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FIFTY DELINQUENT MEXICAN-AMERICANS
IN WAR TIME :
A SOCIAL ANALYSIS

by

George I. J. Dixon
B.A., Montana State University, 1947

Presented in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the degree of Mas-
ter of Arts.

Montana State University
1947

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

This thesis is concerned with a social analysis of information gained from fifty Mexican-Americans who were confined to a disciplinary barracks of the United States Army.

By using the questionnaire-interview method of securing information, it was felt that access was made to two fields of information. The first field is a brief exploration into the life histories of these men. This exploration has two divisions: (a) factual, vital statistics type of information which includes such things as geographic distribution of place of birth, permanent residence, marital status, educational achievement, and various kinds of data concerning the person and his physical environment; (b) socio-cultural aspects of the individual's life-history background. This latter material includes the primary environment of the individual which may be termed his social heritage. Here, such items as language usage, make-up of the family, and the status of the immediate neighborhood or community are considered.

The second field of information may be termed psychological. It deals with the attitudes of the cases toward the institutional structure and function of the society. For purposes of explanation and in order to facilitate understanding of their nature, their attitudes may be roughly divided into

two patterns: (a) the social and cultural, which centers on the regard of the individual toward his social heritage, his community, his language, his minority status, and his visibility traits; (b) the ideological, without which no society exists. In this connection, attitudes toward native and foreign ideologies were expressed by the cases.

Minority peoples in the United States present situations of cultural conflict, unadjustment, misorganization and hostility to possible assimilation, and the magnitude of these situations cannot be measured. That they are of broad importance to the over-all social welfare of a nation is not denied even by those who are hostile to the fusion of peoples. This thesis is in large part concerned with the fundamental causes of conflict, unadjustment and misorganization, it attempts to point up indirectly the rootlessness of the prejudice and hostility of majority groups directed at minority peoples.

The Need for Research: Upon directing a request to the Pan American Union for bibliographical references about Mexican-Americans in the United States, the writer was informed that only recently has an attempt been made to collect into a volume the references dealing with those citizens of the United States who are of Mexican extraction, and with their immigrant parents.

In the same letter the writer was informed that the field of delinquency of these people has "never been adequately

surveyed," and that "as a matter of fact the number of detailed studies of the Mexican population in the United States is very small."

The National apathy toward "problems" arising out of frictions and hostility between majority and minority groups is pertinently demonstrated when one learns that there are many colleges and universities that do not even provide courses of study in minority relations. A further deterrent to an intelligent approach to inter-cultural education arises from the ecological distribution of minority peoples, who are characterized by heavy local concentrations and some diffused scattering.

The fact that in Glasgow, Montana, for example, there are only a very few "Mexicans," and "they don't bother anybody," (as one university student whose residence is there put it), tends to limit, if not obscure, in the mind of the average citizen the existence of a "problem." The same student was quick to say that there had been Negro "trouble" in Glasgow once. Five Negroes were ordered out of town once, because one had discharged a pistol in a brawl. Negroes are discouraged from settling there. It did not matter that only a week previously a white man had done a similar thing, and that brawls with knives among the whites are not infrequent occurrences. Whites are not a minority. They do not constitute a problem.

Research about any specific minority people would

serve three purposes. None is more or less important than the other. First, cultural values may be studied; values such as customs, art, and folklore, which are part of the history of the specific group and which tend to fuse into the history of the majority. Second, by learning the sources of conflict and the causes of the failures in assimilation processes, certain problems within the minority group's internal relationships may perhaps be alleviated. Problems or difficulties arising out of relationships with the majority may tend to be mitigated. A third value is the potential means of bringing about assimilation and ultimate fusion of cultures and peoples. Equipped with the factual findings of social science, mutual understanding can be broadened, educational processes can be strengthened, universal cultural integration can be effected, and purposeful, determined policies for the attainment of universal social adjustment may be formulated.

The process of integrating social interaction of peoples without conflict does not just "grow like Topsy." Ethnic assimilation is no more an immaculate conception than is flood control, or land and resources conservation. There must be planning. And without adequate study and research, without contributing factors from all sciences and all institutions, there can be only a deepening chaos.

This thesis, broad in its scope, perhaps even too broad, is intended to be a contributing factor for social

planning. Although it has been remarked that studies in the field concerning people of Mexican extraction are not very extensive, it is pointed out here that each study of a minority group also reflects the majority. Research in terms of the majority has not been specifically extensive, but it is a by-product of the research among minority peoples.

Classification of Data: To the layman, one of the values of social work in general, and case work in particular, is the anonymity maintained in the recording of data. To the researcher, on the other hand, this anonymity often extends to the point where records kept by public agencies, and oftentimes private bodies, are not held available for analysis, thus severely limiting the extent of scientific analysis. Consequently, handicaps to therapeutic and preventive processes and their development are inherent in closed records.

In Chapter II the nature and scope of the material used in this thesis are discussed more fully. But it is of value to note here that the writer has not been able to find a study of Mexican-Americans in a similar situation. There is a pressing need for recognition of the circumstances in which people of all cultural backgrounds are found in relation to their social inheritances.

Regulations of the armed forces, and the public and private agencies associated with the armed forces prohibited minute study of the records of the individual cases. The gathering

of the data depended wholly on the co-operation of the respondents, without adequate use of recorded information about the home environment. The analysis is largely concerned with the personal attitudes of respondents from the standpoint of uniform questions. Therefore, in context, the data represent average situations or deviations from the standards set in interviewing. Such standard control was necessary to expedite interviewing and to facilitate analysis.

This thesis is concerned with presenting the typical, or average social situations and attitudes toward these situations. Where pertinent and/or possible, such information is contrasted with other studies. Where it is warranted, atypical information is noted.

Summary: Within the context of the data as recorded in the questionnaire-interview, this thesis is concerned with research among Americans of Mexican descent. Such research should, of course, include both those who are institutionalized and those who are not; if and when it is possible to do so.

Second, this thesis, concerned with socially ill individuals (their illness being indicated by the fact that they are institutionalized), presents certain environmental and social situations and attitudes toward society, its institutions, processes and ideologies.

Third, this thesis by implication intends to show within the context and limits of fifty cases, the deviation of the

American of Mexican extraction from the socio-cultural patterns of immigrant parents.

Fourth, the analysis will demonstrate some degrees of adaptation to the United States not experienced by the parents and will show that the American of Mexican extraction is not a product of Mexico and its culture, but rather that he is unique to both the United States and Mexico.

Finally, it is the problem of this thesis to show that the situation in which these cases find themselves is not so much a failure on their part to adjust to military responsibility and/or military laws and regulations, but that the total social heritage and environment is responsible in varying degrees for their predicament, that as individuals and as a group the cases were not free agents acting on their own will but were retarded both as individuals and as a group in making the adjustments necessary for social living; that external pressures have been the major factor in this maladjustment.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE MATERIAL

History of the Material: The data used in this study was gathered under the auspices of Dr. Eugene Revitch (then Captain, U.S.M.D.), psychiatrist at the Fort Missoula Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Missoula, Montana.

In August, 1946, Dr. Revitch had indicated that he could make available for sociological research, fifty odd case studies of men in the disciplinary barracks. There were to be no limitations to the case studies except those designated by military regulations, and those necessary for the convenience and expedience of Dr. Revitch, his staff, and the attitudes of the men in answering questions. Opportunity was given to work with one of several groups, these groups being White, Negro, and Mexican. The Mexican-American group was selected for reasons which will be indicated throughout this study.

Because military regulations prohibited interview of inmates at the barracks by a civilian, the co-operation of Dr. Revitch's staff was offered the writer in gaining the information he desired. And, inasmuch as the Mexican-American inmates were largely bi-lingual, being generally more expressive in the Spanish language, an interviewer was selected who was capable in the use of both English and Spanish.

Since expedience was emphasized in the gathering of this material, an interview schedule was drawn up to aid in making regular, readable, and uniform responses.

The Interview Schedule: The interview schedule was drawn up under the supervision of Dr. Paul Meadows, and subjected to the criticism of Dr. Revitch. His criticism was a practical one, for he tested the questionnaire. He selected cases with the following items in mind:

- a. The length of time necessary to make the interview;
- b. The attitudes of the cases in replying to questions;
- c. The capability of the cases to make replies;
- d. The experience range of the cases and its effect in weighting the responses.
- e. The willingness of the cases to co-operate.

With these tests made on selected cases, the original schedule was revised. This revision necessitated a seemingly haphazard and unsystematic instrument. The original questionnaire, which was intended to be almost a complete life history interview took, in the sample cases, as much as six and seven hours for the interview. This alone made the "life history" impractical. It follows that the attitudes of the interviewees became less and less enthusiastic as time dragged on, especially those cases where intelligence was low, and where the language barrier was tedious. Likewise it was found that the interviewees lacked some specificity in making replies--

either through slow memory utilization, confusion, or limited experience range. The willingness to cooperate was hampered, of course, by the length of the interview.

It is felt, however, that the attitudes expressed above are not sociologically insignificant. The "negative," or "incomprehension" or the "confused" replies were deemed to be important as factors in sociological analysis. Furthermore, inaccuracies have been checked from the official case records of the interviewees.

No attempt was made to categorize the cases as a "select" group, or an "abnormal" group, or in any way a "different group. Except for those questions dealing with Latin America, an attempt was made to maintain a conventional questionnaire outlook in dealing with the samples of people or peoples. It is recognized that these cases are a minority American ethnic group.

Cases were selected at random, without first checking on intelligence, civilian or military record, age, or marital status, or any other factors. There was no selectivity except in the fact that the cases were to be of Mexican extraction, and that a random sample would be taken. There were slightly more than a hundred cases from which to take this sample. It is believed that a fair sample has been taken.

One hundred and thirty questions (with some subdivisions) are listed in the questionnaire. Length of time for

interviews varied from one hour to several hours, depending upon whether or not the questions had to be translated, and the length of time it took to explain them; and the quickness of reply of the respondents.

The schedule was a modified-supervised interview. The interviewing staff was trained and supervised in its task by Dr. Revitch with the co-operation of the writer. In no case did the respondent write his own answers, although the interviewer tried to present the precise words and answers of the interviewee where it was felt that such precision was necessary. Dr. Revitch, the interviewing staff and the writer discussed the questions before they were used in order to come to a common understanding of their use and meaning.

Questions were selected from the standpoint of current events, ethnic qualifications and possible attitudes on race, life history, contemporary life history, economics, environment (both social and physical), and group and family relationships. Added information both for contrast and as a check against possible wrong responses was gained through the records of the men. This includes a short abstract of criminal records, work history, sketch of family life, health of inmate (physical and mental), and any pertinent data including some prognosis and diagnosis of the case.

The use of this material bears some explanation. It is not the purpose of this paper to make a study in criminology.

Neither is this work concerned with the justification of any of the inmates. An analysis of the material as it is in context of replies to questions asked, and the "criminal" character of the inmates will be discussed as it is related to sociology. No attempt is made to claim that this information is a representative sample of the entire Mexican-American population of the United States. On the other hand, it is believed that the fifty cases are representative of Mexican-Americans who have been delinquent in some form or other while serving in the armed forces.

Appendix A of this thesis is an exact copy of the questionnaire used in interviewing the cases. Appendix B presents true copies of samples of the interviews. The wording of these copies is precisely as obtained in the interviewing process. In some cases, the interviewer had to break down lengthy sentences into brief phrases, but not without capturing the nature of the reply of the respondent.

Where it was found necessary or pertinent to do so, the interviewer added comments. These comments can be recognized as such, and are not credited to the respondent. They also simplify the treatment of inaccuracies by the writer in checking replies of personal life history against the official abstract of the case history.

Attitudes of Respondents: With only a few exceptions, the inmates tried to be co-operative with their replies. It

was explained to them that there would be complete anonymity in the use of the questionnaire. Likewise, each inmate was informed that honest and frank replies to any of the questions would have no bearing on his status in the present or in the future. The inmates were given the right to refuse to be interviewed, or to terminate the interview at any time they wished. Several cases did not wish to respond.

Although the very fact that these men were in prison may be a factor in the types of replies they made, there is no means of measuring or explaining those factors if they did exist. The diversification of replies of some questions would seem to bear this out. No uniformity of prison influence was apparent in the replies. Therefore, within the context of the replies received, the idea of weighted response is rejected, except where indicated specifically in the cases.

Scope of the Material: In scope, the material presented is a modified "life history" technique of information gathering. It is recognized that, were it possible, case studies would have been much more adequate and far-reaching in the treatment of the inmates.

Circumstances, of course, prohibited the use of a case history technique. But an interview schedule was designed to approximate in brief form a life history of each case.

The material may be broken down into several rough

(but sometimes over-lapping) categories. First, vital statistics were sought. These included such items as place of birth, home-town of the case, type of family, and marital status. Second, social conditions were investigated. This category includes factors such as the education of the case, the type of job he had held, the type of employment he would like to have held, his ambitions, his religious and recreational interests, his language, his family attachment, and related information. Third, the economy of the cases was investigated. Economy included questions on the income of the family and of the inmate, the industries of his home-town, and those he participated in, the type of agriculture he worked with, and his status at work. Fourth, information was sought on the criminal history, work history, type of community, and types of opportunities. Fifth, the information includes attitudes of the inmates concerning religion, education, race, politics, war, the army, and foreign countries.

These rough categories will be treated with more specific breakdowns in the body of this work.

Limitations of the Materials: It has been previously mentioned that army regulations prohibited more minute studies of the cases presented, and that a need for expediency and convenience to the interviewees limited the scope of the interview schedule.

Despite the fact that interviewing was done in both

English and Spanish, it is reasonable to assume that some value has been lost in translation.

Although the data is thought to be representative of Mexican-Americans in a situation of delinquent-confinement, it is not a large enough sample to represent the Mexican-American minority as it exists in the United States. The information presented, and the attitudes expressed are confined to fifty cases, and does not presume to include external attitudes, or imply that these cases speak for all Mexican-Americans.

Furthermore, relatively little information is available for contrast in terms of studies of other or life groups under the same circumstances. The fact that there was a war, and the fact that these men were largely imprisoned for offenses in military law are further limitations in making a complete social analysis. Mexican-Americans were not the only inmates of military prisons. It is not known how the data gained from these fifty cases will compare with other minority groups, or with majority groups. No claim is made here for entire completeness. On the other hand, it is hoped that this paper is only a beginning to research in the field of social adjustment of peoples to military life, and that further work is forthcoming.

Significance of the Materials In the United States people of Mexican descent represent the fourth largest minority

group.

Numerous sociological studies of the Mexican and of Mexican-Americans in the United States have been made.¹ These studies largely explain that the Mexican-American is not an imported variety of human being used unwittingly to add flavor to the melting pot of human races which conventionally characterizes the citizenry of the United States. It is emphasized here that the Mexican, more especially in the Southwest of the United States was a citizen of the region, and of the environment long before the "white" race decided to settle there. It has only been since the settlement of the Southwest by the Anglo-Americans that the Mexican has become a "problem."

Mexicans themselves, as an entity, were not a problem before inclusion into the United States. They were beset by problems, however. Most of these problems facing them, before American occupation of the Southwest, were those problems of livelihood and an interminable struggle with and against the environment. Largely, those problems still exist among the same people today.

The Mexican "problem," it is here contended, is one of the lack of assimilation into a new social environment,

¹ Pan American Union is currently preparing a volume of bibliographical references to Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the United States.

a new western "culture." The Mexican "problem" was not one until the Mexican became a Mexican-American.

Studies of crime and delinquency have been made to demonstrate the lack of (or slow progress of) acculturation among specific minority peoples. Crime and delinquency are only a single index for such a study.

The material presented in this study has a separate and modern significance. It is separate in that it deals with a minority group of peoples faced with an added task of acculturation and adjustment. That added task is one of becoming oriented to a military situation. The material is modern in the sense that World War II was very recent, and that during the war, various riots and other difficulties concerning minority groups have occurred. Such riots and race difficulties played an important part in the adjustment of minority peoples not only to the war effort, but to the post-war era.

Ethnic studies have apparently not been made of minority peoples in the disciplinary barracks and camps maintained by the armed forces. It is suggested here that such studies would be important research, extremely valuable as an aid to understanding the situation of the minority person during periods of national stress. Such studies could possibly indicate means of prevention of unpleasant, undesirable, and unnecessary ethnic frictions. Furthermore, it is

possible that through proper and continuous research, and research application, methods may be devised for eventual elimination of ethnic problems.

CHAPTER III

CITIZENS OF MEXICAN DESCENT

In a discussion of a minority group representing a particular people, it is advisable to look first at those people as they are in their own environment. Such a procedure will be used in the analysis of the fifty cases included in this study.

The initial environment of each of these individuals was, simply enough, his family environment. But his family environment has a definite character that is different from that of "majority" peoples, and therefore it bears significantly on the adjustment of the individual to an American "culture." Logically, then, the life history of an individual begins somewhat with the history of his family.

The Meaning of Mexican and Mexican-American: The parents of the fifty cases are representative of two rather large and loose types. The first is here termed Mexican; the second group is referred to as Mexican-American. The former category, Mexican, is grammatically, historically, and politically correct in its application. In this sense, Mexican means just that, a nationality, one who is a citizen of Mexico. The second classification, Mexican-American, is to be considered in the same light as Irish-American, or Polish-American, or French-Canadian. These terms are common enough, and

understandable. Mexican-American will, throughout this thesis, refer to naturalized Americans who had, previous to naturalization, been citizens of Mexico, and/or children of these, or children of Mexicans born in the United States who selected the United States as their ~~home~~ country upon reaching their majority. Where context makes it convenient, Mexican-Americans will be referred to as citizens of Mexican descent or of Mexican extraction.²

Concentration and Distribution in the United States:

It is estimated that Mexicans and Mexican-Americans constitute more than four million people in the United States.

When we broadcast Good Neighbor programs in Spanish, it seldom occurs to us that there is a sizable Mexican population in our midst and that the Good Neighbor Policy might very well start here, at home, within our own borders.³

Carey McWilliams adds:

Since the Mexican is the newest of the large immigrant groups [the fourth largest in the United States] a large second generation born of parents of Mexican nationality is only now coming into maturity.⁴

The heaviest concentrations of this fourth largest ethnic group are found in California, New Mexico, Arizona,

²Ruth D. Tuck, Not With the Fist (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946), pp. xix-xx. See appendix C. See also discussions in Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin, pp. 136-146 and Emory S. Bogardus, "Gangs of Mexican-American Youth," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 29, September, 1943, pp. 58-62.

³ Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin, p. 115.

⁴ Ibid., p. 126.

and Texas, although colonies are found in such industrial areas as New York, Chicago, Detroit, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.⁵ Historically, the areas of heaviest concentration were once territories of Mexico. The war between the United States and Mexico in 1846 gave over, through American "claim" and "purchase" this huge territory to the United States.⁶

History and Culture of the New Citizens It is of more than passing interest to note that until the advent of the recent war (and probably still in some places), when President Comacho of Mexico asked the co-operation of his nation in helping the Allied Nations in the fight against fascism, some schools in Mexico used maps terming the Southwest territories as "temporarily in the hands of the U. S. A."⁷

This attitude will be seen to have significance in discussing cultural attitudes of the new American citizen.

The people of the Southwest territories became American citizens when the United States assumed official political control of the areas. On August 15, 1846, General Stephen Watts Kearny addressed the people of Las Vegas when he took possession of the territory for the United States. He stated, "We come among you for your benefit, not for your

⁵ Ibid., pp. 123-124.

⁶ George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People, (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), passim.

⁷ Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin, p. 114.

injury."⁸ A few days later at Santa Fe, he said: "We come as your friends, to better your condition...you are now become American citizens..."⁹

The assumption of political control and the mass naturalization of peoples did not mean immediate "Americanization," of the territory and the people. On the contrary, the new citizen retained his Mexican culture and held to it tenaciously as the years progressed and the Anglo-Americans moved in claiming the land and the resources. In California for example, when the state was ceded to the United States

...it was provided that previously issued Mexican land grants would be respected. Under Spanish rule only about 30 land grants had been made, but in 1846, when the United States took possession, over 8,000,000 acres of California land were held by some eight hundred Mexican grantees. The connivers, Mexican and American, had rushed through huge grants on the eve of American occupation.¹⁰

In discussing the change of status from Mexican to American, Dr. Sanchez, in his study of New Mexico, Forgotten People, states:

The common people of New Mexico did not, of course, comprehend the true significance of these words [i.e., of General Kearny above] It was a matter of indifference to them as to who was governor or what promises were made. They had seen officials come and go. They felt no attachment to a far-off Mexican

⁸ Sanchez, Op. cit., p. 15.

⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁰ Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1939), p. 13.

government and, for years, had suffered at the hands of the ruthless officials named to represent first Spain and then Mexico. They had become hardened to political oppression... They cared little whether the governorship was filled by appointment, by usurpation, or by conquest. They, as always in the past, expected to continue in their traditional humble way of life.¹¹

Indeed, in this modern day in New Mexico, Mr. McWilliams points out, there are towns and villages that are completely untouched by Anglo-American civilization. In a broad sense, this maintenance of culture is reflected in the use of the Spanish language in most sectors of New Mexico;

Along the Rio Grande River in New Mexico, and its numerous tributaries, are located some of the most fascinating and fabulous villages in America... one can visit today communities which have remained almost wholly unaffected by world developments during the last two hundred years. Inhabited by the descendants of the original colonists, these villagers still speak the Spanish of the time of Cervantes. ...these are really living peoples and theirs is a genuine folk culture.¹²

Stuart Chase has characterized the Mexican native with an inherent "wantlessness."¹³ In the United States in earlier times, this wantlessness was a characteristic that the new American citizen wished to retain; thus he struggled against the competitive democracy of the pioneers, who forced the contraction of the village democracies of the residents into more and more confined areas.

¹¹ Sanchez, Forgotten People, p. 17.

¹² Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin, pp. 136-137.

¹³ Stuart Chase, Mexico: A Study of Two Americas (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1931), pp. 37, 119 and 155. Mr. Chase discusses "wantlessness" from the point of view of non-competition and the failure to value individual ownership and personal incentive per se, substituting community co-operation.

The philosophy of not wanting things is not a prejudice extended toward progress. Rather, it is a process of human relations dealing simply with mutual assistance, friendship, and the sharing of resources. But in an American society, this philosophy is in a sense naive, for the people of the United States represented a competitive democracy, where the status of its citizens depended on individual achievement. The Mexican maintained an agrarian democracy, and in the United States, he found a growing industrial type of democracy. He was not culturally equipped to deal with it.¹⁴

On the basis of his study of New Mexico, Dr. Sanchez remarked:

After the treaty of peace in 1848, and until the organization of territorial government in 1851, the administration of public affairs in New Mexico was in turmoil. The region was neither territory nor state. Not only were Mexican laws not in force but the Congress of the United States had failed to provide for the regulation of the affairs of New Mexicans.¹⁵

To this, Dr. Sanchez adds:

Ruthless politicians and merchants acquired their stock, their water rights, their land. The land grants became involved in legal battles. Was a grant genuine, was it tax free, was it correctly administered, was it registered? Who were the grantees, who the descendants, where the boundaries and by whose authority? Defenseless before the onslaught of an intangible, yet superior force, the economic foundations of New

¹⁴ Carey McWilliams in Brothers Under the Skin and George Sanchez in Forgotten People discuss the democratic culture of the Mexican people.

¹⁵ George Sanchez, Forgotten People, p. 17.

Mexican life were undermined and began to crumble. As their economy deteriorated so did the people, for their way of life was based on, and identified with, the agrarian economy which they had built through many generations.¹⁶

The newly-created Mexican-American attempted to live his Mexican life pattern as a member of a new nation. To him, the fact that boundaries had been re-formed and territories changed hands, made no difference in his personal living conditions. But, philosophically, the new American did try to change. "Whereas the adoption of the New Mexican has been a casual matter to the United States, the New Mexican quickly and wholeheartedly accepted his foster parent," remarks Dr. Sanchez.¹⁷

Americans had different ideas, however. The new territories were open frontiers. They were ripe plums to be plucked by American enterprise and ingenuity, by the farmers and ranchers, traders, railroads and freighting organizations. The trails led through to California, and American pioneers went to the coast. Others settled along the way.

Land grants, in the possession of Americans, forced the Mexican-American from the title of his land; gradually his holdings contracted until the new citizen, with his independence, his "wantlessness" unable to compete with a new social order, was forced into the servitude of cheap labor, a Mexican "problem."

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 18-19.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 25.

and a handicap to progress.

The Mexican, even when he was in the majority, became a sub-ordinate "race." Illiterate and ignorant, he could not compete with Anglo-Americans in the courts, nor could he deal with American traders. Perhaps this idea can be best stated in terms of education. Dr. Sanchez, speaking of education of the modern New Mexican, comments: "As a matter of fact, careful analysis reveals that as the percentage of Spanish speaking population increases, educational opportunity decreases."¹⁸

With high visibility characteristics, he became a target for discrimination. Without education, training, opportunity, or understanding by Anglo-American, he could not absorb the rapid culture change; he could not adapt himself to new social situations. As the technology, both in agriculture and industry increased, the degree of exploitation of the region's resources increased. The landless Mexican-American became more and more poverty stricken.

Among the parents of the respondents studied in this thesis, there were eight fathers and fifteen mothers who were natives of the United States. The above discussion has outlined some of the history of the native of Mexican extraction.

The Immigrant and Why He Came: American like to

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

believe that the United States has always opened its doors to the oppressed. Included with the mass immigrants from Europe, who, it is liked to believe, came here because of the national ideology, is also the mass of immigrants from Mexico. In her study of a California community with a substantial population of Mexican extraction, Ruth D. Tuck makes this observation:

The common explanation given in Descanzo is that they came to escape unbearable conditions of civil strife in Mexico. Descanzo, in common with the rest of the United States, takes pride in our national role as a haven for the oppressed.¹⁹

"But," she further remarks, "as the immigrant's life story unfolds, a new factor appears in the picture--the labor contractor from the United States."²⁰ Mrs. Tuck points out that in 1910, immigration officials never considered counting incoming and out-going Mexicans. "Records at the border were not carefully kept, as they were at Ellis Island... There was a great deal of illegal entry, tacitly if not actively connived at by labor contractors."²¹

There were more than a million Mexicans who came to the United States between 1910 and 1930, according to Mrs. Tuck.

¹⁹ Ruth D. Tuck, Not With The First, p. 58.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 58.

²¹ Ibid., p. 57.

In his study of Mexican labour in the United States, Paul S. Taylor indicates that at least as early as 1909, Mexican laborers were being sought for cotton picking. In 1913, "...the general manager of the Imperial Valley Cotton Growers Exchange proposed the importation of Mexicans at a cost of \$1.50 per adult plus transportation," in order to get cotton crops picked.²²

Labor shortages in various industries, according to Mr. Taylor, were responsible for spreading Mexican labor to many industrial centers in the United States.

Miss Tuck describes the Mexican migration dramatically:

To trace the story of Mexican immigration to the United States is to trace the rise of great regional industries--railroading, mining, citrus growing, sugar beet plantations, winter vegetable and cotton harvests. The flow of Mexican population into each state coincides with its emerging development and prosperity.²³

Although, as will be indicated further in this study, some immigrants came to escape the difficulties of revolution in Mexico, most of them came to the United States to look for work. The revolution had disturbed the economy of Mexico. The working people found themselves, at times, working without payment, or raising crops that were taken over by the military. But the Mexican needed some motivation for

²² Paul S. Taylor, Mexican Labor in the United States (University of California Press, 1930), Vol. I, p. 12.

²³ Ruth D. Tuck, Not With the Fist, p. 60.

moving to the United States. He had to feel that conditions were better north of the border. Mrs. Tuck puts it this way:

In every immigrant story, the labor contractor appears, directly or indirectly. There was a strong pull of labor-soliciting from the United States, as well as the impulse to leave the disorder in Mexico. It is perfectly conceivable that, had Brazil, for instance, been expanding and industrializing at this time, and the United States suffering from a labor surplus, boatloads of Mexicans would have been embarking from Vera Cruz for the south.

.....
 "They came because they were needed" is a legend which might well be erected over the Mexican settlements in many a southwestern town. ... Nothing could be more emphatic than the statements of southwest industrialists and agriculturalists that the Mexican laborer was fundamental than their wails at the prospect of being deprived of him. [i.e., the Mexican] 24

Immigrants who came to the United States to work represent a large part of the parents of the cases studied in this thesis.

Summary: Persons of Mexican extraction represent a substantial part of the population of the United States. Estimates have ranged between three and four million. Not all people of Mexican extraction are Mexicans, or citizens of Mexico. The majority represented in the United States are either American citizens through naturalization, or they were born in the United States, or they are the children of immigrants who, being born in the United States, are citizens by right and because they wish to be.

24 Ibid., pp. 59-60.

Historically, residents of the United States of Mexican extraction have occupied a sub-ordinate position socially and economically. Their assimilation of competitive democracy has been very slow; their opportunities for attaining a fair degree of assimilation have been limited by both social and economic factors.

Mexicans and Mexican-Americans are in the United States for several reasons. They were born here, or they came seeking work, and, in some cases, escape of the disorder in Mexico.

The attitudes of Anglo-Americans are not friendly to attempts at assimilation or fusion of people and cultures.

CHAPTER IV

INSTITUTIONAL BACKGROUNDS

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PARENTAL FAMILY

With the understanding gained from the brief socio-economic sketch offered in Chapter III, this discussion turns now to the case material in order to observe what the Mexican-American respondent has to say of the life he has lived in terms of his social environment. It will be recalled here that the Mexicans in America, and the Mexican-Americans, largely live for the most part in the same communities (certainly in the same regions), and that their adjustment to the American living pattern is attempted from the point of view of a minority in the environment of a majority group.

This chapter will concern itself with the institutional backgrounds of the respondents, taking their families into consideration. Attitudes of the family toward the United States will also be investigated.

The Family and its Origins: Only eight fathers of the fifty cases were born in the United States. There were nine cases who did not know the birth-place of their fathers.²⁵ These fathers were dispersed throughout the Southwest region,

²⁵ One case stated that his father was born in the United States but he did not know the town or the state.

covering Arizona, Texas, New Mexico, and California. However, more mothers, numbering fifteen, were born in the United States. They have the same birth-place distribution with the addition of Colorado. There were seven cases who could not report the birth-place of their mothers.²⁶ Although most of the parents born in Mexico came from areas directly south of the border, there were some who came from far-distant parts of Mexico. For example, there are representatives from the states of Michoacan, Yucatan, Vera Cruz, and Jalisco.

The Mexican-born parents of the cases hailed from twelve different states of Mexico. Because Los Angeles is the center of largest concentration of cases represented, it will prove of value to determine approximate distance distribution from that focal point. The most distant point (by land) from Los Angeles is Merida, Yucatan; the southernmost representation is Uruapan in the state of Michoacan. The point farthest east (not including Yucatan) is Vera Cruz, Vera Cruz. The closest representative state is Sonora. Baja California and Tamaulipas are the only two of the six border states not represented. Place of birth of the parents is not necessarily a border town. Although all of the states

²⁶ It is not uncommon for children of immigrants to be ignorant of the birthplace of parents. It was not until the writer had started college that he knew the places in Europe where his parents were born. There are a large number of his friends who find themselves in the same predicament.

of Mexico are not represented, a broad dispersion of original location is presented by these imigrant parents.²⁷

An important point to consider is that Mexico does not represent a single region, and that its people through the history of the nation have assumed the characteristics of their particular regions plus their national and ethnic traits. The Mexicans arriving in the United States are to be considered as representing a complex group of social types, despite the conventional "nationalism" attached to them. The idea of "once a Mex, always a Mex" is not only derogatory, it is fallacious. The people of Mexico represent many different Indian tribes, and many of the citizens are of mixed blood.

Family Attitude toward Mexico: It is of more than passing interest to note here that when asked about the extent of attachment of the family to Mexico, there were twenty-four cases who replied that the family had some attachments. These were explained in terms of friends and relations still living in various parts of Mexico, and in some cases, a vaguely expressed "way of life."

However, eighteen of the respondents were quite definite in stating that the family had no attachment toward Mexico, and were for the most part indifferent toward that country. This attitude seems to bear out the idea that the Mexican-

²⁷ The twelve states are: Zacatecas, Chihuahua, Jalisco, Durango, Nuevo Leon, Sonora, Uruapan, Michoacan, Vera Cruz, Sinaloa, Coahuila, and Yucatan.

American has a greater and stronger identity with the United States. He is trying to become adjusted to his new way of living, although he is aware of its differences to old Mexico. The parents assumed a status of permanent residents in the United States.

Full acceptance of the place in America is born out by the fact that only two of the respondents felt that their parents did not like the United States and wanted to go back to Mexico. Forty-two of the interviewees said that the attitude of their parents toward the United States was either "very good," "good," or that they liked the United States. This seems to bear out the idea made above that the new citizen has a desire to become assimilated into the American scheme. It also may indicate that a degree of permanence has been brought about by the economy of the family, and by the growth of families in their own communities. Although they have found living patterns different from those in Mexico, they found other values to which they have adjusted.

When asked why their parents came to the United States, thirty-five cases replied that they did not know. A few replied that they were escaping the revolution. Only three people answered that the parents had come north to seek work.

There were twenty-four cases who were able to tell when their parents came to the United States, and nineteen

who did not know. The twenty-four who did know, accounted for thirty-one parents. The earliest arrival of these parents was in 1886. One parent arrived in 1903 and three in 1904. There were seventeen parents who came to the United States during the period between 1910 and 1915. The rest arrived sporadically up until 1927 when the last parent arrived. Only five cases reported that they themselves were born in Mexico. The rest of the respondents were born in the United States. Table I shows the dates of arrival of the immigrant parents in the United States.

TABLE I
DATES OF PARENTS' ARRIVAL
IN THE UNITED STATES

<u>Date</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
1886	1
1903	1
1904	3
1910	6
1911	2
1913	1
1914	1
1915	5
1916	2
1919	1
1922	2
1923	4
1927	2
—	31 parents

Of those reporting that one or both parents were dead,

seven were reported as having died in the last decade. Thirteen parents were reported as having died between 1920-30.²⁸ Eleven cases were fatherless, five cases without mothers, and two had lost both parents.

Only one respondent reported parents residing in Mexico. The parents of three cases lived in Texas, two in Colorado, three in New Mexico, and one case did not know the whereabouts of his parents. Twenty-eight cases stated that their parents lived in California.

The hometowns of the parents do not represent wholly the hometowns claimed by the respondents, nor do they wholly represent the place of birth of the respondents.²⁹

Family Mobility: There is not a high degree of accuracy in determining the mobility of families of all cases reporting. The respondents generally felt that they could not answer the question on family movements, for some movements were made during early youth. However, even the available statistics show a fairly high degree of mobility. Only six respondents reported their families permanently situated, having made no moves. One case seemed extreme, replying his family had made fifty moves. (This may be true, inasmuch as a substantial number of Mexican-Americans and Mexicans follow

²⁸ See Chapter XI for further information on broken families.

²⁹ See Chapter V, also see Appendix E.

the crops as migratory workers).³⁰ Thirty-three cases were pinned down to fairly precise replies. Not counting moves made from Mexico, or moves made previous to the birth of the respondents, it was noted that thirty-three families made ninety-four moves. Fifteen families had moved from state to state; fourteen, from town to town within state borders. Eighteen had made moves within city limits. Several made moves to two or more states and a few went back and forth between Mexico and the United States. The following tables classify these moves:

TABLE II

FREQUENCY OF FAMILY RESIDENCE CHANGES
(33 CASES REPORTING SPECIFIC MOVES)

<u>Number of Moves</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
1	6
2	13
3	8
4	0
5	1
6	3
7	1
8	1
<hr/>	<hr/>
94	33

³⁰ Paul S. Taylor, Mexican Labor in the United States, Vol. I, pp. 30-40, 123-124, passim.

TABLE III

INDEFINITE AND EXCEPTIONAL REPLIES
(17 CASES REPORTED MOVES BUT DID
NOT REPORT NUMBER OF MOVES MADE)

Number of moves	Frequency (No. of cases)
None	6
Moved often	6
Several moves	2
Don't know but did make moves	2
Fifty moves	1
	17 cases

TABLE IV

CLASSIFICATION OF MOVES
RELATIVE DISTANCES*

Classification	No. cases	Total moves
Within city limits	14	48
State to state	13	16
Town to town	12	21
Moves to 3 states	3	3
Mexico and return	4	4
Fellow crops	2	**
Don't know	2	2**
	50	94

* These moves were made by 33 cases

** The number of moves was indefinite

*** Two cases did not know where some
moves were made.

TABLE V

STATES INVOLVED IN INTER-STATE MOVES*

<u>No. of cases</u>	<u>Moved to:</u>	<u>Moved from:</u>
Texas	Texas	Texas
4		
3	New Mexico	New Mexico
4		
13	California	California
2		

* Only moves to two states are represented.

The moves within city limits were, of course, most frequent. Fourteen cases, for example, reported forty-eight moves. As is seen in Table IV, there were only sixteen moves from state to state, and fourteen from town to town. Table V shows the states involved in moves to and from states. Appendix D gives a more adequate and more specific breakdown of these moves involving other states.

It is difficult to determine whether or not the incidence of moves characterizes the family as very mobile. The writer has found no contrasting study on family migrations where a mean or average number of migrations per family has been tabulated. Mrs. Tuck has pointed out that there is a reluctance to follow agricultural work which forces migration, if other work is available.³¹

³¹ Ruth D. Tuck, Not With The Fist, pp. 176-78.

Methods of moving included typical commercial means, and conventional private methods. The families changed residences either by employing moving vans, the railroad, or the use of cars and trailers. Sometimes they carried their belongings from place to place by hand, if they moved within the city limits. The respondents often said that there was very little chattel to move and that moving was not a difficult or complicated process.

California seems to be the hub of migration. Of the families going to other states, thirteen made their ways to California at some time. Only two cases reported moving from California, as is indicated in Table V. People arriving in California came from Texas, Arizona, Nebraska, New Mexico, and Colorado. (See Appendix D.)

Size of Parental Family: The families of the inmates were rather large, ranging from two to fourteen in number, the mean size is 6.92.³² Median family size is 6.0 and the modal family is 5.667. In 1946, with some of the children grown to adulthood, there were less children living with the parents. The mean family size, residing with the parents, in 1946 was 3.62, the parents excluded. It seems that the family does not decrease in size to too large an extent, and that there is a measure of family control and identity to the family.

³² These statistics are not based on birth-rate, but on living children. Parents are not included in the family size.

Median size of family residing with parents is 3.0 and the modal family is 2.66 children.

Education of the Parents: Available information on the education of the parents is not very adequate. There were thirty-seven cases who reported that they did not know the extent of education received by parents. Little conclusion can be drawn from this, except to point out that most of the parents were immigrants, and that rates of literacy for the time in Mexico were extremely low. Of one hundred parents, six mothers were reported as having gone to school. The mean grade was 6.33 years. However, one mother had had fourteen years of school. The five other mothers had a total of twenty-four years of school.

The mean education for fathers was slightly higher. Of the five fathers reported as having had definite amounts of school, mean education was 8.2 grades, ranging between six and twelve grades. Several cases intimated that their parents had had some schooling in Mexico, but the three reported, two fathers and one mother, had had a school attendance totalling five years. George I. Sanchez has pointed out that in New Mexico, where more than half the population is of Mexican extraction the state is twenty-second in the number of illiterates, and shows that where there is a higher proportion of Spanish-speaking people there is a correspondingly higher

proportion of illiteracy.³³

Occupations of Parents: Only a few of the parents are employed in skilled occupations. There are two carpenters, one mechanic, a merchant, and one farm owner classified among the skilled. In the semi-skilled bracket may be included one milkman and an auto-painter. Twelve cases either did not know the occupations of their fathers or had no fathers. Nineteen fathers were engaged in agricultural labor of one from or another. Thirteen cases were common laborers.

Among the mothers, four were indicated as doing some type of agricultural labor, two were seamstresses, and one operates a small restaurant. One mother is a domestic worker. Thirty-five cases report "housewife" as the occupation of their mothers. The rest either do not know or have no mothers.

Family Economy: An attempt was made to ascertain the total income of the family for each case. However, only eight cases ventured to make an estimate of family earnings. These estimates were based on wages received during the war. One inmate stated that his family of four (all working, one brother a professional golfer) earned a monthly income of \$1,600. By not counting this wage, which is hardly representative of any average wage-earning group, the mean wage per worker in the family was \$97.14 per month, the median being \$104.00.

³³George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People, p. 29.

Minimum wages received were \$50.00 per month in this classification, and maximum \$156.00 per month. Four cases received \$104.00 per month or less, and three cases ranged to \$156.00 per month. In this sense, the incomes are not an accurate index of living standards. The number of workers supporting their own families is not known, nor is the size of the families of individual workers known. The above mentioned size of the current family living with the parents of the cases did not include grand-children. "The Los Angeles Coordinating Council's study in December 1941 reported 'It may be safely said that the median Mexican income does not exceed \$790 a year, or about \$520 less than the minimum required for decent food and housing for the average family of five persons.'"³⁴

It is doubtful that the parents fared much better during the war. Mrs. Tuck further states that "Any U.S.E.S. office in California could testify that the placement of even well qualified Mexican youth necessitated a struggle with prejudiced employers. A survey made by the C.I.O. in November 1942 showed only 5,000 of Los Angeles' more than 200,000 Mexicans working on basic industries."³⁵

Mrs. Tuck points out that:

The average individual earnings of the Mexican-Americans

³⁴ Ruth D. Tuck, "Behind the Zoot Suit Riots", Survey Graphic, Vol. 32, (August, 1943), p. 315.

[in her study] during the war was \$149.60 a month, the average family income \$191.80 a month; the latter figure was higher because of the increased number of persons working per family unit. The individual earning was considerably lower than that reported as the average weekly factory wage throughout the United States in October, 1943, of \$44.86 per week, or approximately \$193.39 on a monthly basis.³⁶

These wages were for those employed in factories. Mrs. Tuck adds: "...the average wage received by those in the colonia employed in agriculture dragged the whole average down--it was \$109.00 monthly."³⁷

Fifty per-cent of the families were on relief some time between 1932 and 1940. There was only one delinquent family as late as 1946. No report is given on the length of time that each family received relief, except that the respondents did not like to be on relief. They would rather not be on relief rolls. In his study of Nueces County, Texas, Paul S. Taylor recorded the following:

As in most other parts of the United States where inquiry was made, comment on the extent to which Mexicans aid one another was frequent. A large landowner stated, "I have seen three extra persons taken into a Mexican family." When I inquired the sources of charity to the Mexicans, one Texas-Mexican replied proudly, "The Mexicans have relatives. They don't go to the Red Cross unless the Red Cross comes to their houses or they are in great need. The Mexicans ask for work; ... And another, "Mexicans will work for 50 cents rather than starve or steal; Mexicans don't go and ask for charity." A charity official corroborated in general

³⁶ Ruth D. Tuck, Not With The Fist, pp. 174-175.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 175.

the reluctance of Mexicans to seek public relief, and the extensive practice of mutual aid.³⁸

The parents seemed to be in a fairly stable situation when home ownership was considered. Twenty-six of the respondents said that their parents owned their own houses. The others were rented. In one case, the family owned four houses, and another family owned a ranch. But except for house furnishings, the families indicate no other possessions. Home ownership, it is noted, is a pertinent factor in considering the discussion of family mobility referred to earlier. The fact of home ownership is a deterring factor in mobility and migration.

Family Associations: As far as secondary associations are concerned, the typical family has very few besides the church. Only a few organizations are named in which the families are participants. Six parents belong to either A.F. of L., or C.I.O. unions, and one to the Chamber of Commerce. Mrs. Tuck found only two organizations in her study of a California town, and these were "directed toward the improvement of Spanish and English speech of the membership and 'bettering' relationships."³⁹

Parental Delinquency: Only one parent, a father, was

³⁸ Paul S. Taylor, An American-Mexican Frontier: Hueco County, Texas (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 163.

³⁹ Ruth D. Tuck, Not With The Fist, p. 159.

reported as having been arrested and imprisoned. The charge was for illegal immigration, and a sentence was served in a federal prison.

Social Status of the Family: In response to a question concerning the socio-economic class of the family, the respondents disclosed that, in their opinion, only forty-four per cent lived in the middle class, and forty per cent who reported that their families lived among a poor class of people. None reported that his family was upper class, or among the rich.

Table VI contrasts the replies of the respondents with replies to a similar question asked by the American Institute of Public Opinion.⁴⁰

TABLE VI

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE FAMILY

<u>Class or Status</u>	<u>Mexican-Americans</u>	<u>Gallup Pole</u>
Upper class	--	5 ²
Middle class	44%	88
Lower class	40	6
No report or don't know	16	--

Philosophically, the Mexican-American does not seem to

⁴⁰ George Gallup and Sam Forbes Rae, The Pulse of Democracy, (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1940), p. 169.

wholesomely accept the " middle-class" tradition, but seems rather to base his social status on his income and his living conditions. In passing, it might appear that the Gallup Poll could have been selective in character also.

Summary: Typically, the parents of the respondents were of Mexican birth, although eight fathers and fifteen mothers were born in the United States. It is significant, then, that twenty-three percent of the parents are native to the United States. Citizens of Mexican extraction are not necessarily foreigners.

The immigrant parents are representative of twelve states of the United States of Mexico. They came north for the most part to look for work and, in some cases, to escape the instability of political change in Mexico. At least seven had been single when they left Mexico and married in the United States; at least five parents had had families in Mexico before they migrated. They brought their families with them.

Initially, at least, the Mexican-American family did not find stable conditions and did a substantial amount of moving from one place to another. Families moved from state to state and from town to town.

The parental family is fairly large, the median family size being 6.0 and the mean being 6.92 not including parents.

The family is characterized by a low economic base, and its education is meagre in amount. There is relatively

little skilled labor represented in the occupational classification. Most of the employment is agricultural or common labor although a few skilled trades are represented. It will be pointed out on pages 83 and 85 of this study that opportunity to enter into the skilled areas of work is limited by prejudice and discrimination.

During the depression, slightly more than half the families had experienced situations where they had to enter the relief rolls. The Mexican-American would rather not take relief.

In social and economic status the respondents divide their families almost equally either as "middle-class," or "poor."

The social heritage of the respondents is not enviable.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT: INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES

In discussing the family and its social growth or lack of social growth in the American scene, certain situations common in the environment of the Mexican-American youth have been noted. Definite areas of culture lag and unadjustment have already been noted. It is also recognized that the immigrant of Mexican descent was prevented either through ignorance or low financial status, or through poorly organized and operated governmental functions, from gaining a social position from which he could launch his children with an equal status in the general society.

The history of poverty of the Mexican-American has been sketched in the first chapter, and the second and third chapters have further elaborated it. It should be recalled that forty percent of the cases stated that they were of a poor class of people, and that none claimed to be among the rich. The families maintained their homes in relatively poor and often poverty stricken areas.

The Family: A Description: The family of the Mexican-American in this study is typically of foreign birth. The cases themselves are generally native born, first generation youth. The native culture of the family, although disintegrat-

ing among the youth, is nevertheless maintained to some extent by the parents. Spanish is spoken in most of the homes, and the children speak Spanish to each other in many cases.

The society of the family is principally with other Mexican-Americans. For example, "'Little Mexicos' can be found throughout Southern California. The segregation which exists, throughout the State, of alien farm-labor groups into special communities, has been carried over into the school system."⁴¹ Secondary associations, with the exception of the church (which is attended, but not otherwise participated in), are limited. Acculturation in urban mores has not been achieved to any great extent, nor has integration in terms of formal associations with other ethnic groups attained any degree of stabilization. The parent belongs to very few organizations, and those he does belong to are Mexican in origin, or a labor or trade group. "The Mexicans of the southwest, whether they be newly arrived or descendants of older Spanish-speaking settlers, are a submerged, isolated, or forgotten population, whose presence is felt as a weight, a problem, an annoyance."⁴²

Among the parents, literacy rates are low, and job diversification is limited, with very little skill shown.

⁴¹ Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field, p. 150.

⁴² Dr. W. Rex Crawford, Annals of the American Academy, September, 1942, p. 123.

There is a large concentration in manual labor; in agriculture and in industry.

The Mexican immigrant never secured a strong foot-hold in American industry, largely by reason of the fact that, in point of time, he arrived on the scene [industrial scene] rather late. ...He has had slight industrial experience and finds almost insuperable obstacles in the way of adjustment to this particular type of environment. Isolated as he is from large centers of Mexican population, what remains of his traditional culture rapidly disintegrates and he presents a serious problem of personal and group disorganization.⁴³

In terms of literacy rates, Dr. Sanchez points out that "As might be expected, the counties with the highest proportions of Spanish-speaking people also tend to have the highest illiteracy rates."⁴⁴

Finally, to gain a clearer picture of the Mexican-American youth, there is one factor to be recognized wherein the immigrant parent reflects some group identity. All parents are of Mexican descent. In no case did any parent marry other than a Mexican or Mexican-American. It will be pointed out in a later chapter that with one exception, the respondents chose Mexicans or Mexican-Americans as their mates also.

There is decidedly a lag in adjustment to a new culture on the part of the parents. The process of adjustment is slow, and in some cases no effort is made toward adjustment.

⁴³ Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin, pp. 123-124.

⁴⁴ George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People, p. 29.

The social inheritance of the youth is not very extensive. His parents are ignorant of and un-acquainted with urban culture. Families are large and infant mortality is high. Out-groups are often hostile to the immigrant family.⁴⁵

Secondary Environment: By secondary environment is meant that part of the individual's environment which is derivative to, or outside the primary family group. Thus, the social inheritance transmitted by the family group, such as religion, poverty, language, customs and folkic or cultural characteristics of the parents are considered as primary environment. The secondary environment refers to such institutional structures as types and places of work, and the nature of the community, and types and kinds of associations, the law, and education.

In the discussion of the parents, some hints have been given as to the nature and type of home community in which the

⁴⁵ Carey McWilliams states: "It has been pointed out, ad nauseam, that the Mexican immigrant is ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed. ... They are the victims of a well-organized caste system which dooms them to restricted types of employment, visits upon them a complex and comprehensive system of social discrimination and makes for chronic mal-adjustment. This system, moreover, tends by its very nature to be self-perpetuating." Brothers Under the Skin, p. 119. Further, he adds: "Approximately fifty-six percent of the dwellers in San Antonio in substandard homes are Mexicans; over fifty-five per cent of juvenile arrests in 1938 were of Mexican children; the city's high death rates for infant mortality and tuberculosis are primarily attributable to the high rates among the resident Mexican population." Ibid., pp. 124-125.

cases were reared. The section on family mobility indicated that the respondents were reared quite often in several communities.

In California, which represents the area of heaviest concentration of cases, twenty-eight families maintain permanent addresses. When it comes to the youth, only nineteen were born in California. But in maturity, twice that number, thirty-eight, claim towns in California as permanent residences.

Table VII presents the birth places of the cases as contrasted with the residences of parents and the permanent addresses claimed by the interviewees.

Migrations, it will be seen by studying the table, have led from New Mexico, Arizona, Mexico, Oklahoma and Louisiana. The Mexican-American went West, either with his family or without his family. Although only thirty-eight per cent of the inmates were born in California, seventy-six per cent claim it as their home state.

Appendix E shows a further migration of the youth from the immigrant family, for even those residing in the same state do not necessarily reside in the same town or locality of their parents. However, the case abstracts indicate that, with few exceptions, those respondents who did leave their parents, were not less than age eighteen when they left.

Appendix F is a map of hometown distribution by states, contrasted with birth place and with parent residences.

TABLE VII
BIRTH PLACE AND RESIDENCE OF CASES
CONTRASTED WITH RESIDENCE OF PARENTS

Place of Birth	No. of Cases	Parents' Residences	No. of Parents	Respondents' Residences	No. of Respondents
California	19	California	28	California	38
Colorado	2	Colorado	2	Colorado	2
New Mexico	7	New Mexico	3	New Mexico	3
Arizona	8	Arizona	0	Arizona	1
Texas	6	Texas	3	Texas	3
Louisiana	1	Louisiana	0	Louisiana	0
Oklahoma	1	Oklahoma	0	Oklahoma	0
Nebraska	1	Nebraska	0	Nebraska	0
Mexico	5	Mexico	1	Mexico	2
No record	0	No record	11*	No record	1
50		48		50	

* Ten of these cases are families where the parents are divorced or separated in some other way.

Knowledge of the Home Town: Unlike prevailing attitudes of college students who often talk of the attractions of their home towns, and unlike the American soldier with whom the writer has associated, the Mexican-American is able to give relatively little information about his home town. Although the interviewer was asked to comment on enthusiasms expressed by the respondents, no enthusiastic replies were reported.

For example, the interviewees were asked the population of their home towns. Of twelve people living in Los Angeles, California, only seven made estimates of the population. Five of these range between two and three million, and the estimates of two were thirty-three million and 300

million.

Table VIII shows the estimates of population made by the inmates. A comparison is made with actual census figures.

TABLE VIII
ESTIMATES OF HOME TOWN POPULATION
OF INCORPORATED TOWNS

State and City	Estimated Population	Actual Population*
<u>California</u>		
Bakersfield	12,000	29,252
Berkley	78,000	85,547
Brawley	11,000	11,718
Los Angeles		
3 cases	2,000,000)	
2 cases	3,000,000)	
1 case	33,000,000)	1,504,277
1 case	300,000,000)	
Merced	10,000	10,135
Mountain View	7,000	3,946
San Gabriel	20,000	11,867
San Jose	80,000	68,457
Santa Ana	50,000	31,921
<u>Colorado</u>		
Fountain	1,000	571
Rocky Ford	10,000	3,494
<u>Arizona</u>		
Yuma	25,000	5,325
<u>New Mexico</u>		
Las Cruces	5,000	8,385

* Taken from the Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940.

Except for those people living in Los Angeles, the home towns of the respondents are not very large cities. The people in these cities are not predominantly Mexican or Mexican-American when viewed from the totality. However, the respondent generally lived in a Mexican section of town. Twenty-one cases reported that their home towns were populated mostly by Americans. Twelve of these twenty-one lived in Los Angeles. On the other hand, outside this metropolitan center, the cases reported that their home towns had a large Mexican-American population in comparison with Anglo-American population. Fifty-eight per cent of the group claimed that their local population was largely Mexican and Mexican-American. A classification in the opinion of the respondent was determined from the questionnaire. An estimate was asked concerning the extent of the minority group in the local area. Using broad categories, and accepting the words of the respondents, the following table results:

TABLE IX

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF HOME TOWNS	
<u>Ethnic composition</u>	<u>No. of Communities</u>
Mostly Americans*	21
Mexican-American Community	3
Half Mexicans and half Americans	9
Mexicans and Jews	1
Mexican and Portuguese	2
Mostly Mexicans	14

* Americans refers to ethnic groups other than those of Mexican descent. Mexican refers to those of Mexican descent.

Ethnic composition of home communities would seem to emphasize the fact that the Mexican-American lives in a quasi-isolation and separation from the general American culture. The "little Mexicos" referred to earlier indicate that this situation is wide-spread among immigrant Mexicans and their children.

The respondents for the most part come from "typical" American communities. Table X shows that the composition of most communities was quite broad in scope. The interviewer explained that the information desired was a socio-economic breakdown of the general population; that is, were the majority of the people in the community rich, poor, middle-class, or was there just a single class. The responses were general except in a few cases as indicated in the following table.

TABLE X
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION
OF HOME TOWN POPULATION

<u>Classes of People</u>	<u>No. of communities</u>
All types of people	39
Anglo-American residential	1
Rich Americans	1
Workers and laborers	3
Poor Mexicans	2
Ranchers	1
No report	3

Economy of Home Community: The extent of knowledge of the economy of the home community was determined by asking the respondents the type and nature of industries in the town or city or the lack of industries; the type of agriculture or lack of it; where most people were employed and the nature of their jobs.

Twenty-five various types of industries were reported, some cases reporting several industries. Steel and foundry establishments were mentioned by fifteen cases, and six reported ship-building. Appendix G will show a breakdown of industries mentioned.

Home town people do not earn a living in all these twenty-five industries for most of them are concentrated in the Los Angeles area. Of forty-seven cases reporting on the nature of employment for people in the home community, only twenty could be termed as engaged in industry, and even these are listed as common labor, no skills being represented. Twenty-three cases stated that the local population earned its living largely from agriculture in one form or another. Even in the industrial communities it was reported that agriculture in the form of fruit and truck farming and cotton farming. Some communities concentrated on a particular type of agriculture. Others were diversified in the sense that they included all three.

Employment of the Cases: Ten respondents were found to

have had some type of job training in civilian life. The army did not change matters much for only seven received training in the army. None of this training was in a skilled category, nor did the training last any reasonable length of time. Eighty per cent of the cases had had no civilian job training. As civilians, they worked at twenty-five different types of jobs. Seventeen of fifty were engaged in some kind of agricultural work, while fourteen were common, unskilled laborers in various urban employments. There were four clerks in stores or as timekeepers who were classed as semi-skilled. Two respondents, a welder and a shoemaker, as classified as skilled workers. Some truck drives are classed as semi-skilled. Except in agriculture, and as common laborers, the Mexican-American participated very little in the industries which he knew existed in and around his home community.

When asked which type of work would be preferred by each individual, no great variation was found from the type of employment at which they had worked. For example, whereas seven had been employed as some type of truck driver, eight would like to be truck drivers. Nine of the seventeen engaged in agricultural work would prefer to remain in agriculture. Table XI outlines briefly but concisely the variation between type of job held, and type of job desired. A comparison may also be made between job training experienced and type of employment anticipated upon discharge.

TABLE XI

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS: REAL AND DESIRED

Job Training	Main No.	Employment	Job No.	Preference	On Discharge No.	No.
Civilians:						
NYA, drafting	1	Agricul- tural	8	Agricul- tural	4	1
Mechanic	1	Ranch work	5	Ranch work	3	1
Laundry work	1	Gardner	1	Gardner	1	
Butcher	1	Picker	2	Picker	1	
House painter	1	Mechanic				
Jack hammer man	1	helper	1	Mechanic	4	1
Welding	1	Truck driver	7	Truck driver	8	5
Carpenter	1	Timberman	1	Timberman	1	1
Shoemaker	1	Core-maker	1	Core-maker	1	
Electric repair	1	Welder	1	Welder	1	
		Ship scaler	1	Ship scaler	1	1
		Electric repair	1	Electric repair	1	
Total	10	Longshoreman	1	Longshoreman	1	1
Army:		Store clerk	1	Store clerk	1	1
Ward man	1	Salesman	1	Salesman	1	1
Carpentry	1	Shipping clerk	1	Shipping clerk	1	
Mechanic	1	Time keeper	1	Time keeper	1	
Cook & baker school	1	Brick maker	1	Brick maker	1	
Radio	1	Sheet metal	1	Sheet metal	1	
Truck driver	1			Sailor	1	1
Sign painting	1			Roofing	1	
Total	7					
				Construction		1
				Carpenter		1
				Truck driver and farm	1	1
		Foundry	2			
				Dynamiting	1	
		Cat skinner	1			
		Cannery	1			
		Mineral mill	1			
		Shoemaker	1			
				Aircraft assembly	1	
				Musician		1
				Business		2
				Sign painter		1
				Prize fighter		1
				Go to Mexico		4
				Help parents		1
		Any work	6	Any work		22
		Never worked	2	No report	7	1

Later in the interview, a similar question was asked in reference to jobs. This time the question was worded: "What kind of work are you going to do when you get discharged?" Almost the same number of job categories was represented, but distribution was more sparse. Twenty-two cases did not care where they worked, so long as they got jobs. These replies are listed in the fourth column of Table XI.

Secondary Associations: A few more Mexican-American youth belong to secondary associations than do their parents. Several athletic clubs are mentioned. These were given no names and were local in character. Only one inmate held a membership in a veteran's organization. That organization was the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Eight persons belong to either the A.F. of L. or C.I.O. unions. This would seem to indicate that the respondents were not "club" conscious or organization minded and reflects the attitudes of their parents. There were several cases who said, during the course of the interview, that they would like to join some organizations, but were not specific as to the nature of organization they were interested in. The only other external association is the church which will be treated later in this thesis.

Education: The last secondary factor to be considered in this chapter is the over-all educational aspect of the fifty

cases. Only one case had had no schooling at all although that case was not wholly illiterate. Four cases made no report on education. All those going to school went to public schools. Mean education was 7.74 grades with only two cases reaching the twelfth grade. Twelve of the fifty cases had been in high school. The rest had been in elementary and junior high school.

In New Mexico, where Spanish-speaking people constitute more than one half of the public school enrollement "they make up less than one fiftieth of the enrollement in the twelfth grade. Of almost sixty thousand Spanish-speaking children enrolled in school, more than half are in the first three grades."⁴⁶

In San Antonio, Texas, Carey McWilliams points out that

Almost nine tenths of the city's 14,462 illiterates are Mexicans, the proportion of illiterates for the group being 15.7 per cent. Over 3,000 Mexican children of school age have never entered the public schools of San Antonio. The percentage of Mexican youngsters graduating from high school is extremely small; the number who enter college is negligible. ... More Mexican children are out of school than any other segment of the population.⁴⁷

There are some significant factors to consider when discussing the schooling of these Mexican-Americans. It is recalled here that most of the homes used Spanish as the

⁴⁶ George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People, p. 30.

⁴⁷ Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin, p. 125.

language most spoken in the home. Furthermore, many of the cases came from communities where there were large Mexican-American populations. Not a single case reported having a teacher of Mexican descent, except for one case who had received his education in Mexico. These students went from bi-lingual homes into mono-lingual schools to a language not native to them.

The Spanish-speaking child comes to the public schools without a word of English and without "the environmental experience upon which school is based." That such a child is likely to be retarded is, therefore, a foregone conclusion.⁴⁸

So writes Carey McWilliams. Dr. Sanchez enlarges on the position of the Spanish-speaking school child:

Imagine the Spanish-speaking child's introduction to American education! He comes to school, not only without a word of English but without any environmental experience upon which school life is based. He cannot speak to the teacher and is unable to understand what goes on about him in the class room. He finally submits to rote learning, parroting the words and processes in self-defense. ...The school program is based on the fallacious assumption that the children come from English speaking homes--homes that reflect American cultural standards and traditions.⁴⁹

Although the inmates were asked the size of the schools they attended, only thirty cases hazarded guesses as to school population. These guesses ranged from 120 pupils to 2,000. Modal school sizes are 500 students and 1,000 students, with

⁴⁸ Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin, p. 133.

⁴⁹ George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People, p. 31.

fourteen cases reporting having gone to schools of those sizes.

Three cases reported that they went to segregated schools. Twenty-five cases stated that the school population was mostly Anglo-American. There were eighteen cases who attended schools with heavy concentrations of Mexican-Americans. It is suggested here that the districting of schools by local officials often segregates ethnic and socio-economic classes. It is worth repeating also that except where education was received in Mexico, there were no teachers of Mexican descent. One reason for this seems to be the small number of Mexican-Americans attending college as referred to on page 62.

TABLE XII

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SCHOOL POPULATION

<u>Ethnic Classification</u>	<u>No. of schools</u>
Mostly Anglo-American	25
Mostly of Mexican descent	12
Half Mexican and half Anglo-American	4
Mixed	2
Mexican and Japanese-American	1
Segregated, all Mexican-American	3
All Mexican	2
No school attendance	1

50

It may be argued that schools cannot afford to adjust themselves to every ethnic group in the American "melting pot" of nationalities, and there is some credence in this. However, a large number of citizens of Mexican descent are not

foreigners. They are native to the United States.

When one sees the great sums spent to reconstruct the Spanish missions and other buildings of the Latin-American occupation, one cannot help but wonder at the inconsistency of things in general. If Anglo-Americans accept their art and culture, why have they not also accepted the people?⁵⁰

Recently Carey McWilliams in an article ironically entitled "Is Your Name Gonzales" published in The Nation discussed segregation in the schools.

In the Westminster and El Moreno school districts of Orange County, California, there live about 5,000 persons of Mexican descent, most of them citizens of the United States. The children of these families are segregated in school, as are children of Mexican descent in most of the other school districts of the "citrus belt."⁵¹

Bi-lingualism is not an absolute in the determination of future education of children of Mexican extraction. Bi-culturalism is an even more important aspect. Segregated schools have been justified in some quarters on the basis that such schools are equal in facilities and give an equal footing in the community to all Mexican-American youth. A double language usage must be associated with a dual culture experience and environment in order to insure equality in the construction of school programs. Mr. McWilliams quotes from Judge McCormick who presided in a case brought before him

⁵⁰ Jovita Gonzales de Mireles, in "Our Racial and National Minorities," as quoted by Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin, p. 114.

⁵¹ Carey McWilliams, "Is Your Name Gonzales," The Nation, March 15, 1947, p. 302.

which concerned segregation.

To the contention of the school authorities that Mexican children were segregated because of language handicap, Judge McCormick replied that if these children were retarded in English it was because of the conditions under which they were taught. He went on to point out that segregation prevented children of Mexican descent from "deriving a common cultural attitude...which is imperative for the perpetuation of American institutions and ideals" ... and tended to "foster antagonism" by suggesting an inferiority that did not exist.⁵²

In New Mexico, Dr. Sanchez pleads for bi-lingual instruction: "the use of standard curricula, books, and materials among these children is a ridiculous procedure."⁵³

Mr. McWilliams comments: "Bi-lingual instruction does not signify neglect of English; on the contrary, it would establish the basis upon which a real and workable knowledge of English might be predicated."⁵⁴

It was not determined why the inmates left school, or did not complete school. Only five cases reported that they had been expelled from school. Of these five only one knew why he was expelled, the reason being car-theft when he was sent to reform school. But the quotations from Dr. Sanchez and Mr. McWilliams imply that Mexican-Americans leave school because they cannot adjust to it or because they cannot afford

⁵² Ibid., p. 303

⁵³ George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People, p. 31

⁵⁴ Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin, p. 133.

to go, or they are prevented from going through restrictive segregation, or discouraged from going because of hostility by the majority.

Extra Curricular Participation: Of the fifty cases, only ten did not participate in some extra curricular activity. Thirty-four participated in sports events. The next most popular activity was music where six people were active and drama and school elections where eight respondents participated. Table XIII shows the breakdown of activities and the number of people who engaged in them.

The record of participation is diversified. The interviewer stated that the respondents were enthusiastic in talking of their extra curricular school activities, and seemed proud of their achievements.

TABLE XIII

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

<u>Activites</u>	<u>No. of Participants</u>
Sports	34
Music	6
Drama	4
School elections	4
School paper	1
No school attendance	1
No participation	10

Summary: Secondary environmental factors are considered

of equal value in determining the degree of adjustment of an individual to his society. It has already been shown that the primary environment, the family, has been handicapped in its possibilities and potentialities for making social adjustments. A large part of the unadjustment of the parents is transmitted as a problem to the children. For example:

In Texas and California the rule obtains "once a Mexican, always a Mexican." Immigrant stocks of high visibility and low economic status retain their minority status over long periods of time, even though by birth or naturalization, they have acquired citizenship.⁵⁵

The Mexican-American youth is not free of a hostile human environment. This is reflected in the types of jobs available to him and in the low standards of education offered him. It has already been shown that the U. S. Employment Service found difficulty in placing even well-trained Mexican-Americans in industries during the war.

Although the ethnic group of the respondent may predominate in certain school systems, schools are not constructed or administered to meet his particular needs.

In health, wealth, and education, the New Mexican holds the lowest position of any large group in the state. Furthermore, the measures being undertaken to remedy his condition are less effective in his case than they are for other sectors of the population. This lack of effectiveness is due to three fundamental needs: (1) the measures are not adapted to his needs; (2) his

⁵⁵ Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin, pp. 115-116.

cultural inertia is greater; (3) the measures are inequitable and tend to discriminate against him.⁵⁶

In speaking of the desire to adjust to the American way of life, and the desirability of including Mexican-Americans whole-heartedly in the American scene, Dr. Sanchez remarks: "The New Mexican's filial respect, his love of home and of country, and his fortitude in the face of adversity are potential resources of Americanism. The democracy inherent in the New Mexican culture bespeaks these peoples' preparedness to enhance American life."⁵⁷

Currently, with national and international emphasis on the friendship of the United States and the Latin-American peoples, Mr. McWilliams makes this point: "When we broadcast Good Neighbor programs in Spanish, it seldom occurs to us that there is a sizeable Mexican population in our midst and that the Good Neighbor Policy might very well start here, at home, within our own borders."⁵⁸

People of Mexican extraction, who live in areas where they are concentrated into defined localities of the communities, or in regions where there is an historic discriminatory attitude toward Mexican origin, are faced with two broad problems. The first problem is that of the limitations of

⁵⁶ George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People, p. 39. In his study he defines the New Mexican as a citizen of Mexican extraction.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 98.

⁵⁸ Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin, p. 115.

adjustment brought on by the culture inherited directly and indirectly from Mexico. The second problem is the hostility of secondary environmental factors which prevent adjustment.

CHAPTER VI

PRIMARY ATTITUDES:

FACTORS IN THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Secondary environmental factors were discussed in Chapter V. Certain typicalities are recognizable that inhibit the process of social adjustment to an American society by both parents and their children. The types of employment are limited; education is lax and inadequate; cultural factors such as language barriers and folk culture serve as handicaps; hostility of out-groups is a disadvantage in the assimilation process; governmental agencies are not constructed for adequate administration of policies toward minority groups.

This chapter will discuss certain features of environment and of secondary factors in their relationship to primary attitudes of the respondents.

Language: From early childhood, the cases studied in this thesis used the Spanish language. Four cases use both English and Spanish in the home. Ninety-two per cent of the respondents use only Spanish at home. There are three cases who speak English to their brothers and sisters, and thirteen who use both Spanish and English. Thirty-three cases converse with their entire family in the native tongue of their parents.

Recall here that twenty-three per cent of the parents were native born.

In Chapter V it was pointed out that many Mexican-Americans entered school without a working use of the English language. This is not far-fetched when considered in the light of the above information and in view of the fact that most of the interviewing was done in Spanish. It becomes a fact for emphasis when it is recalled that most of these cases were born in the United States!

Table XIV presents a chart showing the evolutionary aspects of the Spanish language among the people concerned in this thesis.

TABLE XIV
THE SPANISH LANGUAGE AND ITS USE
AMONG THE CASES

Language	Spoken at home		Spoken to Brothers & Sisters		Language Preferred		Reads & Writes Best		Spoken to Own Children	
Spanish	46	92%	33	66%	35	70%	13	26%	18	69.2%
English	0	00	3	6	3	6	28	56	2	7.7
Both	4	8	13	26	1	2	9	18	6	23.1
No report	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
No preference					11	22				

The language preferred by the respondents is not necessarily the language used in the home. Ninety-two per cent use Spanish at home, but in speaking with brothers and sisters,

only sixty-six per cent use Spanish. Thirty-five cases, or seventy per cent prefer to speak Spanish, and of those respondents who have their own children (there were twenty-six reports), 69.2 per cent would rather speak Spanish to them. It is assumed that in many cases parents cannot get along well with the English language, and Spanish becomes necessary for home use. By being exposed to the public school training, the respondents have been able to get some grasp of English. It seems doubtful that those people who speak Spanish to their children, and prefer to do so, will have as many of their own offspring preferring Spanish.

The idea that the youth tends to digress from the native tongue is borne out by the differentials in the language that is used in reading and writing. Recall that in Chapter V there was shown to be a tendency in the United States to maintain segregated schools, and also, these segregated schools do not have bi-lingual curricula. Rote learning may have carried the respondents along in school above the elementary grades. But adequate and full use of the English language was handicapped. However, it would be safe to assume that the children of immigrant Mexican parents have a broader and fuller control of the English language than do the parents. It could follow that the grand-children would have even a greater control of the English language, with possibly less control over the use of Spanish especially where improved educational

methods are introduced.

Table XIV also shows that thirty-three cases speak only Spanish to their brothers and sisters. Although there are but three who claim to use English, thirteen cases report using both Spanish and English with their brothers and sisters, whereas there are four who use both languages in the home with their parents.

Table XV offers an analysis of the reasons that the respondents gave for their Spanish language preference.

TABLE XV
REASONS FOR LANGUAGE PREFERENCES

<u>Reason</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
Like the Spanish language	2
Spanish is the native tongue	22
Spanish is easier to use	5
Parents speak no English	2
Know Spanish better	3
Does not like English	1

Except for those who state that they do not like English, or that they like Spanish better, the assumption can be made that the Spanish language is the most fluent and useful communication offered in the home environment of the respondent. Also, although the data do not wholly bear out this contention, it might be said that need or use of the English language in the home environment is not great and, further, especially

where agriculture is the principal employment, the English language is not a necessary adjunct to job efficiency or maintenance.

Of the three who would prefer to speak English, there are as many different reasons. One respondent feels that he prefers English because he can more readily satisfy Anglo-Americans; another desires English because his brothers and sisters would rather use it; a third does not know Spanish very well.

Those eleven people who had no language preference either have no reason to give for this attitude or find that both languages are necessary to get along.

Although most of the parents have come from Mexico and although Spanish is spoken in all the homes, the fact is recognized that the Spanish language is used less by the first generation Mexican-American youth. Second generation may not use Spanish as much as first generation.

But this deals with foreign born parents and not native born. Evidence of culture lag was presented earlier. Language barrier is one fundamental cause of lag. Under the historic circumstances previously outlined, it does not follow that language will disappear as a handicap. Nor will culture lag have its pace quickened. Dr. Sanchez comments: "His language has suffered by disuse, yet he has had little chance to learn to use English effectively. His social status reflects his

economic insufficiency.⁵⁷

M. E. Herriott, principal of Central Junior High School in Los Angeles, California tells of the extent of the educational problem.

Here in the Southwest, Mexican-Americans compose our major minority group. Literally hundreds of schools are made up almost wholly of young Mexican-Americans. Other hundreds of schools have them in large numbers.⁵⁸

In the same journal, E. P. Andrus comments:

The problem is one of adapting our schooling to the needs of a group of children whose background is different from that of our own children and who usually have not had anything like the same sort of scholastic preparation that the boys and girls in our schools have had. It is a problem, also, of making these youngsters a part of the majority group rather than a minority. The entire situation is aggravated by our long-standing lethargy and often-times by our actual refusal to face it.⁵⁹

The foregoing assumptions are made valid if secondary environmental factors prove more favorable. If secondary factors prove unfavorable, the children of the first born of immigrants who prefer speaking Spanish, will face the same primary difficulties of adjustment brought about by language. On the other hand, if schools are bi-lingual and bi-cultural as was earlier suggested a higher and richer balance of adjustment may be achieved.

⁵⁷ George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People, p. 28.

⁵⁸ M. E. Herriott, "Administrative Responsibility for Minorities," California Journal of Secondary Education, Vol. 18, October, 1943, p. 362.

⁵⁹ E. P. Andrus, "Workshop Studies Education of Mexican Americans," Ibid., p. 328.

Educators like Mr. Herriott and Miss Andrus show a wide-awake, alert and sympathetic attitude toward a minority problem. Some educators are not so far-sighted or generous; nor are they, at times, accurate or scientific in their approach to the problem. The court case cited in Chapter V is one example. The following example was selected from those offered by Carey McWilliams:

In 1921, R. L. Adams of the University of California published a text, Farm Management. In the chapters on farm labor, nearly every dogma of the growers is accepted and set forth as scientifically determined fact. Dr. Adams favors the segregation of workers according to race. He believes that the Mexicans are "childish, lazy, and unambitious."⁶⁰

With attitudes like those of Dr. Adams, there is much justification in the criticism of Robert C. Jones who writes in the American Teacher:

The survival of segregated ethnic communities over a long period of time can be attributed in large measure to the attitudes of the dominant portion of the population towards members of the minority group. In the case of the majority of these so called "Mexicans," physical differences, although superficial, set them off from other individuals and constitute a permanent badge upon and around which certain ideas, attitudes and prejudices tend to focus.⁶¹

Primary Attitudes on Education: Schools as social institutions and education as a social process have a dual

⁶⁰ Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field, p. 140.

⁶¹ R. C. Jones, "Mexican Youth in the United States," The American Teacher, Vol. 28, March, 1944, p. 11.

character in that they are both primary and secondary in the social personality or being of the individual.

As a social institution, a school is a secondary environmental factor. To many of the immigrants free public schools were an innovation. The school becomes a primary factor from two points of view; first, the friendship associations (or lack of them) of the Mexican-American when he enters school and while he is going there; second, the school's education influences the home environment of the immediate family through the associations of the student.

Education, as it is presented formally in public school systems, or in parochial schools, is secondary in nature as far as environmental factors are concerned. Within the family, the process of education has a primary form in that it maintains itself within the family group, extending at most to the limited community area or neighborhood. In the schools, the youth of Mexican extraction is in interaction with diversified out-groups and their culture patterns. These are found in the form of the teacher, the curricula and students of other than Mexican extraction. These are secondary influences. At home the process of education is the culture of the family as it is practiced in the home and community area.

In this thesis, attitudes about school are to be considered as primary. In this sense, it is noted that school represents a mechanism or device for acculturation and that it is the child

and not the parent that is exposed to both school and formal education. Thus the influence the student may bring to the home (from school) is secondary in nature. But the attitudes gained by the student while attending school are primary expressions. It is contended here that there is a change in primary factors upon entrance into school. In other words, the primary environment of the child is not wholly the primary environment of the family as a unit. The process of acculturation is more apparent in the youth than in the parent. The youth has new and different values.⁶²

The respondents were asked if they considered it important to go to school and why they thought as they did. Their answers may be examined in Table XVI.

The reasons given for the importance of going to school could more readily be broken down into two general categories. These categories are economic and cultural, where cultural is meant in the sense of literature, art, and music.

The reasons are diversified when taken more specifically. What is most significant is that the importance of going to school was emphasized. The reasons were useful and practical.

⁶² School and education are only two factors. Such things as technological innovations in the form of automobiles, tractors and typewriters and railroads may also be factors which are more in the experience world of the child than in that of the parent. Conventional American sports, movies, radio, and drug stores may be other factors.

They are primary attitudes. The last three items listed in Table XVI are also primary attitudes. The latter reflect a sharp bitterness and they represent six per cent of the total cases studied.

TABLE XVI
THE IMPORTANCE OF ATTENDING SCHOOL

Is School important?

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Yes	48
No	2

Why?

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
To educate one's self	17
Learn to read and write	5
Economic opportunity	6
In order to get a job	6
Necessary for living better	4
One can learn a trade	2
To learn interesting things	4
One can learn a profession	1
It is good for marriage	1
It gives better expression	1
One won't be fooled by Americans	1
Only good for government jobs*	1
No reason to go to school*	1

* These cases had replied that school did not have any importance for them.

Perhaps a look at earlier ambitions would serve to clarify the hopes or directions that the respondents had in

mind when they went to school. Table XVII outlines their answers to a question concerning childhood ambitions. Twenty-one different ideas were presented by thirty cases. Sixteen cases said that they had no ambitions and four simply wanted to be rich or important or both.

TABLE XVII

CHILDHOOD AMBITIONS

Professional		Skilled		Semi-skilled		Athletics	
Lawyer	1	Electrician	1	Office work	1	Ball player	1
Musician	4	House		Truck driver	2	Motor cycle	
Surveyor	1	painter	1	Merchant		racer	1
Doctor	1	Carpenter	2	sailer	1	Prize	
Priest	1	Farmer	1	Soldier	1	fighter	1
Aviator	1	Mechanic	6				
Salesman	1	Some trade	1				
Totals		10	12	5	3		

Ambitions, when considering thirty cases who replied positively to the question, seem wide-spread. When such traditional categories as "professional," "skilled worker," or "semi-skilled worker," are used, economic or status ambitions are not very broad in scope. The occupational categories used as titles in Table XVII are arbitrary classifications. However, they serve for the purposes in this chapter.

Only ten respondents had ambitions that leaned toward professional brackets. Twelve of the thirty cases submitting replies would enter into skilled labor fields, and five would

be semi-skilled. Three respondents wanted athletic careers.

Of those respondents who replied that their ambitions had come true--there were eight--none of those who aspired to professions or skilled work were represented. Rather, the truck drivers, the sailor, one carpenter, the motorcycle racer, and some mechanic's helpers had realized their ambitions. The rest have hopes that the ambitions may be achieved in the future except for those leaning toward the professions.

When the family was discussed in an earlier chapter, it was pointed out that none of the fathers was a professional person, although there was one business man. There were only a few skilled workers among the fathers; these were carpenters and mechanics. Among the mothers there was one professional. She had attended normal school and had taught school in Mexico for a little while.

Although the Mexican may retain some of his character of "wantlessness," the Mexican-American aspires to professional fields or skilled work in some degree. The process of acculturation is shown in these desires although the opportunities presented the Mexican-American do not give much hope for the attainment of his ambitions. The types of work previously done by the respondents and the types of work desired upon discharge do not point heavily toward the professional or skilled fields. Dr. Glen Carlson of the University of Redlands, reporting at the Race Relations

Conference in California in 1944,

stressed that racial frictions are caused more by economic factors than by purely racial, cultural, or historical differences. Unfair employment relationships have grown out of economic competition more than any other fact. ... The War Manpower Commission and other governmental agencies do not keep separate records of the employment of Mexicans. It is obvious, however, that those with Mexican heritage are discriminated against in certain types of employment, especially jobs that require contacts with the public. The percentage of Mexicans who are eligible for social security is relatively small.⁶³

There is, then, a conflict between the primary motivations gained by the Mexican-American's association with a secondary culture which is American and the primary patterns which exist in the family. Dr. Bogardus brings this conflict out sharply when he points out that

Mexican parents of Mexican-American boys and girls are baffled by what the mothers are wont to call "this terrible freedom" in the United States. The parents find their children adopting the free ways of other children, of talking back to their parent, of staying out late at night, of aping older boys and girls. The peen father proceeds by the only way that he knows, namely, by beating the boy; but this is contrary to the American way today, the boy resents it, and the neighbors may report it to the police.⁶⁴

There is the primary conflict of the Mexican-American referred to in the quotation from the Race Relations Conference cited above--that of an ethnic minority in a hostile economic

⁶³ Dr. Glen Carlson as reported in "Race Relations Conference," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 29, September, 1944, p. 62.

⁶⁴ E. S. Bogardus, "Gangs of Mexican-American Youth," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 29, September, 1943, p. 60.

environment.

The primary attitudes of the first generation American born of Mexican immigrant parents are directed at two separate cultures which are not in adjustment. There seems to be no immediate solution possible to either faction or to the interstitial first generation youth. He is neither "Mexican," nor "American."

The data show no reason for thinking that the ambitions of the Mexican-Americans are in any way un-American. Their views on education and their ambitions might be said to be quite typical of Americans. A conflict exists between the attitudes and desires on the one hand and the possibility of attainment on the other.

Although opinions, basically, on education are sound and the ambitions are sound, there are two distinct factors in opposition to the elimination of culture lag. The first is inadequate and discriminatory practice in educational systems. Education of this nature not only inflicts a penalty on the minority; it also restricts the majority from wholesome interaction with the minority. The second factor is limited and discriminatory practice resulting in the curtailment or contraction of economic opportunity. A low social status is the result. As Dr. Bogardus puts it:

The boy Mexican-American drops out of school because he is "not getting anywhere," and because it does him no good if he does get a high school education. He

finds himself discriminated against occupationally. Some of the work opportunities open to other youth are closed to him because he is a Mexican.⁶⁵

Attitudes toward education and early childhood ambitions seem normal among the cases. Perhaps what is not so normal is the opportunity of achievement in the society of the majority.

⁶⁵ E. S. Bogardus, "Gangs of Mexican-American Youth," *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 29, September, 1943, p. 61.

CHAPTER VII

ATTITUDES: TOWARD NATIONS AND IDNOLOGIES

The cultural relation of the family to Mexico from the point of view of feelings and attachments toward Mexico was discussed in Chapters II and III. Essentially, the attitudes of the families toward the United States were those of good American citizens. Although they had relatives in Mexico and although they missed the integrated community life of their native country, the families nevertheless felt that the United States was their home and that their allegiance and loyalty was to the United States. Of the fifty families, only two apparently did not like the United States and wanted to go back to Mexico.

The importance of the family and its relationship to the degree of cultural adjustment of the children to an American society has been discussed in earlier chapters of this study together with the Mexican and American culture dichotomy.

In Chapter V the inadequacy of educational preparation necessary for cultural assimilation and the handicaps brought on by the hostility and discriminatory practices of the majority groups were considered.

Attitudes Toward the United States and Mexico: Only one respondent was born in Mexico. The rest were born in the

United States. Twenty-three cases stated that they had been in Mexico. Most of these had been taken to Mexico by their parents either on visits or as their parents followed the crops. A couple went to Mexico in order to avoid the military services.

Of the twenty-three cases who had been in Mexico, two stated that they did not like it there, three were not decided whether they liked Mexico or not, and eighteen said that they liked Mexico very much.

There is no way in which to make a comparison of attitudes toward a foreign country with other minority groups in America when native born children are considered. Table XVIII outlines the answers to the question: "What do you like about Mexico?" This question was asked of all fifty cases. Fifteen either made no reply or simply stated that they were never there. An attempt was made by the writer to consolidate the reasons for liking Mexico but it was decided that any great degree of consolidation would minimize the accuracy of reporting data within the context of statements by individuals. Thus, there are twenty-two categories as listed in the table which cover all fifty cases.

It is significant that ten cases of the thirty-five responding positively to the question commented on music as a reason for liking the native country of their parents. Most of the writers on Mexico comment on this love of music by the

Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. Five cases commented on women and six cases made observations on the people of Mexico.

When asked what they thought was wrong with Mexico as a country, twenty-three cases decided that there was nothing wrong. Sixteen cases who had never been in Mexico made no comment. Only four cases commented on the condition of Mexico. Their answers dealt with poor wealth distribution, low salaries, lack of industry, and one respondent said that Mexicans were lazy people.

TABLE XVIII

WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT MEXICO?

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Never in Mexico	10
No report	5
Music and women	1
Pretty women and girls	2
Sincere people and pretty music	1
Mexico has a united race	1
Mexico has satisfied people	1
There is no race discrimination	2
Mexico has more democracy	1
Food, music and women	2
Music	1
Pretty country and nice music	2
Way of living, dressing and the nice music	1
Free, gay, and merry people	2
Mexico has pretty country-side	1
Like the churches	1
Like the sports	1
More economic opportunity	2
Every thing is nicer in Mexico	7
Wishes to stay in Mexico	1
Nothing in Mexico is better	2
Total	47

Of the twenty-seven cases who reported preferring to live in the United States, twenty-four replied to a question concerning the preference of Mexican songs. Of these, five did not sing Mexican songs; nineteen did.

The inmates were asked why they preferred to live in the United States and yet continued to sing Mexican songs. Their reasons for clinging to the Mexican music are presented in Table XIX.

TABLE XIX

REASONS FOR SINGING MEXICAN SONGS

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Mexican songs are prettier	2
Like the songs better	4
Mexican music has more feeling	1
It is native music	10
It is natural music	1
Mexican music has meaning	1
Do not sing Mexican songs	5
<hr/>	
Total	24
<hr/>	

When the wife and offspring of the cases are studied it will be seen that almost all of the wives of the married respondents are of Mexican descent. This wife selection is as much a part of the culture of Mexican-Americans as the selection of Mexican music in preference to popular American songs. The songs are part of the fluency of the Spanish

language and the primary contacts with the immigrant parents plus living in either "all-Mexican" or "near-Mexican" communities. The music of the Mexican seem to be the only proletarian literature that has remained with the Mexican-American.

Table XX shows the preferences of the respondents under a stable situation. Part A presents a picture where-in the respondent would have a home in Mexico. This home was explained as being a comfortable home with sufficient land and/or resources for a decent standard of living. Given a home of this type in Mexico, only fifty-six per cent of the inmates would go to live there. Twenty-eight per cent would stay in the United States regardless of a home in Mexico.

TABLE XX

ATTITUDES TOWARD HOME LOCATION

A. If you had a home in Mexico would you rather live there?

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
56%	28%	16%

B. Do you prefer Mexico or the United States?

<u>U. S.</u>	<u>Mexico</u>	<u>Either</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
54%	34%	8%	4%

Part B of Table XX asks bluntly whether or not the Mexican-American prefers to live in the United States or Mexico.

Thirty-four per cent or seventeen people said that they would rather live in Mexico. Six of these said that they did not go to live in Mexico because their families resided in the United States. Eight seem to think that they will go to Mexico. They said that they had not gone back previously because they had had no opportunity.

A division in thinking becomes apparant when these cases consider the two countries. Their attitudes are divided. Diversification in cultural background has been discussed. It would seem that primary environmental factors represent a strong, friendly tie to Mexico. But secondary factors are responsible for forcing loyalty from the United States to Mexico.⁶⁶

The inmates were asked if they had ever been the object of discrimination. Of the fifty cases replying to the question, eighteen respondents or thirty-six per cent, answered affirmatively. The reasons why these people were discriminated against, in their opinion, are found in Table XXI.

The answers given to the question on discrimination were brief and concise and those listed in Table XXI are almost the exact words of the respondents. All the report, of

⁶⁶ In the writer's experience where the native country of his parents was often discussed in the home, it was not until high school age had been reached that the idea of returning to the native land of the parents ceased to be an ambition of the writer.

course, indicate that discrimination was because of race, except for one person who did not know why he should be selected for discrimination.

TABLE XXI
REASONS FOR DISCRIMINATION

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Because of color	2
Because of being Mexican	4
Because of speaking Spanish	1
Does not know why	1
Mainly in the army and in movies and restaurants	1
Because of race	9
Total	18

E. A. Ross, discussing the social revolution in Mexico in the early part of the twentieth century, comments: "There is no color-line in Mexico."⁶⁷

In a war between Mexico and the United States, only twelve per cent of the respondents would take the side of the United States. Forty-two per cent would fight on the side of Mexico. Thirty-six per cent would remain neutral and one had become a pacifist, preferring jail to another war. Four cases were undecided in the course they would take.

If the United States went to war against Russia, thirty cases would fight on the side of the United States; two cases favored Russia and eighteen would remain neutral. Significantly, if Mexico declared war on Russia, thirty-nine cases would fight

⁶⁷ Edward A. Ross, The Social Revolution in Mexico, (New York: The Century Company, 1923), p. 9.

for Mexico and none would fight for Russia. Eleven would remain neutral. Nine more people would help Mexico against Russia than would help the United States against Russia.

The second generation Mexicans are experiencing new problems. In reality, these young people are first generation Americans. Born in this country, they are citizens...And yet, today, more than ever before they are called aliens, and, more serious still, treated as such. They are more in doubt than ever about the advantages of being American citizens. At a time when every effort needs to be made to increase the loyalty of all our citizens, here is a group of citizens who are in a very real way being made to feel less loyal than mere loyal.⁶⁸

Whether or not the majority groups of American citizens desire to retain the loyalty of its Mexican-Americans is a moot question. In discussing the question of the desire of the majority groups with several school superintendents in Montana the opinion was expressed by the superintendents that Mexican-Americans should have the right to return to Mexico if they wish to do so. It would seem though, that any American citizen has the right to leave his native country if he wishes whether or not he is in a minority group. The right to leave does not solve his problems, however.

The writer has not been able to find statistics on ethnic groups in the recent World War, but Dr. Sanchez refers to the loyalty of the Mexican-American in World War I:

⁶⁸ E. S. Bogardus, "Current Problems of Mexican Immigrants," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 25, November, 1940, p. 166.

...New Mexico had more volunteers per capita than any other state...sixty per cent of these volunteers were of Spanish descent. As a matter of fact, New Mexico had so many volunteers that there were not enough able bodied citizens left to fill the draft quota.⁶⁹

Ruth D. Tuck, writing in Survey Graphic comments on the patriotism shown in World War II: "The impact of war on Mexican youth was terrific... Patriotism and military action had a strong appeal; enlistment in the Mexican districts swelled."⁷⁰

The attitudes of the respondents in reference to preference of country should be qualified somewhat by the fact that they were confined to a disciplinary barracks. This fact may modify the views expressed because of bias or prejudice on the part of the inmates. On the other hand, Dr. Bogardus, cited above, has observed indecisions and unrest among Mexican-American youth in reference to their loyalty or allegiance to the United States. The statements on discrimination seem valid. It has already been shown that the Mexican-American is handicapped educationally and occupationally. Patriotism and loyalty will be discussed further in this thesis in a later chapter.

When asked directly what they thought was wrong with the United States, thirty-two of the cases felt that there was nothing wrong at all, and that the United States was a good country to live in. Seventeen cases were not very complimentary.

⁶⁹ George I. Sanchez, Forgotten People, p. 26.

⁷⁰ Ruth D. Tuck, "Behind the Great Ship's Hatch", Survey Graphic, Vol. 5 (April, 1935), p. 511.

One case made no report. The replies are listed in Table XXII.

TABLE XXII

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE UNITED STATES?

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Racial discrimination	7
Bad controllers and laws	2
Americans are a master race that practices discrimination	3
Everything about the U. S. is bad	2
The army and the war are bad	3
Total	17 cases

Discrimination is the focal point of criticism made by the seventeen cases who were not complimentary in criticizing Americans.

Antagonism was still reflected when an attempt was made to determine what the respondents liked about the United States. There was a diversified response in indicating what was liked. It can be seen from Table XVIII that twelve cases did not like anything in the United States but fifteen respondents liked everything. "Nothing" and "everything" are vague replies and the respondents could not be pinned down to anything specific. On the other hand, those who were specific offer some of the values traditionally recognized in an American democracy. Ten of the more specific replies are of an economic

nature. Such things as education and the country of birth are also recognized. The respondents did not offer very much information on their reasons for liking their native country. But attachment to a nation is not readily established with only a few words.

TABLE XXIII

WHAT DO YOU LIKE ABOUT THE U. S.?

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Nothing	12
Everything	16
U. S. is native country	2
Opportunity and education	1
More employment	1
U. S. has a good way of living	3
There is lots of money in U. S.	2
Everything is good except the people	1
Good recreation	1
Good education	1
Liberty	1
Home in the U. S. is like being in Mexico	1
California scenery	1
Commodities	1
The army	1
The jails	1
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 46

Attitudes toward both the United States and Mexico show a failure of adjustment to the American society, and a lack of knowledge of Mexico. The attachments toward Mexico are, for the most part, nostalgic. There are some references to racial freedoms, of course, and the feeling toward the music of Mexico is a symbol. But there is not adequate adjustment

to either country. Knowledge of both is meager and awareness of national philosophies and cultural differences cannot be explained by the Mexican-American.

Mexican Politics: Slightly more than half (52%) of the cases knew who was the newly elected president of Mexico. This compares favorably with a survey made by the writer of one hundred college students at Montana State University in May, 1947. Only forty-two college students knew who the president of Mexico was. In view of President Miguel Alemán's visit to the United States about a week before this survey was made, this score was not very high. Table XXIV shows a comparison of the scores made by the Mexican-American respondents and by the college students.⁷¹

TABLE XXIV

COMPARATIVE SCORES OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS
AND COLLEGE STUDENTS WHEN ASKED TO NAME
THE PRESIDENT OF MEXICO

	Correct Answer	Wrong or Did not know
Fifty Mexican- Americans	26 (52%)	24 (48%)
One hundred college students	42 (42%)	58 (58%)

⁷¹ The college students were selected from all four college classes. There were five freshmen, fifty sophomores, fifteen juniors, and twenty seniors. All the students were enrolled in at least one social science class.

Although about one out of two knew who was president of Mexico, only about one out of four said that they were concerned with what was happening in Mexican politics. (A similar question was not asked of the college students.) The values expressed toward Mexico and the United States do not seem to be vested in the political nature of the governments but rather in primary cultural and economic institutions.

Latin America: Most of the cases selected Mexico as being the best Latin-American country to their minds. Twenty-four did not know which was the best country in Latin-America. Three inmates selected Argentina because it was modernized and independent of the United States. Two selected Brazil and one each chose Uruguay, Chile, and San Salvador.⁷²

Spain: Outside the Western Hemisphere, Spain represents the only country related by language and culture to the Mexican peoples. Thirty-one cases or sixty-two per cent were indifferent in their knowledge of Spain. Three cases stated flatly that they knew nothing of the country. The replies given by the respondents when asked what they knew about Spain are shown in table XV.

⁷² The reasons given for the choice of a Latin-American country may be found listed in Appendix H.

TABLE XXV
ATTITUDE TOWARD SPAIN

<u>Knowledge or opinion</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Indifferent	51
Know nothing of Spain	3
Don't like Spain	3
It is bad government	4
Spain is fascistic	1
Spain is a good country	5
No report	2

There were eight respondents who were critical of Franco Spain as against five who were favorable. On this empirical basis, there is a strong minority favoring the Franco regime.

Yet, when it comes to whether or not something should be done about Spain, there are more responses. Ten cases decided that if anything should be done, the Spanish people should do it. There were as many who felt that the Great Powers should take some action against Franco Spain. Four cases were of the opinion that Latin-America should interfere. Thirteen cases remained indifferent. Two cases asked the destruction of Franco and four favored Franco in Spain.

As far as the United States becoming concerned with Franco, twenty-two felt that it was "none of our business." On the other hand, fourteen respondents wanted the United States to be concerned. The rest were indifferent. Table

XXVI shows the answers to why there should or should not be interference with Spain. To fifteen cases it does not matter. The other answers are diversified, and for the most part, show a suspicion of war.

TABLE XXVI

REASONS FOR REPLIES AS TO WHETHER OR NOT
FRANCO SPAIN SHOULD BE INTERFERED WITH

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Franco may start a war	7
We should avoid wars	1
Franco has the ideas of Hitler	1
Franco is a man to be feared	1
Franco should be watched closely	1
Spain is Nazi	1
Spain may help Russia	1
We should mind our own business	2
Franco won't hurt us	5
We can take care of ourselves	1
Spain is the mother of Mexico	1
We don't live there; it doesn't matter	2
Spain is foreign and very far away	5
Indifferent	15
Don't know	3
No answer	3

The first seven reasons asserted in Table XXVI reflect the suspicions of thirteen cases who distrust Franco. Eight cases show a favorable attitude in the treatment of Spain by the Western Hemisphere.

The information cited earlier concerning the president of Spain shows only a minor awareness of political change. Keeping in mind that these cases are Americans (citizens of

the United States by birth), their political awareness of Mexico compared favorably with a poll taken among students.

None of the inmates would venture any comment or information when asked about any Spanish resistance movement in opposition to Franco. Not a single case among the fifty offered any comment concerning the Loyalists or any other opposition party or group.

The Mexican-American seems to be interested in Spain only through the ties of his language and indirectly through part of the Spanish culture inherited by Mexico. Politically, there does not seem to be too much interest in Spain, but, specifically, there are some who favor Franco and about twice as many who do not.

Politics; Ideas on Ideologies: Before being apprehended for delinquency, the cases in this analysis were soldiers in the United States Army. Their knowledge of political affairs while living in a democratic society, it seems, should reveal some knowledge of the make-up of the constituent ideologies at war.⁷³

Seventy-four per cent of the cases do not know what communism is and eighty-four per cent are ignorant of the nature of fascism. When it comes to democracy, forty-four percent

⁷³ Appendix I tabulates the replies given to the questions asking for definitions of communism, fascism, and democracy. The writer has attempted to retain to some extent the nature in which the responses were presented.

make no effort to give a definition or explanation.

Admittedly, such questions on socio-political ideologies are difficult to answer. The college students referred to above were asked, "Do you think that the present Greek government is; Fascistic; Democratic; Don't know; Not sure." Nineteen per cent replied that they did not know and twenty-six per cent answered that they were not sure. This result means that forty-five per cent of the students did not know whether or not the democratic ideology could be applied to Greece.⁷⁴ On the other hand, seventy per cent of the students were able to apply their personal definitions to China when they stated that China did not have a democratic form of government.⁷⁵

Of thirteen Mexican-Americans who did try to give definitions, six gave attitudes somewhat favorable toward communism and as many gave unfavorable views. One case stated that communism was an ideology of a Russian political party.

Only eight cases tried to define fascism. None of the replies put it in a favorable light. All agreed that fascism was a "bad thing."

⁷⁴ Fifty per cent of the students replied that Greece was Fascistic and five per cent answered that Greece was democratic.

⁷⁵ The question asked was: "Do you think that Chiang Kai-Shek maintains a democratic government?" Seventy per cent replied "No;" five per cent replied "Yes" and twenty-five per cent answered that they were not sure or did not know.

Twenty-eight cases made responses in trying to define democracy. The thinking in making the replies was sporadic. A few cases thought of democracy only as it is related to the United States. Some tried over-all theories.⁷⁶ Seven of these twenty-eight cases were critical of democracy as experienced in the United States. They say that democracy is not practiced; that there is discrimination and waste; that there is crookedness; and that democracy is only a vague symbol. Sixteen cases identify democracy with freedom.

Political Leaders: In identification questions concerning political leaders, it was found that thirty-eight cases were able to connect Joseph Stalin with Russia. Fifteen respondents placed Juan Peron as a political figure in Argentina, and forty-seven identified Hitler with Germany.

Only three people were able to classify Joseph Stalin as the Russian Premier. Nine said he was a dictator and ten decided that he was president of Russia. Six cases did not know Joseph Stalin.

Twenty cases did not recognize the name of Juan Peron. Eleven said he was president of Argentina and three replied that he was a dictator.

Hitler was the most recognizable political figure of

⁷⁶ Tabulations of these replies may be found in Appendix I.

the three. Twenty-two Mexican-Americans pointed to Hitler as a dictator of Germany and six said that he was president. Nineteen respondents gave Hitler various titles connoting national leadership.⁷⁷

Summary: The heritage of the Mexican-American in a hostile society has, it was pointed out in an earlier chapter, left him politically impotent. He has little experience in politics and at least among the cases concerned in this thesis, he is generally unable to make opinions or judgments on an international political scene.

The evidence presented in this chapter shows that more than half of the cases either do not know what democracy is or are critical of the type of democratic processes practiced in the United States. If these men were drafted in order to fight fascism, it is paradoxical and ironical to realize that forty-two of them have no idea of what fascism is. Nor are they acquainted with any of the other political ideologies existent.

The Mexican-Americans generally show a loyalty or preference toward the United States, although there is a strong identity to Mexico brought about by language, primary environmental factors and common identity with Mexicans in

⁷⁷ See Appendix J for a more comprehensive breakdown of responses concerning political leaders.

the American scene. Where there are expressions other than loyalty or allegiance to the United States, they seem to have been brought out in the form of discrimination received from the majority groups and the resentment at the lack of opportunity offered persons of Mexican descent.

CHAPTER VIII

ATTITUDES TOWARD INSTITUTIONS

The preceding chapter dealt with the attitudes of the cases in terms of nations, ideologies of nations and leaders of nations. It was learned that the cases did not show a great deal of insight when it came to matters of politics. Generally, the replies made indicate a confusion in the knowledge of world issues.

Nations, leaders and ideologies are considered in the light of the expressions of these cases, as being secondary in nature. They are secondary to the cases because they are external from the environment of the individuals. The respondents do not know what they are. They only know that they exist. They cannot explain them nor do they attach much significance to nations, leaders and ideologies.

This chapter deals with attitudes that are considered primary from the point of view that most of the cases were or are in some way participants.

World War II: Attitudes on war reflect a disillusionment in these people. In a preceding chapter, E. S. Bogardus was quoted to the effect that the Mexican-American was forced into a situation where he questioned the value of retaining American citizenship.

The inmates were asked why they thought the war was

fought. Their answers reveal a consistency with the point of view expressed by Dr. Bogardus. The Mexican-American did not think he was fighting fascism. He did not know what fascism was. Table XXVI breaks down the views on the subject.

TABLE XXVI

REASONS GIVEN FOR FIGHTING THE WAR

Ideological	U. S. Economic Reasons	U. S. Power	Against Germany and Japan
Reason	Freq. Reason	Freq. Reason	Freq. Reason
Liberty & Freedom	7	Economic Interests 2	For world domination 1
Democracy	2	To make rich even richer 2	U.S. was be- coming se- cond to the Nazi 1
Defense of the U. S.	2	Save American interests 2	Keep Ger- many from the U.S. 1
Pearl Harbor	1	For the cap- italists 1	Fear of Germany 1
		For the ambi- tious rich 2	Against the Japanese 5
		For economic enrichment of the U.S. 1	
		For Jews on Wall St. 1	
Totals	12	11	2 7

The titles are arbitrary and are those of the writer. It is felt that they apply readily enough for demonstration purposes. Of eighteen cases not listed in Table XXVI, ten said that they did not know why the war was fought, four felt that the United States was interfering in other peoples' business

and four made irrelevant answers.

Columns on the right and left constitute favorable attitudes for entry into the war. They present ideological purposes and the need for defense against an aggressor. The two center columns present attitudes that may hardly be termed agreeable or in any sense enthusiastic.

The information shown in Table XXVI becomes more significant when the respondents comment on what was gained in fighting the war. Twenty-eight Mexican-Americans thought that nothing was gained. Thirteen respondents are classified as believing that freedom and security were retained or that additional freedom and security were gained. This compares favorably with seventeen cases from the left and right hand columns who agreed that there was purpose in the fighting. Four cases said that only the rich gained from the war.⁷⁸

There will be a war in the near future is the belief of thirty-eight cases. Of these, thirty-six think that Russia will be involved in the war. Thirty-three respondents believe that the participants in the war will be the United States and Russia.

Viewed in the light of responses made to a question concerning individual feelings toward Russia, the ominous replies above are minimized somewhat in the case of the people

⁷⁸ See Appendix K for a more specific break down of these replies.

being studied. Although Chapter VI points out that a substantial number of Mexican-Americans would fight on the side of the United States against Russia, twenty-five cases or fifty per cent say that they have a "good" feeling toward Russia. Only six cases, or twelve per cent feel "badly" toward the Soviet Union and thirty-eight per cent are indifferent toward that country.

It must be concluded that no uniform generalization may be made concerning the direct attitudes of the interviewees regarding the war and possible war.

There is a division of feeling in each case and there is a large amount of indifference. The evidence backs up the earlier stated ideas on the disinterest of the Mexican-Americans in their political framework even when they know that they may again be personally involved. Likewise the position taken that the respondents are ill-trained and poorly educated in current social problems is corroborated. Hostility is reflected in the attitudes of some on the question of democracy and the purposes for fighting the recent war; a bitterness and cynicism is reflected and a skeptical point of view is mirrored in predictions of war.

Religion: Religion plays an important part in the society of a people. In the United States there is a heterogeneity of religious practice and philosophy from the extreme

fanatic types through the conventional to the broad and liberal groups. Although Catholicism is the dominant religious philosophy of Mexico, there have recently been protestant movements there. The religious practices of the Indians have also contributed to the Mexican culture.

The politics in the early history of Mexico were pretty much church controlled and political enterprise was carried on within the framework of the church. With the Mexican revolution in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the church was legally divorced from the state. But the Mexican generally participated in the Catholic religion.⁷⁹

Forty-two of the Mexican-Americans studied in this thesis claimed membership in the Catholic Church. There are two protestants and six inmates claimed no church affiliation.⁸⁰ But these American citizens have a tolerant attitude toward religion. Table XXVII offers condensation of replies on a question asking which church was thought to be best.

No particular religion is emphasized. There is apparently no prejudice shown toward other religious groups by the predominantly Catholic respondents. They seem to base the selection of religion on the individual, although theirs is a

⁷⁹ For discussions on the political importance of the Church, see Stuart Chase, Mexico, pp. 119-200. Discussions may also be found in Lesley Byrd Simpson, Many Mexicos, and Verna Carleton Millan, Mexico Reborn.

⁸⁰ The two protestants were of native, American born parents.

culturally inherited religion.

TABLE XXVII

ATTITUDES TOWARD CHURCHES

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
All churches are alike	5
All churches are good	20
Depends on the choice of individual	6
Indifferent	6
No opinion	6
No church is good	6
All churches are crazy	1

The attitudes on religion are further elaborated when opinions are expressed on church preference. It must be remembered that the church experience of these people has been predominantly Catholic. Only a few of the inmates had had much religious training in early life. None had gone to a parochial school. Table XXVIII shows the predominance of catholicism in the expression of religious choice.

TABLE XXVIII

CHURCH PREFERENCES AND ATTITUDES

<u>Choice of church</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
All churches are alike	3
The Catholic church is good	35
The Catholic church is best	5
The Catholic church is honest	1
The Catholic church is the only church	1
Parents make the choice	1
Don't know	3
Church is ruler of the ignorant	1
Do not believe in churches	3
Do not like Catholic church	1

Although there is a predominance of one religious faith, as is shown in the above table, there is no overt expression of religious intolerance as can be seen by the attitudes expressed in Table XXVII

The record of church attendance shows a continuity of religious practice. Most of the Mexican-Americans go to church; only two stated that they did not attend service. Table XXIX gives a record of church attendance by the respondents.⁸¹

TABLE XXIX

Rate of attendance	Frequency	
	No.	Pct.
Do not go to church	2	4%
Often, but not every Sunday	27	54
Occasionally attend church	14	28
Seldom attend church	3	6
Very seldom attend church	4	8

Social control through religion seems to be an important secondary factor in the environmental heritage of the Mexican-American. The immigrant parent transmits conventional church disciplines to his children. The church does not seem to expand these primary disciplines into knowledge and understanding of religion, however. Again there is a conflict

⁸¹ Although Tables XXVIII and XXIX show some antagonism toward churches, Table XXIX shows that some who are critical of church still attend services occasionally. This may be a means of breaking the monotony of confinement, however.

situation, especially in Southern California where there is a dominantly protestant religious practice among the Anglo-Americans.⁸² Although the inmates attest to a fair degree of church loyalty, they are still confined to a prison.

Church Leaders: By asking questions concerning the leading functionaries of the church structure, the intention was to expand the analysis of knowledge concerning the church, and supplement or correct the attitudes toward religion.

Eighty-four per cent of the respondents had no religious training. Sixteen per cent had had some religious education. One of these cases had both protestant and catholic training, and the others had Catholic supervision.

When asked what they thought of the Pope, a variety of answers were given. Twelve cases did not know who or what the Pope was. There were nine who thought that the Pope was a good man. A few thought that he was only a business man, a politician, or a racketeer.⁸³

The Pope is, at least geographically, a vague and distant personage. There has never been any direct association with the inmates or their particular parishes. He has been, for the most part, a symbol identified with a particular

⁸²Carey McWilliams discusses the paradox of the Catholic influence in Southern California, pointing out the religious dichotomy between Anglo- and Mexican-Americans in Southern California Country.

⁸³ See Appendix L.

religion. Yet, this identity is considered to be primary in nature in the connection to religious practices. Religious attitudes and training are primary cultural factors because they have a broad influence on the person.

The parish priest, on the other hand, is less a symbol and more a face to face association in many respects. There is a degree of interaction between the priest and individuals in the parish. Opinions concerning priests are concentrated into fewer categories than those concerning the Pope. But still, fifteen cases did not know what to think of priests. Twice that number agreed that priests were "for the people;" and that priests helped the people. Four cases were of the opinion that priests were interested only in the material benefit of priests. (There was no report from one case.) Table XXX covers the replies of thirty cases who thought that priests favored the people. Nineteen different points of view are represented although some are related.

The opinions toward priests reflect primary attitudes to immediate needs and situations. Some of the comments are related to material things, and some to spiritual ideas. About half the reasons for thinking that priests favor the people are associated with material assistance for the poor. Others speak of the duties of priests in church, their personal morality and self sacrifice, and their activities in recreation. But the replies certainly point out the activity of the church

among the people. Various values are placed on the activities of priests. They are regarded from quite definite points of view. The Mexican-American sees the activity of the priest and attaches values to what is seen.

TABLE XXX
FAVORABLE OPINIONS ON PRIESTS

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Don't know why	1
Received favors from priests	11
Priests help the poor	10
Priests are naturally good	1
Priests don't harm the people	1
Priests always do good	2
Priests advise the people	1
Priests are seen helping people	2
Priests teach Catholicism	1
Priests organize sports for juvenile delinquents	1
Priests make sacrifices	1
Priests say Mass	1
Priests support priests	1
Priests do not exploit people	1
Priests live for the people	1
Priests help when one is sick	1
Priests help morals and economy	1
Priests prevent wars	1
Priests are good but not with real sincerity	1
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 30

Religious knowledge and understanding seem to have, for these cases, a pattern of acceptance of something unknown. During the course of the interviews no efforts were made to offer further information or opinions. It may be safe to say

that the respondents are only slightly more familiar with their religions (and religious structure), than they are with political ideologies. In both cases, interest is subservient. In the case of religion attitudes are primary because of participation. In reference to political ideologies there seems no primary responsibility.⁸⁴

The Army: Questions concerning the army were taken from the writer's experience in the service. It was decided that fundamental gripes would be dealt with. First among these are the physical conditions in terms of living quarters.

The Mexican-American did not consider quarters too favorably. Forty-one respondents thought that their homes were better constructed than army barracks. In the writer's experience, barracks were often nothing more than sheds, built for temporary occupation. Occasionally well-constructed, permanent quarters were available. Only one case thought that the barracks were better; the others said that their homes were perhaps not better, but were at least as good as the army buildings. It has earlier been pointed out that a substantial number of parents were home owners. And since army dwellings are largely temporary, the cases are probably speaking accurately;

When it came to food, twenty-four cases did not care

⁸⁴ See Appendix M for a discussion concerning the Virgin of Guadalupe and a tabulation of replies given concerning this historic person.

much for army "chow." Seven thought the army fare was good, except in the disciplinary barracks and a like number said that army meals were very good. The others did not dislike the food but said that they were not accustomed to it.

On the other hand, when types of food, flavors, and methods of preparation were considered, there was almost a unanimous agreement that food was "better" in civilian life than it was in the army. Two respondents preferred the army diet without reservations.

The respondents felt that they were better equipped with clothing as civilians. Forty-six cases agreed that they owned more clothes previous to getting into the army.

An effort was made to ascertain a comparison of money used for recreational purposes in civilian life and in the army. But as prisoners the inmates' pays were either abbreviated or stopped. The latter situation prevailed in most of the cases. A later chapter will discuss pay allowances made for allotments to parents and families and to war bond purchases. This may indirectly point out the income rate of the individuals.

Summary: As soldiers, the Mexican-Americans were in a pathetic situation. Only a few had any idea of what the war was about. Little was known of ideologies represented in the conflict, and the largest part of the inmates did not believe that much was gained by American participation in the war.

In religion, the Mexican-American inherits his church. He knows little about the church structure or its leadership. His only contact with religious organization is through his parish priest and there is a minor division in his thinking concerning his priest. His concepts are more often material than they are moral or spiritual when he considers the activities of his local parish. Priests help the people but this help is material.

As for basic gripes in the service, the Mexican-American feels he was better off as a civilian in most respects. He feels he has gained nothing by becoming a soldier and that materially he was much better off as a civilian. This attitude, however, may be questionable. More than likely the respondents were influenced by the disciplinary barracks to which they could attach no personal values.

The respondents seem to be associated with secondary institutions and processes more by force of circumstance than by any personal choice. Neither in religion nor in war has he had any selection.

CHAPTER IX

ATTITUDES: RACE AND LABOR

The Mexican-American is most directly concerned with problems of race. He is a member of a minority group and has experienced discrimination. Prejudice was not only social, it was occupational. His opinion is pertinent to this analysis where race and labor are concerned. This chapter will deal with opinions expressed on the two problems. It was necessary to narrow interviewing down to only a few questions.

Questions concerning race deal with the Negro, Indian, and Jew. As to labor, the Mexican-American's opinion was asked concerning strikes. It has already been shown that there is negligible membership in labor unions.

Labor: The strike was selected for use in interviewing because it represents the most publicized feature of organized labor. It is assumed that people of Mexican descent have been subjected to the same type of propaganda or education concerning the strike that has been experienced by any average citizen of the United States.

Neither the Mexican-Americans concerned in this thesis nor their parents are affiliated with labor unions to any great extent. Carey McWilliams has pointed out some unique practices in the use of Mexican and Mexican-American labor in the United

States, together with attitudes of employers toward these people:

A notable fact about farm labor in California is the practice of employers to pay wage scales on the basis of race, i.e. to establish different wage rates for each racial group, thus fostering racial antagonism, and, incidentally, keeping wages at the lowest possible point.⁸⁵

The immigrant parent may have experienced the following:

"I know of one firm who are making a group of their imported Mexicans work for ten and twelve hours a day, handcuffing them at night to prevent their escape."⁸⁶ That was in April of 1918. In June of the same year, it was reported that "...the growers advocated that the government supply armed guards to make these Mexicans work in the fields."⁸⁷ And again, quoting from Mr. McWilliams' research into the Commonwealth Club Symposiums: "'The Hindu,' said one speaker, 'is a vile caricature of humanity. As for Mexicans in our country, we have to have constables watching them. They are also vile.'"⁸⁸

The above presents a brief sketch of the prejudicial attitudes of employers who considered Mexicans and Mexican^o

⁸⁵ Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field, p. 180.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 180. Quoted from a University of California professor at a symposium of the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco at a meeting April 10, 1918, from Farm Labor, Vol. XIII, No. 3, "Transactions of the Commonwealth Club."

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 180.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 182.

Americans.

The immigrant Mexican seldom joined labor unions. And when he did, terroristic means of prevention used by employers made union membership a temporary thing and sometimes a secret affair. It was not until 1936 that agricultural workers in the southwest began to organize. But with the outbreak of the war, the movement has not travelled very far. As yet, union breaking organizations are superior in strength to actual organized laboring groups as far as those areas of occupation where there is a concentration of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans are concerned.⁸⁹

There seems to be no doubt that the immigrant parents were subjected to oppressive working conditions. Many prejudicial attitudes have been held against the children of the immigrant. This paper does not attempt to isolate individual factors that may have lead to the attitudes expressed by the respondents. The replies of the cases will be seen to bear out that point.

Of forty cases reporting on whether or not strikes are good, twenty-one answered affirmatively, six were split on their decisions, feeling that strikes were both good and

⁸⁹ See Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field; the chapters on "The Great Strikes," pp. 211-229, "The Rise of Farm Fascism," pp. 230-263, and "The Drive for Unionization," pp. 264-282, for detailed discussion on labor activities in the Southwest, and the oppressive measures taken to suppress labor.

bad. Eight cases criticized the strike and five had no opinion.

Asked if they thought strikes were necessary, only two cases of thirty-eight reports said that they were not, eighteen reported that strikes were necessary and an equal number held that strikes were sometimes necessary. Six cases, replying negatively in the preceding paragraph, changed their minds concerning strikes, saying they were sometimes necessary, although they still said that strikes were bad.

Sixteen cases would not reply to a question concerning personal support of strikes on the grounds that they were not affiliated with unions. Three of these said that they "would" support strikes if they could. As is indicated in Table XXXI, twelve cases do not support strikes.

TABLE XXXI

OPINIONS ON STRIKES

Question	Good	Bad	Don't		Yes	No	Some- times	Not Union Member
			Know	Both				
Are strikes good or bad? (41 cases)	21	8	5	6				
Are strikes necessary? (38 cases)					18	2	18	
Do you support strikes? (38 cases)					8	12		16
Are strikes due to racketeers? (38 cases)			4	2	4	26	2	

A large majority of the respondents did not believe that strikes were due to racketeers; only four had that opinion. Table XXXI indicates that twenty-six cases did not think that strikes were engineered by racketeers.

Race Attitudes: The Mexican and the Mexican-American in the United States constitute a minority group. Except for inter-racial groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Civil Liberties Union, there seems relatively little cohesiveness between minority ethnic groups in the United States. Perhaps this is because the larger minority groups are more or less concentrated in certain definite geographic and ecological areas. People of Mexican descent are prevalent in the southwest regions; Indians have been confined to reservations where the shortcomings in living conditions and administration are closed to the eyes of the general public. Although Indians may be permitted to visit towns near the reservations, their social interaction with external society is limited.

Negroes are concentrated in the southeast and in the "Black Belts" of our urban areas. Although there is interaction with the rest of the community, it is confined mostly to economic functions as employment, business and shopping.

The Jew is also often enclosed in a ghetto. His visibility characteristics permit him a broader social interaction with the rest of the community. Likewise, the Jew

has organized in sufficient strength to effectively fight discrimination by gentiles in some areas and on some issues..

As a migratory worker, the Mexican-American often contacts the Negro as a co-worker and sometimes as a competitor. California's fruit growers have a history of maintaining economic competition among the races in order to keep wages down. This has been true throughout the southwest. Currently, with cotton moving west, the Negro is forced to migrate and follow the crops.

As for Indians, the Mexican-American himself is often part Indian. His parents, living in Mexico, maintained an equality with the Mexican Indians.⁹⁰

The immigrant parent was reared in a culture that did not know racial intolerance. In his North American children, though, there are to be seen the seeds of Americanization in the form of incipient racism.

Negrees: With fifty cases reporting, it was found that thirteen would take the side of whites in the event of a fight with Negroes. Twenty-eight would take no part in such a conflict. Only one case would take the part of the Negro. If forced to make a decision, three would side with the whites and two with Negroes.

⁹⁰ E. A. Ross, The Social Revolution in Mexico (New York and London: The Century Company, 1923), pp. 8-9.

It was hardly tactful to present an issue with a conflict situation as a means of analysis. Later in the interview, the inmates were asked what they thought about Negroes. Their opinions are listed in some detail in Table XXXII, which also compares opinions on Jews and Indians.

Statistical breakdowns on these personal opinions are to be taken advisedly, for they are selected out of context. But for purposes of simplification and explanation the following may be noted. Ten cases believe that Negroes are "bad," or "no good" to some degree. Eighteen cases are sympathetic to the Negroes, six are critical of Negro behavior, and eleven are indifferent. The Negro does not trouble the latter eleven cases. Five cases believe that there are both good and bad Negroes, just as there are whites.

There is, then, a mixed feeling concerning the Negro. This is brought out a little more clearly when the respondents talked of racial segregation. In the disciplinary barracks, thirty-eight per cent of the respondents did not approve of segregation while in confinement. It did not matter to twelve per cent whether or not there was segregation. Eighteen per cent of the cases made no report. But thirty-two per cent preferred segregation in the disciplinary barracks.

Table XXXIII makes a comparison of replies on segregation. Part A limits itself to segregation in the disciplinary barracks; Part B would extend segregation throughout society.

TABLE XXXII

RESPONSES ON RACE

I: Jews

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Good merchants & business men	4
Nothing against Jews	9
Most intelligent & very smart	3
Both good and bad	1
All races alike	1
They are OK and save money	1
Good people	2
Most persecuted	1
Don't know	2
No opinion	14
Indifferent	1
Jews dominate capitalism	1
President of U. S. is Jew; afraid to comment	1
Racketeers	1
They will soon own everything	1
Crooks	1
Cause wars	2
Hates Jews	1
Kill them all	1
Total	48

II: Indians

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Good people	10
Indians are O.K.	3
They are regular	1
Indians are kind	1
Fine Americans	2
Nothing against Indians	4
The only true Americans	1
Indifferent	9
No opinion	9
Decayed race	1
No report	9
Total	50

III: Negroes

<u>Opinion</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Better than whites	1
Badly persecuted people	1
Negroes are good people	1
Have much ability	1
All races alike	2
Negroes are humans	1
They are people like ourselves	1
No bad feelings	9
They don't bother anyone	1
They don't cooperate	1
Hard to get along with	1
Show-offs	1
Don't like Negroes	3
Indifferent	9
Don't know	2
Don't think of them	1
Over-bearing	1
Bad people	2
Bad and not brave	1
Very bad people	1
Mean people	1
Try to control others	1
Bunch of rats	2
Both good and bad	5

TABLE XXXIII

ATTITUDES ON RACIAL SEGREGATION

	Yes	No	Indifferent
A. Segregation in confinement (41 reports)	16 (39%)	19 (46.3%)	6 (14.6%)
B. Segregation in general society (41 reports)	9 (22%)	26 (63.4%)	6 (14.6%)

About thirty-nine per cent would prefer segregation in the disciplinary barracks. But there is a difference when it comes to the general society. As civilians, only about twenty-two per cent would prefer segregation, making a difference of approximately seventeen per cent who believe that circumstances should be altered and a different attitude taken in civilian life. Thus, although nineteen cases disapprove of segregation in the disciplinary barracks, there are twenty-six of forty-one reports who do not approve of that practice in the general society.

Jews: Statistics are arbitrary in this paragraph.

Table XXXII gives a broader coverage of more specific replies. With fifty cases reporting, it is reasoned through studying the replies that twenty-two per cent are unfavorable to the Jews. These range through an idea that Jews are crooks or racketeers to killing all Jews. Twice the number of cases, or forty-four per cent, show a tolerant point of view. Their opinions range from the feeling that Jews are the most persecuted race to "most intelligent" and "very smart." There were thirty-four per cent who were indifferent, stating that they either had no opinion to give or didn't know what to think.

Five respondents were of the opinion that Hitler had a right to kill all the Jews. Thirty-six cases did not believe

Hitler had that right and nine cases either did not know what to say or were indifferent. The reasons given for their opinions are broken down in Appendix N.

Jews should be killed because they killed Jesus--this is the belief of two inmates. This is more interesting when it is noted in table XXXII that one case was afraid to give his opinion of the Jews because he believed that the president of the United States was a Jew and that reprisals might be taken against him. The attitudes rejecting the right of Hitler's actions against the Jews were not much in sympathy toward a minority group; rather, the responses emphasized that no one had the right to kill; every one has a right to live; and every one is a human being. Blind prejudice is shown by a few of the respondents. On the other hand, the consensus of opinion is one of broad tolerance among the cases studied.

Although the Mexican-American is of the Christian faith, he seems unresentful toward the Jew. In the case of the Jew, marked by religious and ethnic differentiation in American society, the Mexican-American shows relatively little prejudice.

It is this writer's opinion that more ethnic tolerance exists among the immigrant parents than does among the first-generation offspring.

Indians: As Table XXXII indicates, there is only one

critical attitude toward the American Indian. This case calls the Indian a "decayed race." Nine cases did not know what to say about Indians and as many were indifferent toward them. The twenty-two cases who had favorable opinions were quite high in their praise. Consistently, the Mexican-American shows a broadly tolerant attitude in matters of race.

Summary: The problems created in dealing with both labor and race in the United States are of prime importance in strengthening and perpetuating a democratic society. The attitudes toward these issues shown in this chapter are highly significant because they are the expression of an economically exploited minority group who are also often discriminated against because of their ethnic characteristics.

Generally, the Mexican-American who offers an opinion is friendly to organized labor as is indicated by his belief that strikes are good and often necessary. Although he does not seem to be willing to support strikes to a great extent, he says it is because he is not associated with a labor union. He does not think that strikes are caused by racketeers. Evidence presented by these cases point to a friendly attitude toward labor by a substantial majority of the cases.

Although it is claimed that there is no racial antipathy or prejudice in Mexico, there seems to be an incipient growth

of racism among the Mexican-American youth that is probably not felt so much by the parents. The Indians are regarded most highly by the respondents. Second in regard is the Jew, for whom the Mexican-American seems to have sympathy and respect. The largest amount of criticism is levelled against the Negro.

The Mexican-American has an identity with the Indian, because more often than not, he has Indian blood in his veins. The Indian does not compete with him economically nor is he mentioned in the religion. There is, to some extent, an identity in visibility traits.

The visibility characteristics of the Jew are less apparent. The Jew does not compete with the Mexican-American occupationally. Nor is there much face to face contact. Some attitudes toward Jews seemed to have emanated from the church.

The only identity the Mexican-American has with the Negro is the fact that both are constituents of minority groups and both have been the object of discrimination. But the Negro is easily recognizable. He sometimes competes for jobs, living space and recreation. He is also part of a "peck order" scheme so far as the Mexican-American is concerned. Although the majority of the cases retain an attitude of tolerance and indifference to race, some are prejudicial; believing, ironically, in segregation.

In the process of adjustment to the culture of the United

States, it is regrettable that the Mexican-American must also assume discriminatory practices.

CHAPTER X

THE NATIVE: SOME PRIMARY AND SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS

Previous chapters have discussed the historic background of settlement of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the United States. Many trace American nativity to the time of annexation by the United States. Others have been immigrants in the twentieth century, more especially between 1910 and 1930. Immigration authorities on the Mexican border did not keep track of the moving Mexican; he was never counted. Mrs. Tusk's comments on labor contractors and illegal entry have been cited earlier in this thesis.⁹¹

The family of the Mexican-American has been studied and discussed in an earlier chapter together with secondary factors in the physical and social environment of the Mexican-American.

The parental families having been discussed, this chapter will deal in part with the wives and offspring of the cases concerned in this thesis. Certain primary and secondary factors will also be discussed.

Marital Status: Fifty-eight per cent of the cases

⁹¹ See Chapter III, p. 27.

studied were married. Twenty-nine cases married totalled thirty marriages but there have been no divorces. Two were "common law" marriages; that is, these marriages were consummated without benefit of clergy or direct legal sanction of the state. Both cases considered themselves legally married, and the husbands felt responsible to the wives. One case, married twice, reported his first spouse as being deceased.

The average age of the wives was 23.65 years, and of the husbands, 25.82 years. Mean age of all fifty respondents was 25.00. Married men were less than a year older than the single men. Wives were only slightly more than two years younger than their husbands. The pattern of marriage in contrast to the marriages of the parents did not differ too widely in age between the male and female. But there is a contrast to the original Mexican culture where marriages took place in earlier years. This study shows nearly half the men to be single at a mean age of twenty-five years. Mrs. Tuck, in her chapter on "Acculturation--American Style" in Not With the Fist, points out that marriage age differentials were between one and two years, the husband usually being older than the wife in the Mexican culture experienced by the immigrants. But, almost all marriages found the couples under twenty years of age. Indeed, there were husbands who were seventeen and eighteen. In the society of the Mexicans these 'teen-aged husbands were considered full-grown, mature adults,

capable of maintaining a family socially and economically.⁹²

Figure I shows, comparatively, the ages of the married men and their wives. Figure II shows the age distribution of all fifty cases being studied and Figure III presents the age distribution of the husbands.

Of the twenty-nine married people, twenty-eight were married to women of Mexican descent and one case reports his spouse to be a Porto Rican woman. In the case where there was a second marriage, the deceased wife was also of Mexican descent. Put in another way, it may be said that all wives were of Spanish ancestry.

When "Americanization," "acculturation," "assimilation," and "fusion" are considered, it would seem that the rate of these processes would be relatively slow if marriages are kept within the confines of the minority group. Mrs. Tuck, discussing "caste" suggests part of the reason for the failure of the above processes. High visibility characteristics, an historic discrimination, hostility toward marriages involving Anglo-Americans with Mexican-Americans, the economically retarded and degraded position of the American whose parents are immigrants from Mexico, the limited educational opportunities, the segregated school, and the occupational discrimination, all serve to prevent Anglo-American men and women from marrying Mexican-Americans.⁹³

⁹² Ruth D. Tuck, Not With the Fist, Chapter IV.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 31-55, passim.

Figure One
Comparative Ages
Husbands and Wives

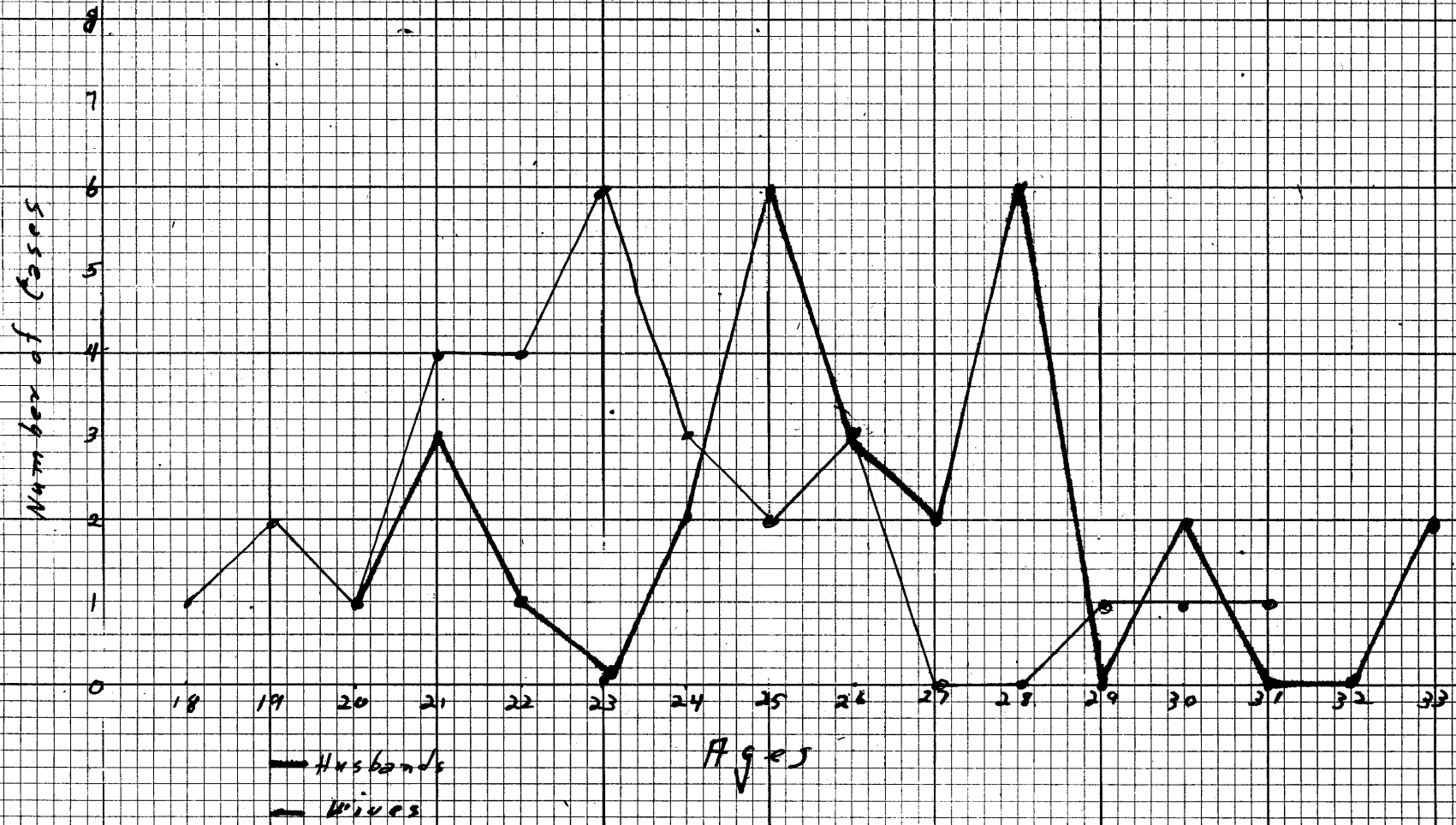


FIGURE TWO
Age Distribution
Fifty Cases

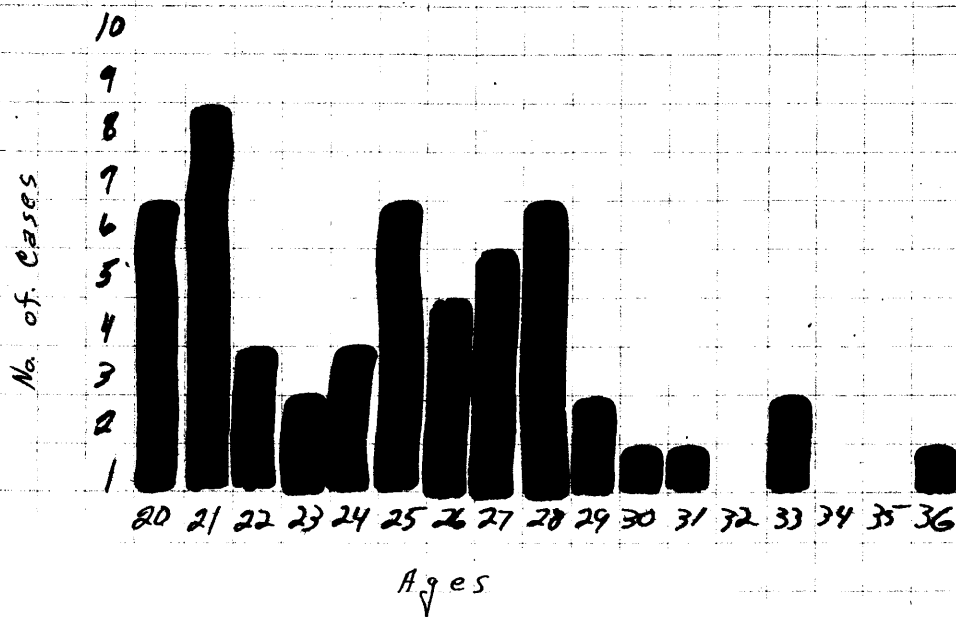


FIGURE THREE
Age Distribution
Twenty-six Married Men



Acculturation, in considering later marriages, is taking place among those Americans of Mexican descent. But where assimilation or acculturation are considered, the pace is far less rapid. Marriages seldom go beyond the "caste" lines defined by the majority groups.

Children: On a basis of thirty wives (one deceased) there were twenty-eight who had children and two who did not. No information was gained concerning children who were dead, if there were any. Table XXIV shows the family size-distribution. Twenty-eight wives had fifty-two children, the mean family size being 1.85 children. No information is available concerning length of marriage.

TABLE XXIV
FAMILY SIZE-DISTRIBUTION

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Number of Families</u>
0	2
1	14
2	5
3	8
4	1

30

Ages of married men range between twenty and thirty-three years. The range of ages for wives runs between eighteen and thirty-one. The older couples have the larger families. Note, in Table XXIV, that there are eight families with three

children. Figure I shows that there are only three wives over age twenty-six. There are six wives under age twenty-six who have more than two children. Paul H. Landis, in presenting differential birth rates for age specific groups of women ages 20-44, shows that Mexicans in the United States reproduce at a rate almost double that of Anglo-Americans. "Mexican," he observes, "are increasing much more rapidly than other groups."⁹⁴ High infant mortality rates tend to limit the actual increase of Mexican-Americans to some extent. The increasing age in marriage as shown in this study, may also prove to be a factor in a decreasing birth rate. The families studied in this thesis do not seem to be very large when age factors are considered. Also, age specific birth-rates do not necessarily mean an increase in population for there may be a corresponding decline in both married and unmarried males.

Children and Language: In the discussion of language use and preference in Chapter VI, some mention was made of language perpetuation. Although Mrs. Tuck, discussing the Mexican-American indicates that: "The Spanish spoken by second-generation is hybrid Spanish, full of Hispanized English words, Anglicized Spanish words, English verb ending tacked to Spanish words, and English sentence construction," the Mexican-American to some extent still prefers to use his

⁹⁴ Paul H. Landis, Population Problems: A Cultural Interpretation (New York: American Book Company, 1943), p. 123.

Spanish, whether or not it is hybrid, when he is conversing with his own children.⁹⁵ The Mexican-American studied in this thesis is largely a first-generation native born American.

Although eighteen of twenty-six cases reporting felt that they would rather use Spanish with their children, this writer's opinion would follow that of Mrs. Tuck when she comments:

Very few of the second-generation write good Spanish. ...Unless second-generation members have specifically taken Spanish in school, they cannot read it. Editors of Spanish-language papers frankly admit that, in ten years or so, the bulk of their news will have to be printed in English. Most parents wish their children to speak Spanish as well as English, but the difficulties in the way of a second- or third-generation person attaining a command of correct, precise, and flexible Spanish are large.⁹⁶

This was indicated earlier when twenty-eight cases replied that they could read and write English best. Recently, in California, efforts have been made to teach both English and Spanish together in the elementary schools where there is a large number of pupils who are of Mexican descent.

The material presented in this thesis bears out the failure of the language to perpetuate itself. All of the married men were asked which language they preferred to use

⁹⁵ Ruth D. Tuck, Not With the Fist, p. 118.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 118.

with their own children. The two cases who had no children were also included. Eighteen cases of twenty-nine married men replied that they preferred speaking Spanish to their children; six cases would use both English and Spanish; and two would use English. Three cases were not sure and did not answer. Thus, if only positive replies are considered, the language preference would appear as it does in Table XXXV.

TABLE XXXV

LANGUAGE PREFERENCE IN SPEAKING TO CHILDREN	
<u>Language Preferred</u>	<u>Number of cases</u>
Spanish	18
English and Spanish	6
English	2
<u>Total</u>	<u>26</u>

Economy: At the time of the interviews, most of the cases were not receiving their pay because they were in confinement. When questioned as to whether or not the wives were employed, only nine replied that their wives did not work. The wives of twenty cases were employed. Fifteen of the twenty wives were earning better wages than the husbands. Most of the cases emphasized that this situation was not true before they had been sent to the disciplinary barracks. While the men were on active duty, provisions for wives through service allowances were favorable. Of twenty-nine husbands,

twenty-three had made out allotments to their wives. These range from fifty dollars per month in cases where there were no children, to 120 dollars per month in cases where there were children. In considering all fifty cases, thirty-seven had made some money allowances for their families.

There were twelve allowances made out to mothers.

Three cases had made out allotments but they were not sure who was getting them.

At present, at least, there is no way of knowing how these allowances compared with other specific groups in the service nor is there any way to measure the incomes of the cases before they were in the armed forces.

The discussion of parental families showed that in the period between 1932 and 1940, fifty per cent of the families had been on relief. Only two cases reported themselves as being on relief. These occurred in 1936 and 1939. At the time each case was on relief, the parents were also receiving assistance.

Only thirty-eight cases were reported in making a prediction about a possible depression. Questions were explained in both English and Spanish. Explanations were made in terms of the early 1930's. Of those reporting, twenty-seven felt that there would be a depression in the near future. There were four cases who were of the opinion that there would not be a depression. Seven individuals did not know or were

not sure.

It is not known how the families of the married men gained subsistence while their husbands were not earning an income. In a few cases the Red Cross was giving some assistance. But there is no further information concerning the welfare of the families.

Family in Armed Forces: There were fifteen cases who reported that they were the only immediate members of their families who were in the armed forces. Thirty-five cases reported brothers in the services. Their reports totalled sixty-five brothers. Added to the thirtyfive cases reporting, it would mean that thirty-five Mexican-American families had contributed 100 sons to the armed forces, or about 2.9 per family. Approximately three representatives from a family contributing to the war effort is a fair sacrifice from the family.

Ignacio L. López, commenting on the contribution of the Mexican-American to the armed forces writes:

There were 375,000...in the armed forces. One out of every two heads of households had left their homes--to fight, to farm, to work, to build ships and planes, and to die. The lists of citations with Hispanic names ran long in big city dailies and little country weeklies alike. Every community found it had these little Americas of worth. It found them living on the other side of the tracks, "ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-clothed."⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Ignacio L. López, in the introduction to Ruth D. Tuck's Not With the Fist, p. vii.

Medical Attention: Much has been written concerning the poor health and the high mortality rates of the Mexican-American. Earlier chapters have emphasized these conditions, citing studies made among this American minority group.⁹⁸ Data contributed by the respondents indicate partially the state of affairs concerning medical attention. The significance is placed on the fact that so few have ever had any medical care!

The distribution of medical care received before entry into the armed forces is shown in Table XXXVI.

TABLE XXXVI

FREQUENCY OF MEDICAL CARE RECEIVED

<u>Amount and Type</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
None	37	(74%)
Very little or little	4	(8%)
Eye operation	1	(2%)
Scarlet fever	1	(2%)
Pneumonia	1	(2%)
Dental care	1	(2%)
Finger amputated	1	(2%)
Once (no reason stated)	1	(2%)
Much care received	2	(4%)
Never sick	1	(2%)

Chapter XI, which deals with crime and delinquency, will also point out health conditions among the respondents.

⁹⁸ All of the references cited comment on the health of the Mexican-American. For a concise report, see The University of Texas Bulletin No. 3127, July 15, 1931, "A Report on The Health of Mexicans Living in Texas," by Jet C. Winters.

For the little medical attention received, all cases but two pointed out that either parents paid for the attention needed or they themselves paid the bills. A public welfare agency assisted in the case of pneumonia and one case who served in the Merchant Marine had been treated by the ship's doctor.

With only twelve cases out of fifty having received medical or dental attention, it would seem that thirty-eight cases were very healthy people or that they had little or no opportunity to get medical care or that they were ignorant of the value of such attention.

Secondary Associations: Chapter IV discussed secondary associations with which the parental families were affiliated. The offspring, as far as formal associations are concerned, are only a little more gregarious in that only eleven cases claim membership in any organizations. One respondent said that he was a member of Woodsmen of the World, one was in the Veterans of Foreign Wars, another in an athletic club, and eight were affiliated with labor unions.

Mrs. Tuck points out that: "The proliferation of societies, clubs, and associations which distinguishes American life has not yet intruded upon the colonia [Mexican-Americans] ." ⁹⁹ Many groups are closed to people of Mexican

⁹⁹ Ruth D. Tuck, Not With the Fist, p. 159.

descent; some immigrant parents do not want their children joining Anglo-American groups. Especially in the case of young girls is this true for the social mores do not provide for organizations outside the immediate family. The movement among Mexican-Americans to establish organizations in the American scene is a slow one.

Summary: More than half the cases studied are married. Marriage seems to be at a later age than the marriage age of the parents of the cases. Wives are slightly younger than their husbands. Single men are almost as old as married men, thus showing that to some extent, the trend is toward later marriages.

Families, at the time this survey was made, were not large, but indications are that they may be larger than Anglo-American families. Many parents would prefer to speak Spanish to their children, but unless Spanish is taught in the schools, this would be a hybrid language and children may not be able to read and write Spanish. The use of Spanish may decline but this does not indicate an appreciable decline in bi-lingualism and its subsequent reason for poor adjustment in schools and society.

The economy of the first-generation family of the case in this study is not stable. There is not sufficient data to determine the welfare of the families.

There seems to be a fairly substantial representation

of Mexican-Americans in the armed forces. How this representation affects the welfare of individual families is not known. Of the married cases, there seems to have been a stable, if somewhat low, income allowed the wives through allotments while the men were on active duty.

Distribution of medical attention previous to service in the army has been meager. Apparently responsibility for such attention has been vested in the individuals or in the parents. There seems to have been little opportunity, socially and economically, to make medical attention available to any great extent.

Secondary associations are limited, reflecting failure in the process of assimilation. More probably, out-groups are discriminatory in the acceptance of people of Mexican descent in their organizations. Socially and economically, Mexican-American organizations cannot compete in popularity with Anglo-American groups. Likewise, the immigrant parental family is unfamiliar with secondary organizations and tends to keep its youth from joining such groups.

CHAPTER XI

INTELLIGENCE AND DELINQUENCY

The preceding chapters have, within the context of the data, described a large part of the social heritage of the cases studied. Comparisons with the works of others in the field of minority studies have shown a pattern of disorganization in the American society as it is experienced by people of Mexican descent.

The attitudes toward social institutions and processes may be considered as indices to the un-adjustment as well as maladjustment of these people to a society controlled by a legal framework and patterns of mores instituted by the majority groups.

The cases being studied belong to a class of marginal people caught between the ties of culture experienced by their parents in Mexico and those of the Anglo-American society.

Disorganization or maladjustment may be manifest in various ways; indices in the recognition of disorganization are many.

This chapter has selected for brief examination two indices that are very significant in demonstrating the extent of disorganization. They are "intelligence" and "delinquency."

This chapter is concerned with examining briefly the products of a social heritage.

Intelligence: A strong point in the prejudicial attitudes of majority groups is the matter of intelligence quotients of the several minority groups. Even where "scientifically" devised tests have been used for determining intelligence, emphasis has been placed largely on a "typical" Anglo-American culture experience. Development of testing devices has not yet reached a state where precise and scientific generalizations can be made concerning various racial or minority groups.

Principally, testing has been in the hands of psychologists. No more definitive statements can be made than those of the American Psychological Association in a resolution issued in December, 1938. "In the scientific investigations of human groups by psychologists, no conclusive evidence has been found for racial or national differences in native intelligence and inherited personality characteristics."⁹⁹ The resolution also points out that "Racial and national attitudes are psychologically complex, and cannot be understood except in terms of their economic, political, and

⁹⁹ Psychologists' statement at the Annual Meeting of The American Psychological Association, December, 1938, as quoted by Ruth Benedict in Race: Science and Politics (New York: Modern Age Books, 1940) p. 263.

historical backgrounds.¹⁰⁰

Intelligence testing of the cases studied in these pages was usually done at induction centers where primary service classifications were made of all inductees. These scores cannot be accurately compared with scores from other testing devices. Few, or no, provisions were made to test culture groups separately. In the writer's observation, all tests received in the armed forces were in the English language; they were timed tests; no effort was made to adjust tests to those who did not have normal control of the English language.

How much influence such types of testing had on the scores of the cases cannot be determined. Standard scores range between minus 2.80 to plus 0.75. The modal concentration is between minus 0.45 and 0.00. Table XXXVII shows the scores more specifically for forty-nine cases.

Within the forty-nine cases there is no correlation between the scores and the type or classification of crime or delinquency. The scores do not seem particularly high; the mean is minus 0.93. They must be qualified in terms of the resolution presented by the American Psychological Association, which emphasizes economic, political, and historical

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 263. Italics are those of the writer.

backgrounds. To these should be added the socio-cultural environment in its entirety.

TABLE XXXVII

STANDARD I. Q. RATINGS

<u>Test Score</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Test Score</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Test Score</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
-2.80	1	-1.30	2	-0.55	2
-2.15	1	-1.25	2	-0.45	2
-2.10	2	-1.15	1	-0.40	3
-1.85	1	-1.10	2	-0.35	1
-1.75	1	-1.05	3	-0.15	1
-1.60	1	-1.00	4	0.00	1
-1.55	1	-0.95	2	+0.10	1
-1.50	2	-0.90	1	+0.50	2
-1.45	2	-0.75	2	+0.70	1
-1.35	1	-0.65	2	+0.75	1

Total number of cases--49
Mean-- -0.9285
Median-- -1.000
Modal group-- -1.05 to -0.45

Working specifically with groups of children of Mexican descent and comparing scores with Anglo-Americans, an experiment carried on by the staff at the University of Denver made the following observation: "With non-language test performance they [Mexican-American children] compare favorably with the American white when the groups are large enough upon which to base a conclusion."¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Thomas R. Garth, Thomas H. Elson and Margaret M. Morton, "The Administration of Non-Language Intelligence Tests to Mexicans," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 31, April, 1936, p. 53.

Although the tests are not similar in content, statistical tabulations on various tests usually conform to similar curves when large numbers are examined and standard computations of scores are made.

The study mentioned above made the following observation:

Where the I.Q.s obtained for the verbal results range from 74 in the fourth grade to 87 in the eighth grade, with an average I.Q. for the total group of 79.5... the I.Q.s obtained for the non-language intelligence test range from 94 in the fourth grade to 113.3 in the seventh grade, with an average I.Q. for the total group of 100.8. While the I.Q. results from the verbal test are such as have been found for Mexicans in the United States, the results from the non-language test are rather startling.¹⁰²

How much influence socio-economic conditions, as well as such factors as bi-lingualism and marginal culture situations, contribute to the disorganization of individuals afflicted with such social maladies cannot yet be measured. But culture mis-organization is a stage in the disorganization of the personality and subsequent maladjusted situation in the society.

It is doubtful, in the cases studied, that a correction to the standards used by Dr. Barth in the non-language test cited above would show any important degree of improvement in I.Q. except perhaps for a few cases in the higher

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 54-55.

brackets. Among the cases, standard I.Q. ranges from normal in a few instances through dull-normal in the modal group, after which, as is seen in Table XXVII, there is a steady decline to minus 2.80.

Taken from an environment in which the individual could still rely, despite the marginality of that environment, on the numerical strength of his in-group, and thrust into a totally new situation of military life where there was no in-group to assist in retaining an identity or cohesiveness, the individual Mexican-American obviously had little opportunity for a good adjustment. He suffered not only from physical characteristics which identified him as a social type, but he was also given the disadvantage of being regarded as less intelligent. Because of these handicaps, he unwittingly helped to establish the stereotype of "Mexican" in the eyes and attitudes of his comrades in arms who certainly received no formal instruction concerning minority groups while in the service.

One must look beyond the conventional intelligence scores to determine reasons for the delinquent position in which the cases were found, although the records of the cases show a deficiency in intelligence. Dull intelligence is also a definite index pointing to delinquency.

There is no way in which to compare similar data with Anglo-American cases in the disciplinary barracks; but it is

reasonable to assume that if the scores were adjusted on a non-language basis they would not vary much from those of the Anglo-American groups.

In a state of war emergency, it may not have been possible to develop special tests for specific groups of people, although there were more than 375,000 Mexican-American servicemen. Yet, it would be fair to assume that a large majority of the servicemen of Mexican descent were from the southwestern states. It would seem that induction services in those areas were familiar with the Mexican-American and that some emphasis could have been placed on a more equitable system of classification. Although the Mexican-American was officially classified as white, his very initiation as a serviceman brought with it the stigma of his marginal culture as well as the lack of understanding and appreciation by Anglo-Americans.

Race...has a profound social significance...It is made the symbol of cultural status and thus serves to justify the exploitation of the weaker groups with the inevitable political and cultural consequences. Being a symbol of cultural status it serves automatically to classify individuals, and so to retard their advance by limiting their freedom and determining the cultural values to which they have access.¹⁰³

How adequately tests can really determine the native intelligence of any individual is a moot question and experts in the field do not consider their results to be absolute,

¹⁰³ E. B. Reuter in American Race Problems as quoted by Ruth Benedict in Race: Science and Politics, p. 257.

although they do apply results as indices for specific purposes.

Education is a social process. The extent of intelligence development relies a great deal on the adequacy of social experiences, opportunities, and understanding. Differences in language usage may affect test results of minority language groups. In the knowledge of scientists, race or nativity are not in themselves responsible for the intelligence of individuals. Education is a social process. In social groups, language usage is part of the development of the intellect.¹⁰⁴

Learning a language is essentially a social process. If a language is spoken only in the class room, it will not be well learned; and no amount of authoritarian pressure can keep a child from speaking the language of his home on the playground, if he is among others of his own group...¹⁰⁵

Emphasis, then, is placed on the socio-economic caste-class occupied by the Mexican-American where education is concerned. This fact also seems to have a bearing on the results of various testing devices.

Of fifty cases there were twenty-one who were reported as being frequently truant from school, nine who were occasionally or periodically truant, and four who were often truant because they had to work. Attendance for the remaining sixteen

¹⁰⁴ For a discussion of race and heredity characteristics see L. C. Dunnand, Th. Dobzhansky, Heredity, Race and Society, pp. 90-117.

¹⁰⁵ R. D. Tuck, Not With The Fist, p. 186.

cases was considered good. There is no correlation here between number of grades in school and truancy, nor is there any correlation between location or size of community and incidences of truancy.

Although it may not be true in all cases, truancy and dropping out of school is often attributed to the fact that curricula are not designed to meet the needs of the student. Along with other factors such as segregation, prejudice, low income status of family and the marginal nature of the parents and poorly or inadequately designed school curricula, these educational conditions put the Mexican-American in a seriously handicapped position when he tried to make an adjustment to American life. Speaking of more promising students, Mrs. Tuck remarks:

Getting beyond the ninth or tenth grade represents an almost insurmountable hurdle for the child of low income family. It is here that most of the educational mortality occurs...High school diploma in hand, he can usually manage part-time jobs and scholarships for college; but the last two years of high school represent a grim struggle, in which the rest of his family are often unwilling sacrifices.¹⁰⁶

Unwilling sacrifices are economic sacrifices. But what can be said of the less promising students who are more or less average in achievement and who are not able to meet "promising standards"?

¹⁰⁶ R. D. Tuck, Not With The Fist, pp. 106-107.

Delinquency: In considering delinquency or crime it is necessary to point out that these cases are in a peculiar position. One cannot be certain that crimes committed under the Articles of War may also be considered as crimes from a civil viewpoint. Only six cases of the forty-nine reports on reasons for commission can be considered as conventional crime. They consist of the following:

1. Assault, with two previous convictions for AWOL.
2. Assault and insubordination, no previous offenses.
3. Assault, with 13 previous offenses.
4. Assault and insubordination, no previous offenses.
5. Armed robbery and three offenses for AWOL.
6. Theft, escape, AWOL, and five previous AWOL's.

There were two other major offenses peculiar to the military pattern. These were desertion and absent without official leave. Sentences for all fifty cases ranged between one and ten years.

Of the twenty AWOL's, eight were recidivists, with one previous offense, three with two previous offenses, and one case had had four similar convictions. The remaining eight were first offenses.

Of those committed for conventional crimes, two were not recidivists, and four had quite extensive criminal records. Recidivism seems prevalent among the cases. Whether or not the inmates were fully aware of the importance of desertion and AWOL is probably based on their social experiences. With little knowledge of the war and why it was being fought, and

with a poor adjustment to both civilian and army life, their awareness of the seriousness of their offenses is not probable. In the case of conventional crimes, similar records were held in civilian life, except for those two who were serving first offenses. Apparently the cases had undergone no treatment processes, and with inadequate opportunities, crime is easily a consistent result.

The civilian records of the inmates do not, on the surface, speak well for the respondents. Of fifty cases reporting, forty-three had been arrested on one or more occasions. Seven cases had never been arrested.

Two classifications were made of arrests in civilian life. They were based upon whether or not arrests had led to serving a sentence in any type of penal institution. The first classification includes those who had received sentences of a month or longer, and the second includes persons who were sent to jail for sentences under a month in duration.

Of the forty-three cases arrested there was a total of 170 arrests; but only twenty-eight had served for periods of one month or more, and twelve persons had been committed to jail for a matter of days. The average stay in jail of the latter group was 10.8 days. The average stay in the former case was 15.18 months. The shortest period in the one case was one day and the longest was twenty-five. In the other, the longest period was sixty months (one case had served

two thirty-month sentences); the shortest period was one month.

Table XXXVIII gives the charges brought against the cases who had served sentences. A total of forty-three sentences were served by twenty-six men.

TABLE XXXVIII
OFFENSES OF CASES WHO HAD SERVED SENTENCES
IN CIVILIAN LIFE

Offense	Number of commissions
Armed robbery	1
Burglary	4
Carrying concealed weapon and burglary	2
Forgery	1
Larceny	1
Attempted larceny	1
Grand theft	1
Car theft	5
Petty theft	4
Assault	4
Vagrancy	2
Disturbing the peace	4
Drunkenness	10
Non-support	1
Probation violation	1
No draft card	1
Total sentences	43

Of the 170 arrests made in civilian life, there were forty-three convictions that led to some form of jail sentences, which were served by twenty-six cases.

Mrs. Tuck, speaking of delinquency of the Mexican-Americans in her study, observes that:

The police frankly admit that they arrest any Mexican, particularly a laborer, who seems to have been drinking, while they exercise greater leniency toward other groups...they feel that the person of Mexican extraction has a greater propensity for "getting into trouble" after having a few drinks. They also admit that this vigilance has no appreciable effect in reducing adult arrests for drunkenness...¹⁰⁷

Progressive views in law enforcement, whether they are in civilian or military classifications look for causes other than ignorance of the law as such, or personal neglect of the law. Mrs. Tuck, after pointing out that in Descanso, the town she studied, delinquents were concentrated in certain under-privileged ecological areas, comments:

Among law-enforcement and probation agencies in Descanso, one could count the persons who have any knowledge of a Mexican home on the fingers of one hand-- and there would still be five fingers left. The score among educators is higher, but infinitesimally so. What knowledge there is often goes to feed the stereotype.¹⁰⁸

At the time the cases used in this study were interviewed, the cases claimed only eleven broken families. Cross-checking records point out some inaccuracies. In terms of family units discussed earlier, step-parents, and in one case an aunt and uncle, were considered in the family unit for purposes of statistical classification of family units, and because the respondents regarded them in that light. But over

¹⁰⁷ Ruth D. Tuck, Not With The Fist, p. 215.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 120.

a period of twenty years, eighteen families had been broken by death of one parent. In most cases a good adjustment was not achieved with step-parents. In eleven cases it was the loss of the father; in six cases the mother; and one case had lost both parents.

Besides families broken by death of parents there were three cases of divorce, three desertions by fathers, and seven separations.

Although the family may have been a strong and stable unit in Mexico, adverse social and economic conditions seemed to have forced failures in the families residing in America.

Economic instability, poverty, ignorance, and lack of medical attention, poor sanitary conditions, and failure of recognition by the community of these circumstances are directly responsible for some of the deaths of the parents. Of the reasons for death, there were five who had died of tuberculosis, four of pneumonia, as many of heart trouble, and a couple of industrial accidents. In the three cases of desertion, economic difficulties were given for the reasons, as was likewise true in the separation cases. No reasons were offered in the divorce actions.

As juveniles, eight cases had been committed to reformatories or detention homes a total of eighteen times. Here, the maximum confinement was nineteen months and the minimum, three days. One case had been committed on seven different

occasions.

No cross-check can be made, but it seems that the respondents did not come from families which were criminally delinquent. One father had served a sentence for illegal immigration and seven cases reported brothers who had been convicted of crimes. But except for these seven brothers, further information on family delinquency is not available.

Another factor considered was the extent of the work history of the individual in civilian life. Thirty-nine reports were available for analysis. Of these, nineteen had a fair work history; that is, nineteen cases worked steadily when they had a job. Eight cases had good work histories with steady employment and regular attendance at work. Twelve had poor work histories; both their jobs and attendance were irregular.

Of the fifty cases, seventeen were diagnosed as needing psychiatric treatment and social therapy on a "severe" basis; some of the cases were extremely sick socially. Nineteen cases were considered "mild" psychological cases; that is, the difficulties were not severe. But only fourteen were regarded as fairly stable and capable of rehabilitation in a short period of time after discharge.

Eleven cases made occasional to frequent use of marijuana; one of these also had used opium and another made use of other drugs.

There were thirty-three cases who used alcohol to excess. Nearly half of these were alcoholics; the others had chronic ailments. One case, for example, would not drink for several weeks to a few months and then would stay drunk for a long time,-- until his money was gone.

This thesis is not concerned with justifying the inmates for the circumstances existing in their particular cases. Certainly the psychiatric staff and the sociological division at the institution were doing a tremendous job in administering their services; there is no question of the integrity of the resourcefulness of the staff for they worked under less than minimum operating conditions and they did not have the resources to contend fully with the problems.

Treatment of delinquents is more than a medical or psychiatric task for many of the men had records of delinquency over a long period of their lives. The task is one of full utilization of social resources. For example, to this writer's knowledge, except for the assistance offered by the Red Cross, there were no social workers to assist in the reformation or rehabilitation of the men upon discharge. Such activities as sound economic set-ups, elimination of discriminatory practices occupationally, and careful supervision of educational programs for both the minority and majority could have been utilized to good effect. They were not in the hands of staff workers, but in the society as a whole.

Along with others who fall afoul of the law, the Mexican suffers from certain well-known faults in our system of law enforcement and criminal justice. He is arrested many times for trivial causes. He is detained in jail unnecessarily long. He is mistreated by the police. In court, his case suffers many times for want of legal assistance, an interpreter, and witnesses. Often he finds that the easiest way out is to plead guilty to a lesser offense. His financial straits, as well as his frequent inability to communicate with friends, often result in his being imprisoned for nonpayment of fines. While numerous arrests and frequent convictions of Mexicans tend to make it appear that they are inclined to be delinquent, it is likely that such things rather point to misfortune, the lack of ingenuity and resources, and, in some instances, perhaps some discrimination against them. ...Perhaps no class feels the effects of this type of injustice more than the Mexicans.¹⁰⁹

It is difficult, under a war emergency, to define desertion and AWOL. Perhaps the latter may be considered in the light of absenteeism from an industrial plant or an office job and the former as quitting the job without notice and without intention of resuming work. The analogy is over-simplified of course and there may be varying degrees in either case.

In wartime this offense desertion customarily is tried by a general court. After charges are preferred--usually by the company commander--it is obligatory that the charges be investigated with "impartiality" by another officer. The army views this practice as roughly equivalent to a grand jury investigation in civil procedure.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ P. L. Warnshuis, "Crime and Criminal Justice", p. 328, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Report on Crime and The Foreign Born (United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1931.)

¹¹⁰ Loyal G. Compton, "Khaki Justice", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 173, p. 48.

The uniformed miscreant...has no recourse to civil courts; he forfeits that constitutional franchise and other civil liberties when he takes his oath of induction.¹¹¹

If there was misorganization in civilian life, it would seem that a transfer to military status would not mitigate or correct that misorganization. Rather, it seems that the degree would have grown greater. There is almost complete disorganization among the cases. No better treatment was offered to the inmates in their military role than in civilian status.

Summary: Intelligence of the cases statistically seems to be rather low. Computed to standard, the I.Q.'s of the cases are not very favorable. It is possible that the I.Q. of the average case was lower than the average on non-Mexican groups in the institution. It is also possible that given non-language tests, there might be a comparable statistical I.Q. curve for all groups.

In the light of information gained from previous chapters and with the assumption that education is a social process, it is not surprising to find opportunities of these Mexican-American for achievement in education restricted socially and handicapped by the marginal culture of the parental families.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 48.

If statistical compilations carried the same curves as those made by the University of Denver, there would seem to be less correlation between low intelligence and delinquency and more correlation between delinquency and the social environment.

It is this writer's opinion that in the cases of desertion and AWOL, and perhaps to some extent in the other cases of crime, there was little or no understanding of the responsibility of a soldier during a war as far as the respondents were concerned. These persons had undergone no process of indoctrination or education and they seem to know very little about why the war was fought, nor did they seem to know much about the nations concerned in the war. Whether or not prison sentences will cure such a malady can not be discussed in this thesis.

The cases seem to have all the social and cultural factors symptomatic of crime and delinquency. Apparently there is low intelligence. There are psychopathic cases and other need social therapy in varying degrees. There are low incomes and poor housing conditions with apparently little recreational facilities available for youth. Education is not designed to meet particular needs and in cases where there is adequate education there is occupational prejudice because of "race." Broken homes in one form or another are evident in many of the cases. There is bias found in

authorities and agencies dealing with the delinquency of the Mexican-American.

The social heritage of the cases does not seem predictive of healthy, normal living patterns. Within the context of the data there are indications that offspring of cases will live under circumstances that are not much better.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Although the Mexican-American was classified as white when he entered the armed forces, this formal and official classification did not remove the stereotype of "Mexican" from the attitudes of men and officers who dealt with American soldiers of Mexican descent.

In the experience of the writer during his service in the army there had been several occasions when this stereotype was brought out quite sharply. At a training camp after the cessation of hostilities in Germany, the writer found a fairly large group of Mexican-American soldiers in his training company. These men were being trained to be parachute troops. Relationships among these voluntary troops were fairly good until one soldier, an Anglo-American, reported that some money had been stolen. He had no idea who had taken it. The first order of the commanding officer was to bring in all the "Mexicans" for questioning and search.

Investigation later determined that the culprit was not a "Mexican." The same treatment of questioning and search was not used on all troops; only those of Mexican descent. The culprit was discovered by accident on his part. The commanding officer did not think it fit to explain or apologize

for his actions for the benefit of the Mexican-American soldiers. A few weeks later, the situation was repeated; this time for an assault charge by an unidentified person. Again, no Mexican-American was guilty.

In a training camp in California previous to going overseas, the writer spent some time with interested friends holding classes for Mexican-American troops, trying vainly in a short period of time to teach some of them to read and write a little English, as well as reading and writing letters for them.

Both situations suggest the stereotype of "Mexican;" except that on the one hand the Mexican-American soldiers were guilty of no crimes, and on the other they expressed a keen desire for learning in their free time.

Seeds of Social Illness: The pattern of symptoms outlined in the preceding chapters points out adequately the social illness of the cases concerned in this study.

With the history of stable families behind them in the Mexican culture, the families of the cases are found to be disorganized in the American scene. There are several causal factors for this situation. Initially, there was the migration from the homeland to a new and different culture.

Reasons for leaving the homeland seem to be divided between escape from revolution and the hope of finding work and economic security. Evidence seems to point more to the latter situation, especially where there has been labor recruitment by various industries in the United States. In both reasons for leaving Mexico, there is reason to believe, the seeds of disorganization had already sprouted. The former motive indicates an uprooting by political factors and the latter suggests the idea that economic security in Mexico was diminishing in character.

Arriving in the United States, the Mexican found himself without skills; or he found that skills used in a self-sufficient family were not in demand by American industry or agriculture. He had only one alternative and that was to become an unskilled laborer. His wife had, in Mexico, a series of home duties that required skills and training that she was unable to make use of in America. Often she was required to work with her husband in the fields when contracts called for the labor of the whole family, or where remuneration for the husband was so low as to force the wife to supplement the family income. With circumstances such as these, traditional controls of parents over children in the family were reduced in both structure and strength. It is difficult to decide whether or not living conditions were better in Mexico, for specific values would have to be measured.

But evidence has been presented in these pages to show sufficiently that the family did not meet minimum standards of food, clothing, and shelter; that both adult mortality and infant mortality were quite high and that exploitation by employers and business men was severe. The migratory character of work was also often a deterrent in stable family relationships. The condition in America was not much better than it was in Mexico.

Attitudes of Anglo-Americans toward the immigrant were on the plane of "racial" discrimination and/or prejudice. The Mexican was considered inferior to the "white." His inferiority was supposed to be manifest by his skin color, his apparent dull intelligence, his "different" behavior patterns, the ease with which he could be fooled or cheated, his failure to aspire to any extensive ownership, and his apparent submissiveness to authority. It has been shown that on occasion terrorist means were used to maintain this submissiveness. As for the failure of property acquisition:

The average Mexican in this country has had to live from day to day, or at least from pay-day in the strictest sense; he has been poor and his incentives to seek higher status limited. 113

Control over the family was restricted by several factors. First, of course, was the change of the economic base of the family and changed work patterns of the parents.

113 Ruth D. Tuck, Not With the Fist, p. 99.

The social interaction within the family was not the same as that in Mexico. For example, the father did not train his sons in their skills in family maintenance. Sons looked for jobs and went to school. The home-keeping skills of the mother were changed by the technology of the United States. The mother did not teach her daughters how to operate a family as her mother had taught her. Secondly, where the interaction of the family in Mexico was "family centered" and social activities revolved about and included the entire sib unit, there was a change to a "multi-centered" family unit in America. The husband was forced to find recreation outside the family group. His exposure to the American scene was broadened by that factor. The wife, usually living in a community of her own kind of people, saw the American society for the most part through the commodities she purchased at the stores. Her social intercourse was with other women like herself. Neither parent included the children in extra-family activities, a fact which leads to a third factor.

The children,--not integrated in the sib because their associations with Anglo-Americans were broadened by school, the exploits of older brothers and sisters and observations on the streets of out-groups,--did not want to be included in a sib-bound social interaction. The patterns of behavior of the children were strange and different when compared to the behavior of the parents in their own youth. The demands

of the society in things like school attendance, for example, and the demands of youth for such things as movies, cars and radios were foreign to the parents. Their children did not contribute their pays or other economic returns to the family, but did so only in part, and used their incomes to catch up with what seemed to them to be the most attractive of the American mores and customs.

Another failure in the family stability was the nature of the society outside the family. The social controls of Anglo-Americans were different from those found in Mexico. Censure, for example, was more often in the form of a law-enforcement officer than in the pressure of friends and neighbors. The Mexican immigrant family did not feel the cohesiveness of its former society. It had to cling to its new economic base. If the economic base changed location, so did the family, despite any desire for permanence.

Summary of the Parental Family: Preceding chapters have shown that the families of the respondents were typically of Mexican birth and that they lived in ecological areas whose residents were of Mexican descent. These areas include both foreign and native born people of Mexican descent.

In the opinion of the respondents consulted in this study, families were regarded as being almost equally of a poor class or a middle class in the socio-economic hierarchy. They generally lived among people of their own status.

The families have had a fair degree of mobility, which has a tendency to diminish as families begin to possess their own homes. Moves have often covered long distances and reasons for moving were economic in nature.

The size of the family was quite large. The average family among the cases was 8.92, including the parents or family heads. Average size of family including parents as indicated in early 1940 census reports in the United States was 3.8. 114

In the United States, "the 'social family' which 'consists of all individuals related to the head of the family living under a common roof'" in 1930 was 3.8. This type of definition if it included the grand-children of the parents, would make the average "social family" of the respondents considerably greater. 115

The parents were not very well educated, and their jobs were seldom semi-skilled or skilled. Their language usage in the home is apparently a sort of hybrid Spanish sprinkled with Anglicisms. The economy of the family even during the ~~some~~ times did not reach national averages; in depression times, half the families admitted being on public assistance rolls, and usually there was disdain of charity.

114 Joseph K. Folsom, The Family and Democratic Society (John Wiley and Sons, Inc., London, 1943, fourth edition), p. 134.

115 Ibid. p. 134.

The family did not seem to participate in extra-family activities as a unit except in some economic functions. There were only a few secondary associations socially. Only a few belong to clubs or organizations.

In the opinion of the respondents, parents were not delinquents. Records showed only one sentence served by a parent. However, there was a considerable amount of alcoholism. Separations and divorces suggest the possibility of some delinquency. Maltreatment of children was indicated in more than a dozen abstracts of the records; they most often seemed to consist of disciplinary actions inflicted upon the children and frustrations produced social and economic maladjustment. Parents with only their own experiences as children to guide them could not understand the behavior of their offspring who did not conform to patterns of obedience as did the parents in Mexico.

In conclusion, the cases lived, in their youth, a marginal life marked by the conflict of cultures experienced by the parents. The disorganization characteristic in the personalities of the cases had a beginning in the disintegration of control exercised by the family. In turn, family control was influenced by change of environment and inadequacy of and inability to cope with resources for adjustment in a changed environment. The primary social heritage of the respondents did not encourage stable social situations.

Social Awareness of the Respondents: Typically, the respondents did not have a broad or extensive knowledge of their communities, society, or nation.

In much of their social experience they used the Spanish language as a communication medium. Without education in Spanish, the language proved inadequate for expression; especially where new customs, traditions and inventions were concerned. These new demands were in part responsible for the hybridization of the language. On the other hand, the scope of learning in the English medium had been handicapped by poor school attendance, poorly equipped schools, improper curricula, and in some cases segregation. The English language did not develop as a capable or efficient means of self expression either in an economic or a social sense. All but one of the cases spoke with an accent. Even the hybrid Spanish has been shown to be incapable of expression in the "Mexican" community. The accented and poor control of English in the Anglo-American society was seen to be a drawback in social adjustment and was expressed as a reason for discrimination in some cases. The Mexican-American respondent does not seem to desire to lose his language as a medium. Yet he usually reads and writes better in English and he uses English much more often than his parents. He seems to desire too, that his own offspring should use good Spanish. Unless other measures, such as may be taken by school systems with

bi-lingual curricula, assist in the preservation of the language, it will diminish in use and importance.

Education: Mexican-Americans desire education and they feel that it is important. Although the formal education of the cases was not extensive, attitudes expressed as to its values were readily made. These attitudes were varied, emphasizing education for itself as learning, as a means for bettering economic relationships, and finally as an introduction to better ways of living. The respondents did not aspire much to greatness, as expressed by their ambitions, but were more modest in their dreams. There were nearly twice as many who preferred to learn skills rather than professions. Among those desiring professions, four wanted to be musicians. There is a constant interest in music among these people.

There is nothing in the attitudes toward education symptomatic of inferiority feelings toward it or of a feeling of incapability of good educational achievement. The need for going to school was recognized, and the desire for attendance was expressed. Truancy, although frequent, had other reasons than wilful neglect of school. Among these reasons should be considered segregated schools, teachers who are not familiar with the culture of pupils of Mexican descent, poor educational planning, and lack of public interest in the particular minority group plus the economic factors involved.

The respondents did want education. They did not get it, nor did they do well with what they did get. Whether or not diplomas would assist in gaining a more sound economic base and more social acceptance in the society is not certain. It is not a simple task to break class barriers and even the well-educated and qualified Mexican-American has difficulty in job placement where he can use his training and skills.

Schools have been a causal factor in the culture difference between parent and child. The environment of the school took the children to a secondary environment where education was in a sense abstract and was little related to the functions of the family and the responsibilities necessary in family participation. The parents had had a different experience; work skills and social philosophy had been "family" affairs in Old Mexico. In America, the family was in a sense only a supply base for the children, with scattered and sporadic social controls. Many of the cases do not live in the same towns as their parents. Patterns of religion seem to have had less emphasis. The youth seems only partially identified with the society of the parents and only partially identified with the Anglo-American culture. He sings Mexican songs, marries women of Spanish descent, and has a nostalgic feeling for Old Mexico. He clings to the Spanish language. He has a feeling for the music. Perhaps human exology explains

a great deal of his mate selection together with his "race" identity; he doesn't know very much about Mexico and he has seldom been there; his fluency in Spanish is diminishing.

Concerning the United States: It would take a home with a guarantee of a good plane of living to induce the respondent to live in Mexico. Most of them prefer the United States. Only a few speak of going to Mexico. Those who have been in Mexico liked it there, but for the most part preferred to live in the United States.

But in the United States they were aware of discrimination. They did not understand why there should be prejudice, although they knew it was because they were "Mexican." Their parents had had a tradition of racial tolerance.

Preoccupation with skin colors, as we know it, does not exist.. 'that is something we had to learn from you people" the colonia remarks. 115

There is almost no prejudice extended toward the Indians. Anti-semitic attitudes were small and were either religious in origin or were gained through anti-semitic propaganda. With the Negro, there is a larger gap between prejudice and tolerance. Negroes occupy a lower rung in the caste-class hierarchy and have become a scapegoat for the confused Mexican-American. But even so, the majority do not

115 Ruth D. Tuck, Not With the Fist, p. 134.

believe in segregation.

Mexican-Americans are aware of their low caste-class status, but do not seem to understand it fully.

But they do have pride in their own race. In the Spanish, la raza (the race) does not have the same connotation that the term carries among Anglo-Americans. La raza refers to "the Mexican" or people of Mexican descent and the term is used among them with pride. The Mexican-American can find no word in his language that is synonymous with "race" used in a prejudicial sense. He must use sentences to describe or express that idea. He is proud of being Mexican. He likes the language, the music, and the women. He has a loyalty to Mexico even if he has never been there. Mrs. Tuck has pointed out that "The man who disclaims la raza will find that neither money nor any other sort of influence will compensate for his error." 116

In 1934 Paul S. Taylor, studying "the Mexican Problem" in Texas, observed that

...faced with the white attitude toward the Negro and with the Mexican desire to raise their standing in a community dominated by whites, the Mexicans have been impelled away from their early tolerance of the Negro toward adoption of the attitude of the whites, and towards efforts to present themselves in the eyes of the whites as a group dissociated from, and superior to Negroes. 117

116 Ruth D. Tuck, Not With the Fist, p. 134.

117 Paul S. Taylor, An American-Mexican Frontier, p. 297.

Evidence presented in this study seems to bear out Dr. Taylor's thesis. It seems that a "peck order," with a social and economic basis is being firmly established.

The respondents like the United States. Their major reason is that the United States is their native country. They like the education and they aspire to economic gain. They like the liberty and freedom. But they condemn the racial discrimination. As a matter of fact, all the cases who criticized the United States did so because of such discrimination.

They could not define democracy and some were bitter because democracy was not practiced. The cases were not sure of what communism was; their attitudes were divided equally between favorable and unfavorable opinions. Only eight cases could define fascism, and none of them had a favorable attitude toward that ideology. But many of them did not like Franco's government in Spain and felt that something should be done about it. They did not know who should do it or exactly why.

Knowledge of other Latin American countries did not appear to be extensive; political or ideological structures and philosophies seemed to have no meaning or value. Most of the knowledge of foreign countries was hear-say.

The respondent did not know why he was a soldier. His reasons for the United States participating in the war were vague and uncertain. He either had an ideological motivation

or felt that the war was profitable for the rich. Although he felt that he might be defending the United States against an aggressor on the one hand, he did not, on the other hand, know what fascism was. It is almost unanimously agreed by the respondents that there will be another war. Although the respondents seem to have very few, if any, hostile feelings toward Russia, he believes that there will be a war with Russia. He does not, however, wish to participate in that war.

The Mexican-American respondent does not know very much about his religion. He likes his priest but does not know who the Pope is. He has no ill feeling toward other religions or sects but he feels that individuals should have freedom of choice. His own Catholicism he inherited from his family but he does not deny the right of freedom of religion. He seems to think that there is but one God and that all people have access to Him using any medium desired. Except for catechism, he has had no religious training. He would rather send his children to a public school than a parochial school. His church attendance is good but probably not as good as his parents. He seems to be attending services less often than in his younger years.

Labor: The Mexican-American has consistently been the object of occupational discrimination. He has had difficulty getting placed in a skilled capacity. Furthermore,

he has seldom had opportunity to get training in skilled trades or in professions. He has not had the tradition or experience of labor organization. But he is sympathetic in his attitude toward labor groups. He condones the use of the strike as a trade union right and quite often would support a strike. He does not think that there is racketeering in labor. He agrees that strikes are bad things but he also agrees that they seem to be necessary. He seems favorably inclined toward labor organization. Historically, workers of Mexican descent have been maltreated. On occasions there has been sheer brutality and terrorism. There seems to often be suppression and intimidation. As a worker, the Mexican-American has been forced into a position of racial competition for economic status.

The Respondent's Own Family: Of those respondents who were married, there was an average of 1.85 children per family. Including the parents, family size leaps to 3.85 which, compared with the national average of 3.8 indicates the possibilities of families larger than the average American family. The oldest wife is thirty-one years old and the oldest husband is thirty-three. If the end of the child-bearing age is forty-four years, there is a minimum of eleven years remaining in the child-bearing age of the oldest wife. The youngest wife was eighteen, leaving a maximum of twenty-six years of child-bearing period. But child-bearing

seems to occur at a later age and marriage takes place at a later period than did marriages of parents; hence, the families of the respondents may be smaller than the parental families. If access to medical attention is judged on the basis of that received by the respondents as civilians, there does not seem much possibility of a decrease in infant mortality rates.

The prospect of large families does not speak well for a stable economic base in the future. Although there were service allowances made out for families in most of the fifty cases, family size would indicate that there was a sub-standard income for the family. A wife and one child would receive a maximum of \$78.00 per month on the service allowance. But with the husbands institutionalised, most of the pay and allowances were curtailed.

It might be pointed out that the policies of hiring and firing workers in areas where there are racial prejudices and minority groups tend to hire last and fire first the lowest group on the caste-class scale. Thus, the respondent may not only have difficulty in job placement upon discharge, but he may have difficulty retaining a position. In considering employment, the respondent is in a position not much improved over that of his parents and in some cases his position may be even worse.

Although there have been, according to the statements of the cases, no divorces, desertions, or separations as yet, there is sound reason to believe that the family is

on the verge of disorganization if considered only from an economic point of view. But on top of this, there are other factors.

Alcoholism, the use of marihuana and in some cases opium and other drugs, psychopathic personalities, disorganized social adjustment, fairly low intelligence, lack of skills and job training, and the ever-present discrimination are further indices of potential broken families.

There seems little hope for at least two-thirds of the families unless the mothers are capable of rearing the children. It is possible that psychiatric treatment and social therapy as after-care upon discharge would be extremely helpful. But even the most skilled workers would be of little value if there were no secure socio-economic base for the family unit.

Delinquency: As for the single men, about half of them had made out service allotments to parental families. They suffer from the same social maladies as the married inmates. It would be safe to say that they are poor marriage risks. As with the married men, if there is no follow-up care upon discharge, there is a good probability of continued delinquency.

But the delinquency referred to in the preceding paragraph will not be desertion or AWOL unless the case

remains in the armed forces. Aside from desertion and AWOL and even with an arbitrary discount for discriminatory motivations in making arrests and convictions, the records of all fifty cases do not speak well for them. Such things as chronic alcoholism and the use of drugs cannot easily be brushed aside. They are glaring factors that point up the environment, supervision, control, and incentive used in each case. They are social symptoms as well as personal symptoms. Unless there is follow-up care and unless the Mexican-American's environment is re-organized, there is no reason to believe that there will be any appreciable rehabilitation or reform.

It is unfortunate, of course, that desertion and AWOL must be defined in a legal framework. Where there is ignorance of the law, failure to understand responsibility in a definite social situation (in this case a military situation) cannot wholly be dealt with in terms of law, even though order must be maintained in a war emergency. The social psychology of the two types of offenses has not been studied. It is this writer's opinion that it cannot be approached scientifically unless cases are dealt with individually. It was only through a study of a great number of cases that tenable scientific conclusions can be drawn.

Whether or not serving a prison sentence is a proper

approach toward mitigating the evil of desertion and AWOL is debateable. It may be argued that social control was necessary, as indeed it was. But many cases were recidivist. Punishment did not seem to deter the delinquent. In one case there were thirteen offenses! It is not probable that a ten year sentence will have a curative or rehabilitative effect in such a case.

There is a need for defining or considering such offenses not in the light of a war emergency but in terms of the social heritage and the social development of the individual. Therapy or even punishment, if it must be considered necessary, should be guided less by legalists and more by persons skilled in interpreting the social factors leading to delinquency and able to recognize symptoms of maladjustment, to diagnose them, and to prescribe therapy. More than that, basic socio-economic resources and recognition must be offered on an equalitarian basis if both social and personal illnesses and maladjustments are to decline in number and strength.

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APPENDIX A

Appendix A consists of the questionnaire-interview as it was used in gathering the data for this thesis.

Questionnaire-Interview

Schedule

1. What part of Mexico are your parents from?
2. How many children in the family?
3. Occupations of parents.
4. Education of parents.
5. Was family ever on relief?
6. Has case ever been on relief?
7. Is family attached to Mexico? (In what way?)
8. Does case or family have any relatives in Mexico?
9. Why did parents come to the United States?
10. When?
11. How does family feel toward the United States?
12. Are parents living? Where are they living?
13. If not living, when did parents die?
14. How many children live with parents?
15. What are occupations of siblings?
16. What is the approximate income of the family?
17. Does family possess its own house?

18. What other possessions does family have?
19. How many members of family in armed forces?
20. Where was case born?
21. What language does case speak at home?
22. What language does he speak to brothers and sisters?
23. Which language would he rather speak? Why?
24. Has case ever been in Mexico? When? Did he like it?
25. Why didn't case stay in Mexico?
26. Does anyone in family belong to any organization, lodge, or trade union?
27. Does case belong to any of the above?
28. Has case ever been arrested? Has he ever served any time in a penal institution?
29. What was the charge or offense?
30. Has case ever been in a reformatory?
31. Has any member of the family served time in a penal institution?
32. Which member? What type of institution?
33. What was the charge?
34. How often has your family changed residence? How far did family travel? (From state to state? Country to Country?)
35. What type of transportation was used?
36. What is the name of case's home community?
37. What is its population?
38. What kind of people live in home community? Are they largely Mexicans?

39. Among what class of people does the family live?
(Socio-economic classification.)
40. What are the major industries of the community?
41. What do most of the home community people do for a living?
42. If there is agriculture, what type is it?
43. If there is industry, what type is it?
44. Did the case ever vote?
45. What nationality were the school teachers? Mexican or American?
46. How large was the school attended? How many pupils?
47. What was the nationality of most of the pupils?
48. Was the school public or parochial?
How many grades did case attend? Was case ever expelled?
49. What extra-curricular activities were participated in?
50. What is the army intelligence and achievement score?
51. Which language does case read, and write best?
52. Which church does case belong to?
53. Does case believe in the Virgin of Guadalupe?
54. What is main type of employment?
55. Which type of work is liked most?
56. Was any job training received in civilian life?
57. What type of job training was received in the army?
58. Does wife work? Does she earn more than the case?
59. What does case think of army food?

60. Does case say he had better food in the army or in civilian life?
61. Did case receive any medical attention in civilian life?
62. Who paid for the medical attention?
63. Did case have more clothes as a civilian?
64. Was home in civilian life better constructed than army barracks?
65. Did case have more money to spend on recreation in civilian life or in the army?
66. Did case make out any allotments in the service?
67. Did case take out insurance? Did he buy bonds?
68. Did case ever have a furlough? Where did he go? Home? Somewhere else?
69. How was case treated while on furlough?
70. If not treated well, why not?
71. Is case married?
72. Has case been divorced?
73. How old is wife?
74. How many times has case been married?
75. What is nationality of wife?
77. What language would case speak to his own children?
78. How many children does the case have?
79. In a fight between whites and Negroes, which side would the case take?
80. What does the case think is wrong with Mexico?

81. What does the case think is wrong with the United States?
82. What does the case like about Mexico? Why?
83. What does the case like about the United States? Why?
84. Does the case think it important to go to school?
85. Why?
86. Did case ever have any ambitions when a child? What?
87. Does he think it a dream or will/can it still come true?
88. If case had a home in Mexico, would he rather live there?
89. Does the case prefer Mexico or the United States?
If the case prefers Mexico, why does he sing Mexican songs?
90. If case liked to live in Mexico, why didn't he go back?
91. Who is the elected president of Mexico?
92. Does it matter to case who is elected president of Mexico?
93. What is case's feeling about Russia? Good? Bad? Indifferent?
94. What is Communism?
95. What is fascism?
96. What is democracy?
97. If Mexico declared war against Russia, which side would case take?
98. Why?
99. In a war between Mexico and the United States which side would the case take?
100. In a war between Russian and the United States which side would case take?

101. Why does case think the war was fought?
102. Does he think anything was won by fighting the war?
What and why?
103. Does case think there will be a war in near future?
Who will do the fighting?
104. What does case think of Franco's Spanish government?
105. Does case think that United States should do something
about Franco?
106. Does case feel concerned with what Franco is doing in
Spain?
107. Why?
108. What does case know about opposition party in Spain?
109. Which Latin-American country does case regard best?
110. Why?
111. What does case think about churches?
112. Which does he think is best?
113. What does case think of the Pope?
114. How often does case attend church?
115. What does case think of priests?
116. Why?
117. Has case ever had any religious education? (type?)
118. Would case send own children to public or parochial
school.
119. What kind of work will case do when discharged?
120. What does case think of Negroes?

121. Does case think that Negroes and whites should be separated in the disciplinary barracks?
122. Should there be segregation of all races?
123. What does case think about the Jews? Does he think that Hitler had a right to kill all Jews? Why?
124. What does case think about American Indians?
125. Has case ever been discriminated against?
126. Does case think that strikes are good or bad?
Does he think that strikes are necessary?
Does/would he support strikes?
Does he think strikes are due to racketeers?
127. Does case think that there will be a depression in the United States?
128. Can case identify Stalin?
129. Can case identify Peron?
130. Can case identify Hitler?

APPENDIX B

Appendix B consists of copies of the replies of two cases selected from among the fifty.

Case No. 1

He is 27 years old. Born in Ingersoll, Oklahoma. Father was killed in railroad accident when case was three years old. Mother re-married and family travelled about from state to state. Case finished seven grades and then worked as a long-shoreman. About a dozen arrests for drunkenness with 30, 60, 90, and 100 day sentences for drinking and fighting. Additional one year sentence for car theft and six months for purse snatching. Wife wishes to divorce him for cruelty. AGCT score is 85. He is serving a three year sentence for AWOL with one previous AWOL. Psychopathic personality, anti-social behavior, arrogance, and lack of concern for others.

Replies to Questions

1. My father was born in Veracruz, Mexico; my mother was born in Chihuahua, Mexico.
2. There are 8 children in the family; 5 boys and 3 girls.
3. My father is dead. Mother works as a housewife.

4. My parents went to school in Mexico but I don't know what education they received.
5. My family was on relief twice; in 1934 and in 1936.
6. I have never been on relief.
7. My family is still attached to Mexico.
8. The family that I know that is in Mexico are one maternal uncle and one maternal aunt.
9. I don't know why my parents came to the States.
10. They came to the States in about 1911.
11. They have adopted a friendly attitude toward the States.
12. Only my mother is living. She lives in Oakland, Calif.
13. My father died in 1924.
14. Two sisters and three brothers no live with my mother.
15. Two brothers work as warehouse laborers. One brother is a sailor in the Merchant Marine; one attends school. One sister is married, and two others attend school.
16. The approximate income of my family is about \$60.00 per week.
17. The house in which my family lives is rented.
18. There is no other possession in the family.
19. Two of my brothers have been in the armed forces.
20. I was born at Ingersol, Oklahoma.
21. I speak Spanish at home.
22. I speak English with my brothers and sisters.
23. I have no preference in language I rather speak, because they are both necessary.

24. I have never been in Mexico.
25. No report.
26. One of my brothers belong to the Elks Club, and he is the only one that I know of that belongs to clubs, associations or organizations.
27. I belong to the CIO.
28. I have been arrested several times. I have never been confined to a penal institution. I have served several years in the County Jail. I only remember one for a brief period of one year. (See Abstract preceding replies)
29. The charge was auto-theft. (see Abstract)
30. I have never been confined to a reformatory.
31. No member of my family has ever been confined to a penal institution.
32. None.
33. None.
34. My family has moved their place of residence several time, among others from California to Colorado, to New Mexico, to California.
35. The means of transportation used was automobile.
36. The name of my home community is Berkeley, California.
37. The population of Berkeley is about 78,000 people.
38. All sort of people live there, but the majority are not Mexicans
39. My family lives among the poor people.

40. The major industries are soap, mayonnaise, and fertilizer factories and shipyards.
41. Most of the people live from their work at the factories and at the shipyards.
42. There is no agriculture in my home community.
43. I don't know what product they manufacture mostly.
44. I do vote.
45. My teachers at school were Americans.
46. The school which I attended was two stories high. I don't know how many pupils attended the school.
47. I know that the majority were not Mexicans.
48. It was a city school. I reached 8 grades, and never was expelled from school.
49. I participated in the sporting activities of the school.
50. AGCT score is 85.
51. I can read, write, and speak English best.
52. I belong to the Catholic church.
53. I do believe in the Virgin of Guadalupe.
54. The main work which I have perfor^{med} is longshoreman.
55. That is the work I like most.
56. I have never been trained to a certain job.
57. The army has not taught me any work.
58. My wife does work, and of course now she does earn more than I do because I am not earning anything.
59. I think that army chow is regular. It is not bad, but it is not good either.

60. I ate better in the civilian life than in the Army.
61. I received medical attention only once when I was attacked by scarlet fever.
62. I paid the doctor bill.
63. I had more clothes in civilian life than in the army.
64. My home was better made than army barracks.
65. I had more money to spend in recreations in civilian life than in the army.
66. I had an allotment made for my wife. She received \$120.00 per month.
67. I had insurance made, but I did not buy a war bond.
68. I never had a furlough while in the army.
69. Does not apply.
70. Does not apply.
71. I am married.
72. I have been married only once.
73. I have never been divorced.
74. My wife is 29 years old.
75. She is of Mexican nationality.
76. We do have children.
77. I speak Spanish to the children.
78. We have three girls.
79. In a fight between whites and colored I would not take sides unless the fight was with me, then I would not fight for a race but for myself.

80. Nothing is wrong with Mexico.
81. Nothing is wrong with the States.
82. I don't know if there is anything I like about Mexico, because I have never been there.
83. I think that everything in the States I like.
84. I do think it is important to go to school.
85. Because education is necessary.
86. When I was a child I wanted to be a salesman.
87. I think that my ambitions can still come true.
88. If I had a home in Mexico I would go to live there. I don't know Mexico, but if I had something with which to make a living on, I would go to Mexico.
89. Does not apply.
90. Does not apply.
91. Miguel Aleman is the elected President of Mexico.
92. I don't care who was elected President of Mexico.
93. I think that Russia is a good country.
94. Communism is a form of living in which the people are against the government.
95. I don't know what fascism is.
96. Democracy is a capitalist's government.
97. If Mexico declared war against Russia I would take Mexico's side.
98. Because I am a Mexican.
99. I would take the States side because I am from this side of the border.

100. In war between the States and Russia I would take the States' side.
101. I don't know why we fought this war.
102. I think that we gained liberty by fighting the war.
103. I do think there will be a war between the States and Russian in the future.
104. I don't think anything about Franco. I think his government is good.
105. I don't think that we should do anything about Franco or his government.
106. Because it is none of our business.
107. Because it is none of our business.
108. I don't know anything about the other party that wants to rule in Spain.
109. I don't know which country in Latin America is best.
110. Because I have never been there, and have read nothing about Latin America.
111. I think that the Catholic church is a very good church.
112. I think that all churches are good. Everyone has their church to believe in.
113. I don't know that there is anything wrong with the Pope.
114. I don't go to church every Sunday.
115. I don't know if priests are in favor or against the people.
116. No report.

117. I have never had any religious education.
118. I will send my children to a public school.
119. When I get out I am going to work as a longshoreman.
120. I don't like Negroes.
121. I do think that the Negroes should be separated from the whites in a disciplinary barracks.
122. I don't think that there should be segregation of races.
123. I don't think anything about the Jews.
I don't think Hitler had the right to kill all Jews, because they have the same right to live as any other human being.
124. I think that the American Indians are good persons.
125. I have been discriminated several times because of my race.
126. I think that strikes are good. I think that strikes are necessary, and I do support strikes. I do not think that strikes are due to racketeers.
127. I hope that there will not be a depression in the States, but I don't know if there will be one or not.
128. Stalin is President of Russia.
129. Juan Peron is president of Spain.
130. Hitler was president of Germany.

Case No. 2

Case is 26 years old. Born in El Paso, Texas. Brother a drunkard. Father a laborer, very strict. Mother a housewife. None of the parents delinquent. Tuberculosis on father's side. Case bites finger nails. When a child he stole candy and small objects from stores. Never punished for it. Drinks excessively. Masturbates regularly, and has had sexual perversions with women. Finished eight grades. Truanted occasionally. Work history is fair. Brick setter for six years and farming for two years. Arrested a few times for being drunk and disorderly. He is serving a five year sentence for AWOL. Restored and disobeyed orders from company commander and non-commissioned officer. He has two previous offenses. Dull retarded intelligence. Psychosomatic complaints.

Replies to Questions

1. My father and mother are from Mexico but I don't know from what part of Mexico.
2. There are five children in the family. Three girls and two boys.
3. My father's occupation is that of brick-maker and my mother is a housewife.
4. I don't know the education received by my father and mother.

5. My family has never been on relief.
6. I have never been on relief.
7. My family is still attached to Mexico by family ties.
8. I have several uncles, aunts and cousins in Mexico.
9. I don't know why my parents came to the States.
10. I don't know when my parents came to the States.
11. My family has adopted a friendly attitude towards the States proved by their living in the States.
12. Both my parents are living at Los Angeles, California.
13. Does not apply.
14. Three sisters live with my parents.
15. I don't know the occupation of my brothers and sisters.
16. I don't know the approximate income of my family.
17. The home in which my family lives is of their possession.
18. My family has no other possessions.
19. No member of my family has been in the armed forces.
20. I was born in El Paso, Texas.
21. I speak Spanish at home.
22. I speak Spanish to my brothers and sisters.
23. I rather speak Spanish because it is my native language.
24. I have never been to Mexico.
25. Does not apply
26. My family does not belong to any organization, social, labor, or political.
27. I don't belong to any either.

28. I have been arrested about four times, but have never been confined to a penal institution, although I have served in a country jail during 4 months 19 days; 30 days; 4 days; and 17 days.
29. The charges were disturbing the peace and drunkenness.
30. No member of my family has been confined to a penal institution.
31. I have never been confined to a reformatory.
32. Does not apply.
33. Does not apply.
34. My family has moved their place of residence once from El Paso, Texas to Los Angeles, California and twice within city limits.
35. They moved with automobile and trailer.
36. The name of my home community is Los Angeles, California.
37. I don't know the size of my home community, but I do know it is very big.
38. All sort of people live there. There are many Mexicans but I don't know if they form the majority of population.
39. My family live among middle-class people.
40. The main industries that I know of in my home community are foundries and brick-making. (Remarks: he mentions brick-making because that is his job.)
41. Most people are common laborers.
42. They do fruit farming in the outskirts of town.

43. I don't know what they manufacture most.
44. I do not vote.
45. The teachers in my school were Americans.
46. The school which I attended was one story high, but I don't know how many pupils attended classes.
47. The majority of the pupils were not Mexicans.
48. It was a city school. I reached eight grades and never was expelled from school.
49. I did not participate in any of the activities at school.
50. AGCT score is 78.
51. The language which I can read, write and speak best is Spanish.
52. I belong to the Catholic church.
53. I believe in the Virgin of Guadalupe.
54. The main work I have done is that of a brick-maker.
55. The job I like most is brick-making.
56. I have never been trained to do a certain job.
57. The army hadn't taught me any type of job.
58. I don't know if my wife works or not, for I have not heard from her for the past one and a half years.
59. The army chow is no good, but you have to eat it in order not to die.
60. I ate better in civilian life than in the army.
61. I did not receive any medical attention as a civilian
62. Does not apply.

63. I had more clothing as a civilian.
64. My home was better made than barracks.
65. I had more money when I was a civilian.
66. I had an allotment made for my wife. She received \$120.00 per month.
67. I did not have insurance, nor did I buy bonds.
68. I never had a furlough while in the army.
69. Does not apply.
70. Does not apply.
71. I am married.
72. I am not divorced.
73. I have been married only once.
74. My wife is twenty-four years old.
75. She is of Mexican race.
76. We do have children.
77. I speak Spanish to the children.
78. We have one boy and two girls.
79. In a fight between whites and colored I would not take any side.
80. I have never been to Mexico so I cannot give my opinion as to whether it is good or bad.
81. I have nothing against the States.
82. Never in Mexico.
83. Nothing is wrong with the States except being locked up.
84. I don't think it is important to go to school.

85. Because I never pay attention to the teachers.
86. I did not have any ambitions when I was a child.
87. Does not apply.
88. If I had a home in Mexico I would go to live there. The country of my preference is Mexico.
89. Does not apply.
90. As soon as I am released I will go to Mexico.
91. I don't remember who the elected President of Mexico is.
92. I don't care who was elected president of Mexico.
93. I don't care about Russia. I have nothing against them.
94. I don't know what communism is.
95. I don't know what fascism is.
96. Democrats are a bunch of crooks.
97. If Mexico declared war against Russia I would take Mexico's side.
98. Because I am going to become a citizen of Mexico.
99. If Mexico declared war against the States I would take Mexico's side.
100. In a war between Russia and the States I would not take sides.
101. I think that we fought this past war so that the Americans could make money. They were afraid of loosing their money.
102. The rich people won something, but we did not win anything.

103. I think there will be a war with Russia in the future
104. I don't know anything about Franco's government.
105. I don't care if they take him off or leave him in power.
106. (profanity) It is none of my business what Franco does.
107. Does not apply.
108. I know nothing about an opposition party.
109. I think Mexico is the best Latin American country.
110. Because I am going there when I get out.
111. The Catholic church is my church and as far as I am concerned it is the best.
112. I do not think anything about the other churches.
113. I don't think anything about the Pope.
114. I do not go to church every Sunday.
115. I don't know if priests are for or against the people.
116. Does not apply.
117. No.
118. Public school.
119. I don't think about Negroes.
120. When I get out I am going to visit Mexico and see if I can stay there.
121. I don't know if they should separate the Negroes from the whites in the disciplinary barracks.
122. I don't know if they should segregate the races.
123. I don't think anything about the Jews and I don't know if Hitler had the right to kill all the Jews.

124. I don't know anything about the Ameri can Indians.
125. I have been discriminated against several times because of my race.
126. I have never been in a strike. Sometimes strikes are good and sometimes they are bad. I don't support strikes. I do not think that strikes are due to racketeers.
127. I do think that there will be a depression in the States.
128. I don't know who Stalin is.
129. I don't know Juan Peron.
130. Hitler was the father of Germany.

APPENDIX C

Appendix C is an excerpt from Ruth D. Tuck's Not With the Fist, which discusses the terms "Mexican", "Mexican-American", and "Anglo-American." The excerpt has been selected from the introduction to Mrs. Tuck's study.

Words are important in minority and racial questions--the careless use of a lower-case letter in discussing the Negro would no constitute a fatal error. A casual word, "Chinaman," would today be an insulting solecism to the group concerned. Persons of Mexican origin and extraction object strongly to the classification of "Mexican, Negro, and white," not because they are ashamed of Mexican origin, but because they consider this terminology a sign of exclusion from the dominant group. "Americans and Mexicans" is not legally incorrect, from the point of view of citizenship, in many cases, but it also carries the connotation of exclusion. One might correctly designate the Mexican-American group as "persons of Mexican origin and Americans of Mexican descent," but this is not a phrase which fits handily into sentence structure. And, furthermore, how should one characterize the other group? As Americans of what descent? Of "polyglot," possibly, but that is hardly a term which the general reading public will accept easily. I have fallen back on a circumlocution which, while ethnologically incorrect, is in common use throughout the Southwest and seems to give less offense than other classifications. It is that of "Anglo-American" and "Mexican-American." It unfortunately carries a strong odor of the North European superiority complex, but it seems to constitute the best compromise under the circumstances. Wherever the context permits, however, the classification of "Mexican-Americans and other Americans" is used, as approximating more closely the effect desired.¹

¹ Ruth D. Tuck, Not With the Fist, p. xix.

APPENDIX D

Mobility of the Family

Number of moves within the city limits*

No. of cases		total moves
2	reported as moving	often
1	reported moving but did not report number of moves	don't know
14	cases reported a total of	48
<hr/>		
*	Mean number of moves not including case with fifty moves is	3.428
	Mean number of moves including the case with fifty moves is	6.530

Total of moves covering state to state

13	cases reported making	16
1	case reported making	several

Total moves covering three states

3	case reported making	3
---	----------------------	---

Total cases moving between Mexico and the U.S.

4	cases reported making	4
---	-----------------------	---

Moves reported to California

<u>From</u>	<u>No. Cases</u>
Texas	3
Arizona	4
Nebraska	1
New Mexico	4
Colorado	1

Moves reported leaving California

<u>To</u>	<u>No. cases</u>
New Mexico	1
Colorado	1

Moves reported to Texas

<u>From</u>	<u>No. cases</u>
Louisiana	1

Moves reported leaving Texas

<u>To</u>	<u>No. cases</u>
California	3
New Mexico	1

Moves reported to New Mexico

<u>From</u>	<u>No. cases</u>
Colorado	1
California	1
Texas	1

Moves reported leaving New Mexico

<u>To</u>	<u>No. cases</u>
California	4

APPENDIX E

Changes of Residence

<u>Place of Birth</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Permanent Residence of Cases</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Residence of Parents</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
<u>Arizona</u>		<u>Arizona</u>		<u>Arizona</u>	
Morenci	1				
Hogales	1				
Phoenix	3				
Scottsdale	1				
Tucson	1				
Yuma	1	Yuma	1		
Total	8	Total	1	Total	0
<u>California</u>		<u>California</u>		<u>California</u>	
				Anaheim	1
		Bakersfield	2		
		Berkeley	1		
		Brawley	2	Brawley	1
Colton	2	Colton	1	Colton	2
		Cutler	1		
Del Rosa	1			Dinuba	1
		El Monte	1		
		Erwindale	1	Erwindale	1
Fresno	1				
		Gonzales	1	Gonzales	1
Keene	1				
Los Angeles	5	Los Angeles	13	Los Angeles	10
				Livingston	1
		Merced	1		
		Mountain View	1	Mountain View	1
				Oakland	2
Orange	1				
Oxnard	1				
		Pasadena	1		
		Richmond	1		
Riverside	1	Riverside	2	Riverside	1
San Bernardino	1				
		San Francisco	1		
San Gabriel	1	San Gabriel	1	San Gabriel	1
		San Jose	1	San Jose	1

<u>Place of Birth</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Permanent Residence of Cases</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Residence of Parents</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
<u>California (cont'd.)</u>		<u>California (cont'd.)</u>		<u>California (cont'd.)</u>	
Santa Ana	1	Santa Ana	1		
Santa Paula	1	Santa Clara	1		
		Stanton	1	Vaisilia	1
Watts	1				
Westminster	1	Westminster	1	Westminster	1
		West Whittier	1	West Whittier	1
		Wilmington	<u>1</u>	Wilmington	<u>1</u>
Total	19	Total	38	Total	28
<u>Colorado</u>		<u>Colorado</u>		<u>Colorado</u>	
Denver	1				
		Fountain	1	Fountain	1
Trinidad	<u>1</u>	Rocky Ford	1	Rocky Ford	1
Total	2	Total	2	Total	2
<u>Louisiana</u>		<u>Louisiana</u>		<u>Louisiana</u>	
Shreveport	<u>1</u>				
Total	1	Total	0	Total	0
<u>Nebraska</u>		<u>Nebraska</u>		<u>Nebraska</u>	
North Platte	<u>1</u>				
Total	1	Total	0	Total	0
<u>New Mexico</u>		<u>New Mexico</u>		<u>New Mexico</u>	
Alamo Gordo	1				
Cerrillos	1	Cerrillos	1	Cerrillos	1
Dixon	1	Dixon	1	Dixon	1
				Don't know	1
Hatch	1				
Hurley	1				
Las Cruces	<u>2</u>	Las Cruces	<u>1</u>		
Total	7	Total	3	Total	3

<u>Place of Birth</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Permanent Residence of Cases</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>	<u>Residence of Parents</u>	<u>No. of Cases</u>
<u>Oklahoma</u>		<u>Oklahoma</u>		<u>Oklahoma</u>	
Ingersoll	<u>1</u>		—		—
Total	1	Total	0	Total	0
<u>Texas</u>		<u>Texas</u>		<u>Texas</u>	
El Paso	4	El Paso	2	El Paso	2
Fablens	<u>1</u>				
San Antonio	<u>1</u>	San Antonio	<u>1</u>	San Antonio	<u>1</u>
Total	6	Total	3	Total	3
<u>Mexico</u>		<u>Mexico</u>		<u>Mexico</u>	
		Chihuahua	1		
Don't know	1				
Durango	1				
Necoqui	1				
Tepatitlan	1	Sinaloa	1	Sinaloa	1
Zacatecas	<u>1</u>		—		—
Total	5	Total	2	Total	1
		No report	1	No report	1
				Not living	2
			—	Broken families	<u>10</u>
		Total	1	Total	13

APPENDIX F

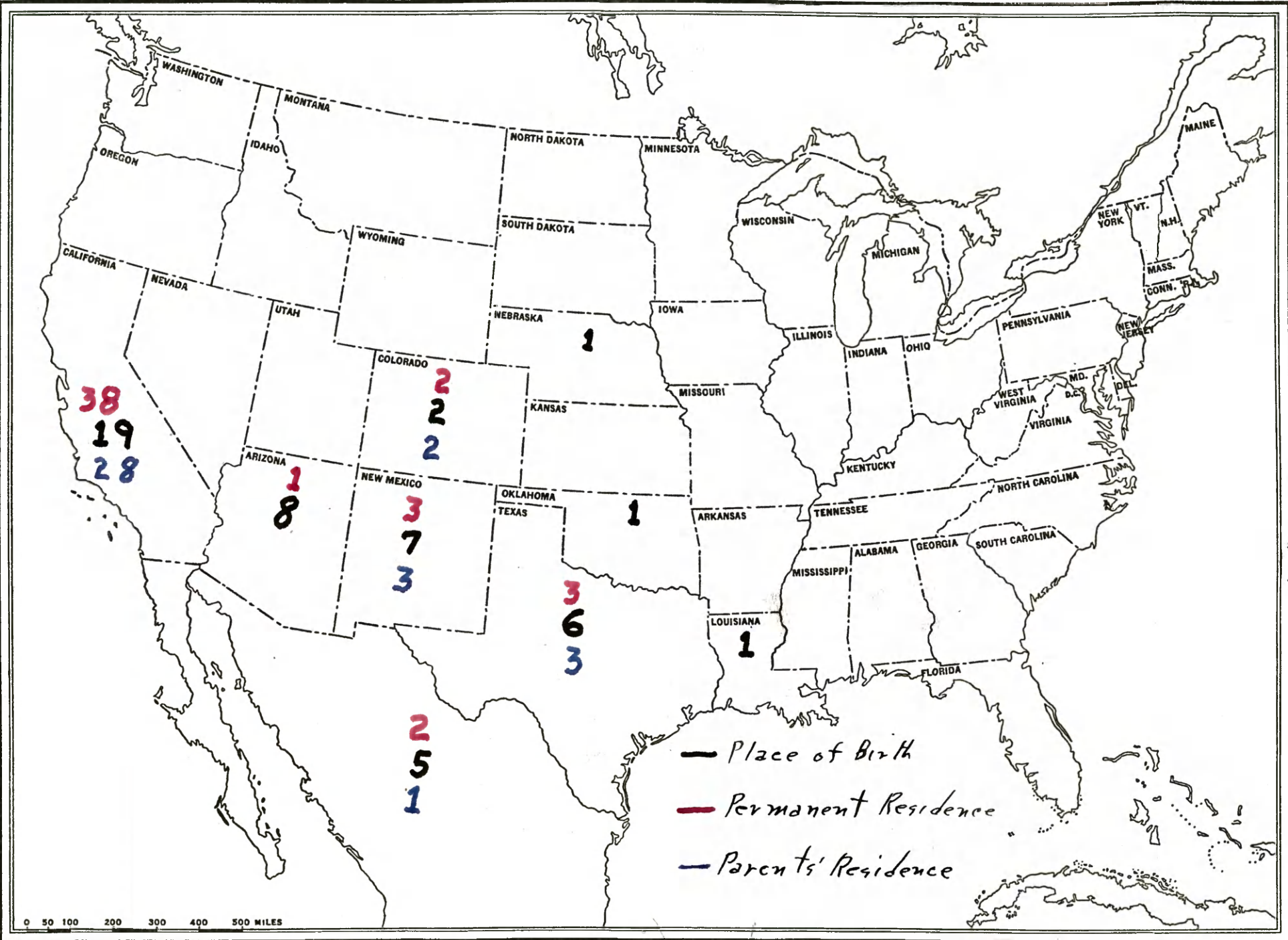
Appendix F consists of a map which demonstrates to some extent the mobile or migrant character of the respondents. A contrast is made with the place of birth of the respondent and the state where he claims to maintain his permanent residence. The latter classification is written in red color on the map, and the former in red figures. The blue figures point out the states in which the parents reside.

In Arizona, for example, there were eight cases who claim to have been born in that state. Only one case retains permanent residence there, and none of the parents are reported as residing in Arizona.

In the case of the parents, ten cases reported broken families and were not able to report the permanent residences of the parents. Two cases did not have any living parents, and one case made no report.

One case reported that he himself did not have a permanent residence.

The map showing these classifications is on the following page.



ASSOCIATED STUDENTS' STORE
MISSOULA, MONTANA

0 50 100 200 300 400 500 MILES

APPENDIX G

Type of industries in home communities*

Industry	Frequency of reports
Steel and foundries**	15
Shipyards	6
Chemical works	1
Oil wells	2
Cement factory	3
Tank factory (military)	1
Lumber mill	1
Ford assembly plant	2
Aircraft plants	4
Cotton mills	2
Textile mills	5
Aluminum plant	1
Sugar factory	4
Packing house	1
Rope factory	1
Distillery	1
Fertilizer plant	1
Soap factory	1
Furniture factory	1
Cannery	1
Armory	1
Shoe factory	1
Brick plant	1
Agriculture	1

* Some cases mentioned more than one industry.
 Eleven cases had reported no industries in home community.
 Two cases did not report.
 Thirty-seven cases reported twenty-five industries.

** Steel and factories have been classified as two industries although they are related.

APPENDIX H

Country considered best in Latin America
and reasons for selection

Choice of country

<u>Country</u>	<u>Frequency of choice</u>
Mexico	17
Brazil	2
Argentina	3
San Salvador	1
Chile	1
Uruguay	1
All of Latin America	1
No choice	24

Reasons for selection

<u>Country</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
MEXICO	Only country the case knows	1
	Mexico is a progressing country	1
	Democratic country	1
	Peaceful country	2
	Has so many things	1
	Prettier than the U.S.	1
	It is a rich country	1
	Cases are of Mexican descent	7
	Don't know why	2
Brazi		
Brazil	It has the most population	1
	Has friends there	1

Reasons for selection

<u>Country</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Argentina	It is a modernized country	2
	It is independent of the United States	1
San Salvador	Friends have told ease about the country	1
Chile	No beggars; no inequality	1
Uruguay	It is progressing industrially	1

APPENDIX I

Definitions of IdeologiesWhat is communism?

<u>Definition</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Don't know	37
All are equal, one for all and all for one	3
People dominate the government	1
The rich give wealth to the government	1
All are equal. No discrimination	1
Government orders the people	1
The state controls all work	1
Government takes half of all earnings	1
One person wants more than all others	1
People are against the government	1
It is a government regime	1
A Russian political party	1

What is fascism?

<u>Definition</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Don't know	42
People going the wrong way	1
It is against religion	1
Like Franco Spain	1
It is Italian	1
Like communism	2
It is nothing	1
<u>Dictatorship</u>	1

What is democracy?

<u>Definition</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Don't know	22
Socialism, but only a name	2
Liberty and freedom	9
Favors the poor people	1
Freedom of speech	5
Free elections	1
Has something to do with freedom	1
Liberty for the poor	1
Living well organized	1
A capitalist government	1
Symbol of freedom but none in the United States	1
Democracy is not practiced	1
Democracy means crooks	1
United States is not democratic because of discrimination	1
Democracy is a waste of richness	1
Democray is against politics	1

APPENDIX J

Identification of Political Leaders

Who is Stalin?

<u>Identification</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Dictator of Russia	9
President of Russia	10
Secretary of Communist Party in Russia	1
Commander of the Russians	2
Like Roosevelt in the United States	1
Governor of Russia	2
Premier of Russia	2
Emperor of Russia	1
Boss of Russia	1
Man in charge of Russian people	1
Someone in Russia	3
A Russian big shot	4
An Italian	1
Big shot in Britain	1
Number one man in Russia	1
President of overseas	2
Head man of all the strikes	1
Don't know	6

Who is Peron?

<u>Identification</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
President of Argentina	11
Dictator or self-elected president of Argentina	3
Controller of Argentine people	1
Related to Franco	1
President of Cuba	1
Someone in Mexico	3
Someone in Peru	2
Someone in Porto Rico	1
President of Spain	1
Someone in Spain	1
President of Phillipines	1
President some place	1
From Mexico or the Phillipines	1
Someone in Poland	1
Secretary of Industry	1
Don't know	20

APPENDIX K

Gains from the Recent War

<u>What was gained</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Nothing was gained	28
It is better to rule than be ruled	1
More freedom and some liberty	6
The rich only gained	3
A little security was gained	2
A lot more was lost	1
We are not enslaved	1
We gained freedom	2
Don't know	2
Mexicans would be treated the some anyway	1
Some got rich	1
Stopped enemy from coming here	2

APPENDIX L

Attitudes toward the Pope

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Pope represents God	1
He is necessary (to the church)	3
Pope performs the mass.	1
He is the right person for the job	1
He should be respected	1
He is a good person	9
There is nothing wrong with him	1
The Pope must be obeyed	2
He has done nothing to us	3
He is only a guide in the church	1
He is a good mortal. (a good business man on the side)	1
No complaint about the pope	1
He is necessary to rule the church	1
Pope is a racketeer	1
He is not good; a crook and a cheat	2
He has a good business	1
Pope is a politician	1
Do not think about the Pope	2
No report	1
Don't know who the Pope is	12
Don't know what to think of him	1
Indifferent; nothing to say	4

APPENDIX M

THE VIRGIN OF GUADALUPE

Do you believe in the Virgin of Guadalupe?

<u>Belief</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Yes	38
No	12

Comments: One case stated that he did not believe blindly, and another had the divine image tattooed on his back.

Note:

In the history of Mexico in the eighteenth century, a peon was reported as having seen a vision. This vision, the Virgin of Guadalupe was an Indian woman. Although the Indians believed in her, the Spanish rulers and the church rulers put little credence in the idea. She represents the first Indian addition to the Christian idea.

The respondents had little to tell of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Their belief in their religions was not one that they could explain.

More important to Mexico was the political aspect surrounding the Virgin of Guadalupe. In the early nineteenth century under Father Hidalgo, who accepted the Virgin, the revolt against Spain was begun.

This historic situation is of deep and broad interest but is not discussed more fully because of its irrelevance to the nature of the thesis.

APPENDIX N

Attitudes Toward Jews

Did Hitler have the right to kill Jews?

<u>Answers</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Yes	5
No	36
Don't know	7
Indifferent	2

Why?

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Yes because:	
They control the country	1
They started the war	1
They killed Jesus	2
They tried to control Germany	5
No because:	
No one has the right to kill	9
Can't explain it	1
Everyone has a right to live	7
Jews are human beings like us	14
All men are equal	1
Not all Jews are bad	1
Jews did not try to kill Hitler	1
Jews did not harm	1
They are rich	1