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MIGRATION AND SPATIAL ADJUSTMENT OF SELECTED MINORITY GROUPS: A CASE STUDY OF ACCULTURATION IN KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN

By

Nguyen Duc Tien

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ABSTRACT

MIGRATION AND SPATIAL ADJUSTMENT OF SELECTED MINORITY GROUPS: A CASE STUDY OF ACCULTURATION IN KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN

By

Nguyen Duc Tien

Migration has brought many minority groups to Kalamazoo, Michigan. Some of them, like the Latvians, the Orientals, and the American Indians, play a minor role; but the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans constitute the leading migrant communities in the area.

Since World War II the number of Blacks and Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo has increased considerably and now accounts for about 10 and 1 per cent respectively of the total population in the city. Completely dominated by whites, these minority members have clung to their own cultural heritage and preserved their languages, religions, customs, and values. As a result, acculturation of the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo remains slow and limited.

Actually, the degrees of acculturation are manifested in the concentration of Black population in North Central Kalamazoo and the scattering of small clusters of Mexican-Americans throughout the city. The indexes of spatial adjustment obtained through predominant demographic and cultural factors indicate that the Blacks in Kalamazoo have attained a significant degree of spatial separateness as contrasted to the Mexican-Americans who are in the early stage of this process. The difference between "developing" and "emerging" separateness of these minority groups is largely the result of the greater number of Blacks and their attitudes towards the white community.

Race relations have spatial components relevant to geographic analysis. This study views the spatial adjustment of the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo as a measurable manifestation of acculturation.

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Responsibility, however, for the content of this study is mine alone.

Nguyen Duc Tien

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INTRODUCTION

Race relations have spatial components relevant to geographic analysis. Men inhabit the earth; but prejudice segregates races and boundaries divide countries. Different cultures have emerged from different aspects of relationships between man and nature. The cultural mosaic exhibited on the earth's surface has continually changed through the clash of races, the movement of people, and the exchange and spread of ideas, customs, and traditions.

Since the dawn of mankind, migration has always been an important phenomenon affecting the patterns of population distribution, diffusing cultures, and motivating acculturation. Generally, "Acculturation" is defined as the process of different culture groups coming into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.[1] Along with war, conquest, colonialism, and imperialism,

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[1]Melville J. Herskovits, Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1958), p. 10.

the acculturation process often involves dominant and subordinate or major and minor groups.[2]

The problem of culture minorities has become particularly enigmatic for many countries since World War II. The economic imbalance between rural and urban areas or between developed and developing nations has pushed massive groups of low-income people to cross regional, state, or international boundaries.

They bring along their own cultural heritage and often create distinctive communities in the heart of the major population that receives them. The concentration of Italians found in the large cities of Switzerland and Germany, Algerians in "bidonvilles" around Paris, West Indians in ghettos in London, Koreans in distinct areas of Tokyo, and Chinese in Chinatowns the world over constitute a few striking examples of the results of migration creating minority groups.[3]

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[2]Broek and Webb, A Geography of Mankind (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), pp. 27-28.

[3]International Labor Office, International Migration (Geneva: International Labor Office, 1959). Joseph Leriche, Les Algériens Parmi Nous (Paris: Les Editions Sociales Françaises, 1959). R. B. Davison, Black British (London: Institute of Race Relations, 1966).

The United States contains many culture minorities in its "melting pot." In the thirteen original colonies under British influence the pioneers were practically all British, Irish, Dutch, and German, with a few French, Portuguese, and Swedes; but since the birth of the United States, immigration to this country has brought people from almost all races and cultures. From September 30, 1819, to December 31, 1855, American ports recorded 4.5 million passengers arriving from some 50 foreign countries and regions.[4] The flow of immigrants peaked at 8.8 million in the decade 1901-1910, and despite the declining trend after 1924, it still registered 3.3 million between 1961 and 1970; so that the total number for the 1820-1970 period reached 45,163,000.[5]

Many groups of immigrants have been completely assimilated; but others remain segregated. The Blacks and the Mexican-Americans are among the largest culture minorities in the United States. All minority groups

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[4]William J. Bromwell, History of Immigration to the United States 1819-1855 (New York: Sentry Press, 1856; Augustus M. Kelly, Publishers, 1969), pp. 11-19.

[5]U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report, 1970 (Washington, D.C.: Gov. Print. Office, 1971), p. 35.

account for about 14 per cent of the total population, and the Blacks alone represent some 11 per cent.[6] Obviously, the Black and the Mexican-American groups differ in size of population, but they raise similar socio-cultural problems in a predominantly white community.

Most of the Blacks and Mexican-Americans who have left the South or the Southwest for a new life in northern cities aspire to a complete adjustment to the major population through acculturation. Yet the process of acculturation has been slow and limited. Actually, the degree of acculturation can be seen through the spatial patterns of these minority groups in urban areas over the years.

Kalamazoo (Figure 1), Michigan, is not mentioned in the 1970 census as among thirty places with the highest proportion of Blacks, but Kalamazoo presents an interesting example of acculturation and spatial adjustment. Most of the Blacks and Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo are migrants and have lived together in the same atmosphere of racial discrimination for many years. Then why does Kalamazoo have a Black ghetto but no Mexican-American "barrios"?[7] The answer is significant to a study in cultural geography.

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[7] "Barrio" is a Spanish word that means "Neighborhood."

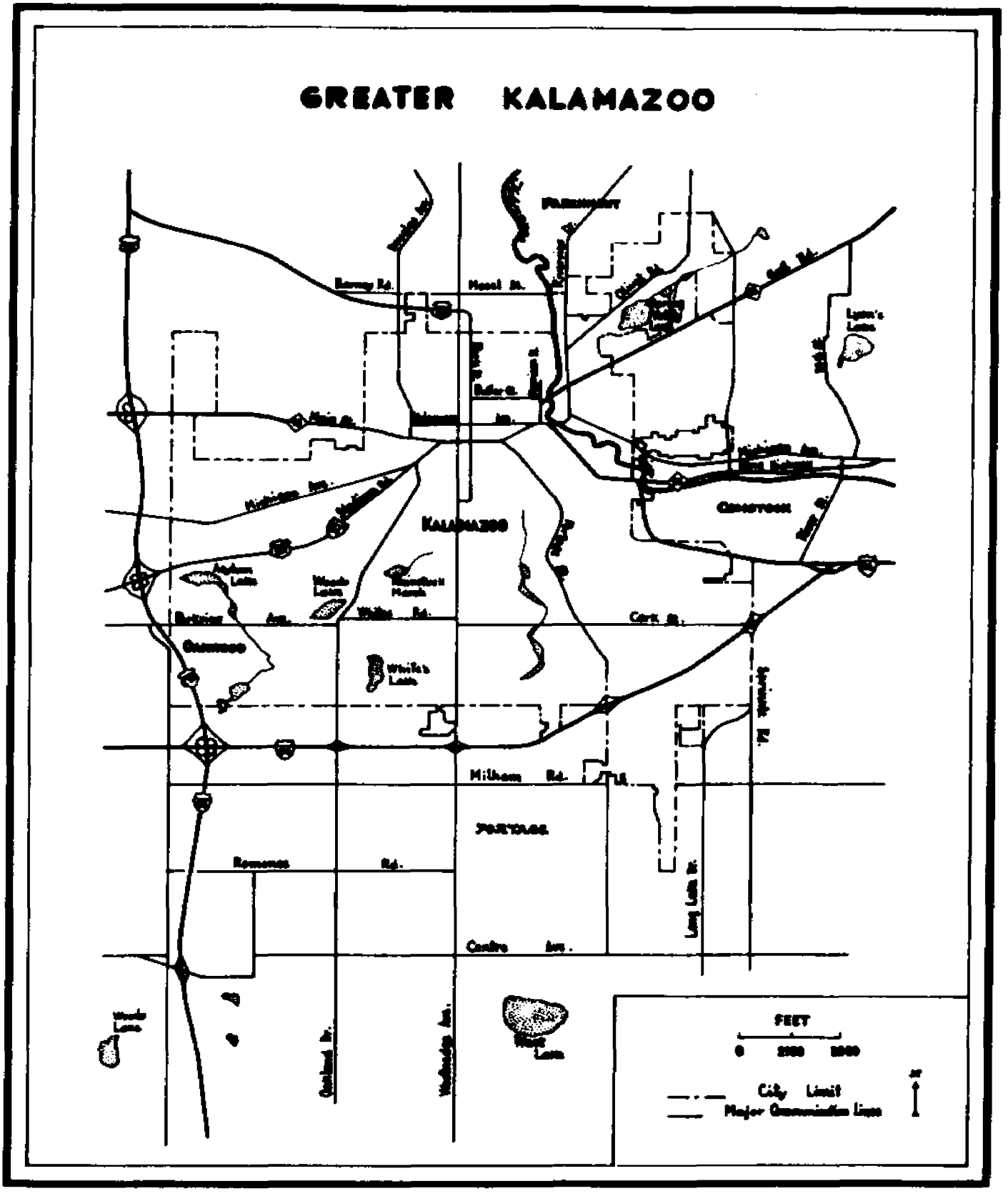
GREATER KALAMAZOO
KALAMAZOO
PORTAGE
Milham Rd.
Romence Rd.
Centre Ave.
Long Lake Dr.
Oakland Dr.
Westnedge Ave.
FEET
City Limit

Figure 1

This study investigates the population distribution of the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo as selected minority groups among several others such as the Latvians, the Orientals, and the American Indians. An historical picture of the Blacks and Mexican-Americans in the United States sets the background of their recent migration into Kalamazoo. The adjustment of the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo has been difficult. The process of acculturation involving these minority groups and the Kalamazoo major population bears the impact of past slavery in the South, the nostalgia of those days of glory when the Southwest belonged to Mexico, and also the efforts of all Americans in Kalamazoo toward racial integration. The results of acculturation are manifested in the concentration of the Blacks and the clustering pattern of the Mexican-Americans, in other words, in the spatial adjustment of these migrant communities within their host community.

The case of Kalamazoo sheds new light on a conceptual view of acculturation. The focus of the problem lies in the two aspects of adjustment: spatial separateness and spatial conformity.

Field observations are the main source of information for solving the problem. A survey by random sample provides details on residential changes, population characteristics, migration, and acculturation. Data analyzed in this study include 180 Black and 60 Mexican-American households. These numbers cover approximately 10 per cent of the Black and 45 per cent of the Mexican-American population in Kalamazoo City. In almost all cases information was given by the heads of household or their wives.

Materials from governmental and private agencies and organizations in Kalamazoo, especially Kalamazoo Community Relations Board, Kalamazoo Community Action Program, Kalamazoo Public Schools, Douglass Community Association, The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, Spanish-American Building Effort, and Lift Foundation aid in understanding the problem of minority groups in the area. Statistics communicated by the U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service in Washington, D.C., and research at Michigan State University Library, Western Michigan University Library, and Kalamazoo Public Library supply indispensable background information.

Literature related to migration, acculturation, and adjustment is comparatively rich. These problems have repeatedly appeared in anthropological and sociological studies. As early as 1885, E. G. Ravenstein made a pioneer effort in formulating the laws of migration. From inspection of population movements in Great Britain, he related migration to population size, density, and distance, and reached general conclusions on net and gross migration, short and long-distance migration, rural to urban and urban to rural migration, birthplace and sex of migrants, and the countercurrent for each main stream of migrants.[8]

Herskovits disregarded migration but centered his studies on the contact between peoples and between cultures. He clarified the meaning of acculturation, reviewed some publications on culture contact in America and Africa, and gave suggestions for future research with emphasis on regions offering the most likely opportunities for acculturation studies, on specific aspects

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[8]E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," Journal of the Statistical Society, XLVIII (June, 1885), pp. 167-235; LII (June, 1889), pp. 241-305. Reprinted, The Bobbs-Merrill Reprint Series in the Social Sciences, S-482 and S-483.

of culture, and on interplays between personality and culture.[9]

The adjustment after migration has been analyzed by J. Ex, who attempted to find answers to three important questions about the refugee's feeling at home in the new environment, the various ways in which the refugee experienced and evaluated his new milieu, and the factors that might further or hinder adjustment. His research took place among Indonesian families in the Netherlands.[10]

Recently, Harvey M. Choldin and Grafton D. Trout completed a report on the Mexican-Americans in Michigan cities. The publication, prepared for the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, presented statistics concerning their demographic characteristics, education, migration, employment, and income mobility.[11]

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[9]Herskovits, Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact, 1958.

[10]J. Ex, Adjustment After Migration (The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966).

[11]Harvey M. Choldin and Grafton D. Trout, Mexican-Americans in Transition: Migration and Employment in Michigan Cities (East Lansing: Department of Sociology, Rural Manpower Center, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State University, 1969).

Geographical research on migration is also substantial; but few works have touched upon the minority groups and their adjustment. Lawrence A. Brown has developed a conceptual framework of spatial diffusion and formulated a general theory applicable to all diffusion phenomena. Brown mentioned six basic elements of a spatial diffusion situation: 1) An area; 2) time; 3) an item being diffused; 4) origin places; 5) destination places; and 6) paths of movement, influence, or relationship between origin places and destination places. He then portrayed these elements as a "Dynamic graph" and distinguished relocation diffusion and expansion diffusion.[12]

The problem of ghettos has been discussed by Richard L. Morrill. He traced the origin of ghettos as a result of poverty, racial discrimination, and gigantic streams of migration from the farms to the cities and from the South to the North and West. He analyzed the forces that perpetuated the ghetto system and evaluated proposals for controlling it. The Black community of

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[12]Lawrence A. Brown, Diffusion Processes and Location (Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute, 1968), pp. 9-35.

Seattle, Washington, was used in illustration of a simple model of ghetto expansion.[13]

The Mexican-American "barrios" and the Black ghettos have become interesting features of the geography of American poverty. While Richard Peet outlined different aspects of poverty, particularly in the Black South and the Spanish Southwest, Robert Elgie emphasized the urban spatial structure, the factors in ghettoization, the process of neighborhood change, and the consequences of ghettoization.[14]

More specifically, John Fraser Hart studied the movement of Blacks into Lake County, Michigan, the concentration of Black population in the townships of Webber, Cherry Valley, Pleasant Plains, and Yates, and the development of Lake Idlewild into an important Black resort area.[15] On the other hand, James O. Wheeler and

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[13]Richard L. Morrill, "The Negro Ghetto: Problems and Alternatives," The Geographical Review, LV-3 (July, 1965), pp. 339-61.

[14]Richard Peet, "Outline For a Second-Year Course on the Socioeconomic Geography of American Poverty," Antipode, II-2 (December, 1970), pp. 1-34; Robert Elgie, "Rural Immigration, Urban Ghettoization, and Their Consequences," op. cit., pp. 35-54.

[15]John Fraser Hart, "A Rural Retreat for Northern Negroes," The Geographical Review, L-2 (April, 1960), pp. 147-68.

Stanley D. Brunn pointed out the beginning of an urban-to-rural trend of migration as exemplified by the recent movement of Blacks into southwestern Michigan and the formation of an agricultural ghetto in Cass County.[16]

Thus, many aspects of migration, adjustment, and acculturation have been largely developed by anthropologists and sociologists. Geographers have launched research into these problems only recently, and many emphasized incomes and land values in residential segregation. But beyond the economic factors, racial prejudice is rooted in cultural origin, and acculturation embodies race relations. The following chapters view the spatial adjustment of selected minority groups in Kalamazoo, Michigan, through the lens of culture and acculturation.

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[16]James O. Wheeler and Stanley D. Brunn, "Negro Migration into Rural Southwestern Michigan," The Geographical Review, LVIII (April, 1968), pp. 214-30; "An Agricultural Ghetto: Negroes in Cass County, Michigan, 1845-1968," op. cit., LIX-3 (July, 1969), pp. 317-29.

CHAPTER I

KALAMAZOO: SELECTED MINORITY GROUPS

The population of Kalamazoo is composed of a variety of ethnic groups. Whites dominate, but several important minority groups are included.[17] Each one has its own history and growth, and all stem more or less directly from the recent immigration into Michigan, the migratory labor stream, and the northward movement of low-income people from rural South and Southwest.

The Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo stand out as important social, cultural, and political groups; they not only represent a part of the national racial problem of minorities but also continue a dream of equality and a group awareness that has long spread over the American cotton fields and factories. Their migration into Kalamazoo and their population

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[17] "Whites" in this study do not include Mexican-Americans, except for census data.

characteristics are particularly interesting when compared with the background of other minority groups.[18]

The Background

The movement of minority groups into Kalamazoo followed the wave of immigration to Michigan. In the early 1800's most parts of Michigan were still unsettled, and the Detroit region was isolated from sources of eastern emigration. The costly and seasonally impossible travel conditions at that time made the settlement of Michigan slow and difficult. When Territorial authority was granted on July 1, 1805, the population of Michigan was only about 4,000, and 80 per cent was of French extraction. Detroit enumerated only some 750 residents.[19]

Michigan was admitted as a state in 1837; but its growth really began with the conquest of the Black Swamp, the construction of railroads, and the achievement of

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[18]Most people in Kalamazoo consider the Blacks, Mexican-Americans, Latvians, Orientals, and American Indians as minority groups.

[19]Ralph H. Brown, Historical Geography of the United States (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1948), pp. 270-271.

other large-scale internal improvements. Michigan population numbered 2.4 million at the opening of the twentieth century, increased from 2.8 to 3.6 million between 1910 and 1920, registered 5.2 million in 1940, and reached 8,875,083 in 1970.[20]

A significant part of this population came from immigration. The number of foreign-born in Michigan indicated a flow of immigrants rising rapidly from 1900 to 1930 and then declining gradually. Kalamazoo City presented a similar pattern of foreign-born population with the only difference that the downward trend began in the years heralding the 1930 economic crisis (Table 1).

During World War II immigration to Michigan slowed considerably. The number of immigrant aliens admitted in 1940 registered some 3,200 and included people from England, Palestine, Ireland, Italy, France, Germany, and the Netherlands.[21] However, after the war, Michigan received sizeable groups of immigrants, the largest numbers coming from Canada, the United Kingdom, Germany,

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[20]U.S. Census of Population, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1940, 1970.

[21]Data communicated by U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., September, 1971.

TABLE 1

FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION: CITY OF KALAMAZOO COMPARED TO STATE OF MICHIGAN, CENSUS YEARS 1900-1960

Year	Kalamazoo City		Michigan	
	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
1900	4,710	19.3	541,653	22.3
1910	6,881	17.4	597,550	21.2
1920	7,232	14.9	729,292	19.8
1930	6,492	11.8	852,758	17.6
1940	4,802	8.8	686,185	13.0
1950	4,145*	7.1	603,735*	9.4
1960	4,894	5.9	529,624	6.7

Source: U.S. Census of Population.
*Foreign-born White only.

and Italy. Most of the immigrants entered the urban areas, particularly Detroit, Grand Rapids, Flint, Dearborn, and Lansing (Table 2).

The current of European immigration brought many Latvians to Kalamazoo. Latvia, a small country on the eastern shore of Baltic Sea, Europe, has been in turn dominated, occupied, or annexed by various other nations for long periods in its history. The population of

TABLE 2

MICHIGAN: IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED BY RURAL AND URBAN AREA AND CITY OF INTENDED RESIDENCE, YEARS ENDING JUNE 30, 1950, 1960, 1970

Residence	1950	1960	1970
Under 2,500 inhabitants	2,411	571	921
2,500 to 99,999 inhabitants	4,333	3,509	4,556
Dearborn	--	--	641
Detroit	7,128	3,723	4,003
Flint	191	153	208
Grand Rapids	614	309	214
Lansing	--	--	152
City not reported	4	6	35
Michigan	14,681	8,271	10,730

Source: Data Communicated by U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., September, 1971.

Latvia was about 725,000 in 1800 and 1,940,000 in 1935. Therefore, Latvian emigration has always been relatively small. The number of foreign-born Latvians in the United States registered about 20,670 in 1930 and 23,190 in 1940.[22]

[22]Henry G. Halla, A Study of the Latvian Exile-Immigrant Group of Kalamazoo (M.A. Thesis, Western Michigan University, Department of Sociology, Kalamazoo, 1959), p. 4.

Latvian immigration to the United States rose drastically during the years immediately following the end of World War II but fluctuated greatly after 1950. The number of immigrant aliens born in Latvia admitted to the United States was 206 in 1946, 17,494 in 1950, and 353 in 1960.[23] A decline of Latvian immigration appeared in the number of Latvians who reported under the alien address program during 1960 and 1970. The decline was general in almost all the states which received considerable numbers of Latvians (Table 3).

The slow-down movement was also evident in the number of immigrants entering the United States directly from Latvia. In fact, Latvia was not the last permanent residence for all Latvian immigrants. Many came from other countries, especially Russia and Germany. The majority of people who composed the Latvian community in Kalamazoo left Germany recently. When the Soviets returned to Latvia in 1944 after a first occupation in 1941 and a temporary retreat, many Latvians fled the new regime and reached Germany. After the fall of Germany, the

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[23]U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report, 1960 (Washington, D.C.: Gov. Print. Office, 1961), p. 43.

TABLE 3

LATVIAN ALIENS WHO REPORTED UNDER THE ALIEN ADDRESS PROGRAM, BY SELECTED STATES OF RESIDENCE, 1960, 1970

State	1960	1970
New York	3,518	1,659
Michigan	2,801	1,444
Illinois	2,241	1,306
Pennsylvania	1,643	517
Ohio	1,546	682
California	1,460	730
Massachusetts	1,125	632
New Jersey	1,100	596
Texas	119	31

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report, 1960; 1970 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961; 1971), pp. 73, 104.

Latvian refugees were lodged in displaced persons camps, where they were supported by the victorious allies through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency.

Kalamazoo had practically no Latvian population before 1948, when the Displaced Persons Act was passed. Immigrants under the Act were not subjected to quota

limitations; but any prospective immigrant was required to have a resident United States citizen as a sponsor, who guaranteed to provide the immigrant with housing and employment upon his arrival. In view of these legal provisions, Rev. Carlis Laupmanis, a Latvian-born minister of the East Main Methodist Church in Kalamazoo, recruited sponsors for his fellow displaced Latvians in Germany from his parishoners as well as from other Kalamazoo churches.

So several groups of Latvians came to Kalamazoo between 1949 and 1951. Although they faced a housing shortage at that time, their adjustment to the new environment was facilitated by their European culture origin. Acculturation and assimilation were relatively easy. They gradually assimilated into the Kalamazoo population in a manner that no concentrations or a Latvian neighborhood developed in Kalamazoo.

The Latvian population in Kalamazoo approximated 340 families or 1100 persons in 1959 and has changed little since that time. The growth of a Latvian community in this area has been very slow, because the number of new Latvian immigrants was quite insignificant after 1951 and many older Latvians became assimilated.

About 95 per cent of the Latvians in Kalamazoo were Lutheran by religious preference, a fact which differentiated them from other minority groups.[24]

The Orientals in Kalamazoo, predominantly Chinese and Japanese, also preserved their own characteristics as a minority group. The beginning of large-scale Chinese emigration to the New World dates back to 1847, when 800 Chinese coolies from Amoy arrived in Cuba and the first trickle of Chinese joined the gold rush in California. Only 42 Chinese entered the United States in 1853, but by 1883 the number of Chinese in this country totaled about 288,400. The Japanese came later; they registered some 229,000 from 1893 to 1919.[25]

Few Chinese and Japanese settled in Michigan before World War II. Michigan registered only 240 Chinese and 9 Japanese in 1900. The Oriental population in the state became significant between 1910 and 1920; it continued to grow and reached a relatively high point in 1930

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[24]Henry G. Halla, p. 6.

[25]U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Immigration, Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1919 (Washington, D.C.: Gov. Print. Office, 1919), Appendix I.

with about 1,080 Chinese and 180 Japanese.[26] The growth of Oriental population in Michigan depended largely on the in-migration movement, as the comparison of foreign-born and native Chinese and Japanese indicates (Table 4).

TABLE 4

CHINESE AND JAPANESE POPULATION IN MICHIGAN, CENSUS YEARS, 1900-1970

Year	Chinese		Japanese	
	Foreign-Born	Native	Foreign-Born	Native
1900	211	29	7	2
1910	178	63	36	13
1920	512	280	151	33
1930	653	428	96	80
1940	492	432	71	68
1950*	1,619		1,517	
1960	3,234		3,211	
1970	6,407		5,221	

Source: U.S. Census of Population.
*No data available for foreign-born and native Chinese and Japanese after 1940.

[26] U.S. Census of Population, 1930.

The Oriental population in Michigan declined slightly during World War II; but the postwar economic prosperity attracted many people of Asian origin to the state. Census data enumerated 1,619 Chinese and 1,517 Japanese in 1950; these numbers increased to 6,407 and 5,221 respectively in 1970. About 3,600 Filipinos were also in the state. The Orientals turned chiefly to the industrial zone of Michigan and were generally concentrated in the southeastern counties. The spatial trends of Chinese and Japanese population in Michigan from 1900 to 1970 showed that many central and northern counties lost most of their Oriental population, while the Southeast gained considerably.

Kalamazoo has received a relatively small number of Chinese and Japanese since 1900. The first sizeable group of Japanese entered Kalamazoo after World War II. Most of the Chinese migrants in Kalamazoo came from surrounding states or Detroit. For many the ultimate goal was to make a quick fortune and then return to China. Therefore, they preferred the least-competitive occupations such as laundry service, restaurant work, retail trade, and handicrafts. The Japanese more easily accepted an uprooted migration, and many were content with

education or factory employment. Since the number of successful Orientals in these occupations was limited in Kalamazoo, and many Chinese and Japanese came to Western Michigan University for educational purposes and went back to their home countries immediately after the completion of their degrees, the growth of Chinese and Japanese population in Kalamazoo remained quite slow even during the last few years (Table 5).

TABLE 5

KALAMAZOO COUNTY: CHINESE AND JAPANESE POPULATION, CENSUS YEARS 1900-1970

Year	Chinese	Japanese
1900	2	--
1910	9	--
1920	20	1
1930	20	--
1940	14	--
1950	27	26
1960	48	88
1970	144	147

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

Most of the Chinese and about half of the Japanese in Kalamazoo preferred city life. The proportion of urban Chinese, however, was decreasing from 100 per cent in 1930 to 90 per cent in 1940, 80 percent in 1950, and 65 per cent in 1970. On the contrary, the proportion of urban Japanese grew slowly from 46 per cent in 1950 to 53 per cent in 1970.[27]

Urban or rural, the Orientals in Kalamazoo kept their strong family and group ties. Each Chinese was a part of "a strange invisible empire," and all were linked by the "interlocking membership of clans and tongs in the Chinese Chamber of Commerce with headquarters on Mott Street in New York";[28] the Japanese mind never lost the view of Fuji clouds and cherry flowers; and the Filipinos and other Orientals clung tightly to their fine customs and traditions. But in Kalamazoo the small size of Oriental population, the absence of serious friction between whites and yellows, and the eagerness of Orientals in balancing their own culture with the American way of life,

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[27]U.S. Census of Population 1940, p. 82; 1950, p. 152; 1970, p. 78.

[28]Corsi, In the Shadow of Liberty (New York: Arno Press and The New York Time, 1969), pp. 159-76.

facilitated acculturation and assimilation. As a result, the Orientals were dispersed throughout Kalamazoo.

In fact, the Kalamazoo major population was hardly aware of the existence of an Oriental community in the area, although many people enjoyed fine food in Chinese restaurants or witnessed Japanese instructors in a Judo class. Quite possibly the Orientals in Kalamazoo were able to adjust to their host community, thereby appearing to be absorbed into it culturally and spatially.

Another minority group in Kalamazoo was the American Indians. The Indians in Michigan were the descendants of the Menominees, Winnebagos, and several other tribes that once roamed the Great Lakes region or moved into the area from the eastern seaboard.[29] At the beginning of the twentieth century American Indians were mainly concentrated in Isabella, Emmet, Leenalau, Chippewa, and Baraga Counties. Most of them stayed away from the industrial zone of Michigan. They lived from farming, hunting, fishing, collecting wild rice and gathering nuts, roots,

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[29]U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indians of the Great Lake Area (Washington, D.C.: Gov. Print. Office, 1968), pp. 15-16.

and berries. They cultivated corn, squash, beans, and tobacco in garden patches near their permanent villages.

In search of better living conditions, small groups of American Indians have come to Kalamazoo along with the general migration movement into southeastern Michigan since World War I. Kalamazoo County registered no American Indians in 1900 and only 4 in 1910. This number increased to 254 in 1970, when about 50 per cent of the Indian population was urban. The growth of the American-Indian group in Kalamazoo has been relatively rapid since 1950; but the group still accounted for about 1.5 per cent of the total number of Indians in Michigan (Table 6).

Most of the American Indians in Kalamazoo tended to treasure the richness of their old culture, but they willingly accepted the American way of life to attain better social status. In the acculturation process, they were in a subordinate position and were obliged to change and conform.

Among Kalamazoo minority groups that seemed to stay quietly in the background, the Latvians were favored by their European origin and advanced more quickly to

TABLE 6

KALAMAZOO: AMERICAN-INDIAN POPULATION, CENSUS YEARS 1900-1970

Year	Kalamazoo County	State of Michigan
1900	--	6,354
1910	4	7,519
1920	20	5,614
1930	28	7,080
1940	17	6,282
1950	44	7,000
1960	106	9,701
1970	254	16,854

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

assimilation. The Orientals and the American Indians nurtured carefully their own cultures, but the small size of their communities apparently placed few barriers in the way of acculturation. The settlement patterns of all these groups were similarly characterized by a wide dispersal throughout the Kalamazoo area.

The Blacks

In contrast to other minorities treated, the Blacks in Kalamazoo appeared a clearly important group. They were part of the long history from Africa to America and from the United States rural South to the urban North. In fact, thousands and thousands of Black slaves were shipped annually to the New World, when the powerful countries of Western Europe turned their attention to the trade in men in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The earliest Blacks in Virginia, although listed as servants in the census enumeration of 1623 and 1624, marked the beginning of the involuntary importation of human beings into the United States which was to continue for more than two hundred years.[30]

The Blacks in the United States numbered 757,000 in 1790 but increased to 8.8 million at the opening of the twentieth century. The 1960 census enumerated 18.9 million, and by 1970 the Black population had reached 22.6 million. Although the rate of natural increase was generally higher for Blacks than for the rest of the

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[30]John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 71.

population, the proportion of Blacks in the total population decreased from 19 per cent in 1790 to 11 per cent in 1970.[31]

The Black migration from the South to northern cities is a well-known phenomenon. Michigan, located in the commercial-manufacturing zone of the United States, has received an increasing number of Blacks since the end of the nineteenth century. By 1900 Blacks had settled in all the counties of Michigan, except for Luce and Roscommon. Wayne and Washtenaw were the southeastern counties that registered higher numbers of Blacks. The distribution of Blacks, however, ranged from 1 to 4,500 through different counties, and Black population made only 0.9 per cent of the total Michigan population.

The first world war gave rise to the wave of Black migrants from the South, and the number of Blacks in Michigan jumped from 17,000 in 1910 to 60,000 in 1920. Despite the economic crisis in the 1930's, Black

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[31] Irving J. Sloan, The American Negro: A Chronology and Fact Book (New York: Oceana Publication, Inc., 1968), p. 86; and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in The United States, 1970 (Washington, D.C.: Gov. Print. Office, 1971), p. 7.

population in the state continued its rapid growth and reached 208,400 during World War II.

The postwar industrial development in Michigan encouraged both intermetropolitan and rural-to-urban migration. About 717,600 Blacks were enumerated in the state in 1960. Several counties registered almost equal numbers of Black and white males. The Black population in Michigan totaled 991,066 in 1970, representing 4.3 per cent as compared to the national proportion.[32]

The majority of Blacks streamed to urban areas. Small groups entered Kalamazoo during the second half of the nineteenth century; and by 1900 the number of Blacks in the city reached 470. The main migration of southern Blacks to northern cities, however, seemed to generate no significant Black settlement in Kalamazoo. While 50,000 Blacks were rushing to Chicago between 1910 and 1920, the Black population in Kalamazoo grew slowly from 685 to 752.[33] At the time of World War I Kalamazoo was still a

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[32]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, General Population Characteristics, Michigan, 1970 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1971), p. 63. See also Appendix A, Table I, Michigan: Distribution of Black Population by County, 1900, 1970.

[33]St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis, Vol. I (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962), p. 58.

city of less than 50,000 inhabitants and its industries experienced no serious manpower shortages. The massive wave of Black migrants was strongly directed to larger cities, especially New York, Chicago, and Detroit. The Black population in Kalamazoo continued to grow through the 1930's crisis; but its size remained relatively small until World War II (Table 7).

TABLE 7

KALAMAZOO: BLACK POPULATION, CENSUS YEARS 1900-1970

Year	City			County
	Male	Female	Total	
1900	239	232	471	564
1910	360	325	685	790
1920	385	367	752	806
1930	507	460	967	1,031
1940	572	545	1,117	1,244
1950	1,259	1,209	2,468	2,694
1960	2,590	2,687	5,277	5,756
1970	4,114	4,420	8,534	9,579

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

As might be expected, the rapid increase of Black population in Kalamazoo began after 1945. Kalamazoo industries flourished; and manpower shortages prevailed. The Kalamazoo paper and metalworking industries, along with firms like the Upjohn Company, Cadillac Plastic & Chemical Company, and The Vecta Educational Company, The Vecta Group, Inc. needed a large number of unskilled workers. The flow of Blacks to Kalamazoo rose sharply after 1950, and particularly during the 1960-1970 decade, since workers could easily get jobs as unskilled laborers. During this time skilled, semiskilled, and trainable workers were scarce, and labor demand was so high that few men were on the welfare rolls of the Department of Social Services. While the total population of Kalamazoo County registered about 200,000, the number of unemployed men on welfare was only five or ten, and those men quite often had serious illnesses.[34] This shortage of workers in Kalamazoo in the 1960's attracted large groups of Black migrants to the city. In fact, out of 180 Black heads of

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[34]Henry C. Thole and Eugene C. McKean, Business Conditions in Kalamazoo (Kalamazoo: The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1971), p. 18.

household interviewed, 90 entered Kalamazoo after 1960 (Table 8).

TABLE 8

YEARS OF ENTERING KALAMAZOO OF BLACK HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

Year	Number	Percentage
Before 1941	9	5.0
1941-1945	13	7.2
1946-1950	31	17.2
1951-1955	20	11.1
1956-1960	17	9.5
1961-1965	39	21.7
1966-1970	47	26.1
1971	4	2.2
Total	180	100.0

Source: Based on interviews of a sample of Blacks in Kalamazoo. (Throughout this study all statistical tables presented without specific indication of source are by author.)

The Black migration to Kalamazoo was not only an interstate but also an intermetropolitan movement. About 26 per cent of the sample included Blacks born in various areas of Michigan, especially Kalamazoo, Detroit, Grand

Rapids, and Battle Creek, while the majority consisted of people born in the southern states. The reasons that forced southern Blacks to migrate northward were the same that had made the white men once take the risks of tremendous westward adventures. The Black who left his sunny South for the cold and industrial North shared all the glorious hopes of the West, all of its anxieties, corruptions, and psychological maladies. For many Blacks, to move meant also to seek less discrimination. Therefore, those who realized that their aspirations might be blunted in large and crowded metropolises of the North poured into smaller cities like Kalamazoo. Although some came from the West, most of the Blacks entering Kalamazoo originated in southern states (Table 9).

About 80 per cent of the sample consisted of Blacks who moved directly to Kalamazoo from their birthplaces. Two persons resided in the West Indies several years before their settlement in Northern United States. One left Nebraska for the South, and then to Kalamazoo. The others started from their birthplaces, but along the way to Kalamazoo they stopped one or two years in larger cities, particularly Chicago, Detroit, Washington, D.C., and New York.

TABLE 9

KALAMAZOO: BIRTHPLACES OF BLACK HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Birthplace	Number	Percentage
Michigan	47	26.1
Mississippi	45	25.0
Tennessee	18	10.0
Alabama	16	8.9
Arkansas	14	7.8
Georgia	10	5.6
Kentucky	8	4.4
Indiana	6	3.3
Louisiana	5	2.8
North Carolina	3	1.7
Texas	3	1.7
South Carolina	1	0.5
Other	4	2.2
Total	180	100.0

From 1900 to 1970 the Black population in Kalamazoo increased eighteenfold. Although the natural increase played an important role, a larger part of the population growth was the result of migration. Most of the migrants

settled in Kalamazoo after World War II. They brought with them deep aspirations of a better life, which was also the dream of Mexican-Americans.

The Mexican-Americans

Several types of Mexican-Americans can be distinguished, each possessing interesting characteristics. The native-born Mexican of several generations' standing antedated the United States itself. Mexicans were native in the Southwest for decades when the region was still a part of Mexico. They became citizens of the United States by birth but remained Mexican and Indian by culture. Thus, they and their descendants were not immigrants.

Another group was composed of descendants of aristocractic Spanish families who were leaders and formed the social, political, and economic elite group in the early settlement of the Southwest. Some of these Spanish-Americans clung firmly to the old-time status and lulled themselves in the nostalgic dream of past glory.

The largest group of Mexican-Americans comprised descendants of the Mexican laborers who immigrated to the United States after the annexation of Texas. Also

included are Mexican laborers who entered the United States in recent years and were naturalized.

Mexican immigration to the United States was slow in the earlier periods. Only one Mexican immigrant was registered in 1820 whereas some 4,800 legally crossed the common boundary between 1821 and 1830, and 6,600 the next decade.

The annexation of Texas and the war between the United States and Mexico seemed to alter the rhythm and pattern of Mexican immigration, which decreased to 3,270 during the 1841-1850 period. From the middle of the nineteenth century to 1970 the flow of Mexican immigrants rose sharply and reached a peak between 1921 and 1930 (Table 10).

Closely connected with this Mexican movement was the recent migration of Mexican-Americans into the cities of the midwest. Most immigrants from Mexico and U.S. citizens of Mexican descent lived in five southern states, namely Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. Out of 5 million Mexicans registered in the United States in November 1969, about 4.3 million were from the

TABLE 10

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, FOR DECADES: 1820-1970

Year, Period	Number
1820	1
1821-1830	4,817
1831-1840	6,599
1841-1850	3,271
1851-1860	3,078
1861-1870	2,191
1871-1880	5,162
1881-1890	1,913
1891-1900	971
1901-1910	49,642
1911-1920	219,004
1921-1930	459,287
1931-1940	22,319
1941-1950	60,589
1951-1960	299,811
1961-1965	228,401
1966	47,217
1967	43,034
1968	44,716
1969	45,748
1970	44,821
Total	1,592,592

Source: U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report, 1970 (Washington, D.C.: Gov. Print. Office, 1971), pp. 61-63.

Southwest.[35] Many of them annually followed the stream of migratory farm laborers from Texas to the midwest. Michigan, one of the large users of seasonal farm labor, employed about 80,000 out-of-state seasonal workers each summer, and Mexicans and Mexican-Americans accounted for approximately 65 per cent of the total number.[36]

The migratory laborers worked on fruit and vegetable farms; they picked strawberries, cherries, peaches, melons, pickles, apples, and tomatoes. They reached Michigan in early June and left the state about the beginning of September.

Since World War II increasing numbers of Mexican-Americans have been establishing permanent residences in Michigan after the end of the agricultural work season. Poverty, discrimination, and uncertainty in farm labor were the main factors that urged young migrants to seek employment on a year-round basis. Although the Michigan

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[35]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States, November 1969, Series P-20, No. 213 (February, 1971), p. 4.

[36]Michigan Civil Rights Commission, Status of Migratory Farm Labor in Michigan, 1968 (Report and Recommendations), p. 2.

Minimum Wage Law required that a minimum of $1.25 per hour be paid to agricultural laborers, wage practices still left many of them below the hourly minimum. The hourly rate per worker in picking strawberries, for instance, went down to 50 or 30 cents on the first days of July, and 80 per cent of days worked fell below the minimum hourly wage.[37]

On the other hand, housing conditions were deplorable. Tens of thousands of field laborers lived in converted sheds, barns, chicken coops, and old schools and farmhouses. Michigan had an estimated 3,000 agricultural labor camps in 1968; but many remained "far below decent living standards and even the most minimal standards of human dignity."[38]

Educational facilities, health services, and social assistance for migrants and their children were inadequate. Deficiencies in the educational program came from poor administration, lack of interest on the part of

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[37]Michigan Civil Rights Commission, A Field Study of Migrant Workers in Michigan, 1969 (Report and Recommendations), p. 12.

[38]Michigan Civil Rights Commission, Status of Migratory Farm Labor in Michigan, 1968 (Report and Recommendations), p. 9.

directors and teachers, insufficient Spanish-speaking staff members in key administrative positions, and failure to stress and demand meaningful education. Many problems complicated the development of migrant health projects and the provision of social services such as food assistance and day care for migrant children.

Farm laborers also suffered from the negative attitudes of local communities towards them. They did not receive equal treatment by law enforcement agencies in Michigan, and in some counties they obtained no emergency aid. Furthermore, job situations became uncertain, because the development and use of mechanical agricultural equipment decreased the need for manual field labor.

Therefore, many Mexican-Americans attempted to escape not only from Texas but also from Michigan field labor. They settled in urban areas, seeking permanent jobs. This reorientation of the migrant stream to the cities resulted in a gradual increase of Mexican-American residents in Michigan. The state recorded about 13,340 persons of Mexican origin in 1930 and 24,300 in 1960.[39]

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[39]Manuel Gamio, El Inmigrante Mexicano (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1969), p. 48.

The number of Mexican aliens who reported under the alien address program in Michigan during 1970 was 5,590; but this program excluded citizens of Mexican descent. The total number of Mexican-Americans in the state was estimated at 125,000 in 1969.[40]

In this wave of Mexican-American settlement in Michigan cities, Kalamazoo received several groups over the past three decades. The 1940 census enumerated only three persons of Mexican origin in Kalamazoo and two outside the city. The 1960 census reported 313 for the Kalamazoo Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area and 233 for the city. In 1969, Kalamazoo officials estimated the Mexican-American population at about 1,000 in the county, although this figure may be overestimated since the Spanish-speaking Cubans and Puerto Ricans were often confused with Mexicans.[41] The Kalamazoo Mexican-Americans mentioned in this study, however, are American citizens of Mexican descent; in September, 1971 they numbered approximately 800 consisting of about 130 heads of household and their spouses and children.

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[40]Kalamazoo, Kalamazoo Gazette, September 21, 1969.

[41]Kalamazoo Gazette, October 7, 1969.

The majority of Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo were born in Texas, chiefly in the San Antonio area and the counties of Hidalgo, Cameron, Nuesces, and Jim Wells. Twenty per cent of those interviewed were born in Mexico, especially in Nuevo León, Guanajuato, and Coahuila. The percentage distribution of Mexican-American heads of household by birthplace showed a higher proportion of Texan-born in Kalamazoo than in the state of Michigan as a whole (Table 11).

The first sizeable group of Mexican-Americans settled in Kalamazoo during World War II. Many of them were cotton pickers in Texas; and although their family incomes increased from about 365 dollars in 1941 to 950 dollars in 1944, wages were inadequate to meet the cost of living. Others had led a difficult life in Texas where they labored 50 hours a week for only twelve dollars. Mexican-Americans endured discrimination in Texas as indicated by low housing, sanitation, and health conditions, and little opportunities for formal education.[42]

The war atmosphere had made them restless and aware of opportunities elsewhere. Like the Anglos moving

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[42]Information from respondents.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY BIRTHPLACE, FOR CITY OF KALAMAZOO AND STATE OF MICHIGAN

Birthplace	Kalamazoo %	Michigan %
Mexico	20	25
Texas	67	60
Other Southwestern States	3	2
Michigan	10	11
Other areas	--	2
Total %	100	100
Total N	60	695

Source for Michigan: Harvey M. Choldin and Grafton D. Trout, Mexican Americans in Transition: Migration and Employment in Michigan Cities (East Lansing: Department of Sociology, Rural Manpower Center, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State University, 1969), p. 83.

westward and the Blacks migrating northward, the early Mexican-American settlers in Kalamazoo left their birthplaces in the hope of improving their livelihoods. Leaving Texas meant going to a new environment anywhere in the North; therefore, most of the early Mexican-Americans

came to Kalamazoo rather by sheer luck than by any deliberate plan.

Other groups of Mexican-Americans moved into Kalamazoo immediately after World War II. They were attracted by information from relatives and friends as well as by employment in the industrial flourish of this area. About 35 per cent of Mexican-American heads of household settled in Kalamazoo in the 1960's, when Kalamazoo industries were short of workers (Table 12).

TABLE 12

YEAR OF ENTERING KALAMAZOO OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

Year	Number	Percentage
Before 1941	2	3.3
1941-1945	9	15.0
1946-1950	7	11.7
1951-1955	10	16.6
1956-1960	6	10.0
1961-1965	9	15.0
1966-1970	13	21.7
1971	1	1.7
Born in Kalamazoo	3	5.0
Total	60	100.0

The majority of Mexican-Americans in the sample entered Kalamazoo between the ages of 15 and 34. This observation matched the findings obtained by the Michigan Civil Rights Commission in its 1969 field study on migrant workers in Michigan. The Commission reported that 63 per cent of the workers were under the age of twenty, and 30 per cent was in the age group 35 and over. The absence of persons in the age group 20 through 35 indicated that most of the farm laborers were not the tough young workers as so often visualized, but rather persons still too young to become independent or too old to leave the migrant stream.[43]

Most of the Mexican-American young adults had strength, skill, language ability, and ambition; they were able to drop out of the migrant stream to become part of the industrial work force. The older people tended to continue to perform hand-harvest operations. Therefore, a large proportion of those who moved into Kalamazoo to seek employment belonged to the age range 20 through 29 (Table 13).

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[43]Michigan Civil Rights Commission, A Field Study of Migrant Workers in Michigan, 1969 (Report and Recommendations), p. 8.

TABLE 13

AGE OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD WHEN ENTERING KALAMAZOO

Age Group	Number	Percentage
0-4	2	3.3
5-9	1	1.7
10-14	3	5.0
15-19	7	11.7
20-24	18	30.0
25-29	11	18.3
30-34	8	13.3
35-39	1	1.7
40-44	5	8.3
45-49	--	--
50-54	1	1.7
Not Migrated	3	5.0
Total	60	100.0

The young Mexican-American migrant thus joined the labor stream in Texas and followed the crops through Oklahoma, Missouri, and Illinois before coming to Michigan. He worked in the field in the Kalamazoo and surrounding areas from June to August; then with the money

saved from farm labor, he ventured into the city, seeking employment in Kalamazoo industrial firms. Wages from his job enabled him to assume the urban life; and very soon he became a Kalamazoo resident and was called an "ex-migrant" by the local population. Some Mexican-American migrants initially settled further North in Grand Rapids and stayed there one or two years, then moved to Kalamazoo.

The older Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo contemplated no plans of moving away from the area. Most of their children were not interested in leaving Kalamazoo. A few youngsters, however, dreamed vaguely of a better life than that of their parents. They seemed ready to go anywhere at any time, but their thoughts rather pointed to the West and new opportunities.

A panoramic view of the minority groups in Kalamazoo thus distinguishes two main features. First are those that have little visible impact in Kalamazoo such as Latvians, Orientals, and American Indians. The Latvian immigration has not been continually important; the source of Oriental immigration has been stopped by restrictive legislations; and the American Indians, in many

ways, still belong to their communities in northern Michigan.

In contrast, is the conspicuousness of the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans. The Black population has increased steadily, and the massive Black migration from the South has changed the appearance of many northern cities. The Mexican immigration now continues to supply American agriculture and industry with manpower, and the migrant stream remains an overwhelming phenomenon despite the mechanization of field labor. The Black and Mexican-American communities in Kalamazoo belong to the largest minorities in the United States. Not only are they obviously present but they also pose complex problems of race relations and culture contact within Kalamazoo population.

CHAPTER II

BLACK AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMPARATIVE ACCULTURATION IN KALAMAZOO

A process of acculturation evolves from the formation of Black and Mexican-American communities in Kalamazoo. In the kaleidoscope of city life the contact between racial groups is varied and complex. The White, the Black, the Brown, and the Yellow in Kalamazoo not only look at each other's skin color but also communicate with their minds and hearts. When they see each other in the neighborhood, a public building, a restaurant, or on the street; talk to each other at a bank, a school, or a church; work side by side in an industrial firm or a market; they give of their own culture group and receive something in return. Acculturation of the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo involves race relations, culture contact, and time.

Race Relations

Racism exists in Kalamazoo like in many other areas of the world. The United States Commission on Civil Rights views racism as "any attitude, action, or institutional structure which subordinates a person or group because of his or their color." So race in the United States refers rather to color and its socio-cultural implications than to purely biological characteristics.[44]

The people of Kalamazoo have undertaken intense efforts to identify and solve the city's racial problems. The Michigan Civil Rights Commission recognizes that there is a willingness on the part of most Kalamazoo citizens to provide true equality and opportunity, but that in spite of these efforts the minority groups perceive Kalamazoo and its principal institutions as perpetuating patterns of discrimination.[45]

Kalamazoo Gazette comments on the status of race relations in the area as follows:

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[44]The United States Commission on Civil Rights, Racism in America and How to Combat It (Washington, D.C.: Gov. Print. Office, 1970), p. 5.

[45]Michigan Civil Rights Commission, Status of Race Relations in the City of Kalamazoo, 1969 (Report and Recommendations), p. 2.

> There are many people here, as there are in other communities throughout the land, who either disclaim that problems of racism exist or close their eyes to what has been clearly visible, or turn deaf ears to sounds of protest. They ignore ugly reality.[46]

In fact, the whites and the minority groups in Kalamazoo have sought mutual understanding through various organizations, and particularly through the Kalamazoo Community Relations Board, Kalamazoo County Community Action Program, Douglass Community Association, and Spanish-American Steering Committee. The goal of the Kalamazoo Community Relations Board is to promote, foster, and encourage improvement in human relations and to safeguard the citizens' rights to pursue peaceably their just aspirations regardless of race, color, ancestry, or creed.[47]

The Kalamazoo Community Relations Board plays an important role in facilitating communication between the local government and the minority groups. Even with these efforts, conflict on occasions has occurred. In October, 1969, for instance, the City Manager said before the

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[46] Kalamazoo Gazette, April 29, 1969.

[47] Kalamazoo County, Directory of Community Services Available in Kalamazoo County (Kalamazoo: Community Services Council, 1970), p. 15.

Michigan Civil Rights Commission that "as many as 30 per cent" of the Spanish-surnamed people "are in this country illegally and therefore resist, and in fact avoid, all possible contact" with Kalamazoo or any other governmental unit "because if discovered immediate return to Mexico is probable." This statement necessitated several subsequent meetings with area Mexican-American representatives to remedy misunderstanding.[48]

In May 1971, the Kalamazoo Community Relations Board began to compile a list of Mexican-American families in the area with the hope of encouraging them to voice their opinions and state their complaints concerning discrimination. Although this project did not receive the cooperation of all members of the Kalamazoo Mexican-American community, the results were quite successful.

Another organization where many Blacks and Mexican-Americans may find help is the Kalamazoo County Community Action Program (KAL-CAP). This agency has not been established exclusively for the minority groups, but it was rather born from the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to

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[48] Kalamazoo Gazette, October 7-20, 1969.

carry out the "War on Poverty" in Kalamazoo.[49] The general program of Kal-Cap is:

> To create through comprehensive and coordinated program activities, a climate of awareness within which conscious, self-directed social change can and will take place on the part of individuals, families, human service agencies, and economic and political institutions.[50]

Since its formation in 1965, KAL-CAP has conducted many specific programs for the poor. Most of the clients of KAL-CAP are Blacks and Mexican-Americans. A survey accomplished in 1970, requesting the respondents to check KAL-CAP programs with which they were acquainted, revealed the following results:[51]

a.	Head Start	67%
b.	School lunches	55%

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[49]KAL-CAP, Annual Report, 1970 (Kalamazoo: KAL-CAP, 1971), p. 1.

[50]KAL-CAP, Annual Report, 1970, p. 17.

[51]KAL-CAP, Annual Report, 1970, p. 55--Head Start is a war-on-poverty program for pre-schoolers, funded through the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. VISTA is the abbreviation of Volunteers In Service to America; two VISTA workers were assigned to KAL-CAP in 1969 by the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the VISTA program in Kalamazoo, designed to provide the poor with legal help, has been very much involved with housing problems.

c.	Planned parenthood	53%
d.	VISTA	46%
e.	Adult education	39%
f.	Housing	37%
g.	Job training	37%
h.	Job placement	36%
i.	Credit Union	34%
j.	Children's Dental Program	24%
k.	Prevocational training	14%
l.	Financial counseling	14%
m.	Youth Economic Development	13%

On the other hand, Douglass Community Association is a name quite familiar to most of the Blacks in North Kalamazoo. Douglass was founded in 1919 to serve the leisure time needs of Black soldiers at Ft. Custer, Michigan. In 1929 Douglass was chartered as a neighborhood organization to offer recreational services for Blacks in Kalamazoo; and since 1964 it has been redefined into a social service agency. Priority programs are Intrefol (Intake-Referral-Follow up), job development and placement, home rehabilitation, and student field work

training.[52] The target area of activities includes Kalamazoo census tracts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 (Figure 2).

Although Douglass gears services toward low-income people regardless of race, most of its clients are Blacks. INTREFOL is focusing on mental health, and cases involved in this program since 1970 have been summarized as follows:[53]

Total population of the service area	19,219
Active cases as of June 30, 1970	70
Active cases as of January 1, 1971	137
Estimated new cases, Jan. 1, 1971-June 30, 1971	119
Estimated cases closed June 30, 1971	104
Estimated active cases, June 30, 1971	152
Estimated new cases 1971-1972	238
Estimated waiting list, June 30, 1971	None

Few Mexican-Americans have come to Douglass Community Association for assistance. Most of them rely on

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[52]Douglass Community Association, Mental Health Proposal, April 1, 1971-June 30, 1971, and July 1971-June 30, 1972 (unpublished), pp. 1-2.

[53]Douglass Community Association, pp. 10-11.

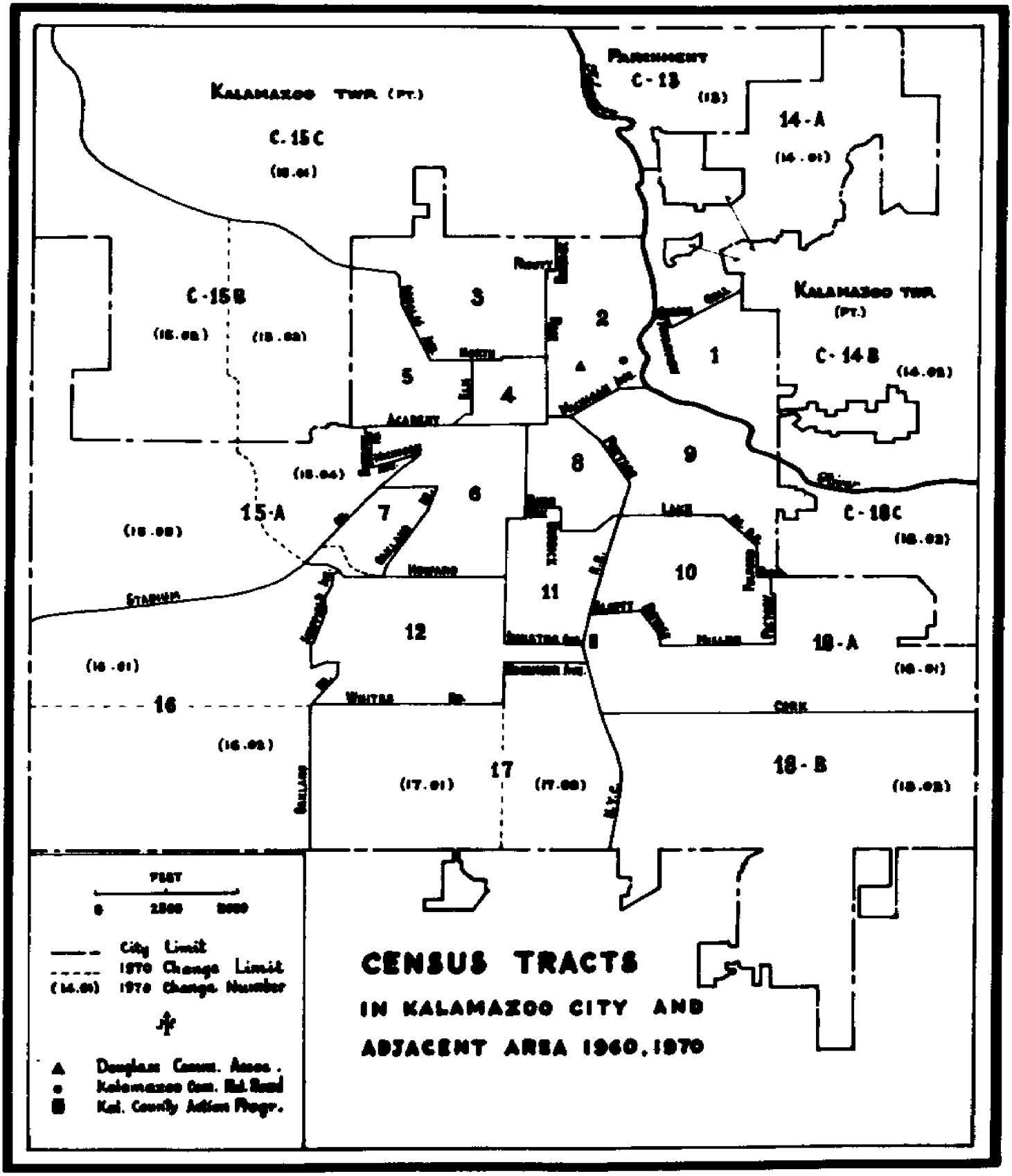
KALAMAZOO TWP. (PT.)
C-15C
(15.01)
C-15B
(15.02)
(15.03)
15-A
(15.04)
(15.05)
16
(16.01)
(16.02)
PARKWOOD
C-13
(13)
14-A
(14.01)
KALAMAZOO TWP.
(PT.)
C-14B
(14.02)
C-18C
(18.02)
18-A
(18.01)
18-B
(18.03)
17
(17.01)
(17.02)
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
ACADEMY
STADIUM
LAKE
CREEK
CENSUS TRACTS
IN KALAMAZOO CITY AND
ADJACENT AREA 1960, 1970
City Limit
1970 Change Limit
(14.01) 1970 Change Number
Douglass Comm. Assoc.
Kalamazoo Com. Rd. Board
Kal. County Action Progr.

Figure 2

their own community. The Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo are interested in establishing a platform from which they can effectively voice their wants. They have cooperated with other Spanish-speaking people in the area to give political support to the Spanish-American Steering Committee whose aim is to improve race relations between Anglo and Spanish Americans. The Spanish-American Steering Committee has placed representatives in the Kalamazoo Community Relations Board, introduced capable Spanish-Americans to various city jobs, and negotiated with employers in Kalamazoo industries to offer more employment opportunities for Spanish-Americans. It has also helped clear up many cases of legal charges against Spanish-Americans and continued a Spanish-American Radio program started on July 10, 1971, under the title "El Despertar De Una Raza," literally, "The Awakening of a Race."

Despite these programs which serve the disadvantaged population in Kalamazoo, race relations still present many difficult problems. A fact reflecting the current racial status is that most of the Blacks interviewed have no white friends. Understanding between Blacks and whites has developed so hesitantly that only

23 per cent of the sample represents Blacks who have friends among members of the white dominant group.

The Mexican-Americans, compared with the Blacks, seem to make white friends more readily. Most of the older Mexican-American men in Kalamazoo have a brown skin color, while many of their wives and children appear white. The difference of color between Anglo and Mexican-American girls is not always evident, and many adults of the Mexican-American families cherish friendship with whites. But still, the majority of Mexican-American households have no white friends (Table 14).

The Michigan Civil Rights Commission investigated the status of race relations in Kalamazoo in 1969 and found an awareness of racial problems and a willingness to do something about them. But it also pointed out that:

> Anpther obvious deficiency is the almost total lack of awareness of the existence of Spanish-surnamed population, although Mexican-American families are increasing in numbers in the Kalamazoo area.[54]

The findings of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission indicated that racial discrimination existed in the

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[54]Michigan Civil Rights Commission, Status of Race Relations in the City of Kalamazoo, 1969, p. 2.

areas of employment, education, and housing. Efforts to train minority workers for skilled and technical labor were insufficient and minority hiring was restricted to lower job classifications.

TABLE 14

KALAMAZOO: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF WHITE FRIENDS

No. of White Friends	Black	Mexican-American
None	77	70
1	7	15
2	4	8
3 and over	12	7
Total %	100	100
Total N	180	60

Kalamazoo was confronted with a de facto segregated school district. The potential for increased student tension came from the "lack of fair disciplinary and school closing policies." Kalamazoo schools were short of minority teachers and administrators, and on the north side of the city where large numbers of minority

students were found, schools were overcrowded and lacked adequate facilities.

School segregation reflected housing patterns. Minority families were concentrated in the areas containing highest numbers of deteriorating and dilapidated houses. Discrimination in rental accommodations was common, and the needs for sound low-income housing seemed urgent.

The Michigan Civil Rights Commission also mentioned discrimination in law enforcement. There were only six Black and no Spanish-surnamed men in the Kalamazoo Police Department. Some members of the department did not hesitate to translate discriminatory feelings into action, and these attitudes led many minority citizens to distrust the law enforcement institutions.[55]

The situation in Kalamzoo has changed since 1969. More job opportunities have been given to the Blacks and Mexican-Americans, the busing system has lessened school segregation, more low-income housing has been provided, and race relations have improved. Some Blacks and Mexican-Americans feel they receive satisfactory treatment

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[55]Michigan Civil Rights Commission, pp. 3-4.

from whites; many think their children endure no discrimination in schools; and some others believe that they have run into few difficulties in finding adequate housing.

Discrimination, however, remains obvious. It is relatively severe in employment for Blacks and Mexican-Americans. The proportion of those who feel satisfactorily treated is very low in both groups. Race relations appear somewhat better in housing and have accomplished encouraging results in Kalamazoo schools. In general, the feeling of being discriminated against seems less pronounced among the Mexican-Americans than among the Blacks (Table 15).

Many minority group citizens in Kalamazoo want improvements and expect that promises must be realizeable in concrete terms. Meaningful changes must mean "access to a good job, to quality education, to a comfortable house, to a full measure of service, and to equal justice."[56] As long as the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo consider racial discrimination a barrier to their attainment of a better material life, they will continue to interact infrequently in their culture contact with the white dominant group.

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[56]Michigan Civil Rights Commission, p. 4.

TABLE 15

KALAMAZOO: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY FEELING ABOUT TREATMENT RECEIVED FROM WHITES

Feeling	Black	Mexican-American
Treatment in Employment:		
Satisfactory	5	6
Fair	19	20
Discriminatory	76	74
Total %	100	100
Total N	180	60
Treatment in Housing:		
Satisfactory	7	6
Fair	30	32
Discriminatory	63	62
Total %	100	100
Total N	180	60
Treatment in Education:		
Satisfactory	30	40
Fair	47	42
Discriminatory	23	18
Total %	100	100
Total N	180	60

Culture Contact

Kalamazoo population bears the richness of many cultures. The Blacks and the Mexicans in the area are first and foremost Americans and have contributed to the development of the American culture. But they have inherited many cultural characteristics from Africa and Mexico. The contact between these minority groups and the remainder of Kalamazoo's population has created a two-way current of influence so that many features of the Black and Mexican cultures have weakened and disappeared while others have strengthened.

Language is an important cultural bond. The Blacks in Kalamazoo have come not from Africa but from southern United States. Their settlement in the area is the continuation of an acculturation process already started in the South. The result is that their language is English whose origin springs from the early settlers in the United States. Rhoda L. Goldstein quotes Gonzalez that:

> Slovenly and careless of speech, they seized upon the peasant English used by some of the early settlers . . . wrapped their clumsy tongues about it as well as they could and it issued through their flat noses and their

> thick lips as so workable a form of speech that it was gradually adopted by other slaves . . . .[57]

So the Blacks in Kalamazoo have received the language legacy from their forefathers. Many Black youngsters in Kalamazoo greeted each other, "Hi!", they asked, "What is happening?" Or they smiled, "I can dig it." These idioms stand for "Hello! How are you?" and "I understand." Although almost all the Blacks in the area speak only English and try to adjust their language to the northern accent, their English still differs considerably from that of the white Americans.

A large number of Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo, on the contrary, are bilingual and Spanish is the mother tongue. Most of the older Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo speak Spanish among themselves and English with people outside their community; but their Spanish seems better, and some are unable to write English well. About 2 per cent of the Mexican-American heads of household know only Spanish. The Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo find it difficult to improve their language ability, because most of them spend twelve years or less in school (Table 16).

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[57]Rhoda L. Goldstein, Black Life and Culture in the United States (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1971), p. 14.

TABLE 16

KALAMAZOO: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED

Year	Black	Mexican-American
None	--	5.0
1	--	1.7
2	2.2	3.3
3	3.9	6.7
4	3.3	1.7
5	2.2	3.3
6	7.8	20.0
7	5.5	13.3
8	6.7	6.7
9	3.3	1.7
10	6.7	6.7
11	8.9	8.3
12	33.4	13.3
13	5.5	1.7
14	5.0	3.3
Bachelor's Degree	3.9	--
Master's Degree	1.7	3.3
Total %	100.0	100.0
Total N	180	60

Kalamazoo Gazette comments that:

> The language problem is looked upon by most Mexican-Americans and by most people who work with them as the key to all their difficulties in employment, education, or housing. It is a double-edge sword which divides the Mexican-Americans from the rest of the community and sometimes divides the Mexican-American family itself.[58]

One edge of the sword is that the limited knowledge of English usually excludes the Mexican-American from high-paying managerial positions and closes many job opportunities before him. The other edge is the movement of many young Mexican-Americans away from their parents' language. In school these young people are encouraged to master English, and they realize that the classical Spanish taught in class is far different in accent and content from the Spanish-English mixture spoken by their parents. In the family they speak only English to their parents, who in turn refrain from communicating with their children in Spanish. The result is that most of the Mexican-American children under 15 years of age do not converse well in Spanish.

Some Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo think Spanish should play a more important role in high schools in the

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[58] Kalamazoo Gazette, September 21, 1969.

hope of promoting a better understanding of Mexican culture. Their ideas can be summarized in these suggestions:

> Spanish should be offered in Jr. High School. More should be done in schools to teach Mexican culture. Meetings should be held with community leaders and leaders in education to see if opportunities for employment and college scholarships can be made available to Spanish-American students who are in need of jobs and who want to go on to college.[59]

Certainly, the language problems of the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo are closely related to their religious practices. Most of the Blacks in the area are protestant, read the English version of the Bible, attend services given in English, and find equality to whites before God. They gather in various action groups for Kalamazoo protestant churches, but they belong to no single religious organization.

By contrast, almost all Mexican-Americans in the area are Catholic. Since Catholicism is not the religion of the majority of Kalamazoo's population, the Mexican-Americans feel that their religion ties them together

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[59]Written suggestions given to Kalamazoo Community Relations Board by a Mexican-American in the area, in July 1971, when he filled out a form entitled "Spanish-American Residence Information."

even more closely than their language. The most meaningful religious efforts of the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo consist of the formation of "El Grupo del Rosario Mexicano" at St. Augustine Church in 1969. This organization aims primarily at strengthening the group bonds under divine blessing, and all Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo are expected to become members. The Virgin of Guadalupe is worshipped at St. Augustine Church, where Mexican-Americans meet every Wednesday evening to say the Rosary and, if needed, discuss problems of the community. The leaders of El Grupo del Rosario Mexicano regularly organize Sunday masses in Spanish at St. Joseph Church for the convenience of all Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo. The attendance is usually from 20 to 50 persons, including children, or about 5 per cent of Kalamazoo's total Mexican-American population.

El Grupo del Rosario Mexicano also has provided help to Mexican-American patients in hospitals and has raised scholarship funds for selected Mexican-American students who wish to go to college. The results have been so far excellent in quality but limited in quantity, because "Kalamazoo's Mexican-Americans need aid."[60]

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[60] Kalamazoo Gazette, September 21, 1969.

Both Black and Mexican-American groups in Kalamazoo, however, are proud of their own community values. Perhaps the most characteristic culture feature of the Blacks is the fraternity among all people of dark skin color and their willingness to share. Individualism appears less developed among the Blacks than among the whites. Almost all the Blacks who were asked "What is the cultural characteristic that makes Blacks different from whites?" had a minute of reflection and gave answers which can be summarized as "We like to share" or "We want to get together." Most of the Blacks who first came to Kalamazoo found that it was easy to get acquainted with other Blacks in the community (Table 17).

The Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo have been able to build a more homogeneous unit. It seems that each Mexican-American considers all the others as brothers. They can get together very easily, almost instantly. Their Spanish language and Catholic religion facilitate understanding and unity, and the small size of their group fosters close relations.

Brotherhood not only prevails among Mexican-Americans themselves but also reaches all people they trust. Hospitality is one of the splendid traditions

TABLE 17

KALAMAZOO: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY DEGREE OF DIFFICULTY OF BECOMING ACQUAINTED WITH OTHER BLACKS AT TIME OF ENTERING KALAMAZOO

Acquaintance Among Blacks	Number	Percentage
Easy	133	73.9
Difficult	36	20.0
Easy, Then Harder	7	3.9
Difficult, Then Easier	4	2.2
Total	180	100.0

of their culture. A foreigner who visits Kalamazoo and knocks at the door of a Mexican-American home can be sure to receive a warm welcome, especially when he can speak a little Spanish. The second time he comes back, he is a real friend of the family, whose members eagerly try to make him feel at home.

The role of the family is another cultural characteristic of the Black and Mexican-American communities in Kalamazoo. Close kinship is honored. Information and assistance from relatives constitute one of the main factors which attract new migrants to Kalamazoo. The majority of Blacks and Mexican-Americans prefer to stay

with relatives or friends during the first steps of their settlement in the area (Table 18).

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY PLACE OF FIRST STAY AT TIME OF ENTERING KALAMAZOO

Place	Black	Mexican-American
Relative's	52	42
Friend's	12	32
Rented House	28	15
Other	8	11
Total %	100	100
Total N	180	60

The wish to have many children seems stronger among the Mexican-Americans than among the Blacks. Family planning is practiced by some Black couples; but it is generally not accepted by Mexican-Americans, who follow the teaching of the Catholic Church against contraceptive devices. Most of the Mexican-Americans expect to have sons and large families. The average number of children is 3 for Black and 4 for Mexican-American families.

About 35 per cent of the Mexican-American families have 5 or more children (Table 19).

TABLE 19

KALAMAZOO: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

No. of Children	Black	Mexican-American
None	8	5
1	17	8
2	20	18
3	15	22
4	18	13
5	12	17
6	5	8
7	3	5
8	2	2
9 and over	--	2
Total %	100	100
Total N	180	60

The power of an authoritarian father is highly regarded by the majority of Black heads of household. It builds the strength of Mexican-American families.

The authoritarian father rules his family with a stern but compassionate hand. He takes responsibility for providing his wife and children all their needs; he is proud of it, and people in the community respect him for it. Many Black housewives work to support their families; but the majority of Mexican-American women stay home (Table 20).

TABLE 20

SELECTED FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS OF BLACK AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS IN KALAMAZOO: BY PERCENTAGE

Family Characteristics	Black	Mexican-American
Authoritarian Father:		
Agree	52	90
Disagree	48	10
Homemaking Mother:		
Yes	34	78
No	66	22
Total N	180	60

The difference between Blacks and Mexican-Americans is also evident in their value judgment on the development of personality and the material success. According to Luis F. Hernandez, when the rural Mexican immigrates to the United States, he brings with him the values of his

society. These values are generally directed toward tradition, fatalism, resignation, strong family ties, a high regard for authority, paternalism, personal relations, reluctance to change, a greater orientation to the present than to the future, and a greater concern for "being" than "doing." The contrasting Anglo-American values point to change, achievement, impersonal relations, efficiency, progress, equality, scientific rationalization, democracy, individual action and reaction, and a greater concern for doing than being.[61]

For the most part, Hernandez' ideas fit the Mexican-Americans and the Blacks in Kalamazoo. Most people in both groups consider the development of personality more important than the material success, although they recognize their needs for money. The slight difference between Blacks and Mexican-Americans concerning this value judgment may be attributed to the greater number of Blacks, hence, more disadvantaged people in that group who feel the immediate necessity of material things (Table 21).

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[61]Luis F. Hernandez, A Forgotten American (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1969), pp. 17-19.

TABLE 21

KALAMAZOO: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY VALUE JUDGMENT ON MATERIAL SUCCESS AND DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY

Value Judgment	Black	Mexican-American
Material Success more important	12	2
Development of Personality more important	85	93
Both equally important	3	5
Total %	100	100
Total N	180	60

Many other cultural features make the Blacks and Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo distinctive groups. One of the reminders of African cultural traits cherished by the Blacks in Kalamazoo is the loud rhythmic music. A little noise seems to give their weekends more excitement. On the contrary, most of the Mexican-Americans enjoy songs in Spanish and deep and sweet instrumental varieties.

American food is that of the Blacks; but Mexican food is used almost daily by a large number of Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo. "Tortillas" and beans provide

the mainstay of their diet. Delicious Mexican meals are prepared on anniversaries and festivals. Every year the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo celebrate the independence of Mexico on September 16 and the manifestation of the Virgin of Guadalupe on December 12; and Mexican clothing often solemnizes group gatherings on these days.

Thus, seeking relief from the difficulties of race relations, the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo have relied upon their cultural heritages. This recoil into their own groups has made acculturation slow and limited, although the Blacks seem to have the advantages of language and religion. People in both communities realize that a return to their parent cultures is just as distant as their complete assimilation into their present social environment. Time is on the side of change.

Time Involvement

Changes have taken place since the first trickles of Blacks and Mexican-Americans came to Kalamazoo. Some of these migrants were young boys following their parents from the villages to the cities and facing life through uncertain eyes; but they are now masters of their own

decisions and going ahead with confidence. Some others suffered from loneliness but are now supporting their families which include many children. Those who have recognized the color and shape of time in their hairs and on their faces have also witnessed the development of their communities and the effect of acculturation.

About 30 per cent of the Black and 30 per cent of the Mexican-American heads of household have lived in Kalamazoo for more than twenty years, and some have retired. These parts of the Black and Mexican-American population represent the older layers of their cultures in the area and appear less susceptible to acculturation. They have participated in the birth and growth of their communities and partially molded the beliefs and behavior of their children through family education and group relations (Table 22).

But even today what they are is inextricably entangled with their cultural history. The past has an impact on the dominant as well as on the minority groups. The process of acculturation operating in Kalamazoo since the coming of the first Black and Mexican-American migrants have been influenced by the various images of these minority members through American history. The "Negro

TABLE 22

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD HAVING STAYED IN KALAMAZOO FOR MORE THAN 20 YEARS

No. of Years	Black	Mexican-American
31 and over	5.0	3.3
30	1.7	5.0
29	2.2	3.3
28	1.1	1.7
27	0.5	1.7
26	1.7	3.3
25	3.9	3.3
24	1.7	1.7
23	2.7	3.3
22	3.9	1.7
21	5.0	1.7
Total	29.4	30.0
20 and under	70.6	70.0
Total %	100.0	100.0
Total N	180	60

Slave" is the usual picture in the Old South. Slavery has left its stigma on the life experiences of many Blacks who have abandoned their birthplaces in Mississippi, Alabama, or other southern states; and while some migrants think they have moved "North to freedom," many others believe that they have merely "exchanged one kind of hell for another."[62]

Other pictures of Black Americans include Black soldiers who fought in the Union army, Black politicians in the turbulent days of Reconstruction, Black cowboys who helped open the West, Black troopers who rode with Teddy Roosevelt, and Black workers who toiled on the railroads, on the farms, and in the factories. All this may give the "Negro" his dignified place among American citizens.

The view of the "Afro-American" has emerged from the civil rights movement and the campaign to eliminate segregation. The moving oratory of the late Martin Luther King has awakened the Black militants. The fight for freedom and equality has bred "Black Power"; and through

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[62]Peter I. Rose, ed., Slavery and Its Aftermath (New York: Atherton Press, Inc., 1970), pp. xx-xxii.

the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and other Black organizations, the prescription of Frederick Douglass still echoes:

> Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them, and these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limit of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.[63]

The Blacks have long been seeking not only equality but also "equal time." Unquestionably, the Black protest in the sixties with its demonstrations and riots has sent repercussion into all the Black communities throughout the United States. The flames of Rochester, Watts, and Detroit have subsided, but their memories still obsess the mind of many Blacks and whites.[64] So, acculturation of the Blacks in Kalamazoo has been deeply affected by events occurring outside the area.

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[63]Peter I. Rose, ed., Old Memories, New Moods (New York: Atherton Press, Inc., 1970), p. xxi.

[64]See August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, eds., Black Protest in the Sixties (Chicago: The New York Times Company, 1970).

The past which haunts the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo also has a long history. The Mexican-American cultural heritage encompasses the ancient civilization of the Toltecs, which has been highlighted by the archeological marvels of Teotihuacan, Monte Alban, and Mitla, the fabulous city of Tenochtitlán and the Floating Gardens of Xochimilco, as well as by heroic feats of the Aztec emperors Moctezuma and Cuautémoc.[65]

The 1846-1848 Mexican war is remembered in Mexico as the occasion when this country surrendered an immense territory. In addition, the Gadsden Purchase turned over other lands to the United States. These bitter roots have been the source of many land problems concerning Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the United States Southwest.

The massive Mexican immigration to the United States also constitutes an impressive part of the Mexican-American past. Among great numbers of laborers coming from the northern and central plateaus of Mexico are found the grandfathers or fathers of many Mexican-Americans who now reside in the United States. Many Mexican migrants

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[65]Y. Arturo Cabrera, Emerging Faces: The Mexican-Americans (n.p.: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1971), pp. 1-5.

feel that the journey to the United States Southwest is a trip to another part of "their country," and when facing discrimination and poverty in the barrios, they tend to believe that they are a "long-suffering conquered people."[66]

The nostalgia of the past has pervaded most Mexican-American communities in the United States, lit their pride, and scattered the seeds of "El Despertar."[67] From the strike of grape pickers in Delano, California, in September 1965 to the violence in East Los Angeles in August 1970, many important events occurred in the Southwest and communicated that the Mexican-American was "neither docile nor subservient" and that awakening might well erupt into insurrection. The names of such spokesmen as Tijerina, Gonzalez, and Chavez have become familiar to the Mexican-American youth. The emergence and spread of such organizations as La Raza Unida and the Brown

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[66]Manuel P. Servín, The Mexican-Americans: An Awakening Minority (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1970), pp. 202-212. See also: Stan Steiner, La Raza: The Mexican Americans (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970).

[67]"El Despertar" means "The Awakening."

Berets have united the Mexican-Americans and spurred on their struggle for civil rights and equality.[68]

"La Raza Unida de Michigan" states its objectives as follows:

> Its objectives shall be to promote and to encourage the formation of local chapters throughout the State of Michigan, in order to contribute to the promotion of justice and equality, and it shall encourage active participation by its members in activities that bring about social change and social justice and equality and the fulfillment of those rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.[69]

A chapter of La Raza Unida de Michigan has been initiated in Kalamazoo, and it may well play an important rallying role among Mexican-Americans in this area. Since ten members may start a chapter, the growing Mexican-American community in Kalamazoo appears in favorable conditions to fulfill this requirement. The Kalamazoo Brown Berets have pledged their commitment to the service, education, and defense of La Raza in a twelve-point program and also participated in several local demonstrations.

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[68]Armando B. Rendon, Chicano Manifesto (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971), pp. 1-2; 103-137.

[69]By-Laws of La Raza Unida de Michigan, I. Purpose and Objectives.

Definitely, acculturation of Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo and in the Southwest has been touched by the indelible imprints of the past.

For the older Blacks and Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo, time unfolds new hope for change. The next turn of acculturation will depend largely on their young generation. The Black population, in particular, is growing steadily. The proportion of children under 15 years of age is noticeably higher among the Blacks than among the Mexican-Americans (Table 23).

Acculturation of the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo thus operates mainly through organizations established to promote understanding between racial groups, through cultural exchanges, and under the stress of time. Some agencies convey the governmental concern about the disadvantageous situation of minority groups in the area, while some others reflect the efforts of Blacks and Mexican-Americans themselves for intra-community aid. The Blacks seem to have the advantages of speaking the language and practicing the religion of the dominant group, but their skin color remains an almost insurmountable obstacle to racial and cultural integrity. The Mexican-Americans form a more closely knit community

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN UNDER 15 YEARS OF AGE

Age	Black	Mexican-American
1	4.6	0.9
2	5.8	3.3
3	3.9	3.7
4	2.0	4.2
5	2.6	2.3
6	3.5	5.6
7	3.3	2.8
8	4.5	3.7
9	7.3	2.3
10	3.3	1.9
11	1.8	2.3
12	6.9	2.8
13	3.3	4.2
14	6.4	4.7
Total	59.2	44.7
15 and over	40.8	55.3
Total %	100.0	100.0
Total N	547	217

with its own language, religion, customs, and traditions. "We are proud people," said one Mexican-American leader to the newsmen; and true, they are very proud of what they have, and especially who they are.[70]

Although Kalamazoo has made progress in the "War on Poverty," racial discrimination still complicates many problems. The Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in the area are prone to counterbalance their material dissatisfaction with their cultural pride. Their plights are tightly bound to the national Black and Mexican-American problems and deeply influenced by historical events. Therefore, their acculturation in Kalamazoo has been limited. Changes are to come with their young generation; but actually, the results of acculturation are clearly manifested in their spatial adjustment to the area.

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[70] Kalamazoo Gazette, October 7, 1969.

CHAPTER III

BLACK AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN SPATIAL ADJUSTMENT IN KALAMAZOO

For many years the Black and the Mexican-American migrants have been adjusting to their new environment. Those who have come from the sunny regions of the United States or Mexico are today ready to endure the severe winters in Michigan; those who have dreamed of freedom and equality are paving their own ways to attainment; and all of them have invested their labor for the prosperity of Kalamazoo. Many Blacks and Mexican-Americans now own their homes; others live in rented houses or have changed residence several times without reaching adequate solutions of their housing problems. The spatial adjustment of the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo has resulted in different stages of separateness which are related to their different population and cultural characteristics.

Black Separateness

The spatial separateness of the Blacks has gradually developed and appears quite evident today. In 1940 when the population of Kalamazoo County totaled 100,080, the Blacks numbered about 1,240, of which 88 per cent lived in the city.[71] Most of the Blacks were grouped in the Northeast, around East Butler Court, Walbridge and Harrison Streets, and also beyond the Kalamazoo River on Ampersee Avenue, Riverview Drive, and further East in the area between Gull Road and Michigan Avenue. There were no ghettos as such, but the Blacks resided along side Poles and other whites in this poorer part of the city.[72]

From this main settlement, the Black population spread to the West and South during the two following decades. By 1950 large numbers of Blacks were found on North Burdick Street and East Michigan Avenue, and many resided in the Southwest down to Pioneer and Peeler Streets. In 1960 the Blacks were so densely concentrated in North Kalamazoo that in census tract 2 the Blacks totaled 57 per cent of the population (Figure 3).

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[71] U.S. Census of Population, Michigan, 1940.

[72] Information provided by the Blacks in Kalamazoo during interviews.

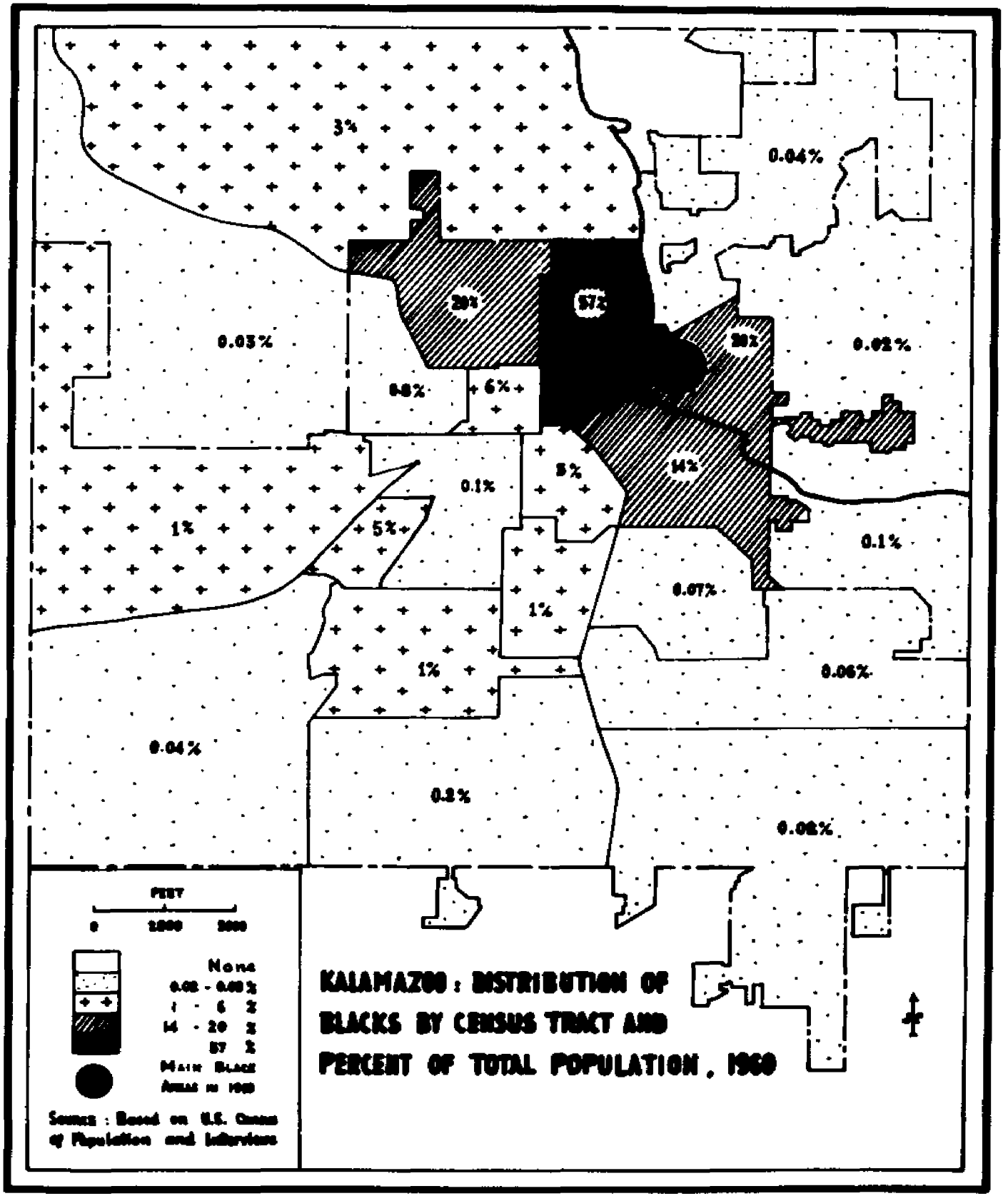
3%
0.04%
20%
57%
0.03%
20%
0.02%
6%
14%
0.1%
5%
1%
5%
0.1%
0.07%
1%
1%
0.06%
0.04%
0.2%
0.02%
FEET
0
2000
3000
None
1 - 6 %
14 - 20 %
57 %
KALAMAZOO: DISTRIBUTION OF BLACKS BY CENSUS TRACT AND PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1960

Figure 3

The concentration of Blacks in Kalamazoo is a phenomenon of urban ghetthoization, which can be viewed from a variety of perspectives. Human ecologists indicate that economic factors play a key role in explaining the concentration of the poor by population growth and housing deterioration. As the city grows, middle- and upper-class families build new houses on vacant land in the periphery, leaving their old homes near central city particularly to the poor. Since the poor can only afford inexpensive homes, they become concentrated in the areas of "cast-off" housing.

Some analysts take into account the deep psychic and social motivations, particularly the sensitivity of white Americans to class differences. The area in which a person lives is an important indicator of his position in society, and the residents of a neighborhood generally are on the same social level. Therefore, a white person must weigh the implications of his own social standing, when he considers whether to enter or remain in a racially mixed area.

Others view the transmission of "life values" as the dominant factor of ghettoization. The middle-class citizens, almost regardless of race, desire to have the

social, cultural, and economic milieu and values of their group dominate their own residential environment and the educational environment of their children. So families and children of approximately similar views and attitudes tend to cluster together.

On the other hand, many studies attempt to analyze the spatial expansion of the Black ghetto as a process of neighborhood change. The general process is conceptualized as a "succession" occurring over time and involving a sequence of stages from "penetration" and "invasion" to "consolidation" and "piling-up." Other studies characterize the spread of Black ghettos basically as a spatial diffusion process in which the Black is an active agent and the role of the White is passive.[73]

At a larger scale, however, the Black ghetto in Kalamazoo appears as the spatial manifestation of a process of acculturation, which involves both Black and white groups and operates mainly through the elements of population, culture, and time. There is no diffusion by active and passive agents, but rather a mutual adjustment of Blacks and whites in their selection of residence.

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[73]Robert Elgie, "Rural Immigration, Urban Ghettoization, and Their Consequences," Antipode (December, 1970), pp. 41-44.

This adjustment created dramatic changes in the population patterns of both groups during the sixties. From 1960 to 1970 several census tracts in Kalamazoo City and adjacent area showed a total increase of over 20 per cent while many others declined in population. This pattern reflected that of the whites, since they represented nearly 90 per cent of the total population. The decrease in East Kalamazoo, especially in census tracts 2, 8, 9, 10, and 11, came mainly from the out-migration of large numbers of white residents. In many cases the whites moved out because the Blacks moved in; but often the reasons were quite complex.

Between 1960 and 1970, the white population grew significantly in the West and South. The highest increase, however, was in the Southwest, where tracts 15.04 and 15.05 were dominated by Western Michigan University (Figures 2 and 4).

The Blacks, on the contrary, were chiefly attracted to the North side of the city. The majority of Black in-migrants found friends, relatives, and homes in this area. In fact, the net change of Black population between 1960 and 1970 exhibited an increase of 2,052 persons in

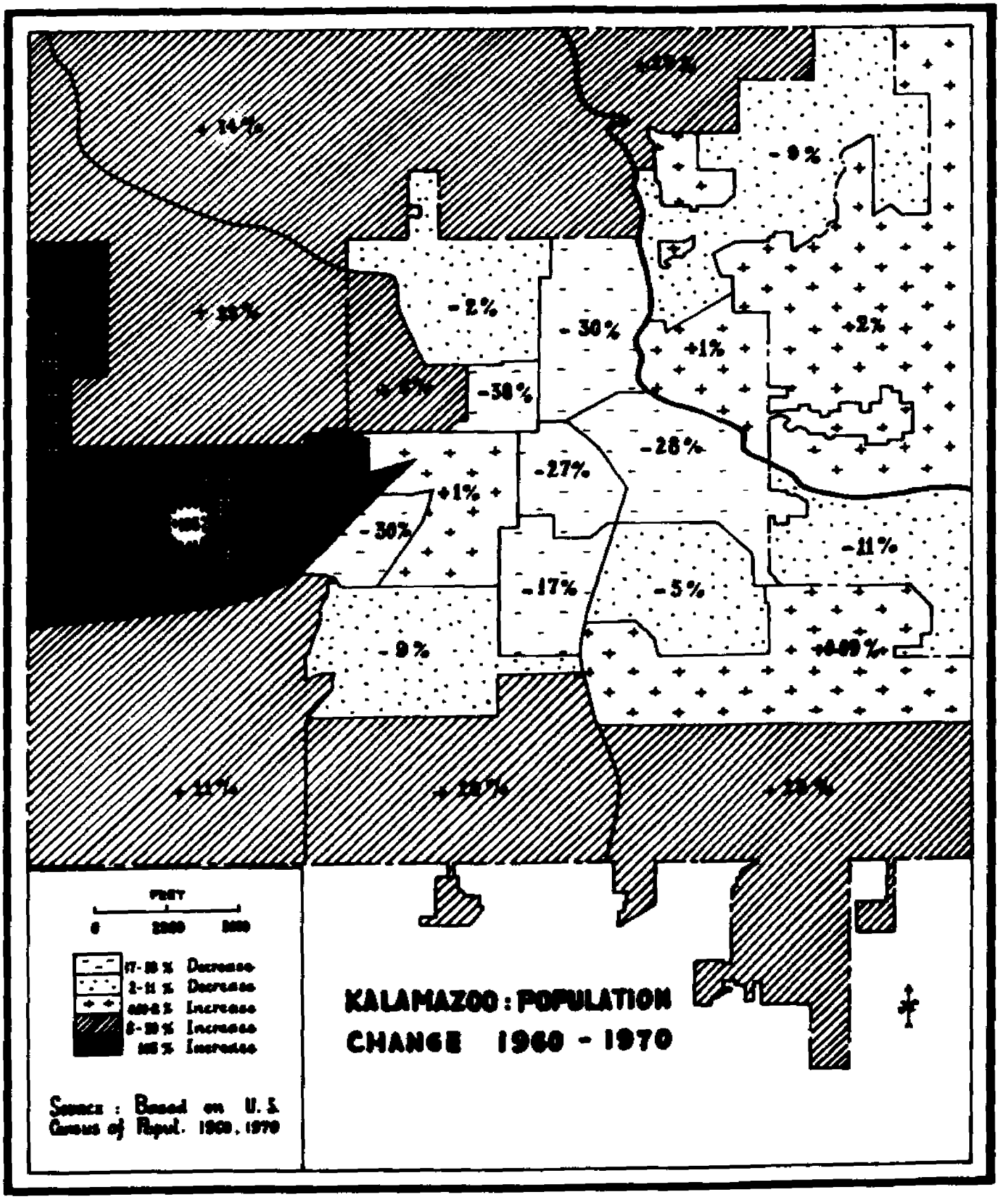
KALAMAZOO : POPULATION
CHANGE 1960 - 1970
-9%
-2%
-30%
+1%
+2%
-38%
-28%
-27%
+1%
-30%
-11%
-17%
-5%
-9%
Source : Based on U.S.
Census of Popul. 1960, 1970

Figure 4

census tract 3. Changes in other tracts were less important (Table 24).

This general movement of separateness between Blacks and whites resulted in the relatively high concentration of Black population in North Kalamazoo in 1970, especially in the area covered by census tracts 2 and 3. Although tract 3 lost a total of 116 residents during the 1960-1970 period, it still contained the highest number of Blacks in Kalamazoo. Homogeneity, however, prevailed in tract 2 where the Blacks represented 79 per cent of the total population in 1970 as compared to 57 per cent in 1960 (Figure 5).

Significantly, spatial separateness exists not only in Kalamazoo City as a whole but also at a smaller scale when blocks or parts of a block are compared. In 1950 a large part of the white population in North Kalamazoo consisted of Dutch. When the flow of Black migrants spread into the area between 1950 and 1970, many Dutch moved out and sold or rented their homes. Most of the whites who stayed were encouraged in their decisions by the absence of economic advantages to leave, the presence of other whites in the neighborhood, or the closeness of

TABLE 24

KALAMAZOO: NET CHANGE OF BLACK POPULATION BY CENSUS TRACT, 1960-1970

Tract	1960	1970	Net Change
1	680	979	+ 299
2	2245	2158	- 87
3	1169	3221	+ 2052
4	115	334	+ 219
5	37	138	+ 101
6	90	287	+ 197
7	196	149	- 47
8	113	106	- 7
9	419	385	- 34
10	6	74	+ 68
11	40	89	+ 49
12	54	17	- 37
C-13	--	3	+ 3
14-A	2	83	+ 81
C-14-B	22	186	+ 164
15-A	93	355	+ 262
C-15-B	26	92	+ 66
C-15-C	73	186	+ 113
16	2	12	+ 10
17	12	103	+ 91
18-A	3	43	+ 40
18-B	1	15	+ 14
C-18-C	3	14	+ 11

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, Census Tracts, Kalamazoo, Michigan, pp. 14-16; and Census of Housing, Block Statistics, Kalamazoo, Michigan, Urbanized Area, 1970, pp. 1-16. Census Tracts C-13; 14-A; C-14-B; 15-A; C-15-B; C-15-C; 18-A; 18-B; and C-18-C in 1960 became 13; 14.01; 14.02; 15.04, 15.05; 15.02; 15.03; 15.01; 18.01; 18.02; and 18.03 in 1970.

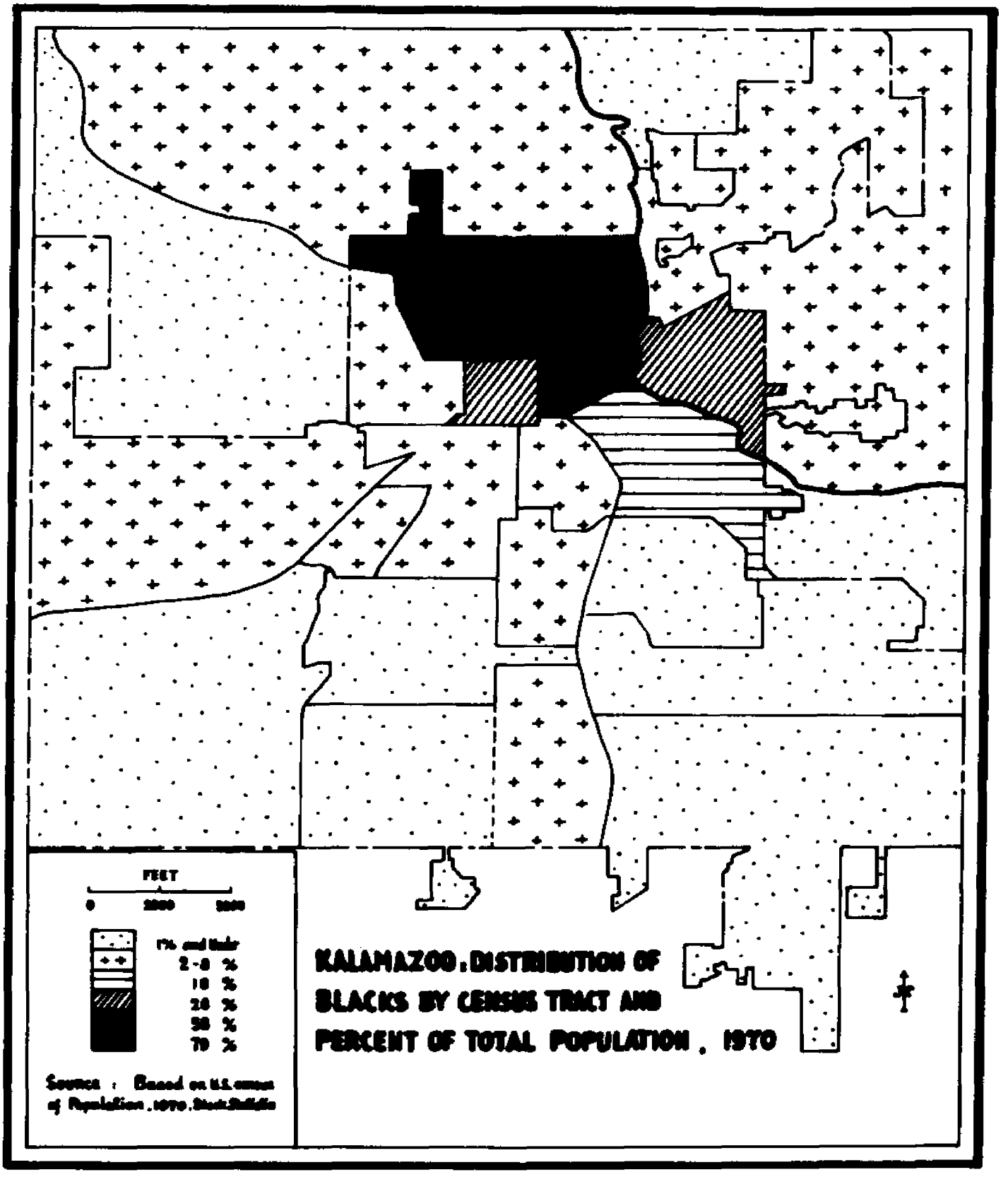
FEET
0
2000
4000
1% and under
2-8 %
10 %
20 %
30 %
70 %
KALAMAZOO, DISTRIBUTION OF
BLACKS BY CENSUS TRACT AND
PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1970

Figure 5

households whose heads belonged to the same racial and cultural origin.

This gives today's North Kalamazoo, especially census tracts 2 and 3, a general pattern of mixed Black and white neighborhoods, each one having its own isolation. In tract 2, for instance, a completely white block defies change. Another block randomly selected in tract 3 exhibits smaller homogeneous groups of Black and white households (Figure 6).

The patterns of Kalamazoo population thus have undergone great changes since the second world war. The whites generally have been shifting their residence from the Central East of the city to the suburban areas, especially to the West, South, and Southwest. The Blacks, though attempting to expand throughout Kalamazoo, have become heavily concentrated in the North side. The spatial adjustment of Black population has advanced into a stage of developing separateness characterized by a growing ghetto.

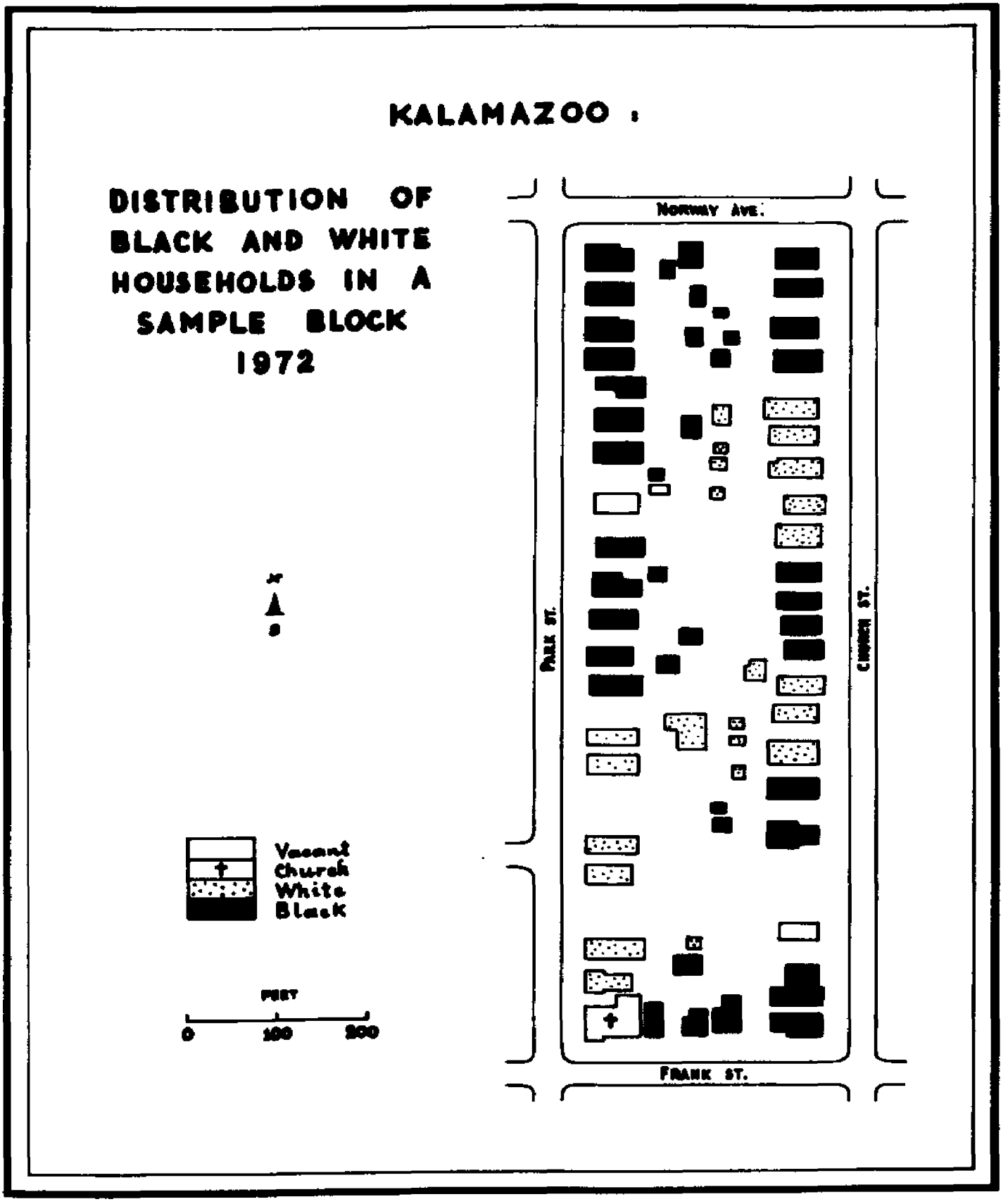
KALAMAZOO :
DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK AND WHITE HOUSEHOLDS IN A SAMPLE BLOCK 1972
N
Vacant
Church
White
Black
FEET
0
100
200
NORWAY AVE.
PARK ST.
CHURCH ST.
FRANK ST.

Figure 6

Mexican-American Separateness

The Mexican-American population in Kalamazoo presents a different pattern than the Blacks. It has experienced no ghettoization and formed no "barrios." Interestingly, most of the early Mexican-Americans settled adjacent to the Blacks in the Northeast of the city between Gull Road and East Michigan Avenue. Some resided further North along Mt. Olivet Road.[74]

The spread of Mexican-American population in Kalamazoo before 1960 generally paralleled that of the Blacks. Since small groups of Mexican-Americans entered the city during the decade following the end of World War II, many rented homes in census tracts 2 and 3 and lived side by side with the Blacks. Disparity occurred between 1960 and 1970, when the Blacks streamed to the Central North and the Mexican-Americans sprinkled over the Southeast and East. A few Mexican-Americans stayed outside the city in Portage, Parchment, and Comstock.

A considerable number of Mexican-Americans have been able to buy homes. Some are in the process of

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[74]Information provided by Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo during interviews.

purchasing their places. The majority, however, still have to rent modest or substandard housing (Table 25).

TABLE 25

KALAMAZOO: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN HOMES BY OWNERSHIP

Ownership	Number	Percentage
Own	15	25
Purchasing	5	8
Rent	40	67
Total	60	100

Housing in Kalamazoo has been a critical problem for the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans. A study of Michigan's eleven largest cities by Glen Bachelder in 1968 showed that Kalamazoo had the second highest proportion of dilapidated housing (4.45 per cent) and the highest proportion (20.5 per cent) of dilapidated housing occupied by nonwhites.[75] Most housing discrimination complaints coming to the Kalamazoo Community Relations

[75] Kalamazoo Gazette, October 23, 1968; and Michigan Civil Rights Commission, Status of Race Relations in the City of Kalamazoo, 1969 (Report and Recommendations), pp. 14-18.

Board and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission in the first quarter of 1969 involved rentals; but the construction of public housing remained an impossible solution because three times voters defeated proposed ordinances to establish a housing commission.

Some private efforts, however, were made to provide low-income housing, mainly through the Loan Improvement Fund Today (LIFT), the Northside Development Association (NDA), the Kalamazoo Housing and Improvement Corporation (KHIC), and the Interfaith Housing Council (IFHC). Under the joint undertaking of LIFT-IFHC, Patwood Apartments and Neighborhood Apartments were built. The majority of occupants of these new units were Blacks.

The Mexican-Americans rather relied upon their own efforts. The Spanish-American Building Effort (SABE) was started in May 1971. Its main purpose was to help directly the Spanish-Americans in Kalamazoo to improve their housing conditions. The first steps of SABE consisted of raising funds and encouraging Spanish-Americans to repair and paint the homes they owned or were purchasing. Rev. Jorge Capote, the founder of SABE, stated that,

> This is a community effort to repair and paint deteriorating homes. Our initial effort includes approximately ten (10) homes. The work is being done by members of the Spanish-American Community . . . . Any type of donation, either in the form of supplies or money would be well received.[76]

Since its beginning SABE has reaped satisfactory results, due to the favorable response of many people in Kalamazoo. The complete fulfillment of SABE's mission, however, would require long-term projects within the context of housing problems affecting all low-income people in the area.

Certainly, the housing problems are closely related to the spatial character of the Black and Mexican-American groups in Kalamazoo. The adjustment of these minority communities has created meaningful differences in their residential patterns. The Mexican-Americans who settled in the Northeast of the city before World War II and those who entered the Central North between 1940 and 1960 were mainly attracted by the availability of homes and the presence of relatives and friends in these areas. The apparent parity of Blacks and Mexican-Americans in their early settlement and spread in Kalamazoo is a result

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[76]SABE public letter, July 1971.

of the same type of racial prejudice they faced in their relations with whites. They all were considered members of minority groups. The Mexican-Americans, however, did not relish the thought of living side by side with the Blacks. Therefore, when North Kalamazoo became overwhelmingly Black, most of the new Mexican-American in-migrants stayed away from the Black ghetto.

The pattern of Mexican-American settlement observed today in Kalamazoo reflects the tendency of people of Mexican descent toward clustering whenever possible and settling in the urban fringe area. The difference between a Black ghetto and a Mexican-American "barrio" is recognizable in many cities of the United States. The Mexican-American "barrios" in Los Angeles, for instance, have been called "The Urban Villages," which are "not like the gray tenement tombs of the ghetto," but "sprawl over the hills and into the arroyos and valleys, amid the weeds and flowers."[77]

Actually, no Mexican-American barrios have been formed in Kalamazoo. The Mexican-Americans obviously are

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[77]Stan Steiner, La Raza (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 140-142.

more dispersed and suburban in nature than the Blacks. While the latter are mainly concentrated in the North side, the former reach the South and areas outside the city limit. The distribution of Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo shows no homogeneous large neighborhoods but small groups of households located a few minutes walking distance from each other. Such groups may be found on Mosel Street and Virginia Avenue, Mt. Olivet Road, Princeton Avenue, Eggleston Avenue, Lincolnshire Boulevard, Bank Street, Olmstead Road, and many other places throughout Kalamazoo (Figure 7).

From the spatial patterns of the Blacks and Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo, one question may arise. Why has the acculturation process resulted in Black ghettoization and Mexican-American clustering patterns when the Blacks seem culturally closer to the whites through their language, religion, customs, and social values, but the Mexican-Americans constitute a distinctive community with their own cultural heritage?

One part of the answer is found in the predominant cultural factor: racial discrimination. Basically, both the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo aspire to total assimilation and equality. When they confront

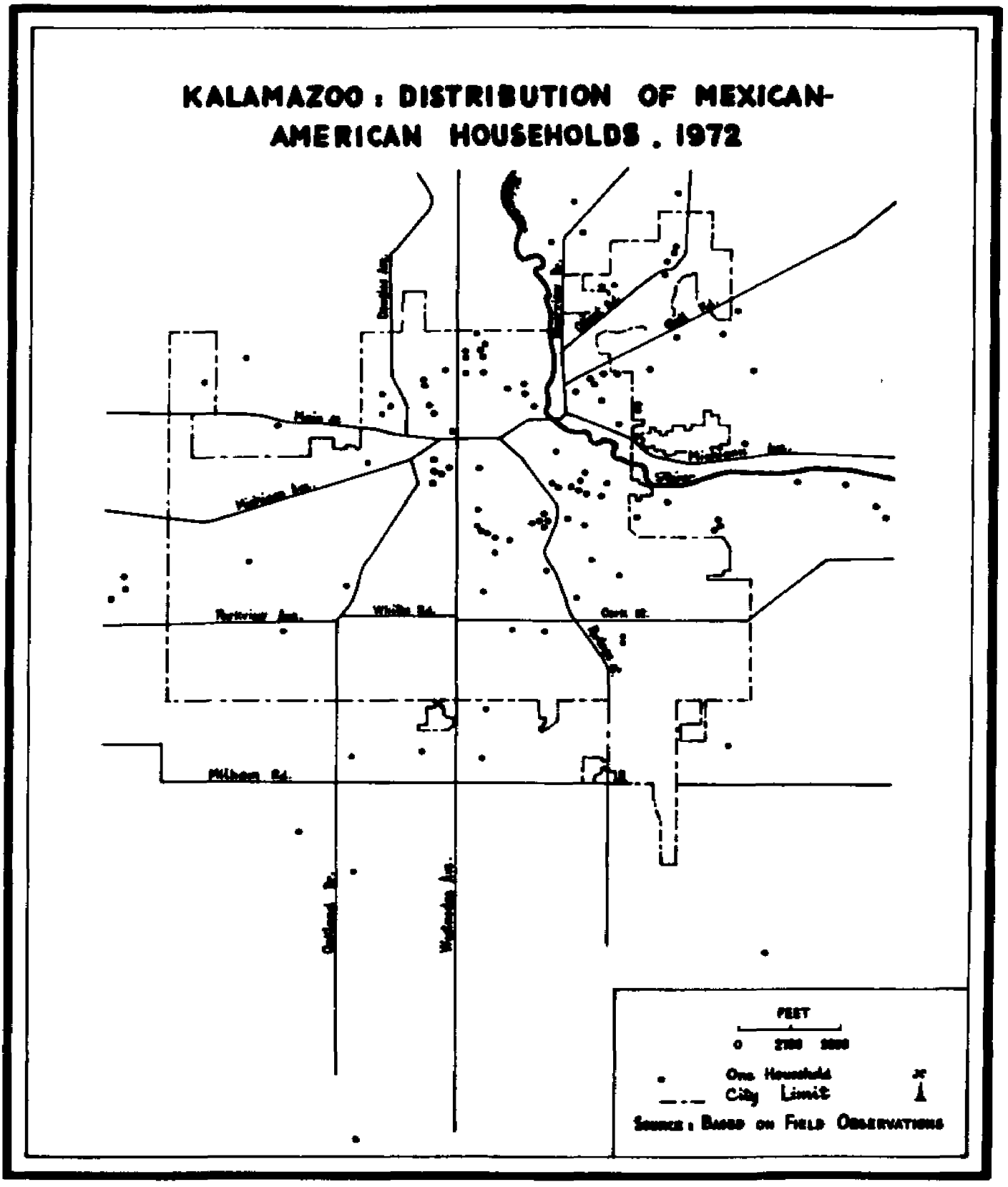
KALAMAZOO : DISTRIBUTION OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN HOUSEHOLDS . 1972
Main St.
Michigan Ave.
Parkview Ave.
Miliken Rd.
FEET
0
One Household
City Limit
N
SOURCE : BASED ON FIELD OBSERVATIONS

Figure 7

racial prejudice from whites and rank among disadvantaged people in the area, they react to this situation by returning to their own cultures and strengthening their own groups. As sitting down and not cooperating can be attitudes of protest, this "looking inward" of the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans constitutes their own ways of expressing dissatisfaction and also discrimination against the white dominant group. The language and religion that many Blacks in Kalamazoo inherit from their fathers in the South are not only a sign of acculturation but also a legacy of slavery and a reminder of Africa and old hatreds. Added to some social values adopted from the white community, they still remain inadequate to counterbalance severe discrimination facts in employment, housing, and education.

Like the Blacks, the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo are tied to their origin. Mexico is just adjacent to the United States and has supplied a vast number of Mexicans to American villages and cities. Thus, it is not surprising that the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo speak Spanish, practice Catholicism, and nourish their customs and values. The Black and the Mexican-American communities have been growing in the same atmosphere of

racial prejudice; but they differ from each other in their ways of showing discriminatory attitudes against discriminators.

The other part of the answer lies in the number of Black and Mexican-American residents in Kalamazoo. Undoubtedly, many population characteristics such as age, sex, occupation, and marital status may eventually be the reasons that make Blacks and Mexican-Americans change their residence; but the size of their groups plays a predominant role in ghettoization.

No Black ghettos were found in Kalamazoo between 1900 and 1930, when the Blacks represented only 1 per cent of the total population in the city. Ghettoization began in the 1930-1960 period, along with the rapid increase of Black in-migrants. The spatial character of the Mexican-American community in Kalamazoo today is to some extent comparable to that of the Black population in 1920. The number of Mexican-Americans is relatively small and approximates 1 per cent of the total population in the city. They present a spatial pattern which bears no common characteristics with the Black ghetto in North Kalamazoo or the Mexican-American barrios in the United States Southwest.

Thus, racial discrimination against the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans and the size of their groups in Kalamazoo constitute the main cultural and population factors that govern their spatial adjustment. Differences between the Black ghetto and the Mexican-American clustering pattern indicate different stages of separateness.

A Conceptual Outlook

The case of Blacks and Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo throws light on a concept of acculturation applicable to minority groups in general. This study concerns a minority group resulting from migration and coming into contact with a dominant group, both residing in an urban area where the total population is from 2,500 to 250,000 and in a country where people enjoy security, peace, and freedom.[78]

In this environment the spatial character of the minority group is the manifestation of a process of

[78] In U.S. census language, the word "Urban" generally involves places larger than 2,500 in population. Kalamazoo Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area approximated 201,550 population, when this study began.

acculturation which operates between both migrant and host communities through four elements: Population, Culture, Time, and Space. Divisions of these elements are artificial. There is no culture without a population, and any population bears a culture. Time cannot be conceived without an idea of distance, and space implies a certain time to go from one point to another. Population, culture, time, and space are complementary; they all are one (Figure 8).

Culture and time have a spatial expression through people; even when these elements remain abstract, they are ideas and concepts of the human mind. Therefore, the spatial adjustment of racial groups are the natural manifestation of the acculturation process in which they are involved.

Through this manifestation some factors prevail over the others. The spatial character of a population is reflected primarily on the number of people and their distribution in an area. The size of population thus plays a particularly important role in the contact of minority and dominant groups. The identity of a minority group in a city largely depends on the number of its

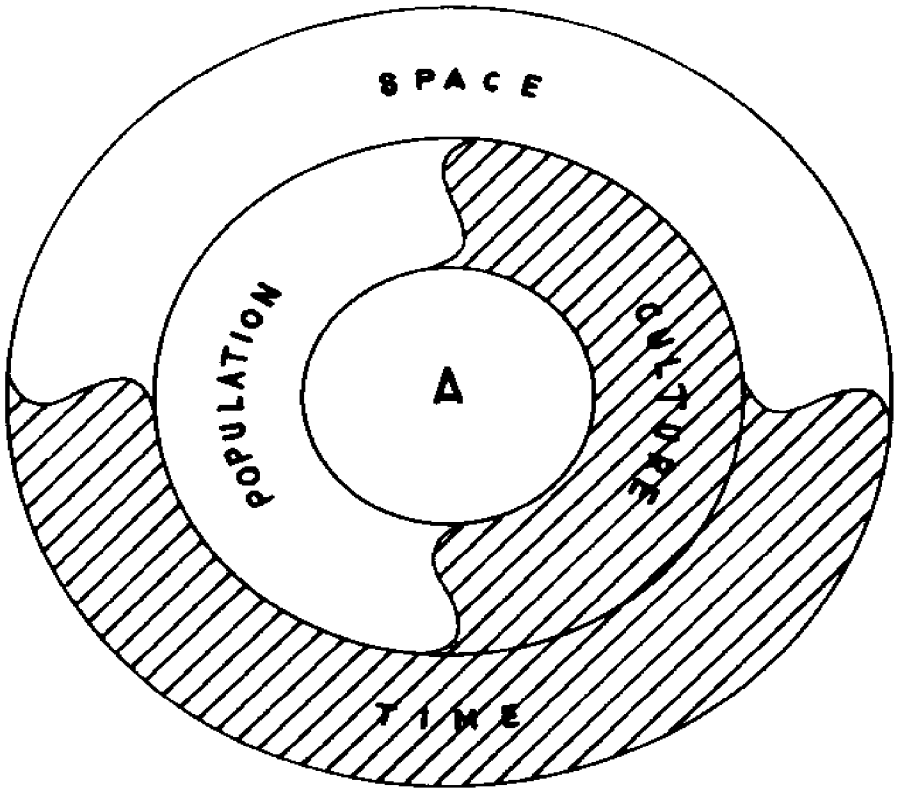

Figure 8
Elements of Acculturation

members. A migrant community must reach a certain size to be noticed by the host population.[79]

On the other hand, racial discrimination constitutes the predominant cultural factor in the acculturation process. Discrimination, of course, is reciprocal; but when the dominant group holds the keys of political, economic, social, and cultural institutions, racial discrimination strongly disadvantages the minority group. The cultural exchanges through language, religion, customs, and values are usually unequal, and the subordinate community has to change and conform to the culture of the dominant society. The return of a subordinate community to its own cultural heritage thus indicates the restrictions of acculturation and a reaction to the discriminatory attitudes of people in the dominant group. In other words, it is a form of discrimination against discrimination.

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[79]People in Kalamazoo paid little attention to the area Mexican-Americans before 1969, and the fact was acknowledged by the Michigan Civil Rights Commission as an "almost total lack of awareness of the existence of Spanish-surnamed population." The number of Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo approximated 1 per cent of the white population at the end of 1969, when their spokesmen were considered representatives of a minority community--See footnote 54.

Certainly, changes unfold through time. The time factor creates no decisive effects on the process of acculturation. It rather has a supportive action. When racial prejudice strengthens, time is additional; but when it weakens, time becomes substractive. So through time population grows and declines, culture flourishes and shrinks, and spatial patterns expand and contract.

The spatial adjustment of a minority group within the major population may result in conformity or separateness. Spatial conformity excludes ghettoization; but spatial separateness leads to clustering and forming ghettos or "barrios."

The host community also involves population, culture, time, and space. Its dominant position cannot be properly maintained if its population becomes smaller than that of the minority group, its culture collapses, and its areal control lessens. The process of acculturation opens a two-way communication between the migrant and host communities (Figure 9).

Since the process of acculturation is characterized by its unity, in which each element incorporates the others, the predominant factors will give a clear and meaningful picture of the process through its population,

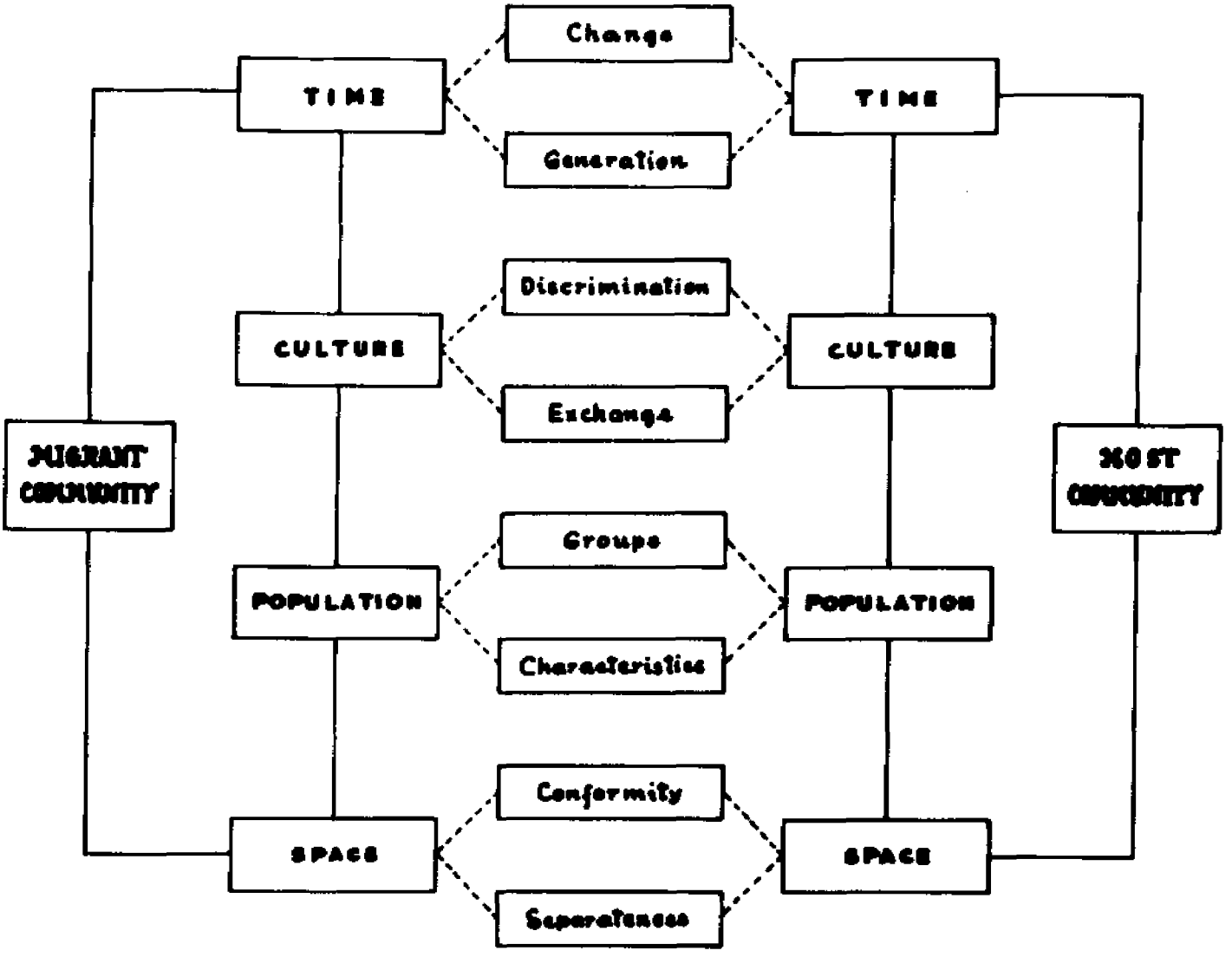

Figure 9
Model of Acculturation Process

culture, and time elements, and its spatial manifestation. Two predominant factors which assume population and culture and provide an index of spatial adjustment consist of:

1. The relation between population of the migrant community and that of the host community.

2. Racial discrimination.

If population and culture are represented by α, the relation between population of the migrant community and that of the host community by the ratio $\frac{m}{h}$, and racial discrimination by d, then a measurement of acculturation is made possible by

$$\alpha = \frac{m}{h} d$$

It is assumed that some degrees of discrimination always exist in the relations between minority and dominant groups. In other words, there is always in the minority population at least one person who feels being a little discriminated against by members of the dominant community. Therefore $d \neq 0$.

The values of m and h are provided by census or field data. One of the many ways to obtain d consists of averaging the percentages of heads of household in the migrant community.

a) who feel that the treatment received from members of the host community is discriminatory in employment, education, and housing;

b) who have no friends among members of the host community;

c) who bear cultural characteristics not found among the majority of host community members.[80]

If $\frac{m}{h} = 1$, the population of the migrant community equals that of the host community. Beyond this value, the minority group ceases to be a minority.

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[80]The Black and the Mexican-American heads of household in Kalamazoo are assumed to bear the following characteristics not found among the majority of whites in the area: 1) Having four or more children; 2) Honoring the family ruled by an authoritarian father; and 3) Admitting the development of personality as more important than the material success. These assumptions are based on "the most frequent family sizes" of three children in the United States, and on the contrast of Anglo and Mexican values explained by Luis F. Hernandez. See Ben J. Wattenberg and Richard M. Scammon, This U.S.A. (New York: Pocket Books, 1967), p. 48. See also footnote 61 of this study.

If d = 100, all heads of household in the migrant community acknowledge discrimination from members of the host community.

Therefore, the maximum value of α is

$$\alpha = \frac{m}{h} d = 100$$

If $\frac{m}{h} = 0.01$, the migrants begin to attract the full awareness of the dominant group and to play the role of a community.

If d = 50, then the heads of household in the migrant community are equally divided about discrimination from members of the host community.

Therefore, the dividing value of α is

$$\alpha = \frac{m}{h} d = 0.5$$

If $0 < \alpha < 0.5$, the migrants lack the community character and face little or almost no discrimination.

Since the spatial manifestation of the acculturation process is implied in α, the values of α indicate the adjustment patterns of the migrant community. Then there are:

1. Spatial Conformity ($0 < \alpha < 0.5$)
2. Spatial Separateness ($0.5 < \alpha \leqslant 100$)

When racial discrimination is not particularly strong with d = 50, separateness develops slowly until the number of people in the minority group reaches 10 per cent of the major population. Then $\alpha = 5$ starts a more important stage.

When discrimination is at its peak d = 100, the great pressure of the dominant community on the minority group accelerates separateness, even though the number of the minority members represents a half of the dominant population. On the other hand, when the size of both groups becomes equal, the presence of too many minority members creates racial competition and makes separateness inevitable even in an atmosphere of moderate discrimination d = 50. Therefore, $\alpha = 50$ indicates a high degree of separateness (Figure 10).

Spatial separateness thus comprises three stages:

a. Emerging ($0.5 < \alpha < 5$)

b. Developing ($5 \leqslant \alpha < 50$)

c. Developed ($50 \leqslant \alpha \leqslant 100$)

The first stage is characterized by a clustering pattern. The second creates concentration of the minority population in specific areas so that parts of a block,

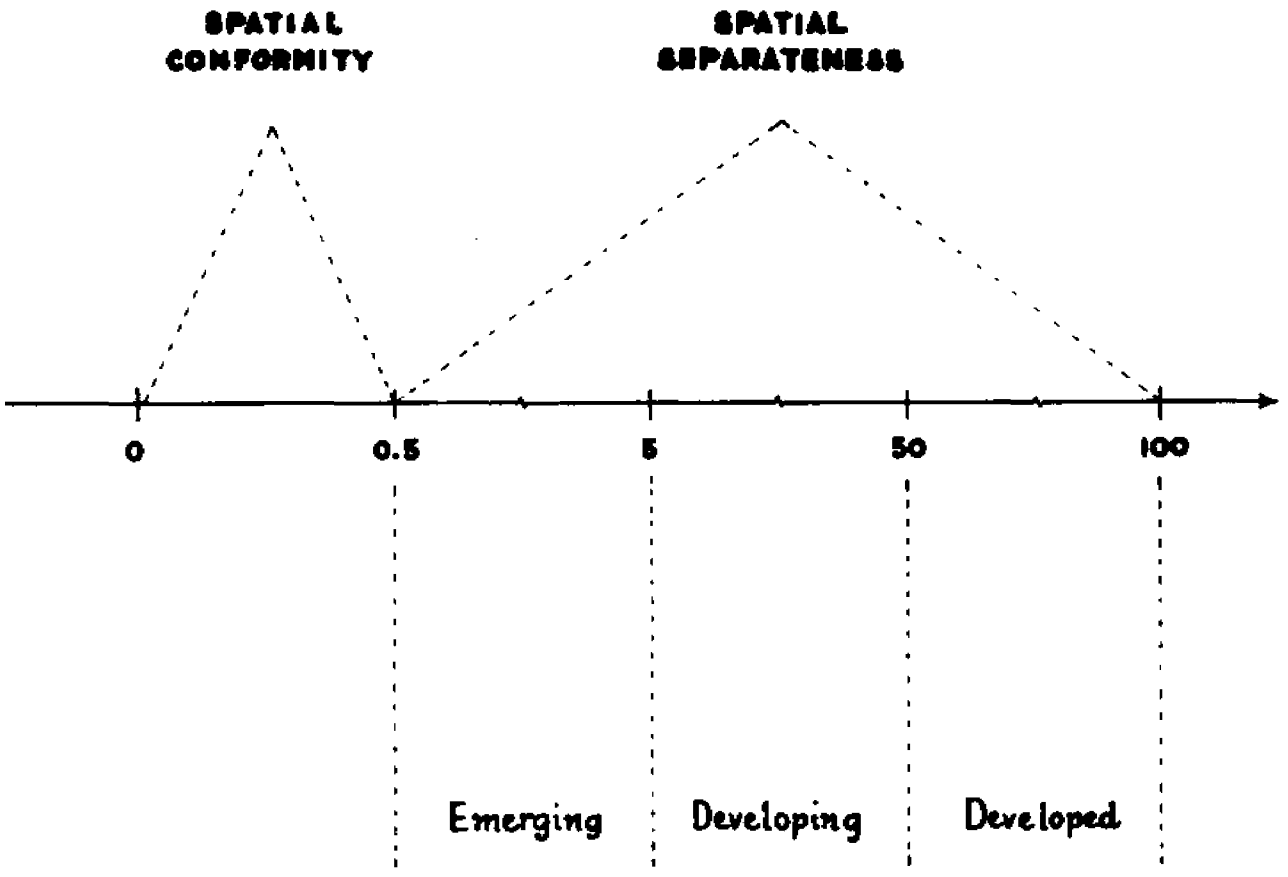

Figure 10
Stages of Spatial Adjustment

a whole block, or groups of several blocks become homogeneously crowded with minority people. The third stage shows large areas such as census tracts or districts almost totally or totally occupied by members of the minority community.

The spatial adjustment of the minority group members is closely related to their migration patterns. Many migrants leave their parents or relatives in their birthplaces and expect to come back some day; others accept an uprooted migration and seek a new life in a new environment; but most of them hope to find freedom and equality at their places of destination and assimilate totally into their host communities.

A limited number of migrants are able to attain cultural and spatial conformity and see their dreams come true. The vast majority become minority group members and face different degrees of separateness. A considerable number of migrants who feel frustrated and disappointed finally return to their homelands; but many flee the ghettos which emerge unexpectedly in their first migration destination. They venture further migrations until they reach conformity. People who are tired of moving around and find ghettos or "barrios" everywhere

have to choose between enduring separateness or going back to their places of origin (Figure 11).

Thus, the spatial adjustment of the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo has resulted in observable facts and measurable patterns. Time, indeed, pervades all aspects of migration and acculturation; but the major population and cultural factors that influence the Black and Mexican-American spatial characters in Kalamazoo consist of the size of these minority groups and their problems of racial discrimination. There lies the key of differences between the Black and Mexican-American stages of separateness. This is implied in the concept of acculturation, which proceeds through population, culture, time, and space, and involves both migrant and host communities.

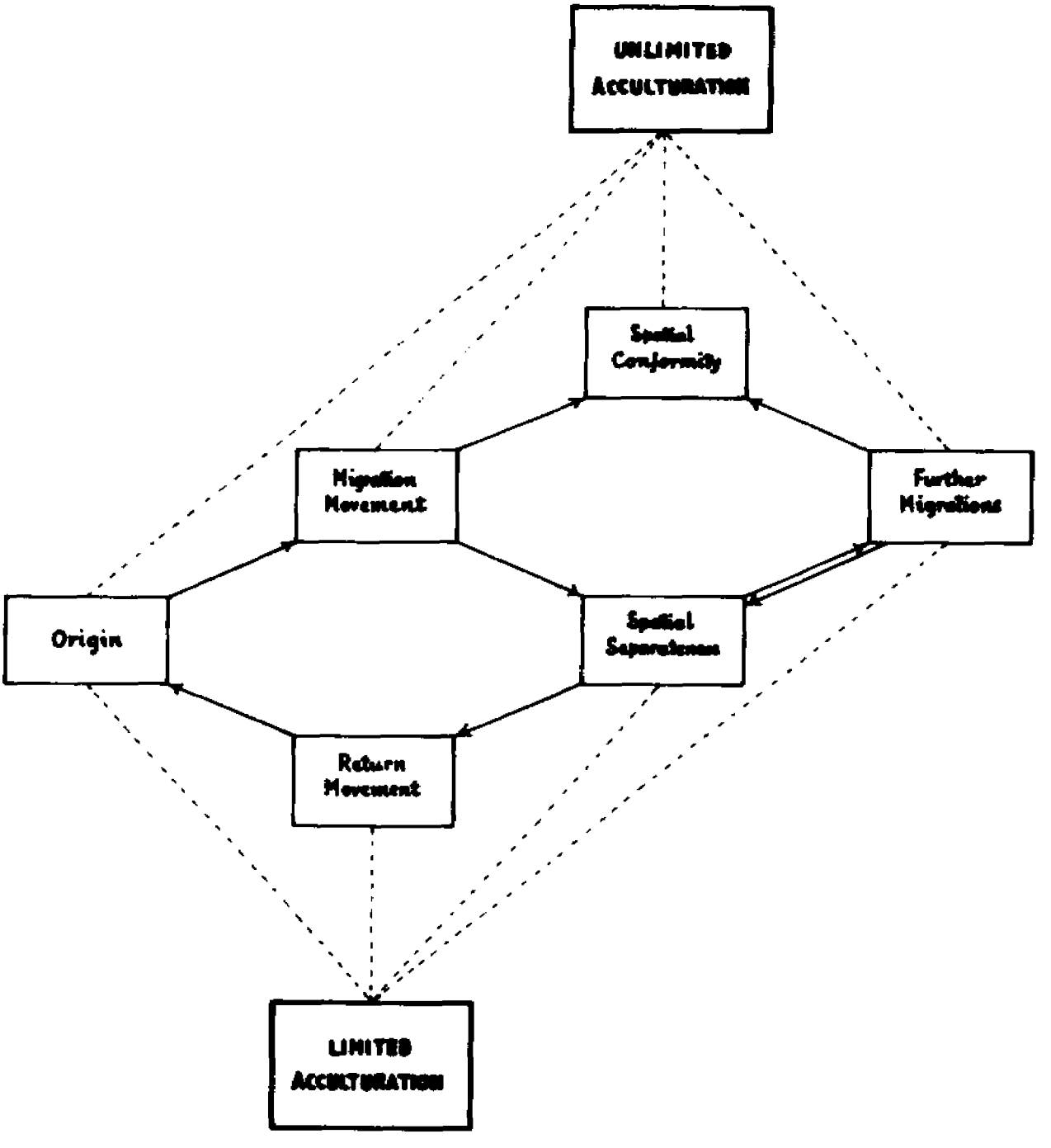

Figure 11
Migration - Acculturation Relations

CONCLUSION

Migration has created many minority groups in Kalamazoo. Some of them, like the Latvians, the Orientals, and the American Indians, play a minor role; but the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans are the leading migrant communities in the area. Due to their important minority status, these later groups have not only raised serious racial problems throughout the country but also echoed their aspirations and protests far away to Africa and Latin America.

In the process of acculturation operating in Kalamazoo between the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans on one hand and the whites on the other hand, racial discrimination has disadvantaged the minority people. Efforts have been made and improvements achieved; but discrimination still persists in many areas, especially in employment, housing, and education. As a reaction to this situation, the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans have turned to their own cultural treasures and preserved

earnestly their traditions and values. So acculturation of the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo has been slow and limited.

Actually, this restriction is reflected on their spatial character and results in a Black ghetto and a Mexican-American clustering pattern. The Black population is highly concentrated in the North side of Kalamazoo City, and the Mexican-Americans exhibit small groups of households located a short distance from each other. These patterns constitute different stages of spatial separateness.

According to the concept of acculturation analyzed in this study, conformity or separateness is the spatial manifestation of the process through population and culture. In other words, the major demographic and cultural factors mold the spatial patterns. Therefore, a measurement of these factors gives the index of conformity or separateness.

The case of Blacks and Mexican-Americans in Kalamazoo, used as a check on this concept, presents the following results:

1. For the Blacks:

The 1970 census of population provides the number of Blacks (m = 8534) and the number of whites (h = 75664) in Kalamazoo City. Through data analyzed in Chapter II of this study, d is obtained by averaging the percentages of Black heads of household who feel that the treatment received from whites is discriminatory in employment (76), housing (63), and education (23); who have no white friends (77); who have four children or more (40); who honor authoritarian fathers (52); and who consider the development of personality more important than the material success (85). Therefore

$$\alpha = \frac{m}{h} d = 7.1$$

2. For the Mexican-Americans:

This study provides the number of Mexican-Americans (m = 800) in Kalamazoo City; and through data analyzed in Chapter II concerning the same cultural characteristics as mentioned above for the Blacks, d is obtained by averaging 73, 62, 18, 70, 47, 90, 93. Therefore,

$$\alpha = \frac{m}{h} d = 0.6$$

Since the dividing value between Conformity and Separateness is 0.5, the Mexican-American spatial adjustment lies very close to the beginning of separateness, as indicated by 0.6. The Blacks, on the contrary, have reached the stage of developing separateness with an index higher than 5.0. The actual spatial patterns observed in Kalamazoo present characteristics that match these conceptual degrees of adjustment.

Time, indeed, is inherent to any process. Time is bringing changes to people in both minority and dominant groups in Kalamazoo. Children of Black and Mexican-American families are attending school side by side with whites. The number of Black and Spanish-American students enrolled at Western Michigan University has been increasing during the recent years; and today white and non-white students are getting along well with each other.[81] Mixed marriages between Mexican-American girls and white American boys are practiced. The acculturation process and its spatial manifestation in Kalamazoo are changing.

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[81]Western Michigan University recorded 830 Black and 131 Spanish-American students in 1970; these numbers increased to 1,043 and 151 respectively in 1971. The total enrollment was 21,713 and 21,846 (Data provided by W.M.U. Administration Office, March, 1972).

If the number of Blacks and Mexican-Americans stabilizes at the present level and racial discrimination lessens, the Black population would gradually spread over the Southeast, South, and Southwest of Kalamazoo, and the Mexican-Americans would break their small groups and develop conformity. If the wave of Black and Mexican-American in-migrants and racial discrimination compete in an endless growth, then acculturation would become very difficult; the flight of whites would point more rapidly to the suburban West, Southwest, South, and Northeast up to Parchment; the Blacks would reach the stage of developed separateness, census tract 2 would turn totally Black, and the whole central North of Kalamazoo would darken with dense and homogeneous ghettos; on the other hand, the Mexican-Americans would advance into developing separateness, and "barrios" would emerge in the Southeast, mainly in census tracts 8, 9, 10, 11 where many whites have been leaving, and perhaps small clusters of Mexican-American households would be found even in the Northeast as well as in the Southwest outside the city limit.

There is, however, no indication of such patterns in the near future. The Kalamazoo manufacturing industries are expanding, and Kalamazoo is developing into an

important regional center for medical, educational, and retailing activities. This should result in more employment opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled workers and attract more Blacks and Mexican-Americans to the city. The population increase in both Black and Mexican-American communities in Kalamazoo will continue to keep acculturation limited, despite moderate improvements in race relations. During the decade ahead, the Blacks and the Mexican-Americans will progress slowly in their present stages of spatial separateness. The Black concentration in Central North Kalamazoo, especially in census tracts 2 and 3, would become gradually higher; and the Mexican-American clustering pattern would appear more obvious.

Certainly, migration and acculturation constitute a vast area of investigation for cultural geographers. The specific steps of advancement of the migrant community within each stage of adjustment, the measurement of corresponding spatial patterns, the formation of a minority group in a rural area or a megalopolis, the spatial character of a migrant community whose religious leaders play the role of political administrators, the relationships between racial groups, culture, and spatial adjustment

in war time . . . are some of the innumerable problems that stem from this study and invite further research.

Race relations and their spatial implications differ from people to people, from one culture to another, and from this moment to the next. Acculturation is open to immense horizons of learning.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A, TABLE I

MICHIGAN: DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK POPULATION BY COUNTY, 1900, 1970

County	1900	1970
Alcona	1	--
Alger	7	38
Allegan	261	1,088
Alpena	3	64
Antrim	49	3
Arenac	4	10
Baraga	8	33
Barry	43	34
Bay	161	736
Benzie	90	78
Berrien	647	18,283
Branch	58	202
Calhoun	695	11,955
Cass	1,568	4,103
Charlevoix	65	17
Cheboygan	29	14
Chippewa	40	785
Clare	1	5
Clinton	35	43
Crawford	4	50
Delta	39	23
Dickinson	8	2
Eaton	75	285
Emmet	68	68
Genessee	277	60,338
Gladwin	1	10
Gogebic	5	4
Grand Traverse	39	128
Gratiot	119	45
Hillsdale	35	71
Houghton	44	39
Huron	10	25

Appendix A, Table I (Cont.)

County	1900	1970
Ingham	410	14,371
Ionia	95	1,098
Iosco	9	738
Iron	13	4
Isabella	167	326
Jackson	504	8,492
Kalamazoo	564	9,579
Kalkaska	14	--
Kent	681	23,076
Keweenaw	1	20
Lake	3	1,274
Lapeer	31	339
Leelanau	12	23
Lenawee	352	554
Livingston	52	492
Luce	--	5
Mackinac	19	6
Macomb	91	7,572
Manistee	25	76
Marquette	64	1,213
Mason	5	110
Mecosta	316	403
Menominee	11	4
Midland	32	147
Missaukee	7	1
Monroe	122	2,038
Montcalm	119	57
Montmorency	2	1
Muskegon	53	16,722
Newaygo	17	531
Oakland	222	28,439
Oceana	35	53
Ogenaw	7	2
Ontonagon	11	1
Osceola	21	12
Oscoda	4	1
Otsego	4	16
Ottawa	27	353
Presque Isle	12	--
Roscommon	--	11

Appendix A, Table I

County	1900	1970
Saginaw	438	26,856
St. Clair	79	2,703
St. Joseph	96	1,023
Sanilac	11	14
Schoolcraft	2	3
Shiawassee	44	30
Tuscula	36	346
Van Buren	676	4,456
Washtenaw	1,240	17,822
Wayne	4,535	721,072
Wexford	36	2
Total	15,816	991,066

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1900, 1970.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please Do Not Put Your Name on This Questionnaire

	Place of Birth	Yr. of Birth	Sex	School Yrs. Completed	Occupation in Kalamazoo	Monthly Income (Optional)
Head of Household						
Spouse						
Children: 1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						

Residence in 1950_____ 1955_____
Residence in 1960_____ 1965_____
Residence in 1970_____
Do you own or rent your home?_____

Occupation at Place of Origin_____ Monthly Family Income (Optional)_____
Occupation between Origin and Kalamazoo_____ Mo. Family Income (Opt.)_____

Why did you move to Kalamazoo? Seeking Jobs_____ Escaping a Ghetto-living_____
Escaping Rural Poverty_____ Joining Relatives_____ Other Reasons_____
Did you move directly to Kalamazoo?_____ If Not, Where did you move first?_____
Did you move alone?_____ If Not, with whom?_____
Did you move by car_____ bus_____ plane_____ other?_____
What cities or towns did you stop along the way to Kalamazoo?_____
What year did you enter Kalamazoo?_____
Where did you first stay? Hotel___ Motel___ Rented House___ Relatives___
Friends___

Did you feel it was easy to get acquainted with other black (or Mexican-American) people when you came to Kalamazoo?_____
Why do you feel that white people frequently move out of the neighborhood into which black (or Mexican-American) people are moving?_____
What kind of treatment did you get from whites when you were looking for jobs?_____
What difficulties did you run into in finding adequate housing?_____
How do you feel your children were received in Kalamazoo schools?_____
How many white friends do you and your family have?_____
Where did you get help when you came to Kalamazoo?_____
Do you have any plan to move away from Kalamazoo?_____ If so, where?_____
Where is home to you?_____
Do you like to have a family ruled by an authoritarian father?_____
Do you think that the material success is more important than the development of personality?_____

NOTE:

APPENDIX B

SPANISH-AMERICAN RESIDENCE INFORMATION
[from Kalamazoo Community Relations Board]

1. Correct Name _____
2. Correct Address _____
3. Telephone Number _____
4. Head of the House: Yes _____ No _____
5. Married _____ Single _____ Divorced _____ Widowed _____
6. Date of Birth _____ Place of Birth _____
7. House: Own _____ Rent _____
8. How long in the U.S.A. _____ In Kalamazoo _____
9. Is he or she employed _____ If employed, where? _____
10. How much education _____
11. Can he or she speak English & Spanish ____ Write English & Spanish ____
12. Wife's Name _____
13. Date of Birth _____ Place of Birth _____
14. If employed, where? _____
15. Education _____
16. Childrens' Names:

Childrens' Names:	Date of Birth:	Place of Birth:	If in school, where?
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			

17. Complaints: _____
18. Suggestions: _____

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