ship is recruited. Quite often such persons combine the personal skills necessary for effective leadership with the equally necessary motivation.

Finally, it may be noted that if the conception of social status presented in this paper is as fruitful as the findings of this pilot study would seem to indicate, some considerable modification of the traditional conception of social class will also be required. This point will be developed more fully in subsequent papers based on the present project.

One methodological implication of the present study remains to be discussed. During the past two decades it has become fashionable in social science circles to construct indices of socio-economic status by averaging up in some manner several status variables.[21] The findings of this present study indicate that such constructions are seriously deficient in characterizing the social status of a significant minority of the population. Such techniques for classifying individuals fail to take into account what appears to be an important dimension of status, and thus may frequently fail to

---

[21] See, for example, W. Lloyd Warner, *et al.*, *Social Class in America*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949, Part 3; or Clyde V. Kiser and P. K. Whelpton, "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility, IX. Fertility Planning and Fertility Rates by Socio-Economic Status," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 27 (1949), pp. 214–16.

account for an important part of the variance in the phenomena under investigation.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions which are drawn from a pilot study such as the present one should be concerned primarily with questions of the advisability of pursuing further the projected line of research, and the methods appropriate to further research, if such is warranted. Conclusions concerning the validity of given hypotheses about social relationships are hardly warranted, except insofar as they relate to the question of the advisability of further research.

In the present case the writer feels that the findings fully warrant further exploration of the crystallization dimension of status. This view seems justified not only on the ground that status crystallization seems a useful tool for reducing the range of unexplained variation in American political behavior, but also because of the broader theoretical and methodological implications which were outlined in the preceding section.

Future research in this area should be directed not only to the checking and rechecking of the relationship of status crystallization and political liberalism, but also to the exploration of the relationship of status crystallization to variations in other areas of behavior, and in personality development as well. Possibly fruitful new discoveries will result.

SUBORDINATE LEADERSHIP IN A BICULTURAL COMMUNITY: AN ANALYSIS

JAMES B. WATSON and JULIAN SAMORA

Washington University and Adams State College

IT is held in the present paper that the ability of a subordinate group to generate effective leadership in its relations with a dominant alien people is a critical aspect of dominant-subordinate group relationships. The subordinate group in question here is the Spanish of the Southwest. We wish to see Spanish leadership in its autonomous setting, to see it in relation to the intercultural system which is emerging be-

tween Spanish and Anglo-Americans, and to consider leadership and some of its acculturational consequences.

REGIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE CASE

The Spanish-speaking people are one of the largest United States ethnic minorities, and are concentrated principally in the southwestern part of the nation. Those whose forefathers were in the area in 1848

when the United States acquired the territory are also among the oldest ethnic groups, although many others have entered the region from Mexico over the intervening years. The Spanish-speaking are not powerful politically, a fact closely related to the perennial lack of leadership among them. They are seen by some authorities as surprisingly undifferentiated, compared to other large American ethnic groups, in schooling, in occupation, in income, and in degree of acculturation.[1] Perhaps the most outstanding fact about the Spanish, besides their lack of leadership is their low rate of acculturation. The special historical status of the Spanish may have a bearing upon the two facts, and the broad historical context suggests linkages between the leadership question and that of low assimilation.

The Southwestern Spanish[2] were a separate society when they came into contact with, and in a sense were conquered by Anglo-Americans, or "Anglos." Speaking a separate language and practicing separate customs, they were highly visible culturally. They represented nevertheless a modified branch of European civilization, unlike the Indians from whom they had received many influences, and unlike African slaves. In contrast to many Europeans who migrated to the United States, however, they had not voluntarily elected to adopt the lifeways of the dominant group. Moreover, they were more "native" and ecologically more adapted to their habitat in the Southwest than the dominant group. In these two respects they were more like Indians than immigrants. In the growing similarity of their goals with those of the dominant group, the Spanish are comparable to the present United States Negro, though their cultural similarity to Anglos is much less. In the sense of being a "conquered people" enslaved by their conquerors, the Spanish are somewhat like colonial people but more strictly comparable to the French of Canada. They differ from the French, however, in having smaller numerical strength relative to the dominant

group, and they did not occupy the beachhead and focal areas of the Anglo-American culture and society. Their relative isolation (1650–1900) from the parent culture as well as from the Anglo culture is also an important factor with respect to assimilation.

Hence, historically having less motivation toward assimilation and deeper environmental and traditional roots than most U. S. immigrants, less commitment to and a less exclusive need for identification with the dominant cultural system than U. S. Negroes, but smaller numerical strength and less strategic position than the Canadian French, the Spanish as a group might be expected, more than others, to sense ambivalences about assimilation. Again, beside the fact of an increasing struggle for status in the Anglo system, one must place the opposing fact—peculiar to the Southwestern Spanish—that they have at their backs an effective reservoir of Spanish language and national Mexican culture to help reinforce and stabilize any tendency toward cultural separatism.

All of these broad, contradictory factors probably play their part in the default of Spanish leadership, as well as the more specific factors discussed below. In the larger Southwestern setting ambivalence about nativism *vs.* assimilation would obscure the direction Spanish leadership should take and thus hamstring the development of effective leadership.

Turning to the present, there is singularly little controversy concerning whether Spanish leadership is weak, regardless of the point of view of different commentators. Agreement is all but unanimous among scientific investigators,[3] among social workers and

---

[1] Leonard Broom and Eshref Shevky, "Mexicans in the United States: A Problem in Social Differentiation," *Sociology and Social Research,* 36 (January, 1952), pp. 150–158.

[2] The term "Spanish," used throughout the paper refers to "the Spanish-speaking people."

[3] Cf. Robert C. Jones, "Mexican Youth in the United States," *The American Teacher,* 28 (March, 1944), pp. 11–15; Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, El Cerrito, New Mexico,* Washington: USDA, BAE, 1940; R. W. Roskelley and C. R. Clark, *When Different Cultures Meet,* Denver: Rocky Mountain Council on Inter-American Affairs, 1949; George I. Sanchez, "The Default of Leadership," in *Summarized Proceedings IV,* Southwest Council on the Education of the Spanish-Speaking People, Fourth Regional Conference, Albuquerque, New Mexico, January 23–25, 1950; Ozzie G. Simmons, *Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans in South Texas, A Study in Dominant-Subordinate Group Relations*

public and private agencies interested in the Spanish-speaking people, among Anglo politicians, and among the people themselves. The Spanish of "Mountain Town," the subject of the present paper, are no exception.

THE COMMUNITY STUDIED

In the summers of 1949 and 1950, students from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of Washington University, under James B. Watson's direction, carried out part of an intended long-range study of a small Anglo-Spanish community. Samora further pursued field work in the community, relating particularly to the question of Spanish-speaking leadership and organization, in the spring and summer of 1952.[4] It is largely with the findings from this bi-ethnic community that we propose to explore the question of weak leadership, but with the general background of the region always in mind.

Mountain Town, as we have called the community, is located in a high mountain valley of southern Colorado. It is at about 7000 feet above sea level, in an area of mixed truck farming and cattle and sheep ranching. Its 1950 population was close to 2500, comprising approximately 58 per cent Spanish-speaking and 42 per cent Anglos. (Hence the Spanish-speaking are not numerically a "minority" in the community itself, and will not be so called.) Founded around 1870, Mountain Town developed as a community of Anglo miners, storekeepers, and homesteaders. There were at the time but few "Old Spanish" families in the area, and they did not precede the Anglos by more than a decade or two. Mountain Town, hence, developed differently from the older established Spanish communities to the south which Anglos have come to dominate. The difference may have a bearing in the discussion which follows.

Descendents of original Spanish settlers still live in or near Mountain Town. It is probable that at least some of them could have been classed as *Patrón* families. Two or three are still landowners. However, the vast majority of Spanish-speaking families in Mountain Town came at a later date, many possibly around 1920. Much of this migration was from the Spanish villages of northern New Mexico, and kinsmen can often still be traced to or from that area. Practically none of these people are landowners, except for house plots; nor are they often proprietors in any other sense. The largest number are still seasonal wage workers, unskilled or semiskilled "stoop labor." Some of the women work as domestics, but many more work in the fields or produce-packing sheds. As a group, the Spanish-speaking depend for employment on the prosperity of local agriculture.

While the foregoing generalizations stand, some Spanish are now making their way slowly up the socioeconomic ladder as store clerks, garage or filling station employees, a few as operators of small groceries or oil stations, and several as salaried clerical personnel. There has been a gradual increase over the last 25 years in the number of Spanish-speaking who have eighth grade schooling, and gradually more go on or complete high school.[5] The war industries of the Pacific Coast attracted a number from Mountain Town and materially raised their economic level, and service in the armed forces broadened the ethnic outlook of not only Spanish but also of some Mountain Town Anglos. There is no question of palpable Spanish acculturation. Bilingualism, to mention an important facet, now prevails among a majority of the Spanish and increasingly one finds older people the only strict monolinguals.

Many older Anglo residents of Mountain Town feel that they have seen a definite change in the social and economic status of the Spanish-speaking, but there is no denying that traditional attitudes and traditional ethnic relationships still generally prevail. The Anglo and Spanish-speaking groups are sharply distinguishable as to religion, economic status, occupational status, language, surnames, residence, and usually physical

(Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1952); Ruth D. Tuck, *Not With The Fist: Mexican-Americans in a Southwest City,* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949.

⁴ Julian Samora, *Minority Leadership in a Bi-Cultural Community* (Ph.D. Thesis, Washington University, St. Louis, 1953).

⁵ James B. Watson, *Preliminary Observations Based On the Community of Mountain Town* (Unpublished manuscript, Washington University, St. Louis, n.d.).

appearance. Ethnic distinctions along these lines are made by nearly all members of both groups. The Spanish are nearly all nominally Catholic and the Anglos are nearly all nominally Protestant. Political and economic control of the community is in the hands of the Anglos. There is not the slightest question of their superordinate position in relation to the Spanish as a whole, though certain individuals of Spanish background clearly receive personal respect and prestige well above that of many Anglos.

The Anglo-Spanish relationship has some of the properties of a caste system. Spanish and Anglo are practically endogamous. Religious participation is mostly along ethnic lines, and many Anglo Protestants would not want the conversion of non-Protestants at the expense of any sizeable Spanish attendance in their churches. Although somewhat ill defined, there is residential distinctness in Mountain Town, and distress is felt by some Anglos at having close "Mexican" neighbors. The Spanish are excluded almost completely from Anglo social and civic organizations (e.g., lodges, Volunteer Firemen, Chamber of Commerce, Junior C of C, Rotary), except, to some extent, the P.T.A. and a veterans' group. In the cases of many of these organizations, the vast majority do not qualify for membership (e.g., in Rotary), but the lack of qualifications appears to be largely incidental. Parties, dancing, picnics, and visiting are uniformly intra-ethnic, as are bridge, sewing circles, teas, and bazaars. As in a true caste system, obviously the sharp differentiation of interaction is not simply the will and doing of one group by itself. The Anglos, for example, find out, when they decide to broaden the membership of the Parent-Teachers Association, that it is not easy to enlist Spanish parents or to have them assume office.

SPANISH DISUNITY

The disunity among the Spanish group is quite evident in Mountain Town. Disunity does not mean the existence of factionalism, it refers, rather, to the lack of common action and to limited group cohesion. 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.

Considering the distinctness of sociocultural boundaries, the disunity of the Spanish group is striking, for the rigid exclusiveness of the Anglos might theoretically be a strong factor in their cohesion. Nor can Spanish disunity find its explanation in any wide socioeconomic disparity within the group. Nevertheless, Spanish cohesion seldom transcends such verbalizations as *nosotros* ("we") or *la raza* ("our people"), a generalized resentment of Anglo dominance and discrimination, and a readiness to perceive injustice in Spanish-Anglo dealings.

Disunity is a large factor in the lack of political power of the Spanish. In Mountain Town numbers do not explain the failure of the subordinate group—a majority—to put people they trust into critical offices. The Spanish are not wholly indifferent about certain elective offices, the sheriff, for example, who, if prejudiced, may enforce the laws quite one-sidedly. The school board offices are also thought to be ethnically critical or sensitive because of constant fear of segregation. But the election of an avowedly pro-Spanish candidate is rare indeed. Perhaps few Anglo politicians have understood the basic disunity of the Spanish, but a good many have at least recognized it. Occasionally, however, a direct appeal is made to the Spanish as Spanish. The results in Mountain Town bear out the cynical who feel it is better to ignore the ethnic issue. "They will not even vote for their own people" is commonly asserted, and this is bitterly conceded by most Spanish.

The failure of unity and leadership in politics is not the only type of weakness of the Spanish group. There is, of course, a more informal type of leadership in interethnic relations. The spokesman, as he is often called, is a leader to whom politicians or others may turn for advice and commitments on matters seen as affecting the interests of the ethnic group. There are two or three Spanish individuals in Mountain Town —one in particular—whom most Anglos consider to be spokesmen. The same individuals were cited by the majority of the Spanish when asked by Samora who were the leaders of their group. Yet these individuals usually make commitments for their

group only at great risk. Actually, they generally refuse to do more than express an opinion or give very general advice. Investigation failed to show that any individual among the Spanish, including those most mentioned as leaders by Spanish and by Anglos, was willing to assume the responsibilities of a real spokesman for the group. There was no reason to believe that any of the persons mentioned could actually keep significant commitments if he made them.

But if a distinction is made between the inter-ethnic leadership described above and intra-ethnic leadership,[6] is the picture of the latter more favorable? Investigation was made by the junior author and his wife of 16 *sociedades* and *mutualistas,* lodges and mutual benefit organizations, which exist in Mountain Town with exclusively Spanish membership and objectives, as well as of lay societies ancillary to the Roman Catholic Church. The findings, reported in detail elsewhere, were rather uniform.[7] On the whole, the non-church associations were characterized by ineffectual leadership, very poor attendance, irregularity of procedure and schedule, lack of decisive action—even in inducting new members, and often a precarious existence. Careful comparison of the church-sponsored sodalities (*e.g.,* Altar Society, Family Society) revealed the priest as central to their direction and probably instrumental in their better showing compared to the secular groups. Even when the priest tried to play a less prominent role, circumstances, if not his own inclinations, tended to thrust him into a position more beside than behind the figure in the chair. Lay leadership, by the priest's admission, from observation of the members, and by their testimony, was not considered adequate.

The facts about the Mountain Town Spanish suggest deficiency, then, both as to leadership in inter-ethnic relations and as to leadership of purely ethnic organizations, except those ancillary to the Church. Yet strong factors for cohesion unmistakably exist—Anglo exclusiveness, a relatively undifferentiated Spanish group, a common ethnic tongue, Spanish group concepts, recognition of group-wide grievances, their majority voting position, and even some Anglo

[6] Julian Samora, *op. cit.,* p. 52.
[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 13–51.

political attempts to unify the Spanish vote. In the light of such factors, we may ask why leadership is so ineffectual among the Spanish.

THE HYPOTHESIS OF LEADERSHIP DEFICIENCY

It is the contention of this paper that four principal conditions account for the inadequacy of Spanish leadership in Mountain Town and probably to some extent among the Spanish of the larger Southwest.

(1) Traditional forms (patterns) of leadership, which functioned well enough in pre-Anglo-Spanish culture, have been unadaptable and possibly a handicap to the development of adequate patterns of group leadership in the contact situation.

(2) Increasingly, the status goals of the Spanish group as a whole lie in the direction of Anglo culture; for the achievement of such goals, hence, leaders relatively well adapted to the Anglo system are increasingly indicated.

(3) General ambivalence and suspicion are accorded individuals of Spanish background who are "successful" since the terms of success are now largely Anglo terms (viz. (2) above), and it is widely assumed that success is bought by cooperation with the outgroup and betrayal of one's own.

(4) Although caste-like enough to give sharp definition to the two groups, Anglo structure is relatively open to competent Spanish and thus permits the siphoning off of potential Spanish leadership, individuals relatively well adapted to the Anglo system.

The net result of these conditions is that, in the lack of adaptable traditional types, the only potential leaders who might be qualified to provide the kind of leadership indicated today are by virtue of their very qualifications absorbed into the larger body politic and are disqualified in the minds of their own fellows.

DISCUSSION

(1) The conclusion is widespread that what can be said about traditions of authority in Mexico, and even Latin America, applies on the whole to the Spanish of the Southwest. If so, the pre-Anglo-Spanish picture was one of strong authoritarian roles, the padre, the *patrón,* and the *jefe de*

familia.[8] The *caudillo* is of course a classic Latin American type. In fact, a suggestive interpretation can be made of these roles in Spanish culture as variations on the same fundamental theme, strong and decisive authority, and F. R. Kluckhohn has commented that the Spanish-American is quite systematically trained for dependence upon such authority.[9] Such a pattern would scarcely appear by itself to be an impediment to the existence of effective Spanish leadership in inter-ethnic relations.

But the traditional pattern of local, secular authority among the Spanish is of the wrong kind. First, in many places, the *patrón* pattern was simply unable to survive the innovations of Anglo contact. In Mountain Town the *patrón-peón* relationship has no strong personal relevance for the majority of Spanish. They probably still possess some cultural adjustments to the pattern, but many lack deep roots in the community and hence lack any long-standing familial connection with local *patrón* lineages. Moreover, there is relatively little tenant or even employee relationship nowadays except with Anglo landlords or employers. Crew bosses and labor middlemen exist, to be sure, but these intercultural agents are usually themselves committed to Anglo employers.

Yet there are two *patrón*-like figures in Mountain Town, and these were the ones most often mentioned as leaders by the Spanish Samora interviewed. There was some ambivalence about them, however. Many who named these "leaders," apparently in default of anyone else, declared that they could not be counted on in a pinch or that they would not do all that they could for the Spanish people.[10] Investigation showed that these pseudo-*patrones*, when called upon, usually served their fellow Spanish in limited and personal ways. They might give an individual help in the form of advice or instructions. They sometimes helped him fill in an official form or make out an application. They might, though

rarely, intercede, using their personal influence with some governmental (*i.e.*, Anglo) agency, typically the County Welfare bureau. Intercession in these cases would almost never be insistent; in fact, it is ordinarily reluctant. The pseudo-*patrones* were not reported by anyone as ever attempting to organize their people for some lasting and broadly based social action.

Interestingly enough, leadership in approximately these limited terms matches fairly well the authors' understanding of the older *patrón* pattern. The *patrón* did not form committees, found organizations, or often refer formally to his followers for common assent to social decisions. He bound them to him on a personalistic basis, with advice and counsel and by providing assistance to those lacking other resources. Such paternalistic leadership could function in the status system of colonial Mexican culture; it cannot function very extensively where the *patrón* cannot assure his followers of security in reward for their loyalty—they work for Anglos—and where even the status of the *patrón* himself is guaranteed by no *latifundium* manned with loyal retainers. Too often his status depends—even more than that of successful Anglos, he feels—upon the sufferance and approval of those in dominant positions. In such a situation erstwhile leader and follower can do little for each other in the traditional terms which were the very core of the *patrón-peón* relationship.

It may be relevant to add that the *patrón* himself was usually identified with the same general social class as those who held most of the important formal offices in the government. Ties of kinship were traditionally common between *patrón* and official. It is probably not going too far to suggest that the *patrón* himself tended in many instances to act informally as an agent of government in relation to the *peones*—"His word was law." To the extent that *patrón* status was adjusted to fit such an identification with and informal extension of governmental authority, it would likely not be an adaptable form of leadership when kinship and status identification with the dominant group were made ambivalent or impossible through their replacement by aliens.

It will be recalled that the church-spon-

[8] Cf. R. L. Beals, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–10; and O. Leonard and C. P. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[9] F. R. Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations," in C. Kluckhohn and H. A. Murray, *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*, 2nd ed. rev., New York: Knopf, 1953.

[10] Julian Samora, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–76.

sored societies in Mountain Town are generally the most effective ones among the Spanish. The lack of inter-ethnic leadership by the church certainly cannot be blamed, like that of the *patrón,* on any local restriction of the church's ability to function, nor probably on any intrinsic maladaptation of church leadership. Rather, the reason is probably that the Roman Church in the United States is only indirectly political and that not all its communicants are Spanish. In any event the church does not attempt to provide local leadership for the Spanish as a group in their common struggle for status. A special factor in Mountain Town is the national origin of the priests, who come from Spain. This factor may be of no consequence, however, as Southwestern Spanish parishes with American-born priests may have no greater church leadership than Mountain Town in inter-ethnic relations.

(2) No attempt will be made to argue that traditional Spanish culture everywhere in the Southwest approximates that of Anglos in all its basic values. The case to the contrary has been effectively presented elsewhere, *e.g.,* concerning time orientation and the value attached to formal schooling.[11] Even with only superficial observation it is clear that "go-getter" tendencies are much less typical of Spanish than of Anglos, and there may be some basis in fact for other traits ascribed to the Spanish in the Anglo stereotype, as well as *vice-versa.*

Nevertheless, it is possible to carry the emphasis of Spanish-Anglo cultural differences to the point where certain obvious and growing similarities of goal and value are overlooked or omitted. Generalizing, necessarily, the Spanish in Mountain Town are interested in better jobs, better pay, and more material things, such as automobiles, housing, and appliances. There is increasingly a concern for having children complete at least grammar schooling and learn at least moderately fluent English. Measures taken by the school system, which either are, or are interpreted by the Spanish to be, attempts at segregation (such as a special first grade

for English-deficient children), are strongly resented, as is discrimination in hiring and firing in employment, and alleged inequality in the administration of Old Age Pensions. The Spanish in Mountain Town, however, as we are emphasizing, are not very effective in changing conditions as they would.

It may be that the Mountain Town Spanish differ somewhat as to goals from those in some other parts of the Southwest. They are almost entirely landless, and are predominantly low-paid agricultural labor, a kind of rural proletariat. Yet they are resident, not essentially a migratory group. However, we are not convinced that Mountain Town is markedly unrepresentative of Spanish elsewhere in the Southwest.

The Spanish goals sketched lie in the direction of Anglo goals and for their realization a mastery of Anglo techniques and behavior patterns is necessary. Insofar as advancement toward such goals involves group-wide status, Spanish leader qualifications must necessarily include such skills as literacy, relatively high control of the English language, and knowledge of social, political, and legal usages primarily based on the dominant culture. Few Spanish in Mountain Town possess such thorough adjustment to and broad familiarity with Anglo culture, dependent as it largely is upon extensive schooling.

(3) Only a handful of eight Spanish individuals in Mountain Town possess the necessary qualifications in markedly higher degree than their fellows. As a matter of fact, it is essentially individuals with proven ability in Anglo culture who are singled out for mention as "leaders" in the survey conducted by Samora. What, then, if anything, keeps these persons from exercising the leadership functions so generally desired by the Spanish? As was mentioned, a good deal of ambivalence exists concerning these people (almost all men) in the minds of most Spanish questioned. It is often stated that these "leaders" will not really accept an active part in directing a struggle for Spanish equality; they will only do such things for their fellow Spanish as they think will not antagonize the Anglos. They are even frequently accused of working for the Anglos and not for *la raza.* And not a few feel that such leaders could only have achieved their

[11] Cf. F. R. Kluckhohn, *op. cit.,* pp. 352–4; R. L. Beals, *op. cit.,* pp. 5–13. Arthur Campa, "Mañana is Today," in T. M. Pearce and A. P. Thomason, *Southwesterners Write,* Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press, 1947.

—usually modest—socioeconomic position at the expense of "selling out to the Anglo" or "by climbing over their own people." They are referred to as "proud" (*orgullosos*). Another adjective has been coined in Spanish especially to describe such relatively successful members of the Spanish community. Samora found that they are called *"agringados"*—"gringoized."

Here, then, is the dilemma: that the very traits which would qualify an individual to provide the sort of leadership called for are such as to cast suspicion upon his loyalty in the eyes of many he would lead. Is it that the qualified "leaders" make little effort to lead effectively because they feel—perhaps correctly—that they would have difficulty in getting an effective followership? Or is it that they get no effective following largely because of their own reluctance to exert leadership? No simple answer to the question will do, of course, particularly as leadership and followership are reciprocal roles and the lack of either precludes the other. It may be hard to say if there is a causal priority in Mountain Town between the two factors, but something more like a vicious circle is suggested by the frequent testimony of Mountain Town Spanish: many agree, on the one hand, that the relatively assimilated "leaders" are "proud" (*orgullosos*) but admit, on the other, that the people are "envious" (*envidiosos*) and are themselves unable to "follow" (*seguir*) anyone. It appears to be the case both that the hypothetical leaders are unwilling to lead and that the hypothetical followers are unable to accept followership.

(4) The factors so far suggested for the default of Spanish leadership clearly have their inter-cultural aspects, though they appear in some respects intrinsic to the Spanish culture. The fourth factor is more completely extrinsic to the Spanish side of the picture. It is that the ranks of the Anglo social structure are not completely closed to the exceptional Spanish individual who achieves appreciable mastery of Anglo culture. There is obviously no question about discrimination against individuals of Spanish background for equally competent Spanish and Anglos do not have an equal probability of success. But Anglo discrimination is paradoxically not rigid enough, in a sense, for the "good"

of the Spanish as a group. That is, those able to deal with Anglos on their own terms frequently have a chance to do so—as individuals. Hence, they are not completely frustrated, embittered, or thrust back into their own group where they must either quit the struggle altogether or turn their energies and skills to leading their people in competition with the Anglos. Instead, although against greater obstacles than an Anglo, the unusual person frequently achieves a degree of success to some extent commensurate with his abilities relative to those of his fellows.

From the standpoint of leadership the Spanish situation is not helped by Anglo mythology. The Anglo social myth recognizes two racial types among the Spanish-speaking. One is the "Real Spanish," with higher intelligence, industry, and dependability, while the other is the "Mexican," a term frequently preceded by opprobrious adjectives according to the context. The latter type, according to the Anglo, lack ambition, and generally possess just the qualities which lodge them where they are found in the social order.

The Spanish themselves make no distinction between "Real Spanish" and "Mexicans." When referring to themselves in Spanish they use the term *"mejicanos"*; when referring to themselves in English they use the term "Spanish." When the Anglos refer to them, the Spanish prefer that they use the term "Spanish" rather than "Mexican," because of the derogatory connotation of the latter term.

There is greater social acceptance of the "Real Spanish" by Anglos, particularly when they show mastery of Anglo culture—which tends to corroborate the myth. This divisive effect of Anglo mythology on the Spanish group, although difficult to assess, is nonetheless real.

The net result of these characteristics of the Anglo system is to lower the motivation of qualified persons to lead, and perhaps to contaminate the successful individual in the view of his group. His partial acceptance by the Anglo gives seeming verification to Spanish suspicions of disloyalty. The inter-cultural source of this effect on subordinate leadership is dramatically underscored by the Mountain Town evidence.

The three most overtly successful Spanish

individuals in Mountain Town confirm in every major respect mentioned what has been said above. They are much more competent and successful in the Anglo system than most Anglos; they are given a social acceptance by the Anglo group which, although far from unqualified, sets them markedly apart from the great majority of the Spanish; they are predominantly regarded by Anglos as "spokesmen" for the Spanish group, although by no means are they themselves willing to play the role intensively; they are mentioned with the highest frequency by the Spanish interviewed as "leaders" and the only people of their own to whom one could turn for certain kinds of assistance; but they are complained against as *orgullosos,* as being unwilling to do as much for the *raza* as they easily might, and as being subservient to the Anglo and unwilling to risk offending him. These indi-

viduals are, then, leaders largely by default and would not otherwise be mentioned as leaders. Although almost uniquely qualified in some respects to lead, they do not. In a situation where adequate inter-ethnic leadership would call for the exercise of organizing skill and close indentification of the destinies of leader and follower, these individuals largely limit themselves to personalistic functions roughly comparable to those of the *patrón* of yore, and a social distance tends to be kept which is in some respects as great as between *patrón* and *peón.* Though the comparison with traditional patterns is suggestive, we need not, as has been discussed, hark back to the *patrón* system to explain everything in the situation found today. Inter-cultural factors in the Spanish relationship with Anglos are of strategic importance in explaining leadership deficiency.

SOCIAL CLIMATE AND PRODUCTIVITY IN SMALL MILITARY GROUPS*

STUART ADAMS

Crew Research Laboratory, Randolph AFB, Texas

THE relationship between social climate and group performance has now been investigated in several types of civilian populations. In many of these studies, equalitarian climates are described as relating positively to such variables as morale, social cohesion, and group productivity.[1] In other

instances no apparent relationship between equalitarian climates and general productivity has been discerned.[2] The presence of discrepant findings and the tendency toward over-representation of laboratory subject groups in such research suggests a need for replication of the studies in a wider range of populations. It seems particularly desirable to expand the investigation into functioning groups in the major social institutions.

This paper is a report on an analysis of the relationship between equalitarian social attitudes and group performance in a military setting. The project reported here is one phase of a larger study of bombardment crews now being conducted by the Personnel Research Board of the Ohio State Uni-

[1] E.g., Florence G. Robbins, "The Impact of Social Climates upon a College Class," *School Review,* (May, 1952), pp. 275–284.

[2] Herbert W. Eber, "Problem Solving by Small Groups under Varying Conditions of Personality and Organization," *American Psychologist,* 7 (July, 1952), p. 308.