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Comparison of Mexican-American and Anglo-American Attitudes Toward Money

This study compared attitudes toward money of Mexican- and Anglo-American consumers. Based on the Hispanic/Mexican-American literature, hypotheses were generated for four dimensions of a money attitude scale (MAS) developed by Yamauchi and Templer (1982). Mexican-Americans were found to have lower scores on a Retention/Time dimension that reflects willingness to delay spending money to achieve gratification. Contrary to previous studies, Mexican-Americans were found to have lower scores on a Quality dimension, calling into question an assumption found in much of the literature that Hispanic consumers prefer high prestige goods/services. Hypotheses pertaining to Power/Prestige and Distrust/Anxiety dimensions were also not confirmed suggesting further reservations about Hispanic consumer characterizations found in the consumer behavior literature.

A slow but steadily increasing body of literature is developing regarding the understanding of Hispanics as an emerging component of the U.S. consumer population. While it is unrealistic to characterize Hispanics as homogeneous in cultural or even in linguistic background, it has been of interest to researchers to look for behaviors which might distinguish Hispanics as consumers. A number of factors have been evaluated as particularly salient in Hispanic consumer behavior, including considerations of price and quality, brand loyalty, and propensity to shop (Saegert and Hoover 1985; Saegert, Hoover, and Hilger 1985; Wilkes and Valencia 1985) and these have been investigated as they relate to levels of acculturation (Wallendorf and Reilly 1983) and strength of ethnic identity (Hoyer and Deshpande 1982).

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Investigation of such variables perhaps proceeds from certain stereotypes of Hispanics vis-à-vis those of other ethnic groups (e.g., North Americans of Northern European ancestry) that focus on the presence of such cultural traits as degree of fatalism and willingness to delay gratification. Along these lines, an area that might be said to relate to cultural traits is Hispanic attitudes toward money. This was suggested by Peñaloza and Gilly when they wrote: "In addition to differences in purchasing patterns [between Hispanic and Anglo-Americans], there may also be cultural differences in the symbolic nature and perceived value of goods and services" (1986, 294).

Recent investigations have uncovered an association between money and personality traits such as sensitivity and emotional stability (Bailey and Gustafson 1991) and compulsive behavior (Hanley and Wilhelm 1992) and between money and sociodemographic variables such as income (Tang 1992), education (Furnham 1984), and age (Bailey and Lown 1993). For example, financial planners believe that personality traits and income constraints prevent many individuals from becoming "productive" clients for many financial services including tax planning, retirement, estate planning, insurance, and securities investments. Similarly, financial counselors recognize that many money management behaviors are the symptoms of deep-rooted attitudes (Mason 1992).

From a consumer affairs standpoint, it is of interest to know if a relatively close-knit ethnic group such as Hispanics might display different attitudes toward money than Anglo-Americans, especially in light of characterizations of Anglo-Americans as unduly preoccupied with material wealth (O'Guinn, Lee, and Faber 1986; Peñaloza 1994). In an applied context, understanding Hispanics' attitudes toward money might be useful to certain government institutions that attempt to assist minority consumer education regarding the administration of money and the purchase of financial services such as investments, insurance, banking, and credit.

The present study used a modified version of MAS—money attitude scale (Gresham and Fontenot 1989)—to compare samples of one U.S. Hispanic subgroup, namely Mexican-Americans, with Anglo-Americans. Mexican-Americans constitute by far the largest representation of Hispanics in the United States, have the longest tradition, and are the fastest growing in the country (Skerry 1993) compared to other U.S. Hispanic subgroups (i.e., Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Central and South Americans). They represent a par-

ticularly interesting subgroup because of their longstanding exposure to the "dominant" host culture (Lucas and Stone 1994). The measurement scale in this study consists of subscales that allow comparisons of four money attitude dimensions that might distinguish between Mexican- and Anglo-Americans. Empirical differences that might be found between the two groups can be examined for strategy implications for both policy makers and service providers regarding Hispanic consumers as prospects for financial services.

MONEY ATTITUDES

Conceptualization of Money Attitudes

Modern money (e.g., dollars, marks, and pesos) represents a prominent feature of most market economies and has been well established as a powerful motivator of behavior by economists (Finn 1992), anthropologists (Crump 1992), sociologists (Baker and Jimeron 1992), and psychoanalysts (Doyle 1992; Goldberg and Lewis 1978; Gurney 1988; Lindgren 1980; Thierry 1992). In spite of their different approaches to understanding money behavior, these investigators agree that much of money behavior is hardly rational; rather, it is the result of powerful and often unrecognized (emotional) forces that reside deep in the psyches of individuals.

Many conceptual studies of money attitudes have emphasized this psychological significance. Among the most frequently cited investigations of the symbolic meaning of money, several stand out. For example, Wernimont and Fitzpatrick (1972) concluded that individuals apply a variety of meanings to money including failure and social acceptability. Similarly, Goldberg and Lewis (1978) noted that the most common meanings include the ability to purchase power, security, love, and freedom.

Lindgren (1980) and Gurney (1988) focused on the relationship between self and money. Lindgren (1980) found that money integrates into people's lives and motivates comparative behavior between self and others in very subtle ways. Comparisons can be made on levels of social power, quality, control, and freedom. Gurney (1988), like Lindgren, made a connection between money—(uses) for power, security, quality, and love—and self, suggesting that "money attitudes" begin in childhood as we observe our parents' behavior and remain in adulthood, affecting all behaviors concerning money.

Belk and Wallendorf (1990) proposed money as a projectible field onto which meanings are transferred by consumers as they attempt to use and make sense of their object world. Money has a profane life as well as a sacred life; sometimes it serves good and sometimes it serves evil. Whichever money provides, the authors identified three meanings transferred to money: power, distrust, and love.

To Lane (1991), money provides a convenient way to reduce the number of schemata—alternative plans and approaches—necessary to grapple with a problem. Thus, money represents the things consumers are worried about, including personal inadequacy, shameful failure, moral evil, social unacceptability, suspicious behavior, and comfortable security. Finally, the social psychologist Krueger wrote, “Money is probably the most emotionally meaningful object in contemporary life; only food and sex are its close competitors as common carriers of such strong and diverse feelings, significances, and strivings” (1986, 3).

There seems to be a general consensus among scholars that attitudes toward money are a complex multidimensional concept and that they elicit both positive (e.g., freedom, love, quality, etc.) and negative (e.g., distrust, inadequacy, failure, etc.) feelings from people. Therefore, it appears that for many consumers, projection of the emotional and psychological values of money far exceeds its relative economic (rational) value.

Empirical Studies in Money Attitudes

Empirical research on the psychosocial aspects of money has focused primarily on the influence of demographic and personality variables (Table 1). For example, using a modified semantic differential scale, Wernimont and Fitzpatrick (1972) found values concerning money differ across work experiences, socioeconomic status, and gender. In another sociodemographic study, Yamauchi and Templer, who developed the original MAS scale, claimed that “(attitudes toward money) are essentially independent of a person’s income” (1982, 528). In contrast, Furnham (1984) found differences in money attitudes across income groups. His results showed that people in lower income groups were both more obsessed by money and more likely to use money for power. Furnham also found differences in gender, age, and education levels. Findings showed that females are more conservative and security conscious than males, that younger

TABLE 1
Empirical Studies: Methodological Characteristics and Demographic and Personality Factors that Do and Do Not Influence Money Attitudes

Empirical Studies	Scale Used	Sample Size	Subjects	Location	Factors that Influence Money Attitudes	Factors that Do Not Influence Money Attitudes
Wernimont and Fitzpatrick (1972)	Modified Semantic Differential (MSD)	533	College students, engineers, religious sisters, etc.	Large U.S. Mid-western City	Work experience, socioeconomic level and gender	
Yamauchi and Tempier (1982)	Money Attitude Scale (MAS)	300	Adults from different professions	Los Angeles and Fresno, CA		Income does not affect money attitudes
Furnham (1984)	Money Beliefs and Behavior Scale (MBBS)	256	College students	England, Scotland, and Wales	Income, gender, age, and education	
Bailey and Gustafson (1986)	Money Beliefs and Behavior Scale	NA	College students	U.S. Southwestern City	Gender	
Gresham and Fontenot (1989)	Modified Money Attitude Scale	557	College students and their parents	U.S. Southwestern Cities	Gender	
Bailey and Gustafson (1991)	Modified Money Beliefs and Behavior Scale	472	College students	U.S. Southwestern City	Sensitivity and emotional stability	
Hamley and Wilhelm (1992)	Money Beliefs and Behavior Scale	143	NA	Phoenix, Tucson, Denver, and Detroit	Compulsive behavior	
Tang (1992)	Money Ethic Scale (MES)	769	College students, faculty, managers, etc.	Middle Tennessee City	Age, income, work ethic, social, political, and religious values	

TABLE 1 (continued)

Empirical Studies	Scale Used	Sample Size	Subjects	Location	Factors that Influence Money Attitudes	Factors that Do Not Influence Money Attitudes
Tang (1993)	Money Ethic Scale	68 and 249	College students	Taiwan	National origin	
Bailey and Lown (1993)	Money in the Past and Future Scale	654	College students, their relatives and other professionals	Western U.S. States	Age	
Bailey <i>et al.</i> (1994)	Money Beliefs and Behavior Scale	344, 291, and 328	Employed adults related to college students	Arkansas and Utah, U.S.; Victoria and New South Wales, Australia; Vancouver and British Columbia, Canada	Geographical location	

NA = Not Available

people tend to use money more as a means of power than older people, and that less educated people tend to be more obsessed with money than the better educated.

Similarly, Bailey and Gustafson (1986) and Gresham and Fontenot (1989) confirmed the impact of gender on money attitudes. Gresham and Fontenot (1989) found that men scored higher than women along Power/Prestige, Distrust/Anxiety, and Quality money attitude dimensions. However, the two groups did not show any differences regarding their financial preparation for the future (Retention/Time).

Bailey and Gustafson (1991) found that two of 16 personality factors (Emotional Stability and Sensitivity Toward Others) were the most likely to predict three money attitude dimensions, Obsession, Retention, and Inadequacy. Similarly, Hanley and Wilhelm (1992) found that compulsive spenders have lower self-esteem and scored higher on the obsession, power, and inadequacy dimensions of a money attitude scale.

Both the Tang (1992) and Bailey and Lown (1993) studies found associations between age and attitudes toward money. Also, Tang's (1993) results showed that income, work ethic, and social, political, and religious values have a strong influence in how people perceive money. In a subsequent study, Tang (1993) found differences and similarities in their attitudes toward money between a sample of Taiwanese students and a sample of American workers. However, Tang's (1993) results may be equivocal as his analysis compared two dramatically unequal samples (68 versus 249) and did not control for important sources of variation identified in previous studies such as income and age. Finally, some findings suggest that people with similar historical and economic background but different nationality (i.e., Americans, Australians, and Canadians) differ in attitudes toward money (Bailey *et al.* 1994).

From this review of the empirical literature it is clear that key sociodemographic variables show definite relationships to money attitudes: income, gender, age, and education, although income shows still inconclusive results (Yamauchi and Templer 1982). At least one study (Tang 1993) points to cultural background (national origin), as an important indicator of money attitudes. However, it is of note that no attempts have been made to establish relationships between cultural background variables (e.g., ethnic group and minority status) and money attitudes. This is so despite the numerous

occasions in which the literature suggests such a relationship, for example:

- Cultural influences . . . play an important part in shaping the individual [attitude toward money] . . . some [minority] individuals apparently turn their backs on the culture of their heritage and make a satisfactory adjustment to a culture that is radically different from the one they grew up in (Goldberg and Lewis 1978, 54).
- Some of the psychological factors [of money] derive from the economic experiences people have, but most of them are produced by the norms and expectations of others of the same [minority] class (Lindgren 1980, 111).
- The symbolic meaning of money is determined by our cultural background, religion, attitudes of parents and teachers, and our short- and long-range goals (Gurney 1988, 59).

Thus, this study is a first step in exploring such possible relationships. The following section develops these relationships into four hypotheses by contrasting two ethnic groups' attitudes toward money.

Hypotheses of Mexican-American Attitudes Toward Money

Based on information from the social science literature about the general attitudes and values of Mexican-Americans, several hypotheses can be developed around four money attitude dimensions developed by Yamauchi and Templer (1982)—Power/Prestige, Retention/Time, Distrust/Anxiety, and Quality—and modified by Gresham and Fontenot (1989).

Money's predominant symbolic dimension, Power/Prestige, involves status seeking, competitiveness, external recognition, and acquisition of material goods. High scorers place greater importance on the use of money as a means to impress and influence others and as a symbol of success (Yamauchi and Templer 1982). According to some studies, Hispanics are associated with higher levels of interdependence, conformity, and a readiness to be influenced by the family (Bellinger and Valencia 1982; Moore 1970; Peñaloza and Gilly 1986) and others (Marín and Triandis 1985). This is in contrast to Anglo-Americans, who are consistently said to be individualistic and prefer confrontational and superordinated relationships (Triandis *et*

al. 1984). This family orientation attitude by Hispanics has been said to be particularly true of Mexicans (Alvirez and Bean 1976; Bohon, Singer, and Santos 1993; Hoyer and Deshpande 1982; Keefe 1984; Moore 1970), perhaps as a function of emphasis on family values by Spanish Catholicism (Fuentes 1992). Thus, the authors propose the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1: Mexican-Americans will have lower scores than Anglo-Americans on the Power/Prestige scale.

The second dimension, Retention/Time, measures behaviors and attitudes which require planning and preparing for the future. Individuals with higher Retention/Time scores hold attitudes that include placing value on the use and administration of money to prepare for the future (Yamauchi and Templer 1982). Some researchers have suggested that Hispanics have present-oriented attitudes and are more flexible toward time than Anglo-Americans (Hall 1983; Holtzman, Díaz-Guerrero, and Swartz 1975; Marín 1987). This means that Hispanics may be less able to delay gratification or to plan for future acquisitions. Specifically, Holtzman, Díaz-Guerrero, and Swartz (1975) found that Mexicans estimate greater time to be required for performing tasks compared to Anglo-Americans, suggesting differences in time perception across the two cultures. Therefore the following hypothesis is proposed.

Hypothesis 2: Mexican-Americans will have lower scores than Anglo-Americans on the Retention/Time scale.

The Distrust/Anxiety dimension pertains to a suspicious nature toward the price of goods and services and a lack of faith in the ability to make efficient purchase decisions. High scores on this dimension reflect the attitude that money is both a source of anxiety as well as a source of protection from anxiety (Yamauchi and Templer 1982). One study shows that Hispanic consumers are more skeptical of advertising and less venturesome in their purchases of products and services than non-Hispanics ("Hispanics: Markets Within Markets" 1981). The literature also shows that Mexican-Americans score lower than Anglo-Americans on measures of trust: "It is the distrust of nonkin . . . that is often said to hamper Mexican-Americans in dealing with their problems" (Chandler 1979, 156). Regarding Distrust/Anxiety, the following hypothesis is proposed.

Hypothesis 3: Mexican-Americans will have higher scores than Anglo-Americans on the Distrust/Anxiety scale.

Finally, the fourth dimension, Quality, suggests the purchasing of higher quality products as a predominant behavior. Individuals who score high on this dimension believe in buying the best and paying more to get high quality brands (Yamauchi and Templer 1982). Watanabe (1981) and Segal and Sosa (1983, 126) claimed that Hispanic consumers have "a great tendency to spend disproportionate amounts of money on high-quality, status items." Likewise, Hoyer and Deshpande (1982) found that South Texas Mexican-American consumers rate "more prestigious brands" more highly in importance than Anglo-Americans, and that they are more likely to base decisions on the perceived prestige of the brand. Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed.

Hypothesis 4: Mexican-Americans will have higher scores than Anglo-Americans on the Quality scale.

METHODOLOGY

Money Attitude Scale

Attitudes toward money were measured using a modified money attitude scale (MAS) instrument, developed by Yamauchi and Templer (1982) and modified by Gresham and Fontenot (1989). The MAS was selected for this study because it was an original attempt to measure attitudes toward money not derived from any other scale(s), as is the case of other attitude toward money scales (refer to Table 1). The MAS scale seems to be more appropriate to this sample as it was developed in a more ethnically diversified region of the United States (i.e., Los Angeles and Fresno, California) relative to other scales which were developed in the Midwest (Wernimont and Fitzpatrick 1972), the South (Tang 1992), and England (Furnham 1984). Finally, and most importantly, the MAS scale has been more consistent in its results than the more widely used MBBS (Money Beliefs and Behaviors Scale) which has shown unstable results (Bailey *et al.* 1994).

The MAS is a 34-item scale that measures four attitude toward money dimensions—Power/Prestige, Retention/Time, Distrust/Anxiety, and Quality. Subjects responded to each item on a seven-

point scale (always = 1, never = 7, and sometimes = 4 as midpoint). Scores on all items for each subscale were reversed and summed so that higher scores on the subscales indicate a greater presence of the measured construct.

Measurement of Ethnicity

Ethnic identity self-reporting has been endorsed by Cohen (1978) and Hirschman (1981) as a means of classifying members of ethnic subgroups because it represents the internal beliefs of the individual and therefore reflects the perceived cultural reality. This is particularly true today as cross-ethnic (Hispanics and non-Hispanics) marriages continue to increase (Hood 1995). It also eliminates the misclassification bias inherent in using the respondent's surname or country of birth (Valencia 1989). The relevant questionnaire item reflected the Office of Management and Budget's definition of Hispanics as "persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race" (Marín and Marín 1991).

Sample and Data Collection

The goal of the study was to compare money attitudes of Mexican-Americans with Anglo-Americans. Thus, subjects were selected from the former students' roster at a southwestern university that included a large proportion of Mexican-American constituents. While the Mexican-Americans in the present sample may not be considered to be representative of the Mexican-American population in general, it can be said that they are directly comparable to the Anglo sample in terms of education level and perhaps socioeconomic standing. Thus, differences in socioeconomic status (SES) cannot be argued to account for observed attitude differences.

Table 2 shows demographic profiles for Anglo- and Mexican-Americans in the sample. The two ethnic groups appear comparable along gender, income, and age. Chi-squared tests for these variables show no significant differences between the two subgroups at $p < .05$. Although education is a variable which on previous studies showed evidence of influence on people's attitude toward money, it was not included in this analysis as the sample was homogeneous regarding this variable (i.e., all subjects were college educated).

TABLE 2
Sample Respondents Demographic Profile

Characteristics	Ethnicity		Chi-Squared Values	p		
	Anglo-Americans	Mexican-Americans				
Gender	#	%	#	%		
Males	260	(42.8)	167	(40.0)	.96	.33
Females	347	(57.2)	253	(60.0)		
Total ^a	607	(100.0)	420	(100.0)		
Income						
Lower (< \$30K)	204	(34.2)	154	(37.7)	3.93	.14
Medium (\$30-60K)	245	(41.0)	175	(42.8)		
Higher (> \$60K)	148	(24.8)	80	(19.5)		
Total ^a	597	(100.0)	409	(100.0)		
Age						
Younger (≤ 29)	155	(26.0)	110	(26.4)	.85	.84
Medium (30-44)	312	(52.3)	213	(51.2)		
Older (≥ 45)	129	(21.7)	93	(22.4)		
Total ^a	596	(100.0)	416	(100.0)		

^aSample sizes do not correspond to original total of 1,132 because non-Mexican-American Hispanics and "other" ethnic respondents were excluded from the analysis.

Because some Mexican-Americans may not be as comfortable with English as with Spanish, a Spanish version of the questionnaire was prepared as an option. To ensure a proper translation, the widely used back translation method was employed (Brislin 1970; Green, Cunningham, and Cunningham 1980) including pretesting the two language versions of the questionnaire.

Data were collected by mailing 6,863 self-administered questionnaires containing Yamauchi and Templer's (1982) MAS scale as well as measures of demographic variables (i.e., gender, income, education, marital status, occupation, and ethnic background). The sponsor of the survey was identified as the respondent's former university. No monetary incentive was offered and respondents were told that study survey results would be used for academic purposes. A stamped, return-addressed university envelope was included in the questionnaire. A total of 1,132 usable questionnaires were returned for a response rate of 16.5 percent. With a response rate of this level, nonresponse bias is a possibility. However, it was noted that the response rates for the Anglo and Hispanic subgroups were roughly equivalent. Thus, nonresponse bias would not seem to account for any ethnic group differences observed in scaled attitudes toward money.

Analysis

The separate dimensions of Distrust and Anxiety were collapsed into one dimension as suggested by Gresham and Fontenot's (1989) analysis. To determine whether the four subscales identified were appropriate for the present sample, a varimax-rotation factor analysis of the 33 scale items was performed on the entire sample of respondents.¹

Table 3 shows the factor loadings matrix with a cutoff point at .40, as recommended by Hair *et al.* (1995). Factor-item loadings are remarkably similar to those reported in previous findings (Gresham and Fontenot 1989; Yamauchi and Templer 1982). An almost perfect match was obtained in the factor loadings structure, with the exception of one item in the Distrust/Anxiety scale: "I spend money to make myself feel better," which was dropped from the scale because a low factor loading. This same item was dropped for the same reason in a previous study (Gresham and Fontenot 1989).

To reinforce the soundness of the stability of the scale, factor analyses were performed for each ethnic group and resulted in almost identical factor loading structures. Having seen that the four-factor solution was similar to that of previous research, we then analyzed differences in the four factors between the two ethnic groups via multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA).

RESULTS

A MANOVA was conducted to assess the differences between Anglos and Mexican-Americans on the four attitudinal dimensions. Table 4 shows the results of this analysis. Cronbach alphas for the four subscales ranged from .79 to .83.

A one-way MANOVA was computed to compare the two ethnic groups on the four money attitude subscales.² The multivariate test of significance showed a Wilks' lambda value of 0.99, significant at $p = .01$. Univariate F-tests for the resulting group means indicate that the two ethnic groups were significantly different on the Retention/

¹One item was inadvertently omitted from the original 34 items.

²To enhance the ability of the statistical test to identify differences, a two-way MANOVA design using income as a "blocking factor" was analyzed. Results were not different from the ones obtained with the simple MANOVA.

TABLE 3
Attitude Toward Money Scale and the Forced Four-Factor Solution

Scale Items	Factors			
	F1	F2	F3	F4
Power/Prestige Scale				
1 I tend to judge people by their money rather than their deeds.	0.68	0.05	0.12	0.03
2 I behave as if money were the ultimate symbol of success.	0.65	0.07	0.15	0.09
3 I find that I seem to show more respect to those people who possess more than I do.	0.64	0.01	0.12	0.12
4 I own nice things in order to impress others.	0.63	0.10	0.15	0.24
5 I purchase things because I know they will impress others.	0.62	0.06	0.11	0.24
6 People that know me tell me that I place too much emphasis on the amount of money people have, as a sign of their success.	0.62	0.00	0.07	0.00
7 I enjoy telling people about the money I make.	0.60	0.00	0.04	-0.00
8 I try to find out if other people make more money than I do.	0.59	0.01	0.25	0.02
Retention/Time				
9 I put money aside on a regular basis for the future.	0.05	-0.82	-0.09	0.07
10 I do financial planning for future.	-0.05	-0.82	-0.11	-0.28
11 I save now to prepare for my old age.	0.04	-0.79	-0.15	0.04
12 I have money available in the event of an economic depression.	0.00	-0.74	-0.13	0.11
13 I follow a careful financial budget.	-0.16	-0.60	0.12	-0.00
14 I am prudent with the money I spend.	-0.28	-0.51	0.19	-0.02
15 I keep track of my money.	-0.30	-0.47	0.20	0.05
Distrust/Anxiety				
16 It bothers me when I discover I could have gotten something for less elsewhere.	0.00	0.02	0.71	0.11
17 I complain about the cost of things I buy.	0.13	-0.05	0.67	-0.10
19 I show worrisome behavior when it comes to money.	0.19	0.01	0.64	-0.05
20 I worry about not being financially secure.	0.06	0.03	0.58	0.06
21 When I make a major purchase, I have a suspicion that I have been taken advantage of.	0.02	-0.02	0.56	-0.05
22 I show signs of anxiety when I don't have enough money.	0.19	0.10	0.55	0.08
23 After buying something, I wonder if I could have gotten the same for less elsewhere.	0.04	0.03	0.54	0.06
24 I hesitate to spend money, even on necessities.	0.01	-0.10	0.48	-0.20
25 It is hard for me to pass up a bargain.	0.13	0.07	0.45	0.19
26 I automatically say, "I can't afford it," whether I can or not.	-0.01	-0.02	0.45	-0.13
27 I am bothered when I have to pass up a sale.	0.13	0.08	0.42	0.26

TABLE 3 (continued)

Scale Items	Factors			
	F1	F2	F3	F4
Quality				
28 I am willing to spend more to get the very best.	0.06	-0.09	-0.07	0.77
29 I buy top-of-the-line products.	0.07	-0.09	-0.10	0.76
30 I buy name brand products.	0.06	-0.02	0.00	0.71
31 I pay more for some things because I know I have to in order to get the best.	0.11	-0.12	0.06	0.68
32 I buy the most expensive items available.	0.35	0.04	0.01	0.54
Percentage of Total Variance Explained	11.75	10.81	12.78	8.85
Accumulated	11.75	22.57	35.36	44.21

TABLE 4

Reliabilities, Ethnic Group Means, Wilks' Lambda, and Univariate F-Values for the Four Money Attitude Scales

Subscales	Cronbach's α	Means		F-Values
		Anglo n = 588 ^a	Mexican n = 409 ^a	
1. Power/Prestige	.82	1.97	1.92	0.79
2. Retention/Time	.83	4.72	4.49	7.98*
3. Distrust/Anxiety	.82	5.28	5.26	0.25
4. Quality	.79	3.96	3.78	8.01*

Wilks' Lambda (4, 1,067) = .99*

^aSample sizes do not correspond to original total of 1,132 because non-Mexican-American Hispanics and "other" ethnic respondents were excluded from the analysis. Furthermore, the MANOVA algorithm automatically excludes all cases with missing values on any variable. This missing data routine has been endorsed by Hair *et al.* (1995, 45) in situations where the extent of missing responses is "small," as was the case here.

*p < .01.

Time and the Quality dimensions, but not on the Power/Prestige or Distrust/Anxiety dimensions. As can be seen in Table 3, Mexican-Americans showed significantly lower mean scores than Anglo-Americans on the Retention/Time scale, thus supporting hypothesis 2. In contrast, however, Mexican-Americans showed significantly lower mean scores than Anglo-Americans on the Quality scale, thus failing to support hypothesis 4.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

It is important to recognize that the findings of this study are pertinent only to Mexican-Americans and not necessarily the larger Hispanic population. Moreover, the high level of education in the Mexican-American sample means that they almost certainly are not representative of Mexican-Americans overall. However, as the two samples of the study are comparable in terms of education and socioeconomic status, it can be argued that any observed differences in money attitudes may indicate genuine cultural variations (i.e., not attributable to SES).

As hypothesized, Mexican-Americans scored lower on the Retention/Time dimension than Anglos. Overall, this supports previous expectations for the Mexican-American sample of relatively greater present-oriented attitudes and lower propensity to postpone gratification. One implication of this difference is that Mexican-American consumers, as a group, may be relatively reluctant to engage in long-term money management behaviors. It may also suggest that Mexican-Americans are not likely to respond to offers by firms whose products/services require a long-term consumption view and where some degree of individual planning is required.

Specific examples of related consumer behaviors include credit card usage and bank borrowing activities, where the immediate (perceived) benefits of consumption take precedence over long-term planning. Findings here suggest that, given their accessibility to these services, Mexican-American consumers tend to be heavier users of credit cards and personal loans than their Anglo counterparts. Also, they are less likely to engage in behaviors involving medium- to long-term personal gain—saving, investing, and speculating with money—at the expense of present consumption. Services affected include bank savings, saving bonds for children's education, investment options, retirement plans, and a variety of financial services. Finally, the Retention/Time results may be related to purchases of generally unsought products/services where the perceived benefits are intangible and will be manifested only in case of a catastrophe. Examples include life, medical, personal property, and home insurances.

In contrast to expectations, Mexican-Americans scored significantly lower than Anglos in the Quality dimension. This finding calls into question the attribution of relatively higher quality consciousness to Mexican-Americans (Hoyer and Deshpande 1982) and perhaps to

Hispanics as a whole (Segal and Sosa 1983; Watanabe 1981). It may also have implications for widespread assumptions that Mexican-Americans prefer quality brands to boost their self-esteem and image.

Regarding the most predominant symbolic dimension of money, Power/Prestige, contrary to assumptions, no differences were found between Mexican- and Anglo-Americans. This finding may imply that the educated Mexican-Americans in the sample have become assimilated to the assumed utility/value-oriented consumption style of the typical Anglo.

Results from this study also failed to support the prediction that Mexican-Americans would score higher on the Distrust/Anxiety scale. This suggests that the level of distrust/anxiety in Mexican-Americans does not represent a distinctive internal/cultural "defensive mechanism" to deal with uncertainty in the marketplace. This finding merits further study in light of popular characterizations of Mexican-American consumers as maintaining culturally unique brand loyalty—perhaps in the hope of reducing risk and anxiety in buying products (Fones 1981; Hoyer and Deshpande 1982; Messina and Reddick 1976; Peñaloza 1994).

No differences were found between Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans for the Power/Prestige or Distrust/Anxiety dimensions. This is consistent with Goldberg and Lewis' expectation that some individuals would "make a satisfactory adjustment to a culture that is radically different from the one they grew up in" (1978, 54). The fact that the Quality dimension results are not consistent with previous findings may not be surprising if one considers the possibility that this sample of relatively higher SES Mexican-Americans may have become more realistic in their evaluation of quality relative to economy, perhaps, to an extent "beyond that of the Anglos in the direction of previous stereotypical Anglo patterns . . . toward their internalized conception of the American life" (Wallendorf and Reilly 1983, 300). A couple of studies in the literature may bear on this finding. In a study of the effects of degree of ethnic identity on consumer behavior, Hoyer and Deshpande (1982) found that "low identity" Hispanics were less drawn to "prestige brands" than "high identity" Hispanics. Moreover, Bohon, Singer, and Santos (1993) observed that Mexican-Americans appeared to be influenced to a lower degree by high status stimuli (perhaps similar to "quality" stimuli) than Anglo-Americans. Thus, the relatively low

scores on the Quality dimension may reflect acculturated or perhaps even "overacculturated" attitudes of the college educated sample.

The findings may indicate the importance of promoting consumer education in helping to close the so-called "achievement gap" between Mexican- and Anglo-Americans. On the one hand, equal economic aspirations and expectations, as reflected by similar responses on the Power/Prestige and Distrust/Anxiety dimensions, suggest that Mexican-Americans' identification with an ethnic minority no longer affects their self-esteem as it once did (Bohon, Singer, and Santos 1993). On the other hand, important differences appear to remain in how Mexican-American consumers adapt to their economic aspirations and expectations. This study implies that willingness to delay gratification may need to be addressed as it relates to fulfilling these aspirations and expectations. Government agencies and community leaders at the local and state levels might do well to instruct targeted minority groups in the wise use and management of their hard earned income. The use of both financial planning and counseling services as a means to help consumers make informed long-term investment and consumption decisions may also be promoted.

Finally, the study supports previous findings concerning the stability of the MAS scale as developed by Yamauchi and Templer (1982) in measuring money attitudes. Results also confirm the appropriateness of the adjustment in the scale suggested by Gresham and Fontenot (1989), namely, the collapsing of the Distrust and Anxiety subscales into one factor. In this regard, the factor analysis resulted in four subscales that explain 44 percent of the total variance, considerably more than that explained in earlier studies. In addition, reliability coefficients for the four money attitude subscales are higher than those obtained in previous studies (Gresham and Fontenot 1989; Yamauchi and Templer 1982). These results add confidence regarding the stability of the scale for future applications.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Considering projections placing Hispanics as the largest U.S. minority group by the year 2010 (U.S. Census of the Population 1990), understanding money attitudes among Hispanic consumers in general, and Mexican-Americans in particular, should continue to be the object of study by financial counseling providers, professional

financial planners, and money managers. From previous research, we know that an individual's attitudes toward money are influenced by demographic "background" variables, for example, gender (Gresham and Fontenot 1989) and age, education, and income (Furnham 1984). Now, from this study, ethnic background can be added to the list. However, we do not know what specific money-related behaviors are associated with people's attitudes toward money under various circumstances. For example, one study reported lower Hispanic incidence of bank and credit card use in department stores compared to non-Hispanics (Braun 1991). A more recent study claims a general distrust for financial institutions by Mexican-American immigrants, as a result of negative experiences in their country of origin (Peñaloza 1994). Research should focus on linking specific circumstances of consumption such as buying a house, buying insurance, and purchasing securities for children's education to money attitudes.

Possible differences among different Mexican-American subgroups (e.g., recent immigrants versus long-term residents) should be given further consideration. For example, one study reports that new Hispanic immigrants have a greater desire to assimilate into the host population, as was seen of earlier generations of immigrants from Europe (American Management Association 1987). A second study reports that because of their generally disadvantaged position when they arrive, immigrants may be strongly attracted to status symbols emblematic of a better life and power (Braun 1991).

Given the availability of credit today and the generally greater affluence among minorities, productive Mexican-Americans without solid foundations of money management could find themselves practicing self-defeating money behaviors. Future research should investigate Mexican-Americans' perceptions toward the use of financial counseling and planning as tools to help them properly handle their finances.

Although the MAS scale held up satisfactorily with this cross-ethnic sample, we recommend that the scale be tested in other environments to see if its four-factor structure holds. Especially as previous experience with a similar scale (i.e., MBBS) indicated that responses from differing national groups may not factor analyze in the same manner as the original (Bailey *et al.* 1994). Thus, the external validity of the construct being measured by the scale across other ethnic and national groups remains to be demonstrated.

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