SPANISH-ANGLO ETHNIC CLEAVAGE IN A NEW MEXICAN HIGH SCHOOL

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Nellie Holmes Loomis

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This is to certify that the

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SPANISH-ANGLO ETHNIC CLEAVAGE IN A NEW MEXICAN HIGH SCHOOL

By

Nellie Holmes Loomis

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
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Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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AN ABSTRACT

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ABSTRACT

Data collected by means of a questionnaire administered by the writer to students in the junior and senior high schools of Las Cruces, New Mexico, were analyzed to determine the extent and nature of Anglo-Spanish ethnic cleavage. The primary focus of the study was not the high school age group per se, but rather the consideration of Anglo-Spanish cleavage in a geographical area characterized by a high concentration of Spanish population. A discussion of the historical and cultural background of the Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico was included in the study, since this information is essential to the understanding of Spanish-Anglo cleavage in the state.

The sociometric analysis of the data was based on Criswell's double ratio of self preference. Indices of self preference were classified in two categories: those based on friendship choices, both at school and at home, and those based on choices involving prestige values. The study revealed that this distinction was important.

The data indicated marked Anglo-Spanish cleavage and confirmed the minority status of the Spanish group. Both Anglo and Spanish students exhibited a significantly high self preference in their choices of companions at home and at school. In their choices of companions, the minority group generally displayed in-group feelings more intense than those of the Anglo students. The in-group feelings

of the Spanish girls, as expressed in friendship choices, was particularly marked, which was probably in a large measure due to the traditional position of women in the Spanish culture. By the same token, their self preference relative to prestige choices was comparatively low. In choices involving prestige values, the self preference of Spanish students in all grades was less marked than in their choices of companions, and was generally lower than that expressed by the Anglos.

In addition to items designed to elicit responses to be evaluated by means of sociometric techniques, statements were included in the questionnaire which permitted verbalization of the student's prejudices against association with the out-group in situations involving residence, employment, and acceptance of a position subordinate to a member of the out-group. In their verbalization of inter-group prejudices, the Spanish students expressed less pronounced feelings than did the Anglos against association with the out-group.

This study points up the need for further research in the area of Anglo-Spanish relationships in New Mexico, particularly with reference to the meaning that the ethnic cleavage and the minority status of the Spanish have for both groups.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

With the United States assuming a leadership role in a world emphasizing more and more the necessity for cooperation between all nations, races, and cultures, we have as a nation been forced by internal and external pressures to examine our attitudes toward minority groups within our own boundaries. By friends and enemies alike we have been criticized for our treatment of the Negro, for example, and we must acknowledge our vulnerability to this sort of attack. The Negro himself, who may have become relatively accepting of his position in the United States, has found a new freedom and self-respect in foreign countries to which he has been sent as a member of the armed forces. Having experienced freedom from racial prejudice, it is not surprising that he is discontented with his treatment when he returns to his home, that he feels more poignently his minority group status.

Our attitudes toward minority groups at home also jeopardizes our relations with other nations with whom we wish to cooperate. Countries composed of people whom we accord minority status, with all its implications, in the United States, can scarcely be expected to have confidence in our expressions of goodwill toward them on their native soil. When nationals from such countries traveling in the United States are exposed to discriminatory practices particularly prevalent in some

geographical areas, their confidence in the United States must be badly shaken.

The rapidly increasing volume of literature regarding racial issues attests to the fact that intellectually we are trying to accept racial and cultural differences, even though our emotions may lag behind our reason. Much of the literature is, of course, of a highly subjective nature, but students in the field of race relations are making very real contributions to our thinking. Because of historical factors, the high visibility of Negro differences, and the size and wide distribution of the Negro population, that group has received more attention than other minority groups in our literature.

Consideration of Spanish-Americans as a minority group has been confined largely to the Southwest and California, where this population is concentrated, and to studies of migrant laborers, many of whom are of Spanish extraction. The more obvious indices of discrimination, such as those associated with employment, standards of living, and educational facilities have received the greatest emphasis. Sympathetic presentations of various aspects of Spanish-American culture, both from a contemporary and a historical point of view, have also made a contribution to the Anglos' understanding of these people, helping them to appreciate the contributions that the Spanish have made to our culture and to realize more fully the problems involved in their efforts to adjust to Anglo ways of thinking and acting. The recent emphasis on the importance of the relationship between the United States and Latin American countries has

also fostered and increased awareness of the Spanish heritage on the part of people in the United States.

THE PROBLEM

Although many evidences of the minority status of Spanish-Americans exist in the Southwestern United States, there have been few attempts to evaluate scientifically the nature and extent of the cleavage between the Spanish and Anglo groups. The purpose of the present study is to measure ethnic cleavage between Anglo and Spanish students in junior and senior high schools of Las Cruces, New Mexico. The primary focus is not the age factor, but rather the nature and extent of cleavage. The high school group was selected because of its availability for study and because it reflects in a measure the attitude of the adults in the community.

A questionnaire was constructed to obtain answers to the following questions:

1. Is there significant Anglo-Spanish cleavage in the high school age group?
2. Does the minority group display a lower self-preference than does the dominant group?
3. Is there any significant change in the ratio of self-preference on the part of either minority or dominant group as the students move to higher grades?
4. Are there differences between the sexes with respect to preference for their own ethnic group?
5. How do friendship choices compare with choices involving prestige factors, with respect to the amount of self-preference expressed?

To find answers to these questions, it is proposed in this study to test the following hypotheses:

1. A significant cleavage exists between the Anglo students and the Spanish students in Las Cruces High School.

2. Although the minority group, the Spanish students, prefer their own group to a lesser degree than do the dominant group, the Anglo students, they nevertheless will express significant self-preference.

3. Although the in-group tends to become more solidary with increase in the age of the student, it will have neared the adult level by the time the student reaches junior high school, therefore there will be little difference between junior and senior high school students in this respect.

4. Because of the position of women in the Spanish culture, the Spanish girls will show a higher self-preference than Spanish boys or Anglos of either sex, particularly in the junior high school grades.

5. The minority group will display a more marked self-preference in their friendship choices than in choices involving prestige factors. The Anglos will manifest equally high self-preference in both areas.

RELATED STUDIES

The literature relating to race relations in general is voluminous and varied. Specific discussions of Anglo-Spanish relations in the Southwestern United States, however, are limited in number.[1] Similarly, there is fairly extensive literature regarding sociometry and the various techniques developed by its exponents, but much more attention has been devoted to the definition of status, role, and clique groupings than to the measurement of cleavage between social groups. Early

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[1] See Chapter III for reference to publications on this subject.

studies of Moreno and Jennings[2] gave some incidental consideration to the matter of cleavage, but the earliest intensive study of ethnic groups was that published by Criswell in 1939.[3] This represented an attempt to measure Negro-White cleavage in a classroom situation. Three schools in New York City, which she designated as A, B, and C, from which respectively the following number of pupils were included in the study: 1112 in kindergarten and grades one through eight, using the entire "B" or more advanced half of each grade, 457 in grades 4B, 5B, and 6B, and 717 including children in the kindergarten through grade 6B, with the exception of one first grade class. Of the fifty-two classes tested in schools A and C, 47 were interviewed. No interviews were conducted in school B. School A was studied in 1934, schools B and C in 1936. In school A, 74 per cent of the pupils were Negro, in schools B and C the percentages were 47 and 26 respectively. The "sociometric test" was administered in group form to children above the second grade and was given individually to the younger children. The "test" requested the names of the children the respondent would like to sit by. After all the names were written in, the child was asked to underline the boy or girl he would most like to sit by. Later interviews, lasting from ten to fifteen minutes, were given to ascertain why the choices were made. Nine women interviewers were used.

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[2] Summarized in J. L. Moreno's Who Shall Survive? Beacon House, N. Y., 1953.

[3] Joan Henning Criswell, "A Sociometric Study of Race Cleavage in the Classroom," Archives of Psychology, No. 235, January 1939, p. 19.

Thus Criswell pioneered in the measurement of inter-racial cleavage in developing the concept of the "self-preference ratio". The computation of the "self-preference ratio" and the use of the chi-square test to determine the probability of such self-preference occurring by chance will be presented in a later chapter, in which the methods used in this study are considered.

The results of the "sociometric test" obtained by Criswell are as follows:[4]

1. Grammar school classes ranging from nine per cent Negro to ninety-five per cent Negro were analyzed sociometrically, to determine the currents of attraction and repulsion flowing between the two races.

2. Owing to the relative smallness of inter-sexual choice, chief emphasis was placed on the study of unisexual groups which separated off within the class. These groups ordinarily comprised about eighteen individuals.

3. The method of measurement employed was the comparison of the actual distribution of intra-racial choice by any race group, with the theoretical distribution. This enabled the experimenter to discover to what extent each race group was favoring itself.

4. No age level was characterized by homogeneous bi-racial groupings, since there was evidence of self-preference in the white race from kindergarten on. The three younger grades came nearest to racial fusion mainly because of the inter-racial friendliness of Negroes. Mutual withdrawal of racial groups became consistent at grade five.

5. The development of race cleavage is not only a matter of decrease in the total volume of inter-racial choice. It also involves change in the organization of the class in terms of prestige relations. In younger children, there is more interrelationship between popular majority members and the minority group. In grades four and five there is little reciprocation of interest between minority and popular majority members. By

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[4] Ibid., pp. 80 and 81.

grade six, the two groups each tend to attach special prestige only to their own members.

6. Skin-color cleavages appear in majority-colored classes. With increase of age each color group tends to prefer itself and show most rejection to the group farthest removed in color. Thus whites prefer light Negroes to medium and reject dark most. Dark colored prefer themselves and reject whites most strongly. Association between white and light is closest in the first three grades.

7. There is a sex difference in response of the majority to size of minority group. Girls accept small minorities more readily than large minorities, while conversely boys more easily adjust to large minorities than to small ones.

8. White children surpass Negroes in self-preference and show more assimilation of community attitudes than do colored children.

9. Inter-racial relationships are on a more intimate basis in minority-colored classes, since whites are apparently able to choose more spontaneously into the Negro group.

10. In white children, race motivations occur more frequently in minority groups, while race rejections are more prominent in majorities. Thus the racial character of a group becomes more conspicuous when it is of relatively small size.

11. Race and color preference are present in inter-sexual choice even in the primary grades. Colored boys prefer white girls in the first two grades, then shift to light girls. Colored girls prefer light boys until grade four, then medium boys. White boys and girls prefer their own race but choose Negroes as late as grade six or seven. By grade eight inter-sexual choice has almost completely ceased to cross racial lines.

Although Criswell's study adds to the scientific knowledge of Negro-White relationships, its outstanding contribution is in the area of methodology. Variations of Criswell's techniques have been applied in a few instances to classroom situations, but the method which she employs in this research has not as yet been extensively applied to race relations. The present study attempts to further explore the possibilities

of Criswell's approach to cleavages between ethnic groups in which a racial element is involved but is less pronounced than in Negro-White relations.

CHAPTER II

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE IN SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES

What Are the Major Differences in the Culture of the Latin Americans and the Anglo Americans?

Loomis and Schuler[1] combed the literature by Anglos about Latin America and by Latin Americans about the United States to develop a list of items which might be used in comparing the cultures of the English-speaking countries with the cultures of the Latin American countries of the Western Hemisphere. From the literature 96 items were selected. This list of items was submitted twice to a group of Latin American students coming to the United States to study under a special program of the United States Department of Agriculture, first on their arrival to the United States and again a year later, when they were about to leave to return to their native countries. Instruments were constructed in such a manner that each item could be scored as to the degree of typicality to the United States or to the trainee's country. The following items were scored as being most typically Latin American upon arrival of the trainees in the United States: 1. Chaperonage of young women. 2. Tendency of poorest families to possess no education. 3. Tendency of lower classes to be characterized by miserable conditions.

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[1] C. P. Loomis and E. A. Schuler, "Acculturation of Foreign Students in the United States," Applied Anthropology, Spring 1948, pp. 17 ff.

4. Taking chances in the lottery. 5. Equality of treatment between Negroes and Whites. 6. Tendency to value punctuality too little. 7. Indulgence in the sport of cock-fighting. 8. The observance of religious holidays. 9. Personal giving to unfortunates. 10. Tendency for the country and city people to be very different. 11. Tendency to acquire position through inheritance. 12. Respect for the sanctity of marriage. 13. Tendency of governmental officials to accept bribes. 14. Hampering of the development of popular education by church influences.

Since the trainees consistently rated these as much more typical of their own countries than the United States, not only upon arrival but also on leaving the United States one year later, it may be assumed that the items represent various aspects of Latin American culture and are relatively atypical of the United States. On the other hand, the 62 trainees indicated that of the 96 items the following were most typical of the United States and relatively less typical of Latin America: 1. The practice of chewing gum. 2. Worship of speed. 3. Freedom of women. 4. Proficiency in handling machinery. 5. Ease of obtaining divorces. 6. The tendency of science to deal with practical problems. 7. Devotion to the game of baseball. 8. Tendency to contribute materially to the body of science. 9. Tendency to be sharply aware of time. 10. Tendency to deal with problems scientifically. 12. Sexual freedom of women before marriage. 13. Tendency to educate boys and girls in the same classrooms. 14. Tendency to regard practical utility as highest criterion of value.

What are Some of the Broader Differences in Latin American and Anglo Culture in the Western Hemisphere?

Florence Kluckhohn,[2] from a cultural anthropological study of a small village in West Central New Mexico attempted to specify the central themes of configurations of the villages of the area. According to Kluckhohn, the community she studied; Atarque, and others of the Southwest display "the existence of numerous 'values' which have been subsumed under four main configurations, four sub-configurations and one special configuration which, while not a summative principle, is yet pervasive enough to be regarded as a corporate part of each of the main configurations:

1. Mañana configuration
   a. Acceptance sub-configuration
2. Costumbres configuration
   a. Ethnocentrism sub-configuration
3. Familia configuration
   a. Paternalism sub-configuration
   b. Seniority sub-configuration
4. Comba configuration

Miedo-pervasive configuration."

Kluckhohn's Manana Configuration

The essence of this configuration is the lack of conception of future time. It implies inability and/or lack of desire to discount

[2] Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn, Los Atarquenos, A Study of Patterns and Configurations in a New Mexico Village. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass., 1941, p. 12. Defining configurations as structural principals "behind" groups of patterns, the principles which constitute the "system of unconscious meanings," Kluckhohn goes on to say that "Configurations of the covert culture are of another order of abstraction for they are generalizations from behavior." She compares these configurations with Pareto's "residues," Parson's "ultimate value attitudes," Sapir's "system of unconscious meaning" and Benedict's "unconscious cannons of choice."

present pleasures for future pleasures. To bolster her claim for the importance of the manana configuration Kluckhohn quotes Arthur Campa:

> To a Mejicano the future is an unreality of which he is conscious only insofar as it can be projected into the present. ...the future is attacked with a fatalism that is little short of a roulette wheel philosophy. A ver que Dios nos da....When the present is past it forms the basis of romanticism, a romanticism that is based upon that which once was a reality.[3]

The Kluckhohn Acceptance sub-configuration merely means that the people "accept" life as it comes. There is little effort to change the main course of events.

The manana configuration as described by Kluckhohn is supported in another Ph. D. thesis describing villages of the Spanish-speaking Southwest. Walter writes,

> Living in poverty, they are reconciled; subject to an English-speaking nation and state, they accept their fate with resignation; lagging in all the material and esthetic arts, in science, and capable leadership, they shrug their shoulders and postpone unusual efforts until manana. This is not intended as an indictment of the people. It is simply too significant as a phenomenon to go without notice.[4]

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[3] Arthur L. Campa, "Manana is Today," New Mexico Quarterly, Vol. IX, p. 5. Campa, a student of the Spanish language, claims that there is support for the manana idea in the language usage of the people. He points out that in recent years the future subjunctive has disappeared from the language, and the future tense of the language is formed with the present of the auxiliary. Moreover, the simple present is used constantly to express future time.

[4] Paul Alfred Francis Walter, Jr. "A Study of Isolation and Social Change in Three Spanish Speaking Villages of New Mexico," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1938, p. 53. Walter writes "In certain ways all three of the villages which have been studied are representative of the whole culture of the 175,000 Spanish speaking people of New Mexico." (p. 278).

Kluckhohn's Costumbres Configuration

According to Kluckhohn, there is abundant evidence for stating as one of the most fundamental configurational principles in Spanish-American culture thorough-going traditionalism. "Esos son costumbres," is the usual answer to questions as to why the behavior patterns are as they are. "Las costumbres are the reason, and still more important, the authority for action." In this manner she explains the costumbres configuration.

The ethnocentrism sub-configuration supports the Latin way of life as opposed to the Anglo. Some Anglo cultural items are excepted as, for example, the ordering of goods from mail order houses and having the children learn English. But those traits which violate the central configurations are not accepted. Also as a part of this sub-configuration, in-group loyalty is mentioned.

The Familia Configuration

This configuration, which characterizes most rural cultures, is based upon the feeling that one's first loyalty and responsibility is directed toward members of the immediate or extended family, and this principle extends to all persons related by blood or marriage. This configuration is based for the most part on the concepts of paternalism and age seniority. Paternalism sub-configuration is described as a

> ...more or less general male dominance and a leading role being accorded to the father-person. The father-person is all important in the culture. The paternal head of the family has an almost absolutistic power in most family affairs, the village patron, or his substitute, has rather far-reaching powers over the whole village, and in some spheres of behavior

> considerable power is exercised by still another father-person, the church padre. The extension even goes beyond the real world to include saints of the Catholic Church.

The sub-configuration seniority is related to the importance of the older brother. Walter expresses these ideas a little differently: "The traditional family of the Spanish speaking people is a miniature patron-peon pattern, with the viejos occupying much the same place as is held by the patron in secondary group relationships, and all others cast in the roles of peones." Walter goes on to maintain that the priest holds a patron relationship to his flock.

> It is not unusual for members of a family to have a six or seven room house divided among them, each receiving one room! Where the house is too small for such disposition a single room may be divided so that each heir receives one viga[5] or a portion of the room. The land inheritance of a young man may consist of the area upon which a single tree grows. And at least one case is known where an heir inherited the fourth part of a tree![6]

> The organization of communities has followed the old Spanish patron-peon pattern, which is related to the family and household pattern. In each village and settlement there is one man who is looked to as a power, a leader, and a protector. He is usually an old man, and the distinction is likely to remain in one family, passing from father to eldest son. The family is usually one of comparative wealth. In most matters, the word of the village patriarch is law.[7]

> They do not understand the doctrines of individual initiative and self-reliance so much emphasized in the American creed. In the communities where there is a resident priest, as in Alameda, authority and responsibility are divided. In matters secular,

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[5] A viga is a beam supporting the roof. They are usually spaced evenly across large rooms.

[6] For interesting examples and discussion, see Louis H. Warner, "Wills and Hijuelas," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 7, 1932, pp. 75-89.

[7] P. A. F. Walter, Jr., op. cit., p. 72.

economic, and political, the jefe politico is supreme: in matters ecclesiastical, moral, and familial, the priest is the authority, beyond whom appeal is unthinkable.[8]

Kluckhohn's Comba Configuration

"The Spanish word comba in one of its meanings has somewhat the same denotation that drama or histrionics has in English. As a configuration it is meant to connote the Southwestern Mejicano's great love of a good time and his fondness for dramatizing all events, even the smallest and most ordinary." Perhaps Walter[9] has given the strongest argument for this configuration.

> The Spanish-speaking people are more volatile than their neighboring culture groups. They enter into their gaiety wholeheartedly; they sing more, dance more, and gossip with greater fervor than the American, even though they play less. Although their food is poor and their diet monotonous, they enjoy eating as a social event; and while their wine is of low grade, and they can afford only the cheapest beer, they relish them thoroughly. Their worship is fervent. Their sorrows apparently strike deeply, and in time of illness, death, or misfortune within the kinship group, they mourn tearfully and loudly. They can rise to heights of righteous indignation over the smallest slight, and gracefully forgive the greatest insults. Usually they are aloof from English-speaking people, but when contacts are unavoidable they are hospitable, and extremely polite. They are intensely loyal to leaders and accepted friends, and bitterly hate their enemies. Despite these qualities which tend often to disturb the peaceful tenor of events, life for them is essentially serene, and its events are God-willed, always planned for the best by Powers wiser than they.

The Miedo Configuration

The Miedo Configuration is not given the status of the preceding major configurations but is used by Kluckhohn to stress a strain of

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[8] Ibid., p. 74.

[9] Ibid., pp. 89-90, and 261.

apprehension which is frequently a motivation for activity or inactivity.

Loomis' Discussion of the Nature of Latin American Culture

In a discussion of Extension Work in Latin America, Loomis[10] called attention to the necessity for Anglo agricultural extension workers to recognize certain differences between Latin America and the United States. Although the independent peasant who furnished the basis for the development of much of the agricultural supremacy of the United States may be found in considerable numbers in Costa Rica, Southern Brazil, parts of Argentina, Chile and Colombia, the more typical Latin American arrangement is characterized as the peon-patron relationship existing among a large proportion of the agricultural population of Latin America living on the huge estates controlled by a few wealthy landlords. When the cultural patterns of the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwestern United States were set this peon-patron relationship prevailed, resulting in its peculiarly subservient attitudes. "First there is a certain submissiveness resulting in a willingness to permit, without question, both church and lay dignitaries to determine individual action. There seems to exist a sort of potential peon-patron relationship in lay affairs and in other matters of the padre, or priest, and his counsel is accepted with less questioning than is the case in

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[10] Charles P. Loomis, "Extension Work in Latin America," in Edmund de S. Brunner, et al. Farmers of the World: The Development of Agricultural Extension. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 116, ff.

comparable situations in Anglo-American culture."[11] Other characteristics were also described, such as existence of a marked lack of a feeling of local responsibility for local and national welfare, reflected, for example, in the unwillingness to levy reasonable taxes or assessments to support local and other agencies. In few countries is familism stronger. Professional competence is commonly less important in attaining prestige or obtaining a position or job than having the right family connections.

The village settlement pattern is more prevalent in the Latin American than in Anglo culture. "In most of the Spanish colonial cities the dimensions of the blocks, the width of the streets, and even the arrangement of the government buildings and the plaza were all standardized....features which characterize Spanish cities from California to the Straits of Magellan."[12] Most of the villages are formed about a plaza. The village form of settlement is even more common in the Southwestern United States than in Brazil and Argentina.[13]

The Church

According to Loomis: "By far the most important formal social organization larger than the family in Spanish-speaking villages is the church. The importance of this agency and the importance of eliciting

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[11] Ibid., p. 119.

[12] Preston James, Latin America. New York: Odyssey Press, 1942, p. 182.

[13] T. Lynn Smith, "The Locality Group Structure of Brazil," American Sociological Review, Vol. IX, No. 1, Feb. 1944, and Carl C. Taylor, "Rural Locality Groups in Argentina," American Sociological Review, Vol. IX, No. 2, April 1944.

the cooperation of the priesthood in extension and rehabilitation work cannot be overemphasized." In the Southwest United States, according to McWilliams:

> One can even detect an ethnic cleavage within the Catholic Church. For the larger communities usually have one church for the English-speaking, another for the Spanish-speaking. From the earliest times, the Protestant sects have separated Spanish-Americans from the Anglo in their churches, schools, and other institutions. Most of the larger towns are divided into an 'Old Town' and a 'New Town,' or an Anglo and Hispano section, with the high school being customarily located in the 'new' or Anglo community. The cleavage is most apparent and the group-consciousness of the Spanish-speaking people is most pronounced in the areas which have received heaviest Anglo-American influx.[14]

Attitudes Toward Money

Because the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest of the United States "have lived for centuries outside the realm of an industrial and highly competitive money economy they cannot be expected to manifest the modern businessman's attitudes toward money and the various aspects of money, such as interest."[15]

Isolation

Walter[16] maintains that the most important conditioning element in the culture of the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwestern United States is isolation. "Many reasons have been advanced for the way in which the destiny of this people has unraveled. Some commentators

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[14] Carey McWilliams. North From Mexico. New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1949.

[15] C. P. Loomis, op. cit., p. 124.

[16] A. F. Walter, Jr., op. cit., p. 53.

blame racial deterioration;[17] some, the land inheritance system;[18] some the old encomienda[19] and peonage institutions.[20] While all these and many other factors must be considered, the one obvious and indisputable element in the situation, so far at least as New Mexico is concerned, is isolation." How Walter's emphasis upon isolation is related to comparable concepts used by Kluckhohn is illustrated by the following quotation from him:

> ...in the whole problem of assimilating the Spanish speaking people into the American way of life, due regard must be given to the foundation institutions of the Spanish speaking culture. So long as the interlocking patron-peon pattern, church organization, and family can be kept relatively intact, the process of change promises to work itself out with a minimum of social disaster. As soon as this fundamental group of institutions is seriously disturbed, demoralization is to be anticipated.[21]

Walter has considerable proof of the importance of isolation as a determinant related to the present state of culture among the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwestern United States. Thus he writes: "In language, the people speak an idiom more archaic than the Spanish

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[17] Notably Harvey Fergusson, Blood of the Conquerors and Rio Grande.

[18] Notably Louis H. Warner, "Wills and Hijuelas," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 7, 1932, pp. 75-89.

[19] Lansing B. Bloom, and Thomas C. Donnelly, New Mexico History and Civics. Albuquerque, 1933. For more detailed accounts and sources, see: Ralph Emerson Twitchell, Leading Facts of New Mexico History and Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico.

[20] Cecil V. Romero in "The Riddle of the Adobe," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 4, 1929.

[21] Walter, op. cit., p. 282.

found elsewhere in the world.[22] Their folklore and drama are the purest survivals of Siglo de Oro Spain which can be found.[23] Such religious practices as those of los Hermanos Penitentes[24] are closely akin to the practices of southern European flagellants of the Fifteenth Century.[25] Their agricultural methods and household industries belong to the civilizations of past centuries.[26] The strange survivals of belief in witchcraft recall the days preceding the Inquisition.

"The cult of the Penitentes[27] is still found in many of the remote villages. But where contact with civilization is frequent, the curiosity of Anglos has either caused them to disband, or driven them to cover so that their practices are a closely guarded secret. This cult originated as a lay brotherhood of Franciscans in fifteenth-century Spain, and its survival in New Mexico and southern Colorado is vestigial.[28] Until the turn of the Twentieth Century, the Penitente order was widespread in New Mexico, from El Paso to the northern border. There were few

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[22] Aurelio M. Espinosa. "Spanish Folklore in New Mexico," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 1, 1926, pp. 135-155.

[23] Ibid.

[24] The Penitent Brotherhood, a lay Franciscan order founded in Spain in the Fifteenth Century, still active in New Mexico.

[25] Charles F. Lummis, Mesa, Canyon, and Pueblo. New York: Century Company, 1925.

[26] See New Mexico State Planning Board, Second Progress Report, Santa Fe, 1936; and United States Soil Conservation Service, Tewa Basin Survey.

[27] Penitente, shortened form of Los Hermanos Penitentes, "The penitent brothers."

[28] Bloom and Donnelley, op. cit., and Ralph E. Twitchell, Old Sante Fe.

settlements without local chapters and membership was a prerequisite to a political career.[29]

In these more remote villages[30] there are still maintained moradas, the via doloroso, calvarios, and the hermano mayor is usually the local patron."[31]

The Class System Among the Spanish-speaking People of New Mexico

Senter,[32] has described the class system among the Spanish-speaking villagers in New Mexico. The description is applicable to the older settlements throughout the Southwest. Figure 1 describes and compares the class system in three situations. First, there is the class system of the villagers of northern New Mexico, whom he calls Manitos. Second, there is the statewide class system of Spanish Americans, including the towns and cities. Third there is the statewide Anglo class system.

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[29] Frank W. Blackmar, Spanish Institutions of the Southwest.

[30] Notably, Truchas, Santa Barbara, Penasco, Dixon, Tres Piedras, and San Mateo.

[31] Morada, the ceremonial house, usually a two-room, windowless adobe structure. Via doloroso, "the way of sorrows," path by which processions pass, the members whipping and otherwise torturing themselves as they march. Calvario, a hill near the morada, which is the terminus of processions, and where, at times, "crucifixions" take place. Hermano mayor, "elder brother," chief officer of each local chapter.

[32] Donovan Senter, "Acculturation Among New Mexican Villagers in Comparison to Adjustment Patterns of Other Spanish-speaking Americans," Rural Sociology, Vol. 10, No. 1, March 1945, p. 36 ff.

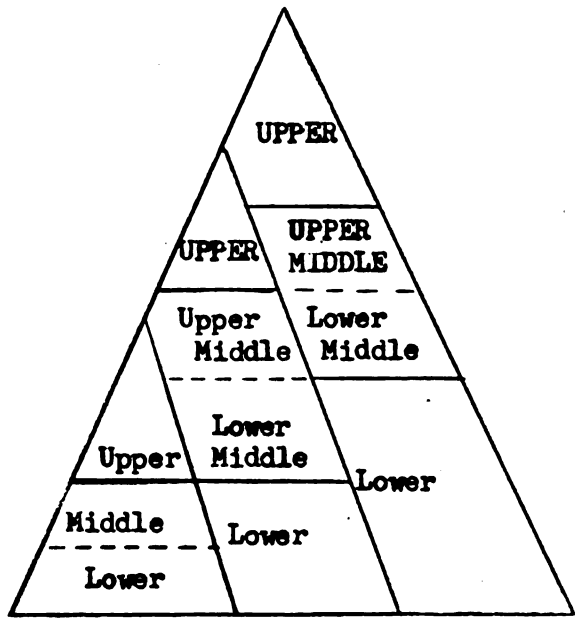

Figure 1. Comparison of Spanish Class System with Anglo Class System in New Mexico.[33]

As indicated in the triangle, in Figure 1, the three systems existant in the state interlock, but with the villagers losing approximately one half class in status when considered in the state-wide Manito system, and those classified according to this second system losing approximately one half class in status when set into the Anglo system. Thus an individual who is considered to be of upper class in a village is considered to be of upper middle class position in functional status as well as in comparison to the range of positions possible within the entire village

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[33] Ibid.

populace of the state. That individual is placed in a lower middle class position when considering the people of the state from an Anglo viewpoint. Only a few village families at the top of the upper class do not suffer this class drop in moving between status systems.

TABLE I

CHARACTERIZATION OF SPANISH-AMERICANS BY CLASS,
TAOS COUNTY, NEW MEXICO*

	Village Lower Class	Village Lower Middle Class
Attitude Toward Anglos	All Anglos are considered to be wealthy people who should be preyed upon since they do the same to the villagers.	Admire the Anglo and would like to resemble him. Usually resentfully sensitive about their cultural background, which they tend to glorify by speaking with reverence of "the good old times."
Attitude Toward Time	Consider the present only.	They look forward to improving their status through financial advancement. To be an Anglo is, to them, to know how to earn money.
Language	Spanish with very little knowledge of English	Speak English, although most do not require it to be spoken in their homes.
Economic Status	Very poor. Small adobe huts and enough land for a garden. Mostly day laborers and farm hands. WPA work was accepted.	Fairly good. Men have jobs in Anglo business concerns or own farms on which the FSA has given aid. Control local political jobs and distributed WPA money.
Education	The older folks are illiterate and many of the children drop out of school at about the third grade level.	The older people are illiterate or have a poor education but most of them took what was locally available during their youth.
Religion	Penitente society, rites, etc. frequently more important than the Catholic church organization.	Catholic or Protestant. They usually consider the Penitentes to be of lower class. Most of the people regularly attend Mass but avoid Penitente ceremonies.

* Typical suburban lower class (middle class in the village: (1) Individual usually carries a chip on his shoulder when dealing with Anglos. Thinks they are snobbish, rich and to be fleeced. (2) Live in present; plan for immediate future only. (3) Most oldsters illiterate. Children go to 6th or 8th grades and a few start high school. (4) Male head may

Upper-Middle Class of Towns and Upper Class of Villages	Upper Class (All N.M.)
Completely oriented to Anglo ways. They are the key men used by Anglos attempting programs to aid the village population. Anglos fail to realize that many persons of this class distrust and disdain the lower classes.	Consider themselves above most Anglos. They have friends among the upper classes in Mexico and the United States.
They live for the future but think most of economic and political advancement. They like to consider themselves as part of the Anglo culture but want to retain the colorful old trappings of the Spanish.	Glorify the past but are fighting to hold their position in the present.
English predominates but people speak both languages by necessity in their contacts with the two peoples.	English is more used than Spanish but they feel it necessary to know Spanish because of pride in background.
Most well-to-do Spanish Speaking people in New Mexico. Hold political, government, public utility positions, or are land owners. Houses are either very Anglo or copies of Anglo attempts at Spanish-Pueblo architecture.	Some are wealthy, some moderately so. Homes are careful replicas of old Spanish or upper class Anglo homes.
Fairly well educated with high school or college for younger people. Do not deny Spanish background but emphasize their having risen above it. In a sophisticated way they consider themselves authorities on Spanish language and customs. May be collectors.	Some of the girls and most of the men attend college. Many attend outside the State avoiding local prejudice. Some become specialists in subjects relating to their own people.
Catholic or Protestant. To mesh better with Anglos, some change from Catholic to Protestant. Villagers who become state leaders associate with the Church and may be town members of church organization such as Knights of Columbus.	Usually Catholic

(Continued next page)

not be Penitente. Penitente and church functional in daily family life. (5) Spanish life pattern dominates, especially in crises-erratically acculturated toward Anglo customs: (6) Only Spanish spoken at home. (7) Poor, unskilled hand laborer. Adobe homes with Anglo-type furniture, etc. (8) Clothes cheap, poorly cared for. Darker but shades of color not thought to be important. Adapted from Senter.

TABLE I - Continued

	Village Lower Class	Village Lower Middle Class
Social System	More like that of the Pre-Anglo era in the operation of ceremonies of family and kinship, especially during crises.	Kinship system of extended family dominates. To be like Anglos some families try to hold apart from the rest of the village. They adopt Anglo customs such as showers for the bride in place of the old family engagement party of Spanish culture.
Physical Characteristics	Dark skin common, cleanliness varies. Cheap clothes worn; are rarely cared for.	Slightly lighter in complexion than most of the villagers probably having less Indian blood. They take good care of their clothes and, in a limited way, try to copy prevalent Anglo styles. By having more money and education about health they buy better diets and having more confidence in the Anglo medical system they manifest less malnutrition than lower classes.

Upper-Middle Class of Towns and Upper Class of Villages	Upper Class (All N.M.)
Except for political expediency hold apart from lower class villagers. Younger people, especially, have accepted Anglo ideas. Cling to Spanish when it appears sophisticated to do so. Really hold too many Spanish customs to be secure in their Anglo orientation.	Highly sensitive to kinship relations in other upper class families. Relatives in lower classes employed in political position leading to accusation of nepotism.
Healthy with adequate nutrition, medical care, and treatment. Their clothes are good and their grooming careful.	Essentially like Anglos in physical type and dress. Leadership for centuries in N. M. preserves refinement and sophistication of their ancestors.

Table I[34] describes the various characteristics of the village lower class, village lower middle class, upper middle class of towns and upper class of villages, and the upper class of all New Mexico.

The Border

A word concerning the line which supposedly divides the United States and Mexico is in order. The Rio Grande, as it flows from El Paso to Brownsville, does not separate people. It draws them together. The towns along the river, as along the entire border, are, as Carey McWilliams[35] says, kinds of Siamese twins. The pulsation of interaction is evident between El Paso, Texas, and Jaurez, Mexico; Ysleta and Sargossa; San Elizario and Loma Colorado; Del Rio and Villa Acuna; Eagle Pass and Reimosa; Brownsville and Matamoros. Of course, most of the border rivers in heavily settled valleys of the world form very poor division lines for political systems. In most cases the valleys are essentially one culture and form natural communities extending on both sides of the river. This is true of the Rio Grande. Using it as a boundry creates "unnatural divisions" of communities.

As one travels west from El Paso along the border, the desert mines serve to draw people together. Many towns west of El Paso are also twins, in some instances carrying similar names. There are Douglas, Arizona and Agua Prieta, Mexico; Maco, Arizona and Maco, Sonora; Nogales,

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[34] Charles P. Loomis, Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America and Germany. East Lansing, Michigan: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 356-357.

[35] Op. cit., p. 61.

Arizona and Nogales, Mexico; Calexico, California and Mexicali, Mexico. From village to village and town to town the ebb and flow of life and trade across the border continues, not without frictions and tensions, but still not over the barriers between countries which one finds between such countries as France and Germany. As McWilliams says, "Anglos and Hispanos have fought and quarrelled along the border as only close relatives can quarrel, but they have not faced each other across a fixed boundary with the sullen and undying enmity that the Germans and the French have faced each other across the Rhine. Borderlands unite as well as separate; they make for fusion rather than total acceptance or rejection. Differences tend to shade off in such a complex manner that soon various combinations of the two major types have appeared, and with the emergence of these intermediate types the two antithetical elements have been inextricably bound together. There is no stronger bond between Mexico and the United States today than the living and organic union of the two cultures which exists in the borderlands. The process by which this union has been effected can never be reversed, for it is a product of the similarity, the oneness, of the environment.[36]

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[36] Ibid., p. 62.

CHAPTER III

THE SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE AS A MINORITY GROUP

The purpose of this chapter is to present a brief description of the Spanish Americans in the southwestern United States, with particular reference to the indications of their status as a minority group. Seen against this background, the analysis of the data will be more meaningful to the reader.

One New Mexican author gives a hint of the difficulty likely to be encountered in attempting to achieve this purpose:

> The task of portraying the present status of the citizens of Spanish descent in New Mexico....is a difficult and a highly complicated one. There are many ramifications of the questions involved, and issues arising from those questions present perplexing social and economic problems. It needs to be pointed out that no organized effort has ever been made to compile and present information with reference to these questions. Isolated agencies and individuals have made researches and, on occasion, have inaugurated action programs of limited scope. At no time, however, have these efforts been coordinated nor has joint study ever been given to the various phases of the minority problem of the area by those who have devoted time and effort to its study.[1]

Definitions

One of the difficulties encountered in an attempt to describe the Spanish speaking people, particularly when one uses quotations from various sources, is the fact that there is so little concensus as to

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[1] George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People, Alburquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1940, pp. 28-29.

the correct name to use in reference to this group. To the man in the street, they are generally known as "Mexicans", but this term has two disadvantages: first, it is inadequate because it fails to describe those descendants of the early Spanish colonists whose residence in the southwest antedates the entry of that area into the United States; second, the term is all too often used as a term of opprobrium, often accompanied by such adjectives as "dirty". One author, Sanchez, in his book on Taos County, New Mexico, generally refers to them as "New Mexicans". Probably the most accurate and inclusive terms are "Spanish Americans" or "Spanish speaking people", which terms will be used throughout this paper excepting in those instances in which one of the other terms is used in a direct quotation or where reference is made to those who are without question natives of Mexico. The English speaking people will be referred to either as English speaking people or as Anglos, which latter is the term used generally throughout the southwest.

Composition of the Group

Although until recently the problems of the people of the southwestern United States who have their roots in the Spanish culture have had very little recognition, we can safely classify these people as a minority according to Wirth's definition of a minority as "a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as

objects of collective discrimination."[2] In this case, the characteristics differentiating the Spanish from the Anglos are both physical and cultural, as we will later point out in some detail. There is as yet not a great number of scientific studies to guide us in determining with any precision the exact relationship of this group to the superordinate Anglo group in that area, but with the increasing interest in Pan-Americanism, in the interest of improved relations with our Latin American neighbors, we have been forced as a nation to give some attention to those of Spanish origin within our own boundaries.

The magnitude of the problem in New Mexico, where 36.5 percent of the population, according to the 1950 census, were classified as persons of Spanish surname, is staggering. Figure 2,[3] shows graphically the situation as revealed by the 1950 census; of all the states bordering on Mexico, New Mexico has by far the largest proportion of persons of Spanish surname.

In Figure 3,[4] the distribution of the areas of highest concentration of population of Spanish surname is shown by counties. Although the proportion of Spanish people in the counties bordering on Mexico ranges from 25 to 75 percent, the counties where over 75 percent of the population is Spanish are clustered in the northern, more isolated part of the state.

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[2] Ralph Linton and Louis Wirth, "The Problem of Minority Groups," in The Science of Man in the World Crisis, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 347.

[3] Robert H. Talbert, Spanish-Name People in the Southwest and West. Fort Worth: Leo Potishman Foundation, Texas Christian University, 1955, p. 20.

[4] Ibid., p. 21.

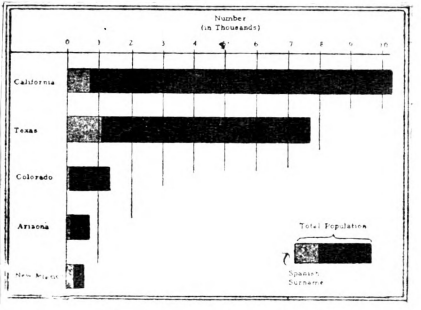
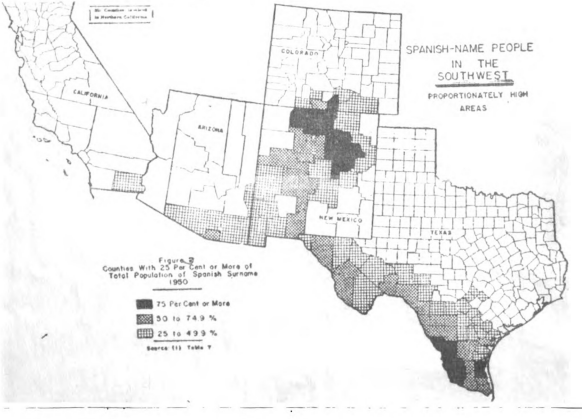


Figure 2. Total Population and Number of White Persons of Spanish Surname in Five Southwestern States, 1950. (Sources: (1) Table 1; (3) Table 11.)



Most of the Spanish Americans of the southwest came from Mexico, especially the northeastern states of Mexico and the Mesa Central. "The numbers of Mexicans emigrating from south of Mexico City are almost insignificant. Disorganization of the old structure of society has proceeded far more slowly in these parts than in the north, and there are fewer large estates worked by hordes of peons. These reasons are much more important than increased distance as an explanation of failure to emigrate."[5] The peak of the pre-war immigration of Mexicans was reached, according to Paul Taylor, in 1929, but during the depression many returned to their homes in Mexico. The demand for farm labor during the war occasioned another wave of immigration into the United States, both legal immigration and the entrance of many "wet backs".

There are, in addition to those of definitely Mexican origin, numbers of persons culturally Spanish, whose mother tongue is Spanish, whose ancestry is Spanish or Mexican, and whose forefathers for generations have inhabited the area. These Spanish Americans live generally in rather isolated settlements in northern New Mexico or southern Colorado, where their ancestors settled early in the Spanish colonial period, before the coming of the Anglos. There has been very little recent migration into these areas because there are no incentives to lure newcomers. Generally speaking, the Spanish Americans here live on a subsistence level, engaging in small-scale dry-land farming. They retain to a great extent the culture of sixteenth century Spain. Their contacts with the Anglos are generally very limited.

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[5] Paul S. Taylor, Mexican Labor in the United States. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1934, p. 48.

Although the Spanish Americans and the Mexicans recognize a definite cleavage between their two groups, they are generally all classified as Mexicans in the mind of the average Anglo. In any case, from the viewpoint of race, both groups are made up largely of hybrids representing the mixture of the Spanish conquistadors and colonists with the various Indian tribes found in Mexico and the United States. They are also cultural hybrids, representing the mingling of Indian ways with the culture of the sixteenth century in Spain. Their language is some form of Spanish, often richly inlaid with Indian words. Many of the villages of the Spanish Americans are so isolated that a large part of the population, especially women and children, speak no English in spite of the fact that New Mexico has a law stipulating that only English can be spoken in the schools of that state. Obviously, few people worry about the observance of that law in the spatially and culturally isolated communities, and many a Spanish-American boy entered the army with little or no knowledge of English.

There is residential segregation also in the towns. To what extent this is imposed on the minority group by the Anglos and to what extent it is voluntary segregation or the result of economic conditions, is unknown. However, the segregation is obvious to the observer. For example, in Las Vegas, New Mexico, the river separates the Old Town of the Spanish Americans from the New Town of the Anglos. Almost invariably the Spanish settlement is patterned on the old design, with the Plaza the center of community life, the Catholic Church holding the place of honor on the Plaza.

The majority of the Spanish Americans are engaged in agricultural or unskilled labor, although there are a few who have risen in the social and economic scale, largely through education. "West of the black belt, Mexicans have filled the labor demand met in the Old South by Negroes."[6] Of course, one of the ways in which the Mexican seeks economic betterment is to move north to industrial areas, but these migrants are not included in the present study.

Robert H. Talbert makes a comparison of the occupational patterns of persons of Spanish surname with those of the total population in the five southwestern states in which the Spanish population is most concentrated. He derives the following table from the 1950 census:[7]

TABLE II

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS: SELECTED COMBINATIONS OF OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, SUGGESTING DIFFERENTIAL STATUS, FOR WHITE PERSONS OF SPANISH SURNAME AND TOTAL POPULATION, IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES, 1950

	High Status Workers*		Low Status Workers**	
State	Spanish Surname	Total Population	Spanish Surname	Total Population
Arizona	7.6	26.2	37.5	16.3
California	9.6	25.2	34.2	11.3
Colorado	11.8	29.8	39.2	11.6
New Mexico	19.1	30.3	30.8	15.6
Texas	10.7	27.2	40.8	15.5

* High status includes, "Professional, technical and kindred workers," "Farmers and farm managers," "Managers, officials and proprietors, except farm."

** Low status includes, "Private household workers," "Farm laborers and foremen," "Laborers, except farm and mine."

[6] Ibid., p. 49.

[7] Talbert, op. cit., p. 69.

> In general, employed persons of the Spanish group tended to be concentrated in the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations to a greater extent than was true of workers of the total population. . . .
>
> This table provides per cent contrasts for two combinations of occupational categories. The 'high status' combination generally includes those occupations requiring professional, technical and/or managerial skill. The 'low status' occupations would normally require little special training. But more important than the relative training and skill required is the differing status and remuneration connected with the two groupings.
>
> For each state, the Spanish group in comparison with the total population had a lower per cent in the 'high status' combination and a higher per cent in the 'low status' jobs. However, it is important to note the relative percentages for the different status in combination. From these data it appears that the persons of Spanish surname in New Mexico had a somewhat higher status . . . than was true for Spanish group workers in other states.[8]

Extent of Acculturation

Probably the most concise statement of the attitudes of a Spanish American population toward the superordinate group and toward the other members of their own group is presented by Donovan Senter.[9] He characterizes the Spanish Americans by class in Taos County, New Mexico, where they have been living since the Spanish colonial period and where they constitute over 90 per cent of the population.

Senter's findings indicate that the extent of acculturation tends to vary with the social class to which the Spanish American belongs, with the greatest desire for acculturation appearing, as one would expect, in the middle class. Both the lower and upper classes make conscious

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[8] Ibid., pp. 68-69.

[9] Donovan Senter, Villages of the Saints, Unpublished manuscript.

efforts to preserve their Spanish heritage and are extremely resistant to all but the most obvious cultural traits of the Anglo group. This is, of course, much more in evidence in the isolated villages than in the towns, where the Spanish are constantly exposed to the Anglo culture.

The two most obvious ways in which the Spanish-speaking people try to shed their minority status and become acculturated, beyond the superficial physical changes such as adoption of Anglo dress, food, standards of housing, etc., are through education and participation in politics.

Because of the strong family ties existing among the Spanish Americans, it is possible for the members of the group to rise in the social and economic scale through participation in politics. In many villages the entire population is united by blood ties, and these relationships extend into the nearby towns. This close relationship is evidenced by the amazingly efficient grapevine, through which people in extremely isolated villages come to know in an incredibly short time what is happening outside. The close relationships between villagers and townspeople is shown by the fact that men who are running for political offices in the town, for which the villagers have no vote, nevertheless spend considerable amounts of money putting on fiestas in the villages as part of their campaigns. The reason they feel justified in making these apparently useless expenditures is that the villagers all have relatives in the town in which the politician is seeking office, and he knows that they will influence the votes of these relatives.

The descendants of the Spanish colonists of New Mexico are to be found in every walk of life. The conditions arising out of the adjustments which resulted from the development of the region within the last ninety years have had varying effects upon the populace. Some managed to retain their land holdings and are in comfortable circumstances as farmers and as ranchers. Some have taken advantage of new economic opportunities and have proven successful in business. A few have seized upon educational advantages and are to be found in the professions and in government. Many make their living as clerks and as skilled workers.

While due recognition must be made of the successful manner in which some members of the group have adapted themselves to the new environment, it is to be observed that the great masses of the people constitute a severely handicapped social and economic minority. Generally speaking, their status is one of privation and want, of cultural inadequacy and of bewilderment. Neglected for more than two hundred years as Spanish colonials and Mexicans, their cultural situation was not greatly improved by the territorial regime. In fact, the little improvement that took place through the limited educational efforts that were made in their behalf was more than offset by the social and economic decline that resulted from the influx of new peoples and of a new economic order.

The evidence of decline and deterioration is best observed in situations faced by those rural sections of the state where New Mexicans represent a substantial sector of the population, though such evidence is not lacking in the towns and cities. Almost a hundred years after becoming American citizens, a broad gap still separates them from the culture which surrounds them. In lieu of adequate instruction, they have clung to their language, their customs, their agricultural practices. Though no fault can be found with a society because it seeks to perpetuate worthy elements of its culture, it is to be regretted that, in this instance, the process has not been accompanied by suitable adaptations.

The New Mexican often carries on inferior and obsolete practices and beliefs because he has been permitted, and forced, to remain in isolation. Of necessity, he has persisted in a traditional way of life that is below current standards. His language has suffered by disuse, yet he has had little chance to learn to use English effectively. His social status reflects his economic insufficiency. His lack of education handicaps him in the exercise of his political power. That same lack makes him a public charge once he has lost his land, his traditional source of livelihood. Midst the wreckage of his economy and his culture, and unprepared for the new order of things, he is pathetic in his helplessness--a stranger in his own home.[10]

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[10] Sanchez, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

Segregation

> The experiences which trouble the Mexican-Americans most are those in which citizens of the United States continually treat them as 'Mexicans'. They are native-born, and as such are citizens; they have learned English, acquired occupational skills, and understand something of 'American' standards; but when they aspire to recognition they are stunned by being labeled 'foreigners,' or worse still, 'dirty greasers.' Like 'American' youth they run the gamut from the finest types of human character to low-grade individuals. Many 'Americans,' unfortunately, do not discriminate; they treat all as inferiors and as foreigners.[11]

Instances of discrimination against Spanish speaking people in the southwest are myriad. Probably the most obvious form of discrimination is actual segregation, and although the Spanish Americans in the southwest are not as openly segregated as are the Negroes in the deep south, there does exist a certain amount of segregation. We have mentioned above residential segregation, and it is a matter of record that often such business establishments as restaurants and places of entertainment post notices to the effect that only white customers are allowed, by which they mean to exclude not only Negroes but also Mexicans. Some post more specific notices, such as one place which is said to have a sign to the effect that they do not admit "Negroes, Mexicans, or dogs without collars."[12]

Of the states of the southwest, the one most often cited as being unfair to the Spanish speaking population is Texas. It is, of course, through Texas that most of the immigration from Mexico takes place,

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[11] Emory S. Bogardus, The Mexican in the United States. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1934.

[12] Manuel Gamio, The Mexican Immigrant. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934.

regardless of the ultimate destination of the migrants, and several writers on the subject suggest that the feeling against the Mexicans is strongest in those parts of the state in which most migratory workers are found.

> Time magazine, in February, 1944, reprinted a cartoon by Garcia Cabral in which Cantinflas, famed Mexican comic of stage and screen, was the character portrayed. In the first panel, Cantinflas was meditating upon a sign displayed by a Texas cafe which read: 'No Mexicans Served.' The second panel showed Cantinflas putting the finishing touches on a sign over a Mexican restaurant which said: 'Here We Serve Anyone--Even Texans.'[13]

It may be said that the Mexican stereotype in Texas is as much a matter of class as of nationality, culture, or race, but here as always the stereotype which may to a large extent originate in class differences is extended to include all classes if they bear the physical and cultural characteristics associated with the stereotype. Any number of cases might be cited in which upper-class Latin Americans travelling in the southwest, particularly in Texas, were embarrassed by discriminatory treatment at the hands of the Anglos.

Discrimination in the Schools

In the schools, too, there is evidence of discrimination and even segregation, although the law of New Mexico, for example, specifically states that Negroes may be segregated but children of Spanish descent may not. In some cases the segregation in the schools results from residential segregation, but the quality of education offered in areas

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[13] Pauline R. Kibbee, Latin Americans in Texas. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1946, p. 207.

predominantly Spanish is often inferior to that offered in areas in which the Anglos are in the majority.

> The educational level of the Spanish speaking population is most vividly portrayed by school statistics. Though children from this sector of the population [of New Mexico] constitute one-half of the public school enrollment, they make up less than one-fifth of the enrollment in the twelfth grade. Of almost sixty thousand Spanish-speaking children enrolled in school, more than half are in the first three grades. Over one-third of the total enrollment of these children is found in the first grade. In every grade beyond the first, more than 55 per cent of the children are more than two years over-age for their grade. Generally speaking, the achievement of the Spanish speaking child in school subjects is not only far below national standards but also below state averages.
>
> The explanation for these conditions is to be found in the nature and quality of the educational facilities available to these children. In the counties with the largest proportions of Spanish speaking people, school terms are shorter, teachers are less well prepared and their salaries are lower, and materials of instruction and school buildings are inferior to those found else where in the state. As a matter of fact, careful analysis reveals that as the percentage of Spanish speaking population increases, educational opportunity decreases.
>
> The special nature of the problem of educating this cultural minority has never been properly recognized by the federal and state governments. Educational practices in Nex Mexico have been patterned after those developed in the Middle West and in the East for peoples and conditions vastly different from those obtaining here. . . .The use of standard curricula, books, and materials among these children is a ridiculous procedure. . . .
>
> In the school year 1937-1938 New Mexico spent $51 per pupil in average daily attendance for the total current expenses of the public schools. That year, each of the four counties with the highest percentage of Spanish speaking population spent less than $35 per pupil--less than half the amount spent by the county with the highest expenditures. As suggested above, this discrepancy is due in large part to the inequitable manner in which state school revenues are distributed. For example, the first distribution of the state publis school equalization fund in 1939-40 gives the four most 'Spanish' counties less than $50 per classroom unit. In that distribution, the average for the state is about $90, one county (among the lowest in proportion of Spanish speaking population) receiving about $160 per unit. Several counties (all with a low percentage of native population) received well over $100 per unit.[14]

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[14] Sanchez, op. cit., pp. 30-33.

The quality of the teaching and the qualifications of the teachers in some of the schools for Spanish speaking children is illustrated in El Cerrito, one isolated Spanish American village studied in some detail.

> The principal of the school has never attempted to organize any activity that would improve his working relationships in the community. In fact, his training and background would be far from suitable for such an endeavor. He was born in El Cerrito and attended the local grade school. Four years of high school and a summer term of college in Las Vegas completed his training. . . .
>
> . . . Although a State law requires that nothing but English be spoken in the schools this regulation is not adhered to. Knowledge on the part of the children that the teacher understands Spanish tempts them to speak it. In case they cannot make themselves understood in English they are likely to use their native tongue.
>
> In addition, teaching techniques and materials are not adapted to the peculiar problems met in the local school situation. The sole means for imparting knowledge is the group of standard textbooks. Any other equipment is devised by the teachers and fashioned out of cans, boxes, and other crude materials at hand. No consideration is given to the fact that the pupils are learning a new language in addition to stock material which they are expected to master. Such subjects as geography, history, and health are taught in terms that are foreign to them. During the school year 1939-40, the pupils of El Cerrito worked out posters and other projects based on such subjects as transportation in Boston and the importance of navigation in the growth of Chicago.[15]

In Texas, too,

> . . .with frequent outstanding exceptions, our elementary teachers have been lacking entirely in a knowledge and understanding of Latin American children; and until the very recent past, the teacher-training institutions in Texas were not actively aware of the fact that the successful instruction of Spanish speaking children requires special teaching methods and classroom materials, in addition to a general and fairly comprehensive knowledge and understanding of their social characteristics and economic background. Add to this the fact that, in many Texas school districts, teachers in segregated schools receive from $400 to $600 a year

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[15] C. P. Loomis, Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America and Germany. East Lansing, Michigan: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 318-319.

less salary than those in the other schools and it is readily understandable why, for the most part, the inferior academic qualifications of teachers of Latin American children act as a deterrent to both attendance and progress.[16]

In a study to determine to what extent the public schools of Texas meet accepted educational standards with regard to Latin American children, the reasons given by school superintendents for segregating Spanish speaking children were as follows:

> Local prejudice and inability to speak English.
>
> Latin Americans favor the plan; children are much more at ease and they will naturally segregate anyway. They are not at the disadvantage of being graded in English on the same standards as Anglo Americans who are speaking their native tongue.
>
> Public opinion.
>
> Children with language difficulty can be given special treatment and special methods in teaching may be employed.
>
> So many in the first grade, and need cleaning up to be taught. Lack of English language knowledge.
>
> School board is antagonistic toward housing in the same building.
>
> Language handicap is the reason in the school minutes.
>
> These children need five or six years of Americanization before being placed with American children. Their standard of living is too low--they are dirty, lousy, and need special teaching in health and cleanliness. They also need special teaching in the English language.[17]

> Some Anglo Americans are afflicted with prejudices and distorted opinions, growing out of ignorance and complete lack of understanding, strongly supported by the widely accepted theory that "Mexicans', aside from being congenitally inferior, are, by nature, notoriously cheap competition and tend to lower wage scales in any locality. Unfortunately, some school boards reflect these local prejudices and misconceptions.[18]

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[16] Kibbe, op. cit., pp. 102-103.

[17] Wilson Little, Spanish-Speaking Children in Texas. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1944. pp. 60-61.

[18] Kibbe, op. cit., p. 97.

The following comments of a superintendent of schools in a New Mexico town throw light on various aspects of the minority problem in the schools:

> My predecessor discouraged non-English young people from entering High School. I like to think that I am progressive in this respect. In the few years that I have been superintendent here the enrollment of Spanish speaking students in the high school has increased from almost nothing to about 15 percent. In the lowest grades we have about 60 per cent Spanish, which progressively decreases as the students approach high school. We have a long way to go, but we have started.
>
> My new principal comes from Spanish speaking stock, but is accepted by the Anglos. To him goes most of the credit for the increased Spanish speaking enrollment in high school, but not all. The athletic coach who was here when I came wouldn't let the Spanish speaking boys try out for the teams. My new coach is from T_____. He is an Anglo but at _____ they play Anglos and Spanish speaking boys together. In fact, he played on a famous mixed team before he became a coach. Here he encourages the Spanish speaking boys to turn out. He has discovered some championship material among then and he has raised the status of the Spanish speaking boys in the whole town.[19]

Occupational Discrimination

Occupationally the Spanish American is also disadvantaged.

> The descendants of the colonizers of New Mexico constitute an underprivileged socio-economic minority in the state. As the common day laborer and subsistence farmer, the economic status of the native New Mexican puts him at the disadvantage felt by similar classes elsewhere in the country. In addition, it is quite apparent that, in New Mexico, this group suffers additional handicaps that are products of the cultural gap that separates the New Mexican from other Americans.[20]

In the case of both the Spanish and the more recently arrived Mexicans in the southwest, farming is the principal occupation, and the status of most of those thus engaged is that of farm laborer.

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[19] Loomis, op. cit., p. 339.

[20] Sanchez, op. cit., p. 34.

> The tasks performed in the Southwest determine both the demand for Mexican labor and the seasonal migratory character of the labor secured. In the Imperial Valley they pick cantaloupes, harvest lettuce, pick cotton, grapefruit, and truck. In the winter garden district they clear the land, transplant, harvest, and load onions. In other parts of Texas they cultivate and pick cotton, and in the beet country they block, thin, and hoe beets in the spring and pull and top them in the fall. . . .
>
> The work in Colorado is even more seasonal since the crops are not so diversified and since the basic labor of preparing and tilling the soil is done by local labor, and outsiders are only hired for planting and harvesting operations.[21]

The situation of the descendants of the Spanish colonials who have lost much of the land given them under Spanish and Mexican grants before the area became a part of the United States is an old story to those acquainted with the Southwest. Suffice it to say that these farmers have lost most of their grazing land, on which their livelihood depended, through their lack of understanding of the highly competitive Anglo culture. They were given relief by several of the New Deal agencies, and it was partly through studies undertaken as a result of contacts made by those agencies with isolated Spanish American settlements that we are beginning to understand the seriousness of their economic problems. Loath to leave their old homes and the security offered by their own village relationships, they have held tenaciously to the little plots of irrigated land left to them. They have had to depend for their small cash income on work outside the village during at least a part of the year, although they would prefer making their living by the production of livestock as they did in the past.

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[21] Ibid., p. 39.

In industry, most of the occupations open to the Spanish speaking workers have been in the unskilled category, and even these are extremely limited because of prejudice against hiring them in many industries: ". . . the Mexican begins the cycle at the same place but a few years behind the Negro."[22]

Many Spanish Americans have been employed on the railroads as section laborers, but the Railroad Brotherhood group of unions has refused to extend membership to Latin Americans and they are excluded from such occupations as railroad engineers, firemen, brakeman, and conductors.

As in the case of the Negro in industry,

> While lack of education might be advanced as one reason for the widespread employment of Latin Americans in the most difficult and least remunerative capacities, this does not explain the situation fully nor satisfactorily. There are too many instances where Latin Americans have been denied opportunities for advancement, simply because they happened to be of Mexican extraction.[23]

If the scope of this discussion permitted, many cases of such discrimination are available and could be cited. We will simply offer as a brief summary of the situation the official statement made by a special assistant on Latin American problems to the chairman of the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice:

> Less than 5 per cent of the total number of persons of Mexican extraction in Texas are employed at the present time (September, 1944) in war and essential industries. Such industries as have given employment to Mexican labor have

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[22] T. J. Woofter, Races and Ethnic Groups in American Life. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933, p. 86.

[23] Ibid., p. 141.

> restricted them to common or unskilled labor jobs, largely, regardless of their ability, training, or qualifications. In the oil, aircraft and mining industries, in the numerous military installations, in the munitions factories and shipyards, and in the public utility corporations, such as gas, light, and transportation companies, their employment has been limited and their opportunities for advancement restricted.[24]

> Since the beginning, the lot of the Latin American worker employed in Texas industry has been an unhappy one. His opportunities for employment have been, and are now, extremely limited. His chances of promotion in his occupation are curtailed, and his wage rates are generally established on a discriminatory basis. Some improvement was noted during the war; however, it is an indisputable fact that a majority of Texas industries still follow the practice of discriminating against Latin American workers, with regard to employment, wage scales, and opportunities of promotion.[25]

During the war some Spanish-speaking boys were trained under government programs in semi-skilled or skilled occupations, and a few were accepted for these jobs in the shipbuilding and airplane industries in California. However, the great majority of those employed even in defense work were employed at unskilled or undesirable jobs, and usually they were not up-graded as rapidly as were Anglos in similar jobs.

Some few Spanish-Americans reach white-collar or even professional status, especially as teachers in segregated schools, but Kibbe says of the situation in Texas:

> High school and even college graduates, if they are of Mexican descent, often find it difficult to secure employment in the field of their choice. The Spanish-teaching program in Texas public schools has been retarded by lack of qualified teachers, yet young Texans with a native knowledge of Spanish,

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[24] Kibbe, op. cit., p. 163.

[25] Carlos E. Castaneda, "Some Facts on Our Racial Minority," The Pan-American, Vol. I, October, 1944, pp. 4-5.

> and graduates of the State's teacher-training institutions, have run up against the blank wall of prejudice in many school districts and have been forced, at length, into other employment. It is a rare occasion when a Latin American stenographer, efficient though she may be, finds herself acceptable as an employee to any but a Latin American business man or a firm engaged in foreign trade.
>
> To cite an instance, the United States Employment Service office in Austin, one day in November, 1945, received a telephone call from a woman department head at the University of Texas. She expressed the desire to employ a trained secretary-assistant and was told that, fortunately, the application of a young lady who possessed all the required qualifications had just been received and that she held a degree from the University of Texas. The prospective employer was delighted, and inquired as to the girl's name. When informed that it was 'Martinez', she exclaimed: 'Why, I wouldn't have a Mexican in my office! I want a white girl!'[26]

The Measurement of Ethnic Cleavage

Although we may find references to many examples of segregation and other forms of discrimination against the Spanish Americans to indicate their minority status, very little has been done in the way of scientific efforts to measure cleavages between that group and the Anglos. A beginning has been made in this direction in one study of ethnic cleavages in two New Mexican high schools, the Las Cruces High School and the Taos High School. In the former high school, in the southern part of the state, almost two thirds of the students were Anglos, whereas in the Taos High School, in northern New Mexico, slightly less than one quarter of the students were Anglos. In both cases cleavages between the two ethnic groups were highly significant as measures of

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[26] Kibbe, op. cit., p. 157.

in-group tendencies. To further substantiate the results of this study, it was noted that in spite of the fact that the two ethnic groups attended the same high schools, in neither town have there been many mixed marriages in recent years.

> Unfortunately, cleavage data were not obtained from which to calculate cleavage scores for the lower grades in Taos and Las Cruces. Such data would make it possible to generalize concerning the relation of age to ethnic prejudices. One small sample of grade school children in Las Cruces was studied. The cleavage measures . . . support the general theory that cleavages increase as the students progress through school.[27]

More conclusive data on this phenomenon would be extremely useful in the study of the Spanish Americans in the Southwest as a minority group.

There is obvious need for further research on cleavages existing between the Spanish and Anglo groups: a scientific approach to their origins and manifestations; their effects on the two groups and the relationships existing between them; the extent and effectiveness of any efforts being made by either group to minimize the inter-group tensions.

It seems particularly important that the approach to these problems should be a dynamic one and should take into consideration the historical background as well as the present trends. It is necessary to see where we have been in order to see where we stand now and in what direction and at what rate we seem to be moving in our inter-group relationships.

It is also evident that the sociologist alone cannot expect to arrive at a valid evaluation of the Spanish American-Anglo relationship

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[27] Loomis, op. cit., p. 346.

in the Southwest, but must cooperate with the economist, the historian, the anthropologist, the psychologist, and the political scientist to achieve this end.

CHAPTER IV

PURPOSE AND METHOD

Purpose

The immediate objective of this study was to measure the cleavage between the Anglo and the Spanish students in the Las Cruces junior and senior high schools. The sample was not selected from the student body because of any wish to emphasize relationships in this age group per se. However, the school situation offered a readily accessible sample for the administration of the questionnaires, such elements as age, education, and residence were fairly uniform throughout the sample, and the students, in the familiar setting of the school room, where they were accustomed to respond with slight hesitation or reservation to questioning, were probably less inhibited in their responses than the adults in the general population would have been.

The focus of the study was the measurement of Anglo-Spanish cleavage. It was hoped that the sample employed would provide a clue regarding Anglo-Spanish cleavage in the community as a whole and that the findings might suggest the direction which further study of this phenomenon might effectively take. In many sociometric studies the emphasis is upon the role and status of the individual in his group. However, the foci here were the ethnic groups as they interact, rather than the place of the individual in the group.

Simple observation would suggest that cleavages existed between the two ethnic groups in Las Cruces. It was expected that the present study would confirm this observation, would suggest the width of the chasm, and would reveal the relationship of various social situations to the magnitude of the cleavage.

Specifically, it was expected that this study might demonstrate objectively that:

1. The Anglo-Spanish cleavage did exist in Las Cruces High School.
2. Both Anglo and Spanish students would reveal in-group feelings, but that these feelings might be less pronounced in the minority group.
3. The self preference among the Spanish students would be higher in situations involving friendship choices than in situations involving prestige choices.
4. In the area of personal relationships, the self preference of the Spanish would not be significantly lower than the self preference of the Anglos.
5. In the areas involving prestige factors, the Anglos would tend to show higher self preference than would the Spanish.
6. Because of the position of women in the Spanish culture, the Spanish girls would revel a higher self preference than any other group studied in the selection of companions, but the lowest self preference of any group with respect to choices involving prestige.

How Cleavages Between Spanish-speaking and Anglo Students Were Measured

Sociometry provides an effective means of measuring cleavages and studying the treatment accorded minority groups. As previously mentioned, of the various sociometricians who have devised measures,

Joan Criswell's[1] are the best known and probably the most useful. In all the measures of cleavages developed by the sociometricians, the actual number of choices of one group, let us say the Spanish-speaking students in a high school, are compared with the number which should have been made if only chance had operated. Actually, the first measurements of this type were made by comparing the actual choices of one group for members of its own group and other groups with the chance distributions which resulted by drawing ballots by means of a shuffling apparatus. The frequency distribution of choices which Moreno and Jennings obtained by drawing ballots at random was plotted on the same chart with the theoretical distribution which Lazarsfeld predicted by an expansion of the appropriate binomial, and the deviation of the distribution of ballots from the theoretical values was tested by application of Chi square.[2]

Criswell's "double ratio" or group preference ratio as used in the work below is calculated as follows: The actual choices the members of a group, say group A, make within this group, i.e., the in-group choices, are divided by the choices members of group A make outside, to produce the actual or obtained ratio of preference. This is then

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[1] Joan Henning Criswell, "A Sociometric Study of Race Cleavage in the Classroom," Archives of Psychology, No. 235, January 1939, p. 19., "Sociometric Methods of Measuring Group Preferences," Sociometry, Vol. VI, No. 4, November 1943, pp. 300-401, and "Sociometric Measurement and Chance," Sociometry, Vol. VII, No. 4, Nov. 1944. p. 418.

[2] J. L. Moreno and Helen H. Jennings, "Statistics of Social Configurations," Sociometry, Vol. 1, Nos, 3 and 4, January-April, 1938. See also Sociometry Monograph No. 3, Beacon House, New York, 1944.

divided by the expected or chance ratio, which is the expected number of choices group A members would make in group A if only chance were operating, divided by the expected number of choices group A members would make outside group A if only chance were operating. An index greater than 1.00 would denote preference for the group represented; a value of less than 1.00 would indicate that the membership represented in the lower term or the out-group was preferred.

In deriving the index of preference, the expected distribution of choices is determined on the basis of the numbers of persons in each group of the test population under consideration. Thus, according to Criswell's notation, in a population of N numbers, consisting of groups 1 and 2, having a_1 and a_2 members respectively, the probability that a member of group 1 will make an in-group choice; i.e., choose a person in his own group is equal to $\frac{a_1 - 1}{N - 1}$. The probability that he will make an out-group choice; i.e., choose an individual in group 2, is equal to $\frac{N - a_1}{N - 1}$. The subtraction of 1 is made in the preceding expressions to take account of the fact that an individual cannot choose himself.

If group 1 makes a total of t choices, then $\frac{t(a_1 - 1)}{N - 1}$ is the number of expected in-group choices, and $\frac{t(N - a_1)}{N - 1}$ is the number of expected out-group choices. By dividing the first expression by the second we obtain for group 1 the chance ratio of in-group to out-group choices:

$$E = \frac{a_1 - 1}{N - a_1}$$

Group 2's equation is obtained in the same manner, substituting a_2 for a_1. Also, if there are in the population several groups having a_1, a_2, a_3 etc. members, the E formula used in measuring the amount by which, for instance, group 1 prefers itself to group 2 is:

$$E = \frac{a_1 - 1}{a_3}$$

We may now present an example of how the "double ratio" group preference index is computed. Let us assume that there were 100 Anglo and 100 Spanish-speaking students. Let us suppose that the 100 Anglos made 4 choices each or a total of 400 choices. Of these assume that they gave 100 to Anglos and 300 to Spanish-speaking students, a very unlikely situation. The expected or chance number of choices which should go from the Anglos to the Anglos, i.e., the in-group choices, is determined by the formula above $\frac{t(a_1 - 1)}{N - 1}$. Substituting we have $\frac{400\ (100-1)}{200-1}$ or 199.

The expected or chance number of choices which should go from the Anglos to the Spanish-speaking students is determined by the above formula $\frac{t(n - a_1)}{N - 1}$. Substituting we have $\frac{400\ (200-100)}{200-1}$ or 201.

We then calculate the actual or obtained ratio by dividing the actual in-group choices of the Anglos, i.e., 100, by the out-group choices or the choices which went to the Spanish-speaking students. This ratio is 100/300 or 0.333. This ratio is then divided by the expected or chance in-group choices of the Anglos to the expected

out-group choices directed toward the Spanish-speaking students, making the ratio 199/201 or 0.96. Thus 100/300 divided by 199/201 is the "double ratio" measure of group preference of Anglos for Anglos. In this case it would be 0.33 ÷ 0.96 = 0.34. Since 1.00 would equal a condition of equal preference for the in-group and the out-group, this hypothetical case would demonstrate a preference for the out-group far above the preference for the in-group. By reversing the hypothetical choices and using the same numbers so that the 100 Anglos give 300 choices to Anglos and only 100 to the Spanish-speaking students, the "double ratio" measure of the Anglos' preference for themselves becomes 3.30, a score much more nearly in line with reality and demonstrating preference for the in-group.

A Chi square test of the significance of the difference between the observed and expected frequencies is easily applied.[3] Such a test will demonstrate whether or not the differences between observed and expected frequencies on which the double (group self-preference) ratios are based are significant. According to Snedecor[4] Chi square should not be applied to groups in which any of the expected values are less than 5, since the test is not reliable in such cases. Chi square is

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[3] Chi square = $\frac{(f - f_o)^2}{f_o}$, where f represents the observed frequency in each cell and f_o the expected frequency in each cell. (Margaret Jarman Hagood, Statistics for Sociologists, New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941, p. 505.

[4] G. W. Snedecor, Statistical Methods. Ames, Iowa: Collegiate Press, 1937, p. 160.

more reliable when applied to groups in which none of the expected values is less than ten.[5]

Since the Chi square measure is the difference between the actual number of choices and the expected number of choices squared and divided by the expected number of choices for the in-group plus the same statistic for the out-group, we may calculate the Chi squares for each group. It is possible to ascertain how frequently a Chi square score may be expected to occur due to chance out of 100 similar samples. It has become customary to consider a difference reflected in a Chi square score which could occur by chance only once in 100 times as significant and for some purposes scores which could occur due to chance 5 out of 100 times are considered significant.[6]

The Chi square measures and preference ratios in the above hypothetical problem were calculated from the following data, assuming that half of the 200 students were Spanish-speaking and half English-speaking:

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[5] Joan Henning Criswell, "A Sociometric Study of Race Cleavage in a Classroom". Archives of Psychology, R. S. Woodworth, ed., No. 235. New York, 1939, p. 19.

[6] Criswell makes a correction to the Chi square. She uses Yates' correction for continuity (subtraction of .5 from the obtained deviation) in cases where there is one degree of freedom and one or both of the expected values amounts to less than 50. See Snedecor, op. cit., p. 161 and Criswell, ibid., p. 22. The number of degrees of freedom may be calculated by the formula: number of Degrees of Freedom = (s - 1)(t - 1), in which s is the number of rows and t is the number of columns in a contingency table. See Margaret Jarman Hagood, op. cit., p. 522.

Direction of Choice	Observed Number of Choices	Expected Number of Choices
English to English	100	199
English to Spanish	300	201
Total number of choices of English students	400	400

The table has two rows and two columns, therefore, since the total does not vary, knowing the number in any one cell makes it possible to determine the others. Whenever knowing one cell makes it possible to fill in all other cells in a table, there is only one degree of freedom. Substituting in the formula given in footnote 8, Degrees of Freedom = (2-1) (2-1) = 1. It is necessary to know the number of degrees of freedom from tables from which Chi square measures are computed in order to read the probabilities for Chi squares from the Chi square distribution table.

In action programs designed to reduce cleavages or to adjust to them, or in studies designed to ascertain the magnitude of cleavages between various groups, the calculation of accurate and meaningful indices of cleavage with the least possible expenditure of effort is important.

An Illustration of the Calculation of Measures of Cleavage

We may take data from the earlier study of the Taos High School to explain the meaning of each measure. There were 30 English-speaking and 101 Spanish-speaking students in the high school in 1948 when the students were requested to "write in names of boys or girls you pal or

play with most at school. Put the name of the person you play with most on the first line." The English-speaking students made a total of 136 choices. One hundred eight of these went to their in-group, the English-speaking students, and 28 went to the out-group or the Spanish-speaking students. Now if these had been distributed according to chance, as calculated above, the English-speaking students would have given only 30 choices to their in-group and 106 to the out-group. Before calculating Criswell's double ratio measure of group preference we may ascertain whether or not the difference between the observed and expected frequencies are great enough not to be due to chance.

The Calculation of the Chi Square Measure

In the case before us it is obvious that they are, but the Chi square measure will indicate the magnitude of the difference.[7] The Chi-square measure of the difference in the observed and expected frequencies in the above case of Taos High School is calculated as follows. The expected number of choices the English-speaking students would have given the English-speaking students is subtracted from the actual choices of English-speaking students to English-speaking students. Thus 108 - 30 = 78. According to the above formula this is squared, making 6084, and divided by the expected number of choices of

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[7] Since Chi square measures are influenced by the frequency, Criswell believes their utility as a relative measure of cleavage or in-group tendencies is not as great as is her double ratio.

English-speaking to English-speaking students, i.e., 30, and the measure of 202.8 is obtained. The next step performs the same operation for the English-speaking students' choices going to the Spanish-speaking students. The expected number 106 is subtracted from the actual number, 28, producing -78, which, when squared, is 6084, and when divided by the expected number of choices, 106, produces the measure 57.4. If 202.8 is aided to 57.4, the Chi square, 280.2, is obtained.

Calculation of the P for the Chi Square Measure

Are the differences between the observed and the expected frequencies represented by the Chi square measure significant? To answer this, we must calculate P.[8] As indicated above, only two expected items are involved which add to a total(30 plus 106 = 136), therefore if any one of the items is calculated the other may be calculated, since the marginal total is given. Thus there is only one degree of freedom for this Chi square measure. A Chi square measure of only 10.827 with one degree of freedom yields a P of 0.001, which means that a Chi square score of this size could occur due to chance only one time in a thousand.[9] The P measures for larger Chi squares are not given in the table available, but it is obvious that a measure as large as the one obtaining here is extremely significant.

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[8] P represents the probability that a Chi square as large as 280.2 would have been observed in a sample of this size due to purely chance factors.

[9] Hagood, op. cit., rev. ed., p. 561.

Calculation of Criswell's Double Ratio of Group Preference

The ratio of group preference may be calculated from the above data. The observed in-group choices, 108, are divided by the out-group choices, 28, and this quotient divided by the quotient resulting when the expected in-group choices are divided by the expected out-group choices. Thus 108/28 is divided by 30/106, producing the double ratio score of group self preference of 13.78 for the English-speaking students. The same ratio for the Spanish-speaking students is only 3.31. By dividing 13.78 by 3.31, we get 4.16. We may say that the English-speaking students have, as measured by the criterion under consideration, over four times the tendency to in-group preferenced that the Spanish-speaking students in Taos High School have.

Collection of the Data

In the Fall of 1949, 416 questionnaires were administered to members of the seventh, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades of the Las Cruces High School in Nex Mexico. A copy of the questionnaire employed is included in the appendix. They were administered by the writer with the permission of the Superintendent of the Las Cruces schools. The matter of ethnic cleavage was not mentioned to the students, but the questions were explained to them as relating to patterns of friendship.[10]

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[10] The questionnaire was very similar to one which the writer had administered in 1947 to a small sample of students in three southwestern school systems: Las Cruces and Taos, New Mexico, and El Paso, Texas. The earlier study was largely exploratory in nature and led to the present more intensive research.

Since this study was initiated subsequent to the 1940 census but previous to that of 1950, the method used in the former enumeration to separate the Spanish-speaking population from the Anglos was employed. In the 1940 census, a question regarding mother tongue, or language other than English spoken in the home in early childhood, was asked of a five percent sample of the population and, from the data thus obtained, statistics were compiled with respect to persons of Spanish mother tongue. Accordingly, language other than English spoken in the home was used in the present study as a criterion for the separation of Spanish-speaking children from Anglos in the school population. The Bureau of the Census reports that for New Mexico this method is probably as satisfactory as that employed in the 1930 Census:

> In the 1950 Census, data relating to persons of Spanish-American and Mexican-American origin were obtained by the identification of white persons of Spanish surname on the schedules as a part of the general coding operation. This procedure was limited to the five Southwestern States--Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and California--which in 1940 accounted for more than 80 percent of all persons of Spanish mother tongue. . . .
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> . . . although the question on mother tongue used in the 1940 Census made possible the classification of native persons of native parentage by mother tongue, it permitted the reporting of English as the language spoken in the home in earliest childhood in homes of persons whose language in their country of origin was in all probability a language other than English. For example, for the United States as a whole about 7 percent of the native population of Mexican parentage reported English as their mother tongue. Thus, for the second and later generations, statistics on mother tongue tend to understate the full extent of foreign origin. In New Mexico, where Spanish is established on an equal footing with English, this limitation is probably of no great significance. In 1950, the count of persons of Spanish surname in New Mexico, about 249,000 suggests with some allowance for natural increase, about the same level of magnitude as that reflected in the 1940 figures on Spanish mother tongue.[11]

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[11] U. S. Census of Population: 1950, Volume IV, Part 3, Chapter C, "Persons of Spanish Surname", p. 30-5.

As will be noted in the accompanying questionnaire, each student in the sample was given an opportunity to choose as many as five boys or girls with whom he associated most at school. There was also a space for age and grade data for each choice, and for an answer to the question. "Is he or she related to you?" A similar question was included with respect to the boys and girls with whom the student associated on Saturday, Sunday, and school holidays. The answers to these two questions provided the data for the measurement of cleavages in the school situation and in the broader community. The choices expressed in response to these two questions were considered the most significant elements in measuring the degree of social interaction between the Spanish and Anglo groups in the Las Cruces community to be found on the questionnaire used.

It was originally hoped that the question, "What families visit most at your home? If any of these families ate a meal in your house last year put a check after their names", would also yield some significant data regarding the inter-cultural relationships in the community, but many of the students made no response to this question. Dr. Wilbur Brookover reports in a Michigan study that this question yielded very dubious results because the students of junior and senior high school age were so absorbed in the activities of their own age group that they paid little attention to the adults who visited in their homes and had little judgment regarding which ones visited there most frequently. They were also confused by the general nature of the question, and found it difficult to compare the frequent but informal

and brief visits of neighbors with the more formal and longer visits of friends living at a distance. They also felt that telephone visiting had an important place in the picture of inter-family relationships, and this type of visiting was not included in the question put to the students.

Several of the questions included on the questionnaire were designed to permit the measurement of self-preference in a number of areas involving prestige. Such choices are the following: Who do you think is the best looking girl in your class? Who do you think is the best looking boy in your class? Who are some of the well dressed boys and girls among your classmates? If you had a new sweater, which of your classmates would you want most to like it? What boy or girl would you pick if your school wanted to send someone to Santa Fe to talk with the Governor? We would expect that the self-preference of the Anglos might be the higher as measured in terms of these prestige choices, since the Anglos are the majority group in Nex Mexico. We might also anticipate that higher status might be accorded the majority group by students in high school, since high school attendance is less prevalent among the Spanish than among the Anglos, and the Spanish children attending high school would probably tend to be those young people who were most interested in adjusting to the Anglo culture. For this reason they might be expected to place a high value on indices of prestige in the Anglo culture and therefore to make more choices among the Anglos on those questions involving prestige than on those

questions involving friendship choices. We hope to test this thesis by the analysis of the data secured from the Las Cruces High School students.

The last section of the questionnaire is devoted to an opportunity for the student to evaluate the following statements in terms of agreement or disagreement with them: If I took a job, it would make no difference to me to what race my boss belonged; It is all right with me if more people of a racial group different from mine move into my neighborhood; In order to keep up with the gang you must wear the right kind of clothes; You can tell what a person is like by the clothes he wears; Being well dressed makes a difference in how a person acts. The analysis of the responses to these statements should be of value in the determination of the degree of correlation between the verbalization of prejudice and the self-preferences indicated by friendship and prestige choices.

CHAPTER V

SOCIOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF ETHNIC CLEAVAGE IN LAS CRUCES AS REFLECTED IN INTERACTION OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

The Ecology of the Southwest as Related to the School Study

In the Southwest, as elsewhere in the United States, the trade center community is becoming increasingly important. In most instances, the trade center community has never had the dominant influence on the Spanish-speaking villagers and townspeople of the Southwest, however, that it has had in areas in which the isolated holding predominates. The Spanish-American villages usually furnish several of the social and economic services, and villagers indentify with and manifest loyalty to their village. Nevertheless, the increasing use of the automobile, better roads, and the greater dependence upon a money economy has brought the villager into the trade center and reduced in some measure the influence of his village associations. The villagers have always been intimate with the trade center towns in spite of the isolation of the villages because most of them have relatives living in the trade centers, and family ties are very strong in their culture. The high birth rate, the relatively meager sources of income in the villages, coupled with the growth of the towns and larger centers, has also lead many to move from the villages.

Las Cruces, New Mexico

As indicated by Figure 4, Las Cruces is located in an area in which over half of the population is Spanish-speaking. However, only one-third of the students in the Las Cruces High School are Spanish-speaking. According to the best records available, Las Cruces came into existence in 1849. The name, meaning "The Crosses", was given to the settlement because a bloody massacre of travelers by Indians occurred there years before. It remained the county seat of Dona Ana County a few years after the organization of the county in 1852. The county seat was then moved to Mesilla, where it remained until 1862, when it was returned to Las Cruces. Las Cruces numbered 5,811 persons in 1930; 8,385 in 1940; and 12,325 in 1950.

Las Cruces is the commercial center of a district in the Rio Grande Valley rich in cotton, corn, fruit, alfalfa, truck and dairy products. The area is under the Elephant Butte Dam, and a part of one of the greatest government irrigation projects. The population centers of Dona Ana County are shown in Figure 5. The New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts lies two miles to the south of Las Cruces, near the Indian village of Tortugas, known for the tribal dances celebrated on December 12, the date of the appearance of the Blessed Virgin of Guadalupe in 1531, and in April at the time of the sowing of crops. The inhabitants of the village, like those of most of the nearby villages, work for the owners of farms and ranches in the Rio Grande Valley. Johansen found that for eight villages in the trade center of

FIGURE 4: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE OF NEW MEXICO, 1950

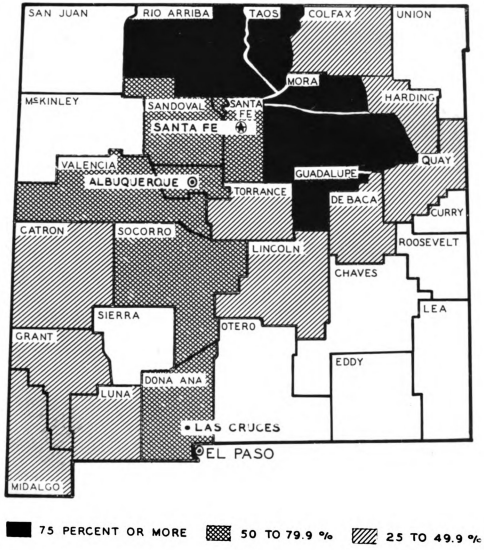
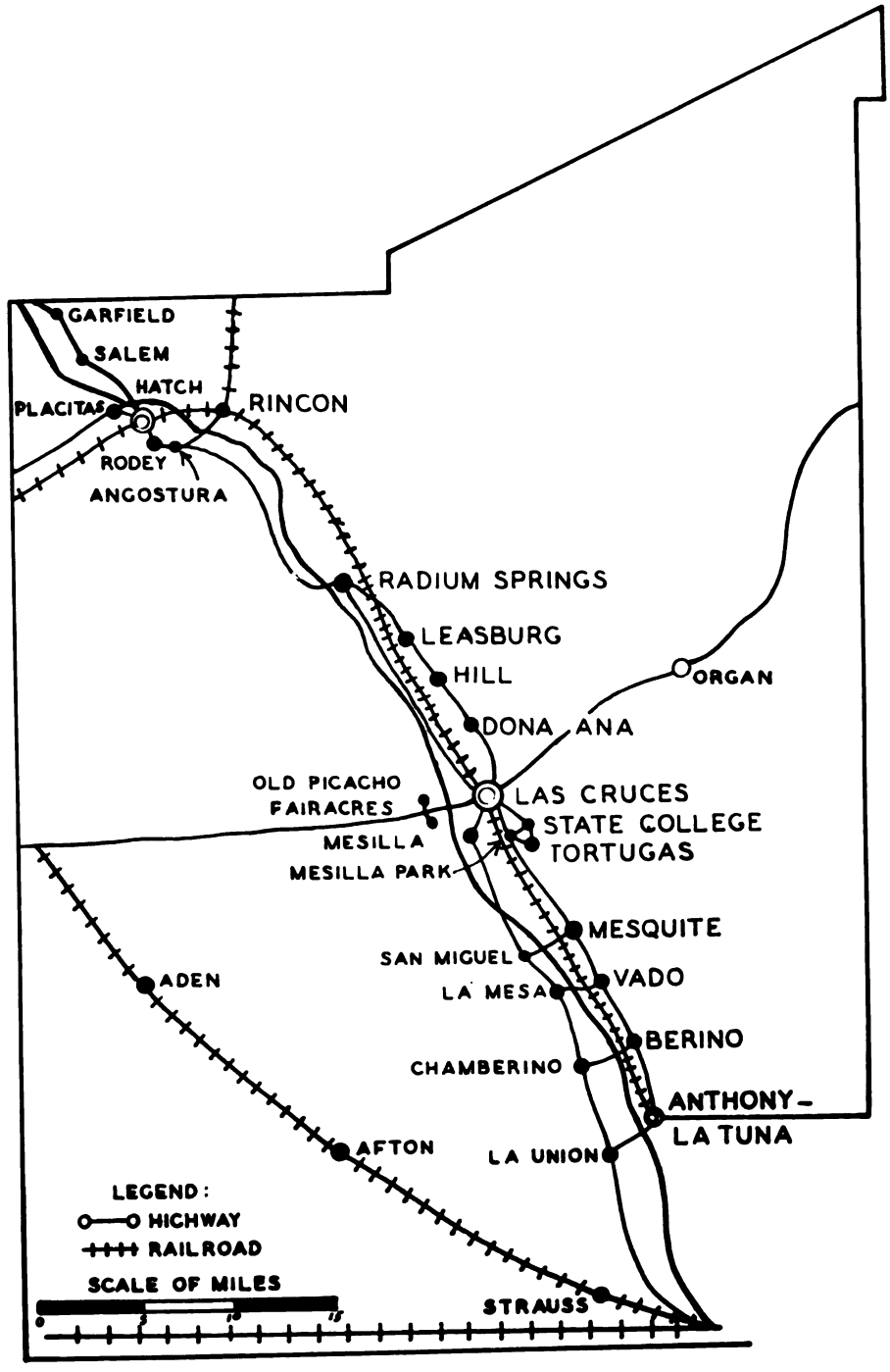


FIGURE 5. POPULATION CENTERS OF DONA ANA COUNTY



Las Cruces 37.7 percent of the heads of households were farm laborers, 21.9 were common laborers, and 16.5 had no occupation or were unemployed. Only 9.8 percent owned farms, and 6.4 percent were farm tenants.[1]

For the most part, the land has passed from the Spanish-speaking people to the Anglos, who do not live in the villages but on their holdings or in the trade centers. Large scale irrigation and the cash economy it brought created a competitive situation in which the more aggressive, money-minded and enterprising Anglos bought up or otherwise took up a large proportion of the land. Most of the children living outside of Las Cruces who attend the Las Cruces high school are Anglos. The Spanish-speaking students in the high school live largely in the town of Las Cruces. Spanish-speaking merchants and other Spanish-speaking people who send their children to high school in Las Cruces are better off economically than those who do not. As in other centers in the southwestern United States, there is a gradual decrease in the proportion of the lower class represented, including Spanish-speaking students of the lower social classes, as the grade in school increases, with the lowest proportion usually in the twelfth grade.

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[1] Sigurd Arthur Johansen, Rural Organization in a Spanish-American Culture Area, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1941.

The Measurement of Ethnic Cleavage in Las Cruces Junior and Senior High Schools

Friendship Choices

Employing the sociometric methods of analysis outlined in Chapter IV, our data supported the hypothesis that both Anglo and Spanish students indicate in their choice of companions at home and at school a distinct self-preference for their own ethnic group. Table III is based on responses given by Anglo students to the request in the questionnaire which reads: "Write in names of boys or girls you pal or play with most at school. Put the name of person you play with most on first line."

TABLE III

SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS IN ANGLO GROUPS, BASED ON CHOICES OF SCHOOL FRIENDS, LIMITED TO CHOICES OF SAME SEX

	Grades 7,9		Grades 10,11,12	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Number of Anglos	28	40	70	90
Number of Spanish	46	31	36	39
Percent of Spanish	62	44	34	30
Total number of choices of same sex	110	154	262	365
Actual number of choices of Anglos	95	141	248	342
Chance number of choices of Anglos	40.7	85.8	172.2	253.8
Deviation from chance	54.3	55.2	75.8	88.2
Chi-square	113.0	80.2	97.4	100.6
P	$< .001$	$<.001$	$<.001$	$<.001$
Self-preference ratio	10.7	8.6	9.2	6.5

Table III shows the self-preference ratio of Anglo students, by grade and sex, based on the choice of companions at school. The choices considered in this tabulation are confined to choices of the same sex as the chooser, since there is a marked self-preference found within each of the sex groups and it was therefore necessary to eliminate this element to emphasize the self-preference within the ethnic groups. Chi square is shown by sex for the combined seventh and ninth grades and for the combined tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. These chi squares are all much higher than would be expected if only chance were operating. The self-preference ratios are significantly high in all grades and for both sexes. They are only slightly higher for the boys than for the girls. For both sexes, the ratios are somewhat lower in the high school group than in the junior high school grades.

Table IV is similar in construction to Table I and presents comparable data regarding the Anglos' self-preference as indicated by their choices of companions outside of school hours. It is based on responses to the item in the questionnaire which reads: "Write in names of boys or girls you pal or play with most on Saturday, Sunday, and school holidays. (Do not include brothers or sisters or children living in your home.) Put name of person you play with most on first line." In this situation, boys and girls in junior high school show about the same degree of self preference, and it does not differ markedly from that expressed in the choice of companions at school.

TABLE IV

SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS IN ANGLO GROUPS, BASED ON CHOICES OF COMPANIONS AT HOME, LIMITED TO CHOICES OF THE SAME SEX

	Grades 7,9		Grades 10,11,12	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Number of Anglos	28	40	70	90
Number of Spanish	46	31	36	39
Percent of Spanish	62	44	34	30
Total number of choices of same sex	75	116	211	243
Actual number of choices of Anglos	56	107	205	230
Chance number of choices of Anglos	27.7	64.6	138.7	169.0
Deviation from chance	28.3	42.4	66.3	61.0
Chi square	44.2	61.4	92.6	72.4
P	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001
Self-preference ratio	9.2	9.4	17.8	8.4

Among the senior high school students included in the sample, the girls indicate only a slightly lower self-preference ratio than do the junior high school students, although somewhat greater than that which they show by their choices of companions at school. The high school boys express a much greater self preference than those in junior high school and than that of the girls in their group.

Tables V and VI present similar data for the Spanish students. It will be noted that in all categories excepting the junior high school boys the self-preference of the Spanish students is more marked than is that expressed by the Anglos. The Spanish girls in junior high school show an especially distinct in-group feeling in their choice of companions both at home and at school, whereas the Spanish boys in that age group manifest a low self preference both at school and at home, in comparison with the Spanish girls and the Anglos of both sexes.

TABLE V

SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS IN SPANISH GROUPS, BASED ON CHOICES OF SCHOOL FRIENDS, LIMITED TO CHOICES OF THE SAME SEX

	Grades 7,9		Grades 10,11,12	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Number of Spanish	46	31	36	39
Number of Anglos	28	40	70	90
Percent of Anglos	62	44	34	30
Total number of choices of same sex	188	112	122	141
Actual number of choices of Spanish	172	110	109	118
Chance number of choices of Spanish	115.9	48.0	40.7	41.9
Deviation from chance	56.1	62.0	63.8	76.1
Chi square	70.8	137.9	169.7	194.4
P	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001
Self-preference ratio	6.7	73.3	16.8	12.2

TABLE VI

SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS IN SPANISH GROUPS, BASED ON CHOICES OF COMPANIONS AT HOME, LIMITED TO CHOICES OF THE SAME SEX

	Grades 7,9		Grades 10,11,12	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Number of Spanish	46	31	36	39
Number of Anglos	28	40	70	90
Percent of Anglos	62	44	34	30
Total number of choices of same sex	150	76	71	75
Actual number of choices of Spanish	125	74	65	60
Chance number of choices of Spanish	92.5	32.6	23.7	22.3
Deviation from chance	32.0	41.4	41.3	37.7
Chi square	28.9	92.0	105.7	89.9
P	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001
Self-preference ratio	3.1	49.3	21.7	9.5

In the senior high school, the Spanish boys express a more pronounced in-group feeling than do those in junior high school, and a somewhat higher self preference than do the Spanish girls in their age group. Although the self preference of the senior high school Spanish girls is higher than that of the Anglo girls, it is much lower than that of the junior high school Spanish girls.

Prestige Choices

Tables VII through X present data based on choices which may be considered indicative of prestige values or status. These include the choices of persons whom the student feels would be most suitable to represent the student body in an interview with the governor of the state, choices of the best-dressed and best-looking boys and girls, and choices of the persons whom he would most appreciate admiring his own appearance. The specific wording of these items on the questionnaire was: "Who do you think is the best looking girl in your class?"; "Who do you think is the best looking boy in your class?"; "If you had a new sweater, which of your classmates would you want most to like it?"; "What boy or girl would you pick if your school wanted to send someone to Santa Fe to talk with the Governor? Remember, your school will be judged by the person you select."

The most marked indication that the Anglo group is the dominant one in the Las Cruces High School and the Spanish group the minority group is the presence of uniformly low self-preference ratios derived from the choices by Spanish students of persons they would choose to represent the school in an interview with the Governor. A comparison

TABLE VII

SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS IN ANGLO GROUPS, BASED ON CHOICE OF REPRESENTATIVE TO THE GOVERNOR, LIMITED TO CHOICES OF THE SAME SEX

	Grades 7,9		Grades 10,11,12	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Number of Anglos	22	34	57	77
Number of Spanish	40	18	31	31
Percent of Spanish	65	35	35	29
Total number of choices to same sex	17	27	32	57
Actual number of choices of Anglos	15	26	31	51
Chance number of choices of Anglos	5.9	17.5	20.6	40.5
Deviation from chance	9.2	8.5	10.4	10.5
Chi square	19.5	11.8	13.4	8.3
P	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.01
Self-preference ratio	14.4	14.2	17.1	3.5

TABLE VIII

SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS IN SPANISH GROUPS, BASED ON CHOICE OF REPRESENTATIVE TO GOVERNOR, LIMITED TO CHOICES OF THE SAME SEX

	Grades 7,9		Grades 10,11,12	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Number of Spanish	40	18	31	31
Number of Anglos	22	34	57	77
Percent of Anglos	65	35	35	29
Total number of choices of same sex	28	15	17	28
Actual number of choices of Spanish	23	8	12	14
Chance number of choices of Spanish	17.9	5.0	5.9	7.9
Deviation from chance	5.1	3.0	6.1	6.2
Chi square	3.3	1.9	8.3	5.7
P	<.05	<.20	<.01	<.02
Self-preference ratio	2.6	2.3	2.6	2.6

TABLE IX

SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS BASED ON CHOICE OF REPRESENTATIVE TO GOVERNOR

	Choices Directed to Own Sex		Choices Directed to Both Sexes	
	Anglo	Spanish	Anglo	Spanish
Grades 7, 9				
Boys	14.4	2.6	10.4	1.9
Girls	14.2	2.3	10.6	1.5
Grades 10, 11, 12				
Boys	17.1	4.5	6.2	2.9
Girls	3.5	2.6	4.7	1.7

TABLE X

SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS BASED ON CHOICES INVOLVING PRESTIGE FACTORS

	Best Dressed Girl	Best Dressed Boy	Best Looking Girl	Best Looking Boy	Send to Governor
Grades 7, 9					
Anglo	14.57	6.45	9.09	12.24	10.74
Spanish	1.87	5.96	3.54	12.00	1.73
Grades 10, 11, 12					
Anglo	4.69	3.25	4.78	11.(7	5.20
Spanish	1.74	14.79	0.97	5.36	2.33

of tables VII through X with tables V and VI brings out the fact that these Spanish students are far more inclined to choose Anglos to represent them in a situation of this kind than they are to choose them as companions and friends. In junior high school, the Anglo children displayed much greater self-preference than did the Spanish in their choices of representatives to the Governor, but the high school girls showed less in-group feeling than they did in their choice of friends.

Table X, which summarizes the self-preference ratios based on choices involving prestige factors by ethnic groups and grades, indicates a significant self-preference on the part of both Spanish and Anglo groups for every category excepting that one in which the student selected the girl whom he considered the best looking. In this category, the only group which expressed a preference for the out-group was that comprising the Spanish students in the high school, who chose a slightly higher proportion of Anglo girls than would be expected if only chance factors were operating. In all grades, the Spanish students showed only a slight self preference in their choices of the best-dressed girl. In all choices involving prestige values, the Anglos showed a decidedly higher self preference than did the Spanish, with the exception of the choice of the best dressed boy by the high school students.

Verbalization of Inter-Group Attitudes

Tables XI and XII are based on responses to the statements: "If I took a job, it would make no difference to me to what race my boss belonged" and "it is all right with me if more people of a racial group different from mine move into my neighborhood." The student was asked to check in each instance "I agree completely", "I disagree", or "I cannot quite agree." Some of the students made additional comments not specifically requested on the schedule.

TABLE XI

RESPONSES TO STATEMENT: "IF I TOOK A JOB, IT WOULD MAKE NO DIFFERENCE TO ME TO WHAT RACE MY BOSS BELONGED."

	Complete Disagreement		Partial Agreement		Complete Agreement		No Response		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Grades 7 and 9										
Spanish	6	7.5	11	13.8	52	64.9	11	13.8	80	100
Anglo	13	19.1	24	35.3	29	46.2	2	3.0	68	100
Grades 10, 11, 12										
Spanish	5	5.7	17	19.5	54	62.2	11	12.6	87	100
Anglo	40	22.2	64	35.6	57	31.7	19	10.5	180	100

It will be noted from Tables XI and XII that in every category the minority group, the Spanish, expressed less prejudice against association with the out-group in situations involving employment and residence than did the Anglos. It may, however, be somewhat significant

TABLE XII

RESPONSES TO STATEMENT: "IT IS ALL RIGHT WITH ME IF MORE PEOPLE OF A RACIAL GROUP DIFFERENT FROM MINE MOVE INTO MY NEIGHBORHOOD."

	Complete Disagreement		Partial Agreement		Complete Agreement		No Response		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Grades 7, 9										
Spanish	5	6.3	22	27.5	40	49.9	13	16.3	80	100
Anglo	11	16.2	29	42.6	26	38.2	2	3.0	68	100
Grades 10, 11, 12										
Spanish	6	6.9	18	20.7	48	55.2	15	17.2	87	100
Anglo	36	20.0	70	38.9	50	27.8	24	13.3	180	100

of a hesitation to express their feelings regarding their minority status that in each grade the Spanish students failed more often to respond to these questions than did the Anglos. The Anglos in junior high school responded readily to all questions in this category, but the Anglos in senior high school were almost as reluctant to respond as were the Spanish students in that age group.

The Spanish students in the high school grades display slightly less prejudice toward the Anglos in the two situations described by the above questions than do the junior high school students, but the reverse is true for the Anglo students. It is probable that the more acculturated Spanish students tend to stay in school longer, and therefore the students in the higher grades would be those who are more accepting of the Anglos and their culture. It is also to be

expected that those Spanish students who remain in school through high school would tend to come from families whose standards are more acceptable to the Anglos in the community.

The self preference expressed by the Spanish students included in the sample is particularly significant since, as was pointed out earlier, these urban Spanish children who remain in school are, in all probability, quite accepting of the Anglo culture, and, because of their acculturation and their relatively high social status as compared with others in the Spanish group, more acceptable to the Anglos. It seems probable that the Spanish who are more isolated geographically and culturally would be separated from the Anglos by a considerably wider cleavage than is found in the group represented in the sample. We may, therefore, conclude that the ethnic cleavage between Anglos and Spanish in New Mexico is definitely present, the Spanish occupying a position subordinate to that of the Anglos. We cannot determine from the data available in this study to what extent the segregation of the minority group is voluntary and to what extent it is imposed upon them by the Anglos and by their minority status.

CHAPTER VI

SOME IMPLICATIONS FROM THE STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The present study has demonstrated conclusively that a cleavage does exist between Anglo and Spanish students in the Las Cruces High School, and there are indications that the Spanish group has the status of a minority. One question which has been left unanswered is how representative the group sampled is of the general population in Las Cruces and in other parts of New Mexico.

It would seem to be a safe assumption that the Spanish students who remain in school sufficiently long to reach the senior high school tend to represent a relatively secure segment of the Spanish population, economically speaking; that they place some credence in the typically Anglo values regarding education and vertical mobility in the class and economic structure of society; that, on the whole, they are more fully acculturated in terms of Anglo standards than are those Spanish students who drop out of school before reaching the high school grades. The administration of the questionnaire used in this study to students dropping out of school as soon as they reached the age when they could legally do so would make possible significant comparisons, particularly if the occupations of the fathers of the students were taken into consideration.

Another unexplored area involves the meaning that the in-group has for the Spanish. To what extent do they retain their own culture by choice, and to what extent are they forced to identify with their cultural group because of their minority status and their rejection by the Anglos? From his study in Taos County, New Mexico, Senter concluded that lower and upper class Spanish families made conscious efforts to preserve their Spanish heritage, and that, as would be expected, the greatest desire for acculturation appeared in the middle class.[1] Taos County is less urban than Dona Ana County, is geographically more isolated, and the proportion of Spanish-speaking people in the population is much higher. It might, therefore be expected that the voluntary retention of the Spanish culture might be a less important element in ethnic cleavage in Las Cruces than in Taos County, but this question merits further consideration. Possibly if more emphasis had been placed in this study on the occupation and social class of the parents of the students in the sample, some conclusions could have been reached regarding the relationship between cleavage and social class.

An intensive study of those Spanish students receiving the greatest number of friendship and prestige choices, employing interview techniques to secure further data concerning them and their families, would undoubtedly have clarified to some extent the values important to the group. It would be difficult to determine, however, to what

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[1] Senter, op. cit.

extent friendship choices of Spanish students by Spanish students could be attributed to adherence to Spanish cultural values and to what extent they were due to such factors as physical propinquity, the enjoyment of easier and more comfortable relationships with members of their own culture, or exclusion from association with members of the Anglo group by reason of their minority status.

The extension of the present study to the lower grades in the Las Cruces schools would add something to the understanding of ethnic cleavage between Anglos and Spanish, but would require very careful analysis, taking into consideration not only the reflection of community attitudes in the children, but also the effect of the stage in the child's development on his inter-personal relationships in general as well as those with the out-group. Criswell found in her study of Negro-White cleavage in the classroom, which includes children from kindergarten through the eighth grade, that race differences in response were more prominent below grade four or five, when the white race was more popular with both racial groups. In the lower grades, the white self-preference is stronger than that of the colored children, but in the higher grades there is a rapid increase in race solidarity among the colored children.[2]

> The currents of race preference coming in from the community and centering in the classroom, are of course distorted by the classroom situation and the school attitudes perculiar to various age levels. At all levels the chief conscious basis of choice is the chooser's feeling of a personal relationship between himself and the person chosen. But in the lower grades this

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[2] Criswell, op. cit., pp. 70-75.

> feeling is less potent and there is greater emphasis on the school success of the chosen individual. In both inter-racial and intra-racial motivations the younger child betrays a higher valuation of smartness and good behavior, resulting in a greater dependence on the good opinion of the teacher. Older children attach greater importance to congeniality in common pursuits.
>
> Part of the growth of interest in intimacy is a lessening emphasis on prestige. The minority, for instance, shows an age-increase of interest in individuals who will reciprocate their attachments. Young minorities tend to be most interested in a popular but relatively inaccessible majority-member, while older minority groups prefer less popular but more friendly members of the majority. . . .
>
> Another aspect of the same attitude is revealed by the growth of reciprocation of choice. In the present study . . . . there was found in kindergarten and first grade very little formation of mutual pairs and a large percentage of unchosen children. Formation of reciprocal relationships increased with age. . . .
>
> It is then still easier to understand the greater popularity of whites among young children. In this study whites are not only the dominant race outside of the classroom but they are also within the school slightly above the Negroes in intelligence, social status and school marks. Moreover, since all teachers but one were white, a preference for the white race may unconsciously have colored their attitude toward the class. In younger classes, then, with their less personal basis of choice and their dependence on the teacher's opinion, one might expect to find a resulting weakness of self-preference in the Negro group and a particularly wide gap between the self-preference of Negroes and whites. This was the result obtained in our study.[3]

Implicit in this description of shifts in the lines of cleavage with the increasing age of the child is the interest in and respect for the standards set by the adults in his world and his need for adult approval in his earlier school years, which is gradually replaced to a large extent by a need for the recognition and personal response of members of his peer group, which of necessity involves an acceptance

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[3] Ibid., pp. 77-78.

of the standards of that group. It is probable that a similar trend would be found with respect to Anglo-Spanish relationships in the lower grades of the Las Cruces schools. This could be verified by a sociometric study of cleavage similar to the present project, adapted to the age level to be studied.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was designed to measure cleavage between the Anglo and Spanish students in Las Cruces high school, employing Criswell's double ratio to indicate the self-preference expressed by members of each group. The choices included in the tabulations were confined to intra-sexual choices in order to avoid the introduction of the element of sex cleavage into the measurement of ethnic cleavage.

Four hundred and sixteen questionnaires were administered to members of the seventh, ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades. These questionnaires were designed to permit the student to make choices which would fit into two categories: friendship choices and prestige choices. In addition to questions involving choices of individuals with reference to specific, clearly defined situations, the questionnaire also included an opportunity for the student to respond to a series of statements which represented a verbalization of Anglo-Spanish prejudice.

The principal conclusions reached as a result of this study were:

1. In their choices of companions at home and at school, both Anglo and Spanish students indicate a significant self preference for their own ethnic groups.

2. In their choices of companions at school, both junior and senior high school Anglo boys express a slightly higher self preference than do the Anglo girls, and for both sexes the ratios are somewhat lower in the high school group than in the junior high school grades.

3. In their choices of companions at home, Anglo boys and girls in junior high school show about the same degree of self preference, and it does not differ markedly from that expressed in the choices of companions at school. Senior high school girls indicate only a slightly lower self-preference ratio than do the junior high school students, in their choices of companions outside of school hours: the high school boys express a much greater self preference than those in junior high school and than the girls in their age group.

4. In all categories excepting the junior high school boys, the self preference of Spanish students is more marked than is that expressed by the Anglos. The Spanish girls in junior high school show an especially strong in-group feeling in their choices of companions both at home and at school. The Spanish boys in that age group manifest a low self preference both at school and at home. In the senior high school, the Spanish boys express a much more pronounced in-group feeling than do those in junior high school, and somewhat higher than that of the Spanish girls in senior high school. Although the self preference of the senior high school Spanish girls is higher than that of the Anglo girls, it is much lower than that of the junior high school Spanish girls.

5. In most choices involving prestige values, the Angles showed a decidedly higher self preference than did the Spanish students. This is without doubt a reflection of the minority status of the Spanish.

6. Another possible indication of minority status is the fact that the Spanish students expressed less prejudice against association with the out-group in situations involving employment and residence than did the Angles.

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APPENDIX

Write in your name_____ Age_____

School grade_____ Your father's name_____

What does your father do for a living?_____

Language spoken at home most_____

Language also spoken at home_____

Language spoken most by grandfather (now or while living)_____

Language spoken most by grandmother (now or while living)_____

A. Write in names of boys or girls you pal or play with most at school. Put name of person you play with most on first line.

First name	Last name	How old is he or she?	In What grade is he or she?	Is he or she related to you?
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				

B. Write in names of boys or girls you pal or play with most on Saturday, Sunday, and school holidays. (Do not include brothers or sisters or children living in your home.) Put name of person you play with most on first line.

First name	Last name	How old is he or she?	In what grade is he or she?	Is he or she related to you?
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				

C. What families visit most at your home? If any of these families ate a meal in your house last year put a check after their names.

1._____ 3._____

2._____ 4._____

5._____

D. Who is the most high hat, stuck up, or snobbish boy or girl in your school?

_____
(first name) (last name)

E. Who do you think is the best looking girl in your class?_____

F. Who do you think is the best looking boy in your class?_____

G. Who are some of the well dressed boys and girls among your classmates?

Boys	Girls
1._____	1._____
2._____	2._____
3._____	3._____

H. If you had a new sweater, which of your classmates would you want most to like it? (Name several if you want to)

_____
(first name) (last name)

I. What boy or girl would you pick if your school wanted to send someone to Santa Fe to talk with the Governor? Remember, your school will be judged by the person you select._____
(first name) (last name)

J. What person in the whole school would you least like to have go to meet the Governor?

_____
(first name) (last name)

Further instructions: Here are some things on which a lot of people have different opinions. This is not a test, and there are no right or wrong answers. You may disagree with some of these statements, and you may agree with others.

If you disagree with the statement, put an "X" in the space in front of "I disagree."

If you are not sure or cannot quite agree with the statement, put an "X" in front of "I cannot quite agree."

If you agree completely with the statement, put an "X" in front of "I agree completely."

Remember, this is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers. So just write down what you think.

K. "If I took a job, it would make no difference to me to what race my boss belonged."

_____I disagree
_____I cannot quite agree
_____I agree completely

L. "It is all right with me if more people of a racial group different from mine move into my neighborhood."

_____I disagree
_____I cannot quite agree
_____I agree completely

M. In order to keep up with the gang you must wear the right kind of clothes.

_____I agree completely
_____I disagree
_____I cannot agree

N. You can tell what a person is like by the clothes he wears.

_____I agree
_____I disagree
_____I cannot quite agree

O. Being well dressed makes a difference in how a person acts.

_____I agree completely
_____I disagree
_____I cannot quite agree