**. These results indicated some interesting results within the minority residents of Prospect Hill. The top three occupational categories for Mexican neighborhood residents were:

1. Blue Collar Semiskilled and Service Workers
2. Blue Collar Skilled
3. Blue Collar Unskilled Laborers and Menial Service Workers

As suspected, these basic results supported my suspicion that within the Prospect Hill neighborhood, a noted middle class enclave, most Mexican residents found employment within the blue-collar sector.

At this point, I would need to run the syntax for detecting anomalies. SPSS offers an option, called the Anomaly Detection procedure, to provide the identification of unusual cases (or outliers) based on their deviations from the peer group (IBM Corporation 2011:5). This procedure would be important because I was operating with enough preliminary information to indicate that Rómulo Munguía was an unusual case of socioeconomic success within Prospect Hill. In order to confirm this suspicion, I

would need to identify his anomalous position not only within the neighborhood at large, but within the Mexican makeup of the neighborhood, as well.

Part Three: Selection of the Qualitative Case Subject

At the beginning of this chapter, I discussed the importance of identifying a strong case that would support my hypothesis. I argued that even though Prospect Hill was as a middle class residential enclave, the overall level of socioeconomic success achieved by the neighborhood's Mexican residents actually reflected a mostly blue-collar occupational makeup. Upon looking at a graphical distribution of Mexicans across the occupational categories, I was able to identify the few residents who appeared to be anomalous within the distribution, one of which was Rómulo Munguía.

Rómulo Munguía was not the only anomalous case within the neighborhood data. He measured at number three on the Mexican Anomaly Case Index List, which means that SPSS identified two other individuals as being more anomalous than Munguía. Naturally, this raises an important question—why did I select Anomalous Case Number Three as the focus of my case study, rather than the first two cases listed?

Because I needed to make a sound case of why only some residents were able to achieve positive socioeconomic success, I knew that I would require access to a substantial body of autobiographical/biographical documentation and other resources that could sufficiently answer my questions. When it was time to select an individual for the case study portion of this research, I chose Rómulo Munguía for two important reasons. The first reason was that my preliminary research had already identified

Munguía as a member of San Antonio's Mexican middle class. Rómulo Munguía spent a lifetime cultivating relationships with local government officials and city residents, while becoming a hugely influential member of the San Antonio community and an important resident of Prospect Hill. The second reason for selecting Munguía was the wealth of documents that were publically available at the University of Texas at Austin's Benson Latin American Collection (BLAC). The BLAC is an incredible resource that possesses an enormous collection of materials related to Latin America and Latino Americans. Within the thousands of historical collections protected within the walls of the BLAC are the Rómulo Munguía Papers. This collection, spanning from 1911 to 1980, is comprised of roughly twenty boxes of photographs, writings, publications, autobiographical resources, and interviews pertaining to his life, activism, and work. Part of this collection includes documents that belonged to Carolina Malpica Munguía and Kathleen Munguía, such as personal research, interviews and questionnaires, personal correspondence, and photographs.⁴

The University of Texas at Austin's Munguía collection is crucial to the analytical portion of this dissertation, especially in placing the Munguía case within the context of the research question. Much of the personal correspondence that took place between Kathleen Munguía and friends of Rómulo Munguía included discussions of political and cultural activities, as well as of the solidarity cultivated among the middle class Mexicans living in exile in San Antonio. These documents, including Munguía's unfinished autobiography, would prove to be essential in helping me gain a clearer

⁴ Rómulo Munguía's wife and granddaughter, respectively.

understanding of the political turmoil in Mexico, the powerful role that the press played in Mexican politics, and the social network of San Antonio that Munguía moved into and further cultivated for future generations.

What makes the Munguía case especially fascinating is the fact that he moved to San Antonio in 1926. This means that in 1930, the year of the census records that serve as the foundation of this research, Rómulo Munguía had only been living in the United States for four years and had already established himself as one of the top three anomalous cases of Mexican residents living in Prospect Hill. Over time, Munguía continued to amass a network complete with important social and ethnic contacts that helped him achieve a level of socioeconomic mobility that has made his case the exception. In the following analysis chapter, I believe that the sociopolitical and economic significance of Munguía's case will become undoubtedly apparent.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS

Few groups felt the Mexican government's iron hand of oppression as consistently as those who ran the newspapers. From a young age, Rómulo Munguía worked diligently at learning the printing trade. This training undoubtedly provided him with numerous opportunities to connect with highly influential Mexican newspaper owners and printers, but it also meant that he would gain first hand knowledge of the Porfiriato's mercilessness.

In this chapter, three important discussions will occur. First, I will discuss the Prospect Hill neighborhood in relation to the demographic data gathered from the 1930 U.S. census. This will establish a foundation for the two subsequent analyses, providing demographic clarification about the neighborhood residents. In addition, I will use the results of SPSS's Anomaly Detection to explain how I decided on the individual who would undergo further case evaluation past the preliminary efforts. Second, I will provide a biographical overview of Rómulo Munguía, a Prospect Hill resident who was both Mexican and middle class. This discussion is important because it will demonstrate the numerous opportunities that Munguía had to that accumulate human and social capital that would ultimately make him both a success and an anomaly. Third, I will provide analysis of the Rómulo Munguía case, as it pertains to my research question. The ultimate goal of this chapter is to demonstrate that some very specific conditions

made it possible for Munguía to achieve socioeconomic success during a time when the greater Mexican population struggled for acceptance and survival.

Quantitative Analysis of the Prospect Hill Neighborhood

In his research on the history of San Antonio and the Mexican American middle class, García (1991) classified Prospect Hill as a neighborhood within which this particular group settled. This identification served as an important backbone to my research, part of which relied on demographic data gathered from 1930 U.S. census records to provide a general snapshot of the neighborhood. By breaking down the sample data, I would also have the ability to evaluate cases that appeared to be anomalous and, thus, could undergo further evaluation in respect to my hypothesis.

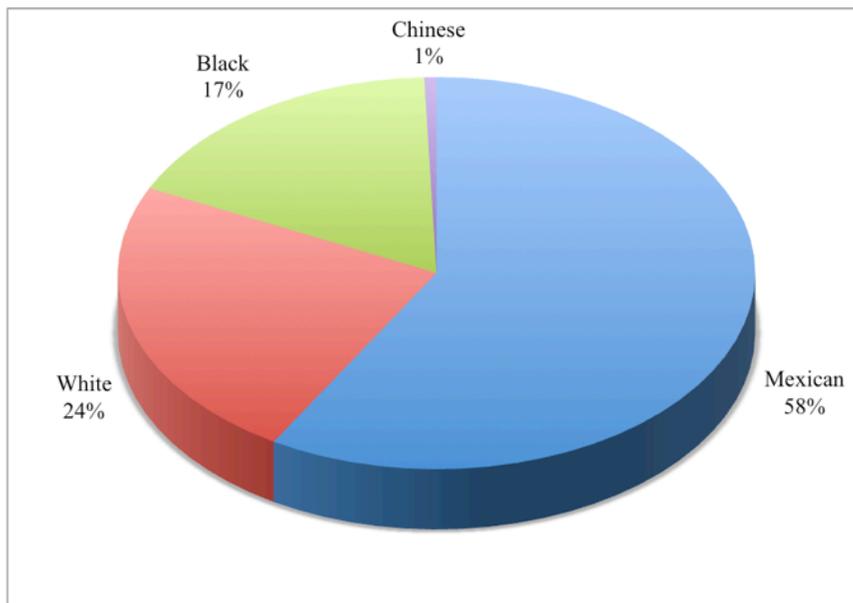


Figure 6. Distribution of Race/Ethnicity in Prospect Hill Neighborhood

The sample data for Prospect Hill were comprised of 487 residents of various racial/ethnic backgrounds, ages, literacy levels, and occupations. As shown in Figure 6, the neighborhood was predominantly Mexican (58.52 percent), with white and black residents comprising 23.61 percent and 17.25 percent of the neighborhood, respectively. The two greatest age ranges were **0-5 years of age** (21.1 percent) and **20-29 years of age** (20.1 percent). The age range frequencies (see Figure 7) indicate that the neighborhood was mostly comprised of young families. Additional evaluation of the variable information sheets, particularly related to family size and makeup, indicate that many young families were sharing their homes with their older parents.

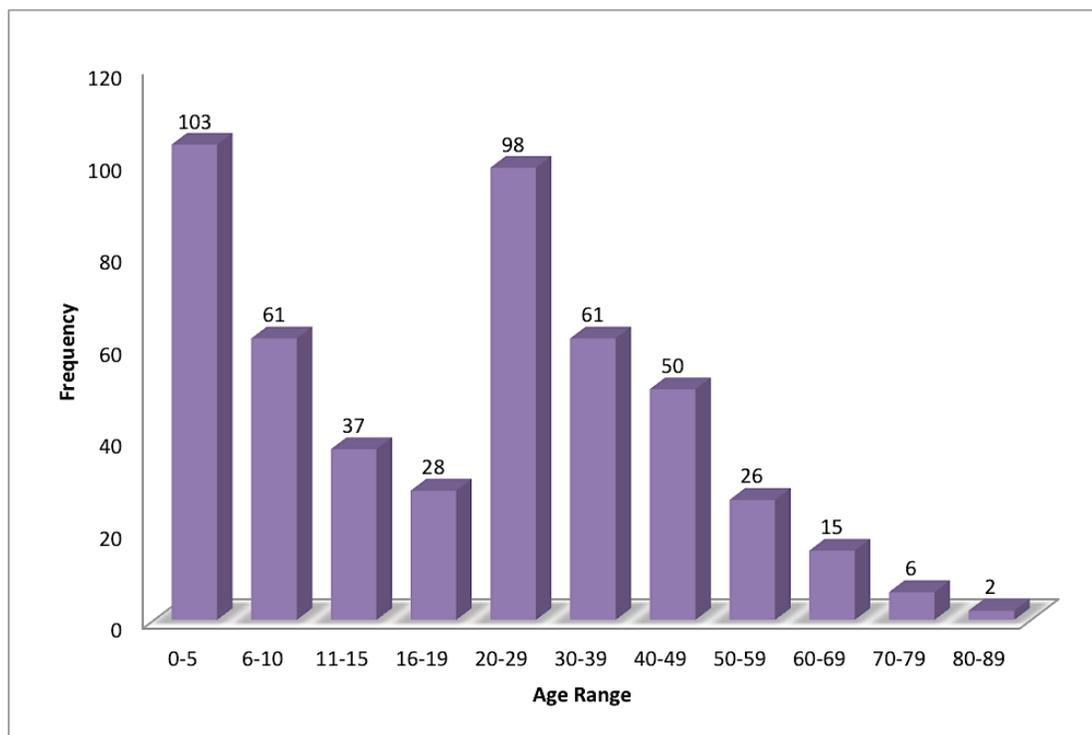


Figure 7. Frequencies: Resident Age Range Variable

Although Prospect Hill was a predominantly Mexican neighborhood, the **birthplace** variable provided interesting insight into origins of the residents. Table 6 (below) provides a breakdown of the residents' places of birth.

Table 6. Frequencies: Birthplace Variable

	Frequency	Percent
California	3	.6
New Jersey	1	.2
Mexico	104	21.4
Texas	354	72.7
Germany	6	1.2
Norway	1	.2
Italy	3	.6
United States	1	.2
Mississippi	6	1.2
Ohio	1	.2
Iowa	1	.2
Louisiana	2	.4
Georgia	1	.2
Alabama	1	.2
Kentucky	1	.2
North Carolina	1	.2
Total	487	100.0

Of the 487 sampled residents, 72.7 percent were born in Texas, followed by 21.4 percent who were born in Mexico. In addition, many of the residents were born in countries

such as Germany and Norway, as well as other states like Mississippi. One interesting side note is regarding the individual with a birthplace listed as “United States.” It is curious that the census taker was either unable or unwilling to properly identify the resident’s exact place of birth.

Of the individuals sampled, census records identified 109 individuals as being the heads of household. Approximately 85.5 percent of these household heads were male, while 14.5 percent were female. Furthermore, of the 109 heads of household, 61.5 percent indicated that they owned their residence, while 36.7 percent indicated that they rented (see Table 7).

Table 7. Frequencies: Rented or Owned Residence Variable

	Frequency	Percent
Rent	40	36.7
Own	67	61.5
Unlisted	2	1.8
Total	109	100.0

In Chapter III, I discussed the preliminary analysis that I performed within the NVIVO qualitative software package. During this initial process, I found that the Mexican residents of Prospect Hill appeared most likely to work blue-collar sector jobs, while white residents reflected a combination of both low white collar/blue collar professions. After uncovering these preliminary results, I ran a crosstabulation of the **occupational**

makeup and **race/ethnicity** categories in SPSS (Table 8). The results provided further support of my initial analysis—the greater number of jobs held by the Mexican residents of Prospect Hill fell into the general blue collar category, while white residents held positions within the low white collar, as well as blue collar, categories.

Table 8. Occupational Makeup Category by Race/Ethnicity Crosstabulation

		<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>				Total
		Chinese	Mexican	White	Black	
<i>Occupational Makeup Category</i>	High White Collar Professional	0	1	0	2	3
	High White Collar Major Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	0	5	3	0	8
	Low White Collar Clerks and Salesmen	0	8	12	1	21
	Low White Collar Semiprofessional	1	1	1	0	3
	Low White Collar Petty Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	0	0	2	1	3
	Blue Collar Skilled	0	20	9	4	33
	Blue Collar Semiskilled and Service Workers	0	21	9	24	54
	Blue Collar Unskilled Laborers and Menial Service Workers	0	16	4	12	32
	Unknown	0	0	1	0	1
	None	2	213	74	40	329
Total	3	285	115	84	487	

The aforementioned data have made it possible to gain a better understanding of Prospect Hill's socioeconomic dynamics. We can now verify that, though the neighborhood was middle class, its residents were mostly working blue-collar service and skilled jobs to survive. However, a key question arises: while knowing the demographic makeup of the neighborhood, would quantitative analysis also confirm that Rómulo Munguía was indeed an anomalous case? To answer this question, I first utilized SPSS's Anomaly Detection procedure to evaluate unusual cases within the entire dataset.

Table 9. Anomaly Case Index List (All)

Case	Name	Anomaly Index
158	Schmitt, Albert	4.954
1	Ortis, Jesus	4.217
2	García, Mitchell	4.217
3	Thompson, Andrew J	4.217
33	Ing, George W.	4.217
34	Hernandez, Henry	4.217
35	Baker, Ralph O.	4.217
36	Lemons, Howard	4.217
37	Gianotti, Abraham	4.217

Table 9. Continued

Case	Name	Anomaly Index
38	With, Effire	4.217
4	Munguía, Romolo	3.457
5	Ovalle, Feliz	3.457
6	Domnguez, Manuel	3.457
7	García, Romon	3.457
8	Zapata, Victor	3.457
9	Baker, Katie	3.457
10	McRae, George	3.457
11	Gianotti, Angelo	3.457
12	Delagarza, Blas	2.665
13	Davis, Emma	2.665
14	García, Francisco	2.665
15	Ballesaz, Juan	2.665
16	Sánchez, Jesus	2.665
17	Valdez, Celia	2.665

Next, I conducted the same Anomaly Detection procedure on the individuals recorded as “Mexican” in the 1930 census records.

Table 10. Anomaly Case Index List (Mexican Only)

Case	Name	Anomaly Index
1	Ortis, Jesus	5.501
34	Hernandez, Henry	5.501
4	Munguía, Romolo	4.126
5	Ovalle, Feliz	4.126
6	Domnguez, Manuel	4.126
7	García, Romon	4.126
8	Zapata, Victor	4.126
12	Delagarza, Blas	3.670
13	Davis, Emma	3.670
14	García, Francisco	3.670
15	Ballesaz, Juan	3.670
16	Sánchez, Jesus	3.670
17	Valdez, Celia	3.670
18	Cavazos, Concepcion	3.670
19	Flores, Maria	3.670
126	Rodriguez, Jesus	2.977
127	Mejias, Lena	2.977
128	Parilla, Fransiso	2.977

Table 10. Continued

Case	Name	Anomaly Index
129	Zimmerli, Telix	2.977
130	Cisneros, Jesus	2.977
131	Martinez, Pedro	2.977
132	DeLeon, Primo	2.977
133	DeLeon, Antonio	2.977

SPSS's Anomaly Detection procedure provides the output in the form of the Anomaly Case Index List. As indicated by the lists (refer to Tables 9 and 10), each record undergoes the assignment of an **anomaly index**, otherwise known the ratio of the group deviation index to its average over the respective case cluster (SPSS 2008:20). When the case has more deviation than the average, this is evident by a greater anomaly index value. The results of the first procedure (conducted on the entire neighborhood sample) show that Rómulo Munguía was the eleventh anomalous case identified, with an anomaly index value of 3.457. In the results from the second procedure (conducted on Mexicans only) indicate that Rómulo Munguía was counted as the third anomalous case identified, with an anomaly index value of 4.126. These results not only show that Munguía was an unusual case within the constraints of the entire neighborhood, but that he was an exceptional case within the Mexican neighborhood residents. Thus, I have

been able to confirm that Rómulo Munguía would be a strong anomaly candidate to consider for further evaluation.

Presentation of Case Study: Rómulo Munguía

“I wonder: how is it possible that, after thirty or forty years of living abroad, they can remember small details of where they were born in Mexico? How is it possible that time has not made them forget the cobbled streets and picturesque houses of the province, the flowery fences, and the breathtaking churches?
-Rómulo Munguía⁵

José Rómulo Munguía Torres (from hereon referred to as Rómulo Munguía) was born in Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico on January 11, 1885. Guadalajara, he fondly noted, was the “beautiful ‘Pearl of the West’” and a city that had begun to grow past the bindings of sociopolitical conformity of Mexico’s past (Munguía n.d). In his own words, Mexico was “weak [and] defenseless, after such bloody periods of struggle that followed one after another” (Munguía N.d.).

Munguía’s father, Rómulo Franquilino Munguía, was a government worker and a steadfast supporter of General Ramón Corona, who was the political opponent of Porfirio Díaz. In 1893, when Munguía was eight years old, his father went to jail because of his oppositional activity against the Díaz regime. Eventually, his father would die while still in jail (Gutiérrez-Witt 1993). The elder Munguía had been a member of the Mexican middle class, a group that believed in a free and sovereign Mexico where all citizens would be equal “in their rights, education, work, and wealth”

⁵ Quote from unfinished autobiography of Rómulo Munguía, 1974

(Munguía N.d.). The elder Munguía shared with his children a vision for a dignified and unified homeland, always reminding them to appreciate the ever-present beauty and potential within the country.

The death of Munguía's father was a jolting experience for the Munguía family. Suddenly, the family had to rely on the local Society of St. Vincent de Paul for help with the most basic of needs. Furthermore, the family could no longer financially afford for young Rómulo to continue his education; they needed him to work. Also helping the family financially were his two older sisters, Refugio and Elvira, who began working as typesetters for *El Sol*, the local newspaper of Guadalajara (Munguía N.d.; also Gutiérrez-Witt 1993:266).

At the age of twelve, Munguía began an apprenticeship with Loreto, Ancira y Hermanos, which was a prominent printing company in Guadalajara. In his unfinished autobiography, Munguía described himself as “*un diablillo de imprenta*” or “the little demon of the press” (Munguía N.d.). His primary responsibilities included running errands, cleaning the types, settling reams of paper, and making deliveries. He continued to learn the about the printing shop until 1900, when after the death of his mother, Munguía moved to Mexico City and began an apprenticeship with Francisco Gutiérrez, a family friend who was responsible for publishing the weekly newspaper *El Hijo del Ahuizote*.

El Hijo del Ahuizote (Figure 8) possessed tremendous influence on Mexico's politics, as it was responsible for publishing the speeches of Ricardo and Enriquez Flores

Magón and writings by Juan Sarabia, as well as numerous letters that outlined the plight of the working and labor classes. Yet, beyond the technical instruction he was gaining



Figure 8. *El Hijo del Ahuizote* with Porfirio Díaz on Cover

Source: Centro Histórico de la Ciudad de México (N.d.)

through the apprenticeship, Rómulo Munguía was also learning a valuable lesson about the press: it could operate as an influential and highly effective tool for highlighting the political plight of the common people. As he later explained, though his sister Elvira's original intentions were to set him up with skills that could bring him future prosperity

and success, the experience of his own family's pushed him toward using the power of the press to participate in Mexico's ever-growing political movement (Gutiérrez-Witt 1993; Munguía N.d.).

As political fire raged across the Mexican states, President Porfirio Díaz did his best to stifle the Mexican people yearning for social justice, including Rómulo Munguía. In his unfinished autobiography, Munguía recalled the Díaz dictatorship's incessant barrage of personal threats toward the workers at *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, while also observing the group's ambivalence toward Díaz's acts of intimidation. He even mused that not only was he still the "little demon" at the print shop, but that he also possessed "a burning pen" that could be used against the Díaz regime in the name of the workers and peasants (Munguía N.d.). In 1903, the police moved in and arrested over eighty workers at the *El Hijo del Ahuizote* print shop, including the Flores Magón brothers and young Rómulo. Munguía found himself facing a death sentence for his political involvement. However, because of his "tender age," he received a pardon and release (Gutiérrez-Witt 1993:267; Orozco N.d.).

It is natural to assume that such an experience would invoke fear, and even complacency, in order to avoid further run-ins with the government. However, Munguía remained undeterred. Following these events, Munguía began working for Ignacio Cumplido, another highly recognized Mexican printer and publisher in Mexico City. At the same time, he also began service as a sergeant in the Second Reserve, a "citizen's militia group" type of organization that operated under the leadership of General Bernardo Reyes. Reyes was the former governor of Nuevo León and the newly

appointed Minister of War for the Díaz regime (Orozco N.d.; Munguía N.d.). In an attempt to revitalize the Mexican army, Reyes had developed the Second Reserve as a way of calling on “all able-bodied Mexican males to join an army reserve corps” (Chassen de López 2004:404). Though the Reserve was eventually disbanded, the experience of Munguía’s service “convinced [him] that such knowledge would enable him to better serve his country, if necessary” (Munguía N.d.). Inspired, he collaborated with acquaintances that worked in the graphic arts and began to edit and publish *El Obrero*, a newspaper that promoted the group’s ideals on social justice. Additionally, while working at Ignacio Cumplido’s print shop, Munguía established the first Mexican union of typographers in 1907, called the “Sindicato Ignacio Cumplido.” As expected, the Mexican government did not approve of the newly formed union and the group disbanded shortly thereafter.

Munguía moved on to become a composing room foreman at *El Diario*. *El Diario* was well-known newspaper in the capital city that, in addition to its regular duties, was also responsible for printing the political propaganda of Ramón Corral, the political opponent of Bernardo Reyes. Prior to this point, Munguía and his peers from *El Obrero* had been looking for political leaders who not only countered the Díaz-centric *científicos*, but to whom they could lend their support. The group eventually found themselves quietly lending their political support to Major General Bernardo Reyes. However, because of *El Diario*’s connection to the Corral campaign, Munguía remained discreet about his political support of Reyes. By keeping this secret, Munguía would

have the opportunity to learn, and more importantly, share information that was gathered from Corral's campaign and printing activities (Gutiérrez-Witt 1993; Munguía N.d.).

In 1909, Rómulo made his first trip to the United States when he travelled to the Mergenthaler Linotype Company in New York City. Since the printing office at *El Diario* was moving toward the installation of a new linotype, Munguía traveled to New York for instruction on how to manage the linotype operations. During this period, while Munguía remained committed to building upon and refining his printing skills, he also remained active in Mexican politics. Yet unexpectedly, Reyes delivered his supporters a tremendous blow when he suddenly withdrew his candidacy for vice president, leaving his supporters unclear about what would happen next. In response to Reyes' withdrawal, Francisco I. Madero, founder of *El Demócrata*, stepped into Reyes' slot and publically issued a challenge to Corral for Mexico's presidency. Meanwhile, Munguía was involved with organizing and operating a worker group, "La Cámara Nacional del Trabajo," in Mexico City. The group, though well intentioned with its focus on organized labor, was short lived and dispersed soon after the February 1913 government overthrow and assassination of Francisco I. Madero. Madero had once been a beacon of hope for Munguía and his comrades. Now he was dead at the hands of Victoriano Huerta and Huerta's supporters (García 1981; Smith 1995). Madero's murder, and Huerta's subsequent ascension to power, seemed to personify the disappointment and failed promises of the young workers who had valiantly worked toward positive change in their homeland.

By now, the effects of the Mexican Revolution on the capital city were profound, turning it into something that resembled a “battlefield” (Enciso 2006:6). Because of Huerta’s presidency, pockets of regional armies and holdouts began to appear, intending to destroy “Huertista militarism and reactionary clericalism” (Benjamin 2000:49). During this period, often called the Constitutionalist movement because of its desire to restore the constitutional government, many Mexicans found themselves abandoning Mexico City for other locations that could provide them with better security. After the dissolution of “La Cámara Nacional del Trabajo,” Munguía moved to the town of Puebla to avoid persecution, where he joined the Carrancistas. The Carrancistas, led by Venustiano Carranza, was one of the regional groupings that had developed in response to the Huerta presidency. During this period, he worked at several Constitutionalist newspapers in the area, including *El Demócrata* in Puebla, and *El Pueblo* and *Dictamen* in Veracruz. More importantly, Munguía was able to establish connections with many laborers, students, and teachers across the region, a sort of benefit, as he described it, from the shock that had resulted from the invasion of their territory (Munguía N.d.).

In the summer of 1914, the Constitutionalist movement successfully overthrew the Huerta government. However, this success came at a cost. Benjamin (2000) explained that “not long thereafter [the new government] split into hostile factions that again threw Mexico into civil war” (p. 49). Furthermore, “[t]he victory of Carranza and his loyal generals by mid-1915 gave that faction control of Mexico City and the national government, and indeed of most of the country” (Benjamin 2000:49).

Meanwhile, traveling across the southern Mexican region as an “information officer,” Munguía was responsible for writing, producing, and distributing political propaganda. Unfortunately, he often incurred threats of jail time and even death because of these very responsibilities. In one particular instance, had it not been for counterattacking Constitutionalists, Munguía would have met his death (Munguía N.d.; see also Gutiérrez-Witt 1993: 267). Yet, even the closest brushes with mortality failed to dissuade Rómulo from doing what he believed to be important work. In 1915, he oversaw the production of propaganda for the office of the military governor in Puebla. He also formed two separate unions—one for yarn and textile workers and the other for workers in the graphic arts industry—as well as established “La Junta de Vigilancia de Patrones y Trabajadores,” an office that monitored employee-employer relations (Gutiérrez-Witt 1993). In addition, Munguía served on the council of the first municipal government in Puebla, as well as held an alternate position with the Mexican Constitutional Congress in Querétaro (Orozco N.d.).

Even though he was confident in his political efforts, Munguía could not help but feel discouraged with the political climate that was overtaking his beloved Mexico. After the May 21, 1920 death of Venustiano Carranza, the leader with whom Munguía had aligned himself, he found himself feeling further disillusioned and isolated by Mexican politics (Enciso 2006). By 1926, Munguía’s personal safety, as well as the safety of his family, had finally become enough of a concern that he finally decided leave Mexico for San Antonio, Texas, where he found a job working for Ignacio E. Lozano’s San Antonio-based newspaper, *La Prensa*. The extensive printing experience

and linotype knowledge that Munguía had accumulated over years in Mexico had led Lozano to hire Rómulo on as *La Prensa*'s mechanical superintendent. Newly arrived in San Antonio, Rómulo Munguía was "a mixture of political exile, having been persecuted by the Labour-inclined . . . who left in search of safety, and economic migrants, who wanted financial stability" (Enciso 2006:10).

The move to San Antonio signified a defining moment for Rómulo Munguía, as well as for his wife and children. Munguía was the first to move to San Antonio, followed by his wife, Carolina, and his children shortly thereafter. Suddenly, the Munguías were living in a foreign country and away from the familiarity of their beloved homeland. Therefore, holding onto his Mexican identity was important to Munguía, something that his work at *La Prensa* made possible. *La Prensa* was often referred to as "a vehicle of culture for all the Mexicans" living in San Antonio and what García (1991) described as "playing the role of a second government, Mexico's government in exile, and, consequently, the voice of the Mexican masses" (p. 210, 227; Knox 1927). Lozano took *La Prensa*'s influence over the Mexican community seriously, as he believed that it was a "repository for Mexican conservative thought and [a] central instrument[t] for bringing stable change to revolutionary Mexico" (García 1991:224). Also during this time, in 1931, Carolina Munguía joined a Spanish-language radio show on KONO called *La Estrella*, which discussed products, arts, and advertisements that were relevant to the Mexican community. When Carolina left the show after a year, Rómulo stepped in to fill her seat, shifting the show's content toward promoting Mexican nationalism. He openly discussed political events occurring in

Mexico, as well as the socioeconomic conditions of Mexicans living in the United States (Gutiérrez-Witt 1993:268).

Between the years of 1927 and 1930, Munguía enrolled in advertising correspondence courses while continuing to work at *La Prensa*. Though his intention was to eventually operate his own printing company, he also understood that he needed to be more financially stable before taking on such an endeavor. Eventually, Munguía came upon an opportunity to purchase some used printing equipment from Severo González, after which he officially opened La Imprenta Estrella for business, all within the confines of his garage. Each of his children were put in charge of odd jobs in the shop, much in the way that young Rómulo had done back in Guadalajara. By 1936, Munguía renamed the company to Munguía Printers and became more involved with promoting apprenticeships for the neighborhood youth (Gutiérrez-Witt 1993).

Munguía Printers operated within the Prospect Hill neighborhood, an area of San Antonio previously identified as a predominantly Mexican middle class neighborhood. Within this area of the city, there was a definite need for a print shop that could provide services to both the neighborhood and immigrant communities, especially since no Anglo businessmen were willing to open up shops in the area. Furthermore, as Gutiérrez-Witt (1993) pointed out, Munguía Printers was able to provide Spanish and English copy work and for a reasonable price. For example, for a neighborhood Chinese grocer who had long encountered difficulty trying to find a local shop who would print its flyers and announcements, Munguía's printing shop became the only business willing to take on the work and at a reasonable cost.

It was also during this time that Rómulo Munguía started to become involved with efforts to establish a Mexican chamber of commerce in San Antonio. M.C. Gonzales, in his correspondence with Kathleen Munguía, explained the necessity for such a group:

A large segment of the Mexican business men in San Antonio could not afford (dues and language handicap) to join the American Chamber of Commerce and it thus became necessary for us to organize them and also to conduct the business of the Chamber in the Spanish language (Munguía 1974).

The organization, called *Cámara de Comerciantes al Menudeo y Pequeños Industriales*,⁶ originated because of the efforts of its fifty-five charter members, including Rómulo Munguía (Orozco N.d.). The group's initial goal was to encourage the development of business relationships within San Antonio and Mexico, though the organization eventually became recognized as a civic organization that worked on city issues pertaining to sanitation, streets, and education (Munguía 1974).

During the 1940s, Munguía began collaborating with Manuel Pacheco Moreno and founded *El Patronato*, an organization dedicated to establishing a cultural institution in San Antonio that would encourage the cultivation of relationships between individuals of Mexican descent living in the United States and their Mexican counterparts. The institution had the promise of complete support from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) to “[promote] a steady stream of culture among . . . children domiciled in the United States” (Enciso 2006:18). As Enciso (2006) explained, many believed that the culture of Mexican immigrants required active preservation

⁶ Also referred to as “Camara Mexicana de Comercio” or by its contemporary name, “San Antonio Mexican Chamber of Commerce.”

because as time went on, their connections to their homeland would eventually weaken and fade away. Therefore, by promoting positive relations between Mexicans who were living in San Antonio *and* in Mexico, the rich Mexican culture could be sustained, cultivated, and remembered, thus “promot[ing] cultural ties between the country of origin and immigrant communities” (Enciso 2006:18).

Originally, Pacheco Moreno proposed the offering of a four-week course that would provide instruction on Spanish, Mexican literature, social history, Mexican artistry, and international law that could “meet the urgent needs of Mexicans living in the United States” (Enciso 2006:18). The social climate of the United States was making it increasingly clear that Mexican immigrants were not receiving work, education, and social opportunities that were equal to those of their white counterparts. To Munguía, the calling for this type of work was essential, as he felt that the Mexican government had a responsibility to protect and provide for its citizens who were living within its boundaries and beyond. As his friend, Dr. Daniel Saenz, explained to Kathleen Munguía, “[Munguía’s] eyes to the mother country were always evident. One might say that his activities in this locality were a continuation of the social aspects brought about in Mexico by the redeeming features of the Mexican Revolution” (Munguía 1974).

In 1953, Rómulo Munguía’s printing shop became the first all-union print shop in San Antonio. He also continued to print for local businesses and churches, including the Spanish-language religious newspaper *La Voz de la Parroquia*. However, not all of his efforts were concentrated on printing, as Munguía was still active in promoting the

socioeconomic and intellectual advancement of Mexicans living in San Antonio. He was prolifically involved in developing such groups as Agrupación de Ciudadanos en el Extranjero (Association of Citizens Abroad) and the Comisiones Honorificas y Brigadas de la Cruz Azul Mexicans, as well as establishing the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México Extension in San Antonio. For his efforts to support the Mexican communities of San Antonio and his native homeland, Munguía received the title of Honorary Consul of Mexico. On March 3, 1975, Rómulo Munguía passed away in San Antonio. In his response to his death, longtime friend Jake Rodriguez commented, “Don Romulo is gone but his memory and his works will stand forever in the minds and in the hearts of those of us who had the pleasure and the honor to know him and to be counted among his friends . . . very few men will be remembered by San Antonio as he will” (Munguía 1974).

Qualitative Analysis of Rómulo Munguía

At the beginning of the chapter, I discussed the process of running the neighborhood’s demographic data through SPSS’s Anomaly Detection procedure, as well as the results of two Anomaly Case Index Lists—all residents and Mexican residents only. In both of the index lists, Rómulo Munguía emerged as a potential anomalous case with respect to the hypothesis. In this next section, I will provide qualitative analysis of Rómulo Munguía in respect to the six human and social capital variables operationalized in Chapter III. The goal of this analysis is to provide

explanation for the specific conditions that I believe were responsible for Munguía's level of success not otherwise attained by other Prospect Hill residents.

Munguía's Success in Relation to the Human/Social Capital Variables

A major part of this research involves discussing each of the six human and social capital variables outlined in Chapter IV, as they relate to the case history of Rómulo Munguía. In order to avoid repeating overlapping information over the course of this section, I have combined some of the variables when appropriate. This is not to devalue any of the six variables; rather, it is simply to make the overall analysis easier to understand.

Did the subject have contact with high status adults who served, or could potentially have served, as sources for informational and friendship support?

What was the socioeconomic (SES) status of the case study subject?

In an unfinished autobiography, Munguía stated that his father had self-identified as a member of the Mexican middle class, which was a group that promoted freedom, solidarity, and equality for all Mexican citizens. In 1926, after leaving Mexico and moving to San Antonio, Munguía moved into an area of the city, the West Side, which mostly comprised of Mexican residents. Socioeconomically speaking, the West Side of San Antonio has been a working class area. However, Munguía settled into the Prospect Hill neighborhood, which as discussed in Chapter II, was a predominantly Mexican middle class neighborhood.

Though the aforementioned definition of the middle class seems to be socially and politically driven, it establishes a very important point: while Munguía did not grow up wealthy, he does not appear to have grown up in poverty either. His personal documents paint a picture of a person who, even during the most trying of times, was resourceful and able to summon enough support to keep afloat. For example, when Munguía's father died while incarcerated in a Mexican jail, the family was no longer able to afford for young Rómulo to stay in school. Though forced to leave school so that he could help provide for the family, he was able to secure his first job as an apprentice with a notable printing shop. Even his older sister Elvira understood that gaining valuable printing experience at the hands of a well-respected printer would provide him with skills that he could rely on throughout his life.

The benefit of the printing apprenticeships seems to be two-fold. On the one hand, Munguía was able to accrue valuable instruction and experience through his apprenticeships. Even during his youth in Mexico, Rómulo Munguía exhibited a heightened level of social connectivity with individuals who were both socially and politically influential. At the age of twelve, he had secured himself an apprenticeship in Guadalajara. This connection undeniably provided Munguía with the foundations of a highly sought skill set, as well as fundamental connections with the prominent movers and shakers of the printing industry.

However, on the other hand, he was able to learn the importance of mixing printing with politics. During this time, Mexican politics relied heavily on the influence of the press, particularly newspapers, over the country's political climate. Many

newspapers regularly published the speeches and writings of political figures, which made it possible for politics to reach across to citizens. Additionally, people were also able to write letters expressing political sentiments and have them shared with the greater public. In essence, the press was an extremely powerful mouthpiece for political figures and ordinary citizens alike. For those who owned or even worked at such mouthpieces, it was evident that they were individuals of a higher status.

Munguía was able to build on the reputation of his initial training and work experience by securing another apprenticeship in Mexico City with Francisco Gutiérrez, a family friend who provided yet another important node of influence and support. Gutiérrez was the publisher of the weekly newspaper *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, well known for its strong sentiments on Mexican politics. The newspaper has been described as “a remarkable example of Mexico's nineteenth-century critical consciousness and sought to reveal the hidden aspects of Mexico's national image,” accomplished “by making ironic allegories out of the official allegories, while often sharing the same basic abstract and pragmatic official goals” (University of Texas at El Paso 2010). Since his printing duties at the paper revolved around the publishing of political writings and speeches, it is arguable that at this point in Rómulo Munguía’s life, he was just starting to realize how important the printing industry was to Mexican politics.

After the apprenticeship at *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, Munguía earned numerous opportunities to work with other prominent printers and publishers in Mexico City, one of which included *El Diario*. In fact, it was because of his work at *El Diario* that Rómulo Munguía made his first trip to the United States. Since the newspaper was

getting ready to adopt a new linotype, Munguía's responsibilities meant traveling up to New York City to undergo linotype training at Mergenthaler Linotype Company. This training was not only fundamental to Munguía's professional development, but to his informational network. *El Diario* had the social, financial, and political influences to not only send their composing room foreman for supplementary training, but to send him to the Mergenthaler Linotype Company for the training. Ottmar Mergenthaler had been responsible for developing the first linecasting machine back in 1886 and opening his namesake company nearly four years later (Linotype "About Linotype" N.d.). *El Diario* sent Munguía to learn linotype operations from the founding company, which seems to offer further credibility to Munguía's skill level, experience, and expertise.

Upon his return to Mexico, Munguía continued to work at various newspapers around the country, as well as forging connections with other workers, laborers, and people who were suffering because of the political turmoil in their homeland. Because he was involved with newspapers that were writing, printing, and distributing political paraphernalia, Munguía frequently found himself arrested and threatened with death. Experiences such as these eventually convinced Munguía and his family to leave Mexico for San Antonio, Texas.

With Munguía's experience and expertise of the printing business, along with the rich ethnic community that had settled in San Antonio because of the Mexican Revolution, San Antonio was a place that was full of boundless possibilities. Upon his arrival, Munguía connected with Ignacio E. Lozano, who was responsible for publishing *La Prensa* in San Antonio and *La Opinión* in Los Angeles. Upon his arrival to the

United States in 1908, Lozano had worked to establish a reputation as being socially and politically well connected (McMillan N.d.). Likewise, Lozano's newspapers also reflected a lucrative sociopolitical network of acquaintances and friends. Even today, *La Prensa* receives recognition as a hugely influential mouthpiece of the Mexican-American population.

At this point, we can re-confirm the relationships that Munguía formed with highly powerful newspaper owners and printers, forged from his childhood well into adulthood. While a few connections were friends of the family, such as Francisco Gutiérrez, it is clear that Munguía was able to gain powerful experience at newspapers across Mexico and eventually in San Antonio. Specifically:

1. He gained the technical knowledge that was necessary to operate an active printing shop.
2. He learned how to effectively use the power of the media to stimulate political action.
3. He learned how to cultivate relationships with highly connected people who could provide social, economic, and political support for the Mexican population, especially those living in exile.
4. He gained a greater awareness of idea that in order to invoke social, economic, and political changes, there must be a strong sense of solidarity across the board.

It is my belief that Munguía's aptitude for survival is a strong indication that he was determined to keep his circumstances from defining his life's direction. Perseverance and the implied importance of forging connections with highly influential became

Munguía's ticket to profound success. In turn, by the time that Rómulo Munguía moved into the Prospect Hill neighborhood, he was well on his way to transitioning into an individual of high stature and socio-informational connections within San Antonio's Mexican community.

What was the occupation of the subject before immigrating to San Antonio? Were they able to continue with their old professions?

As previously discussed, before immigrating to San Antonio, Rómulo Munguía worked as a printer for numerous newspapers across Mexico. At the same time, he was also involved in organizing labor groups for textile and printing workers. Upon arriving in San Antonio, Munguía began working at *La Prensa*, where he worked until he opened up his own printing shop.

Because Munguía had tremendous knowledge about the printing industry, he was aware of what it would take him to be successful in a new country. Besides financial stability and a refined skill set, Rómulo Munguía also recognized the necessity in networking with people who were profoundly influential in the Mexican community and the city government. Thus, by acting on this knowledge, he was able to continue with his old professions up until his death in 1975.

In San Antonio, did the subject spend more time cultivating relationships with other Mexican residents or with mostly Anglo Americans? What was the socioeconomic level of the subject's informational and friendship network?

By all accounts, Rómulo Munguía largely associated with people who were of comparable socioeconomic status. This is true when discussing his early years in Mexico and especially true after he moved to San Antonio. During his youth, Munguía was fortunate to have connected with such highly successful and influential newspaper owners in Guadalajara and Mexico City. The apprenticeships not only gave him the opportunity to learn the printing business, but they provided him with social connections that he could later call on for support. While living in Puebla, Munguía encountered a professor named Rodolfo Martinez, who, in response to the violence, had formed a group of workers called “Guerrilleros de la Muerte,” of which Munguía was named the deputy chief of the group (UNAM N.d.).

Upon his arrival in San Antonio, Rómulo Munguía became extremely involved with fostering strong relationships amongst the city’s Mexican and Mexican American community. Professor Manuel Urbina was one of the first financial supporters and would eventually become a member of the Constituent Extension Courses at the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico in San Antonio, Texas (UNAM N.d.). In a letter to Kathleen Munguía in March 1975, though he does not specify how his initial meeting with Rómulo Munguía, he explained their relationship: “I knew very well Mr. Munguía, if any person knew Romulo Munguía quite well, that person is myself. When he came to San Antonio the first family he met was the Urbina family, etc.” (Munguía 1974). Like Munguía, Urbina shared a similar passion for maintaining the Mexican culture, as well as establishing an institution that would allow Mexicans and Mexican Americans to learn about and preserve their culture. Urbina and the other individuals

involved in the UNAM extension project were not only well connected with the City of San Antonio officials, but also with Mexican government officials and Mexican professionals living in San Antonio. Though he would never become a United States citizen, he would later be described as “a faithful friend and political adviser” to many Anglo American politicians, including San Antonio mayor Maury Maverick (UNAM N.d.).

For Munguía, the UNAM extension project meant “being part of a recognized institution of excellence for human resource training in secondary and higher education in Mexico [particularly] much of the research that provides novel knowledge of the country . . . [that] affects the global process” (UNAM N.d.). In addition, it promoted the connection with another society “by their forms of organization and culture to contribute to the improvement and integration of multi-nationals . . . in the United States of America” (UNAM N.d.). The people who would gain the most from this project were the Mexican/Mexican American residents of San Antonio. The establishment of the UNAM extension would encourage the residents to learn English, though not to the detriment of their native tongue, as well as to appreciate the splendor of the Mexican culture.

Munguía appeared to also rely on his professional experiences to bring the community together. In a letter to Kathleen Munguía, Elisa Celestino described how she first encountered Rómulo Munguía and his printing services. Celestino’s father, a carpenter, was originally involved in the task of converting Munguía’s home garage into a printing shop. When Elisa began searching for a local printer who was willing to print

a parish paper called *La Voz de la Parroquia* for a reasonable fee, Celestino's father suggested Rómulo Munguía for the job. As she explained:

. . . since I was in charge of all the printing material for our programs and activities in Church my father suggest-ed for me to meet Mr. Rómulo Munguía. So the following week . . . I met [him] and was very impress[ed] with his wonderful family and his great understanding of helping with all of our printing work . . . He loved his work and took pride even if he had to work day and night... He would never say no when he was asked for help (Munguía 1974).

Munguía's strong work ethic was a trait that had not only impressed Elisa Celestino, but also the local administrators associated with the newspaper. Though the original budget for the newspaper was small and could only afford expenses related to ink and paper, over time, Munguía came to believe so strongly in the cause that he donated the rest of the labor and time needed to publish *La Voz de la Parroquia*.

Munguía's involvement with *La Voz de la Parroquia* provides additional evidence of his involvement with the Anglo Americans in San Antonio. Because of the Revolution, as the Mexicans started settling into San Antonio's West Side, the Catholic Church began to build parochial schools to serve the Mexican community. According to García (1991), the church's focus was to retain ethnicity "because *lo mexicano* was in its essence religious and Catholic. Thus, it pursued a policy of promoting an ideological undercurrent of Mexican Americanism" (p. 161). As the church understood it, building Catholic institutions within the heart of the Mexican community was essential to bolstering the church's social influence:

Religion unified the workers, but was not a magnet for daily participatory activism, as it was for the middle class . . . For lower-middle-class Mexicans, however, religion was a vehicle to social prominence, since they did not usually have access to the *sociedad de los ricos*" (García 1991:153).

At the same time, church officials in San Antonio had begun assembling *La Voz de la Parroquia*. *La Voz de la Parroquia* intended to provide a connection between the religious messages of the Catholic Church and Mexican residents living in San Antonio. As such, printing *La Voz de la Parroquia* provided further influence over both Mexican and Anglo-Americans and Rómulo Munguía eventually became involved with contributing “interesting articles of the present week” to the newspaper (Munguía 1974).

Munguía’s method of making contact with other Mexican residents was sometimes a bit unorthodox, though it was nevertheless successful. In written correspondence between Kathleen Munguía and Dr. Daniel Saenz, Saenz recalled how he first met Rómulo Munguía in 1929 as an appendectomy patient, explaining, “That was the beginning of a friendship that brought us together on many occasions and encounters with the different organizations he sponsored in San Antonio.” (Munguía 1974). Saenz specifically addressed Munguía’s ability to also work with the Anglo American residents of San Antonio, noting, “He was very successful in enlisting the cooperation of the Anglo sector of society, especially the ladies with which the organization reached it’s [sic] zenith of performance” (Munguía 1974).

Rómulo Munguía steadily established a reputation as a well connected, highly influential, and successful San Antonio businessman. In the San Antonio Express News, dated February 28, 1972, a college student wrote in to the “Action/Express” section of the newspaper searching for a political exile that moved to San Antonio between 1910 and 1939 (see Figure 9). The newspaper responded with the contact information for Rómulo Munguía, who was described as enjoying “a highly successful business and

family life” in post-Revolution San Antonio. Therefore, it is clear that Munguía was involved in working relationships with both Mexicans and Anglo Americans. However, it can be said with confidence that the majority of his relationships and, therefore, his work were cultivated *with* Mexicans *for* the benefit of San Antonio’s Mexican population. From the moment of his 1926 arrival in San Antonio until his death in 1975,

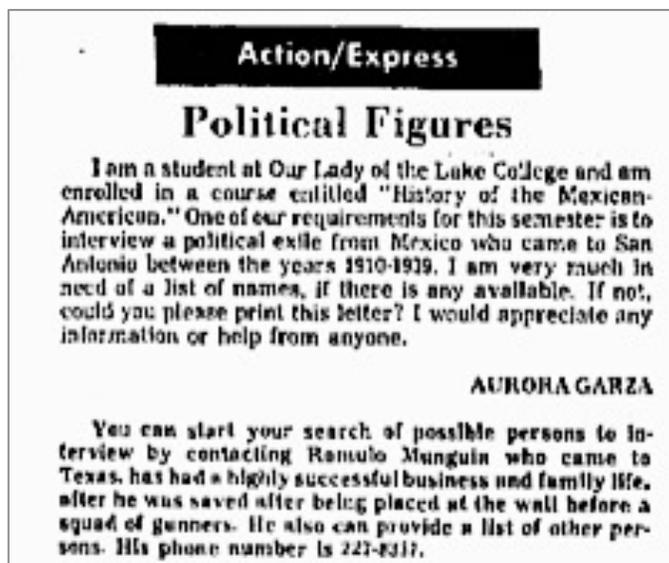


Figure 9. *San Antonio Express News*: “Action/Express” (February 28, 1972)

Source: Ancestry.com (2007)

Munguía was unwaveringly dedicated to his homeland and fellow countrymen. As M.C. Gonzales explained, “. . . his firm and valuable connections in Mexico and his love for anything that was Mexican, placed him, as a member of the Chamber, in a position of bringing about closer contacts . . . with prominent people in Mexico City and Puebla”

(Munguía 1974). The concluding thoughts of long-time friend Dr. Daniel Saenz appropriately summarize Rómulo Munguía's gift of cultivating relationships with both Mexicans and Anglo Americans groups: "We can say of him that he was an industrious and dedicated citizen, but above all a human being concerned in the welfare of his fellow human beings" (Munguía 1974).

Correspondence and various other documents belonging to the Rómulo Munguía Collection illuminate the fact that the majority of Munguía's social contacts were individuals of a higher social stratum—other printers, newspaper owners, professors, doctors, and successful businessmen. By holding onto the important printing connections and experience that he brought from Mexico, he possessed a level of social and professional credibility that spoke to someone like Ignacio E. Lozano. Lozano's own influence over Mexican sociality and politics was undeniably powerful. With *La Prensa* (as well as *La Opinion*), Lozano had a vehicle through which he could provide the Mexican political refugees who were living in the United States with news from their homeland. Undoubtedly, through his experience at *La Prensa*, Munguía was able to connect with a larger audience and it was with the support of this audience that he was eventually able to open his own printing shop and operate with remarkable success.

What was the primary language, as well as the level of language proficiency, for the case study subject?

Rómulo Munguía's primary language was Spanish, though he was also a fluent speaker of the English language. In a letter written by Elisa Celestino, she noted that

“[h]is spanish [sic] was excellent and of-course I have always been a great admirer of well educated people” (Munguía 1974). Even though he eventually moved to the United States, where he would remain until his death, Munguía believed that it was important to retain as much of his Mexican heritage as possible. To Rómulo Munguía, Mexico would always be home. Friends and colleagues often described him as having his eyes facing the direction of the homeland. When he became involved with the Cámara de Comerciantes al Menudeo y Pequeños Industriales, the meetings were originally in the Spanish language.

However, it is difficult to discern when exactly Munguía began to learn English. His UNAM autobiography mentions that after his move to San Antonio, he enrolled in correspondence courses through the International Correspondence Schools, where he began to learn English at this time; no other details have been uncovered. A detail known about Munguía Printers is that they gained a lot of business because of their ability to print in both Spanish and English. Though Prospect Hill was predominantly Mexican in makeup, the neighborhood was a mixture of business owners and entrepreneurs of various races and ethnicities. Strong English proficiency would almost certainly be a requisite ability in running a successful bilingual printing company.

In reviewing the literature related to middle class immigrants, one of the variables that Clark (2000) identifies as having an impact on immigrant mobility is the *level of English proficiency* (mentioned in Table 2). Specifically, the variable argues that a high level of English proficiency will increase the likelihood that an immigrant will receive promising job opportunities. We cannot make many assumptions about Rómulo

Munguía's English proficiency level when he was living in Mexico because we do not have enough information. However, once he arrived in Texas, he began to take courses to improve his English. Since Munguía's socioeconomic success increased over time, we can speculate with some degree of certainty that his command of the English language must have improved, as well.

The Synergistic Interactions of Sociopolitical Elements

From the onset of this research, I argued that the possession of human and social capital played a crucial role in an immigrant's socioeconomic success. However, I have also maintained that there was another piece to the puzzle that was equally important to achieving such success, something that I refer to as **the synergistic interactions of sociopolitical elements**. This factor is similar to a conception used in Lofland's (1994) study of the 1980s American peace movement, which identified the interactions of four important elements: *actions, perceptions, events, and conditions* (p. 234). According to Lofland and Marullo (1994), these elements are important because, "[e]laborated, [they] provide us with depictions of who is interacting, at what levels and forms of involvement, over what sorts of perceptions, events, and conditions" (p. 234). In this instance, the confluence of these four elements is associated with achieving positive socioeconomic success. To further clarify, many immigrants moved into a specific geographic location where there was not only a need for certain types of businesses, but no Anglo business owners were willing to operate within a Mexican enclave. For immigrants who moved into Mexican neighborhoods with highly desirable skills and

trades, they found that they were able to fulfill the aforementioned needs. To use a common colloquialism, a portion of one's success was dependent on simply being in the right place at the right time.

San Antonio's Prospect Hill neighborhood, as demonstrated by the demographic data to which I referred at the beginning of Chapter V, was home to more than one racial/ethnic group. Yet, it is undeniable that the majority of neighborhood residents were of Mexican descent. Prospect Hill had become the place for Mexicans who were feeling and acting like "middle-class Americanos" (García 1991:52). The neighborhood was located on the northern end of the West Side and was home to numerous middle-class businessmen and businesswomen, teachers, and clerks, the so-called "leaders of the community" (García 1991:53).

Unfortunately, the presence of extremely specialized professionals within a community does not guarantee the representation of every desired skill and trade, nor does it guarantee the meeting of all community needs. To look at the case of Rómulo Munguía, he did not immigrate to the United States until 1926. When he arrived in San Antonio and settled into Prospect Hill, he found a situation where:

1. There were no other neighborhood printers around to do the printing jobs
2. No Anglo American printers in the city were willing to take on the work

It so happened that Munguía possessed a sought out skill set that other neighborhood business owners desperately needed. Whether it was pure luck, a coincidence, or otherwise, the fact was that Munguía was able to provide a much-needed service.

Therefore, this raises an interesting question: if Rómulo Munguía had been a member of lower class or held a blue-collar position, would he have been able to achieve the heights of success that he met as a well-connected, middle class Mexican exile? After conducting extensive quantitative and qualitative analysis on Munguía and the Prospect Hill neighborhood, I feel confident in my assertion that Rómulo Munguía would **not** have been as successful had the circumstances been different. My reasons for this assertion are as follows:

1. In accordance to Thernstrom's (1999) occupation classification scheme, Munguía classification fell under *High White Collar Major Proprietors, Managers, and Officials*. Because there were fewer Mexicans in that category (or any white collar category, for that matter) than there were in the blue-collar sector, it is apparent that he was an unusual case of unusual circumstances. If working a job deemed higher class was truly nothing out of the ordinary, it is my opinion that the numbers of Mexicans in white-collar positions would have been far greater than what the quantitative analysis revealed.
2. His social and informational connections in San Antonio were an important key to his success. A large community of Mexican political exiles who left Mexico because of the Mexican Revolution meant that there was a large support system in place and ready to provide financial, intellectual, and emotional support. The members of this community positioned close to one another within the social strata. They were fully aware of the social, political, and business needs of the

Mexican community and thus, shared such knowledge with community members who could fulfill those needs.

3. Had Rómulo Munguía been part of a lower social class, he would not have been privy to the highly connected and well-endowed support system experienced by the middle- and upper- classes. Instead, as was the case with many working class Mexicans, he most likely would have ended up in blue-collar jobs that carried no promise of socioeconomic mobility. In addition to occupational segregation, he might also have endured residential segregation that put him living in one of the poorer Mexican enclaves on the West Side of San Antonio. Professional opportunities would have been completely different or non-existent and the skills most desired would likely have been those of a laborious nature.
4. Likewise, if he had arrived in the United States as part of the labor class exodus, Munguía might not have concerned himself with the type of job he could get and how he fit in socially. It is especially likely that he would have lacked formal training and skills. Instead, his greatest concern would have been to find steady work that was better than what he earned in Mexico and would better provide for his family. As García (1981) described the poor Mexican immigrants who moved to El Paso for work, they were “were occupationally and economically restricted by the meager resources of their community... which stressed labor-intensive enterprises requiring mostly cheap manual labor.” (p. 84).

In the end, Rómulo Munguía proved to be an interesting case because of his extraordinary interpersonal connections, experiences, skills, and convictions that he

gained during his young life in Mexico and his later years in Texas. I believe that I have provided sufficient evidence to highlight the importance of the following factors, in relation to achieving a level of success that was unexpected and uncommon:

- Cultivating a strong social and informational network in Mexico and in Texas,
- Being privy to important occupational and political training
- Having familial encouragement to work diligently, stand up for important convictions, and to be proud of the Mexican heritage

In the case of Rómulo Munguía, it is clear that his success was the result of high levels of human and social capital, as well as the synergistic interactions of sociopolitical elements. Without these two factors, this “perfect” presentation of middle class success might not ever have taken place.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of this dissertation, I have attempted to address the flow of Mexican immigration that was the result of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. Though this was not the first influx of Mexicans trying to enter the United States, nor would it be the last, it was unquestionably one of the most important in history. Mexicans were not just crossing the borders for better job opportunities; many were crossing because their personal safety was at stake.

For the newly arrived immigrants who began searching for employment, they found themselves navigating a colorblind system of a non-traditional sense. Instead of employers refusing to pass judgments based on skin color, Mexicans encountered employers who lumped all “brown people” into one stigmatized group. It made no difference whether a person was highly educated or moderately skilled, middle class or labor class. When looking through glasses tinted with ignorance, a Mexican was a Mexican—period.

Familiarizing oneself with the history of the Mexican territory, such as the wars, skirmishes, and treaties that altered territorial boundaries, seems to emphasize the irony of group native to the region treated as outsiders. It is no doubt that, even back in 1910, this bit of irony was not lost on the Mexican population; it is with more certainty that the irony was not lost on future generations. In a note written by Rómulo A. Munguía⁷ to

⁷ The son of Rómulo Munguía, Sr., case study subject

Kathleen Munguía, he made the following observation: “It must be pointed out that this ethnic group is the only group in the United States other than the American Indian which consists of persons indigent to their [location prior] to these areas becoming a part of the political boundaries of the U.S.” (Munguía 1974). Yet, not all Anglo Americans in Texas were ignorant of this fact. For example, the former mayor of San Antonio, Maury Maverick, argued that discriminating against such a large portion of the city population was not the best choice. Instead, the Mexican American population deserved integration because “San Antonio, after all, was a Mexican and American city, a city cosmopolitan in history and tradition” (García 1991:216).

The purpose of this dissertation was to evaluate the residents who lived in a historically Mexican middle class neighborhood—Prospect Hill—within the context of socioeconomic success. Specifically, I wanted to understand why fewer Mexicans in this neighborhood were able to achieve greater levels of prosperity, while the majority seemed relegated to lower socioeconomic statuses. As evidenced by the neighborhood data, possession of highly desirable occupational skills or having once been a member of the middle class back in Mexico did not guarantee success. It became apparent that during this post-Revolution era in San Antonio, a perfect storm of conditions needed to be present in order to achieve high socioeconomic prosperity. Therefore, the paramount goal of this research was to break down these conditions and provide an explanation of why some people were successful while others were not.

My hypothesis concentrated on the following conditions: *one*—the possession of high levels of human and social capital, and *two*—the synergistic interactions of

sociopolitical elements. The first condition asserted the importance of human and social capital (such as occupational skills, opportunities for specialized training, financial support from family or social network, and social/informational networks) on achieving positive levels of success. Initially, I focused my research on social capital, as it seemed that social and informational support networks were instrumental in setting up members in new living situations. However, as I moved further along, I found that human capital was equally important in achieving success. Such assets as occupational skills and training represented human capital and as my research demonstrated, both were crucially involved with attaining high socioeconomic success.

The second condition of the hypothesis is *the synergistic interactions of sociopolitical elements*. Occasionally, this condition is informally recognized as “being at the right place at the right time” or “happenstance.” However, within the confines of this research project, this phrase has a very specific meaning. As mentioned before, Prospect Hill was primarily Mexican and as such, many Anglo American businessmen who refused to operate within the neighborhood for this very reason. This left a void within the community—specifically, a great demand for residents who possessed certain white-collar based skills and talents. Therefore, for immigrants such as Rómulo Munguía who happened to move into an area where there was a need for his type of services, he arrived just as the relevant factors were converging.

After reviewing the demographic data of the Prospect Hill neighborhood, I could now determine that the majority of Prospect Hill’s Mexican residents were concentrated within the blue-collar sector. After evaluating these results, I began to look at the

number of Mexican residents working in white-collar occupations, especially those in the high white-collar category. The numbers associated with this group were low, indicating that the Mexicans in this neighborhood were less likely to be white-collar. I next performed Anomaly Detection on the list of all Prospect Hill neighborhood residents, as well as only those recorded as Mexican in the census records. The results gave additional confirmation to the cases that initially suspected as anomalous, one of which was Rómulo Munguía.

Originally, this short list of potential cases that was meant to recognize individuals for whom I could conduct historical research, in the hope that I would uncover ample amount of information pertaining to the individual's personal and professional life. This would be essential to my research; I needed to be able to find a person who could provide validation of my hypothesis or otherwise. If I were to select a person that had very little information written about or related to his life, it would defeat the whole purpose of this study.

In the end, Rómulo Munguía proved to be exactly the type of case that I was planning on using to support my hypothesis. His personal background and professional involvement in San Antonio's Mexican community were not only discussed in works related to the Mexican middle class, but the University of Texas at Austin had in their possession a plethora of primary and secondary resources that could be used to gain insight into Munguía's life. After reading through many of the autobiographical sources, as well as the letters written by Munguía's colleagues, it became evident that I had enough evidence to support my original hypothesis.

In regards to the first part of my research question, Rómulo Munguía possessed extremely high levels of both social and human capital. As a youth in Mexico, he landed multiple apprenticeships at highly recognized newspapers, learning the printing trade from well-known newspaper owners. At least one of these apprenticeships came from an acquaintance of Munguía's older sister. Over time, as these types of relationships formed, Munguía's social and informational network rapidly grew. As his printing skills improved through his work and as he learned how to effectively use the power of the press for political gain, his levels of human capital significantly increased, as well.

By the time he arrived in San Antonio, Munguía possessed a greatly respected set of skills and a vast network of strategically relevant social and informational contacts. He relied on these two forms of capital to help with establishing a position within the personal and professional worlds of the San Antonio middle class:

- First, by establishing a social connection with the Urbina family upon his arrival in San Antonio
- Second, by meeting with Ignacio E. Lozano for employment at the newspaper *La Prensa*

Regarding the second part of my research question, achieving positive socioeconomic success required a special set of circumstances coming together, creating a perfect storm for success. In the case of Rómulo Munguía, he happened to move into a middle class neighborhood that was severely lacking the types of professional services that entrepreneurs and other businessmen often needed. Anglo American professionals were not willing to open up shop and provide these needed services for the

neighborhood residents. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there was the case of a Chinese grocer who encountered great difficulty in trying to find a printer who was willing to print leaflets for a reasonable price. When Munguía moved into Prospect Hill and opened his first printing shop just a few years later, he found himself face-to-face with circumstances that were coming together to create an ultimate opportunity for success.

Limitations of Research

Ragin and Becker (1992) have long acknowledged the important role that cases have in social science methodology. In this dissertation research, the role of the individual case study has proved instrumental to explaining and supporting the research question. If I had only used the neighborhood demographic data to better understanding the socioeconomic makeup of the residents, my understanding would have been on a very basic level. The case study of Rómulo Munguía, an individual who not only left behind a legacy of activism on behalf of the Mexican community, but also left an extensive collection of documents that provided deeper insight into successes, allowed for Munguía's anomalous position within the data to be further examined within the context of the neighborhood data.

However, one of the potential issues associated with case studies is the possibility that the researcher might select a case study subject *only* because he or she supports the research hypotheses. Vaughan (1992) described this problem as “forcing fit,” explaining how “at the same time it tells us where to look, it can keep us from fit,”

seeing” (p. 195). Throughout this research, I remained vigilant of the possibility of forcing a case study to fit my research needs. Yet, when conducting social science research with case studies, this particular type of inquiry makes it a challenge to completely avoid succumbing to “develop[ing] a ‘theoretical fix’: an explanatory scheme that guides the remainder of the work” (Vaughan 1992:196). Therefore, while I made every effort to remain open to following the route of my case study without trying to steer its direction, I acknowledge the possibility of “forcing [a] fit” with the data.

Regarding the data, one notable limitation pertains to the sample size of the data set. At the time of completion, information pertaining to 487 total individuals was recorded from the 1930 census records. Some researchers might argue that in order for this sample size to be a more accurate, and thus a more conclusive, snapshot of entire neighborhood, more individuals should have been included in the data.

Another limitation is the length of time studied here. As it stands, I only looked at individuals recorded in the 1930 U.S. census. Some researchers might argue that the neighborhood needs to undergo further evaluation as part of a longitudinal study, preferably over a period of several decades, for more accurate findings. In addition to recording information from the 1930 census, I also performed census record searches for the years 1900, 1910, and 1920. While I was able to locate some of the Prospect Hill residents within the previous records, I did not find enough to create a comparable sized data set to run comparisons with the 1930 data. Furthermore, during the period in which I was collecting the information from the 1930 census records, the 1940 records remained unreleased. On April 12, 2012, the National Archives released these records to

the public. In the future, I hope to address this particular limitation by working through the 1940 census records and creating a data set for future comparisons and assessments.

The census records produce their own list of limitations that require addressing. First, as previously noted in the data and methods section, much of the information recorded occurred at the discretion of the census taker. One example of this is the race/ethnicity category. Some individuals of Mexican descent were labeled as “black” because of their dark physical appearance. Even if they carried a Spanish surname or had other family members listed as “Mexican,” the census taker’s subjectivity regarding a person’s skin color was enough of a presence to bias their recorded information. Furthermore, there was very little emphasis on providing the correct spelling of an individual’s name. While this may not appear to be an important problem upfront, it is indeed an issue when we attempt to follow these individuals throughout other census years. Misspellings, or even misinterpretations, of a surname can make it very difficult to conduct a longitudinal type of study.

On the other hand, it is possible that some residents did not even provide the census taker with correct personal information. This is attributable to a variety of reasons, including language barriers, a lack of comprehension of the questions posed by the census takers, or even feelings of intimidation as a foreigner. In any case, this limitation can potentially affect the validity of the data set and any subsequent analyzing of the results.

Implications for Future Research

At the beginning of this dissertation, I was determined to gain a better appreciation of what life in Mexico was like before the Mexican Revolution. In particular, I wanted to understand the social, political, and economic influences that Mexican citizens encountered on their daily quest for survival. History, as noted earlier, tends to repeat for those who failed to learn from prior mistakes and although Mexico's historical landscape has evolved over time, it seems that some people remain ignorant of Mexico's interwoven past with the Southwestern United States.

There is an incredible need for scholars to establish universal criteria that not only defines the middle class, but also defines it within the circumstances of immigration. Contemporary research acknowledges that scholars generously use the phrase "middle class" without really establishing its meaning. Consequently, this opens up the phrase to various interpretations, correct and incorrect, that will continue to hinder the value of future literature offerings. Simply coming up with one way to define the middle class does not solve the problem either—any scholar can propose a suggestion, but not everyone can propose one that is precise and all encompassing.

Future literature must decide on whether a definition of middle class should be according to financial criteria (such as a person's income), education levels, or even political involvement. Contemporary scholars are quick to acknowledge the fact that there is no clear way to distinguish members of the middle class. Perhaps it is time for future research to re-approach this age-old question by conceptualizing the definition through social, political, economic, and educational factors.

Another important issue that needs addressing in future research is the conceptualization of social capital and its measurement in immigrants. Similar to the problem with middle class research, social capital faces similar shortcomings in terms of definition. In simple terms, we need a comprehensive definition of what social capital means. Though social capital literature has demonstrated the influence that social and informational networks have on an immigrant's success, the body of literature does not provide a universally accepted definition that outlines what constitutes social capital, how to measure its levels, and how capital levels can increase and decrease.

It is true that immigration has long remained a highly relevant global topic; in hindsight, it is easy to see that immigration has always been an important social issue in the United States. Subsequently, it is imperative that we understand the following: *what* types of social, economic, and political factors influence immigration patterns; *who* and *what* factors make it possible for some immigrants to achieve socioeconomic success, while others struggle to stay afloat. To truly understand and advance these concepts, scholars should all be reviewing the research via the same conceptualization.

Finally, there is the issue associated with defining racial and ethnic identities of Mexican immigrants and later generations. In reading through literature published over decades, it is clear that everyone has an opinion on how to define everyone from Mexican immigrants to American-born offspring of Mexican descent. The lack of a universally accepted definition seems to only create further confusion amongst both Anglo American *and* Latino populations.

From a more personal standpoint, I realized that this issue hit closest to home. Growing up in San Antonio, I have always known that at least part of my ancestry came from Mexico. Yet, being a fifth generation American meant that even though I grew up with some cultural traditions, I otherwise had a very Americanized childhood. With fair skin and jet-black hair, people were never quite sure of how to classify me because, as far as they were concerned, I looked “white.” In some instances, upon learning of my heritage, some people would go so far as to offer genuine sentiments of relief, saying, “At least you don’t look Mexican!”

Over time, I realized just *how* confusing ethnicity was as a concept. I could not say that I was “Mexican” because I was not born in Mexico, nor could I say that I was “Mexican American” because according to some scholars, the phrase is either reserved for Mexicans who later become American citizens or for American-born offspring of Mexican immigrants. However, if I simply called myself an “American,” some might argue that I was trying to hide, or outright deny, my “true” ethnic history. Unfortunately, this is not a problem exclusive to Mexicans, as nearly every racial and ethnic group struggles with similar issues regarding identity. Still, it stands to reinforce the importance of establishing a more informed way of defining Mexicans and individuals of Mexican descent.

In conclusion, one does not need to go very far to encounter yet another anti-immigrant news story or a political figure pushing for a fence to be built along the United States-Mexican border. These types of stories permeate media outlets on a daily basis, inundating the public with pleas to make “protecting our borders” the number one

concern of the American people. This is also nothing new. Back in 1917, the Immigration Restriction League supported a law that would not only raise the head tax, but would require immigrants to pass a literacy exam, as well as extend the excluded list to include alcoholics, vagrants and “persons of constitutional psychopathic inferiority” (Romo 1975:180). Now compare those sentiments with the following selection from a recent CNN opinion piece:

. . . the larger truth is that nonwhite people will be the majority in this country by 2040 and this browning of America scares the hell out of a lot of people, particularly some white people. The thinking goes that if the country can deport the Mexicans who are illegally here and stop new ones from coming in, maybe that trend will slow down or even reverse (Granderson 2012).

Government officials and American citizens alike have long treated Mexican immigrants—an ethnic group truly native to the Southwestern region of the United States—with such disdain and contempt, hoping that the floods of immigration crossing the border would eventually fade away.

Instead, my goal has been to not only recognize the deep history shared between Mexico’s inhabitants and the United States, but to provide further understanding of the socioeconomic and political forces that originally drove Mexican immigrants across the border in search for greater opportunity. It is paramount that we learn from history, in order to prepare for the future. As the old saying goes, “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.”

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APPENDIX A

SAN ANTONIO SUBJECT INFORMATION SHEET

Name:

Residence in 1930 (Street/Section, City, County, State):

Age:

Estimated Birth Year:

Birthplace:

Race:

Gender:

Literate:

Occupation:

Spouse:

Children (Ages):

Other Household Members:

Wealth (Real/Personal):

Household Size in 1930:

Additional Information:

VITA

Sarita Molinar Bertinato received her Bachelor of Arts degree in sociology with a minor in psychology from the University of the Incarnate Word in 2002 and her Master of Criminal Justice degree from Boston University in 2005. She entered the sociology program at Texas A&M University in August 2005 and received her Doctor of Philosophy degree in August 2012. Her research interests include political sociology, social change, policy formation, comparative/historical sociology, and counterterrorism.

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