



CONTACTS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNITED STATES  
IN A MEXICAN BORDER COMMUNITY

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A THESIS

Submitted to the School for Advanced Graduate Studies  
Michigan State University of Agriculture and  
Applied Science in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1957

This study is concerned with describing the place which Mexican migrants to the United States have in a small isolated Mexican community close to the border. The research was initiated to test two general hypotheses. The first is that there is a relationship between amount of exposure to American society and the attitudes toward the United States. The second hypothesis is that membership in different socio-economic groups in the community differentiate attitudes of people toward the United States.

In order to test these hypotheses, it was necessary to construct two indices; one which measured relative amount of contact with the United States, and another which reflected the relative socio-economic status of residents on the community. Exposure to the United States was defined generally as including friendship and family ties in this country, length of time in the United States, as well as work contacts in the cities and farms. Three main groups were defined for their differential contacts with the United States; those whose only contact was indirect (through friends and relatives), those whose contact was in the nature of visiting and conducting business; and those who worked in the United States for extended periods (migrants).

There appeared to be no statistically significant differences in attitudes among migrants, visitors, and non-contact groups. As a whole, the residents of the community were favorably disposed to the United States. People with a greater amount of exposure to American institutions had a tendency, diffused as it was, to define themselves either as favorable or unfavorable toward the United States, with a

leaning in favor of the United States. Among people with minimum contact with the United States, unfavorable orientations were readily recognizable.

Socio-economic status was found to be inversely correlated with favorable attitudes toward the United States. There was a relatively sharp distinction in which upper and middle class people were rather unfavorable toward the United States, whereas lower socio-economic groups were favorably oriented. Thus a cleavage in the community was apparent, in which the upper group looked toward Mexico in favorable light, and the lower group looked toward the United States. Also, traditional values in Mexican culture were more cherished by the local middle classes.

Two generalizations may be suggested in reference to migration. First, in the initial phase of migration, membership in lower socio-economic strata is almost a condition for migration. Second, the place of the returning migrant in the social structure of the community depends on his economic success while in the United States. His attitudes toward the United States after returning and after readjusting to the community tends to become similar to the socio-economic group of which he is a member.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to the people of Sonoyta for their cooperation during my field work phase of the study. I am especially indebted to Professor Charles P. Loomis for the financial assistance he provided for the undertaking, for his direction and advice in the field, and his constant encouragement throughout. Dr. William H. Form, my major professor, provided generous guidance, constructive criticism, and skillful help in making the best use of the limited information. Gratitude is also expressed to Drs. Joel Smith, J. Allen Beegle and Archie Haller for their helpful suggestions.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. COMMUNITY SETTING OF THE RESEARCH SITE . . . . .	1
Introduction . . . . .	1
Geographical Setting . . . . .	2
Historical Background. . . . .	3
Population . . . . .	5
Land Utilization . . . . .	5
Government . . . . .	6
Commerce . . . . .	6
Health . . . . .	8
Cultural Setting . . . . .	10
II. PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY. . . . .	15
General Purposes . . . . .	15
Methodology. . . . .	17
The Population . . . . .	17
The Research Site. . . . .	17
Research Design and Techniques for Collecting Data . .	19
Problems of Field Research in Mexico . . . . .	19
Construction of Indices. . . . .	21
Index of Contacts with the United States . . . . .	22
Times in the United States . . . . .	24
Years or Length of Time in the United States . . . . .	24
Occupation in the United States. . . . .	25
Knowledge of English . . . . .	26

CHAPTER	PAGE
Index of Socio-Economic Status . . . . .	28
Occupations. . . . .	28
Weights for Educational Attainment . . . . .	30
Property . . . . .	31
Index of Attitudes Toward the United States. . . . .	35
III. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION OF SONOYTA . .	38
The Adult Male Population of Sonoyta . . . . .	39
Age. . . . .	41
Marital Status . . . . .	44
Family Size. . . . .	44
Education. . . . .	46
Occupation . . . . .	47
House-Land Ownership . . . . .	48
Socio-Economic Status. . . . .	52
Contacts with the United States. . . . .	55
Use of English . . . . .	57
Orientations Toward the United States. . . . .	58
IV. SOCIAL ATTRIBUTES OF MIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES . . .	60
General Migration Picture in Sonora. . . . .	60
Seasonal Cotton Picking Migration. . . . .	60
Population Flow Through Sonoyta. . . . .	61
Probability of Contacts with Americans in the Village. . . . .	63
Social Correlates of Migrants. . . . .	64
Type of Contacts with the United States. . . . .	65
Birth and Previous Residence . . . . .	66

Age . . . . .	69
Size of the Family. . . . .	70
Variables of the Index of Contacts. . . . .	70
Times and Years in the United States. . . . .	70
Family Bonds in the United States . . . . .	75
Friendship Relations. . . . .	76
Knowledge of English. . . . .	78
Occupation in the United States . . . . .	80
Reasons for Returning to Mexico and Plans for Returning to the United States. . . . .	81
Index of Contacts . . . . .	82
Variables of the Index of Socio-Economic Status . . .	83
Education . . . . .	84
Occupation. . . . .	85
Property Index. . . . .	87
Contact Groups and Their Socio-Economic Status. . . .	88
Summary . . . . .	90
V. ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATIONS TOWARD THE UNITED STATES . . . .	91
Introduction. . . . .	91
Contacts with the United States and Attitudes Toward the Country . . . . .	91
Socio-Economic Status and Attitudes Toward the United States. . . . .	95
Spontaneous Expressions of Attitudes Toward the United States. . . . .	101

CHAPTER	PAGE
VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	108
Summary . . . . .	108
Conclusions . . . . .	110
Literature Cited. . . . .	113
Appendices. . . . .	129

# LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Major Diseases Resulting in Death as Percentages of Total Number of Deaths in Sonoyta, Sonora, Mexico: 1950 to 1955 . . . . .	9
2. Number and Nationality of Couples Married in Sonoyta, Sonora, Mexico from 1950 to 1955 . . . . .	12
3. Weights Corresponding to Extent of Friendship and Family Ties in the United States. . . . .	23
4. Weights Assigned to Number of Times Adult Males of Sonoyta Reported They had been in the United States. . . . .	24
5. Weights Assigned to Number of Years Spent in the United States by Adult Male Population of Sonoyta . . . . .	25
6. Weights Assigned to Occupations of the Migrants When Working in the United States . . . . .	26
7. Relative Weights Given for Knowledge of the English Language of the Adult Male Population of Sonoyta. . . . .	27
8. Scores for the Index of Contact with the United States for the Adult Male Population of Sonoyta . . . . .	27
9. Weights Assigned to Occupations of Adult males of Sonoyta.	29
10. Weights Assigned to Years of Schooling of the Adult Male Population of Sonoyta. . . . .	30
11. Weights Assigned to Property Type Index for Adult Male Population of Sonoyta. . . . .	32

TABLE	PAGE
12. Socio-Economic Groups for Adult Males and Scores of Socio-Economic Status . . . . .	32
13. Summary Table of Chi-squares, Their Confidence Levels and Corrected Contingency Coefficients among Indices used to Construct the Socio-Economic Index. . . . .	34
14. Distribution of Answers Given to the Question "How do You like the United States" . . . . .	36
15. Birth Place and Previous Residence of Adult Males in Sonoyta . . . . .	39
16. Birth Place of Adult Males Residing in Sonoyta-not Born in Sonora. . . . .	40
17. Age Distribution of Adult Males of Sonoyta, Sonora, and State of Sonora in Percentages . . . . .	42
18. Age Composition of the Total Population of Sonoyta and the State of Sonora . . . . .	43
19. Size of Families of Sonoyta and the State of Sonora . . .	45
20. Total Educational Level of Adult Males of Sonoyta . . . .	46
21. Percentages of Sonoyta Adult Males in Various Occupational Groupings . . . . .	48
22. Educational Level of Three Occupational Groupings . . . .	49
23. House-Land Ownership and Housing Characteristics for Sonoyta . . . . .	49-50
24. Socio-Economic Status of Adult Males of Sonoyta . . . . .	52
25. Nationality of Close Friends and Acquaintances in the United States Reported by Sonoyta Adult Males . . . . .	56

TABLE	PAGE
26. Family Ties in the United States Reported by Adult Males Living in Sonoyta . . . . .	57
27. Adult Males' Knowledge of English . . . . .	58
28. General Attitudinal Orientation of the Adult Males of Sonoyta Toward the United States. . . . .	59
29. Seasonal Migration in the State of Sonora, Mexico . . . .	62
30. Birth Place of the Adult Males Living in Sonoyta by Contact Groups. . . . .	67
31. Previous Residence of the Adult Males of Sonoyta by Contact Groups. . . . .	68
32. Number of Times Migrants and Visitors Entered the United States. . . . .	71
33. Number of Years Migrants Worked in the United States. . .	72
34. Periods During which Migrants Living in Sonoyta Worked in the United States. . . . .	73
35. Family Bonds in the United States of Migrants, Visitors, and Non-Contact Groups Among Adult Males from Sonoyta .	75
36. Number of American Acquaintances in the United States Reported by Three Groups of Sonoytans . . . . .	76
37. Number of Mexican Acquaintances in the United States Reported by Three Groups of Sonoytans . . . . .	77
38. Knowledge of English of Three Contact Groups Living in Sonoyta . . . . .	79
39. Sources of Learning the English Language for Two Contact Groups Living in Sonoyta. . . . .	79



TABLE	PAGE
40. Occupations in the United States By Index of Contacts .	80
41. Index of Contacts for Contact Groups. . . . .	82
42. Educational Level of Contact Groups . . . . .	84
43. Groups and Present Occupational Status of Contact Groups . . . . .	86
44. Past and Present Occupations of Sonoytan Migrants . . .	86
45. Property Levels of Three Contact Groups . . . . .	88
46. Socio-Economic Levels of Contact Groups . . . . .	89
47. Attitude Orientations Toward the United States for Three Contact Groups. . . . .	94
48. Educational Level of Groups Positively and Negatively Oriented Toward the United States . . . . .	96
49. Orientation Toward the United States for Three Levels of Occupation . . . . .	97
50. Attitude Orientation Toward the United States for Property Groups . . . . .	98
51. Socio-Economic Status of Groups having Different Orientations Toward the United States . . . . .	99
52. Verbalized Attitudes Toward the United States for Contact Groups. . . . .	103
53. Verbalized Attitudes Toward the United States as Related to Socio-Economic Status. . . . .	105
54. Orientation Toward American Life Style as Affected by Socio-Economic Status of Respondents. . . . .	106
55. Sources for the Computation of the Tables in Chapter One . . . . .	Appendix B

## TABLE

## PAGE

56. The Major Diseases Causing Mortality in Sonoyta,  
Sonora, Mexico from 1950 to 1955 . . . . . Appendix B
57. The Number of Legitimate and Illegitimate Births by  
Sex in Sonoyta, Sonora, Mexico from 1950 to 1955 . . Appendix B
58. The Number and Nationality of Couples Married in  
Sonoyta, Sonora, Mexico from 1950 to 1955. . . . . Appendix B
59. Occupational Distribution of Contact Groups . . . . . Appendix D

# CHAPTER I

## COMMUNITY SETTING OF THE RESEARCH SITE

### Introduction

With the closing of European sources of migration the United States has increasingly recruited workers from Mexico and other nearby areas to meet its expanding economic needs, especially in the field of industrial agriculture. Agricultural labor from Mexico has now become a stable source of labor for many American farmers. The social problems created by this ebb and flow of labor both in the United States and Mexico have stimulated special scientists to study the social and economic conditions of Mexican migrants in the United States. No studies, however have been done either of the impact of returning migrants on their native communities, or of the socio-economic status of migrants previous to or after migration.

This research attempts to study who the migrants to the United States are in a Mexican border community. It attempts to describe their position in the local community structure, as well as the impact of their migration on attitudes toward the United States.

The community selected for study is located just south of the United States border, relatively isolated from American and Mexican industrial areas. Although its population is small, the community members have had a great deal of migration experiences. The researcher lived in the community from December 28, 1955, to April 19, 1956, making every effort to share in the social life of the people. Standard sociological techniques were planned, pre-tested and used in an attempt to interview all of the men in the labor force of the village.

Several research objectives were planned. The first was to compare migrants and other workers in the community for their demographic characteristics, the amount of exposure to American society, and their socio-economic status in the village. Contacts with the United States was defined as an independent variable which would presumably influence the orientations toward the United States.

The second general purpose of the study was to measure the attitudes or orientations of the population toward the United States. An attempt was made to relate contacts with United States and position in the local community structure with attitudes toward the United States. Throughout this analysis migrants were specific objects of attention.

In Chapter II the specific hypotheses of this study and its methods are presented in detail. Before this, it is necessary to present a general picture of the community in which the research was launched.

### Geographical Setting

The research site selected for this study is Sonoyta, Sonora, Mexico. The town "is centrally located on the course of the Sonoyta River, a small desert stream which rises on the west side of the Baboquiviri Range, west of Tucson, Arizona, and evaporates on an inland delta east of the Pinacate Lava Flows; at latitude 31° 50' N.; longitude 112° 51' W.; altitude 1155' above M S L, approximately."<sup>1</sup>

In the colonial times Sonoyta was, and still is, the last stop where water is available on the old trail (El Camino Del Diablo = Devil's

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<sup>1</sup>Ives, Ronald L., "The Sonoyta Oasis," The Journal of Geography, Vol. 49, January, 1950, p. 2. See: Tamayo, Jorge L., Geografia General de Mexico, Talleres Graficos de la Nacion, Mexico, 1949, Vol 2, p. 270. See: Map of Sonoyta in Appendix E.



SONOYTA, SONORA

MEXICO

Trail), which extends 160 miles in the desert to the Rio Colorado, and along the highway running from central Sonora to Baja (lower) California. It is located at the foot of the last of a range of hills running southwest from Arizona. Its name seems to be derived from the Papago terms Kavortk-son-óitac.<sup>2</sup>

Sonoyta is a gateway to the desert. Its soil is poor and sandy, broken up by erosion. Erosion along the river bed caused the level of the stream to fall so low that the town site had to be changed in 1890 to its present location (downstream). Vegetation (grass, cacti, and desert shrubs) is also scarce. Timber land is found 20 miles upstream northeast of the village where energetic "colonias" are beginning to work. The mean annual temperature in the area is 71.6° F. and the mean annual precipitation is 6.57 inches. Humidity is low and the climate is stable. Winters are relatively mild with occasional showers, while summers are hot but tempered by gentle breezes blowing from the northern canyons.

#### Historical Background

Archeologists have found cultural remains in the Sonoyta formation where deposition began approximately 2,000 years ago.<sup>3</sup> Sonoyta, which had a permanent stream, was a favored site for the Papagos who had irrigation agriculture before the Spanish Conquest.<sup>4</sup> Melchor Diaz and his party

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<sup>2</sup>See: Ives, op. cit., Footnote, p. 2; Kavortk = rounded hill, son = at the foot of, oitac = fields.

<sup>3</sup>Ives, Ronald L., "The Origin of the Sonoyta Townsite, Sonora, Mexico," American Antiquity, Vol. 7, July, 1941, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup>Castetter, E. F., and Bell, W. H., Pima and Papago Indian Culture, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1942, pp. 7 and 48.

visited the area when heading for Baja California in 1540-41.<sup>5</sup> The Jesuit missionary Eusebio Francisco Kino made his first visit to this place in 1698 and four months later, in February 1699, "a new ranch was begun, with thirty-six head of cattle" according to Lt. Juan Mateo Manje, Kino's companion.<sup>6</sup> Father Kino started a church and said the first mass on April 5, 1701, and a new mission was launched under the name San Marcelo Sonoydag. The population of the village consisted of eighty Indians at the time of Kino's last visit in 1706. The mission was subsequently abandoned until 1743, when Jacobo Sedelmayr coming from Tubutama visited it again. (See Figure 1.)<sup>7</sup> The Pima revolt against the Spaniards and Christianity started by a Christian Indian from Saric, Sonora, in 1751 brought death to the missionary and destruction to the San Marcelo Sonoydag mission on November 22 of the same year.<sup>8</sup> After the visit of Juan Bautista de Anza in about 1776, Sonoyta is not mentioned until Henry A. Crabb's invasion of Sonora in 1857.<sup>9</sup> By 1907 the population of Sonoyta consisted of about twenty families, according to Pedro Orozco, a pure blooded Papago who was born in Quitovaquita in 1848, and still works in his milpa (garden plot) not too far from Sonoyta. There was neither school nor church at the time.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Hammond, G. P., and Rey, Agapito, Narratives of the Coronado Expedition 1540-42, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1940, pp. 209-212 and 231-232.

<sup>6</sup>Karns, H. J., "Luz de Tierra Incognita," Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1954, pp. 116 and 265, Manje's Diaries.

<sup>7</sup>Dunn, Peter M., Jacobo Sedelmayr, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1955, p. 68.

<sup>8</sup>Treutlein, T. E., Pfefferkorn's Description of the Province of Sonora, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1949, pp. 259-261.

<sup>9</sup>See: Forbes, R. H., Crabb's Filibustering Expedition, Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1952; Sutherland, Mason., "Sonora is Jumping," The National Geographic Magazine, Vol. 107, February, 1955, p. 245.

<sup>10</sup>Personal interview, March 26, 1955.

Even twenty years ago Sonoyta was only a "rancheria."<sup>11</sup> The village grew to its present size recently as a result of the large scale Mexican migration to the United States.

#### Population

Total population of the Comisaria of Sonoyta is thirteen hundred including the small rural "neighborhoods" formed by the "colonias" and a few ranches. These neighborhoods are not self-sufficient. Their inhabitants live only temporarily on the land, and reside primarily in the village. As Worcester and Schaeffer put it: "Mexico is still primarily a nation of small villages rather than scattered farms and ranches."<sup>12</sup>

#### Land Utilization

Cropland is limited by the scarcity of available water. There are only about 400 hectares nearby which are under cultivation. Agricultural products are mostly truck crops, some citrus fruits, grapes, beans, corn, squash, and chili. However these are raised in limited amounts that do not meet the local needs. Dairy products are also scarce. Grazing lands make possible a relatively abundant supply of beef even though it is of poor quality. The few gold mines in the area are closed. Cotton and wheat are the only products marketed out of the village.

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<sup>11</sup>Personal interview, Sonoyta's Postmaster, March 26, 1955.

<sup>12</sup>Worcester, Donald E. and Schaeffer, Wendell G., The Growth and Culture of Latin America, New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, p. 837.



## Government

The administration of the village is in the hands of a comisario; which roughly corresponds to the sheriff in the United States. Under his authority is the comandante de policia, with three more policemen to maintain order. Comisarios are elected by popular vote during gubernatorial elections. In practice, however, family ties and influence are decisive in the selection of the candidates. Sonoyta has a juez (similar to a justice of the peace), and a revenue office, post office, and a telegraph service, each with two employees. As a comisaria Sonoyta belongs to the Puerto Penasco municipio.<sup>13</sup> The elementary public school with an enrollment of approximately 150 pupils is run by a "director" and four teachers. There is also a kindergarten. Both buildings are quite modern for the area.

## Commerce

Business activities are almost exclusively geared to tourist trade. There are two small hotels, one motel, six curio shops, seven restaurants, six bars and two pool rooms. These following serve local needs mostly; two markets, two general stores, three barber shops, one tailor shop, two drug stores, two butcher shops, three gas stations, two bakeries, one laundry, and one movie theatre. Electric power is now furnished by a Comisaria owned motor. Water is sold from delivery tank trucks by a private concern, even though some wells are still in use. Among the tourist businesses, the most highly patronized seem to be the bars and the houses of prostitution.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Municipio is the basic unit of government, similar to the township in the United States.

<sup>14</sup>The red light district (La Zona Roja) is a 60 people neighborhood

Obviously these businesses do not cater exclusively to the thirteen hundred people of the comisaria. Sonoyta's commercial life is directed at the United States. Curios and liquors are almost the only Mexican commodities marketed in the village. Closing the border at Lukeville, Arizona, would almost mean the extinction of Sonoyta.

The ecological character of Sonoyta is more a function of its location than of its relation to the surrounding habitat and resources. A remarkable contrast may be noted in the land use along the Lukeville-Puerto Peñasco road on the one hand, and along the San Luis-Caborca highway, on the other (See Figure 1.). Since tourists travel the former route, shops and bars are located there almost exclusively. The two small restaurants on the San Luis-Caborca highway encounter little business success. That the ecological processes<sup>15</sup> are tourist-oriented may be demonstrated by a striking phenomenon found also in several other border towns.

The location of the red light district, following periodical attempts by the authorities to keep it far from town, tends to determine the nature of city growth and expansion. The red light district usually starts with a single house of prostitution. After a short time restaurants, laundries, and tailor shops begin moving nearby, and later many other businesses move in that direction. Sonoyta is already planning to transfer the red light district from its present location to the Puerto Peñasco

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which includes several auxiliary or related services as bars, restaurants, tailor shop, laundries, and a beauty parlor. Even United States peddlers visit the district frequently.

<sup>15</sup>Hawley, Amos H., Human Ecology, New York, The Ronald Press Co., 1950, passim. See especially Chapter 13, p. 234-263, and Chapter 20, p. 405-531; Quinn, James A., Human Ecology, New York, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1950, p. 62 and following, p. 82; Lundberg, George A., Schrag, Clarence C., and Larsen, Otto N., Sociology, New York, Harper and Bros., 1954, p. 138 and ff.

road (See Figure 1). Already some businesses are beginning to locate close to the area selected.

Another passing ecological observation relates to the "false front" of the new Mexican Spanish communities which seems to become the "dollar front" of the Mexican border towns. "'False front' is a line of stores, theatres, cafes and bars which provide the necessary alternative for the patron group, who may control the business firms, occupy the few professional roles, and keep a grip on local politics."<sup>16</sup> Prosperous merchants (usually newcomers), not necessarily the patron group, control this line of stores, cafes, bars, or what is called here the "dollar front" of the Mexican border towns. Moreover, land is expensive along the dollar front so that small merchants, who cannot select desired sites, have to look for locations in the opposite direction where real estate is cheaper. Thus there is also a dollar land market and a peso land market, located in opposite sides of the town. It may be recalled, in this connection, that merchants frequently reside at their place of business, as occurs in most rural communities.

#### Health

Food consumption and housing is relatively low by American standards. But rented living quarters and food are expensive by the same standards. Since the majority of the population is poor, health is also poor. According to reports obtained from the four physicians working in the village, people do not go to a physician unless they are seriously ill. Since there

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<sup>16</sup>Mead, Margaret (ed.), Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, UNESCO, Paris, 1953, p. 188; Walter Jr., Paul Alfred Francis, "A Study of Isolation and Social Changes in Three Spanish Speaking Villages of New Mexico," Thesis (M.S.), Stanford University, 1938.

is no subsidized health service in the community, many poor people go without medical attention. The infant mortality rate is still high. Infant deaths in the community from 1950 to 1955 made up 40.9 per cent of the total number of deaths. Two fifths of the births between 1950 and 1955 resulted in death within the first year.<sup>17</sup> The most common disease among infants is enterocolitis, while tuberculosis is most common among adults. Death resulting from automobile accidents is the next most common and then deaths from heart attack. These data can be seen in Table 1.

TABLE 1

MAJOR DISEASES RESULTING IN DEATH AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL NUMBER OF DEATHS IN SONOYTA, SONORA, MEXICO: 1950 TO 1955

Year	Causes of Death					Total
	Entero- colitus	Tuber- culosis	Auto Accident	Heart	Others	
1950	32	12	8	—	48	100
1951	22	15	—	4	59	100
1952	17	17	—	8	58	100
1953	17	17	12	4	50	100
1954	23	6	19	13	39	100
1955	—	26	16	—	58	100
Total	18	15	10	5	52	100
Sonora*	25	25	No data			

\*Duran Ochoa, Julio, Poblacion, Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico, 1955, p.114.

<sup>17</sup>Data for this and the following section were obtained from the files of El Juzgado de la Comisaria, Seccion de Estadisticas, in Sonoyta. Tabulation of the data was made by the researcher with the help of el

Unfortunately comparable data for Mexico are unavailable. The number of births has increased but not significantly during 1950-1955. The difference between deaths and births is 253 during the same five year period. Female births out-number males in contrast with the state of Sonora where the opposite takes place.<sup>18</sup>

### Cultural Setting

Sonoyta is an interesting melting pot of three different cultures: Mexican, Indian and American.<sup>19</sup> There is some reinforcement of Papago culture in Sonoyta, for some local people identify themselves with the Papago groups of southern Arizona. There is some interaction among these groups.

There are no Americans living in Sonoyta. Lukeville, on the United States side, is not really a village. It is a settlement of Americans working for the Immigration Service and the Post Office. There is only one businessman living there who is married to a Mexican girl. However, the impact of American culture is felt mostly through trade and tourism. While material goods are rapidly assimilated in Sonoyta, the adoption of American cultural traits is otherwise rather limited. Needless to say, Mexican culture is dominant locally.

Although three cultures meet in Sonoyta, they tend to remain remarkably distinct. The process of aculturation seems to be too slow to support what Ives said in 1950:

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Juez (Justice of the Peace), who has charge of the local vital statistics.

<sup>18</sup>See: Table 57 in Appendix B.

<sup>19</sup>A good synthetic view of Mexican culture can be found in Beals, Ralph, and others, "Mexican Student Project," Los Angeles, UCLA, Social Science Research Council, Committee on Cross-Cultural Education, Unpublished, undated manuscript.

Although three languages are spoken in the area, and three cultures merge there, the similarities in the cultures are more numerous than the differences, so that friendly contacts and sound business relations are, and can continue to be, maintained. Language differences vanish when almost the entire population is bilingual as is the case in most of the Arizona-Sonora borderland.<sup>20</sup>

The experiences of the writer suggest that although products of American industry are found everywhere in the village, very few people speak English.<sup>21</sup> The value systems of the three cultures are remarkably distinct. While they meet they do not readily mix, even though it is possible to trace cultural similarities and differences, this is beyond the scope of this study.

The traditional Latin American family system accounts for many features of the social life of Sonoyta. The patriarchal family type is still predominant in Mexican Sonoyta. Women are subservient to men. The chaperon institution is still well rooted in the culture. Girls are strictly supervised, and deviants from this norm are bitterly criticized. This does not seem to be true for girls from neighboring American towns. To be sure, the existence of contrasting patterns of supervision has resulted in a certain amount of concern over which pattern of courtship behavior should be followed. Unmarried men indicate they prefer "Americanized" girls as dates, but insist they prefer "real Mexican" women as wives. This seems to be true even for marriages contracted between people from both sides of the border. Data on international marriages which took place in Sonoyta may be found in Table 2. About half of the marriages were international. While many of these were non-residents of Sonora, it is important to stress

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<sup>20</sup>Ives, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>21</sup>See: Table 27, p. 56.

that brides were exclusively Mexican. What probably happens is that Spanish speaking American males tend to marry Mexican girls across the border.

TABLE 2  
NUMBER AND NATIONALITY OF COUPLES MARRIED IN  
SONOYTA, SONORA, MEXICO FROM 1950 TO 1955\*

Year	Mexican Marriages		International Marriages**		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1950	11	39	17	61	28	100
1951	17	68	8	32	25	100
1952	16	46	19	54	35	100
1953	17	53	15	47	32	100
1954	19	43	25***	57	44	100
1955	23	48	25	52	48	100
Total	103	49	109	51	212	100

- \* No comparable data from Mexican Census.  
 \*\* Exclusively American men and Mexican women.  
 \*\*\* Two of the couples married in 1954 were American.

The machismo<sup>22</sup> trait has not lost its status. One of its requirements (that men may find sexual outlet before or outside marriage) has the ultimate effect of buttressing the highly institutionalized prostitution system, which in turn seems to buttress the stability of the traditional family pattern.

<sup>22</sup> Machismo is an exaggerated stress on masculinity. Beals and others, op. cit., p. 29, translate it as "manliness."

Kinship and family ties pervade other aspects of life. Thus political administration in Sonoyta is an extension of the kinship group which, in turn, extends its influence into the economic structure. That is, the political and economic systems are tied together by kinship bonds. Dealings within and between these systems are particularistic, depending on personal and family roles rather than on official status roles. Without building particularistic relationships a person would risk failure in his purposive behavior. Marrying the "right" girl is still a token of success. Yet status in the community is not completely determined by birth, and a degree of social mobility is still possible.

Religious participation is status qualifying for girls, important for married women, and absolutely necessary for widows. Dress and other paraphernalia for religious life also reflects class position of the bearers. Since there is no resident priest in Sonoyta, women conduct religious services in the chapel through two very active associations, one for unmarried and another for married women. Masonry is the only active local association for influential men with high status. This association draws comparatively few members from the village. The lodge was established by Mexican immigration officials who make up the majority of its members. These men do not really participate in community affairs. There is ecological as well as social distance between them and other lower status men in the community.

Contacts across the border between Sonoyta and Lukeville people are extremely limited, except during border crossings. Lukeville residents come to Sonoyta sporadically to do errands, and Sonoytans tend to interact with relatives who live in Ajo, Arizona.



The peculiar characteristics of the village provided an advantageous research site for the problems of this study. This matter is considered in detail in Chapter II.

## CHAPTER II

### PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

#### General Purposes

The general problem of this study is to ascertain whether, all other things being equal, longer and more frequent contacts of Mexican nationals with the United States institutional structures result in more definite attitudes either in favor of or against the United States. Contacts are linked to only those having taken place within the United States. There is no intention to study all of the social situations in which contacts occurred. Nor will any attempt be made to establish any causal relationship between experiences in the United States and attitudes toward the country. It is almost impossible, short of a more intensive study, to consider all of the intervening variables that might influence attitudes toward various American socio-cultural patterns taking place within Mexico itself.

A series of more specific statements can characterize the general research problem in form of null hypotheses and research questions as follows:

The first general hypothesis is that there is an association between the amount of contact with the United States and favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward the country. The hypothesis may be posed by such questions as: Is there any significant difference between the attitudes of migrants, visitors, and non-visitors toward the United States? If so, what is the direction of that difference? What social factors are associated with given attitudes? Is there any relationship between attitudes of migrants and the type of occupation they had during the time they worked in the United States as legal or non-legal migrants? Do number of times migrants have been in

the United States or their knowledge of English affect their attitudes? How do friendship and family ties in the United States influence their attitudes toward the country? In sum, is there any relationship between the attitudes toward the United States and the amount and type of exposure to the country's institutions and inhabitants?

The hypothesis here is that, due to the greater amount of contacts with the United States, migrants would tend to have fixed attitudes toward the country, either positive or negative. Visitors, having been less exposed to the United States, would have a tendency to have more generalized attitudes, probably verging on the antagonistic side. The non-contact group occupied a very different position as a result of their extremely limited relations to the United States. The hypothesis about them would then be that their general orientations toward the United States would be noticeably unfavorable.

The second subsidiary hypothesis is that the higher the socio-economic status of an individual in Mexico the greater the probability that he will evidence unfavorable attitudes toward the United States. The reasoning behind this statement is the observation that the upper classes in Mexico have traditionally attempted to consolidate their position within the community not only by in-group cohesion, but also by out-group conflict. This is the historical pattern of anti-American attitudes within the class structure of Mexico. This hypothesis may be converted into this research question: Is there any association between the socio-economic status of Mexicans in their home communities and their attitudes toward the United States?

## Methodology

The population. Because the small size of the village did not permit the use of sampling techniques, every effort was made to interview the total adult male population of Sonoyta. Formal interviewing began during the second week of January, 1956. Despite the spreading of false rumors about the purpose of the research, it was still possible to devise an approach that would obtain the required data. A physician planned to vaccinate all the children in the village. The researcher obtained permission from him to help with the vaccination campaign, and at the same time to collect those data which were essential to the study. This technique, of course, did not eliminate all problems of getting valid and reliable data. However, it was the only channel available and it is hoped that the data have an acceptable degree of validity.

Up to the sixth of April, 1957 there were in the roster of homes, six heads of families who refused to be interviewed. By the eighteenth of the same month, seven merchants had acted in such a way that any contact with them was practically impossible. Their behavior could be interpreted as a concealed refusal to be interviewed. There were four more heads of families who were always out of town, and two instances where schedules could not be completed. Thus nineteen interviews out of a possible total of 150 or over 12 per cent of the universe were not obtained.

The research site. The research area selected was the central village of Sonoyta, Sonora. The surrounding farming areas were omitted from the study. Also omitted were the Mexican Customs and Immigration employees who lived in the community. They constituted so tight an in group as to be virtually isolated from the social life of the village community.

Sonoyta was selected as the research site for several reasons. In the first place, the community is strategically located to study the impact of recent migration in the United States and Mexico. Sonoyta, though previously isolated, is now in the stream of Mexican agricultural development and highway improvement. The closest American town is Ajo, Arizona, forty miles away with a population of 8,000 people. The closest Mexican town is Puerto Peñasco (called Rocky Point by Americans and Sonoytans as well), a commercial and resort fishing port on the Gulf of Baja California, sixty miles away with 2,000 people. Caborca, in Mexico too, is 100 miles away and San Luis, 160 miles away. (See Figure 1)

Sonoyta is strategically located at the crossroads of two main highways. One highway, running south-west to north-east, connects Puerto Peñasco on the Gulf of Baja California with Ajo in Arizona. The other highway running south-east to north-west connects San Luis with Hermosillo (the capital of Sonora). Thus Sonoyta is at the cross roads of the migration currents of northern Sonora.

The second reason for selecting the community is that although it is located on the border, it is not a typical "border town," for it is relatively isolated from American communities. However, it appears to be getting ready for a rising tide of population movement. In addition, Sonoyta was thought to be a little more "cosmopolitan" in outlook and possessing a more heterogeneous population than other isolated villages near the border. This proved to be a misconception, as will be shown below.

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<sup>1</sup>See Problems, p. 19.

Research design and techniques for collecting data. A long tentative schedule was prepared well in advance of going to the border and pre-tested in Marshall, Michigan, with a group of braceros who came mostly from the central states in Mexico. This schedule was entirely revised after retesting it in Tubutama, Sonora. Further substantial changes were made after its initial trials in Sonoyta. Some questions in the interview were designed to ascertain the degree of mobility which migrants experienced within the community social structure, their participation in community affairs, as well as their friendship ties within the community. However, it was found in the early stages of interviewing, that respondents resented all of these questions as invading their conceptions of privacy.<sup>2</sup>

Interviewing took place under widely varying circumstances. The original intent was to interview respondents in their homes. Often however, it had to be done in a bar or restaurant or even in the milpa.<sup>3</sup> It was very seldom possible to complete the interviews in one sitting. This increased the tendency for people to become suspicious. However, the researcher was able to reduce suspicion by participating in almost every activity of the community with a few obvious exceptions. Observations were written down at the earliest possible convenience when recollections were still fresh. Full sharing of village life is really icebreaking, for Mexicans are very sensitive to anything that resembles census taking.

Problems of field research in Mexico. Local residents were familiar with only three types of strangers; the archeologist, the miner, and the tourist. Sociologists were entirely unknown to them. The researcher

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<sup>2</sup>See schedule in Appendix E.

<sup>3</sup>Milpa is a small garden plot where diversified products are raised mostly for home consumption.

decided early to be completely honest about the general purpose of the Carnegie Corporation-Michigan State University Border Project and the specific targets of the migration research. People responded in various ways from town to town along the border visited. However, one type of attitude was almost universal. People invariably wanted to know how the study was related to the activities of the central government, the state government, and with the University of Sonora. Questions like this were not uncommon: "Why doesn't our government or university do what you are doing?" The researcher did contact the University of Sonora in Hermosillo, but did not obtain letters of recommendation from any institution because he did not realize at the time the importance of getting clearance from governmental authorities.

Several factors militated against the use of standard sociological techniques in research. For one, research is a difficult role for an unmarried man to play in a small Mexican village. Single girls hope to marry any "suitable" outsider, and the whole community tries to help them achieve this goal. A married researcher with his family living at the research site would, no doubt, have an easier time building local rapport.

A second factor inhibiting the building of rapport was the use of a schedule and the use of the term "investigacion." Mexicans do not respond positively to people who want to fill out interviews. Even giving information to the Mexican Census is often simply avoided by deserting the village. Further, the term "investigacion" (research) is also most commonly used in connection with criminal behavior. A man who once crossed the border illegally will not be at ease facing a stranger who comes from the United States to conduct an "investigacion."

The researcher, despite obstacles, was able to build good rapport in the community until someone spread the rumor that a spy for the United States government was investigating all workingmen. A socio-psychological "test" which the researcher administered in the public school (grades four, five, and six) was used as evidence that the researcher was a "fifth columnist" who was advising Mexicans to become Americans. Unfortunately this occurred at a time when a senator from California was urging the American government to buy Baja California and Northern Sonora from Mexico.<sup>4</sup> These rumors were slowly dissipated with the aid of an old and influential man who was by this time a good friend of the researcher.

At the time of the study the upper stratum of the community was bitterly divided by the rivalry between two physicians. One of them, a newcomer, was challenging the popularity of the other. Every effort was made to maintain good relations with both parties, but one of them attempted to convince others that the researcher agreed with his position. The reluctance of some merchants to be interviewed might be attributed to their apprehension that the researcher was informed about the moral issues behind this rivalry.

For long periods of time the researcher was intellectually isolated. Ready consultation with experienced investigators might well have reduced the kinds of problems which he encountered.

#### Construction of Indices

Hypotheses should be tested by appropriate instruments. For the hypotheses mentioned above it was necessary to construct three indices:

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<sup>4</sup>Mañana, Vol. 65, April 14, 1956, p. 10.



an index of contacts with the United States, an index of socio-economic status in the local community, and an index of attitudes toward the United States.

The construction of an index involves a number of sometimes arbitrary decisions. The very act of combining categories is a concession to inaccuracy, and weighting is, in itself, a very arbitrary task. However, in order to make explicit any possibilities of bias in constructing the indices, the steps involved will be described in detail. The data obtained from the use of the indices will be elaborated in the subsequent substantive chapters.

#### Index of Contacts with the United States

In order to have an overall view of the specific contacts and the amount of contacts which the adult male population of Sonoyta had with the United States an index was devised by putting together information on:

(a) social ties in the United States, (b) number of times and years spent in the United States, (c) occupation in the United States, and (d) knowledge of English.

a) Social ties in the United States. Having friends in a place is assumed to be a factor affecting people's attitudes and ties with that place. Such ties may presume to influence decisions about where to migrate. The questions were asked: "Do you have close friends in the United States?" and "Do you have acquaintances in the United States?".<sup>5</sup> The researcher was careful to note whether friends were American or Mexican. Respondents were

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<sup>5</sup>Acquaintances is not a proper translation of the Spanish expression "simples amigos" but it is the closest term that can be used to convey the original meaning.

also questioned about having distant or close relatives in the United States. The residence of both friends and relatives was also noted.

There appeared to be no differences in the proportions reporting many or few relatives or many or few friends in the United States. Therefore, no differential weights were assigned to "many" as opposed to "few" friends or relatives. The same logic was applied to having Mexican or American close friends. Although there seemed to be some distributional differences among acquaintances, no different weights were assigned to having many or few acquaintances. Weights for friendship relations and relatives are given in Table 3. Although analysis of these data will be made in substantive sections of this study, it may be noticed that about three-quarters of the respondents answered the questions in the same way, that they had no close American or Mexican friends in the United States. They reported, on the other hand, a greater proportion of Mexican than American "acquaintances" in the United States.

TABLE 3  
WEIGHTS CORRESPONDING TO EXTENT OF FRIENDSHIP  
AND FAMILY TIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Friendship	Weights	Family	Weights
Close friends	2	Close relatives*	4
Acquaintances	1	Other relatives	3
None	0	None	0

\*"Close relatives" were defined as members of the respondent's immediate family, such as children, parents or siblings.

Times in the United States. There is no evidence to evaluate the amount of hardship or other elements involved in crossing the border only once as against many times. However, differential weights were correspondingly assigned as in Table 4 under the assumption that there are compelling forces operating at either or both ends of the migration stream.

TABLE 4  
WEIGHTS ASSIGNED TO NUMBER OF TIMES ADULT MALES OF SONOYTA  
REPORTED THEY HAD BEEN IN THE UNITED STATES

Times	Weights
Never	0
Once or twice	1
Three or four times	3
Five or more times	4

If people repeatedly try living in a foreign land, one may impute a strong compulsion to migrate as a means of achieving an easier adjustment abroad. The small number of legal migrants emphasizes this compulsive striving to come to the United States. Respondents who worked in the United States made frequent references to the increasing difficulties they encountered in trying to enter the United States either with or without legal entry papers.

Years or length of time in the United States. No information is analyzed concerning the length of time visitors spent in the United States. This information is presented only for those who had worked in the United States, even though the question was asked of everyone. It is well known,

however, that American immigration laws tend to limit length of time and number of times a person may enter the country as a visitor under certain circumstances.<sup>6</sup>

Weights, for the length of time in the United States are found in Table 5. The assumption underlying these weights is obvious. Length of time is supposed to be positively correlated with the amount of contacts an individual may have with a culture and with the number of opportunities he has to deal with a complex of social systems. Weights in Table 5 are given to equal time intervals, even though some unequal time intervals are presented.

TABLE 5

WEIGHTS ASSIGNED TO NUMBER OF YEARS SPENT IN THE UNITED STATES  
BY ADULT MALE POPULATION OF SONOYTA

Number of Years	Weights
None	0
One year or less	1
1.1 to 2.0 years	1
2.1 to 4.0 years	2
4.1 to 6.0 years	3
6.1 to 8.0 years	4
8.1 or more	5

Occupation in the United States. If the respondent had worked in the United States he was asked what type of occupation he had engaged in. The occupations actually comprised a rather small range as seen in Table 6. "Transient" is a designation used for those who experienced much

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<sup>6</sup>Information on this was obtained from the local Head-Immigration Office, Lukeville, Arizona, March 1956.

occupational mobility and took any job which was available. Even though occupations other than agriculture have the same weight they are kept separate for descriptive purposes in later parts of this study.

TABLE 6

WEIGHTS ASSIGNED TO OCCUPATIONS OF THE MIGRANTS OF SONOYTA  
WHEN WORKING IN THE UNITED STATES

Occupations	Weights
Agricultural labor	1
Transient	2
Mining	2
Factory worker	2
Mechanic	2
N.A.	2

Different occupations probably provide a varying range of opportunities for people to interact in different social environments.<sup>7</sup> It seems reasonable to presuppose that in farming occupations the chances to contact American society are more limited compared with the possibilities for urban occupations. For this reason those employed exclusively in agriculture were assigned lower weights than others. Since this assumption is somewhat problematic the weights were kept at the lowest levels.

Knowledge of English. Ability to use language is probably the best single index of contacts made. Categories as shown in Table 7 were those used by the University of California at Los Angeles Studies.<sup>8</sup> Only a little more than one-third of the adult males in the Sonoyta study had at

<sup>7</sup>Miller, Delbert C., and Form, William H., Industrial Sociology, New York, Harper and Bros., 1951, Chapter V, especially pages 114 and following.

<sup>8</sup>Study of Foreign Students at UCLA (Interview Guide), Social Science Research Council, Committee on Cross-Cultural Education, Undated unpublished manuscript.

least some acquaintance with the English language. Weights were distributed in such a way as to take the differential ability to speak English into consideration.

TABLE 7

RELATIVE WEIGHTS GIVEN FOR KNOWLEDGE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE  
OF THE ADULT MALE POPULATION OF SONOYTA

Knowledge of English	Weight
None at all	0
A little	1
Enough to get along	3
A lot	5

The over-all index of contacts with the United States, as shown in Table 8, was made up by adding up the weights of the variables just described

TABLE 8

SCORES FOR THE INDEX OF CONTACT WITH THE UNITED  
STATES FOR THE ADULT MALE POPULATION OF SONOYTA

Contact	Contact Index Scores
None	0
Little	1-5
Some	6-9
Much	10 +

for each individual to make his score. The lowest score may be zero and the highest 22, running from no contact at all to a great deal of contact; from no exposure to a great exposure to American culture. The index shows that one-fifth of the adult males of Sonoyta had no contact with the United States. Somewhat over two-fifths had "little" contact (Scores 1-5), and

the remaining (somewhat over one-third) had contact scores of 6 or more. Contacts, by means of the index just presented, will be contrasted with attitudes in Chapter V.

#### Index of Socio-Economic Status

An index of socio-economic status was necessary to test the hypothesis regarding the influence of stratification on attitudes toward the United States. The variables used in constructing the socio-economic status index were: (a) Occupations in the village; (b) General educational level; and (c) House-land ownership. An examination of each variable is in order.

#### Occupations

Present occupational distribution of the adult male population of Sonoyta was found in response to the question: "En qué trabaja usted?", which in Mexico has the same meaning as, "How do you make a living?" Answers were roughly categorized according to the classification of the United States Census, even though some variations were introduced in order to fit the peculiar Mexican situation.<sup>9</sup> Table 9 gives weights necessary for constructing the index.

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<sup>9</sup>See: Bureau of the Census, Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries, Washington, D.C., 1950, p. vi; Warner, W. Lloyd, Meeder, Marchia and Eels, Kenneth, Social Class in America, Chicago, Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949, p. 132-142; Gillen, Paul Bates, The Distribution of Occupations as a City Yardstick, New York, King's Crown Press, 1951, p. 23.

TABLE 9

## WEIGHTS ASSIGNED TO OCCUPATIONS OF ADULT MALES OF SONOYTA

Occupational Groupings	Weights
Professional	5
Ranchers, proprietors, merchants, public officials	4
Small proprietors, clerks, skilled, semi-skilled, farmers	3
Service workers	2
Common laborers (unskilled)	1

Definitions for understanding the Table are as follows:

"Ranchers" are those individuals who own large pieces of land used either in industrial agriculture (as cotton) or in cattle raising.

"Proprietors" includes owners of business other than agriculture who have profits as the main source of income.

"Merchants" are the owners of dry-goods stores and markets.

"Public officials" includes chiefs of government agencies, as judge or comisario.

"Ventero," which means a sales-clerk in a store, was placed under "clerical" in contrast to bartender which is placed under "service" because of the differential prestige of these two occupations.

"Small proprietors" are the independent owners of very small business. There is, thus, only a difference of size between this and "proprietors" above.

"Farmers" are small land owners, tenants, lessees or colonos engaged in producing diversified crops mainly for home consumption but who sell small surpluses in the village.

Truck drivers are included under the "semi-skilled" category as well as taxi drivers, assuming that their skill is less than that of a machine operator who goes under "skilled." The former only operate the machine whereas the latter can repair it as well.



Even though a farm laborer has greater security of employment than a jornalero, who is practically in a constant search for a job, they are put together under "common laborers."

The remaining categories need no explanation since the United States Census was followed. Table 9 and the preceding descriptions explain the weights given occupations for the socio-economic status index.

Weights for educational attainment. Even though number of years of school completed is not as important in socio-economic status for rural as for urban societies,<sup>10</sup> it was used as part of the index under the assumption that the proximity of the village to industrial areas demands it. The two cases of self-educated men in the community are survivals. Young people complain more and more about the lack of educational opportunities. The educational composition of the respondents and the weights assigned to various educational levels are provided in Table 10.

TABLE 10  
WEIGHTS ASSIGNED TO YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF THE  
ADULT MALE POPULATION OF SONOYTA

Years of School	Weights
None	0
1-3	1
4-6	2
7-9	3
10 or more	4

<sup>10</sup> See: Leonard, Olen E. and Loomis, C. P. (eds.), Readings in Latin American Social Organization and Institutions, E. Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1953, Chapter on States and Stratification by Loomis, et. al., especially p. 200.

It may be noted in passing that over two-fifths of the respondents had no formal education and three-tenths had less than three years of schooling. Only one-eighth remained in school after the sixth grade. The further significance of these data will be made clearer later.

### Property

What is called here the property type index was obtained through a somewhat more complicated process than that used for the other indices. This was necessary because no data were available on value of property or income. Residents in Mexican villages often own property or rent property both in town and in the surrounding farm area. An index had to take this into consideration. Ownership of property in town and in the country was given the highest weight, followed by renting in one place and owning in another, etc. After a crude classification was made, the categories were internally examined. Thus owning a house with six rooms was given more weight than owning a smaller house. Further adjustments were made by taking into consideration the number of people per room, to get an index of crowding. Although arbitrary decisions were unavoidable in this process, precautions were taken to reduce the margin of error. Table 11 provides the summary data for the property-type index. It may be noted that the upper fifteen per cent may be thought of as a property elite, in the sense that they either own both a house and land, or own one and rent the other. The remaining were classified as upper middle, lower middle, and lower, respectively, for use in substantive analysis at the end of Chapter IV.

TABLE 11

WEIGHTS ASSIGNED TO PROPERTY TYPE INDEX  
FOR ADULT MALE POPULATION OF SONOYTA

Property Categories		Weights
Own house - Own land		5
Own house - Rent land or Rent house - Own land	High	4
Rent house - Rent land	Upper Middle	3
Own house - No land	Lower Middle	2
Rent house - No land	Lower	1

The index of socio-economic status was obtained by adding up scores for occupation, education, and property for every individual as shown in Table 12. The distribution of socio-economic index scores was expected to

TABLE 12

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS FOR ADULT MALES AND SCORES OF SES\*

Socio-Economic Groups	Socio-Economic Index	Number of People	Per cent
Upper	12-15	4	3
Upper - Middle	9-11	35	27
Lower - Middle	6-8	63	48
Lower	3-5	28	22
Total		130	100

\*In interpreting this table, it should be kept in mind that seven out of nineteen adult males who "refused" to be interviewed, were presumably members of the upper group.

take the form of a pyramid. However, the technique used showed the upper group to be small (3 per cent); the two middle groups to comprise three quarters of the total, and the lowest group about one-fifth. If the groups are dichotomized, three-tenths are in the upper half and seven-tenths in the lower half. This latter division seems, at first glance, to be realistic situation of social-class groupings in Mexican border communities. However, closer observations are presented in Chapter III, p. 38.

The intercorrelations for the index of socio-economic status are given in Table 13, so that its internal consistency may more readily be examined. Some observations on the internal consistency of the index are in order as an interpretation of Table 13. The socio-economic status index was made up from occupation, education and property. Land and house ownership as well as type of housing were used, in turn, to make up the property index. It may be seen from Table 13 that occupation is positively and highly associated with education and property. Education, however, is somewhat negatively associated with property. This anomaly may be explained by the fact that economic power in rural communities is not so much a function of education but of gradual extension of land holdings. Therefore, older people may be expected to have more property than younger people who may be more highly educated. In fact, Table 13 shows this high positive association between age and property index.

While age is positively associated with all other variables except education, education is negatively associated with all other variables except occupation. Education is, then, important in the occupational structure of the village and will become increasingly so as Mexico moves gradually toward an occupationally proliferated industrial society.

TABLE 13

SUMMARY TABLE OF CHI-SQUARES, THEIR CONFIDENCE LEVELS AND  
CORRECTED CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENTS AMONG INDICES USED TO  
CONSTRUCT THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDEX

	Occu- pation	Educa- tion	Property Index	Land Owner- ship	House Owner- ship	Number of Rooms	Index of Crowding	Age
Occu- pation		18.909 .01 +.47	13.451 .05 +.39	13.877 .001 +.45	2.224 .50 +.19	8.378 .02 +.36	7.750 .05 -.35	2.032 .50 +.17
Educa- tion	18.909 .01 +.47		7.109 .70 -.27	2.964 .50 -.21	10.631 .02 -.37	.222 .70 .04	1.348 .70 -.14	9.253 .01 -.41
Property Index	19.429 .01 +.45	12.079 .30 -.35		135.045 .001 +.97	90.258 .001 +.88	24.077 .001 +.58	24.306 .001 -.58	15.191 .01 +.47
Land Owner- ship	17.307 .001 +.50	5.224 .20 -.26	109.597 .001 +.91		5.059 .10 +.28	.997 .50 +.05	3.730 .20 -.25	4.697 .05 +.28
House Owner- ship	2.224 .50 +.19	10.631 .02 -.37	90.258 .001 +.88	7.257 .05 +.33		2.711 .10 +.22	2.563 .20 +.22	15.184 .001 +.50
Number of Rooms	8.378 .02 +.36	.222 .70 +.04	24.077 .001 +.58	2.124 .50 +.19	2.711 .10 +.22		15.244 .001 -.52	7.354 .01 +.36
Index of Crowding	7.750 .05 -.35	1.348 .70 -.14	24.306 .001 -.58	5.395 .10 -.29	2.563 .20 +.22	15.244 .001 -.52		.143 .80 +.15
Age	2.032 .560 +.17	9.253 .01 -.41	15.191 .01 +.47	4.697 .05 +.28	15.184 .001 +.50	7.354 .01 +.36	.143 .80 +.15	

Formally educated people in the village are, for the most part, young.

Higher education is highly respected and considered as a privilege of rich people. However, some highly educated people are comparatively

propertyless. This was the case, for example, for the medical doctors who received relatively low incomes and rented small apartments. Thus the association between house ownership and education was negative, but the association between education and occupation was relatively high. Education then appears to have some prestige dimension which may later have positive economic consequences.

While visiting Mexico the researcher frequently observed a common practice of house building. The young rural Mexican couple usually starts out in a small house which expands, as it were, with the growing size of the family. This pattern reverses itself when the adult children start, in turn, to raise their own families. The old house starts to fall apart as a result of the inability of the old folks to meet the expenses of keeping up the unused rooms. Perhaps this may partly explain the anomalous associations among occupation, education and the housing variables. The house building cycle may also explain other relations. Thus, while the association between age and house ownership, and age and number of rooms is positive and highly significant, the association between age and the index of crowding is scarcely positive and non-significant.

In summary: Amount of property seems to be relatively more important than education in placing people socio-economically in this type of community. Occupation also appears to be more important than education. Yet education cannot be ignored for its prestige value and possible future economic dividends. Socio-economic status index as related to attitudes will be substantively treated in Chapter V.

Index of attitudes toward the United States. The interviewing situation was seldom favorable to a full inquiry on attitudes toward the

United States. Yet an attempt was made to obtain a quantitative representation of those attitudes. Two questions were asked. (1) "How do you like the United States?" and (2) "Would you give me some reasons for your feeling?" Answers to the second question were copied verbatim, and analyzed for content.

Responses to the first question are shown in Table 14.<sup>11</sup> Although the response categories are crude, it is apparent that three-fifths of the respondents had positive attitudes toward the United States. Responses to the second question were analyzed for their evaluation of work conditions and life styles in the United States. These will be more explicitly examined in Chapter V on attitudes.

TABLE 14  
DISTRIBUTION OF ANSWERS GIVEN TO THE QUESTION  
"HOW DO YOU LIKE THE UNITED STATES"

Categories of Answers	Number	Per cent
Very much	52	40
Somewhat	26	20
Not much	13	10
Not at all	28	21
No answer	11	9
Total	130	100

The scope of this chapter has been to raise questions and set up the instruments needed to answer those questions. The following chapter

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<sup>11</sup>The listing of verbalized attitudes is given in Appendix B.

will attempt to study the people belonging to identifiable groups in order to answer the research questions.



### CHAPTER III

#### SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION OF SONOYTA

Three types of data will be used to describe the population of Sonoyta. First, a description of the population characteristics enumerated in the preceding chapter will be presented. This will be followed by a study of the general migration currents of Sonora, as viewed against the background of larger migration currents in Mexico. The final part will be concerned with an analysis of the migrants to the United States. They, in turn, will be compared with two other groups: (a) People who had visited (not worked in) the United States and (b) People who never had visited the United States.

Much of the migration into the United States from Mexico is from small communities along the border and deeper in the interior of Mexico. Relatively few studies have described the population of these communities and the segment of the population which migrates. This chapter will attempt to describe the population of Sonoyta, and the segments which migrate to the United States. Generalizations from this study should be tempered by the fact that twelve per cent of adult males in the village were not available for interviewing. Testing the reliability of the data was not possible because the Mexican Census does not provide data for units smaller than municipios in which information for a comisaria such as Sonoyta is submerged.

### The Adult Male Population of Sonoyta

Generally speaking the population of the village is highly Caucasian. There are only a few Papago families, and a small number of people of mixed races; either Spanish and Indian or Spanish and Oriental. The Orientals in Sonora are remnants of the Chinese population which was in the area during the late thirties and early forties, before the state enforcement of the expulsion laws.

Central in a migration study is knowledge concerning the origin of the population of a community. It may be recalled from the historical sketch presented in Chapter I that the growth of the village to its present size is of recent date. As is seen in Table 15, only one-tenth of the adult males were born in Sonoyta but almost three-fifths were born in Sonora, excluding Sonoyta. The remaining quarter was born in other states

TABLE 15

#### BIRTH PLACE AND PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF ADULT MALES OF SONOYTA

Places	Birth		Previous Residence	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Sonoyta	14	11	16	12
Sonora	75	58	67	51
Mexico (other than Sonora)	33	25	32	25
United States	4	3	13	10*
N.A.	4	3	2	2
Total	130	100	130	100

\*Does not include migratory labor in the United States

in Mexico, and only three per cent in the United States. One-third of those born in Sonora come from Caborca, Sonora, a town 100 miles distant. The closest town, Quitovac, which has always been a small community, contributed fourteen per cent of those born in Sonora. The contribution of population from other states is shown in Table 16. It should be noted that Jalisco and Sinaloa, which border Sonora, each contributed one-fifth of the non-Sonora born.

TABLE 16  
BIRTH PLACE OF ADULT MALES RESIDING  
IN SONOYTA--NOT BORN IN SONORA

Place	Birth		Previous Residence	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Jalisco	8	23	7	21
Sinaloa	7	20	4	12
Hidalgo	3	8	1	3
Guanaajuato	3	8	2	6
Zacatecas	3	8	1	3
Nuevo León	2	6	1	3
Michoacán	2	6	0	-
Chihuahua	1	3	3	9
Curango	1	3	1	3
Quintana Roo	1	3	0	-
Baja California	0	-	11	33
No Information	4	11	2	6
Total	35	99	33	99

It appears that Sonoyta has become a destination point rather than a transient point of migration for most of the resident population. This probably can be explained by the economic growth of border regions of Mexico and by the central government's irrigation projects which now provide the only alternative for the future economic development of the border. Baja California's tremendous growth along the border during the last ten years is now in process of waning. Sonoyta is experiencing some of the effects of this reverse displacement of population southward. This phenomenon can be confirmed from data in Table 16, which indicate that, although none of the present residents were born in Baja California, one third of those born outside of Sonora previously resided in Baja California.

A consideration of Tables 15 and 16 suggest that there was relatively little migration outside of the states of birth, other than moving to Sonoyta. It seems that the same percentage of people (approximately one quarter of the total) reported both birth and previous residence in the same states in Mexico. This suggests that they came from their states of origin directly to Sonoyta. It should be recalled that Sonoyta was a very small village twenty years ago. It may be added also that the depression of the thirties brought old Mexicans back home from the United States since the cost of living has always been lower in Mexico.

Age. The total population of Sonoyta is 1300. However, this study, as was explained before, did not cover the whole comisaria (county). Rather it focused on the people living in the central village, as shown in Figure 2 (See Appendix E).

Two different distributions for age are presented for Sonoyta and contrasted with corresponding percentages for the state of Sonora in

Table 17, which reports the age distribution of the adult males interviewed and their families when they were married. No information was obtained about non-dependent relatives of unmarried respondents.

TABLE 17

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALES OF SONOYTA, SONORA,  
AND STATE OF SONORA IN PERCENTAGES

Age Intervals	Adult Males	
	Sonoyta	Sonora
20-24	9	18
25-29	13	17
30-34	23	13
35-39	11	13
40-44	9	10
45-49	13	8
50-54	5	7
55-59	9	4
60-64	3	4
65+	4	6
N.I.	--	--
Total	99	100
Numbers of Adult Males	130	149,306*

\*Septimo Censo General de Poblacion 6 de Junio de 1950, Sonora.  
Secretaria de Economic, Mexico, Direccion General de Estadistica, 1953,  
p. 24.

A glance at the respective tables point to some significant differences between the age composition of the village and the state. As may be

Age Pyramid of The Population of  
Sonoyta As Related To The Adult  
Male Population Under Study

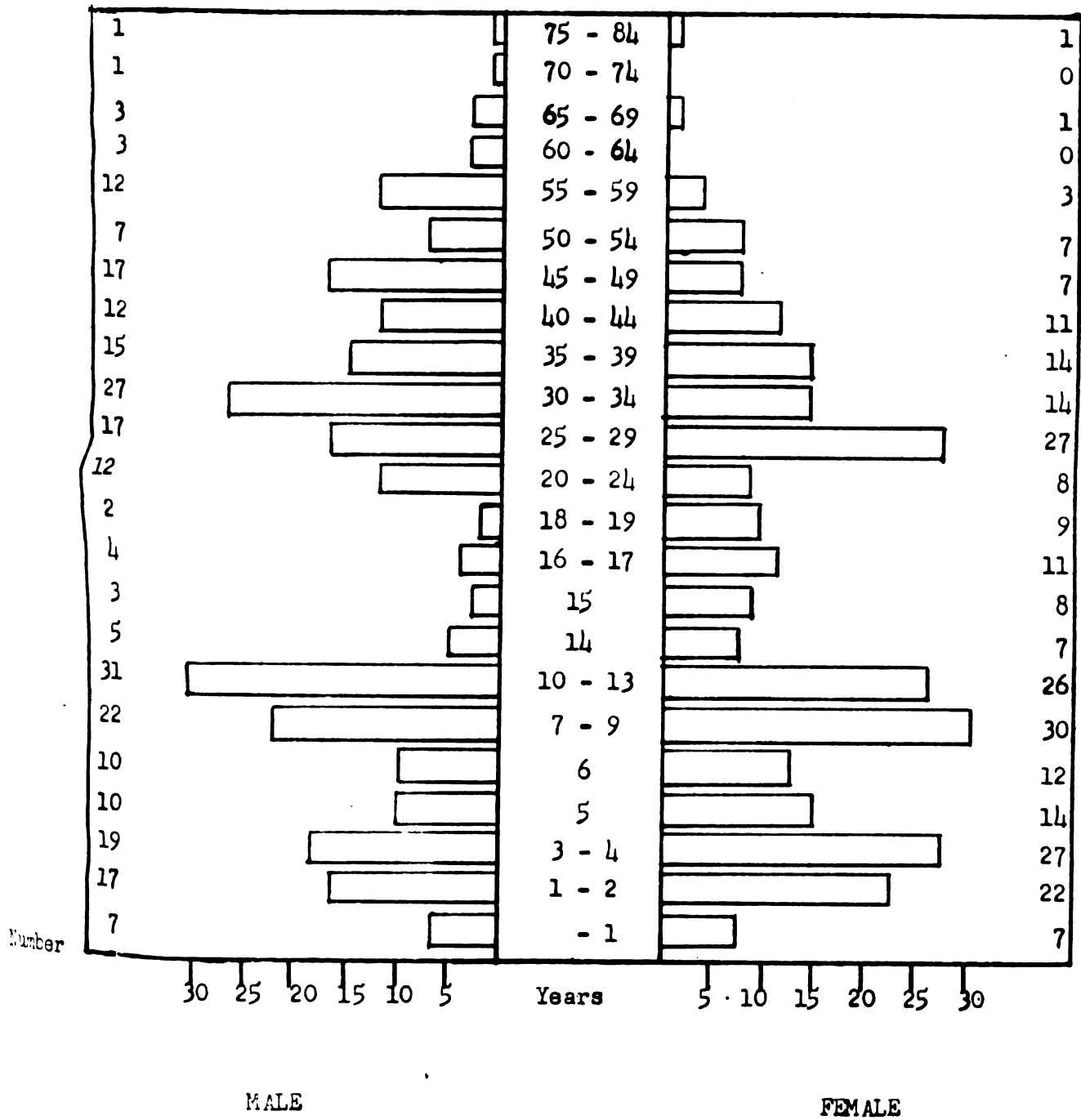


Chart 3.1

discerned from Table 18 the largest group of adult Sonoyta males (approximately one fifth) are concentrated in the five year span of 30 and 34 years. The ten year age span of 25 to 34 years contains the largest proportion, 36 per cent of the total. These data seem to be representative of adult

TABLE 18  
AGE COMPOSITION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF  
SONOYTA AND THE STATE OF SONORA

Age Interval	Village Population Per cent	State Population Per cent
0 - 4	18	15
5 - 9	18	14
10 - 14	13	12
15 - 19	7	10
20 - 24	4	9
25 - 29	8	8
30 - 34	8	6
35 - 39	5	6
40 - 44	4	5
45 - 49	7	4
50 - 54	3	3
55 - 59	3	2
60 - 64	1	2
65+	1	3
Total	100	99
Numbers	534	510,607*

\*Septimo Censo, op. cit., p. 24.

male populations from communities of similar economic and social development. However, the number of teenagers is extremely small (see Appendix C), and the males of this age group are far outnumbered by females. On the other hand, men over 30 years of age outnumber females, especially at the age span between 30 and 34 years.

Several factors may explain these anomalies. In the first place, some of the men refused to be interviewed, and this tended to underrepresent the adult males in some "mature" age levels. In the second place, it is very possible that parents omitted reporting all of the absent teenagers in their families, even though the researcher always requested the full listing of all living members of the family wherever they happened to be at the time. The foregoing considerations notwithstanding, it was observed in several villages in the area that girls generally outnumbered boys. This probably was due to the common occurrence of young men leaving their homes to seek jobs in other parts of Mexico or in the United States. This is often the case where surplus of labor is confronted with shortages of occupational opportunities. Also, the recent arrival in the village of young married population may help to explain the smallness of the teenage group.

Marital status. The great majority of the adult males were married: eighty-three per cent again fourteen per cent single. There were only four single people over thirty-five years of age and only four out of the 130 were widowed, and none was divorced.

Family size. Family is defined here as the economic unit comprised of those who play parental roles and their dependent children. In rare occurrences other dependent persons were listed as members of the family.



The Mexican Census definition is broader than this, for it implies the extended family, the economic unit tied up to the head of the household by parentage and custom.<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances, when Sonoyta data are compared with those representing other Mexican units, Sonoyta will have relatively smaller families. Indeed Table 19 shows that 62 per cent of the Sonoyta families have two to five members, rather small in size

TABLE 19

SIZE OF FAMILIES OF SONOYTA AND THE STATE OF SONORA

Size	Sonoyta Per cent	Sonora* Per cent
2-3	27	30
4-5	35	30
6-7	24	22
8-9	11	12
10	3	6
Total	100	100
Total Families	107	94,651

\*Septimo Censo, op. cit., p. 25.

for Mexico. However, the mean family size for Sonoyta is 5.0, and the median is 4.5.<sup>2</sup> The mean for Sonora is 5.4 and for Mexico, 5.1. Since

<sup>1</sup>See: Septimo Censo General de Poblacion 6 de junio de 1950, Resumen General, Secretaria de Economia, Direccion General de Estadistica, 1953, p. 24 and Duran Ochoa, Julio, Poblacion, Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1955, pp. 23-25.

<sup>2</sup>It should be noticed that the average as here computed takes into consideration all women bearing children at the time of the research, without concern for the childbearing period and the dead children. See: Landis, Paul H., and Hatt, Paul K., Population Problems, New York, American Book Co., 1954, Appendix p. XXXI.

the definition of the family used for Sonoyta is narrower, Sonoyta families probably are representative in size for Sonora, but smaller when compared to Mexico as a whole. On the other hand, Sonoyta families are larger than families in the United States. The median family size for Sonoyta is 4.5, and 3.7 for the United States. The definition of family size used here is about the same as the one used by the United States Census.<sup>3</sup>

Education. The hypothesis entertained in this study is that migration is affected by the socio-economic status of a person. Indices of socio-economic status used are education, occupation, and property. Education is computed by years of school completed. Certain arbitrary approximations to a full year were made for those who had more than five months of school per year. The most striking fact of Table 20 is that half of the

TABLE 20

TOTAL EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF ADULT MALES OF SONOYTA

Years of School Completed <sup>a</sup>	Number	Per cent
None	29	22
1 - 3	38	29
4 - 6	45	35
7 - 9	13	10
10+	5	4
Total	130	100

sample had three or less years of education, and one fifth had no formal education. About one third had four to six years of schooling. Only five individuals got through high school, three of which were physicians

<sup>3</sup>Bureau of the Census, General Characteristics of Families, 1950, Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1955, pp. 2A-7 and 2A-10.

recently arrived in the village. The mean education reported was 3.8 years. One reason for the relatively low educational level was the absence of a secondary school in Sonoyta. The nearest one is in Caborca, 100 miles away, over a very rough gravel road.

Occupation. Since there were no available data on the amount of income derived from each occupation and some occupations are seasonal, it was impossible to determine which was the main occupation as far as making a living was concerned. In classifying workers, the first occupation they reported was used.

The occupational structure of Sonoyta tends to represent the peculiar economy of a Mexican border town and trade center community. In the first place, the town had over ten per cent of its male labor force as proprietors, managers, and officials. Sixteen per cent were employed in agricultural occupations. The absence of industry was reflected in the relatively large proportion of unskilled workers (thirty-three per cent) representing services and common labor. Yet the emergence of a technologically complex society is reflected in the relatively large proportion of skilled workers (twenty two per cent) present.

Education does not run parallel with occupational levels as reported in Table 21. There seems to be relatively little differentiation of occupation by education. However, Table 21 omits some significant data. Thus, thirty five per cent of the common laborers had no formal education, and one half of the farmers had no schooling either. Yet despite this there was a significant association between occupational position and education in Sonoyta. Data in Table 22 show that, on the whole, a greater proportion of the lower occupational groups were concentrated in lower educational

levels, whereas the opposite was true for the higher occupations. These differences are significant statistically because the probability of the Chi-square is at the .001 level.

TABLE 21  
PERCENTAGES OF SONOYTA ADULT MALES  
IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS

Occupational Groupings	Percentages
Professional	2
Ranchers	2
Proprietors, merchants, public officers	8
Small proprietors	2
Clerical	3
Skilled	22
Semi-skilled	14
Farmers	14
Service	7
Common laborers	26
Total	100
Number of Cases	130

House-land ownership. Adobe house construction generally prevailed in the village. There were very few cement block houses. Except for the main business area described in Chapter I, the village was not highly differentiated ecologically. Even the residences of the rich people were scattered in no apparent pattern. Of course very poor people tended to live in the peripheral sections of the village.

TABLE 22  
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THREE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS

Education	Occupations			Total
	High*	Middle	Low	
0-3 years	1	40	26	67
4 years or more	15	30	18	63
Total	16	70	44	130
= 14.893		p < .001		$\bar{C} = .16$

\*High, middle, and low refer to position in the occupational structure shown in Table 21.

Table 23 presents data on housing and land ownership. From it two

TABLE 23  
HOUSE-LAND OWNERSHIP AND HOUSING  
CHARACTERISTICS FOR SONOYTA

Categories	No. of People	Per cent
1. <u>House Ownership</u>		
Own house	78	60
Rent house	31	23
Borrow house	17	13
Roomers	4	3
Total	130	99
2. <u>Type of Housing</u>		
One family house	106	81
Two family house	16	12
N.A.	8	6
Total	130	99

Table 23 Continued.

Categories	No of People	Per Cent
<b>3. <u>No. of Rooms Per Home</u></b>		
One room	19	15
Two rooms	50	38
Three rooms	38	29
Four to six rooms	17	13
N.A.	6	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>4. <u>No. of Persons Per Household</u></b>		
One person	21	16
Two persons	11	8
Three persons	20	15
Four persons	18	14
Five persons	16	12
Six persons	14	11
Seven persons	14	11
Eight to ten persons	14	11
Eleven or more	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>5. <u>No. of Persons Per Room</u></b>		
More than 4 to 7	9	7
3.1 - 4.0	16	12
2.1 - 3.0	19	15
1.1 - 2.0	36	28
Less than 1	43	33
N.A.	7	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>6. <u>Land Ownership</u></b>		
Own land	13	10
Rent land	2	1
Lease land	1	1
Colono*	7	5
None	107	83
<b>Total</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100</b>

\*"Colono" refers to a person who rents land from the government on a long term basis. Schulman uses it to indicate a feudal landlord-tenant relationship. See: Schulman, Sam., "The Colono System in Latin American," Rural Sociology, Vol. 20, March, 1955, p. 34-40.

important conclusions may be drawn. The majority of the people (sixty per cent) owned their houses<sup>4</sup> and ten per cent owned land. More than four-fifths of the people lived in one family houses, and slightly over half of them had one or two rooms. Under these conditions, a rather high degree of crowding in houses was inevitable. Thus, only one-third reported living in houses with a density of less than one person per room. Yet the majority did own their homes and lived in them as separate family units. It may well be that housing which is available to Mexican migrants in the United States may not come to these standards. Some respondents indicated that it was more difficult to own a house in the United States, in contrast to Mexico, where "Uno puede hacer su casa poco a poquito" (One can build his own house little by little). It should also be noted that over one-eighth of the men "borrowed" a house without paying a rent or having any equivalent financial responsibility.

Although Table 23 reports only five per cent as colonos (long term renters of government land), their number was larger and on the increase. They were necessarily omitted from the study if they lived outside the central community of the village. The same qualification would not apply for land ownership because homesteading was not the common pattern of land tenure in the area.<sup>5</sup> Generally the farmers' homes were located in the village, and the farms somewhat distant from the village. The relatively small percentage of land owners and tenants is typical of villages in semi-arid regions where feudal land use practices survive.

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<sup>4</sup>This is about the same percentage for Sonora which is 61.6. Compared with the border states, Sonoyta ranks higher. Per cent of houses occupied by owners in the border states is 55.2. For houses not occupied by owners, Sonora 38.4, Sonoyta 36.6, and border states 44.8.

<sup>5</sup>See: Footnote 12, Chapter I, p. 5.

## Socio-Economic Status

The index of socio-economic status was made up from the three categories of education, occupation, and house-land ownership. This index may be used as a rough approximation of social class. Upon first coming into the village one tends to see a two-class system in existence. However, on closer inspection a three-class system seems to be emerging in the community. The arbitrary divisions of the socio-economic index into three groups as in Table 24, seems to be close to the actual situation.

The high group represents three tenths of the population, the middle, about one half, and the low, two tenths.

TABLE 24

### SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF ADULT MALES OF SONOYTA

Groups	No. of People	Per cent
High	39	30
Middle	63	48
Low	28	21
Total	130	99

There are no people who can be considered as belonging to an upper class of aristocrats, as found in more established societies. Even by ignoring the humble past of the few well-to-do families, it would still not be possible to have such a group. There is, however, a remarkable tendency, especially among teenage girls of the high group, to be extremely selective in their friendship and mating relationships. On the other hand, it would not be difficult, to locate a lower class group at the



bottom of the social ladder. They are poor renters with large families, whose breadwinners are illiterate and in constant search of work.

The problem in Sonoyta is whether there is an emerging upper middle class. This question becomes in part one of determining whether class consciousness is developing with attendant social distance between the middle group and those above and below it. Evidence of this is apparent from the increasing division of labor, the growth of population, a growth in the volume of business, a widening of the social distance among the old units of the village, and greater differentiation of associational membership.

Probably the social class system of Sonoyta was similar a few years ago to the present case at Tubutama.<sup>6</sup> In the latter community almost everybody believes in social equality. Thus the expression is often given, "Aquí todos somos iguales." The present differences between the two villages points to the emerging class consciousness in Sonoyta. A brief account of the most relevant characteristics of the three classes or groups in Sonoyta is necessary for understanding the relationship of position in the class structure to attitude toward the United States.

Property type, education, and occupation have already been discussed as basic to status differences. However, the researcher noticed several other characteristics which differentiated the residents; for example, flower gardening practices around the house; type and quality of furniture used; type of car owned; dressing habits; and patterns of interaction not only in day-to-day activities but also in other activities oriented to community welfare. Social sorting was also noticeable among

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<sup>6</sup>Tubutama, Sonora, is a relatively isolated village located 120 miles East of Sonoyta. See Figure 1.



men in their selection of companions for card and drinking parties. In addition knowledge of etiquette and manners constituted the real mark of distinction at least among young women of a small number of families. As might be expected this group recruited its members from among those who had traveled, who had an out-of-town education, and who had developed proper manners. The latter was absolutely essential for middle class people to be accepted into the emerging upper group.

Although members of the middle group did not necessarily have to have property as a source of income, they did need to have a clean job and enough leisure time for a certain amount of community participation. Since leading positions in the community were not readily available to them, their opportunities to interact with people in higher social strata were limited. As for inter-class interaction on a friendship level, it tended to be rather infrequent. Strangely enough, the middle status group did not emphasize manners, even though manners seemed prerequisite to interact with those of higher status.

There was a final important difference between the middle and upper groups in respect to political power and its organizational setting. Holders of positions of power were always either members of the highest group or its satellites. Members of the highest group were involved in the entire process which precedes a political appointment, as well as in the legitimation of appointments and community decisions. Although members of the middle group were sometimes critical of this process, they usually were content to be acquiescent spectators. Middle status people did become important administrators but never community leaders. This situation was fermenting a restlessness among middle class youth which disposed them to migrate to the United States, given the opportunity.

The low class was the easiest to identify. Its members were mostly peones, and jornaleros, the jobless and propertyless people who did not feel attached to any group, except perhaps to the family. They had little education and inherited a position within a rigid system that could be broken only by migration.

#### Contacts with the United States

Ordinarily contacts with a foreign country would not be considered a standard social attribute of a population. However, the town of Sonoyta is on the border, and the economic life of the community is in part tied to the economy of the United States. Further, since this is a study of international contacts of migrants from the community, it is necessary to know, for comparative reasons, the amount and nature of contacts which members of the community had with the United States.

Friendship and family relations of the adult males of Sonoyta with people in the United States were discussed in connection with the index of contacts in the preceding chapter. From the data in Table 25, it is apparent that only one tenth of the adult males had either American or Mexican close friends in the United States and that seven tenths had neither. It may be assumed that the relatively large proportion not responding (twenty per cent) had no close friends. On the other hand, the respondents named a large proportion of acquaintances. As might be expected, the respondents reported larger proportion of Mexican than American acquaintances in the United States, forty-seven per cent as opposed to twenty-five per cent. These Mexican friends may have been developed through family ties in the United States, through visits, or when working in the United States.

TABLE 25

NATIONALITY OF CLOSE FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES IN THE UNITED STATES  
REPORTED BY SONOYTA ADULT MALES

Friends	Close Friends			
	American Friends Number	Per cent	Mexican Friends Number	Per cent
None	91	70	94	72
Some	11	8	14	11
N.A. *	28	22	22	17
Total	130	100	130	100
Acquaintances				
None	67	51	38	29
A few	18	14	35	27
Many	15	12	27	21
N.A. *	30	23	30	23
Total	130	100	130	100

\*No answer given to the question, "Do you have any close American or Mexican friends or acquaintances in the United States?"

Almost four-tenths of the adult males reported having close relatives in the United States, and three-fourths of these lived in Arizona. The researcher very often heard that some people in Sonoyta were literally being supported by relatives living in Ajo, Arizona. This was not only true for old people who could not work, but for others; e.g., a man who might work in Ajo would have his wife or a "second wife" living in Sonoyta, where the cost of living was lower. Although this probably happens in any border town, it is more striking here because of the great distance between the two communities.

TABLE 26

FAMILY TIES IN THE UNITED STATES REPORTED BY  
ADULT MALES LIVING IN SONOYTA

Relationship	No. of People	Per Cent
Close relatives *	37	28
Other relatives	6	4
None	83	64
N.A.	4	4
Total	130	100

\*Includes parents, children and siblings.

Use of English. In the process of attitude formation, language always plays a highly significant role, so that certain correlation may be assumed between the amount of knowledge of a language and the understanding of the culture and institutions of the society in which the language is used. In Sonoyta, English is often spoken in stores which American tourists frequent. Many terms of either technical or non-technical character have never been translated into Spanish. On the other hand, common terms are used even if the corresponding Spanish ones are well known. The use of English is sometimes a symbol of prestige; sometimes it is used in humor, but some English expressions are just a part of the daily vocabularies.

Lacking comparative data from other Mexican border towns makes it difficult to estimate the meaning of the percentages given in Table 27. It seems, however, that relatively few people were well acquainted with the English language. It should be remembered that much of the Southwest

TABLE 27  
ADULT MALES' KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH

Knowledge of English	No. of People	Per cent
None at all	83	64
A little	22	14
Enough to get along	18	17
A lot	7	5
Total	130	100

of the United States is bilingual, so that Mexicans migrating to the United States may have relatively little difficulty conducting businesses.

The index of contacts as shown in Table 8 was based on friendship and family bonds, times and years spent in this country, knowledge of the English language, and kind of occupation in which migrants engaged while in United States. The final scoring of the respondents lended itself to a fourfold grouping. People with no contact made up one-fifth of the total, while somewhat over two-fifths had "little" contact, over twenty-one per cent had considerable contact, and only about fifteen per cent had great deal of contact. This research was not concerned with scritinizing the nature of the situations in which contacts occurred. However, it was hypothisized that contacts in the United States influenced the direction of orientation or attitudes toward the country.

#### Orientations toward the United States

The United States is constantly on the minds of Sonoytans, probably as much as Mexico itself. In the many conversations which the researcher

had, it became readily apparent that attitudes toward the United States were complex and varied. That is, people evaluated some aspects of American society positively, other aspects negatively. Their evaluations also seemed to have a variable quality, depending on their most recent experiences. Yet through all of this, a dominant feeling toward the United States was present. It came out in response to the question, "How do you like the United States?" Data for this are found in Table 28.

TABLE 28

GENERAL ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATION OF THE ADULT  
MALES OF SONOYTA TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

Like the United States	No. of People	Per cent
Very much	52	40
Somewhat	26	20
Not much	13	10
Not at all	28	21
N.A.	11	9
Total	130	100

Apparently about forty per cent of the respondents had predominantly positive attitudes toward the United States, thirty per cent mildly approved or disapproved of the country, and slightly over one-fifth had extremely negative attitudes. When given the opportunity to elaborate on their feelings toward the United States more than one-half were unwilling to do so. Of those who did, only a little more than half had favorable attitudes toward the United States. The analysis of these attitudinal data by groups which had different amounts of contact with the United States will be considered at length later.



## CHAPTER IV

### SOCIAL ATTRIBUTES OF MIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES

#### General Migration Picture in Sonora

Individual migration and group migration tends to be differentiated according to the geographical origin of migrants in Mexico. Thus, the people along the border tend to migrate to the United States as individuals, whereas group migration (braceros) begins farther south in Mexico, in the Bajio<sup>1</sup> and adjacent states, such as Jalisco, Nayarit, Zacatecas, Durango and Guanajuato. The researcher met young men in every town along the border in Sonora who were trying to obtain resident visas to the United States. Other youths go "alambristas" when they give up trying to make a legal entry. This researcher also gave a ride to an "alambrista" who had been taken from Calexico to Brownsville, and deported by boat from there to Veracruz, along with 800 other "alambristas." He was returning to San Luis, Sonora, by hitching rides and by surreptitiously entering trains, with the intentions of trying again to make a non-legal entry into the United States. He had made more than a 1,000 mile journey mostly on foot. But he could see no other solution, given the economic situation of his native state, but to try to re-enter the United States.

Seasonal cotton picking migration. Mass migration occurs in Sonora but is not from Sonora in origin. As a matter of fact Sonora experiences a shortage of manpower especially when harvesting its main crop, cotton.

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<sup>1</sup>Bajio means "dip" and refers to the basin where the slopes of the Sierra Madre and the Central Mountains meet. See: James, Preston E., Latin America, New York, the Odyssey Press, 1950, p. 591. ss.

The cotton picking season attracts many workingmen, married and unmarried, with or without families, to the following areas in Sonora from south to north in a cyclical process around the dates given in Table 29. Figure 1 graphically depicts this cycle. Obviously not all of these out-of-state workers move successively from one area to another. Many of them may anticipate the season in one area by going to it directly from their homes, without making the intermediate harvesting stops. On the other hand, there is certain overlapping of picking periods, as may be seen from Table 29, which does not allow all workers to move along successively. The state of Sonora has established a contracting office (Oficina de Contratacion) in Hermosillo where 45,000 workers signed in 1955 to undergo three weeks training in the central and northern cotton areas to be eligible to go afterwards to the United States as braceros. This training period was, of course, a pretext devised by the Asociacion Algodonera de Sonora to secure the badly needed labor to pick the state's cotton crop.

Population flow through Sonoyta. An understanding of the mass migration from the south helps one to understand the pattern of the local individual migration from the northern border areas. The strategic position of Sonoyta offers daily opportunities to observe the constant movement of people going northwest toward Baja California which is the "west" of Mexico. And the reverse movement can be observed, of workers who have not found the opportunities they dreamed of and are forced to return home with empty hands. How many do not find work or fail to return home may be surmised from the high death toll of Mexicali, especially during the hot season. The Sonoyta agent of the bus company which serves northern Sonora calculated, after several weeks of close observation at the request

TABLE 29

## SEASONAL MIGRATION IN THE STATE OF SONORA, MEXICO\*

Harvesting Period	Area	No. of Workers	Proportion by Place of Origin
July 1 to October 31.	Mayo Valley Novojoa, Huatabampo	25,000	33% from the area 33% from elsewhere in Sonora 33% from Sinaloa**
July 10 to November 10	Yaqui Valley Ciudad Obregon	100,000	25% from the area 25% from elsewhere in Sonora 50% from the Bajio States
September 1 to December 31.	Hermosillo	30,000	35% from the area 15% from the Sonora River area 60% from the Yaqui Valley
September 15 to January 15.	Caborca Area, Pitiquito, Altar, Atil	22,000	20% from the area 25% from Mexicali and San Luis 55% from Hermosillo area
September 15 to January 15.	San Luis, Rio Colorado area	30,000	10% from the area 15% from the south 75% from Baja California

\*The data were furnished to the researcher by the Gerente de la Asociacion Algodonera de Sonora in an interview that took place on the third of October, 1955, in Hermosillo, capital of Sonora.

\*\*Sinaloa, here, does not necessarily mean state of origin but mostly state of entry to Sonora.

of the researcher, that an average of eighty workers a week head north-west against forty five who go in the opposite direction. The writer had





many opportunities to talk with some of these migrants because he was boarding in the building where the bus station office was located.

Probability of contacts of migrants with Americans in the village.

As reported above, Sonoyta is located in the desert, at the crossroads of two sub-cultural streams; the leisure-seeking American stream and the anxiety-laden Mexican one. Sonoytans are in a daily contact with both types of people; the American resort seeker and the Mexican restless job seeker. Interesting as it may be to pursue these contrasts, this study is concerned mainly with contacts made by the adult males of Sonoyta with American institutions and culture in the United States. Unfortunately it was not possible to ascertain in detail the nature or the extent of these contacts. As stated elsewhere this study does not intend to establish casual relations between contacts in the United States and differential attitudes. One reason why this problem is difficult to study is because such contacts cannot be differentiated from contact with American culture experienced in Mexico itself. However, some of the opportunities for contacts with Americans in the village may be described.

Residents of Sonoyta may, first of all, get acquainted with Mexican-Americans who come to the village either in small numbers every day or in large numbers on week-ends. If they do not become directly acquainted with these people, they at least have to share many social situations with them. For example, mine workers in Ajo get both their pay checks and a free forty-eight hour period every other week-end. At these times they go to Sonoyta to celebrate by dancing and drinking.

Many American tourists often stop in the village to buy curios and to camp in the nearby desert, along the Puerto Peñasco highway. Groups

of American Negroes are frequently seen turning cantinas into dance halls surrounded by astonished colorful mariachis<sup>2</sup> whom they hire as an orchestra. The prospective migrant cannot help but see the magic of the dollar. He cannot afford the good time of the Americans. When his girl turns him down for an American Negro he realizes he must cross the border to make money.

### Social Correlates of Migrants

While discussing the characteristics of adult males of Sonoyta above, an attempt was made to estimate the amount or type of contacts they had with American culture or social situations within the United States. The question arises whether they know Americans from their own personal experiences or from experiences which others report to them, and whether there is a relationship between contacts and attitudes. The underlying assumption of this study obviously is that migration, over and above any other type of relationships, elicits definite and identifiable attitudes toward the United States. The purpose of this chapter is to determine whether migrants in the community can be socially identified.

The migrant is operationally defined as the person who moves to a foreign land to make a living. This definition does not include the internal migrant who is not considered in this study.<sup>3</sup> It places primary emphasis upon work experiences. The assumption is that a workingman's

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<sup>2</sup>Mariachis are a strolling group of colorfully garbed singers rather than musicians, who are paid to sing songs usually by people having a good time. To hire mariachis to sing around you is one of the most outstanding status symbols; and if it is done for one's girl friend it reaches the point of a bewitching love gesture.

<sup>3</sup>It should be stressed that a more detailed analysis of the relation between contacts and attitudes toward the United States was the emphasis of the original design that had to be changed.

reaction to America is different e.g., from a visitor's reaction, not in respect to being more or less favorable toward the United States (attitude intensity), but perhaps in the area of coverage of the attitude or attitude universe.<sup>4</sup> Visitors are presumably bound to have a more limited amount of exposure to the United States.

Do the people who worked in the United States have identifiable characteristics that may differentiate them from those who only visited or never entered the country? The following section scrutinizes characteristic differences among these groups.

Type of contacts with the United States. A brief observation may be made before proceeding. The possibilities for crossing the border from Sonoyta are very different than for other border towns known to the writer. It may be recalled that although Sonoyta is geographically a border town, it is not one in the cultural and social sense. There is no public transportation between Sonoyta and the mining village of Ajo located forty miles north in the middle of the Arizona desert. There is nothing in Ajo to attract crowds from Mexico. Mexicans, generally, are not interested in towns; they are interested in cities. It is not surprising under these conditions to find that a large number of people never crossed the border. Added to this is the cost of transportation to Ajo which makes the trip prohibitive for the poor.

Three major groups of adult males are used in this study: Those who have worked in the United States for any length of time; people who traveled or visited (not worked in) the United States; and people who

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<sup>4</sup>See: Guttman, L., "The Problem of Attitude and Opinion Measurement." In Stouffer S.A., et. al., Measurement and Prediction, Princeton, University Press, 1950, pp. 46-59.



have never done either. The first group will be identified as "migrant" group, the second as "traveling" group, and the third as the "no-contact" group. People in the first group may be sometimes referred to as "alambristas," while those in the second group may be called "visitors." Whenever people visited and worked in the United States they were classified as migrants.

Migrants from Mexico are often referred to as "alambristas" or "braceros." Alambre is the Spanish term for wire. Alambrista refers to a person who has jumped the wire fence to cross into the United States illegally. The "alambristas" of the southwest correspond to the wetbacks of the Rio Grande Valley. "Braceros" refer to seasonal migrant workers in the United States under contract with private American companies, working in accord with previous agreements between the United States and Mexico.

Hereafter the analysis will contrast the migrant group with the visitors and the non-contact group, emphasizing the migrants who are the primary concern of the study. Members of these groups were identified by their answers to the question, "Have you ever been in the United States?" They will be compared for demographic characteristics, socio-economic status, and other variables.

Birth and previous residence. One would be inclined to believe that people born and reared in border communities would work in the United States and visit it more than people living in more distant localities. Local residents, moreover, are more likely to know ways and directions of migration, and to have the facilities to apply for permanent residence

in the United States. The null hypothesis here is that there is no significant difference between people by contacts with the United States and their places or origin or residence.

As far as birth place is concerned, the above hypothesis holds true. The observed variation seems to be explainable by chance. The Chi-square test of significance, as shown in Table 30, points to this

TABLE 30  
BIRTH PLACE OF THE ADULT MALES LIVING IN  
SONOYTA BY CONTACT GROUPS

Birth Place	Contact Groups			Total
	Worked in the U.S.	Visited the U.S.	Non- contact	
Sonoyta	7	5	2	14
Sonora	24	21	30	75
Mexico other than Sonora	11	10	12	33
Total*	42	36	44	122
$\chi^2 = 3.809$	$p < .50$		$\bar{C} = .74$	

\*The "No information" were dropped for Chi-square computation.

conclusion, since no statistically significant association was found between birth place and amount of contact with the United States. This is not so, however, for previous residence, as seen in Table 31. Migrants tended to come from areas other than Sonoyta. Thus a positive correlation can be seen between the distance of place of previous residence from the border and amount of contact with the United States. Specifically, the farther the respondent lived from the border, previously to coming to Sonoyta, the greater the probability that he would have work experience

TABLE 31

PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF THE ADULT MALES  
OF SONOYTA BY CONTACT GROUPS

Previous Residence	Contact Groups			Total
	Worked in the U.S.	Visited the U.S.	Non- contact	
Sonoyta	5	8	3	16
Sonora	15	19	33	67
Mexico other than Sonora	24	12	9	45
Total*	44	39	45	128
$\chi^2 = 35.600$ $p < .001$ $\bar{C} = .58$				

\*Two "No Answers" were dropped for Chi-square computation.

in the United States. However, visitors to the United States were likely to have previous residence closer to the border. The Chi-square test of significance shows that these tendencies are not due to chance since the probability is less than .001. The correlation between previous residence place and type of contact is moderately high:  $\bar{C} = .58$ . The data seem to corroborate the hypothesis advanced elsewhere, that international migration for work starts farther south rather than along the border.

They also corroborate those of Gamio and Saunders which report that the bulk of international migrants come from the central states of Mexico.<sup>5</sup> Gamio's sample was made up of Mexicans sending money orders to

<sup>5</sup>Gamio, Manuel, Mexican Immigration to the United States, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, pp. 16-19; and Saunders, Lyle S., and Leonard, Olen E., The Wetback in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas,

Mexico in January, 1927. Saunders' sample was 154 wetbacks deported from Texas in 1950. The states of origin in Mexico most commonly mentioned in the three samples are Jalisco, Guanajuato, Michoacan, Zacatecas and Durango. It seems then that migrants who worked in the United States more likely come from the central parts of Mexico where economic conditions are low and population pressure is high.<sup>6</sup>

Age. Much has been said about the differential selectivity of migration.<sup>7</sup> Migrants from Sonoyta were for the most part young men: Half of the group were between twenty and twenty-nine years of age when they first migrated, and forty per cent were still younger. Only ten per cent were older than thirty years of age. As expected, the great majority or ninety per cent of the migrants were single at the time when they first migrated. This tendency of young single men to come to the United States has not changed for almost the last fifty years. Close to half of the group can be called "late" migrants since they migrated to the United States after World War II. The early migrants in the sample went to the United States during the early years of the Mexican Revolution. The land reform policies of the Revolution brought only temporary relief to the people in rural Mexico because migration to the United States increased rather than decreased. Every town the researcher visited was

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Austin, the University of Texas, July 1951, p. 31; The migration from central Mexico to Sonoyta is as follows: Jalisco-22.8, Sinaloa-20.0, Hidalgo-8.6, Guanajuato-8.6, Zacatecas-8.6, Nuevo Leon-5.7, Michoacan-5.7, Chihuahua-2.9, Durango-2.9, Quintana Roo-2.9, and N.I.-11.4.

<sup>6</sup>Thompson, W., and Whelpton, P. K., "Levels of Living and Population Pressure," The Annals of American Association of Political Science and Sociology, July, 1938, Vol. 198, pp. 93-100.

<sup>7</sup>See: Gist, Noel p., Pihlbald, C. T., Gregory, Cecil L., "Selective Aspects of Rural Migration," Rural Sociology, March, 1941, Vol. 6, pp. 3-15; Thomas, Dorothy Swaine, et. al., Research Memorandum of Migration Differentials, New York, Social Science Research Council, 1938.

constantly being drained of young manpower because of limited local job opportunities. If life in the United States turns out to be too hard, perhaps some of them will return either when the head of the family retires or when enough savings are accumulated to start a little business.

Curiously enough the present age distribution of the migrant, visiting, and the non-contact groups were rather similar. A Chi-square test showed little or no association between general contacts with United States and age distribution, the probability of the Chi-square being at the .20 level. This may have resulted from the fact that many migrants returned to the community from the United States and that migrants from other parts of Mexico moved in the community to replace those who did not return from the United States.

Size of the family. It was expected that the larger families would probably be found within the stationary or the non-contact groups. A Chi-square test of significance for association between general contact groups and size of the family was run with no positive results, so that the null hypothesis of no association between the two variables could not be rejected.

#### Variables of the Index of Contacts

In Chapter II, an attempt was made to arrive at an index of amount of contacts with the United States. In this section, an attempt will be made to discuss how the separate factors in the index and the total index are related to the different types of contact groups in the community.

Times and years in the United States. It is obvious that the main difference among groups in their exposure to the United States lies in the length of time during which they were in the country. The migrant

group spent a longer time in the United States than the other two groups. While it is true that the great majority (eighty per cent) of migrants came only once to the United States, almost half of them remained in the country as long as two years. Over half of the visitors (fifty-six per cent) on the other hand, came to the United States several times. Thus visitors and migrants have opposite patterns; the majority of the migrants crossed the border once and stayed for long periods while visitors crossed the border more frequently and remained for shorter periods. The difference between the migrant and the visiting groups are statistically significant, for the probability of the Chi-square test is beyond the .001 level of confidence.

TABLE 32  
NUMBER OF TIMES MIGRANTS AND VISITORS  
ENTERED THE UNITED STATES

Times in the United States	Migrants	Visitors	Total
Only once	37	14	51
More than once	9	22	31
Total	46	36	82*
$\chi^2 = 14.868$	$p < .001$	$\bar{C} = .61$	

\*The "No Answers" were dropped for Chi-square computation.

It is difficult to calculate the length of time that visitors spent in the United States because they have only vague recollections of the length of their stays in the country. To some degree this was also true of the migrant workers. One young man estimated that he had non-legally entered the United States about twenty times, and only once was

he able to remain for as long as six months. Table 33 shows that forty-three per cent of the migrants remained in the United States for less than

TABLE 33

NUMBER OF YEARS MIGRANTS WORKED IN THE UNITED STATES

Years	Number	Per cent
Less than two years	20	43
Less than six months	13	
Seven months to a year	2	
More than a year to less than two years	5	
2.0 to 4.0	12	26
4.1 to 6.0	3	7
6.1 to 8.0	4	9
8.1 to more	7	15
Total	46	100

two years, one quarter from two to four years, and one third remained more than four years. Two more facts are salient regarding this length of time variable: First, about half of the forty-three per cent who worked in the United States less than two years were in the country for six months or less; and, secondly, those who lived in the United States longer than eight years migrated very early, during the 1910 Revolution or soon after.

The data in Table 34 indicate the dates when migrants from Sonoyta came to work in the United States. Two fifths of all migrants now living in Sonoyta entered the United States in the last decade, and an equal proportion entered before the depression, while only nine per cent entered during the depression. Thus a little over one third of the adult males now living in Sonoyta worked in the United States, and most of them came

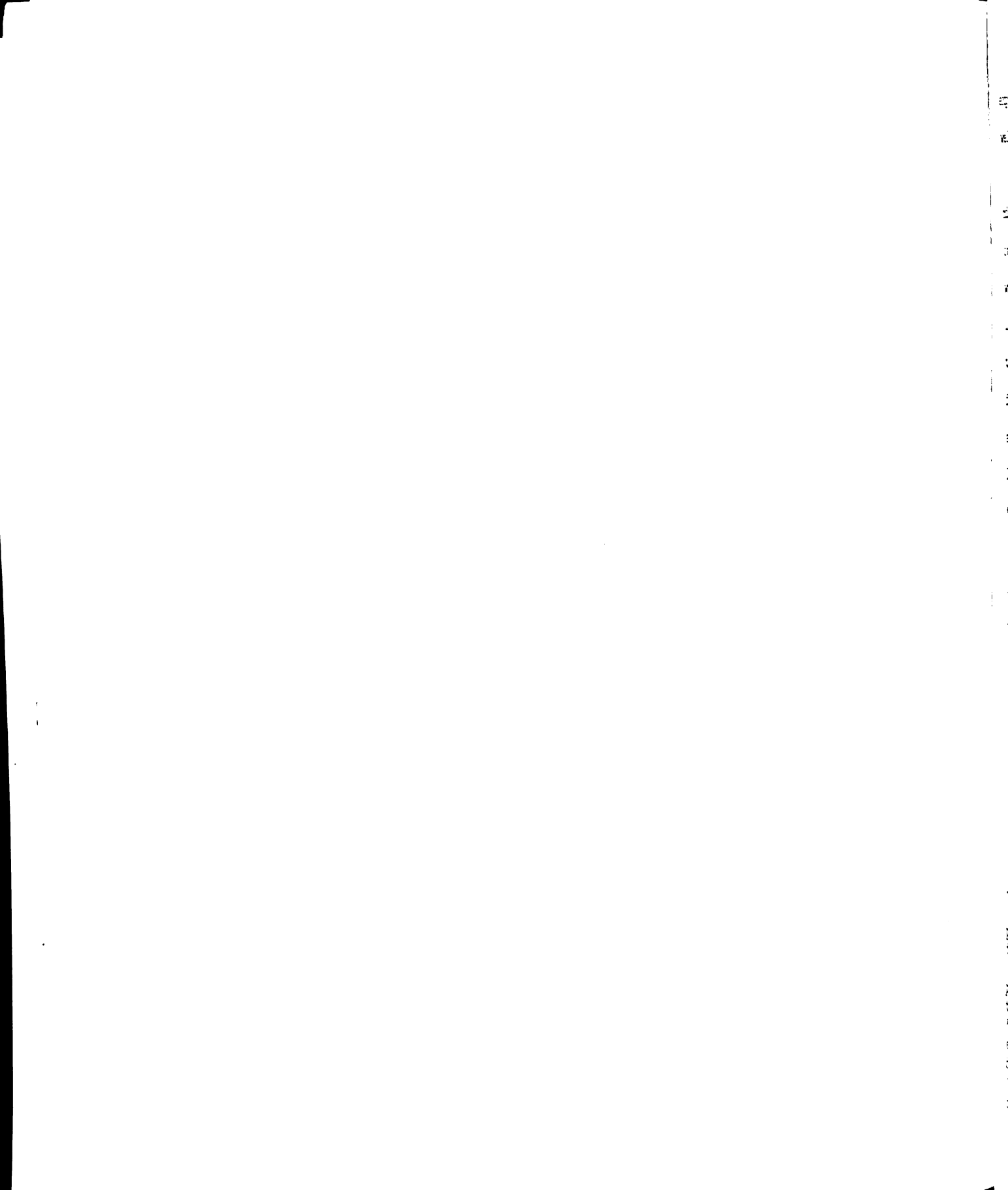
TABLE 34  
PERIODS DURING WHICH MIGRANTS LIVING IN  
SONOYTA WORKED IN THE UNITED STATES

Historical Periods	Years	Workers	
		Number	Per cent
During the Mexican Revolution	1910-1919	6	14
Before the Depression	1920-1929	12	26
During the Depression	1930-1939	4	8
During the W.W. II	1940-1944	6	13
Since W.W. II	1945-1955	18	39
Total		46	100

as "alambristas." Since most of them migrated within the last decade or so they may be called "late" migrants. These late migrants had a tendency to remain the United States for a shorter period of time than their returning predecessors. Perhaps the reason for this was the more rigid enforcement of United States immigration laws of recent date.

A background fact for these tables is that more than four-fifths (eighty-three per cent) of the migrants crossed the border illegally as "alambristas." They could not wait for a legal entry which used to be less difficult to obtain before 1930. Several migrants were squeezed out during the Revolution and several were recently pushed out by economic hardship. It was not difficult to go "alambrista" during the World War II, but it has been very difficult since. Prospective migrants must





experience considerable pressure before deciding to risk running into the well-equipped border patrol.<sup>8</sup>

Table 34 and the author's observations in the area suggest that migration to the United States by Sonoytans may have increased throughout the years. A noticeable exception was probably the depression era, when only nine per cent of the present adult males crossed the border, less than one per cent a year over a ten year span. It is well known that the depression, together with the American policy of that time, forced many Mexicans to go back home.<sup>9</sup> Economic conditions in Mexico, as well as shortage of manpower in the United States following World War II, may explain some of the heavy migration from Mexico since 1940 and the migration from Sonoyta.<sup>10</sup>

The places where migrants went to work covered the area from California to Texas and as far north as Nevada. However, almost seven-tenths worked in either California or Arizona, although less than one fifth worked in both California and Arizona. Ajo, Arizona has been the place where many "alambristas" make the first, if not the final stop of their often unlucky journeys. The Imperial Valley in southern California, the Yuma Valley in Southwestern Arizona, and the Phoenix region attracted most of the cotton or fruit picking "alambristas" who sometimes went season after season.

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<sup>8</sup> "The wetbacks" a recently released Mexican movie present a vivid picture of hate and hardships endured by non-legal Mexican migrants in the Rio Grande Valley.

Migrants often denied being "alambristas" even if they had no formal permits to enter the United States. However, upon close examination of the group, it could be established that those who refused to be called "alambristas" belonged to both the older age groups and the higher socioeconomic groups in the community. As a rationalization for this non-legal behavior, they frequently said: "No habio migracion en ese entonces," (There was no migration restriction at the time) which the writer found out to be incorrect. (United States Department of Justice, Immigration



Family bonds in the United States. The researcher soon was made to realize that having a family in the United States was a source of prestige to native Sonoytans. In addition having relatives in the United States was an economic advantage. For example, along the border many vehicles owned by local people were registered by Mexican-American relatives living in the United States. Thus the cars bearing American license plates exempted the owners from paying Mexican import duties.

The relative distribution of kin in the United States for the three groups (migrants, visitors, and non-visitors) is according to expectation; the higher the contact the more family ties in the United States. Migrants had the greatest proportion of relatives living in the United States (forty-seven per cent), while visitors had about thirty-five per cent, and non-visitors had about twenty-one per cent. The probability of the Chi-square (.05) shows that these trends were probably not due to chance.

TABLE 35

FAMILY BONDS IN THE UNITED STATES OF MIGRANTS, VISITORS,  
AND NON-CONTACT GROUPS AMONG ADULT MALES FROM SONOYTA

	Migrants	Visitors	Non-contact	Total
Relatives in United States.	21	13	9	43
No relatives in United States.	24	25	33	82
Total	45	38	42	125*
$\chi^2 = 6.106$	$p < .05$		$\bar{C} = .31$	

\*The "No Answers" were dropped for Chi-square computation.

and Naturalization Service, November 16, 1956, letter to the writer.)

<sup>9</sup>See: Duran Ochoa, Julio, Poblacion, Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1955, O. 185.

<sup>10</sup>See Duran, op. cit., p. 186.

Friendship relations. This variable was divided, it may be recalled, into two nationality categories (American and Mexican) and into two friendship categories (close friends and acquaintances). Since only a very small number of respondents (less than ten per cent) reported having either close American or Mexican friends in the United States, no statistical analysis was applied. It may be worth mentioning, however, that the non-contact group reported having no close friends in the United States. In contrast, the pattern for having "acquaintances" in the United States approached the picture for family ties in the United States. There was a trend in Table 36 and 37 toward a positive association between visiting

TABLE 36

NUMBER OF AMERICAN ACQUAINTANCES IN THE UNITED STATES  
REPORTED BY THREE GROUPS OF SONOYTANS

Acquaintances in United States	Groups in Sonoyta			Total
	Worked in U.S.	Visited U.S.	Non-contact with U.S.	
None	23	16	28	67
Some	18	13	2	33
Total	41	29	30	100*
$\chi^2 = 13.445$		$p < .01$	$\bar{c} = .50$	

\*The "No Answers" were dropped for Chi-square computation.

or working in the United States and having acquaintances in the country.<sup>11</sup>

In addition there was a greater tendency for migrants and visitors to the

<sup>11</sup>Tests of significance were run either collapsing the rows of "few" or "many" acquaintances or not collapsing them; either including the no answers or not including them for both American and Mexican acquaintances in the United States. The results were always approximately the same as the ones shown in Tables 34 and 35.

United States to have more American friends than non-visitors, although the difference among the two contact groups was negligible. When Mexican acquaintances are considered, as in Table 37 the results are completely in accord with expectations. Migrants reported more acquaintances than

TABLE 37

NUMBER OF MEXICAN ACQUAINTANCES IN THE UNITED STATES  
REPORTED BY THREE GROUPS OF SONOYTANS

Acquaintances in United States	worked in U.S.	Groups in Sonoyta Visited U.S.	Non-contact with U.S.	Total
None	8	9	21	38
Some	33	20	9	62
Total	41	29	30	100*
$\chi^2 = 19.460$		$p < .001$		$\bar{c} = .58$

\*The "No Answers" were dropped from the Chi-squares computation.

visitors who in turn reported more acquaintances than the non-contact group. The relatively small number of close friends which respondents had in the United States suggests that the Sonoytan migrants relied more on their own chances to cross the border than on the possibility of getting the "right" contacts to obtain an entry to the United States. Only one case is recorded of a migrant trying to use his former foreman's help to return to the United States. However, this question may be proposed for further research, "Is there a class difference in resources utilized to cross the border to the United States in search of job opportunities?"

The hypothesis was advanced that a significant association exists between length of time spent in the United States and number of friends



in the country. That is, the longer the time the migrant spent in the United States, the more American or Mexican friends he was expected to have. The data, however, did not support the hypothesis. However, there was a significant relationship between number of years migrants spent in the United States and number of acquaintances they made: The longer the time spent, the more acquaintances they made, which is as expected. The explanation for these findings is simple. Migrants tend to be transient. They do not remain long in a place, because this increases the risk of their illegal entry being discovered. Furthermore, seasonal labor and differential wage rates emphasize mobility. Such circumstances encourage making only fleeting acquaintances rather than close friends. On the other hand, if migrants planned to return to the country by getting a legal entry they would be more inclined to call upon the aid of American land owners. The language barrier here might make communication difficult.

Knowledge of English. The degree of association between knowledge of the English language and attitudes toward the United States was one of the main targets of analysis. One may speculate that those who have most contact with the United States would have most knowledge of English. However, since migrants may represent a low occupational group they may have little contact with English speaking people. Visitors who often go to the United States to shop may need English to conduct business. Furthermore, shopkeepers and others in Sonoyta who may not visit the United States, may be expected to know English to facilitate business transactions with tourists.

The data in Table 38 indicates that those who worked in the United States had the most knowledge of English followed by visitors. The least



TABLE 38  
KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH OF THREE CONTACT  
GROUPS LIVING IN SONOYTA

Knowledge of English	Contact Groups			Total
	Migrants	Visitors	Non-contact	
None	14	25	44	83
Little	16	5	1	22
Enough to get along	16	9	0	25
Total	46	39	45	130
$\chi^2 = 45.795$ $p < .001$ $\bar{C} = .68$				

knowledge of English was most evident in the non-contact groups. These results are statistically reliable as supported by a probability of the Chi-square at the .001 level.

Table 39 shows again a significant association between source for

TABLE 39  
SOURCES OF LEARNING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE FOR  
TWO CONTACT GROUPS LIVING IN SONOYTA

Where English was learned	Contact Groups		Total
	Migrants	Visitors	
School in the United States	6	4	10
United States Contacts	26	10	36
None	14	25	39
Total	46	39	85
$\chi^2 = 10.084$ $p < .01$ $\bar{C} = .50$			

learning the English language and its professed knowledge. Migrants to the United States learned mostly from contacts in the United States, although a few older workers learned it in United States schools. A few others indicated they learned English through contacts with Americans in Mexico, so the category "United States contacts" does not necessarily exclude American contacts in Mexico. Visitors tended to learn English more in the United States schools than from business and other types of contacts.

Occupation in the United States. The hypothesis was tentatively advanced that farming as compared with urban occupations, would probably restrict the migrants' possibilities of interacting in more complex social systems. This hypothesis was tested by contrasting occupations in the United States and the scores on the Index of Contacts. Data in Table 40

TABLE 40  
OCCUPATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES  
BY INDEX OF CONTACTS

Index of Contact in United States	Occupations in United States		Total
	Agriculture	Others	
Little (1-5)	8	0	8
Some (6-9)	11	5	16
Much (10 <sup>+</sup> )	6	15	21
Total	25	20	45
$\chi^2 = 10.720$ $p < .01$ $\bar{c} = .64$			

indicate that those who engaged in agricultural occupations ranked lower, on the Index of Contacts than persons engaged in occupations related to

urban life. Interestingly enough, no person who engaged in urban occupations had low contact scores, and seventy-five per cent of them had high contact scores. Thus, the hypothesis given is supported by statistically significant associations. Also the degree of correlation is moderately high for the corrected coefficient of contingency is 0.64.

Another important observation regarding migrants' occupations in the United States is that more than half of them worked in agriculture. An explanation for this may be that most of these people were common laborers, and as "alambristas," they probably found it easier to engage in farming occupations. Thus, fifty-five per cent of those who engaged in urban occupations while staying in the United States were classified in transient jobs. Other urban occupations in which one-fifth of the migrants were engaged were mining, factory, and mechanical work.

Reasons for returning to Mexico and plans for returning to the United States. Nine-tenths of the working group entered the United States non-legally. One quarter were deported at different ports of entry, approximately another quarter left the United States for fear of deportation, and the remaining half left for other reasons. Included in "other reasons" were: e.g., quarrels with other working men, bad news from home, unbearable pressures arising from different patterns of work.

About sixty per cent of the migrants indicated they had no desire to return to the United States. As for the remainder, about one-fifth planned to return to the United States as "alambristas," and about one-third expressed a desire to return to the United States only if it was legally possible. These plans should be viewed as temporary resolutions

resolutions conditioned by two important factors: The economic pressure at home<sup>12</sup> and the degree of stringency used by United States immigration officials in guarding the border.

Index of contacts. The preceding section compared three types of contact groups in Sonoyta according to the length of time in the United States, the number of family and friendship ties in the country, and ability to utilize the English language. Some characteristics peculiar to migrants were also examined. Now it is possible to take a general view of the position that each group would have in relation with the combined factors in the Index of Contacts.

Table 41 shows the final result of scoring every individual in each group by adding up his weights corresponding to each variable in

TABLE 41  
INDEX OF CONTACTS FOR CONTACT GROUPS

Index of Contact	Contact Groups			Total
	Migrants	Visitors	Non-contact	
None	0	0	27	27
Little (1-5)	9	19	18	46
Some (6-9)	16	12	0	28
Much (10 <sup>+</sup> )	21	8	0	29
Total	46	39	45	130
$\chi^2 = 93.004$ $p < .001$ $\bar{C} = .81$				

the index. As might be expected migrants had the highest contact scores,

<sup>12</sup>See: Burma, John H., Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States, Durham, Duke University Press, 1954, pp. 38.

followed by visitors and non-visitors. The association between these groups and degrees of contact with United States institutions is strikingly underscored by the probability of the Chi-square which falls below the .001 level, and the high coefficient of contingency of 0.81.

Migrants thus, had the maximum possibilities to be exposed to United States institutions. The data do not preclude the possibility that other groups may have had more penetrating contacts with the United States. This possibility will be explored when the groups are compared for their attitudes toward the United States in the next chapter.

Variables of the index of socio-economic status. In considering the variables related to the problem of attitudes, contacts with the United States have already been considered as one of the independent variables to be tested. The second is socio-economic status.

A common sociological premise is that attitudes are influenced by group affiliation. That is, sharing common ideas or ideologies is characteristic of group identification. One of the most important identifications of the person is his social class membership. One problem of this study is to ascertain whether the individual's position within the stratification structure of the community has any influence on his general attitude orientation toward the United States. Socio-economic status,<sup>13</sup> as here defined, is an index combining the individual's educational, occupational, and property achievements.

The order of procedure will be to study the three contact groups by education, occupation, and property type index, and then contrast them

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<sup>13</sup>See: Chapin, F. Stuart, The Measurement of Social Status, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1933, p. 3; and Sewell, William H., The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families, Stillwater: Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station Technical Bulletin 9, 1940, p. 20.

for their total socio-economic status scores. One reason for doing this is that each factor in the index measures a different dimension of socio-economic status in the community.

Education. The migration literature suggests that migrants are typically not the poorest segments of the community.<sup>14</sup> If this applies for Sonoyta we should expect the majority in the migrant group to be concentrated in the middle of the educational range;<sup>15</sup> the non-contact group would be concentrated in the lowest grades; and the visitors should be the highest educated. The findings in Table 42 do not entirely support

TABLE 42  
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL FOR CONTACT GROUPS

Years of School	Contact Groups			Total
	Migrants	Visitors	Non-contact	
None	6	6	17	29
1-3	10	15	13	38
4-6	25	11	9	45
7+	5	7	6	18
Total	46	39	45	130
$\chi^2 = 18.454$		$p < .01$	$\bar{C} = .14$	

these expectations. The migrants seem to be the highest educated, with median education of 4.5, years while the visitors fall close behind with a median education of 3.9 and non-contact with 2.4 years. Apparently

<sup>14</sup>Bureau of the Census, Population Mobility, Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1956, p. 4B-14.

<sup>15</sup>Something similar was found by Klineberg, Otto, Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration, New York, Columbia University Press, 1935, p. 23.

these differences are statistically reliable since the probability of the Chi-square is .01. This positive hypothesis of association between contact groups and education is in part explained by the fact that the migrant group is younger, and therefore more likely to have higher education than the older group, as may be seen from the analysis presented in p. 68.

Occupation. The three levels of occupations shown in Table 43 were obtained by collapsing the specific occupational categories given in Table 21 into three categories. The high group includes professionals, ranchers, and proprietors; the middle group covers small proprietors, the clerical workers, skilled and semi-skilled and the low group contains farmers, service workers, and common laborers. The three occupational status groups were compared for type of contact with the United States. The hypothesis is that people in the migrant group tend to engage in the middle range occupations, while the visitors group would tend to engage in the higher occupations, and people belonging to the non-contact group would tend to engage in the lower occupations.

This indeed tends to be the case as seen in Table 43. Although the visitors are concentrated more in the higher occupations the difference between the migrant and non-contact group scores is small. However, the Chi-square test of significance shows a probability falling beyond the .001 level, with a moderately high degree of association as measured by the contingency coefficient. Consequently the found differences cannot be attributed to chance.

The important questions arise whether migrants raise or lower their occupations when they go to the United States and whether migration

TABLE 43

## GROUPS AND PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF CONTACT GROUPS

Occupations	Migrants	Contact Groups		Non-contact	Total
		Visitors			
High	5	10		0	15
Middle	22	26		23	71
Low	19	3		22	44
Total	46	39		45	130
$\chi^2 = 25.280$		$p < .001$		$\bar{C} = .54$	

seems to affect their occupational level in the community when they return.

Although extreme caution is necessary to interpret Table 44, it appears

TABLE 44

## PAST AND PRESENT OCCUPATIONS OF SONOYTAN MIGRANTS

Categories	Occupations Previous to Migration		Occupations In the U.S.		Occupations Present	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Common labor	41	89	26	56	13	28
Transient	0	--	11	24	0	--
Service	1	2	6	13	6	13
Skilled	4	9	3	7	8	17
Rancher and Farmer	0	--	0	--	6	13
Large and small proprietors	0	--	0	--	6	13
Others	0	--	0	--	7	15
Total	46	100	46	100	46	99



that migration tends to be associated with rising occupational attainment both in the United States and in the home community.

Thus almost nine tenths of the prospective migrants were common laborers prior to migrating to United States, about half had such jobs while in the United States and less than three tenths are presently occupied as common laborers. Although two fifths are currently in the highest occupational groups such as ranchers, proprietors, professions, none of them had such jobs prior to returning to Sonoyta. In addition the proportion of skilled workers almost doubled during the period.

No doubt factors other than migration explain part of this phenomenal occupational mobility. Increased age is usually accompanied by some occupational mobility. More important, the expanding occupational structure in Sonoyta permitted a certain amount of occupational ascent. It is doubtful, however, that these factors entirely explain the changes. Migration certainly must play a role of stimulating occupational mobility. This may be underscored by the fact that no worker in the non-contact group achieved managerial status.

Property Index. A very detailed scrutiny of the variables making up this index with the contact groups showed no significant associations. The association between property index and differential contact groups was only at the .20 level of significance, which is below the standards here adopted. Yet the trends exhibited in Table 45 are in the expected direction. The visitors have greater representation than the migrants in the higher property groups, and the non-contact people take the lowest property index level. The relatively low differences among groups is due to the fact that all of them had significant representations in the lowest

TABLE 45  
PROPERTY LEVELS OF THREE CONTACT GROUPS\*

Property Levels**	Migrants	Visitors	Non-contact	Total
Lower	17	10	12	39
Lower middle	7	6	17	30
Upper middle	14	15	11	40
High	8	8	5	21
Total	46	39	45	130
$\chi^2 = 10.130$ $p < .20$ $\bar{c} = .36$				

\*When collapsing the top two and the bottom two rows in computing Chi-square, a probability smaller than .10 was obtained.

\*\* For source of property levels see Table 11.

property levels. Added to this is the fact that migrants represented people who came to the United States throughout almost half a century. Thus in Table 13, when age was considered for each of the factors in the property index, a positive association was found between it and house ownership and number of rooms in the house; and a moderately significant association was found between age and land ownership, but no association was found between age and crowding. Thus older age groups tended to be positively associated with accumulation of property.

Contact groups and their socio-economic status.<sup>16</sup> Contrasts among the contact groups as seen from Table 46 are significant. The highest

<sup>16</sup> Upon proceeding one qualification may be pertinent concerning the use of socio-economic status as an index of social class structure. Neither class, status, nor power in Weber's scheme are systematically analyzed here. The researcher is clearly aware of the shortcomings of using socio-economic status in place of social class, as the latter term is commonly used. However, as a variable of social stratification the



TABLE 46  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVELS OF CONTACT GROUPS

Socio-Economic Status		Migrants	Contact Groups Visitors	Non-contact	Total
Low	(0-5)	11	1	16	28
Middle	(6-11)	22	20	21	63
High	(12-15)	13	18	8	39
Total		46	39	45	130
$\chi^2 = 17.804$		$p < .01$		$\bar{C} = .47$	

proportion of visitors were found to belong to the highest socio-economic level, followed by migrants and non-contact people. There was only one visitor in the lowest level and the remaining people were distributed almost evenly in the middle and higher levels. Migrants tended to be concentrated in the middle socio-economic group, while the non-contact group had greater proportion of members in the lowest socio-economic level. The probability of the Chi-square points to a highly significant association, and the contingency coefficient is moderately high.

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socio-economic status tells us a great deal about the position of an individual within the social structure of the community. Thus, the meaning of "class" here stresses economic variables somewhat more than social variables, even though both are highly interrelated. While occupational status represents economic conditions in the population, educational status does less so. Both education and occupation include certain elements of prestige status. Allocation of power may be made along the lines of economic status as well, although systematic information on this variable was unavailable. See: Henderson, A.M. and Parsons, T. (trans.) Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 424-429; Stone, Gregory P. and Form, William H., "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," American Sociological Review, Vol. 18, No. 2, April, 1953, Passim.

### Summary

Migrants in the study were found to come from places far south of the border. They tended to concentrate in the younger age groups which were predominantly single. However, migration seemed to have no effect on ultimate size of the family.

Migration was probably at a minimum level during the depression years, at its peak just after World War II, and soon after the Mexican Revolution. In every period almost all of the migrants were "alambristas," or non-legal migrants. It is also clear that generally they did not work for long periods in this country. They had relatively more family ties and Mexican acquaintances in the United States than visitors, but both groups had American acquaintances in the United States. Migrants also picked up a greater understanding of the English language than the visiting group. Non-contact people ranked lowest regarding all these variables. Thus migrants, visitors, and non-contacts ranked high, medium, and low respectively regarding amount of exposure to American society.

Due to the increasing flow of "late" migrants to the United States, migrants obtained high amount of education whereas visitors ranked middle and non-contact people ranked lower. However, a somewhat different order of ranking was observed in respect to the present occupational structure of the village: Visitors ranked high, migrants middle and non-contact low. But a great deal of vertical mobility took place after migration. Migrants could not be differentiated clearly from other groups in respect to type of property, but they were generally in the middle of the socio-economic structure of the community, with visitors above them and the non-contact groups below them. Does socio-economic status affect attitudinal orientations toward the United States? This is the concern of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER V

### ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATIONS TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

#### Introduction

A basic sociological premise of this study is that group memberships impinge upon attitudes of people toward the United States. Thus, it seems reasonable to presuppose that a migrant who has experienced first-hand contacts with elements of American culture would probably have more definite sets of attitudes toward the United States than a person who has not. Contact with the United States and socio-economic status of persons in their communities will be examined for their associations with attitudes toward the United States.

It should be made clear, at the outset, that this study is not concerned with making a systematic analysis of the ranges of attitudes bearing on different aspects of American life. It is only concerned with general feeling orientations; whether groups generally like, dislike, are ambivalent, or whether they have no general orientation toward the United States. These orientations were in response to a simple direct question, "What do you think of the United States?" An opportunity to converse about the subject was provided.

#### Contacts With the United States and Attitudes Toward the Country

The first problem posed was to determine whether there was a relationship between belonging to one of the contact groups and attitudes towards the United States. The hypothesis was that, due to the greater

amount of contacts with the United States, migrants would tend to have more fixed attitudes, either positive or negative. The rationalizations for their attitudes might vary but their attitudes would be polarized at the extremes of the continuum.

Visitors, it was hypothesized, would have a tendency to have more generalized orientations, probably verging on the antagonistic side. The main reasons for this is that visitors have been less exposed to the United States and also they tend to represent higher socio-economic groups.

The non-contact group occupies an entirely different situation. Obviously their relations with the United States are extremely limited. A few of them do, however, have family members or friends in the United States. The hypothesis would be that their general orientation towards the United States would be noticeably unfavorable. This might be explained by the fact that they are most absorbed into the way of life of the community, and also because they experience frustration due to their inability to migrate to the United States.

The second major hypothesis related to the impact of socio-economic status on attitude toward the United States. It is assumed that those of higher socio-economic levels will tend to have unfavorable attitudes. The reasoning behind this statement, as stated above,<sup>1</sup> is that upper classes in Mexico have traditionally attempted to consolidate their position within the community not only by in-group cohesion, but also by out-group (United States) conflict. It would not be too difficult to discern this two-fold phenomenon from a study of Mexican history, that to a great

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<sup>1</sup>See: Chapter II, p. 15.

extent may be understood in terms of internal revolutions accompanied by anti-American feelings.

The land issue that has pervaded Mexican political history is always pictured as the struggle of lower against higher classes; peasants against landlords; peones against hacendados. In this conflict the United States has often been brought into the picture by politicians interested in distorting the main issues. At times American foreign policy or American businesses operating in Mexico, (as during the oil conflict of the Calles administration),<sup>2</sup> have acted in such a way as to reinforce local anti-American stereotypes. Of more recent date the problem of wetbacks and braceros has ironically fostered unfavorable attitudes toward the United States within the higher economic groups of Mexico.<sup>3</sup> An issue which aroused feeling against the United States at the time of this research was the alleged cotton dumping policy of the United States at the time when Mexico was attempting to build cotton production in her border states. The resulting squeeze on the farmers of Sonora was blamed more on the United States policy than on the Mexican policy pushed by members of the higher economic groups. Instances of this nature could be multiplied, even though the researcher does not know of any systematic study made on the subject of socio-economic status as related to attitudes toward the United States.

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<sup>2</sup>Herring, Hubert, History of Latin America, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, passim, but especially, "The Era of Porfirio Diaz," p. 338 and ff; Worcester, Donald E., and Schaeffer, Wendell G., The Growth and Culture of Latin America, New York, Oxford University Press, 1956, passim, but especially "Mexico," A Study in Dynamics," p. 823 and ff; Gill, Mario, Sinarquismo, Mexico, D.F., Club del Libro "Mexico," 1944. The author relates interesting occurrences of power groups in Mexico either dealing with or fighting against power groups in the United States as the circumstances demanded. See; especially pp. 114, 141, 148, and 168.

<sup>3</sup>Humphrey, Norman, "The Mexican Image of Americans," The Annals, Vol. 295, September 1954, p. 116.



Taking the adult males of the population as a whole it may be seen from Table 47 that they tended to be somewhat positively oriented toward the United States. Almost one-half were unequivocally positive toward the United States, whereas slightly over one-fourth (twenty-seven per cent) were unequivocally negative. The remaining quarter were in between, with somewhat of a positive leaning toward the United States.

TABLE 47

ATTITUDE ORIENTATIONS TOWARD THE UNITED STATES FOR THREE CONTACT GROUPS

Attitude Toward the United States	Migrants	Contact Groups Visitors	Non-contact	Total
Like the U.S. very much	24	16	12	52
Like the U.S. somewhat	6	11	9	26
Do not like the U.S. much	3	6	4	13
Do not like the U.S. at all	12	6	10	28
Total	45	39	35	129*
$\chi^2 = 4.756$ $p < .70$ $\bar{C} = .25$				

\*The "No Answers" were dropped from the Chi-square computation.

The first question to be analyzed is, "Are contact groups differently oriented toward the United States?" It may be recalled that migrants had the greatest amount of contact with United States institutions, visitors ranked second, and non-visitors ranked last. According to the results of a Chi-square test of significance applied in Table 47, there was no significant difference among the groups in their attitudes toward the United States. That is, there was no association between amount of contact with the United States and attitudes toward the country. However, there were some slight tendencies.

It seems that migrants were, in accordance with the specific hypothesis, somewhat more likely to have crystallized attitudes toward the country. Thus only 20 per cent of them fell into the two intermediate categories of the continuum,<sup>4</sup> compared to 41 per cent of the visitors and 37 per cent of the no contact group. This suggests that the latter two groups may be more ambivalent toward the United States.

The migrants appeared to be more favorable toward United States than the other two groups. Two-thirds of the migrants expressed favorable attitudes as opposed to two-fifths of the visitors and no-contact. Although the no-contact group had the greater percentage in the extremely negative group, their attitudes were generally similar to the visitors. This may be expected since both groups tended to have been more anchored to the social life of the community.

Amount of contact, thus, with the United States institutions seems to have no significant influence upon the direction of favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward the country.

#### Socio-Economic Status and Attitudes Toward the United States

The second major hypothesis to be tested regards the relationship between socio-economic status and attitudes toward the United States. The hypothesis was that the higher the socio-economic status of an individual in Mexico the greater the probability of unfavorable attitudes. The sample was divided into three socio-economic groups according to the index of socio-economic status.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>The question asked for Table 47 was: "How do you like the United States?"

<sup>5</sup>See: Chapter IV, Table 46, p. 89.

It was considered advisable, before undertaking the general analysis, to relate the individual components of the index of socio-economic status to attitude orientation. The three components are: Education, occupation, and property index. It was stated earlier that education can be more easily attained today in the village. As a consequence the young people commonly have more schooling than their elders. Migrants are usually young, higher educated and, by definition, have greater contact with the United States. They might then be expected to have favorable attitudes.

Evidence in Table 48 indicates generally that the higher the level of education, the more favorable the attitudes toward the United States.

TABLE 48

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF GROUPS POSITIVELY AND NEGATIVELY  
ORIENTED TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

Attitude Toward the United States	Low Education*	High Education	Total
Like the U.S.	35	43	78
Don't like the U.S.	25	16	41
Total	60	59	119**
$\chi^2 = 2.752$	$p < .10$	$\bar{c} = .24$	

\*Low education includes grades under four.

\*\*The "No Answers" were dropped for Chi-square computation.

However, the Chi-square is small and the probability of .10 is somewhat below the statistical standards adopted in the present study. This anomalous relation between high education and favorable attitude toward the United States is explained by the low association between education and the other variables in the socio-economic status index.<sup>6</sup> Highly

<sup>6</sup>See: Table 12 in Chapter 11.

educated people are found in higher and lower occupational groups and some poorly educated people are found in high property groups.

Occupational groups have a somewhat different pattern of attitudes toward the United States. As Table 49 reveals both the high and low occupational groups predominantly have favorable attitude toward United

TABLE 49

ORIENTATION TOWARD THE UNITED STATES FOR  
THREE LEVELS OF OCCUPATION

Orientation Toward The United States	Occupational Groups*			Total
	High	Middle	Low	
Like the U.S.	12	37	29	78
Don't like the U.S.	4	28	9	41
Total	16	65	38	119**
$\chi^2 = 4.717$	$p < .10$		$\bar{C} = .28$	

\*See Table 9 for occupations in each level.

\*\* The "No Answers" were dropped for Chi-square computation.

States while the middle group is less positive in its endorsement. That is, the middle group is less positively oriented to the United States than the higher and lower occupational groups. This is contrary to hypothetical expectations, and may be accounted for in part by the omission of a significant proportion of people of high occupational levels from the study.<sup>7</sup>

The last variable in the socio-economic status index is the property index. Property is very significant in placing any individual in positions of high rank within the community. Data in Table 50 indicate

<sup>7</sup> See: Chapter II, The population, about respondents omitted.

TABLE 50  
ATTITUDE ORIENTATION TOWARD THE UNITED STATES  
FOR PROPERTY GROUPS

Orientation Toward the United States	Property Index		Total
	Low	High	
Like the U.S.	47	31	78
Don't like the U.S.	14	27	41
Total	61	58	119*
$\chi^2 = 7.297$	$p < .01$	$\bar{C} = .38$	

\*The "No Answers" were dropped for Chi-square computation.

a high negative association between property and attitudes toward the United States, the higher the rank of an individual as measured by property, the less favorable his attitudes toward the United States. The probability of the Chi-square is highly significant at the .01 level and the corrected contingency coefficient is moderately high as well. Since there are relatively few occupations of high status in the community and since educational opportunities are small, it seems ownership is what really counts, for social ranking. The owners seemed more concerned about "being Mexican," as well as about strictly enforcing the Mexican constitutional provision which denies foreigners the right to acquire property within a sixty mile area along the Mexican border.

A Chi-square test of significance was also run between attitude orientation toward the United States and index of socio-economic status. Table 51 shows the results of the test, which confirm the results obtained for the property index. Again, the higher the socio-economic group the

TABLE 51

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF GROUPS HAVING DIFFERENT  
ORIENTATIONS TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

Orientation Toward the United States	Low	Middle	High	Total
Like the U.S.	22	35	21	78
Don't like the U.S.	3	21	17	41
Total	25	56	38	119*
$\chi^2 = 7.559$	$p < .05$		$\bar{C} = .35$	

\*The "No Answers" were dropped for Chi-square computation.

less favorable the attitudes toward the United States. The degree of association between the two variables is moderate, the contingency coefficient being .35.

Confirmation of these findings were made by observations of the researcher especially in two locations along the border. First, in Sonoyta itself. Economic "independence" from Arizona was a target aimed for by the leaders in the community who demanded that the central government help irrigate land for agriculture. The second group were cotton growers meeting in another town south of Sonoyta. These men were bitterly critical of the buying power of an American company which almost monopolized the cotton crop of the state of Sonora. Generalizations from the individual case were not difficult for these businessmen to make.

On the other hand, somewhat reverse attitudes were displayed by members of lower socio-economic groups. During a card party in Sonoyta, composed mostly of men in lower brackets of the middle income group, there was consensus that any hard worker in the United States could achieve

economic success in contrast with Mexico, where economic success is linked to class position, friendship, family connections, or connection with government officials. Workingmen, moreover, often referred to the United States in the course of the interviews as the place where all kinds of facilities to "progress" are available to the little man.

The gap between the higher and lower brackets in their attitudes toward the United States was obvious along the border. The cleavage is no longer in the background. The upper classes everywhere in Sonora realize that the migration to the United States not only represents an economic necessity for some but also a silent discontent with home policies which work against the interests of the lower socio-economic groups. The new generation in Mexico is not concerned with historic quarrels with the United States, but with bread and butter.<sup>8</sup> This cleavage is breaking the patron system.<sup>9</sup>

Peones do not rely any longer upon the hacendados for their satisfactions. Since bloody revolutions did not bring the expected solutions to the historic battles for land and work, mass migration represents the new type of peaceful revolution. As a consequence, the trained incapacity of Mexicans for democracy is presumably also breaking out simultaneously with the patron system.<sup>10</sup> Thousands of people annually leave their homes

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<sup>8</sup>The young man who was in charge of the public school in Sonoyta often used to repeat that there was no hope for local youth to achieve better economic opportunities in Mexico. Migration to the United States was the only alternative he could visualize for them.

<sup>9</sup>Mead, Margaret, (ed.): Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, Paris, UNESCO, 1953, p. 174.

<sup>10</sup>On the dependence of Spanish-Americans upon "strong and decisive authority" see: Kluckhohn, F. R., "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations," in Kluckhohn, D. and Murray, H. A., Personality in Nature, Society and Culture, Second Ed. Rev., New York, Knopf, 1953.

to live in cities, where contracting offices for work in the United States may be found. Hermosillo (capital of Sonora) in 1955<sup>11</sup> and Empalme (a small town south of Hermosillo) in 1956 are cities in point. Both civil and religious authorities were seriously concerned about problems arising from the ingress of peasants. Public and private charity had to provide food for these wandering people; and shelter was often unavailable. Many of these people were attempting to obtain "braceros" permits to go to the United States. But many would go as "alambristas." The United States Border Patrol captured in May, 1954, an unprecedented figure of 95,310 alambristas. As a United States border official wrote, "It was obvious at the time that we were faced by a full-scale invasion which, though peaceful in character, could rapidly change the economic condition and standard of living of many thousands of our people."<sup>12</sup>

#### Spontaneous Expressions of Attitudes Toward the United States

After asking the respondents how they liked the United States, they were given the opportunity to express their opinions or to amplify their positions. Many times this resulted in long conversations about how they felt about the United States, including detailed opinions on issues unrelated to the research. Very often, however, respondents refused to elaborate on their attitudes, so that no further conversation was possible. Others provided short and penetrating elaborations. Most people were concerned about the use and abuse of credit in the United

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<sup>11</sup>See: Chapter IV, p. 60.

<sup>12</sup>Letter to the writer, November 16, 1956.



States, others complained about the hard work, and still others talked about the case of workers' children obtaining an education in the United States. Some typical statements were:

No me gustan los Estados Unidos porque hay que trabajar todo el tiempo. (I don't like the United States because one has to work all the time)

Me gustan los Estados Unidos por la educacion de me familia para lo cual hay alla tantas facilidades. (I like the United States because of the educational facilities which are so developed there)

No me gustan los Estados Unidos porque la vida es muy agitada. (I don't like the United States because the life is so agitated)

Me gustan los Estados Unidos porque hay muchas oportunidades. (I like the United States because of its many opportunities)

Los Americanos lo tratan a uno bien cuando va de igual i igual pero no cuando va de trabajador. (Americans treat Mexicans well except as workers)

Los Estados Unidos son economicamente dominantes e imperialistas. (The United States is economically domineering and imperialistic)

No me gusta la vida en Estados Unidos porque hay mucho apuro para trabajar y cumplir compromisos de dinero. (I don't like living in the United States because you're pushed into working and paying what you own in a hurry)

Yo soy un admirador de los Estados Unidos por su poderosa organizacion en todas formas. (I admire the United States because of their wonderful organizing ability)

En los Estados Unidos hay muchos chances de buenos trabajos. (There are lots of good chances to work in the United States)

En los Estados Unidos los oficiales publicos averiguan la verdad. Hay pasion por los hechos. Es una democracia admirable por su orden y justicia y por su honradez administrativa en contraste con Mexico. (In the United States public officials determine the truth. There is ardent desire for facts. It is a democracy to be admired for its order, justice, and official honesty - in contrast to the situation in Mexico)

A poignant remark regarding Texans was made by a man who was very unhappy there and who described many scenes of mistreatment of "alambristas." He said:

En los Estados Unidos, especialmente los tejanos, tratan muy mal a los Mexicanos. Yo vi a un policia que les sacaba la verdad con las uñas. (In the United States, especially the Texans, treat the Mexicans very badly. I saw a policeman forcing the truth "with his finger nails")

This section is concerned with an analysis of such elaborated "verbalized attitudes." Less than half of the respondents provided elaborated answers which could be coded. This in itself is an interesting finding. However, a close examination of the differences between the responding and non-responding groups showed no significant differences. Specifically, no statistically significant differences were found between the two groups for education, property, socio-economic status, and other indices. Yet differences were found among migrants, visitors, and non-contact groups on attitude toward the United States. Results of these tests are shown in Table 52.

TABLE 52  
VERBALIZED ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNITED STATES  
FOR CONTACT GROUPS

Attitude Toward the United States	Contact Groups			Total
	Migrants	Visitors	Non-contact	
Favorable	16	10	6	32
Ambivalent	6	1	0	7
Unfavorable	11	9	3	23
No answer*	13	19	36	68
Total	46	39	45	130
$\chi^2 = 22.970$ $p < .001$ $\bar{C} = .48$				

\*By excluding the "No Answer" category a Chi-square of 2.052 at a probability of .70 was found. This points out to the significant relation of contact and saliency of attitudinal orientations.

Taken as a group, the migrants who had the greatest amount of contact with the United States elaborated on their attitudes more than the other two groups. About thirty per cent of the migrants did not provide qualitative responses, whereas almost half of the visitors, and four-fifths of the non-visitors gave no verbalized responses.

Generally speaking, the migrants had more favorable attitudes toward the United States than the other groups. However, it is important to stress that a greater degree of ambivalence toward the United States was manifested by these responses than by the direct question. Another conclusion may be drawn from Table 52, that attitudes tended to concentrate more at the extremes of the attitudes categories. Thus, attitude saliency seemed to run parallel to amount of contact with the United States. That is, there was a positive association between contacts and attitude saliency. Thus, the hypothesis of association between saliency of attitudes and amount of exposure to the United States institutions is accepted at a highly significant probability, even though the degree of association ( $\bar{C} = 0.48$ ) is moderate.

The three socio-economic groups were tested for favorable or unfavorable verbalized attitudes toward the United States. The responses were dichotomized by dropping the relatively few ambivalent responses. These data, which appear in Table 53, point to a negative association between socio-economic status and favorable attitudes toward the United States. The probability of the Chi-square lies between .01 and .001, which is highly significant, and the degree of association ( $\bar{C} = .64$ ) is relatively high. Thus, the Chi-square test of significance points to accepting the hypothesis of association between socio-economic status and

TABLE 53

VERBALIZED ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNITED STATES  
AS RELATED TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Verbalized Attitudes Toward the United States	Socio-Economic Groups			Total
	Low	Middle	Upper	
Favorable toward the U.S.	12	14	6	32
Unfavorable toward the U.S.	0	11	12	23
Total	12	25	18	55
$\chi^2 = 13.241$	$p < .01$		$\bar{C} = .64$	

negative attitudes toward the United States. Form and D'Antonio<sup>13</sup> made similar observations of unfavorable attitudes toward the United States prevailing among members of the upper classes of Ciudad Juarez as a result of uneasy relations with "Texans" in the United States Immigration and Custom offices. Thus, it seems that along the border upper classes tend to identify themselves with Mexico City whereas lower classes look toward the United States for economic opportunities.

The impact of socio-economic status on attitudes is remarkable in one specific area. A group of verbalized attitudes were classified as, "Life style orientations." Included in this "index" of orientation were statements regarding the American way of life, i.e., family behavior patterns, pressures to achieve a high plane of living, the importance of saving time, punctuality in work, planned use of leisure time, and other

<sup>13</sup>Form, W. H., and D'Antonio, W. V., "A Comparative Study of the Political and Economic Elites in Neighboring American and Mexican Border Communities," a study in process at this time.

characteristics which differentiate United States culture from Mexican culture.

To test the impact of socio-economic status on this area of style of life orientation, the Chi-square technique was applied. The results are shown in Table 54. Significantly, they point to a clear confirmation

TABLE 54

ORIENTATION TOWARD AMERICAN LIFE STYLE AS AFFECTED  
BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF RESPONDENTS

Orientation Toward American Life Style	Socio-Economic Groups			Total
	Low	Middle	High	
Like	6	5	2	13
Don't like	0	10	9	19
Total	6	15	11	32
$\chi^2 = 8.276$	$p < .02$		$\bar{c} = .20$	

of the hypotheses. The low class clearly preferred the American style of life, the middle group was split with a predominance not favoring it, and the high group seemed predominantly hostile. The importance of life style to the respondents is underscored by the fact that more than half of the people who gave verbalized attitudes made references to it.

As indicated above, ownership of property is key to socio-economic status in the community, and that age and property are highly correlated. Thus owners tended to be the older people in the community who were concentrated in the middle or upper strata. They "represented" traditional Mexicanism, and were critical of anything that departed from the

established patterns. Actually many of them saw the United States as the direction toward which Mexico was changing, and they feared this change.

Mexico is now in a remarkable period of transition from an agrarian to an industrial society. Results of industrialization are affecting all socio-economic strata in the society. Upper strata are interested in local and regional development projects which tend to be pre-industrial in nature, and do not benefit the lower classes at the present. Having capital goods is a necessary condition to engage in any business enterprise even in an agricultural economy. Money is not an easy commodity to get in Mexico, for credit is limited. The other, very often sufficient condition for economic opportunity is to belong to the "right" group. As a consequence the masses are waiting for the beneficial effects of economic change.

## CHAPTER VI

### Summary and Conclusions

#### Summary

This study was concerned with describing the place which Mexican migrants to the United States have in a small isolated Mexican community close to the border. The research was initiated to test two general hypotheses. The first was that there is a relationship between amount of exposure to American society and the attitudes toward the United States. The second hypothesis proposed that membership in different socio-economic groups in the community would differentiate attitudes of people toward the United States.

In order to test these hypotheses, it was necessary to construct two indices: One which measured relative amount of contact with the United States, and another which reflected the relative socio-economic status of residents in the community. Exposure to the United States was defined generally as including friendship and family ties with people in this country, as well as work contacts in the cities and farms.

The community was selected on two main bases: First, unlike other border communities, it was relatively isolated from direct United States economic and social domination; second, it was small enough for the researcher to obtain a rather intimate knowledge of its activities. The community was found to be more oriented toward tourist trade than to agriculture or cattle raising. It's population of 1,300 people was heavily Caucasian. It was made up mostly of recent arrivals who hoped

to till land in the new irrigation projects and to find work in highway improvement programs. Thus, it was a relatively young population. The adult male labor force was selected for intensive study.

Three main groups were defined for their differential contacts with the United States; those whose only contact was indirect, through friends and relatives; those whose contact was in the nature of visiting and conducting business; and those who worked in the United States for extended periods. These latter were called migrants.

Migrants were characterized as coming from places far south of the border but cannot be identified as a group by birth place. They tended to be concentrated in the younger age groups which were dominantly unmarried. However, migration seemed to have no effect on ultimate size of the family.

Migration was probably at a minimum level during the depression years and at its peak just after World War II, and immediately after the Mexican Revolution. It is plain that almost all of the migrants were "alambristas," or non-legal migrants who did not work for long periods of time in this country. They had proportionately more relatives and Mexican acquaintances in the United States than visitors, but both had American acquaintances in the United States. Non-contact people ranked lowest regarding all these variables. Thus migrants, visitors, and non-contact groups ranked high, medium and low respectively regarding amount of exposure to American society. Migrants picked up a "fair" understanding of the English language compared to the visiting group.

Migrants obtained high amount of education whereas visitors ranked middle and non-contact people ranked lower. A somewhat different order



of ranking was observed in respect to the present occupational structure of the village: Visitors ranked high, migrants middle, and non-contact low. But a great deal of vertical mobility had taken place after migration. Migrants could not be easily identified in respect to property levels, but they ranked middle within the socio-economic structure of the community, whereas visitors ranked high and non-contact people tended to rank lower.

### Conclusions

The following conclusions may be submitted. There appeared to be no statistically significant differences in attitudes among migrants, visitors, and non-contact groups. As a whole, the residents of the community were favorably disposed to the United States. People with the greatest amount of exposure to American institutions had a tendency, diffused as it was, to define themselves either as favorable or unfavorable toward the United States, with a leaning in favor of the United States. Among people with minimum contact with the United States, unfavorable orientations were readily recognizable.

Socio-economic status was found to be inversely correlated with favorable attitudes toward the United States. There was a relatively sharp distinction in which upper and middle class people were rather unfavorable toward the United States, whereas lower socio-economic groups were favorably oriented. Thus a cleavage in the community was apparent, in which the upper group looked toward Mexico in favorable light, and the lower group looked toward the United States. This inverse relation between socio-economic status and attitudes toward the United States was

relatively constant. Also, traditional values in Mexican culture were more cherished by the local middle classes.

Two generalizations may be suggested in reference to migration. First, in the initial phase of migration, membership in the lower socio-economic strata is almost a condition for migration. Second, the place of the returning migrant in the social structure of the community depends on his economic success while in the United States. His attitudes toward the United States after returning and after readjusting to the community tends to become similar to the socio-economic group of which he is a member.

Methodological problems confronting the researcher in Mexico were discussed. Since the validity of the results here presented cannot be tested against other studies because they literally have not been done, it is hoped that further research in this general area will be undertaken. However, it is important to stress that the internal consistency of the data suggests a considerable degree of reliability. Clearly, the use of standard sociological techniques in cross-cultural research requires a more detailed knowledge of the peculiar communities in which they are going to be applied. The research methods and techniques need to be fitted to the peculiar characteristics of the specific areas. For example, gathering occupational histories was planned in the original schedule but could not be obtained. Techniques to gather such data need to be devised in future research attempts. Devices are also needed to obtain records of social situations in which migrants found themselves when working in the United States. This is needed to determine the relationship between experiences in the United States and factors influencing attitude formation toward the United States.

It also may be suggested that there seems to be a differential utilization of available means to migrate according to the socio-economic status of the prospective migrant. This hypothesis also could be tested. A final suggestion regards the necessity of making a detailed study of social mobility in the community as affected by migration.

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APPENDIX A

## VERBALIZED ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

### Life Style

- 9A. En Estados Unidos no hay esperanzas de una vida independiente como en Mexico.
- 5B. En Estados Unidos se batalla mucho, se trabaja mucho y se vive con much afan.
- 8B. No me gusta la vida en los Estados Unidos porque hay mucho apuro para trabajar y cumplir compromisos de dinero.
- 4B. En Estados Unidos la vida es muy agitada.
- 1A. En Estados Unidos uno tiene que vivir muy bien porque todo el munco asi lo quiere. Y entonces hay que vivir del credito.
- 2A. En Estados Unidos es bueno solo para ganar dinero pero no para divertirse, que no hay como Mexico.
- 8A. Mucho trabajo y la vida muy cara, en Estados Unidos, que obliga a vivir del credito.
- 3A. La vida en Estados Unidos es muy exigente.
- 4A. En Estados Unidos se ve uno obligado a vivir como los americanos, del credito. Hay que trabajar todos los dias para poder cumplir compromisos de dinero adquiridos para no ser menos que los otros.
- 6N. Me gustan los Estados Unidos porque son empresarios los americanos.
- 3N. Cree que en Estados Unidos haya muchas oportunidades.
- 1N. No me gustaria irme a Estados Unidos porque alla se anda muy aprisa.
- 13V. Muy dificil levantar cabeza en Estados Unidos. La vida es muy dura y la competencia muy fuerte. Se batalla mucho.

- 9V. Tiene simpatias por los americanos pero no le gustaria vivir en Estados Unidos porque alli no valdria el nada.
- 6V. Admirable por su prosperidad y administracion publica. Que contraste con Mexico. Hay tantas oportunidades en Estados Unidos. No puede aspirarse a vivir en las incomodidades de Mexico. Hay que emigrarse. Si alguna mala reaccion en las gentes mexicanas produce el espectaculo de soldaditos americanos hospedandose en los mejores hoteles de Mexico no es en contra del capitalismo americano sino en contra de la mala administracion de nuestro gobierno.
- 2V. Pais muy progresista.
- 1V. El progreso de Estados Unidos es digno de admirarse.
- 19B. Estados Unidos fue un pais hospitalario cuando fui como refugiado de la revolucion.
- 17B. No me gusta la tendencia de los patrones americanos a insultar a los de la raza sin hacer distinciones.
- 16B. En Mexico hay mas oportunidades agora de una vida independiente.
- 14B. Los insultos a los mexicanos y los puntapiés hicieron que yo me regresara a mi tierra en seguida.
- 22B. En los Estados Unidos los oficiales publicos averiguan la verdad. Hay pasion por los hechos.
- 8V. En Estados Unidos no hay lo libertad que hay en Mexico. Aqui hace uno lo que quiere y vive como quiere.
- 21B. Muy comoda la vida en Estados Unidos.
- 15B. No me gusta Estados Unidos para vivir tranquilo porque se vive muy a prisa.
- 13B. La vida en Estados Unidos es muy agitada.
- 12V. La vida es muy agitada. Por eso no me gusta Estados Unidos para vivir.

- 4N. Le gustaria irse "al otro lado" porque alla "la vida es muy diferente."
- 1B. En Estados Unidos se brega mucho y se trabaja mucho. En Mexico la  
2B. casa se puede hacer a pedacitos, poco a poquito.
- 12A. Estados Unidos es digno de elogio por la honradez de la gente.
- 13A. En Estados Unidos hay muchas oportunidades para progresar. Hay  
14A. mucho chance.

#### Economic Orientation

- 6A. En Estados Unidos se trabaja mucho (mucho trabajo). Yo no pude  
que me subieran el sueldo.
- 6B. En Estados Unidos se uno llega un minoto tarde pierde el trabajo.
- 5N. Alla si hay chances de ganar dinero, no como en Sonoyta donde no  
hay como progresar.
- 3V. Progreso material de Estados Unidos y oportunidades para todos.
- 28B. Me gusto mucho porque se gana muy buen dinero.
- 27B. Admiracion por la prosperidad economica de Estados Unidos que con-  
trasta con Mexico perdido por la mala administracion.
- 25B. Admirable (Estados Unidos) por su organizacion economica.
- 12B. Los Estados Unidos son Economicamente dominante imperialistas.
- 17A. Muy bueno por el sueldo que es muy suave.
- 15A. Muy bueno, en Estados, para ganar dinero y nada mas.
- 10A. No me gusta el imperialismo economico de los Estados Unidos.
- 11A. En Estados Unidos el trabajo es duro pero el sueldo es muy suave.

#### Work Orientation

- 16A. Alla hay esperanzas de trabajar que no hay en Mexico.

- 3B. En estados Unidos a los hombres enfermos, como a las bestias que no sirven, los matan. Entonces no habia uniones para defender al trabajador (1916); ahora si; nadie puede parar a un trabajador porque tiene defensa.
- 2N. No me gusta Estados Unidos porque hay que trabajar todo el tiempo.
- 7N. Me gusta Estados Unidos porque hay como trabajar.
- 10V. Mucho trabajo en Estados Unidos.
- 5V. Cree que en Estados Unidos encontrara las oportunidades de trabajar que no ha encontrado en Mexico. Ademas piensa en la educacion de su familia para lo cual hay alla tantas facilidades.
- 20B. Me gusta Estados Unidos porque hay mucho en que trabajar.
- 29B. En Estados Unidos hay muchos chances de buenos trabajos.
- 4B. Bueno vivir en Estados Unidos para buscar trabajo que en Mexico es muy dificil.
- 9B. Tuve que trabajar demasiado.

#### Others

- 26B. Los antepasados (Estados Unidos) fueron malos algunas veces pero los de ahora no deben criticarse por eso. No generalicemos. Es como Culpar a los nietos de las peleas de los abuelos. No los nietos deben odiarse porque los abuelos lo hicieron.
- 24B. Honradez administrativa en contraste con Mexico.
- 11B. Los Estados Unidos son enemigos de Mexico. No hay que olvidar la historia.
- 23B. Democracia admirable, orden y justicia.
- 10B. Los gringos me trataron bien porque no me deje.



5A. En Estados Unidos, especialmente los tejanos, tratan muy mal a los mexicanos. Yo vi a un policia que les sacaba la verdad con las unas.

7B. Los americanos lo tratan a uno bien cuando va de igual a igual pero no cuando va de trabajador. Yo sufri malos, tratos, insultos, humillaciones pero no cuando fui de visita.

11V. La entrada a Estados Unidos es demasiado dificil.

7V. Admirador de los Estados Unidos por su puderosa organizacion en todas formas.

**APPENDIX B**

SOURCES FOR THE COMPUTATION OF THE TABLES IN CHAPTER ONE

TABLE 55

The periods of death occurrence of persons in Sonoyta,  
Sonora, Mexico from 1950 to 1955.\*

Age Period	1950		1951		1952		1953		1954		1955		Total		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Less than one year	11	4	10	2	3	6	4	3	5	6	7	4	40	25	65
Over 1-4	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	5	1	6
5-19	0	0	0	1	3	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	7	2	9
20-34	0	1	3	2	2	1	1	0	4	2	5	1	15	7	22
35-49	4	0	1	0	1	1	3	0	3	0	1	2	12	4	16
50-64	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	2	1	2	3	1	8	6	14
65-79	1	2	2	1	4	0	3	1	0	2	2	2	12	8	20
80-100	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	3	4	7
MF Total	18	7	20	7	14	10	15	6	17	14	19	12	102	57	159
Total	25		27		24		21		31		31		159		

\*There are no comparable data in the Mexican Census.

TABLE 56

The Major Diseases Causing Mortality in Sonoyta,  
Sonora, Mexico from 1950 to 1955.

Year	Enterocolitis	Tuberculosis	Auto Accident	Heart	Others	Total
1950	8	3	2	0	12	25
1951	6	4	0	1	16	27
1952	4	4	0	2	14	24
1953	4	4	3	1	12	24
1954	7	2	6	4	12	31
1955	0	8	5	0	18	31
Totals	29	25	16	8	81	162

TABLE 57

The Number of Legitimate and Illegitimate Births by Sex  
in Sonoyta, Sonora, Mexico from 1950 to 1955

Year	Male		Female		Totals		Total
	L.	I.	L.	I.	L.	I.	
1950	20	10	23	6	43	16	59
1951	24	8	22	13	46	21	67
1952	17	11	23	7	40	18	58
1953	26	10	22	12	48	22	70
1954	25	12	21	15	46	27	73
1955	23	14	29	19	52	33	85
Totals	135	65	140	72	275	137	412

TABLE 58

The Number and Nationality of Couples Married  
in Sonoyta, Sonora, Mexico from 1950 to 1955

Year	Mexicans		Crossed Nationality*		Total
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
1950	11	10.7	17	15.6	28
1951	17	16.5	8	7.3	25
1952	16	15.5	19	17.4	35
1953	17	16.5	15	13.8	32
1954	19	18.4	25**	22.9	44
1955	23	22.3	25	22.9	48
Totals	103	99.9	109	99.9	212

\*Crossed Nationality = American men and Mexican women.

\*\*Two of the couples married in 1954 were American.

## APPENDIX C

**APPENDIX D**

## APPENDIX D

TABLE 59

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF  
CONTACT GROUPS

Occupations	Migrants	Visitors	Non-Contact
Professional	--	3	--
Ranchers	2	1	--
Proprietors, Merchants, Public Officers	3	7	--
Small Proprietors	2	1	1
Clerical	8	11	9
Skilled	5	8	5
Semi-skilled	3	0	0
Farmers	4	6	8
Service	6	1	3
Common Laborers	13	2	19
Total	46	39	45



## APPENDIX E

INFORMACION SOBRE TRABAJO MIGRATORIO

SONORA - MEXICO

Cuestionario General

Caracteristicas Generales.

1.- Nombre del jefe de familia \_\_\_\_\_

Direccion \_\_\_\_\_

2.- Donde vivia usted antes de venir a este lugar ? \_\_\_\_\_

3 - Actual tenencia de la casa: a. Propia \_\_\_\_\_ b. Alquilada \_\_\_\_\_

c. Cedida \_\_\_\_\_ d. Otros, especifique \_\_\_\_\_

4.- Tipo de casa: a. De una Familia \_\_\_\_\_ b. De dos familias \_\_\_\_\_

c. Hilera de casas unidas \_\_\_\_\_ d. Piezas \_\_\_\_\_ e. Patios \_\_\_\_\_

f. Corredor \_\_\_\_\_ g. Otros, especifique \_\_\_\_\_

5.- Formas de explotacion de la tierra: a. Es dueño de finca \_\_\_\_\_

Que clase de finca \_\_\_\_\_

b. Tiene finca alquilada \_\_\_\_\_ c. Arrendatario \_\_\_\_\_

d. Ejidatario \_\_\_\_\_ e. Otros, \_\_\_\_\_

OBSERVACIONES GENERALES:

Cuadro 1. Características demográficas.

Nombre (1)	Parentesco con el jefe de familia (2)	Características personales				
		Sexo (3)	Edad (4)	Lugar de nacimiento (5)	Estado civil (6)	Reli- gion (7)
1. Jefe						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
Miembros muertos						
1						
2						
3						
Miembros ausentes						
1						
2						
3						
4						

Educación		Ocupación	Estado		Sexo		Hijos		Familia	
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1043 1044 1045 1046 1047 1048 1049 1050 1051 1052 1053 1054 1055 1056 1057 1058 1059 1060 1061 1062 1063 1064 1065 1066 1067 1068 1069 1070 1071 1072 1073 1074 1075 1076 1077 1078 1079 1080 1081 1082 1083 1084 1085 1086 1087 1088 1089 1090 1091 1092 1093 1094 1095 1096 1097 1098 1099 1100 1101 1102 1103 1104 1105 1106 1107 1108 1109 1110 1111 1112 1113 1114 1115 1116 1117 1118 1119 1120 1121 1122 1123 1124 1125 1126 1127 1128 1129 1130 1131 1132 1133 1134 1135 1136 1137 1138 1139 1140 1141 1142 1143 1144 1145 1146 1147 1148 1149 1150 1151 1152 1153 1154 1155 1156 1157 1158 1159 1160 1161 1162 1163 1164 1165 1166 1167 1168 1169 1170 1171 1172 1173 1174 1175 1176 1177 1178 1179 1180 1181 1182 1183 1184 1185 1186 1187 1188 1189 1190 1191 1192 1193 1194 1195 1196 1197 1198 1199 1200 1201 1202 1203 1204 1205 1206 1207 1208 1209 1210 1211 1212 1213 1214 1215 1216 1217 1218 1219 1220 1221 1222 1223 1224 1225 1226 1227 1228 1229 1230 1231 1232 1233 1234 1235 1236 1237 1238 1239 1240 1241 1242 1243 1244 1245 1246 1247 1248 1249 1250 1251 1252 1253 1254 1255 1256 1257 1258 1259 1260 1261 1262 1263 1264 1265 1266 1267 1268 1269 1270 1271 1272 1273 1274 1275 1276 1277 1278 1279 1280 1281 1282 1283 1284 1285 1286 1287 1288 1289 1290 1291 1292 1293 1294 1295 1296 1297 1298 1299 1300 1301 1302 1303 1304 1305 1306 1307 1308 1309 1310 1311 1312 1313 1314 1315 1316 1317 1318 1319 1320 1321 1322 1323 1324 1325 1326 1327 1328 1329 1330 1331 1332 1333 1334 1335 1336 1337 1338 1339 1340 1341 1342 1343 1344 1345 1346 1347 1348 1349 1350 1351 1352 1353 1354 1355 1356 1357 1358 1359 1360 1361 1362 1363 1364 1365 1366 1367 1368 1369 1370 1371 1372 1373 1374 1375 1376 1377 1378 1379 1380 1381 1382 1383 1384 1385 1386 1387 1388 1389 1390 1391 1392 1393 1394 1395 1396 1397 1398 1399 1400 1401 1402 1403 1404 1405 1406 1407 1408 1409 1410 1411 1412 1413 1414 1415 1416 1417 1418 1419 1420 1421 1422 1423 1424 1425 1426 1427 1428 1429 1430 1431 1432 1433 1434 1435 1436 1437 1438 1439 1440 1441 1442 1443 1444 1445 1446 1447 1448 1449 1450 1451 1452 1453 1454 1455 1456 1457 1458 1459 1460 1461 1462 1463 1464 1465 1466 1467 1468 1469 1470 1471 1472 1473 1474 1475 1476 1477 1478 1479 1480 1481 1482 1483 1484 1485 1486 1487										



6. - Podría haberse desarrollado la actividad en soluciones u orificios.

1

1

6.- Podria usted decirme las ocupaciones u oficios que ha tenido, aun fuera del pueblo, empezando por su trabajo actual?

Cuadro 2. Historia de Ocupaciones

Descripcion y clase de trabajo (1)	Localizacion del trabajo (2)	Naturaleza de la localidad del trabajo (3)	Estado y pais (4)	Fechas en q. trabajo (5)	Salario diario (6)
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

7.- Como consiguio usted su primer trabajo?

Como pudo usted viajar a los EE.UU.?

Como el si-	Con quien viajo	Como supo de	Por que deci-	que lo le gusto que lo trabajo	Mantiene cor-respondencia con ese lugar (14)
-------------	-----------------	--------------	---------------	--------------------------------	--



Quadro 2. Historia de Ocupaciones (Cont..)

Razon para dejar el trabajo (7)	Tiempo de desempleo (8)	Como consi- guio el si- guiente (9)	Con quien viajo (10)	Como supo de ese trabajo (11)	Por que deci- dio viajar (12)	Que le gusto y que no le gusto del trabajo (13)	Mantiene cor- respondencia con ese lugar (14)
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							

8.- Tiene usted algun pariente cercano trabajando lejos de aqui? \_\_\_\_\_ Donde? \_\_\_\_\_

9.- Encuentro otros del pueblo en donde estuvo? \_\_\_\_\_ Quien? \_\_\_\_\_ Donde? \_\_\_\_\_

Que hacia? \_\_\_\_\_ 10.- Que piensa usted hacer en el futuro inmediato? \_\_\_\_\_

Si viajar, a donde? \_\_\_\_\_ Cuando? \_\_\_\_\_ Con quien? \_\_\_\_\_



Relaciones de trabajo.

11. 1.- Quien se hizo cargo, durante su ausencia, de los trabajos que usted hacia ?

a. En la casa \_\_\_\_\_ b. Fuera de la casa \_\_\_\_\_

2.- Que parentesco tiene con esa persona ? \_\_\_\_\_

3.- Que clase de trabajos eran esos ? \_\_\_\_\_ 4.- Describame

la organizacion de esos trabajos \_\_\_\_\_

5.- Como se hacia eso, digamos, hace diez anos ? \_\_\_\_\_

12. 1.- Cambia usted trabajo con sus familiares o amigos ? \_\_\_\_\_ 2.- Que clase

de trabajo es ese ? \_\_\_\_\_ 3.- Con que frecuencia lo

hace ? \_\_\_\_\_ 4.- En que condiciones generalmante ? \_\_\_\_\_

5.- Lo hace usted solo o en compania de los miembros de su familia? \_\_\_\_\_

(NOTA: Si el interrogado pertenece a cooperativas o ejidos, haganse preguntas sobre la estructura y el funcionamiento de esas entidades).

13. Le gustaria tener otra clase de trabajo ? \_\_\_\_\_ Cual ? \_\_\_\_\_

14. Si usted hubiera tenido mejores oportunidades que oficio o profesion hubiera escogido ? \_\_\_\_\_

15. Quien es su patron o empleador ? \_\_\_\_\_

2.- Que relaciones mantiene usted con el fuera del trabajo? \_\_\_\_\_

3.- Quien es su inmediato superior ? \_\_\_\_\_

16. Tiene usted mando sobre otros en su trabajo ? \_\_\_\_\_ Quienes son: \_\_\_\_\_



Relaciones de trabajo (Cont.)

17. 1.- Quienes son sus inmediatos companeros de trabajo ? \_\_\_\_\_

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18. Si usted pudiera escoger los companeros de trabajo, o para alguna tarea en particular, a quienes escogeria ? \_\_\_\_\_

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(NOTA: Despues de detenida observacion hagase una cuidadosa descripcion de la situacion de trabajo ).

19. Aqui tiene usted una lista de ocupaciones: Cual de ellas coloca usted en primero, segundo, tercero, cuarto,.....lugar ? \_\_\_\_\_



Participacion en organizaciones.

20. Podria usted recordar, en un periodo de cinco anos, las asociaciones u organizaciones a que ha pertenecido o aun pertenece ?

Cuadro 3. Informacion sobre organizaciones.

Organizaciones	Frecuencia de reuniones	Lugar de reuniones	Por ciento de su asistencia	Ha sido oficial Cuando	Miembro de comite Cuando	Fechas
1						
2						
3						
1						
2						
3						
1						
2						
3						
1						
2						
3						

21. Hagame usted una relacion de algunos puntos de discusion que se han presentado en las organizaciones a que usted pertenece actualmente y deme los nombres de las personas que encabezan esas discusiones \_\_\_\_\_

Info

22.

(NOTA

23.

24.

25.



Informacion sobre influencias

22. Entre las personas que usted conoce, cuales considera usted que se preocupan mas por el bienestar general de la gente de estos lugares ?

Nombre	Grado y clase de relacion	Direccion
--------	---------------------------	-----------

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| a. |  |  |
| b. |  |  |
| c. |  |  |
| d. |  |  |

Estan estas personas relacionadas entre si ? \_\_\_\_\_

(NOTA: La combinacion de las letras puede indicar la clase de relacion, asi: ac-Ho.)

23. Si usted tuviera que salir algunos dias de la region, a quien dejaria encargado de sus negocios ?

Nombre	Grado y clase de relacion	Direccion
--------	---------------------------	-----------

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| a. |  |  |
| b. |  |  |
| c. |  |  |

24. En tal obra (refierese a situacion actual quienes tomaron parte activa?

Nombre	Grado y clase de relacion	Direccion
--------	---------------------------	-----------

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| a. |  |  |
| b. |  |  |
| c. |  |  |

25. Que iniciativas en beneficio de la comunidad han sido propuestas? \_\_\_\_\_

2.- Quienes fueron los iniciadores ?

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| a. |  |  |
| b. |  |  |
| c. |  |  |

Estan estos relacionados entre si ? \_\_\_\_\_ (Cf. Nota 22)

25 (Cont.)

3.- Quienes fueron los que trabajaron en ellas ?

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

26. 1.- Sabe usted de personas que hicieron oposicion a esas iniciativas ?

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

2.- Sabe usted las razones por las cuales formaron esa oposicion? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

27. 1.- Visita usted al señor cura? \_\_\_\_\_ Con que frecuencia? \_\_\_\_\_

2.- Motivos: a. profesionales \_\_\_\_ b. negocios \_\_\_\_ c. amistad \_\_\_\_\_

3.- Asiste usted a las reuniones o juntas que el organiza? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

28. 1.- Visita usted al presidente municipal? \_\_\_\_\_ Con que frecuencia \_\_\_\_\_

2.- Motivos: a. profesionales \_\_\_\_ b. negocios \_\_\_\_ c. amistad \_\_\_\_\_

3.- Asiste usted a las juntas o reuniones a que el invita? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

29. 1.- Participa usted en reuniones politicas? \_\_\_\_\_ Frecuencia \_\_\_\_\_

2.- Que clase de actividad tiene usted en esas reuniones? \_\_\_\_\_

30. 1.- Concorre usted a fiestas? \_\_\_\_\_ Con que frecuencia \_\_\_\_\_

2.- Concorre usted a bailes? \_\_\_\_\_ Con que frecuencia \_\_\_\_\_

31. 1.- Le gustaria a usted ver iniciada alguna cosa en particular en beneficio del pueblo? \_\_\_\_\_ Que? \_\_\_\_\_

2.- Quien cree usted que deberia hacerlo? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

31. (Cont.)

3.- No cree que usted mismo podria iniciar eso que propone? \_\_\_\_\_

4.- Si no, por que? \_\_\_\_\_

32. Aqui tiene usted una lista de personas que usted conoce: Quiere usted ponerlas en el orden que indique lo que han hecho en beneficio de la comunidad, empezando por las que mas hayan hecho?

Relaciones sociales.

(Veanse los simbolos al final).

33. 1.- A que familias visita usted con mas frecuencia ?

Nombre

Grado y clase de relacion

Direccion

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

d. \_\_\_\_\_

2.- Estan ellas relacionadas entre si ? \_\_\_\_\_

3.- Con que frecuencia las visita ?

a. \_\_\_\_\_ b. \_\_\_\_\_ c. \_\_\_\_\_ d. \_\_\_\_\_

34. 1.- Quiere darme el nombre de los amigos con quienes se reune usted con mas frecuencia?

a. \_\_\_\_\_ b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_ d. \_\_\_\_\_

2.- Con que frecuencia se reunen ?

a. \_\_\_\_\_ b. \_\_\_\_\_ c. \_\_\_\_\_ d. \_\_\_\_\_

3.- En que lugares se reunen ?

a. \_\_\_\_\_ b. \_\_\_\_\_ c. \_\_\_\_\_ d. \_\_\_\_\_

35. Cuando usted esta enfermo quienes son los primeros que vienen a verlo?

Nombre

Grado y clase de relacion

Direccion

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

d. \_\_\_\_\_

36. En caso de enfermedad en su casa, o en caso de muerte, a quienes avisaria usted primero?

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

Relaciones sociales (Cont.)

37. Quienes invitan a usted a bautizos, matrimonios, cumpleaños, y otras fiestas?

Nombre	Grado y clase de relacion	Direccion
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		

38. En caso de urgente necesidad, a quien pediria usted ayuda?

Nombre	Grado y clase de relacion	Direccion
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		

39. A quienes invita usted a bautizos, matrimonios, cumpleaños y otras fiestas?

Nombre	Grado y clase de relacion	Direccion
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		

Simbolismo de parentescos:

Abuelo:	Alo.	Abuela:	Ala.	Nieto:	Nto.
Nieta:	Nta.	Hermano:	Hno.	Hermana:	Hna.
Primo:	Po.	Prima:	Pa.	Tio:	To.
Tia:	Ta.	Sobrino:	So.	Sobrina:	Sa.
Yerno:	Yo.	Nuera:	Na.	Compadre:	Cpa.
Comadre:	Cma.	Suegro:	Sgro.	Suegra:	Sgra.
Padrino:	Pno.	Madrina:	Mne.	Ahijado:	Ado.
				Ahijada:	Ada.



Historias Proyectivas.

Primera serie: Relaciones familiares.

Historia A. -

Maria de dieciocho años, se enamoró de un muchacho extraño que vive lejos del pueblo. Los padres de la joven se opusieron abiertamente al matrimonio desde el principio, pero ella dice que piensa casarse con ese muchacho que parece muy buen partido aunque para lograrlo tenga que fugarse de la casa y del pueblo. 1) Que aconsejaría usted a Maria? 2) Por que piensa usted de esa manera?

Primera serie: Relaciones familiares. (Cont.)

Historia B. -

Alonso viaja a los EE.UU. en donde trabajo por mas de un ano. De regreso vino resuelto a llevarse a toda la familia pero su mujer no quiso porque sus hijas estan casaderas y dice que por alla se le pierden. A estas horas no han podido decidir nada. 1) Que haria usted en el caso de Alonso? 2) Quiere explicarme los motivos que tiene para obrar de esa manera?



Primera serie: Relaciones familiares. (Cont.)

Historia C.-

Hace pocos días que en un pueblo vecino Juan Pedro tuvo otra pelea con su mujer. Esta, ya cansada de tanto disgusto, se presentó al presidente para pedir su divorcio. Si Juan Pedro viniera a pedirle un consejo, que le respondería?

2) Por qué razones le daría usted esa respuesta?

Segunda serie: Relaciones laborales.

Historia D.-

Don Jacinto, dueño de una gran hacienda, despidió el otro día a uno de los trabajadores sin mayor causa. Este, irritado contra el patron, murmuró entre sus compañeros y prometió vengarse. 1) Que hubiera hecho usted en el caso de ese trabajador? 2) Ha tenido usted algunas experiencias que lo inclinen a pensar así?

Segunda serie: Relaciones laborales. (Cont.)

Historia E.-

Luis tuvo un disgusto con el patron que siempre esta exigiendo mas y mas trabajo. Luis, fastidiado, le dijo que por que no consigue maquinaria, que para eso es la plata. El patron le responde que Luis es un perezoso, que la maquina no es sino la disculpa de la pereza. 1) Que piensa usted de esta discusion?  
2) Digame como cree usted que ha llegado a pensar de esta manera.

Segunda serie: Relaciones laborales. (Cont.)

Historia F.-

Durante las horas de trabajo el mayordomo trato muy mal a uno de los trabajadores. Los companeros aconsejaron al trabajador dos cosas completamente distintas: O apelar al sindicato para pedir ayuda, o irse a otras tierras donde haya respeto por el trabajador. 1) Que opina usted de estos consejos?  
2) Si usted prefiere lo segundo, a donde aconsejaria al trabajador irse?  
3) Deme algunas razones.

Tercera serie: Contraste rural-urbano.

Historia G.-

Elisa decia ayer que la vida en la capital es deliciosa porque uno puede hacer lo que quiera y nadie le dice nada. 1) Que piensa usted de esto?  
2) Si quiere expliqueme las causas para pensar asi.

Tercera serie: Contraste rural-urbano. (Cont.)

Historia H.-

Pedro fue a buscar trabajo a la ciudad y no encontro nada en dos meses. Por fin, maldiciendo la ciudad, se volvio a no hacer nada tampoco aqui en el pueblo. 1) Que hubiera hecho usted en ese caso? 2) Por que razones?

Tercera serie: Contraste rural-urbano. (Cont.)

Historia I.-

Margarita acaba de llegar de la capital vistiendo diferente y aun hablando distinto. La mama fue la primera en reganarla por eso. En el pueblo casi todas las mujeres la critican. 1) Que opina usted de eso?

2) Como ha llegado usted a formarse esa opinion?

Cuarta serie: Actitudes religiosas.

Historia J.-

Un grupo de amigos discutia en el cafe sobre libertad religiosa. En otros paises, decia uno de ellos, la gente cree en lo que quiere y nadie molesta a nadie por eso. En cambio aqui hasta se odian por creencias religiosas. 1) Que cree usted a este respecto? 2) Y cuales son sus razones?



Cuarta serie: Actitudes religiosas. (Cont.)

Historia K.-

El día de la fiesta del patrono de la parroquia Mariano se pudo a criticar a la gente que gasta tanto dinero en esas fiestas en vez de economizarlo, cuando casi todo el mundo es pobre. Decía además que en otras tierras la vida religiosa es tan distinta y tan buena. 1) Que opina usted de esto?  
2) Haga el favor de decir sus motivos para opinar de esta manera.

Cuarta serie: Actitudes religiosas. (Cont.)

Historia L.-

Un grupo de trabajadores que fueron en el verano a los EE.UU. queria celebrar alla la fiesta del santo patrono pero el dueño de tierras no los dejo hacer nada y aun otros companeros de trabajo les dijeron que esas fiestas se hacen Mexico pero no en tierras extranas. 1) Que piensa usted de ese patron? 2) Como le parece la actitud de los dos grupos de trabajadores? 3) Podria darme explicaciones sobre su presente manera de pensar?

Quinta serie: Influencias

Historia M.-

Manuel nunca ha tenido la idea de salir del pueblo. Un día se encontró en la tienda con su amigo Felipe que acababa de llegar de los EE.UU. y hablaron sobre eso. Manuel criticó duramente a Felipe por tanta viajadera. Felipe, por su parte, dijo, entre otras cosas, que la vida en el pueblo es muy aburrida, que el trabajo es escaso, y que los influyentes del pueblo no lo dejan progresar.

1) Que opina usted de esta discusión? 2) Por que piensa usted de esta manera?

Quinta serie: Influencias. (Cont.)

Historia N.-

Don Calixto, que acaba de llegar de California, propuso con mucho entusiasmo el otro día que todo el mundo se juntara a ayudar al arreglo del camino, que al fin y al cabo es para beneficio de los mismos vecinos. Otro señor le contestó que eso es negocio del gobierno. Don Calixto responde que aquí, si no es el gobierno, nadie hace nada... 1) Que dice usted de esto? 2) Le agradecería darme sus razones para afirmar eso.

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