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VILLARREAL, Roberto E., 1936-
MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN SOUTH TEXAS: AN
INQUIRY INTO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE.

The University of Oklahoma, Ph.D., 1975
Political Science, general

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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

Mexican-Americans in South Texas: An Inquiry
Into Social and Political Change

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Political Science

by

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1975

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1975

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The successful conclusion of an extensive survey research project such as this one requires the cooperation, the good will and patience of many individuals who worked so diligently. Professor Samuel A. Kirkpatrick willingly offered his expert knowledge, positive criticism, and guidance from the initial conception of drawing the item schedule and design of this project through the final revision of the manuscript. Any shortcomings in the final product are due mainly to my inability to follow his advice and instructions. I am also indebted to Professor Hugh MacNiven, Harry Holloway, David Morgan, and Jeff Rinehart for their criticism and assistance in perfecting this dissertation. Most of all, I am indebted to my wife Norma, not only for her encouragement, tolerance, and understanding in her role as a dissertation writer's wife, but for her role as interviewer. Marco Dante, Carlo Renato, and Ethel Minerva provided a continual source of amusement, delight, and inspiration.

To a great extent, much of the success of survey research lies with the interviewers. I was very fortunate to obtain the assistance and support of Rudy Garza, Ramiro Castillo, John Marks Silva, and Gilbert Garcia. These persons made my work much easier.

There are several school officials that were extremely helpful in reducing some of the initial problems in the computation of data. Don Armstrong and Don Lewis, data processing instructors, assisted me in the initial step of computer manipulation. Access

to college facilities were provided by Bee County College President, Grady Hogue. My sincere gratitude and appreciation to these persons.

Most of the computer manipulation was accomplished at the Computer Center, University of Oklahoma, through the extensive assistance and expert advice of Dr. Kirkpatrick and his graduate assistants, Bill Lyons and Mike Fitzgerald. Their patience and perseverance in explaining the fundamentals of statistical analysis are greatly appreciated. I am also indebted to the skillful and conscientious typing of Rumalda Rodriguez, who diligently typed the entire original draft. Barbara Longoria typed some parts of the appendix. Arturo Lara worked unselfishly through the jungle of English grammar, and L. Robert Ables contributed to the editing of the manuscript.

The considerable expense associated with this research was defrayed by a dissertation grant fellowship (1972-1973) from the Ford Foundation. My sincere thanks to the Foundation.

I must gratefully acknowledge the subject-participant of this survey research--the mass and elite respondents. Two hundred and two respondents and thirty-one elite members were very generous with their time in providing a vast amount of information about the Mexican-American way of life. There are several persons who went out of their way to provide the author with insights of the socio-political situation of the community. My gratitude and thanks goes to Humberto Saenz, Domingo Medina, Alex Garza, and Joe Moron.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to my mother, Senora Antonia Escamilla Villarreal, who more than anyone else influenced this author to reach one of his ultimate goals in life. This study is dedicated to the memory of this Grand Lady who was a pioneer of social change.

CHAPTER I

THE MEXICAN-AMERICANS

Introduction

In the study of large ethnic groups in the United States, the Mexican-Americans are the least researched and understood. Although in recent decades the availability of anthropological and sociological studies have increased, studies about political attitudes and behavior are limited in number. For example, when compared to studies of Blacks and other minorities, political studies on Mexican-Americans were difficult to obtain as recently as a decade ago.¹ Some attention has been given to Mexican-Americans in research because of the recent intensification of political activities as reflected by social change within the Mexican-American community, but such studies, whether popular or scholarly, have been few in number. To most Americans the Mexican-American has been little known outside of the Southwest,² and what was known was based on images and stereotypes.³ A brief review of the literature, such as Julian Samora's La Raza: Forgotten Americans,⁴ Celia S. Heller's Mexican-American Youth: Forgotten at the Crossroads,⁵ and George I. Sanchez's Forgotten People,⁶ will indicate the obscurity of "the nation's second largest minority."

Historically, Texas has had a larger percentage of Mexican-Americans than any other state in the United States. This population is mostly concentrated in South Texas.⁷ As compared to Mexican-Americans in other parts of the Southwest, however, South Texas Mexican-Americans rank lowest in income, educational achievement,

employment, and acculturation, as well as in other socioeconomic aspects of the political system.⁸ As compared to the dominant Anglo⁹ society, the Mexican-Americans in the Southwest "are highly differentiated...on nearly every yardstick of social and economic position."¹⁰ For example, in 1960 Mexican-Americans fourteen or more years of age averaged about four fewer years schooling than Anglos, and one and a half years fewer than non-whites. Needless to say, the social, educational and economic gap between Mexican-Americans and the dominant society is even wider in South Texas than other parts of the State.¹¹ Despite the socioeconomic gap which is clearly defined in recent literature, the Mexican-Americans are changing and this change is radically affecting the political system.

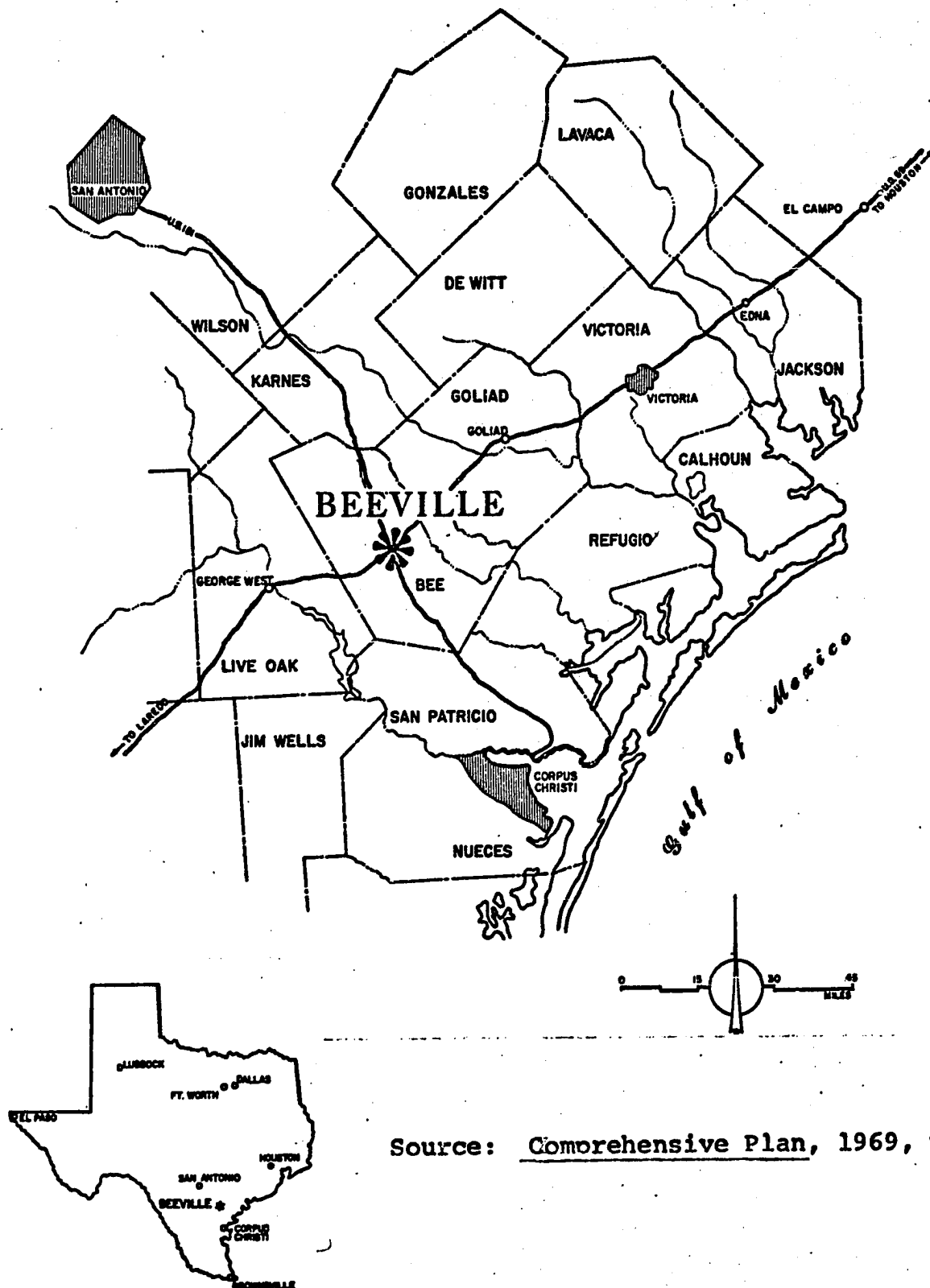
Beeville is the only incorporated city in Bee County (see map). In 1968, the city had a land area of 4.2 square miles. Beeville is also the largest city within a 50 mile radius. Because of its geographic position, the city has become "the focal point for a substantial trade area."¹³ The city is operated under a city council-manager form of government.

The racial/ethnic composition of Beeville's 14,500 inhabitants is 50 percent Mexican-American, 46 percent Anglo, three percent Negro, and one percent "other". A demographic analysis will indicate that the Mexican-American population is growing faster than the other groups. Nevertheless, an historical account of Mexican-Americans is practically non-existent. In fact, no significant information exists prior to 1963. Several "historical stories" of Bee County

exist, but none of them give treatment to the Mexican-American. In a booklet written in 1963, Beeville: Economic and Population Background, the only reference to this ethnic group is made when "the entire Hefferman family was massacred by Indians and Mexicans (1856) at about where the present courthouse now stands."¹⁴ In another report entitled An Industrial Facts Book of Bee County, Texas (1970),¹⁵ no reference is made to this group. The report which deals with the "Living Conditions" of Bee Countians, makes no distinction between the economic of the two ethnic groups. In a recent publication, The Historical Story of Bee County, Texas (1973),¹⁶ Ezell attempts "to disentangle the mythical stories from the truly historical events...."¹⁷ The "historical events" of Mexican-Americans of Bee County are not found, but in one chapter, "Federal Funds Used to Advantage," the author makes some reference to "Indigent people and those who have low incomes."¹⁸ Any other reference to this minority is purely tokenism. The only source where a breakdown of characteristics and conditions of different groups are found is in a Comprehensive Plan prepared for the City of Beeville (1969), but this was strictly a financial report.¹⁹

A similar situation exists throughout South Texas. Nevertheless, Beeville can be easily compared to South Texas since one finds similar socioeconomic patterns: population distribution is similar; the Mexican-American level of education and occupational jobs is lower than the Anglo counterpart; and the percentage of Mexican-Americans living in overcrowded and substandard housing units far exceeds that of Anglos and non-whites.

BEEVILLE AND PART OF SOUTH TEXAS REGIONAL MAP



Source: Comprehensive Plan, 1969, p. 4B.

It was in this Comprehensive Plan which was "designed to provide a long-range planning in industry and agriculture of the city and county,"²⁰ that a list of eleven planning districts are outlined. A brief description of two planning districts (District 4, the predominantly Mexican-American West Side, and District 6, the predominantly Anglo East Side) as described by the Comprehensive Plan which exemplifies the socioeconomic gap:

District 4 (Predominantly Mexican-American)
 ...of the 795 principal structures about 38 percent are in a substandard condition. Blighting conditions in this district are the second most severe in the city. Families in this district are estimated to average 4.1 persons per dwelling.... In addition, there is greater crowding of residences on the land with occasionally more than one house per lot. One third of all the current welfare cases in the eleven planning districts are in this district.... Average family income of \$3,500 per year. There is a high incidence of fires in this district.

District 6 (Predominantly Anglos)
 Almost all of the streets are paved (in District 4 only, 15 percent of the traveled streets were of "hard surface"). The family size is estimated to be 3.2 persons per family with an annual income per family averaging \$7,500.²¹

A brief descriptive analysis of these two districts brings socioeconomic awareness of two distinct sections of the city. The socioeconomic gap is very much an ethnic division of two major groups of people--the Anglos and Mexican-Americans. The barrio and the neighborhood have two separate identities and life-styles and are found in practically every city or town in South Texas. This ethnic, geographical, political, and economic separation is divided by railroad tracks,²² by north and south, or by east and west boundaries.

There are a number of community studies on Mexican-Americans in South Texas;²³ however, none of them is politically oriented

none stresses the socioeconomic factor of the community, and none attempts to measure social change. Some of the major studies, such as Kibbe's Latin Americans in Texas, are still relevant but fail to introduce the major elements of the political system.²⁴ Others have emphasized the socio-cultural aspect of the community.²⁵ Although these studies are valuable since the basic findings are in considerable accord, they tend to reflect the less acculturated groups in a rural atmosphere a decade or two ago.

Because of inadequate research on Mexican-Americans in South Texas, a community study of social change and political interaction would bring light to a much needed but much neglected study of Mexican-American political life. Only a broad study of this nature has yet been conducted,²⁶ but its major findings are strictly based on urban settings--San Antonio and Los Angeles. Beeville, however, contains an urban touch as well as a touch of rural South Texas.²⁷ Like other communities of South Texas, Beeville is characterized by social change which is categorically reflected in its political activism. This is a common characteristic not only of Beeville but of South Texas as a whole. Due to major historical events and geographical situation, the Mexican-American culture has been eroded, altered, and shifted by its exposure to the American experience. These and other related national trends and events which have modified internal institutions and processes have brought new dimensions to the Mexican-American community. The recent emergence of a middle class, paralleled with stronger aspirations for more education and better schooling and the gradual acceptance by the

dominant society, are social movements with considerable impact in the social structure for social change.

The motivational aspect for a study of Mexican-Americans in Beeville and South Texas is multi-dimensional. The literature often emphasizes the cultural uniqueness²⁸ of the entire community of Mexican-Americans. Much of it fails to characterize many of the problems as political.²⁹ Other such studies can be characterized as "reform" literature.³⁰ "Few investigators have related the experience of the Mexican-American people to the richly documented experience of other minorities in the United States."³¹

Research Design

Scope

Research on ethnic group politics raises many fundamental questions pertinent to the subject matter. The study of Mexican-Americans is no different from that of other ethnic groups. Although research on Mexican-Americans is characterized by a multitude of empirical questions, the researcher plans to consider three comprehensive questions followed by a multitude of related questions. The first involves a question of community change: at this point of development, does the nucleus of the community contain the proper ingredients which will encourage socio-political change? This is a very fundamental question that has been argued subjectively in this community as well as in any area where a concentration of Mexican-Americans are found. A certain amount of argumentation provided by the dominant society "demonstrates" the Mexican-American lack of desire for social change.

For example, it is a common assumption of the dominant Anglo society that Mexican-Americans are in a state of deprivation because their cultural background dictates inability to social change; that Mexican-Americans are informal, lazy, and approve of welfare;³² and that Mexican-Americans are predominantly rural and predominantly "Mexican".³³ It is common to find a series of images (positive and negative) used as factual descriptions of this ethnic group. It is the contention of this researcher that many of these beliefs are stereotypes and that characterization of the Mexican-Americans as "unwilling to change" is not valid, nor is the literature on the subject well-documented. To partially justify this contention in the research, an item schedule was planned and administered to more than 200 household respondents randomly selected within the political boundaries of the City of Beeville. The purpose of this survey was to gain insight into attitudes and values of this ethnic group on a series of important problems and issues. Most of these items have been considered by other researchers on Mexican-Americans in different parts of the Southwest and among other ethnic groups.³⁴ A comparative analysis will be made on any relevant issue where reliable data may be compared and analyzed.

The second research question is interrelated with the first. If Mexican-Americans are willing to change, what are the components of this nucleus that signify degrees of socio-political change? Because of the difficulty of measuring and analyzing change, a concerted effort will be made (quantitatively and qualitatively) to study components such as the nuclear family, kinship, interaction with the neighborhood (barrio), as well as behavioral patterns of political participation and attitudes toward the leadership.

The third and final comprehensive question of this study deals with the topic of elites and non-elites of Mexican descent. Because of their status and position in the community, Mexican-American elites are not only more politicized, but also they are more assimilated into the social and political system. To what extent are elites different from non-elites in the adoption of the social, political, and cultural attitudes and values of the dominant society? Since elites are in various positions of influence, what impact do they have on the masses in bringing about social and political change? Like other major questions of this study, the difficulty of accurately measuring the degree of assimilation and socialization and the importance of these elites to bring change among the masses is phenomenal. However, in order to alleviate this problem and to better understand elite-mass relations as well as to know the importance of Mexican-Americans in the political system, a series of items were prepared and administered to thirty-one Mexican-American leaders.³⁵ For comparative purposes, a number of items in the interview schedule were identical. The items included a variety of sociological and political questions where comparative analysis of the two identifiable groups could be made. The elite interview schedule contains more political items than the mass schedule; moreover, comparative analysis will be made between Mexican-American elites of this community with other studies of Mexican-Americans³⁶ as well as with the dominant group.

It is the contention of this researcher that social and political change is occurring even in the small communities. The pace of change has probably increased in recent years. Furthermore,

a multitude of group and institutional forces, some initiated from the local setting and others externally derived, have penetrated the subcultural system to change many of their values, especially during the past decade. Finally, it is the contention of the researcher that Mexican-Americans are being assimilated into the socio-political system and that the Mexican-American elite is providing the links between the Mexican-American masses and the dominant society. In other words, the elite has served as a catalyst; it has been the ethnic elite (local and otherwise) who has set the tone for some of the changes that are occurring. In sum, the research design is oriented towards a description and (hopefully) an explanation of the groups' status of change and the impact of this change as expressed in political activity and political leadership. The impact of change has modified and will continue to modify the allocation of values, which in turn modifies and changes the political system despite resistance from the dominant political group.

Method

An important issue in research planning is the familiar problem of methodology. The study of Mexican-Americans offers no simple alternative. To enhance the academic interest the ideal path of research would be to state a number of general hypotheses and sub-hypotheses with the general understanding that these generalizations explain the socioeconomic and political milieu of the Mexican-Americans in a given community. This type of research might lead into hypothesis testing or model building. Rigorously applied, this venture could be extremely valuable toward theory-building, something greatly needed in Mexican-American research.

This path, unfortunately, would be too ideal at this time since the study of this diversified ethnic group leads the researcher into a relatively uncharted territory where the literature has not been disciplined. Moreover, the study of the sociopolitical system in transition, where approximately fifty percent of the population is composed of Mexican-Americans with an urban/rural setting, is also a relatively new venture. To fully commit oneself to a set of generalizations would be to exclude factors that are relevant to the character of this "unknown" minority.

These problems, however, should not discourage the search for answers to a multitude of questions relevant to data which are manageable for comparative analysis. Furthermore, in order to give direction and relevance to this study, a considerable number of hypotheses are proposed, some are testable while others are untestable. Two separate interview schedules were designed, one for Mexican-American masses, the other for the Mexican-American elite. Prior to the administration of the questionnaire, a pre-test survey was conducted to a small group from the same basic group that constituted the total sample of the final survey. A few minor corrections were made since most questions designed had been used in other surveys. The survey (mass) was conducted from February through July of 1973. The 202 respondents were personally surveyed by four surveyors. This researcher, however, personally interviewed 70 percent of the total respondents. The items considered were mainly on sociological and political factors relevant to the study of ethnic change.

It is to be hoped that in the collection of data and the exercise of keen observations, as well as in the formal and informal

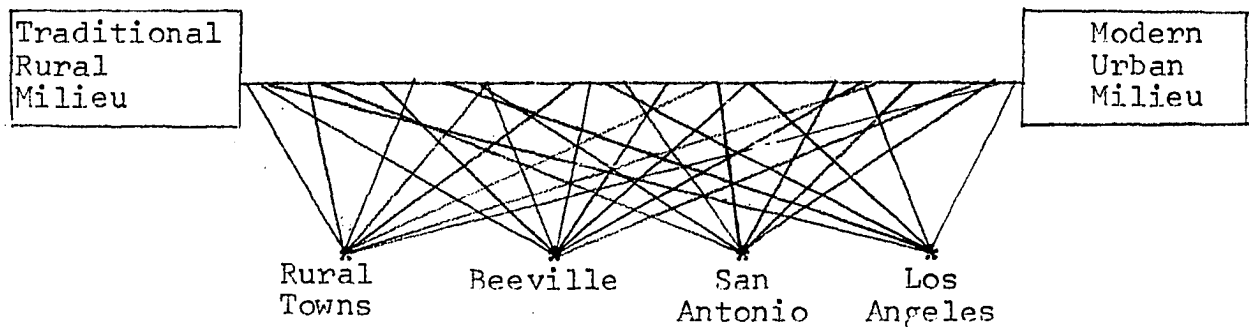
discussions with citizens and community leaders, the researcher would rigorously analyze and interpret what is found in light of existing generalizations about this ethnic group. Ultimately, it is the desire of this researcher to contribute to verification or modification of hypotheses that will add relevance to the ultimate understanding of a culture whose socioeconomic and political composition is an integral part of the political process of Beeville, South Texas, and the Southwest.

The research method in this study will provide flexibility. As the research expands into the various facets of the community, the methods of obtaining qualitative and quantitative information will change according to need and to circumstances.³⁷ In the main, however, the research will constitute a quantitative and qualitative interpretation of social institutions and/or historical antecedents. The use of historical context, especially used before the data are interpreted, cannot be overemphasized. Rocco clearly understood the importance of providing a historical context when he stated that contemporary problems and issues in the Mexican-American community can be understood only if the events of the present are viewed against the background of the trends and changes of the past.³⁸ The political factor will be studied partially quantitatively as well as qualitatively as it derives from the study of social/economic factors.

Interpretation of socio-political change will be made in terms of a continuum from "traditional" to "modern".³⁹ The rural-urban continuum is broad and flexible since it must be recognized

that Mexican-American people are very diversified, especially when one considers the tremendous social diversification between a resident of Los Angeles and a resident of rural South Texas. As a matter of fact, the figure above represents a rough schematization that has no clear beginning or ending. The scheme, however, seems to fit much of the literature on Mexican-Americans.⁴⁰

Figure 1-1



With hope that this research would add, in some way, to the systematic study of Mexican-Americans, the researcher used as basis for research Grebler's The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority,⁴¹ since it has been considered by many as "the most systematically collected and analyzed comparative data available on attitudes and practices of Mexican-Americans...."⁴² The household questionnaire has been tailored to the social and political environment of the community of Beeville which has a more rural overtone than that of Grebler's project. In addition to this, an interview was prepared and surveyed among the Mexican-American elite for comparative analysis. This provided a dimension in the literature of Mexican-Americans normally neglected.⁴³ It is the contention of this researcher that a survey with these

categorical inclinations would give insight to the attitudes and values of Mexican-Americans as a major component of the local political system.

Sample and Procedure

The geographical location for the study is the City of Beeville, Texas, with a population of approximately 14,000 residents. The ethnic composition of the city which very much characterizes the ethnic composition of South Texas reads as follows: Mexican-American - 50% (Spanish speaking according to U.S. Census), Anglo - 46%, Negro - 3.17%, and 1% "other white". The ethnic composition lends itself to the study of Mexican-Americans and Anglos. However, time and cost constraints limited the study to one major group--the Mexican-Americans.

The research study strictly deals with Mexican-Americans of this community.⁴⁴ The random sample focused on the west side of the city where better than 90 percent of the total population are Mexican-Americans.

Household Sample. The main thrust of the data collected for this research derives from all potential Mexican-American heads of a household, either male or female.⁴⁵ Since the interviewees were heads of households, eighteen years old or younger were excluded unless they were married and qualified as a "head of household". A household is defined as a residential dwelling and all members permanently residing in that structure. Although apartment and public housing residents are not considerable, they were included in the household survey.

Two major data resources were available for estimating the major characteristics of the universe: (1) the U.S. Census (1970) publication provided the total number of Mexican-Americans as urban residents. Income and age criteria were also available and considered.⁴⁶ (2) Beeville's Comprehensive Plan (1969)⁴⁷ for sampling procedure purposes proved to be useful since it was "developed from extensive research study" whose sources included (a) a search and review of all types of existing maps, plans, reports, and statistical data of the city; (b) information gathered through interviews of the local residents, public officials, and meetings with the advisory board; and (c) information gathered "through detailed investigation on the ground of the city".⁴⁸ The primary use of the report is in terms of the division of major characteristics of the universe into eleven planning districts. For each one of the eleven districts, the report provides family characteristics such as size, income, nationality, as well as participants of welfare programs.

In addition to the above sources of data and information, knowledge, understanding, and familiarity of the community by the interviewers (a rare substance in survey research) provided further depth in the process of obtaining adequate representation of the universe.

Districts 3, 4, 7, 8 and 9 will be considered extensively. Consideration is due to the concentration of significant numbers of Mexican-Americans. The remaining districts were lightly used since Mexican-American residents were scattered and have few in number.

District 3. This district is on the northwest side of the city. This is a district of limited development; but natural boundaries, a proposed large park, and a loop highway under construction influenced its designation as a district. A majority of the district is vacant with a few residential structures comprising the principal land use.

District 4. This district is located immediately northwest of the Central Business District. A majority of the district is developed. Of the 795 principal structures, about 38 percent are in a substandard condition. Renewable structures account for approximately 30 percent of the structures and about 32 percent are standard. Of more importance is the fact that the district has almost 39 percent of all the substandard structures in the eleven planning districts. Blighting conditions in this district are the second most severe in the city. Families in this district are estimated to average 4.1 persons per dwelling, which is above the city average. In addition, there is greater crowding of residences on the land with occasionally more than one house per lot. One third of all the current welfare cases in the eleven planning districts are in this district. These problems are partially explained by an estimated average family income of \$3,500 per year. Residents are predominantly white with Spanish surnames. There is a high incidence of fires in this district.

District 7. This district is in the southwest part of the city. A majority of the district is developed residentially with the south one-half vacant and available for future development. Almost 43 percent of the structures are substandard and 28 percent are classed as renewable. This district contains about 55 percent of all substandard structures in the eleven planning districts. Estimates of average persons per family for the district are 4.1. Income in this district is estimated to average \$2,800 per family, the lowest of any of the districts. There are 167 current State welfare cases in this district, or almost 40 percent of all cases in the urban area. Residents are predominantly white with Spanish surnames.

Elementary schools are not available without crossing at least one major thoroughfare or highway. Blighting conditions which affect present and future conditions of the district include numerous and concentrated substandard and renewable structures, unpaved and substandard streets and numerous privies. Low family income, large family sizes, and resulting numerous welfare cases complicate the programs necessary to bring this district up to a standard condition.

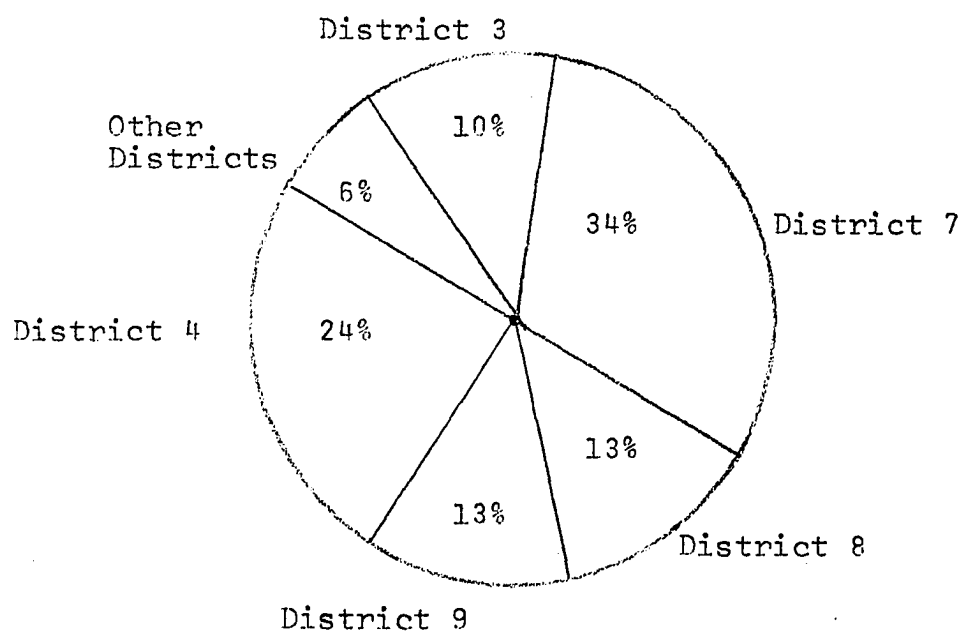
District 8. This district is immediately south of the Central Business District. A majority of the district consists of developed residential use. Approximately 80 percent of the 350 structures are in a standard condition, 12 percent renewable, and 8 percent substandard. Public facilities in the district include an elementary school and a municipal park. Approximately one-half of the streets are paved. Sanitary sewer and water lines are available to all structures. The size of the families is estimated to average 3.5 persons with an average annual income of \$5,500. A total of 49 welfare cases were reported in the district. The district ranked fourth highest in number of structural fires. Blighting conditions which affect the future development of the district include the unpaved streets and the substandard and renewable structures.

District 9. This district is in the southeast part of the city. A majority of the district is developed with residential uses. Other land uses in the district include a hospital and a limited amount of commercial uses. A majority, or 98 percent of the 166 structures in the district, are in a standard condition and only two structures are substandard. Sanitary sewer and water lines are available to all of the structures. Estimates indicate an average family size of 3.5 persons and an average family income of \$5,700. There are only two welfare cases reported in the district. There are no substantial blighting conditions. Almost all of the traveled streets are paved or included in a current paving program.⁴⁹

Division of the Universe. The availability of population figures for different sections of the city with a degree of accuracy as well as other related criteria made it convenient to divide the universe. First, the universe was divided into five parts as shown on Figure 1-2. Each district represents the percentage of Mexican-Americans in relation to the total number considered. For example, District 7 has a Mexican-American population of 2,240. This represents 34 percent (see Figure 1-2) of the total number of the Universe. Second, the size of the sample was divided proportionally according to the percentage of Mexican-

Americans in each district. In other words, the number of questionnaires used for each district was in accordance with population density. Third, as the number of households per district was discovered, the geographic situation of each district was considered. The number of city streets were counted in each district⁵⁰ and each street was assigned an equal number of households to be surveyed. Finally, the number of households per street was randomly selected by the surveyors. This resulted in the selection of 216 households to be interviewed, of whom 202 completed interviews.

Figure 1-2
APPROXIMATE PERCENTAGES OF MEXICAN AMERICANS
BY PLANNING DISTRICTS, BEEVILLE, TEXAS



All contacts and interviews were done by the surveyors in person. The success of this venture was due mainly to the careful manner of making the initial contact. The "typical" prospective respondent was approached in the following manner: first, the general purpose of the survey and the importance of the respondent's contribution toward better understanding of Mexican-Americans was explained. The initial contact was mainly to set a "convenient" hour to conduct the survey with the head or the spouse unless, of course, the respondent had time at the moment. Setting an appointment at the respondent's convenience proved to be a very successful venture. However, many quickly agreed to answer the call. Second, once the prospective interviewee agreed to be interviewed, either at initial contact or later, an informal conversation followed prior to the first item of the schedule. There are at least three reasons for the informal conversation: (1) it provided links of association such as knowledge of some individual in the neighborhood or the researcher's association with the local college; (2) it set a relaxing mood where the interviewee felt no obligation to answer any particular question since every answer was strictly voluntary; and (3) it assured strict confidence on information. Once these steps were accomplished, the interviewees cooperated diligently and with enthusiasm.

The system of sampling procedure for the survey research set the stage for gathering data with the minimum of constraints. Practical considerations, however, provided some limitations to the "ideal" situation. The selection of surveyors and the schedule of an appointment for interview were the main constraints. Adjustments

were adequately made on these two counts, and the gathering of data proceeded with much ease.

Elite Sample. The development of an item schedule for the Mexican-American elite of the community was patterned with some similarity and some difference from the mass item schedule. Like the mass item schedule, the elite questionnaire deals with a series of sociological questions for comparative analysis. Unlike the mass sample, the elite schedule delves considerably more into political questions pertaining mainly to problems and issues of the community. The sociological questions derived from the same source as those of the household sample, while the elite item schedule derives from various studies on Mexican-Americans as well as other groups.⁵¹ Although the bulk of the questions have been tested in some studies, some questions are being used for the first time. The questionnaire deals with political variables such as political efficacy, organizational activity, political unity, welfare attitudes, party, and satisfaction with elective officials. Since the bulk of these variables have been treated in various studies, comparative analysis will be made whenever feasible. However, no community study has been made where masses and elites are compared on various issues.

A combination of methods was used to identify the community leaders to be surveyed. With a certain amount of familiarity with the community leadership, the researcher, after much consultation with the members of the community, selected ten persons whose knowledge of the community is well-known. These selected persons were asked to list as many people as they desired who they considered to be influential members of the Mexican-American community.

A combination of methods was used to identify the Mexican-American community elite to be surveyed. The basic method utilized was the "snowball method." In the initial step, the researcher nominated ten persons commonly recognized as leaders of the community. These persons were asked to suggest additional names of community elites. As the interviewees were contacted, they in turn suggested additional ones. A continuing tabulation was closely kept on the frequency of mention of each listed name. When the name of a person was mentioned at least three times, the person became a candidate for an interview. Potential interviewees represented various segments of the community, among them government, business, and the professions.⁵² This resulted in the selection of thirty-four possible candidates. All elite interview candidates were personally contacted by the researcher followed by a brief discussion about the purpose and the process of answering. Then the prospective interviewee was given a period of one week to answer the questionnaire at his convenience. After a week, a contact was made either in person or by telephone. This was followed by the second and third personal call in case additional time was needed to answer the questionnaire. Within the month of May (1973), thirty-one of the original thirty-four candidates answered the entire item schedule.

The qualitative sector data gathering has been abundant and crucial for this study. Accessibility to the Mexican-American people, especially the elite, was a daily occurrence. Although the flow of information on a variety of issues was constant, at times it was trivial and repetitious. This repertoire of data

was accumulated in a period that extends over three years. The sources of information were: participant observation, local and regional newspapers,⁵³ local radio station, historical antecedents of Bee County and Beeville, and general knowledge of socio-political patterns in the community and South Texas.

The interview schedule follows an organizational scheme of an intricate interrelationship of sociological and political variables (see Figure 1-3). From this general scheme, the hypothesis that Mexican-American elites are more susceptible to socio-political change than the Mexican American mass population is proposed. As indicated earlier, the Mexican-American elite provides the most important link between the dominant socio-political structure and the Mexican-American mass population; therefore, a comparative analysis of similar socio-political variables of the two populations (mass-elite) will give us an instrument to indicate socio-political change in a community.

Sociological variables will form the (basis) foundation of this study. As the nature of these variables expand from the family network to the community, political variables are introduced. (Obviously, the quantitative data will be highly supplemented with qualitative information on these issues).

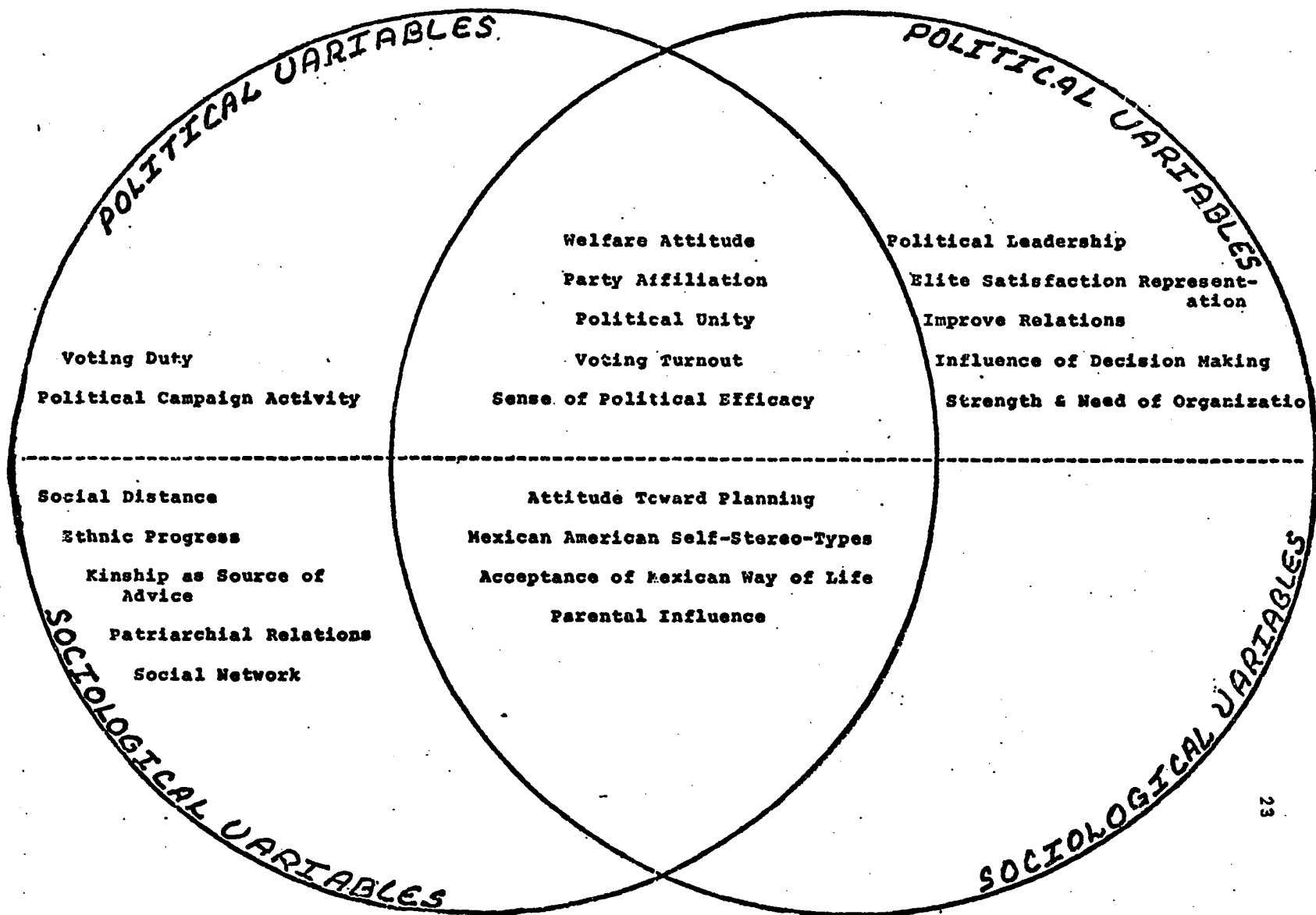
A thin permeable line separates sociological from political issues of the community. Once again, a comparative analysis of political issues will be made between the two groups (mass-elite). However, as variables change from sociological to political issues, the emphasis becomes stronger on elite participation. Elite behavior and attitude will be considered in critical issues as "decision-making" and "political leadership".

SOCIO-POLITICAL VARIABLES IN ITEM SCHEDULE FOR MASS & ELITE RESPONDENTS, 1973

Figure 1-3

Mass Participation

Elite Participation



In sum, sociological and political data (mass-elite samples) which provide rich and vital data in this study of this ethnic group, will be utilized in a series of propositions and testable hypotheses. Socio-political patterns of behavior will be examined and analyzed and, if possible, with a step toward explanation of variation of socio-political phenomena of a community characterized by a dominant subordinate patterns of behavior.⁵⁴ To give variation, several independent variables are considered⁵⁵ along with a multiple series of dependent variables.⁵⁶

Use of Hypotheses: A Summary

A considerable number of hypotheses will be considered throughout this research where appropriate quantitative data are found. As indicated earlier, the intention is not strictly to analyze quantitative data, but to combine quantitative with qualitative data since there is an element of richness in historical antecedents and participant observations. A comparative analysis of the most reliable and consistent materials available will be the main source of information.

This brief network of hypothesis testing will expand into several chapters. But needless to say, no attempt will be made for a complete and thorough analysis of these hypotheses nor of all data available on Mexican-Americans since the study of socio-political factors is multidimensional and highly diversified.

Several techniques of data analysis and means of illustrating dependent and independent variables will be used. The most common and useful tool for analysis of political-social data is the simple proportionate analysis in the form of percentages. Percentages

will be used throughout this study to compare data between masses and elites, masses of this community and other ethnic studies, and related relevant sources where adequate illustrations can be presented. The simple proportions will be used mainly in an introductory chapter of the general characteristics of Mexican-Americans in this community. Means of illustrating data analysis will be mainly through tables, charts, graphs, and figures.

Statistical Significance

In an earlier discussion, a detailed attempt was made to obtain a random sample for the survey conducted in the Beeville community. This major attempt set the stage for tests to find statistical significance and association. Tests used for this research were Chi Square and Gamma. The chi square test, "one of the most useful and versatile of all statistical tests," will be considered frequently throughout this research to show "how likely it is that a tendency found in a sample is sufficiently strong to conclude that it also occurs in the population from which the sample is drawn."⁵⁷ In expressing the strength of relations between variables in the survey, the level of significance has been set at a probability of .05. The gamma test will be used throughout this study as a test of association between x (dependent variable) and y (independent variable). Gamma values will be shown in a series of tables as found in Appendix A.

For the purpose of this study, the chi square test will serve as parameters as far as what will be considered as useful for this study; that is, only those tables which exhibit a relationship between the random sample and the population will be considered.

This consideration will apply only to the mass set for only the mass set is truly a random sample.

The elite set had an entirely different selection procedure to obtain respondents. Instead of randomness in the sample, every effort was made to interview the entire universe. Through various methods, the list of elite respondents was conclusive. Therefore, no attempt is made to test the level of significance to find a correspondence between the mass population and the sample. However, by means of paired percentages, detection will be consistently made for significant difference.

FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER I

¹A fairly substantial volume of scholarly literature--mostly sociological and anthropological--on Mexican-Americans does exist. However, studies of political activity and political leadership are almost non-existent.

²The Southwest constitutes the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. Concentration of Mexican-Americans is most numerous in California and Texas.

³Anthony G. Dworkin, "Stereotypes and Self-images Held by Native-born and Foreign-born Mexican-Americans," Sociology and Social Research, XLIX (January, 1965), pp. 214-224.

⁴Julian Samora, (ed.), La Raza: Forgotten Americans (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966).

⁵Celia S. Heller, Mexican American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads (New York: Random House, 1966).

⁶George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940).

⁷South Texas is designated in this study to an area approximately thirty-eight counties in the southern-most part of Texas. This area is characterized by high concentration of Mexican-Americans. According to U.S. Census (1970) there are approximately 1,858,370 people living in this area with 56 percent considered "Spanish Americans." Selected Demographic Characteristics from Census Data-Fourth Count, Office of the Governor, (August, 1972), pp. 23-26.

⁸Joan Moore, "Profile of the Mexican American," Mexican Americans (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1970); George Sanchez, "History, Culture, and Education," in Julian Samora (ed.), La Raza: Forgotten Americans (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966).

⁹The term "Anglos" denotes white other than Spanish-surname persons. Anglos are usually identified with the dominant society by Mexican-Americans.

¹⁰Leo Grebler, Joan Moore and Ralph Guzman, The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 13.

¹¹A 300-page report (1972) by the Texas Office of Economic Opportunity, which conducted a survey of 4,000 households randomly selected throughout the state, indicates that Texas accounts for 10 percent of the nation's poor. Persons living in 25 South Texas counties accounted for 42.2 percent of the state poor. Poverty in Texas, a Report of the Texas Office of Economic Opportunity.

¹²Bee County was created in 1857 from parts of Karnes, Live Oak, Goliad, Refugio, and San Patricio counties. In 1858, the county was organized and named for General Bernard Bee.

¹³Industrial Facts Book of Bee County, Prepared for the Community Council of Bee County by the Coastal Bend Economic Development District, (January, 1970), p. 1-1.

¹⁴Beeville: Economic and Population Background, Prepared for the Beeville Planning Commission by City Manager, (1963), pp. 1-2.

¹⁵Industrial Facts Book of Bee County, op. cit.

¹⁶Camp Ezell, The Historical Story of Bee County, Texas (Beeville, Texas: Beeville Publishing Co., 1973).

¹⁷Ibid., p. vii.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 105.

¹⁹Comprehensive Plan City of Beeville, Texas, (Houston: Lockwood, Andrews, and Newman, Inc., 1969).

²⁰Ibid., pp. 24-28.

²¹Ibid., pp. 25-26.

²²One of the better known anthropological study of a Mexican-American community is titled Across the Tracks. Arthur J. Rubel, Across the Tracks: Mexican-Americans in a Texas City (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1966).

²³William Madsen, Mexican-Americans of South Texas (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964); Arthur J. Rubel, Across the Tracks: Mexican-Americans in a Texas City (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1966); Ozzie G. Simmons, "Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans in South Texas: A Study in Dominant Subordinate Group Relations" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1952). These studies are anthropological and traditional in approach.

²⁴Pauline Kibbe, Latin Americans in Texas (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1946).

²⁵Margaret Clark, Health in the Mexican-American Culture (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970).

²⁶Grebler, op. cit. Although Grebler and his associates covered the entire Southwest, survey and statistical information is mostly concentrated from the "two capitals" of the Mexican-American population-Los Angeles and San Antonio. Therefore, their study covers strictly an urban setting.

27By southwest standards, Beeville would be considered semi-urban. In addition to its population (approximately 15,000), Beeville is surrounded by a junior college and a large naval base.

28The uniqueness of this group is expressed in much of the literature. The following are two of the better-known sources: Herschel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1965), and Ruth D. Tuck, Not With the Fist: Mexican-Americans in a Southwest City (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1946).

29The "nonpolitical" literature is numerous. The literature in education, for example, far outweighs the literature of politics.

30Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1934) and North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1949), New Mexicans (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940); and Ruth D. Tuck, Not With the Fist: Mexican-Americans in a Southwest City (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1956).

31Grebler, op. cit., p. 7.

32Ozzie G. Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans," in John H. Burma (ed.), Mexican-Americans in the United States (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1970).

33Peter I. Rose, They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States (New York: Random House, 1964), by implication arrives at these conclusions which are erroneous.

34The bulk of the schedule items were used by Grebler, et al, in their study of The Mexican-American People. Some of these items were modified to adapt to community circumstances. Most items from Grebler's study were sociological. The bulk political items were borrowed (with modifications) from Robert E. Buck and Charles M. Bonjean, "Bringing Leaders Back In: Ideology and Decision-Making in Community Politics," A Preliminary Report, and Joe E. Fagin, "America's Self-Stereotypes," Social Science Quarterly (March, 1972), pp. 921-933. The remainder were structured by the researcher with the desire to obtain data relevant to study of Mexican-American elites and masses.

35Thirty-four elite respondents were contacted and explained the purpose of item schedule. Thirty-one answered the questionnaire.

36Some related and important sources in decision-making and elite studies are: William D'Antonio and William Form, Influentials in Two Border Cities: A Study in Community Decision-Making (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965); James W. Lamare and Roy Rodriguez, "Mexican-Americans Inputs into Local Policy-Making in

El Paso, Texas" (Unpublished paper prepared for Southwestern Social Science Association, San Antonio, Texas, March 29-April 1, 1972); Robert E. Buck and Charles M. Bonjean, "Bringing Leaders Back In: Ideology and Decision-Making in Community Relations," A Preliminary Draft; John S. Shockley, Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 1974); Julian Samora, "Minority Leadership in a Bi-Cultural Community" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1953); and City and County Government Functions: An Assessment by the Community Leadership, A Survey Report for Bee County and the City of Beeville, Coastal Bend Council of Governments (October, 1973).

³⁷Local source of data and information are: Beeville Economic and Population Background prepared by City Manager of Beeville, 1963; An Analysis of Bee County: A Survey of Local Attitudes and Critique of the Bee County Community prepared by the Coastal Bend Economic Development Administration, U. S. Department of Commerce (January, 1970); Industrial Facts Book of Bee County prepared by the Coastal Bend Economic Development District (January, 1970); Comprehensive Plan City of Beeville: Base Plan (1969) prepared Lockwood, Andrews and Newman, Inc.; and A Community in Action prepared by the Community Council of Bee County.

³⁸Raymond A. Rocco, "On the Limitations of An Assimilative Perspective," Social Science Quarterly (June, 1971), p. 35.

³⁹An analysis of change will be made in terms of a continuum from "traditional" to "modern." The continuum is multidimensional and its ends are not clear.

⁴⁰Grebler, op. cit., p. 296.

⁴¹Grebler's major work has been cited in Footnote No. 10.

⁴²Rudolfo Alvarez, "The Unique Psycho-Historical Experience of the Mexican American People," Social Science Quarterly (June, 1971), p. 15. For a review symposium of Grebler's The Mexican American People, see Social Science Quarterly (June, 1971).

⁴³No source was found by the researcher where Mexican American elites and non-elites are compared in their attitudes in a variety of issues.

⁴⁴A similar survey for the Anglo sector of the city would be of considerable significance for comparative purposes. This endeavor could possibly be persued in another research project.

⁴⁵The purpose of the survey was to obtain data from the entire family and the social network through the process of interviewing heads of household or spouses.

⁴⁶According to the U. S. Census (1970), there are 6,666 Mexican Americans in the city of Beeville. This compares to 6,102 Anglos, 430 Negroes, and 107 "non-whites". The total number of Mexican American families in the community was 1,345 while the population under 18 years of age was 3,669.

⁴⁷Comprehensive Plan, op. cit.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 24-28

⁵⁰Length of streets were commonly even.

⁵¹For a brief list of the sources considered in the development of the item schedule, see Footnote No. 36.

⁵²In a study by the Coastal Bend Council of Government, "City and County Government Functions," op. cit., the Mexican American leaders interviewed were basically the same as those considered for this research.

⁵³Bee-Picayune, Bee County Independent, Corpus Christi Caller, and The San Antonio Express and News. The first two are Beeville papers, the other two have regional distribution.

⁵⁴Ralph Guzman's central thesis of his study is that minority groups "can be more adequately understood if the analytical focus is maintained on the group and the host society," p. 13, The Political Socialization of the Mexican American People (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, 1970). In an article by Ozzie G. Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans," Daedalus (Spring, 1961), pp. 286-299, the author discusses mutual perceptions in order to understand Mexican Americans (minority) and Anglo-Americans (majority). In S. Dale McLemore's article "The Origins of Mexican American Subordination in Texas," Social Science Quarterly LIII (March, 1973), pp. 656-670, the author explains the limitations of an explicit theory or conceptual scheme to account for the contemporary social position of Mexican Americans and offers "a theoretical framework to direct the study of the causes and patterns of ethnic stratification" as presented by Donald L. Noel, "A Theory of the Origin of Ethnic Stratification," Social Problems, XVI (Fall, 1968) pp. 157-172.

⁵⁵Dependent variables "is what we are trying to explain." Oliver Benson, Political Science Laboratory (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1969), p. 29.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 154.

⁵⁷William Buchanan, Understanding Political Variables
(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), p. 82.

THE SETTING: SOME DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS
OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN A COMMUNITY

The history of the Mexican-American people in the Southwest is lengthy and adumbrates drastic changes in the system of government. In a period of fifty years, the Mexican-Americans lived under three systems of government. Under the United States government, the Mexican-Americans went through a period of more than a century of non-recognition, negligence, discrimination, and obscurity. World War II brought a new dimension of recognition and opportunity for some elements of Mexican-American people to increase their limited participation at the local level.¹ It was during this period that some attempts were made to bring forth unity through more rigorous forms of organization.²

It was not until the decade of the early 1960's, however, that the Mexican-American people were "discovered" as a national minority. In the Presidential campaign of 1960, John F. Kennedy made a serious effort to win their support: in 1964, the bracero program ended and it claimed a major victory for Mexican-Americans in federal legislation; and the articulation and thrust of the civil rights legislation, anti-poverty programs, and court decisions were brought to the attention of "the second largest minority" group in the United States.³

The discovery of this ethnic group is attributed mainly to "change both in the larger society and among the Mexican-Americans themselves."⁴ While the nation was experiencing a climate of rapid social and political transition, it noticed the existence of this minority. During the same period, the Mexican-Americans discovered themselves and the changes witnessed in the larger society "solidified a growing conviction that their traditional approach of patiently waiting for recognition was unproductive."⁵ The recognition and discovery of this group was

extremely timely and essential in order to focus the necessary and proper attention to their social, economic, and political conditions which "are highly differentiated from the dominant society on nearly every yardstick of social and economic position."⁶

A brief profile of some of the main demographic characteristics such as income, size of family, age, and educational attainment reveal variations from the Anglo "norms." As a group, for example, an indisputable gap exists between their educational attainment and that of the dominant society. Associated with this educational gap is an unfavorable occupational situation, poor housing, and a low income. In general, these characteristics predominate throughout the Southwest where more than five million people of Mexican-American origin are found. South Texas and Beeville are categorically the same.

In this chapter, an analysis of these and related subjects will be presented to establish points of reference for finer details of testable hypotheses in chapters to come. An understanding of these characteristics will, hopefully, attest that this community has many common similarities to other communities of South Texas and the Southwest. Moreover, Mexican-Americans are not a homogeneous ethnic group; the community may be divided along class or economic lines; the community may be divided according to how assimilated it is in the larger society; and the community may be classified according to whether the citizenry objects to being called "Chicanos" or prefer to be called "Mexican-American" or "Spanish-Americans."⁷

Nevertheless, there are many patterns of similarities that brings the bulk of this group together: ethnic identity, socioeconomic similarity, Spanish language, religion, and common customs and traditions.

Identity Issue

In this survey research, there were three generic ways of defining and identifying the ethnic population: strong familiarity with the community and the minority group, surname which implies nationality or cultural origin, and responses to the questionnaire in which a respondent self-identifies or places himself in a cultural or national category. The first two categories were largely routine since there were so many outward signs for identity such as the use of language, physical appearance, and common behavior. The third category required the respondent to select or specify a meaningful group label that would best express one's sense of identity.⁸

The identity issue, like many current issues, carries an element of sensitivity and apprehension. This is probably correlated with the degree of assimilation that each identifying name represents. Like other immigrants, being "hyphenated Americans" for a long and difficult period, the identity issue casts divisiveness and inter-conflict.⁹ Moreover, the "battle of the name" which is in a transitional and changeable mood, reflects the self-perception of the individual in the process of acquiring self-identity and acceptability into the main currents of our social structure. According to Hernandez, "the connotative and denotative meaning of these terms make it difficult to find one meaningful group label which all will identify."¹⁰ The difficulty of accurately identifying the group is nothing new. Carey McWilliams' analysis of better than two decades ago, contains the same dilemma. According to McWilliams, "any phrase selected to characterize the Spanish-speaking will necessarily prove to be misleading, inaccurate, or possibly libelous."¹¹

Although diversification of name identification exists in all parts of the Southwest, there are patterns of similarity in self-identification as indicated in recent studies.¹² Table 2-1 shows preference of self-identification by Mexican-Americans in Beeville (mass and elite) and El Paso Members of Voluntary Association. There is no clear self-designation that Mexican-Americans agreed upon. However, the name "Mexican-American" (with or without hyphen) is preferred by most respondents. Since self-designation has changed in emphasis in different periods of this century, "Mexican-American" appears to have more acceptability at the present time, especially among the middle sector of the Mexican-American community.

TABLE 2-1
ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS,
BEEVILLE, (MASS & ELITE) & EL PASO MEMBERS OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION

Percentage of Mexican-American Respondents*

	<u>B'Ville Elite</u>	<u>B'Ville Mass</u>	<u>El Paso Members*</u>
Spanish Speaking	0	6%	3%
Latin American	7%	22%	2%
Mexican	7%	13%	5%
Mexican American	52%	38%	45%
Chicano	16%	4%	8%
American	19%	15%	35%
Other	<u>0</u>	<u>2%</u>	<u>2%</u>
Total Number	31	201	218

*Percentage Rounded

**Source: James A. Lamare and Roy Rodriguez, "Mexican-American Input Into Local Policy-Making in El Paso, Texas." (Unpublished paper prepared for Southwestern Social Science Association, San Antonio, Texas March 29-April 1, 1972).

The term "Latin American" was popular and was used frequently in the 1950's and early 1960's. "Latin American" had a widespread use as a "nice" word for "Mexicans" which had racial implications since it meant "an exclusion of Mexican Americans from the 'white race' with all its rights and privileges."¹³ Although 22 percent of mass respondents claimed to be "Latin American," less than 7 percent of the influentials identified themselves as such. The El Paso group was even less enthusiastic (1.8 percent). "Spanish-speaking," which is another "nice" word for this group, had little current use among those studied.

The term Chicano, a form of Mexicano truncated by dropping the first syllable, had a pejorative connotation in the first half of this century and in certain circles still continues to be a depreciatory word. The connotative aspect of Chicano perhaps is due to its origin and group membership. It also represents change and political activity. Unlike other identifying terms, Chicano originated and grew from within the lower socioeconomic sector of the Mexican-American rural community.¹⁴ Recently, it has been taken by "many young Americans of Mexican descent as a badge of pride...."¹⁵ Pride of being a Chicano has turn into political participation. According to Nava,

Chicanos have drawn on both black militant tactics and on Mexican revolutionary heroes like Emiliano Zapata for inspiration. Actually, Chicanos in many ways exemplify a mirror image of traditional American political tactics. Marches, riots, civil disobedience, violence, and prejudice are unfortunately as much a part of our American tradition as are our virtues. Thus, both brown (Chicano) and black militant leaders often claim the right to return in kind treatment they feel their predecessors have received.¹⁶

Acceptability of the Chicano identity has widened perhaps due to the acceptance of the larger society--an acceptable term nationally, but not necessarily locally or regionally. However, acceptability has come with greater strength among the youth and the political activists. In our survey, respondents were heads of households, not necessarily young or politically active. Identification as a Chicano was low in our sample, very likely representing the community. Less than 5 percent of the mass sample identified as Chicano, while 16 percent of the elite claimed Chicano as an identity. Similar results are found in the El Paso study where only 8 percent were termed Chicanos.

While "Mexican-American" is generally the most acceptable form of identity, self-designation as "American" appears to be acquiring a greater degree of acceptability among Mexican-Americans in different levels of the socioeconomic structure, especially among the more economically affluent. In our sample of mass respondents, 15 percent identified themselves as "Americans." The elite group showed a greater number (19 percent). This compares to 35 percent for the El Paso members of voluntary organizations.

Although there are limitations to hard evidence, the identity issue currently seems to indicate strongly a period of social change and transition with the more influential Mexican-Americans setting the tone of changeability. First, there is a move away from the traditional terms such as "Latin Americans" or "Spanish-American," especially among those who are in a position of leadership; second, "Mexican-American" has acquired a middle ground and general

acceptability by both the Mexican-American and the larger society with Chicano, a one time pejorative term, increasing its strength especially among the youth and the politically active; and third, the "American" seems to be increasing and appears to be the last step to be accepted in the identity scale.

If name identification is an indicator of the assimilation process, and it appears to be, the recent strength of the "American" identity will ultimately bring a new game in the diversification of self-identification. It appears that the Mexican-American will continue the desirability of being identified as "Americans", but definitely not with the same symbolic meaning as expressed by the dominant social structure. The acceptance as "Americans" is gaining impetus with an injection of Mexican-American cultural elements. The assimilatory process has been gradual but the emergence of recent developments in education and related fields by state and national programs as well as the willingness of Mexican-Americans to change will bring a more rapid transition of social change as reflected in the "battle of the name."

The Use of Language

The use of the Spanish language by Mexican-Americans has been a persistent factor for several centuries. According to an extensive study among ethnic groups in the United States by Fishman and others, "Spanish is the most persistent of all foreign languages and the one with the greatest prospects for survival."¹⁷ It has been the Mexican and the Mexican-American who have given life to the Spanish language for generations. As a matter of fact, for centuries the Spanish

language was the only language spoken by most Mexican-Americans. It is the language which is a major cohesive factor among this ethnic group and "perhaps more than anything else isolates them from Anglos."¹⁸

The concerted effort to penetrate the social system by this group since the end of World War II, has brought the concept of a dual language to most Mexican-Americans living in the Southwest. One of these efforts has been the tremendous emphasis in education which introduced the English language, in a concentrated form, to millions of Mexican-Americans. The multiplicity of pressures to learn one and/or another language brought a recent legislative compromise. This compromise resulted in institutionalizing a bilingual program as part of the educational process in the elementary schools.

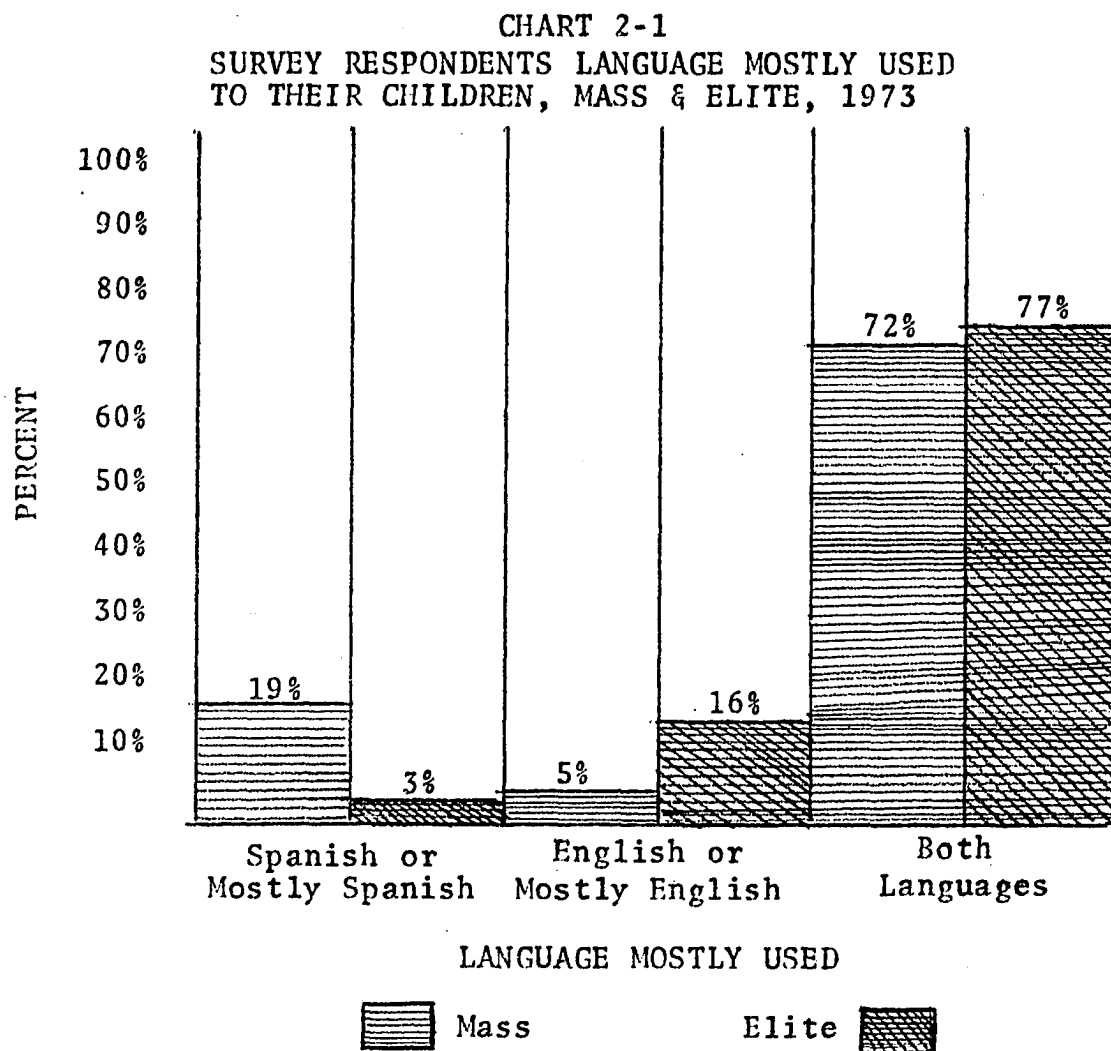
During this transitional period, criticism intensified into two major grounds--the quality of the Spanish spoken and the heavy accents and small vocabulary in the English language. Most criticism against Spanish spoken had a bias and prejudicial flavor since those elements who were critical had no rigorous knowledge and understanding of the language. It became an ethnic and class struggle with "the frequent assertion that many Mexican-Americans are unable to speak either language."¹⁹ As a result, many Mexicans are somewhat apologetic about their Spanish. According to them and the dominant society, the Spanish spoken is a contrast with the "real" Spanish which they assume Mexicans from Mexico use.²⁰ There are contradictions to these characterizations since the "quality" of

the language has not been measured nor the social environment of this group been adequately considered. However, as the social and educational conditions have changed, so has the "language problem" and a "new era" in language use has arrived--bilingualism.

In our survey, (see Chart 2-1) elite and mass respondents were asked the extent of usage of the two languages with their children. Both groups concur (72 percent mass and 77 percent elite) that "both languages" were used at home. More women claimed to use two languages with their children than men. Similar emphases on both languages were found in the San Antonio and Los Angeles studies.²¹ When we pair both groups of respondents, there is an equivalency in the usage of "Spanish or mostly Spanish" (22 percent) and the usage of "English or mostly English" (21 percent). But when we compare the two groups in the use of English or Spanish, the elite use more English with their children than non-elites. This appears to be an indicator of a trend toward more usage of the English at home and vice versa.

When the language variable was tested with other independent variables, an association occurred with income, level of education, and type of employment (see Appendix A, Table 1-A). In other words, an association exists between language and income, education, and occupation. Mexican-Americans (elite and mass) with higher income and educational attainment have the tendency to use the English language more frequently with their children than Mexican-Americans whose income and educational level is lower. It is doubtful that the pattern of increased use of the English language by the more affluent will be followed by the less affluent members of this group. In general, however, the use of two languages (intermixed)

seems to be a common factor for the Mexican-American of this community.



The increased use of the English language does not necessarily lower the prospects of the Spanish language. There are a number of reasons for the continuous persistence of the Spanish language. Unlike European immigrants, "Mexican Americans started out as a "charter- member" minority whose only or dominant language was Spanish."²² Geographic proximity to the Motherland and the social

pressure for some measure of bilingualism are factors of considerable importance. Associated with these reasons for the persistence of the language in an impressive encirclement of Spanish media available, especially to Mexican-Americans via radio broadcasting.²³

Data on media preferences were obtained for the mass sample (see Table 2-2). Strong preferences were shown for Spanish radio stations, especially of local or regional origin with 58 percent favoring them. Radio stations with Mexican origin, however, were the least popular with only 2 percent showing a preference. This marginal preference for Mexican radio stations is due to the unavailability of stations during the day, the difference in style and flavor from local and regional programming, as well as the tremendous accessibility to local and regional radio stations. It should be noticed also that one-third of the respondents showed preference for English radio stations. Although no data is available for radio listening among Mexican-American youth, it is safe to claim that a much higher percentage favor English stations. In other words, there seems to be a major gap between two generations in radio listening.

The situation is somewhat different for television. The Spanish language was favored by only 25 percent of the respondents. Accessibility to Spanish stations is a major factor for the low inclination, and the availability of Spanish station comes only through a VHF converter or cable television. But it is particularly interesting that a considerable number of Mexican-Americans do have converters or cable television, and Spanish channels are usually the favorite among the members of the poorer barrios of the community.²⁴ The

majority of the respondents (54 percent), however, favored the major television networks for their television programming.

TABLE 2-2
PREFERENCES OF MASS SURVEY RESPONDENTS FOR SPANISH
LANGUAGE OF MEDIA, RADIO AND TELEVISION, BEEVILLE, 1973

Percent*

A. Favorite Radio Station

Spanish Language (Mexican Origin)	2%
Spanish Language (U.S. Origin)	58%
English Language	34%
No Radio	5%
Total Number	201

B. Favorite Television Station

Spanish Language (Mexican Origin)	19%
Spanish Language (U.S. Origin)	5%
Network	54%
No Favorite	16%
No Television	3%
Total Number	201

*Percentage Rounded.

The practice of reading the Spanish literature seems to be done by a small minority of Mexican-Americans. Availability of Spanish literature, such as newspapers, is practically non-existent. The bulk of the Spanish literature has to be imported from California or Mexico. Accessibility parallels demand and the demand for Spanish literature is not considerable.

Income: The Signs of Poverty

A comprehensive analysis of income for Mexican-Americans for the Southwest, but especially for Mexican-Americans in Texas, can be defined in terms of the high incidence of poverty. As a group, the high

incidence of poverty is one of the most serious problems confronting the Mexican-American. Like other ethnic or racial groups, there is variation in the income factor with some Mexican-Americans being highly affluent. But in the main, this group is at the bottom of the economic pyramid.

A comprehensive report by the Texas Office of Economic Opportunity titled Poverty in Texas²⁵ (1972) serves as conclusive evidence that economic deprivation is a major characteristic in Texas, especially for Mexican-Americans and Blacks. Some of this report's main conclusions about poverty in Texas are: (see Table 2-3)

There are about 2.5 million poor Texans in 1971, or about 22 percent of the population, considerably higher than the 1970 national percentage of 13 percent of the total population.

The incidence of poverty in Texas was higher for each level of education than the rest of the country; in the United States, only 19 percent of persons with elementary school educations were poor, as compared with 43 percent in Texas.

The incidence of poverty in Texas was much higher for Mexican Americans (45.3 percent) and Blacks (44 percent) than it was for Anglos (12.6 percent); although Blacks and Mexican Americans accounted for only 29.4 percent of the population, they accounted for 60 percent of the poor. Moreover, the incidence of poverty at every level of education was much greater for these two minority groups than it was for Anglos.

The incidence of poverty was generally higher in non-metropolitan areas but varied by ethnic group.

The incidence of poverty in Texas was highest in selected counties in Texas and East Texas.²⁶

The report also points out that Black and Mexican-American households headed by females were more than twice as likely to be poor as Anglo female-headed households. Moreover, better than 50 percent of all poor persons in Texas were 14 years of age or less (33.7 percent)

or 65 years of age and over (18.6 percent). Considerable variation exists in the age-poverty relationship by ethnic group. Once again, "poverty was heavily concentrated among Black children (11.2 percent), Mexican American children (14.7 percent), and the Anglo elderly (13.6 percent)."²⁷

TABLE 2-3
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL AND POOR POPULATIONS
AND INCIDENCE OF POVERTY BY ETHNIC GROUP, 1971

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Distribution of Total Population</u>	<u>Incidence of Poverty</u>	<u>Distribution of Poor Population</u>
Blacks	13%*	44%	25%
Anglos	71%	13%	40%
Mexican-Americans	17%	22%	35%
All Groups	100%	22%	100%

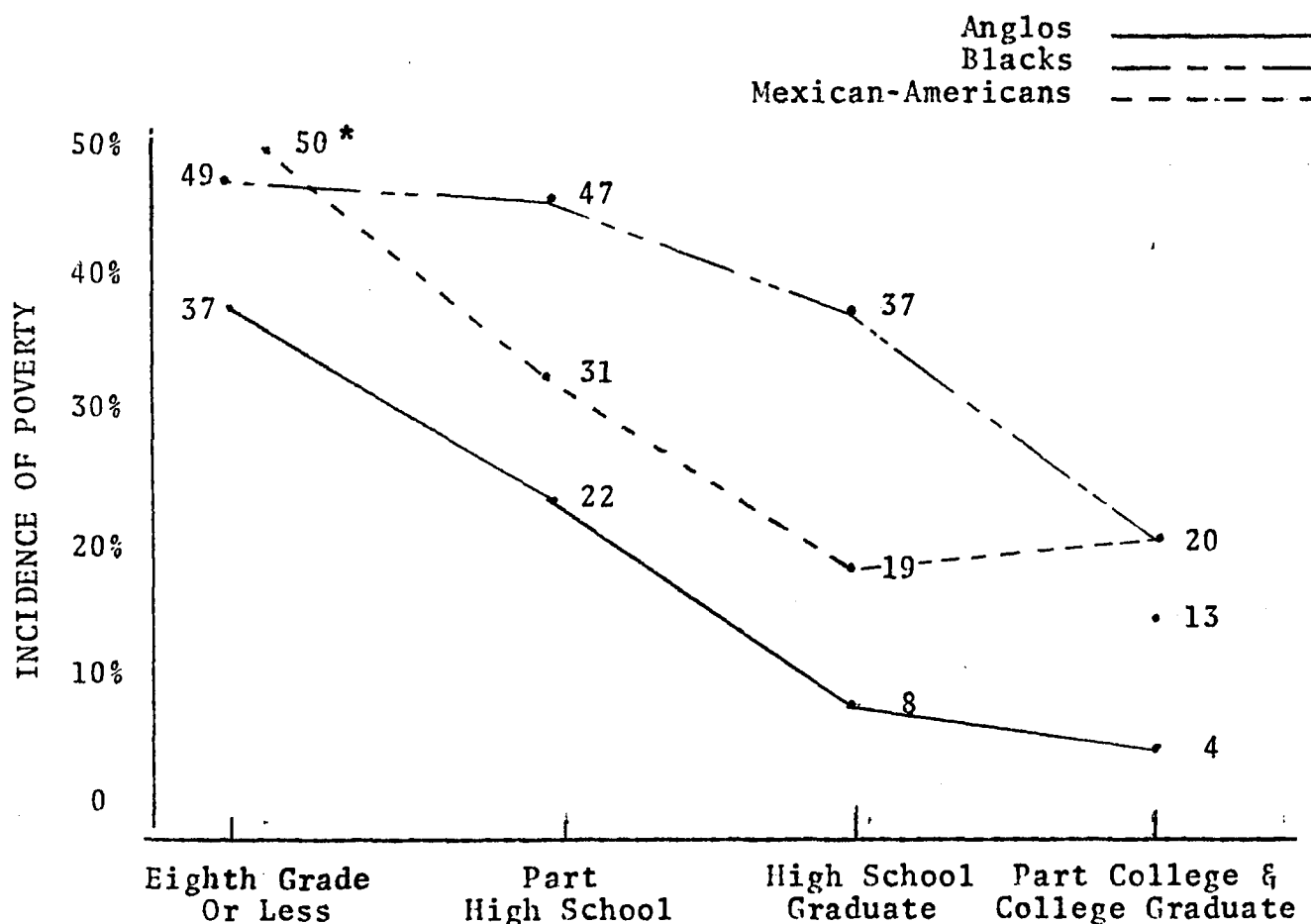
*Percentage Rounded

Source: Texas Household Survey, May 1971, as used in Poverty in Texas, op. cit., p. IV-2.

Another important factor is the incidence of low income for persons 25 years of age and over in Texas. Like other indicators of economic status, variation exists among the groups. The rate of poverty for Mexican-Americans 25 years of age and over was 13.6 percent; for Blacks it was 39.5 percent; and for Anglos it was 13.6 percent. Within each ethnic group, the incidence of poverty decreased as the level of education increased (see Figure 2-1). However, within educational groups there exists a wide variance in the rate of poverty for persons from different ethnic groups. Figure 2-1 also indicates that at all educational levels, the Anglo group is much less likely to be poor.

This tendency is more pronounced at the higher educational levels. Moreover, when one considers the three groups in regard to post-secondary education, Mexican-Americans were at least five times as likely to be poor as compared to Anglos. Low income incidence for Blacks and Mexican-Americans within educational groups also differed greatly. For those who had completed from nine to twelve years of school, the Chicano group was much less likely to be poor than were Negroes, but Chicanos with more than a high school education had a higher rate of poverty than Negroes in the same group.²⁸

FIGURE 2-1
INCIDENCE OF POVERTY FOR PERSONS 25 YEARS OF AGE & OVER IN TEXAS
BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED & ETHNIC GROUP, 1971



*Figures Rounded

Source: Texas Household Survey, May 1971, as used in Poverty in Texas, p. III-7.

Similar results are found in a study by Upham and Wright, Poverty Among Spanish Americans in Texas. Using the county as a basic unit, the authors observed that most of the counties having extreme levels of Mexican-Americans were in South Texas. Moreover, Texas "had a much higher rate of poverty among Spanish-surname families than the five states as a whole....," with more than 50 percent of Mexican Americans having incomes below \$3,000."²⁹

According to Upham and Wright, it would take a major thrust among the rural Mexican-Americans if there is "any hope to eliminate or greatly lessen the incident of poverty in Texas...; they constitute a distinctly disadvantaged group which cannot help but be a handicap to the state both economically and socially as long as the present situation exists."³⁰

To Galarza, "poverty and minority are synonymous for a large segment of the Mexican-American population." Relying on the 1960 United States Census, Galarza concludes that "Mexican-Americans register a far greater percentage of the poor than the total population....," with "over half of the impoverished families in Texas being Mexican."³¹

The incidence of poverty for Bee County and Beeville is not encouraging. According to the 1960 census of thirty-two urban cities in Texas, Beeville ranked third among the highest in percentage of families with incomes under \$3,000. Only Edinburg and Mercedes (both in the Rio Grande Valley) had a higher percentage of families with this low level of income.³²

The 1970 census for Beeville and Bee County accounts for some changes in the economic status for the whole population, including Mexican-Americans. Generally, the economic situation has improved but remarkable economic differences are found between the two ethnic groups. This economic situation also reflects in unemployment, public assistance, and occupied dwelling units for urban residents.

TABLE 2-4
SOME DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS FOR URBAN RESIDENTS
OF BEE COUNTY, BY ETHNIC/RACIAL GROUPS, 1970

<u>Characteristics</u>	<u>Percentage by Ethnic/Racial Groups</u>				<u>Total Number</u>
	<u>Anglo</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Other Non-White</u>	<u>Mexican American</u>	
Total Persons in Household	46%	3%	19%	50%	13,305
Economically Poor*	11%	5%	1%	83%	4,524
Female Headed	34%	30%	0	57%	357
Children Under 18	34%	4%	1%	61%	4,877
Persons Aged 65+	64%	3%	2%	31%	2,997
Public Assistance (Welfare)	12%	7%	2%	79%	261
Soc. Sec. & Retirement	53%	1%	0	46%	535
Wages & Salaries	56%	2%	1%	41%	2,825
Unemployed	23%	0	0	77%	53
Occupied Dwelling Owned	54%	3%	0	43%	2,243
Dwellings w/Inadequate Plumbing	5%	1%	1%	93%	497

*As defined by the U.S. Census

Source: 1970 Census Fourth Count Summary Tape for Bee County, Texas.

Some of the main conclusions derived from some of the demographic characteristics of urban residents are:

(1) The incidence of poverty is much higher for Mexican-Americans (83 percent) than all other groups combined (17 percent). The population composition of Mexican-Americans, however, is only 50 percent.³³

(2) The youth population (children under 18 years) is much higher for Mexican-Americans (61 percent) as compared to the Anglo (34 percent). Similar results are found throughout the State and the Southwest.

(3) On the other hand, persons age 65 and over accounts for an entirely different picture since the Anglos account for 64 percent of the aged as compared to 31 percent for Mexican Americans.

(4) Like the incidence of poverty, public assistance to Mexican-Americans is much higher (79 percent) as compared to the Anglo community which only claimed 12 percent on welfare. However, in social security and retirement, the difference between the two major groups is not significant. Nevertheless, more Anglos (53 percent) are receiving this type of income than Mexican-Americans (46 percent).

(5) In wages and salaries, the Anglo community has a bigger participation (56 percent) than Mexican-American (41 percent) in spite of the lower percentage in actual population.

(6) Unemployment in Beeville in 1971 was very low, but of those claiming to be unemployed, the percentage was much higher for Mexican-Americans (77 percent) than for Anglos (23 percent)

(7) Ownership of occupied dwellings and the adequacy of plumbing for these dwellings are other characteristics that separate the two groups in the community. Ownership of dwellings was higher for Anglos (54 percent) than for Mexican-Americans (43 percent). The difference between the two groups in adequacy of housing is considerable.³⁴ The inadequacy of plumbing is near a classical example. While Mexican-Americans registered 93 percent of the total number of dwellings with inadequate plumbing, Anglos only registered 5 percent of inadequate plumbing.

The scale of economic difference between the two major ethnic groups is the result of the economy of Beeville, and the surrounding area as well as the rural Southwest. The economy is based on land control with considerable quantities of land owned and controlled by a few families. To these economic conditions, the Mexican-American has been a rich source of cheap labor for almost a century. Grebler clearly points out that the economic decline of Mexicans coincided with the advent of large-scale ranching and agriculture in the Southwest. According to the author,

The introduction of cheap barbed-wire fencing after 1870 meant large-scale enclosure movement. The economic subordination of Mexicans was an inevitable consequence of the spread of fenced, Anglo owned, large-scale ranching and farming.³⁵

Part of the income difference between Anglos and Mexican-Americans is due to educational and occupational differences,³⁶ since on the whole Mexican-Americans indicate much lower levels of educational attainment but have a higher concentration in the manual occupations.³⁷ Moreover, there is evidence that "Mexican Americans suffer discrimination in the labor market, and this is reflected in the amount of income they receive."³⁸ Compared to the Anglo, Mexican-Americans have a higher rate of unemployment and underemployment and "tend to be unrepresented in certain industries and most unions."³⁹ Finally, according to findings by Williams, et. al., "one of the reasons why Mexican-Americans tend to have lower incomes than Anglos is because they are more likely to begin their lives with a socio-economic gap."⁴⁰

In Bee County, the first deviation from Mexican-American dependence on an agricultural economy came with the discovery of oil near Beeville in 1930. World War II brought an increase in the production of oil, but even with the demand for expansion, little effect was noted on the economic situation of the Mexican-American in general. The employment of Mexican-Americans in the oil industry was practically non-existent. It has not been until recently that large numbers of Mexican-Americans have found employment, but this type of labor has been strictly in the lower echelons of the oil industry.

The stability of the agricultural and oil industries proved to be limited since "the most significant losses in county employment occurred in agriculture and mining (gas and oil)."⁴¹ The decline in agricultural labor due mainly to the increased use of machinery instead of manual labor has had a major effect on this minority group. The limited

demand for farm hands served as the most important catalyst for moving to the urban areas. It was this technological situation that has prompted a situation where the majority of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest are urban dwellers. The migration to urban areas had a tremendous impact in the acculturation and assimilation of this group which is difficult to measure. On the other hand, it has created major concentrations of urban dwellers in certain pockets of cities which in turn have been a major factor in the retention of the Spanish language and the Mexican culture.

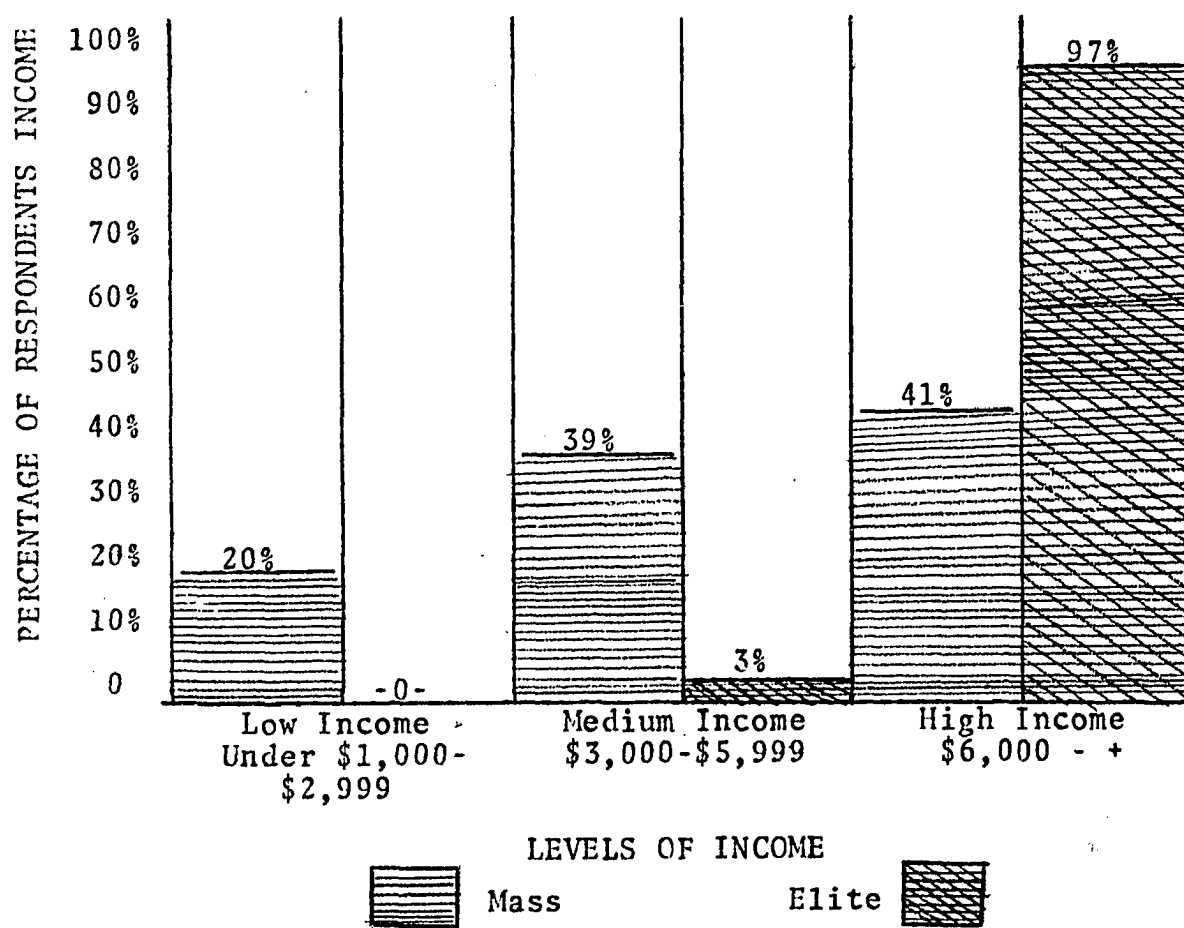
The second major deviation in the agricultural based economy of Beeville was the arrival of Chase Field Naval Air Station in the late 1940's. Chase Field has been "a very strong stimulus to the economy of Beeville."⁴² But the impact on Mexican-American employment has been limited since this group "lacked the training and education." Recent developments have changed employment trends and more Mexican-Americans are competing for civil service jobs.

The most recent addition to the economy of Beeville and Bee County came with the establishment of Bee County College (1965), a two-year liberal arts college. The college is having a considerable impact in the educational process of the community, especially to a considerable number of low-income Mexican-American families. It has introduced higher education to many students who might otherwise not attended college.

The economic problems for most Mexican-Americans in Bee County are serious. Various categorical sources will denote this phenomenon.

According to the U. S. Census (1970) for Bee County, the "Spanish-American" income is lower as compared to those of the Negro and "White and Others". For example, the median family income for Mexican-Americans for 1970 was \$3,887. This compares with \$4,225 for Negroes and \$6,407 for "White and Others". In other words, almost 50 percent of the Mexican-American group is below poverty level. This compares with almost 36 percent for Negro and 23 percent for "White and Others".⁴³ According to Poston and Alvirez, "Mexican-Americans earn less because they are Mexican Americans, not Anglos."⁴⁴

CHART 2-2
SAMPLE OF INCOME LEVELS OF ELITE & MASS RESPONDENTS
BEEVILLE, 1973



In our sample of income levels for elites and household respondents, the limited income on household members is rarely noticeable with almost 60 percent making less than \$6,000 (see Chart 2-2^a above).⁴⁵ There is a wide margin of income difference between elite and the mass samples with the 97 percent of the elite members having an income of \$6,000 or more. The margin of difference between elites and non-elites is due mainly to the low income of the masses. As a matter of fact, the level of income for Mexican-American elites, as a group, is very much compared to middle class American but it falls far below when compared to Anglo elites of the Beeville community.⁴⁶

Education

One of the most widely recognized facts about Mexican-Americans is their generally low attainment in formal schooling.⁴⁷ This wide educational gap is one of the most important contributing factors for the deplorable economic condition of the minority. The recognition and concern of this situation has been expressed by practically every Mexican-American. As a matter of fact, limited education seems to be the most important single factor which serves as a barrier toward advancement. To Mexican-Americans, progress means better education and it is reflected by the number of ethnic organizations which have a long record of educational progress.⁴⁸

Awareness of educational need was also recognized by the larger society as far back as the early 1930's. Concern was expressed in teachers' conferences and workshops basically on the methodology in dealing with a different cultural group. But the orientation of the school system was very much toward the Americanization of the Mexican-

American. Educators during the period of the 1930's and through the mid 1940's considered "the school as an agency for the acculturation of the Mexican American."⁴⁹ To accomplish the Americanization of this ethnic group, "appropriate methods" were recommended in order to change..."Mexican children from half-hearted Americans into law-abiding and useful American citizens."⁵⁰

School programs during the 1930's and 1940's were generally vocational in nature, with little stress on academics. English, however, was greatly emphasized since it "would open the door for the Mexican Americans to adopt such American 'core values' as 'thrift and punctuality'".⁵¹ According to Carter,

(W)hen the school did begin to concern itself with the children of this minority group, it proceeded to fit them into a rigidly conceived system, instead of attempting to adjust the system to the needs of the group. This approach, intentionally or otherwise, served to make the educational system conform to the pressure of Southwest society for perpetuating the low socioeconomic standing of Mexican Americans.⁵²

The brief descriptive analysis of the educational background of most Mexican-Americans would easily serve to document the educational gap that currently exists. But it is far more difficult to explain the many perplexing problems found in and out of the school system.⁵³ Nevertheless, a brief sketch of the schooling gap for the area under investigation is in order.

The Coleman Report has indicated that "the achievement level of Negro and Mexican American students on tests for verbal and non-verbal skills ranked lower than the majority of Anglo students in the same

grade.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Negro and Mexican-American students in the twelfth grade scored much lower than Anglo students.⁵⁵ Similar results are found in achievement levels of Mexican-American students when compared to the Anglo counterpart in the local public school system. As a group, Mexican-American students rank lower on tests for verbal and non-verbal skills. By the same token, students entering college have different levels of achievements with students of Spanish-surname ranking lower in practically every scale of achievement.⁵⁶

The educational gap is also prevalent in the literacy rate of its population. In the southwestern states where a large concentration of Mexican-Americans are found, Texas has the lowest literacy rate (5 years); this is slightly better than functional illiteracy. For Mexican-Americans "the incidence of functional illiteracy...is seven times that of the Anglo population and nearly twice that of 'non-whites' as a whole."⁵⁷

Statistically and otherwise, there seems to be an improvement over time in the level of education, particularly in urban areas. Throughout the five southwestern states, the median school years completed increased from five years in 1950 to seven years in 1970. The percentage gap was reduced from 52 percent to 41 percent between Mexican-Americans and Anglos.⁵⁸ In Texas, signs of educational progress are found in a twenty-year period (1950-1970).

Table 2-5 deals with the percentage distribution of persons 25 or more years of age in Texas. The percentage of 25 year olds and over for Mexican-Americans with an elementary level of education

has dropped from 60 percent in 1950 to 47 percent in 1971. On the other hand, those with high school education (9-12) has increased from 10 percent in 1950 to almost 32 percent in 1971. In like manner, the percentage has increased for those attending college (1-4+) from 2 percent in 1950 to almost 10 percent by 1971.

TABLE 2-5
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS 25 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER
IN TEXAS BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED AND
ETHNIC GROUP, 1950, 1960, AND 1971*

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Elementary (1-8)</u>	<u>High School (9-12)</u>	<u>College (1-4+)</u>	<u>Total</u>
Anglo					
1950	1	38	43	18	100
1960	1	31	47	21	100
1971		15	51	34	100
Non-White					
1950	6	66	22	6	100
1960	5	55	31	8	100
1971	2	29	51	17	100
Spanish Surname					
1950	28	60	10	2	100
1960	23	57	16	4	100
1971	11	47	32	10	100

*Percentage Rounded

Source: Browning, H. L. and McLemore, S. D.; A Statistical Profile of the Spanish-Surname Population of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, The University of Texas, 1964. Texas Household Survey, May 1971.

However, educational gaps do exist. For instance, when we compare the percentage distribution of persons 25 years of age or over between Mexican-American and Anglos, an educational gap existed in 1971, especially in higher levels of education. Anglos have a percent distribution of 34 percent with college education (1-4+) as

compared to 10 percent for Mexican-Americans, a gap of 24 percent. In high school, a gap of 19 percent existed between Anglos and Mexican-Americans in 1971. Similar educational gaps exist when compared to "non-white" but are not as wide. Nevertheless, the educational gap between Mexican-Americans and other groups has narrowed in the last 20 years and it appears that it will continue to do so as we advance in the decade of the 1970's.

TABLE 2-6
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT FOR BEE COUNTIANS
BY ETHNIC/RACIAL GROUPS, 1970

Percentage

<u>Education Completed</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Anglo</u>	<u>Spanish American*</u>	<u>Total Number</u>
Less than 9 years	37%	11%	80%	4,006
9-11 years	19%	22%	10%	2,387
High School	34%	25%	9%	2,624
1-3 years College	8%	9%	1%	833
4+ years College	2%	9%	-	808
Vocational	-	23%	-	2,447
Total Percent	100%	100%	100%	

*The Anglo population was derived by using the total of "White and Other" minus the "Spanish American." "Spanish American" group includes all persons who reported Spanish American origin or decent as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban Central, or South American or Other Spanish.

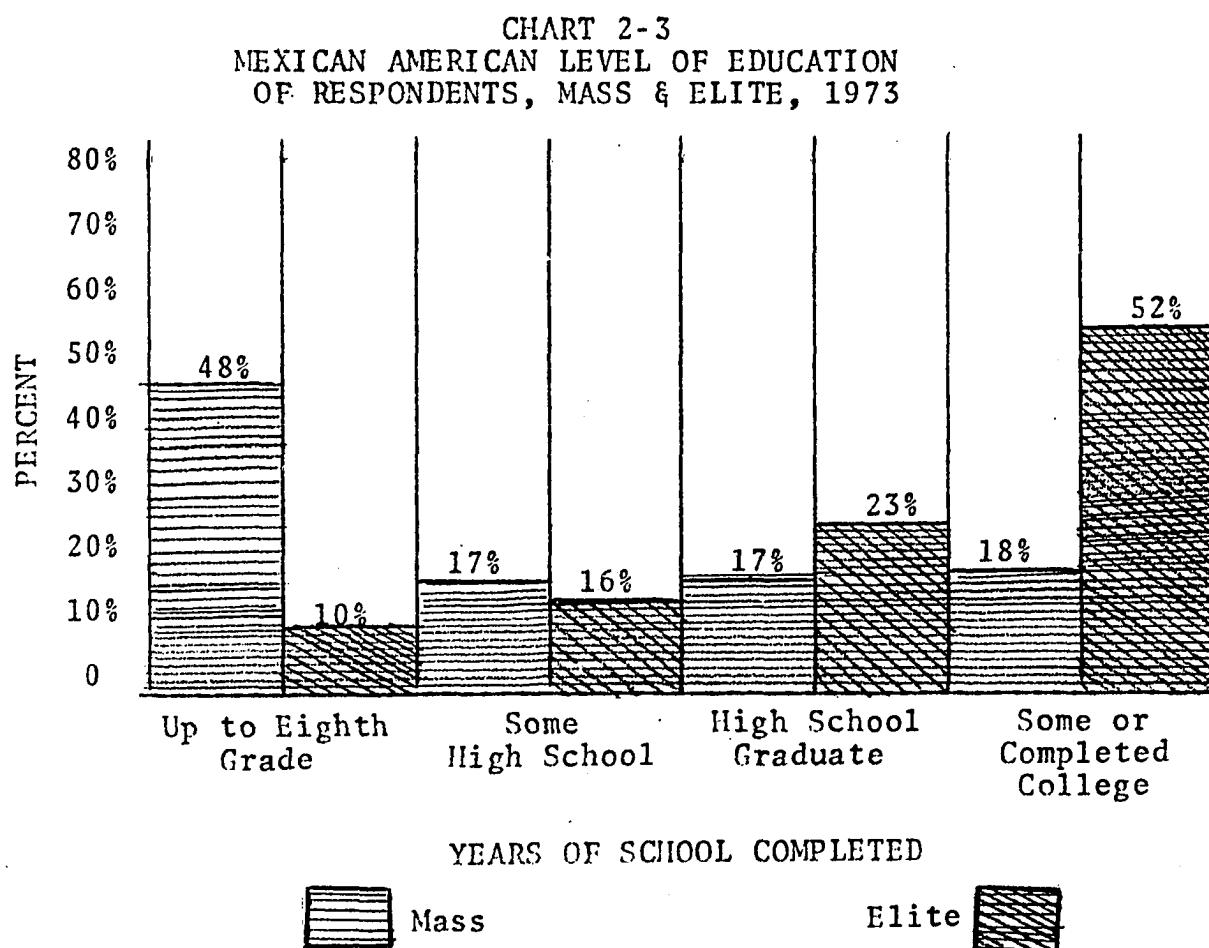
Source: 1970 Census-Data Fourth Count, Selected Demographic Characteristics, Office of the Governor (August, 1972), p. 41.

Educational attainment for Bee Countians according to the 1970 Census is considerably low for Mexican-Americans, especially in certain levels of formal education. The greatest margin of difference is found in persons with less than nine years of formal education.

For instance, 80 percent of the total group have less than nine years of formal schooling. This compares to only 11 percent among Anglos, a gap of 69 percent between the two groups. Similar levels are found in other counties in South Texas.⁵⁹ Generally, as the level of education completed moves up, the percentage of Anglos increases while the percentage of Spanish Americans decreases. For example, of persons with one to three years of college, only one percent of Mexican-Americans have reached that level of formal education. Participation for Anglos at the same level is nine percent and eight percent for Negroes. Like other areas of South Texas and the Border States, the schooling gap has narrowed between the two major groups, but as shown in Table 2-6 (above), the schooling gap will continue to be wide for Bee Countians.

As the milieu changes from rural to more urban in character, there appears to be a difference in the educational level for Mexican-Americans with those in more urban areas having a slightly higher level of educational attainment.⁶⁰ In our survey of educational attainment for urban residents in 1973, there is a significant difference between Mexican-American urban and rural dwellers in their level of formal education, especially among the elite members of the community. Chart 2-3 indicates that the level of Mexican-Americans with less than secondary education is higher for the county by 80 percent than for the household respondents of the City of Beeville (48 percent). The difference between urban residents and the county, as a whole, continues as we consider a higher level of educational attainment. For instance, those claiming some education among household members (17 percent) was considerably higher than for the county as a whole. The same proportion

is found among high school graduates while only 10 percent is found county-wide for Mexican-Americans. It is important to note that in our sample the percentage of those with an educational attainment of 9 through 12 years is approximately the same when we compare it with level of educational attainment for Mexican-Americans in Texas (see Table 2-5). In other words, the level of formal education for Spanish Americans is lower for rural Bee Countians than for urban residents.



A similar situation is found among those who attended college. Urban residents had a greater participation than rural residents. Once again, there are some similarities between urban Beevillians

and Texas as a whole. As expected, the elite members show a higher degree of formal education with 52 percent indicating some or college completion.⁶¹ Education appears to be one of the many characteristics among the most elite members of the community.

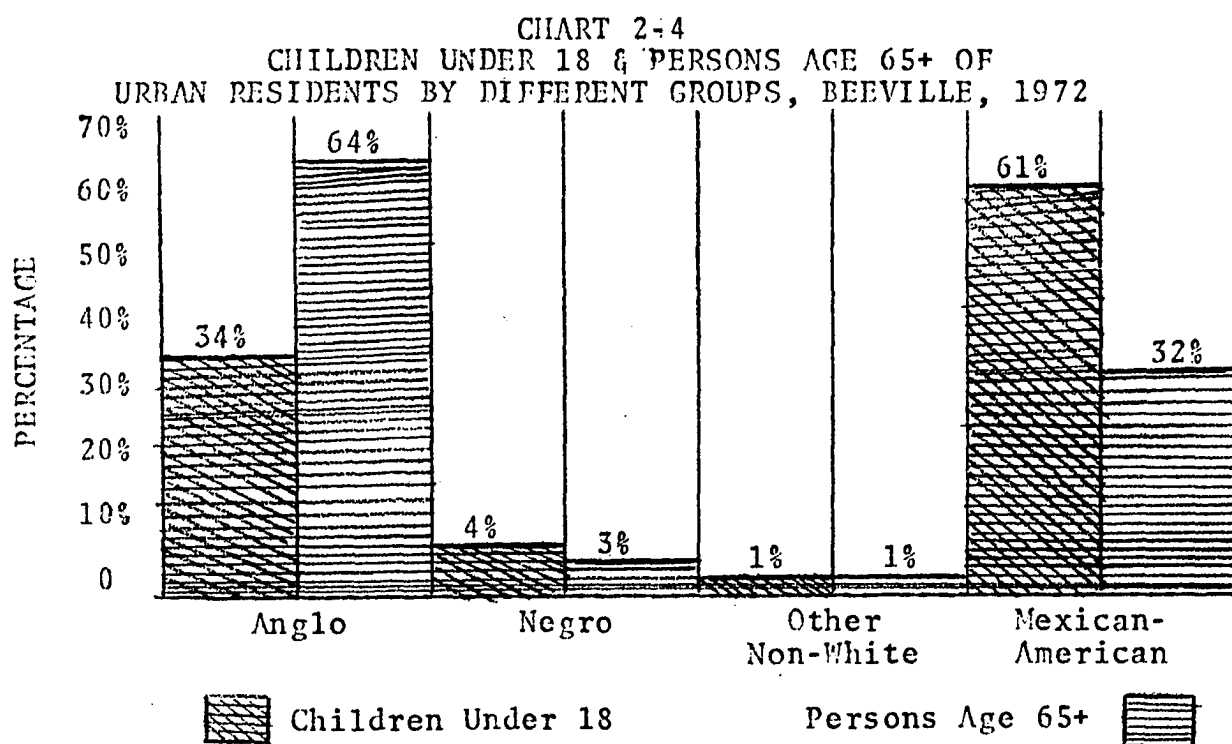
There appear to be four significant factors that will continue to increase the level of educational participation among the Mexican-Americans.

First, Mexican-Americans are heavily concentrated in urban areas with approximately 83 percent considered urban residents. This compares to 79 percent in 1960.⁶² As indicated in the literature, the opportunity for educational advancement is higher in urban areas than the rural community.

Second, the population of the Mexican-American is relatively young. The situation for urban residents does not seem to be unique. Almost twice (61 percent) as many Mexican-American urban residents were classified under 18 years of age when compared with the Anglo population, 32 percent (see Chart 2-4). On the other hand, almost twice as many Anglos (64 percent) were classified as 65 or more as compared to 34 percent for Mexican-Americans.. A closer observation of public schools in this region will immediately bring awareness that a high percentage is composed of Mexican-American students.⁶³ This trend will continue to be for at least the next decade.

The third factor is the desire and drive among Mexican-American adults to educate their children. No other factor seems to carry more attention in the growth and development of the Mexican-American

than education. To the multitude, education is the answer to a great number of our current evils--low paying jobs, discrimination, political control and many others. In other words, education is the answer to the general low status of La Raza. It appears that great numbers see the education route as the most expedient and accessible method to move the socioeconomic and political status of Mexican-American communities into a more advantageous position. This notion is well expressed in Skrabanek and Raption's study of Atascosa County and San Antonio. According to them, "the Spanish-Americans believe that education is the most important avenue to higher income and better jobs and to an everlasting role in the social and political organizations of the community in which they live."⁶⁴ Moreover, it is common belief among the older adult population that the Mexican-American youth should not suffer the many consequences they, themselves, have suffered due mainly to limited education.



Source: 1970 U. S. Census Fourth Count Summary Tape.

In our survey sample, we asked respondents about their desire to educate their children and the degree of schooling. Both elites and non-elites expressed an almost unanimous desire to give their children "some or a college education." It is probably safe to assume that other adult groups have similar expectations for their children. But it seems that due to their minority status, the Mexican-American is not only aware but sensitive about their position and "education is the key" to a more productive future.

The fourth potential factor that will serve to reduce the educational gap between Mexican-American and other groups is the dependency of school districts on the number of students and the type of educational participation in order to acquire funds, state and federal. There is a certain strain on educational institutions to increase student enrollment, especially when the number attending school has declined due mainly to decline of birthrate. This situation has served as a catalyst for stronger emphasis in such matters as pupil retention, better parental relations, and an increased attention in student and educational programs favorable to minority students.

Another factor of no lesser importance is the requirement to commit schools to bilingual programs at the elementary level. Hopefully, acceptance and stress of the Spanish language will create a more desirable atmosphere for the Mexican-American students. Moreover, the number of Mexican-American teachers is definitely on the increase.⁶⁵ Like bilingualism, the presence of Mexican-American teachers has brought a different attitude among parents. It has also been important to Mexican-American students who identify with professionals of the same ethnic group. Strong elements of the dominant

group of the educational community have been willing to accept changes and are sympathetic toward equal opportunity. Thus, acceptance of wide discrepancies between groups has made the "establishment" more susceptible to change with less fear.

The potentiality of these factors cannot be denied, but time is a factor. Statistical analysis of educational attainment points out a clear picture: a schooling gap exists between Mexican-Americans and Anglos. According to Grebler,

(T)he gap is attributable in part to intergroup variations in rural-urban background, to immigrant status, and to poverty and other aspects of the home environment. The extreme disparities in different locales suggest also an hypothesis concerning a strategic determinant in the larger society; the extent to which the local social systems, and through these, the school systems have held the Mexican American population in a subordinate position.⁶⁶

Occupations: A Period of Transition?

Closely paralleling income and educational attainment is the occupational position of Mexican-Americans. One of the important characteristics is the great imbalance in job opportunity when compared with the Anglo sector of the community. Part of the reason for the imbalance for Mexican-Americans is limited education possessed by the group. It seems that the strong desire to further the education of their children, as indicated earlier, is a counter response to the demand on the part of the dominant group that in order to qualify for "good positions," Mexican-Americans need more training and education.

Although restrictions on formal schooling limit this minority group in successfully competing for jobs, there appears to

be more to the occupational situation than the educational factor. There is evidence of job discrimination, more so in the past than the present. To Walter Fogel, Mexican Americans in Southwest Labor Markets, discrimination is a persistent factor in ethnic occupations. In his study, Fogel compared Mexican-Americans and Anglos with equal levels of formal education and found that incomes for Mexican-Americans were lower (60 percent) than those of Anglos (80 percent). Discrimination was also shown by the disproportionate representation of Mexican-Americans in low wage occupations and jobs and by the low earnings of Mexican-Americans as compared to Anglos within the same job classifications.⁶⁷ Fogel concludes that there are notable differences of job discrimination among the Border States with California having the least and Texas the most practices of job discrimination.⁶⁸ Although differences exist, on the whole "the occupational experience of Mexican-Americans has been more favorable than their income differences."⁶⁹ Nevertheless, differences are noticeable between Anglos and Mexican-Americans and occupational status of Bee Countians and Beevillians are indicative of the situation in South Texas.

Typical of many South Texas counties, the economy in Bee County is characterized as semi-agricultural with limited amounts of industry. The occupational pattern normally may be stated as a hypothesis: the greater the agricultural economy, the greater the gap among occupational positions among groups. Following the rural to urban continuum, the occupational positions of Bee Countians demonstrate wide discrepancies denoting the rural traditional background of the community.

Table 2-7 represents the occupational structure for the entire County of Bee (1970) as distributed among racial and ethnic groups. When we compared the two major groups, the Mexican-Americans are grossly under-represented in white collar occupations and greatly over-represented in low skill manual occupations.

TABLE 2-7
OCCUPATION OF BEE COUNTIANS ACCORDING
TO ETHNIC GROUPS, 1970

Percent*- Occupied

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White & Other**</u>	<u>Spanish American</u>	<u>Total Number</u>
Professional, Tech.	2%	89%	9%	771
Managers & Admin.	0	77%	23%	519
Clerical & Sales	-1%	79%	21%	1,446
Craftsmen & Foremen	0	56%	44%	986
Semi-Skilled	4%	39%	57%	2,073
Farm Workers	1%	59%	40%	550
Experienced Unemployed	9%	53%	38%	242

*Percentage Rounded.

**Spanish Americans are excluded.

Source: Selected Demographic Characteristics from Census Data-Fourth Count, Office of the Governor, 1972, p. 41.

For instance, in professional and technical occupations, 89 percent is manned by "White and Others." This compares to 9 percent for Mexican-Americans. The managerial and administrative positions are also overwhelmingly occupied by Anglos (77 percent). Once again, this compares with 23 percent by Spanish Americans. Even in less favorable occupational positions such as clerical and sales, there is a lack of uniformity between the two groups. The Anglo community dominates clerical and sales by an occupational gap of 58 percent. The gap

begins to narrow when we consider positions in the category of "craftsmen and foremen." Mexican-Americans (44 percent) come closer to parity with the Anglo (56 percent) in crafting which is considered neither white-collar nor low skill manual occupation. The closeness to parity with the Anglo in the craft category is found in much of the literature of Mexican-American occupations in the Southwest.⁷⁰

The Mexican-American dominates the semi-skilled occupational category with 57 percent fitting the description for this type of employment. This compares to 39 percent of the Anglo population. Once again, this occupational pattern seems to be common throughout South Texas. The occupational pattern, however, continues to change with more Mexican-Americans filling in the middle sector of the occupational structure such as clerical and sales. Moreover, Mexican-Americans in the professions will continue to grow since emphasis in this occupational category is considerable.⁷¹

In business occupations, the emphasis changes rather dramatically. When asked about their emphasis on occupation "toward which a promising young man should aim," only 12 percent of the household and 13 percent of the elite respondents indicated some type of business occupation. This compares to 38 percent of the household members and 65 percent of the influentials who would rather see a young man become part of the professions. The difference in occupational aim among the Mexican-American adult population seems to be on the poor representation of the Mexican-Americans in the business community. This is a pattern of occupational reality in many parts of the Southwest.

Wherever Mexican-American businessmen are found, they are normally small businessmen and catering to the barrio which is composed almost entirely of people of their ethnic group. It is common to find grocery stores and restaurants serving strictly the barrio. Presently, there are only a handful of businessmen as proprietors who serve the entire community. Moreover, there are a few managerial positions occupied by Mexican-Americans. But these are small, independent businesses mainly consisting of loan companies.

One can only speculate as to the reasons why Mexican-Americans do not strongly emphasize business careers. The occupational background for most Mexican-Americans has been as agricultural laborers. As indicated earlier, it has been this group who provided cheap labor for generations in the Southwestern part of the United States. For example, in one of the items of the questionnaire, 46 percent of the household respondents designated themselves as former agricultural laborers. This does not include other kinds of agricultural occupations. Business opportunities have changed much, however, it offers less opportunities to immigrant groups. It takes a considerable amount of capital to start or expand a business firm, and access to credit can be a real issue to Mexican-Americans. Another reason for discouragement is the attitude of Mexican-Americans in regard to their ability to seriously compete with the Anglo businessmen. In the professions, it is not too difficult to be co-equal and be socially acceptable once a degree is earned. However, social acceptability does not necessarily exist just in being a "successful businessman." Finally, the penetration of Mexican Americans into the business community appears to be more difficult than in other occupations.

The composition of the business community is more conservative and less likely to invite any number of Mexican-Americans to compete in more or less on equal terms.

In our sample of occupational categories for mass and elite groups, the pattern of distribution conforms with other studies--white-collar occupations for Mexican Americans are considerably lower as compared to Anglos and considerably higher for manual labor and low skill occupations. As expected, Table 2-8 clearly indicates that elite members hold the better paying jobs and more desirable occupations when compared with household members. But even with this occupational advantage, 40 percent of the Mexican-American influentials were occupying less favorable positions such as craft and sales. It is interesting to note that almost 42 percent of the elite members claimed to be business managers or proprietors, while only 16 percent are in the professions. The bulk of the household members, however, found themselves in sales, service, and labor.⁷²

TABLE 2-8
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE MEXICAN AMERICAN
MASS AS COMPARED TO ELITES IN BEEVILLE, 1973

Percent*

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Mass</u>	<u>Elite</u>
Professional	5%	16%
Managers & Proprietors	4%	42%
Sales	12%	7%
Crafts	6%	3%
Service	30%	26%
Household Work	5%	7%
Labor	17%	0
Other	3%	0
Occupation Not Reported	18%	0
Total Number	200	31

*Percentage Rounded

Realizing the occupational position of most Mexican-Americans, respondents were asked about occupational satisfaction. Contrary to their occupational status, 63 percent of the household sample claimed to be "satisfied" with their occupation. This compares with 18 percent who showed dissatisfaction with their present job.

Closely associated with job satisfaction is the chance for occupational promotion. When asked about their chances of a possible job promotion, only 33 percent visualized the opportunity of being promoted. It is rather contradictory that while the majority exhibited job satisfaction, only a minority saw prospects of occupational promotion.

Through a priori observations, it seems that most Mexican-Americans, if given an opportunity, would readily accept a different position with higher socioeconomic status and reject the current occupational position as not-so-desirable. But the low expectancy level that seems to predominate among the group due to their subordinate position paralleled with similar expectations by the dominant society tends to create a negative cyclical situation that is detrimental to occupational change. The traditional and constant self-reminder that they are not educationally fit nor have the proper training like most Anglos also serves as a factor for rapid occupational mobility. In different terminology, the Mexican-American is at least semi-consciously aware of his occupational position and he is willing to change. But due to various circumstances among them, subordinate/dominant expectations and historical realities, occupational mobility of Mexican-Americans does not equal the fervor of their sentiments for a greater role in our social structure.

When we compare intergenerational differences in occupational change of Mexican-Americans, there is a sharp decline in the importance of farm work. A shift has occurred away from unskilled labor jobs to an increase in the incidence of white-collar jobs. The degree of difference depends on the geographical location and the type of economy with a greater increase in white-collar jobs in the more urbanized areas. This pattern is summarized by Skrabanek and Rantion. According to them,

...occupational change among male Spanish Americans is one of a decline in the number of farm workers and a corresponding increase in the blue-collar workers. Smaller increases occurred among white-collar workers. Among urban residents, the intergenerational pattern of occupational change reflects reductions in blue-collar workers, particularly the unskilled laborers, and an increase in white-collar workers.⁷³

Mexican-Americans and the Catholic Church

Perhaps no institution is more difficult to measure with regard to its impact on the lives of the Mexican-Americans than the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church has been the principal contact between the Mexican-Americans and the greater part of the American society. Membership in the Catholic Church has also been an important factor. Historically, the percentage of Mexican-Americans belonging to the Catholic Church has been extremely high. In our survey, for example, 84 percent of the household respondents claimed to be members of the Catholic Church. Historically, the membership rate in the Church was even higher. It was uncommon to think of Mexican-Americans as other than being members of the Catholic Church.

The extensive involvement of the Church carries considerable weight of influence on problems of a pastoral and social nature. Two

prevailing factors have conditioned the lives of Mexican-Americans. One factor is the clergy's view that these people were poorly instructed in the Catholic faith and very deficient in their adherence to the standards of the Church. The other factor was the poor resources available to the Church throughout the Southwest.⁷⁴

Compounded with these major conditions has been the historic conflict between the Church and the government in Mexico. The results of this conflict had grave consequences for the Church in the Southwest. Topping the list of consequences has been the shortage of priests in Mexico and the Southwest. Mexican-American priests are currently an uncommon phenomenon.⁷⁵ Moreover, most immigrants came from the lower socioeconomic classes and the agricultural areas "in which the influence of the Church in Mexico had been weakest. Thus, the typical Mexican immigrant was not a strongly practicing 'Mass-and-Sacraments Catholic.'" ⁷⁶ The Catholic Church of the Southwest was in sharp contrast with the well-established Church of the East whose parishes stretched from Boston to St. Louis.⁷⁷

Until recently, the majority of the priests serving the Mexican-American people were from Spain. A widespread impression depicts Spanish priests,

...as relatively authoritarian in such pastoral concerns as sexual morality, financial contributions, and attendance at parochial schools, and somewhat wary of Americanization programs which, they felt, jeopardized the 'faith' of the Mexican American.⁷⁸

For over a century, the efforts of Catholic Church leaders to serve Mexican-Americans proved to be counter-productive. These

immigrants were "woefully uninstructed and non-practicing by the standards of the missionary padres."⁷⁹ These conditions brought crippling effects to the already institution-isolated immigrant. The fundamental pastoral mandate set down in Canon Law and sanctioned by Church tradition has been modified in recent decades to go beyond strictly pastoral care and perceive a course of social and economic justice to the less fortunate. In other words, the Church has become more of a multi-purpose organization. The short history of functioning beyond pastoral care include a number of social activities. According to Grebler,

(I)t has at times provided extensive welfare services for the Mexican-American community, has sponsored citizenship classes and youth organizations, has engaged in anti-communism campaigns, and has recently seen some of its clerical representatives demonstrate in picket lines on behalf of striking Mexican-American farm workers, directing anti-poverty programs, and testifying on minimum-wage legislation before Congressional committees.⁸⁰

The modification of the pastoral care concept of the Catholic Church has been attributed according to Wagner to the realization that merely converting the Mexican-American is not simply a matter of reaching them with the Gospel and baptism. "Religion per se is not going to put a better roof over one's head, food in one's stomach, or impart health to one's children. Thus the fundamental needs of the Spanish-speaking poor must be met first, and this the churches are attempting to do...."⁸¹

Elements of competitiveness from the Protestant Church, a certain forceful demand from Mexican-American leaders, a renaissance of social conscience within the Catholic Church, especially among the liberal wing, and elements of humanization and lay participation in Sunday

Mass, are all contributing factors to the betterment and more active role of Mexican-Americans, not only in Church affairs, but in the social and economic problems of the community as well.

In South Texas, scattered attempts were made to service the Mexican-American beyond pastoral care in the early part of the twentieth century. Through different Church leaders, some in high hierachial positions, either through practice or writings, the Church attempted to change some of the socioeconomic conditions of the Mexican-American. These efforts had no far-reaching effects nor were they intended to have. Social conditions were highly unfavorable for any meaningful change. As one author puts it, "the climate of public opinion in the region was not conducive to social reform, and a Church just beginning to grow and sponsor allied institutions for the benefit of the community was not likely to challenge the status quo."⁸²

The role of the Roman Catholic Church in this community has been on a similar pattern of change in Texas and the Southwest. No drastic changes have occurred in social reform. Changes that do occur are in line with other Churches and the local existing social system. There is no doubt, however, that most Catholic Church leaders are sympathetic with the Mexican-American cause for social-political change. Nevertheless, any major support has come indirectly or in a subtle way.

To the politically active members of the community, the Catholic Church has been a disappointing experience since they can see the influence and the link of the Church to the dominant segment of the community. Due to its influence and prestige, political backing from the Church can be an important step toward equality. But

the important function of pastoral care and status quo community pressure have been key factors for the limited performance.

Nonetheless, the Church has been an important institution in the social evolution of the Mexican-American. First, it has been an institution well-organized and well-respected by the entire community. Many prominent leaders belong to the Catholic Church. As pointed out earlier, the Church is one of the few important institutions whose membership is interethnic. Second, the Church has provided a "hideaway" for many Mexican-Americans. The Church is the meeting place that provides familiarity and the grounds where much social interaction occurs.⁸³ Third, it has provided a training ground for a sundry of social activities. Organizational training for many Mexican-American local leaders has become a reality since they are able to participate in positions that are similar in leadership and activity to other organizations in the community. This part of leadership training has been the initial step toward further participation in the community as a whole. Finally, due to the multiplicity of activities, elements of assimilation and political socialization are currently in existence. The American version of Catholicism is an agent that brings certain familiarity of the dominant system through the efforts to "Americanize" the Mexican-Americans, especially since World War II.

Elite and household respondents were asked about Church participation in the socio-political activities of the community (see Table 2-9). The pattern of responses indicate that elites saw more participation in socio-political activities as compared to the masses, especially in the discussion of problems dealing with education and poverty.

Further, discussion of issues by the priest or minister was higher for "non-political" issues than for issues such as voting preference of political candidates.

TABLE 2-9
RESPONDENTS CHURCH PARTICIPATION IN SOCIO-POLITICAL
ACTIVITIES BY MASS & ELITE, BEEVILLE, 1973

Percentage of Respondents Saying "Yes"

<u>Items</u>	<u>Mass</u>	<u>Elite</u>
Discussion of Politics & Government ^a	18%	26%
Discussion of Local Problems ^b	55%	68%
Ministerial Voting Pre- ference of Political Candidates in Election ^c	0	10%
Total Number	201	31

^a "Are politics and government ever discussed in your church?"

^b "Does your priest (minister) ever discuss local problems such as poverty or education?"

^c "Does your priest (minister) ever say anything about which candidate the member of your church should vote for?"

The sample clearly indicates that Church leaders do not regularly participate in political discussion with their congregations. Of course, that is normally the expectation of religious leaders of the community. However, church leaders do discuss social issues such as education and poverty as shown in Table 2-9. Moreover, all indications are that the Catholic Church, as well as other churches, will increase their activity in many of the socioeconomic problems of the Mexican-Americans.

Assimilation

Thus far in this chapter we have dealt with several factors that characterizes the Mexican-Americans in general and the Mexican-Americans of this community in particular. The socioeconomic mood is for change and some attempts are being made to measure some of the social changes that are occurring. The process of social change seems to have as an ultimate goal the assimilation and integration of this minority group as a major component of the dominant society. Unfortunately, the all-encompassing process of assimilation presents many problems to the researcher such as adequate data, definitional problems,⁸⁴ as well as the "uniqueness" of the group.

For example, the assimilation process of an ethnic group does not necessarily have to be beneficial to the group as it is assumed by the traditional literature. According to Ramirez, the attempt by social scientists to view acculturation and assimilation as all beneficial and problem-solving is not an accurate account.⁸⁵ Moreover, the treatment of Mexican-Americans as compared to other immigrants presents a unique situation as explained by George Sanchez. To Sanchez, who more than anyone else has set the foundation for contemporary notions of Chicanismo and ethnic pride, the Mexican-American cannot be compared to other European minorities in terms of acculturation and assimilation since this group has been a major component of the Southwest from time immemorial.⁸⁶ Sanchez's explanation of full membership of Mexican-Americans in our American society is done in the following manner:

(T)here are almost four million persons of Spanish-Mexican descent in the Southwestern United States, the vast majority of whom are citizens of this country....

Unlike such groups as the Italians, the Irish, the Poles, the Spanish-Mexicans of the Southwest are not truly an immigrant group for they are in their traditional home.⁸⁷

Sanchez's thesis has constantly been expressed by Chicano political activists.

Another problem which carries an element of influence is the attitude of the American society toward ethnic groups. Bailey and Katz describe this paradoxical situation:

(T)here is a curious paradox in American attitudes toward ethnic groups. On the one hand, Americans have always expected the new arrivals (as for that matter those that have been politically conquered) to become 'American'--that is to say, to become like them. At the same time, however, Americans have consistently discriminated against immigrant groups and have sought to prevent them from becoming full American citizens. Thus, there has never really been a melting pot in America; rather, there has been constant tension and struggle between the existing majority and the newer immigrants until such time as the immigrant group became powerful enough to gain some degree of acceptance and participation.⁸⁸

Traits of this paradoxical situation are found in the interaction of the dominant group with the subordinate group, but with an air of subtlety in order to avoid direct conflict.

An additional problem to account for assimilation of the Mexican-American is the tremendous diversity within the group. According to Joan Moore, Mexican-Americans are more diverse in social composition at the present time than any other immigrant in American history. Therefore, we must be extra careful not to make simple generalizations whether these generalizations come from popular writers, the press, or scholars.⁸⁹

There are a number of paradigms that attempt to explain the assimilation process of ethnic groups. In "Ethnic Politics and the

Persistence of Ethnic Identification,"⁹⁰ Michael Parenti, like Milton Gordon,⁹¹ argue that while acculturation has taken place, structural and identificational assimilation have not. To Parenti, acculturation and assimilation are well distinguishable. He insists that despite social mobility, "a considerable proliferation of ethnic organizations and structures still exists among the third-generation descendants of immigrants."⁹² According to Parenti, if today's ethnic group enjoys higher status and a better standard of living than did their parents, this is because of an overall structural transition in our national economy and the composition of the labor force, not because of greater assimilation among second and third generation.⁹³ Parenti contends that ethnic subculture still operate as independent variables in political life as it is seen in Wilson and Banfield's study.⁹⁴

Other paradigms are formulated in regard to intergenerational patterns of assimilation. To Bogardus, as the Mexican-American moves away from the first generation of immigrants, assimilation increases. He notes that,

...while their grandparents speak chiefly Spanish, their parents speak both Spanish and English, they (third generation of Mexican-Americans) are refusing to speak Spanish. They are surely more assimilated than were the preceding generations...the third generation Mexican-Americans are better assimilated than the second, and, of course, than the first generation.⁹⁵

Another version of the intergenerational difference is provided by John Burma when he predicted that as the second generation of Mexican-Americans increased in numbers, the "social equality became

more a matter of personality than a nationality."⁹⁶ Burma observed that as Mexican-Americans achieved middle-class status, many of them moved away from the ethnic enclave and tended to lose their identity with it as they became increasingly assimilated.⁹⁷ Galarza and others also predicted that although immigration has retarded the process of assimilation, second and later generations of Mexican-Americans will slowly become assimilated.⁹⁸ The classical example of this position is provided by Broom and Shevky. According to the authors, "those individuals who have advanced substantially either economically or in educational status, have tended to lose their identity with the group...."⁹⁹

Similar arguments are provided by other writers on assimilation and social mobility. The general consensus of students of social mobility is that members of ethnic groups in the United States who are upwardly mobile become more assimilated into the dominant American culture and subsequently lose their ethnic identity than those who show less inclination for social mobility.¹⁰⁰ In The Social Systems of American Groups, Lloyd and Srole postulate that as increasing numbers of individuals in an ethnic group achieve middle-class status this process of vertical mobility serves "to destroy the ethnic sub-systems and to increase assimilation."¹⁰¹

In their study of a midwestern metropolis, Samora and Lamanna claim that the assimilation process of Mexican-American "has resembled a mixing bowl rather than a melting pot."¹⁰² Nevertheless, the authors conclude that assimilation is occurring by various agents of the social structure.

The breakage of ethnic neighborhoods, the decline of national parishes and their parochial schools, the declining number of and proportion of foreign-born persons, all suggest that the population will undergo more assimilation, but remains problematic--how much and what kind.¹⁰³

The number of factors to consider in the assimilation process of an ethnic group is almost endless, especially when considering a group so diversified as Mexican-Americans. Although we can restrict ourselves to common variables such as generational difference, social mobility, language usage, rural-urban residency and others, many problematic dilemmas remain. Nonetheless, all indicators postulate that assimilation is occurring. The degree of occurrence, unfortunately, remains on what factors are emphasized and one's position since this issue is so vast and difficult to grasp and measure.

Beeville seems to be no different than other communities in the gradual or rapid transformation of its people. Unquestionably, there are definite generational differences in the pattern of assimilation. The degree of formal schooling has increased considerably in the last twenty-five years; the use of English language among Mexican-Americans parallels the increase in education; middle-class status of this group has grown that visible changes are found between generations; and the awareness of the group's social position in the community is a common topic of conversation among leaders and the masses. Moreover, the technological revolution and the major thrust of federal and state agencies on the economy and social mobility of all groups, especially to the minority groups, have more importance than Parenti and others give credit. The impact of these forces appears to have had a strong element of social chaos, even to the smallest of the socioeconomic

structures of South Texas communities. This social chaos has been an ingredient of considerable magnitude to the assimilation process of the Mexican-American since the membrane of the dominant social order has worn thin, has become unstable, and therefore, has become susceptible to change.

The assimilation process of a group may acquire vertical dimensions with a double flow. As the Mexican-American acquires middle-class status, acceptability of cultural elements of the subordinate group has a tendency to increase. The use of the Spanish language is a case in point. More and more, the Anglo community has come to the realization that "two languages are better than one." This realization does not appear to be necessarily a recent awareness of an additional language, but a certain social acceptability of the minority group who has used Spanish from time immemorial. There are other cultural elements possessed by Mexican-Americans which are becoming part of the dominant social structure.

In the community study, no specific items in the questionnaire dealt with the process of assimilation. West side respondents (barrio community) were asked, however, "if they had a choice, would they rather live in the east side of town," i.e., the side of town predominantly Anglo and more economic affluent? Desire to move to the east side meant further acceptance of the dominant social structure. Almost 60 percent of the respondents showed no intentions of moving to the "other side of town." There are two explanations for the lack of desire to follow the norm of social mobility. First, the survey was conducted during an intense period of inter-ethnic conflict. It seems that the political socialization of the Mexican-American was in a period characterized by a strong rejection of what was

associated with the Anglo. Moving to the east side could symbolically mean immitating the Anglo. Second, parallel with this intensity of ethnic conflict was an intensity in ethnic pride among Mexican-Americans. This was expressed verbally and openly by the Chicano leaders of the community. Presently, the strength on ethnic pride continues to predominate, but the politics of displaying the anxiety for recognition has changed. More will be said in later chapters when we deal with political strategy of Mexican-Americans.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it seems safe to state that the Mexican-American is becoming interested in that which the dominant social system has to offer, and he definitely wants to be part of this group. The acceptance of values of the dominant structure, however, does not mean acceptance of the existing order. Instead, acceptance has come with an air of "doing it our way," with certain conformity to national norms and less emphasis on norms expressed by the dominant local structure. Some of these changes will be expanded as we consider sociological variables, such as the family network and the neighborhood, in the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER II

¹For the heroic efforts and contributions of Mexican-Americans in World War II and Korea, see Raul Morin, Among the Valient: Mexican American in World War II and Korea (Los Angeles; Borden Publishing Co., 1963).

²For organizational efforts see Ralph C. Guzman "The Political Socialization of the Mexican American," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970), Chapter 6.

³Grebler, et.al., op. cit., pp. 3-4.

⁴Ibid., p. 4.

⁵Ibid., p. 4.

⁶Ibid., p. 13

⁷Jack D. Forbes, Mexican Americans, A Handbook for Educators (Berkeley: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1967), p. 14.

⁸No attempt has been made to conceptualize beyond these categories. See Jose Hernandez and Leo Estrada, "Census Data and the Problem of Conceptually Defining the Mexican American Population," Social Science Quarterly, (March, 1973), pp. 671-687.

⁹John Higham, Strangers in the Land (New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1966).

¹⁰Carey McWilliams, North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People in the United States (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 7.

¹¹Grebler's findings in San Antonio and Los Angeles and Lamare's study of El Paso Members of Associations have similar results to study conducted in Beeville.

¹²Grebler, et. al., op. cit., pp. 385-389.

¹³See Vernon M. Briggs, Chicanos and Rural Poverty (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 2-5.

¹⁴Matt S. Mier and Feliciano Rivera, The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), xiv. Historically, the authors recognize two Anglo American views of Chicanos and both of them are inaccurate: "One ignored his Indian background and in a romantic fashion viewed him as a Spanish hidalgo, the descendant of the great conquistadores and the other ignored the Spanish heritage and saw the Mexican as Indian--therefore characterized as lazy, dirty, and given to drinking and thievery," p. xvi.

¹⁵Julian Nava, Mexican Americans: A Brief Look at their History (New York: Antidefamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1970), p. 47.

¹⁶In Grebler's questionnaire Chicano was not part of the list.

¹⁷Quote from Grebler, et. al., p. 423, as interpreted from Joshua A. Fishman, et. al., Language Loyalty in the United States (The Hague, London, and Paris: Mouton & Co., 1966).

¹⁸Barbara J. Macklin, "Structural Stability and Culture Change in a Mexican American Community," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1963). p. 98.

¹⁹Grebler, et. al., op. cit., p. 424.

²⁰Macklin had similar reaction from the Mexican-American in Toledo, Ohio, op. cit., p. 98.

²¹The majority of the two groups considered (San Antonio 55% and Los Angeles 56%) claimed to use two languages at home, Grebler, op. cit., p. 426.

²²Grebler, et. al., op. cit., p. 428

²³The number of radio stations in the region is considerable. Some are broadcasting totally in Spanish while others have a period of the day for broadcasting. Access to Spanish television limits them to only one full time station but it is a VHF television station and a cable or a converter is necessary.

²⁴Similar findings were noticed in San Antonio and Los Angeles, Grebler, et. al., op. cit., pp. 428-432.

²⁵Poverty in Texas, op. cit., "Forward".

²⁶Ibid., "Forward".

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid., p. III-6.

²⁹W. Kennedy Upham and David E. Wright, Poverty Among Spanish-Americans in Texas: Low Income Families in a Minority Group. Report Number 66-2 (College Station: Texas A&M University, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, September, 1966) pp. 9-10.

³⁰Ibid., p. 18

³¹Ernesto Galarza, et. al., Mexican-Americans in the Southwest (Santa Barbara, Calif.: McNally & Loftin Publishers, 1964), p. 31.

³²Upham and Wright, op. cit., Appendix B., p. 49.

³³The Negro and "Other Non-White" population in Beeville adds up to less than 4 percent of the total population, too small to be compared.

³⁴For a detail account of inadequate housing for Mexican-Americans see Comprehensive Plan, op. cit., pp. 20-28.

³⁵Grebler, et. al., op. cit., pp. 47 & 49.

³⁶Walter Fogel, Mexican Americans in Southwest Labor Markets, Advance Report 10 (Los Angeles: University of California, Mexican-American Study Project, 1967).

³⁷U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Hearing Held in San Antonio, Texas, December 9-14, 1968 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 785, as interpreted by Dudley L. Poston, Jr. and David Alvirez, "On the Cost of Being a Mexican American Worker," Social Science Quarterly, LIII (March 1973), p. 697.

³⁸Ibid., p. 697.

³⁹Ibid., p. 697. See Alfred J. Hernandez, "Civil Service and the Mexican American" in John H. Burma, (ed), Mexican Americans in the United States (Cambridge Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 171-179.

⁴⁰J. Allen Williams, Jr., et. al., "Some Factors Associated with Income Among Mexican Americans," Social Science Quarterly, LIII (March, 1973), p. 714.

⁴¹Comprehensive Plan, op. cit., p. 6.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Selected Demographic Characteristics From Census Data-Fourth Count, Office of the Governor, op. cit., p. 41.

⁴⁴Poston and Alvirez, op. cit., p. 709.

⁴⁵When we compare the mass sample for income with the 1970 Census for Bee County, a difference exists. There are two possible explanations: (1) incomes are higher for urban residents as compared to rural residents; and (2) there appears to be a bit of exaggeration in income reporting.

⁴⁶Leonard F. Redding, Project Director, "Assessment by the Community Leadership: A Survey Study of Bee County and the City of Beeville," Report No. 1 of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Study (Coastal Bend Council of Governments, October, 1973). See also Poston and Alvarez, op. cit., for income differences between Mexican Americans and Anglo managers, officials, and proprietors.

⁴⁷Grebler, et. al., p. 142.

⁴⁸LULAC and American G. I. Forum are two of the most active service associations in South Texas which serve the educational interest of Mexican-Americans.

⁴⁹Thomas P. Carter, Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970), p. 10.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 10.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁵²Ibid., p. 13.

⁵³Grebler, et. al., p. 143.

⁵⁴James S. Coleman, et. al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, 1966), pp. 274-275.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶In brief study by the author of achievement scores of entering college Freshman at Bee County College, students with Spanish-surname ranked lower than Anglo students in every scale of academic achievement tests.

⁵⁷Joan W. Moore, Mexican-Americans (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1970), p. 65. Much of her material is drawn from Leo Grebler, The Schooling Gap: Signs of Progress, Advanced Report 7 (Los Angeles: University of California, Mexican American Study Project, 1967).

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 65.

⁵⁹See Poverty in Texas, op. cit., for a breakdown of levels of education of Mexican Americans by counties.

⁶⁰This seems to be the general pattern. However, there are other factors that enter the picture such as the diversity of opportunity, concentration of Mexican-Americans, and the geographical area. See Grebler, The Schooling Gap: Signs of Progress, op. cit.

⁶¹The term "some college education" can be loosely defined. This can include barbers, funeral attendants, as well as some that have taken credited and non-credited courses at the local college.

⁶²U. S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, Agricultural Economic Report No. 112, Low Income Families in the Spanish Surname Population of the Southwest (1967), pp. 10-11.

⁶³The local two-year college has experienced similar trends. The percentage composition of Mexican Americans is much higher as compared to five years ago.

⁶⁴R. L. Skrabanek and Avra Raption, "Occupational Change Among Spanish-Americans in Atascosa County and San Antonio, Texas," (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M Experiment Station, 1966) p. 3.

⁶⁵For some time the Mexican American college students have stressed the teaching profession as a career more than any other single profession. Pressure from federal and state authorities is high for more ethnic teachers at all levels of the educational process.

⁶⁶Grebler, et. al., p. 170.

⁶⁷Fogel, op. cit., pp. 127-128. See also Mexican Americans and the Administration of Justice in the Southwest, A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D. C., March, 1970).

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 127-128.

⁶⁹Grebler, op. cit., p. 214. The difference is found by taking account the influence of low occupational distribution on income.

⁷⁰See Grebler, et. al., pp. 209-215.

⁷¹In response to an item on occupation toward which a young promising man should aim, 65 percent of the elite and 38 percent of non-elite indicated the "professions" as an occupation.

⁷²The unfavorable position of Mexican-Americans can be exemplified in their union membership, only 7 percent of the sample indicated being members of a union.

⁷³Skrabanek and Raption, op. cit., p. 18.

⁷⁴Grebler, op. cit., p. 449. See "The Legacy of Poor Resources," pp. 450-453.

⁷⁵Catholic Church leaders are preoccupied with the limited number of Mexican-American priests. This has been expressed in various articles in popular magazines and newspapers.

⁷⁶Grebler, et. al., p. 450.

⁷⁷See R. N. Hamilton, "The Significance of the Frontier to the Historian of the Catholic Church in the United States," Catholic Historical Review, XXV (1939-40), pp. 160-178.

⁷⁸Grebler, op. cit., p. 45.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 453.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 454.

⁸¹John A. Wagner, "The Role of the Christian Church," in Julian Samora (ed.), La Raza: Forgotten People (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame, 1966), p. 27.

⁸²Grebler, op. cit., p. 455.

⁸³BINGO games are a common occurrence in practically every church in South Texas. Besides the functions of raising funds and gambling habits, BINGOS provide much social interaction and communication.

⁸⁴The definition of the term "assimilation" can be a delicate matter. For the purpose of this study, Robert E. Parks' definition-- "the name given to the process or processes by which people of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence," "Assimilation Social" in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson, (eds.), (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1930), Vol. 2., p. 281.

⁸⁵Manuel Ramirez, "The Relationship of Acculturation to Educational Achievement and Psychological Adjustment in Chicano Children and Adolescents: A Review of the Literature," El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican American Thought, IV (Summer, 1971), pp. 21-28.

⁸⁶George Sanchez, "The American of Mexican Descent," Chicago Jewish Forum, XX (Winter, 1961-1962), p. 122.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 22-23.

⁸⁸Harry A. Bailey and Ellis Katz, "Introduction" in Bailey and Katz, (eds.), Ethnic Group Politics (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, Pub. Co., 1969), p. 5.

⁸⁹Moore, op. cit., p. 1.

⁹⁰Michael Parenti, "Ethnic Politics and the Persistence of Ethnic Identification," in Bernard Segal (ed.), Racial and Ethnic Relations (New York: Crowell, 1972), pp. 97-104.

⁹¹Milton Gordon M., Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

⁹²Parenti, op. cit., p. 97.

⁹³Ibid., p. 97.

⁹⁴James Q. Wilson and Edward C. Banfield, "Public Regardiness As A Value Premise in Voting Behavior," APSR, LVIII (December, 1964), pp. 876-887.

⁹⁵Emory S. Bogardus, The Mexican in the United States (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1934), p. 74.

⁹⁶John H. Burma, Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1954), p. 137.

⁹⁷Ibid., as quoted by Bardin H. Nelson and Raymond Teske, "An Analysis of Status Mobility Patterns Among Middle-Class Mexican Americans in Texas," (an unpublished paper presented at the Rural Sociological Society Meeting, 1971).

⁹⁸Ernesto Galarza, et. al., Mexican-Americans in the Southwest (Santa Barbara: McNally & Loftin, 1969), as quoted by Nelson and Teske, op. cit., p. 4.

⁹⁹Leonard Broom and E. Shevky, "Mexicans in the United States," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVI (January, 1952), p. 151.

¹⁰⁰Nelson and Teske, op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁰¹Warner Lloyd and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 283.

¹⁰²Julian Samora and Richard Lamanna, "Mexican Americans in a Midwest Metropolis," in Bernard Segal (ed.), Racial and Ethnic Relations (New York: Crowell, 1972), p. 237.

¹⁰³Ibid.

CHAPTER III

MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN THE SOCIAL SYSTEM:
A SEMI-URBAN PERSPECTIVE

The complexity of studying Mexican-Americans cannot be denied. The pattern of existence is exemplified by the diversity of geography, income, and education. Mexican-Americans share with the Negro and other minorities the problem of poverty and the painful process of becoming part of American urban life. Better than 80 percent of its members are classified as urban. The struggle to break away from traditional patterns of life to a more modern and urban milieu has been capitalized by political tensions to the point that "political take-overs" have occurred at different points in South Texas.

The hub of the "traditional to modern continuum" appears to be centered with the family and community. A discussion of the family and community life needs to be seen as something that is living changing, and anything else but being static and unitary. According to Moore, the Mexican community life "is diverse statistically, historically, and regionally. The diversity is not even a simple matter of generational change...."¹ Further, discussion of family and community life will be in light of changeable family and community patterns in terms of a continuum from "traditional to modern". Because of this lamentable situation, we will focus on some of the more important sociological variables relating to the family, the inter-network of the community and the dominant social structure. Since most of the questions in the item schedule have been used and tested in other studies, the data obtained appear to have a measurable degree of reliability. As indicated earlier, gamma will be used as an ordinal measure of association between dependent and independent variables.

The importance of the family cannot be easily exaggerated and the literature on Mexican-Americans clearly document this.² According to Grebler, "an understanding of the family is strategic to the understanding of stability and change in any social system."³ In the case of Mexican-Americans, "the needs of the family collectively supersede the needs of each individual member."⁴ According to sociologist Joan Moore, "...the family is the most important facet of life for Mexican-Americans in South Texas as well as in other traditionalistic lower-class enclaves."⁵ To further substantiate on the importance of the family, she argues that,

(T)his is not only the immediate family of husband, wife, and children but the extended family of relatives on both sides. It is the main focus of obligations and also a source of emotional and economic support as well as recognition for accomplishment. Family roles within the nuclear family unit are clear cut; the mother is seen ideally as an embodiment of the Holy Mother. Her daughters are expected to follow suit in their purity, their dedication to the welfare of the males in the family, and in the warmth of their relationship to each other. The woman is to be protected by the man, who must face the vicissitudes and hazards of the outside world. His masculinity (machismo) is of great importance; he demonstrates this by physical sexual prowess, the latter even outside his marriage. His relations with the world outside the family are filtered through other close relationships with a group of friends. These are age peers who depend upon each other for work, pleasure, and various kinds of emotional support.⁶

To William Madsen, the most important role of the individual is his familial role and the family is the most valued institution in Mexican-American society. The individual owes his primary loyalties to the family, which is also the source of most affective relations.⁷

Although the importance of family roles should not be minimized, family roles with the nuclear family unit are not necessarily clear

cut as indicated in Moore and Madsen's analysis. The roles of each family member as described above have a strong traditionalistic flavor that is difficult to visualize and to quantify in many semi-urban communities of South Texas.⁸ As a matter of fact, the survey data points out a substantial departure in the contemporary family from the traditional patriarchy. In general, "the departure is greatest among the young, the more well-to-do, and those living outside the Mexican colony."⁹ To this list which sets the tone for departure from the traditional patriarchy is the increase level of formal education.

The Relation of Family and Relatives

Respondents were asked their opinions on several statements designed to measure traditional norms. Table 3-1 relates to elements of patriarchy in the present family setting.¹⁰ The preliminary statement deals with the wife's role. The majority of the respondents (58 percent) agreed that "the most important thing" that a married woman could do was to have children. This compares to 85 percent by the San Antonio respondents. Mexican-Americans from Beeville were less traditional over dissimulation of family's income. Only 35 percent of the respondents agreed that "a husband ought to have complete control over his family's income." On the other hand, 66 percent of the San Antonians agreed with the traditional view of the husband's role in controlling the family's income. The third question strongly challenges the traditional role of married women taking care of children. An overwhelming proportion of the respondents (88 percent) agreed that the father should baby-sit.

TABLE 3-1
SURVEY RESPONDENTS OPINION ON ROLES OF
HUSBAND & WIFE IN THE NUCLEAR FAMILY

Percent* Agreeing with Statement

<u>Items:</u>	<u>Beeville</u>	<u>San Antonio</u>
Married Women: Role on Having Children ^a	58%	85%
Husband Control of Income ^b	35%	66%
Father Care for Children ^c	88%	91%

*Percentage Rounded.

^a "Having children is the most important thing that can be done by a married woman."

^b "A husband ought to have complete control over his family's income."

^c "A father should take care of the children when the mother wants some time to herself."

It is interesting to note that a higher percentage of women (67 percent) agreed that having children is "the most important thing"; however, only 53 percent of the men agreed. On the other hand, women disagreed stronger (68 percent) than men (54 percent) that the "husband ought to have complete control over his family's income."¹¹ Moreover, the importance of having children is associated with income and educational attainment. Mexican-Americans with higher income and educational attainment are less inclined to agree that "the most important thing" that a married woman could do was to have children than those with a lower income and educational level. A similar association exists in regards to the father's role in caring for his children while the mother has free time to herself. Mexican-Americans with higher income and level of formal education

have a stronger tendency to cast the father's role in baby-sitting than Mexican-Americans with lower level of income and education (see Appendix A, Table 3-A).

These responses suggest a shift in the perception of the husband's role in governing the family. Although the dominance of the male seems to exist, more and more men are accepting--reluctantly or otherwise--the loosening of the norms of governing the family. The responses also indicate that better paid and better-educated Mexican-American males "...are no longer quite so tenaciously patriarchal as some of the literature suggests."¹² This pattern of responses are very similar to more urban studies of Mexican-Americans.

A similar situation emerges in relation to who performs certain sex-type household tasks ranging from painting rooms to punishing children. Looking at the whole picture in response to a series of statements (Table 3-2) about husband and wife roles in the nuclear family, the common notion of machismo somewhat disintegrates, especially for higher income families (see Appendix A, Table 3-B).

The attitudinal data of Table 3-2 suggests two patterns on sex specialization. First, traditional roles as defined for "husband" and "wife" still exists as shown in "night care for children" and "washing dishes." Our data indicates that men still refuse to wash dishes and to get up to take care of children if they cry. However, it appears that this attitude is shared by lower-class definitions of masculinity across ethnic groups in American society¹³ and is not necessarily a Mexican-American phenomenon. Second, with relations to who performs most of the items listed in both studies, a majority

of respondents indicated that the duty fell on "both" parents. What appeared to be traditional notions of the "strong Mexican husband" and the "sainted mother" are no longer true. Although the Mexican-American male may refuse to wash dishes, the overall of husband-wife and father-child relationship points in one main direction--the male "is willing to admit that he has ceded control and at the same time he has assumed some of the responsibilities that were traditionally 'feminine'".¹⁴ In other words, the mood seems to be to perform household tasks jointly. Women were more favorable to answer both in the performance of tasks than men. In Caine's, "Comparative Life-Styles of Anglos and Mexican-Americans," there is no significant difference between Anglos and Mexican-Americans in the performance of household tasks.¹⁵

A correlation exists between sex-typed household tasks with level of education and income. The higher the income and level of education, the stronger the attitude of Mexican-Americans to perform dual roles traditionally considered either male or female roles.

Another related issue to the family role structure is the size of the family. Household respondents were asked about their attitude about "a married couple practicing birth control."¹⁶ Since this issue "is intimately associated with machismo as well as with norms about the role of women,"¹⁷ it was hoped that some pattern of attitudes toward this delicate issue would be found. The limited results may be classified as exploratory. The majority of the respondents (63 percent) indicated that it was "always" or "usually right" to practice birth control in marriage. The number who were "undecided" or "did not know," however, totalled 28 percent. Interestingly, there were

no measurable sex differences in the overall sample. Birth control was associated to income and level of education. Respondents with higher income and level of education expressed stronger approval than did persons with lower income and lower educational attainment. Similar results were found with the San Antonio and Los Angeles respondents.¹⁸ (See Appendix A, Table 3-C)

TABLE 3-2
SURVEY RESPONDENTS REPORTING ON SEX
SPECIALIZATION IN FAMILY ROLES,
BEEVILLE (1973) AND SAN ANTONIO (1970) SURVEYS

Items	Who Performs Tasks*						TOTAL NUMBER	
	HUSBAND		BOTH		WIFE			
	<u>B'Ville/S.A.</u>	<u>B'Ville/S.A.</u>	<u>B'Ville/S.A.</u>	<u>B'Ville/S.A.</u>	<u>B'Ville/S.A.</u>	<u>B'Ville/S.A.</u>	<u>B'Ville/S.A.</u>	<u>B'Ville/S.A.</u>
Painting Rooms ^a	35%	37%	60%	57%	4%	7%	201	593
Night Care of Children ^b	1%	4%	50%	35%	49%	61%	201	587
Holiday Decision ^c	9%	17%	76%	77%	10%	5%	201	585
Punishing Children ^d	13%	10%	73%	76%	12%	13%	201	587
Washing Dishes ^e	1%	6%	37%	11%	61%	83%	201	593
Expensive Purchase ^f	20%	18%	65%	74%	13%	9%	201	589

*Percentage Rounded.

a "Painting rooms in the house."

b "Getting up at night to take care of the children if they cry."

c "Deciding where to go for a holiday or celebration."

d "Punishing the children, if necessary."

e "Washing dishes."

f "Picking out more expensive things like furniture or a car."

Source: Leo Grebler, et. al., The Mexican American People,
(New York: The Free Press, 1970) p. 363.

The birth control issue is not only complex but difficult to deal with mostly because of inhibitions on the part of the respondents. As expected, there was an element of hesitation to discuss this topic as indicated in the percentage of "undecided" and "do not know". Actually, the Mexican-American is caught in a turmoil of social change and confusion. On the one hand, this group is confronted with the modern version of family equalitarianism and the perception of a small family. On the other, this group is pressured by the traditional notion of large families and the traditional role of the female. This is compounded by the masculine expectations. Grebler states that, "though demonstrating one's virility and potency may be especially significant during adolescence, it may continue, by implication, to be meaningful into adulthood and into the familial role."¹⁹ To what extent does the husband play a role in opposing contraceptive devices is an empirical question. There is no doubt, however, that part of the success in the practice of contraception depends on the husband's perception of his own and his wife's role.

Furthermore, complication of this sensitive issue exists in certain outward forces--pro and con--about the birth control issue. Traditionally, the Catholic Church has played an important role opposing birth control. Although Church leaders appeared divided over the issue, the main thrust of influence seems to be in opposition to the concept. The controversy is further complicated by the recent abortion issue which the Church considers "a murderous act." This position of the Church appears to be in direct contradiction to social agencies such as family planning under the local Office of Economic Opportunity. The dissimulation of literature and birth-control pills is a common occurrence. Parallel with this governmental

drive is the general consensus of the dominant social group which attempts to apply social pressure by tying welfarism and other related issues. We can tentatively conclude that family planning is slowly making headway among all groups but especially with those groups that possess middle-class characteristics. But whether children are planned or not, the literature casts no doubts that children are welcomed.

The gradual change in the social setting from strictly rural life to a more urban setting has made the Mexican-American nuclear family susceptible to other changes. Patriarchial values and beliefs were modified due to changing circumstances. When we asked urban respondents whether their father or mother had greater influence over them, both the household and elite respondents named their mothers (33 percent and 29 percent, respectively). The San Antonio and Los Angeles respondents named their mothers by a margin of 54 percent and 52 percent. Better than one-third of the total sample of Beevillians (elites and non-elites) named "both" parents as a source of influence (see Table 3-3). It is interesting to note that only 7 percent of elite members and 22 percent of household sample named their fathers as the most important source of influence during their childhood.

A characteristic which indicates traditional tendencies is found in both elite and household members concurrently. Female respondents had a stronger preference for naming their mothers as the most important source of influence, while male respondents indicated stronger preference in naming the fathers as the main source

of influence. This characteristic could be that girls are closer to their mothers while boys are more attached to their fathers during their childhood years. It must be noted that no hard evidence exists beyond this data. In the more urban studies, "men naming their mothers are more common than women naming their fathers."²⁰

TABLE 3-3
INFLUENCE OF PARENTS ON THEIR CHILDREN WHEN YOUNG,
BY SEX, BEEVILLE MASS & ELITE, SAN ANTONIO & LOS ANGELES

<u>Influenced By</u>	Percent*			
	<u>B'Ville Mass</u>	<u>B'Ville Elite</u>	<u>San Antonio</u>	<u>Los Angeles</u>
Father	22%	7%	41%	33%
Mother	33%	29%	52%	54%
Both	35%	39%	8%	13%
Total Number	201	31	603	947

*Percentage Rounded.

A close look at the family income indicates an association between low income and mother influence. Mexican-Americans (elite and non-elite) with lower income expressed their preference by naming their mother as a source of influence in contrast to persons of higher income. Unfortunately, it is difficult to generalize and hypothesize from this limited data analysis. (See Appendix A, Table 3-D)

The importance of family among Mexican-Americans is also measured and characterized by the financial dependency on kin as well as dependency during times of illness.

As to financial dependency, most recent studies²¹ indicate a decline in the closeness and togetherness of kin in money matters as social mobility and urbanism increase. The survey data on actual financial exchanges among relatives exhibit evidence of much activity within the family. When respondents were asked about helping members of the family financially, 81 percent claimed that they had helped (see Table 3-4). The percentage declined (70 percent) when asked if any member of their family had helped them. Table 3-4 clearly demonstrates that Mexican-Americans do help each other in many financial problems, especially in periods of financial distress. It seems to have diminished. It also seems that parental pressure, especially those sons and daughters who are married, to help other members is not as intense nor persistent as it was a generation ago. No data is, however, available to justify these conclusions.

TABLE 3-4
RESPONDENTS WHO SOUGHT OR GAVE HELP FINANCIALLY TO KIN,
INCLUDING NUCLEAR FAMILY, BEEVILLE MASS, 1973

<u>Questions</u>	<u>Respondents Saying "Yes"</u>
"Have you ever helped out your family financially?"	81%
"Has any member of your family ever helped you out financially?"	70%
Total Number	201

As to matters of calling for help during times of illness in the family, respondents were relatively cautious. The majority of the total sample (52 percent) claimed that "once in a while" their kin or relative called on them during times of illness. Similarly,

54 percent claimed that "once in a while" they, themselves, called for help. Calling or being called for help "very or fairly often" was not a common situation. It should be noted that 27 percent of the respondents said that they "never" called for help from their family during times of illness (see Table 3-5).

TABLE 3-5
RESPONDENTS WHO CALLED OR WERE CALLED BY KIN
FOR HELP DURING TIMES OF ILLNESS, BEEVILLE MASS, 1973

<u>Questions</u>	<u>Frequency</u>		
	<u>Very/Fairly Often</u>	<u>Once In A While</u>	<u>Never</u>
"About how often do your kin or relatives <u>call on you to help them out during times of illness?</u> "	33%*	52%	13%
"About how often do you <u>call on your relatives to help you out during times of illness?</u> "	16%	54%	27%

Total Number - 201

*Percentage Rounded.

There is a correlation between the intensity of helping or being helped by kin and level of education and income. Mexican-Americans with higher income and educational attainment are less dependent on kin during times of illness than Mexican-Americans whose income and educational level is lower (see Appendix A, Table 3-E).

It should be clear to us that changes that are occurring in the family structure do not necessarily mean the disintegration of

family bonds. The Mexican-American, like other Americans, share "the national experience of complex patterns of change and shifts in the structure of family relationships."²² Further, the reliability of our data is also questionable since there are many variables which are not considered. According to Grebler,

(T)hough most Mexican Americans themselves believe in their familism...our findings suggest that they may not be reliable informants. They often do not know the larger system, and thus lack comparative context. Their views also often reflect desired status rather than reality....²³

Another cluster of items dealing with the family concerns attitudes toward independence from relatives. Due "to increasing pressures of social mobility," respondents were asked about their feelings with regard to clinging to their kin in various circumstances. Table 3-6 lists three items pertaining to integration with relatives. It appears that a good occupation or job opportunity is highly regarded by Mexican-Americans, especially among the elite. Better than three-fourths of the total household sample disagreed with the statement that "a person ought to find a position in a place located near his parents." Elite members were even in stronger disagreement (94 percent). "To live near parents" is associated with income and level of education. Mexican-Americans with higher income and level of education expressed stronger disagreement with the idea that "a person ought to find a position in a place near his parents" than Mexican-Americans with lower level of income and education (see Appendix A, Table 3-F). It also seems that elite members are more determined to seek a job opportunity at the expense of family ties than non-elites.

TABLE 3-6
RESPONSE TO "INTEGRATION WITH RELATIVES"
BEEVILLE MASS & ELITE, 1973, SAN ANTONIO, 1966

Items	Percent* "Disagreeing"		
	<u>B'Ville Mass</u>	<u>B'Ville Elite</u>	<u>San Antonio</u>
Position Near Parents ^a	77%	94%	75%
Dependency on Relatives ^b	68%	76%	68%
Hire Relatives ^c	75%	64%	57%
Total Number	201	31	531**

*Percentage Rounded.

**Approximate Figure.

^a "When looking for a job, a person ought to find a position in a place located near his parents, even if that means losing a good opportunity elsewhere."

^b "When you are in trouble, only a relative can be depended upon to help you."

^c "If you have a chance to hire an assistant in your work, it is always better to hire a relative than a stranger."

Source: The San Antonio data derives from Grebler, et. al., The Mexican American People, op. cit., p. 436.

Once again, we must remind ourselves that showing intention of moving to a place where a better job opportunity exists and actually doing it can be two separate things. It appears that a considerable number of Mexican-Americans express a desire to move about where opportunity is found, but when the actual process is seriously considered, many considerations--including the family--will prevent them from moving.

Respondents were asked about their dependence for help among relatives when in trouble. Disagreement among members was high

especially among the elite. It seems clear that disagreement comes not necessarily because they do not depend on relatives for help, but because they depend on others just as well. Nevertheless, negative remarks were not uncommon in regard to help only from relatives such as "friends and neighbors are more susceptible and reliable in helping you than relatives;" "it is easier to obtain help from a friend than from your own family;" and "seeking help from relatives brings a lot of difficulties and red tape." Like the response to "job opportunity," those members (mass respondents) with higher income and educational attainment disagree considerably stronger in depending only on a relative for help than persons whose income and level of education were lower. Age appears to be a factor among the elite group, with younger members disagreeing stronger than older members in relying for help from relatives (see Appendix A, Table 3-F).

In response to the item on nepotism (Item 3, Table 3-6)--the hiring of a relative--the majority of respondents (elite and non-elite) disagreed (67 percent and 68 percent, respectively) that "it is always better to hire a relative than a stranger." An association exists between nepotism and educational attainment. The higher the level of education, the stronger the tendency to reject the concept of nepotism. A possible explanation for this tendency seems to rely on the difference in attitude of middle and lower-class Mexican-Americans about occupation and family ties (see Appendix A, Table 3-F). Persons with higher level of education seem to be "more independent" from family ties and more inter-dependent on the rest of the community. But once again, this hypothesis is based on an uncharted territory of family relations with great difference of social setting between different barrios and different cities.

Finally, another component that relates to the importance of the family and which has historical significance is compadrazgo.²⁴ The concept of godparents is found in Catholic groups which set a series of obligations on the godparents toward their godchildren. The importance of the compadrazgo bond is more with the relationship placed between godparents and the child's parents which are the compadres and comadres. Traditionally, the bond between compadres was supposed to have been unusually strong. It appears that in much of the family relations of Mexican-Americans, the bond had functional implications of a complex nature as exemplified in the choosing of godparents.²⁵ Regardless of the kind of compadre (relative, friend, or people of higher prestige) chosen, the significance of the compadre to the family structure is on the decline. Nevertheless, the use of relatives and/or friends as godparents still has an air of reinforcing existing relationships, creating a degree of respect and social stability.

In our sample, no specific item dealt directly with consideration of the compadre. The respondents were asked, however, "who had more influence" on them when they were children. Less than one percent indicated that their padrinos has the most influence. This type of influence falls far below when one considers the influence of uncles, aunts, or teachers. Other research studies suggest that the mutual obligation of compadres are taken more serious among the older generation.²⁶

The Barrio: The Common Environment of an Ethnic Group

The bulk of the Mexican-American people in the community live in a social surrounding with certain elements of cohesiveness in the

broad spectrum but with certain emphasis on "contention, invidiousness, and wariness"²⁷ in relation between neighbors, especially among families involved in local politics. The concept of La Raza has provided a certain cohesiveness and ethnic identity through such common characteristics as language, similar historical background, poverty, and the feeling of uniqueness when compared to other groups. The attitude and behavior of the dominant social structure has aided in these elements of cohesiveness as well as creating a subordinate atmosphere where contention and envidia (envy) are very much part of the barrio.

To explore elements of cohesiveness and social inter-action in the barrio, respondents were asked a series of questions ranging from neighbors lending money to the influence of the neighborhood on their children.

TABLE 3-7
NEIGHBORING BEHAVIOR
BEEVILLE MASS, 1973

<u>Items</u>	<u>Once in a While or Often</u>
Borrowing	37%
Visiting Neighbors	82%
Visited by Neighbors	84%
Total Number - 201	

The frequency of borrowing different items from neighbors appears to be limited. Only 37 percent of the respondents claim to have borrowed "often" or "once in a while." This compares to

62 percent who indicated they "never" borrowed things from their neighbors. When compared to a more urban setting, there is an indication that Mexican-Americans are slightly more inter-dependent in borrowing items in a smaller community. As to the frequency of visiting and being visited by neighbors, the activity increases considerably. Among the household respondents, 82 percent indicated that they visited their neighbors "once in a while or often." A similar situation was found in being visited by their neighbors (84 percent, see Table 3-7). There is a correlation between this type of social activity and sex, income, and education. Mexican-Americans with higher income and level of education borrow, visit, and are visited less than Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education is lower. Women are involved more in this type of social activity than men (see Appendix A, Table 3-6). The sex difference is probably due to two simple reasons. First, the number of women staying at home far exceeds those of men. This naturally gives more ample time for women to borrow and visit their neighbors. Second, even if women are involved in an occupation other than household work, it appears that, traditionally, women visit with neighbors more often than men.

It is common belief and attitude among members of the dominant social structure that barrio life is plagued by social evils such as crime. The physical make-up of the barrio--unpaved streets and inadequate street lighting--is short of visual glamour and economic progress. It also appears that there is a lack of pride among the palomilla²⁸ for what they possess as well as the lack of desire to improve their lot. To learn more about their attitudes of their neighbors and neighborhood, respondents were asked about the influence

of the neighborhood to the life of their children. Half of those interviewed said that the neighborhood was a "very good" influence on children. This parallels closely with another item mentioned earlier which dealt with choices of residency (east side versus west side). Almost 60 percent stated that if they had a choice, they would stay in the barrio community. When asked about the possible truth of many thefts in the barrio, 77 percent said it was "not true at all." (See Table 3-8).

TABLE 3-8
POSITIVE PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD AND NEIGHBORS,
BEEVILLE MASS, 1973

<u>Perceptions</u>	<u>Positive Response</u>
Neighborhoods Good Influence on Children	50%
Not Many Thefts in Neighborhoods	77%
Neighbors Would Lend Money	51%

As to neighbors lending help or money should the need arise, respondents strongly agreed (84 percent) that neighbors helped in case of sudden need. The lending of money was a different matter-- only 51 percent indicated a "yes" answer. Furthermore, women were more optimistic (62 percent) about neighbors lending money than men (43 percent). No association is found among respondents between neighborhood and income and educational attainment.

Like other groups, in time of real need, Mexican-Americans are very willing to help their neighbor or friend. In ordinary circumstances, however, the network of borrowing and visiting neighbors probably equals other neighborhoods. According to our data, it is common for Mexican-Americans to turn to the nuclear family for mutual help in some of their problems. On the other hand, mutual assistance from neighbors come less often and with more caution.

There is an ambiente social (social atmosphere) in the barrio non-parallel to the "Anglo" sector of the community. The ambiente social is characterized as a feeling of warmth and social communication which brings a certain sense of ethnic identity and common concern. This cultural trait is found despite family and neighboring conflict; it is found despite economic conditions and the lack of unity; and it is found despite political warfare among opposing groups. It is not uncommon to find Mexican-Americans critical of their economic disparity and the lack of solidarity. Nor is it uncommon for Mexican-Americans to compare their "failures" with Anglo "successes" in economic progress, unity, and their political participation at the polls. At times, their criticism is stronger and more damaging to the in-group than to the out-group. Nevertheless, when one delves with the overall concept of La Raza, the Mexican-American takes considerable pride in their ethnic identity, their barrio life, their ancestry, and the uniqueness of being de origin Mexicana.

If we consider long-range political perspectives, the nucleus of cohesiveness has grown in strength which serves to the advantage of the Mexican-American in the community, provided some of the socio-economic inequities are solved. Needless to say, this is strictly speculation since there are many factors that need to be considered. Nonetheless, it appears that ethnic and social cohesiveness (language and other cultural factors) as well as the desire to champion la causa will eventually create a balance of input and output in the social system.

Ethnic Perceptions with In-Group and Out-Group

In "The Political Socialization of the Mexican American People," Guzman wrote,

(A)ll minority groups react to the aggravated views, judgments and presuppositions that the majority makes about them. Some do so by extolling the virtues of the subgroup.... Others react internally...in the form of in-jokes deprecating the minority group itself.³⁰

Many common expressions are found that negatively or positively identify themselves through various means--folklore, legends, ballads, and general conversations about their own group. Among the more important exponents of in-group perceptions and ideologies are Jose Vasconcelos,³¹ George Sanchez,³² and Manuel Gambio.³³

Mexican-Americans, like other minority groups in this country, have also developed a pattern of perceptions for the judgments of the larger society. The perceptions of the out-group as well as the in-group can often be tinged with under or over simplifying statements and, at times, with self-depreciatory humor. These perceptions of the in-group and out-group set the tone of inward and outward relations of this group.

In order to give additional dimension to the social network of this group, a series of items were listed in the survey schedule that relates to perceptions and relations of the in-group and out-group. This group's beliefs, like the belief pattern of other minority groups in this country, do not easily surrender "to empirical study of quantification."³⁴ Nevertheless, an attempt will be made to analyze and compare various common perceptions and find possible correlations.

Part of these perceptions were their attitudes toward Mexico and the "Mexican way of life." This type of attitude on the part of the Mexican-American is difficult to describe and the accuracy of the response is limited. But in order to find something about their attitude of the motherland, respondents were asked about allowing Mexicans to come to this country to work freely and the difficulties of Mexicans in getting ahead in Mexico. Allowing Mexicans to come to the United States to work created stronger disagreement than any other item (see Table 3-9). Almost half of the respondents disagreed with the statement. Respondents' disagreement to an open door policy is mainly due to occupational competitiveness.³⁵ The more aliens and immigrants into this country, the less opportunity for jobs and higher wages. Since men appear to be more aware and sensitive about job opportunities, a higher percentage disagreed with the statement as compared to women. It should be noted that a high percentage of men and women "did not know" or were "undecided" about the "Mexican way of life." There are three main reasons: the relative low knowledge of the Mexican way of life, lack of concern and awareness of Mexico, and the current concept of Chicanismo--an awareness of being neither full Mexicano nor Americano.

TABLE 3-9
RESPONDENTS VIEW OF MEXICO AND THE "MEXICAN
WAY OF LIFE," BEEVILLE MASS, 1973

<u>Items</u>	Percent* "Agreeing or Disagreeing"		
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Undecided/ Do Not Know</u>
Allow Mexicans to Come to Work ^a	26%	47%	25%
More Difficult to Get Ahead in Mexico ^b	52%	9%	36%
Harder to Get Along if One Looks Indian ^c	14%	19%	61%
Harder on Mexican Americans to Get Along if Dark Skin ^d	29%	31%	33%

Total Number - 201

*Percentage Rounded.

^a "The United States should allow Mexicans from Mexico to come to this country to work as freely as possible."

^b "In old Mexico it was more difficult to get ahead than here in the United States."

^c "In Mexico it is harder for a man to get along if he looks Indian."

^d "In the United States it is harder for a Mexican American with dark skin to get along than one of light skin."

In response to the statement that "In old Mexico it was more difficult to get ahead than here in the United States," the majority (52 percent) agreed. This compares with 88 percent of the Angelanos and 90 percent of the San Antonians who showed "little tendency to romanticize that part of 'old Mexico'."³⁶ An association exists between "allowing Mexicans to come to work freely" and being "more difficult to get ahead in Mexico" with level of educational attainment

and income. The higher the income and level of educational attainment, the stronger the disagreement that Mexicans should be allowed to come to the United States freely, and the stronger the agreement that it is more difficult to get ahead in Mexico than in the United States than Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education is lower (see Appendix A, Table 3-H).

The last two statements dealt with color of skin (Indians) and the ability to get along in Mexico and in the United States. The majority of the respondents (61 percent) were either "undecided" or "did not know" about the Indian "problem" in Mexico. Moreover, respondents did not see the importance of associating dark-skinned Mexican-Americans with discrimination. In general, the Mexican-Americans could not picture Mexicans who discriminate against other Mexicans (looking Indian). It appears that the respondents failed to relate people of Indian heritage in Mexico as still being members of "the most depressed segment of Mexican society.... Like other minority groups...are subject to prejudices."³⁷ As for discrimination of dark-skinned Mexican-Americans in the United States, respondents felt that their group is discriminated by the dominant society because they are Mexican-Americans and not necessarily due to the color of their skin. Needless to say, the data is too meager to make sound interpretations.

Perhaps a more useful indication of the attachment of Mexican-Americans to the motherland and its culture is their response to the question: "Is there anything about the Mexican way of life that you would particularly like to see your children follow?" Using this as an assimilation scale of measurement, a very small number (less than 10 percent) denied that they wanted to preserve anything.

This group of "assimilationists" seem to emphasize various general concepts expressing their desire to be addressed as "Americans." For example, "I was born in the United States, therefore, I am an American;" "We are as equal and as American as anyone else;" and "You are either a Mexican or an American, and I am an American."

The overwhelming majority (90 percent) wanted to retain something of the Mexican culture. But the most desirable feature of cultural retention was the Spanish language. As indicated earlier, Mexican-Americans' desire for their children to speak two languages is high. Next to the Spanish language category, respondents wanted to retain some of the "manners and customs" such as respect for one's parents and dating patterns. Retention of the Catholic religion was categorized third in the list of cultural retentions. Very few of the respondents (less than 3 percent) mentioned such categories as food, music, and art. Practically no one mentioned "patriotism" or "Mexican nationalism" as a desirable feature. It should be noted that in studies in Los Angeles and San Antonio, very similar attitudes were found among Mexican-Americans. In this respect, our data suggests that,

...the Mexican American, while far from rejecting the "Mexican" aspect of himself, is also far from clear as to what he wants to retain. This is not surprising in a population of this kind. "Mexican culture" has become a rallying cry for generations of politicians. This ambiguity is indicated not only by these responses but by the near-distress of young Mexican-Americans whose first prolonged exposure to the "old country" leaves them with the shock of discovery of their own Americaness, and their lack of Mexicaness, even when they believed that they had retained "their culture."³⁸

In one generation, it seems that Mexican-Americans have lost considerable ties with the motherland, therefore, knowledge and

awareness has diminished. The identity issue points to this factor (see Table 2-1). Mexican-Americans are striving to capture the imagination of the dominant group as being a unique group. Politicians, educators, and other leaders are turning inward not only for group solidarity but for a unique, identifiable group. The retention of "Mexican way of life" is more symbolic and nostalgic than real. The finer details of their social and political life are Mexican-American.

Self-Stereotypes: The "Typical Mexican"

Like other groups in the United States, Mexican-Americans have collective self-perceptions from critical-to-tolerant-to-superiority variety.³⁹ These collective conceptions and beliefs arrive in the course of interaction with the in-group as well as with the out-group. Collectively, the out-group in the Beeville community is Anglo. According to Guzman, much of the self-stereotype of minority groups is influenced by the dominant and majority group. In other words, the perceptions of the majority group not only influence their course of action toward the minority but highly control the self-perceptions of the minority itself.⁴⁰ Moreover, Dworkin, argues that, collectively, the negative and positive self-conceptualization of groups tend to occur in the process of status change. He concludes that "negative self-perceptions would occur most often among those in the process of assimilation and positive self-perceptions and most often among those advocating pluralism."⁴¹

To find out about self-perceptions of the in-group and out-group, respondents were presented with a set of statements. To compare differences and similarities of self-conceptions, both

mass and elite respondents were given similar questions. When asked about Mexican-Americans having the tendency "to have stronger family ties than most other Americans," the majority of mass respondents (63 percent) and the overwhelming majority of the elite (94 percent) group agreed (see Table 3-10). Family ties are associated with type of income. Low income Mexican-Americans believe their group have stronger family ties than Mexican-Americans whose income is higher (see Appendix A, Table 3-I). The correlation is unusual because elite members indicated strong agreement in family ties. By the same token, mass respondents agreed that "other Americans do not work as hard as Mexican-Americans." Like the mass group, elite members had a favorable response toward their own group. Favorable responses to their own group were also indicated by mass and elite respondents when expressing that Anglos "are more materialistic than Mexican-Americans."

However, when asked about the Mexican-American's culpability for their current social position, 64 percent of mass respondents agreed that it was really their own fault. It is interesting to note that women (elite and mass) hold more unfavorable views of their group than men, at least for this item. On the other hand, elite members had more positive sentiments, with only 39 percent agreeing that it was the Mexican-American's fault for their position. As for shouting for their rights but not having anything to offer, their reaction was mixed. As in other statements elite members were more favorable toward their own group than the mass sample.

In general the data and the qualitative discussions suggest that respondents are critical of themselves for some of their failures, but most of them place the blame on Anglos. This seems to be the case

especially to Mexican-Americans who are more aware and sensitive about the social conditions of the community. Therefore, Mexican-Americans are looking, more and more, to the dominant system as a source of evils once believed to be strictly the fault of their own group. It seems to be a reality that more political awareness and participation and inter-action with the Anglo community is manifesting itself. In this sense, collective self-definitions are changing. It is the contention of this writer that as pressure for change increases, political coalitions between the minority and majority group will be formed.

TABLE 3-10
SELF-STEREOTYPES BY MASS AND ELITE RESPONDENTS,
BEEVILLE, 1973

Items	Percent		Percent	
	Agree		Disagree	
	Mass	Elite	Mass	Elite
Stronger Family Ties ^a	63%	94%	18%	3%
Work Harder ^b	59%	58%	29%	26%
Anglos Materialistic ^c	55%	48%	25%	39%
Blame Others ^d	64%	39%	23%	52%
Shout for Rights ^e	43%	19%	40%	77%
Total Number	201	31	--	--

^a "Mexican Americans tend to have stronger family ties than most other Americans."

^b "Other Americans do not work as hard as Mexican Americans."

^c "Generally, other Americans are more materialistic than Mexican Americans are."

^d "Mexican Americans often blame other Americans for their position, but it is really their own fault."

^e "Mexican Americans often shout about their rights but do not have anything to offer."

Source: Part of the items are derived from Anthony Dworkin, "Self-Stereotypes and Self-Images Held by Native-Born and Foreign-Born Mexican-Americans," Sociology and Social Research, XLIX (January, 1965), pp. 214-224. The remainder are replications of items used in Robin Williams, et. al., Strangers Next Door (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 284, as used by Grebler, et. al., The Mexican American People, op. cit., p. 388.

Perceptions of Discrimination and Feelings About Other Groups

Discrimination and prejudice are topics that cover much of the conversations of Mexican-Americans in this community, especially in the multiplicity of factors dealing with competition. For years Mexican-Americans have been aware and sensitive about these issues. In the many and lengthy conversations that this writer had with respondents, other elements of discrimination were revealed, not necessarily outright but in various incidents with varying degrees of subtlety. Moreover, instead of general resentment to the general nature of the problem, most respondents emphasized different incidents, places, persons, and times.

Respondents were asked a set of questions relative to their perceptions of discrimination. The overwhelming majority of mass and elite respondents claimed that it was "true" or "somewhat true" that they "have to work a lot harder to get ahead than most Anglo-Americans" (see Table 3-11). In every level of interaction (community, business, and politics), respondents overwhelmingly agreed that they have to work harder. The Mexican-American community leaders were more convinced that their ethnic group need to work harder to get ahead. It appears that the overwhelming response to the Mexican-American difficulty in facing competition is the reflection of the intensity and animosity of these people after a long political struggle. Further, it shows the desire, especially among elite members, for change in the social system. It also appears to indicate that collective self-perceptions is changing and that in itself has given encouragement to further increase the Mexican-American efforts to reduce or eliminate elements of discrimination.

TABLE 3-11
SOCIAL DISTANCE FROM ANGLOS BY SURVEY RESPONDENTS
BEEVILLE, 1973, SAN ANTONIO AND LOS ANGELES, 1967

	Percent*		
<u>Distasteful To</u>	<u>B'Ville Mass</u>	<u>San Antonio</u>	<u>Los Angeles</u>
Eat With Anglos	10%	8%	3%
Dance With Anglos	23%	16%	4%
Party With Anglos	41%	15%	13%
Marry Anglos	23%	19%	13%
Total Number	201	583**	917**

*Percentage Rounded.

**Approximate Figures.

Source for San Antonio and Los Angeles derived from Grebler, et. al., The Mexican American People, op. cit., p. 392.

Another area where there are usually many opinions but limited data is the general perceptions of Mexican-Americans toward Anglos and Negroes; that is, the extent of anti-Anglo and anti-Negro prejudices among Mexican-Americans. From the Anglo side, long-range data found in Emory Bogardus, A Forty Year Racial Distance,⁴² where "the absolute social-distance scores for all groups 'improved' over the 40-year period; all groups were more acceptable in 1966 than they had been in 1926."⁴³

A study of inter-ethnic relations by Williams and his associates⁴⁴ included data on mutual perceptions of Mexican-Americans, Anglos from Bakersfield, California. This data has been compared and analyzed with Grebler's data of Los Angeles and San Antonio samples.⁴⁵

With the desire to learn more about mutual perceptions of Mexican-Americans, a set of questions were asked from mass respondents on social distance and nearness felt by this group toward Anglos and Negroes.⁴⁶ Respondents were asked about their distaste in eating, dancing, partying, or marrying Anglos (see Table 3-11). Their distaste in eating with Anglos was minimal (10 percent). However, in other ways of associating and intermingling with Anglos, the intensity of distastefulness increased especially in partying with Anglos. But even with this degree of intensity for social distance, most Mexican-Americans did not relate any concerns or problems in intermixing socially with Anglos. As a matter of fact, it appears that many Mexican-Americans are willing (not necessarily vocal) to see the two groups together for the betterment of the community and themselves. This could be a possibility, provided that Mexican-Americans are accepted in equal terms. There is a correlation between nearness felt and income and level of education. Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education are higher found it less "distasteful" to associate with Anglos than Mexican-Americans whose income and educational attainment were lower (see Appendix A, Table 3-J).

When compared to the San Antonio and Los Angeles samples, Mexican-Americans in Beeville exhibited more distaste in associating with the dominant group. There are two possible explanations for this phenomenon. First, traditionally, the social distance between Anglos and Mexican-Americans has been greater in rural than in urban areas. Second, as indicated earlier, many of the respondents were being "awakened" about some of the evils of the Anglo members. Still, this data does not necessarily indicate a strong "anti-gringo" sentiment.

Mexican-American attitudes toward Negroes are different when compared to their attitudes toward Anglos. The degree of tolerance reduces sharply and the social distance widens when respondents were asked about their perception of Negroes. In every statement used in the item schedule, respondents' prejudices were higher toward Negroes than Anglos (see Tables 3-12 & 3-13). For example, when respondents were asked about their distaste in eating with Negroes, 21 percent found it "distasteful." This is more than twice the percentage when asked about eating with Anglos. The closer the social interaction, the wider the distaste of Mexican-Americans toward the Negroes. Mexican-Americans found it even more "distasteful" "to dance with a Negro" or "to go to a party and find that most people were Negro." Mexican-American Beevillians are overwhelmingly opposed to inter-marriage with Negroes.

TABLE 3-12
SOCIAL DISTANCE FROM NEGROES BY SURVEY RESPONDENTS,
BEEVILLE, 1973, SAN ANTONIO AND LOS ANGELES, 1967

	Percent*		
<u>Distasteful To</u>	<u>B'Ville Mass</u>	<u>San Antonio</u>	<u>Los Angeles</u>
Eat with Negroes	21%	31%	17%
Dance with Negroes	55%	69%	46%
Party with Negroes	50%	62%	53%
Marry Negroes	80%	90%	82%
Total Number	201	583**	917**

*Percentage Rounded.

**Approximate Figures.

Source for San Antonio and Los Angeles derived from Grebler, et. al., The Mexican American People, op. cit., p. 393.

As indicated earlier, prejudice toward Anglos is higher among respondents from Beeville when compared with the Los Angeles and San Antonio samples (see Table 3-12). However, when the three samples are compared in their attitudes toward the Negro, respondents from Beeville found it less "distasteful" to intermix in every item than Los Angeles and San Antonio samples. Comparatively, Beeville has fewer Negroes (3 percent of the total population) than San Antonio and Los Angeles. In general, Mexican-Americans in our community have never felt much competition from the Negro population in occupations or related matters. Moreover, Negroes from Beeville have never made an open and concerted effort to obtain "justice and equality." Mexican-Americans have not felt much threat or a spirit of competition with the Negro populace.

When variables were tested for possible associations, intermixing with Negroes is associated with income, education, and length of residency. Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education is higher express less distaste to eat with, dance with, and to go to a party with Negroes than Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education is lower. Moreover, the longer the period of residency of respondents, the less "distasteful" it was found to intermix with the Negro. Mexican-American attitudes toward marrying Negroes vary only with educational attainment--the higher their level of educational attainment, the less distasteful it was found "to marry a Negro." It appears that prejudice toward Negroes is less as the level of education of Mexican-American increases. However, levels of income appear to have less variation in Mexican-American attitudes toward Negroes (see Appendix A, Table 3-K).

Other than a degree of tolerance due to the recent "change of image" of the Negro and some educational strides on the part of Mexican-Americans, there seems to be no grounds to expect that Mexican-Americans are more tolerant toward Negroes. There are two factors for this condition: the Mexican tradition is not one of tolerance toward Negroes or Indians.⁴⁷ Texas, and for that matter the Southwest, has little tradition to offer in regard to tolerance toward Negroes. The dominant social structure has set the tone for generations of intolerance toward the black race. At least on the surface, the Mexican-American has gained respect for Negroes because of the civil rights movement. This ethnic group has much sympathy and some jealousy. Nevertheless, Mexican-Americans in Beeville are directing their attention to learning and competing with the Anglo. No other group really matters at this point of social transition.

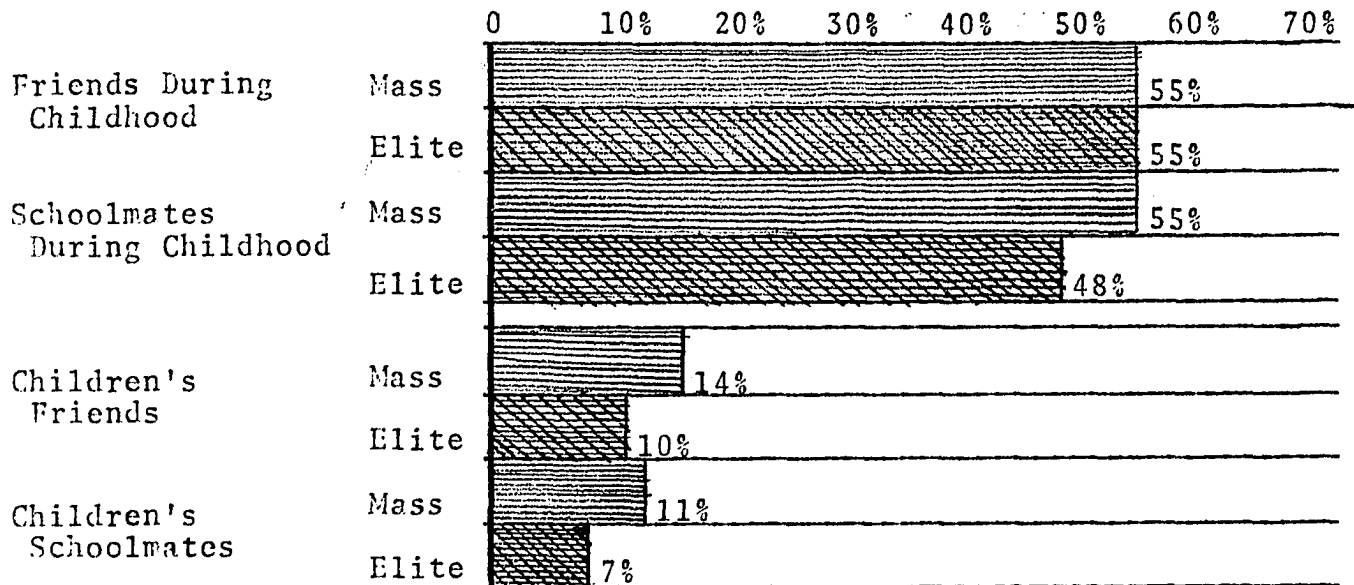
In-Group and Out-Group: A Generational Difference?

To the dominant society, it has been common knowledge and understood that Mexican-Americans form a cohesive group; moreover, this sense of cohesiveness has literally retarded assimilation. When we study generational differences in ethnicity of their associates, the perceptions of the larger society are questioned. In order to find patterns of social relations in a broader context, respondents were asked the ethnicity of their associates (friends and schoolmates) when they were teenagers and the ethnicity (friends and schoolmates) of their children. Mass and elite respondents were asked identical questions (see Chart 3-1, Part A). Since the community structure is dominated by two major ethnic groups (97 percent of the total population), we asked respondents to identify their Mexican-American

associates. For all practical purposes, anything not identified as Mexican-American is considered Anglo.

CHART 3-1
ETHNICITY OF ASSOCIATES, MASS & ELITE
RESPONDENTS, BEEVILLE, 1973

A. Percent all Mexican-American--Generational Difference



B. Percent all Mexican-American

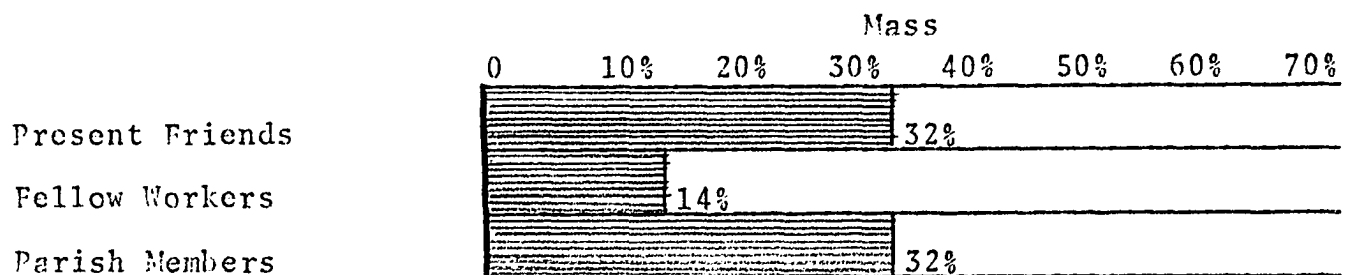


Chart 3-1 clearly shows evidence of an assimilative trend when two generations were compared. Through participant observations and data available, there is less ethnic exclusiveness and an increasing proportion of Anglo friends in each succeeding generation. For example,

55 percent of the respondents (mass and elite) claimed that their friends during childhood were Mexican-American. A similar percentage is registered for their school associates. However, their children's friends had a much lower percentage of ethnic friendship (14 percent mass and 10 percent elite). A similar occurrence is found in their children's schoolmates. Only 14 percent of the mass sample and 7 percent for the elite respondents reported strictly ethnic school associates. Moreover, when we considered their present friends, fellow workers, and members of their parish, the percent claiming an entire Mexican-American circle is not considerable (see Chart 3-1, Part B). It is important to note that when the respondents were asked about the ethnicity of their supervisors (occupation), only 14 percent claim to have Mexican-Americans. More female Mexican-Americans have Anglo supervisors than male Mexican-Americans. Similar results are found in the San Antonio and Los Angeles studies.⁴⁸

The trend toward integration or ethnic exclusiveness can be partially explained as follows: more Mexican-Americans are living in the east side of the city than a generation ago. The opportunity for their children to associate with Anglos as friends or schoolmates is higher. Second, school integration has increased at a noticeable rate, although full integration is not a reality. Third, the number of years of schooling for their children is much higher than a generation ago. Therefore, the contact with Anglos as friends and schoolmates is more pronounced and for longer periods of time. Finally, even at the parental level, there is less ethnic exclusiveness than before.

Another measure of contact with the in-group and out-group dealt with money matters and information about politics. We asked

respondents that if they were to seek help or advice on money matters or politics would they contact a Mexican-American or a Non-Mexican-American (Anglo). In money matters, a plurality of the respondents (43 percent) indicated that they would go to an Anglo. To most respondents, this selection was obvious: "who has the money around here?" "I would like to go to a Mexican-American, but you do not find them in the banks;" or "it is easier to trust an Anglo on money matters than a Mexican-American." It appears that most Mexican-Americans would rather see "their own kind of people" if they had a choice, although to some this can be a questionable matter.

TABLE 3-13
RESPONDENTS SEEKING HELP OR ADVICE ABOUT MONEY
OR POLITICS, BY ETHNICITY, BEEVILLE MASS, 1973

Item	Percent	
	Mexican-American	Non-Mexican-American
Seeking Help or Advice on Money Matters	38%	43%
Seeking Help or Advice on Politics	67%	6%
Total Number - 201		

In political matters, the majority of the respondents named Mexican-Americans. Very few mentioned Anglos for advice on politics. There are two possible explanations for relying on Mexican-Americans for political advice. First, the Mexican-American has more accessibility and feels more comfortable with other Mexican-Americans; and

second, the availability of Mexican-Americans to render help on politics is a simple matter. It should be noted that most respondents mentioned one of several Mexican-American leaders as the person to seek advice if it was necessary!

In short, the data from elite and mass respondents clearly showed that interaction with members of the dominant society or the confinement to the ethnic group is closely related to residency. Mexican-Americans who live in the barrio normally had less interaction with Anglos than Mexican-Americans who live in a more heterogeneous community. Other variables such as income and education are not necessarily important. This situation applies to both groups (elite and non-elite) in the community. In money matters, Mexican-Americans seek help and advice from the larger society while in political matters the majority rely on their own ethnic group.

Change Through Planning: The Community Future

Since our major theme is change in a community, our respondents were asked about general value patterns related to progress: that is, their attitudes toward "mastery"--control over the environment by planning and how they saw the future for Mexican-Americans in Beeville. It was hoped that these and related social factors would form the basis for political change. Table 3-15 exemplifies a cluster of the general value patterns as it relates to achievement.

The first statement deals with the unhappiness of making plans since they are difficult to fulfill. The majority of the respondents

(mass and elite) disagreed with no significant difference between males and females. Planning is associated with income and educational attainment--the higher the income and level of education, the stronger the disagreement that planning brings unhappiness. Similar results were found when Mexican-Americans were compared to Anglos.⁴⁹ In fact, most respondents verbally elaborated on the need for planning. This disagreement is even stronger with the second statement--no difference in electing one candidate or another. The majority of mass respondents (67 percent) and the overwhelming majority of elite members disagreed. There is an income variation--the higher the income, the stronger respondents disagreed with the statement of no difference between candidates, especially if the candidates were of different ethnic background. (See Appendix A, Table 3-L).

The third statement also concerns control of environment through planning--a person ought to think about the present without worrying about tomorrow. Once again, mass and elite respondents disagreed (67 percent and 90 percent, respectively) with the statement about not showing concern for tomorrow. Income and level of education are factors that influence attitudes toward planning for tomorrow--the higher the income and level of education, the stronger the disagreement that a person should disregard tomorrow. It seems that males (mass and elite) are more concerned about "tomorrow" than females. At least that is what the data indicates. Moreover, among elite members, older persons stressed more concern about planning than younger persons. Finally, respondents were asked about their attitude on expectation of life. The question appeared as follows: "The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way." Unlike the preceding statements about controlling the

environment, respondents' disagreement were much lower. Similar responses are found for the San Antonio and Los Angeles studies (see Table 3-15). A correlation, however, does exist between expectation out of life and income and level of education. Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education is higher show stronger disagreement with being content with life than Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education is lower. (See Appendix A, Table 3-L)

TABLE 3-14
RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD CONTROL OF ENVIRONMENT
BY PLANNING, BEEVILLE MASS & ELITE, 1973
SAN ANTONIO & LOS ANGELES, 1967

Percent* "Disagreeing" with Statement

Items	B'Ville Mass	B'Ville Elite	San Antonio	Los Angeles
Making Plans	52%	68%	49%	51%
Electing Candidates	67%	90%	62%	66%
Thinking Only of the Present	66%	90%	78%	72%
Secret of Happiness	39%	65%	36%	17%
Total Number	201	31	536**	986**

*Percentage Rounded.

**Approximate Figures.

^a "Making plans only brings unhappiness because the plans are hard to fulfill."

^b "It doesn't make much difference if the people elect one or another candidate, for nothing will change."

^c "With things as they are today, an intelligent person ought to think only about the present, without worrying about what is going to happen tomorrow."

^d "The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way."

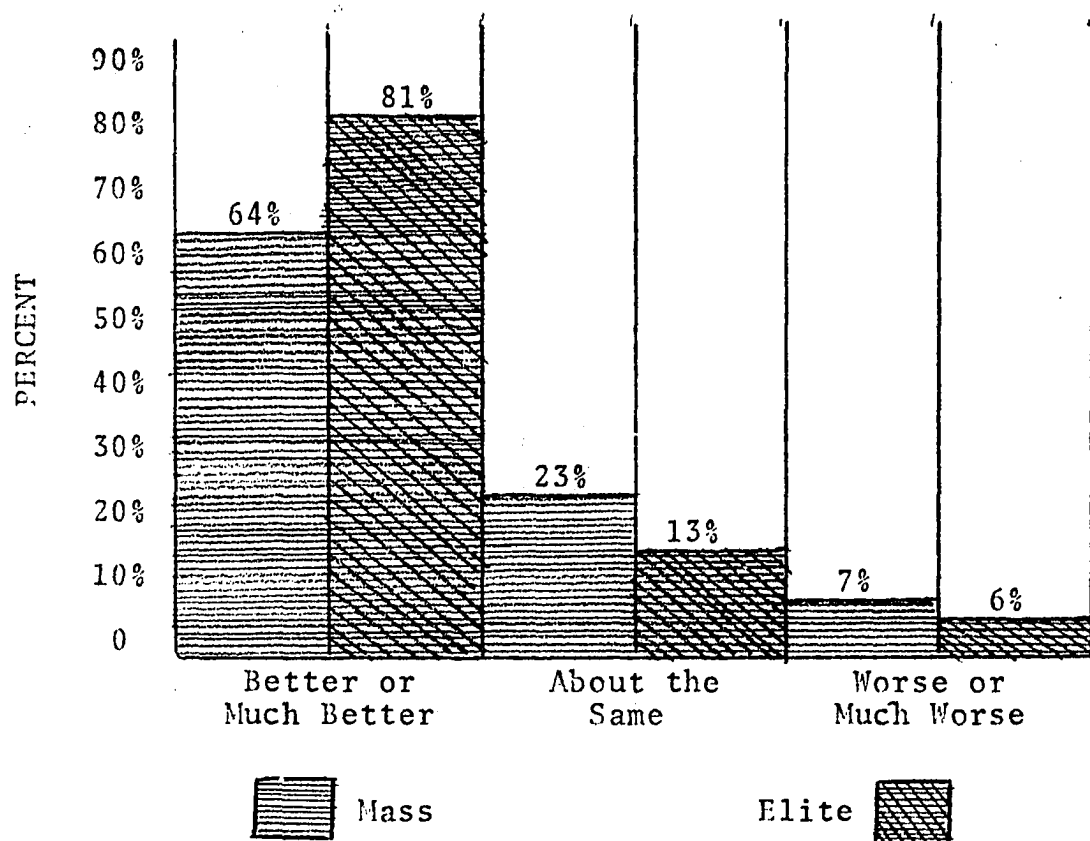
Source for San Antonio and Los Angeles derived from Grebler, et. al., The Mexican American People, op. cit., p. 436.

The data appear to show no real support to the notion that Mexican-Americans have no strong desire to progress; nor does it show a cultural uniqueness. Their belief in potential mastery of their environment seems to be parallel to attitudes of other Americans.

An additional two items were included to denote Mexican-American attitudes and perceptions of the whole community and their progress in relation to other groups in the United States. Mass and elite respondents were asked about their attitude of the Beeville community. Has the community situation improved, remained the same, or deteriorated in the past five years? There is definite optimism among respondents (see Chart 3-2). Mass (64 percent) and elite respondents (81 percent) concurred that the community situation for Mexican-Americans was looking much better. Only a small minority of those surveyed indicated a decaying situation.

The prevalent attitude of general progress among Mexican-Americans is based on past conditions in the community for this group and not necessarily of the dominant group. Moreover, it should be understood that Mexican-Americans are not satisfied with their current status. For instance, Mexican-American leaders have a more optimistic outlook than the masses, but the same leaders are far more concerned and vocal about community inequities. In other words, they praise and justify that social conditions have become better for the community. Nevertheless, their concern for lack of equal political representation, discrimination, job opportunities, and equal education is obvious and understandable. No pattern of difference was found in income, education, and age difference.

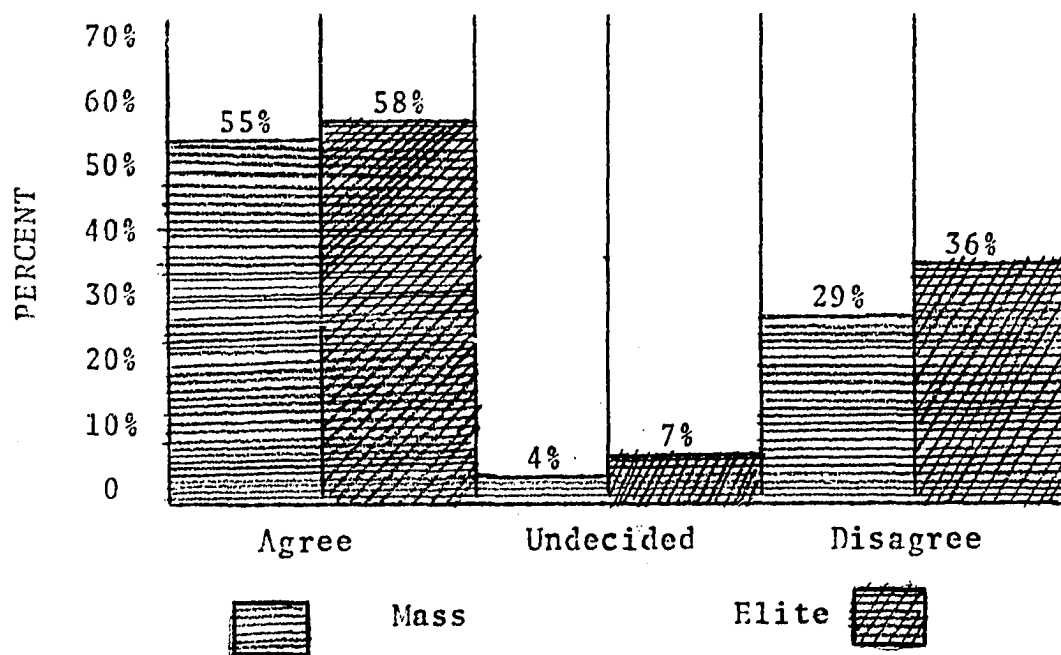
CHART 3-2
 RESPONDENTS' OPINION OF SITUATION IN COMMUNITY:
 "BETTER," "SAME," "WORSE" IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS
 BEEVILLE MASS & ELITE, 1973



The second item dealt with the future perceptions of respondents (mass and elite) on the possibility of being the same as other groups in the United States (see Chart 3-3). Like the previous response, the majority of the survey respondents (55 percent and 58 percent, respectively) agreed that Mexican-Americans will be on equal footing with other groups. Only a very small minority were "undecided" about the future. However, approximately one-third of the total number surveyed disagreed with the statement. To elaborate on their response, respondents were asked to verbally expand on this topic. For those that agreed that fifty years from now Mexican-Americans will be the same

as other groups, most of them said that their ethnic group would have the same qualities as other groups, therefore, in the long run they would be the same as others. Others claimed that at the rate they were assimilating, no major distinction would be found in the next two or three generations. In general, responses were vague with an equalitarian touch. Elite members were more specific in their response. Income seems to play a role in their general outlook, with middle and upper income mass respondents being less encouraged about their future outlook than Mexican-Americans whose income is lower. However, when elites and non-elites are compared, elite members have higher hopes of being the same as others.

CHART 3-3
RESPONDENTS AGREEING THAT EQUALITY BETWEEN MEXICAN-AMERICANS
AND ANGLOS WILL EXIST 50 YEARS FROM NOW,
BEEVILLE MASS & ELITE, 1973



On the other hand, respondents who disagreed with "the sameness outlook" justified their response by saying that "Mexican-Americans will be Mexican-Americans"--apparently meaning a certain ethnic uniqueness. Moreover, a subordinate feeling was constantly expounded by some: "Mexican-Americans will never be the same as Anglos;" "there is no plausible way to catch up with the Anglo;" and "Mexican-Americans will always be at the bottom regardless of what happens."

Summary

Much has been said about social change as it applies to the Mexican-American. In fact, there has been a continuous verbal dialogue between the two major groups about change or the lack of change and its desirability. It appears that much of the popular arguments are politically oriented and somewhat biased since dialogue represents different interests of the groups involved. Much will be said as changes continue to occur in the community. Through survey research and participant observations, indications are that Mexican-Americans are changing in this community as well as throughout the Southwest. The rate of change depends on a multiplicity of factors. Some of these factors are mentioned in the process of analyzing and discussing different aspects of social change. Needless to say, the study of sociological factors among Mexican-Americans is still at a preliminary stage of development; expansion of social data for comparative and analytical purposes is desired and needed.

Various indicators show that the structure of the nuclear family is changing and so is the interrelations of the family with kin and relatives. The barrio has been a cohesive factor where much social in-group

inter-action occurs. Certain elements of cohesiveness will continue to predominate. However, more and more contact with the out-group is occurring, especially among the well-to-do, more educated, and the young. It appears that while some characteristics change, such as the role of the male parents, other characteristics remain in existence, such as the use of the Spanish language. Although there is a tremendous variation in change between one community to another, there are general patterns of similarity even between urban and semi-urban areas.

There is an element of uniqueness when we consider the self-perceptions of Mexican-Americans; that is, Mexican-Americans generally feel that they do have a cultural uniqueness. However, when some of these perceptive attitudes are compared with other Americans, these patterns are not that different. Although it appears that there is less discrimination of Mexican-Americans against Anglos than vice-versa; however, discrimination exists. Elements of discrimination increase when Negroes are considered (see Table 3-13).

Finally, two additional factors denote social change. First, there is a generational difference in much of the Mexican-American attitudes in their inter-action with the out-group. Education and income are factors that determine this variation. Second, unlike traditional beliefs, Mexican-Americans are concerned about controlling the environment through planning. Moreover, the concern is so intense among many that the concept of "mañana is today" is catching on in different quarters of the community.

FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER III

¹Moore, op. cit., p. 99.

²Among the more important sources are: Margaret Clark, Health in the Mexican-American Culture (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1970); Barbara Macklin, "Structural Stability and Culture Change in a Mexican-American Community," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1963); Ozzie G. Simmons, "Anglo-Americans and Mexican Americans in South Texas," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1952).

³Grebler, op. cit., p. 350.

⁴Ibid., p. 351.

⁵Moore, op. cit., p. 104.

⁶Ibid., p. 104.

⁷Madsen, op. cit.

⁸Moore's argument parallels studies made by Rubel, op. cit., and Madsen, op. cit. Their anthropological studies are of smaller, isolated communities.

⁹Grebler, op. cit., p. 361.

¹⁰For a comparison of the life-styles of Anglos and Mexican Americans, see Allen T. Caine, "Comparative Life-Styles of Anglos and Mexican-Americans," in Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose (eds.), Minority Problems (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

¹¹Ibid., pp. 361-363.

¹²Ibid., p. 362.

¹³Grebler, op. cit., p. 364.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 363.

¹⁵Caine, op. cit., p. 294.

¹⁶The question read as follows: "Family planning-or birth control-has been discussed by many people. What is your feeling about a married couple practicing birth control. If you had to decide, which one of these statements best expresses your point of view?"

¹⁷Grebler, et. al., op. cit., p. 364.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 365-366.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 364. In a pilot study conducted in a California community, respondents indicated that "among traditionalistic lower-class Mexican-American(s)...it was more often the husband than the wife who objected to the use of any contraceptive measures, occasionally going to extremes of taking away or hiding birth-control pills prescribed for the wife." pp. 364-365.

²⁰Grebler, et. al., op. cit., p. 361.

²¹See Rubel, Across the Tracks, op. cit., and Clark, Health in Mexican American Culture, op. cit.

²²Grebler, et. al., op. cit., p. 358.

²³Ibid., p. 358.

²⁴"A system of which people enter into kinlike relationship with one another; ...the relationship between godparents and their godchildren." Rubel, Across the Tracks, op. cit., p. 256. For a series of Spanish terms, see Rubel's Glossary, pp. 255-260.

²⁵According to Grebler and others, the godparents for the newly-born child is chosen from two kinds of people--"those who are already friends and relatives of the parents, or people of higher prestige," op. cit., p. 354.

²⁶See Nancie L. Gonzales, The Spanish-American of New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969).

²⁷Richard Thurston, "Urbanization and Sociocultural Change in a Mexican-American Enclave" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1957), pp. 112-113, as used by Grebler, et. al., op. cit., p. 354.

²⁸The association and inter-action of groups of Mexican-Americans special youth and young men.

²⁹La Causa (the cause) is the battle cry of many Mexican-Americans who are willing to struggle for fairness, equality, and justice for their own group.

³⁰Guzman, "The Political Socialization of Mexican American People," op. cit., p. 145.

³¹For a thorough discussion of the philosophy and works of Jose Vasconcelos, see Nicandro Juarez, "Jose Vasconcelos' Theory of the Cosmic Race" (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1965).

³²George I. Sanchez, "History, Culture and Education," in Julian Samora (ed.), La Raza: Forgotten Americans (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), pp. 1-26.

³³Manuel Gambio, The Life Story of the Mexican Immigrant (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971).

³⁴Converse, quoted in Angus Campbell, et. al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1960), p. 206.

³⁵For years Mexican-American leaders have fought willingly to end the bracero program and to institute stronger laws in dealing with illegal aliens from Mexico who come to work for lower wages.

³⁶Grebler, et. al., op. cit., p. 382.

³⁷Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, Minorities in the New World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 84.

³⁸Grebler, et. al., op. cit., pp. 384-385.

³⁹For studies of Mexican-American self stereotypes, see Anthony Gary Dworkin, "Stereotypes and Self-Images Held by Native-Born and Foreign-Born Mexican-Americans," Sociology and Social Research, XLIX (Jan., 1965), pp. 214-224; and Ozzie G. Simmons, "The Mutual Images and Expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans," Daedalus, XC (Spring, 1961), pp. 286-299.

⁴⁰Guzman, "The Political Socialization of Mexican American People," op. cit.

⁴¹Dworkin as quoted in Grebler, et. al., op. cit., pp. 387-388.

⁴²Emory Bogardus, A Forty Year Racial Distance (Los Angeles, Calif.: University of Southern California, 1967).

⁴³From Bogardus as interpreted by Grebler, et. al., op. cit., p. 39.

⁴⁴Robin Williams, et. al., op. cit.

⁴⁵Grebler, et. al., pp. 391-394.

⁴⁶The set of statements used for this study were borrowed from studies of Grebler and Williams.

⁴⁷Jeane E. Gullahorn and Charles P. Loomis, "A Comparison of Social Distance Attitudes in the United States and Mexico," Studies in Comparative International Development, Vol. II, No. 6 (St. Louis: University of Washington, Social Science Institute, 1966), as used by Grebler, et. al., op. cit., p. 394.

⁴⁸The San Antonio and Los Angeles samples clearly indicates an integration pattern between generations. The proportion of Anglo associates is higher for Los Angeles than for San Antonio. See Grebler, et. al., op. cit., pp. 394-399.

⁴⁹Caine, op. cit., p. 291

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL VARIATION AND ACTIVITY: AN ANALYSIS

To distinguish between sociological and political variables can be a difficult task since many of the issues carry a spectrum of socio-political factors that are not necessarily distinguishable. Nonetheless, an attempt will be made in this chapter to introduce a series of items having to do with attitudinal behavior on the part of Mexican-Americans with regard to political activity. Every effort will be made to compare our findings with other studies of Mexican-Americans, as well as other Americans in general. Regardless of our efforts, there are strong limitations to our findings, to our analysis, as well as to the general scope of Mexican-American political activity.

The item schedule contained a set of statements related to with sets of variables by which we hope to measure political variation and activity in a semi-urban community. Among the political variables considered are: campaign index, attitudes on voting, voting turnout, party representation, political efficacy and perceptions of Mexican-Americans of local leaders. The bulk of the political variables for this chapter are addressed to the masses (201 respondents) with the basic intent to find out more about their behavior and attitudes. There are, however, a few items where comparisons will be made between masses and elites, since in Chapter Five, "Community Elites and Political Leadership," we will devote our attention to the issues concerning Mexican-American influentials. Once again, to separate distinctly elites and masses can be an attempt to divorce two parties where marriage is considered an essential ingredient.

The study of Mexican-American political participation and activity at the local level seems to be a natural phenomenon.¹ It is at the local level that most of the political gains and setbacks have occurred; it is at the local level that Mexican-Americans can foresee the election of members of their own group; and it is at the community level that majorities can be obtained. Speaking of ethnic groups, Robert Lane observed that,

...the seat of ethnic is the local community, not the national capital. This is evidenced by the fact that although ethnic groups often vote no more frequently than native white protestants in national elections...and sometimes less frequently, they usually vote more frequently in local elections.²

There appears to be a concerted effort on the part of many Mexican-American leaders to activate this ethnic group in South Texas; moreover, the political activity of one community can have a bearing on others. In the same manner, there exists an element of inter-communication among leaders, urban and rural, of different communities. However, when it gets down to political participation, political control and political representation, only the internal elements of the community can determine the outcome of events. Under those circumstances, the size of the ethnic group, the quality of its leaders, voting turnout, the composition and attitude of the dominant political group, and other related political factors are all part of the political system that spells progress or the lack of it in the transformation of a political community. Due to these factors, there is a flavor of political uniqueness in every community. But like sociological factors, political behavior and attitudes among Mexican-Americans have patterns of similarity with other Mexican-

American communities, Negroes, and Anglos. In this report, considerable emphasis has been placed to compare our results with other studies relevant to these topics.

Mexican-American Politics: A Decade of Struggle

The intensification of political activity in this community by Mexican-Americans parallels the mood of the nation of the sixties and early seventies. As discussed earlier (Chapter II), change in both the larger society and the Mexican-American community has brought almost significant changes in political activity since most Mexican-American leaders came to the realization that "politics was one of the most practical and expedient ways for ethnic advancement."³ Moreover, population growth among the Mexican-Americans began to reach majority proportions. Generally, the stage was set for political confrontation between the two major groups.

The purposes of analysis and discussion, the historical development to change politics in the community can be described in four stages in a period covering a decade (1965-1975). Once again, for the sake of analysis and identification, we have a Pre-Take-Over Period⁴ (1960 and before to early 1970), Take-Over Period (1970-1971), Post-Take-Over Period (1971-1973), and the aftermath.⁵ During these important ten years, the people of the community experienced a major struggle between ethnic factions, leadership factionalism, intra-ethnic conflict, more explicit expression of discrimination and prejudice, and the political potentiality of a minority group.

The Pre-Take-Over Period is, characteristically, highly diversified. Prior to the 1960's, the political influence of the Mexican-

American was limited. Political participation constituted a delivery of a possible block vote to particular Anglo candidates through the efforts of Mexican-American leaders who expected a small political pay off, such as a minor political job, barbeque and beer for the participants, or other token rewards.⁶ For all practical purposes, however, no real efforts were made to have a candidate of their own ethnic group nor the efforts to increase voter registration or some type of organization to facilitate political activity.

The Presidential election of 1960 brought a step toward the discovery of the political potential of this group. The Viva Kennedy movement brought an element of political enthusiasm among a group of Mexican-American. A joint effort was made by local leaders to bring out the vote. By the middle sixties, no less than two candidates had been placed on the ballot for city elections. No candidates came close to winning an election. By 1967, however, the first Mexican-American of the decade was elected to the city council.⁷ It was apparent that Mexican-Americans were politically preparing to have representation from their own group, not from the Anglos. Due to the intensity of political activity, the dominant group accepted the idea of one Mexican-American in the city council; Mexican-Americans were "welcomed to run provided they were qualified;" and the qualifying factor was narrowly defined by the dominant group in order to discourage political competition.

The general plan of the Mexican-American leaders was to elect another member of their own group and eventually obtain a majority in the city council. In the city elections of 1969, this writer

was encouraged to run since he met "the qualifying criteria as set by the Anglo sector." Openly, the campaign was conducted in a low tone with no real issues other than a choice of candidates. It appears that political jealousy in one of the Mexican-American leaders brought another Mexican-American as a write-in candidate. The results were predictable: this writer and the write-in candidate were defeated at the polls by an Anglo candidate. The split in the Mexican-American vote and the limited crossover from the Anglo voters resulted in a plurality of votes for the winner.

The election had two significant results: Mexican-Americans needed more unity and better political organization and, regardless of qualification, a Mexican-American candidate could not obtain general support from the Anglo community. In a newspaper conversation between the editor of the local newspaper and a Mexican-American leader the qualifying factor was discussed. According to the Mexican-American leader,

(Y)ou (editor) have always said that you would vote for a qualified candidate, regardless of race. Remember what happened to Professor Robert Villarreal last spring? It proved that a candidate with a Spanish surname will only be supported by the people from the West side. If we do anything it has got to be as a race or as an ethnic group. Hell, we want to be considered Americans.⁸

Following the election, the Mexican-American leadership conducted several meetings in preparation for a major vote registration drive which preceded the selection of qualified candidates for the council election of 1970. The major efforts brought a "surprised" victory for the Mexican-Americans, not anticipated by the Anglo community. Two Mexican-American newcomers were elected as well as

the incumbent. What followed was a year characterized by political turmoil, mass resignations, two new city managers, and numerous attacks on the administration with "racial" overtones.

The Take-Over Period had a short duration. To most residents of Beeville and the surrounding area, it was a period of political awakening and adjustment. From the general Mexican-American point of view, it was a step of accomplishment and realization. With unity and organization, they could become a political majority which meant a better and more balanced allocation of values. There were questions among Mexican-Americans, however, of leadership capabilities under political stress. This issue was highly exploited by the Anglo leadership. On the other hand, the Anglo community experienced the full impact of immediate and future political consequences. To the Anglo leadership, it was a well-known factor that they had the institutional and economic backing. Under these circumstances, there were two strategies to recapture the political machinery: (1) discredit the Mexican-American administration and (2) prepare for the next political battle through voter registration. The two strategies were interrelated and at times synonymous as it was pursued by the local newspaper.⁹

The disenchantment and discouragement against the administration came in various forms. Articles in the newspaper came persistently paralleling Beeville with another--Crystal City, Texas.¹⁰ In another persistent argument, the publisher of one of the newspapers noted that the "lack of experience" and "good will" among Mexican-American city councilmen could paralyze the growth of the city. According to the

publisher:

(M)uch damage has been done to the feeling of brotherhood within our community. There are some who feel sincerely that the militants must be returned to power, but those with more level heads know this will mean disaster for our town and county. All should realize that economic conditions will be affected if certain candidates are elected. The feeling of distrust which now exists cannot be overcome until all men make concrete efforts to show they are working for the entire community.¹¹

Mass resignations of city officials in the first four months of the Mexican-American administration served as a climatic event¹² that left city government in political chaos. Reasons for the resignations were vague. "But it appeared to be linked with recent city elections that gave Mexican-Americans a majority on the city council for the first time in this Southeast Texas town's history."¹³

The other major attempt to unseat the new administration was to appeal to the voter to register and vote to "restore confidence" in the local political system. In an editorial near election time, "Dios Por Delante," the publisher said,

(W)e pray God will be with the voters of Beeville in April. He was with the people of Crystal City and brought them an oil discovery after their political turmoil.... But we can best aid our cause by electing men who will guide our city for the good of everyone, if we only go to the polls.¹⁴

In another editorial on voter registration, the newspaper claimed that,

(W)ith over 9,000 registered in Bee County, there is no doubt as to the interest in this "off" election year. We stress again the idea that it would be wonderful if this interest was a combined effort to improve our county. How can we as a community regain our respect and friendship for all who are our neighbors?¹⁵

The Mexican-American administration with constant political chaos and turmoil conducted its affairs with conciliatory measures and at times with caprice. Most of the conciliatory efforts were to placate political criticism. Capriciousness came as a disciplinary matter. In reference to the resignation of an Anglo council member among other resignations, the Mexican-American mayor stated that,

(F)or many years we have had an Anglo majority of four to one on the council when the Anglos had about half the population. According to the rules of fair play, we could appoint another Mexican-American and have a four-to-one majority of our own. We are considering this matter very carefully and we will make a decision soon.¹⁶

Noting that he had been the city's first Mexican-American mayor, the city chief spokesman in a conciliatory fashion stated that "this may be hard to accept for some people in this area.... I do not blame you, after 100 years of control of the government."¹⁷ He also said that,

...despite the publicity given to Mexican-American militants, our approach is a friendly one. We feel that we have certain situations which should be corrected.... We feel an obligation to do so.¹⁸

In another statement, the mayor claimed that "we are not taking over...we just want to be given an opportunity like any other council."¹⁹

But despite pacifying tactics and discussions of political compromises, the appointment of a new council member went to a Mexican-American with a "militant image."²⁰ This action and related activity proved to be "enough" to convince the Anglo leaders and community that no attempts were made to provide a political

balance and compromise. The political situation further deteriorate by the replacement of the resigned city manager with a corrupt Mexican-American city manager.

The city council election of 1971 drew support from all segments of the community by emotional appeals to unify and continue with "the business of operating city government" as well as by restoring "confidence in the community." The results were somewhat predictable. Anglos captured the majority (3-2) positions in the city council with a slate of newcomers. Another move was made in the following city elections (1972) to unseat the remaining two Mexican-American council members by a loose coalition of one Mexican-American and one Anglo candidate. The coalition failed at the polls and the two Mexican-American incumbents were easily re-elected for a second term. The 1973 political campaign was crucial to the two opposing groups: a full slate of known candidates were on the ballot in the two camps; a system to divide the city into wards for purposes of electing city council members...; and a school board election just days apart.... Each issue brought its elements of controversy and importance. All issues, however, had a strong ethnic conflict.²¹

Due to the nature of these issues and prior political events, the Post-Take-Over Period, more than any other period in the history of the city, brought to a peak the fears and prejudices of both groups--a small revolution in the making. The campaign was characterized by political smears, slurs, and half-truths with the basic purpose of drawing out the typical voter. The "battle of the newspaper"

illustrates the intensity of the political situation in the community. The politically conservative newspaper took the initiative,

(W)e are becoming more conditioned to brotherhood and the results are wonderful to behold. Rather than riots and mass demonstrations here in Beeville, we are greeting one another as friends and extending a helping hand to those less fortunate.

To some this is not enough. They want instant change. They want to take over and control the city government before they have been conditioned to take the reins. Their inability to handle the city government was proven three years ago and yet there are some who would place the future of our community in jeopardy again. Their platform is built on hate, not brotherhood!²²

In additional articles, issues were raised on the adequacy of records and the attitude of Mexican-American council members in the Mexican-American administration. According to a staff writer:

(D)ue to the confused disarray of the minutes of Jan. 26, 1971, it is necessary to take statements in the minutes and try to determine what they are supposed to be saying. However, they are in a good example of the manner in which this past administration did much of the work in closed meetings telling the public as little as they could about what they were doing with the tax money.²³

Prior to "the record of the minutes" issue, the opposing newspaper had kept a low profile over the council race. But the intensity of political controversy brought the newspaper to the defense of Mexican-American candidates.²⁴ In regard to the whereabouts of the records, a news article stated that,

(T)he same thing that happens to all financial records...they get filed with the city Finance director.

The unpopular rumor perpetrated by a local newspaper that financial records for that period were incomplete or not to be found was dispelled at Tuesday night's city council meeting, and verified after a quick adjournment.²⁵

In the same issue, the newspaper formally announced the "City Council Candidates: They are Prominent, Ready for Race." Newspaper issues that followed were supporting the Mexican-American candidates and questioning the conscience of the opposition (some Anglo leaders).

It is obvious to many people in Beeville that a hate campaign against three Mexican-American candidates for city council has been solely generated and perpetuated by one side. Distrust and irrelevant statements have been clouding the issues surrounding the city race and it is condoned by the first trio to enter the race for city council. They righteously look the other way as a convenient mouthpiece spews forth slander and venom on candidates who happen to have Spanish surnames.

The Mexican-American population is overlooking just one more instance of abuse. They do not want to fall into the same emotional pit as evidenced by some supposedly "qualified-type" people. The Mexican-American is not reacting. They are making sound and intelligent judgements concerning this mess and they intend to respond in the way that the status quo fears most...in unity.²⁶

In an editorial, "This City Needs MEN, Not Races," the editor defended the newspaper of accusations made by the opponent:

(T)he "Bee-Picayune" recently was accused of "racism" in a publication of dubious reputation, in threats made by persons of childish intelligence, in rumors generated by a person of questionable character as concerns loyalty to the U.S., and by innuendo by means of air waves (local radio station) and out of town pring.

The "Bee-Picayune" emphatically denies this "racism" charge.

In our organization we have "shanty Irish." We have "Wops" and we have "Spics." We have "Camel Herders," we have "Frogs" and we have "Gringos." We also have a few "Rednecks" and a couple of "Yids." The Bee Picayune also hires a few "Coon-Asses" and "Niggers" and "Square Heads."

The point is, we are all Americans--first, last, and always.

The "Bee-Picayune" supports the election to the city council of Dr. Dudley Braley, John Galloway, and Ronald (Buddy) Hardy. These men could very easily be purple-skinned martians, for all we care. But they have proven that they know the meaning of responsibility and integrity.²⁷

The political accusations and counter-accusations continued through the remainder of the political campaign. In the computation of articles of both newspapers, Bee-Picayune and El Exito, the intensity of accusatory statements fell on the Anglo supported newspaper, not as political paid announcements but articles of "facts." Most of the charges and counter-charges by Mexican-Americans came through the local radio statements as political advertisement.²⁸ Needless to say, genuine issues were lost due mainly to ethnic slurs and innuendos.

Perhaps the most controversial political campaign in the city's history ended in the "longest vote count,"²⁹ which ended forty hours after the polls were closed. The political drama which climaxed with election day and the count of votes brought moments of caution, optimism, despair, and protest. To both contestants, this was the period that would decide the future of city politics for years to come.³⁰ The intensity of the campaign and the long period of counting ballots created an aura of suspicion and charges of irregularities and a midnight protest march to city hall by a group of Mexican-Americans.

The feeling of cautious optimism by Mexican-American leaders began to run out as partial election results were released by election judges. Mexican-Americans had lost the election and the ward system was voted in. On the strength of an affidavit filed

by the Mexican-American candidates, the ballots were impounded. The affidavit claimed that "non-residents were allowed to vote, eligible voters were not allowed to vote, illiterate voters were denied assistance and absentee votes were tampered with."³¹ Moreover, the counsel for the plaintiffs also claimed that the ward system was an "obvious attempt to gerrymander the city of Beeville" and that establishment of the system would "doom" the Mexican-American population to have only two of the five seats on the city council."³²

A recount was ordered by a district judge. However, the judge ordered that "one issue included in the election contest litigation--the constitutionality of the ward system proposition--be severed from the election contest suit...it was not proper...but...he would permit a recount on the ward system proposition."³³

The recount of votes which covered 33 percent of the total ballot did not produce any changes.³⁴ The recount on the ward system proposition had similar results. The school election which was held five days later also yielded disastrous results for Mexican-Americans. As a matter of fact, the margin was wider between winners and losers of that particular election. Obviously, the Mexican-American leadership had lost the eagerness and drive to win an election (school) with no precedence of Mexican-American membership.

The intensity of the political struggle between the two major ethnic groups and inter-group factionalism cannot be exaggerated. According to the leadership of both groups, the turning point of struggle came in the council and school election of 1973--the outcome set the pattern of group representation for "years to come."

The election defeat of Mexican-American candidates may be attributed to several major factors:

(1) Despite major efforts by the Mexican-American leadership, they failed to sell the importance of the election to the Mexican-American voter since less than 60 percent of the registered voters actually voted. The Citizens for Better Government group (Anglo) were more successful in convincing the Anglos the importance of the election through fear of political repercussions.

(2) Disunity among Mexican-American leaders appeared to be at an all time high. Inter-ethnic factionalism throughout the political campaign was a constant dividing factor, despite attempts by some leaders to patch-up differences. Political differences and rivalry had been standing over the years among different leaders, families, and groups; no issue could unite them. (More will be said on political disunity in Chapter V).

(3) The choice of candidates for city elections of 1973 brought much internal controversy. To some leaders and many prospective voters, these men had an image of militancy.³⁵ The opposition exploited this issue rather successfully.

(4) Effective political organization and limited efforts to draw the voter on election served as a detrimental factor. In other words, Mexican-American leaders underestimated the voting apathy of the Mexican-American voter. This became a reality after the votes were counted.

(5) Finally, the concerted effort by the Anglo leadership was insurmountable. It was well-organized and well-financed; no internal problem was greater than the cause of winning a majority in the city council and approving the ward system.

By mere coincidence, the survey research was conducted in the spring and summer of 1973.³⁶ As noted earlier, this was the height of political dissention and controversy. With this rich background of political struggle, respondents (mass and elite) were approached with the item schedule. It should be noted, however, that the bulk of items in the questionnaire were structured to deal with attitude and behavior of broad experiences and not necessarily with the immediate and controversial problems. There were political items, moreover, that dealt with some of the sensitive issues of the item. We now proceed to the content of the data collected and classified as political variables.

Mexican-American Political Participation and Behavior

Problems of Participation

The practice of social and economic discrimination against Mexican-Americans in Texas--more so until recently--has taken its toll in political effectiveness and participation. In general, state laws have not imposed segregation in the use of public facilities, but "the prevailing attitude has been one of neglect and indifference."³⁷ Moreover, the widespread practice of elements of segregation at the local level, often by official action from local authorities, curtailed any significant desire by the potential Mexican-American electorate to participate in local politics.³⁸

The development of political machines in South Texas and the constant prevalence of the patron system in which Mexican-Americans owe their economic status to a local Anglo patron, or a Mexican-American boss who is responsible to enlist Mexican-American voters on the "right" side,³⁹ have been detrimental factors in the political development of this minority group.⁴⁰

Until recently, the political participation of Mexican-Americans was hampered by voter registration, election laws, and rules that tend to affect the poor and uneducated.⁴¹ The wording of the election ballot and its strict use of the English language have also placed limitations of voting participation of Mexican-Americans.⁴² Since people of low income and educational attainment tend to be less politically active than those with higher income and level of education, Mexican-Americans suffer greatly in this category.⁴³ Grebler, Guzman, and Moore postulate that "In no sphere (of their study) was the isolation of this minority group from the dominant society as great as in the political system of the small towns and rural areas of the Southwest."⁴⁴ The intensity of political isolation and alienation over the years have severed the effectiveness toward government.⁴⁵

Gerrymandering has been another device that has served to the political detriment of minority groups. The designation of election districts and wards have hindered the political effectiveness of Mexican Americans.

Finally, one of the most critical test for political effectiveness of any minority group has been to maintain electoral cohesiveness. A divided vote within the ethnic group has "diluted the

strength of minorities and reduced their probability of gaining political influence.⁴⁶ Attitudes of suspicion and cynicism are intensely expressed by Mexican-Americans toward ethnic politicians. In Peace by Revolution, Frank Tannenbaum points out origins of cynicism and suspicion.

This combination of economic, cultural, and racial conflict, this history of conquest, exploitation, and cruelty, of political chicanery and dishonesty, has left a deep sense of distrust within the mass of Mexicans, especially among the Mestizos... the mixture of bloods has brought with it a cultural by-product that has carried into the small community the bitterness and distrust that have arisen out of the centuries of exploitation and political chicanery.⁴⁷

The suspicious attitude toward Mexican-American political leaders has a realistic basis in that the Mexican-American group has "actually suffered from a long succession of self-seeking leaders, although this has been true more in the past than the present. Adherence to a course of disinterested leadership is for many a far less attractive and rewarding alternative than seeking Anglo acceptance, and the pursuit of both courses is often incompatible."⁴⁸

Party Identification

By tradition, Mexican-Americans have aligned with the Democratic Party ever since the mid-nineteenth century when the South Texas political system took form. This early formation was reinforced by the development of the one-party system in Texas, and it was further cemented by "the class, ethnic, and religious appeals of the national Democratic Party from Franklin Roosevelt to the present."⁴⁹ According to a recent study by McCleskey and Merrill, "...no less than 86 percent identify themselves as 'Democratic' to some greater or lesser degree."⁵⁰ However, the

recent political development of La Raza Unida Party brought a new challenge to this traditional party alignment.

In our survey, we asked elite and mass respondents about the political party that best represented the interests of the Mexican-American. The majority of the household sample (55 percent) identified themselves with the Democratic Party; La Raza Unida Party claimed 34 percent of their identification. However, the elite respondents' favorability toward the Democratic Party was only 23 percent; the majority (52 percent) favored R.U.P.⁵¹ as the party that best represented the interests of the Mexican-American. The general attitude of elite members was one of disappointment and distrust for the Democratic Party. It has been the party which has exploited them without being adequately compensated. The masses, however, responded more traditionally to party politics. In both groups, this type of party alignment is a significant break from the traditional support of the Democratic Party. There are four possible explanations for this abrupt change in party politics. First, the research survey was conducted a few months after the November elections of 1972. This was the first and most successful attempt by R.U.P. to have statewide political candidates. For example, the R.U.P. gubernatorial candidate captured the majority Mexican-American votes from Beeville and Bee County,⁵² despite attempts by some Mexican-American leaders to channel support to Democratic candidates. Second, no Mexican-Americans appeared in the Democratic Party ballot. This is contrary to our general hypothesis of the voting pattern of this group--Mexican-American voters support a Mexican-American candidate more than any other

ethnic candidate. To the elite members, La Raza Unida Party offered the opportunity and hope to control the structure and organization of party politics. The Democratic Party has never offered that opportunity. Finally, in recent years, support for the Democratic Party has been overshadowed by Democratic political performance. According to McCleskey and Merrill;

...when one (Mexican-American) has sought an elective state office, he has been poorly rewarded for his efforts, as is illustrated by the defeat of state Senator (now Congressman) Henry B. Gonzalez in the Democratic gubernatorial primary of 1958 and in the special Senate election of 1961, and of State Representative Lauro Cruz in the Democratic primary for state treasurer in 1972.⁵³

It is interesting to note that although the Republican Party has a much better record than the Democratic Party for nominating Mexican-Americans for state office, less than one percent identified themselves with the Republican Party.⁵⁴

TABLE 4-1
PARTY IDENTIFICATION OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS,
BEEVILLE MEXICAN-AMERICAN MASS AND ELITE, 1973

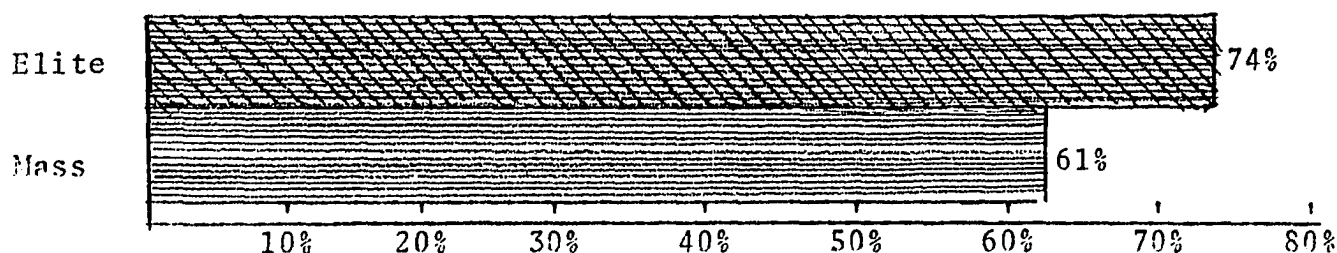
<u>Party Identification*</u>	<u>Mass</u>	<u>Elite</u>
Democratic	55%	23%
<u>La Raza Unida</u>	34%	52%
Republican	1%	--
Other	2%	16%
Total Number	201	31

*Question: "In your opinion which political party do you think best represents the interests of the Mexican-American?"

For many years, most Mexican-Americans have been concerned over the issue of political unity. This concern is partly derived from the historical background of inter-ethnic conflict and warring ethnic factions, as well as the realization that in order to successfully compete with the Anglo community, they must unite. Chart 4-1 is indicative of this concern for political unity. When respondents were asked if people of Mexican background should get together politically, 74 percent of elite and 61 percent of mass members willingly agreed with the statement. It seems that the willingness for ethnic political unification is higher when approached in abstract and general terms. When specific issues were outlined, the concept of unity is not well-cemented.

CHART 4-1
PERCEPTIONS ON ETHNIC POLITICAL UNITY,
ELITE AND MASS, 1973

Percent "Agreeing" That Mexicans Should
Get Together Politically

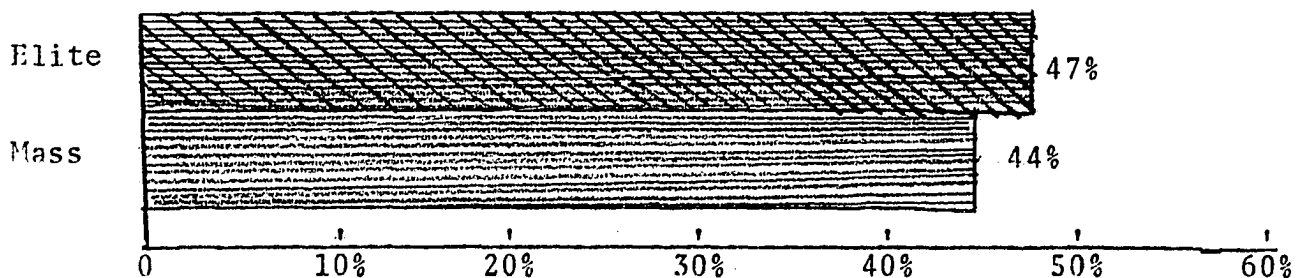


To check on the strength of La Raza Unida Party as a political unifier for Mexican-Americans, respondents were asked about the ability of R.U.P. to bring unity to this ethnic group (see Chart 4-2). Less than 50 percent of mass and elite members visualized the

potentiality of R.U.P. to politically unify the Mexican-American group. It appears that Mexican-Americans, especially the more politically active, saw in R.U.P. political personalities and issues to the interest of the Chicano political movement. However, when confronted with the ultimate unification of their own group by a third party movement, political cynicism and skepticism of political leadership immediately developed. The reasons for political cynicism and distrust were well-documented earlier in this chapter. Further consideration of La Raza Unida Party will be discussed when we analyze the election results of 1972 and 1974.

CHART 4-2
RESPONSES TO THE ABILITY OF LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY
"TO UNIFY" MEXICAN-AMERICANS, BEEVILLE MASS, 1973

Percent Saying "Yes" to Political Unity



Electoral Participation

It has been common knowledge that Mexican-Americans in South Texas have not qualified and voted in similar proportions as the rest of the citizenry. Contrary to this common understanding, Allen Shinn found a positive correlation between registration and percent of Spanish surname population in his study on voter

registration and turnout in Texas.⁵⁵ A similar pattern is found in a study by McCleskey and Merrill (see Table 4-2). This table shows that registration rates in the 15 counties with a Mexican-American majority in the 1960's were at "about the same levels as, or were sometimes higher than, the state as a whole."⁵⁶ On the other hand, voter turnout of those registered for the 15 counties, where the majority were Mexican-American, was below that of the entire state.

TABLE 4-2
VOTER REGISTRATION AND TURNOUT IN TEXAS AND IN
PREDOMINANTLY MEXICAN AMERICAN COUNTIES, 1960-1970
(IN PERCENTAGES*)

Year	Voter Registration as Percentage of Adult Population, 1960		Voter Turnout as Percentage of Registered Voters	
	State	Mexican- American Counties**	State	Mexican- American Counties
1960	47%	47%	89%	79%
1962	43%	44%	64%	65%
1964	51%	51%	87%	76%
1966	48%	53%	48%	41%
1968	64%	65%	76%	61%
1970	63%	70%	54%	48%

*Percentage Rounded.

**This category consists of 15 counties in South Texas in which Spanish surname population in 1960 was 50 percent or more of the total. Bee County is not included.

Source: Clifton McCleskey and Bruce Merrill, "Mexican American Behavior," Social Science Quarterly LII (March, 1973), p. 787.

A study by McCleskey and Nimmo of Mexican-Americans in Harris County (Houston), reveals "...a much lower rate of registration for Mexican-Americans, particularly under the poll tax system."⁵⁷ The same study shows, however, that once Mexican-Americans were qualified to vote, the turnout was as high as Anglos and Negroes.⁵⁸ McCleskey and Merrill conclude that "...Mexican-American electoral participation is somewhat below the Texas average, but there is conflicting evidence as to whether it is due to failure to register or failure to turn out on election day."⁵⁹

Other recent observers have also found an increase in political participation of Mexican-Americans.⁶⁰ Parallel with this growth of political activity is the increasing growth of political organization among Mexican-American groups.⁶¹ According to Grebler, there are several reasons for the recent development of political activity to influence the political process:

(F)irst a rapid growth of population.... There is now a broader electoral base, with more native-born citizens. This means more potential voters. Second, their rapid urbanization since World War II and the growth of a middle class improved the chances for political socialization. Third, Mexican-American veterans of World War II and the Korean War provided new leadership and were instrumental in forming new, action-oriented ethnic organizations.⁶²

It appears the political interaction between Mexican-Americans and the larger system is just beginning to become an important political matter.

In order to study political participation and behavior of Beevillians, election returns for two distinct precincts were considered. Due to its importance, the Democratic primary of 1972,

the runoff, and general elections were chosen. For comparative analysis, the 1974 November elections were also considered. The criteria in choosing these two precincts as "random samples" of Mexican-American and Anglo voting pattern and behavior are as follows: both precincts fall within the city limits; both have similar number of ethnic voters registered (1,279 registered for Precinct 10 and 1,381 registered for Precinct 16); both precincts have proportionate numbers of Mexican-Americans (Precinct 10) and Anglos (Precinct 16)--better than 90 percent of those registered in Precinct 10 are Mexican-Americans, and the same percentage composition is found in Precinct 16 for Anglos. In other words, Precinct 10 represents a "random sample" of Mexican-American voting pattern, while Precinct 16 represents a "random sample" for Anglo voters.⁶³

There are several issues considered in the analysis of official election returns:⁶⁴ differences in ethnic pattern of behavior, candidate orientation and ideology as identified by the patterns of voting of different candidates,⁶⁵ and level of participation between the two major groups in local, state, and national politics.

The Beevillians exhibited considerable political enthusiasm and activity in the Democratic primaries. The total vote cast by Precinct 16 (predominantly Anglo) was 56 percent of those registered. The voting turnout by Precinct 10 (predominantly Mexican-American) was even higher with 63 percent of the total number registered.

The slate of candidates and positions was lengthy. For the U. S. Senatorial race, there were three candidates with

Yarborough (ex-senator) and Sanders, relatively well-known in state politics. Yarborough had for years supported liberal issues favorable to Mexican-Americans. The position of Sanders was not well-known but had a moderate-liberal image. Table 4-3 shows a variation of 27 percent difference in support between the two precincts for the former U. S. Senator. This variation appears to be due mainly to the liberal-conservative dimension of the two ethnic groups as they identify with political candidates. Political candidate Veloz obtained 23 percent of the predominantly Mexican-American precinct. It appears that support for Veloz was done on ethnic grounds, i.e., the surname is identified as Spanish.

TABLE 4-3
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY VOTING TURNOUT BY PRECINCTS 10 & 16
FOR SENATORIAL POSITION, BEEVILLE, 1972

Percent Voting Turnout*

<u>Candidates-U.S. Senator</u>	<u>Precinct #10</u>	<u>Precinct #16</u>
Sanders	8%	45%
Veloz	23%	3%
Yarborough	66%	39%
Total Number	423	642

*Percentage Rounded.

For the position of governor of the state, the precincts' variation is considerable (see Table 4-4). Once again, it appears that the difference in voting is mainly on conservative-liberal ideology.⁶⁶ The conservative gubernatorial candidate, Briscoe, received 66 percent of Precinct 16, while voters in precinct 10

gave him only 12 percent support. The liberal-wing of the Democratic Party was represented by Farenthold, who had acquired a reputation for liberal issues as a state legislator. The support by Mexican-Americans was overwhelming for Farenthold (69 percent). The incumbent governor, Smith, received little support from both groups.

TABLE 4-4
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY VOTING TURNOUT BY PRECINCTS 10 & 16
FOR GOVERNOR POSITION, BEEVILLE, 1972

Percent Voting Turnout*		
<u>Candidates-Governor</u>	<u>Precinct #10</u>	<u>Precinct #16</u>
Smith	5%	10%
Briscoe	12%	66%
Farenthold	69%	15%
Total Number	474	687

*Percentage Rounded.

For other state positions, such as lieutenant governor and attorney general, the differences in voting between the two precincts also appeared to be ideological with the predominantly Mexican-American precinct voters voting for those candidates who had a more liberal attitude toward various issues that pertain to them. Besides ideological difference between voting members of the two precincts, there appears to be a "pro-incumbency" and "anti-incumbency" voting behavior in the election of 1972. When one considers the voting behavior of state incumbent candidates, there is a direct relationship between voting for incumbents and voting patterns of members of

Precinct 16, predominantly Anglo (see Table 4-5). With the exception of the incumbent governor,⁶⁷ the majority of the voters supported incumbents. On the other hand, the percent supporting incumbent candidates in Precinct 10 was low. Political variance between the two ethnically distinct precincts is considerable. It appears that differences are found in political ideology and incumbency between the two groups.

TABLE 4-5
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY VOTING TURNOUT BY PRECINCTS 10 & 16
FOR STATE INCUMBENT CANDIDATES, BEEVILLE, 1972

Percent Voting Turnout*

<u>Incumbent State Candidates</u>	<u>Precinct #10</u>	<u>Precinct #16</u>
Smith, (Governor)	5%	10%
Martin, (Atty. General)	27%	51%
Calvert, (Cont. of Pub. Acct.)	37%	52%
James, (Treasurer)	15%	70%
Total Number	1330	318

*Percentage Rounded.

For county positions of tax assessor-collector and treasurer, the political support for incumbents, once again, came stronger from the predominantly Anglo precinct (see Table 4-6). But in this local election, there appeared to be an ethnic factor that separated the voting attitude between the voting members of the two precincts. The majority of Mexican-American voters voted for Mexican-American candidates, while Anglo voters voted for Anglo

candidates. There were only three Anglo candidates (two state and one local) that obtained general support from the two ethnic groups.⁶⁸

TABLE 4-6
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY VOTING TURNOUT BY PRECINCTS 10 & 16
FOR TAX ASSESSOR-COLLECTOR AND TREASURER, BEEVILLE, 1972

Percent Voting Turnout*

<u>Local Positions</u>	<u>Precinct #10</u>	<u>Precinct #16</u>
Co. Tax Assessor-Collector:		
Medina	60%	23%
Fraser	40%	77%
Total Number	562	764
Co. Treasurer:		
Adair	21%	92%
Amador	79%	8%
Total Number	597	764

*Percentage Rounded.

The level of political participation by the predominantly Mexican-American precinct decreased considerably in the Democratic primary runoff election--only 22 percent of the registered voters voted. This compares with 45 percent of the voting turnout for Precinct 16. There appear to be several reasons for the low turnout among Mexican-Americans. The intensity of political campaigning was reduced in the runoff election; there were less candidates participating; there were no local political positions to be decided.

However, it appears that the most important factor was that there were no Mexican-American candidates on the ballot. This situation reinforces the general hypothesis that Mexican-Americans participate more in elections where Mexican-Americans are candidates than when no member of their own ethnic group is part of the election ballot.

TABLE 4-7
DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY RUNOFF VOTING TURNOUT BY
PRECINCTS 10 & 16 FOR STATE POSITIONS, BEEVILLE, 1972

Percent Voting Turnout*

<u>Positions</u>	<u>Precinct #10</u>	<u>Precinct #16</u>
Governor:		
Briscoe	15%	85%
Farenthold	85%	18%
Lt. Governor:		
Hobby	79%	39%
Connally	21%	60%
U. S. Senator:		
Sanders	17%	68%
Yarborough	83%	32%
Total Number	281	621

*Percentage Rounded.

But even with this low political participation, voting members of Precinct 10 were consistent in their ideological voting pattern (see Table 4-7). The same can be said for Precinct 16 in reverse. In every state position in the runoff election, Mexican-Americans

voted for candidates who were known for their liberal ideological orientation on major issues. The voting support for these candidates was overwhelmingly high as shown in Table 4-6.

TABLE 4-8
NOVEMBER ELECTION VOTING TURNOUT BY PRECINCTS 10 & 16
NATIONAL & STATE POSITIONS, BEEVILLE, 1972

Percent Voting Turnout*

<u>Positions & Pol. Parties</u>	<u>Precinct #10^a</u>	<u>Precinct #16^b</u>
President:		
McGovern (D)	74%	17%
Nixon (R)	26%	83%
U.S. Senator:		
Sanders (D)	49%	28%
Tower (R)	16%	69%
Amaya (RUP)	35%	3%
Governor:		
Briscoe (D)	18%	57%
Grover (R)	6%	36%
Muniz (RUP)	75%	6%
Lt. Governor:		
Hobby (D)	42%	92%
Canales (RUP)	57%	8%

*Percentage Rounded.

^a Total registered voters for Precinct 10 were 1,381, 616 actually voted.

^b Total registered voters for Precinct 16 were 1,507, 1,068 actually voted.

La Raza Unida Party appeared in the November ballot for the first time in the state's history. The choice for registered voters was on three political parties with a number of candidates representing each one of the three political parties. R.U.P. had candidates for practically every state position in competition. It should be noted, however, that only for the gubernatorial position was the R.U.P. candidate politically active in Beeville and Bee County (see Table 4-8).

The results of the presidential elections of 1972 for Beeville and Bee County parallels results of the state and the nation--Nixon carried the election by an overwhelming majority. The predominantly Anglo precinct went Republican for presidential and senatorial races. However, for governor, the precinct turnout was consistent with the primary elections--a conservative Democrat was voted into office. For the predominantly Mexican-American precinct, the vote was for Democrats or R.U.P. candidates. In presidential politics, Mexican-Americans in Precinct 10 voted overwhelmingly for George McGovern (74 percent), the Democratic candidate. Almost half of the voters (49 percent) supported the Democratic senatorial candidate inspite of opposition from a Mexican-American candidate (R.U.P.)⁶⁹

In the gubernatorial race, however, the Mexican-Americans overwhelmingly supported the R.U.P. candidate.⁷⁰ Similar support was given to the R.U.P. candidate for Lt. Governor. It should be noted that Anglo support for R.U.P. almost drew a blank. Whatever support was given in Precinct 16 (see Table 4-8) came from Mexican-Americans living in this precinct.

For comparative analysis, the gubernatorial November elections of 1974 were considered since R.U.P. gubernatorial candidate attempted similar efforts to capture the Mexican-American vote. Once again, Precincts 10 and 16 were considered as "samples" of Mexican-American and Anglo voting pattern for Beeville. The Anglo sector of the community was consistent in voting for a Democrat (now incumbent). The same group of voters were also consistent in not supporting the Muniz candidacy.⁷¹ The voting behavior of members of Precinct 10 changed, however. The R.U.P. gubernatorial candidate obtained only 35 percent of the predominantly Mexican-American precinct; this compares to 75 percent support in the previous election. The incumbent Democrat obtained 47 percent of the Mexican-American vote. There are two possible explanations for this change in party alignment between the elections of 1972 and 1974. The Democratic incumbent made several efforts to appeal to the Mexican-American voters, especially to the more conservative element.⁷² The appeal of La Raza Unida Party for unity had lost some of its influence and credibility. Mexican-American leaders from Beeville indicated no major desire to campaign actively.⁷³

There are several tentative conclusions drawn from this limited data from these two "sample" precincts:

A substantial portion of Mexican-Americans appeared to be capable of making ideological distinctions based on a liberal-conservative dimension. Support has been rendered to the more liberal candidates of the Democratic Party as indicated in Tables 4-3, 4-4, 4-7, and 4-8.

There was anti-establishment (incumbency) attitude among Mexican-Americans toward the Democratic candidates. This seems to be a reflection of growing dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party (see Table 4-5).

Mexican-American voters have a tendency to vote when Mexican-American candidates appear on the ballot. The general support is for candidates of their own ethnic group (see Table 4-6). Dissatisfaction with the Democratic Party seems more intense for state and local leadership. Ideologically, the Democratic national politics is more in line with Mexican-Americans (see Table 4-7).

Mexican-American support for the Republican Party is insignificant. No change of party alignment appears in the near future.

Finally, the political mood of the community appears to be changing. La Raza Unida Party appears to be losing its glamor and the support of the local leadership appears to be moving more to the political center.

At this time, it is not at all certain what direction Mexican-Americans will take in party politics, since a growing dissatisfaction is found with R.U.P. and the Democratic Party. Furthermore, no major in-roads have been made by the Republican Party. It seems clear, however, that there are more political opportunities and an improved situation for a larger role for Mexican-Americans in Beeville and South Texas.

In order to find out more about political participation, voting duty, and political competency, mass respondents were asked a series of items used in well-known studies in political participation in American politics.⁷⁴ A comparative analysis is also a component, especially on studies of this ethnic group.

In their study of political behavior in the United States, Campbell and Milbrath have found that while most Americans engage themselves in some type of political activity, relatively few actively involve themselves in political campaigns.⁷⁵ Almond and Verba also found that the vast majority of Americans talked about politics sometimes; but, on the other hand, the 1968 SRC data indicated that only five percent of the electorate worked for one of the candidate or parties, while 14 percent attended a rally or meeting of some sort.⁷⁶

In a study by McCleskey and Merrill on political participation of Mexican-Americans in Texas (see Table 4-9), there is a definite increase in political participation of Mexican-Americans (giving money, political rally attendance, and working for a party or candidate) when compared to the American sample. However, when this level of political activity is compared to Anglos in Texas, Mexican-Americans have a lower level of campaign participation. In a separate study by Welch and others on Mexican-Americans in Nebraska, participation in political campaigns was also above the American sample (see Table 4-9). It should be stressed that political participation of Mexican-Americans is relatively high because participation is related to education and social status, and all Mexican-American samples

considered in Table 4-9 have a lower educational income level than the national level. It should also be stressed that in all studies, participation is higher on relatively passive kind of political activity and lower when it involves working in political campaign or expressing oneself publicly.

TABLE 4-9
LEVELS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS,
BEEVILLE MASS, 1973, TEXAS SAMPLE FOR MEXICAN AMERICANS,
ANGLO, AND NEGRO, 1969

Percentage Saying "Yes"*

Campaign Activity	B'Ville Mex. Amer.	Mex.Amer. TX Sample ^a	Anglo TX Sample ^a	Mex.Amer. Nebraska ^b
Talk to people about voting for candi- date party	42%	--**	--	10%
Gave money or bought tickets to help political campaign of party or candi- date	38%	11%	24%	10%
Attended political rallies, meetings	38%	22%	32%	3%
Belong to political organization	5%	--	--	9%
Work for party or candidate	13%	13%	24%	7%
Wear campaign button	26%	--	--	17%
Total Number	201	375	797	178

*Percentage Rounded.

**Items not listed in Texas sample means no data was available.

^a Clifton McCleskey and Bruce Merrill, "Mexican American Political Behavior in Texas," Social Science Quarterly (March, 1973), p. 789.

Note: Only individuals who were registered to vote or who indicated they would vote were interviewed. The sample is not from the entire potential electorate.

^b Susan Welch, et. al., "Political Participation Among Americans: An Exploratory Examination," Social Science Quarterly (March, 1973), pp. 799-813.

Compared with these findings, political interests in our sample is relatively high. In practically every item of campaign activity, Mexican-Americans in our sample expressed a stronger attitude toward political participation. The highest interest in political participation is found in talking to people about politics (42 percent), giving money or buying tickets to support a candidate or a political campaign (38 percent), and attending political rallies or meetings. "Talk to people about voting for candidate or party" and "giving money or buying tickets" are associated with educational attainment and income level. Mexican-Americans with higher income and level of education are more intensely involved in talking about politics and in financially supporting a candidate than Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education is lower (see Appendix A, Table 4-A). The association of increase of political activity to higher income and educational level is well documented in studies of political participation. In Political Participation, Lester Milbrath states that "(P)ersons of higher socioeconomic status..., especially higher education, are more likely to become highly involved psychologically in politics than persons of lower status."⁷⁷

Respondents also demonstrated high political interests in wearing a campaign button or a car sticker, with 26 percent giving a positive response for such activity. Moreover, an association is found between wearing a campaign button and level of education. The higher the educational level, the stronger the tendency of Mexican-Americans to participate in this form of political activity. No significant correlation was found between

membership in a political organization and income. Moreover, contrary to most findings that "...politics is the primary concern of men, and that women...follow the male lead,"⁷⁸ no sex difference was found in political participation of males and females.

Once again, compared to other findings, political participation of Mexican-American Beevillians is considerably higher, especially the passive kind of political activity such as talking to people about voting for a party or candidate. There seems to be three possible explanations for these results. Perhaps the most valuable explanation is found in the intensity of political and ethnic struggle climaxing during the early years of the 1970's. The first part of this chapter clearly indicates the thrust of this struggle. As indicated earlier, the item schedule was conducted at the peak of this political conflict. Parallel with the above attribution is the general political awakening of Mexican-Americans in recent years. More and more Mexican-Americans are becoming aware of their political potentiality as cultivated by Mexican-American leaders. Finally, there is a possible exaggeration of political activity reported by survey respondents since the city was in the mist of a turmoil. But inspite of this unusual circumstance, the level of political participation of Mexican-Americans is definitely on the rise, especially since the early 1960's. It appears that a gradual increase in political participation will continue to be demonstrated as the educational level of Mexican-Americans continues to gradually expand in the years ahead.

Voting Duty as Perceived by Mexican-Americans

Voting duty or "a sense of civic obligation" as phrased by Campbell and others⁷⁹ is very much part of the American concept that the individual has a civic responsibility to vote. Since the strength and obligation to vote is not the same for everyone, nor is it probably the same for different ethnic or racial groups, a list of items were included in our survey research to measure and compare the strength of this attitude on Mexican-Americans. A comprehensive study of Mexican-American voting duty is presently nonexistent. Therefore, comparable data on this issue is found in a recent study by Dennis, "Support for the Institutions of Elections by the Mass Public,"⁸⁰ and from earlier national surveys.⁸¹

The immediate impression that one gains from close association with American culture is that the duty to vote ranks high among the many civic obligations of the American citizen. In Almond and Verba's study of different countries, the emphasis of voting is higher by Americans even though a higher percentage of voting turnout is found in some of these countries when compared to the voting turnout in this country.⁸² Milbrath has recorded similar impressions of civic duty. In a survey conducted among the citizenry of Evanston, Illinois, 79 percent of the respondents agreed that one fulfills his civic duty if he votes regularly.⁸³ Similar results were obtained from data of Buffalo, New York. Milbrath reported that:

(C)ertain inputs are almost universally believed to be a citizen's responsibility: vote (93%), keep informed (80%), teach children good citizenship (87%),

pay taxes (98%), have undivided loyalty to the country (93%). The percentage doing each of these things at least "fairly often" holds up quite well: vote (82%), keep informed (72%), teach children good citizenship (75%), pay taxes (93%), have undivided loyalty (93%).⁸⁴

TABLE 4-10
VOTING DUTY AS PERCEIVED BY SURVEY RESPONDENTS,
BEEVILLE MASS SAMPLE, 1973, AND WISCONSIN SAMPLE, 1966

Items	Percent*			
	Mexican-American Beeville		Wisconsin Sample	
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
"I generally get a feeling of satisfaction from going to the polls to cast my ballot."	84%	4%	86%	6%
"So many people vote in the national elections that it does not matter much to me whether I vote or not."	17%	73%	8%	89%
"A persons should only vote in an election if he cares about how it is going to come out."	25%	66%	29%	65%
"A good many local elections are not important enough to bother with."**	12%	75%	19%	72%
Total Number	201		607	

*Percentage Rounded.

**There is a slight difference in the wording of this item. The item has the same meaning.

Source: Jack Dennis, "Support for the Institution of Elections by the Mass Public," APSR (September, 1970), pp. 819-835.

The prominence of voting duty as one of the civic virtues suggests that "powerful sources of social reinforcement are present to maintain it, especially political socialization."⁸⁵ For Mexican-

Americans, the internal compulsion to vote and to participate in related civic matters can be well illustrated in Table 4-10.

There is a high endorsement of the duty to vote by Mexican-Americans in all items listed on Table 4-10. When compared to the same items in the Wisconsin Study, the similarity in their responses is very high. There is, however, one deviation from showing almost identical results. The second item, which deals with the importance of national elections, Mexican-American respondents have not attached as much importance (73 percent) when compared to the Wisconsin Study (89 percent) and other studies of national elections.⁸⁶ Otherwise, Mexican-American adherence to the norm of voting duty parallels that of other Americans. The response is surprisingly large because voting duty is presumed to be related to education and income, and our sample has a lower income and educational level when compared to Wisconsin and the national average.

A few significant correlations do appear, namely with education and income. In general, greater income and educational attainment improves one's sense of voting duty. The first item, namely satisfaction when going to the polls, correlates with the respondents' income. Mexican-Americans whose income is higher expressed a stronger satisfaction of going to the polls than Mexican-Americans who registered lower income. Moreover, women indicated a stronger satisfaction of going to the polls (94 percent) than men (81 percent).

There are also correlations in level of income and education with the importance of national and local elections and caring about the outcome of elections. The higher the income and educational attainment, the stronger the sense of voting duty (Appendix A, Table 4-B).

Needless to say, the study of civic duty--voting norm--is very limited and preliminary to the tasks of measurement and theory. Nevertheless, a general tentative conclusion can be formed. If this study is any indication of institutional support by Mexican-Americans, and it seems to be a broad general popular support exists in regard to the norm of voting obligation. It should be noted that as income and educational attainment increase (they are increasing), a stronger support will be found in the future. Another indicator of institutional support is the level of political efficacy, that is, "...the feeling that political and social change is possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change."⁸⁷ The next topic will entertain this matter.

Political Competence

In La Raza: The Mexican Americans, Stanley Steiner assumes that Mexican-Americans are alienated from the political system and its agencies.⁸⁸ In McCleskey and Merrill's study on political efficacy, the degree of political competence is low for all groups--"...levels that should be worrisome to any person concerned with the health of the body politic."⁸⁹ In their study of political behavior of the three major groups, the levels of efficacy for Mexican-Americans was much lower than for Anglos,⁹⁰ but a degree higher than that of Negroes.

An attitudinal orientation toward the operations of elections and government, in general, is found in Table 4-10 for Mexican-Americans in Beeville; this is compared to identical items in two other studies. In spite of a major political struggle (could possibly be a positive factor), Mexican-Americans from Beeville showed a relatively high

degree of political competence, especially when we consider the Texas and Nebraska studies of the same ethnic group. It should be noted, however, that like the Wisconsin study (see Tables 4-10) and 4-11), the level of political efficacy is lower than for voting duty. Although beliefs are not consensual, a majority of the respondents are confident that elections have participatory results. Nevertheless, when compared to the Michigan election study of 1952 and Almond and Verba's American sample, political efficacy of Mexican-Americans fall short. But it seems that Mexican-Americans are less alienated and more competent than Almond and Verba's Mexican sample.⁹¹

In all items considered on Table 4-11, a higher degree of political efficacy is correlated to a higher level of education and income. Mexican-Americans with higher level of educational attainment and family income are more politically efficacious than Mexican-Americans who registered a lower level of education and income (see Appendix A, Table 4-C).

In our sample, there are two items where sex correlates with political efficacy. The two items read as follows: "the way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are in this country," and "voting is the only way that people, like me, can have any say about what the government does." Mexican-American women are more politically efficacious than men. One possible factor for the degree of political competence among women is the recent awakening of Mexican-American women in social-political affairs.⁹²

In summary, Mexican-American civic duty is high. When we compare our data with other studies, citizen responsibility in voting parallels other Americans. Political efficacy among Mexican-Americans is somewhat lowered when compared to voting duty. The same situation occurs in the American sample. Unlike other

Americans, in some variables of political competence, Mexican-American women indicate some proficiency in political activity. Further research on political participation and related matters is highly recommended since the evidence illustrated above are tentative and incomplete.

TABLE 4-11
POLITICAL EFFICACY OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS, BEEVILLE MASS, 1973
MEXICAN-AMERICANS OF LINCOLN AND SCOTTSBLUFF, NEBRASKA, 1970
AND WISCONSIN, 1966

Percent Agreeing*

Items	Mex.Amer. Beeville	Mex.Amer. Nebraska ^a	Wisconsin Sample ^b
"I do not think public officials care much what people like me think."	46%	55%	--**
"The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are in this country."	64%	--	57%
"Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about what the government does."	70%	--	58%
"People like me do not have any say about what the government does."	23%	69%	--
"Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on."	59%	74%	--
Total Number	201	178	602

*Percentage Founded.

**No data available.

^a ^b Sources: Susan Welch, et. al., "Political Participation Among Americans: An Exploratory Examination," Social Science Quarterly (March, 1973), pp. 799-813; Jack Dennis "Support for the Institution of Elections by the Mass Public," APSR (September, 1970), pp. 819-835.

Ethnic Organizations: The Roots of Political Participation?

The political participation of Mexican-Americans can be reflected in the many attempts to form different kinds of voluntary organizations. In an article by Alvarez, "Mexican-American Community Organizations," the author expands on the multiplicity of organizational efforts by Mexican-Americans and on a great variety of issues and concerns.⁹³ Although organizations have been highly diversified in their goals, the recent increase in political orientation also is indicative of an increase in political activity and awareness. The history of these organizations clearly indicates a continuous pattern of political orientation.⁹⁴

The first voluntary associations in Beeville and South Texas were of the mutual-benefit type rather common among immigrant groups.⁹⁵ As these organizations acquired some maturity, the social function was being replaced by a limited welfare role. According to Grebler, these voluntary organizations "...were in part...substitutes for Anglo organizations which Mexican individuals could not easily join."⁹⁶ As these organizations increased in membership in the 1920's, some emphasis was placed on educational programs. The most notably and lasting of these organizations is the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).⁹⁷

As indicated earlier, World War II brought a new era of organizational activity. A major part of this increased activity was played by returning Mexican-American war veterans who experienced "...new perceptions of opportunities and of discrimination in civilian life...."⁹⁸ The most important organization during the late 1940's

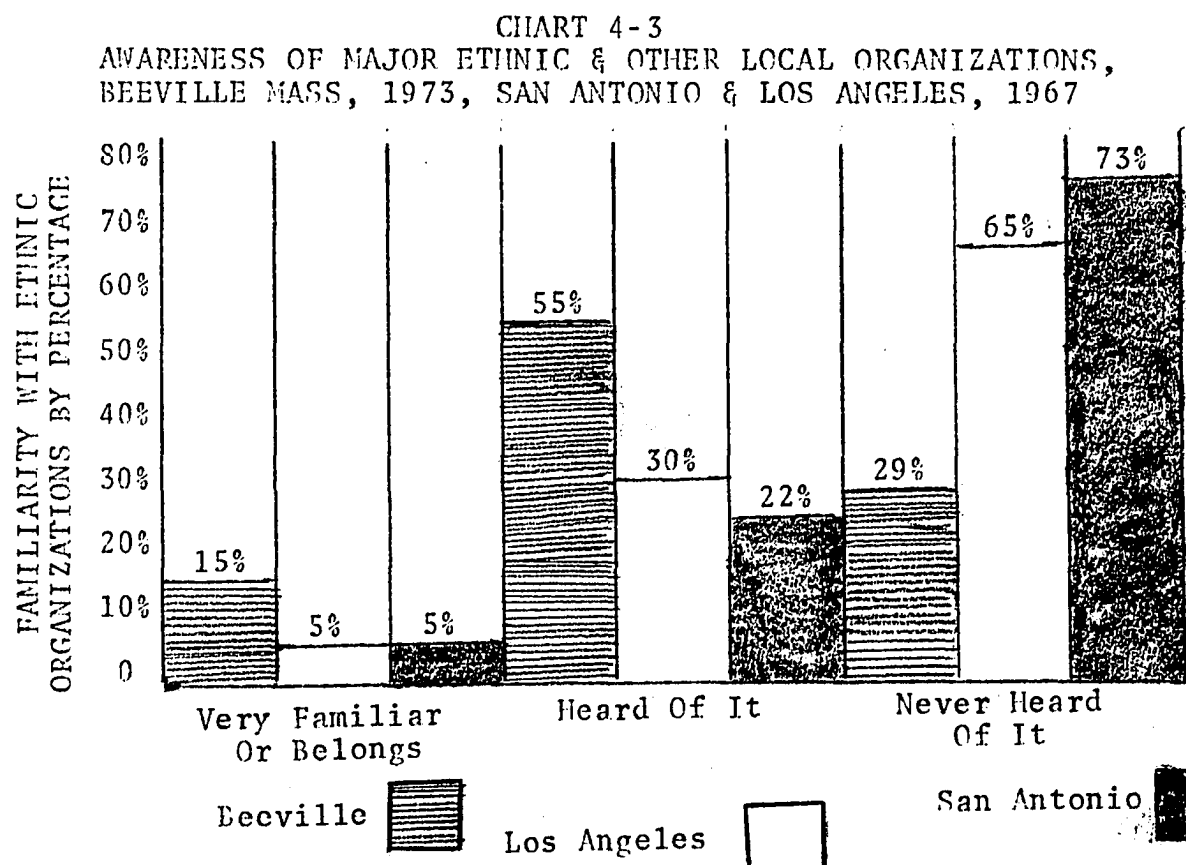
and 1950's was the American G. I. Forum. It was established when a funeral home in Three Rivers, Texas (a neighboring town of Beeville) refused to bury the body of a Mexican-American soldier. It continued with some intensity in varied social problems of South Texas. In the 1950's and 1960's the forum "...shifted from non-partisan civic-action program to an increasingly political position."⁹⁹ With the tremendous energies and courage of Hector Garcia, a medical doctor, the G. I. Forum launched intensive drives in voter registration and voting turnout. The Forum is presently active in many social, political, and educational issues. Another Texas organization which stressed voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives was the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organization (PASSO). PASSO fought many political battles in South Texas with some political successes in different parts of Texas, especially in San Antonio. The Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) founded in the late 1960's was notable for its political activity and "militancy." Its major objectives were to politicize and unite the Mexican-American youth.

Although these politically oriented organizations had an impact on political awareness and activity among Mexican-Americans, all are associated with several common problems. For example, the inadequacy of resources such as money and staff seems to be a perpetual problem. The overwhelming commitment of the Mexican-American population to the Democratic Party has weakened its position since the Democratic leadership can count on overwhelming support. According to Grebler, "...the commitment of the electorate to one party has probably weakened the group's (Mexican-American) interest in political activity and its influence on public affairs."¹⁰⁰

There are other problems that serve as weakening factors in Mexican-American organization. The personalistic approach to social relations hinders the structure and continuity of formal organizations. According to Rubel, "(M)embers of contemporary instrumental groups express anxiety that elected officers dominate discussion...."¹⁰¹ The failure to internalize group participation causes much anxiety among the membership. Moreover, the origin and successful operation of many of these organizations have been based on a dynamic and charismatic leader. It has not been uncommon to see the deterioration of a formal organization when its leader departs from the organization.

In their study of ethnic organizations of San Antonio, Los Angeles, and other parts of the Southwest, Grebler and others conclude that "(P)erhaps the greatest problem of most ethnic organizations is their relative obscurity among the people they intend to serve."¹⁰² In their household surveys conducted in 1965 and 1966, showing the standing of major ethnic associations among the rank and file of Mexican-Americans (see Chart 4-3), indications are that in neither city "...have the associations been able to penetrate the Mexican-American population in great depth."¹⁰³ Only 5 percent of the respondents in both cities claim to be "very familiar" or "belonged" to an organization. The response was greater when respondents were asked if they had "heard" about some of these organizations; 30 percent of the San Antonians and 22 percent of the Angelanos claiming some familiarity. The great majority of the two cities claimed no knowledge of ethnic organizations. It should also be noted that much of the membership of these organization is duplicative, that is, many members of one organization are commonly members of other organizations.

When we compared the above results with the results of our survey respondents on Chart 4-3, Mexican-Americans from Beeville seemed relatively aware of some of the more active organizations in Beeville and surrounding areas. For example, 15 percent of our respondents showed strong familiarity or belongingness to one or more organizations. Even more impressive, the majority of the respondents (55 percent) indicated that they had "heard" of some of the listed organizations. But even with this type response, just hearing about one or more organizations gives little support to actual participation. Nevertheless, Mexican-Americans from Beeville appear to be much more aware of ethnic organizations than Mexican-Americans who live in large urban areas.



Source: Grebler, et. al., The Mexican American People, op. cit. p. 547.

A comparative analysis of the three samples offers a possible explanation. Using the rural-to-urban continuum (see Figure 1-1, Chapter I) as the basis for patterns of difference, Mexican-Americans in rural areas are more familiar with ethnic organizations than Mexican-Americans who reside in an urban milieu. Due to the limitation of social and political activities in a smaller community, members of the community appear to be more aware of the activities of this type of organization than members of a large urban area where one may find a multiplicity of groups and activities, many of which are not related to ethnic organizations.

TABLE 4-12
AWARENESS OF MAJOR ETHNIC AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS,
MEXICAN-AMERICAN MASS RESPONDENTS, BEEVILLE, 1973

Percent of Familiarity*

<u>Organizations</u>	<u>Very Familiar Or Belongs</u>	<u>Heard of It</u>	<u>Never Heard of It</u>
G.I. Forum	33%	61%	5%
MAYO	5%	55%	40%
Holy Name Society	28%	59%	12%
CYO	10%	60%	29%
YAC	8%	57%	34%
San Jose Society	15%	54%	29%
Ladies Auxiliary (G.I. Forum)	29%	63%	7%
PASSO	2%	42%	54%
Guadalupanas	13%	68%	15%
Alliance for Mex.Amer.	9%	29%	60%

Total Number - 201

*Percentage Rounded.

Table 4-12 shows a percentage distribution of different ethnic organizations that are in existence or were in existence in recent years in the Beeville community.

The G. I. Forum and its counterpart, Ladies Auxiliary, are the better known organizations and the more active of the different organizations in Beeville. Most of the activity of the Forum is social and educational in nature.¹⁰⁴ Other organizations whose familiarity were relatively high (Holy Name Society, San Jose Society, and Guadalupanas) are all church oriented. Their primary function has been to support the many social, religious, and educational activities of the Catholic Church. Political organizations, like MAYO and PASSO, do not register much familiarity among respondents. Both organizations have been out of existence in recent years.

Like other areas of political participation, low level of income and educational attainment are important variables that may help explain low participation in ethnic organizations. In our study, a higher level of awareness of ethnic organizations is correlated with higher income, educational attainment, and a longer period of residency. Mexican-Americans whose level of income and education is higher are more familiar with ethnic organizations than Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education is lower.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, a similar correlation exists between level of awareness of ethnic organizations and respondents' length of residency. Respondents who indicated a longer period of city residency were more familiar with ethnic organizations.

The study of Mexican-American organizations is sketchy and ordinarily not related to other elements of social and political

participation of this group. Further, inquiry into social and political voluntary grouping is highly essential, especially if the concept of familiarity or belongingness is related to community change.

Summary and Conclusions

The study of political activity and participation among Mexican-Americans in Beeville for the last fifteen years parallels the mood of the political situation of South Texas, the Southwest and of other minority groups in the United States. It can be generally characterized as a move to acquire social and political identity and recognition as a viable part of the political process of the community. Political attempts to become a major political force and to acquire equal status in the community have brought internal conflict, dissention and a major struggle in ethnic leadership, while the dominant segment of the community has made a concerted effort to perpetuate the minority group's subordinate status. The city council elections of 1970, 1972, and 1973 are examples of minority emergence and dominant resistance. In spite of major defeats at the polls, the Mexican-Americans have obtained political recognition to the extent that elements of political bargaining and compromise are found in the allocation of social and political values. In other words, the political potentiality of the Mexican-Americans has been partly recognized by the Anglo segment of the community.

In spite of the many problems of political participation, Mexican-Americans have shown an increasing effort to vote and support political candidates that represent their political interests. Although

an overwhelming majority identifies with the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, party crossover indeed occurred in the general elections of 1972. The majority of the Mexican-American electorate supported La Raza Unida Party candidates. Much of this change in party alignment is attributed to traditional party dissatisfaction and the newer slate of party candidates of the same ethnic group. The major split in party politics has created new concerns among the Democratic leadership at the state and local level.

Fewer Mexican Americans vote, on a percentage basis, than their Anglo counterparts, as shown in voting turnout and registration in Texas (Table 4-2) and Precinct 10 (Tables 4-3, 4-4, 4-5, 4-6, 4-7 and 4-8), but when we consider such important factors as low income and education, voter turnout may be termed "encouraging." Moreover, our sample indicates a high interest in political campaigns (Table 4-9). It appears that as the level of income and education increases, the Mexican-American political interest increases accordingly. In similar fashion is their perception of voting duty and political competence (Table 4-10 and 4-11). Mexican-Americans have indicated a high endorsement to civic obligations. This sense of voting duty parallels other Americans. Although the degree of political efficacy is lower than voting duty for Mexican-Americans, once again, this is a general characteristic as shown in the American sample. In practically every item considered, Mexican-Americans with higher income and educational attainment have a higher degree of civic responsibility and political competence.

Finally, similar correlates are found in ethnic awareness of voluntary organizations--those who are more economically and

educationally affluent are more familiar with the multipurpose organizations. Nonetheless, awareness of ethnic organizations is not high for the more urban residents.

FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER IV

¹"A study by Jose Angel Gutierrez (unpublished paper, Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin) showed more than 700 elected Mexican-American officials in Texas, most of them holding county, district, and school offices." As footnoted in Clifton McCleskey and Bruce Merrill, "Mexican American Political Behavior in Texas," Social Science Quarterly LIII (March, 1973), p. 786.

²Robert Lane, "The Way of the Ethnic in Politics," in Harry A. Bailey and Elihu Katz (eds.), Ethnic Group Politics (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1969), p. 89.

³It appears that most Mexican-American political activity and education are the most strategic steps in advancing the cause of the Mexican-American. See Henry S. Johnson and William J. Hernandez (eds.), Educating the Mexican American (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1970); R. L. Strabanek and Avra Raption, "Occupational Change Among Spanish-Americans in Atascosa County and San Antonio, Texas," op. cit.

⁴"Take-Over" was commonly used by Anglo leaders meaning the city council year 1970-1971 when Mexican-Americans had a majority of the council members and, therefore, the first Mexican-American mayor in the history of the city.

⁵Much of the political activity in regard to the "aftermath" will be discussed in Chapter V, "Community Elites and Political Leadership."

⁶According to Ozzie Simmons, "there is a stereotype widely held among Anglo-Americans that Mexicans do not care who is elected, that they will give their votes to whomever will pay for them or provide free barbeque and beer, and that they are the willing tools of political bosses who herd them to the polls." "Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans in South Texas: A Study in Dominant Subordinate Group Relations." (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1952), p. 274.

⁷The same leader became the mayor of the city during the Take-Over Period, 1970-1971.

⁸Bascom Nelson, "The Right Way...The Wrong Way... And My Way," Beeville Bee-Picayune (March 23, 1970), Section A, p. 2.

⁹The Beeville Bee-Picayune, bi-weekly newspaper, demonstrated the concern and efforts of the Anglo community. It was during this period that El Exito, a weekly newspaper, made its appearance. It expressed the concerns and efforts of the Mexican-American community.

¹⁰Crystal City is one of the first South Texas cities where a take-over by Chicanos occurred in the 1960's. See John Shockley, Chicano Revolt in a Texas Town (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1974).

¹¹Fred Latcham, "Have You Registered?" The Beeville Bee-Picayune (February 11, 1971), Section C, p. 2.

¹²Eight city officials--including the city manager, a councilman and the tax collector--resigned from their posts.

¹³"Mass Resignations Tied to Racial Issue," Corpus Christi Caller (June 20, 1970), p. 16.

¹⁴Fred Latcham, "Dios Por Delante," Beeville Bee-Picayune, (March 4, 1971), Section C, p. 2.

¹⁵Fred Latcham, "Have You Registered?", op. cit., Section C, p. 2.

¹⁶In a statement published in the Beeville Bee-Picayune as quoted in "Mass Registration Tied to Racial Issue," op. cit., p. 16.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰The new council member had been previously involved in a march sympathetic to migrants and poor laborers.

²¹The Mexican-American leadership unsuccessfully attempted to set the voting of the ward system on a different occasion.

²²Fred Latcham, "Conditioned for Change," Beeville Bee-Picayune (March 8, 1973), Section C, p. 2.

²³Stewart Shaheen, "Confusion Reigns in Records," Beeville Bee-Picayune (March 19, 1973), p. 1. In another article appearing in the front page the staff writer accused the ex-mayor of threatening him. See "Would-be Political Bosses Threaten Newsman," Beeville Bee-Picayune (March 19, 1973), p. 1.

²⁴The local radio station also became sympathetic to the Mexican-American community.

²⁵"Smear Campaign Backfires!" Bee County Independent-El Exito (March 15, 1973).

²⁶Judy Telge, "Where Is Your Conscience?" Bee County Independent-El Exito (March 22, 1973), p. 2.

²⁷Brice Armstrong, "This City Needs MEN, Not Races," Beeville Bee-Picayune (March 19, 1973), p. 1.

²⁸In a news article published in the Corpus Christi Caller, a city councilman and two former city officials charged the Bee-Picayune newspaper with bias reporting. The publisher denied by stating that the newspaper was not taking sides, "but we are informing the people about the candidates. We have been quoting their past records because they (records) generally indicate what the candidates will do in the future." "Newspaper in Beeville Said Bias," (March 15, 1973), p. 4G.

²⁹See "Braly, Galloway and Hardy Win Council Positions," Beeville Bee-Picayune (April 5, 1973), p. 1.

³⁰Political leaders from both parties dramatized the importance of the election mainly because of the ward system which would divide the city into five equal parts. This would determine which ethnic group would have a majority of council members.

³¹"City Council Winners To Take Oath Today," Beeville Bee-Picayune (April 9, 1973), p. 1. The ex-mayor also asked the Civil Rights Commission to investigate the election irregularities. No action was taken.

³²Betty Cardwell, "Judge Orders Recount in Beeville City Election," Corpus Christi Caller (May 23, 1973), p. 4A.

³³Ibid.

³⁴The recount came out:

Candidate	April 3	Recount
Buddy Hardy	2046	2032
Humberto Saenz	1773	1770
Fred Chapa	1730	1729
Bernardo Sandoval	1736	1737
Dudley Braly	2101	2088
John Galloway	2088	2075

See "Election Losers Are Still Losers," Beeville Bee-Picayune (May 28, 1973), p. 1.

³⁵Candidates were the ex-city mayor, ex-city councilman, and the publisher of the Bee County Independent-El Exito.

36 The timing of the survey is not necessarily correlated to the political events of the community. It was a mere coincidence that the survey was conducted during and after a controversial and heated election.

37 McCleskey and Merrill, op. cit., p. 786.

38 Pauline R. Kibbe, Latin Americans in Texas (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1946), provides a major account of the social situation of Mexican-Americans in the 1940's.

39 See O. D. Weeks, "The Texas-Mexican and the Politics of South Texas," American Political Science Association Review, XXIV (August, 1930), pp. 606-627.

40 One source describes the relationship as follows:

The greatest concentration of controlled Mexican-American votes is under the domination of one Mexican-American and his associates, a Mexican-American who is generally conceded to be the wealthiest member of the Mexican group, and whose business establishment and farming interests compare favorably with those of the more successful Anglo Americans. "The principal basis of his political power is derived as a by-product of the patron influence he enjoys in his relationships with his employees."

Ozzie Simmons, "Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans in South Texas," op. cit., p. 285.

41 Allen M. Shinn, Jr., "A Note on Voter Registration and Turnout in Texas, 1960-1970," Journal of Politics XXXIII (November, 1971), describes four devices used in Texas in recent years that restricted the franchise on Mexican-Americans--poll tax, annual registration, short period of registration and long period before the general elections, p. 1126. All of these requirements have been outlawed produce a more favorable situation for prospective voters.

42 The Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund (MALDF) has recently initiated legal action against the common use of voting ballot strictly on the English language on the grounds that many Mexican-Americans only know how to read Spanish. The decision is pending.

43 Angus Campbell, et. al., The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960), p. 20; Lester Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 53.

⁴⁴Grebler, op. cit., p. 556.

⁴⁵See Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1965), Chapter 10; Donald Matthews and James Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1966), Chapter 10.

⁴⁶Joe R. Feagin and Harlan Hahn, "The Second Reconstruction: Black Political Strength in the South," in Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, (eds.), Minority Problems (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 216.

⁴⁷Frank Tannenbaum, Peace By Revolution (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), pp. 101-102.

⁴⁸Ozzie Simmons, "Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans in South Texas," op. cit., p. 314.

⁴⁹McCleskey and Merrill, op. cit., p. 789.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 789-792.

⁵¹Short for La Raza Unida Party.

⁵²More will be said about R.U.P. "successes" in 1972 when Precinct 10 is considered.

⁵³McCleskey and Merrill, op. cit., p. 786.

⁵⁴The GOP nominated Rudy Garza for Comptroller of Public Accounts in 1966, Manuel Sanchez for Treasurer in 1968, and Edward Yturri for Attorney General in 1970. Every candidate has failed to win. McCleskey and Merrill, op. cit., p. 786.

⁵⁵Allen Shinn, op. cit.

⁵⁶McCleskey and Merrill, op. cit., p. 789.

⁵⁷Clifton McCleskey and Dan Nimmo, "Differences Between Potential, Registered, and Actual Voters: The Houston Metropolitan Area in 1964," Social Science Quarterly XLIX (June, 1968), pp. 103-114; Nimmo and McCleskey, "Impact of the Poll Tax on Voter Participation: The Houston Metropolitan Area in 1966," Journal of Politics XXX (August, 1969), pp. 682-699, as quoted by McCleskey and Merrill, op. cit., p. 788.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹McCleskey and Merrill, op. cit., p. 788.

⁶⁰Stan Steiner, La Raza: The Mexican Americans (New York: Harper and Row, 1968); Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera, The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), Chapter 14; Stephen Herzog, "Political Coalitions Among Ethnic Groups in the Southwest," in Rudolph O. de la Garza, et. al., (eds.), Chicanos and Native Americans (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 131-138.

⁶¹See Miguel Tirado, "Mexican American Community Organization: The Key to Chicano Political Power," Aztlan, I (Spring, 1970), pp. 53-78; Paul Sheldon, "Mexican American Formal Organizations," in Burma (ed.), op. cit., pp. 267-272; Ralph Guzman, "Politics and Policies in the Mexican American Community," in E. Dvorin and A. Misner (eds.), California Politics and Policies (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1966).

⁶²Grebler, et. al., op. cit., p. 513.

⁶³The total number of registered voters for Bee County in 1972 was 10,115.

⁶⁴My gratitude and thanks go to Don Armstrong for making available all the official returns for the 1972 and 1974 results.

⁶⁵That there is an underlying liberal-conservative dimension to state politics is a well-accepted fact among activists and observers in Texas. McCleskey and Merrill, op. cit., p. 793.

⁶⁶McCleskey and Merrill's conclusion in their study of Mexican American behavior is that "a substantial portion of the Texas electorate is capable of making distinctions based..." on the liberal-conservative dimension, op. cit., p. 793. For the existence of liberal-conservative attitudes see Lloyd Free and Hadley Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans: A Study of Public Opinion (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968).

⁶⁷The incumbent governor had been previously linked to a major stock scandal that brought indictments against some of his close associates.

⁶⁸Anglo candidates that received strong endorsement from both ethnic groups did not encounter a Mexican-American candidate nor did they encounter opposition from strong candidates.

⁶⁹The R.U.P. senatorial candidate did not campaign in Beeville. It appears that the 35 percent support was mainly in the candidate identification with La Raza Unida Party and his surname.

⁷⁰Unlike other R.U.P. candidates, Muniz campaigned vigorously in Beeville and throughout South Texas.

⁷¹It is interesting to note that in the 1974 gubernatorial campaign, the R.U.P. candidate attempted not to be labeled as a Mexican-American candidate. Instead, every effort was made to change his previous image and to appeal to the "typical" voter of both major ethnic groups.

⁷²Major Mexican-American organizations like the G.I. Forum and LULAC supported Democratic candidates including the incumbent governor.

⁷³Although La Raza Unida Party had a place in the local ballot, no Mexican-American candidate ran under its banner for any of the political positions.

⁷⁴Modification of these scales and indexes are found in Milbrath, op. cit., pp. 155-159; Dennis, op. cit., pp. 819-835; McCleskey and Merrill, op. cit., pp. 787-789; and Welch, et. al., op. cit., pp. 802-813.

⁷⁵See Campbell, The American Voter, op. cit., and Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit.

⁷⁶Almond and Verba, op. cit. p. 79 as cited by Welch, et. al., op. cit., p. 802.

⁷⁷Milbrath, op. cit., pp. 53-54. See also Mark Benny and Phyllis Geiss, "Social Class and Politics in Greenwich," British Journal of Sociology I (December, 1950), pp. 310-327; Angus Campbell, et. al., The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960); and Bernard R. Berelson, et. al., Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

⁷⁸Milbrath, op. cit., p. 54.

⁷⁹Angus Campbell, et. al., The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1954), pp. 194-199.

⁸⁰Dennis, op. cit., pp. 819-835.

⁸¹Campbell, et. al., The Voter Decides, op. cit.; Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit.; and Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, op. cit.

⁸²Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 171.

⁸³Milbrath, Political Participation, op. cit., p. 62.

⁸⁴Lester Milbrath, "The Nature of Political Beliefs and the Relationship of the Individual to the Government," American Behavioral Scientist, XII (1968), pp. 28-36, at p. 33, as quoted by Dennis, op. cit., p. 826.

⁸⁵Dennis, op. cit., p. 826.

⁸⁶The Election Studies of the University of Michigan Survey Research Center for 1952, 1956, and 1960 indicate almost identical results than the Wisconsin study. See Dennis, op. cit., p. 827.

⁸⁷Campbell, et. al., The Voter Decides, op. cit., p. 187.

⁸⁸Steiner, La Raza, op. cit.

⁸⁹McCleskey and Merrill, op. cit., p. 795.

⁹⁰The results are not surprising "...given the fact that Anglos dominate the Texas political system....", Ibid., p. 795.

⁹¹Almond and Verba, op. cit., see Chapters 2 and 3.

⁹²In the city election of 1973, Mexican-American women had a significant role as participants of campaign activity.

⁹³See Salvador Alvarez, "Mexican American Community Organizations," in O. I. Romano-V., (ed.), Voices (Berkeley, Calif.: Quinto Sol Publications, 1971), pp. 91-100.

⁹⁴For a chronological study of these organizations, see Ralph Guzman, "The Political Socialization of Mexican Americans," op. cit.

⁹⁵La Sociedad Mutualista, Benito Juarez, and La Sociedad Mutualista Mexicana were the most popular associations at early stages of association.

⁹⁶Grebler, et. al., The Mexican American People, op. cit., p. 543.

⁹⁷See O. D. Weeks, "The League of United Latin-American Citizens: A Texas Mexican Civic Organization," Southwest Political and Social Science Quarterly, (December, 1924).

⁹⁸Grebler, et. al., The Mexican American People, op. cit., p. 543.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., pp. 546-547.

¹⁰¹Art Rubel, Across the Tracks, op. cit., p. 153. For similar arguments see John Martinez, "Leadership and Politics," La Raza: Forgotten Americans (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966). For a critique, Salvador Alvarez, "Mexican-American Community Organizations," op. cit., pp. 91-100.

¹⁰²Grebler, et. al., The Mexican American People, op. cit., p. 547.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 548.

¹⁰⁴The Ladies Auxiliary of the G.I. Forum has been the more effective of the two. For the past two years, the National Secretary-Treasurer of the forum has been a Beevillian.

¹⁰⁵Studies of the general population indicate that a positive correlation exists between higher income and larger membership of voluntary organizations. See Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," American Sociological Review, XXIII (1958), pp. 284-294.

CHAPTER V

COMMUNITY ELITE AND POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

According to Burma, leadership in a community rests in the hands of individuals from the middle and upper classes.¹ It is this group of people who has the opportunity, know-how, interests, and the political links to promote its interests and the interest of the masses. In other words, it is the community elite who gives structure and direction to the community; it is this group that provides the backbone for the various organizations; and it is this group that provides the alternatives in decision-making by focusing its concern on the different problems and issues of the community.²

In the Mexican-American community, there is definitely a positive association between elite membership and high income and educational attainment. Chart 2-2 clearly indicates the income difference between elites and non-elites. While the income status of the masses was reported relatively low, the elite members reported a much higher income (97 percent reported a higher income than \$6,000 per year). In educational attainment a remarkable difference was also reported (see Chart 2-3). Moreover, Mexican-American community leaders, like their Anglo counterparts, serve as major components of the business community. In their study of El Paso community leaders, D'Antonio and Form clearly indicate the influence of businessmen in the selection and crucial decisions of the mayor of the city.

In most recent years there has been a tendency, especially evident in the composition of the city

council and county commissioners, to elect persons representing small and medium size businesses. This change in the composition of officeholders has not altered local political behavior significantly. The one-party system of the South, the business orientation of officeholders, and the relative absence of ethnically-based political factions resulted in a rather orderly and stable governmental administration.³

In fact, "(T)he power of the businessmen most closely conformed to the pattern of business dominance suggested by Hunter, Mills, Form, Miller, and others...."⁴ It should be noted, however, that due to economic and historical factors, Mexican-Americans are not as inclined to participate in the business community as their counterparts. Nevertheless, the majority of our survey respondents reported their occupations in some area related to the business community.⁵

Mexican-American leaders, unlike Anglo leaders, are represented in token manner in the various dominant organizations of the city. Ethnicity and minority status seems to be two main factors for this situation. According to D'Antonio and Form, in most towns where one finds a concentration of Mexican-Americans, "(I)t is generally agreed that one of the city councilmen ought to be a Spanish-name person."⁶ D'Antonio and Form point out that,

(U)ntil recently, the conduct of local government was almost divorced from the ethnic situation. Not only was a large proportion of the Spanish-name population partially disenfranchized by the poll-tax and other devices, but also those who were interested in politics did not have a unified ethnic community to support them.⁷

It is this background of limited participation in the political life of the community, as well as minority status of this group, which sets the patterns of ethnic leadership.

Dilemmas of Leadership

In his study of political socialization of Mexican-Americans, Guzman finds that "(T)here is no clear typology of leadership among the Mexican-American people. Leadership...is more of an elusive search."⁸ Leadership for a minority group depends on many factors such as size of community, ethnic composition, and social condition. To a great extent, it depends "upon the conditions of social contact between the minority and the majority."⁹ In this respect, leadership is important in dominant-subordinate group relationships because, as Gunnar Myrdal suggests, the leaders are the liaison agents between the two groups. The dominant group is interested in maintaining some type of control over the subordinate groups. The subordinate group, on the other hand, is interested in maintaining certain contacts with dominant group.¹⁰ It is the leadership who provides the necessary links for the group maintenance. Moreover, the larger society has a considerable amount of influence in the formation of leadership patterns.¹¹

Due to their intermediary position and the bicultural nature of the community they represent, Mexican-American leaders are faced with many dilemmas in their struggle for leadership. Probably the most serious dilemma is leadership validation. For example, leaders need to make all kinds of accommodations, such as adjustment to the mores, social values, and customs of the larger society. According to Samora,

(A) leader should be like an Anglo in the sense of qualifications, aggressiveness, ability to compete economically, educationally, and linguistically. But he should be identified with the Spanish group.... In short, he must be like an Anglo but behave like a Spanish person. And herein lies the dilemma.¹²

In order to lead in the larger community, the minority leader must be generally accepted as a leader by the dominant society. Due to recent political strength of Mexican-Americans, acceptance by the larger society appears to have more importance in the recent past than now. Nevertheless, the goals which Mexican-American leaders wish to attain are generally goals attained within the dominant system. These goals include "political activity, educational achievement, occupational or more generally, economic advancement and higher social status."¹³ It is a common situation that the Mexican-American individual who is accepted as a leader by the dominant society is the one who gets ahead, but the more approval he receives from the dominant society, the better the tendency to estrange himself from the minority group which he is trying to lead. Thus, Samora concludes that,

(T)he individual who gets ahead is talked about in terms of being a traitor to the group, apparently because in getting ahead he supposedly had had to sell out to the Anglo and therefore will not work for the Spanish.¹⁴

The Mexican-Americans usually recognize the relationship of their leader with the larger society, but it is usually recognized in perjorative terms like agringado, vendido, coyote, or the cognitive acomodado.¹⁵ On the other hand, being too close to the subordinate group may endanger the minority leader's position within the dominant society.

In his study of the role of minority leaders, Samora stresses the difficulty of such a role in a bicultural setting.

In attempting to satisfy the dominant society, the minority leader faces the danger of alienating the

subordinate society and vice-versa. The minority leader is then judged as inadequate by the subordinate group. This inadequacy of leadership can be explained thus: The goals of the leader and of the subordinate group are goals to be attained within the dominant system. In attempting to attain these goals, the leader must acquire habits which approach identity with those of the dominant group. In accomplishing the forgoing, he begins to identify with the dominant society. The greater the identification of the subordinate leader with the dominant society, however, the greater is the estrangement of the leader from the group that he is trying to lead. His leadership is therefore considered to be inadequate since essentially it becomes undermined by virtue of his very success in the achievement of the goals.¹⁶

Thus, through an assessment of various studies¹⁷ of leadership patterns of a minority group, it can easily be inferred that the "Anglo society has determined the legitimacy of the Mexican-American leadership."¹⁸ The criteria of the minority leadership to fit this type of legitimacy can be social behavior, degree of assimilation, ideological conformity, English language ability, or economic accomplishment. Much of the preferences and assumptions are done by those who control society. To Guzman, "(T)he relationship is subtle and not easily explained as cooption. It means accommodation on both sides and it varies drastically from one region of the country to another to another and from one point in time to the next."¹⁹ The pattern of Mexican-American leadership is not only complex but contradictory and highly differentiated as well.

Another problem of leadership is the intensity of fragmentation among the Mexican-American political leaders. According to Greblér and others, "Mexican-American leaders are highly individualistic and competitive, or often even hostile to one another."²⁰

These characteristics add to political disunity which seems to be a product of regional conditions of social contact. To Guzman, "(W)here ethnic leadership is created and supported by members of the Anglo political system quarrels among elites are common."²¹

In Beeville the fragmentation of the Mexican-American leadership appears to be the most acute of the many community problems. Although in our survey the majority of the elite respondents (77 percent) agreed that all people of Mexican background should get together politically, the desirability and the actual occurrence are two separate factors. In fact, the content of most political arguments by different leaders is for unity, but in the ultimate analysis, it is disunity that prevails. For example, when leaders were asked if they could foresee the possibility where most Mexican-Americans would unite in their community, less than 50 percent saw that possibility. When asked to justify their position, most of them claimed that there is too much "envy"; there is "a lack of desire and interest;" there is a considerable amount of "distrust and suspicion" among different leaders; and there is too much outright hostility among the different members.

Besides those listed above, there are other persuasive reasons for the fragmentation of elites. According to Guzman,

(O)ne is the highly differentiated composition of the group itself. Another is the systematically maintained condition of social deprivation that keeps the Mexican American people poor and suspicious of all who offer them help--including their own kind. More salient are four other factors: (1) regionalism, (2) generation, (3) class, and (4) styles of action.²²

Parallel with the problem of fragmentation is parochialism. According to Grebler and others,

(M)ost of the leaders are men and women whose experience has been almost exclusively limited to one part of the Southwest. Their parochial commitments involve narrow views about the identity of the group and about its social problems.²³

It is the parochial perception of many of the leaders that manifests dissension in basic issues, social problems, and strategies. For example, a common problem among the Mexican-American leadership in Beeville is the question of leadership loyalty to the ethnic group. Once again, the preoccupation of the vendido (sell-out) and the agringado (Anglicized) carries elements of parochialism. Reinforcing the parochial perception is poor communication among leaders all across Texas and the Southwest. "There is no national or regional medium of communication. The ethnic press is largely localized and has a low circulation."²⁴

Age is another factor which creates problems among the Mexican-American leadership. In our discussion of the historical development of voluntary organizations (see Chapter IV), we clearly found a pattern of organizational development from mutualism in theme to the more recent attempts which are involved in political activities of various sorts. This gradual change in organizational purposes appears to have created a generational split between the young and the old. According to Grebler, "(T)he classic conflict between the young and the old has become more acute in the Mexican-American elite, as elsewhere."²⁵ Younger Mexican-Americans, like other American youth, consider themselves to be more aware and more in tune with reality and the need for social and political action than their elders.

Throughout the Southwest, the Mexican-American youth have challenged parental control, community leadership, and much of the old customs and traditions. The Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) is a prime example of the Chicano youth movement in Texas. It was organized with the full intent to prepare youth for political and social action. According to Guzman, the Mexican-American youth,

...are more nearly full products of the social forces (the conditions of social contact) that permeate all modern society; they are...a new breed (una raza nueva); an emerging sub-group whose search for meaning and personal identity is no longer clouded by pragmatic notions of social accommodation. Young people are developing a powerful social force which they call chicanismo. This is a new ideology. It is not fully developed and therefore not well understood.²⁶

In the recent past, the Mexican-American youth have demanded study programs that reflect Chicano culture and recognition as a vital ethnic group in the many literary fields that Mexican-Americans are involved. The development of this ferment among young people cut across social and regional lines creating a loose network of action and concern.²⁷

In our study of Mexican-American elites, there is a correlation between age and political activity. For example, younger members of the elite group express a stronger desire for political unity among Mexican-Americans. Furthermore, younger members express a stronger desire for organizational participation than members of the older group (see Appendix A, Table 5-A).

Whether militant or moderate in their perspective of social and political change, the Chicano youth movement has lost some of

the original fervor as it was cast in the late 1960's. It appears that much of the social movement has proved counter-productive to the goals and aspiration of the young Mexican-American. Perhaps, this parallels other youth movements in the United States. For example, the MAYO organization used to be an alarming and much talked about organization in the late 1960's in this community. No important traces of this alarm currently exist. In our mass survey, very few of the respondents were very familiar with this organization (see Table 4-12). Other youth organizations such as YAC have suffered similar consequences. Moreover, it appears that much of the youth are aware and concerned with their ethnic status and are willing to work for their lot, but much of the social and political action has become subtle since "it is necessary to work with the system." However, this change of strategy may be temporary.

Other problems of leadership related to some of the dilemmas discussed above can be attributed to cultural values. In her study, Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Sister Woods concludes that because of the value placed upon courtesy, "...the Mexican leader is prone to promises which he never intends to fulfill. This...causes the followers to question his sincerity and indulge in suspicion."²⁸ Ethnic leadership is further complicated by the allegation that "a Mexican does not, as a rule, trust his own people as much as he will trust a foreigner."²⁹ Another trait of the Mexican-American culture which has proved to be a hindrance to leadership "is the strong individualistic tendencies which the Mexican-American inherited from the Spanish." According to Woods,

"(I)ndividualism is a serious hindrance to solidarity, for the program of action which the individual himself initiates is all important and the efforts of others depreciated."³⁰

Patterns of Leadership

We indicated earlier that no clear typology of leadership for Mexican-Americans exists. Moreover, the tentative patterns of leadership that now exist are complex. Therefore, any attempt to clarify and simplify through observations and consideration of the literature on minority leadership is also tentative. Yet, an analytical approach to highlight a pattern of leadership typology can be useful.

R. A. Schermerhorn in These Our People, distinguishes five types of leaders in the Mexican-American community. It should be noted that his view of leadership types is from the standpoint of inadequacy. According to Schermerhorn,

(1) The natural leaders have a vast amount of influence, but "they have the defects of their qualities which are an intimacy with the group, a limited vision with respect to outside contacts, and lack of status in the dominant community...." These qualities are needed in order to accomplish more of their own people.

(2) The accomodating leader or explotador is the "Uncle Tom" (tio taco) variety, the "my people are so backward apologist." This type of leadership is not adequate mainly because it gives the Anglo the opportunity to separate the leader from the masses, label him "high type" and reinforce commonly held opinions about Mexican-Americans in general.

(3) The type would be addressed as "Mexican Consuls." They "...encourage a sort of nostalgic nativism." Therefore, they retard acculturation. They emphasize the "old ways as the best."

(4) The temporary political leaders, who can achieve temporary status because they can get out a substantial vote by reason of their own enthusiasm and their acceptance in the neighborhood.

(5) Professional and businessmen leaders who may have money, education, and much of the respect of the Anglos but who are possibly isolated from the mass of people who they represent.³¹

In lengthy observations of community leaders in Beeville, similar ramifications of this typology are found. It appears that the "natural leader" and the "accomodating leaders" are not prevalent in Beeville, although characteristics of the explotador are found in various leaders. Like the two above types of leaders, the "Mexican Consul" type of leader is much of the recent past when honorific type of voluntary association were popular and in existence. The "temporary leader," who gets involved in some specific issues of the community, however, seems to share some of the community leadership. But it is the "business and professional leaders"--loosely defined--who appear to predominate in most of the affairs of the community. In Beeville, of the two types of leaders, the small business leader seems to have the upper hand in representing the different structures and organizations of the community.

Regardless of the type of leaders, ethnic leadership "...is inextricably linked to class structure and supplied principally by the middle class."³² Moreover, regardless of leadership differences, Burma claims that leaders,

...must have the welfare of la raza at heart, must not be ashamed of their people, and must really try to help them. Most leaders...are acculturated to American ways: they have Anglo friends and follow

Anglo customs; they are the liaison and the spear-head. Yet they express the wish to combine the best in both ways of life, and demonstrate this wish by the continued incorporation in their lives of many Mexican culture traits.³³

Once again, the above makes reference to a very fundamental assumption of minority leadership pattern that "an external-internal relationship between Anglos and Mexicans has existed across history and from one region to another."³⁴ Due to this relationship, the Mexican-American people are particularly dependent upon their ethnic leaders as intermediaries. Commenting in this state of affairs, Burma states that,

...it is unfortunate that open fights for prestige among the leaders are not rare, fights usually due to pride, the conflict of personalities, or mutual suspicion of opportunism and exploitation, so that it is somewhat unusual for all the leaders in a fair-sized community to be working together at any one time.³⁵

Adopting some of the earlier writers' views on minority leadership, Grebler, Cuzman and Moore developed a more elaborate and sophisticated typology of Mexican-American leadership (see Figure 5-1). Once again, the complexity of leadership patterns in the Mexican-American population may be easily illustrated. Like earlier writers, the strategic importance of intermediation between the minority and the dominant system is a common function to most leaders in a community, even to the internal leaders who are relatively confined to the barrio.

As illustrated in Figure 5-1, there are two main categories of leaders--internal and external. These categories are subdivided into a number of sub-categories. Due to the complexity of this

conceptual framework, not all sub-categories are included. Similarly, the relationship of these sub-categories are infinite and so are the correlation of all these sub-categories.

FIGURE 5-1
TYPOLOGY OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

I. INTERNAL LEADERS

(a) Social

1. Heads of ethnic clubs and societies
2. The economically secure

(b) Economic

1. Merchants whose economic base rests in the barrio
2. Professionals (lawyers, doctors, etc.) who depend upon the barrio for income
3. Labor

(c) Religious

1. Priests or ministers
2. Laymen

(d) Political

1. Party committeemen
2. Professional politicians
3. Field representatives of professional politicians

(e) Professional

1. Teachers
2. Social workers
3. Police officers
4. Other civil servants

(f) Informal Social Workers

A man or woman who has a reputation for solving social problems

II. EXTERNAL LEADERS

(a) Anglos

1. Social organizers from labor, community, and church groups.
2. Experts from government, universities, and political groups

(b) Mexican-Americans

1. "Subsidized leaders" employed by local, state, or Federal agencies
2. Independent individuals

Source: Leo Grebler, et. al. The Mexican-American People, op. cit., p. 549.

The social leaders are easily identified types within the Mexican-American community. They display some prominence by their social behavior, style of clothing, and their way of life. Their leadership is shown through the web of social activity that is symbolic of their status. "They are not social changes and they only rarely distrust the external environment."³⁷ As social intermediaries, much of their activity closely parallels social activity of the dominant social structure or the emulation of the upper class of Mexico. "They are usually the first to be tapped by Anglos who seek indigenous leaders. Yet, they are rarely in close touch with the community that they ostensibly interpret for people who represent Anglo power."³⁸

The economic achievers are leaders by virtue of economic achievement within the barrio. One of the most important unifying characteristics of this subgroup is that their income depends almost entirely from the Mexican-American community. At times, economic leaders lead movements for social change. For example, the concern of several businessmen for better health for the Mexican-American community may bring organizational efforts and contacts with internal and external leaders to change the situation. However, to Guzman,

(M)ost economic leaders...are sensitive accommodationists, the main reason being that they are dependent upon institutions that exist in the external milieu. Thus, an ethnic economic leader can be easily intimidated through economic pressure.³⁹

The religious leaders play a dual role which at times can be paradoxical. Priests, nuns, and other clergy members are perceived

"...as agents of social control who explicitly stunt the political socialization of indigenous leaders." On the other hand, "these individuals are seen as well meaning Christian liberators of the poor."⁴⁰ In this situation, most of them that believe in social change are subtle in their activity and careful not to complicate their delicate position. They can be a powerful source to the barrio since the Catholic Church carries considerable influence interethnically. Other types of leaders can also use the support of religious leaders, especially if leaders have common problems and concerns.

The political intermediaries are often selected by the host society. The process is one of simple recruitment.

An interested Anglo, whatever his political ideology, enters a Mexican American community and become tacitly involved. He observes potential intermediaries and makes his choice.⁴¹

There is a unique interrelationship between the dominant and minority leaders. For example, it is the minority leaders who contact their followers to obtain support, let us say in an election campaign for the Anglo leader. The Mexican-American leader tries to persuade his followers that X leader is the best person in the lot, that he has shown the most concern for the Mexican-American, and that he will deliver if he is elected. On the other hand, the dominant leaders offer some token of appreciation (job, favor, etc.) for the efforts involved. This is a traditional pattern of political behavior in South Texas politics.⁴² It appears that in recent years, however, Mexican-American internal leadership has made stronger demands for their attempts to make political deliveries; the dominant leaders have made some accommodations.

The professional group (teachers, social workers, policemen and civil servants) are rapidly acquiring a status of intermediaries. Teachers are potentially the most important because of their size and their position, "...to interpret American society to young Mexican-Americans and, conversely, to interpret the needs and problems of students to those who made educational policy in the Anglo world."⁴³

Other professional groups are also increasing in numbers and importance. Their success may be accounted by their ability to move and operate among their professional peers, and they also gain the trust and confidence of the Mexican-American people. But like other professional intermediaries, police officers and social workers have a major dilemma. Professional persons

...may win approval of their intermediary role in the Mexican-American community, but at the risk of losing their standing with Anglo colleagues. Conversely, they may gain status with the Anglos in their profession at the risk of losing their following among the Mexican-American group.⁴⁴

Another dilemma for the professional is the expectancy level (output) as "demanded" by the Mexican-American community. The high demand from professionals derives from the value of formal schooling. According to Samora,

(A)mong the Spanish-speaking people as a whole, much value is placed upon obtaining a formal education. The solution to the problems of the group is generally considered to lie in the education of the members in the group. The Spanish people...also consider education as a panacea for their ills.

The leader is expected to encourage education for the Spanish youth. It is believed that with education, one advances occupationally and economically. Certainly higher educational achievement gives one higher social status. It is through

education that one learns Anglo ways and is therefore better able to compete with the Anglo. The leaders stress the importance of education whenever opportunities present themselves, and they urge the people to send their children to school or to keep their children in school.⁴⁵

The "educational syndrome" is further compounded by the subordinate position in the larger society, a problem not necessarily understood by many Mexican-Americans. According to one Mexican-American educator, "the Chicano people expect us to be Saviors; they expect us to deliver much beyond what is humanly possible; they do not realize that we are in a delicate position without much resources." Another educator had similar concern when he stated that "we are caught between our expectations and our ability to deliver. In order to be more successful in our jobs, we need more freedom to operate and this is difficult in our present situation."

Nonetheless, as the number of professionals continues to grow in the community and the problem of majority validation decreases, the Mexican-American leaders will have the opportunity to exercise stronger leadership.

At the base of the leadership structure in the Mexican-American communities are the reputable leaders. They are "...individuals who have the respect and trust of people on the neighborhood level."⁴⁶ These are people who find themselves involved in a multiplicity of leadership roles, such as, personal guidance and community projects. "They are...the most natural of all ethnic leaders."⁴⁷ Although they are very much part of the community,

they do not necessarily hold formal positions, nor do they appoint or elect persons. Moreover, many of them draw no salaries and are not called or identified as leaders.

A considerable number of these reputable leaders are women. Although women are not necessarily members of formal clubs, many have the reputation for doing outstanding community service. According to Guzman, there are plausible explanations why a great number of women are involved:

...women live in their neighborhoods more than men. They stay at home and often assume many of the responsibilities of the head of the household. Many are...the chief administrative officers in their homes. Another is the fact that the role of women versus men has changed in the urban setting. Where men are subjected to social stresses that undermine their social confidence, including notions of "who we are," women remain at home where they have less exposure to these debilitating forces and seem prone to speak more freely.⁴⁸

Other reputable leaders include informal social workers, such as small businessmen, priests, and the notary public.⁴⁹ Once again, their role in the community may be demonstrated in a multiplicity of ways and, more important, the reputable leaders may be in several categories. "A reputable leader cuts across well defined functional categories and can thus be highly effective over large areas of social action."⁵⁰

The second part of Grebler's typology of Mexican-American leadership are the external leaders--Anglos and Mexican-Americans. The external leadership as provided by Anglos can be classified as "overt" or "subtle." The overt leaders "...take direct control of campaigns, programs, and other activities without qualification

or equivocation--almost as if they were Mexican-Americans themselves."⁵¹ In contrast, the subtle leaders are persons who work behind-the-scenes and categorize themselves as "friends of the Mexican people." According to Grebler, the subtle leaders "...emphasize the need for indigenous spokesmen and recruit and train ethnic leaders."⁵²

The external leaders of Mexican descent are often classified as economic achievers. Guzman discusses three distinctive categories: "(1) those who return as government employees to provide services; (2) those who return seeking ethnic validations; and (3) those who return to live in the barrios."⁵³ The genuine concern for the barrio among this type of leadership ranges from those who return to the barrio as a step to greater glory or to those who try to remedy socioeconomic conditions and bring a newer perspective to the community.

Community Leadership

The Mexican-American leadership of Beeville possesses similarities to the dilemmas and patterns of leadership discussed above, since it is basically operating as intermediary between the Mexican-American people and the larger society. In formal and informal conversations with the leadership, many of the dilemmas as characterized by Samora, Burma, Woods, Guzman, and others are commonly mentioned and discussed. The problems of legitimacy, internal fragmentation, parochialism, and different cultural values are all factors of the impotence that frustrates leaders in the community. The post-take-over period, characterized

in Chapter IV, has brought modified political alignment of these dilemmas with open conflict among its leaders.

The comprehensiveness of Guzman and Grebler's typology of leadership,⁵⁴ adequately fits the leadership roles of members of the elite. However, due to the socioeconomic structure of the community, two major categories of internal leaders seem to predominate in the community. These are the economic and professional groups. It should be noted that in terms of political activities, there is a strong interrelationship of categories played by the same leader. For example, it is common to find a Mexican-American merchant (economic leader) whose economic base rests in the barrio to be head of an ethnic club or society.⁵⁵ Nor is it difficult to associate a school teacher involved in what is characterized in the typology as party committeemen.

In this type of categorical interrelationship, the economic achievers and the members of professional groups are the main source of recruitment for community leaders. In Beeville, it is the economically affluent group that is found as members of the school board, the city council, and various social clubs and organizations. Moreover, it is the professional group who also supplies members to leadership positions, such as social action programs and related activities.

Let us turn to a brief analysis of some of the social characteristics of this group, as well as, attitudinal characteristics, and political activism in voluntary organizations,

local policy-making, and inter-ethnic relations in the community.⁵⁶ Moreover, a comparative analysis of Mexican-American and Anglo elite attitudes toward local governmental services and intergovernmental cooperation will be made in light of a recent study.⁵⁷

Social Characteristics

Table 5-1 illustrates some of the social characteristics of Mexican-American elites.⁵⁸ Like the rest of the Mexican-American community, the overwhelming majority of the elite members are relatively young (84 percent between ages of 18 and 49). Not a single leader was over 60 years of age. Moreover, in comparison to other Mexican-Americans in the community, they were well educated and had a high annual income. Over 58 percent of the elite respondents claimed to earn over \$9,000 a year, with 13 percent of this group earning an income of over \$15,000. The income factor parallels their formal schooling with 52 percent reporting some or completed college. The overwhelming majority of the elite members (76 percent) were male. Therefore, it is clear that elite members have a middle-class status with the predominance of males over females.

The pattern of residence is simple to summarize: a strong majority of the respondents have been residents of the community of Beeville for over twenty years, with none of the leaders indicating less than five years residency. The pattern regarding length of residency seems to be closely associated with place of birth--97 percent were born in Texas. Only 3 percent (one person) claimed Mexico as place of birth. We may conclude that the vast

majority of elite members have lived in Beeville most of their lives and that they were born in South Texas. Moreover, we may conclude that this group, due to their status and permanency, are major participants in local organizations and decision-making.⁵⁹

TABLE 5-1
SOME SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN
ELITES, BEEVILLE 1973

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Percent</u>
18-29 years old	13%
30-39 years old	39%
40-49 years old	32%
50-59 years old	16%
Over 60 years old	0

<u>Family Income</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Under \$6,000	10%
\$6,000 to \$9,000	29%
\$9,000 to \$12,000	29%
\$12,000 to \$15,000	16%
Over \$15,000	13%

<u>Education</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Up to eighth grade	10%
Nine to twelve	16%
High school graduate	23%
Some college	36%
College graduate	16%

<u>Sex</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Male	74%
Female	26%

...continues

Table 5-1
continued

<u>Length of Residence in Beeville</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1 to 5 years	0
6 to 10 years	7%
11 to 20 years	7%
Over 20 years	86%

<u>Place of Birth</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Texas	97%
U.S. - Other	0
Mexico	39%
Other	0

*Percentage Rounded.

Community Leadership and Voluntary Organizations

In our brief discussion of organizational awareness by Mexican-Americans (Chapter IV), it was indicated that voluntary organizations have gradually changed their goals and purposes from strictly mutual-type organizations to a more recent orientation to political and social activities. Voluntary organizations have also contributed to the democratic process of the community. According to D'Antonio and Form, ethnic organizations "...have articulated lower-income groups to the political process and educated them into the ways of democracy."⁶⁰ Concurring with Robert Dahl, D'Antonio and Form conclude that,

(T)hese voluntary associations may be as important as any other factor in assuring...that existing inequalities are no longer cumulative. That is, the possession of great wealth or prestige does not automatically guarantee political power or vice-versa.⁶¹

There appears to be common agreement among social scientists that the nature and purpose of ethnic organizations have changed in the last three-quarters of the century. Furthermore, the great importance of these organizations to the political process of the local community cannot be denied.⁶² It is the ability to ethnic organizations to unite and become a viable force that remains questionable. Social scientists appear to be divided into two major camps--those who question the ability of Mexican-American organizations to function properly (traditionalists) and those who recently defended them as central to the survival and existence of the Mexican-American community (Chicano social scientists).

In his study of organizations and membership in Los Angeles, Sheldon points out that as compared to other ethnic groups, Mexican-American organizations are small.⁶³ According to Sheldon,

(T)he pattern of Mexican-American organizations demonstrated by the research findings, a pattern of instability and flux, indicates that the acculturative process is incomplete at this time. The multiplicity of organizations demonstrated the awareness of any Mexican-Americans that these are necessary if recognition is to be achieved, if their ideas are to be heard by those in power, and if they are to take their place in the decision-making process. The ability to compromise, however, to give a little here and a little there to achieve a united form has not yet been demonstrated.⁶⁴

Using cultural differences as a source of difficulty for ethnic organizations, Lyle Sanders concludes that a fairly long step "toward culture change will have to take place before formal

organizations can be used to help the Mexican-American group improve its status."⁶⁵ In her study of Mexican Americans of Toledo, Macklin concluded,

(I)t would appear...that toledano participation in voluntary associations is neither much greater nor much less than that for other working-class Americans. The toledano will not learn from the parallel institutions of his Anglo neighbors or fellow-workers to participate effectively in such associations. Again, one might predict on the basis of the empirical data from Toledo, that it will be some time before Mexican-Americans are able to use voluntary associations to bridge the gap between their culture and that of the 'core culture' American.⁶⁶

While D'Antonio and Form argue that the reason for the relatively few Mexican-American voluntary organization is due "...as a consequence of the groups' low socioeconomic level and its low levels of internal social integration,"⁶⁷ Banfield, in his study of El Paso, challenges the socioeconomic status interpretation. He contends that middle-class Mexican-Americans refused to be involved with political groups because "...politics is not a natural way of rising in the world."⁶⁸

Recent studies on the literature of Chicanos and Chicano organizations provide an entirely different perspective. This group of social scientists challenges the major assumption set forth by traditional social scientists--that due to their culture and its values, Mexican-Americans "...are the ultimate or final cause of their low socioeconomic status...."⁶⁹ To Alvarez, the heavy reliance on culture has placed the Chicano in a "historical limbo out of which it must first emerge...in order to engage in the currents of the American 'mainstream'."⁷⁰ Because of the

Chicano's heavy reliance on culture, major studies have concluded that there are "...no significant formal organizations among Mexican-Americans that can deal with social conditions, or when formal organizations have appeared, they tend to be rapidly broken down from within."⁷¹ This inability to organize "is often said to result from family patterns which do not allow formal ties beyond the extended family."⁷²

Alvarez asserts that "the most cursory glance at history reveals otherwise...."⁷³ To justify his position, the author provides a partial list of organizations which is "...representative of a significant history of organizing efforts by Mexican-Americans in the Southwest."⁷⁴ Besides the long history of organizations and organizational efforts, formal organizations have performed two major functions: "first, they are organized to achieve certain projected goals. Second, they provide a vehicle for the expression of the broader boundaries of the communities in which they exist."⁷⁵ The performance of these functions "...have been central for the ongoing survival and existence of their communities."⁷⁶

Another Chicano writer challenges the traditional notion that Mexican-American organizations lack political interests. In "Mexican-American Political Organizations: The Key to Chicano Political Power," Tirado explains that,

(M)any Mexican-American community organizations, although not manifesting the traditional attributes of a politically-oriented body, have served a vital function in advancing the political interests of the Mexican-American minority. The Mexican-American

minority...has expressed this concern for politics and desire for social action in a very different way than other segments of American society.⁷⁷

Attitudes Toward Leadership and Decision-Making

In a recent survey of political activism of Mexican-American voluntary organizations in El Paso, Lamare and Rodriguez found that members of different voluntary groups are currently active in local decision-making, with almost half of the respondents reporting that they have attempted "to influence a local decision."⁷⁸

It appears that due to the multiplicity of dimensions of ethnic organizations, stress and emphasis on certain characteristics and functions of these organizations leave us in a theoretical limbo.

To further our inquiry into organizational efforts and activities, we asked elite respondents a series of items pertaining to membership, strength and political activism of voluntary organizations. Data analysis of this survey and a similar survey on voluntary organizations from El Paso⁷⁹ will hopefully give us a step in the construction of a theory on local political activism of these organizations.

Elite membership in local organization is high with 77 percent of the respondents claiming to be members of some type of organization. It is interesting to note that all female elite members belong to a voluntary organization. However, when questioned about the strength of Mexican-American organizations in Beeville,

only 47 percent indicated that local organizations were "strong". Once again, there is a significant attitude between women and men. While 75 percent of the women indicated that local organizations were strong, only 36 percent of the men gave a similar response. The optimism of women toward membership and strength of voluntary organizations appears to be the relative new experience in organizational efforts, as well as, their success in the internal organization of these clubs. The internal affairs of men organization seem to be more politically divided and therefore less effective. These are possible factors for attitudinal differences. Moreover, there is difference in attitude between the young with higher income and educational attainment and elites who are older, less educated and with lower income as to the need for stronger organizations. The younger, more educated and higher income members expressed a stronger desire for stronger organizations than members who are older, less educated and lower income. (see Appendix A, Table 5-B).

There was a common consensus among respondents (male and female) as to the need for stronger Mexican-American organizations in the community. The usual response was on the need for Mexican-Americans to unify in order to be recognized by the larger segment of the community. This parallels the general concern that organizations need to be more effective in handling many of the political and social issues of the community.

In light of much political involvement by some elite members in the community in recent years, we asked respondents on the need for these voluntary organizations to participate more in

the political process of the community. The overwhelming majority (71 percent) agreed that these organizations should get more involved in politics. Once again, younger leaders expressed a stronger desire for political involvement than older leaders (see Appendix A, Table 5-C). However on this item lower income members favored more intensified political activity than those with higher income. In a similar manner, men indicated a stronger urge for political activity for these organizations than women.

Related to the item of political participation, respondents were asked their opinion about the attempt of these organizations to influence a local decision-making body, such as the city-council or the commissioner's court. Again, an overwhelming majority clearly indicated that ethnic organizations have tried to influence different local decision-making bodies. Younger elite members whose income and level of education were higher expressed more confidence that organizations have attempted to influence local bodies than older elite members whose income and level of education were lower (see Appendix A, Table 5-D).

Respondents were also asked about their attempt, as individuals, to influence a local decision (see Table 5-2). Similar results were found on this item. More than 74 percent indicated that at one time they have attempted to influence a local decision. Compared to the Lamare and Rodriguez study of voluntary organizations in El Paso on the same question, Beevillians were more involved in influencing a local decision than members

of the El Paso organization (Table 5-2). There are two possible explanations for the difference between the two groups. First, the size of the communities are vastly different. It is a probable chance that accessibility to local decision-making bodies is greater in Beeville than El Paso. Second, our sample involved Mexican-American "influentials" of the community. All respondents in the El Paso study were strictly members of voluntary organizations. There is, however, a major characteristic that the two major groups have in common--both have similar socioeconomic status in the community.

TABLE 5-2
RESPONDENTS ATTITUDE IN ATTEMPTING TO INFLUENCE LOCAL
DECISIONS, BEEVILLE ELITE, 1973, AND
EL PASO ASSOCIATION MEMBERS, 1971

Percent Saying "Yes"*

<u>Question</u>	<u>Beeville</u>	<u>El Paso</u>
Have attempted to influence local decisions	74%	49%
If had opportunity, would influence local decisions	90%	89%
Total Number	31	218

*Percentage Rounded

Source: James W. Lamare and Roy Rodriguez, "Mexican-American Inputs Into Local Policy-Making in El Paso, Texas," a paper prepared for the Southwestern Social Science Association, A Convention held in San Antonio, Texas, March 29-April 1, 1972.

The difference in attitude among respondents on items one and two ("attempted to influence a local decision" and "if

had the opportunity, would try to influence a local decision") is considerable (see Table 5-2). The overwhelming majority of elite members (90 percent) expressed the desire to participate in the local decision-making process. A similar degree of response was given by members of voluntary organizations from El Paso. Apparently, the percentage difference between the two items indicates, from the respondents point of view, the lack of opportunity to participate in the decision-making process of their respective communities.

In our survey, age is the only independent variable where a difference in attitude is discernible. Younger elite members expressed stronger desire, if given the opportunity, to influence local decisions than older elite members of the community. Political variance between the young and old on this item may possibly be a natural phenomenon since young leaders have not had a lengthy period of political participation in the political process (see Appendix A, Table 5-E).

Respondents were also asked about their success if they attempted to influence a local decision (see Table 5-3). The majority of the elite members (60 percent) saw evidence of success in penetrating the local system of government. Similar results are found in the members of the El Paso study. However, it should be noted that 17 percent of our survey respondents "did not know" about their possible success in influencing a local decision. This is one of those rare occasions in the entire item schedule where elites were uncertain about their response.

TABLE 5-3
RESPONDENTS ATTITUDE TOWARD SUCCESS IN ATTEMPTING
TO CHANGE LOCAL DECISIONS,
BEEVILLE ELITE, 1973, AND EL PASO ASSOCIATION MEMBERS, 1971

Percent Claiming Success*

<u>Item</u> ^a	<u>Beeville</u>	<u>El Paso</u>
Successful	60%	58%
Unsuccessful	20%	36%
Other	20%	2%
Total Number	31	218

*Percentage Rounded.

^a "If for just cause you would attempt to change local decisions, how successful would you think you would be?"

Source: Lamare and Rodriguez, see Table 5-2.

Like the preceding item, age is a factor in attitudinal difference. Older members of the Mexican-American elites were more confident about their success in influencing local decisions than younger Mexican-Americans. There seems to be one major possible explanation for this difference. Young members appear to be more politically restless than older members; there is a stronger characteristic of frustration and anxiety for socio-political change among the young leaders not necessarily expressed among the older members; young members appear to be more sensitive and politicized than the older members of leaders; and it seems that younger leaders are more aware of the inefficiencies of the local political system.

To learn more about Mexican-American perception of "who runs the community," respondents were asked about the pluralist or the

the elitist nature of decision-making in the community. The overwhelming majority of the respondents (73 percent) agreed that a "small group" predominates in local affairs and make most of the important decisions. There is a percentage difference of 15 percent between male and female respondents, with males agreeing stronger on the elitist nature of decision-making in the community. It is also interesting to note that Mexican-American elite members with higher income viewed the community decision-making process as decided by a few in contrast to members whose income was lower. (See Appendix A, Table 5-F).

In trying to justify their opinions on why the community is run by a few, most respondents were of the opinion that Anglo leaders intended it that way. According to one Mexican-American leader, "...a 'clique' exists and has the contacts, time, and resources to participate in community affairs...therefore, they pretty well control the situation." Another claimed that "there is a small group of gringos in and around city hall that are doing just that." Other reasons for agreeing that a small group runs local affairs were "fear", "lack of trust", "pressure applied", and "lack of interest."

One respondent agreed that local affairs were run by a few, but she felt that that is the way it should be. According to her,

(A)s long as these persons know what the situation is all about, after discussing the pros and cons, and coming to the right decision, frankly, a small group can serve the purpose to satisfy the needs of this community. The excess of persons in a group does not necessarily mean that they have made a good decision or better decision. Therefore, a small group could do the job.

On the other hand, leaders who disagreed that local governments are run by a few argue that "...the majority of the people make the decisions." Moreover, some felt that the people "did not care" or "were not concerned" about the affairs of the community.

Respondents were also asked about the qualifications and characteristics that a person must possess in order to become a community leader. The responses varied. In the main, however, respondents stressed "the need to be politically active." Good education, honesty, and the desire to help the community were qualifying factors high on the list of important qualifications. Respondents appear to make the assumption that a leader is normally from the middle-class, but that should not prevent him from being "concerned and interested about the poor people of the community." The image of a qualified leader, as seen by the elite members, seems to be no different than that of the rest of the community.

There appears to be a direct relation between attitudes of who runs the community affairs and satisfaction on participation and representation of Mexican-Americans. Elite members were asked to demonstrate their satisfaction in the actual participation and representation in local governmental agencies. Table 5-4 clearly indicates general dissatisfaction by Mexican-American elites of the current participation and representation of the Mexican-American community. The majority of the respondents (64 percent) expressed dissatisfaction with the local situation. It should be stressed

that 35 percent were very unsatisfied with the adequacy of participation and representation of this ethnic group. Also important is the degree of dissatisfaction when we considered income and age of our respondents. Younger Mexican-American elites with a higher income demonstrated more dissatisfaction with the level of participation and representation than older Mexican-Americans whose income is considerably lower. However, when education is considered as an independent variable, it gives reverse results. Mexican-American leaders whose level of education was higher expressed more satisfaction with Mexican-American representation and participation than leaders whose educational attainment was lower. (See Appendix A, Table 5-G).

TABLE 5-4
RESPONDENTS SATISFACTION ON COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION
AND REPRESENTATION OF MEXICAN AMERICANS,
BEEVILLE ELITE, 1973

<u>Percent* Saying:</u>	<u>Beeville Elite</u>
Very Satisfactory	3%
Somewhat Satisfactory	32%
Unsatisfactory	29%
Very Unsatisfactory	35%
Total Number	31

*Percentage Rounded.

To further our inquiry into ethnic attitudes in regard to satisfaction of local governmental agencies as well as attitudes toward the provision of governmental services, a recent survey

conducted in Bee County and the city of Beeville under the auspices of the Coastal Bend Council of Governments, will be considered.⁸⁰ Recognizing that a minority group tends to view problems differently from the majority group, a comparative analysis will be made on attitudes by these two groups on various general issues of the community. As noted earlier, 70 respondents completed the sample for this study. Twenty-three percent (23%) of the respondents were of "Spanish heritage" and the remaining 77 percent were "Anglos."⁸¹ Moreover, of the 70 leaders interviewed, fifty-five (79 percent) indicated residence in the Beeville urban area.⁸²

Functions and Services of Local Governments:
A Comparative Analysis

On general issues of the community, the respondents were asked "(H)ow good a job are city and county governments doing in serving the community?" Table 5-5 illustrates the ethnic responses by city and county leaders. Both levels of local governments have room for improvement of their respective images. However, Mexican-American leaders did not rate city and county performances as high as Anglos, with almost one-third of the minority leaders claiming the service to be "poor or very poor."

As to the "why" for these ratings, the majority of both ethnic groups gave "...a mixture of negative and positive reasons which recognized generally adequate services accompanied by problems."⁸³ Those giving poor ratings cited a number of shortcomings without any consensus on a particular item.

TABLE 5-5
RESPONDENTS ATTITUDE TOWARD PERFORMANCE OF
BEEVILLE AND BEE COUNTY GOVERNMENTS, 1973

Percent*				
<u>City of Beeville</u>	<u>Excellent/ Very Good</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Poor or Very Poor</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
Anglo	33%	54%	6%	7%
Mexican-American	13%	50%	31%	6%
<u>Bee County</u>				
Anglo	22%	62%	15%	2%
Mexican-American	19%	31%	44%	6%
Total Number - 70				

*Percentage Rounded.

Source: R. Michael Berrier, (Survey Coordinator), "City and County Government Functions: Assessment by the Community Leadership," Coastal Bend Council of Government, 1973, p. 7.

TABLE 5-6
RESPONDENTS RATINGS OF PUBLIC SERVICES SUPPLIED BY
BEEVILLE AND BEE COUNTY GOVERNMENTS, 1973

Percent*						
<u>City of Beeville</u>	<u>Bad</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
Anglo	0	0	26%	56%	11%	7%
Mexican-American	0	25%	38%	25%	13%	0
<u>Bee County</u>						
Anglo	4%	7%	28%	44%	15%	2%
Mexican-American	0	25%	25%	25%	6%	19%
Total Number -						

*Percentage Rounded.

Even though Mexican-Americans rated the services lower than Anglos when asked about the improvement of quality of services, over half of the city respondents (Anglos and Mexican-Americans) said services have improved over the past five years.

Respondents were asked to rate the public services supplies by the city and county governments (Table 5-6). Once again, both city and county services received lower ratings from the Mexican-American respondents.

Another dimension to community services and functions is the perception of its leaders on the major public issues faced by the people of Beeville and Bee County. The ranking presented in Table 5-7 appeared to have considerable face validity since respondents would naturally rate those issues as they perceived them to be important in the community.⁸⁴ Racial problems lead the list for both city and county. The saliency of the racial issue can be easily understood. The community of Beeville went through a period of political turmoil in the late 1960's and early 1970's (see Chapter IV). The political turmoil centered on the political struggle of two ethnic groups on a multiplicity of issues. The struggle for political control of city hall seemed to have made a tremendous impression upon city leaders. Moreover, the threat of possible local control by Mexican-Americans appeared real to many leaders of the community. It is worth noting that a smaller proportion of Mexican-American respondents perceive "Race" as a major issue. It is also interesting to note that in most questions on governmental services, Mexican-Americans were most critical of these services. These observations prompted Berrier to tentatively

conclude that "...protestations over inadequate services by one community are viewed as racial problems by the other."⁸⁵

TABLE 5-7
MAJOR PUBLIC ISSUES AS PERCEIVED BY COMMUNITY LEADERS
BEEVILLE AND BEE COUNTY, 1973

<u>City of Beeville</u>	Ethnic Group	
	<u>Anglo</u>	<u>Mex.Amer.</u>
Major Issues:		
Race	43%	25%
Politics	9%	19%
Capital Improvements	4%	19%
Taxes	2%	13%
Other	11%	19%
No Answer	41%	6%
 <u>Bee County</u>		
Race	28%	---*
Health	13%	--
Roads & Drainage	6%	--
Other	20%	--
No Answer	33%	--

*No data available.

Bee Countians (Anglo and Mexican-American) were less concerned about "Race" as a major issue. Once again, the intensity of the political struggle and the threat for county control by Mexican-Americans appear to have no importance at the time. It seems that the priority of the racial issue by Bee County respondents was merely a fallout of what actually was occurring at city level.

In a survey of Mexican-American elites, respondents were presented with a list of ten potentially important issue areas and were asked to rank these issues according to their importance in the community. Although there is no overwhelming agreement on one particular issue, the rank order appears as follows:

<u>In Order of Importance</u>	<u>Issues</u>
First	Industrial development
Second	Relations with Anglos
Third	Poverty programs
Fourth	Educational programs and facilities
Fifth	Hospital and medical facilities
Sixth	Urban renewal
Seventh	Tax problems
Eighth	Unpaved streets
Ninth	Combating crime and delinquency
Tenth	Park development

Like Bonjean's study of six Southwestern communities, the ranking of issues in order of importance have considerable validity.⁸⁶ Industrial development ranks highest on the list of issue areas because of the agricultural nature of the community and the belief that industry will bring more and better jobs. Relations with Anglos ranks high because of the many past difficulties between the two ethnic groups as well as the more or less equal proportion of people in each group. Once again, due to the low income status of the Mexican-American, poverty is a real problem for most of the leaders. Moreover, the long list of welfare cases among the Mexican-Americans stimulates leaders to be concerned about the actual problems. Hospital and medical facilities also rank high among leaders due to the inadequacy of health facilities in the west side of the city.⁸⁷

On the other hand, the low ranking of crime and delinquency as well as park development probably reflects the size of the community and the availability of parks. Due to the saliency of different issues in each community, a comparative analysis of these issues present different problems.⁸⁸

In Berrier's study, planning is another item of importance since it "...is a necessary tool in maintaining adequacy of present services and in projecting for adequacy in the future."⁸⁹ Table 5-8 presents the responses of the two major ethnic groups in city and county planning.

TABLE 5-8
RESPONDENTS ATTITUDES TOWARD EXPANSION OF PLANNING
ACTIVITIES, BEEVILLE AND BEE COUNTY, 1973

<u>City of Beeville</u>	<u>Ethnic Groups</u>	
	<u>Anglo</u>	<u>Mex.Amer.</u>
Yes	46%	81%
No	33%	13%
No Answer	20%	6%
 <u>Bee County</u>		
Yes	74%	81%
No	18%	13%
No Answer	7%	6%

Source: Berrier, op. cit., p. 10.

The majority of the respondents (54 percent) favored expanded planning activities. However, consistent with much of

of our data on attitudinal change, a larger proportion of the Mexican-American leaders (81 percent) favored more planning as illustrated in Table 5-8.⁹⁰

When respondents were asked to describe the relationship between city and county governments in "favorable" or unfavorable terms, a similar pattern of difference is found between the two ethnic groups. The data indicate that "the present city-county relationship is far more likely to be expressed in favorable terms by Anglos than by the Spanish heritage community; and that a lesser difference of views was found between rural and city respondents."⁹¹

One of the items requested a listing of services not provided by both the city and county which could be jointly provided. The list of services mentioned were taxing operations--41 percent of respondents; law enforcement--30 percent; roads and drainage--17 percent; solid waste disposal--10 percent; recreation--61 percent; health--4 percent; and computer facilities--3 percent.

Beevillians showed the highest proportion of satisfaction with present services, of desiring increased cooperation, and of favoring consolidation. "Support for cooperation was found in all groups, with the highest rate shown by the Spanish heritage ethnic group."⁹²

Attitudes of leaders on the functions and services of local governments are different when ethnicity is considered. The attitudinal difference is due to dominant-subordinate status

in the community--a factor difficult to perceive. The subordinate status of Mexican-American leaders (intermediaries) is a contributing factor for much of the dissatisfaction of local governmental services. Dissatisfaction is not necessarily found because of the inefficiency of the various agencies to perform adequately. It is caused by their inability to be a major component of these agencies; it is caused by their perception of being "outsiders" of these institutions and agencies; and it is caused by their resentment of ethnic imbalance in the representational structure of these bodies. These inadequacies as perceived by the minority leadership create an urge for socio-political change, especially of local institutions which are not only near to them but which are dominated by the Anglo community. The strong sentiments for socioeconomic and political change by the Mexican-American leaders and followers appear to derive, in the main, from anguish, frustration, powerlessness and the inability to control the environment. In this respect, the attitude toward change by the minority leadership does not offer a determined direction, nor does it offer an alternative. Instead, the efforts are concentrated on ideals of equality, superiority, and balance.

Summary and Conclusions

Leadership in the Mexican-American community of Beeville appears to have similar characteristics to leadership in the Southwest. Socioeconomically, leaders possess a middle to upper class status in the community, at least when compared

to the masses of the same ethnic group. Moreover, the Mexican-American leadership is young (see Table 5-1). In general, the bulk are considered business-oriented with the professions taking a strong hand.

There are several dilemmas in the Mexican-American leadership mainly derived from the intermediary positions that these leaders occupy in the community. These dilemmas are: the risk of taking firm positions on issues which alienate leaders from the group they represent at the expense of the larger society, or vice-versa; the subordinate position of ethnic leaders intensify internal political fragmentation, envy, and lack of trust; the parochial nature of many of the leaders in facing political problems and strategies; an age factor which has a tendency to divide the ethnic group with some of the young members subscribing to the recent Chicano movement; and differences in cultural values between the two major ethnic groups.

As the result of these dilemmas, there appears to be no clear typology of leadership for Mexican-Americans. Moreover, the complexity of leadership begs for a broad categorization of internal and external leaders. The social, economic, and professional categories of leaders (internal leaders) appear to have more importance and influence in the organizational structure and decision-making of the community (see Figure 5-1). This does not deny, however, the participation of other leaders (internal and external), especially in specific occasions when the opportunity and demand has existed. During the Take-Over Period in the city council controversy (see Chapter IV), for

example, an Anglo church leader emerged to reconcile the differences between the two embittered groups.

Mexican-American voluntary organizations, as in other communities of South Texas and the Southwest, have appeared in large numbers. In recent years, their inclination has been toward the political because of the activism of the 1960's and early 1970's. According to our data, the number of elite members claiming membership in different voluntary organizations is high (77 percent) for both men and women. Furthermore, leaders indicate the need of these organizations to participate in the political process of the community. They also claimed that these organizations have attempted to influence decisions which are important to the welfare of the Mexican-American community. However, it is the opinion of the researcher after considerable analysis and participant observations, that voluntary organizations have had limited influence in the decision-making process of the community. The nature of most organizations, limited membership as well as internal problems of leadership, have kept them in a position of impotence to function properly.

The attempt to influence local decisions seems to be more successful on an individualized basis according to different leaders (see Table 5-2), especially if leaders "have the opportunity to influence local decisions." Unlike the attitude expressed by most respondents that the community affairs are run by a few, the majority of the leaders (60 percent) indicated a degree of success if they attempted to influence local

decisions. Age and educational attainment are the two most important independent variables in showing attitudinal differences among elite respondents.

Mexican-American leaders are dissatisfied with the participation and representation of Mexican-Americans in community affairs. Similar dissatisfaction is expressed by local Mexican-American leaders in a different study on the functions and services of local governments. On the other hand, Mexican-Americans have shown a willingness for socio-political change in their desire to expand and improve the activities of the various public agencies of the community.

FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER V

¹See John Burma, Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1954).

²For purposes of this study, no distinction is made among such terms as elites, influentials, or a leader. These are persons who are found in the middle of the spectrum of human interaction. Much of this interaction flows toward them and away from them. See George C. Homans, The Human Group (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1950), p. 418.

³William V. D'Antonio and William H. Form, Influentials in Two Border Cities: A Study in Community Decision-Making (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965), p. 26.

⁴Ibid., p. 157. Also see Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); and William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, Industry, Labor and Community (New York: Harper, 1960).

⁵Some type of "profession" was reported as second on the list of occupations.

⁶D'Antonio and Form, op. cit., p. 81.

⁷Ibid., p. 26.

⁸Ralph C. Guzman, "The Political Socialization of the Mexican-American People," op. cit., p. 282. The idea that minority groups seek for a messiah to answer their social problems is developed by James O. Wilson in Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960).

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1962), p. 724.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Julian Samora, "Minority Leadership in a Bi-Cultural Community," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, 1953), p. 68.

¹³Ibid., pp. 70-71.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 72.

¹⁵See Ralph Guzman, "The Political Socialization of the Mexican-American People," op. cit., p. 282.

¹⁶Julian Samora, "Minority Leadership in a Bi-Cultural Community," op. cit., pp. 76-77.

¹⁷See Samora, Ibid.; Guzman, "The Political Socialization of the Mexican-American People," op. cit.; and Philip J. Allen, "The Leadership Pattern," American Sociological Review, XVII (February, 1952).

¹⁸Guzman, "The Political Socialization of the Mexican-American People," op. cit., p. 282.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 283.

²⁰Grebler, et. al., The Mexican-American People, op. cit., p. 552.

²¹Guzman, "The Political Socialization of the Mexican-American People," op. cit., p. 337.

²²Ibid., p. 338.

²³Grebler, et. al., The Mexican-American People, op. cit., p. 553.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Guzman, "The Political Socialization of the Mexican-American People," op. cit., pp. 349-350.

²⁷For discussion of the Chicano movement and plan of strategy, see Armando B. Rendon, Chicano Manifesto: The History and Aspirations of the Second Largest Minority in America (New York: Macmillan Co., 1971).

²⁸Sister Francis Woods, Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949), p. 26.

²⁹As cited by Woods, Ibid., from Wallace Thomson, The Mexican Mind: A Study of National Psychology (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1922), p. 164.

³⁰Woods, Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas, op. cit., p. 27.

³¹R. A. Schermerhorn, These Our People (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1949), pp. 195-196.

³²Francis Woods, Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas, op. cit., p. 8.

³³John Burma, Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States, op. cit., p. 97. See Ruth Tuck, Not with the Fist, op. cit., p. 138.

³⁴Ralph Guzman, "The Political Socialization of the Mexican-American People," op. cit., p. 283.

³⁵John Burma, Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

³⁶Gunnar Myrdal, op. cit.; Francis Woods, et. al., and Julian Samora, "Minority Leadership in a Bi-Cultural Community," op. cit.

³⁷Guzman, "The Political Socialization of the Mexican-American People," op. cit., p. 290. Most of the description of these leaders derived from his chapter on "Patterns of Leadership," pp. 282-336.

³⁸Grebler, et. al., The Mexican-American People, op. cit., p. 548.

³⁹Guzman, "The Political Socialization of the Mexican-American People," op. cit. p. 293.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 294.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 315.

⁴²See O. D. Weeks, "The Texas-Mexican and the Politics of South Texas," op. cit., pp. 606-627, for the development of political machines in South Texas.

⁴³Guzman, "The Political Socialization of the Mexican-American People," op. cit., p. 321.

⁴⁴Grebler, et. al., The Mexican-American People, op. cit., pp. 549-550.

⁴⁵Julian Samora, "Minority Leadership in a Bi-Cultural Community," op. cit., p. 66.

⁴⁶Ralph Guzman, "The Political Socialization of the Mexican-American People," op. cit., p. 298.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 300.

⁴⁹A notary public could be a person of influence since it stems partly from the fact that a naturio in Mexico is an attorney.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 301.

⁵¹Leo Grebler, The Mexican-American People, op. cit., p. 550.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ralph Guzman, "The Political Socialization of Mexican-American People," op. cit., p. 329.

⁵⁴Leo Grebler and Ralph Guzman are co-authors of The Mexican-American People, op. cit. Chapters VII and VIII of Guzman's Doctoral Dissertation parallels Chapter XXII of the above source.

⁵⁵It appears that D'Antonio and Form's findings of business dominance of decision-making applies to this community. See Influentials in Two Border Cities: A Study in Community Decision-Making, op.cit., p. 26.

⁵⁶Part of the data collected for this survey will be compared to the studies of James Lamare and Roy Rodriguez, "Mexican-American Inputs into Local Policy-Making in El Paso, Texas," op. cit., and William D'Antonio and William Form, Influentials in Two Border Communities, op. cit.

⁵⁷R. Michael Berrier, "City and County Government Functions: Assessment by the Community Leadership," an unpublished Survey Report for Bee County and the City of Beeville (October, 1973).

⁵⁸Data for income and education of elite members was provided earlier in this work for comparative analysis. For the sake of convenience, however, it reappears in Table 5-1.

⁵⁹See Paul M. Sheldon, "Community Participation and the Emerging Middle Class," in Julian Samora (ed.), La Raza: Forgotten Americans (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), pp. 125-157.

⁶⁰William D'Antonio and William Form, op. cit., p. 5.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²See Miguel David Tirado, "Mexican-American Community Political Organization: The Key to Chicano Political Power," op. cit., pp. 53-78.

⁶³Paul M. Sheldon, op. cit., p. 143. In Health in the Mexican American Culture (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, 1970), Margaret Clark claims that she has seen many of them organized "...only to die from lack of community support, divided leadership, or simply flagging interest among their members." p. 28.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 145.

⁶⁵Lyle Sanders, Cultural Differences and Medical Care (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), p. 138.

⁶⁶Barbara J. Macklin, "Structural Stability and Culture Change in a Mexican American Community," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1963), p. 260.

⁶⁷William D'Antonio and William Form, op. cit., p. 30.

⁶⁸Edward Banfield, Big City Politics (New York: Random House, 1965), pp. 77-78.

⁶⁹Salvador Alvarez, "Mexican-American Community Organizations," in Octavio I. Romano-V., (ed.), Voices: Readings From El Grito (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, 1971), p. 91. See Octavio I. Romano-V's article, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican Americans: The Distortion of Mexican American History," pp. 26-39 of the same publication. See also Miguel David Tirado, "Mexican-American Community Political Organization: The Key to Chicano Political Power," op. cit., pp. 53-78.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 91.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 92.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid., p. 95.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 96. Alvarez cites C. C. Young, Mexicans in California, Report of Mexican Fact-Finding Committee (San Francisco, 1930) and Ernesto Galarza's Spiders in the House and Workers in the Field (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), as major sources that reveal considerable organizing efforts.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 98. The emphasis is done by the author.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Miguel David Tirado, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

⁷⁸James W. Lamare and Roy Rodriguez, op. cit., p. 9.

⁷⁹Most of the items used for our survey are borrowed from Lamare and Rodriguez's study of El Paso voluntary organizations..

⁸⁰R. Michael Berrier (Survey Coordinator), "City and County Government Functions: Assessment by the Community Leadership," Coastal Bend Council of Governments (October, 1973). The author was a participant surveyor for this project where 70 leaders were personally interviewed on a list of items pertaining into governmental services.

⁸¹By sex grouping the sample is disproportionate to the population since only two women were interviewed.

⁸²All percent fractions are rounded to the nearest number.

⁸³R. Michael Berrier, op. cit., p. 7.

⁸⁴See Charles M. Bonjean and David M. Olson, "Community Leadership: Directions of Research," Administrative Science Quarterly, IX (1964), pp. 278-300 for a discussion on the extent of the saliency of community issues.

⁸⁵Berrier, op. cit., p. 10.

⁸⁶Charles M. Bonjean, "Dimensions of Power Structure: Some Problems in Conceptualization and Measurement," in Fredrick M. Wirt (ed.), Future Directions in Community Power Research: A Colloquium (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, 1971), pp. 32-33.

⁸⁷Health among the Mexican-Americans became a controversial issue in the early 1970's. The controversy centered on two issues--the inadequacy of health facilities for Mexican-Americans and the actual location of facilities (East side). A health facility has been recently added to the community on the East side of town--a location highly criticized by some Mexican-American leaders.

⁸⁸According to Bonjean, the difficulty of selecting issues for comparative analysis found mainly because of the variation of what is considered problems of the community. "If the same few issues are investigated in several communities...then the findings may be at least in part an artifact of the method. Still other problems of comparability emerge if different issues are investigated in each community selected for study. The most promising approach may be to investigate a large number of issues, including those most salient in each community." "Dimensions of Power Structure," op. cit., p. 32.

⁸⁹Berrier, op. cit., p. 10.

⁹⁰It should be noted that the percentage of "No Answers" on the part of the Anglo respondents is relatively high as compared to Mexican-American respondents.

⁹¹Berrier, op. cit., p. 12.

⁹²Ibid., p. 19.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

In our research design we set out to research three comprehensive questions as they pertain to a community study of Mexican-Americans. The questions were: in spite of its minority status, does the nucleus of the Mexican-American community contain the proper elements conducive to socio-political change? What are the major elements of this nucleus that signify degrees of socio-political change? Since we are able to study elites and non-elites separately over a range of issues, to what extent are elites different from non-elites in their adaptation to the social, political and cultural values and attitudes of the dominant society? These questions are interrelated and deal with community change.

The exploratory nature of our data limits much of the finer details of the multiplicity of issues that are involved in a study of sociological and political variables of a given group. Some of the limitations include: the detail data on the social relationship of the Mexican-American nuclear family, kinship, neighborhood relations, political participation and attitudes of masses and elites; and the limited data and comparative analysis between the dominant (Anglo) and subordinate (Mexican-American) groups in the community. Nevertheless, the lengthy questionnaires (mass and elite), pertinent demographic data, and participant observations gave us an adequate view of this changing community. Moreover, a comparative analysis between mass and elite was made in a series

of sociological and political clusters to show similarities and differences between these two groups. Considerable effort was also made to explore attitudinal patterns of political leadership.

What follows are several tentative conclusions from the data. In the main, these reflect testable hypotheses and the degree of association between dependent and independent variables. The list of dependent variables is lengthy; it ranges from the use of Spanish language to political efficacy of the mass respondents. To test for degree of association several independent variables were incorporated. Income and education are two of the most important variables that denote socio-political change. In other instances, independent variables such as residency and occupation are useful to establish tentative conclusions. Income, education, and age are independent variables that signify degrees of association among elite respondents.

The major conclusions are:

Language

Mexican-Americans (elite and mass) with higher income and level of education have a tendency to use the English language more frequently with their children than Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education is lower. (Appendix A, Table 2-A)

Occupations

The number of white collar occupations for Mexican-Americans are considerably lower than Anglos and considerably higher for manual labor and low skill occupations. (Table 2-7)

Role of Women

The higher the income and educational attainment of Mexican-Americans, the less the inclination to believe that the most important role of a married woman is to have children. (Appendix A, Table 3-A)

Role of Men

The higher the income and educational attainment of Mexican-American respondents, the stronger the emphasis for the husband to adopt roles traditionally held by women. The common notion of machismo has changed. (Appendix A, Table 3-A)

Sex Specialization

The higher the level of education and family income, the stronger the tendency for the husband and the wife to emphasize dual roles traditionally considered either male or female. (Appendix A, Table 3-B)

Birth Control

Mexican-Americans with higher income and educational attainment possess a more favorable attitude toward family planning than Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education is lower. (Appendix A, Table 3-C)

Help to Kin

Mexican-Americans with higher incomes, occupational skills, and levels of education are less dependent on kin as a source of help during times of illness than those with lower levels of income, occupation, and education. (Appendix A, Table 3-F)

Integration with Relatives

The higher the income, occupation, and level of education, the stronger the independence from parents. Elites expressed more independence from parents than non-elites. (Appendix A, Table 3-F)

Dependence on Relatives

The higher the income and level of education, the lesser the dependence on help. (Appendix A, Table 3-F)

Nepotism

Mexican-Americans whose level of education is high have a stronger tendency to reject nepotism than those with a lower level of education. (Appendix A, Table 3-F)

Visiting Neighbors

The higher the income and level of education, the lesser the tendency to visit or be visited by neighbors. Women visit more than men. (Appendix A, Table 3-G)

Mexico

The higher the income and level of education, the stronger the sentiments against allowing Mexicans to come to the United States to work. (Appendix A, Table 3-H)

Mexican Way of Life

The higher the income and educational attainment, the stronger the emphasis that it is more difficult to get ahead in Mexico than the United States. (Appendix A, Table 3-H)

Self-Stereotypes

The higher the income of Mexican-Americans, the lesser the emphasis that their ethnic group have stronger family ties than Anglos. (Appendix A, Table 3-I)

Social Distance

Mexican-Americans whose income and educational attainment are higher find less distaste to associate with Anglos and Negroes than Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education are lower.

The longer the period of residency, the stronger the tolerance in intermixing with Negroes.

A higher level of educational attainment reduces social distance with Negroes. (Appendix A, Tables 3-J and 3-K)

Planning

The higher the income of Mexican-Americans, the stronger the emphasis on planning. Males are more concerned about planning than females.

Higher income Mexican-Americans have stronger beliefs on political difference of candidates than Mexican-Americans whose income is low. (Appendix A, Table 3-L)

Perception of Community

Mexican-Americans with higher income display a stronger displeasure of the future outlook of their ethnic group as far as being equal to Anglos than Mexican-Americans whose income is lower. (Appendix A, Table 3-L)

Political Participation

Ethnic Candidates. There is a strong tendency for Mexican-Americans to participate politically (vote) when members of their own ethnic group are part of the voting ballot than when no member of their group is participating.

Campaign Activity. The higher the income and level of education, the stronger the tendency to participate in political campaign activities. (Appendix A, Table 4-A)

Voting Duty

Mexican-Americans with greater income and level of educational attainment express a greater sense of voting duty. (Appendix A, Table 4-B)

Political Competence

There is a tendency for Mexican-American women to have more political efficacy than men. (Appendix A, Table 4-C)

Ethnic Organizations

Mexican-Americans with higher income, level of educational attainment and a longer period of residency are more familiar with ethnic organizations than Mexican-Americans whose income and education level is lower and whose period of residency is shorter. (Appendix A, Table 4-D)

Ethnic Leadership

There is a strong association between ethnic leadership and higher income and educational attainment. Ethnic leadership is linked to middle-class status. (Appendix A, Table 5-B)

Voluntary Organizations

Strong Organizations. Younger elite members with higher income and educational attainment express stronger desires for stronger voluntary organizations than older members whose income and educational attainment are lower.

Political Involvement. Younger elite members express stronger desires for political involvement in the community than older elite members. (Appendix A, Table 5-B)

Opportunity in Decision-Making

Younger elite members express stronger desires to influence local decisions if given the opportunity than older elite members. (Appendix A, Table 5-E)

Success in Decision-Making

Older elite members are more confident in their success in influencing local decisions than younger elite members of the community. (Appendix A, Tables 5-C and 5-E)

Control of Local Affairs

The higher the income of elite members, the stronger their views that local affairs are run by a few. (Appendix A, Table 5-F)

The various sociological and political clusters of testable items indicate that Mexican-Americans are in a stage of social transition, especially when variables such as income and education to measure variation of attitudinal differences are considered. Unfortunately, no data exist on these items to measure change over a period of time. Future studies on these and related issues may prove to be beneficial. Nevertheless, there are important signs of social change in the Mexican-American community to justify our commitment. For example, the extensive use of the English language among the younger generation sets them apart from

their parents. Parallel with this phenomenon is the difference in formal education between generations of Mexican-Americans. The increase in formal education at all levels of the educational system has been phenomenal for the Mexican-Americans.

The occupational gap between Mexican-Americans and Anglos is wide and still in existence (see Table 2-7); however, strong demands have been made by Mexican-Americans for occupational equality. More and more Mexican-Americans are occupying positions considered in the past to be strictly for Anglos. A similar situation exists in income; like the occupational dilemma, some strides have been taken to narrow the gap between the haves and have-nots. Job opportunity and income have increased for many Mexican-Americans.

The role of the nuclear family and relatives are also indicative of social change. Like other Americans in recent times, Mexican-Americans are unable to escape the pressures of change in the family structure and composition. The cluster of items (see Table 3-2) on sex-specialization provide an insight into parental roles. The data denote a pattern of dual roles for husband and wife in jobs traditionally considered either male or female. The data also indicate (see Table 3-4) that there is a tendency among respondents to be less dependent on kin as a source of help and the circle of friendship seems to go far beyond the neighborhood.

Political participation and activity also seem to be on the increase especially with the increased candidacy for public office

by Mexican-Americans. Voting duty and political efficacy of Mexican-Americans closely parallel other Americans. The role of Mexican-American women in the political process has also increased. The role played by the leadership in community change is indisputable. Political satisfaction with the status quo and tokenism is not acceptable. The "Take Over" Period as characterized in Chapter II is indicative of major attempts to control the local political institutions.

The second question deals with the various elements of social change. A series of dependent variables have been considered that are appropriate to detect social change. As indicated earlier, several independent variables are introduced to measure degree of association. Income and education are the most relevant variables that denote patterns of behavioral differences among respondents. Generally, the higher the income and educational attainment of Mexican-Americans, the stronger the tendency to accept a middle class view of social matters somewhat paralleling the dominant social structure of the community. This type of social behavior appears throughout our study when we consider clusters of issues that were set to measure elements of socio-political change.

In the nuclear family the role of the female is changing. In general the female is participating more in functions normally considered to be male roles. For example, married women with higher income and level of educational attainment are less inclined to believe that the most important role as wives is to

have children and are more favorable toward family planning (birth control) than those married women whose income and level of education are lower. In a similar manner women stress for husband and wife dual household roles traditionally considered either male or female. Higher income and level of education among male respondents reduce notions of machismo.

There is also less dependency on kin and relatives as a source of help among Mexican-Americans whose income, occupation and level of education are higher than those who have a lower socioeconomic position. The same general attitude prevails with the neighborhood--Mexican-Americans with higher income and educational level indicated less interest in visiting neighbors than those with higher income and level of education.

There is also attitudinal difference in social distance with other ethnic or racial groups: Mexican-Americans whose income and educational attainment are higher find it less distasteful to associate with Anglos and Negroes than Mexican-Americans whose income and level of education are lower. The same independent variables (income and education) and the relationship exist in planning and controlling the environment.

In matters of political participation and campaign activity Mexican-Americans display differences based on income and education. Once again, Mexican-Americans with higher income and level of education were more involved in political participation than those of a lower income and education level. Moreover, political

participation is higher (voting) when members of their own ethnic group are part of the voting ballot. Similar relationships exist with Mexican-American awareness of ethnic organizations.

In short, Mexican-Americans are in transition and are aware of the socioeconomic differences between them and the Anglo community. What is more important, perhaps, is that a growing number are becoming aware of their political and economic potential in the community. This recent awakening has been cultivated by various leaders operating under various agencies such as the local school system, Community Council of Bee County, and health organizations. The ethnic composition and leadership of these organizations have had an increasing number of Mexican-Americans who have served as catalysts for socioeconomic change. Moreover, local Mexican-American business and other professional persons have taken the opportunity to intensify their awareness and activity to bring about change. Active members from these groups were identified and later interviewed as members of the elite group.

To what extent are these leaders different from the masses in their adaptation to the socioeconomic and political values and attitude of the dominant society? The links and direct contacts between Mexican-American leaders and the Anglo community appear to be greater than the contacts between the Mexican-American non-elites and the Anglo community. As indicated earlier, it has been the Mexican-American leaders who have

served as a bridge between the dominant and subordinate groups. By virtue of their socioeconomic and political position in the community, the leaders' attitudes and values correspond closer to those of the dominant structure. A comparative analysis of the data on such issues as integration with relatives, self-stereotypes, ethnicity of associates and control of environmental attitudes on Mexican-American leaders are closer to attitudes of other Americans than attitudes of non-leaders (see Tables 3-6, 3-10, 3-14 and Chart 3-1). Therefore, leaders are serving in a capacity to accelerate the assimilation and the political socialization of the Mexican-American community.

This does not deny, however, that there is cultural affinity among leaders; it does not deny that cultural and political conflicts exist between the Mexican-American leaders and the Anglo leaders; and it does not deny differences in the rate of assimilation among members of the leadership. It does mean, however, that leaders are aware that in order to be functional and effective, they need to accept much of the dominant social structure.

Because of the necessity to exert and exercise a more effective leadership, elite members who are younger, better educated, and have a higher income generally express a stronger desire to strengthen ethnic organizations and influence local decisions (Table 5-2); they express more confidence in influencing local decisions (Table 5-3); and they express more dissatisfaction with Mexican-American participation and representation (Table 5-4) than older elite members whose income and level of education are lower.

In addition to these testable items, there are other sources of information that indicate the spirit of social transition in the Mexican-American community. For example, the alarming concern of the Anglo community during the "take-over" period (1970-1971) as expressed by a series of newspaper articles brought major awareness that the Mexican-Americans were a viable political force that the dominant community had to contend with; the major party realignment in the election of 1972 also brought a major concern among the Anglo Democratic leadership that a third party (R.U.P.) could weaken its strength (Table 4-1); the increasing numbers of Mexican-American political candidates indicate the desire of many potential leaders to actively participate in the political process; the growing number of Mexican-American candidates has served as an important stimulus for better political participation of Mexican-Americans at the polls (Tables 4-6, 4-8); and when compared to the Anglo, Mexican-American leaders appear to be more dissatisfied with the status quo as indicated by their attitudes toward the performance and services of the city and county governments (Tables 5-4 and 5-5).

Although the data reveal significant social and political changes, the achievements are not necessarily obvious to the Mexican-Americans. The host of leadership dilemmas, internal conflict, disunity, and personal struggle are all important factors that limit the visibility of their accomplishments as a viable political force in the community. The dominant political group, in its reluctance to abandon the status quo, also serves as a factor masking accomplishments of the Mexican-

Americans. It is, therefore, not difficult to understand that Mexican-American leaders, who constantly are exposed to their own internal disagreements and persistent Anglo opposition, may decide in despair that the Mexican-American has made little political progress when, in fact, changes have been numerous and significant.

The internal struggle and minority status of the Mexican-American have provided the opportunity to form a nucleus that eventually will become a cohesive element of importance. Mexican-American leaders are obtaining political experience and maturity never experienced in previous years. Furthermore, Mexican-American leaders are becoming more visible and acceptable not only to members of their ethnic group but to the community as a whole.

In the final analysis, the Mexican-American leadership seems to have the desire and ambition to successfully exercise influence in socio-political change in spite of current internal disunity and conflict. The Mexican-American leadership is young, energetic, and willing to commit itself in the name of progress and social change.

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A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A

Tables of Summarized Relationships

TABLES OF SUMMARIZED RELATIONSHIPS
(GAMMA VALUES)

TABLE 2-A

Relationship Between Use of Language and Income, Education, Employment

Use of Language

	Item 1
Income	0.1952
Education	0.4965
Employment	0.4592

TABLE 3-A

Relationship Between Roles of Husband and Wife and Income, Education

Role of Parents

	Item 1	Item 2
Income	0.1617	0.8687
Education	0.2422	0.5281

TABLE 3-3

Relationship Between Sex Specialization of
Parents and Income, Education

Sex Specialization

	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3	Item 4	Item 5	Item 6
Income	0.6474	0.8862	0.7196	0.4435	0.7347	0.7793
Education	0.9805	1.0000	--*	---	0.9690	0.9197
*Data not needed						

TABLE 3-C

Relationship Between Birth Control
and Income, EducationBirth Control

	Item 1
Income	-0.1086
Education	-0.1548

TABLE 3-D

Relationship Between Mother's
Influence and IncomeMother's Influence

	Item 1
Income (Mass)	0.1956
Income (Elite)	-0.2692

TABLE 3-E

Relationship Between Intensity of Helping
and Income, EducationIntensity of Helping

	Item 1
Income	0.0684
Education	0.2388

TABLE 3-F

Relationship Between Integration with
Relatives and Income, EducationIntegration with Relatives

	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3
Income	0.1980	0.3639	0.2241
Education	0.1747	0.2886	0.2083

TABLE 3-G

Relationship Between Neighboring Behavior
and Sex, Income, Education

<u>Neighboring Behavior</u>			
	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3
Sex	1.0000	0.9701	0.9929
Income	0.6139	0.4551	1.0000
Education	0.8940	0.7332	1.0000

TABLE 3-H

Relationship Between View of Mexico
and Income, Education

<u>View of Mexico</u>	
	Item 1
Income	0.1865
Education	-0.0031

TABLE 3-I

Relationship Between Self-Stereotypes
and Income, Age

<u>Self-Stereotypes</u>				
	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3	Item 4
Income	0.0351	0.0215	0.2093	0.0270
Age (Elite)	0.1921	0.2928	0.2720	0.2920

TABLE 3-J

Relationship Between Social Distance (Anglo)
and Income, Education

<u>Social Distance (Anglo)</u>				
	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3	Item 4
Income	0.2277	0.3752	0.1610	0.1365
Education	0.1595	0.1596	0.2261	0.2583

TABLE 3-K

Relationship Between Social Distance (Negro)
and Residency, Income, Education

<u>Social Distance (Negro)</u>				
	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3	Item 4
Residency	-0.3363	-0.2363	0.1177	0.1024
Income	0.1377	0.1943	0.0405	0.1355
Education	0.1377	0.1449	0.0144	0.2149

TABLE 3-L

Relationship Between Control of Environment
and Income, Education

<u>Control of Environment</u>						
	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3	Item 4	Item 5	Item 6
Income	0.2553	0.2520(E)	0.2603	0.1752	0.2121(E)	0.1576
Education	0.0797	-0.1008(E)	0.1590	0.1793	0.1814(E)	0.2015

*E stands for elite respondents. All other values are for mass.

TABLE 4-A

Relationship Between Campaign Activity
and Income, Education

<u>Campaign Activity</u>			
	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3
Income	-0.2854	0.3012	-0.0043
Education	-0.4644	-0.3702	-0.2239

TABLE 4-B

Relationship Between Voting Duty
and Income, Education

<u>Voting Duty</u>			
	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3
Income	-0.2207	0.2576	0.0731
Education	-0.1531	0.1672	-0.0685

TABLE 4-C

Relationship Between Political Efficacy
and Income, Education

<u>Political Efficacy</u>					
	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3	Item 4	Item 5
Income	0.0624	0.1287	0.0916	0.1406	0.2147
Education	0.1072	0.0033	0.0747	0.2048	0.2591

TABLE 4-D

Relationship Between Organization Awareness
and Income, Education, Residency

<u>Organization Awareness</u>				
	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3	Item 4
Income	0.3483	0.4617	0.2425	0.3582
Education	0.3314	0.4696	0.3785	0.3028
Residency	0.1985	0.0610	0.0103	0.1314

-continues-

	Item 5	Item 6	Item 7	Item 8
Income	0.4524	0.1364	0.3111	0.4277
Education	0.4651	0.3481	0.3481	0.3855
Residency	0.1003	-0.1390	0.0881	0.0800

TABLE 5-A

Relationship Between (Elite) Political
Activity and Age

<u>Political Activity</u>		
	Item 1	Item 2
Age	0.5714	0.2093

TABLE 5-B

Relationship Between Stronger Organizations (Elite)
and Age, Income, Education

Stronger Organizations

	Item 1
Age	-0.3846
Income	0.4316
Education	0.1000

TABLE 5-C

Relationship Between Organization
Political Activity (Elite) and Income, Age

Organization Political Activity

	Item 1
Income	-0.5610
Age	0.5190

TABLE 5-D

Relationship Between Influence of Organizations (Elite)
and Age, Income, Education

Influence of Organizations

	Item 1
Age	-0.0984
Income	-0.4308
Education	-0.0972

TABLE 5-E

Relationship Between Opportunity to
Influence (Elite) and Age

Opportunity to Influence

	Item 1
Age	-0.3896

TABLE 5-F

Relationship Between Who Runs
Community (Elite) and Income

Who Runs Community

<u>Item</u>	
Income	-0.4046

TABLE 5-G

Relationship Between Representation of
Group (Elite) and Income, Age, Education

Representation of Group

<u>Item 1</u>	
Income	0.2090
Age	-0.3080
Education	-0.2549

APPENDIX B

Household Questionnaire
(English Version)

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOUSEHOLD SURVEY IN
BEEVILLE, TEXAS OF MEXICAN AMERICANS

The general purpose of this (interview) survey is to gain insight into the attitudes and values of Mexican-American individuals. The intention is to find how you feel about important things in the community such as the school. An important way the conditions can be improved is actually to talk to people and find out how they feel about things.

Your answers and comments will be strictly confidential and no names will be used at anytime.

Interview Number _____.

1. Position of Household:

- 1. _____ Head
- 2. _____ Spouse

2. Sex

- 1. _____ Male
- 2. _____ Female

3. How many people other than yourself live in your home with you?

- 1. _____ Wife
- 2. _____ Husband
- 3. _____ Sons (number)
- 4. _____ Daughters (number)
- 5. _____ Stepson(s)
- 6. _____ Stepdaughter(s)
- 7. _____ Others _____ (specify number and relations)

The questions cover several different kinds of things. Some of them give me background facts about the community. On others, it concerns how you feel about different things. It is not a test, there are no right or wrong answers. Please feel free to stop and ask me questions at any time.

4. How do you prefer to be identified?

- 1. _____ Spanish-speaking
- 2. _____ Latin-American
- 3. _____ Mexican
- 4. _____ Mexican-American
- 5. _____ Chicano
- 6. _____ American
- 7. _____ Other _____ (specify)

5. I have questionnaires in both Spanish and English. Would you prefer that we talk in

1. _____ Spanish, or in
2. _____ English

IF SPANISH, SWITCH TO SPANISH QUESTIONNAIRE.

6. How long altogether have you been living in the Beeville area?

1. _____ less than one year
2. _____ 1-5 years
3. _____ 5-10 years
4. _____ 10-20 years
5. _____ More than 20 years

8. _____ Don't Know
9. _____ No Response

7. Why did you decide to live here?

1. _____ Economic or occupational reasons
 2. _____ Family reasons
 3. _____ Community reasons
 4. _____ Other reasons (record below)
-
-

8. How long have you been living here in this house?

1. _____ less than one year
2. _____ 1-5 years
3. _____ 5-10 years
4. _____ 10-20 years
5. _____ More than 20 years

8. _____ DK
9. _____ NR

9. Counting rents, interests, wages, salary, and things like that, in which one of these categories did your family's total income fall last year before taxes?

1. _____ Under \$1,000 or (under \$20 a week)
2. _____ \$1,000-\$2,000 or (\$25 to \$35 a week)
3. _____ 2,000- 3,000 or (\$36 to \$55 a week)
4. _____ 3,000- 4,000 or (\$56 to \$75 a week)
5. _____ 4,000- 5,000 or (\$76 to \$95 a week)
6. _____ 5,000- 6,000 or (\$96 to \$115 a week)
7. _____ 6,000- 7,000 or (\$116 to \$135 a week)
8. _____ 7,000- 8,000 or (\$136 to \$155 a week)
9. _____ Over 8,000

10. What is your highest level of educational attainment?

1. _____ Grade school (1-6)
2. _____ Junior high (7-8)
3. _____ Some high school
4. _____ Completed high school
5. _____ Some college
6. _____ Completed college

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the kinds of people that live around here and how often you visit your friends and neighbors.

11. In case of sudden need, do you think your neighbors would help you?

1. _____ Yes
2. _____ No
8. _____ DK
9. _____ NR

12. Do you think your neighbors would lend you money should the need arise?

1. _____ Yes
2. _____ No
8. _____ DK
9. _____ NR

13. How often do you borrow anything, such as food, household goods, or clothing from your neighbors? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

1. _____ Very often
2. _____ Fairly often
3. _____ Once in a while
4. _____ Never
8. _____ DK
9. _____ NR

14. How often do you visit with your neighbors?

1. _____ Very often
2. _____ Fairly often
3. _____ Once in a while
4. _____ Never
8. _____ DK
9. _____ NR

15. How often do the neighbors visit you?

- 1. ☐ Very often
- 2. ☐ Fairly often
- 3. ☐ Once in a while
- 4. ☐ Never

8. ☐ DK

9. ☐ NR

16. About how often do you visit friends and/or neighbors of Mexican background?

- 1. ☐ Very often
- 2. ☐ Fairly often
- 3. ☐ Once in a while
- 4. ☐ Never

8. ☐ DK

9. ☐ NR

17. About how often do you visit Anglo friends and/or neighbors?

- 1. ☐ Very often
- 2. ☐ Fairly often
- 3. ☐ Once in a while
- 4. ☐ Never

8. ☐ DK

9. ☐ NR

Now I would like to read some statements to you. For each statement please tell me if it is very true, somewhat true, or not true at all for your neighborhood. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

18. There are many thefts in this neighborhood.

- 1. ☐ Very true
- 2. ☐ Somewhat true
- 3. ☐ Not true

8. ☐ DK

9. ☐ NR

19. You can get along best in this neighborhood by being friendly and nice.

- 1. ☐ Very true
- 2. ☐ Somewhat true
- 3. ☐ Not true

8. ☐ DK

9. ☐ NR

20. This neighborhood is a good influence on children.

- 1. ☐ Very true
- 2. ☐ Somewhat true
- 3. ☐ Not true

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

People have different ideas about how family members should act toward each other. Will you please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

21. Having children is the most important thing that can be done by a married woman.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

22. A husband ought to have complete control over his family's income.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

23. A father should take care of the children when the mother wants some time to herself.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

Here are some things that might be done by a husband or wife. As I read each of these to you, tell me if, in your home, it is usually done by you, by your husband (wife) or by both of you. IF NEITHER: If it were done by one of you, which would it be?

	1. Husband	2. Wife	3. Both	4. Neither H Might	5. Neither W Might	8. DK	9. NR
24. Painting rooms in the house							
25. Getting up at night to take care of the children if they cry							
26. Deciding where to go for a holiday or celebration							
27. Punishing the children, if necessary							
28. Washing dishes							
29. Picking out more expensive things like furniture or a car							

30. How many sons and/or daughters do you have who are (or were) in school or in college?

1. _____ Grade school (write number)
2. _____ High school
3. _____ College
4. _____ Too young for school

31. (IF R HAS ANY CHILDREN): Now please think about a time when one of your children was (will be) 10 years old. He has just done something which you feel is very good, or he has been particularly good. What would you do at these times? (CHECK ONE)

1. _____ Verbal praise
2. _____ Specific privileges
3. _____ Material reward
4. _____ Demonstration of love
5. _____ Other (specify) _____

32. Now, please think about that some time when one of your children was (will be) 10 years old. He has just done something you feel is very wrong, something that you have warned him against ever done. What do you do at such times?

1. _____ Verbal scolding
2. _____ Withdrawal of privileges
3. _____ Material deprivation
4. _____ Demonstration of withdrawal of love
5. _____ Other (specify) _____

33. When you were a child, around 13 or 14 years old, who had more influence on you:
1. ☐ Father?
 2. ☐ Mother?
 3. ☐ Both father and mother?
 4. ☐ Teacher(s)?
 5. ☐ Friends your own age?
 6. ☐ Relative? Which one _____
34. When you were that same age, 13 or 14 years old, how many of your schoolmates at that time were of Mexican background? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)
1. ☐ All of them
 2. ☐ Most of them
 3. ☐ A few of them
 4. ☐ None of them
35. And how many of your friends at that time were of Mexican background?
1. ☐ All of them
 2. ☐ Most of them
 3. ☐ A few of them
 4. ☐ None of them
36. (IF R HAS ANY CHILDREN WHO ATTENDED OR HAVE ATTENDED SCHOOL):
Now, how about your children? (DO) (DID) they go to?
1. ☐ Public
 2. ☐ Catholic
 3. ☐ Other private elementary school?
37. (IF R HAS ANY CHILDREN):
How many of your children's friends are (or when they were young were) of Mexican background? (USE SAME CARD)
1. ☐ All of them
 2. ☐ Most of them
 3. ☐ A few of them
 4. ☐ None of them
38. And how many of their schoolmates are (or when they were young were) of Mexican background?
1. ☐ All of them
 2. ☐ Most of them
 3. ☐ A few of them
 4. ☐ None of them

39. You can't always tell about how things will work out, but if you had your wish, about how much schooling would you (Have) like(d) your child(ren) to have (had)? Would you say...

1. ☐ Elementary school education
2. ☐ Some high school education
3. ☐ High school education
4. ☐ Some high education
5. ☐ College education

40. Now, I would like to get your opinion concerning the schools for children. In your opinion what are the main things that children need to be taught in the schools today?

41. Do you feel the same for both boys and girls?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No
8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

42. (ASK OF PARENTS WITH CHILDREN IN SCHOOL):
Have you gone to the school within the past year?

1. ☐ No

(IF YES), Who did you talk with?

2. ☐ Principal
3. ☐ Teacher
4. ☐ Counselor
5. ☐ Other

43. What about?

Some people feel that a person should be able to call on his family for anything, while other people think this is a bad idea.

44. Have you ever helped out any member of your family financially?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No
8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

45. Has any member of your family ever helped you out financially?

1. Yes

2. No

8. DK

9. NR

46. About how often do your kin or relatives call on you to help them out during times of illness? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)...Would you say:

1. Very often

2. Fairly often

3. Once in a while

4. Never

8. DK

9. NR

47. About how often do you call on your relatives to help you out during times of illness?

1. Very often

2. Fairly often

3. Once in a while

4. Never

8. DK

9. NR

Now, I would like to talk with you about some of the things you would like to have for the future. For example,

48. Some people feel that 50 years from now Mexican Americans will be exactly the same as everybody else in the United States. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

1. Strongly agree

2. Agree

3. Undecided

4. Disagree

5. Strongly disagree

8. DK

9. NR

49. Do you feel such a thing would be

1. Good

2. Not so good

50. Why do you say that? _____

51. What about your own children? Is there anything about the Mexican way of life that you would particularly like to see them follow?

1. ☐ Spanish language
2. ☐ Manners and customs
3. ☐ Religion
4. ☐ Food, music, art
5. ☐ Nothing
6. ☐ Others (specify) _____

52. What language do you use when you talk with your children?

1. ☐ Spanish only
2. ☐ Mostly Spanish
3. ☐ English only
4. ☐ Both languages

It has frequently been said that people of Spanish-speaking background in the Southwest have to work a lot harder to get ahead than Anglo-Americans. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

53. How true is that in this community?

1. ☐ Very true
2. ☐ Somewhat true
3. ☐ Not true
8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

54. How about in business?

1. ☐ Very true
2. ☐ Somewhat true
3. ☐ Not true
8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ Nr

55. How about in politics or government?

1. ☐ Very true
2. ☐ Somewhat true
3. ☐ Not true
8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

56. Do you feel that this situation has become better, worse or what, in the past five years?

1. ☐ Much better
2. ☐ Better
3. ☐ About the same
4. ☐ Worse
5. ☐ Much worse
8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

57. Now I'd like to talk to you about some of the experiences you and your family have had concerning the work you do. Are you presently holding a job?

- 1. ☐ Yes
- 2. ☐ No
- 3. ☐ Retired

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

58. (IF YES) Is it a full-time job?

- 1. ☐ Yes
- 2. ☐ No, part-time

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

59. Is it fairly regular or is it temporal or seasonal?

- 1. ☐ Regular
- 2. ☐ Temporal
- 3. ☐ Seasonal
- 4. ☐ Other (specify) _____

60. What kind of work do you (head) do? (specified as possible)

Job _____

61. About how many of the people with whom you work closely on the job are of Mexican background? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDNET)

- 1. ☐ All of them
- 2. ☐ Most of them
- 3. ☐ Few of them
- 4. ☐ None of them

62. (IF R IS NOT SELF-EMPLOYED) How about your supervisor or boss-- what is his language or ethnic background?

- 1. ☐ Mexican
- 2. ☐ Anglo
- 3. ☐ Other

63. Have you (head) ever worked as an agricultural laborer?

- 1. ☐ Yes
- 2. ☐ No

64. ASK OF HEAD: Generally speaking, how satisfied are you with your present job?

- 1. ☐ Very satisfied
- 2. ☐ Satisfied
- 3. ☐ Indifferent
- 4. ☐ Dissatisfied
- 5. ☐ Very dissatisfied

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

65. How would you rate your chances of promotion on your present job?

- 1. ☐ Very good
- 2. ☐ Good
- 3. ☐ Not very good
- 4. ☐ Poor

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

66. (ASK OF HEAD ONLY): Do you belong to a union?

- 1. ☐ YES
- 2. ☐ No

67. Suppose you know an really outstanding young man here in the community--what one occupation do you think you would advise him to aim toward?

68. What would you say is the most important single thing for a young man to consider when choosing his life's work?

Here are some statements that people have different opinions about. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

69. Mexican Americans tend to have stronger family ties than most other Americans.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

70. Other Americans don't work as hard as Mexican Americans.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

71. Generally, other Americans are more materialistic than Mexican Americans are.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

72. Other Americans tend to be more progressive than Mexican Americans.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

73. Mexican Americans often blame other Americans for their position, but it's really their own fault.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

74. Mexican Americans often shout about their rights but don't have anything to offer.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

75. Family planning--or birth control--has been discussed by many people. What is your feeling about a married couple practicing birth control? If you had to decide, which one of these statements best expresses your point of view? (INT.: READ ALL STATEMENTS "DON'T KNOW." IF R WILL NOT CHOOSE, CODE IN "DON'T KNOW" CATEGORY).

1. ☐ It is always right
2. ☐ It is usually right
3. ☐ It is usually wrong
4. ☐ It is always wrong

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

N6w I would like to switch the subject and talk about the groups you belong to:

76. Do you have a religious preference? That is, are you

1. ☐ Catholic
2. ☐ Protestant, or
3. ☐ Something else? (specify) _____

IF PROTESTANT, What denomination is that? _____

77. IF ANY PREFERENCE, Have you always been _____
(NAME DENOMINATION)?

1. ☐ No
2. ☐ Yes

IF NO, What was your religious preference previously? _____

When did you make the change? _____

78. How important is religion to you? Would you say it is:

1. ☐ Very important
2. ☐ Somewhat important
3. ☐ Indifferent
4. ☐ Not very important
5. ☐ Not important at all

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

79. About how often, if ever, have you attended religious services in the last year?

1. ☐ Once a week or more
2. ☐ Two or three times a month
3. ☐ Once a month
4. ☐ A few times a year or less
5. ☐ A special day only, e. g., Easter, Christmas
6. ☐ Never

80. About how many of the members of your parish are of Mexican background? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

- 1. ☐ All of them
- 2. ☐ Most of them
- 3. ☐ Few of them
- 4. ☐ None of them

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

81. Are politics and government ever discussed in your church?

- 1. ☐ Yes
- 2. ☐ No

82. Does your priest (minister) ever discuss local problems such as poverty or education?

- 1. ☐ Yes
- 2. ☐ No

IF YES, What local problems does he discuss? _____

83. Does your priest (minister) ever say anything about which candidate the members of your church vote for?

- 1. ☐ Yes
- 2. ☐ No

The following statements are simply to ask you about your outlook on life in general. I am merely interested in what you think. Would you agree or disagree with them? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

84. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

85. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

86. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about what the government does.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

87. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

88. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

89. When was the last time you were in Mexico for a visit? Date: _____

I am interested in your views about Mexico. What about these statements-- would you agree or disagree? (USE SAME CARD)

90. The United States should allow Mexicans from Mexico to come to this country to work as freely as possible.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

91. In old Mexico it was more difficult to get ahead than here in the United States.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

92. In Mexico it is harder for a man to get along if he looks Indian.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

93. In the United States it is harder for a Mexican American with dark skin to get along than one of light skin.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

94. At some time or other, almost everybody feels the need for somebody to talk things over with. If you needed help or advice about money matters, who might you go to? (IF NAME NOT GIVEN, ASK: Is he of Mexican decent?)

-
1. ☐ Mexican American
 2. ☐ Non-Mexican American

95. How about for advice or information about politics? Who might you go to?

-
-
1. ☐ Mexican American
 2. ☐ Non-Mexican American

96. How many of your friends are of Mexican background? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

1. ☐ All of them
2. ☐ Most of them
3. ☐ Few of them
4. ☐ None of them

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

Now I'd like you to think about another important thing. Some people like to be with people from different backgrounds, and some people don't like it at all. Do you think you would ever find it a little distasteful: (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

	1. Distasteful	2. Not Distasteful	3. Other
97. To eat at the same table with an Anglo?			
98. To dance with an Anglo?			
99. To go to a party and find that most people were Anglo?			
100. To have an Anglo person marry someone in your family?			
101. To eat at the same table with a Negro?			
102. To dance with a Negro?			
103. To go to a party and find that most people were Negro?			
104. To have a Negro person marry someone in your family?			

For each of the following statements, would you tell me whether you agree or disagree? Once again, there are no right answers and no wrong answers. I would just like to get your opinion. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

105. Making plans only brings unhappiness because the plans are hard to fulfill.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

106. It doesn't make much difference if the people elect one or another candidate for nothing will change.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

107. With things as they are today, an intelligent person ought to think only about the present without worrying about what is going to happen tomorrow.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

108. The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

109. When looking for a job, a person ought to find a position in a place located near his parents, even if that means losing a good opportunity elsewhere.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

110. When you are in trouble, only a relative can be depended upon to help you.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

111. If you have the chance to hire an assistant in your work, it is always better to hire a relative than a stranger.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

112. (TO RESPONDENT WHO LIVES IN THE WEST SIDE OF TOWN): If you had a choice, would you rather live (reside) in the East Side of town?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

Here is a list of organizations which people tell me are around here. Tell me if (1) you never heard of the organization; (2) if you heard of the organization somewhere; (3) if you are very familiar with the organization; or (4) if you belong to the organization. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

		1. Never	2. Heard	3. Familiar	4. Belongs
113.	G. I. Forum				
114.	P. T. A.				
115.	MAYO				
116.	Holy Name Society				
117.	CCYO				
118.	YAC				

		1. Never	2. Heard	3. Familiar	4. Belongs
119.	San Jose Society				
120.	Ladies Auxiliary (G.I. Forum)				
121.	PASO				
122.	Guadalupanas				
123.	Alliance for Mexican Americans				
124.	This list of Mexican American organizations is incomplete. Many organizations are not listed here. Would you care to name a few more?				

125. Out of all these organizations, which one do you think is best?

Why? _____

126. Some people say that all people of Mexican background should get together politically. Do you agree or disagree with this statement? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

1. _____ Strongly agree
2. _____ Agree
3. _____ Undecided
4. _____ Disagree
5. _____ Strongly disagree

8. _____ DK
9. _____ NR

127. In talking to people about voting we find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they were not registered or they were sick or they just did not have time. How about you? Are (were) you registered to vote?

1. _____ Yes
2. _____ No

128. (IF YES): Did you vote in the last Primary or General election?

1. _____ Yes
2. _____ No

129. In your opinion, which political party do you think best represents the interests of the Mexican American?

1. _____ Democratic Party
2. _____ La Raza Unida Party
3. _____ Republican Party
4. _____ Other (specify) _____

IF RESPONDENT CHOOSES A PARTY: Why do you say that? _____

130. Do you think it is a good thing to have a political party like La Raza Unida to represent Mexican Americans?

1. ☐ Yes
 2. ☐ No
 8. ☐ DK
 9. ☐ NR

131. Do you think that a political party like La Raza Unida can unify the Mexican Americans and possibly win elections?

1. ☐ Yes
 2. ☐ No
 8. ☐ DK
 9. ☐ NR

For some time welfare programs have been in operation in this community as well as in other parts of the state and nation. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statements? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

132. There are too many people receiving welfare money who should be working.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
 2. ☐ Agree
 3. ☐ Undecided
 4. ☐ Disagree
 5. ☐ Strongly disagree
 8. ☐ DK
 9. ☐ NR

133. Many people getting welfare are not honest about their need.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
 2. ☐ Agree
 3. ☐ Undecided
 4. ☐ Disagree
 5. ☐ Strongly disagree
 8. ☐ DK
 9. ☐ NR

134. Many women getting welfare money are having illegitimate babies to increase the money they get.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
 2. ☐ Agree
 3. ☐ Undecided
 4. ☐ Disagree
 5. ☐ Strongly disagree
 8. ☐ DK
 9. ☐ NR

135. Generally speaking, we are spending too little money on welfare programs in this country.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

136. Most people on welfare who can work try to find jobs so they can support themselves.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

137. One of the main troubles with welfare is that it doesn't give people enough to get along on.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

I have a list of some of the things that people do that help at party or a candidate win an election. I wonder if you could tell whether you did any of these things during the last election campaign. Please answer by saying Yes or No for the following:

138. ☐ Did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?
139. ☐ Did you give any money or buy tickets or anything to help the campaign for one of the parties or candidates?
140. ☐ Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, dinners, or things like that?
141. ☐ Do you belong to any political club or organization?
142. ☐ Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?
143. ☐ Did you wear a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car?

The following statements concern some aspects of voting. Tell me if you agree or disagree with these statements. Please remember that there is necessarily no right or wrong answers. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

144. I generally get a feeling of satisfaction from going to the polls to cast my ballot.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

145. So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

146. A person should only vote in an election if he cares about how it is going to come out.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

147. A good many local elections aren't important enough to bother with.

- 1. ☐ Strongly agree
- 2. ☐ Agree
- 3. ☐ Undecided
- 4. ☐ Disagree
- 5. ☐ Strongly disagree

- 8. ☐ DK
- 9. ☐ NR

148. We have basically three levels of government that serve the citizens of this community and nation. They are our local, state, and federal governments. Which of the three governments do you think best serves the interest of this community?

1. ☐ Local government
2. ☐ State government
3. ☐ Federal government

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

149. What do you think are the probabilities of having a mayor for the city of Beeville of Mexican background in the near future?

1. ☐ Very probable
2. ☐ Probable
3. ☐ Not probable
4. ☐ Not probable at all

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

Why do you say that? _____

150. Do you know one or more of the city councilmen?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

151. (IF RESPONDENT'S ANSWER IS YES): Are these councilmen

1. ☐ Mexican American
2. ☐ Anglo

152. Generally speaking, are you satisfied with these and other local government officials of this community?

1. ☐ Very satisfied
2. ☐ Satisfied
3. ☐ Indifferent
4. ☐ Not satisfied
5. ☐ Not satisfied at all

8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

Finally, to wind up, could you tell me about what you read and see on television?

153. What is your favorite television station--the one you listen to most often?

-
1. ☐ Mexican Origin (Channel 41 or 7)
 2. ☐ Mexican (U. S. origin)
 3. ☐ Network
 4. ☐ No favorite
 5. ☐ No television
 8. ☐ DK
 9. ☐ NR

154. What is your favorite radio station--the one you listen to most often?

-
1. ☐ Mexican (Mexican origin)
 2. ☐ Mexican (U. S. origin, local or regional stations)
 3. ☐ English (local or regional)
 4. ☐ No radio
 8. ☐ DK
 9. ☐ NR

155. What newspaper do you read most often?

-
1. ☐ Mexican (Mexican origin)
 2. ☐ Bee Picayune (local)
 3. ☐ Bee County-Independent (El Exito) (local)
 4. ☐ Major Daily Newspaper (Corpus Christi Caller, San Antonio Express)
 5. ☐ No newspaper
 8. ☐ DK
 9. ☐ NR

156. (IF ANSWER IS LOCAL NEWSPAPER): Do you think this newspaper gives the news in a fair and impartial manner?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No
8. ☐ DK
9. ☐ NR

APPENDIX C

Household Questionnaire
(Spanish Version)

QUESTIONARIO PARA EL MEXICO-AMERICANO
DE BEEVILLE, TEXAS

Contestaciones y comentarios que usted haga, son estrictamente
confidenciales, a ningun tiempo sera usado su nombre. Gracias por
su cooperacion.

INTERVIEW NUMBER _____.

1. Estado civil de la cabeza de la casa.

- 1. _____ Soltero
- 2. _____ Casado

2. Sexso

- 1. _____ Masculino
- 2. _____ Femenino

3. Que tantos personas a parte de usted viven en esta casa con usted?

- 1. _____ Esposa
 - 2. _____ Esposo
 - 3. _____ Hijos (numero)
 - 4. _____ Hijas (numero)
 - 5. _____ Entenados
 - 6. _____ Entenadas
 - 7. _____ Otros (especifique numero de parientes que viven aqui)
-

Las preguntas cubren diferente clase de cosas. Unas me dan los hechos del pasado de cada comunidad otros conciernen (o me disen). Cuales son sus sentimientos a cerca de diferentes cosas? Estas preguntas que yo hago y las contestaciones que usted me da no son exam en esto no hay contestaciones correctas o equivocadas. Por favor sientese con confianza de hacerme preguntas de lo que usted no me entienda.

4. Como prefiere usted ser identificado?

- 1. _____ De habla Espanola
- 2. _____ Latino-Americano
- 3. _____ Mexicano
- 4. _____ Mexico-Americano
- 5. _____ Chicano
- 6. _____ Americano
- 7. _____ Otro (diga que) _____

5. Tengo un cuestionario en Ingles y Espanol. Usted prefiere ablar en

- 1. _____ Ingles?
- 2. _____ Espanol?

6. Que tanto tiempo tiene de vivir en Beeville o al rededor cerca de la ciudad?

- | | | | |
|----------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|
| 1. _____ | Menos de un ano | 5. _____ | Mas de 20 anos |
| 2. _____ | De 1 a 5 anos | 8. _____ | No se |
| 3. _____ | De 5 a 10 anos | 9. _____ | Ninguna respuesta |
| 4. _____ | De 10 a 20 anos | | |

7. Porque desidio vivir aqui?

- | | |
|----------|-------------------------------|
| 1. _____ | Por razones de mi ocupacion |
| 2. _____ | Por razones familiares |
| 3. _____ | Por que le gusta la comunidad |
| 4. _____ | Por otras razones |

8. Que tanto tiempo tiene de vivir en esta casa?

- | | | | |
|----------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|
| 1. _____ | Menos de un ano | 4. _____ | De 10 a 20 anos |
| 2. _____ | De 1 a 5 anos | 5. _____ | No se |
| 3. _____ | De 5 a 10 anos | 6. _____ | NR |

9. Aproximadamente que tanto hacen toda la familia por semana?

- | | |
|----------|---------------------------|
| 1. _____ | Menos que \$20 por semana |
| 2. _____ | De \$25 a \$35 " " |
| 3. _____ | " 36 a 55 " " |
| 4. _____ | " 56 a 75 " " |
| 5. _____ | " 76 a 96 " " |
| 6. _____ | " 96 a 115 " " |
| 7. _____ | " 115 a 135 " " |
| 8. _____ | " 136 a 155 " " |
| 9. _____ | Mas que \$8,000 por ano |

10. Hasta que grado fue a la escuela?

- | | |
|----------|-------------------------|
| 1. _____ | Escuela elemental (1-6) |
| 2. _____ | Junior High (7-8) |
| 3. _____ | Algo de high school |
| 4. _____ | Completo el high school |
| 5. _____ | Algo de colegio |
| 6. _____ | Completo el colegio |

Ahora quisiera hacerle unas preguntas de las gentes que viven, que tan seguido se visitan sus amigos y vecinos?

11. En caso de apuro usted cree que sus vecinos le ayuden?

- | | |
|----------|-------|
| 1. _____ | Si |
| 2. _____ | No |
| 8. _____ | No Se |
| 9. _____ | NR |

12. Usted cree que sus vecinos le prestan dinero si acaso lo necesitará?

1. _____ Si
 2. _____ No
 8. _____ No se
 9. _____ NR

13. Que tan seguido pide prestado cosas a sus vecinos como cosas de comida, cosas de la casa como basijas, o ropa? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT).

1. _____ Muy seguido
 2. _____ Seguido
 3. _____ De vez en cuando
 4. _____ Nunca
 8. _____ No se
 9. _____ NR

14. Que tan seguido visita usted sus vecinos?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| 1. _____ Muy seguido | 8. _____ No se |
| 2. _____ Seguido | 9. _____ NR |
| 3. _____ De vez en cuando | |
| 4. _____ Nunca | |

15. Que tan seguido lo visitan sus vecinos?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| 1. _____ Muy seguido | 8. _____ No se |
| 2. _____ Seguido | 9. _____ NR |
| 3. _____ De vez en cuando | |
| 4. _____ Nunca | |

16. Que tan seguido visita usted sus amistades o vecinos (Mexicanos)?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| 1. _____ Muy seguido | 8. _____ No se |
| 2. _____ Seguido | 9. _____ NR |
| 3. _____ De vez en cuando | |
| 4. _____ Nunca | |

17. Que tan seguido visita usted amistades o vecinos (Anglos)?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| 1. _____ Muy seguido | 8. _____ No se |
| 2. _____ Seguido | 9. _____ NR |
| 3. _____ De vez en cuando | |
| 4. _____ Nunca | |

Le voy a leer varias cosas a cerca del barrio. Por cada cosa digame usted si es muy cierto, hay algo de cierto o no es cierto nada de eso.
 (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

18. Hay muchos robos en este barrio.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Si es muy cierto | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Algo de cierto | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No es cierto | | |

19. Le puede ir mejor en este barrio a una persona si es amistoso y bueno.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Muy cierto | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Algo de cierto | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No es cierto | | |

20. Este barrio es muy buena influencia en nuestros niños.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Muy cierto | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Algo de cierto | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No es cierto | | |

Personas tienen diferentes ideas a como debe de actuar unas personas con otros en familia, los diferentes miembros unos con otros. Usted me dice si cree o no en estas preguntas. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

21. Tener niños es la cosa mas importante que puede hacer una mujer casada.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo much en eso | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo en eso | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Indesiso | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo en eso | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Nomas no | | |

22. El esposo debe de tener control completo del dinero que entra en la familia.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo much en eso | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo en eso | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Indesiso | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo en eso | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Nomas no | | |

23. El padre debe de cuidar sus hijos de vez en cuando para que la madre tenga tiempo para si misma.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo much en eso | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo en eso | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Indesiso | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo en eso | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Nomas no | | |

Aquí le voy a mencionar cosas que deben hacerse por la esposa o el esposo. Dígame por favor quien de los dos lo hace. O si nadie lo hace.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	8.	9.
	Esposo	Esposa	Los	Ninguno	Ninguno	No	NR
			Dos	Esposo	Esposa	Se	
				Puede	Puede		
24. Pintar los cuartos de su casa							
25. Levantarse a media noche a ver a los niños si acaso lloran							
26. Desidir a donde ir de vacaciones o paseo de fin de semana							
27. Castigar a los niños, si se hace necesario							
28. Lavar los platos							
29. Escojer cosas mas caras, como muebles o carro							

30. Que tantos hijos o hijas tiene usted que estan o estuvieron en la escuela or fueron hasta colegio?

1. _____ Escuela elemental (numero de personas)
2. _____ High School
3. _____ Colegio
4. _____ Muy chicos para ir a la escuela

31. (SI TIENE NINOS): Por favor piense mas o menos el tiempo cuando uno de sus hijos (tenia or va tener) la edad de 10 años. Su hijo (a) acaba de hacer algo que lo hace sentirse muy orgulloso, o se ha portado muy bien. Dígame ...

1. _____ Lo felicita de palabra
2. _____ Le da permiso de varios privilegios (derechos)
3. _____ Le hace regalos materiales
4. _____ Le demuestra su cariño
5. _____ Otro (diga que) _____

32. Ahora piense del tiempo en uno de sus hijos a la edad de 10 anos. Habia hecho algo mal y que usted le hubiera dicho que no lo hiziera. Que hizo usted:
1. ☐ Reganarlo de palabra
 2. ☐ Quitarle los privilegios de que goza
 3. ☐ No darle las cosas materiales que el quiere
 4. ☐ Demonstracion de no querelo
 5. ☐ Otro (diga que) _____
33. Cuando usted era nino come de 13 o 14 anos quien tubo mas influencia en usted?
1. ☐ Padre?
 2. ☐ Madre?
 3. ☐ Los dos, su papa y mama?
 4. ☐ Maestro (s)?
 5. ☐ Amigos de su edad?
 6. ☐ Pariente (quien)? _____
34. Cuando usted era de la misma edad 13 o 14 anos, que tantos de sus companeros en eso tiempo eran mexicanos? Companeros de escuela. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)
1. ☐ Todos
 2. ☐ Casi todos
 3. ☐ Unos Cuantos
 4. ☐ Ninguno
35. Que tantos de sus amigos en ese tiempo eran mexicanos?
1. ☐ Todos
 2. ☐ Casi todos
 3. ☐ Unos cuantos
 4. ☐ Ninguno
36. (SI TIENEN HIJOS QUE ESTEN O HALLEN IDO A LA ESCUELA): Ahora, sus hijos? Van, fueron, estan hiendo a:
1. ☐ Escuela publica
 2. ☐ Escuela Catolica
 3. ☐ Otra clase de escuela elemental privada
37. (SI TIENE NINOS): Que tantos de los amigos de sus hijos (cuando eran jovenes) eran o son mexicanos?
1. ☐ Todos
 2. ☐ Casi todos
 3. ☐ Unos cuantos
 4. ☐ Ninguno

38. Que tantos de sus companeros de escuela son mexicanos?

1. ☐ Todos
2. ☐ Casi todos
3. ☐ Unos cuantos
4. ☐ Ninguno

39. No siempre se puede saber come va a trabajar la vida, pero si usted tubiera lo que deseaba que tanta escuela le gustaria que sus hijos tengan, (hubieran tenido)?

1. ☐ Educacion de escuela elemental
2. ☐ Algo de high school
3. ☐ El high school completo
4. ☐ Algo de colegio
5. ☐ El colegio completo

40. Ahora quiero su opinion a cerca de las escuelas para los ninos. En su opinion, que cree usted lo mas importante que deben de enseñar en las escuelas ahora?

41. Usted siente lo mismo por los dos sexos: chamacos y chamacas?

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> No | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |

42. (PREGUNTESE A PADRES CON NINOS EN LA ESCUELA): A usted ha ido a la escuela en este ultimo ano?

1. ☐ No
- ☐ Si (con quien hablo?)
2. ☐ Principal
3. ☐ Maestro
4. ☐ Consejero
5. ☐ Otro

43. A cerca de que hablo? _____

Unas personas creen que puede uno llamar a su familia por todo, mientras otras gentes piensan en una mala idea.

44. Usted en alguna ocacion a ayudado con dinero algun miembro de su familia?

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> No | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |

45. Algun miembro de su familia lo a ayudado a usted con dinero?

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> No | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |

46. Como que tan seguido sus parientes le llaman pare que les ayude cuando estan enfermos? (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Muy seguido | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Seguido | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> De vez en cuando | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Nunca | |

47. Como que tan seguido usted le pide a sus parientes ayuda cuando esta enfermo?

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Muy seguido | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Seguido | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> De vez en cuando | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Nunca | |

Ahora me gustaria que hablaramos acerca de las cosas que le gustaria tener en el futuro. Por ejemplo: (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

48. Hay gente que cree que en 50 anos los mexicanos vamos a estar iguales que todo los americanos en estados unidos.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> No estoy muy cierto | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> No creo | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Creo mucho que no | |

49. Usted cree que estas cosas sean

- | |
|---------------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Buenas? o |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Malas? |

50. Porque dice usted eso? _____

51. Sus hijos? Hay algo acerca de la forma mexicana de vivir que le gustaria a usted en particular ver a sus hijos que continuaran??

- | |
|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> La lengua Espanola |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Modos y maneras |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Religion |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Comida, musica, arte |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Nada |
| 6. <input type="checkbox"/> Otros (especifique) _____ |

52. Que idioma usa usted cuando habla con sus hijos?

1. ☐ Nada mas espanol
2. ☐ Casi puro espanol
3. ☐ Nada mas ingles
4. ☐ Los dos idiomas

Frecuentemente se dice que la gente que habla espanola (Mexico - Americano) en el suroeste tiene que trabajar mucho mas duro que los Anglos. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

53. Que tan cierto es esto en esta comunidad?

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Muy cierto | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Algo cierto | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> No es cierto | |

54. En negocio?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Muy cierto | <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Algo cierto | <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> No es cierto | |

55. En politica y gov

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Muy cierto | <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Algo cierto | <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> No es cierto | |

56. Usted cree que la comunidad ha mejorado o empeorado o que en las ultimos 5 anos?

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Mucho mejor | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Mejor | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Lo mismo | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Peor | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Mucho peor | |

57. Ahora quiero que hablemos de las experiencias que usted y su familia han tenido en sus trabajos. Tiene usted trabajo ahorita?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> No | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Retirado | |

58. (SI ACASO ES SI): Es trabajo estable o permanente?

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> No, parte del tiempo | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |

59. Su trabajo es un poco regular , temporal?

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Regular | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Parte del tiempo | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> De temporada | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Otro (especifique) | |

60. Que clase de trabajo hace la cabeza de la casa? _____

61. Como que tantos gentes con las que trabaja cerca son mexi

- | |
|--|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Todos |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Casi todos |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Unos cuantos |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Ni uno |

62. (SI NO ESTA EMPLEADO DE POR SI): Su supervisor o jefe ¿a
lengua o raza?

- | |
|--------------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Mexicano |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Anglo |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Otro |

63. A trabajado usted de agricultor o en rancho?

- | |
|--------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Si |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> No |

(SI ES SI): Cuando fue eso? _____

64. (PREGUNTE A LA CABEZA DE LA CASA): Que tan contento esta
con su trabajo?

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Muy contento | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Contento | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Indiferente | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Descontento | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Muy descontento | |

65. Como considera usted sus chansas de subir en su trabajo?

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Muy buenas | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Buena | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> No muy buenas | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Nomas no | |

52. Que idioma usa usted cuando habla con sus hijos?

1. ☐ Nada mas espanol
2. ☐ Casi puro espanol
3. ☐ Nada mas ingles
4. ☐ Los dos idiomas

Frecuentemente se dice que la gente que habla espanola (Mexico - Americano) en el suroeste tiene que trabajar mucho mas duro que los Anglos. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

53. Que tan cierto es esto en esta comunidad?

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Muy cierto | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Algo cierto | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> No es cierto | |

54. En negocio?

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Muy cierto | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Algo cierto | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> No es cierto | |

55. En politica y gobierno?

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Muy cierto | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Algo cierto | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> No es cierto | |

56. Usted cree que la situacion a mejorado, a empeorado o que en las ultimos 5 anos?

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Mucho mejor | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Mejor | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Lo mismo | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Peor | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Mucho peor | |

57. Ahora quiero que hablemos de las experiencias que usted y su familia han tenido en sus trabajos. Tiene usted trabajo ahorita?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> No | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Retirado | |

58. (SI ACASO ES SI): Es trabajo estable o permanente?

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> No, parte del tiempo | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> NR |

59. Su trabajo es un poco regular , temporal?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Regular | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Parte del tiempo | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | De temporada | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | Otro (especifique) | | |

60. Que clase de trabajo hace la cabeza de la casa? _____

61. Como que tantos gentes con las que trabaja cerca son mexicanos?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Todos |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Casi todos |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Unos cuantos |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | Ni uno |

62. (SI NO ESTA EMPLEADO DE POR SI): Su supervisor o jefe que es su lengua o raza?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Mexicano |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Anglo |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Otro |

63. A trabajado usted de agricultor o en rancho?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Si |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | No |

(SI ES SI): Cuando fue eso? _____

64. (PREGUNTE A LA CABEZA DE LA CASA): Que tan contento esta usted con su trabajo?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Muy contento | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Contento | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Indiferente | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | Descontento | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Muy descontento | | |

65. Como considera usted sus chansas de subir en su trabajo?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Muy buenas | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Buena | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No muy buenas | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | Nomas no | | |

66. (LA CABEZA DE LA CASA): Personece usted a una union?

1. ☐ Si
2. ☐ NO

67. Supongamos que usted conoce un joven aqui en la comunidad--
que ocupacion piensa usted recomendarle?

68. Que diria usted es la cosa mas importante para que un joven considere
cuando este va a escoger trabajo pare el resto de su vida?

Ahora aqui hay varias cosas que personas tienen diferente opinion.
Por favor digame si usted esta de acuerdo o no. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

69. Mexico-Americanos tienden a tener la familia mas unida.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Indesiso | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo eso | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Nomas no | | |

70. Otros Americanos no trabajan tan duro como los Mexico-Americanos.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Indesiso | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo eso | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Nomas no | | |

71. Generalmente, otros Americanos son mas materialistas que los
Mexico-Americanos.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Indesiso | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo eso | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Nomas no | | |

72. Otros Americanos estan mas adelantados que los Mexico-Americanos.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Indesiso | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo que si | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Nomas no | | |

73. Mexico-Americanos muy a menudo culpan a otros Americanos por su posicion, pero en realidad es su propia culpa.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo much que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Indesiso | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo eso | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Nomas no creo | | |

74. Mexico-Americanos muy a menudo gritan de sus derechos pero no tienen nada que ofrecer.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Indesiso | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo eso | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Nomas no creo | | |

75. Planear familia, el control de nacmiento, se a discutido por mucha jente. Que es su opinion acerca de personas casadas que controlen la familia que van a tener?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Todo el tiempo es correcto | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Es normalmente correcto | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Normalmente no es correcto | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | Nunca es correcto | | |

Ahora cambiemos de conversacion. Vamos a hablar de los grupos que pertenece:

76. Tiene usted preferencia religiosa?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Catolico |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Protestante o |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Otro (especifique) _____ |

(SI ES PRETOESTANTE): Que demoninacion? _____

77. Su preferencia: A sido toda su vida esta religion?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | No |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Si |

(SI ES NO): Que era antes cuando cambio usted de religion? _____

78. Que tan importante es la religion para usted? Diria usted:

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Muy importante? | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Algo importante | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Indiferente? | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No muy importante? | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Ninguna importancia? | | |

79. Que tan seguido, atiende usted servicios religiosos en este ultimo ano

1. ☐ Una vez por semana o mes
2. ☐ Dos o tres veces por mes
3. ☐ Una vez por mes
4. ☐ Unas cuantas veces por ano
5. ☐ En ocasiones especiles como navidad, semana santa, etc.

80. Como que tantos de los que van a su iglesia son de origen Mexicana?
(HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Todos | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Casi todos | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Unos cuantos | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | Ninguno | | |

81. Politica y gobierno son discutidos en su iglesia?

1. ☐ Si
2. ☐ No

82. Su pastor o ministro discute los problemas locales de prueba o educacion?

1. ☐ Si
2. ☐ No

(SI ES QUE SI): Que clase de problemas discute? _____

83. Su pastor o ministro dice algo a la congregacion acerca de los politicos y por quien deben votar?

1. ☐ Si
2. ☐ No

Lo siguiente que le voy a leer es simplemente para ver como piensa usted. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

84. No creo que los oficiales publicos les importa mucho en lo que gentes como yo piensan.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho asi | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si no | | |

85. El modo como vota la gente es lo principal que decide como se corre el gobierno de esta pais.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="text"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="text"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="text"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="text"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="text"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="text"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="text"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

86. Votando es el unico modo que gente como yo tenemos para darle a saber al gobierno como sentimos.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="text"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="text"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="text"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="text"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="text"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="text"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="text"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

87. Gente como yo no tenemos nada que decir de lo que el gobierno hace.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="text"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="text"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="text"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="text"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="text"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="text"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="text"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

88. A veces la politica y el gobierno se ven tan complicados que personas como yo no podemos entender realmente que esta pasando.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="text"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="text"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="text"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="text"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="text"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="text"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="text"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

89. Cuando fue la ultima vez que fue a Mexico de visita (fecha)

Me interesa saber su opinion acerca de Mexico. Que piensa usted de lo siguiente: (USE SAME CARD)

90. Los Estados Unidos deben de dejar a Mexicanos de Mexico que vengan a trabajar tan libremente possible.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="text"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="text"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="text"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="text"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="text"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="text"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="text"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

91. En Mexico es mas dificil de aventajar que en los Estados Unidos.

- | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------|
| 1. <u> </u> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <u> </u> | No Se |
| 2. <u> </u> | Creo que si | 9. <u> </u> | NR |
| 3. <u> </u> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <u> </u> | No creo | | |
| 5. <u> </u> | Creo mucho que no | | |

92. En Mexico es mas duro para una persona que tiene facciones indias.

- | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------|
| 1. <u> </u> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <u> </u> | No Se |
| 2. <u> </u> | Creo que si | 9. <u> </u> | NR |
| 3. <u> </u> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <u> </u> | No creo | | |
| 5. <u> </u> | Creo mucho que no | | |

93. En los Estados Unidos es mas duro para los Mexico-Americanos con piel obscura que los de piel blanca.

- | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------|
| 1. <u> </u> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <u> </u> | No Se |
| 2. <u> </u> | Creo que si | 9. <u> </u> | NR |
| 3. <u> </u> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <u> </u> | No creo | | |
| 5. <u> </u> | Creo mucho que no | | |

94. En un tiempo o en otro todos tenemos necesidad de hablar con alguien. Si usted necesita el consejo de alguien acerca de dinero, a quien se lo pediria usted? (si acaso da nombre, entonces pregunte si es) _____

1. Mexico-Americano
2. Non Mexicano-Americano

95. Ahora consejo o informacion acerca de politica. Con quien iria usted. _____

1. Mexico-Americano
2. Non Mexicano-Americano

96. Que tantos de sus amigos son de ancestros mexicanos?

- | | | | |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------|
| 1. <u> </u> | Todos | 8. <u> </u> | No Se |
| 2. <u> </u> | Casi todos ellos | 9. <u> </u> | NR |
| 3. <u> </u> | Unos cuantos | | |
| 4. <u> </u> | Ninguno de ellos | | |

Ahora quiero que piense acerca de algo importante. Hay gente que le gusta juntarse con diferente gentes, y otros gentes no les gusta. Usted piensa que le disgustaria: (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

	1.	2.	3.
	'Disgusta'	'No Le Disgusta'	'Otro'
97. Comer en las misma mesa con un Anglo?			
98. Bailar con un Anglo?			
99. Ir a una fiesta y encontrarse con todos Anglos			
100. Tener una persona Anglo que se case con alguien de su familia?			
101. Comer en la misma mesa con un Negro?			
102. Bailar con un Negro?			
103. Ir a una fiesta y encontrar que todos son Negros?			
104. Tener un Negro que se case con alguien de su familia			

Por cada uno de los siguientes preguntas digame si esta de acuerdo o no? Una vez mas quiero recordarle aqui no hay contestaciones equivocadas, nada mas queremos saber su opinion. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

105. Hacer planes nada mas trae tristesa porque los planes son muy dificil de consumarse.

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. _____ Creo mucho que si | 8. _____ No Se |
| 2. _____ Creo que si | 9. _____ NR |
| 3. _____ No estoy muy cierto | |
| 4. _____ No creo | |
| 5. _____ Creo much que no | |

106. No hace mucha diferencia si el pueblo elije a un candidato o a otro porque nada va acambiar.

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. _____ Creo mucho que si | 8. _____ No Se |
| 2. _____ Creo que si | 9. _____ NR |
| 3. _____ No estoy muy cierto | |
| 4. _____ No creo | |
| 5. _____ Creo mucho que no | |

107. Con las cosas como estan ahora, una personal inteligente debe de pensar del presente y no mortificarse del lo que va a pasar mañana.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

108. El secreto para la felicidad es de no esperar mucho de la vida, estar contento con lo que viene.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

109. Cuando una personal busca trabajo debe de vuscar algo cerca de sus padres, aunque esto signifique perder una buena oportunidad en algun otra parte.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo much que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo que si | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

110. Cuando usted tiene dificultades, nada mas sus parientes puede depender para ayuda.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

111. Si usted tubiera oportunidad de ocupar un asistente en un trabajo, es mejor ocupar un pariente (relative) o un extrano (stranger).

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo que si | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

112. (TO RESPONDENT WHO LIVES IN THE WEST SIDE OF TOWN): Si usted tubiera la oportunidad, prefereria usted vivir en el lado este (East side) del pueblo?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | No | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |

Aqui le voy a mencionar una lista de organizaciones que diferentes gentes me han mencionado. Digame si (1) nunca a oido, (2) a oido, (3) esta usted muy familiarizado, (4) pertenece a ese grupo or organizasion. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

		1.	2.	3.	4.
		Nunca a Oido	A Oido	Familiarizado	Pertenece
113.	G. I. Forum				
114.	P. T. A.				
115.	MAYO				
116.	Holy Name Society				
117.	CYO				
118.	YAC				
119.	San Jose Society				
120.	Ladies Auxiliary (G.I. Forum)				
121.	PASO				
122.	Guadalupanas				
123.	Allianza para Mexico- Americanos				
124.	Esta lista de organizaciones de Mexico-Americanos esta incompleta. Muchas organizaciones no estan aqui. Me quisiera mencionar unas mas?				
125.	De todos estas organizaciones, cual cree usted es la mejor?				

Por que? _____

126. Algunas gentes piensan que personas de ancestras Mexicanas deben de unirse para la politica. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

- | | | | |
|----------|---------------------|----------|-------|
| 1. _____ | Creo mucho que si | 8. _____ | No Se |
| 2. _____ | Creo que si | 9. _____ | NR |
| 3. _____ | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. _____ | No creo que si | | |
| 5. _____ | Creo mucho que no | | |

127. Hablando con diferentes gentes acerca de votar, me dicen que no votaron porque no se registraron, porque estuvieron enfermos, o porque no tuvieron tiempo. Usted esta (o estuvo) registrado para votar?

1. ☐ Si
2. ☐ No

128. (IF YES): Voto usted en las ultimas primarias o generales?

1. ☐ Si
2. ☐ No

129. En su opinion que partido cree usted representa los intereses de los Mexico-Americanos:

1. ☐ Partido Democrata?
2. ☐ El Partido La Raza Unida?
3. ☐ Partido Republicano?
4. ☐ Otro (Diga que) _____

(IF RESPONDENT CHOOSES A PARTY): Porque cree usted que este partido es el mejor? _____

130. Usted piensa que es bueno tener un partido politico como La Raza Unida que represente a los Mexico-Americanos?

1. ☐ Si
2. ☐ NO
8. ☐ No Se
9. ☐ NR

131. Usted piensa que un partido politico como La Raza Unida puede unificar a los Mexico-Americanos y possiblemente ganar las elecciones?

1. ☐ Si
2. ☐ No
8. ☐ No Se
9. ☐ NR

Desde hace tiempo que programas de welfare estan en operacion en esta comunidad asi como en otras partes del estado y la nacion. Digame usted si usted aprueba o desaprueba lo siguiente: (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

132. Hay mucha gente recibiendo ayuda del welfare en lugar de estar trabajando.

1. ☐ Creo mucho que si
2. ☐ Creo que si
3. ☐ No esoy muy cierto
4. ☐ No creo
5. ☐ Creo mucho que no
8. ☐ No Se
9. ☐ NR

133. Mucha gente en welfare no son honestos en su necesidad.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

134. Muchos mujeres en welfare tienen mas hijos ilegítimos para que les den mas dinero.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

135. Generalmente hablando, estamos gastando muy poco dinero en programas de bienestar (welfare) en este país.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

136. Mucha de la gente en welfare que pueden trabajar tratan de encontrar trabajos para sostenerse de por si.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

137. Una de las dificultades con el welfare es que no le da lo suficiente a la gente para sobrevivir.

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que si | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo que si | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No creo | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Creo mucho que no | | |

Tengo una lista de cosas que la gente hace para ayudar a su candidato o su partido durante las elecciones. Me podría usted decir si usted hizo alguna de las cosas siguientes? Digame (1) Si o (2) No a estas preguntas:

138. ☐ Hablar con gente y tratar de enseñarles el porque deben de votar por su partido o candidato?
139. ☐ Dio dinero o compro boletos para algo para ayuda de los candidatos o partido?

140. _____ Fue usted a alguna de las juntas politicas, comidas, bailes, or cosas de por el estilo?
141. _____ Pertenece usted a cualquier organizacion o club politico?
142. _____ Hizo usted algun trabajo o algo por el estilo para ayudar al partido o candidato?
143. _____ Uso usted boton o puso anuncio politico (sticker) en la defensa de su carro?

Lo siguiente concierne diferentes aspectos de votar. Digame si usted esta de acuerdo o no. Recuerde que no hay contestaciones equivocadas. Nada mas queremos su opinion. (HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT)

144. Generalmente es muy buena satisfacion de ir a votar?

- | | | | |
|----------|---------------------|----------|-------|
| 1. _____ | Creo mucho que si | 8. _____ | No Se |
| 2. _____ | Creo que si | 9. _____ | NR |
| 3. _____ | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. _____ | No creo | | |
| 5. _____ | Creo mucho que no | | |

145. Es tanto la gente que vota en las elecciones nacionales que no importa mucho si yo voto o no.

- | | | | |
|----------|---------------------|----------|-------|
| 1. _____ | Creo mucho que si | 8. _____ | No Se |
| 2. _____ | Creo que si | 9. _____ | NR |
| 3. _____ | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. _____ | No creo | | |
| 5. _____ | Creo mucho que no | | |

146. Una persona debe de votar unicamente en las elecciones que le combienen.

- | | | | |
|----------|---------------------|----------|-------|
| 1. _____ | Creo mucho que si | 8. _____ | No Se |
| 2. _____ | Creo que si | 9. _____ | NR |
| 3. _____ | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. _____ | No creo | | |
| 5. _____ | Creo mucho que no | | |

147. Una buena porcion de las elecciones locales no son lo suficiente importantes para molestarce uno.

- | | | | |
|----------|---------------------|----------|-------|
| 1. _____ | Creo mucho que si | 8. _____ | No Se |
| 2. _____ | Creo que si | 9. _____ | NR |
| 3. _____ | No estoy muy cierto | | |
| 4. _____ | No creo | | |
| 5. _____ | Creo mucho que no | | |

148. Basicamente tenemos tres (3) niveles de gobierno para servir a los ciudadanos de esta comunidad y nacion. Son el gobierno local, el estatal, y el federal. Cual de los tres cree usted sirve mejor el interes de usted y esta comunidad?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Local | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Estatat | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Federal | | |

149. Que piensa usted de la posibilidad de tener un mayor Mexico-Americano aqui en Beeville en el futuro cercano?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Muy probable | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Probable | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | No es probable | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | Nomas no es probable | | |

Porque dise usted eso? _____

150. Conoce usted uno o mas de los miembros del concilio de la ciudad?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Si |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | No |

151. (IF RESPONDENT'S ANSWER IS YES): Estas personas son

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Mexico-Americanos? |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Anglos? |

152. Generalmente hablando, esta usted satisfecho con estas personas y los demas oficiales de esta comunidad?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Muy satisfecho | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Satisfecho | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Indiferente | | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | No estoy satisfecho | | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | Estoy completamente desatisfecho | | |

Finalmente para terminar, digame acerca de lo que usted lee y ve en television.

153. Cual es su estacion favorita--lo que usted escucha mas a menudo? _____

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> | Estacion de origin Mexicana (Canal 41 o 7) |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> | Mexicana (originada en Estados Unidos) |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> | Cadena (Network NBC, CBS, ABC) |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> | Ninguna favorita |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> | No tengo television |
| 8. <input type="checkbox"/> | No Se |
| 9. <input type="checkbox"/> | NR |

154. Cual es su estacion de radio favorita--la que escucha mas a menudo? _____

- 1. _____ Mexicana de Mexico
- 2. _____ Mexicana de Estados Unidos como KIBL
- 3. _____ Ingles (local o regional)
- 4. _____ No tengo radio

- 8. _____ No Se
- 9. _____ NR

155. Que periodico lee usted mas seguido? _____

- 1. _____ Mexicano (de Mexico)
- 2. _____ Bee Picayune (local)
- 3. _____ Bee County Independent (El Exito local)
- 4. _____ Periodico regional como Corpus Christi Caller o San Antonio Express
- 5. _____ No periodico

- 8. _____ No Se
- 9. _____ NR

156. (IF ANSWER IS LOCAL NEWSPAPER): Usted cree que este periodico da las noticias imparcialmente y parajo.

- 1. _____ Si
- 2. _____ No

- 8. _____ No Se
- 9. _____ NR

APPENDIX D

Elite Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN INFLUENTIALS
OF BEEVILLE, TEXAS

The purpose of this interview schedule is to gain insight into the social and political attitudes and values of influential persons of Mexican background of this community of Beeville. The intention is to find how you, as a person of influence, feel about some of the important things of this community.

All answers to this questionnaire are absolutely confidential. Any results will be presented in an anonymous or statistical form.

1. Place of Birth

1. ☐ Texas
2. ☐ United States other than Texas
3. ☐ Mexico
4. ☐ Other

2. Sex

1. ☐ Male
2. ☐ Female

3. Marital Status

1. ☐ Single
2. ☐ Married
3. ☐ Other

4. Length of Residence in Beeville Community

1. ☐ 1 to 5 years
2. ☐ 6 to 10 years
3. ☐ 11 to 20 years
4. ☐ More than 20 years

5. Why did you decide to live here?

1. ☐ Economic or occupational reasons
2. ☐ Family reasons
3. ☐ Community reasons
4. ☐ Other reasons (specify below) _____

6. How do you prefer to be identified?

1. ☐ Spanish-speaking
2. ☐ Latin-American
3. ☐ Mexican
4. ☐ Mexican-American
5. ☐ Chicano
6. ☐ American
7. ☐ Other

7. What is your present occupation in as precise terms as possible?

8. When you were a child, around 13 or 14 years old, how many of your schoolmates at that time were of Mexican background?

1. ☐ All of them
2. ☐ Most of them
3. ☐ A few of them
4. ☐ None of them

9. When you were that same age, 13 or 14 years old, who had more influence on you:

1. ☐ Father?
 2. ☐ Mother?
 3. ☐ Both father and mother?
 4. ☐ Teacher(s)?
 5. ☐ Friend(s) your own age?
 6. ☐ Relative? Which one? _____
-

10. And how many of your friends at that time (13 or 14 years old) were of Mexican background?

1. ☐ All of them
2. ☐ Most of them
3. ☐ A few of them
4. ☐ None of them

IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING:

11. How many of your children's friends are (or when they were young were) of Mexican background?

1. ☐ All of them
2. ☐ Most of them
3. ☐ A few of them
4. ☐ None of them

12. And how many of their schoolmates are (or when they were young were) of Mexican background?

1. ☐ All of them
2. ☐ Most of them
3. ☐ A few of them
4. ☐ None of them

13. You can't always tell about how things will work out, but if you had your wish, about how much schooling would you (have) like(d) your child(ren) to have (had)?

1. ☐ Some high school education
2. ☐ High school education
3. ☐ Some college education
4. ☐ College education

14. As far as amount of education, do you feel the same amount for boys and girls?

- 1. ☐ Yes
- 2. ☐ No
- 8. ☐ Don't Know
- 9. ☐ No Response

15. Now I would like to get your opinion concerning the schools for children. In your opinion what are the main things that children need to be taught in the schools today?

16. Do you feel the same for both boys and girls?

- 1. ☐ Yes
- 2. ☐ No
- 8. ☐ Don't Know
- 9. ☐ No Response

Now I would like to talk with you about some of the things you would like to have for the future. For example,

17. Some people feel that 50 years from now Mexican Americans will be exactly the same as everybody else in the United States. Do you...

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

18. Do you feel such a thing would be

- 1. ☐ Good
- 2. ☐ Not so good

19. Why do you say that?

20. What about your own children? Is there anything about the Mexican way of life that you would particularly like to see them follow?

- 1. ☐ Spanish language
- 2. ☐ Manners and customs
- 3. ☐ Religion
- 4. ☐ Food, music, art
- 5. ☐ Nothing
- 6. ☐ Others (please specify)

21. What language do you use when you talk with your children?

1. ☐ Spanish only
2. ☐ Mostly Spanish
3. ☐ English only
4. ☐ Both languages

It has frequently been said that people of Spanish-speaking background in the Southwest have to work a lot harder to get ahead than Anglo-Americans.

22. How true is that in this community?

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Very true | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat true | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Not true | |

23. How about the business community in particular?

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Very true | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat true | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Not true | |

24. How about in politics or government of this community in particular?

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Very true | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat true | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Not true | |

25. Generally speaking, do you feel that this situation in this community has become better, worse or what, in the past five years?

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Much better | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Better | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> About the same | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Worse | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Much worse | |

26. Suppose you know a really outstanding young man here in this community--what one occupation do you think you would advise him to aim toward?

27. What would you say is the most important single thing for a young man to consider when he is choosing his life's work?

Here are some statements that people have different opinions about. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree:

28. Mexican Americans tend to have stronger family ties than most other Americans.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |

29. Other Americans don't work as hard as Mexican Americans.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

30. Generally speaking, other Americans are more materialistic than Mexican Americans are.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

31. Mexican Americans often blame other Americans for their position, but it's really their own fault.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

32. Generally speaking, Mexican Americans often shout about their rights but don't have anything to offer.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

Now I would like to switch the subject and talk about your participation in church affairs:

33. Do you have a religious preference? That is, are you

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Catholic | |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Protestant, or | |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Something else? (specify) _____ | |

34. How important is religion to you? Would you say it is

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Very important? | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat important | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Indifferent? | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Not very important | |

35. About how often, if ever, have you attended religious services in the last year?

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. _____ Once a week or more | 8. _____ Don't Know |
| 2. _____ Two or three times a month | 9. _____ No Response |
| 3. _____ Once a month | |
| 4. _____ A few times a year or less | |

36. Are politics and government ever discussed in your church?

1. _____ Yes
2. _____ No

37. Does your priest (minister) ever discuss local problems such as poverty or education?

1. _____ Yes
2. _____ No

If he does, what local problems does he discuss? _____

38. Does your priest (minister) ever say anything about which candidate the members of your church vote for?

1. _____ Yes
2. _____ No

The following statements are simply to ask you about your outlook on life in general. I am merely interested in what you think. Would you agree or disagree with the following?

39. I don't think public officials care much what people like me think?

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. _____ Strongly agree | 8. _____ Don't Know |
| 2. _____ Agree | 9. _____ No Response |
| 3. _____ Undecided | |
| 4. _____ Disagree | |
| 5. _____ Strongly disagree | |

40. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in this country.

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. _____ Strongly agree | 8. _____ Don't Know |
| 2. _____ Agree | 9. _____ No Response |
| 3. _____ Undecided | |
| 4. _____ Disagree | |
| 5. _____ Strongly disagree | |

41. Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things.

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. _____ Strongly agree | 8. _____ Don't Know |
| 2. _____ Agree | 9. _____ No Response |
| 3. _____ Undecided | |
| 4. _____ Disagree | |
| 5. _____ Strongly disagree | |

42. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

43. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

44. How many of your friends are of Mexican background?

1. ☐ All of them
2. ☐ Most of them
3. ☐ Few of them
4. ☐ None of them

For each of the following statements, would you tell me whether you agree or disagree? Once again, there are no right or wrong answers. I would like to get your opinion.

45. Making plans only brings unhappiness because the plans are hard to fulfill.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

46. It doesn't make much difference if the people elect one or another candidate for nothing will change.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

47. With things as they are today, an intelligent person ought to think only about the present without worrying about what is going to happen tomorrow.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

48. The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

49. When looking for a job, a person ought to find a position in a place located near his parents, even if that means losing a good opportunity elsewhere.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

50. When you are in trouble, only a relative can be depended upon to help you.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

51. If you have the chance to hire an assistant in your work, it is always better to hire a relative than a stranger.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

52. Some people say that all people of Mexican background should get together politically. Would you agree or disagree with this statement?

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

53. In your opinion which political party do you think best represents the interests of the Mexican American:

1. ☐ Democratic Party?
2. ☐ La Raza Unida Party?
3. ☐ Republican Party?
4. ☐ Other (specify) _____

54. Do you think it is a good thing to have a political party like La Raza Unida to represent the Mexican Americans?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

8. ☐ Don't Know
9. ☐ No Response

55. Do you think that a political party like La Raza Unida can unify the Mexican Americans and possibly win elections?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

8. ☐ Don't Know
9. ☐ No Response

For some time welfare programs have been in operation in this community as well as in other parts of the state and nation. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with following statements concerning welfare programs.

56. There are too many people receiving welfare money who should be working.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ Don't Know
9. ☐ No Response

57. Generally speaking, we are spending too little money on welfare programs in this country.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ Don't Know
9. ☐ No Response

58. Many people getting welfare are not honest about their need.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ Don't Know
9. ☐ No Response

59. Most people on welfare who can work try to find jobs so they can support themselves.

1. ☐ Strongly agree
2. ☐ Agree
3. ☐ Undecided
4. ☐ Disagree
5. ☐ Strongly disagree

8. ☐ Don't Know
9. ☐ No Response

60. Many women getting welfare money are having illegitimate babies to increase the money they get.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

61. One of the main troubles with welfare is that it doesn't give people enough to get along on.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly agree | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Agree | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Undecided | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Disagree | |
| 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Strongly disagree | |

Now, let's consider the community of Beeville.

62. Do you belong to any local, state or national voluntary (civic or otherwise) organization such as the G. I. Forum (Ladies Auxiliary) or the Holy Name Society?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

If yes, list the name(s) of the organization(s): _____

63. Can you foresee the possibility of an organization where most Mexican Americans would belong together in this community?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

Why do you say that? _____

64. Generally speaking, how strong do you consider Mexican American organizations?

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Very strong | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Strong | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Not too strong | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Not strong at all | |

65. Do you think ~~that~~ there is a need for stronger Mexican American organizations?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

Why do you say that? _____

66. Do you think that these organizations should be politically oriented, that is, should these organizations participate more in the political process of the community?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

8. ☐ Don't Know
9. ☐ No Response

67. As far as you know, has a local Mexican American voluntary organization (civic or otherwise) tried to influence a local decision-making body such as the local city council or the commissioners court?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

8. ☐ Don't Know
9. ☐ No Response

68. Do you think that there is a need for improvement of relations between the Mexican American and the Anglo communities?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

Comment: _____

69. As far as community representation of public or/and private agencies and institutions such as city and county governments and public schools, how satisfactory is the participation and representation of Mexican Americans?

1. ☐ Very satisfactory
2. ☐ Somewhat satisfactory
3. ☐ Unsatisfactory
4. ☐ Very unsatisfactory

8. ☐ Don't Know
9. ☐ No Response

70. Have your relation or association with the Anglo community increased or decreased in the past few years?

1. ☐ Increased considerably
2. ☐ Increased some
3. ☐ About the same
4. ☐ Decreased some
5. ☐ Decreased considerably

8. ☐ Don't Know
9. ☐ No Response

What accounts for this situation? _____

I would like to get some idea from you about the general nature of leadership and decision-making in this community.

71. Have you attempted to influence ~~the~~ local decision such as a decision of the city council or other local governmental decisions?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

72. If you had the opportunity would you try to influence local decisions?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

73. If for a just cause you would attempt to change local decisions, how successful would you think you would be?

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Very successful | 8. <input type="checkbox"/> Don't Know |
| 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat successful | 9. <input type="checkbox"/> No Response |
| 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Not successful | |
| 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Very unsuccessful | |

74. Suppose a major project were before the community, one that required decision by a group of leaders whom nearly everyone would accept. Which people would you choose to make up this group--regardless of whether or not you know them personally?
List them below:

- | | |
|----------|-----------|
| 1. _____ | 6. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 9. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 8. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 9. _____ |
| 5. _____ | 10. _____ |

75. Some studies of other communities have shown that a small group pretty well run local affairs and make most of the important decisions. In your opinion is this accurate description of the way in which things are done here in this community?

1. ☐ Yes
2. ☐ No

Why is that? _____

76. Suppose that you decided to run for public office here in the community. Who are the people you would be most likely to contact in order to get their backing and support so that you would have a good chance of winning?

1. _____	6. _____
2. _____	7. _____
3. _____	8. _____
4. _____	9. _____
5. _____	10. _____

77. Suppose a man wanted to become a leader in this community. Could you give me your ideas about what he would have to do and the qualifications he would need?

78. Here is a list of ten issues which have been mentioned as the most important issues of this community. Please rank these issues according to their importance in this community. Place the number (as found on Right Column) on the Left Column starting with the number of the issue you consider most important.

1. _____ Number of most important issue	1. Combating crime and delinquency
2. _____ Number of 2nd most important issue	2. Urban renewal
3. _____ Number of 3rd " " "	3. Industrial development
4. _____ Number of 4th " " "	4. Hospital and medical facilities
5. _____ Number of 5th " " "	5. Poverty programs
6. _____ Number of 6th " " "	6. Relations with the Anglo
7. _____ Number of 7th " " "	7. Educational programs and facilities
8. _____ Number of 8th " " "	8. Tax problems
9. _____ Number of 9th " " "	9. Unpaved Streets
10. _____ Least important of the issues	10. Park development

79. The list above is incomplete. Would you care to name one or two more of the most important issues? _____

80. Annual Gross Family Income

1. _____ Under \$6,000
2. _____ \$6,000 to \$9,000
3. _____ \$9,000 to \$12,000
4. _____ \$12,000 to \$15,000
5. _____ Over \$15,000

81. Age

1. _____ 18 to 29 years of age
2. _____ 30 to 39 " " "
3. _____ 40 to 49 " " "
4. _____ 50 to 59 " " "
5. _____ Over 60 years of age

82. Level of Education attainment

1. _____ Up to eighth grade
2. _____ Ninth to twelfth
3. _____ High school graduate
4. _____ Some college
5. _____ College graduate