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ABSTRACT

A study tested the hypothesis that expressed media content preferences are the result of a cultural identification and that actual exposure to media content will partially determine one's cultural identity. Questionnaires were completed by 884 5th and 10th grade students, half of whom were Hispanic and half Anglo. The questionnaire measured several variables, including exposure to several media, content preferences, perceived media credibility, perceptions of cultural portrayals in the media, and demographics. Respondents chose from 12 cultural labels the one they felt applied best to them. Fourteen percent of the respondents chose Chicano, 13% chose Spanish-American, and 24% Mexican-American. Fifty-one percent reported speaking English and no Spanish in the home, and 9% spoke mostly Spanish. Self-designated Chicanos and Mexican-Americans had similar media preferences: they were interested in ethnic-oriented music and not interested in recreation magazines or classical and country and western music. Mexicans expressed a distinct preference for Spanish content in all media. Spanish-Americans were uninterested in local and Latin news, while Anglos expressed lower preference for Spanish and local news, Saturday television, entertainment magazines, and black-oriented music. Anglos were more likely than Hispanics to speak and read English, read few comic books, listen to few records and tapes, watch less television, assign low believability to television, perceive television minorities as unreal, and perceive media Mexican-American portrayals as positive. (HTH)

Hispanic Youths' Cultural Identities: Prediction from Media Use and Perceptions

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INTRODUCTION

Hispanic Americans as a racial minority have received much attention as of late from government, social and academic concerns. The fallacy of considering Hispanics as a single group or necessarily as a racial group has been recognized by many, but very little effort has been expended trying to identify either the nature of the multiplicity or origins of Hispanic cultural identities.

Obviously, Hispanic Americans vary along multiple dimensions such as place of origin, socio-economic status, generation, and years in the U.S., etc. (Casavantes, 1971). Differentiations also include variations in tradition, customs, beliefs, values, social relations, foods, designs for living in general, and an overall world view (Sarbaugh, 1979). Self-designated cultural identity is one of the most significant starting points in the consideration of such differentiation of Hispanic Americans.

Cultural identity. Culture as a perceptual construct has a long history of theoretical consideration and little empirical investigation. Erickson (1966) has defined identity as "one aspect of the struggle for ethnic survival; one person's or group's identity may be relative to another's; and identity awareness may have to do with matters of an inner emancipation from a dominant identity, such as the 'compact majority'" (p. 148). Within this perspective lies the assumption that cultural identity is relative, complex, and a mental construct rather than a categorization imposed from without.

Proceeding from this basis, it is apparent that cultural identity may or may not correspond to conventional measures of race or ethnic origin. For example, a Mexican of European extraction may think of himself as Hispanic, as Mexican, as European, as some other identifying label, or as a combination of these. In the United States, such an individual would be categorized as

"Hispanic" for official purposes, no matter what personal cultural identity that person might hold.

It is also apparent that cultural identity may be more complex than conventional measures of race or ethnic origin, providing more specification as to an individual's perception of where he "fits" culturally. For example, this author is often asked if I am "German." The response to this question is invariably yes, although both the questioner and the respondent know full well that the latter is American by birth. And, for all official (and most research) purposes, I am considered "White", or even "Anglo", yet this categorization does not fully nor fairly assess the cultural identity I perceive as mine.

Since the "official" methods of cultural categorization are ordinarily used by social scientists, the information obtained in most studies is limited as to the possible multiple nature of cultural identity. This may reduce the predictive power of "race" or "ethnicity" as independent variables. Added conceptual importance must be granted to studies which examine cultural identity as a set of complex, non-exclusive items, but few of these have been conducted.

Cultural identity may be seen as a determinant of certain perceptions and behaviors. For example, Penalosa (1970) indicates that self-designated Chicanos are more militant in their attitudes and behaviors than other Hispanic individuals. And Korzenny, Armstrong, and Neuendorf (1979) have argued that cultural identity among Hispanic Americans might affect communication style and other communication behaviors. What are the determinants of cultural identity? This is a question not yet explored, especially from a communication perspective.

Generally, a number of factors seem worthy of investigation as possible determinants. First, the development of cultural identity may be seen as an historical process which involves networks of social influence. Hernandez (1970) has hypothesized that "the maintenance of the Chicano or Mexican American or

La Raza ethnic identity is dependent upon a functioning satellite system with a common focal point" (p. 15). This might consist of relatives and Hispanic friends, and perhaps Hispanic-oriented organizations which encourage perpetuation of the Mexican or other foreign national Hispanic culture. Cultural identity is also expected to depend on influences prevalent in the larger American culture, i.e., contact with individuals of other cultural origins and media exposure to such individuals are expected to have a substantial influence.

The nature of the cultural history and support mechanisms for the Hispanic American experience, as well as the role of interpersonal contact in the acccculturation of Hispanic Americans, will be examined in the following section. The role of media in the life of the Hispanic American will subsequently be examined. Thereafter, a study will be described in which the third major posited influence on cultural identity, media exposure, is examined as to its relationship to the cultural identities of Hispanic Americans.

The Hispanic in the U.S. The Hispanic culture most prevalent in the U.S. has been that associated with Mexico -- a mixture of Spanish and Indian influence. Condon (1980) has outlined the important features of this culture as being a supreme importance of the family, very separate roles for women and men, the relative nature of "truth," and a value for high emotions.

To the extent that these attributes of the Hispanic culture differ from those held as important in the U.S., some acculturation may occur for those Hispanics in the U.S. In assessing such a process, one must keep in mind the type of self-concept that Mexicans have held. "(I)t must be admitted that the only culture possible among us [Mexicans] must be of a derivative kind," Ramos (1962, p. 17) indicates, referring to the blending of Spanish, Indian, French, English, and other influences. "Mexicans have been imitating for a long time without actually realizing that they were imitating. They have always sincerely

believed that they were bringing civilization into national existence" (p. 18). He also notes that the Mexican is not culturally inferior to the American, "but rather that he feels inferior" (p. 57).

An Hispanic entering the U.S. has at least three options open to him in his attempt to come to terms with the two divergent cultural influences. Assimilation involves complete integration into the larger American mainstream culture, with abandonment of the relevant Hispanic culture. Adaptation involves recognizing and respecting differences while working toward mutual goals. Disruption involves the failure of either of the two previous alternatives to provide avenues for the achievement of societal goals, and will result in comparative isolation from the mainstream U.S. culture (Korzenny, Armstrong, and Neuendorf, 1979).

In terms of cultural identities, assimilation would imply a more Americanized identification (e.g., Mexican-American, Hispanic-American, Cuban-American or simply American). Adaptation is often associated with militancy, and would result in a third separate identification (e.g., Chicano). Disruption would most likely result in a cultural identity associated with the now-distant culture of origin (e.g., Mexican, Mejicano, Cuban), as attempts to achieve assimilation or adaptation have failed, isolation from mainstream U.S. culture has resulted, and the individual returns to identification with his only culture.

Without specifying these mechanisms of assimilation/adaptation or lack thereof, Penalosa (1970) has tried to provide an overall classification of Mexican-Americans which is similar in many ways to the above discussion. He describes a continuum in which one of the extremes contains Mexican-Americans who consider themselves to be "Americans of Mexican Ancestry" and would first identify themselves as plainly Americans. In the middle of the continuum are those who consider themselves "Mexican-American" and who are conscious of the

duality of their cultural existence and live somewhat in conflict. At the other extreme of the continuum, one would find the "Chicanos," who are fairly militant and hold a quite separate cultural identity which is the result of the merging of two worlds.

Having specified the types of influences which might go into forming a cultural identity, we may also examine possible implications of holding a cultural identity. Communication as a mechanism which holds society together is expected to depend substantially on the cultural identity of the members of a group which is striving for a positive integration without giving up its cultural integrity. In confronting and joining the larger majority a certain type of cultural identity is expected to influence the communication patterns and styles used for demanding social services and for job interviewing. Also, the relationship between cultural identity and communication style should have implications for the establishment of meaningful human relationships with members of the larger American culture (Korzenny, Armstrong, and Neuendorf, 1979).

Thus, the way in which an hispanic American individual identifies him/herself culturally is expected both to be determined at least partially by contact with the majority American culture and to have implications for the ways in which the individual deals with the larger American culture in his/her efforts to achieve a desired degree of adaptation or assimilation.

Hispanic Americans and the media. The role of media exposure in the process of cultural integration -- either to accelerate Americanization or to maintain a separate cultural identity -- has not been explored. In fact, the literature that does exist rarely reflects any systematic research efforts. As Lopez and Enos (1973) point out, "Only very recently has any significant amount of literature about the Spanish surname populations begun to emerge, and most of

that concentrates on problems of schooling, employment, and on general demographic characteristics. With a very few limited exceptions, the literature concerned with mass media excludes any theory or facts directly or even indirectly pertaining to the media utilization and attitudes of those in the U.S. who speak Spanish" (p. 283).

While only a handful of studies have been done concerning the usage of and effects of media by and on Hispanic Americans, the treatment of Hispanic Americans in TV and other mass media has been explored numerous times in a descriptive manner. For example, Cecil Robinson (1977) has written an examination of Chicano and Mexican portrayals in American novels, poetry, and other literature.

In an historical exposition of Mexican stereotypes in U.S. cultural expression between 1910 and 1936, Limon (1973) describes the treatment of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in literature, films and news media. He holds that the stereotypes of the Chicano "depict him as dirty, violent, hypersexual, treacherous, and thieving, although he also often appears as cowardly, apathetic and dormant" (p. 257).

Comparing 1960 and 1966 surveys of textbook publishers, Roberts (1968) concludes that "hopeful progress" is being made in the integration (inclusion) of Mexican Americans and Blacks in U.S. textbooks. No analysis of types of portrayals is made, and conclusions are based on self-reports by the publishers.

Articles on the treatment of Hispanic Americans by broadcast media are generally normative in nature, providing little empirical basis for assertions made. In a cry against broadcast media's stereotyping of Mexican Americans, Obledo and Joselow (1972) provide a basis for action by noting, among other things, that "meaningful change in the status of the Chicano cannot occur while the media contents itself (sic) with caricatures" (p. 86). Obledo and Joselow

propose reliance on the personal attack regulation in the FCC's Fairness Doctrine to stop racist content in broadcasting.

In a biting examination of Mexican American portrayals in advertising, Martinez (1969) cites a number of advertisers, including Arrid ("Mexicans stink the most"), Lark ("Mexicans are sloppy"), and of course Frito-Lay (Mexicans are "Frito Banditos"), for racist portrayals of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Martinez voices the concern that such portrayals symbolically reaffirm the inferior social status of these individuals, and may also create unfavorable racial and cultural stereotypes in minds which previously did not harbor them.

In one of the most systematic investigations available, Greenberg and Baptista-Fernandez (1980) examined three years of prime-time and Saturday morning network TV programming. They found Hispanic portrayals to be quite infrequent, constituting only 1.5% of all speaking characters. They concluded that Hispanics are portrayed in general as "males, of dark complexion, with dark hair, most often with heavy accents. Women are absent and insignificant. They're [Hispanics are] gregarious and pleasant, with strong family ties. Half work hard and half are lazy, and very few show any inclination toward their future. Most have very little education, and their jobs reflect that fact" (p. 11).

As indicated above, only a small number of social scientific studies have been conducted on the patterns of media usage and effects for Hispanic Americans. These studies are generally troubled methodologically, and are also so diverse and situation-specific that little in the way of general conclusions may be made. However, consideration of these studies may shed light on the options available for directing subsequent research.

In a study limited by small sample size and poor sampling techniques,* Pasqua (1976) drew several conclusions regarding Chicano newspaper readers' news

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* i.e., One major portion of the sample consisted of Chicano night-school students at a local community college.

values. "(I)t appears that the Chicano reader can evaluate a news story from its structural aspects and does so to a stronger degree than Anglo readers. Moreover,... it appears the Chicano reader has a more pronounced concept and greater value for the element of 'timeliness' in news stories than does his Anglo counterpart" (p. 358).

Using a small and decidedly non-random sample of Chicano and Anglo opinion leaders in Austin, Texas, Korman and Valenzuela (1974) sought to compare patterns of mass media usage. They found statistically significant differences both in reported media use and in media thought best suited to solve local problems. Anglos were more than twice as likely (78% vs. 33%) to indicate news as their favorite program type. Chicanos were more likely to name adventure, soap-operas and movies as preferred program types.

When asked which media they thought were preferred by other citizens to disseminate messages, Anglos and Chicanos both cited TV-radio (52% and 53% respectively); Anglos named the print media of newspapers-magazines much more often than Chicanos (43% and 14%); Anglos were much less likely to report "people" as a preferred medium than were Chicanos (5% and 33%). The Anglos and Chicanos were also asked which media they though were best suited to help solve a number of local problems (education, health, and economy). Overall, Chicanos were significantly more likely to name TV, and less likely to name newspapers and people.

In a study of Spanish-language-only television (SLO-TV) in Los Angeles, Lopez and Enos (1973) concluded that the SLO viewer is a person who is most likely foreign-born, has low income and schooling and is over thirty years of age (p. 309). The amount a person views SLO is related primarily to demographic characteristics such as income and education, but also to the ethnicity of the person.

In 1972, Valenzuela conducted a phone survey in San Antonio, Texas, asking Mexican American respondents about their specific, localized media behavior. Valenzuela's results suggest that "the major differences in media habits and preferences were related to different socio-economic status levels and the language used in the interview" (Resume).

In a secondary analysis of the Valenzuela data, Dunn (1975) conducted a factor analysis to attempt to identify clusters of relevant subgroups of Mexican Americans based on social characteristics, media habits, and preferences. Six significant factors did emerge. Factor I contained two clusters: a negative cluster labeled "traditional," composed of "older persons (usually housewives) who conducted the interview in Spanish, called themselves 'Mexican' or 'Mexicano' and whose media preferences tended toward Spanish language radio and television programs" (p. 7), and a positive cluster named "non-traditional," composed of "younger, better educated respondents, students and white-collar workers, who referred to themselves as 'Mexican-American,' and who conducted the interview either bilingually or in English,..... preferred radio and television programming in English, and their program taste included movies, adventure programs, drama, and comedy-variety programs. Their primary source of news and information tended to be newspapers, and they owned color televisions and AM-FM radios" (p. 8). The remaining five factors were not related to the ethnicity of the respondents.

Williams, Valenzuela and Knight (1973) looked for any relationships existing between demographic variables and media use in Mexican Americans. Surveying over 1500 Mexican Americans in Austin and San Antonio, the researchers found only a few significant predictions of television use and content preference by demographics. And, more specifically, preferred ethnic self-referent did not emerge as a significant predictor of any media variables (using only "Mexican,"

"Mexican-American," both, and neither as possible cultural identity categorizations).

In one of the few pieces of research to date which examined both media and cultural identity variables, Zaffirini (1978) conducted a survey of Mexican American junior college students. Those who preferred "non-traditional" ethnic self-referents (e.g., Mexican American, Chicano, Brown) were significantly more likely than those preferring "traditional" ethnic self-referents (e.g., Latin American, Spanish American, Spanish-speaking) to express a preference for Spanish print and Spanish broadcast media and for bilingual newspapers and television.

Effects studies are less numerous than those describing exposure patterns. Williams and Natalicio (1972) conducted a study examining the effects of Carrascolendas, a television series developed for the bilingual education of first and second grade Mexican American children in the southwest U.S. with the idea the "the Mexican-American child suffers the dual disadvantage of seldom seeing a positive image of persons such as himself in the media, and experiencing few media which serve him as an individual" (p. 300). An in-school experiment was conducted, and found a number of knowledge effects of Carrascolendas in specific areas -- multicultural environment, physical environment, and cognitive development. These effects were, however, limited to English items; there was a lack of significant effects when the testing items were in Spanish. Whether this was due to a higher acceptability factor for English in the community, emphasis on the English portions of the shows by teachers in the classroom, or some other factor was not established.

The relationship between television viewing and perceived treatment by private and public organizations was examined by Subervi-Velez (1979). Perceived ethnic discrimination was studied using a sample which included Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and Cubans. Data for the study were obtained from

Duran and Monroe's Latino Communication Project, conducted in 1977. It measured the communication patterns and organizational activities of Chicago's Hispanic residents. It was found that TV was a negative predictor of the perceived discrimination from consumer and social organizations. Exposure to other types of media was found not to be a significant predictor. The author concluded that Latinos are not highly critical of the treatment they receive by a number of public and private organizations in Chicago.

What conclusions may be reached regarding this collection of articles concerning Hispanic media use? Only very general statements may be made:

1. As indicated in numerous studies and descriptions, Hispanic Americans have been and are being portrayed stereotypically in the media, including TV. These stereotypes are, however, quite diverse. Positive portrayals of Hispanics as pleasant and gregarious co-exist with negative portrayals of Hispanics as dirty and thieving.
2. As indicated in the Korman and Valenzuela article, Hispanics do seem to utilize media differently than Anglos, opting for a greater amount of entertainment fare. They also hold differential attitudes toward media as problem-solving devices.
3. As indicated by the Lopez and Enos, Dunn, and Zaffirini studies, there is some evidence to show that the type of label preferred by Hispanic Americans is related to the type of television use they report. For example, "Mexican-oriented" Mexican Americans prefer Spanish language broadcasts and programs reflecting the Mexican culture. (Interestingly, these people may not always be the ones to ask for more fare of this type. Pasqua (1976) notes that "Valenzuela has pointed out in conversation . . . that the self-designated Chicano who calls for more Spanish and bilingual media is just the person who does not use them

or need them as he gets his information more often in print and in English" (p. 350).)

Hypotheses. It thus seems clear that some set of relationships does exist between cultural self-identification and media content preferences. The directionality and causality of these relationships have not been explored. In light of the literature reviewed above, the following general set of relationships is suspected:

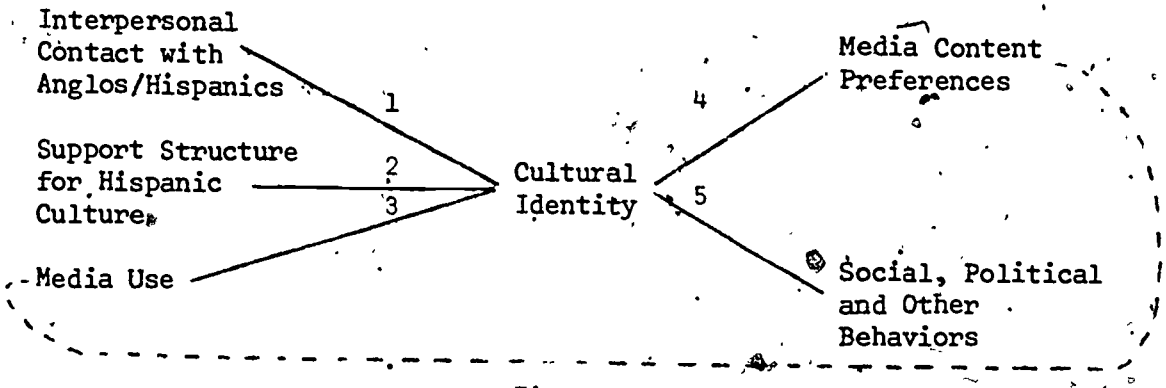

Figure 1

General literature on culture and communication (Hernandez, 1970; Blubaugh and Pennington, 1976) would suggest linkages 1 and 2. The support structure for Hispanic culture includes activity in Hispanic organizations, as well as demographics such as size of household, language spoken in the home, and neighborhood composition. Linkage 5 is supported by another body of literature which is beyond the purview of this paper (Dworkin, 1971; Lambert, 1967; Díaz-Guerrero, 1975). Much of the literature cited in the previous section (Dunn, 1975; Lopez and Enos, 1973; Zaffirini, 1978) supports the idea of linkage 4, although the directionality of the link is not specified in most of the research.

Here it is proposed that expressed content preferences are more likely the result of a cultural identification than visa versa. Actual exposure, both general and content-specific, is expected to affect how one begins to think

about oneself culturally in the same way that interpersonal communication events will shape and mold one's self-concept (both culturally and psychologically). But an expressed content preference, unless fulfilled through actual exposure, is an inactive variable -- that is, it provides no mechanism, no means for the incorporation of new information which might impact on the individual's identity. It is thus proposed that media content preferences are an outcome of cultural identity (and other social and psychological influences) and that actual exposure to media content (either guided or unguided by content preferences) will be a partial determinant of what type of cultural identity one holds. It is apparent that a circular type of model is a distinct possibility for these relationships, as indicated by the dotted line in Figure 1, which would imply a non-recursive overall model.

The relationships represented by linkage 3 are the concern of this paper. Surprisingly, no study has looked at simple exposure to various media as predictors of cultural identity. Here, the basic thrust of the conceptualization of this linkage is that exposure to "mainstream" U.S. media (i.e., media which emphasize an homogenous majority American culture) enhances integration or Americanization, and that using these media for learning/information gain, attributing credibility to these media, perceiving their content as real and positive, and using their content in a concerted manner will further enhance Americanization.

Based on the type of Hispanic American media portrayals available to media users (Martinez, 1969; Greenberg and Baptista-Fernandez, 1980), one would not expect substantial reinforcement of Hispanic culture through general media exposure. On the contrary, the majority of the content available on mainstream American TV, newspapers, and radio emphasizes "Anglo"-oriented beliefs, attitudes and behaviors. Thus one would expect exposure to TV, newspapers and radio to

be predictive of a more Americanized cultural identity. Other media which have become quite specialized (i.e., magazines, books, comic books, records, tapes, movies) generally afford some opportunity for meeting minority tastes. For example, Spanish-language records and tapes are readily available. In general, one would expect exposure to specialized media to be predictive of a less Americanized cultural identity.

Building on the cultural identity typology of Peñalosa, those identifying themselves as Mexican-American and Spanish-American are deemed the most Americanized of the Hispanics in this study. Those identifying themselves as Latino are less Americanized, Chicanos even less so, and Mexicans least Americanized. (Those identifying themselves as Cuban or Puerto Rican are few in number and different in that a range of labels were not provided for those nationalities. Results concerning these individuals will be presented, but no specific hypotheses concerning them will be forwarded.) In the hypotheses to be presented below, a distinction will be made between the more Americanized cultural identities (i.e., Mexican-American and Spanish-American), and the relatively un-Americanized cultural identities (i.e., Latino, Chicano, Mexican).

H_1 & H_2: In a very basic sense, it is first hypothesized that media exposure, functions, and perceptions will discriminate the endorsement of each cultural label for all respondents. More specifically, it is also hypothesized that among respondents of Hispanic origin, these variables will further discriminate the endorsement of each Hispanic cultural label.

For the more "American" cultural identities (i.e., Mexican-American, Spanish-American), the following factors are hypothesized to significantly predict endorsement among all respondents and also among Hispanics only:

H_3: The more a person is exposed to the mainstream media of TV, newspapers, and radio, the more likely his endorsement (of a more "American" cultural identity).

H_4: The more a person is exposed to the specialized media of magazines, comic books, books, records/tapes, and movies, the less likely his endorsement.

H_5: The more a person uses the mainstream media for the functions of information/learning, the more likely his endorsement.

H_6: The more a person uses the mainstream media for the functions of escape/entertainment, the less likely his endorsement.

H_7: The more credibility a person assigns to the mainstream media, the more likely his endorsement.

H_8: The more a person discusses mainstream media content with others, the more likely his endorsement.

H_9: The more a person is exposed to concerted efforts by others to positively mediate the respondents' mainstream media exposure, the more likely his endorsement.

H_{10}: The more a person perceives mainstream media content as real (given heavy emphasis on Anglo-oriented content and stereotypical yet infrequent Hispanic-oriented content), the more likely his endorsement.

H_{11}: The more a person perceives mainstream media portrayals as positive, the more likely his endorsement.

H_{12}: The more a person reads and speaks English, and the fewer other Hispanics living in the person's household, the more likely his endorsement.

H_{13}-H_{22}: For the less "Americanized" cultural identities (i.e., Latino, Chicano, and Mexican), the above hypotheses H_3-H_{12} are forwarded with a <u>change</u> in the <u>sign</u> (positive or negative) of each hypothesized relationship.

METHODS

A survey was conducted which contains data to test the hypotheses, with youths from the U.S. southwest as respondents. The use of youths as respondents has special considerations. The knowledge that a study such as this can generate concerning young Hispanics is important for the consideration of future Hispanic issues. Youthful respondents may not be typical of all Hispanics, and in fact it seems likely that as a group they may tend to be more Americanized than their elders, yet they do stand as a group with potential for great significant contributions in the future. Conducting the study in the U.S. southwest assured an accessible sample of youthful Hispanics who would range in their type of cultural identity.

In May of 1980, 884 questionnaires were completed by fifth and tenth graders in the following five southwestern U.S. cities: 226 in Salinas, 107 in San Bernardino, and 188 in Visalia, California; 177 in Santa Fe, New Mexico; and 186 in Tucson, Arizona. Consent was obtained from each school district, and administration of the survey was done in the classroom. Fifth grade classes were standard (neither remedial nor accelerated) and tenth grade classes were required courses rather than electives.

About half the respondents were identified by school personnel as Hispanic and half as Anglo. Hispanics of Mexican descent are the most prevalent Hispanic group in the geographical areas under examination.

The questionnaire measured a large number of variables, including exposure to a wide variety of media, content preferences for those media, functions for media use, perceived media credibility, parental mediation of media use, social interaction regarding media content, perceptions of cultural portrayals in the media, and demogrpaphics.

Dependent variables. The questionnaire presented twelve different cultural labels for endorsement by the respondents: Chicano, Latino, Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, Spanish-American, Mexican-American, Asian-American, White (Anglo), Black, Native American (American Indian), and Other. Respondents were asked to circle the label(s) which they felt applied best to them.

Independent variables. A number of demographic variables were measured and included as possible predictors of cultural identity. Number of people in the respondent's household, language preference for reading, and language preference for speaking were measured. These latter two items included the following scale: English only, Mostly English but some Spanish, English and Spanish about equally, and Mostly Spanish but some English.

Many of the other independent variables mentioned in the hypotheses were measured using multiple items. These sets of items were subjected to exploratory factor analysis. Varimax (orthogonal) rotated factor analysis was performed, selecting factors with a minimum eigenvalue of 1.0. Factor score coefficients were used as weightings to create an index for each emergent factor. These indices were named based on the relative strengths of the item loadings.

These independent variables were measured in the following manner:

a. Media usage was measured by single item measures of the frequency of exposure to comic books (number read per week), magazines (number read per week), books (number read per month), radio (number of hours per day), records and tapes (number of hours per day), movies (number attended per month), newspapers (number read per week), and TV (hours per weekday);

b. Functions for newspaper and television exposure were measured by means of Likert-type scales. Thirty-two functions were factor analyzed, which resulted in the formation of the following indices: Newspaper

readership for news, escape, and social learning; television watching for escape, social learning, news, and advice;

c. Media credibility was assessed by three single items asking "If you read it in the newspaper (see it on TV, hear it on the radio) it's true (yes, not sure, no)";

d. Social interaction with parents and friends regarding newspaper and TV content was assessed by six items which were factor analyzed, resulting in two indices: Talk about newspaper content, and talk about TV content;

e. Parental mediation of television and print media exposure was measured by means of eight items which when factor analyzed resulted in three indices: Parental encouragement to read, rules about TV watching, and parental coviewing and talking about TV content;

f. Perceived reality of television was assessed by means of eight items which produced two factor indices: Perceived reality of minorities on TV and perceived reality of Anglos on TV;

g. Portrayals of Mexican Americans in local newspapers, local TV news, and TV shows were measured as perceived to be good or bad. Two indices resulted: Negative perceptions of Mexican American media portrayals, and positive perceptions of Mexican American media portrayals.

Appendix A presents the sets of items.

Analyses. Inasmuch as this analysis examines a subset of a very large data set, and may be viewed as complementary to other reports which have focused on other aspects of the data (Greenberg et al., 1981), some descriptive statistics gleaned from preliminary analyses of the data will be reported where appropriate.

Using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences; Nie et al., 1975), basic frequency counts and crosstabulations were obtained for all variables.

As indicated above, factor analysis was conducted on certain multiple-measure sets to discover the underlying factor structures for the variables, and indices were constructed as weighted standardized summations of the variable sets.

In an analysis reported by Korzenny and Neuendorf (1981), multiple regressions were conducted to predict forty-one different media exposure and content preference variables. Approximately fifty-four independent variables were included as possible predictors in each of the 41 step-wise regressions, including the seven most frequently endorsed cultural identities.

To test the specific hypotheses herein, discriminant analysis was used to predict each of the twelve cultural identity labels measured. Briefly, discriminant analysis attempts to statistically distinguish between two or more groups of cases through "discriminating variables" which measure characteristics on which the groups are expected to differ. This is done by forming one or more linear combinations of the discriminating variables of the form:

$$D_i = d_{i1}Z_1 + d_{i2}Z_2 + \ldots + d_{ip}Z_p$$

where D_i is the score on discriminant function i, the d's are weighting coefficients derived via the analysis, and the Z's are the standardized values of the p discriminating variables entered in the analysis. The maximum number of discriminant functions derivable is the degrees of freedom for the categorical dependent variable. Thus, in the case of this analysis, for each non-exclusive, dichotomous dependent variable (cultural identity), only one discriminant function may result. Each d is a standardized coefficient which indicates the contribution of the variables z, when standardized, to the prediction of the categorical dependent variable in the same manner that a standardized regression coefficient (beta) may do so for a continuous dependent variable. Statistical tests may measure the success with which the discriminating variables actually

discriminate when combined in the discriminant function (Nie et al., 1975, p. 435). For further discussion of discriminant analysis, see Kerlinger and Pedhazur (1973).

Two sets of discriminant analyses were conducted. First, the prediction of all twelve cultural ID's was attempted for the total sample. Second, the prediction of the seven Hispanic ID's was attempted for those individuals who endorsed at least one Hispanic cultural ID.

RESULTS

The Sample. Questionnaires were completed by 357 fifth-graders and 513 tenth-graders.* The age range for the fifth-graders was 10 to 13 years and for the tenth-graders it was 14 to 19. The sample was nearly equally divided between males and females.

The average number of people in the respondents' households was 5.3. Ninety-five percent reported having a phone in their home. Fifty-one percent reported speaking English and no Spanish, 25% mostly English and some Spanish, 15% English and Spanish about equally, and 9% mostly Spanish and some English. Sixty-eight percent reported reading English and no Spanish, 19% mostly English and some Spanish, 8% English and Spanish about equally, and 5% mostly Spanish and some English.

Fourteen percent of the respondents indicated that the label "Chicáno" was appropriate for them. Two percent endorsed the label "Latino;" 13% the label "Mexican;" 1% the label "Cuban;" 2% the label "Puerto Rican;" 13% the label "Spanish-American;" 24% the label "Mexican-American;" 4% the label "Asian-American;" 35% the label "White (Anglo);" 5% the label "Black;" 8% the label "Native American (American Indian);" and 9% the label "Other." Eighty-seven percent of all respondents endorsed a single label. Seventy-nine percent of the 464 youths who chose at least one Hispanic label chose only a single response. (Of these 368, 19% chose Chicano, 2% Latino, 18% Mexican, 0% Cuban, 1% Puerto Rican, 20% Spanish-American, and 41% Mexican-American.) Ten percent chose two responses, 4% chose three responses, and 7% chose four or more labels.

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* Fourteen respondents reported neither age nor grade.

As selecting one label did not preclude selecting others, the identity variables may be treated as separate variables not perfectly collinear with one another.

Prediction of Media Content Preferences. As indicated earlier, a previous analysis of this data set used step-wise multiple regression to determine which variables predict a wide variety of media content preferences. The nine* most frequently endorsed cultural identity labels were included as possible predictors. Table 1 summarizes the role of each Hispanic and Anglo cultural identity label in predicting content preferences. Only those instances where a label played a significant role (at the $p < .05$ level) in predicting the dependent variable are noted.

One must keep in mind when examining this table that the given cultural identity label is only one of fifty-four predictor variables in each regression, and that the coefficient given indicates the impact of holding that cultural identity versus not holding it for each media behavior indicated. Keep in mind that an individual might hold multiple cultural identities.

The patterns of relationships evident are quite interesting. Briefly, self-designated Chicanos and Mexican-Americans have similar preferences; they seem to be interested in ethnic-oriented music and not to be interested in recreation magazines or classical and country & western records and tapes. Mexicans express a distinct preference for Spanish content in all media. Spanish-Americans show a disinterest in local and Latin news.

Compared with non-Anglos, those self-designated as White (Anglo) express lower preference for Spanish and local news, Saturday television, entertainment magazines, and Black-oriented music.

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* Those cultural identities which were held by less than 5% of the respondents (Latino, Cuban, Puerto Rican) were deleted as independent variables to reduce degrees of freedom used by variables with very little variance.

Table 1

Cultural Identity and Media Content Preferences

	β*	Sig.	Dependent Variable
CHICANO	.11	.001	Preference for features in newspapers
(14%;n=117)	-.08	.005	Preference for sports on TV
	.07	.029	Time spent watching TV on Saturday
	-.10	.001	Preference for recreation magazines
	.08	.010	Preference for Spanish music on radio
	.11	.001	Preference for Black-oriented music on radio
	-.11	.003	Preference for Top 40 music on radio
	.15	.000	Preference for Black-oriented records/ tapes
	-.09	.014	Preference for classical/country & western records/tapes
	.08	.028	Number of English movies seen in last month
MEXICAN	.11	.002	Preference for features in newspapers
(13%;n=111)	.07	.043	Preference for stories about Mexico and Latin America in newspapers
	-.08	.027	Preference for entertainment content on TV
	.15	.000	Preference for Spanish content on TV
	.22	.000	Frequency of viewing Spanish programs on TV
	.08	.010	Preference for action comic books
	.09	.007	Preference for romance/humor comic books
	.16	.000	Number of Spanish magazines read in last week
	.23	.000	Preference for Spanish music on radio
	.22	.000	Preference for Spanish records/tapes
	.24	.000	Preference for Spanish movies
	.22	.000	Number of Spanish movies seen in last month
	.13	.001	Number of Spanish books read in last month

* Standardized multiple regression coefficient

Table 1 (continued)

	β	Sig.	Dependent Variable
MEXICAN-AMERICAN	-.06	.033	Preference for sports on TV
	.07	.049	Frequency of viewing soap operas on TV
(24%;n=207)	-.08	.014	Preference for recreation magazines
	.09	.011	Preference for Spanish music on radio
	-.11	.004	Preference for Top 40 music on radio
	.07	.045	Preference for Spanish records/tapes
	.13	.000	Preference for Black-oriented records/ tapes
	-.08	.029	Preference for classical/country & western records/tapes
SPANISH-AMERICAN	-.08	.017	Preference for local information in newspapers
(13%;n=112)	-.10	.004	Preference for stories about Mexico and Latin America in newspapers
WHITE (ANGLO)	-.09	.006	Preference for local information in newspapers
(35%;n=305)	-.13	.000	Preference for Spanish sections in newspapers
	-.09	.006	Preference for stories about Mexico and Latin America in newspapers
	-.09	.004	Frequency of viewing Saturday cartoons on TV
	-.11	.002	Time spent watching TV on Saturday
	.06	.042	Preference for popculture magazines
	-.08	.026	Preference for recreation magazines
	-.23	.000	Preference for Black-oriented music on radio
	.10	.011	Preference for Top 40 music on radio
	-.23	.000	Preference for Black-oriented records/ tapes

Prediction of Cultural Identity. Tables 2 and 3 summarize the two sets of discriminant analyses which were conducted to address the specific hypotheses posited. Again, only Hispanic and Anglo cultural ID's are deemed pertinent here. The discriminant analyses predicting Latino, Cuban, and Puerto Rican cultural ID's resulted in unstable estimates due to small N, and are therefore also excluded from this presentation. In Table 2 it may be seen that all of the cultural labels could be significantly predicted by a linear combination of the independent variables, as indicated by the significance of the final Wilk's lambda shown at the bottom of each column. (The Wilk's lambda represents the proportion of variance unaccounted for by the discriminant function, or 1 - (canonical correlation)^2.) Each canonical correlation presented is that between all independent variables and the sole dependent variable.

Table 2 also indicates which of the discriminant coefficients are significant in contributing to the prediction of each cultural identity. These coefficients are similar to standardized multiple regression coefficients, and are interpretable in a like manner.

The patterns evident in this table are quite interesting in terms of the descriptive pictures they paint of the various racial groups included in the sample. The most powerful discriminant function is that for the label "White (Anglo)." Thirty-two percent of the variance in the endorsement of this label is accounted for by the discriminant function which is a linear composite of the 30 independent variables. Those youths who consider themselves White (Anglo) are more likely than those who do not to speak and read English, have a small household, read few comic books, listen to few records and tapes, watch less TV, not watch TV for social learning, assign low believability to TV, perceive TV minorities as not real, and perceive media Mexican American portrayals as positive.

Table 2

Discriminant Analyses of Cultural Identity Labels for Total Sample

	CHICANO	MEXICAN	SPANISH-AMERICAN	MEXICAN-AMERICAN	WHITE (ANGLO)
LANGSPK	-.575***	-.272***	-.708***	-.514***	.671***
LANGREAD	-.292***	-.250***	-.159***	-.083**	.242***
HSHOLD	-.044	.451***	.112*	.371***	-.358***
COMICS	-.029	.150**	-.094	-.110	-.084**
MAGS	-.048	.068	.102	-.294*	.091
BOOKS	-.046	-.156	-.016	.080	-.026
NPDAYS	.096	-.155*	-.140	.137	-.015
RADHRS	.009	-.128**	-.027	.141	-.013
RECHRS	.319***	-.060	-.405**	.077	-.137*
MOVIES	.100*	.114	.018	-.252	.110
BSASBBTV	.333**	.016	.027	.388***	-.250**
READF1	-.322*	.024	.104	-.221	.077
READF2	.230	.021**	-.035	.160*	.008
READF3	.107	-.012	.138	.138*	.005
WATCHF1	-.245	-.095	-.049	-.146	.141
WATCHF2	-.224	.307***	-.060	.113*	-.148**
WATCHF3	.062	-.051	-.215	.114	-.059
WATCHF4	-.020	.086**	.002	-.126	.114
TRUE1	-.058	-.045	-.093	-.072	.047
TRUE2	-.094	.085	-.062	.048	-.206*
TRUE3	.034	.095	.151	-.106	.068
TALKF1	.019	.099	.007	.118	.033
TALKF2	-.042	.027	-.037	-.202	.068
PARMEDF1	.009	-.063	.156*	-.057	-.093
PARMEDF2	-.036	.081**	-.080	.034	.064
PARMEDF3	-.101	-.261	.127	.125	.122
REALF1	.248*	.195***	-.162*	.179*	-.301***
REALF2	-.129	-.098	.188	-.128	.090
MEXF1	.197	-.154	.066	.001	-.109
MEXF2	.012	.158***	.159*	-.052	.032**
Final Wilk's Lambda	.8518	.8443	.8838	.8590	.6809
Sig.	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000	.0000
Can. Corr.	.3850	.3945	.3408	.3619	.5649

* = p < .05; ** = p < .01; *** = p < .001
See Appendix A for key on variable names.

Table 3

Discriminant Analyses of Cultural Identity Labels for Hispanics Only

	CHICANO	MEXICAN	SPANISH-AMERICAN	MEXICAN-AMERICAN
LANGSPK	-.271	.015	-.249	.431**
LANDREAD	-.200	-.171	-.050	.233*
HSHOLD	-.225	.480***	-.137	.132
COMICS	-.098	.188*	-.206	-.317
MAGS	.030	.130	.234	-.275
BOOKS	-.081	-.187	.012	.169
NPDAYS	.224	-.100	-.107	.391
RADHRS	.045*	-.215**	-.091	.233
TVCHRS	.451***	-.059	-.649**	.174
MOVIES	.154*	.143	.149	-.401*
BSASBBTV	.386	-.076	-.116	.328
READF1	-.336	.032	.226	-.144
READF2	.274	-.009*	-.168	.252
READF3	.009	-.142	.026	-.007
WATCHF1	-.251	-.069	.130	-.053
WATCHF2	-.331	.423**	-.182	.100
WATCHF3	.118	.028	-.249	.227
WATCHF4	.028	.058	-.014	-.159
TRUE1	-.116	-.048	-.130	-.008
TRUE2	-.190*	.056	-.199	-.065
TRUE3	.081	.198	.230	-.188
TALKF1	-.088	.112	-.002	-.087
TALKF2	-.067	.133	-.088	-.246
PARMEDF1	.042	-.062	.275*	-.032
PARMEDF2	-.026	.107*	-.110	.189
PARMEDF3	-.065	-.408	.232	.169
REALF1	.223	.173*	.100	.018
REALF2	-.098	-.106	.349	-.114
MEXF1	.214	-.238*	.139	-.054
MEXF2	.059	.112*	.300	-.040
Final Wilk's lambda	.8821	.8623	.9145	.8756
Sig.	.0804	.0161	.4924	.0492
Can. Corr.	.3434	.3711	.2923	.3527

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$

See Appendix A for key on variable names.

Endorsement of the label "Chicano" is significantly predicted in the total sample by a linear combination of the 30 variables, with 15% of its variance explained by the discriminant function. Significant contributors to this prediction are not speaking English, not reading English, listening to records/tapes, going to movies, not reading newspapers for news (all in support of the hypotheses); and perceiving TV minorities as realistic, and watching television (all counter to the hypotheses).

Endorsement of a "Mexican" cultural identity is significantly predicted in the total sample with over 15% of the variance explained by the discriminant function. Significant predictors are not speaking English, not reading English, having a large household, reading comics, not listening to radio, and reading the newspaper for escape (all in support of the hypotheses); and watching TV for social learning, watching TV for advice, parental rulemaking for TV viewing, perceived reality of minorities on TV, and perceived positive images of Mexican Americans on TV (all counter to the hypotheses).

A "Spanish-American" cultural ID is significant predictors are not listening to records, parental encouragement of reading, perceived reality of minorities on TV, and perceived positive image of Mexican Americans on TV (all in support of the hypotheses); and not speaking English, not reading English, and having a large household (all counter to the hypotheses).

Endorsement of "Mexican-American" as a cultural ID is significantly predicted with 13% of the variance explained. Significant predictors are watching TV, reading the newspaper for social learning, watching TV for social learning, and perceived reality of minorities on TV (all in support of the hypotheses); and not speaking English, not reading English, having a large household, and reading the newspaper for escape (all counter to the hypotheses).

This table does not, however, address the additional question which is also of interest to this author at this time, i.e., how are the cultural identities of individuals of like or similar ethnic backgrounds differentially predicted from media use variables? This question is addressed by the results shown in Table 3.

Table 3 enumerates the results of a discriminant analysis which included only those youths who endorsed at least one Hispanic label. As might be expected, the significances of the discriminant functions are reduced somewhat by excluding non-Hispanics from the analysis, but two of the four labels remain significantly predicted: Mexican and Mexican-American. In addition, the prediction of the endorsement of the label Chicano is near-significant ($p = .08$).

Again, the significant individual contributors are indicated in the table. Endorsement of a "Mexican" cultural ID among Hispanics only is significantly predicted with about 14% of the variance explained by the discriminant function. Significant individual predictors are having a large household, reading comic books, not listening to radio, and not reading the newspaper for escape (all in support of the hypotheses); and watching TV for social learning, parental rulemaking for TV viewing, perceived reality of minorities on TV, and perceived positive images of Mexican Americans on TV (all counter to the hypotheses).

The other cultural ID which was significantly predicted by its discriminant function, "Mexican-American," had about 12.5% of its variance accounted for. Significant predictors are speaking English, reading English, and not attending movies (all in support of the hypotheses).

DISCUSSION.

From the results presented, it may be seen that the overall hypotheses (H_1/H_2) that significant predictions of cultural identity would be possible were in general supported. For the full sample, the hypothesis was strongly supported. For Hispanics only, the hypothesis obtained limited support; only Spanish-American was not fairly well discriminated. Apparently, those identifying themselves as Spanish-Americans do not differ substantially from the average non-Spanish-American on the variables examined. Partial support for the numerous individual hypotheses was obtained. The nature of this partial support deserves further discussion. Table 4 provides a summary of the type of support obtained for each hypothesis.

First, it is apparent that significant discrimination of cultural identity is possible, even among Hispanics only. Obviously, Hispanics are not a homogenous group, either in terms of the cultural label(s) they prefer or in terms of the media behaviors they report. The results of the multiple regressions which were reported as ancillary to the proposed model show that media content preferences are also different among the various cultural identities. Thus, Hispanics are not a single racial or ethnic group whose needs may be met by one single type of media content. This is of course an important consideration for broadcasters attempting to meet the needs of the Hispanic minority audience. Hopefully this and future research will emphasize the diversity which exists among the individuals known as Hispanic Americans.

As noted above, hypotheses H_1/H_2 obtained substantial support. Mixed, but in general positive, support was obtained for the hypothesis that endorsement of more Americanized cultural identities are predicted by exposure to mainstream media (H_3). The only finding which was counter to this hypothesis was the significant contribution of watching TV to endorsement of the non-Americanized ID,

Table 4

Levels of Support for Hypotheses

	Total sample				Hispanics only			
	CHICANO	MEXICAN	SPANISH-AMERICAN	MEXICAN-AMERICAN	CHICANO	MEXICAN	SPANISH-AMERICAN	MEXICAN-AMERICAN
H_1/H_2	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	+
H_3	-	+	0	+	NA	+	NA	0
H_4	+	+	+	0	NA	+	NA	+
H_5	+	-	0	+	NA	-	NA	0
H_6	0	+	0	-	NA	+	NA	0
H_7	0	0	0	0	NA	0	NA	0
H_8	0	0	0	0	NA	0	NA	0
H_9	0	-	+	0	NA	-	NA	0
H_{10}	-	-	+	+	NA	-	NA	0
H_{11}	0	-	+	0	NA	-	NA	0
H_{12}	+	+	-	-	NA	+	NA	+

+ = significant support, partial or full
- = significant counter-support, partial or full
0 = no significant findings
NA = not applicable; overall prediction not significant

Note: There were no instances of mixed significant findings.

Chicano, in the total sample. It is possible that total TV viewing may not be the crucial variable in this instance; one may need to know the types of content viewed to determine whether the hypothesis does indeed hold for the Chicano identity. Chicanos may, on the other hand, view mainstream TV content yet reject it or fail to incorporate it for their own identity formation.

Substantial support was obtained for the hypothesis that endorsement of a more Americanized ID is predicted by non-exposure to specialized media (H_4). Apparently, Chicanos and Mexicans are avid fans of specialized media, while Spanish-Americans and Mexican-Americans are more likely to reject those media. This of course has implications for the efforts of those trying to reach and meet the needs of Hispanics through magazines, newsletters, books, and films. Consideration must be made of the diverse cultural identities and their relationships with media habits.

Mixed support and counter-support was obtained for the hypothesis that Americanized ID's are predicted by the functions of using the mainstream media for information/learning (H_5). The instances of significant counter-support all involve the endorsement of a Mexican cultural identity; Mexicans are more likely to watch TV for social learning (in both the total sample and the Hispanics-only group) and to watch TV for advice (in the total sample only). It is possible that those who identify themselves as Mexican have been in the U.S. a relatively short period of time (this was not measured), and are in the process of perhaps attempting to assimilate into the U.S. culture to some extent, using TV, when they watch it, as a learning tool. Mexican-Americans also report using TV to learn, but may simply be a temporal extension of the Mexican situation, having already learned and assimilated to a greater extent. This is not expected to be true for the "third culture" Chicanos. More information is needed before assessment of this is possible.

Slight and mixed support was obtained for the hypothesis that endorsement of an Americanized ID is predicted by not using mainstream media for escape/entertainment (H_6). The finding which was counter to this hypothesis was that, in the total sample, Mexican-Americans are more likely than non-Mexican-Americans to read the newspaper for escape.

Two hypotheses showed no support or counter-support whatsoever: The hypothesis that an Americanized ID is predicted by credibility for the mainstream media (H_7) and the hypothesis that an Americanized ID is predicted by discussing mainstream media content with others (H_8). These influences seem to wash out as possible predictors -- these variables do not differentiate the various Hispanic cultural ID's.

H_9, the hypothesis that endorsement of a more Americanized ID will be predicted by efforts by others to mediate the respondents' mainstream media use, achieved more counter-support than support. All instances of counter-support involved those with a Mexican cultural ID. In both the total sample and for Hispanics only, Mexicans were likely to be the recipients of parental rulemaking for TV viewing. This does seem typical of a rather authoritarian culture such as that of Mexico, and this finding may be an indicator of cultural proximity to Mexico.

H_{10}, the hypothesis that endorsement of Americanized ID's is predicted by perceived reality of mainstream media content, also achieved more counter-support than support. The pattern that emerges here is that for the total sample, all four Hispanic ID's were predicted by perceived reality of minorities only on TV. Thus, Hispanics are more likely to perceive TV minority portrayals as real than are non-Hispanics, and the Hispanic ID's are not differentiated in this regard. This is surprising in light of the stereotypic portrayals generally found on TV. It is unclear whether TV does show minority reality in

the minds of Hispanics, Hispanics use minority portrayals as models, or Hispanics are so pleased or surprised at seeing the infrequent minority portrayals that they tend to "over-identify" with them.

Similarly, H_{11}, the hypothesis that endorsement is predicted by perceived positive character portrayals on mainstream media, received counter-support in the case of Mexicans. Again, Mexicans break the hypothesized mold to report greater perceived positive portrayals of Mexican Americans on TV. And again, it is possible that the culturally displaced (and more recently arrived?) Mexicans are so glad to see characters similar to themselves, that favorable affect results.

That endorsement of Americanized ID's will be predicted by the reading and speaking of English and by fewer other Hispanics in the household (H_{12}) was well supported as a hypothesis. Counter-support was found for Spanish-Americans and Mexican-Americans in the total sample, but this is logically explained. For these two ID's greater use of English and a small household were expected, and this was found for Mexican-Americans in the Hispanic-only sample. The total sample included many Anglos, however, who would obviously use English a great deal, and therefore discrimination of endorsement of these two ID's from the other Hispanic ID's along these dimensions in a sample of this nature was not forthcoming.

Distinct patterns of media behaviors do emerge for the various cultural identity groupings. The information displayed in Tables 2 and 3 is a good source of data for forming profiles of Chicanos, Mexicans, etc., in terms of media use, functions, and perceptions. These profiles did not support all the individual hypotheses, with several general considerations worthy of note:

1. The mainstream/specialized categorization of media may be overly simplistic. Obviously, a small amount of Spanish-language, specialized

TV content is available, and some magazines are quite general and broad in scope. Greater discrimination in the measurement of media exposure would enable the researcher to assess this possibility and to possibly enhance his predictive power for cultural identity.

2. The categorization of cultural identities as "Americanized" and "non-Americanized" may also be overly simplistic. There is little firm evidence at this time to guide us as to which identities are Americanized and which are not. Peñalosa provides one model, theorists of cultural integration (e.g., Blubaugh and Pennington, 1976) provide another, and many alternatives are possible. Even within the small body of previous research on cultural identity and media behaviors, divergent operational treatments of cultural labels are evident: Dunn identified "traditional" Hispanics as Mexican and Mexicano, and "non-traditional" Hispanics as Mexican-American; Zaffirini identified "traditional" Hispanics as Latin American, Spanish American, Spanish-speaking, and "non-traditional" Hispanics as Mexican American, Chicano, and Brown. These various methods of categorizing cultural identities for Hispanics are not all congruent: For example, Peñalosa would put Mexican Americans and Chicanos in quite different groupings, whereas Zaffirini conceptualized them both as "non-traditional."

While these two possibilities may help explain why support for the individual hypotheses was mixed, they also point out the importance of conducting studies such as the one described herein. We do not know at the present time where the various and non-exclusive Hispanic American cultural identities fit in terms of degree of Americanization, degree of traditionalness, etc. With the results of this study, however, we now do have some information as to where they fit in terms of media behaviors. As a baseline for further inquiry into the role of cultural identity such information is indispensable.

More speculatively, future researchers may find that cultural identities may not lie simply along a continuum of Americanization, or tradition. Many multidimensional factors may go into describing what a Chicano, a Latino, or a Mexican-American is. And, such identities are not mutually exclusive; more complexity in a model of cultural identity is obviously in order. By conducting research of the type described herein, we may begin to catalogue possible causal components which go into the formation of cultural identities.

There exists at least one other caution which must be kept in mind when attempting to assess cultural identities. The identity(ies) that an individual holds may vary from time to time, geographical area to geographical area, or social role to social role. While such variability may seem insurmountable, greater specification when obtaining measurements of cultural identities will aid in the evaluation of such a possibility.

Several cautions specific to this study are in order. The sample includes youths only, thus limiting its scope and generalizability. Perhaps youths are affected more, or less, than adults by media exposure. Perhaps the ranges and kinds of cultural identities held by Hispanic youths are different than those for their adult counterparts. In this vein, it would be useful to examine different age groups or to conduct a longitudinal study to determine the relationships of media behaviors to cultural identity over time.

Also, the fact that this study was conducted in only five cities does hamper its generalizability. Yet the study's size, scope, and precision make it among the most comprehensive studies of this type to date.

The measurement of cultural ID as nonexclusive label endorsements has possible disadvantages as well as the obvious advantages discussed earlier. For example, cultural ID in this case may be treated as a single variable only if a complex system of categories is used (e.g., 1=Mexican only, 2=Mexican and

Chicano only, 3=Mexican, Chicano, and Anglo only, 4=Chicano only, etc.) Perhaps measuring label endorsements as exclusive, allowing for the discriminant predictive analysis of all labels simultaneously, would increase our discriminant power.

Also, we do not know for certain the causal nature or the causal ordering of the factors shown to be related in this study. There has been partial support for the idea that media exposure may contribute to cultural identity, and there has been some support for the idea that cultural identity may contribute to media content preferences. But no evidence is forthcoming that these variables are related causally in the order indicated.

Finally, the following question needs to be addressed: So what if we can predict cultural identity? The answer to this lies most particularly in the linkage number 5 on the figure on page 12.* Theorists and researchers have indicated (Penalosa, 1970; Korzenny, Armstrong, and Neuendorf, 1979) that the cultural identity(ies) that an individual holds will influence the way he thinks about himself, the way he interacts with others, and the behaviors he exhibits. Violations of his norms and expectations concerning his cultural identity may result in conflict or misunderstanding. For example, many of the Hispanic Americans residing in Lansing, Michigan, would take great offense at being treated like a militant Chicano, and at even being called "Chicano." Their own cultural identities are not congruent with what they would expect a Chicano to be like, and interpersonal conflict may result.

More generally, our cultural identities may be an important part of our existence in helping to determine how we view ourselves and our roles in American society.

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* The possible impact of cultural ID on social, political, and other behaviors.

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Appendix A

Items Entered in Discriminant Analyses

Items Entered in Discriminant Analyses

LANGSPK	Speaking of English	
LANGREAD	Reading of English	
HSHOLD	Number of people in household	
COMICS	Number of comics read in last week	
MAGS	Number of magazines read in last week	
BOOKS	Number of non-school books read in last month	
NPDAYS	Number of days read newspaper in last week	
RADHRS	Time spent listening to radio per day	
RECHRS	Time spent playing tapes/records per day	
MOVIES	Number of movies seen in last month	
BSASBBTV	Time spent watching TV per day	
READF1	*Reading the newspaper for news	Item Set A
READF2	*Reading the newspaper for escape	
READF3	*Reading the newspaper for social learning	
WATCHF1	*Watching TV for escape	Item Set B
WATCHF2	*Watching TV for social learning	
WATCHF3	*Watching TV for news	
WATCHF4	*Watching TV for advice	
TRUE1	Credibility for newspapers	
TRUE2	Credibility for TV	
TRUE3	Credibility for radio	
TALKF1	*Talk about newspaper content	Item Set C
TALKF2	*Talk about TV content	
PARMEDF1	*Parental encouragement of reading	Item Set D
PARMEDF2	*Parental rulemaking for TV viewing	
PARMEDF3	*Parental co-viewing of TV	
REALF1	*Perceived reality of minorities on TV	Item Set E
REALF2	*Perceived reality of Anglos on TV	
MEXF1	*Perceived negative image of Mexican Americans on TV	Item Set F
MEXF2	*Perceived positive image of Mexican Americans on TV	

* Indicates an index created through factor analysis of a set of items. All others are single-item measures. The items which went into the creation of each bracketed set of indices are shown on the following pages.

Item Set A: Respondents were asked how much each of a number of statements was "like" them-- "a lot like me," "a little like me," or "not like me." The statements dealt with reasons why young people read a newspaper:

I read the paper because I want to know what's going on.
I read the paper because it's funny.
I read so I can learn to do new things.
I read because it excites me.
I read because it relaxes me.
I read because it cheers me up.
I read so I can forget about my problems.
I read to look at the pictures.
I read for the local news.
I read for the national news.
I read to get advice on problems.
I read to find out about new places and people.
I read to get the headlines.
I read to find out more about things I heard about.
I read to find out what's happening to people in town.
I read because it gives me things to talk about.
I don't read because it's boring.

Item Set B: A second set of statements with the same response categories as Item Set A dealt with reasons why young people watch TV:

I watch TV because it excites me.
I watch TV so I can learn how to do new things.
I watch TV because it relaxes me.
I watch TV because it teaches me things I don't learn in school.
I watch because it shows me how other people deal with the same problems I have.
I watch TV because everyone else does.
I watch because it helps me know how I'm supposed to act.
I watch TV when I'm lonely.
I watch TV so I can forget about my problems.
I watch TV for the local news.
I watch TV to get advice on problems.
I watch TV because it cheers me up.
I watch TV to find out more about things I heard about.
I watch TV because it gives me things to talk about.
I don't watch because it's boring.

Item Set C: A number of items asked the respondents how often they talk with others about newspaper and TV content, "6-7 days a week," "3-5 days," "1-2 days," or "less":

How often do you talk with friends about things you see on TV?
How often do you talk with a parent about things you see on TV?
How often do you talk with friends about things you read in the paper?
How often do you talk with a parent about things you read in the paper?
How often does a parent talk with you about things they see on TV?
How often does a parent talk with you about things they read in the paper?

Item Set D: A set of items attempted to tap the level of parental mediation of media in the respondent's home:

Are there any shows on television your parents won't let you watch because they don't think the stories or the characters are good for you? (A LOT, SEVERAL, A FEW, ONE OR TWO, NO)

On school days, how late can you stay up to watch television? (8, 8:30, 9, 9:30, 10, 10:30, 11, LATER)

Compared to most kids your age, are there more rules about TV in your house, less rules, or is it about the same as your friends? (MORE RULES, ABOUT THE SAME, LESS RULES)

Has a parent ever told you that you're watching too much television? (YES, NO)

The following items all had the response categories "very often," "often," "not much," and "not at all":

When you watch TV, how often is one or both of your parents watching with you?
If you're watching a show with a parent, how often do you talk with him or her about the show?
How often does a parent tell you there are certain shows you should watch?
How often does a parent tell you to read something in the newspaper?
How often does a parent tell you to read something in a magazine?

Item Set E: A number of items asked the respondents to indicate how real to life certain TV portrayals are, "very real," "quite real," "a little real," or "not real":

People on TV
Places on TV
Young people on TV
Anglos on TV
Mexican Americans on TV
Blacks on TV
Mexican American Families on TV
Anglo families on TV

Item Set F: A set of items was presented to the respondents which asked about their perceptions of how Mexican Americans are portrayed in the media, "very often," "quite often," "not very often," or "not at all":

How often do the local newspapers have stories about Mexican Americans doing good things?
How often do the local newspapers have stories about Mexican Americans doing bad things?
How often does the local TV news have stories about Mexican Americans doing good things?
How often does the local TV news have stories about Mexican Americans doing bad things?
How often do the shows you watch on TV have Mexican Americans in them doing good things?
How often do the shows you watch on TV have Mexican Americans in them doing bad things?