

Mexican Immigrants in El Paso: Integration and Political Influence Since 1965

Student Name: Maria Fernanda Aguirre Broca

Student Number: s1208799

Thesis Seminar: North America

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. David Ballantyne

Word Count: 10,991 (incl. Bibliography)

Table of Contents

Introduction	3
Assimilation versus Multiculturalism.....	7
Assimilation and Multiculturalism	7
The Hofstede Cultural Dimensions Test	11
Research findings on Assimilation and Multiculturalism	12
Politics and Representation	20
Mexicans and Politics.....	20
Representation	23
Immigration Policies	26
Research findings on Politics and Representation.....	27
Conclusion.....	33
Bibliography:.....	35
APPENDIX	40
<i>Appendix A: Online Form</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>Appendix B: Compilation of form answers per individual (Excluding Hofstede Test answers)</i>	<i>54</i>
22 year-old.....	54
26 year-old, Angie	55
48 year-old.....	57
47 year-old.....	58
49 year-old.....	59
<i>Appendix C: Angie's Quote</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>Appendix D: Table of results for Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions per individual</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>Appendix E: Hofstede's Dimensions of national culture: Mexico in comparison with the United States (including Indulgence dimension).....</i>	<i>62</i>

Introduction

Since the introduction of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, more and more Mexicans who migrated to the United States found an increasing confidence in the American political system. Before this time, there was an extensive legacy of legal disenfranchisement and racial segregation of non-whites. The Voting Rights Act therefore served as mass enfranchisement of racial minorities, especially in states like Texas because of the number of foreigners living there. The Act eliminated barriers to voter qualifications, which made it easier for minorities like Mexican Americans to voice their opinion; no matter what class or education level they have (US Department of Justice). This development led to a sudden rise of Mexican American politicians who wanted to represent the Mexican community, as well as the introduction of ethnic minorities into politics and other aspects of American life.

Mexicans are the most prominent immigrants in the US and thus are important actors in American politics. By 2010 alone, 16 percent of the country's population was Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau), with the majority of those being Mexican immigrants. There are constant questions as to why the voter-turnout and overall political participation of Mexican Americans is so low. Yet, as important as voting alone can be, there are other aspects of Mexican American life that have to be examined in order to understand their full influence on American politics in general. First, an important part of Mexicans migrating to the US is the fact that they are chasing the American Dream; a socially constructed ideal of equality and material prosperity, which is something that migrants to the US strive for. In order to get to that dream, Mexicans start the process of 'assimilation'. This is when an immigrant adapts and transforms to the ways of the country they have moved to and forget parts, and sometimes all, of their original culture; until the immigrant becomes a part of the culture he or she is in (Gordon 81).

Moreover, Mexicans have long felt that they are not being included in American

politics and thus do not feel the need to seek involvement in the first place (Hero, Garcia, Garcia, Pachon, 529). Even though there has been an increase in political representation of Mexican Americans in states like Texas, many Mexican Americans are still discontented, as they see candidates as unrepresentative or uninterested in the Mexican community's interests (Marquez 6). Also, Immigration policies play a big role when it comes to 'truly representing' ethnic minorities. The United States has had a long struggle in making policies that benefit both the country and its new citizens, and is still fighting today to make these policies even more appealing than they already seem to be. However, most immigrants in general have a very negative outlook on immigration policies and do not believe that their interests are being taken into consideration at all (Zolberg 19).

In order to look at these topics, this thesis addresses the main question of the influence of Mexican Immigrants on Texas (specifically El Paso) politics since 1965. The research answers this question from an individual and local-level perspective of first person accounts in El Paso Texas on political discontent and influence, as well as a local perspective on the assimilation of Mexican immigrants in El Paso. This type of study has not been done before on the local level in El Paso and therefore contributes to research on Mexican immigration. Historians and sociologists have focused mainly on the difficulties Mexicans face when migrating into the US, but have not explored the after-effects of these migrations (Borjas, Henderson, Zahniser).

Because of the limited number of respondents used as primary sources for this thesis, it is important to note that there is a possibility for having an underrepresentation of views of Mexican immigrants that live in El Paso. However, this research offers a valuable snapshot into Mexican immigrants' views from a local El Paso (and surrounding cities) perspective and should therefore not be discarded. This thesis solely looks at legal Mexican immigrants who have become part of the US, rather than the undocumented ones. A main reason for this

choice is because it is hard to find concrete information on illegal immigrants. Another reason for this is because when it comes to official political influence, illegal immigrants are mainly excluded. Ultimately, only legal immigrants can vote and are the ones trying to assimilate the most to American life.

In order to answer the question in a more detailed way, the thesis uses El Paso (Texas) as a case study to look into the assimilation, political representation, and immigration policies that have the most influence on Texas. The case study employs secondary and primary literary research, such as books, articles, videos and newspapers; as well as interviews (conducted via the internet) with Mexicans who live or have lived in, or close to, El Paso. The individuals interviewed had the chance to fill in an online form with extensive questions about assimilation and politics (see appendix A). Texas is chosen because of the major preference it has become for Mexicans trying to make a new life in the US. By 1930 alone, the Mexican-descent population in Texas was of approximately seven hundred thousand people (De León). Today, Texas is one of the favorite states for Mexicans to move to because it is not far away from ‘the motherland’, because it is not very different from Mexico, and because it has less violence and corruption than Mexico.

The thesis is structured in two main chapters, which are divided in sub-chapters dedicated to explain concepts and to answer the main research question. As previously mentioned, the materials used to answer the question are both literary and own research, which include interviews with- and filled in forms by Mexicans that live or lived, close or in, El Paso. The five participants whom filled in the form and were interviewed range from the age of 22 to the age of 49. Four out of five respondents wished to remain anonymous and their names are therefore not mentioned throughout the thesis; instead, their ages will be used to describe them. Four out of the five individuals are female and only two live or have lived in the city of El Paso; the other three live or have lived in a bordering city.

The form filled (seen in appendix A) is a division of two types of questions. The first questions, which are the scale questions, are taken directly from the 'Hofstede cultural dimensions test' this test looks at various cultural dimensions and aspects of an individual and compares these to their country of origin and can be also compared with their new country of residence. Dimensions such as individualism and masculinity are central to the test. These questions help illustrate assimilation of Mexicans in the US and give deeper insight into what parts of their culture they might be replacing. The second types of questions are open and multiple-choice questions, which were made specifically for this thesis. The thesis is based heavily on the responses to these questions, as they are the ones that give the most extensive look into these individuals' point of views.

Assimilation versus Multiculturalism

Many scholars believe that when an individual migrates to a new country, that person becomes so accustomed to the new culture, that the person sometimes forgets his or her original cultural traits; a concept called 'assimilation'. This term has been used by many scholars to describe an immigrant's adaptation to a new culture. This chapter will be focusing on the differences between assimilation and multiculturalism; two opposing concepts that are increasingly used when talking about immigrant lives in their new 'home'. This chapter sheds light into pin-pointing the main differences between these two concepts as well as looking into the way Mexicans adapt (fully, partly, or not at all).

This chapter is divided in three sub-chapters. The first is dedicated to the concepts of 'assimilation' and 'multiculturalism'. Both concepts will be addressed and the main differences between the two will be explored. The second sub-chapter explains the method used to get a big part of the information on assimilation of Mexican immigrants in the United States, namely The Hofstede Cultural Dimensions test. The third deals with the results of the interviews conducted and forms filled by Mexican immigrants living, or who lived, close to or in El Paso Texas.

Assimilation and Multiculturalism

Many authors believe that Mexican immigrants adapt quite well into the American way of living, while others are convinced that most do not adapt at all and keep to their own culture and politics rather than get involved with American cultural and political aspects. The term immigrant assimilation was pinpointed in 1964 by sociologist Milton M. Gordon. He defined assimilation as a process in which immigrants do not only integrate into a new country, but also lose some key aspects of their heritage and tend to resemble the culture and language of

the new country more than that of the old one (Gordon chap. 3). This type of assimilation can happen quickly or gradually, but according to Gordon, the result is always the same: full assimilation (chap. 3). Full assimilation is said to happen when the new member of society, the immigrant, is indistinguishable from the citizens of the country he or she migrated to (Gordon chap.3). Full assimilation, in Gordon's view, mostly happens when the individual is a foreign-born and moves to a new country at a very young age; for example when a Mexican born arrives to the US at two years old. This individual has been exposed to this new culture from very young and therefore adapts quicker, and sometimes fully, to a new culture that is not his or her parents'. Of course, when a second generation Mexican is born in the US, he or she will most likely assimilate fully to American customs (Gordon chap. 3); this is very different from his or her parents, who will not.

The notion of assimilation has changed throughout the years. Assimilation used to be defined as "no differentiation" (Jiobu 86) and as the convergence of an individual's characteristics with those of their host country (Richard 17). Before this time however, Mexicans assimilated in a way that deviated from the standard theory of assimilation. According to author Benjamin Marquez, Mexican immigrants distanced themselves from African Americans in order to increase their proximity to White Americans; instead of trying to be more 'white' (Marquez 47). A reason behind this is that *Tejanos* (Mexicans living in Texas), as well as all Mexican immigrants, were "closely identified with other colored peoples" and were therefore considered racially and culturally inferior to Anglos (De León 8). This type of assimilation however, rarely occurs today. Most Mexican immigrants no longer have the desire to be seen as 'one of them' and accept that they are a minority, an important one nonetheless.

The concept of multiculturalism has been defined by many scholars and is well known in popular culture, as many individuals consider themselves to be multicultural people

because of the globalized contemporary world. The term multiculturalism is defined as “the co-existence of diverse cultures, where culture includes racial, religious, or cultural groups and is manifested in customary behaviours, cultural assumptions and values, patterns of thinking, and communicative styles.” (IFLA). Others define multiculturalism as a system of beliefs and behaviors that respects and recognizes the presence of many groups, acknowledges their values and differences, and encourages them to continue to contribute to the inclusive context they live in (Rosado 2).

A person might consider his or herself as a multicultural person when he or she grew up in a household of mixed ethnicities, as well as when he or she has lived in various incompatible countries. Multiculturalism could be therefore seen as contradiction to assimilation; because when one is multicultural, one’s culture is mixed with different ones. Whereas when an individual has assimilated to a certain culture, this person forgets or discards parts of his or her original culture in order to replace those with the culture of their new country.

Individuals who are truly multicultural, live in a balance between cultures and do not have a difficult time expressing themselves in a mixed way; these individuals consider themselves to be a perfect mix of different cultures (Angie). The individuals who consider themselves multicultural but are not fully multicultural however, seem to lean towards certain ideals over others that are less acceptable in their eyes.

According to Caleb Rosado, multiculturalism, in the United States, is redefining who is American by challenging the notion that all Americans are white (8). The notion of multiculturalism today is telling people that an ‘American’ can be anyone, no matter where they were born or what their skin color is. Multiculturalism is thus an inclusive process where no one is left out (Rosado 9). Yet, as much as it brings people together, multiculturalism can make some groups in the society so absorbed by all cultures that at one point an individual

may lose sight of his or her own heritage (Rosado 6); but not to the point of assimilation. Importantly countries can be multicultural (Parekh 5), as their societies are; on the other hand, countries cannot assimilate. Assimilation only happens with individuals and not with countries or societies.

There are a few key differences between assimilation and multiculturalism. First, assimilation can only happen to a certain group of people (immigrants) whereas multiculturalism can happen to anyone, no matter where you are in the world. Secondly, assimilation can happen to anyone, yet not to everything; whereas multiculturalism is a phenomenon that happens even to societies and countries. Thirdly, a multicultural person tries to include as many cultures into his life as possible, while an assimilated individual forgets parts of his or her heritage and is only defined by his or her new culture. Thus, multiculturalism adds other cultures to one's existing one and creates a harmonious mix, while assimilation discards all but one.

By these findings, one could make three categories of types of immigrants. The first being that who assimilates partly, which occurs when a person is multicultural. Partial assimilation happens when only a part of his or her heritage has assimilated to the new culture but the other parts have not. The second type of immigrant has fully assimilated. This person has forgotten his or her original culture and has replaced all these cultural traits fully with those of the new country. And finally, the third type of immigrant does not assimilate at all. This person is fully dedicated to one culture and does not accept other cultures in his or her life. This type of person can be considered as a mono-cultural person; in the case of this thesis, either Mexican or American.

The Hofstede Cultural Dimensions Test

Culture is composed of various aspects, which can all be influenced simultaneously or sometimes in steps. According to Professor Geert Hofstede, culture is “the collective programming of the mind distinguishing the members of one group or category of people from others” (*Culture’s Consequences* 25). These aspects that have become the ‘collective programming’ are what many researchers have tried to find in order to see what the main cultural aspects of one’s life are and to find clear indications that these can actually be changed. Hofstede conducted an extensive study on how values in the workplace are influenced by culture, from which he and his team discovered six main dimensions of national culture. These dimensions represent independent preferences of countries which will distinguish them from other countries and can be applied for individuals in order to see whether their cultural preferences are the same as that of their original culture (Geert-Hofstede.com). All countries received a score (from 0 to 100), according to their cultural traits (the scores for both Mexican and American dimensions are stated in appendix E).

The first dimension is that of Power Distance. Power distance is defined as “the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organisations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally” (Hofstede, *Cultures and Organizations* 28). When an individual has a higher power distance, like most Mexicans (score of 81), they accept hierarchy. Whereas when an individual has a lower power distance, like most Americans (score of 40), they fight for equality of power (Hofstede, *Culture’s Consequences* 83-84). The second dimension, Individualism, is defined as: “the relationship between the individual and the collectivity which prevails in a given society” (Hofstede, *Culture’s Consequences* 148). Mexico scored a low 30, which makes it a collectivistic society; whereas the United States scored 91, which makes them an extremely individualistic society (Hofstede, *Culture’s Consequences* 51).

Masculinity is the third dimension, “the fundamental issue here is what motivates people, wanting to be the best (masculine) or liking what you do (feminine)” (Geert-Hofstede.com). Thus, a high score (like Mexico’s 69) means that a society is more masculine and is driven by competition, achievement, and success; whereas a low score (like the US’ 62) means that a society is more feminine and that caring for others’ quality of life (Geert-Hofstede.com). The fourth dimension is that of Uncertainty Avoidance, defined as “The extent to which the members of a culture feel threatened by ambiguous or unknown situations and have created beliefs and institutions that try to avoid these” (Geert-Hofstede.com); a lower score (like that of the US, a 46) represents an accepting society for new things. Whereas a high score, like Mexico’s 82, represents a society that avoids uncertainty at all times (Geert-Hofstede.com).

Long Term Orientation concerns the difference between what is normative (traditional) and what is pragmatic (modern). This dimension represents the norms and values of a society and how prepared a society is for the future. Mexico (24) as well as the US (26) score low in this dimension, making both countries normative. A test using these dimensions can determine one’s cultural preferences, which can be compared to another country’s culture. This test was used on the thesis participants as a tool to find out whether these individuals’ culture has stayed Mexican or if some aspects of their culture have changed into more American traits.

Research findings on Assimilation and Multiculturalism

The ‘Hofstede test’ results (see appendix D) show very clear indications that the individuals tested have all adapted, in almost all dimensions, to American cultural traits. Two out of the five participants (the 26 year-old and the 48 year-old) seem to have fully assimilated to

American life, two others have one or two dimensions that are closer to the American score (the 22 year-old and the 47 year-old), while there is one person, the 49 year-old who has not assimilated as much as the others. This last individual has kept his or her scores very close to those of Mexico and has only shown less masculine oriented cultural traits, which makes that dimension more American.

Most of the individuals had very low scores on Power Distance, which means that they feel most comfortable where a society treats all individuals as equals, no matter their status or job position. This is very different from what the average Mexicans scored in Hofstede's initial research and closer to the American score. This could be a sign that they have become less hierarchical and more assimilated to this aspect of American life. A reason behind this could be that by living in a less hierarchical structure, Mexicans feel more secure of their positions in society and do not feel the need to compete as much as they used to back when they lived in Mexico. Another reason could be that in the United States, people often refer to each other by their first names, no matter what profession or job position they have, whereas in Mexico, people with degrees generally receive honorific titles. For example, when someone has a university degree, one has to refer to him or her as *licenciado* or *licenciada*. This is a sign of respect but also a clear sign of the hierarchy in everyday life. When these Mexicans move to the US, they no longer have that constant reminder of their position and could therefore become less worried for having one because everyone earns respect, as long as they do their job well.

The participants scored quite high for the Individualism dimension. This means that they are very keen on being individuals rather than on belonging to a family or group. These individuals then refer to themselves as 'I' rather than 'we', something that is considered very American. In Mexico, in general, people are very respectful of groups, communities, and family; which is different in the US, as many people are taught to be highly independent. It is

also possible that the participants were individualistic even before migrating to the US. The 26 year-old Angie mentioned that she felt like she has both parts of Mexican as well as American cultural traits (she was born in the States but has a Mexican mother) but that her American heritage is the most prominent (Angie). This makes her a multicultural person from first glance. She explained how she feels about her heritage, which makes clear that she is more Americanized: “The drive to want a career and establish myself in my career has replaced a more common perception of starting a family at a young age and being family oriented.” (Angie). Here, Angie has given us a clear example of how her individualism dimension has changed; as she clearly replaced the family oriented (and ‘collective’) society thinking with a more individualistic way of thinking that is more beneficial to her as an individual.

On Masculinity, most respondents scored very low, except for one, which means that they are more feminine oriented, and are caring for others’ quality of life. Their scores however are not as deviated from Mexican culture, since the average American score is only seven points different than the Mexican one (see appendix E); however, there is a bigger gap between the Mexican score and the individuals’ scores than the American one. Having scored closer to the American average, these Mexican individuals have drifted from the average Mexican preference of masculinity, competition, achievement, and success. As mentioned before, this might be because there is no need for competition in a non-hierarchical society to be on top, and therefore there is no ‘winner’. What is interesting is that 26 year-old Angie contradicts this result by stating that she has become driven by her career and wants to achieve success (Angie). This is a complete opposite of that Hofstede would suggest when looking at her score. A factor could be that she has always lived in the US and has therefore been brought up with the notion of being successful on her own terms, which is quite different than being masculine. An example of a masculine and winning-oriented Mexican American is

25 year-old UTEP master's student, Jacqueline, who was interviewed by the *El Paso Times* newspaper. She has been struggling with finishing her degree for many years after her father was deported back to Mexico for being an undocumented immigrant in the US and left her and her siblings homeless. Jacqueline stated that after having had to make difficult decisions for her and her siblings, she felt like it was finally time to get her degree; for her achieving a degree "was never a question" (Jaqueline qtd. in Perez).

Most participants scored low on Uncertainty Avoidance, which means that they have become more accepting of new things, unlike the average Mexican whom avoids uncertainty at all times. This low score makes them again more similar to American cultural beliefs and more positive towards the future. A reason why most Mexicans might become more open to new things can be the fact that the US provides a safe feeling and a certainty for a brighter future for immigrants. When it comes to Texas however, some participants felt that the state itself might not be too accepting of new ideas. The 22 year-old Mexican, still living on the Mexican side of the border, believes that Mexicans immigrants in El Paso are excluded from state affairs such as politics because "Texas is a conservative state" and is not easily accepting of foreigners (22 year-old). However, the participant also believes that Mexicans are treated differently than Americans in El Paso because of the amount of Mexicans in the city (22 year-old). Thus, El Paso is more understanding and treats Mexican immigrants more fairly than other cities might (22 year-old). A reason behind this might be that there are a lot of Mexican immigrants and the city is therefore more accepting (22 year-old), which falls closer in line with American Uncertainty Avoidance.

When it comes to Long Term Orientation, most individuals scored high, which means that they are more pragmatic and encourage future changes (like the US), and are less traditional (like Mexico). A reason behind these high scores could be that the US is more modern and future-oriented than Mexico, and thus these immigrants have become less

traditional and have embraced modern times of change. The individuals were asked if they felt like they had replaced parts of their Mexican heritage for more American ones. The 22 year-old had an answer that illuminates why the change of long term orientation being higher might have happened. The respondent felt that “nowadays people [do not] follow traditions that often anymore” (22 year-old). Thus, Mexican tradition is no longer important and therefore it is easier for immigrants to assimilate fully and more often, as they do not value tradition as much (22 year-old). Consequently, parts of the respondent’s heritage have indeed been replaced by more American parts; which can also be seen by the respondent’s scores on the test.

From the research it is also clear that some individuals identify themselves as multicultural and consider their mix of cultures to be in a perfect balance. 26 year-old Angie mentioned how her life is a combination of both Mexican and American culture (See appendix C for full quote). This is a good example of someone who considers herself multicultural, but her test results show a very different side of her cultural preference. In the dimensions test she seems to have stronger American traits than Mexican ones. However, the test only asks few questions per dimension, and cannot define one’s culture preference fully. The 22 year old also felt like a mix of both cultures, but claims that “the ideas are more to be American than Mexican” (22 year-old).

Other participants felt that they were adapting more to American culture but also felt multicultural. The difference here is that these individuals felt like they were assimilating to a certain extent; whereas the previously mentioned individuals felt like a “perfect mix” of both cultures (Angie). The 48 year-old claimed preferring being more American than Mexican: “I [did not] and still [do not] like the way Mexican[s] behave in the [United States]” (48 year-old). However, the respondent claimed to have not replaced his/her Mexican heritage: “I learned, lived and enjoy many new celebrations, but I never changed mine” (48 year-old). The

47 year-old also claims to be indulged in both cultures because “it makes your life richer”, thus being multicultural is truly enriching (47 year-old). Nevertheless, the respondent feels much more American than Mexican (the respondent was born in the US but has Mexican family) (47 year-old). Moreover, the 49 year old believes that he/she has not replaced major Mexican cultural traits with American ones, but does believe that the respondent has learned to spend more money since visiting the US (49 year-old). The respondent claims that because of being in such close contact with Americans, he/she has become a bigger spender on material goods; something that is “very American” (49 year-old).

When it came to the question as to whether or not the individuals believed in fully adapting to a country and its traditions, the answers varied. The 22 year old for example, believes in fully adapting to a new culture because he/she claims that “you have to adapt to the traditions [of] where you live” (22 year-old). Thus, in the respondent’s eyes, assimilating to this new country is not an issue and should be done by all immigrants. However, others believe that adapting fully to a culture is not right. The 26 (Angie) and 48 year-olds both agree that people should indeed adapt, but not fully. Angie thinks that “you should integrate local traditions into your own but never forget your own traditions” because no one should “never forget where you come from” (Angie). The 48 year-old adds to it by stating that “you should be proud of who you are, [and where] you come from, but embrace the new culture ([custom]) and respect it” (48 year-old). The 49 year-old however, believes that one should only adapt if the traditions are to his/her likings; which means that if they are not appreciated by the respondent, he/she will not adapt (49 year-old). The 49 year-old also claims that the United States does not have any original traditions or customs and therefore he/she would not adapt fully to the American culture (49 year-old).

Finally, participants were asked if they felt like Mexicans in El Paso and in the US in general were treated differently than Americans for being Mexican. Here again, the answers

varied; however, three out of five answered that Mexicans were not treated differently at all, which is interesting to hear as many people and scholars claim that they are treated badly. The 22, 26 (Angie), and 47 year-olds all believe that Mexicans are not treated differently from Americans. Angie claims: "I [cannot] say that I have any experience with poor treatment of Mexicans" (Angie). Never having encountered any kind of discrimination against them cannot be taken as a fact that Mexicans are not being treated badly, yet it does bring to light that mistreatment of Mexicans is not as pervasive as some sources claim.

The 48 and 49 year-olds on the other hand do claim to have seen mistreatment of Mexicans in El Paso and in the US in general. The 48 year-old says: "The majority are mistreated because they [do not] obey the rules of [the] society of their new home" (48 year-old). The respondent continues by stating that he/she too has been treated badly when even travelling through the US: "They see us as [if] we want to stay and live [in the United States]. They treat us [like] lower class people" (48 year-old). And the 49 year-old adds to this by saying that there is a lot of discrimination in the United State, which the respondent encountered on every visit to the country (49 year-old). Moreover, four out of the five individuals responded that their ideal place to live would be the United States, while one responded that it would be Europe. This potentially shows us, how these respondents feel about the country of their (or their family's) birth and how they feel about the US.

What can be concluded from these findings is that Mexican immigrants in El Paso are assimilating to their new country. The respondents resulted in having low power distance, high individualism, low masculinity, low uncertainty avoidance, and high long term orientation; which made them are more representative of American culture. Also, there are a few individuals that can be seen as multicultural, as they have a balance between American and Mexican culture in their lives. Most respondents also noticed that they were much more American than Mexican in the way they think and behave. The individuals also believe in

adapting to a culture, yet some claim that it should not be done fully to not forget their Mexican heritage. Also, three out of five individuals say that Mexicans are not treated differently or discriminated as many believe.

Now that the length to where Mexican immigrants have adapted to American culture has been analysed, the following chapter will address the adaptation to US politics and the implications it has on the representation and participation of Mexicans.

Politics and Representation

Many believe that Mexican immigrants do not adapt to American culture, primarily to American politics (Hero, Garcia, Garcia and Pachon 529). Some scholars claim that Mexican immigrants are, and always have been, excluded from politics in the United States (Hero, Garcia, Garcia and Pachon 529); yet they also argue that most Mexican immigrants do not want to be involved in the first place (Hero, Garcia, Garcia and Pachon 529). This chapter addresses whether Mexicans in El Paso truly feel involved in American politics, if they feel represented, and to see if they are content with the current immigration policies.

This chapter is divided in four sub-chapters that shed light on Mexican immigrants' position towards El Paso politics and their levels of involvement. The first sub-chapter is dedicated to Mexican immigrants' relation to politics in El Paso and whether there is a general inclusion of Mexicans in the political arena. The second examines the representation Mexican immigrants feel by Mexican politicians in El Paso. The third sub-chapter deals with the different views on the current immigration policies of the US and how they are viewed in cities like El Paso. The fourth section discusses the research findings on politics, based on the respondents' answers of the thesis survey.

Mexicans and Politics

For the past centuries, Mexicans have tried to assimilate to American politics in an attempt to be regarded as equals. However, According to some authors, Mexican immigrants cannot yet effectively advocate their political interests because they are still being “excluded from formal politics in the United States” (Hero, C. Garcia, J. Garcia and Pachon 529). According to Verba, Scholzman and Brady, only one in seven Latino men, and one in twenty-five Latinas,

are actively asked to become politically involved (part.1); a low percentage for such a big community. But even though Mexicans seem to have little access to politics, it is arguable that Mexicans themselves do not show any interest in the politics of the country, or the state. According to Hero, C. Garcia, J. Garcia, and Pachon, Mexican immigrants have become extremely disinterested in the US political life because of their feeling of distance from American life (529). The authors also state that the Mexican community has a positive participatory orientation, yet when it comes to actual political participation, they do not follow through (Hero, C. Garcia, J. Garcia and Pachon 529).

A reason why most Mexicans' interest in politics is so low, might have to do with the fact that some have difficulties learning and understanding American politics in general (Hero, C. Garcia, J. Garcia and Pachon 529). A difficulty can be the language barrier some immigrants have when they do not speak English. In cities like El Paso, Spanish is commonly spoken on the street, but the legal system is completely in English and can cause some exclusion for non-English speakers. Because of this, Mexicans might not bother participating in something they do not understand. Another difficulty can be change in the norms and values that they have to face when living in a different country. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Mexicans tend to be much more traditional, whereas Americans are mostly quite modern. The big change in norms and values can cause a big culture shock for Mexicans. Political issues such as the Texas gun law for example, are issues not dealt with in Mexico because guns are not allowed to be publicly owned, nor be carried in public.

In the case of Texas, there have been initiatives made to include Mexican immigrants to politics. Groups such as La Raza Unida Party and the Party and Political Association of Spanish-speaking Organizations (PASO) were built to improve the lives of Mexicans living in the state. These types of groups however, have been constantly suffering from efforts to stop them entering any part of Texas politics (Marquez 103). This might be an indication that any

kind of direct advocacy of Mexican issues is not accepted and is made more and more difficult by the existing political parties. It is very common in Texas, and in the El Paso area, for any form of ethnic nationalism to be blocked (Marquez 104). The Democrats blocked state financing for La Raza Unida back in 1977 (Marquez 104-105). A reason behind this could be that the Democrats realized that too many Mexicans in the political system would de-balance the white majority. The Democratic Party has a lot to say especially in El Paso, as the city is loyal to the Democratic Party due to the large Hispanic population. This is quite interesting as Texas is a state loyal to the Republican Party.

Something that has stood out, however, is the fact that most Latino communities in the United States, including Mexicans, have a very low participation rate in voting even outside of the political arena (Hero, C. Garcia, J. Garcia, and Pachon 529). Thus, cultural and social events related to American traditions are also rarely visited by Mexican immigrants. When it comes to Mexican issues, however, Mexican immigrants are more disposed to be involved. An example of this is the El Paso rally organized for the missing Ayotzinapa students (in Mexico). During the peaceful protest Mexicans living in El Paso expressed their discontent with how the government was treating the situation but they did this in a peculiar way: in English, despite of the protestors having perfect Spanish. This could be because most of these people have grown up in El Paso and are comfortable speaking either language. Yet what is truly interesting is the fact that they were extremely involved in something that concerns Mexico but they protested about it in the US. A man involved even screamed: “we are US citizens, we want justice”. However, the provider of this justice remained under the fact that the protesters consider themselves US citizens but are fighting for something happening in Mexico which can be seen as contradictory, as they should usually be involved in US and El Paso politics rather than Mexican politics.

Representation

According to some authors, Mexican Americans in general are even more adamant to participate in politics when there is little political representation (Hero, C. Garcia, J. Garcia and Pachon 529). In the state of Texas however, there is a substantial amount of ethnic political representation of Mexicans today. After the 1960s, Mexicans formed a coalition with Anglo liberals in order to become part of the political system and have some kind of representation in Texas (Marquez 2). This coalition did manage to give them a sense of belonging, yet they still felt like it was led by Anglo leaders and Anglo interests (Marquez 2). Even though politics was still ruled by Anglos, and arguably still is today, this coalition did bring an increase in Mexican American elected officials (Marquez 1). In 1994 alone, there were more than 2200 Mexican American elected officials, representing 8% of all Texas elected officials; whereas in 2003, 20% of the Texas legislature was composed of Mexican Americans and 28% of the Texas Mexican American population was represented by Mexican American politicians (Marquez 1). This new power-sharing system of politics was seen as good for replacing the old racial order of white supremacy (Marquez 2). Nevertheless, the issues contested did not change and therefore the political system did not either and has remained dominated by Anglo parties, Anglo politicians and Anglo voters for a long time (Marquez 6).

Representation for Mexicans however, has grown substantially and is at a reasonable number to be considered positive representation (Rosenfeld 1121-1124). Not only Mexican politicians have become more electable and thus more representative; groups and institutions such as La Raza Unida Party and PASO have been representing the Mexican community and have been working on improving their lives. According to Marquez, most Mexican politicians in Texas are being selected to be a part of a political group based on their class, occupation, and sometimes their ideology (2). It is because of this that most politicians have to abandon

the interest of poor and working-class Mexicans. Because of this issue, Mexican politicians are more likely to exhibit color-blind politics to avoid looking like they only serve the interest of Mexican Americans (Marquez 79). Thus, Mexican politicians rarely speak about Mexican immigrants' issues, as they want to represent both communities living in the state.

The increased political representation of Mexicans in Texas paralleled the growth of the Mexican population in the state (Marquez 19-20). Prior to the Voting Rights Act, there were little-to-no Mexican elected officials in Texas (Rosenfeld 1121). However, in the following years, there have been Mexican American politicians that have sought to openly represent the Mexican community. Democratic State Representative Tony Bonilla (1966) actively participated in the color-blind system of politics. Bonilla was elected in 1964 as the first Hispanic State Representative of his county, Nueces County of Corpus Christi (Mary and Jeff Bell Library). He was a representative who assured Mexican Americans that he would not use their 'Spanish name' in order to get votes; thus Bonilla sought not only to represent Mexican Americans but also the entire Texas community (Marquez 79). Some considered him to have a 'hybrid' political identity because of his two-sidedness (Marquez 79).

Antonio Rodolfo 'Tony' Sanchez Jr., a Mexican American Democratic politician, and second generation immigrant, ran for governor in 2002 against Republican Rick Perry unsuccessfully. According to many, Tony Sanchez' sudden rise to politics had little to do with his Mexican roots, but more with the decline of the Democratic Party (Marquez 144). The lower the participation of white voters, the higher the likelihood of an ethnic person being nominated by parties in order to gain votes by minorities; thus this is only a trick to get more voters, rather than empower them. Because of cases like this, many Mexicans are still reluctant to show any affiliation with their politicians and do not participate in politics. According to Mario T. Garcia, there were only few politicians who truly emphasized the important differences, such as norms and values, language, and political systems, that exist

between Mexicans and Americans (271). Those politicians that did, and do, are the ones who actually try to challenge the political system to make it more equitable for both ethnicities (M. Garcia 271).

The current mayor of El Paso, nonpartisan Oscar Leeser, was born in Mexico and migrated with his family to El Paso when he was just nine years old (El Paso Texas Government). Now 53rd mayor of El Paso, Leeser grew up playing football as a boy “to help him assimilate into American culture” (Aguilar) to a successful businessman and politician whom became mayor of his “adopted city” (Aguilar). He is a representative for Mexican Americans in the sense that he is a Mexican himself, yet he does not campaign or stand for Mexican-specific issues, like most Mexican politicians. A reason behind this could be the fact that Leeser migrated to El Paso at a very young age and thus feels more American than Mexican in general. He does; however, acknowledge that he has made it far in the US for any Mexican and states that his life is the definition of what most immigrants call the American Dream: “through hard work all is possible” (Leeser). One could compare Leeser to Republican Texas senator Ted Cruz, whom is from Cuban descent, for his triumph as a Hispanic politician. However, Cruz is a second generation immigrant and has very different objectives than Leeser.

For immigrants, having candidates and politicians whom represent their communities is a source of empowerment. The black population, just like the Mexicans also saw an increase in their representation after the implementation of the Voting Rights Act. Democratic parties started to gain more black candidates and therefore increased political participation of minorities and empowered them to influence public opinion (Gleason, Stout 643-48). This similarity is important as both minorities grew in representation since 1965.

Immigration Policies

Before the Immigration Act of 1882, The Chinese Exclusion Act, the US had no immigration policy and anyone who would migrate to the country could stay there (Office of the Historian). It was after this border restriction on immigration that new arrivals started to truly seem like a threat to the country, especially because of their doubted ability to assimilate (Daniels 37), and more policies were put into place to prevent the influx of foreigners. Yet, for the western states of the country, these immigration restrictions are not seen as legitimate by Mexicans because of the history those states as ex-Mexican states. Because “much of what is now the western United States once belonged to Mexico” (Daniels 142), some Mexican immigrants believe that the US should be more careful with immigrant policies in these areas. This ‘issue’ however, was already dealt with in 1848, with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which transferred a large part of Mexico to the US. The treaty gave 60,000 Mexicans, who chose to remain in the territory, US citizenship (Daniels 142), as a way of making peace with any Mexican whom wanted to stay in that area. This settlement may be one of the reasons of why there is such a big population of Mexicans in the southwestern US.

The story of US immigration policies is still ongoing and many immigrants are not yet satisfied by these policies. According to historian Roger Daniels, the United States is “inconsistent and often illogical” when it comes to immigration policies (332). The US has tried to shape the immigration policies in order to benefit the immigrants entering the country (Zolberg 19); yet the country has not been able to develop policies that are seen as legitimate by the majority of immigrants. According to columnist Ramnath Subramanian: “The U.S. sorely needs a well-thought-out and humane immigration policy that transcends politics. At the [centre] of any policy should be the safety of people crossing the borders and the safety of communities receiving the immigrants. Such safety considerations should address children first”. He argued that immigration policies should transcend to other political and issues such

as humane treatment of immigrants and children's rights.

Moreover, immigrants have been trying to make the US realize that their inflow to the country should be seen as a strength for their economy, rather than seeing it as "cheapening the [labour] market and taking jobs from natives" (Subramanian). The city of El Paso seems to be more flexible with immigration as the state is driven by family- and God-centred individuals whom understand the struggles these immigrants are facing (Subramanian). People in El Paso believe that the inflow of immigrants from Mexico has a "salubrious impact on American culture" and economy (Subramanian). Because of this, many suggest that there should be a reform to allow immigration to enrich the United States (Subramanian). After all, globalism is making borders less and less important, and everyone deserves to "be given equal access to opportunities around the globe" (Subramanian).

Research findings on Politics and Representation

The answers of the respondents to the question of Mexican exclusion from El Paso politics varied drastically. Angie, the 48- and the 47 year-old believe that El Paso does not exclude Mexicans from being involved in local politics. However, the 48 year-old highlights that before there were any Latino representatives in El Paso, this was not the case: "Now they are heard. There are more [Latinos] in political positions" (48 year-old). This statement could be seen as a positive one, as it means that both the descriptive political representation of Mexicans has risen, as well as the importance of having the Hispanic vote. Moreover, this corresponds to what Michael Rosenfeld argues. According to Rosenfeld, there were hardly any Mexican officials elected in southern states before 1965, but after that the proportion of political representation in states like Texas grew to a reasonable number (1121-1124).

Both the 49- and 22 year-olds however, do not think Mexicans are included in El Paso

politics. The 22 year-old thinks that because Texas is a conservative state, the only accepted politicians are the white-Americans (22 year-old). In the respondent's eyes, foreigners are easily accepted in the community, yet not in politics (22 year-old). This supports Marquez' claims about Mexican ethnic nationalism being blocked from Texas politics (104). The 49 year-old individual adds to this view when answering whether Mexicans are excluded from El Paso politics: "[Definitely....that is something that *gringos* do not care about]" (Translated) (49 year-old). Here, the respondent shows discontent against Americans by calling them *gringos*, but also by stating that Americans do not care about Mexicans being involved in their politics.

Respondents were also asked whether they were aware of the current politics in Texas and in Mexico, and whether they participated (actively or passively). The 47 year-old stated that he/she was quite aware of Texas politics but even though the respondent lives in the state he/she is "not interested" in participating (47 year-old). The respondent also claimed that he/she is not aware of Mexican politics and does not participate in any way (47 year-old). In this case, this individual could have a general disinterest in politics and thus not much can be said about it. Angie is not aware of current Texas politics and does not participate in politics either (living there); however, she is aware and interested in Mexican politics, even though she does not live there (Angie). This appeared to be the case with the other respondents as well. The 48 year-old states that while he/she lived in El Paso for four years, he/she was too young to be involved in politics; yet even to this day the respondent does not follow Texas politics (48 year-old). When asked about Mexican politics, the respondent says: "I have and give my opinion about it" (48 year-old). The 49 year-old briefly states that he/she is not aware of Texas politics and does not participate, but is aware of Mexican politics and participates actively by voting (49 year-old). The 22 year old also claims not being aware and not participating in Texas politics because he/she lives on the Juarez side of the border (22 year-

old). The respondent is aware of Mexican politics, yet does not participate because the respondent feels like he/she “has not lived in Mexico long enough” (22 year-old).

When it came to whether the respondents felt like they were represented in Texas politics, only one out of the five felt like he/she was being well represented (47 year-old). When it came to explaining why Mexican politicians were representing the Mexican community well, the respondent stated that “they usually [understand] the border issues” (47 year-old). Thus, the respondent thinks that Mexican politicians in Texas should address US-Mexico issues, as it is important to know about both countries and their stance on their relationship with each other (47 year-old). The other respondents think that they are not being represented by Texas politicians because “they are too conservative” (Angie). When it came to Mexican politicians in Texas, only Angie felt like she was being represented “because they have a better grasp as to what it is to be two cultured and understand the needs of Mexican Americans” (Angie). The 48 year-old thinks that they are not “well educated” and thus does not think they are apt to have a position like that (48 year-old). The 49 year old also claims that “[the only thing that interests them is power]” (translated); and so, they are not to be trusted (49 year-old). Thus, they do not feel well represented on the state government level.

Remarkably, none of the participants, Mexican or not, felt like they were being represented by Mexican politicians in Mexico. They all agreed that Mexican politicians are “corrupt” (22 year-old), the way they reach positions is “not [democratic] but dictatorial.” (48 year-old), and finally that “[those are worse (than the ones running in the US)... they are big liars]” (translated) (49 year-old). The fact that they all thought that Mexican politicians are not to be trusted could be a reason why the majority of the respondents did not think that they were good representatives of the community, even those living in the US.

Most Respondents however think that regardless of how most Mexican politicians behave, Mexicans should run for a position in Texas and it is important to have Mexicans

representing the Mexican community. The respondents do believe that these politicians should have certain requirements for running, such as being “full legal citizens” (47 year-old) and “honest” (49 year-old). Both Angie and the 48 year-old however, think that Mexican politicians should not be in Texas politics because “the level of corruption in the [United States is] less than in Mexico, so let them [remain] in Mexico” (48 year-old). 26 year-old Angie believes that only Mexican Americans (second generation Mexicans) should become politicians in Texas. She does not think first generation Mexicans should become involved, because they are indeed raised in a ‘corrupt’ system and should not therefore be part of any other political system (Angie).

The respondents identified no separate Mexican community interests that are different from “American” interests. Some mentioned “health, education, economy” (22 year-old), while others mentioned honesty (48- and 49 year-old), equal rights (49 year-old), and equity (48 year-old). Angie mentioned that “science funding, immigration, [and] gun control” are important to her (Angie). Her concern on immigration is something that was not mentioned by the others, which is quite interesting seeing that they are also related to immigrants or are immigrants themselves. Most of the issues mentioned by the respondents are considered to be Democratic and liberal, which is something common for minorities, as most tend to be Democratic rather than Republican.

Four out of the five respondents came to the conclusion that migrating to the US legally is not easy. The 22 year-old believes that it is easy to migrate legally to the US, but that “it takes a while” (22 year-old). Angie thinks that it is not easy to enter the United States legally because “there are long waits, fees, and a lot of documentation to even get a passport”. The 49 year-old claims immigration was not so difficult in the past, but that it has become increasingly hard to enter the country (49 year-old). The 48 year-old believes that it is especially “hard, sad and tragic” for the lower class Mexicans who try to migrate legally into

the country (48 year-old). The respondent continues by saying that “for the high class and well educated maybe [it] is easier” (48 year-old). This could be related to the fact that acquiring legal documents is time consuming and expensive, which is something that most lower class migrants might not be able to afford.

The 48 year-old believes that migration should become harder because there are too many “lower class” immigrants already: “the majority are trouble makers. They should stay in their countries working to improve their own education and societies” (48 year-old). The others however, believe that it should become easier because the United States has “better opportunities” than Mexico (22 year-old). The 47 year-old believes that when immigration policies are less harsh, it will lower illegal migration and thus prevent a bigger problem (47 year-old). The 49 year old continues by saying that Mexicans should not only be able to get the American nationality easier, but that they should be able to work comfortably and get paid justly (49 year-old). The respondent says: “[pay us what is just and do not steal salaries or fire us to not pay us]” (Translated) (49 year-old). Unlike the others, Angie touches upon illegal migrants as well, suggesting that “there should be programs set in place to facilitate getting working visas, as well as, make it easier to migrate” because “they risk their lives, deportation, and breaking up families” and “it’s a win-win situation” (Angie). Thus, migrants should be taken care of, no matter their legal status, because they will contribute to the US economy either way.

Contrary to what Hero et al. claim, not all Mexican immigrants in El Paso feel excluded from politics and it is not a common sentiment to have interest in the political issues of either the United States or Mexico. There have been initiatives to include Mexican immigrants in parties such as La Raza Unida and the coalition with the Democratic Party; yet because of the blockage they receive, Mexicans do not feel the need to be involved. The respondents however shed light on what is important to them, which is Mexican issues

happening in Mexico. Most individuals feel a deeper connection with Mexican politics and therefore detach from US politics.

Most individuals do, however, feel like there is no proper representation (contrary to what Rosenfeld claims) of the Mexican community in Texas and believe that Mexican immigrants should try to achieve positions in the government in order to change this. There have been however, successful Mexican politicians whom, such as Leeser, have empowered the Mexican community with their presence alone. The outlook on immigration policies is one that is still debatable, yet most individuals did show their concern for these policies to change into more flexible policies. Just as Daniels suggests, the policies are inconsistent and illogical and they should change to a point where they are seen as legitimate by all immigrants and become less time-consuming and costly.

Conclusion

This thesis has looked at the influence of Mexican Immigrants on Texas politics since 1965 from an individual and local-level perspective of El Paso. The interviews with the five Mexican individuals from the El Paso area helped shed light on the most important aspects that were not mentioned by scholars and gave a different perspective on the subjects discussed.

Firstly, this thesis looked at the concepts of assimilation and multiculturalism and found that there are various differences between the two. A main difference found is the fact that assimilation only happens to people, and only to a certain group of people: immigrants. After identifying these differences, three categories of types of immigrants were detected: The one who assimilates partly, the one who has fully assimilated, and the one who does not assimilate at all. The respondents resulted in having low power distance, high individualism, low masculinity, low uncertainty avoidance, and high long term orientation; which shows that they have assimilated to American traits. Even though they can be considered assimilated, none of the individuals appears to have assimilated fully. There are a few individuals whom seem to be more multicultural than assimilated, as they have a good balance between their American and Mexican traits. Most of the respondents believe in adapting to new cultures, while some do not share the same belief; because of their strong love for their heritage. The majority also noticed that they were assimilating more than they thought they were and believe that they behave more American than Mexican. Because of this answer, four out of five claim that their ideal place to live is the US, while one thinks that it is Europe. Moreover, most respondents believe that Mexicans are not mistreated in the US; and especially not in El Paso, as it is such an immigrant-friendly city.

The second chapter focused on the political participation and representation of Mexicans, as well as their view on immigration policies. Unlike the belief of some scholars,

not all Mexican immigrants in El Paso feel excluded from politics, as most respondents claimed not to feel that way. There is however, a big truth to what scholars believe when it comes to participation, as many Mexicans are not actively participating in El Paso politics. The majority of the respondents claimed not to participate in Mexican or US politics, but did show a big interest in what is happening in Mexico. In Texas, there have been initiatives to include Mexican immigrants in politics, yet most become blocked by Anglo Parties; which is a big reason why Mexicans do not feel the need to be involved. Individuals feel like there is no proper representation of the Mexican community in Texas (contrary to what Rosenfeld claims) and believe the Mexicans should try to achieve positions in the government in order to empower the community. Furthermore, most individuals did show their concern for the current immigration policies and would like to see them change into more flexible, less time-consuming and less costly policies.

Finally, what can be concluded from this research is that Mexican immigrants are assimilating to American ways, yet they remain distant when it comes to politics. Because of this distance and disinterest in the subject, Mexicans have little-to-no influence on the politics of the country. Because of the growth in their population, they have become increasingly powerful and have managed to increase their representatives in politics. Yet, when it comes to officially voting or changing policies, Mexican immigrants do not practice this power. Thus, it is very unlikely that there will be a lot of influence on politics by the Mexican community. There has been an increasing influence on the representation of Mexicans, which has empowered them slightly; however, the Mexican community is so detached from the local political system, that it is not likely to create major changes in politics in the coming years.

Bibliography:

- Aguilar, Julián. "New El Paso Mayor Takes On List of Challenges." *The Texas Tribune*. The Texas Tribune, 21 July 2013. Web. 21 May 2015.
<<http://www.texastribune.org/2013/07/21/sun-city-looks-toward-new-chapter/>>.
- Angie. *Survey response*. 15 Apr. 2015.
- Baker, Colin, and Sylvia Prys Jones. *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. N.p.: Multilingual Matters, 1998. Print.
- Borjas, George J. *Mexican Immigration to the United States*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 2007. Print.
- Broder, David S. *The Party's Over; the Failure of Politics in America*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972. Print.
- Daniels, Roger. *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1882*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004. Print.
- De León, Arnoldo. "'MEXICAN AMERICANS'" *Texas State Historical Association*. Texas State Historical Association, 15 June 2010. Web.
<<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pqmue>>.
- De León, Arnoldo. *They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes Toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821–1900*. Austin: U of Texas, 1983. Print.
- El Paso Rally for Ayotzinapa Students*. YouTube. N.p., 30 Nov. 2014. Web. 16 May 2015. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MJ-YwSMgyRg>>.
- García, Ignacio M. *United We Win: The Rise and Fall of La Raza Unida Party*. Tucson: MASRC, the U of Arizona, 1989. Print.

Garcia, Mario T. *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, and Identity, 1930–1960*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1989. Print.

Gleason, Shane A., and Christopher T. Stout. "Who Is Empowering Who: Exploring the Causal Relationship Between Descriptive Representation and Black Empowerment." *Journal of Black Studies* 45.7 (2014): 635-59. Print.

Gordon, Milton Myron. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*. New York: Oxford UP, 1964. Print.

Henderson, Timothy J. *Beyond Borders: A History of Mexican Migration to the United States*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. Print.

Hero, Rodney, F. Chris Garcia, John Garcia, and Harry Pachon. "Latino Participation, Partisanship, and Office Holding." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33.3 (2000): 529-34. Print.

Hofstede, Geert H. *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*. 2nd ed. USA: McGraw-Hill, 1997. Print.

Hofstede, Geert H. *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-related Values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980. Print.

Jiobu, Robert M. *Ethnicity and Assimilation: Blacks, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Japanese, Mexicans, Vietnamese, and Whites*. Albany: State U of New York, 1988. Print.

Marquez, Benjamin. *Democratizing Texas Politics Race, Identity, and Mexican American Empowerment, 1945-2002*. Austin: U of Texas, 2014. Print.

"Mayor." *City of El Paso*. City of El Paso, n.d. Web. 20 May 2015.
<<https://www.elpasotexas.gov/mayor>>.

Michelson, Melissa R. "GETTING OUT THE LATINO VOTE: How Door-to-Door Canvassing Influences Voter Turnout in Rural Central California." *Political Behavior* 25.3 (2003): n. pag. Plenum Publishing Corporation, Sept. 2003. Web. 9 Apr. 2014. <http://faculty.washington.edu/mbarreto/courses/Michelson_PB.pdf>.

"MILESTONES: 1866–1898." *Office of the Historian, Bureau of Public Affairs, United States Department of State*. N.p., n.d. Web. 18 May 2015. <<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/chinese-immigration>>.

"Multiculturalism." *The International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions*. N.p., n.d. Web. 23 May 2015. <<http://www.ifla.org/publications/defining-multiculturalism>>.

Parekh, Bhikhu C. *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2002. Print.

Perez, Elida S. "Graduating UTEP Students Reflect on Difficulties, Prepare to Move Forward." *El Paso Times.com*. N.p., 14 May 2015. Web. 20 May 2015. <[HTTP://WWW.ELPASOTIMES.COM/NEWS/CI_28119215/GRADUATING-UTEP-STUDENTS-REFLECT-ON-DIFFICULTIES-PREPARE-TO-MOVE-FORWARD](http://WWW.ELPASOTIMES.COM/NEWS/CI_28119215/GRADUATING-UTEP-STUDENTS-REFLECT-ON-DIFFICULTIES-PREPARE-TO-MOVE-FORWARD)>.

Richard, Madeline A. *Ethnic Groups and Marital Choices: Ethnic History and Marital Assimilation in Canada, 1871 and 1971*. Vancouver: UBC, 1991. Print.

Rosado, Caleb. *Toward a Definition of Multiculturalism*. *Www.rosado.net*. Rosado Consulting, 28 Oct. 1996. Web. 20 May 2015. <http://www.rosado.net/pdf/Def_of_Multiculturalism.pdf>.

Rosenfeld, M. "Mexican Immigrants and Mexican American Political Assimilation" *Migration Between Mexico and the United States: Binational Study*. Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform (1998) : 1117-1132.

Rudnick, Lois P., Judith E. Smith, and Rachel Lee Rubin. *American Identities: An Introductory Textbook*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006. p192-201. Print.

Subramanian, Ramnath. "Ramnath Subramanian: U.S. Sorely Needs Smart, Humane Immigration Policy." *El Paso Times.com*. N.p., 08 Jan. 2015. Web. 15 May 2015.
<http://www.elpasotimes.com/opinion/ci_27278179/u-s-sorely-needs-smart-humane-immigration-policy>.

"The Hofstede Centre." *Geert-Hofstede.com*. N.p., n.d. Web. 16 May 2015.
<<http://geert-hofstede.com/>>.

"Tony Bonilla Papers." *Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi*. Mary and Jeff Bell Library, 19 Aug. 2014. Web. 25 May 2015.
<<https://rattler.tamucc.edu/dept/special/bonillat.html>>.

United States. Census Bureau.Public Information Office. *2010 Census Shows America's Diversity*.N.p.: n.p., 2011. *U.S. Census Bureau*.Web. 9 Apr. 2014.
<http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/2010_census/cb11-cn125.html>.

United States. The United States Department of Justice. Civil Rights Division. *The Voting Rights Act of 1965*.N.p., n.d. Web. 08 Apr. 2014.
<http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/vot/intro/intro_b.php>.

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1995. Print.

Zahniser, Steven. *Mexican Migration to the United States: The Role of Migration Networks and Human Capital Accumulation*. New York: Garland Pub., 1999. Print.

Zolberg, Aristide R. *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006. Print.

22 year-old. *Survey response*. 14 Apr. 2015.

47 year-old. *Survey response*. 15 Apr. 2015.

48 year-old. *Survey response*. 15 Apr. 2015.

49 year-old. *Survey response*. 21 Apr. 2015.

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Online Form

Mexicans living (or that lived) in (or close to) El Paso, Texas / Mexicanos viviendo (o que vivieron) en (o cerca de) El Paso, Texas

This is a form used for a Bachelor Thesis for the University of Leiden. All the information gained will not be shared with 3rd parties, and we assure your confidentiality if you wish to remain anonymous.

The form takes a maximum of 15 minutes

The first questions will be general cultural questions, followed by questions related to being Mexican and El Paso, Texas.

*Este cuestionario sera usado para una tesis de licenciatura para la Universidad de Leiden.
Toda informacion recibida no sera compartida con 3eras partes y aseguramos tu
confidencialidad si quisieras quedar anonimo(/a)*

El cuestionario dura un maximo de 15 minutos

*Las primeras preguntas serán preguntas de cultura general, seguido por preguntas
relacionadas con el ser Mexicano(/a) y El Paso, Texas.*

*** Required**

Age

Edad

Do you wish to remain Anonymous? *

Desea quedar anonimo?

- Yes
- No
- Other:

Name

Nombre

What is your Nationality? *

Que es tu nacionalidad?

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
Among family, children are taught that their opinion matters as much as that of their parents/ Entre la familia, se les enseña a los hijos que su opinion es igual de importante que la de sus papas						Among family, children are taught that they should not question the authority of their parents/ Entre la familia, se les enseña a los hijos que no deben cuestionar la autoridad de sus padres

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
Among the family, children are encouraged never to take things for granted/ Entre la familia, los hijos son animados a nunca tomar las cosas por sentado						Among the family, children are taught to accept the word of seniors and of people who are more important/ Entre la familia, se les enseña a los hijos a aceptar la palabra de los mayores y las personas mas importantes

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
At work, employees are supposed to create their own job function and place within the organization/ En el trabajo, se supone que los empleados deben crear su propio puesto y lugar dentro de la organización						At work, everybody knows exactly who has what authority/ En el trabajo, todo el mundo sabe precisamente quien tiene cual autoridad

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
At work, people constantly challenge their bosses. It is often hard to tell who is managing and who is being managed/En el trabajo, la gente constantemente desafían a sus jefes. A menudo es difícil saber quién es el manager y quien está siendo manejado						At work, the boss makes the decisions, complemented by close guidance and control. People accept this as a matter of the boss' responsibility and of respect for him/ En el trabajo, el jefe toma las decisiones, complementados por guía y control de alguien cercano. La gente acepta esto como una cuestión de la responsabilidad del jefe y por respeto a él

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People believe that the most effective way to change the political system is gradually by debate and vote/ La gente cree que la forma más efectiva para cambiar el sistema político es poco a poco por el debate y la votación						People believe that the most effective way to change the political system is by changing the people who are in power/ La gente cree que la manera más eficaz para cambiar el sistema político es cambiar a la gente que está en el poder

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People have strong and long-lasting loyalties within groups/ La gente tiene lealtades fuertes y de larga duración dentro de grupos						People choose their own friends on the basis of common interest and appeal/ La gente elige a sus propios amigos a base del interés y el atractivo común

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
There is togetherness and social control/ Hay unidad y control social						There is loneliness and freedom/ Hay soledad y libertad

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People are worried with keeping a good reputation with others / Las personas están preocupadas por cuidar su reputacion con los demas						People are preoccupied with meeting their own norms and standards/ Las personas se preocupan por cumplir sus propias normas y estandares

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People promote others on the basis of loyalty and seniority/ La gente promueve a otros a base de lealtad y antigüedad						People make promotions on the basis of excellence irrespective of age/ La gente promueve a base de excelencia, independientemente de la edad

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
It is seen as immoral if a boss does not use his power to give a job to a relative in need/ Es visto como immoral si un jefe no usa su poder para dar un trabajo a un familiar en necesidad						It is seen as immoral if a boss uses his power to give a job to a relative in need/ Es visto como immoral si un jefe usa su poder para dar un trabajo a un familiar en necesidad

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People sympathize with the underdog and tend to be jealous about the successes of others/ Las personas simpatizan con los novatos y tienden a ser celosos de los éxitos de los demás						People admire the top-dog and blame the unsuccessful/ La gente admira al experto y culpan a quienes no son exitosos

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
At work, people are motivated by a pleasant work environment, warmth and coziness/ En el trabajo, las personas son motivadas por un ambiente agradable, cálido y acogedor para trabajar						At work, people are motivated by strict targets and accountability to demonstrate their level of achievement/ En el trabajo, las personas están motivadas por objetivos y responsabilidad estricta para demostrar su nivel de logros

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People try to reach consensus at work and colleagues are not supposed to compete against one another / La gente trata de llegar a un acuerdo en el trabajo y sus colegas no deben competir entre sí						People see confrontations as positive and fruitful; one should compete or die / La gente ve confrontaciones como algo positivo y fructífero; uno debe competir o morir

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
Both men and women can be modest, tender and concerned with quality of life issues / Tanto los hombres como las mujeres pueden ser modestos, tiernos y preocupados con la calidad de vida						Men are supposed to be assertive and focused at material success and women are supposed to be more modest and concerned with quality of life issues / Los hombres deben ser asertivos y centrados en el éxito material y las mujeres deben ser mas modestas y preocupadas por la calidad de vida

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
Lovers look for intimacy / Los amantes buscan intimidad						Lovers look for emotional support / Los amantes buscan apoyo emocional

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
Among family, children are taught to live in chaos / Entre la familia, se les enseña a los hijos a vivir en caos						Among family, children are taught to create structure and to avoid chaos / Entre la familia, se les enseña a los hijos a crear estructura y evitar el caos

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People give their support to people who can cope under all circumstances / Las personas dan su apoyo a los que pueden enfrentarse a toda situacion						People give their support to the expert and to the competent leader / Las personas dan su apoyo al experto y al líder competente

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People are not required to carry an identity card with them / Las personas no están obligadas a llevar un documento de identidad con ellos						People are required to carry an identity card with them / Las personas están obligadas a llevar un documento de identidad con ellos

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People are not supposed to show emotions in public / La gente no debe mostrar sus emociones en público						People are allowed to show emotions in public (in the proper place and at the proper time) / La gente debe mostrar sus emociones en público (en el lugar adecuado y en el momento oportuno)

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
There are few rules in society which you are supposed to follow / Hay algunas reglas en la sociedad que deben seguirse						There are many rules in society which the others are supposed to follow / Hay muchas reglas en la sociedad que deben ser seguidas por los demás

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People are clearly aware of what is 'good' and 'evil' / La gente esta claramente conciente de lo que es "bueno" y "malo"						People lower themselves for a common goal without much concern for 'good' or 'evil' / La gente se baja de nivel para un objetivo común sin mucha preocupación por lo que es "bueno" o "malo"

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People emphasize personal steadiness and stability / Las personas enfatizan la estabilidad personal						People emphasize that everything is changing and that everything is relative / Las personas hacen hincapié en que todo está cambiando y que todo es relativo

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
Children are taught to ask the question 'Why?' / A Los niños se les enseña a hacer la pregunta "por qué?"						Children are taught to ask the question 'What?' and 'How?' / A los niños se les enseña a hacer la pregunta "qué?" y "cómo?"

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People often refer to their roots and history / La gente se refiere a sus raíces e historia a menudo						People can lower themselves to accomplish goals after more than hundred years / La gente puede bajarse de nivel para lograr metas después de más de cien años

I feel most comfortable where: *

Me siento mas comodo(/a) donde:

	1	2	3	4	5	
People look for consistency in the information offered to them / La gente busca la coherencia en la información que se les ofrece						People can live with contradictory information / La gente puede vivir con información contradictoria

Are you Mexican? *

Eres Mexicano(a)?

- Yes, I was born in Mexico / Si, naci en Mexico
- Yes, My parents are Mexican / Si, mis papas son Mexicanos
- No, but I have Mexican family / No, pero tengo familia Mexicana
- No, but I have close Mexican friends/ No, pero tengo amigos Mexicanos

How long did you live in, around, or are you living in El Paso? *

Por cuanto tiempo has vivido, viviste en, o cerca de, de El Paso?

Did you, or are you, living in El Paso (Texas)? *

Has vivido, o vives, en El Paso (Texas)?

- I am living in El Paso/ Vivo en El Paso
- I lived in El Paso/ Vivia en El Paso
- I live close to El Paso/ Vivo serca de El Paso
- I lived close to El Paso/ Vivia serca de El Paso

In the time living in or close to El Paso, where you a legal citizen? *

En el tiempo viviendo en o serca de El Paso, fuiste o eres un(/a) ciudadano (/a) legal?

- Yes/ Si
- No
- Other:

Do you feel more American, Mexican, or a perfect mix of both? And why? *

Te sientes mas Americano(a), Mexicano(a), o una mezcla perfecta de los dos? y por que?

Do you think Mexicans in El Paso are treated differently than Americans? Please give a brief explanation. *

Piensas que los Mexicanos en El Paso son tratados diferente que los Americanos? Por favor dar una breve explicacion.

Do you think Mexicans are excluded from El Paso politics? Please give a brief explanation. *

Piensas que los Mexicanos son excluidos de la politica en El Paso? Por favor dar una breve explicacion.

Do you feel like you have replaced parts of your Mexican heritage for more American ones? If so, what? *

Sientes que has reemplazado partes de tu herencia Mexicana por unas mas Americanas? Si es asi, que?

When it comes to politics, what of importance to you? *

En la politica, que es importante para ti?

Are you aware of current political affairs in Texas? *

Estas conciente de los asuntos politicos actuales en Texas?

- Yes/ Si
- No
- Other:

Do you participate in Texas (El Paso) Politics? Why yes/no? *

Participas en la politica de Texas (El Paso)? Por que si/no?

Are you aware of current political affairs in Mexico? *

Estas consiente de los asuntos politicos actuales en Mexico?

- Yes/ Si
- No
- Other:

Do you participate in Mexican Politics? Why yes/no? *

Participas en la politica de Mexico? Por que si/no?

Do you feel represented by Americans as Texas politicians? Why yes/no? *

Te sientes representado(/a) por politicos Americanos de Texas? Por que si/no?

Do you feel represented by Mexicans as Texas politicians? Why yes/no? *

Te sientes representado(/a) por politicos Mexicanos (nacidos o de descendencia) de Texas? Por que si/no?

Do you feel represented by Mexicans as politicians in Mexico? Why yes/no? *

Te sientes representado(/a) por politicos Mexicanos en Mexico? Por que si/no?

Do you believe that Mexican politicians should run for a position in Texas? Why yes/no?

*

Crees que los politicos Mexicanos (nacidos o de descendencia) deben postularse para un puesto en Tejas? Por que si / no?

Do you believe it is easy to migrate legally to the United States? Why? *

Crees que es facil migrar legalmente a los Estados Unidos? Por que?

Do you believe it should become easier/ harder to migrate legally to the United States? Why? *

Crees que deberia volverse mas facil/ dificil migrar legalmente a los Estados Unidos? Por que?

When you travel to the United States, do you feel like they treat you different because you are Mexican? In what way? *

Cuando viajas a los Estados Unidos, sientes que te tratan diferente porque eres Mexicano(/a)? En que sentido?

Do you believe in adapting to local traditions fully? Why? *

Crees en adaptarse completamente a las tradiciones locales? Por que?

Your ideal place to live would be: *

Tu lugar ideal de vivir seria:

- Mexico
- United States / Estados Unidos
- Other:

***Appendix B: Compilation of form answers per individual
(Excluding Hofstede Test answers)***

22 year-old

- Wishes to remain anonymous
- Nationality: Mexican
- Born in Mexico
- Lives close to El Paso
- Has lived close to El Paso for 8 years (on the Juarez, el Paso border)
- Has been a legal citizen of Mexico
- Feels like a “Mix of both, the ideas are more to be American than Mexican”
- Believes that Mexicans in El Paso are treated differently than Americans because “El Paso has a lot of Mexican immigrants which are treated better than other places in the US”
- Thinks that Mexicans are excluded from el Paso politics because “ Texas is a conservative state”
- Feel like he/she replaced parts of Mexican heritage for more American because “nowadays people don't follow traditions that often anymore”
- When it comes to politics, what is important is “Health, education and economy
- Is not aware of the current political affairs in Texas
- Does not participate in Texas (El Paso) politics because doesn't and never lived in the states.
- Is aware of current political affairs in Mexico
- Does not participate in Mexican politics because he/she “has not lived in Mexico long enough”.
- does not feel represented by Americans as Texas politicians
- and does not feel represented by Mexicans as Texas politicians
- Does not feel represented by Mexicans as politicians in Mexico because “they are corrupt”
- This person does believe that Mexican politicians should run for a position in Texas, “since Texas borders Mexico”.
- This person does believe that it is easy to migrate legally into the United States; although “it takes a while”.
- This person does believe that it should become easier to migrate legally into the United States because Mexicans “have better opportunities” there.
- Does not feel like gets treated differently when traveling to the united states because of being Mexican.
- does believe in adapting to local traditions fully because “you have to adapt to the traditions where you live”
- This person’s ideal place to live is the United States.

26 year-old, Angie

- No need for anonymity
- Nationality: US Citizen
- Is not Mexican, but has Mexican family
- Lives in el paso
- has lived in El Paso for 26 years
- Has been a legal citizen of the US
- “I feel like I am a perfect mix” of Mexican and American. “I was raised with a Mexican mom with Mexican values, culture, and language. Since I was little my mom and I travelled throughout Mexico. I also listen to Mexican music and can get by living in the Mexican culture. On the other hand, I went through the US educational system from elementary school to graduate school. Most if not all of my friends are or were diverse ranging from Asian, African American, Indian, and Mexican. I live in the American culture and experienced first-hand through my friends what it is to have an American family. My dad used to take my mom and I on road trips throughout the US and I also love American music. At the dinner table, I speak both English and Spanish. I love both cultures; I take the best of both worlds.”
- Does not believe that Mexicans are treated differently than Americans. “I can't say that I have any experience with poor treatment of Mexicans. I, myself, have never felt like I have been treated differently. From what I've seen my mom hasn't had any problems either.”
- Does not think that Mexicans are excluded from El Paso politics.
- feels like has both parts of Mexican as well as American heritage but feels like the American part of her heritage is the most prominent. She says: “Perhaps the drive to want a career and establish myself in my career has replaced a more common perception of starting a family at a young age and being family oriented. Other than that I try to encompass both cultures which at times is very difficult.”
- What is important in politics: science funding, immigration, gun control
- Not aware of the current Texas politics
- Doesnt participate in politics either
- Is aware of Mexican politics (“sometimes”)
- Cannot participate in mexican politics
- Does not feel represented by Americans in Texas politics because she thinks “they are too conservative”
- Does feel represented by Mexicans in Texas politics “because they have a better grasp as to what it is to be two cultured and understand the needs of Mexican Americans.”
- Doesn't feel represented in Mexico by Mexicans because she doesn't actively follow politics there.
- She doesn't believe that Mexicans should run in Texas politics but does think that Mexican Americans should.
- Does not believe that it is easy to enter the US legally: “there are long waits, fees, and a lot of documentation to even get a passport.”
- When it comes to making it easier to enter the country legally, she says: “I think there should be programs set in place to facilitate getting working visas, as well as, make it easier to migrate. Illegal immigrants are in this country anyway. They risk their lives, deportation, and breaking up families. Most are hardworking and contribute to their job. It's a win-win situation.”

- When she travels to the US she does not get treated differently for being Mexican when she travels in the states.
- Doesn't believe in fully adapting to new culture: "No, I think you should integrate local traditions into your own but never forget your own traditions. A little bit of both. It's important to never forget where you come from."
- Ideal place to live: US.

48 year-old

- Wishes to remain anonymous
- Dutch nationality
- Was born in Mexico
- Lived in El Paso Texas for 4 years
- Was a legal while living in Texas
- Feels more American than Mexican: "I didn't and still don't like the way Mexican behave in the states."
- Do you think Mexicans in El Paso are treated differently than Americans? Thinks "Yes. The majority are mistreated because they don't obey the rules of society of their new home. A few does, but the majority have no scholar education at all. They must adapt themselves to the new culture and respect others thinking."
- Does not think Mexicans are excluded from El Paso politics anymore. "Now they are heard. There are more Latins in political positions."
- Has not replaced her Mexican heritage at all. "I learned, lived and enjoy many new celebrations, but i never changed mine."
- She finds honesty and equity of great importance when it comes to politics
- does not what the current political situation is in Texas
- Did not participate in Texas politics while there, because she was "very young".
- Is aware of current Mexican politics
- Does not participate in Mexican politics but "I have and give my opinion about it"
- Does not follow Texas politicians that were born in the united states, because he/she no longer follows the news of the area
- Does not feel like is represented by Mexican politicians in Texas, and if she does, they have to be "well educated"
- Doesn't feel represented by Mexican politicians in Mexico because he/she does not "like the way they reach the positions, It is not democracy but dictatorial."
- the USA are less than in Mexico, so let them in Mexico"
- Believes it is "It is hard, sad and tragic for the lower class" Mexicans to migrate legally into the US, but "[F]or the high class and well educated maybe is easier"
- Totally Believes that migration into the United States should become harder, because there are too many immigrants already, whom are mostly trouble makers. "Off course!!!! USA [is] full of lower class migrants, the majority are trouble makers. They should stay in their countries working to improve their own education and societies."
- When he/she travels to the US, he/she does feel like they treat him or her differently because he/she is Mexican. "They see us as we want to stay and live at the states. They treat us as lower class people."
- Does believe in adapting to a new culture, but not fully" you should be proud of who you are, where do you come from, but embrace the new culture ([custom]) and respect it."
- His/her ideal place to live is Europe

47 year-old

- Wishes to remain anonymous
- American nationality
- Was not born in Mexico, but has family that is Mexican
- Lives close to El Paso Texas and has been living there for 30 years
- Is a legal Texan
- Feels more American than Mexican
- Does not think Mexicans in El Paso are treated differently from Americans
- Does not think Mexicans are excluded from El Paso politics
- Can't comment on the replacing Mexican traits with American
- When it comes to politics, he/she finds important "what the politician believes in and will truly support"
- Is aware of current Texas politics
- But is "not interested" in participating in Texas politics
- Is not aware of Mexican current politics and does not participate
- Does feel represented by Americans in Texas politics
- Also feels represented by Mexicans in Texas politics because "they usually [understand] the border issues"
- Is not sure whether is represented by Mexicans in Mexico politics
- Believes that Mexicans should run in Texas politics but only if they are full legal citizens
- Does not believe it is easy to enter the United States legally
- Believes that it should become easier to migrate legally into the US; this will make illegal migration much less
- Believes that adapting to a new culture is a good thing because "it makes your life richer"
- Ideal place to live is the US

49 year-old

- Wishes to remain anonymous
- Mexican nationality
- Was born in Mexico
- Lived in Mexico for a long time
- Has never lived in the states
- Feels more Mexican than American
- Thinks that Mexicans are treated differently from Americans in El Paso. He/she believes that there is a lot of discrimination.
- Believes that Mexicans are excluded from Texas politics. “[Definitely....that is something that *gringos* do not care about]” (Translated)
- Feels like has not replaced major Mexican cultural traits with American ones, but does believe that one in particular he has gotten from the US is how much he/she spends.
- When it comes to politics, what is important is honesty and equal rights
- Is not aware of Texas politics currently and does not participate either
- Is aware of current Mexican politics and participates actively by voting alone.
- Does not feel represented by American politicians in Texas
- Does not feel represented by Mexican politicians in Texas because “[they only thing that interests them is power]” (translated)
- Does not feel represented by Mexican politicians in Mexico because “[those are worse... they are big liars]”
- Does think that Mexicans should run in Texas as politicians but only if they are honest
- Says that it is no longer easy for Mexicans to migrate to the United States
- Believes that it should become easier to migrate legally into the United States because he/she believes that Mexicans should get the American nationality in order to work comfortably and to get paid a just amount. “[pay us what is just and do not steal salaries or fire us to not pay us]” (Translated)
- When travelling in the US Mexicans are treated differently.
- Considers adapting to a country but only if he/she likes the traditions and if they even have some
- Ideal place to live: US

Appendix C: Angie's Quote

“I feel like I am a perfect mix” [of Mexican and American.] “I was raised with a Mexican mom with Mexican values, culture, and language. Since I was little my mom and I travelled throughout Mexico. I also listen to Mexican music and can get by living in the Mexican culture. On the other hand, I went through the US educational system from elementary school to graduate school. Most if not all of my friends are or were diverse ranging from Asian, African American, Indian, and Mexican. I live in the American culture and experienced first-hand through my friends what it is to have an American family. My dad used to take my mom and I on road trips throughout the US and I also love American music. At the dinner table, I speak both English and Spanish. I love both cultures; I take the best of both worlds.” (Angie)

Appendix D: Table of results for Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions per individual

Person	Cultural Dimension 1: Power Distance	Cultural Dimension 2: Individualism	Cultural Dimension 3: Masculinity	Cultural Dimension 4: Uncertainty Avoidance	Cultural Dimension 5: Long Term Orientation
22 year old	40	50	70	30	70
26 year old	15	70	30	60	55
48 year old	25	70	35	60	30
47 year old	50	65	20	50	20
49 year old	85	50	30	75	0
Country					
MEXICO	81	30	69	82	24
USA	40	91	62	46	26
		More Mexican aspects	More American aspects		

Appendix E: Hofstede's Dimensions of national culture: Mexico in comparison with the United States (including Indulgence dimension)

