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# POVERTY IN THE SOUTHWEST - A POSITION PAPER By Julian Samora

## Introduction

The most neglected, the most impoverished, the most disadvantaged, the most exploited, and those with the least opportunities open to them - these are words that have sometimes been used to describe the Spanish speaking people of the Southwest.

The most neglected might mean that neither federal, state nor local government has effectively recognized their existence, or if their existence has been recognized, little or nothing has been done to improve their lot. If the government at its various levels has neglected these people, neither have the other institutions, to mention but education and the church, taken cognizance of this group and their problems, except in the very recent past. By contrast the attention and assistance that has been given the Indian, Puerto Rican, the Cuban, the displaced person, the refugee, the farmer, the businessman, and even the migratory birds leaves one baffled by comparison.

To note the impoverishment one need but to visit the border city, the urban slum the rural slum, the migratory labor camp (if one exists), the village, and the small town. No settlement in the Southwest is without it, and no poverty has persisted with such tenacity over the years and been inescapable, and at the same time unrecognized by the dominant society. People of low socio-economic status, poor people, are at a great disadvantage in American society. They are at a disadvantage before the law, in the schools, in the marketplace, in employment, in the type of housing that is available to them, in public accommodations and in recreation. With the disadvantaged position comes exploitation - exploitation, of course, takes many forms and there is not much that this type of person

can do to remedy it. For the Spanish speaking, employment would appear to be the most serious problem, and in particular, employment in the border areas and in agricultural labor.

The opportunities that are open to this population are few. Even though the American creed stresses freedom and equality of opportunity, people in the bottom levels of society cannot take advantage of programs and facilities which exist and in many instances the agencies, both public and private, are not particularly eager to have this part of the society in their midst.

Over twenty years ago Dr. George I. Sanchez wrote a book called <u>The Forgotten People</u>. It would appear that of this date the situation hasn't changed appreciably. They are still forgotten, but there are more of them.

## The Population

There are about six million Spanish speaking people in the United States including Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Latin Americans. Some four million of these are concentrated in the five Southwestern states and these people are the topic of this paper. Of all the Spanish speaking people in the Southwest, California and Texas each have all percent, followed by 8 percent in New Mexico, 6 percent in Arizona, and 5 percent in Colorado.

This population is highly mobile. In 1940 they were considered to be a rural population. In 1950, 60 percent of this population was considered to be urban, and as of 1960, the last census reported 86 percent of the population as urban.

Although it is difficult to establish any pattern of mobility at this time, a few gross statistics will give some indication of the mobility pattern. Between 1950 and 1960 the Spanish speaking population of California increased.

88 percent, Arizona increased 51 percent, Texas:37 percent, Colorado 33 percent,

<sup>1.</sup> The statistical tables appended are taken from Dr. Samera's Study of the Spanish Speaking People in the United States, a pilot report prepared for the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1962.

and New Mexico, 8 percent. The city of Los Angeles increased 100 percent, doubling in population in the last ten years. A considerable shift in population in the Southwest during the last ten year period, the Spanish speaking population increased 51 percent, whereas the Negro population increased 45 percent, and the Anglos only 36 percent. All statistics on fertility show the Spanish speaking increasing at a much faster rate than the Negroes, or the Orientals, or the non-whites or the Anglos. (See Table 1).

## Education

Throughout the five Southwestern states the educational level of the Spanish speaking has increased only about one grade in the past ten years. Other Southwestern populations, of course, have also increased their educational levels proportionately so that the gap among the populations remains about the same.

A few statistics suggest the nature of the problem. Fifty-two percent of the Mexican-Americans in Texas have less than a fourth grade education, 35 percent of those in Arizona, 24 percent in California and Colorado, and 30 percent in New Mexico, as compared with the much lower percentages for the Angles who have 6.3, 3.6, 3.2, 316, and 3.6 respectively in the states mentioned. To take a few standard metropolitan statistical areas by way of illustration, the situation is this - in Lubbock 68 percent of the Mexican-Americans have less than a fourth grade education compared with 4 percent for the Angles and 19 percent for the Negroes. In the Los Angeles-Long Beach standard metropolitan statistical area, 19 percent of the Mexican-Americans have less than a fourth grade education compared with 3 percent for the Angles and 9 percent for the non-white. In Phoenix, 43 percent of the Spanish speaking have less than a fourth grade education compared with 4 percent of the Angles and 21 percent of the non-whites.

Although there has been a tremendous increase in elementary school enrollment and an increase in high school and college attendance, by and large the
Spanish speaking in the Southwest remain disadvantaged in educational achievement and the gap between then and the other populations is fairly large. A
large proportion of this population then is actually functionally illiterate.
(See Table 2.)

A number of things can be said with regard to the education of the Spanish. speaking people in the Southwest. They have had less than equal opportunity for higher educational achievement. They lag behind the non-whites and the Anglos regardless of what measure of educational achievement is used. Some research suggests that they are highly motivated to send their children to elementary school, but a great dropout occurs at the junior and high school level. If there is high motivation in the early grades, one wonders what happens to it later on. Is the blame to be placed on the family, is it to be placed on the school system, or is it to be placed on the community? It is probably safe to state that few school systems know what the needs of this minority are, and few systems gear the curriculum to meet these needs. School segregation of this population for whatever reason is still evident. Lack of facility with the English language is still considered a serious problem by some, and discrimination occurs in some areas. Thus, it will be many years before this population reaches an adequate educational level for effective participation and competition in this society unless drastic measures are taken at this tima.

## Housing.

According to the 1960 census, the Spanish speaking people rout more than the Anglos, they get less for their money, and the houses that they live in are more often than not deteriorating, delapidated, and overcrowded, without basic sanitary facilities. (See Table 6). Whether in a New Mexican village, a migrant camp, a rural or urban slum area, or the Mexican section of a large

city, the Spanish speaking people, either voluntarily or involuntarily, tend to live among themselves in some degree of social isolation. They may shop in the Angle sections of town, they may work with Angle colleagues, but their friends, the people with whom they interact socially, the people whom they invite to their homes, and the people whom they marry, are largely Spanish speaking. A number of factors account for this phenomenon of ghette-living, not the least of which is restrictive covenants in most areas and direct and indirect practices of discrimination.

## Employment

In all the five Southwestern states the Spanish speaking have a higher percentage of unemployment than do the Anglos and the non-whites with the exception of the Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. (See Table 3) Their occupational status is also lower, that is, they have large proportions in the low status occupations and very few in the high status occupations. (See Table 4). The median family income for the total white population in the five Southwestern states is from \$1,000 to \$2,000 higher per year than the incomes of the Spanish surname families. Significantly more of these families have incomes under \$1,000. The percent earning \$10,000 or more is from two to six times greater among the total white population than among those with Spanish surnames. (See Table 5). The lack of opportunity to obtain apprenticeship training is quite evident in most states as is unemployment. There is still discrimination in employment.

## Justice

People of low socio-occumic status without purse, power and pull are very disadvantaged people before the law. There is much evidence to suggest that the Spanish speaking people suffer from police brutality, differential arrests, and conviction patterns and exclusion from jury duty.

The matter of equal justice before the law is quite variable from state to state and from county to county, but there is still a serious problem in the Southwest.

## Voting

A look at the voting pattern of the Spanish speaking and their general political participation reveals wide variability from county to county and' from state to state. In a very few areas there is complete control of town and country. In other areas there is hardly any participation in politics. Some high density Spanish speaking counties in New Mexico register more than 100 percent of those eligible to register. In 1960, however, in ten high density Anglo counties in Texas, over 100 percent of those eligible to vote, voted in the election.

The exercise of the right to vote, however, whether high or low, does not seem to change appreciably the status of the Spanish speaking, nor does it appear to open more opportunities for them. This is a crucial problem. In some areas of the Southwest there are reputedly barriers to the right to register and barriers to the right to vote.

## Public Accommodations

The most evident form of discrimination against the Spanish speaking is by private owners and operators of transportation services, recreational and eating facilities. Fortunately, this type of discrimination is gradually disappearing and in a few years it may be gone. On the other hand, perhaps one can say that fewer complaints appear because members of the minority have learned to stay away from those places that discriminate against them.

## Cheap Labor

Another item in terms of the status of the Spanish speaking that needs mention is the effects of demestic and foreign agricultural labor systems, the effects of the commuter-worker system in the border cities, and the effects of illegal entrance for employment purposes. These are most serious and depressing. The effects consist of unfair competition for demestic laborers, the depression of wages, the exploitation of labor, the depivation of civil rights, categorical retardation in education, and the perpetuation of a vicious social system which is detrimental to our society.

## . Leadership

Effective leadership among the Spanish speaking has yet to develop, nor has this population produced an effective national organization. Although this phenomenon is most disappointing to many people, it is halso quite understandable. First, this is not a homogeneous population. Secondly, an effective loader in this society must have informed, literate followers. The educational, housing, and employment status of this population has already been indicated and it does not present a highly articulate group. Thirdly, the status of a would be leader is generally so insecure that he cannot be very effective in initiating and promoting programs. Fourthly, the person who is best qualified to lead is one who has been socially mobile and who understands the Anglo system if he is going to lead in an Angle system. It is paradoxical that in the process of becoming educated and raising his occupational and social status, he very often becomes alienated from the group that he would lead. Thus, the followers can correctly mutter that their leaders are "agringados". And lastly, the Amorican social system very effectively syphons off those who are best qualified to be leaders. In a word, the would be leaders tend to "pass" into the society at largo.

## Suggestions

There is need for the establishment of some agency at a national level to help the Spanish speaking resolve their many problems. Such an agency could work through existing Spanish speaking organizations as well as those Catholic, Protestant and Jewish Agencies that are specifically concerned with the population. Such an agency could also work with state and federal agencies whose work is likely to be aimed at the problem of this and other minorities.

The resolution of many of the problems of the Spanish speaking has been brought about by the work of their own local organizations. These organizations could function much more effectively if they could afford to hire or if an agency could provide a number of field workers whose role would include coordination of a variety of activities, dissemination of information, and investigation of employment structures. This person would also be a liaison in the community between the Spanish speaking and the educational system, the welfare system, the police, the health and other governmental structures. This person, too, would have the job of continuing to organize Spanish speaking groups.

Foundations and other groups interested in advancing the educational level of this population have made inroads into the problem by providing scholarships and followships at the university graduate and undergraduate levels. Many foundations actively seek applicants and are sometimes perplexed at the small number. They fail to realize that the greatest need, however, is not at the university level, but rather at the junior and senior high school and freshman college level.

Scholarships for university training should not be discouraged, of course.

Again, most scholarships are competitive and are supposed to attract the more highly talented. In this respect, the Spanish speaking are at a tremendous disadvantage. Many a student could go to college on a scholarship, if he could afford the clothes, the board and room. In a word, this problem is not to be solved by competitive scholarships, as useful as they are. A more basic approach

is necessary which would include the elimination of the various barriers and inequalities which we have montioned earlier.

In the United States, we generally talk about the Negro problem, the Indian problem, the Spanish speaking problem, or, in short, the minority problem. It is my opinion that the biggest problem, however, is the majority problem. The dominant society must take a realistic look at itself and the situations and problems which it creates and fosters. It then must recognize its responsibilities to the less fortunate and seek resolutions to the problems it has created instead of placing the blame on the unfortunate for finding themselves in situations which they occupy. The minority problem will disappear when the majority problem is resolved.

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January 19, 1965

PROPORTION AND GROWTH OF SPANISH SURNAME POPULATION IN FIVE SOUTH/ESTERN STATES: 1950-1960

		1960		Percent	1950	
State	Total Population	Spanish Surnano Population	Percent Spanish Surname	Growth Spanish Surname 1950-60	Spanish Surnamo Population	Percent Spanish Surname
Arizona	1,302,161	194,356	14.9	51.4	128,318	17.1
California	15,717,204	1,426,538	9.1	87.6	760,153	7.2
Colorado	1,753,947	157,173	9.0	33.0	118,131	8.9
Now Morrico	951,023	269,122	28.3	8.1	248,880	36.5
Toxas	9,579,677	1,417,810	14.8	37.1	1,033,768	13.4
Total	29,304,012	3,464,999	11.8	51.3	2,289,550	

Source: <u>U. S. Census of Population: 1950</u>, Final Reports PC-1(B) Series,

PC-1 (C) Series and PC(2)-1B; <u>U.S. Census of Population: 1950</u>,

Final Report P-E No. 3C.

Source: U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Final Reports (PHC (1) Series, PC (1) - 7C and PC (1) - 45 C.

TABLE 2.

PERCENT OF SPANISH SURVAME, OTHER WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATIONS 25 YEARS OR

OVER WID HAVE COMPLETED FOUR YEARS OF SCHOOL OR LESS AND FOUR YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL OR MORE IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES

	SPANISH	SURNAME	OTHER WE	HTE .	HW ROH	
AREA	4 years of school or less	4 years of H.S. or more	4 years of school or less	t years of H.S. or more	4 years of school or less	t years of H.S. or more
ARIZONA	<sup>7</sup> 35.0 °	14.7	3.6	53•3	37.5	15.7
Phoonix Tucson	42.7 24.4	12.5 18.3	3.7 2.4	52.8 59.3	21.2 30.2	22.3 18.6
CALIFORNIA	23.9	24.5	3 <b>.</b> 6 ·	54.8	12.0	39•7
Bakersfield Fresno Los Angoles -	35.6 42.1	17.3 12.6	5.5 6.9	45.9 46.2	23.1 19.1	20.6 29.6
Long Boach Sacramento San Bornardino San Diego San Francisco San Joso Santa Barbara Stockton	19.4 20.6 29.0 20.2 15.7 25.4 30.0 35.8	26.2 31.8 17.8 27.3 34.3 22.2 20.1 16.7	2.9 3.1 3.4 2.1 3.7 3.8 2.6 7.9	56.9 58.3 52.9 57.0 57.7 60.2 61.3 41.1	8.6 14.1 12.8 8.4 14.1 11.7 16.1 28.4	43.8 43.6 31.7 39.5 37.6 51.2 34.5 23.4
COLORADO	23.9	18.7	3.2	54.7	8.4	M**e
Colorado Springo Denvor Pueblo	11.9 17.4 22.2	36.8 24.8 15.1	1.6 2.4 6.7	62.2 59.5 43.1	4.7 7.0 14.8	52.8 15.11 29.6
NEW MEXTCO	29.6	18.9	3.6	57.1	39.2	19.1
Mbuquerque	18.8	25.6	2.2	66.7	13.7	12.7
TEXAS	51.7	11.9	6.3	46.4	23.6	20.8
Abilene Austin Besument -	56.3 53.6	12.3 12.1	5.6 7.0	50.4 56.2	21.2 18.0	24.1 24.1
Port Arthur Corpus Christi Dallas Il Paso Fort Worth	23.8 53.3 40.0 37.1 28.4	31.9 11.2 18.8 16.9 25.5	6.8 5.0 4.5 2.9 4.5	47.9 54.9 53.0 49.0	32.7 24.4 18.8 7.4 17.7	18.4 18.7 23.7 48.0 22.6
Galveston - Toxes City Houston Larodo Lubbock Odessa San Angolo	34.6 33.2 47.0 67.8 53.2 58.4	16.7 16.9 15.7 4.9 9.9 4.8	6.4 4.5 7.5 3.8 3.3 5.5	14.7 51.8 59.9 53.3 48.5 46.4	21.8 18.2  18.8 15.7 23.1	22.2 25.3 18.9 18.2 22.9
San Antonio Ngco	所·3 作·3	13.2 13.3	5.4 7.2	53.3 42.7	14.9 21.2	31.3 21.4

PERCENT UNEMPLOYED OF CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY SEX, FOR SPANISH SURNAME, TOTAL WHITE AND NOWHITE POPULATIONS IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES, 1950-1960

	SPANIS	H SURNAME		TOTAL W	HILITE	MON W	HITE .	u T
STATE	Malo	Fomalo	, 10	Male F	omale	Male	Femalo	
Arizona						. :		
1950	13.4	12.4	• .	7.5	6.3	11.3	7.8	
1960	6.2	8.1		4.6	4.9	14.4	10.8	
California					•			
1950	13.0	15.9		7.3	7.8	13.9	14.1	w. Tyra
1960	7.7	11.2	* 15	5.5	6.3	10.1	9.8	
Colorado	,			•	*	, .	* *	
1950	15.6	12.7		4.3	3.8	5.8	5.7	• •
1960	9.5	8.9		3.8	k.1	6.7	6.4	•
Now Mondeo						• •	*	•
1,950	11.0	6.6	•	5.8	3.8	6.3	4.1	
1960	10.3	8.6		5.4	5.6	16.0	8.9	
Texas		*			 		ŧ.	•
1950	9.5	7.8	ĸ	3.7	3.1	6.0	6.0	. 3
1960	8.2	8.2		4.0	4.3	7•3 ,	6.7	

Sources: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Final Reports PC (1) C Series and PC92)-1B; U. S. Census of Population: 1950, Final Reports P-A and P-E No. 3C.

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED SPANISH SURNAME POPULATION, BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES: 1950-1960

	: :	· <u> </u>	·	PERCENT						
Major Occupation Group	Yoar	Arlz.	Calit.	Colorado	New Mexico Ter					
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	: <b>100.0</b>				
Professional, technical and landred workers	1950	2.2 3.3	3.1 4.7	2.6 4.8	l.1 6.6	2.1 3.7				
Farmoro & farm managors .	1950 1960	1.5	2.2	6.3 2.1	10.7 2.6	կ.2 2.0				
Managers, officials & proprietors, except form	1950 1960	3.9 3.5	- 4.3 3.7	3.0 2.8	4.3 4.6	1-1				
Clerical, sales & Eindred workers	1950 1960	10.6 10.4		7.4	10.5 15.4	10.1 12.8				
Craftsmen, foremen and	1 <i>95</i> 0	10.6	11.1	7.6 9.7	10.7 12.4	10.1				
Oporativos & kindred workers	1950	23.3		21.7 23.9		17.1				
Privato household workers .	1950 1960	3.2			3.6 4.0	4.1 4.5				
Sorvico workers, except private household	1950 1960	8.8 9.8	7.0 7.8	8.7 13.3	7. 7	8.2 9.8				
Farm laborors, unpaid and farm foroman	1 <i>9</i> 50 1 <i>9</i> 50	20.7	19.2 12.3	19.4 8.5	11.0 6.8	22.9 13.3				
Laborors, except form & mine	1950 1960	13.9	13.9 9.7	18.2 15.3	15.5 11.2					
Occupation not reported		.1.3		1.8 5.2	3.2 4.4	1.3				

Sources: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Final Report PC(2)-1B; U. S. Census of Population: 1950, Final Report P-E No. 3C.

PERCENT OF SPANISH SURNAME, : MAL WHITE AND NO SHITE FAMILIES EARNING UNDER \$1,000 and \$10,000 0 DRE IN FIVE SOU SESTEMS STATES: 1960

Stato	Spanish Under	Surnamo Silo,000 and ove		Total Under Si,000	<u>Thit</u> \$1 20		Nomini Undor Si ,000	ito \$10,000 and over
Arizona	7,2	4,6	a a	4.1			26.9	2.8
California	4.5	10.8	×	3.0	22.		6.3	9-7
Colorado	6.4	4.8		3.5	14.8	•	6.3	6.5
Now Moraleo	11.3	4.5		5.6	15.0	•	28.2	3.4
Toxas	13.6	2.7		6.3	13.1	,	18.0	1.5
			•	1 7 3		٠,	, · · · · ,	

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Final Reports PC(1)-C Series and PC(2)-1B.

TABLE 6.

CONDITION OF EDUSING UNITS OCCUPIED BY SPANISH SURVAME, OTHER WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION IN STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES

	SPANTSH (		OTFER W		non w	
AREA	Percent Doter- iorating	Percont Dilopi- dated	Porcent Dotor- iorating	Percent Dilapi- dated	Percent Dotor- iorating	Percent Dilapi- dated
		,				
irizona Fioonix Tucson	27.0 19.9	15.6	9.8 8.0	3.7 2.5	26.7. 23.5	23.7 28.3
California		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	•	•		
Bakerorield Fresno	25.3 27.4	14.0 19.8	16.5	6.5	24.9 24.9	12.1
Los Angeles- Long Ecach Sacramento	15.3 17.2	5.1 4.8	5.6 9.1	1.1	12.8 21.2	2.6 7.8
San Bernardino- Riverside-Ontario San Diego San Francisco-	19.6 15.2	7.7 5.6	11.3	2.9	19.9 19.3	13.0 6.0
Oakland San Jose Santa Barbara Stockton	10.1 14.8 23.0 21.7	3.8 8.5 10.3 8.8	6.8 5.3 7.3 13.0	1.5 1.8 2.4 5.2	16.4 13.9 18.3 24.0	5.1 5.9 13.3 13.8
Colorado Colorado Springa Doavor Puoblo	21.4 26.0 26.9	6.5 5.7 15.0	11.7 9.1 19.9	2.7 1.5 7.8	30.3 26.4 25.1	9.lı 3.5 18.2
New Mexico Albuquerque	18.1	11.0	7.1	2.2	18.2	13.6
Toma Abilene Austin	26.lı 21.6	30.0 18.1	15.5 11.3	6.1 4.3	31.0 26.1	34.1 21.8
Post Arthur Corpus Christi Dallas El Paso Fort Worth	20.3 28.1 26.6 22.4 19.5	6.6 12.1 7.5 14.5 8.4	15.4 13.8 11.2 9.8 12.8	4.3 7.5 3.3 2.5 3.9	30.0 30.0 30.8 16.5 24.9	16.1 11.0 14.6 6.7 13.4
Galveston - Toxas City Houston Laredo Lubbock Odessa San Angelo San Antonio	26.3 23.7 31.2 38.5 30.6 32.4 24.9	12.8 6.1 22.7 18.0 14.0 12.6 12.6	16.3 10.4 14.2 12.4 13.5 14.3	6.1 2.4 3.6 3.3 5.1 3.4	28.7 24.6 19.6 32.4 28.8 33.9 23.6	18.9 6.6 17.4 27.0 36.0 12.7

Sources: U. S. Consus of Population: 1960, Final Reports MC (1) Series: U. S. Consus of Housing: 1960, Final Reports HC (1) Series.

By Julian Samora

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people of the Southwest.

The most neglected might mean that neither federal, state nor local government has effectively recognized their existence, or if their existence has been recognized, little or nothing has been done to improve their lot. If the government at its various levels has neglected these people, neither have the other institutions, to mention but education and the church, taken cognizance of this group and their problems, except in the very recent past. By contrast the attention and assistance that has been given the Indian, Puerto Rican, the Cuban, the displaced person, the refugee, the farmer, the buisinessman, and even the migratory birds leaves one baffled by comparison.

To note the impoverishment one need but to visit the border city, the urban slum, the rural slum, the migratory labor camp (if one exists), the village, and the small town. No settlement in the Southwest is without it, and no poverty has persisted with such tenacity over the years and been inescapable, and at the same time unrecognized by the dominant society. People of low socio-economic status, poor people, are at a great disadvantage in American society. They are at a disadvantage before the law, in the schools, in the marketplace, in employment, in the type of housing that is available to them, in public accommodations and in recreation. With the disadvantaged position comes exploitation - exploitation, of course, takes many forms and there is not much that this type of person can do to remedy it. For the Spanish speaking, employment would appear to be the most serious problem, and in particular, employment in the border areas and in agricultural labor.

The opportunities that are open to this population are few. Even though the American creed stresses freedom and equality of opportunity, people in the bottom levels of society cannot take advantage of programs and facilities which exist and in many instances the agencies, both public and private, are not particularly eager to have this part of the society in their midst.

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This population is highly mobile. In 1940 they were considered to be a rural population. In 1950, 60 percent of this population was considered to

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#### Education

Throughout the five Southwestern states the educational level of the Spanish speaking has increased only about one grade in the past ten years. Other Southwestern populations, of course, have also increased their educational levels proportionately so that the gap among the populations remains about the same.

A few statistics suggest the nature of the problem. Fifty-two percent of the Mexican-Americans in Texas have less than a fourth grade education, 35 percent of those in Arizona, 24 percent in California and Colorado, and 30 percent in New Mexico, as compared with the much lower percentages for the Anglos who have 6.3, 3.6, 3.2, 3.6, and 3.6 respectively in the states mentioned. To take a few standard metropolitan statistical areas by way of illustration, the situation is this - in Lubbock 68 percent of the Mexican-Americans have less than a fourth grade education compared with 4 percent for the Anglos and 19 percent for the Negroes. In the Los Angeles-Long Beach standard metropolitan statistical area, 19 percent of the Mexican-Americans have less than a fourth grade education compared with 3 percent for the Anglos and 9 percent for the non-white. In Phoenix, 43 percent of the Spanish speaking have less than a fourth grade education compared with 4 percent of the Anglos and 21 percent of the non-whites.

Although there has been a tremendous increase in elementary school enrollment and an increase in high school and college attendance, by and large the Spanish speaking in the Southwest remain disadvantaged in educational achievement and the gap between them and the other populations is fairly large. A large proportion of this population then is actually functionally illiterate. (See Table 2.)

A number of things can be said with regard to the education of the Spanish speaking people in the Southwest. They have had less than equal opportunity for higher educational achievement. They lag behind the non-whites and the Anglos regardless of what measure of educational achievement is used. Some research suggests that they are highly motivated to send their children to elementary school, but a great dropout occurs at the junior and high school level. If there is high motivation in the early grades, one wonders what happens to it later on. Is the blame to be placed on the family, is it to be placed on the school system, or is it to be placed on the community? It is probably safe to state that few school systems know what the needs of this minority are, and few systems gear the curriculum to meet these needs. School segregation of this population for whatever reason is still evident. Lack of facility with the English language is still considered a serious problem by some, and discrimination occurs in some areas. Thus, it will be many years

before this population reaches an adequate educational level for effective participation and competition in this society unless drastic measures are taken at this time.

#### Housing

According to the 1960 census, the Spanish speaking people rent more than the Anglos, they get less for their money, and the houses that they live in are more often than not deteriorating, delapidated, and overcrowed, without basic sanitary facilities. (See Table 6). Whether in a New Mexican village, a migrant camp, a rural or urban slum area, or the Mexican section of a large city, the Spanish speaking people, either voluntarily or involuntarily tend to live among themselves in some degree of social isolation. They may shop in the Anglo sections of town, they may work with Anglo colleagues, but their friends, the people with whom they interact socially, the people whom they invite to their homes, and the people whom they marry, are largely Spanish speaking. A number of factors account for this phenomenon of ghetto-living, not the least of which is restrictive covenants in most areas and direct and indirect practices of discrimination.

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In all the five Southwestern states the Spanish speaking have a higher percentage of unemployment than do the Anglos and the non-whites with the exception of the Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. (See Table 3) Their occupational status is also lower, that is, they have large proportions in the low status occupations and very few in the high status occupations. (See Table 4). The median family income for the total white population in the five Southwestern states is from \$1,000 to \$2,000 higher per year than the incomes of the Spanish surname families. Significantly more of these families have incomes under \$1,000. The percent earning \$10,000 or more is from two to-six-times-greater among the total white population than among those with Spanish surnames. (See Table 5). The lack of opportunity to obtain apprenticeship training is quite evident in most states as is unemployment. There is still discrimination in employment.

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voted in the election.

The exercise of the right to vote, however, whether high or low, does not seem to change appreciably the status of the Spanish speaking, nor does it appear to open more opportunities for them. This is a crucial problem. In some areas of the Southwest there are reputedly barriers to the right to register and barriers to the right to vote.

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The most evident form of discrimmination against the Spanish speaking is by private owners and operatios of transportation services, recreational and eating facilities. Fortunately, this type of discrimination is gradually disappearing and in a few years it may be gone. On the other hand, perhaps one can say that fewer complaints appear because members of the minority have learned to stay away from those places that discriminate against them.

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Another item in terms of the status of the Spanish speaking that needs mention is the effects of the domestic and foreign agricultrual labor systems, the effects of the open border, the effects of the commuter-worker system in the border cities, and the effects of illegal entrance for employment purposes. These are most serious and depressing. The effects consist of unfair competition for domestic laborers, the depression of wages, the exploitation of labor, the deprivation of civil rights, categorical retardation in education, and the perpetuation of a vicious social system which is detrimental to our society.

#### Leadership

Effective leadership among the Spanish speaking has yet to develop, nor has this population produced an effective national organization. Although this phenomenon is most disappointing to many people, it is also quite understandable. First, this is not a homogeneous population. Secondly, an effective leader in this society must have informed, literate followers. The educational, housing, and employment status of this population has already been indicated and it does not present a highly articulate group. Thirdly, the status of a would be leader is generally so insecure that he cannot be very effective in initiating and promoting programs. Fourthly, the person who is best qualified to lead is one who has been socially mobile and who understands the Anglo system if he is going to lead in an Anglo system. It is paradoxical that in the process of becoming educated and raising his occupational and social status, he very often becomes alienated from the group that he would lead. Thus, the followers can correctly mutter that their leaders are "agringados". And lastly, the American social system very effectively syphons off those who are best qualified to be leaders. In a word, the would be leaders tend to "pass" into the society at large.

#### Suggestions

There is need for the establishment of some agency at a national level to help the Spanish speaking resolve their many problems. Such an agency could work through existing Spanish speaking organizations as well as those Catholic, Protestant and Jewish Agencies that are specifically concerned with the population. Such an agency could also work with state and federal agencies whose work is likely to be aimed at the problem of this and other minorities.

The resolution of many of the problems of the Spanish speaking has been brought about by the work of their own local organizations. These organizations could function much more effectively if they could afford to hire or if an agency could provide a number of field workers whose rale would include coordination of a variety of activities, dissemination of information and investigation of employment structures. This person would also be a liaison in the community between the Spanish speaking and the educational system, the welfare system, the police, the health and other governmental structures. This person, too, would have the job of continuing to organize Spanish speaking groups.

Foundations and other groups interested in advancing the educational level of this population have made inroads into the problem by providing scholarships and fellowships at the university graduate and undergraduate levels. Many foundations actively seek applicants and are sometimes perplexed at the small number. They fail to realize that the greatest need, however, is not at the university level, but rather at the junior and senior high school and freshman college level.

Scholarships for university training should not be discouraged, of course. Again, most scholarships are competitive and are supposed to attract the more highly talented. In this respect, the Spanish speaking are at a tremendous disadvantage. Many a student could go to college on a scholarship, if he could afford the clothes, the board and room. In a word, this problem is not to be solved by competitive scholarships, as useful as they are. A more basic approach is necessary which would include the elimination of the various barriers and inequalities which we have mentioned earlier.

In the United States, we generally talk about the Negro problem, the Indian problem, the Spanish speaking problem, or, in short, the minority problem. It is my opinion that the biggest problem, however, is the majority problem. The dominant society must take a realistic look at itself and the situations and problems which it creats and fosters. It then must recognize its responsibilities to the less fortunate and seek resolutions to the problems it has created instead of placing the blame on the unfortunate for finding themselves in situations which they occupy. The minority problem will disappear when the majority problem is resolved.

Julian Samora Department of Sociology University of Notre Dame January 19, 1965

### POVERTY IN THE SOUTHWEST - A POSITION PAPER

By Julian Samora

## Introduction

The most neglected, the most impoverished, the most disadvantaged, the most exploited, and those with the least opportunities open to them - these are words that have sometimes been used to describe the Spanish speaking people of the Southwest.

The most neglected might mean that neither federal, state nor local government has effectively recognized their existence, or if their existence has been recognized, little or nothing has been done to improve their lot. If the government at its various levels has neglected these people, neither have the other institutions, to mention but education and the church, taken cognizance of this group and their problems, except in the very recent past. By contrast the attention and assistance that has been given the Indian, Puerto Rican, the Cuban, the displaced person, the refugee, the farmer, the businessman, and even the migratory birds leaves one baffled by comparison.

To note the impoverishment one need but to visit the border city, the urban slu, the rural slum, the migratory labor camp (if one exists), the village, and the small town. No settlement in the Southwest is without it, and no poverty has persisted with such tenacity over the years and been inescapable, and at the same time unrecognized by the dominant society. People of low socio-economic status, poor people, are at a great disadvantage in American society. They are at a disadvantage before the law, in the schools, in the marketplace, in employment, in the type of housing that is available to them, in public accommodations and in recreation. With the disadvantaged position comes exploitation - exploitation, of course, takes many forms and there is not much that this type of person

can do to remedy it. For the Spanish speaking, employment would appear to be the most serious problem, and in particular, employment in the border areas and in agricultural labor.

The opportunities that are open to this population are few. Even though the American creed stresses freedom and equality of opportunity, people in the bottom levels of society cannot take advantage of programs and facilities which exist and in many instances the agencies, both public and private, are not particularly eager to have this part of the society in their midst.

Over twenty years ago Dr. George I. Sanchez wrote a book called The Forgotten People. It would appear that of this date the situation hasn't changed appreciably. They are still forgotten, but there are more of them.

## The Population

There are about six million Spanish speaking people in the United States including Puerto Ricans, Gubans, and other Latin Americans. Some four million of these are concentrated in the five Southwestern states and these people are the topic of this paper. Of all the Spanish speaking people in the Southwest, California and Texas each have III percent, followed by 8 percent in New Mexico, 6 percent in Arizona, and 5 percent in Colorado.

This population is highly mobile. In 1940 they were considered to be a rural population. In 1950, 60 percent of this population was considered to be urban, and as of 1960, the last census reported 86 percent of the population as urban.

Although it is difficult to establish any pattern of mobility at this time, a few gross statistics will give some indication of the mobility pattern. Between 1950 and 1960 the Spanish speaking population of California increased 88 percent, Arizona increased 51 percent, Texass 37 percent, Colorado 33 percent,

<sup>1.</sup> The statistical tables appended are taken from Dr. Samora's Study of the Spanish Speaking People in the United States, a pilot report prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1962.

and New Mexico, 8 percent. The city of Los Angeles increased 100 percent, doubling in population in the last ten years. A considerable shift in population in the Southwest during the last ten year period, the Spanish speaking population increased 51 percent, whereas the Negro population increased 15 percent, and the Anglos only 36 percent. All statistics on fertility show the Spanish speaking increasing at a much faster rate than the Negroes, or the Orientals, or the non-whites or the Anglos. (See Table 1).

#### Education

Throughout the five Southwestern states the educational level of the Spanish speaking has increased only about one grade in the past ten years. Other Southwestern populations, of course, have also increased their educational levels proportionately so that the gap among the populations remains about the same.

A few statistics suggest the nature of the problem. Fifty-two percent of the Mexican-Americans in Texas have less than a fourth grade education, 35 percent of those in Arizona, 2h percent in California and Colorado, and 30 percent in New Mexico, as compared with the much lower percentages for the Anglos who have 6.3, 3.6, 3.2, 316, and 3.6 respectively in the states mentioned. To take a few standard metropolitan statistical areas by way of illustration, the situation is this - in Lubbock 68 percent of the Mexican-Americans have less than a fourth grade education compared with 4 percent for the Anglos and 19 percent for the Negroes. In the Los Angeles-Long Beach standard metropolitan statistical area, 19 percent of the Mexican-Americans have less than a fourth grade education compared with 3 percent for the Anglos and 9 percent for the non-white. In Phoenix, 43 percent of the Spanish speaking have less than a fourth grade education compared with 4 percent of the Anglos and 21 percent of the non-whites.

Although there has been a tremendous increase in elementary school enrollment and an increase in high school and college attendance, by and large the
Spanish speaking in the Southwest remain disadvantaged in educational achievement and the gap between then and the other populations is fairly large. A
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A number of things can be said with regard to the education of the Spanish speaking people in the Southwest. They have had less than equal opportunity for higher educational achievement. They lag behind the non-whites and the Anglos regardless of what measure of educational achievement is used. Some research suggests that they are highly motivated to send their children to elementary school, but a great dropout occurs at the junior and high school If there is high motivation in the early grades, one wonders what happens to it later on. Is the blame to be placed on the family, is it to be placed on the school system, or is it to be placed on the community? It is probably safe to state that few school systems know what the needs of this minority are, and few systems gear the curriculum to meet these needs. School segregation of this population for whatever reason is still evident. Lack of facility with the English language is still considered a serious problem by some, and discrimination occurs in some areas. Thus, it will be many years before this population reaches an adequate educational level for effective participation and competition in this society unless drastic measures are taken at this time.

## Housing

According to the 1960 census, the Spanish speaking people rent more than the Anglos, they get less for their money, and the houses that they live in are more often than not deteriorating, delapidated, and overcrowded, without basic sanitary facilities. (See Table 6). Whether in a New Mexican village, a migrant camp, a rural or urban slum area, or the Mexican section of a large

city, the Spanish speaking people, either voluntarily or involuntarily, tend to live among themselves in some degree of social isolation. They may shop in the Anglo sections of town, they may work with Anglo colleagues, but their friends, the people with whom they interact socially, the people whom they invite to their homes, and the people whom they marry, are largely Spanish speaking. A number of factors account for this phenomenon of ghetto-living, not the least of which is restrictive covenants in most areas and direct and indirect practices of discrimination.

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In all the five Southwestern states the Spanish speaking have a higher percentage of unemployment than do the Anglos and the non-whites with the exception of the Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. (See Table 3) Their occupational status is also lower, that is, they have large proportions in the low status occupations and very few in the high status occupations. (See Table 1). The median family income for the total white population in the five Southwestern states is from \$1,000 to \$2,000 higher per year than the incomes of the Spanish surname families. Significantly more of these families have incomes under \$1,000. The percent earning \$10,000 or more is from two to six times greater among the total white population than among those with Spanish surnames. (See Table 5). The lack of opportunity to obtain apprenticeship training is quite evident in most states as is unemployment. There is still discrimination in employment.

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People of low socio-economic status without purse, power and pull are very disadvantaged people before the law. There is much evidence to suggest that the Spanish speaking people suffer from police brutality, differential arrests, and conviction patterns and exclusion from jury duty.

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The exercise of the right to vote, however, whether high or low, does not seem to change appreciably the status of the Spanish speaking, nor does it appear to open more opportunities for them. This is a crucial problem. In some areas of the Southwest there are reputedly barriers to the right to register and barriers to the right to vote.

## Public Accommodations

The most evident form of discrimination against the Spanish speaking is by private owners and operators of transportation services, recreational and eating facilities. Fortunately, this type of discrimination is gradually disappearing and in a few years it may be gone. On the other hand, perhaps one can say that fewer complaints appear because members of the minority have learned to stay away from those places that discriminate against them.

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There is need for the establishment of some agency at a national level to help the Spanish speaking resolve their many problems. Such an agency could work through existing Spanish speaking organizations as well as those Catholic, Protestant and Jewish Agencies that are specifically concerned with the population. Such an agency could also work with state and federal agencies whose work is likely to be aimed at the problem of this and other minorities.

The resolution of many of the problems of the Spanish speaking has been brought about by the work of their own local organizations. These organizations could function much more effectively if they could afford to hire or if an agency could provide a number of field workers whose role would include coordination of a variety of activities, dissemination of information, and investigation of employment structures. This person would also be a liaison in the community between the Spanish speaking and the educational system, the welfare system, the police, the health and other governmental structures. This person, too, would have the job of continuing to organize Spanish speaking groups.

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Julian Samora Department of Sociology University of Notre Dame January 19, 1965

PROPORTION AND GROWTH OF SPANISH SURNAME
POPULATION IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES: 1950-1960

John William

	1960		Percent	1950	
State	Spanis Total Surnam Population Populati	h Percent e Spanish	Growth Spanish Surname 1950–60	Spanish Surname Population	Percent Spanish Surname
Arizona	1,302,161 194,3	56 14.9	51.4	128,318	17.1
California	15,717,204 1,426,5	38 9.1	87.6	760,453	7.2
Colorado	1,753,947 157,1	73 9.0	33.0	118,131	8.9
New Mexico	951,023 269,1	22 28.3	8.1	21,8,880	36.5
Texas	9,579,677 1,417,8	10 14.8 —	37.1	1,033,768	13.4
Total	29,304,012 3,464,9	99 11.8	51.3	2,289,550	

Source: <u>U. S. Census of Population: 1960</u>, Final Reports PC-1(B) Series,

PC-1 (C) Series and PC(2)-1B; <u>U.S. Census of Population: 1950</u>,

Final Report P-E No. 3C.

Source: U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Final Reports (PHC (1) Series, PC (1) - 7C and PC (1) - 45 C.

TABLE 2.

PERCENT OF SPANISH SURNAME, OTHER WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATIONS 25 YEARS OR OVER WHO HAVE COMPLETED FOUR YEARS OF SCHOOL OR LESS AND FOUR YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL OR MORE IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES

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		1				1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 -
The second of th	SPANISH		OTHER WH		NON WHI	
AREA	of school	u years	h years of school	h years of H.S.	4 years of school	4 years of H.S.
Altun	or less	or more	or less	or more	or less	or more
'v - 1						
ARIZONA	35.0	14.7	3.6	53•3	37.5	15.7
Phoenix	42.7	12.5	3.7	52.8	21.2	22.3
Tucson	24.4	18.3.	2.4	59.3	30.2	18.6
CALIFORNIA	23.9	24.5	3.6	54.8	12.0	39.7
Bakersfield	35.6	72.3	ر بر بے	15.9		20.6
Fresno	42.1	17.3	5.5 6.9	46.2	23.1	20.6 29.6
Los Angeles -	46.4	12.0	0.9	40.2	T3.T	27.0
Long Beach	19.4	26.2	2.9	56.9	8.6	43.8
Sacramento	20.6	31.8	3.1	58.3.	14.1	43.6
San Bernardino	29.0	17.8	3.4	52.9	12.8	31.7
San Diego	20.2	27.3	2.1	57.0	8.4	39.5
San Francisco	15.7	34.3	3.7	57.7	14.1	37.6
San Jose	25.4	22.2	3.8	60.2	11.7	51.2
Santa Barbara	30.0	20.1	2.6	61.3	16.1	34.5
Stockton	35.8	16.7	7.9	41.1.	28.4	23.4
DUOCKOON	J)•0	70.1	1.02	ther.	20.4.	<b>23.4</b> ./** **
COLORADO	23.9	18.7	3.2	54.7	8.4	. 44.6
Colorado Springs	11.9	36.8	1.6	62.2	4.7	52.8
Denver	17.4	24.8	2.4	59.5	7.0	15.4
Pueblo	22.2	15.1	6.7	43.1	14.8	29.6
IGOTO	- CEOL	مبدب ريبد	. 0.1.	. 45•2	THEO.	27.0
NEW MEXICO	29.6	18.9	3.6	57.1	39.2	19.1
Albuquerque	18.8	25.6	2.2	66.7	13.7	42.7
	<b>-</b>		,		,	i dia e
TEXAS	51.7	11.9	6.3	46.4	23.6	20•8
Abilene	56.3	12.3	5.6	50.4	21.2	24.1
Austin	53.6	12.1	7.0	56.2	18.0	
Beaumont -	25.0	75.47	. 1.0	50.2	70.0	24.1
Port Arthur	23.8	31.9	6.8	1.7.0	20.7	10 L
Corpus Christi		11.2		47.9	32.7	18.4
Dallas	53.3 40.0	18.8	5.0	54.9	511-11	18.7
El Paso	37.1	16.9	4.5	53.0	18.8	23.7
Fort Worth	28.4	25.5	2.9	65.2	7-4	148.0
Galveston -	20.4	47.7	4.5	119.0	17.7	22.6
Texas City	34.6	16.7	6.4	14.7	27 0	20.0
Houston	38.2	16.9		51.8	21.8	22.2
Laredo	47.0	15.7	4-5		18.2	25.3
Lubbock	67.8		7.5	59.9	700	
Odessa	53.2	4.9	3.8	53.3	18.8	18.9
San Angelo	53.2 58.4	9.9	3.3	18.5	15.7	18.2
San Antonio	144.3	4.8	, フ・ブ・'	16.4	23.1	22.9
Waco		13.2	5.4	53.3	14.9	31.3
	146.6	13.3	7.2	42.7	21.2	21.4

PERCENT UNEMPLOYED OF CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY SEX, FOR SPANISH SURNAME, TOTAL WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATIONS IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES, 1950-1960

eargeday to	SPANISH :	SURNAME	TOTAL WHITE	NON WHITE	
STATE	Male	Female	Male Female	Male Female	7.1
Arizona	n d n de		And the state of t	ja (12. s)a ga	
1.950	13.4	12.4	7.5 6.3	11.3 7.8	
1960	6.2	8.1	4.6 4.9	14.4 10.8	
California					
1950	13.0	15.9	7.3 7.8	13.9 14.1	get early
1960	7-7	11.2	5.5 6.3	10.1 9.8	1.4%
Colorado				<b>.</b>	
1950	15.6	12.7	4.3 3.8	5.8 5.7	
1960	9.5	8.9	3.8 4.1	6.7 6.4	- 14 ( ) . - 4 1
New Mexico				•	
1950	11.0	6.6	5.8 3.8	6.3 4.1	
1960	10.3	8.6	5.4 5.6	16.0 8.9	
Texas		•	** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***		
1950	9.5	7.8	3.7 3.1	6.0 6.0	
1960		8.2	2	7.3 6.7	

Sources: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Final Reports PC (1) C Series and PC92)-1B; U. S. Census of Population: 1950, Final Reports P-A and P-E No. 3C.

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED SPANISH SURNAME POPULATION, BY MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES: 1950-1960

TABLE 4.

	1-127.	in the		PERCENT	1 5 15 mm/s	
Major Occupation Group	Year	Ariz.	Calif.	Colorado	New Mexico	Texas,
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical and						; '
kindred workers	1950 1960	2.2 3.3	3.1 4.7	2.6 <i>7</i> :	4.1 6.6	2.1 3.7
Farmers & farm managers	1950 1960	1.5	2.2 1.4	6.3 2.1		4.2 2.0
Managers, officials &				• • ; .		,
proprietors, except farm	1950	3.9 3.5	4•3 3•7	3.0 2.8	4.3	4.1
Clerical, sales & kindred workers	1950 1960	10.6	10.6	7.4	10.5 15.4	10.1
Craftsmen, foremen and		*,				
kindred workers	1950	10.6	11.1	7.6 9.7	10.7	10.1
数,则对为原始或许多的企业。	,	× , , , , ,		* * * * *		
Operatives & kindred workers	1950 1960	23.3	26.3	21.7 23.9	13.7 16.9	17.4 21.4
Private household workers	1 <i>9</i> 50	3.2	1.4	3.4 3.5	3.6 4.0	4.7
and the same and the	1,500	4.		2.2	4.0	4.5
Service workers, except private		10.0				
household	1950	9.8	7.0 7.8	13.3	9.7 15.0	8.2 9.8
Farm laborers, unpaid and farm			5,1 97 3 54, j. 1			
foreman	1950	20.7	19.2	19.4 8.5	14.0 6.8	22.9
Laborers, except farm & mine	1950	13.9	13.9	18.2	15.5	15.2
agrama (n. 1865) - a a llaggia atrata a regioniza e della	1960	10.9	9.7	15.3	11.2	11.8
Occupation not reported	1950 1960	1.3	1.0	1.8 5.2	3.2 4.4	1.3
the second of th				E * 1"		

Sources: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Final Report PC(2)-1B; U. S. Census of Population: 1950, Final Report P-E No. 3C.

TABLE 5.

## PERCENT OF SPANISH SURNAME, TOTAL WHITE AND NONWHITE FAMILIES EARNING UNDER \$1,000 and \$10,000 OR MORE IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES: 1960

State	Spanish Under \$1,000	Surname \$10,000 and over	Total Under \$1,000	White \$10,000 and over		Nonwhit Under \$1,000	1te \$10,000 and over
Arizona California	7.2 4.5	4.6 10.8	161 3.0	15.4 22.7		26.9 6.3	2.8 9.7
Colorado	6.4	<b>4.8</b>	3.5	14.8		6.3	6.5
New Mexico Texas	11.3	4.5 2.7	5.6 6.3	15.0 13.1		28.2	3.4. 1.5
					· .		

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Final Reports PC(1)-C Series and PC(2)-1B.

CONDITION OF HOUSING UNITS OCCUPIED BY SPANISH SURNAME, OTHER WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION IN STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS IN FIVE SOUTHWESTERN STATES

and the second second	SPANISH S		OTHER !	WHITE	NON W	
AREA	Percent Deter-	Percent Dilapi-	Deter-		Deter-	Percent Dilapi-
	iorating	dated	iorating	dated	iorating	dated
Arizona				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		N K
Phoenix	27.0	15.6	9.8	··· 3.7 21	26.7	23.7
Tucson	19.9	11.7	8.0	2.5		28.3
Ideson	19.9	ilulia (	0.0	2.5	23.5	20.5
California		ť				
Bakersfield	25.3	14.0	16.5	6.5	24.9	12.1
Fresno	27.4	19.8	14.1	5.9	24.9	18.2
Los Angeles-			, , ,	. ,		
Long Beach	15.3	5.1	5.6	1.1	12.8	2.6
Sacramento	17.2	4.8	9.1	2.2	21.2	7.8
San Bernardino-		N		w.*		
Riverside-Ontario	19.6	7.7	11.3	2.9	19.9	13.0
San Diego	15.2	5.6	7.2	1.7	19.3	6.0
San Francisco-					6	
Oakland	10.1	3.8	6.8	1.5	16.4	5.1
San Jose	14.8	8.5	5.3	1.8	13.9	55.9
Santa Barbara	23.0	10.3	7.3	2.4	18.3	13.3
Stockton	21.7	8.8	13.0	5.2	24.0	13.8
	. h. a '					
Colorado			. "	•		
Colorado Springs	21.4	6.5	11.7	2.7	30.3	9.4
Denver	26.0	5.7	9.1	1.5	26.4	3.5
Pueblo	26.9	15.0	19.9	7.8	25.1	18.2
Lis Basilian and a				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		į
New Mexico	-0-					
Albuquarque	18.1	11.0	7.1	2.2	18.2	13.6
M	٠,	, i	,			
Texas Abilene	26 1	20.0	والأمر مري		22.0	
	26.4	30.0	15.5	6.1	31.0	34.1
Austin Beaumont -	24.6	18.1	11.3	4.3	26.1	21.8
Port Arthur	20.3	6.6	15.4		20.0	76.7
Corpus Christi	28.1	12.1		4.3	30.0	16.1
Dallas	26.6		13.8 11.2	7.5	30.0	11.0
El Paso	22.4	7.5		3.3	30.8	14.6
Fort Worth	19.5	14.5 8.4	9.8	2.5	16.5	6.7
Galveston -	17.7	0.4	12.8	3.9	24.9	13.4
Texas City	26.3	12.8	16.3	6.1	28.7	18.9
Houston	23.7	6.1	10.4	2.4	24.6	6.6
Laredo	31.2	22.7	14.2	3.6	19.6	17.4
Lubbock	38.5	18.0	12.4	3.3	32.4	27.0
Odessa	30.6	14.0	13.5	5.1	28.8	36.0
San Angelo	32.4	12.6	14.3	3.4	33.9	12.7
San Antonio	24.9	12.6	11.7	3.7	23.6	9.5
Waco	32.5	13.6	14.4	6.2	28.6	28.8
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Sources: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Final Reports PHC (1) Series; U. S. Census of Housing: 1960, Final Reports HC (1) Series.



