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MINORITY LEADERSHIP IN A BI-CULTURAL COMMUNITY

by

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INTRODUCTION

When two groups of people live together in an area for a number of years certain patterns of intergroup interaction will be established. In American society these patterns of intergroup interaction have generally taken the form of dominant-subordinate relationships. This has been true particularly in the relationships between minority groups and the larger society. Quite often the minority has been accorded the lowest status in the society and has suffered discrimination and segregation, thus being placed in a position of inferiority with reference to the larger society. Many conflict situations undoubtedly have arisen as a result of social interaction between two such groups. These conflicts, however, have generally been resolved throughout the process of accommodation. In many instances assimilation has taken place.¹

In situations of dominant-subordinate relationships between groups, attitudes of superiority and inferiority tend to develop within the respective groups. These attitudes of superiority and inferiority may reflect the positions which the respective groups occupy within the society. Certain attitudes with respect to group solidarity are also developed. These attitudes refer, from the individual point of view, to the feeling of belonging to the group as well as to the loyalty that the individual has for the group and its symbols.

1. "Accommodation is the term used by the sociologist to describe the adjustment of hostile individuals or groups...(it) refers to the actual working together of individuals in spite of latent hostility." Cf. W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, Sociology, p. 178.

"The process whereby individuals or groups once dissimilar become similar, that is, become identified in their interests and outlook, is termed assimilation." Cf. W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 185.

The sociological literature has long recognized the phenomenon of group ethnocentrism; and the concepts of in-group or we-group and out-group or they-group have been used with reference to such phenomena. In-group identification appears to be associated with out-group hostility as well as with in-group conditions of congeniality. Certain writers indicate that the in-group identification is more pronounced when a condition of intergroup hostility exists.² It would appear then, that in a condition of dominant-subordinate relationships, the greater the pressure from the dominant group, the greater the in-group identification of the subordinate group. This is so, but only under certain conditions. Lewin suggests that

If too high a pressure from outside is applied to a group, it may result in a lack of development similar to the effect of overpressure on the development of children. Such isolated groups under pressure are usually extremely conservative and even retarded. On the other hand, this conservatism preserves the group intact.³

Leadership is important in dominant-subordinate group relationships, because, as Myrdal suggests, the leaders are the liaison agents between the two groups.⁴ The dominant group is interested in maintaining some type of control over the subordinate group. The subordinate group, on the other hand, is interested in maintaining certain contacts with the dominant group. With reference to accommodating leadership in the South, Myrdal states

² W. G. Sumner, Folkways, p. 12. Cf. also; Kimball Young, Social Psychology, 2nd ed., p. 380; P. A. F. Walter, Jr., Race and Culture Relations, p. 28; W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, op. cit., pp. 107-109.

³ Kurt Lewin, Resolving Social Conflicts, p. 151.

⁴ Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 721.

Like two foreign nations, Negroes and whites in America deal with each other through the medium of plenipotentiaries.⁵

Statement of the Problem

Assuming the importance of leadership in intergroup relations, the writer proposes to study the leadership of a subordinate group in a bi-cultural situation. Stated formally, the hypotheses to be investigated are as follows:

1. In situations of dominant-subordinate relationships where the goals of the subordinate group are largely goals to be achieved within the dominant system, the in-group cohesion of the subordinate group will be considered inadequate by members of the subordinate system.
2. The leadership of the subordinate group will reflect the inadequacy of the in-group cohesion of the subordinate group. Essentially leadership is a function of a specific situation. That is, leadership emerges from the group, and it will therefore reflect the group situation. For purposes of analysis the leadership will be considered as taking two forms: (a) intra-ethnic, that type of leadership which is primarily concerned with intra-group relationships; and (b) inter-ethnic, that type of leadership which is primarily concerned with relationships between the subordinate and the dominant group.
3. The inter-ethnic leadership will be judged as inadequate by the subordinate group, since it cannot aid appreciably in the achievement of the goals because of the culture-contact situation in which it takes place. The social system is such that the dominant group is open enough to permit certain qualified members of the subordinate group to enter its ranks. The qualifications that these individuals possess are likely to be qualifications necessary for inter-ethnic leadership. These qualified individuals will not be effective leaders because they will appear to have "sold out" the subordinate group in moving toward the goals of the dominant group. On the other hand these qualified individuals may not have any inclination to lead the subordinate group because the qualifications which they possess have estranged them from the subordinate system.

Leadership as an Area of Study

The primary emphasis of this study will be the problem of leadership.

⁵ Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 724.

It is through the study of leadership that the writer will investigate the hypotheses stated above. But leadership is not restricted to the type of situation under study, and many of its qualities occur elsewhere as well. The writer will first discuss leadership from a general point of view before specifying the theory to be used in studying leadership in a situation of dominant-subordinate group relationships.

Leadership has been the subject of investigation by a large number of students in recent years.⁶ There has been relatively little agreement, however, as to just what leadership is and how it is to be studied.

Jenkins, in reviewing a number of leadership studies, states in part that from the available information it is not possible to arrive at general principles of leadership nor to set up a systematic theory of leadership.⁷ Writing in 1947, J. W. Eaton states that "the area of scientific description of leadership is largely virgin soil."⁸

The writers in the leadership field can be generally classified into two schools of thought. These are called the "Structuralists" and the "Functionalists" by Philip J. Allen.⁹ The "Structuralists" view leadership as a set of traits possessed by the individual, and the "Functional-

⁶ For a partial list of these studies reference may be made to the bibliographies in the following publications: W. C. Jenkins, "A Review of Leadership Studies with Particular Reference to Military Problems," Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 44, No. 1, January, 1947; R. M. Stogdill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," Journal of Psychology, Vol. 25, January, 1948; and H. H. Jennings, Leadership and Isolation, 2nd ed., 1950.

⁷ W. O. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 75.

⁸ J. W. Eaton, "Is Scientific Leadership Selection Possible?" in A. W. Gouldner, (ed.), Studies in Leadership, 1950, p. 615.

⁹ P. J. Allen, "The Leadership Pattern," American Sociological Review, Vol. 17, No. 1, February, 1952, p. 93.

ists" view leadership as a function of the specific situation.¹⁰ "The former are referred to as 'trait' analysts, and the latter as 'situationists'.¹¹ The "situationists" have come to the fore recently and have contributed much to the study of leadership.¹²

Another group of students, who fall within the "functionalist" category but differ from the "functionalists" only in their greater emphasis on interaction, should be mentioned for having contributed to the theory of leadership, although analysis of leadership per se is not their main contribution.¹³ Chapple and Coon define the leader primarily with reference to the individual's rate of interaction: "A leader is a man who, when more than two persons are present, originates action in the majority of events to which those present respond."¹⁴ Loomis and Beegle accept Chapple and Coon's definition of a leader and treat leadership within their theoretical framework which is the social system with primary emphasis on interaction.¹⁵

Homans' theory of leadership is more explicit than either of the

¹⁰ A. W. Gouldner, op. cit., pp. 15-40.

¹¹ P. J. Allen, op. cit., p. 93.

¹² Cf. H. H. Jennings, op. cit.; R. T. Morris and M. Seeman, "The Problem of Leadership: An Interdisciplinary Approach," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56, No. 2, September, 1950; W. C. Jenkins, op. cit.; R. M. Stogdill, op. cit.; J. K. Hemphill, Situational Factors in Leadership. Ohio State University Studies, Bureau of Educational Research Monographs, No. 32, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1949. See also the list of publications from the Ohio State Leadership Studies, under the direction of Carroll L. Shartle.

¹³ Cf. G. C. Homans, The Human Group; E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology; and C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, Rural Social Systems.

¹⁴ E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, op. cit., p. 59.

¹⁵ C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, op. cit.

above, particularly when he explains the relationship between the leader and the group and the emergence of the leader in the small group. He states, for example, that:

The leader is at the center of the web of interaction: much interaction flows toward him and away from him. But it is impossible to define the leader merely by saying that he is the person who most often originates interaction for the other members of the group. We must also know the content of his orders and the degree to which they are obeyed.¹⁶

Homans continues:

A group tends to create its own leaders, and....the leader gets his power by conforming more closely than anyone else to the norms of the group. He is not the most but the least free person within it.¹⁷

With reference to social rank¹⁸ and conformity to norms, Homans offers the following hypothesis:

The higher the rank of a person within a group, the more nearly his activities conform to the norms of the group... The relationship is strictly mutual: the closer the person's activities come to the norm, the higher his rank will tend to be...¹⁹

With reference to social ranking and interaction he states:

The higher a person's social rank, the wider will be the range of his interactions.²⁰

A person of higher social rank than another originates interaction for the latter more often than the latter originates interaction for him.²¹

¹⁶ G. C. Homans, op. cit., p. 418.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁸ "The evaluation of a man relative to the evaluation of other members of his group we shall call his rank." G. C. Homans, op. cit., p. 140.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 141.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 145.

²¹ Idem.

In his theory of the group Homans shows the development as well as the importance of leadership in a small group. He shows how the leader must embody the norms of the group, how this embodiment of the norms gives him his high rank and how his rank attracts people to him. The leader is at the top of the pyramid of the interaction, and within the high rank is the implied right to assume control of the group. The exercise of control helps to maintain the leader's prestige. ~~The leader is better informed than the members of the group, and he has more channels through which to issue orders. While he controls the group, he is more controlled by it than the other members are.~~ All of these elements enter into leadership and all are related to and reinforce one another.²² This theory of leadership, which is developed within Homan's general theory of the small group, will be used by the writer in this study.

The above theories apply only to "organized" groups.²³ One aspect of leadership which arises out of the small group but extends far beyond it is leadership which is not based primarily on close interaction within a small group as such. This is leadership on a community basis or leadership among members of a minority group. While members of the minority consider themselves to be a group, hardly ever do they assemble, as smaller "organized" groups do, to carry out functions that one normally associates with a smaller group.²⁴ Vague as this type of group appears to be,

²² Ibid., pp. 188-189.

²³ The work of the Ohio State Leadership Studies has also been limited to organization structures. C. L. Shartle, personal communication, October 2, 1951.

²⁴ The word group here and throughout the study is used synonymously with Loomis and Beegle's concept of social system. Cf. C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

still one can talk about (and measure) its leadership.

Methodology of the Study

The theoretical framework for this study of leadership is primarily that of G. C. Homans, referred to above. Restated, the theoretical framework for this study is as follows: Most all human beings, in order to survive, must behave socially. Social behavior, for the most part, means belonging to and identifying with groups of one sort or another. From the interaction that develops between people, within the group context, there emerges a leader or leaders. The leaders are individuals who direct, to a certain extent, the activities of the group. The leaders are at the top of the pyramid of interaction; much interaction flows toward them and away from them. The leaders must follow, more closely than other members, the norms of the group. The embodiment of the norms gives them high rank in terms of group standards. Within the high rank is the implied right to control the group. The exercise of control helps to maintain the leader's prestige. The leaders will originate more interaction for the other members of the group than the latter will for the leaders, and the leaders will have a wider range of interaction. The elements entering into leadership, namely, interaction, social rank, embodiment of norms and social control are interrelated and reinforce one another.

The working definition of leadership for this study will be as follows: The individual who originates the most interaction in the majority of events, within the group context, and for whom the most interaction is originated by the other members of the group, is the leader. He must also be the individual who conforms most closely to the norms of the group. He must also have high rank, and he must be in a position to influence the group.

By studying the characteristics of a group and observing the behavior of the individual members, it is possible to determine the leadership.

It is possible also to determine whether the leader plays his role well or badly, however defined by group standards. The members of the group will evaluate their leadership according to their own standards of leadership behavior.

The leadership of a community or of a minority group is closely associated with the leadership of the sub-groups which make up the community or minority group. In order to consider the larger group one must ultimately be concerned with the sub-groups which compose it. Even though the minority group as such may not meet as a group at any time, the people consider themselves members of such a group and leaders of the group emerge, although actually they may be leaders of small groups whose leadership has extended community-wide. The members of the minority then will be able to indicate who their leaders are and they will also be able to evaluate their leadership.

Techniques

The techniques employed in this study included participant-observation in a community in Southern Colorado from June until September in 1950, and from March through the middle of June in 1952. The interview technique was used extensively throughout the study and three schedules²⁵ were used also. The first schedule was administered to a random sample of the Spanish-speaking population,²⁶ and the second schedule was administered to a selected sample of the "Anglo" population, primarily busi-

²⁵ See appendix A.

²⁶ See appendix B.

nessmen, city officials, county officials and school officials. The third schedule was used in describing the associations of the Spanish-speaking people to which the writer and his wife belonged. Within the first two schedules were questions involving sociometric data pertaining to leadership.

For the most part the writer and his family, during the second field session, lived in the community as citizens of the community, belonged to all groups open to them, sent their children to school, and participated in the various phases of community life as members of the community.²⁷

The Area under Study

The area chosen for study is a bi-cultural community in the Southern part of Colorado. The ethnic and cultural composition of the community is essentially 58 per cent "Spanish" and 42 per cent "Anglo".²⁸

²⁷ The writer's wife belonged to four out of five possible associations. The writer belonged to four out of six possible associations. They attended a total of forty-three meetings altogether.

A total of twenty-one other functions were attended by one or both: concerts, political meetings, funerals, parties, picnics, basketball games, dances, etc.

In addition, services at the Catholic Church were attended daily, and daily visits were made to the pool hall, post office, grocery stores, etc.

The above participation was engaged in during the second field session (March 1 to June 15, 1952).

²⁸ For purposes of this study the Spanish-speaking people will be called "Spanish" in accordance with popular usage in the community. Culturally these people are any combination of Spanish, Mexican, Indian and "American". The term "Anglo" will be used for non-Spanish speakers. Anglos in terms of the community are "Americans" and not necessarily of English extraction.

The community in question will be called Mountain Town.

The population of the incorporated limits was 2,048 in 1950.²⁹ If the unincorporated areas adjoining the town are included, it is estimated that the population is 2500.³⁰ This population is composed of two groups which can be distinguished to a large extent by religion, economic status, occupational status and language.³¹ One group considers itself to be Anglo, and the other calls itself Spanish. The community is not to be taken as a representative of bi-cultural communities in the Southwest, although many communities of Southern Colorado and Northern New Mexico are similar to it in that historically both Anglos and Spanish settled at about the same time; both populations are relatively "stable"; neither population is composed essentially of recent immigrants; the populations are about evenly divided in numbers; the Spanish population is essentially Catholic, and the Anglo population is mostly Protestant; the control of the community (political and economic) is in the hands of the Anglo; the Spanish population occupies a subordinate position and the Anglo population occupies a superordinate position; the Spanish for the most part are the low-income, less-educated, agricultural and/or unskilled laborers, and they are largely the labor force for the surrounding area. "Economically and occupationally, the Spanish are wage-earners and are not owners, managers, proprietors, or professional people in significant numbers."³²

²⁹ 1950 Population Census Report P-B6, Preprint of Volume II, Part 6, Chapter B. United States Government Printing Office, 1952, p. 6-56.

³⁰ James B. Watson, Preliminary Observations Based on the Community of Del Norte. Unpublished manuscript, (n. d.), p. 2.

³¹ Idem.

³² James B. Watson, op. cit., p. 2.

With reference to language the majority of the Spanish people are bilingual. There are some Spanish people, however, among the younger generation, who cannot speak Spanish and there are some, among the older generation, who cannot speak English.

Mountain Town is located on the southern bank of the Rio Grande River close to where it emerges from the foothills of the San Juan Mountains. It is located in the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado. The Valley itself is approximately 100 miles long and 50 miles wide. Mountain Town lies in the western-most part of the valley.³³ In the historical development of Mountain Town certain patterns of adjustment between the two parts of the population have occurred which can be described as dominant-subordinate relationships. The Anglo part of the population occupies the dominant position and the Spanish part of the population occupies the subordinate position. The culture, in practically every aspect of behavior, reinforces these positions. One need only consider the educational system or the economic system or the political system to see how forcefully this is so. In spite of the numerical superiority of the Spanish people of Mountain Town, they occupy the subordinate position in the general culture and even in those areas where numbers count, namely politics.

³³ Ernest Madril, Social Participation in Relation to the Acculturation of the Spanish-speaking people of Del Norte, Colorado. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Washington University, 1952, p. 12.

Chapter II

Intra-ethnic leadership in a bi-cultural community

A study of the leadership of the subordinate system should perhaps begin with the formal organized groups within the subordinate system. It would appear that this approach would be the easiest because the group structures are established, and the leadership should be readily identifiable either by observation or by members of the groups.

In Mountain Town several associations have developed within the Spanish society which attempt to meet the needs of the population from a social, religious, economic, fraternal, or political point of view. The largest number of associations have developed in conjunction with the Catholic Church and are closely affiliated with it. Leadership of these associations for the most part emanates from the priests.

Religious Organizations, female.¹

Young Girl's Organization

The first of these associations is a young girl's organization. It was not possible for either the writer or his wife to attend any of the meetings, but from informants the following information was available. This association was established in Mountain Town in 1940. Its membership is composed of girls under sixteen years of age. At the present time there are twenty-two members. Officers include a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and two assistant treasurers. Elections are held once a year. The meeting time is the first Sunday of every month. The activities of the group consist of prayer, worship of the

¹ All of the associations which will be mentioned in this study have been given fictitious names.

Blessed Virgin, receiving Holy Communion in a body and an occasional "social", either a party or an activity such as the crowning of The Blessed Virgin Mary during the month of May. According to informants, the priest provides the leadership for this association.

The Ladies' Society

A second religious association is a ladies' society. It is not known exactly when this association was established, and the records are of such a nature that a precise date was not determinable. Approximations, by two informants, place the date at about 1910. This group serves as a general service club for the church. The members take care of the altar cloths and the vestments; they help clean the church, prepare and serve dinners for special occasions, and during the period of observation the group sold subscriptions to the diocesan paper and sponsored an invitational dance to raise funds for operating expenses.

Business meetings are held once a month, followed by refreshments. The members are supposed to receive Holy Communion in a body once a month.

The membership consists of women only, ranging in age from twenty to sixty-five. Most of the women, however, are married and over thirty-five years of age. The number of members during each of the last three years has been twenty-five.

The officers consist of a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer. They are elected for a period of one year.

The priest is clearly the leader of the group. During the meetings which were observed it was he who outlined the work to be done, as indi-

cated by the following statements:²

I saw Mrs. _____ for the first time on April 19. Although president of the Ladies' Society, she had never before been present at a meeting since I joined....She was late, and we were half way through the meeting (when she came in). The secretary gave her a brief resume of what Father _____ wanted done for the kick-off dinner.³

It was decided to serve fried chicken at Father's suggestion.⁴

Mrs. _____ said that Father _____ had had her call Mrs. _____, to see what price Mr. _____ (storeowner) wanted for chickens. His price was 63¢ per pound. Father suggested that he (Father) see Mr. _____ (another storeowner). His price was 55¢ for A's and 40¢ (per lb.) for B's....(The chickens were bought from the last store mentioned, at Father's suggestion). The outcome of this transaction was that Mrs. _____ became quite angry with Mrs. _____, and said that now Father _____ could do all the buying! She couldn't be bothered!⁵

Father _____ was called in to be reminded for the second time that a stove had to be put into the parish kitchen.⁶

The question of how many subscriptions (to the Diocesan paper) had been sold came up....The (paper) was to be brought to the attention of (potential) subscribers, and handled through the Ladies' Society by the members. Father _____ set a deadline for money to come in.⁷

² The system of notation which will be used in presenting the field notes is as follows: the first part of the notation indicates the category under which the data are filed in the master file. The first part of the notation is usually abbreviated. The following abbreviations were used; Ass'n., for association; Lp., for leadership; Sch., for schedule; S.C., for Spanish culture; Pol., for polity; and Relig., for religion. The second part of the notation indicates the date that the data were obtained. The initials B.S. after the date indicate field notes obtained by the writer's wife. If there are no initials after the date, the data come from the writer's field notes. The number, which is the last part of the notation, indicates the page on which the field notes are written.

³ Ass'n., 4/19/52, B.S., 26.

⁴ Ass'n., 4/20/52, B.S., 22b.

⁵ Ass'n., 4/17/52, B.S., 23.

⁶ Ass'n., 4/24/52, B.S., 14.

⁷ Ass'n., 4/19/52, B.S., 3.

While discussing the menu and the plans for the dinner (mentioned above), the president put down after-dinner cigars and after-dinner mints. "Father _____ came in at this point and said, 'No, no after-dinner cigars'. They did purchase the candy."⁸

At another meeting while discussing the sponsorship of a private or public dance, by the society,

Father _____ offered the opinion that if we had a private dance we wouldn't have the problem of drinking and fighting that we would (have) if we had a public dance. Someone offered the opinion that if we would pay a policeman ten dollars to police the dance, we wouldn't have that problem. Father _____ immediately said that he would advise us to save our money as it had been his experience that when a policeman was paid ten dollars the organization was just out that much money because the policing was very ineffective. Then Mrs. _____ said that it was a city ordinance that at any dance a policeman had to be paid ten dollars. Then again the suggestion from Father _____ that we make it a private dance to save on the money, and he volunteered to "keep an eye on things".⁹

The dance was a private dance and Father _____ "kept an eye on things".

Nominally leadership for this association rests with the officers, and they have much to say about the details concerning the activities of the group. The actual leadership comes from the Priest, and he is recognized as the leader of the group.

~~The fact that the officers' leadership is only nominal is shown by~~
general disregard of the officers' assumed authority and the general discord within the group. The following data point to this observation:

The afternoon of the dinner she (the president) didn't show-up at all to help with any part of the preparation. (She had become angry because part of the food was bought at a different store from the one which she had suggested). (See footnote No. 5 above). She showed up about 7:00 P.M. to lend

⁸ Ass'n., 4/19/52, B.S., 26.

⁹ Ass'n., 5/1/52, B.S. 10.

verbal support. Mrs. _____ and I, who had worked all afternoon together frying chickens, decided we would serve the chicken, gravy and dressing. With every serving of gravy that I ladled, Mrs. _____ (the president) would say 'not so much gravy, not so much gravy, men don't like gravy'. She kept this up for the first fifteen or so plates. Because I wanted to see how long she would keep this up I said nothing, but finally someone down the line began sending the plates back so that we would put gravy on them....

She (the president) later became dissatisfied because the money didn't stay with a Ladies' Society member, but with a Family Society member who had collected for the plates. She also claimed, and there were hurt feelings, that the Secretary who had collected had failed to collect for one plate. This was checked and rechecked and the Secretary was found to be right.¹⁰

To the writer, who was in attendance at the dinner, everything went smoothly. The writer's wife, however, who was in the kitchen helping, wrote the following impression:

The whole dinner affair seemed to go off very well, if not smoothly. People seem to be so very individualistic that it is hard to suggest ways of doing things. The independence of the people won't fit into a pattern of committees.¹¹

The day after the dinner the writer overheard two officers of the association and another member discussing the dinner. This conversation took place in the rectory hall. They expressed disgust with the whole affair and said they would not put on a dinner again. One said of the members, "Se sienten por nada, (their feelings are hurt for no reason). What kind of people are they?" Another person added, "Mrs. _____ (the president) is mad about the food distribution".¹²

A month later the same officers were elected for another year.

"There was much protest from the incumbent officers, feeling that someone

¹⁰ Ass'n., 4/19/52, B.S., 26.

¹¹ Ass'n., 4/19/52, B.S., 26.

¹² Ass'n., 4/25/52, 15.

else should take their share of the work involved.¹³

Attendance at the meetings might be considered as an indication of the loose-knit nature of the organizations. Out of twenty-five members, fifty per cent or less attended the meetings during the period of observation. The average number in attendance was eleven.

For certain groups the necessary data for determining leadership were not available and therefore the writer cannot analyze their leadership. For the other groups there is sufficient information and the following criteria were used by the writer in determining the leadership:

- 1) The amount of interaction that an individual originates and the amount of interaction that is originated for him.
- 2) The extent to which an individual directs the activities of the group through his interaction.
- 3) The social rank of an individual.
- 4) The embodiment of the norms of the group by an individual.

Using the above criteria with respect to the Ladies' Society, the individuals who originated the most interaction and for whom the most interaction was originated were first the priest, second Mrs. L., third Mrs. H., and fourth Miss Q.

The individual who directed the activities of the group, more so than any other member, was the priest. He has the authority to control the group.¹⁴ His orders were obeyed. The priest is at the center of the web of interaction; his word carries authority and directs the activities of the group. He is respected by the members and is accorded the highest

¹³ Ass'n., 5/28/52, B.S., 3.

¹⁴ "If an order given by a leader to a member of his group is accepted by the member and controls his activity in the group, then the order is said to carry authority." G. C. Homans, op. cit., p. 418.

social rank.

The norms¹⁵ of the group appear to be the following: 1) One should work for the church; 2) one should attend the meetings of the Society; 3) one should do his fair share of the work; 4) one should be a "good" Catholic; 5) one should not shirk one's share of the work to be done; and 6) one should obey the priest. These are ideas of expected behavior. The "best" Catholics seem to be also the "best" members and are also the ones who work the most for the church, and attend meetings regularly. The priest embodies the norms of the group more than any other member.

With reference to norms 1, 3, and 5, the society allows members who work to pay one dollar when they cannot help clean the church or do their share of the work. Many members prefer to pay the dollar rather than work, and when this happens the members who do the actual work for the church become disgruntled. With reference to norm 2, the topic of non-attendance at meetings is always brought up and discussed.

The Family Society

A third religious organization is the Family Society. This association in part is a service club for the church, but not to the same extent as the Ladies' Society. Generally the Family Society does not meet as an independent association, but meets in conjunction with the Ladies' Society and joins the Ladies' Society in projects for the church.

The purpose of the Family Society is primarily religious. This consists of prayers to the Holy Family, Mary, Joseph, and Jesus. The organization is broken down into four circles and each circle has a statue of

¹⁵ "A norm, then, is an idea in the minds of the members of a group, an idea that can be put in the form of a statement specifying what the members or other men should do, ought to do, are expected to, under given circumstances," G. C. Homans, op. cit., p. 123.

the Holy Family. This statue is circulated among the various members of the circle and it is kept at each house for approximately twenty-four hours, or overnight. It is then taken to the next family on the list. While in the house the statue generally occupies a place of prominence and the evening devotions, as well as other prayers, are said before it.

The only regular meeting that was held during the period of research was an investiture ceremony at which two new members were formally received into the society. This ceremony was in the evening and consisted of Rosary and Benediction followed by other prayers. At the end of the prayers, the new members were given the Holy Family medal and a prayer pamphlet. The priest then asked the new members to step forward to the altar railing and he blessed the medals. This ended the investiture ceremony.¹⁶

Another activity of the Family Society is that of receiving Holy Communion in a body once a month. On this Sunday the members wear their medals.

The other meetings held by the Society were in conjunction with the Ladies' Society. These meetings were for the purpose of planning and preparing a dinner, sponsoring a dance, and cleaning the church before Easter.

While the Family Society has what might be called a set of officers (named Jesus, Mary, and Joseph), the leadership of the society, as in the case of the Ladies' Society, rests clearly with the priest.

Membership in the society for the years 1949, 1950, 1951, and 1952 has been, respectively, 50, 62, 79 and 57.

What has been said about the Ladies' Society with reference to lead-

ership can also be said of the Family Society. The two groups met together throughout the period of research and were therefore treated as one group in the analysis of leadership.

The Young Women's Society

Another organization which did not meet during the period of research was the Young Women's Society. This is a national organization which was founded in 1897. A chapter was started in Mountain Town in 1944. The organization is an auxiliary of the Men's Society. It meets the third Tuesday of each month except during the summer and harvest months, (6 months). Its main activity is sponsoring charitable works which include war relief, drives for food and clothing, as well as collecting religious articles and books for the reformatory and the prison. There is also a death benefit of \$35.00 for each member.

From 1948 to 1950 inclusive, the number of members was 38. In 1951 it was 35 and in 1952 it was 25. The members are female, Catholic, and the age range is 18 to 55.

According to informants, this organization has been generally inactive during the past three years. The present chairman of the group, who is quite active in all of the local clubs, keeps the organization together, as it were, by keeping informed of the activities of the national and state circles and thus attempting to maintain the interest of the local circle. She is considered to be the leader of the group.

Religious Organizations, Male.

There are three religious associations in Mountain Town whose membership is restricted to males. These are The Men's Society, The Older Men's Society and the Men's Religious Society.

The Men's Society

The Men's Society is a national organization which is composed of many local chapters. It is an insurance organization as well as a spiritual, fraternal, study and service club. It is generally considered to be "the right hand of the church". The membership of this organization numbers 55 and the average attendance at the three meetings which were held during the observation period was 6. The first meeting which the writer attended was in April and this was the first meeting that had been held during the past five months.¹⁷ This organization is supposed to meet every two weeks. A total of three meetings were held while the writer was in Mountain Town. The meetings were called to order from thirty minutes to an hour later than the scheduled time. At no time were all the officers present, nor was there ever a quorum. In the by-laws of the constitution there is a very definite procedure for conducting meetings which should always be followed. This procedure was not followed at all.

During the meetings a little business was conducted dealing specifically with immediate bills which had to be paid. This business consumed from thirty to forty-five minutes, principally because someone had forgot his briefcase, or the proper papers could not be found in the briefcases.¹⁸ The rest of the time was spent in discussing the lack of attendance at meetings, the reasons for the lack of interest, and the apathy of the members.

Mr. E is nominally the leader, but the actual leaders of the organization have been the various priests. One informant, for example, stated

¹⁷ Ass'n., 3/26/52, B.S., 43.

¹⁸ Ass'n., 4/12/37; 5/7/52; 5/21/52, 5.

that this organization, under Father A, was the biggest and the most active chapter in the valley. It even sponsored the State Convention in Mountain Town. But after Father A left, the organization declined and he (the informant) left the chapter because "they don't do anything".¹⁹

Another informant stated:

I left the (Men's Society) about eight years ago. Father A and a few (other members) were running it and wouldn't pay any attention to us. Father A thought the G's had money and he catered to them, but he found out they didn't and he even lost money, \$600.00, on them in the Financial Association which the Men's Society ran. One night we got mad and eight of us walked out and quit. We didn't like the way things were going.²⁰

Mr. E. admitted that the organization has declined in the last six years because, "Father A left, people have moved, there is no interest, (the) people are lazy, and (there are) no programs."²¹ He also blamed the decline of the organization, during another interview, to Father B, who succeeded Father A.²² Father C, who succeeded Father B, blames the decline of the organization on the present leader, Mr. E. He said that Mr. E is not a good leader. He likes to talk a lot, particularly about other people, feeling that by running down others he elevates himself. Many people have told him, (Father C), that they don't like Mr. E. He likes to be the center of things and give orders. Since last fall the organization has met twice, and Mr. E blames the decline of the organization on Father B.²³

¹⁹ Ass'n., 6/1/52, 1.

²⁰ Ass'n., 3/27/52, 42.

²¹ Ass'n., 5/7/52, 8.

²² Ass'n., 5/21/52, 5.

²³ Ass'n., 5/8/52, 9.

On another occasion Father C mentioned that The Men's Society was ineffective because of the leader, Mr. E.

He (Mr. E) likes to have the honor of being at the head of organizations, but he isn't much of a leader. He is a coward in the sense that he won't stand up and talk. For example, at (ceremonies and other occasions) when the chairman is supposed to say a few words, he always has someone else do it....He has the appearance (of a leader) but not the push.²⁴

From the interaction that took place during the meetings it was apparent that both the chairman and the priest were leaders in the group. The priest had more influence than the chairman. On three occasions the priest's suggestions were accepted over the chairman's protest and four different times the chairman tried to appoint the officers for the next year rather than have an election because he felt that no one would be present at the election of officers which was to be held at the next meeting.²⁵ The members protested and he did not appoint the officers. Incidentally the election meeting was not held as scheduled.

The individual who originated the most interaction, for whom the most interaction was originated, and who directed the activities of the group was the priest. He also held the highest social rank.

Because of the nature of the meetings, it was difficult to determine the norms. The following four norms were apparent; undoubtedly there are others: 1) One should attend meetings regularly; 2) one should help the priest in activities sponsored for the church; 3) one should work for the welfare of the organization; and 4) one should pay his dues and insurance premiums on time. Not to do so places a burden on the organization, —

²⁴ Ass'n., 4/2/52, 61.

²⁵ Ass'n., 5/21/52, 5.

(dues and premiums are assumed by the club treasury for a specific period when a member becomes delinquent), and violates norms 3 and 4.

With reference to norm 1, attendance at meetings was the topic of discussion at all the meetings.

With reference to norms 2 and 3, at the last meeting which the writer attended it was decided that beginning in June, the organization would sponsor a dance every month to raise money for both the church and the organization. It was decided to split the proceeds.²⁶

The following facts are offered as suggestive of the ineffectiveness of the leadership and the general apathy of the group.

- 1) The group does not meet at the regular scheduled time.
- 2) The officers do not attend the meetings regularly.
- 3) On an average, only six out of fifty-five members attend the meetings.
- 4) Neither the by-laws nor the constitution is followed.
- 5) Many members are delinquent in their dues and their insurance premiums.
- 6) The meetings are not planned, and the members present display a general disinterest in the meetings.
- 7) General discontent is expressed by the members in attendance.
- 8) Several informants indicated that there had been a gradual decrease in membership during the past six years.²⁷

The Older Men's Society

The Older Men's Society is an organization for older males. It is a religious, fraternal organization whose main objective is to help any

²⁶ Ass'n., 5/7/52, 8.

²⁷ Although the writer had access to the records, the records were kept in such a way that it was not possible to chart this decrease with any degree of accuracy.

member in case of sickness or death. A second objective is the general fellowship that comes from social intercourse among the members. A third objective is to work for the welfare of the Spanish people.

The organization started about 1918. The Mountain Town council is one of the three councils in the vicinity. The Head Council is located in a small village about twenty miles to the west of Mountain Town. The present membership numbers 24. The membership has decreased steadily from 43 in 1947 to 24 in 1952. The average attendance at four meetings was 5 members.

At the first meeting the members present admitted that the group was relatively inactive and that there was not much interest among the members.²⁸ A former member indicated that he had withdrawn his membership because of dissension within the ranks.²⁹ The writer can only suggest that the leadership is not very effective since the group could not get enough members together to have a regular meeting during the three and a half months that he was in Mountain Town.

After a meeting of another association, the writer was asked to join the Older Men's Society. A member in good standing agreed to sponsor the writer. At the next regular meeting date the writer and his sponsor presented themselves at the lodge in order to submit his application for membership. The application was accepted by those present, although there were not enough members present for official action on the application. Although the group did not meet officially, it was agreed that the writer would be initiated at the next regular meeting. At the

²⁸ Ass'n., 4/13/52, 31.

²⁹ Ass'n., 6/14/52, 51.

next regular meeting only five members were present. The officers of the organization were attending a meeting of the Head Council. The next meeting was to be a special meeting for the election of officers. As it turned out, there were not enough members present either to elect officers or to initiate the writer. At the fourth meeting, seven members were present, but the necessary officers were absent. Thus the writer was not initiated into the group.

Judging from the embarrassment expressed by the members present at the unofficial meetings, their profuse apologies, the circumstances under which the writer was asked to join the association, and the fact that these members were also members of the other associations into which the writer was initiated, it was quite evident that he was not rejected by this association. Rather it was a matter of an inactive association composed largely of disinterested members not being able to get the membership together for a meeting.

The lack of interest of the membership in the formal organization to which they belong was an inescapable conclusion of the research. It was noted in every organization which was studied.

It was not possible to get much information about the third male, religious organization, the Penitentes. Various attempts to get information were made, not only by the writer, but also by another researcher in 1950. Other residents of Mountain Town, including the two priests, tried to get information, but without success. It is known, however, that this is a secret religious organization. It is rumored that certain individuals belong to the organization, but these rumors could not be confirmed. The organization is generally inactive except during Holy Week toward the end of the lenten season. During this week the members retire to their

lodge (Morada) to do penance for their sins and to imitate the passion and crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

Religious Organization, male and female.

One of the few organizations of the Spanish people which is open to both men and women is a financial organization which is operated by the Catholic Church. This association is a chapter of a larger national organization. Its stated purpose is to give financial aid to its members and to act as a depository for their savings. It also carries insurance on its members and on their savings and loans.

The association is governed by a Board of Directors composed of a president, vice-president, clerk, treasurer, and director. These officers are elected once a year at the annual meeting of the membership. The Board meets once a month to discuss the general business of the association.

The leadership is in the hands of the priest. He and his secretary run the association. It is he who passes on and recommends loans, and it is he who suggests the investment of the funds at hand. The other board members contribute their ideas at the meetings, but the priest is the one who directs the activities of the group more than any other board member. He has the books audited regularly; his secretary keeps the books, and the money is kept in his office. He dispenses the money with approval of the Board and answers all correspondence relative to the association. It was not possible to get much information concerning social ranking and norms, because the group did not meet during the period of research, and the writer was not permitted to attend the two meetings of the board of directors. The informants generally regarded this organization as a bank, being run by the priest with the advice of the board of directors.

The directors were accorded the highest ranking. Two norms are suggested:

1) save as much money as you can; and 2) pay your loans when due.

The association was started in Mountain Town in 1942 with a membership of 78, each member buying a share for five dollars. It increased in size steadily for three years and then began to decrease. In 1948 it took a sudden drop in membership because the definition of a member was changed to include only those who had at least twenty-five dollars worth of shares. The decrease has continued until the present. In 1952 the voting membership was 107, although the number of people having five dollars or more in the association was approximately 250.

Table 1. Membership in the Mountain Financial Association from 1942 to 1952.

Year	Number of Voting Members
1942	78
1943	304
1944	476
1945	502
1946	489
1947	464
1948	189
1949	140
1950	105
1951	109
1952	107

Source: financial records of the association.

A member of the board of directors told the writer that the Spanish people do not support their leaders. He said that 80 per cent of the members of the associations are not particularly interested in their groups and do not attend the meetings. He added further that the financial association has some 275 members, and if through hard work they get 30 to 40 members to an annual meeting they feel that they have been very

successful.³⁰ The observations of the writer concur with the statement.

Campaign Organization

During the period of research the writer was asked to join a temporary organization created for the purpose of raising funds for the diocesan orphanage. The plans for the organization were formulated and sent out from the Bishop's Office and they were worked out in detail. The job of each parish, then, was to organize the people at the local level and have workers to do the actual soliciting.

The parish organization consisted of an honorary chairman, the pastor; a regional chairman, a town chairman and two associate chairmen. The parish was further sub-divided into seven divisions (which included the six missions³¹), each with a chairman and a certain number of teams in relation to the population. Most teams had a team chairman and three workers. In all there were 24 teams, totaling 98 men. A parish staff was also organized to handle the enormous amount of paper work and to check and recheck the names of people, their donations and the materials used by the workers. Four females were on the parish staff. The rest of the organization was composed of males.

Although the parish priest was only the honorary chairman, he did most of the work of organization. He appointed all the chairmen and most of the workers, including the parish staff. The money collected was turned in to him and he and the writer counted and checked it against the pledge cards. He announced a kick-off dinner, to be prepared by the two

³⁰ Lp., 3/17/52, 82.

³¹ The missions are located in surrounding communities. These communities do not have a resident priest. They are visited periodically by the Mountain Town priests, and are considered part of the parish. The priests serve 288 families in Mountain Town and 165 families in the missions.

ladies' organizations, two days before the ladies knew anything about it.³² While he did not preside at every meeting, it was he who did most of the explaining at the meetings, and the great majority of questions at the meetings were directed to him. For example:

After the dinner the associate chairman gave an introductory and explanatory talk....After he sat down Father C suggested to him that the chairmen from the various places report on progress....Father C then asked the regional chairman to say a few words. The chairman did not know what to talk about and father (suggested) 'a few words of encouragement'. So the chairman said a few words. Then Father C gave a very good, to-the-point speech, in simple language, explaining the whole campaign and the role of the worker.³³

At another meeting two men in particular did not want anything to do with the campaign, giving a number of excuses and reasons for not being able to participate.

....They had almost talked themselves out of participating when Father C entered. The chairman told him (Father) that some might not want to participate and (Father) jokingly but firmly suggested that he would not take "no" for an answer. Father C originated the most interaction from this point on and it was he who dismissed the meeting.³⁴ (The men participated in the campaign as workers).

During another meeting the writer noted the following:

....Next Father announced a dinner for Thursday, a kick-off dinner to be prepared by the Ladies' Society and the Family Society. (They, the societies happened not to know anything about it because the following day the writer's wife went to a special meeting of the Societies called for this purpose.) The profit from the dinner was to go to the campaign as a gift from the society. Father asked who wanted to pay \$2.00 for the meal --no one did--then \$1.50, six raised their hand. Most of us were waiting for the \$1.00 vote, but it never came. \$1.50 was

³² Ass'n., 4/19/52, B.S., 26. The ladies' reaction was that of cooperation with occasional grumbling about not having been given enough time, and the tremendous amount of work that it would entail.

³³ Ass'n., 4/24/52, 16.

³⁴ Ass'n., 4/2/52, 36.

asked again by Father. A large minority felt pressured (I think) into raising their hands. It was assumed that we'd pay \$1.50 for the dinner.³⁵

Actually the Diocesan plans called for lay leadership, with the parish priests being only honorary chairmen. In Mountain Town, however, it was the priest who provided all the leadership.

After the kick-off dinner Father C told me how well the campaigns were running in (nearby parishes), where there was good leadership and the priests took a back seat. Here he has had to do it all because there is no one capable or willing to take on the responsibility.³⁶

At another time the priest said:

There aren't any other leaders so we do what we can with what we have. For the campaign I made _____ chairman because of the circumstances, (i.e., the short time in which to do so), but I should have had _____ (as chairman).³⁷

The general pattern of not attending meetings was quite evident during the campaign. The three big meetings of all chairmen and workers were not well attended. Ninety-eight persons should have been in attendance and the actual numbers present at the meetings were 60, 58, and 50. Not attending meetings takes on more significance when one considers that there are not many events in the evenings in Mountain Town competing for the support of the Spanish people.

The writer attended a total of twenty meetings during the campaign. The parish staff, of which the writer was chairman, met twelve times. On six occasions all members were present; on three occasions only three members were present and on three occasions only the writer was present.

The various chairmen, who were supposed to direct the campaign until

³⁵ Ass'n., 4/18/52, 27.

³⁶ Ass'n., 4/24/52, 23.

³⁷ Lp., 4/2/52, 61.

it was completed, lost interest after the initial soliciting.

One chairman said that he thought the campaign was "all fouled up". He felt that Father C was trying to do too much by himself.³⁸ The interview continued:

In the first place he (the chairman) wanted more young men in it and the priest wouldn't agree. Secondly, the priest should have little to do with it (the campaign) and he is trying to run it all. At the last meeting, _____ was elected speaker and chairman of the meeting but Father ran it all and _____ didn't get to say a thing. _____, who is another chairman, has also expressed dissatisfaction.³⁹

All in all, the financial aspects of the campaign were successful beyond the expectations of the priest.⁴⁰ This was a temporary organization and no particular norms developed from it. The one norm in evidence, namely, one should work hard for the success of the campaign, came probably more from being a member of the Catholic Church than from being a member of the campaign organization.

Social rank did not develop out of the temporary organization, but it was evident in the sense that those who occupied the positions of chairmen (appointed by the priest) were looked up to, were asked questions, and had more to do with directing the activities of the group.

The leadership mentioned for the group was determined more on the

³⁸ Ass'n., 4/21/52, 28.

³⁹ Idem.

⁴⁰ Although the priest felt that the organizational part was deficient because he had to do so much of the work himself, many people undoubtedly made a special sacrifice for the orphanage. Many old-age pensioners, for example, pledged as high as five dollars per month for twenty-four months. Some contributions were between \$300.00 and \$1,000.00. The priest summed up the success of the campaign in these words, "That's one thing about these people, son gente de sentimientos, gente de buen corazón." (They are people with feeling, they are people with a big heart). Ass'n., 4/24/52, 16.

basis of the origination of interaction and the directing of the activities of the group than on social ranking and embodiment of norms because the temporary nature of the group did not permit such development with reference to norms and social ranking.

The Choir

The choir is another religious organization whose leadership is in the hands of the parish priest. It is composed of two sections, the ladies' choir and the men's choir. The sections practice separately, and they get together only once or twice before a performance, in this case the Mass for Easter Sunday.

Ordinarily the ladies' section practices regularly during the year and sings one Mass every week. The men's section is called together by the priest a few weeks before a special occasion, usually Easter and Christmas. The priest selects the music to be sung, schedules the time and dates for practice, instructs the choir during practice, directs the choir during a performance, plays the organ during practices, but not during a performance, and sings with the choir. His knowledge of music is extensive and his ability to sing, to direct the choir and to instruct the individuals is very impressive. The majority of the members of the choir come to the meetings on time, listen carefully, and attempt to follow instructions closely.

The men's choir began with 13 members, and 10 members sang the Easter Mass (together with 18 members of the ladies choir). The average attendance at 9 meetings was 8 members.

Non-religious organizations, female

There are two Spanish non-religious organizations in Mountain Town whose membership is restricted to females. One is social club, and the

other is a sororal insurance club.

The Social Club

The social club holds monthly evening meetings in one of the member's homes. The meetings are usually devoted to talking, playing games, and having refreshments; they usually last two to three hours. The meetings are very informal, and there is much interaction among the members. The membership of the club numbers 32. The average attendance at four meetings was eleven. An annual meeting is held to which the husbands and a few guests are invited. The annual meeting consists of a dinner followed by a "social" period during which games are played. The members prepare and serve the dinner then wash the dishes. The men sit around in small groups (3 to 4) and talk and then join the games. At the last annual meeting the division of labor was quite clear-cut. The women did most of the work while the men sat and talked.

Three ladies appear to be the leaders in this group. Two of them are officers and assume more authority than the third lady. The two officers also are "joiners", belonging to all the Spanish associations for which they are eligible, as well as participating actively in other community organizations. They in particular directed the activities of the club during the meetings which were observed, and it appeared that the group considered them to be the leaders. One of these leaders, however, had this to say about the other during the interview:

....You know how hard _____ works in clubs and yet some of the ladies seem to work against her. I don't know why she antagonizes them.⁴¹

Each member contributes twenty-five cents for each meeting and this

is used to buy the hostess a gift. Each member should be a good conversationalist and thoroughly enjoy herself at the meetings. The hostess should entertain well, there should be plenty of food, many games, and the house should be very clean. One hostess finished redecorating her house and installing a new electric stove just hours before the club met at her house.

The Insurance Association

The insurance association was started about 1940. It is a local organization having a membership of forty. The declared purposes of the organization are to assist one another in case of sickness and to provide a small amount of financial insurance in case of death. The club also has a loan fund from which the members may borrow small amounts of money at two per cent interest per year. Some household article is used as security. The dues are three dollars a year plus fifty cents whenever a member dies. The benefit to the member is not more than \$31.50 a year sick benefit, at the rate of fifty cents per day, and \$100 death benefit.

Meetings are held once a month to discuss business matters, followed by a short social or lunch. Once a year a celebration is held to which the husbands are invited. The rules and regulations governing this club were not available because it is a secret organization. Only one meeting was held during the period of research, and this was a short meeting for the purpose of initiating two members, including the writer's wife. Sixteen members were present at this meeting.

From the one meeting attended and from informants, it seems that three of the officers are the leaders. Two of them are the same two who act as leaders in the social club. This statement, however, cannot be confirmed by actual observations.

Non-religious organizations, male

There are two non-religious organizations in Mountain Town whose membership is restricted to males. Both are insurance organizations.

The First Insurance Organization

In Mountain Town the oldest of the two organizations is the least active. This is a regional organization, having a number of Councils in Colorado and New Mexico. The writer was not able to determine whether the organization extends beyond the two states mentioned.

The present chapter was established in Mountain Town in 1920. The purposes of the organization are to give protection and aid to members in case of illness and to their dependents in case of death. In case of illness the members are assisted depending on the extent of need. In case of death each member contributes one dollar which is given to the dependents of the deceased.

The present membership numbers eighteen, and they are supposed to meet monthly.

Since this is somewhat of a secret organization and since the organization did not meet at all during the period of research, the writer was not able to get any more information other than that which has been presented.

The Second Insurance Organization

The second insurance organization appears to be an offshoot of the first. It was started in 1930. It grew in membership to 83 in 1944, then decreased to 29 in 1947. Since then it has increased to the present number, 53. The growth of this organization can best be shown by the fact that a total of five councils have been started. Today there are only three councils because four of them have been combined into two councils

and one other remains as a separate council.

Table 2. Membership of the five councils of the second insurance association, by year.

Years						Membership Total
	No. 1	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4	No. 5	
1943	68	26	43	*		137
1944	83	27	53			163
1945	61	19	49			129
1946	34	22	43			99
1947	29	20	40			89
1948	45	15	*			60
1949	40	15	34			89
1950	42	✓	36			78
1951	48		34	✗	18	100
1952	53		22		18	93

* data not available

✓ combined with Council No. 1

✗ combined with Council No. 3

Source: membership records of the Superior Council.

The insurance aspects of the organization are as follows: if a member is ill, he is entitled to fifty cents per day, not to exceed forty days in any one year. If either the member or his wife dies, the beneficiary is entitled to one dollar from each member. The dues are seven dollars a year plus a three-dollar initiation fee.

The association meets every month. The attendance pattern is similar to that of the other organizations. The writer attended three meetings, one of them being a meeting of the Superior Council. Of the 53 members in the organization, 17 were present at one meeting and 20 were present at the other. Of the 93 members in the Superior Council (composed of the three councils) only 18 were present. The meetings were scheduled to begin at 1:00 p.m., but they generally started at 2:30 p.m. and ended at

4:30 or 5:00 p.m.

The meetings are quite formal except before they are officially opened and after they close. The officers sit at the front of the room at a table. The president calls the meeting to order and the meeting is opened with a prayer. Then the secretary calls the roll. This is followed by the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting. The following order of business is then followed: claims (for illness and death benefits) and communications; special committee reports; permanent committee reports; general reports; initiation of new applicants; recess if desired by the group; report of the president; unfinished business; reports for the good of the order; treasurer's report, and adjournment. The meetings are routine until the section on "for the good of the order" is reached. It is at this point that the business of the day is discussed. The unstated purpose of the group is revealed, namely, working for the "cause" of the Spanish people. Also revealed is the great value placed on oratory.

Every member is asked to say something for the good of the order. There is much formality, courtesy and politeness, each member attempting to use the best phraseology at his command. Every speaker asks permission from the president and the assembled brothers to speak. He apologizes for the mistakes that he might make, and he ends his talk by thanking the members for their kind attention. All the members reply, "thank you" and then applaud.

The majority of the members say, in effect, that this a good organization, the benefits are many, it is "running" well and every effort should be made to keep it growing.

The leaders, on the other hand, bring up special topics for discus-

sion. One leader at one of the meetings,

....gave a sort of a report of a recent school board meeting in which truancy among the Spanish (people) was discussed. These truants were of parents who drink a lot and who give the Spanish (people), as a whole, a bad reputation. He stated how embarrassing this is and urged the members to keep their kids in school.⁴²

Everyone applauded when he finished and there was much discussion in agreement with his position that the kids should be kept in school. He "carried the day", so to speak.

At another time the same leader reported to the group that a representative of an Anglo organization had approached the school board with the proposition that the schools be closed for two weeks for the harvest, because "all the Mexicans are leaving".⁴³ The leader then told the Anglo that evidently the Mexicans were of some value to them since they were so concerned. This embarrassed the Anglo and the other Anglos present tried to "cover up" for him. The leader reported further that he was going to attend the next meeting of this Anglo organization since he is a member, at which time he hopes to discuss this topic with them.⁴⁴ This report pleased the members of the association.

At another meeting the president stated that six high school boys had broken a window of the building which belongs to the association. Although one hour was spent discussing the issue, the leader finally an-

⁴² Ass'n., 5/18/52, 6.

⁴³ The Anglos generally use the term Mexican when referring to the Spanish-speaking people. The Spanish-speaking people prefer the term "Spanish" because it does not carry the derogatory connotation which the term "Mexican" carries. When referring to themselves in Spanish, however, they use the term "mejicanos". When referring to themselves in English they use the term "Spanish".

⁴⁴ Ass'n., 3/16/52, 45.

nounced that he had already taken the matter up with the school board and the superintendent and they had agreed to pay for the window.⁴⁵

The president and two members are the leaders of the organization. They are respected by the members for their ability to stand up and speak, their facility with the language (Spanish) and the way they stand-up against the Anglo. This is true in particular of the two members. The one leader who has been mentioned three times in the other reports of the associations is further respected for his "connections" with certain Anglo organizations. He reminds the members, at every meeting of the work that he does for the people as a whole, while participating in the Anglo organizations.

When the present lodge was being built, a number of Anglos became concerned because it was being built next to the school and they didn't know what kind of structure it would be. In the words of one of the Anglos,

When (I) heard that the lodge house was to be built next to the schools I became concerned. I didn't know whether this was to be a joint of some sort or what kind of a structure it was to be. I went over and talked to Mr. _____ (Spanish leader) about it. Mr. _____ at the time wasn't sure of the choice of the location, etc., and he told me that if (we) wanted it we could have it (the property) for what was (invested) in it.⁴⁶

Mr. _____ (the Anglo) called a meeting of the school board and the Spanish leader for the next morning, but evidently Mr. _____ (the leader of the Spanish association) misunderstood the purpose of the meeting; he thought the Anglos were concerned because Mexicans were building next to the school and this was not the idea at all.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ass'n., 5/18/52, 6.

⁴⁶ Ass'n., 3/24/52, 74.

⁴⁷ Idem.

The Spanish side of the story was told to the writer (sions. The informants maintained that the Anglos didn't want to build there because it was going to be a "log" building and they didn't want any drinking or loitering near the school. One of the members of the association told the Anglo committee that the mayor's house, in sight of the association's lodge, was also made of logs. They agreed to build in their place. They also agreed to sell the lots and the building for \$1,000.00, but the Anglos wouldn't buy.⁴⁸

Much pleasure is derived from telling this story because it presents one instance of the Spanish fighting on equal terms with the Anglos and coming out victorious. The victory is attributed to the Spanish men, and it is emphasized that these men stood their ground.

Incidentally, the men are very proud of their building and keep it very clean. Obscene language, drinking alcoholic beverages, and immorality are strictly prohibited by the constitution.

The association is controlled by the three leaders and the older men. They would like to get the youth of the community into the organization so that the youth will be able to provide leadership.⁴⁹ At the present time, however, they have little interest in the youth.

Mr. _____ thought that the younger educated people should join and get experience and learn a little from them. They should, together with their superior education (high school diploma), should make good leaders whom they could follow. But (the youths), do not want to join.⁵⁰

Four young Spanish businessmen (there were only six Spanish businessmen).

⁴⁸ Ass'n., 3/16/52, 44.

⁴⁹ Ass'n., 4/5/52, 35.

⁵⁰ Idem.

men in town) have joined the organization. One has become one of the leaders; another never attended any meetings; the third attended one meeting and quit; and the fourth attended four meetings in two years and has dropped out. This last individual said that

....he was going to quit them (the organization) because they didn't have anything that interested him. Last year they had one dinner and an anniversary dance but that is all. They don't do anything and he referred to them as the old men.⁵¹

Although the association has some vague ideas about political action and improving the lot of the Spanish people, these for the most part are unstated objectives. There is no clear-cut, positive program of action.

Only once in its history has it ever sponsored an event of community-wide significance. This was supporting a candidate for the school board during the 1951 school election. The candidate was elected. Yet this was not an official project of the association, and it will therefore be discussed in the following chapter.

The Spanish Protestant Group

Very little information was available to the writer concerning the Spanish Protestant group in Mountain Town. He attended one church service and had seven interviews with some of the members. Very general information was available from non-members. The following statements are suggestive from the available information.

The Protestant group was established in Mountain Town in 1933 and has a present membership of fifty, including children. The group has never had a permanent minister. The last minister came to Mountain Town in February, 1952, and left in June of the same year.

The success of the church is the responsibility of Mrs. A, the

⁵¹ Ass'n., 4/15/52.

Evangelist, and Mrs. B, a "believer" but not a "convert", who assists Mrs. A.

Mrs. A has been an active member of this church for ten years. She and her husband donated the lot and many of the building materials and equipment for the present church which is located on a lot adjoining their own property. The proselytizing is carried on by Mrs. A. She visits her "sisters" regularly as well as visiting non-believers, particularly in the western part of the town.

At the meeting that the writer attended Mrs. A was the leader of the group. She originated the most interaction by praying, singing, and delivering a sermon. She also directed the entire program for the evening. The minister played his role during the services, but he was not the leader to the extent that Mrs. A was. The three leaders of the group appear to be Mrs. A, Mrs. B and the minister. Both members and non-members recognize these three individuals as the leaders.

Evidently there is some dissension within the group, but again this is only an impression taken from the following interview:

Mrs. B stopped me....on the street to talk. She wanted to know if I thought that going to a banquet (Junior-Senior High School), or to a meeting, or to a school program, or curling one's hair, was against any religion....

She proceeded to tell me that Mrs. A (the leader of the church) thought all these things were worldly and Mrs. B shouldn't do them. Mrs. B, while not yet a convert, but only a believer, cannot convince herself that these things are wrong.

Someone tells Mrs. A about the meetings that she, Mrs. B attends. If things continue as they are Mrs. B said that four members will leave the church.⁵²

The following appear to be the norms of the group: Every

⁵² Relig., 4/18/52, 5.

member must 1) work for the glory of Christ; 2) proselytize whenever possible; 3) work against the Catholics; 4) not attend meetings of any "worldly" nature; 5) not attend movies, dances, poolhalls, or any place of amusement; 6) read the Bible regularly; 7) receive the Holy Spirit; and 8) must not smoke or drink alcoholic beverages.

From the interview the following information is offered:

Mrs. A used to drink a lot and attend dances. Mrs. B used to attend dances also, although her husband doesn't dance. They feel that dancing and smoking and drinking are very sinful.... (norms 5 and 8).

The afternoon was spent discussing several religious points. They (Mrs. A and Mrs. B) did most of the talking and referred constantly to a Spanish Protestant Bible and a Spanish Catholic Bible. They Quoted Scripture all the time and seemed to be well read as far as the Bible was concerned. (Norm 6). Many unkind remarks were directed at the Catholic Church....(Norm 3).

I wondered, aloud, at their ability to interpret the Bible. They dismissed this with the statement that once the Holy Spirit is received the correct interpretation comes easily. Each individual has to be saved, i.e., the Holy Spirit must visit him. (Norm 7). Mrs. B hasn't been saved yet, but she hopes to be shortly. (Norm 7).

Mrs. A went into ecstasy describing the feeling one gets when he is saved. One trembles, one has to cry, one shouts for joy. These feelings cannot be contained. That is why Catholics couldn't be saved, since acting like this would get them ousted in a short time (according to Mrs. A). Norms 1, 2, 3, and 7.

Mrs. A talked about preaching in (another city) and successfully challenging one of the Priests there....(Norm 3).

Mrs. A said that she visits her Sisters regularly as well as prospective converts. (Norms 1 and 2).

Before I left Mrs. A asked that we pray, Mrs. B kneeled, Mrs. A stood, as did I, and Mrs. A prayed with much feeling, emotion and fervor specifically for my conversion, the prayer lasted five minutes.⁵³ (Norm 2).

....The church (Catholic) doesn't teach what it should.

It should be harder on its members and not let them do the things that they do....

Her church is strict, not permitting members to drink, smoke, go to the poolhall, attend dances, or movies. The Catholic Church should do this also, but the church is just after money. (Norms 3, 5, and 8).

(She said that) recently a Catholic Priest was converted to the ("Holiness" church).⁵⁴ (Norm 3).

Two Catholics speaking to the writer after a member of the "Holiness" group had left the room, ridiculed the group for their beliefs, their religious behavior and their proselytizing among the Spanish people.⁵⁵

....Before leaving, Mrs. B began extolling the virtues of the "good life", caring for the family and (then she talked about) the horrible vices of smoking, drinking, dancing, and "running around". She admitted that her Navy son was not a good Christian. He drinks and it is embarrassing to the family when he comes home.⁵⁶ (Norms 5 and 8).

While in the barbershop Mr. M (a convert and local minister) came in with a religious picture. (You can get a copy by writing to a Texas radio station). He proceeded to explain it to us. In the process of explanation was a very subtle attempt at proselytizing. Mr. M is from (another town), he was a drunkard and adulterer, etc. He used to scorn his wife who was a convert, and suddenly he was converted. Now he is a preacher here. He never dreamed he could preach, but feels that the Holy Spirit gives him help.⁵⁷ (Norms 1, 2, and 7).

Mr. T, a Catholic, reported that:

....When his brother was on his death bed, Mrs. A, Rev. P, and another individual came to see him several times trying to convert him....One day Mr. T was there when the three came in and asked his brother if they could sing for him. Mr. T's brother was paralyzed and couldn't even talk, but he moved his head and eyes in a gesture signifying no. They insisted, however, and Mr. T began to get mad. He told them off and then asked his sister-in-law's permission to get them out of the house.

⁵⁴ Relig., 3/27/52, 15.

⁵⁵ Relig., 4/3/52, II.

⁵⁶ Relig., 4/3/52, 10.

⁵⁷ Relig., 4/15/52, 6.

She didn't say anything, but Mr. T began to have words with the three. Mr. T asked them to get the hell out and let the man die in peace....They refused to leave and Mr. T opened the door and told them to go peacefully or he'd throw them out. They left peacefully.⁵⁸

Summary and Evaluation

In Mountain Town the associations within the Spanish society are graded as to age and sex. The very young children belong to the catechism classes. From this base the girls move to the young girls' organization (the age limit is generally sixteen), and the boys can become altar boys until about the age of fourteen. The girls can then belong to young women's society (the age range is 18-55), but there is no comparable group for the boys. They are turned loose, as it were, and they form their own little groups, sometimes called "la plebe". These groups are in existence for male youths between the ages of 15 or 16 to 20. If the Anglo culture is taken into consideration, the high school with its adolescent gangs and cliques takes care of this age group. But a great number of the Spanish youth drop out of school before high school is reached.

When the boys reach manhood, meaning that they have a job and/or are married, they are eligible for the men's society, the older men's society and the insurance associations.

When the girls reach womanhood, they are eligible for the social club, the insurance organization, and the two religious associations.

The majority of the associations in Mountain Town are affiliated with the Catholic Church. The parish priest is the leader of all the religious associations with one exception, the Men's Religious Society.

The male and the female non-religious associations have developed their own leaders within their own ranks, as has the Spanish "Holiness" group. (See Table III.)

In evaluating the leadership the data point toward a general ineffectiveness of leadership within the organized groups because of the following factors:

- 1) About one-third of the groups are generally inactive, meeting very irregularly or not at all.
- 2) In most of the groups the members appear not to be particularly interested in the activities of the group. In many of the groups the members talk about the activities in former years and the "good times" that they used to have.

Mr. E....then proceeded to say that an organization of Spanish people always bogs down.⁵⁹

Mr. E talked about the previous successes of the Men's Organization when Father A was here. He used to make the members pay (dues) and attend meetings.⁶⁰

Under Father A it (the organization) was the biggest and most active council in the valley. It even sponsored the state convention here.⁶¹

....Mr. S said that the club wasn't what it used to be, and it wasn't as interesting as it once was.⁶²

There is a great deal of apathy on the part of the members, so many don't even bother to come or to explain. At all the meetings that I have attended there has always been talk about the many members who used to participate.⁶³

- 3) As has been pointed out earlier, within most of the groups there is some discord.

⁵⁹ Ass'n., 5/21/52, 5.

⁶⁰ Ass'n., 5/7/52, 8.

⁶¹ Ass'n., 6/1/52, 1.

⁶² Ass'n., 4/1/52, B.S., 38.

⁶³ Ass'n., 5/9/52, B.S., 7.

She added that there was an undercurrent of discontent and unspoken disagreement among (the members of) the (Social Club). The two other ladies agreed that this was so.⁶⁴

- 4) The groups generally do not begin at their scheduled time. Meetings begin from thirty minutes to two hours late.
- 5) The groups do not meet at their regularly scheduled dates. Only three associations met regularly during the period under study.
- 6) The majority of the meetings are not well planned nor do they have either specific or long-range programs.
- 7) All the officers do not, as a rule, attend the majority of the meetings.
- 8) The constitution and by-laws are generally not followed. In most instances rigid parliamentary procedure is not followed either, although a general order is followed which is familiar to the members.
- 9) The associations for which information was available show a gradual decrease in membership.
- 10) Attendance at meetings is very irregular. (See Table 4).
- 11) The traditional pattern of leadership was institutionalized. Leadership was expressed within the family, the religious and the peon-patrón patterns. Belonging to associations, electing officers, attending meetings regularly, and working on problems through committees were never an important part of the Spanish culture. In the positions of father, priest, and patrón rested the authority as well as the responsibility that was necessary for the solution of the day to day problems of the people. The non-religious associations may be considered a recent addition to the culture, and as yet a satisfactory pattern of leadership has not been worked out. The religious associations are not new to the culture, but enough of the Anglo culture has been internalized by the majority of the Spanish people that they therefore tend to represent the old authoritarian pattern of leadership exercised by the priests. On the one hand the new pattern of leadership is sufficiently new that it has not been integrated into the culture, and on the other hand the old pattern of leadership tends not to work smoothly in a new setting (bi-cultural). These two factors may account in part for the inadequacy of intra-ethnic leadership.

Table 3. A listing of the Leaders (in order of importance) with reference to the Mountain Town associations which they lead.*

	Young Girls' Org. /	Ladies' Society	Family Society	Finan- cial Assn. /	Men's Society	Cam- paign Org. /	Choir	Female Social Club	Female Ins. Club	Second Insurance Org. / (male)	Spanish Protestant Group
Priest	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Miss Q				2				1	1		
Mrs. L		2	2					2	2		
Mrs. H		3									
Mrs. S								3			
Mr. E					2					1	
Mr. L						2	3				
Mr. C						3	2				
Mr. J						4	3				
Mr. S				3						2	
Mrs. D									3	3	
Mrs. A											1
Mrs. B											2
Mrs. M											3

*Information was not available for: Young Women's Society, The Older Men's Society, Men's Religious Society, and First Insurance Organization, male.

/ Abbreviation for organization.

/ Abbreviation for association.

Source: Unit data files based on field work, 1952.

Table 4. Distribution of the number of members in each organization in Mountain Town and the average attendance at meetings, 1952.

Organization	No. of Members	Average Attendance at Meetings Number	Per Cent
Men's Choir	13	8	61.5
Social Club (female)	32	11	34.4
Insurance Club (female)	40	16	40.0
Insurance Club (male)	53	18	33.3
Ladies' Society*	25		
Family Society*	57	11*	13.4
Men's Organization	55	6	10.9
Campaign Organization	98	56	57.1
Parish Staff	4	3	75.0
Older Men's Society	24	5	20.8
First Male Ins. Club	18	/	
Young Women's Society	25	/	

* Combined meetings.

/ No official meeting.

/ No meetings held.

Information was not available for: Young Girl's Organization, Financial Association, Men's Religious Society, and the Spanish Protestant Group.

Source: Unit data based on field work, 1952.

Chapter III

Inter-ethnic leadership in a bi-cultural community

So far we have dealt with one level of leadership, namely, intra-ethnic leadership. The second level of leadership, herein called inter-ethnic, is the problem of this chapter.¹ Inter-ethnic leadership is concerned essentially with the relationships between the dominant and the subordinate group. This type of leadership undoubtedly arises from the small group situation, but its sphere extends far beyond it. It is necessary to consider, therefore, the larger ethnic group as a whole.

The Spanish group is not a formal organization, and it does not hold meetings as such. But the individual persons are still rather distinctly identified with the group. Unquestionably there is a group consciousness. Evidences of such group consciousness are the use of such terms as "la raza", "nosotros los mejicanos", "the Spanish people" and the use of "we" versus "they" (the Anglo), when speaking about the Spanish group. Other evidences of group consciousness are the complaints that are made about the discriminatory treatment that the Spanish receive from the Anglos in power, whether it be the city officials, the county officials, or the businessmen of the community. The subordinate group tends to feel that the Anglos discriminate against the group as a whole, without regard to the merits of the particular individuals in question. When one also considers such factors as language, religion, area of residence, and socio-economic status, group consciousness becomes quite apparent.

¹ The distinction between intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic leadership is made to facilitate the analysis of leadership as a whole. Although the personnel for the two types of leadership may be the same, theoretically it is possible for the personnel to be different. It would seem that inter-group leaders would also be intra-group leaders. Intra-ethnic leaders, however, may or may not be inter-ethnic leaders.

The criteria for determining the leaders within this type of group remain essentially the same as the criteria used in determining leaders within the small group, namely, the amount and range of interaction, the direction of group activities, social rank and the embodiment of the norms.

Since no group-wide meetings are held among the Spanish one must go to the individual members to get their attitudes with reference to leadership. This was done by using the interview technique generally and by asking a sample of the population to answer questions in schedule form.²

Since the minority generally is in a subordinate position and occupies a lower status economically, occupationally, and educationally, the writer felt that perhaps one of the roles that a leader would play would be that of giving advice and aid in such matters as filling out forms, getting on welfare rolls, getting a job, and giving general information about politics, the war, etc. The first question on the schedule dealt with these matters. The people in the sample were asked to list those individuals to whom they, or others of the Spanish people, go when they need help and advice for such things as filling out forms, getting on welfare, getting a job, or information.

Taking those individuals who were chosen more than once, and excluding the Anglos who were chosen, the data show that Mr. N was chosen 99 times; Miss Q 22; the priests 13 times; Mr. E 3; Mr. C 2 and Mr. GMS 2.* The observations of the writer confirm, in part, these choices. The writer made it a point to stop in at Mr. N's office, Miss Q's office, and

² See appendices A and B.

* See table 5 under question No. 1.

the parish rectory once a day, and he saw many people come in for aid and advice. On several occasions Mr. N, Miss Q, and the priests told the writer that many people came in to see them and ask their assistance. Many people also stop in to see Mr. C, but not to the same extent as the other individuals mentioned. Mr. GMS had recently moved and the writer therefore could not confirm the data through observation. It was not possible to keep a record of the number of people who sought aid and advice from the individuals mentioned above. While visiting in the office of one of the individuals mentioned earlier the writer noted the following.

....By his own admission (Mr. N) does a lot for the Spanish people, mostly gratis, but they don't appreciate it. When they have business that involves fees, they take it elsewhere. While we were talking a lady and her son came in for information and advice, which he gave. Then a young fellow came in to get a birth certificate fixed up and Mr. N refused to do it. He refused, he told me, because the recruiting officer at another time had demanded that he do it for someone else and he told him to go to hell and hasn't worked on certificates since.

Some people try unsuccessfully to get welfare and then they come to him for help. He takes them up and tries in their behalf and is usually unsuccessful, but they don't blame the welfare, they blame him. They think that it is his fault. They don't appreciate what he does.³

He (Mr. C) is often asked to help individuals in certain matters like income taxes and advice, but mostly he sends them to someone who can help more.⁴

Another individual said of Mr. C:

Mr. C, on the other hand, is ineffective because he is not aggressive and doesn't put himself forward. For example, if someone asks him for advice, he more than likely will say that he doesn't know, or can't advise them or is not in a position to advise them. (This coincides with what Mr. C told me (the writer) two weeks ago to the effect that he usually tries to steer people to someone else who knows more or who is in a

³ Lp., 4/2/52, 62.

⁴ Lp., 4/7/52, 54.

better position to advise).⁵

The second question in the schedule dealt with county politics. Although seemingly this may not be significant, it was the impression of the writer that on the part of the Spanish people, occupying an official position, however insignificant in terms of the larger society, is quite important and gives one much status. If this be the case, the writer thought that the people would tend to mention whom they considered leaders as possible candidates for county officers. The question was: What person would you like to see in a county office? Eight persons were chosen by two or more members of the sample, as follows: Mr. N was chosen 17 times; Miss Q, 25; Mr. E, 9; Mr. GMS, 6; Mr. L, 5; Mr. W, Mr. J and Mr. Rg were chosen two times.⁶ With the exception of Mr. C and the priests, (the priests evidently not being considered eligible for public office), the four individuals chosen the most often were the same four who were chosen by the greatest number of persons in question number 1.

The third question, quite similar to question number 1 was: What persons do most for the Spanish people? Excluding the Anglos mentioned, approximately the same individuals were chosen the most often as were chosen for questions 1 and 2. These individuals, and the number of people who chose them were: Mr. N, 44; Miss Q, 12; the priests, 6; Mr. E, 12; Mr. GMS, 6; and Mr. C, 1.

With reference to question 6, namely, who are the most influential people in Mountain Town?, the same six individuals were mentioned most often: Mr. N, 68; Miss Q, 9; the priests, 9; Mr. E, 28; Mr. GMS 15 and —

⁵ Lp., 4/23/52, 25.

⁶ See table 5, under question 2.

Mr. C, 9.* Mr. L, who was mentioned in question 2 but not in questions 1 and 3, was mentioned 6 times. Mr. JD received 8 mentions.

The seventh question dealt specifically with leaders among the Spanish people. The following individuals were listed as leaders by the indicated number of persons: Mr. N, 34; Miss Q, 7; the priests, 5; Mr. E, 31; Mr. GMS, 4; Mr. L, 6; Mr. C, 4 and Mr. JT, 4.*

If the data from the five questions presented so far are at all indicative of the leadership of the Spanish people as a group, the leaders then are Mr. N, Miss Q, the priests and Mr. E. Two other individuals, Mr. L and Mr. C, may or may not be considered leaders by the people as a whole.

Returning for a moment to Chapter 2 and the consideration of leadership within the formally organized groups, the data indicated that the priests were the leaders of the religious organizations, both male and female. The data also revealed that Mr. E was a leader in three organizations and Miss Q was a leader in 4 organizations. Mr. C and Mr. L were leaders in two temporary organizations.⁷ The data suggest, then, that the leadership personnel may be the same for both the small groups and the larger Spanish society.

Mr. N is not now a leader of any of the associations mentioned in Chapter 2. Presumably this is due to his ill health. According to informants Mr. N was a leader in most of the associations before he became ill, and he is considered today the most influential Spanish person in

* See Table 5.

* See Table 5.

⁷ See Table 3.

Table 5. Distribution of Mountain Town individuals (Spanish) according to the number of times each was chosen by members of a random sample in answer to particular questions.* (Sample N - 133).

Individual	Questions Number:					Individual	Questions Number:				
	1	2	3	6	7		1	2	3	6	7
No answer	10	31	10	6	3	Mp	0	0	0	5	0
No one	12	8	47	20	62	JC	0	0	0	1	3
Don't know	2	25	8	12	9	T	0	0	0	1	0
N	99	17	44	68	34	PC	0	0	0	3	0
Q	22	25	12	19	7	MSL	0	0	0	1	1
Priests	13	0	6	9	5	JAR	0	0	0	1	1
E	3	9	12	28	31	JLB	0	0	0	1	1
GMS	2	6	4	15	4	CMA	0	0	0	1	1
C	2	0	1	9	4	LEA	0	0	0	1	1
R	1	0	0	0	1	JGA	0	0	0	1	0
AM	1	0	0	0	0	VMS	0	0	0	1	0
LM	1	1	0	4	3	MSDC	0	0	0	0	1
LE	1	0	0	0	0	STO	0	0	0	0	1
W	1	2	0	1	3	Anglos					
F	1	0	0	0	0	BB	5	0	3		
FT	1	0	0	0	0	CC	4	0	2		
FA	1	0	1	1	0	BR	1	0	0		
JT	1	0	0	2	4	Welfare	2	0	3		
J	0	2	1	0	2	MM	1	0	1		
L	0	5	0	6	6	JY	1	0	2		
RG	0	2	0	0	0	DY	1	0	0		
JV	0	1	0	0	0	SFF	0	1	0		
DM	0	1	0	0	0	MFF	0	4	0		
B	0	1	1	0	0	BBK	0	0	1		
SD	0	1	0	3	0	DU	0	0	2		
IG	0	1	0	0	0	EVS	0	0	1		
FCM	0	1	0	5	0	RL	0	0	1		
EG	0	1	0	0	0	HW	0	0	1		
JD	0	1	0	8	3	BRS	0	0	1		
HO	0	1	0	1	0	Other answers					
SM	0	1	1	1	1	A Sp. Person		3			
P	0	0	1	2	0	Some qualified,					
VG	0	0	0	1	0	no chance		7			
MTA	0	0	2	0	0	No Anglo			4		
BM	0	0	0	2	0	The rich				1	
JVZ	0	0	0	3	0	Americans					1
JMS	0	0	0	1	0						

*No. 1: When you (or the people) need help or advice to whom do you (or the people) generally go?

No. 2: Which Spanish person would you like to see in a County office?

No. 3: What persons do the most for the Spanish people?

No. 6: Who are the most influential Spanish people in Mountain Town?

No. 7: Are there any leaders of the Spanish people in Mountain Town?

Source: Summary of schedules used in field work, 1952.

Table 6. A further breakdown of table No. 5 comparing sub-total responses of the no answer, no one and don't know categories with the number of responses for the first five individuals mentioned, with reference to particular questions.*

Individual	Questions Number				
	1	2	3	6	7
No answer	10	31	10	6	3
No one	12	8	47	20	62
Doesn't know	<u>2</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
Sub-Total	24	64	65	38	74
First five Individuals Mentioned					
N	99	17	44	68	34
Q	22	25	12	19	7
Priest	13	0	6	9	5
E	3	9	12	28	31
GMS	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>4</u>
Sub-Total	139	57	78	139	81
Other responses	26	37	30	68	38
Grand Total /	189	158	173	245	193

- *No. 1: When you (or the people) need help or advice to whom do you (or the people) generally go?
 No. 2: Which Spanish person would you like to see in a County office?
 No. 3: What persons do the most for the Spanish people?
 No. 6: Who are the most influential Spanish people in Mountain Town?
 No. 7: Are there any leaders of the Spanish people in Mountain Town?

/ The sample number was 133. The grand totals are larger than the sample number because more than one individual could be mentioned in answering the question.

Source: Table 5.

Mountain Town.

A select sample of Anglos was chosen to answer questions in a schedule with reference to Spanish leaders. The sample was chosen arbitrarily and consisted of businessmen, professionals, county and city officials, and school officials. For the most part they selected the same individuals that the Spanish population selected (Mr. N, Mr. E, the priests, Miss Q, Mr. GMS and Mr. C) plus a few other individuals, Mr. MP, Mr. JD, Mr. Hm and Mr. Im, who are farmers and/or livestock men and have certain dealings with the Anglos. The nature of the sample perhaps accounts for the selection of these additional individuals.⁸ For a comparison of the selections of the two samples see table 8.

So far it has been possible to identify the leaders by getting the information from the people. Just what the roles of the leaders are is another and more difficult question for the investigator, since there are few instances in which leadership can be expressed in the larger community in such a way that the leader can be easily identified. The interviews suggest that the leader should work for the people at all times, meaning that he should do everything possible for the best-interests of the people. The leader cannot do this on a community basis so it must be done on an individual basis. For example:

....People say that Mr. N does a lot but she (informant) knows that he doesn't. He doesn't take the interest in the people that he should, in his position. She gave as an example a relative of hers whose husband left and Mr. N wouldn't do anything to make (the husband) support her. "He could have helped."⁹

One leader implied during an interview that as a result of his activity

⁸ See Table 7.

⁹ Lp., 4/18/52, 33.

there was no longer any segregation in the schools and that two Spanish persons were named as officers of the Parent-Teachers Association.¹⁰

Another informant told about the incident of segregation in the theatre and how Mr. N had stopped it by going directly to the manager.¹¹

A leader is expected to give aid and advice whenever he is called upon for such help. If a leader cannot give aid and advice people talk about him unfavorably, but still consider him a leader. The demands on the leader are many and in many instances he cannot give the kind of aid that is requested. He is called upon to get people on welfare, to get jobs for relatives, and to do personal favors such as writing letters, reading letters and interpreting documents. When he cannot help or when he is not successful in his attempts to help specific individuals, this failure is generally interpreted to mean that he is working for the Anglo and against the Spanish.

....GMS had a good job but he didn't employ many Spanish persons. I took my daughter (a high school graduate) and he told her no, that she should go to college, but he had Gringos with an eighth grade education (working for him).¹²

....He (a leader) will give much information and advice, but only up to a point. He is afraid that if the Gringos know that he gives certain information, they will boot him out....¹³

....The person who helps the Spanish is Mr. N, but he refuses to help (get people on) welfare. He is in cahoots (en el mismo anillo) with the welfare people. The person who does the most for the people is Miss Q. She writes letters and does favors. She does all she can and doesn't refuse....¹⁴

¹⁰ Lp., 3/16/52, 82.

¹¹ Lp., 4/7/52, 54.

¹² Lp., 5/6/52, 10.

¹³ Lp., 4/5/52, 57.

¹⁴ Lp., 4/18/52, 30.

Table 7. Distribution of Mountain Town individuals (Spanish) according to the number of times each was chosen as a leader of the Spanish people, by a selected Anglo Sample. (Sample N=28).

Individual	Number of times chosen
------------	------------------------

No leaders	6
Mr. N	22
Mr. E	17
Mr. MP	6
Mr. LM	5
Mr. GMS	5
Priests	4
Mr. JD	4
Miss Q	4
Mr. HM	3
Mr. C	2
Mr. L	1
Mrs. L	1
Mr. JC	1
Mr. JT	1
Mr. P	1
Mr. GG	1
Mr. CCS	1
Mr. SP	1
Mr. PL	1
Mr. PP	1
Mr. JGA	1
Mrs. NV	1
Mrs. C (Anglo)	1

Source: Summary of Anglo Schedules used in field work, 1952.

Table 8. Distribution of Mountain Town individuals (Spanish), who were chosen by two or more people as being leaders of the Spanish people, according to the two population samples.

Individuals	Anglo Sample (N-28)*	Spanish Sample (N-133)*
	Number	Number
No answer	0	3
No leaders	6	62
Don't know	0	9
Mr. N	22	34
Mr. E	17	31
Miss Q	4	7
Priests	4	5
Mr. GMS	5	4
Mr. C	2	4
Mr. IM	5	3
Mr. MP	6	0
Mr. JD	4	3
Mr. W	0	3
Mr. JT	1	4
Mr. L	1	6
Mr. JC	1	3
Mr. HM	3	0

*Members of the sample could list as many individuals as they wished, therefore, the numbers do not equal the numbers in the respective samples.

Source: Schedule Summaries based on field work, 1952.

A leader should identify himself with "la raza". He should not "pass" as an Anglo and of course should not disown the people. The people become suspicious of the individual who behaves too much like an Anglo. This is true particularly if he associates more with the Anglo than with the Spanish and if he speaks English in situations where he should speak Spanish.

All the people with an education have left Mountain Town. We don't have any leaders who really stick their necks out for the Spanish. Miss _____ (Spanish, professional), doesn't associate with the Spanish.¹⁵

....It seems that those (Spanish) with an education pull more for the side of the Gringo.¹⁶

....Miss _____ (Spanish, professional) niega su raza. (Denies her race).¹⁷

....There's Mrs. _____ she's half Spanish, her mother can hardly speak English. I tried to speak to her in Spanish and she wouldn't speak it—so there you are, they get high-hat.¹⁸

A leader must also "stand up" for the people at all times. He should defend "la raza".

(Informant) told about Mr. E getting rid of the Spanish room at school and having "run-ins" with the Anglos, but holding his own.¹⁹

....Mr. N does help the people but not all of the time. He doesn't pull for the Spanish....²⁰

The individual who is admired is the individual who defends the people

¹⁵ Lp., 5/6/52, 11.

¹⁶ Lp., 4/28/52, 20.

¹⁷ Lp., 5/6/52, 10.

¹⁸ Lp., 3/31/52, 66.

¹⁹ Lp., 4/5/52, 57.

²⁰ Lp., 5/6/52, 10.

before the Anglos. He stands up for the people by showing the Anglos that the Spanish are as good as the Anglos in specific fields of endeavor. He also points out to the Anglos that not all Spanish are drunkards, nor are they all on welfare, nor do they all drop out of school, nor are they all shiftless. On the positive side he tells with pride of the achievements of certain Spanish individuals, such as the number of Spanish students in high school, the good job that someone has, the success of certain individuals in the armed forces, the new house that someone has built, and the loyalty of certain individuals to their work. It means a great deal to the people to hear about specific encounters between Spanish and Anglos in which the Anglo was "put in his place". The individual who gives an account of his encounters with the Anglos is greatly admired because he is successfully defending "la raza".

Many unsuccessful attempts to organize the Spanish people have been made in Mountain Town. The majority of the Spanish people feel that it is important for the people to be organized on a group-wide basis, yet they also feel that it is impossible for the Spanish people to organize themselves. A leader should attempt to organize and unite the people. Even if he doesn't make any specific attempts at organization, he should at least talk about the possibility of organizing and uniting the people.

....(Informant) talked about the farmers having already met to decide acreage, wages, etc. The wage scale will start at the lowest price. If we (the Spanish) would meet now and stick together we could get better wages, but no one will get the people together and if they do they won't stick together.²¹

....(One leader said), there is only one leader who has ever gotten the people together and that has been Mr. E.... At the school board election it was he who got GMS elected. This

²¹ Lp., 3/6/52, 98.

was the first school election at which Spanish people had voted in 75 years. But he and the workers had to go house to house and bring the people to vote. I was never able to reach the people like Mr. E has.²²

A leader should not only work for the Spanish people, but he should at the same time work against the Anglo. The leader should also be able to compete with the Anglo on Anglo terms.

....At the school board election he (a leader) didn't come out actively (for a Spanish candidate); he went to vote, but when pressed (for a course of action before the election) he shrugged his shoulders and said 'do whatever you think is best boys'.²³

According to the informant this attitude on the part of a leader was resented by many of the Spanish people.

....(Informant) said there is much discrimination here and if it hadn't been for Mr. E, they (the Anglos) would have segregation in the schools.²⁴

....(Informant) would consider Mr. N a good leader, respected by both Anglos and Spanish...he (informant) told me that when he bought his house he had Mr. N make out the contract. When something came up with an Anglo, he asked who had made out the contract and when told it was Mr. N he (the Anglo) didn't even bother to look at it but said it was o.k.²⁵

An expression of the actual identification of the Spanish individual to the group is found in his hostility toward the Anglo. Expression of hostility toward the out-group doesn't always mean in-group identification. In the case of the Spanish people of Mountain Town, however, this out-group hostility seems to provide a basis for in-group identification. Perhaps this is true because of the very obvious differences between the

²² Lp., 4/2/52, 62.

²³ Lp., 4/5/52, 57.

²⁴ Lp., 5/1/52, 17.

²⁵ Lp., 3/14/52, 87.

two cultures in certain areas, namely religion, language, and socio-economic status. To repeat the point, the leader then should be able to compete with the Anglo; this fact, in part, gives him the position of leadership. He should then work for the Spanish people. It is not enough that he should work for the Spanish people, but he should also work against the Anglo.

Among the Spanish-speaking people as a whole, much value is placed upon obtaining a formal education. The solution to the problems of the group is generally considered to lie in the education of the members of the group. The Spanish people of Mountain Town also consider education as a panacea for their ills. This does not necessarily mean that the rate of school attendance or high school graduation is high; on the contrary it is rather low in proportion to the population, but this deficiency can be explained by occupational, economic, and cultural factors. The leader is expected to encourage education for the Spanish youth. It is believed that with education one advances occupationally and economically. Certainly higher educational achievement gives one higher social status. It is through education that one learns Anglo ways and is therefore better able to compete with the Anglo. The leaders stress the importance of an education whenever opportunities present themselves, and they urge the people to send their children to school or to keep their children in school. One leader in particular has not had much formal education. The majority of the people who were interviewed, and who mentioned him as a leader, made reference to his lack of education either regretfully or disdainfully. In either case it was noted that all agreed that he would be a much better leader if he had more education.

A leader is expected by the Spanish people to be active in politics

and/or "get ahead" economically. It is rather difficult, however, to do either of these two things. Few, if any, Spanish people in Mountain Town have ever had a political following. It is the opinion of the majority of the people that no Spanish person is willing to become a candidate because he knows that the Spanish people will not support him. There are some individuals who are politically active, but they politicize with reference to particular issues or Anglo candidates. There is a danger involved in this type of activity because it may be construed as selling out to the Anglo. To get ahead economically is important, because the people assume that getting ahead means acquiring power, authority, prestige, and independence. In some cases the assumption is correct; in other cases it is incorrect. Generally speaking, high status is accorded the individuals who are active in politics and who are economically successful.

The leaders of the Spanish people are ---, ---, and ---. They are the ones who are active in the association and in politics....

He (informant) urges the people to register and to vote, but they don't do it.²⁶

Later in the interview (informant) said that GMS used to be a leader because he had a good position, and Mr. N could be considered a leader because he's in a good position and knows how things are run....²⁷

Mr. N is the only leader among the people. He is a gentleman and all the people like him and respect him—he has a good job....²⁸

A leader should be like an Anglo in the sense of qualifications, ag-

²⁶ Lp., 4/5/52, 57.

²⁷ Lp., 5/10/52, 50.

²⁸ Lp., 4/14/52, 46.

gressiveness, ability to compete economically, educationally, and linguistically. But he should be identified with the Spanish group, have the group welfare uppermost in his mind, fight the Anglo, and work for the Spanish. In short he must be like an Anglo but behave like a Spanish person. And herein lies the dilemma.

Evaluation of inter-ethnic leadership.

In evaluating inter-ethnic leadership one must get from the people their attitudes with reference to how well the leaders embody the norms of the group, how well they direct the activities of the group, how well they control the group, the amount and range of their interaction, and their social ranking. It is assumed that the members of the minority group will have opinions as to how well the leadership role is played. A major concern of the Spanish people appears to be the lack of leadership as well as the lack of unity among the people. That the Spanish people think that there aren't any leaders is indicated in the answers to the question on leadership, by members of the sample. The question was: Are there any leaders of the Spanish people in Mountain Town? Three members of the sample did not answer, nine said they did not know and sixty-two said that there were no leaders.²⁹ This point was emphasized also during interviews:

....No hay gente que pueda aconsejar a uno, se necesita alguno aqui. El que esta le cierra a uno la puerta, como buen Gringo, nunca responde. (There aren't any people who can advise one, someone is needed here to do this. The one we have closes the door on one like a good Anglo; he never responds).

....Cada quien se rasca con sus unas. No hay quien ayude. (Everyone scratches his own back. There is no one who will help).³⁰

²⁹ See table 5 under question 7.

³⁰ Lp., 5/13/52, 7.

....He (informant) stated emphatically that there isn't any Spanish leadership in Mountain Town. He doesn't know why there isn't but suggested that "the people are too 'envidiosos' (envious) of one another. They can't see anyone get ahead because they feel that he's out for himself." He gave as an example GMS who was manager of (a store) and who was running for the school board. "Many people said they wouldn't vote for him because they didn't like him and he didn't speak to them and he was already manager of a store. Now he wanted to be on the school board too."³¹

....If Mr. E would run for office he (Mr. D) thinks he would be elected; but it would take much work and effective leadership, which we don't have.³²

....He listed as leaders Mr. N, Mr. E and Mr. C. However, he said that in general there was no adequate leadership among the Spanish. The reasons being: 1) Lack of unity among the Spanish. They are a people who are "muy envidiosos", they can't see one another get ahead. There is no political unity and they can't elect any official. 2) The fault of the Spanish lies in their submissiveness and their lack of confidence in themselves. The Anglo is aggressive and ambitious, that is why he gets ahead. Whether he is right or wrong, he never gives the impression that he is wrong; he acts as if he's always right, but not the Spanish. The Spanish lack confidence, ambition, aggressiveness, and sometimes ability.³³

....He didn't think that there were any leaders among the Spanish from a community point of view, although there are leaders of associations...."Yo he hecho fuerza levantar a la gente pero no quieren." (I have tried to "lift-up" the people but they don't want to).³⁴

....He said there were no leaders who could unite the people and make them cooperate.³⁵

....He said there were leaders but mentioned only Miss Q because the others are not really good leaders.³⁶

³¹ Lp., 3/13/52, 97.

³² Lp., 4/16/52, 36.

³³ Lp., 4/23/52, 25.

³⁴ Lp., 3/14/52, 89.

³⁵ Lp., 3/14/52, 87.

³⁶ Lp., 5/6/52, 10.

....There are no leaders around here and there's no unity. Son muy envidiosos. If a guy gets a \$15.00 (a week) job in a store or a better car, he thinks he's better than you are.... They're like the Negroes in the South, they get nigger rich.³⁷

....We lack leaders because we lack education, and even those who educate themselves don't know what is going on.³⁸

....There aren't any persons of influence in Mountain Town and there are no leaders. Neither is there any unity among the people.³⁹

....There certainly is a need for leaders to help the people stick together (I asked if any of the local lodges might not develop the necessary leadership) and he said no, there are several lodges but they aren't effective.⁴⁰

....No one can deny that there is a great need for leadership among the people....One reason there aren't any leaders is the people themselves. They don't trust one another; they are envious and jealous. They are ruled by sentiment and emotion, and the fellow who tries to please them all pleases no one. One day they are with you, the next against you. You never know whom you can trust. There are very few whom I can trust and confide in....Nunca sabe uno si van a cumplir o no. Los Gringos hacen una unidad social. Pero los mejicanos no se pueden confiar unos a los otros. (One never knows whether they will "come through" or not. The Anglos unite socially but the Mexicans can't trust each other).⁴¹

The data just presented indicate not that there aren't any leaders, but rather the inadequacy of the existing leadership. The intra-ethnic leadership was considered to be inadequate by the Spanish people. Inter-ethnic leadership is also considered to be inadequate by the group as a whole. In analysis the data show that in order to lead in the larger community the minority leader must be accepted as a leader by the domi-

³⁷ Lp., 5/2/52, 13.

³⁸ Lp., 5/2/52, 14.

³⁹ Lp., 4/18/52, 30.

⁴⁰ Lp., 4/10/52, 61.

⁴¹ Lp., 4/2/52, 61.

nant society. This may be accounted for by the fact that the goals which the leaders wish to attain are goals to be attained within the dominant system. These goals would include political activity, educational achievement, occupational, or more generally, economic advancement and higher social status. The reader is referred to Table 8 which shows the close agreement between the Anglo and the Spanish samples concerning Spanish leadership. Anglo acceptance of Spanish leadership is also revealed in the interviews with the Anglos. A few interviews will suffice to illustrate the point:

....Mr. N is the type of man whom you could trust with your most valuable possession. He is honest, respectable and wise. He has the confidence of the Spanish as well as the Anglos....⁴²

....Mr. N does a lot for everybody and is respected by both Anglos and Spanish....⁴³

They are the people (mentioning certain leaders) who can tell them (the Spanish) what to do, who get along with our race as well as (with) the Spanish.⁴⁴

....Informant said a few (Spanish) were coming into the American Legion, but they had always kept it at a high level, so this excluded many. (He quickly added that it excluded many Anglos, too). But now we have a few Spanish, starting them at the bottom, working them up so that in time they will be able to take responsibility.⁴⁵

It was also stated by both the Anglos and the Spanish, that when Mr. GMS (Spanish) resigned from the school board Mr. E (Spanish, who led the campaign to elect GMS) was appointed by the other members (Anglo) of the school board, to fill the vacancy in recognition of his leadership.

⁴² Lp., 3/24/52, 74.

⁴³ Lp., 3/28/52, 68.

⁴⁴ Lp., 3/13/52, 91.

⁴⁵ Lp., 4/14/52, 48.

Certain data were available from the interviews with the Spanish people illustrating the necessity of Anglo acceptance of minority leadership:

....(When speaking about a particular leader the informant said,) he has education, money, prestige and is respected (by the Anglo). (He) also belongs to the Chamber of Commerce, is City Attorney and on the school board....(Another leader) was very influential in everything, the Chamber of Commerce, the Seed Show, Rotary, and was well respected and liked.⁴⁶

The Anglos like Mr. E (a recognized Spanish leader) very much.⁴⁷

The people (Spanish) aren't happy unless they are being led by the Anglo and they don't think that they can lead themselves.⁴⁸

....I (informant) told them at the Men's Society that if they wanted the club to advance and be respected among the people, they should put a Gringo as president. Then the mejicanos would attend. He (a Spanish leader occupying a "good" job) has the job because of the Gringos, not the Spanish.⁴⁹

Although the Spanish leader must be accepted as a leader by the dominant society, the more approval he receives from the dominant society, the more this will tend to estrange him from the subordinate group which he is trying to lead. Seemingly there is little unity among the Spanish people; yet there appears to be an esprit de corps which is revealed whenever any member gets ahead in the larger society. This esprit de corps is not revealed in a positive sense whereby the individual is helped along, but rather in a negative sense which borders on resentment. The individual who gets ahead is talked about in terms of being a traitor to the group, apparently because in getting ahead he supposedly has had to sell-out to the Anglo and therefore will not work for the Spanish. The terms used

⁴⁶ Lp., 4/7/52, 54.

⁴⁷ Pol., 4/7/52, 3.

⁴⁸ Lp., 4/18/52, 33.

⁴⁹ Lp., 5/2/52, 14.

in reference to these individuals are "orgullosa" (haughty), "togado" (affected dignity), and "agringado" (affecting the behavior of a Gringo).

A few examples from the interviews from both Spanish and Anglo informants will point toward this condition.

....(The writer) asked if there had ever been any leader development and he (Anglo informant) said that at one time a Mr. Z, who had some education had attempted to be a leader. He even ran for County Commissioner but was defeated. The Spanish people told him (the Anglo informant) that Mr. Z was "muy togado" and that's why they didn't like him.⁵⁰

....(Anglo informant). If one (Spanish) were to establish a business, the Anglos wouldn't support him. So the Anglo suppresses attempts of advancement with: "They are getting too uppity" and the Spanish with: "Who does he think he is?" At any rate there is no proper leadership.⁵¹

....(Anglo informant). Mr. F has trained several Spanish here in the store and when they reach the top here, they usually leave. They want to get away; it seems that their own people hold them back.⁵²

....(Anglo speaking about Spanish leader). He was a smart leader but the people seemed to envy him because of his position.⁵³

....(Anglo informant). The peculiar thing about this race is that if one of them gets ahead, the others will back away from him and try to drag him down. It's jealousy, I guess.⁵⁴

....(Spanish informant said that), the Spanish people criticized and distrusted any Spanish who stepped up.⁵⁵

....(Spanish Informant).⁵⁶ His idea about inadequacy of

⁵⁰ Lp., 3/13/52, 93.

⁵¹ Lp., 4/15/52, 43.

⁵² Lp., 3/28/52, 68.

⁵³ Lp., 3/24/52, 74.

⁵⁴ Lp., 3/19/52, 79.

⁵⁵ Lp., 3/18/52, 81.

⁵⁶ The rest of the data presented in this section are from Spanish informants.

leadership was this. He felt that the leader was in a bad position because if he tried to lead, the people would lose confidence in him and think that he had ulterior motives. On the other hand many of the things that he might do would not be understood by the masses....Mr. L is not a leader although he might be later. He is well accepted by the Anglo but not by the Spanish. The Spanish do not support him.⁵⁷

....These people are too individualistic, it is part of their character....We're too jealous and envious. And when someone gets ahead, "ya es togado"....(i.e. the people say that he is putting on airs).⁵⁸

....At this point (during the interview with Mr. T) Mrs. T said that: muchos le tienen envidia a el (Mr. T) porque se lleva tan bien con los Americanos. (Many people are envious of him because he gets along so well with the Americans).⁵⁹

....We certainly need good leaders but when one (leader) emerges everybody talks about him. On the streets I hear say that (the leaders) are pelegarteros (exploiters, or Jackanapes), togados y orgullosos. They say this of Mr. N and Mr. E....Of GMS the people were envious of him and (the people said that) he was orgulloso because he worked in a store.⁶⁰

....It seems that those (Spanish) with an education pull more for the side of the Gringo.⁶¹

....Mr. E is muy orgulloso....I don't think much of him.⁶²

....Y cuando metemos a uno, parece que trabaja mas por los otros que por nosotros. (And when we elect someone it seems that he works more for the others (Anglos) than for us).⁶³

The people don't support me in my business. I don't mean to knock them, because there are a lot of nice Spanish people but there are a lot who take advantage. A lot of them want you

⁵⁷ Lp., 3/17/52, 82.

⁵⁸ Lp., 4/2/52, 62.

⁵⁹ Lp., 4/5/52, 57.

⁶⁰ Lp., 3/27/52, 70.

⁶¹ Lp., 4/28/52, 20.

⁶² Lp., 5/6/52, 10.

⁶³ Lp., 3/14/52, 90.

to give them credit but then you never see them again....The people can't see that if we united and elected someone for the will of the people we'd get ahead. But they don't want anyone to get ahead.⁶⁴

(Another Spanish businessman when asked if he had much Spanish trade, said) No, because the Spanish people want credit and if you give them credit they won't pay and if you send them a bill they get mad and run you down, i.e., talk about you.... The Spanish people don't care about seeing one of their own get ahead and they certainly wouldn't help me get ahead.⁶⁵

The data also suggest that too close a contact with the subordinate group will endanger the minority leader's position within the dominant society. The data that were available dealt mostly with two leaders who were afraid to do too much for the Spanish people for fear of losing their positions.

(Informant) said that the people went to Mr. _____ for help most of the time. But he wasn't in a position to do much, because of the job he has.⁶⁶

(Informant) said that there are absolutely no leaders. This he said three times. And if there are leaders they do nothing for the people. When a Spanish gets in a position to help, they all seem to forget their people and do not want to help them. (Informant) said that GMS used to laugh at him and others, for helping the Spanish....He (GMS) told (informant) not to waste his time helping the people.⁶⁷

GMS was dissatisfied because he felt that he was equal to the Anglo and the Anglos resented it. Thus he was sort of alienated from both groups....

I went to see Mr. C (Spanish) one time to see if I could form a committee of Spanish to whom I could go or send a kid to when he was trailing. After I had talked to him I was told that he had felt insulted and had resented my going to see him.

⁶⁴ Lp., 3/13/52, 97.

⁶⁵ Lp., 3/14/52, 87.

⁶⁶ Lp., 4/9/52, 52.

⁶⁷ Lp., 5/14/52, 6.

(i.e. resented being so identified with the Spanish people).⁶⁸

....(One leader said of another), he is my best friend but he is afraid to talk out because of his job. At the school election while the voting was in session Mr. _____ went to (a nearby town) (as if he were running out).⁶⁹

....He claimed not to know many Spanish (people). He is quite apart from them and he won't join their associations. He belongs only to the American Legion.⁷⁰

....The guys who work in the stores (some of them) are muy orgullosos—si entra un mejicano le preguntan "what do you want", no "que se le ofrece", para que el dueño no piense que son mejicanos. (Some of the guys who work in stores are very haughty. If a Mexican comes in they ask him what he wants in English instead of in Spanish, so that the owner will not think that they (the clerks) are Mexicans).⁷¹

....Even the clerks (Spanish) do not pay any attention to the people unless they have some interest. They just pay attention to the Gringo.⁷²

....He (a Spanish leader) tolerated the Spanish as a source of trade, but he was quite aloof and didn't mix with them....⁷³

....He (a Spanish leader) will give much information and advice, but only up to a point. He is afraid that if the Gringos know that he gives certain information, they will boot him out.... He doesn't do all he could because he is afraid of losing his position. (The leader) has admitted this to (the informant).⁷⁴

The foregoing data indicate the difficulty of the leader role in such a bi-cultural setting. In attempting to satisfy the dominant society the minority leader faces the danger of alienating the subordinate

⁶⁸ Lp., 3/24/52, 74.

⁶⁹ Lp., 5/18/52, 5.

⁷⁰ Lp., 5/1/52, 17.

⁷¹ Lp., 5/2/52, 14.

⁷² Sch., 5/12/52, 80.

⁷³ Lp., 3/17/52, 82.

⁷⁴ Lp., 4/5/52, 57.

society and vice versa. The minority leadership is then judged as inadequate by the subordinate group. This inadequacy of leadership can be explained thus: The goals of the leader and of the subordinate group are goals to be attained within the dominant system. In attempting to attain these goals the leader must acquire habits which approach identity with those of the dominant group. In accomplishing the foregoing, he begins to identify with the dominant society. The greater the identification of the subordinate leader with the dominant society, however, the greater is the estrangement of the leader from the group that he is trying to lead. His leadership is therefore considered to be inadequate since essentially it becomes undermined by virtue of his very success in the achievement of the goals.

Continuing the evaluation of inter-ethnic leadership, consideration will now be given to the amount and range of interaction, to the control of the group, to social ranking and to norms.

From the data that have been presented in this chapter, the leaders that have been designated appear to be at the center of the web of interaction. With reference to situations such as political activity, the giving of advice and information, the reading, interpreting and writing of letters, and the attempts to obtain jobs and welfare aid for individuals, the leaders originate the most interaction and much interaction is originated toward them. Among the Spanish people of Mountain Town, and taking into account the particular situations cited, the leaders have the largest amount and range of interaction.

If it can be said that anyone leads the Spanish, it would be the ones we have identified as leaders. It is they who on particular occasions direct the activities of the group. Although these occasions are

rare, the last two occasions in which the leaders actively directed the group were the school election in May, 1951, and the orphanage campaign in April and May, 1952.

It is the leaders also who are given the highest social ranking.⁷⁵ In a social stratification study made by the writer in Mountain Town (1950), before the present study of leadership was contemplated, the rank of the leaders, (who happened to be included in the sample), fell within the first ten rankings, as determined by a panel of judges.⁷⁶ Using a system of relative weights the highest score received by any one individual was 4.8; the lowest score was .2. The individuals who have been designated as leaders, and whose names appeared in the stratification sample, had the following scores: Mr. N, 4.7; Mr. L, 4.7; Mr. E, 4.6; and Mr. GMS, 4.4; Miss Q's name did not appear in the sample but her family was given a score of 4.5. The names of the other leaders, the priests and Mr. C, did not appear in the sample and their ranking is not known with reference to the study under discussion. With reference to the data presented in this chapter, one would infer that their ranking is high.

Since a systematic study of the total culture was not attempted, the norms of the group can only be suggested from the data which have been presented. Some of the norms pertaining to the group as such would appear

⁷⁵ Simmons suggests an ambivalent attitude of Mexicans toward their leaders in that 1) there is a profound suspicion and cynicism regarding his motives and 2) the leader is granted top status in the class hierarchy. Cf. O.G. Simmons, Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans in South Texas, A Study in Dominant-Subordinate Group Relations. Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1952, p. 532.

⁷⁶ See appendix C, for a description of the social stratification study.

to be the following: work against the Anglo whenever possible; defend "la raza"; become educated; belong to the Spanish associations; work actively in the associations; and work for the Spanish people. Undoubtedly there are other norms but these seem to be more consistently referred to in the data.

The leaders, according to the data presented, embody these norms in varying degrees. The data indicate that not one of the leaders embodies the norms to the full extent. All of the leaders and leadership in general, as has been emphasized, are considered inadequate by the group as a whole.

Spanish-Speaking Leadership in General

In concluding this chapter consideration will be given to the great need for leadership and the inadequacy of present leadership among the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest. This information is taken from the writings of some of the authorities in the field but is not intended to represent all Spanish-speaking people. It is presented so that the reader can compare a specific study of leadership in one area with what has been written about other areas.

Leonard and Loomis report a lack of and a need for leadership; in the words of one of their informants:

I don't think there is a real leader in the village. There are some who are older and more experienced than others....but they are not actually leaders....we need people upon whom we can depend on for advice.⁷⁷

Along the same line of thought Tuck writes:

The perpetual scarcity, the crying need, of the Colonia has

⁷⁷ O. Leonard and C.P. Loomis (Quoting an informant), op. cit., p. 59.

always been for intelligent and experienced leadership.⁷⁸

Dr. Sanchez has expressed a similar opinion:

We need effective professional leadership--leadership that expresses itself beyond the halls of learning and beyond the narrow limits of academic specialties.⁷⁹

The following quotations from the Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference of the Southwest Council on the Education of the Spanish-

Speaking People will support this discussion:

Inadequate housing, overcrowding....lack of leadership, are typical of any community peopled by a low income group, unless planning has alleviated slum conditions.⁸⁰

....Young people should be encouraged to seek higher education and to feel a responsibility for leadership.⁸¹

Among professionals who are concerned with the Spanish "problem", there is an awareness of the lack of and the need for leadership. The solution to the leadership problem is generally thought to be in education. This quite often means college or university training. Implicit in this attitude is the feeling that present leadership is inadequate. A few writers have specifically noted the inadequacy of leadership among the Spanish-speaking people.

Sanchez notes that there has been a general failure of leadership and institutions in the Southwest. They have,

....defaulted to Laissez Faire, the path of least resistance; to class privilege and blind prejudice; to venal selfish-

⁷⁸ R. D. Tuck, op. cit., p. 145.

⁷⁹ G. I. Sanchez, "The Default of Leadership", in Summarized Proceedings IV, p. 2.

⁸⁰ Proceedings, 5th Annual Conference, p. 71.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 95.

ness; to stupidity.⁸²

He continues, stating that political leadership in New Mexico and Texas seems completely indifferent to ways and means of accelerating acculturation of the Spanish-speaking population.⁸³

Schermerhorn distinguishes five types of leaders in the Mexican-American Community which can be viewed from the standpoint of inadequacy.

1) The natural leaders have considerable influence, but

They have the defects of their qualities which are an intimacy with the group, a limited vision with respect to outside contacts, and lack of status in the dominant community which might enable them to accomplish more for their own people.⁸⁴

2) The accommodating leader or explotador is the "Uncle Tom" variety, the "my people are so backward" apologist. This leadership is inadequate because it gives the Anglo the opportunity to separate the leader from the masses, label him "high type" and reinforce commonly held opinions about Mexicans in general.⁸⁵

3) The Mexican Consuls encourage a sort of nostalgic nativism and retard acculturation. They emphasize the "old ways as the best".

Although this attitude has its uses in preserving the pride of the Mexican for his home country, it is also a definite bar to assimilation in the new environment.⁸⁶

4) The temporary political leader does a commendable job on specific issues that come up, but he sinks into the background when the task is

⁸² G. I. Sanchez, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

⁸³ Idem.

⁸⁴ R. A. Schermerhorn, op. cit., p. 195. Quoted from R. C. Jones, op. cit.

⁸⁵ Idem., Quoted from R. D. Tuck, op. cit.

⁸⁶ Idem.

completed.⁸⁷

5) The business and professional leaders have attained a place of responsibility and power through their own efforts. Their success has estranged them from their own group, because to stay successful they have to think and act in terms not understood by the minority.⁸⁸ Some of the leaders remain at some social distance from the group in order to maintain their own social standards; or they cross over to the dominant group. This isolates the leader from the masses.⁸⁹

Several factors have been presented which can be associated with the inadequacy of leadership among the Spanish-speaking people. Before reviewing these factors, however, one must take into account the background which has been suggested by some of the writers in the field. The general background is suggested as follows: three patterns predominated in the old culture, the family, the religious, and the peón-patrón. These patterns were perhaps male-dominated and authoritarian in nature. Leadership resided in these patterns, leadership being somewhat institutionalized. With culture contact has come a change in leadership. Leadership must now take place in a setting which involves two cultures instead of one. It also involves a dominant-subordinate situation. A leader of the minority will always be faced with two cultures. A choice must be made concerning the direction in which he will lead. This decision is generally made by the group. When this line of thinking is pursued further, the following factors appear to be associated with the present inadequate

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 196.

⁸⁸ Idem., Quoted from R. C. Jones, op. cit.

⁸⁹ Idem.

leadership:

- 1) Leadership must now take place in a setting which involves two cultures.
- 2) Within the changing culture patterns there has yet to be established a satisfactory pattern of leadership.
- 3) A leader must be a participant in both cultures.⁹⁰
- 4) Education is considered as a panacea by many who are concerned with the inadequacy of leadership. Too often, however, the very process of education estranges the would-be leader from the followers.
- 5) Because of being qualified to lead in the direction of the dominant society it is very likely that the leader will (or even must) identify himself somewhat with the dominant society, but he must still be accepted by the minority society. Very often this becomes an impossible situation. Lewin⁹¹ states that individuals who become economically and professionally successful gain a higher degree of acceptance by the majority. Culturally this places them on the periphery of the minority group and makes them more likely to be "marginal". They generally do not like too close contact with the minority for fear of endangering their "good connections". Nevertheless they are called upon for leadership by the minority because of their status and power.

Lewin continues:

As a result, we find the rather paradoxical phenomenon of what one might call 'the leader from the periphery.' Instead of having a group led by people who are proud of the group, who wish to stay in it and to promote it, we see minority leaders who are

⁹⁰ "To lead one must be familiar with the territory. Even Juan Perez recognizes this when he says, 'Those big men (Mexican) know things we had no chance to learn. Sometimes we say they are setting themselves up to grow away from us, trying to change the color of their eyes to blue. But when a big man takes an interest and helps the rest, we know he could not do it unless he had learned your ways'." R.D. Tuck, op. cit., p.138.

"Effectiveness in serving the group pre-supposes command of Anglo ways, thus making the latter a requisite for acceptance into the leadership element accorded top status within the Mexican group." O.G. Simmons, op. cit., p. 365.

⁹¹ Kurt Lewin, Resolving Social Conflicts, p. 196.

lukewarm toward the group, who may, under a thin cover of loyalty, be fundamentally eager to leave the group, or who try to use their power outright for acts of negative chauvinism.⁹²

What has been written about other areas with reference to Spanish leadership seems generally to agree with the data presented for Mountain Town.

⁹² Kurt Lewin, op. cit., p. 196.

Chapter IV

Analysis and Interpretation

Among the Spanish people of Mountain Town a certain amount of group consciousness exists which is reflected in the leadership. The people, however, generally deny that such a group consciousness exists. The people insist there is no unity among the Spanish group, that they don't work together on anything, that no one from their own group tries to help them, that if someone were to attempt to help the people, the group would turn against him. These denials of group consciousness may be interpreted to mean that there is actually little unity (as the people express group consciousness) among the people. The denials may also mean that the unity that exists falls short of an idealized situation which in part may have existed (or be thought to have existed) in times past when the group was more homogeneous and the conflict situations between the Spanish and the Anglo were not as serious as they are now. The older generation talks about the "good old days" when the Spanish community worked together and got along well with the Anglos. A third interpretation of the denial of unity among the Spanish people may be that the denial is a stereotyped complaint, which in part may be the verbal expression of frustration, the frustration arising from the inability of the people to achieve certain desired goals. As to leadership it is quite obvious that the in-group cohesion of the Spanish people is thought to be very inadequate, as has been suggested in Chapters 2 and 3. This suggestion comes primarily from the fact that it is difficult to get the cooperation of the people on any type of project which calls for joint action. In such activities as attending club meetings, registering to vote, voting during elections, joining P. T. A., supporting the Church functions, and taking part in

community affairs, the Spanish people are generally apathetic. Occasionally the Spanish Community does exert a concerted effort toward the success of a particular project, but this type of cooperation, however, is rare. In spite of certain successes in joint action the general complaint of the people is the lack of cooperation. When asked specifically if there was any unity among the Spanish people, the majority of the sample said that there wasn't any unity. (See Table 9). The majority of the answers were followed by qualifying comments which can be grouped into several categories. These may be considered as reasons for the lack of unity as expressed by the people. The first category is envy. Envy is the overall factor which the people think accounts for the

Table 9. Distribution of the sample of the Spanish population with reference to the answers given when asked if there was any unity among the Spanish people of Mountain Town.

Answers	Number
No	102
Don't know	3
Not much	2
No answer	3
Some	14
Sometimes	1
Yes	8
Total	133

Source: Summary of schedules used in field work, 1952.

lack of unity. Twenty people mentioned envy (envidia) specifically as being the reason for the lack of unity. From several of the other interviews, one can infer that envy is the reason although it was not mentioned specifically. A few interviews will be used to illustrate the point.

....(with reference to unity informant said), No, (there isn't any), tienen envidia. Se tira uno con otro. (They are envious. They work against each other.)¹

....(informant said), No, hay mucha envidia. One wants to have more than the other.²

....(informant said), No, son muy envidiosos. Mejor van al Americano que al Mejicano. Es que saben mas los Americanos. (no, they are very envious. They would rather go to (do business with) the American than to the Mexican. It's because the Americans know more.)³

A second category into which the qualifying comments can be grouped is that of general individualism. Some people think that unity is lacking because the people are too individualistic and too independent. It is thought that the people are too individualistic ever to work together in politics, for higher wages, or for the welfare of the group. For example:

(Spanish informant said). There is no unity among the Spanish people and the reason for this is that they are so individualistic. You can't unite them on anything.⁴

No, (there is no unity) the people are too independent.⁵

Lack of interest is the third category into which the data can be grouped.

As expressed, this lack of interest should be taken to mean general apathy and indifference on the part of the people with respect to those affairs which do not directly and immediately affect their welfare. Even those affairs which should be of immediate concern to the people, (for example, wages), do not elicit a unified response. To be interested in striking for better wages is one thing; to know that you will probably lose your

¹ Sch. 5/14/52, 107.

² Sch. 5/14/52, 104.

³ Sch., 5/15/52, 91.

⁴ Lp., 4/2/52, 62.

⁵ Sch., 5/9/52, 65; Sch., 5/7/52, 61; and Sch., 5/20/52, 122.

job if you strike is another thing.

....You can't get the people to stick on politics or wages.... I was the one who turned off the machinery (during a strike) at the Co-op, but the people didn't stick. They agreed to strike for more wages but when the time came they backed out; most of them went back to work. The week after (the strike) many accused me of getting them fired....⁶

You can't do anything with the people. They're not interested in anything--what can you do?⁷

No, no hay unión, es una desgracia. No se enregistran, no votan, no se prestan para un puesto, ni van a las juntas. (No, there isn't any unity, it's a shame. They (the Spanish people) don't vote; they don't try for positions; they don't even attend the meetings.)⁸

The fourth reason that is given for the lack of unity, or the fourth category into which the data fall, is the distrust and suspicion with which the Spanish people look upon one another. Time after time, the writer was told that the Spanish people would not help another Spanish person get ahead. He was also told that if a Spanish person got ahead the people distrusted him and tried to drag him down. The usual way to accomplish this would be to talk against the individual and/or not patronize his place of business. Some individuals of course have improved their positions within the community. When speaking about these individuals the Spanish people often told the writer that these individuals were orgullosos (haughty) or agringados (effecting Anglo behavior). In general the Spanish people tend to thwart each other's efforts to obtain some kind of unity.

No hay unión; la raza es pura rifa. (There isn't any unity;

⁶ Sch., 5/16/52, 117.

⁷ Lp., 3/31/52, 66.

⁸ Sch., 5/20/52, 123.

the people are always wrangling).⁹

A un Mejicano lo tiramos; pero que venga un Americano, de donde quiera y nosotros lo levantamos....(We will throw down a Mexican, (that is, prevent him from getting ahead); but let any American come here and we will lift him up.) (That is, help him get ahead).¹⁰

No, (there is no unity), when a guy tries to get ahead the people throw him down, they say he's orgulloso.¹¹

...They (the people) don't have any interest in unity and they are suspicious.¹²

The fifth category into which the data can be grouped is that of a general resentment against the people who get ahead. The resentment is expressed more against the behavior of the individual than against the individual himself. The person who gets ahead in the system does so with the help of the Anglo and if not with the Anglo's help, he must interact a great deal with the Anglos. This interaction is interpreted as traitorous behavior, since the individual is not working against the Anglo.

...If you get someone (Spanish) in a high position he is soon working for them (the Gringos). They're pretty smart (the Gringos); they pat him on the back and soon he's working for them instead of against them.... When a guy is trying to get ahead, instead of helping him (the Spanish) pull him down; they don't trade with you and they say that you are getting rich.¹³

La gente no se quiere levantar...y cuando metemos a uno parce qe trabaja mas por los otros (Gringos) que por nosotros...(The people do not wish to advance...and when we elect someone to an office it seems that he works more for the Anglo than for us.)¹⁴

⁹ Sch., 5/12/52, 82.

¹⁰ Sch., 5/12/52, 14.

¹¹ Sch., 5/5/52, 52.

¹² Sch., 5/22/52, 126.

¹³ Lp., 3/31/52, 66.

¹⁴ Lp., 3/14/52, 90.

No hay unión, hasta los cajeros cuando agarran empleo, no hacen caso a la gente, si no es que tengan algun interes. Lo mas a los Gringos hacen caso. (There isn't any unity. Not even the (Spanish) clerks pay any attention to the Spanish people unless they have an ulterior motive. They just pay attention to the Anglo).¹⁵

Todos (son) muy apartes, no hay unión. La raza no tiene "chanza" aqui si no es que sea "sucker". (Everyone is independent, there isn't any unity. Spanish people do not have a chance here unless they are suck-asses).¹⁶

...If you get ahead they (the Spanish people) call you a suck-ass and a red-nose.¹⁷

In summary, The Spanish people of Mountain Town consider the in-group cohesion of the group to be inadequate. The reasons given for the lack of unity can be grouped into five categories, namely: envy, individualism, lack of interest, distrust, and resentment. These same factors are associated with the inadequacy of the Spanish leadership (both intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic), in Mountain Town. The pressure from the dominant group is such that it tends to result in a lack of development of the subordinate group. Although the pressure from without (from the Anglo system) tends to keep the Spanish group intact, it also tends to create a frustration with the group rather than a group unity. This frustration is expressed in attitudes of disunity. Few Spanish people will admit that they would like to leave the group, but many admit that the people in general have little interest in the group, and the overt behavior of the people as a whole bears this out. The in-group cohesion of the Spanish people is closely tied into and reflected through the leadership. Both the leadership and the in-group cohesion are considered

¹⁵ Sch., 5/12/52, 80.

¹⁶ Sch., 5/7/52, 57.

¹⁷ Sch., 5/1/52, 42.

to be inadequate.

Further analysis of the in-group cohesion may be made by taking into account the goals toward which the people strive. The goals may be considered as an aspect of the value orientation of the culture. The term "goals" will here be used synonymously with

Ends and objectives, or those changes (or perhaps the maintenance of the status quo) which members of the system expect to accomplish through the operation of the system.¹⁸

1. The dominant goal of the Spanish people of Mountain Town is the improvement of their economic status. Specifically this means that the people try to get a better job or a steady job. The type of work that is valued is "office" work or "clean" work which does not take much physical exertion, and which is steady work with a regular salary rather than seasonal or occasional work paid by wages by the day or by the amount of work done. The type of work which is least desired is agricultural work or "stoop labor". The majority of the working force is engaged in the latter type of work, and practically all are Spanish. Those individuals who are qualified for other jobs than "stoop labor" find it rather difficult to obtain such employment. They must, of course, compete with the Anglos, and in many fields of employment they must accept a lower wage than the Anglos for the same type of work. Most of the better qualified and better educated individuals leave the community. Improvement of the economic status means acquiring material goods in the form of property such as home furnishings, houses, other real estate, clothing, and automobiles. When those persons who have left Mountain Town return for a visit, the usual comment is that "they are driving a car and they are

¹⁸ C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, Op. cit., p. 5.

wearing new clothes". As an alternative, improved economic status to many people means a secure position on the welfare rolls. This is not to be interpreted, as many Anglos believe, that the Spanish people just sit around waiting to get on relief. It does mean, however, that once an individual is forced by circumstances to apply for welfare aid and once he establishes his eligibility under one of the welfare programs, he wants to be treated on equal terms with the Anglos under similar circumstances and he wants to receive as much aid as similarly qualified Anglos receive. He resents being rebuked by the welfare officials because of the purchase of some household article which he considers essential, but which the welfare officials consider a luxury for the client. An extreme example that came to the attention of the writer was the purchase of a refrigerator by a client.¹⁹ The clients complain bitterly about the welfare personnel, with some justification. On the other hand the welfare officials complain about the Spanish clients. It is the impression of the writer that the welfare personnel do not understand the Spanish people, and the Spanish people do not understand the workings of the welfare office. Neither group is sympathetic toward the other.

With reference to the dominant goal, improvement of economic status, present Spanish leadership cannot aid in the achievement of the goal, except in isolated instances and strictly on an individual basis. There

¹⁹ This particular client is partially disabled and has six children. He usually finds agricultural employment during the summer, but during the winter he must apply for relief. He claims that every year he has to fight with the welfare personnel to get back on the welfare roll. When he bought a refrigerator some Spanish person and the business man with whom he dealt reported the purchase to the welfare department. The case worker came out to investigate and told him that he didn't have any business buying such a luxury. He insisted that he needed the refrigerator, and he kept it.

has yet to be, for example, a movement to unite the workers so that they may bargain collectively with the farmers. There is plenty of talk about such things, but the leadership has yet to "stick its neck" out in this respect. Once in awhile a leader obtains a job for an individual, but the leaders have yet to lead a strike which will affect a number of people at one time.

2. A second goal which the Spanish people seek to accomplish is the improvement of their social status. Within the larger community the Spanish people on the whole occupy the lowest position on the social scale. They also occupy the lowest position on the economic and occupational scale. In social stratification terms the people are a lower class. In many respects (intermarriage, commensalism, occupations, social functions such as parties and dances, community functions such as membership in service clubs, fire department, etc., and religious affiliation), the social system of the community approaches a caste-like system. It is true, however, that the dominant system is open enough to permit an occasional, unusually qualified member of the subordinate group to achieve success and rise in status in dominant terms.²⁰ It is not possible, however, for the present leadership to improve the social status of the people as a whole. The qualifications necessary for success within the dominant system tend to be the same as the qualifications for inter-ethnic leadership. The individual who possesses these qualifications alienates himself from the subordinate group. The dominant system thus very effectively siphons off the only possible inter-ethnic leadership.

²⁰ James B. Watson, letter of March 21, 1953, to the author.

3. A third goal of the Spanish people is to raise their educational status. It is thought by many Spanish people that in educational achievement lies the solution to the problems of the group. That this is not necessarily so in the individual case is clear because the people can see that many a high school graduate is obliged to accept the lowest agricultural employment. Nevertheless, enough people succeed via formal education that high social and economic status is associated with educational achievement. Many individuals point with pride to their high school diplomas. Many parents boast of the fact that they have succeeded in giving their children an opportunity to attend high school. One would expect, then, that education as an institution would be an integral part of the culture, but it isn't. Although educational achievement is a goal toward which the people strive, the real importance of education as an institution is minor in the lives of the people. Education is a means to success, but by that token it is a step in the direction of Anglo culture and therefore it is more alien than integral to the traditional values.

The Spanish people rarely visit the school; they are not acquainted with the teachers nor with the administrative officials; and they hardly know of the existence of the P.T.A. On the other hand, the school teachers and officials rarely visit the homes and they seldom know the Spanish parents of the children in their rooms. Within the field of education the present leadership does not promote the achievement of the goals. There have not been any concerted efforts to enroll the children in school, nor to keep the children in attendance, nor to prevent them from dropping out. There have not been any attempts at enforcing the minimum school attendance laws nor at enforcing the child labor laws. The leaders do talk about the advantages and the importance of an education. They also urge

parents to send their children to school. But aside from talking about education, there is little that the leaders do to accomplish the goal of educational achievement.

4. To be able to speak English and to be able to speak it well is another goal of the Spanish people. This goal is closely related to the educational achievement goal. Generally speaking the ability to speak English gives the individual the advantage of being able to understand the Anglo as well as the advantage of being able to defend the subordinate group. The only way the leaders aid in the achievement of this goal is by encouraging the people to send their children to school. Adult education courses, Americanization instruction, and citizenship classes have not been developed. When the people meet for particular purposes such as club meetings, recreation, etc., their conversation is in Spanish, not English. Speaking English, however, is still a goal. Those who cannot speak English think that they are definitely handicapped.

5. Another goal of the Spanish people of Mountain Town is their desire for recognition. Broadly interpreted this means doing away with discrimination and thereby approaching some measure of equality. The people resent the discrimination displayed by the Anglos. The discrimination is quite obvious; it occurs in the schools, in restaurants, in employment, in the double-wage standard, in the welfare office, in the renting or buying of a house or a place of business, in politics, in the local courts and in the services of professional persons. The Spanish people must contend with discrimination most of the time. They are "kept in their place" by the Anglos, as several Spanish persons phrased it. About the only times that the Spanish people are treated as first-class citizens are during elections when the Anglo politicians are after votes, and dur-

ing a war when the Selective Service Boards are in need of manpower. Although many of the Spanish are not well read in civics and may not know the full extent of their rights, they do possess enough knowledge about these matters to distinguish first-class citizenship from second-class citizenship. They would like to have equal rights and equal opportunities.

The discrimination through the years has been so great, their inability to compete in an Anglo system has been so complete, their reluctance to give up their culture, or parts thereof has been so strong, the patterns of accommodation between the dominant and the subordinate systems have been such, that a general defeatist attitude has developed among the Spanish people and it has permeated the culture. When an issue of import to the members of the group comes up, few people will do anything about it. This has been proved many times in such things as politics, school segregation, employment, arrests, welfare aid, and in general discrimination. Their inability to present a united front is shrugged off with: "There is no unity"; "The people do not want to advance"; "There is much apathy"; "The raza doesn't have a chance" and "There aren't any leaders".

5. The Spanish people of Mountain Town are very religious people. This can be said of both the Catholics and the Protestants. Underlying all the goals herein discussed and primary in importance in the lives of the majority of the people, is the goal of saving their souls. The Church is one of the most important institutions in the culture. From birth to death the individual's dependence on the Church is great, and his relationships with it are many. The interpretation of the theology by the majority of the people is such that it approaches a fatalistic

philosophy. This type of philosophy may account, in part for the rather apathetic behavior which the people show with reference to group unity, politics, education, getting ahead, and acquisition of material goals. It is through the Church that one saves his soul, and the priest, as an agent of the Church as well as a leader, plays a most important role in the attainment of this goal. This is one area in which the leader can aid appreciably in the attainment of the goal, even though the salvation of the soul is treated largely as an individual matter.

Undoubtedly there are other goals toward which the Spanish people strive, but improvement of the economic, social, and educational status, fluency in the English language, desire for recognition, and the salvation of the soul, appear to predominate on the overt level. With the exception of the religious goal, the writer suggests that the goals of the Spanish people are essentially the goals toward which the Anglos strive, but perhaps these goals are held for different reasons and are to be attained by employing different means. Certainly these goals are to be attained in the dominant system and the present leadership aids little in their attainment.

Conclusion

The inadequacy of minority leadership in a bi-cultural community has been the problem of this thesis. Three hypotheses, pertinent to the problem, have been investigated. The hypotheses, stated in Chapter 1, are as follows:

1. In situations of dominant-subordinate relationships where the goals of the subordinate group are largely goals to be achieved within the dominant system, the in-group cohesion of the subordinate group will be considered inadequate by the subordinate system.

2. The leadership of the subordinate group will reflect the inadequacy of the in-group cohesion of the subordinate group. Essentially

leadership is a function of a specific situation. That is, leadership emerges from the group and it will therefore reflect the group situation. For purposes of analysis the leadership will be considered as taking two forms: (a) intra-ethnic, that type of leadership which is primarily concerned with intra-group relationships; and (b) inter-ethnic, that type of leadership which is primarily concerned with relationships between the subordinate and the dominant group.

3. The inter-ethnic leadership will be judged as inadequate by the subordinate group, since it cannot aid appreciably in the achievement of the goals because of the culture-contact situation in which it takes place. The social system is such that the dominant group is open enough to permit certain qualified members of the subordinate group to enter its ranks. The qualifications that these individuals possess are likely to be qualifications necessary for inter-ethnic leadership. These qualified individuals will not be effective leaders because they will appear to have "sold out" the subordinate group in moving toward the goals of the dominant group. On the other hand these qualified individuals may not have any inclination to lead the subordinate group because the qualifications which they possess have estranged them from the subordinate system.

It is the opinion of the writer that the data which have been presented confirm the hypotheses under investigation.

The writer does not hold the position that all minority leadership is inadequate nor that adequate leadership cannot develop within a minority group. He does, however, hold the position that in Mountain Town the leadership is inadequate for reasons which have been presented, a concluding statement of which follows.

In Mountain Town the culture system of the Spanish people is different in many respects from the culture system of the Anglos. In such areas as language, education, occupational skills, and religion the subordinate system is recognizably different from the dominant system and it is an obstacle to "success" in the dominant system. There apparently is no tradition of tight group cohesion which might result in strong group solidarity. On the contrary a deep seated individualism is apparent, making followership a rare and difficult thing among the less successful persons.²¹

²¹ James B. Watson, letter of March 21, 1953, to the author.

This individualism may also account for the fact that the successful person is not likely to identify himself and his interests with those of others as much as would be necessary for effective intergroup leadership. The historical tradition of the Spanish people has been such that the desire to shed their culture and become Americans has been relatively late in coming. Other subordinate groups in the United States have come or have been brought to the country and have settled among the "Anglos". In the case of the Spanish people in the Southwest, they were already established by the time the Anglo settled among them. There was not, therefore, a willful migration on the part of the Spanish to settle among the Anglos; nor has there been an assimilative resolution made by the group.* On the contrary there seems to have emerged, since the time of the conquest of the Southwest by the Anglos, a general group (Spanish) resistance to assimilation, making it much easier for the people to condemn rather than praise the assimilated individual, especially the would-be leader whose course of action is calculated to Americanize the people as a whole.

In terms of the social stratification system of the community as a whole, the Spanish occupy a lower class position. Although the social system approaches caste-like proportions, the dominant system is sufficiently open to permit a qualified individual from the subordinate group to enter its ranks, to rise and succeed.* The individual who rises in status in the dominant system is the individual whose qualifications should logically entitle him to the position of inter-ethnic leader. But such an individual, by virtue of his qualifications, is not able to iden-

* James B. Watson, letter of March 21, 1953, to the author.

tify himself and his interests to either group in a manner that is necessary for complete acceptance in either group. The dominant system, therefore, very effectively siphons off the only possible inter-ethnic leadership, without fully accepting it,* and the subordinate group feels that there is no leadership. Those conceivably qualified by education and status achievements to provide leadership are either mistrusted by the potential followers or they have no inclination to lead. They do render favors and provide counsel, but only on an individual basis.

The goals of the subordinate system appear to be goals which can be achieved largely within the dominant system. The leadership cannot aid appreciably in the achievement of the goals because of the culture-contact situation in which it takes place. In this respect the leadership is judged to be inadequate, and it reflects the inadequacy of the in-group cohesion of the subordinate group. Since the goals are to be achieved in the dominant system, no nativistic movement emerges. In reality, then, the situation appears to be just what the Spanish people say it is:

- 1) there is no effective leadership; 2) there is no unity among the Spanish people; 3) those individuals in a position to lead are either mistrusted or they have no inclination to lead.

* James B. Watson, letter of March 21, 1953, to the author.

Schedule administered to a random sample of the Spanish
population of Mountain Town.

INTER-ETHNIC LEADERSHIP SCHEDULE (Spanish) NAME _____

Age _____ Sex _____ R. in MT _____ Add. _____ Occup. _____ Ed _____

Relig. _____

1. When you (or the people) need help or advice, (filling out forms) getting welfare, a job, information about politics, etc.) to whom do you (or the people), generally go?

TO _____
TO _____
TO _____
TO _____

FOR _____
FOR _____
FOR _____
FOR _____

2. Which Sp. person would you like to see in a Co. office? Which office?

3. What persons do the most for the Sp. peo.? In what way? (Specifically what do they do?)

4. Do you think that they do all that they can for the people?

5. What more could they do?

6. Who are the most influential Sp. peo. in MT? Influential in what way?

7. Are there any leaders of the Sp. peo. in MT? (If not, why not?)
- | Leader | Gen. field of activity | Evaluation | Comm. | Eval. |
|--------|------------------------|------------|--------|--------|
| _____ | _____ | EGFPVP | EGFPVP | EGFPVP |
| _____ | _____ | EGFPVP | EGFPVP | EGFPVP |
| _____ | _____ | EGFPVP | EGFPVP | EGFPVP |
| _____ | _____ | EGFPVP | EGFPVP | EGFPVP |
| _____ | _____ | EGFPVP | EGFPVP | EGFPVP |
| _____ | _____ | EGFPVP | EGFPVP | EGFPVP |

8. Is there much unity among the Sp. people?
9. (If no leaders are mentioned.) What can be done about leadership?
10. Which is the best way of developing leadership?
11. (On back of sheet) Rank leaders and reasons for ranking.

Schedule administered to a selected sample of the Anglos of Mountain Town.

INTER-ETHNIC LEADERSHIP SCHEDULE (Anglo) NAME _____

Age _____ Sex _____ R in MT _____ Occup. _____ Ed _____ Relig _____

1. When you need to get something done among (involving) Sp.-Sp. people (such as elections, information of interest to the peo., jobs, etc.), which individuals do you contact?

Individual	Purpose
a.	a.
b.	b.
c.	c.
d.	d.
e.	e.

2. Are there any leaders among the Sp.-Sp. peo. in MT?

Leader	Gen. field of activity	Evaluation	Comm. Evaluation
a.	a.	E G F P VP	E G F P VP
b.	b.	E G F P VP	E G F P VP
c.	c.	E G F P VP	E G F P VP
d.	d.	E G F P VP	E G F P VP
e.	e.	E G F P VP	E G F P VP
f.	f.	E G F P VP	E G F P VP

3. Who are the best leaders? Why?

Ranking	Reason for ranking
a.	a.
b.	b.
c.	c.
d.	d.
e.	e.
f.	f.

4. If no leaders are mentioned. Why aren't there any leaders?

Schedule used to describe the associations in Mountain Town.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GROUP

1. Size____. 2. % Male____. % Female____. 3. Age Range: Y____O____Ave.____.
4. Types of members: Active____, Inactive____, Jr. member____, Honorary____.
Ex officio_____.
5. Entrance requirements:
6. Small groups or cliques:

NATURE OF THE GROUP

7. Written rules and regulations____, Rituals____, Formal elections____,
Secret meetings____, Special qualifications for office holder____.
8. Frequency of meeting____ Length of____. 9. Place_____
10. How long it has existed:_____
11. Affiliation: Nat'l.____Reg.____, State____, Dist.____, Just local_____.
12. Frequency of addition of new members:
13. Frequency with which members leave group:
Why:
14. Stated purpose of group:
15. Unstated purpose: _____
16. Benefits or satisfactions to members for belonging:
17. Competition with other groups:
18. Officers: Pres.____, V.P.____, Sec.,____, Treas.____ Others:_____
19. Leaders:
20. How did they get to be officers or leaders:
21. How long have they been officers? Leaders?
22. Any outside pressure? "Behind the scenes leadership"?
23. Channels of Communication:
24. Interest of members in purpose of group:
25. What is expected of each member:

Second Schedule used to describe associations.

Department of Soc.-Anth.
Washington University

REPORT ON CLUBS AND OTHER FORMAL* ORGANIZATIONS

Name of Organization_____

Name of Secretary or other person who provided this information_____

Local or Unit of National?_____

Number of Members_____

Qualifications of Membership- sex, age, religion, war service, or other

How one becomes a member-- applies, is invited, no formality, probationary period?_____

Declared purposes of the organization_____

Principal Activities--present or past_____

Frequency of Meetings_____

Nature of Meetings_____

Benefits to Members_____

Community Service--local, state, national_____

N.B.

Attach programs, reports, anniversary notices, etc.

*Formal means having name, constitution, dues or elected officers.

MOUNTAIN TOWN POPULATION SUMMARY

A census of the Spanish-speaking population was made in the summer of 1950. In the spring of 1952, one of the first things that had to be done was to check the census in order to make it more accurate by taking into account the migration of people, as well as the deaths of individuals.

After checking the census as fully as possible it was discovered that a considerable movement of population had taken place within the two-year period. Much more than one would expect from a relatively stable community like Mountain Town.

Sixty-six cards were added to the census. These cards represented single individuals as well as whole families, who had not been in the census in 1950. All of these, however, do not represent recent arrivals in Mountain Town. Many had been overlooked in 1950.

143 individuals and/or families left Mountain Town during the two-year period. The reasons for leaving which were generally expressed (by those who remained) were as follows: 1) During the last three years the whole valley had suffered from drought and farm jobs had not been available. 2) The defense industries had attracted many people. This included the steel mills and the ordinance depot in Colorado, the ordinance depot in Utah, and the mines outside of the valley. The above reasons account for most of the migration, however there are others such as: lay-offs in local employment, including the railroads, stores, and cafes; the armed services; seasonal labor, such as shearing in Wyoming and farming in Idaho; and lack of opportunity in Mountain Town for high school graduates.

A breakdown of the data shows that 27 individuals and/or families moved to other areas in the valley: 32 moved to areas within Colorado, other than the valley: 36 moved out of the state and accurate information, as to where they had moved, was not available for 48, (although it was known that they had moved).

A total of 11 individuals died during the two-year period.

Not including children under 18 years of age, but including heads of households, spouses, and children over 18 who contribute to the support of the family, this left a total of 426 persons in Mountain Town which served as the universe for the study and from which the random sample was drawn.

Tables 10, 11 and 12 show the universe and the sample distributions according to age, sex, and residential area.

From the universe total of 426 a random sample of 31 per cent was drawn. The sample totaled 133 individuals and its representativeness was 93.7 per cent, figured in terms of age. See table 12. The representativeness of the sample from a residential area viewpoint can be seen from table 11, in terms of numerical and percentage distribution of the sample and the universe according to residential area. The universe was composed of 50.7 per cent females and 49.3 per cent males. The sample was composed of 51.9 per cent females and 48.1 per cent males.

Table 10. Age distribution of the universe and sample males and females, by number and mean age, Mountain Town, 1952.

Age	Universe male & female	Sample male & female	Universe males	Sample males	Universe females	Sample females
	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number
18-27.9	53	18	18	7	35	11
28-37.9	104	32	51	10	53	22
38-47.9	90	25	46	11	44	14
48-57.9	68	14	34	8	34	6
58-67.9	66	25	34	12	32	13
68-77.9	27	15	17	13	10	2
78-87.9	18	4	10	3	8	1
Total	426	133	210	64	216	69
Mean age	46.36	47.28	48.05	52.21	44.71	42.71

Source: Field Work, 1950 and 1952.

Table 11. Percentage and numerical distribution of the Mountain Town Universe and the sample according to residential area.

Residential area	Sex	Universe		Sample	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
West	male	84		25	
	female	85	39.7	32	42.8
South- east	male	49		16	
	female	49	23.0	14	22.6
North	male	35		14	
	female	37	16.9	10	18.0
South	male	24		7	
	female	27	12.0	10	12.8
Farm	male	16		2	
	female	20	8.4	3	3.8
Total		426	100.0	133	100.0

* Combined percentages for males and females.

Source: Field Work, 1950 and 1952.

Table 12. Statistical description of the Mountain Town universe and sample population, showing the mean, mode, median, skewness, coefficient of variation, standard error of the mean, standard deviation and representativeness of the sample.

Population	Modal age	Median age	Mean age	Sk*	V/ %	$\sigma_{m\bar{x}}$	$\sigma_{\#}$	Rp//
Universe males and females	35.9	44.2	46.4	.395	35.1	.79	16.2	
Sample males and females	34.7	44.6	47.3	.471	36.1	1.48	17.1	93.7
Universe males	36.7	45.8	48.1	.414	33.6	1.11	16.1	
Sample males	68.9	53.0	52.2	-.132	34.2	2.23	17.8	91.5
Universe females	35.2	42.5	44.7	.405	36.1	1.09	16.1	
Sample females	33.8	39.1	42.7	.726	35.1	1.80	15.0	91.6

* Skewness
 / Coefficient of variation
 $\sigma_{m\bar{x}}$ Standard error of the mean
 $\sigma_{\#}$ Standard deviation
 // Representativeness of the sample.

Source: Field Work, 1950 and 1952.

Social Stratification, a Summary

The system of social stratification of the Spanish-speaking people of Mountain Town was chosen as a subject of investigation for three general reasons: 1) the writer's interest in the subject, 2) the fact that few people have investigated the subject, (although the writer did not exhaust the sources, he did search for reports on the subject and found only one article in which the social stratification system of the Spanish-speaking people was reported, in part).¹ and 3) the fact that some work on Anglo stratification in Mountain Town had been done.

As complete a census as was possible under the circumstances was obtained from the following sources: 1) the census of the Catholic Church, 2) the membership lists of the associations and, 3) the registered voters' lists from the County Clerk's office.

The methodological techniques were taken, with modification, from A. B. Hollingshead's Elmtown's Youth. Following is an outline of the general procedures employed.

1. After two weeks of interviewing, the writer felt that it would not be wise to stratify the universe. The two main reasons being that a) it was going to be difficult to find individuals who would be willing to rank the families and; b) the interviews with panel members should not be more than two hours long. It was then decided to take a random sample of the universe and include not more than 150 families. This number of families would constitute a 43 per cent sample and the panel members could rank these within two hours.

2. Each family card in the census was numbered. Then uniform

¹Donovan Senter, "Acculturation in New Mexico".

pieces of cardboard were cut and numbered, one for each family card. These numbers were then placed in a box, mixed many times, and 150, or 43 per cent, were drawn at random.

3. A 3" x 5" card, which included the name and address, was typed for each individual in the sample. A 5" x 8" piece of paper was cut for each card. This included also the name and address of each individual in the sample and was used to write any comments about the individual while he was being ranked by the panel.

4. A panel of twelve individuals was selected. The writer tried to get as diversified a panel as possible. The bases for the selection of the panel were as follows: After three weeks of general interviewing it became known that there was some stratification in the community. The criteria which people used for stratification seemed to be a) area of residence, b) occupation, c) income, d) degree of acculturation and e) religion. The writer used these criteria as the bases for selecting his panel. The panel consisted of the following members:

A) A male, 46 years old, Catholic, living on Main Street, seemingly active in politics, showing "some" acculturation, owning a business and a resident of Mountain Town for 10 years.

B) A female, 31 years old, Catholic, a housewife, "very much" acculturated as determined by the appearance of the yard, house, furnishings, language and dress; living at the edge of WMT, NMT and SMT, and being a life-long resident of Mountain Town.

C) A male, 24 years old, "completely" acculturated, a senior in College, living in NMT, Catholic and a resident of Mountain Town for 19 years.

D) A female, 49 years old, a member of the Spanish Assembly of God

Church, a housewife and operating a small, second-hand store, a "slight" degree of acculturation, living in WMT and a life-long resident of Mountain Town.

E) A male, 77 years old, an old age pensioner, living on the street that divides WMT from what is considered NMT, and being a Catholic.

F) A female, 64 years old, living in SMT, a Catholic, a housewife and lifelong resident of Mountain Town.

G) A female, 42 years old, a housewife, very active in community affairs, a particularly active church worker, Catholic and living in the central part of WMT.

H) A female, 38 years old, "highly" acculturated, a county official, a high school graduate, living in SEMT.

I) A female, 29 years old, a housewife, living in NMT, a high school graduate, "highly" acculturated and a Catholic.

J) A female, 32 years old, does housework, "slight" degree of acculturation, has lived in the extreme western part of WMT all her life.

K) A male, "highly" acculturated, a professional man, 59 years old, having had 6 to 7 years of college training, a county official and living in NMT. (He maintained that the community was not stratified and therefore did not rank the families).

L) A female, 44 years old, living in extreme poverty, "very little" evidence of acculturation, living across the tracks in WMT. (She was most willing to help, but after the first ten cards were ranked, it was obvious that she didn't understand what she was doing. Her ranking was not counted).

5. The panel members were given the following set of instructions which were explained thoroughly at the beginning of the interview:

INSTRUCTIONS FOR STRATIFICATION

The purpose of this study is to determine how the Spanish-speaking people are ranked in the community of Mountain Town, by the Spanish-speaking people themselves.

We would like to know how you rank the people in the community, or more precisely, what social position do you think the community gives these individuals. Your opinions and ideas will be held strictly confidential. If you are willing to help us in this study, I would like to explain the following instructions:

- A. The cards which I have here are a sample, drawn at random, from the total Spanish-speaking population.
 - B. On the cards are the names and addresses of family heads. Each card represents a separate household.
 - C. I would like for you to take each card and place it on the table. If you think that two or more individuals have things in common, or belong close together, place them in the same pile.
 - D. Rank these cards in whatever way you think best, to indicate their position in the community.
 - E. Make any comments you wish about each card, to indicate why you are placing it in a particular pile.
 - F. If you do not know enough about a family to rank it, place the card to one side.
 - G. (After the ranking was finished, the panel member was asked): In your opinion do the families in the various groups have the same social position? If so, why? If not, why not?
6. If five members of the panel did not know a given family, or if the family had moved from Mountain Town, or if an individual had died, another name, drawn at random, was added to the sample.
7. When the rating was completed the following system was used to change the data from qualitative to quantitative terms.

A relative weight was given to each stratum, as the strata were stratified in a hierarchal system by the raters. The lowest stratum was given a relative weight of 0 and the top stratum was given the highest

weight, depending on the number of strata determined by each rater. For example, if one rater thought that there were six strata in the community, the lowest stratum received a relative weight of 0 and the highest a relative weight of 5. Whereas if another rater thought that there were nine strata, the lowest received a relative weight of 0 and the highest a relative weight of 8.

8. These relative weights for each family were averaged by the number of raters who had rated the family. This gave each family an average of relative weights.

9. The averages were then tabulated. The tabulations showed a five group stratification, which when compared with the qualitative aspects of the data, showed a high degree of congruity.

A summary of the panel ratings is presented in table 13.

Table 13. Numerical distribution of the stratified sample according to the number of strata each panel member chose.

Strata	Members of the panel									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
A	8	19	3	75	34	16	19	1	12	31
B	20	44	29	18	58	3	30	5	13	35
C	20	1	22	16	6	49	17	34	28	3
D	31	1	9		11	12	30	64	21	4
E	9	1	10		4	3	17	33	21	
F	10	6	5			7	8		2	
G			3			3			3	
H						8			4	
I						4				
Total										
rated	98	72	181	109	113	105	121	137	104	73
not										
rated	52	78	69	41	37	45	29	13	46	77
Total	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150

Source: Field Work, 1950.

Table 14. Distribution of the sample on the basis of averaged relative weights, using a one-point interval.

Average of relative weights	Number in the sample
0 - .9	3
1 - 1.9	21
2 - 2.9	30
3 - 3.9	61
4 - 4.9	19
Total	134*

*The total sample cases ranked was 134 instead of 150. This was due to the fact that so many families were not well known, plus the fact that some individuals had moved.

Source: Field Work, 1950.

The actual number brought into the sample was 184 or 53 per cent of the universe. The number who had either moved, or were not known or not rated by at least four members of the panel, was 50, leaving 134 individuals or 38 per cent of the universe. It is significant that in a small community like Mountain Town, with its "Spanish-cultural" setting, so many people would not be known.

Description of the stratification

Using the averages of relative weights as the base and making the one-point interval the dividing line between strata, the social stratification in Mountain Town falls into five groups.

Group A, 19 families

The average scores of this group range from 4 to 4.8.

These people were generally considered by the panel as being in the "top" group. They are "nice" people, "well liked" by both Anglos and Spanish. They are "active socially" and "get along well in community affairs". In general they are "ambitious", "good Catholics", and "have given advantages" to their children. They are interested in community affairs, leaders among the Spanish-speaking people and have some of the "best" jobs available to these people. For the most part they are steadily employed.

Their average per capita property valuation is \$381.31. The average grade completed, for those for whom information was available, was 8.8.

Two live in WMT, three in NMT, ten in SEMT, one in SMT, two on farms and the residence for one was unknown.

Group B, 61 families

This group represents the largest number of the people in the system. Their average scores range from 3 to 3.9. This group is composed of steady workers and old age pensioners. Their occupations are primarily farm labor and common labor (shed work, sheepherding and trucking).

They are "nice", "hardworking", "average" people. They "don't mix much", and "never bother anyone".

Their average per capita property valuation is \$67.83. The average grade completed, for those for whom information was available, was 5.8.

Nineteen live in WMT, seventeen in SEMT, twelve in NMT, four in SMT and information was not available for nine families.

Group C, 30 families

The average scores of this group ranged from 2 to 2.8.

This group is not as well off financially as the above groups. They

are not considered "steady" workers. They are common laborers and old age pensioners. They are "poor", "shiftless", they "drink" and "don't" attend church.

Their average per capita property valuation is \$45.83. The average education completed for those for whom information was available, was 4.9. Eleven live in WMT, six in SEMT, four in SMT, five in NMT and information was not available for 4.

Group D, 21 families

The average scores for this group ranged from 1 to 1.8. This group actually is not far removed from group E.

They are "worthless", "not good Catholics", "never in church", "not winos" but "drink a lot". Some are "winos", some "drunkards" and some "good providers".

About 50 per cent of them are "immoral", i.e. either "crooked" or in "common law marriages" or "living with other men" or "women". A few are pensioners, most are common laborers.

Their average per capita property valuation is \$33.33. Their average grade completed is 4.8. The majority, 13 live in WMT, four in SEMT, one in SMT and for three no information was available.

Group E, 3 families

The scores of this group ranged from .2 to .8. They are the "town's bums", the "winos", the "esklines", the "worthless" individuals--the fellows who are always drunk and who have "gone to the dogs".

The three individuals live in three different areas. One has completed the seventh grade, one had property valued at \$20.00, making their average \$6.60.

They "don't work steady". Two do odd jobs and the other receives

a pension from the government.

These data were presented primarily to lend support to the social ranking of the leaders mentioned in Chapter 3. The data are only preliminary and are not to be taken as the final word on social stratification among the Spanish people of Mountain Town.

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