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Culture Change as Revealed by a Study of Relief Clients of a Suburban New Mexico Community

Gideon Sjoberg

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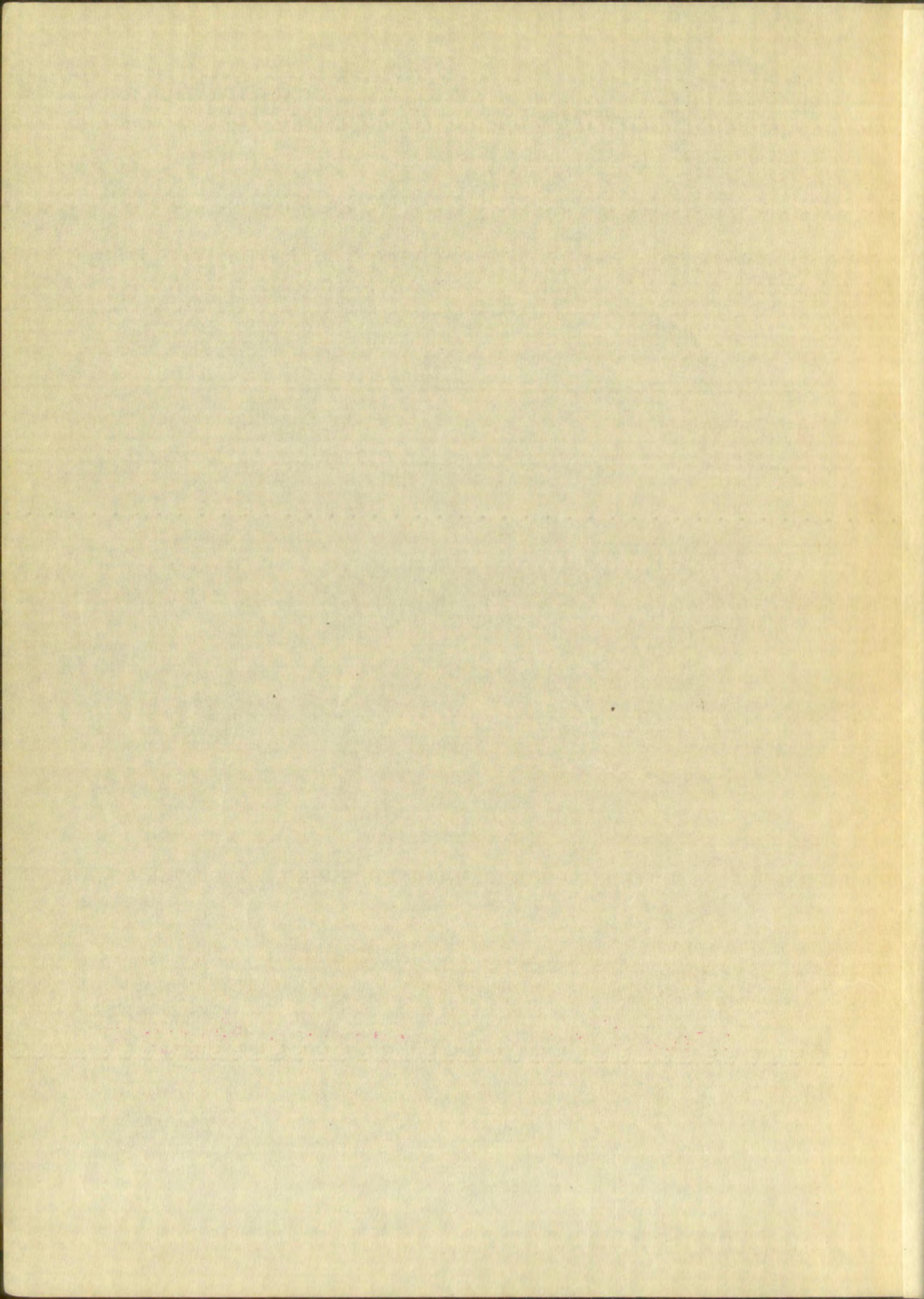
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CULTURE CHANGE AS REVEALED BY A STUDY
OF RELIEF CLIENTS OF A SUBURBAN
NEW MEXICO COMMUNITY

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of Sociology
University of New Mexico

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Gideon Sjoberg

June 1947

This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Charles V. Folsom

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May 19, 1947

DATE

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INTRODUCTION

Every society is in a continuous process of change. However, these changes may be occurring to a greater degree within certain segments and groups than in others--historically this can be said to have always been true. Of utmost importance is the factor of the degree of rapidity of change, for only after the change becomes rapid does mass consciousness of its existence arise, and only then do sociologists begin to focus their attention upon the changing patterns and their consequences.

With regard to change the area embraced by New Mexico appears today to be unique and peculiar in some respects. Certain conditions, one of which is the existence, side by side, of Spanish-American culture and that of Anglo-Americans,¹ are making for changes and problems which are of sociological significance. And from personal observation and reading about New Mexico's social conditions, it appears that much of the Spanish-American culture is today in a state of rapid change.

One of the most important institutions which seems to be affected by the trend of events is that of the Spanish-American family. This institution's vital function in any society has repeatedly been stressed. For within every

¹ The term Spanish-American refers to an ethnic group whose mother tongue is Spanish. It serves to differentiate them from the English-speaking element, the Anglo-Americans.

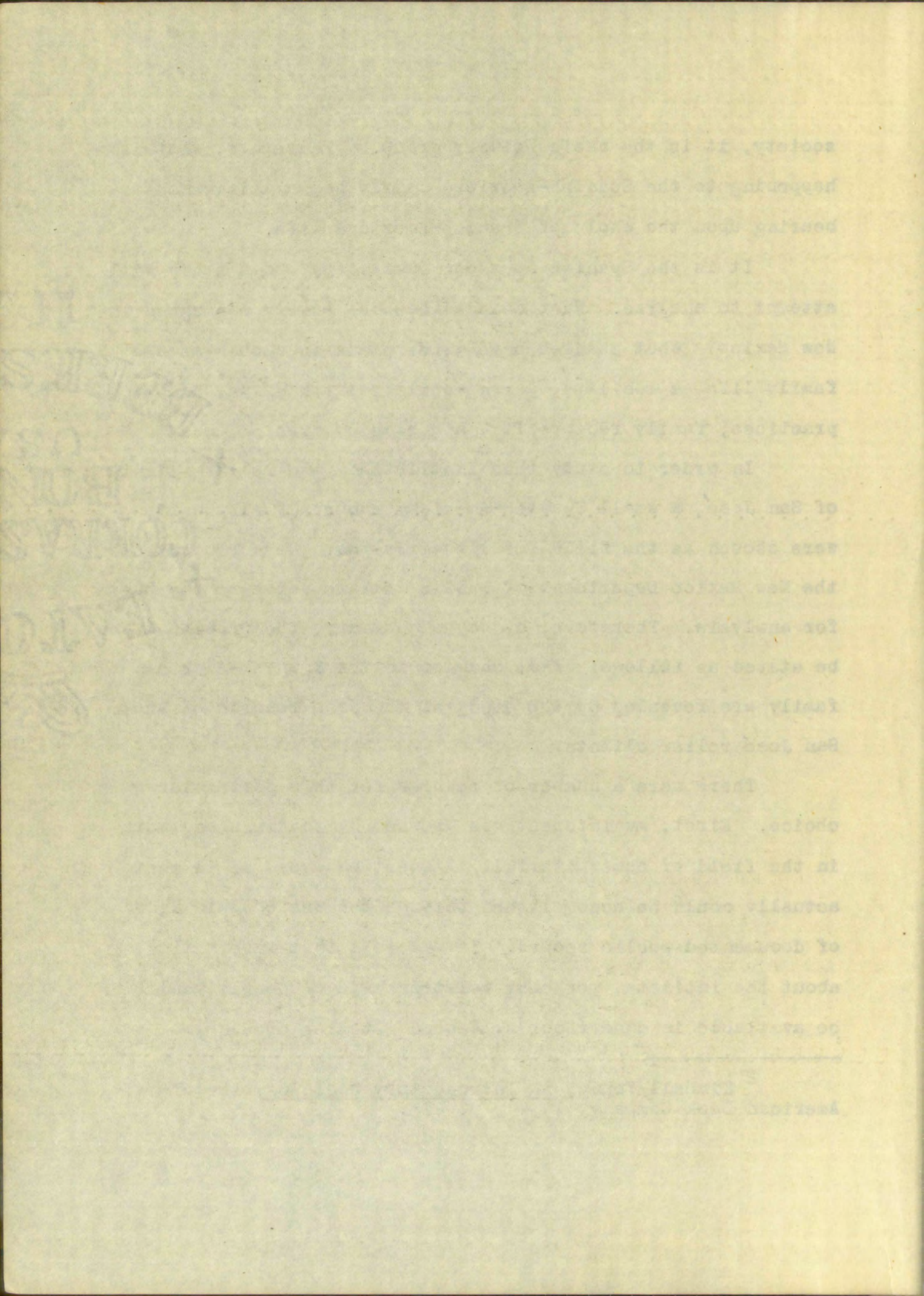
society, it is the basic primary group.² Therefore, what is happening to the Spanish-American family has significant bearing upon the whole of Spanish-American life.

It is the Spanish-American family that this study will attempt to analyze. What changes has the family undergone in New Mexico? What changes have taken place in such phases of family life as mobility, parent-child relationships, adoption practices, family reciprocity, and home ownership?

In order to study this institution, the relief clients of San José, a small Spanish-American suburb of Albuquerque, were chosen as the field for investigation. Case records of the New Mexico Department of Public Welfare serve as the basis for analysis. Therefore, by way of summary, the problem might be stated as follows: What changes in the Spanish-American family are revealed by the study of the case records of the San José relief clients?

There were a number of reasons for this particular choice. First, my interest was aroused by readings and work in the field of case material. A question arose as to what actually could be accomplished through the use of this kind of documented public record. It was felt that information about the intimate, personal relationships of people would be available in case records. Second, studies of San

² Kimball Young, An Introductory Sociology (New York: American Book Company, 1934), p. 215.



José³ had already been made which offered a convenient starting point on which the study could hinge. Also, the limitation of the study to this community appeared to be logical, for there is the possibility that the information about the relief clients will aid in checking and testing the validity of the conclusions regarding the urbanization process in San José arrived at by the other authors. The approach which will be taken will give the reader a different vantage point. Third, the Department of Public Welfare gave me access to its cases. Without the cooperation of this agency, it would have been impossible to undertake this work.

The original organization and plan of study suffered from revision and change during the course of gathering the material. At first, it was thought that the concept of urbanization, the point of departure of the Waggoner study, could in this case also be used. However, this was not practicable or even feasible, for the available information called for a revision of the procedure which was first outlined.

³ The first study, an unpublished one, was made in 1936. It was sponsored by the Bernalillo County Juvenile Court and was carried out by a person employed in the San José School Project, a project of the University of New Mexico's Department of Education. In 1941, under the supervision of the Department of Sociology of the University of New Mexico, Laura Waggoner conducted another investigation. Laura Waggoner, "San José, A Study in Urbanization," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1941). At present a similar study of the community's urbanization is being made by Frank C. Moore in the Department of Sociology.

It was finally decided to peg the study upon the concept of the ideal-typical Spanish-American family. One notation must be interjected. The two approaches which have been mentioned are not necessarily in conflict with each other. As the reader progresses, this will become clear.

As for the organization of the subject matter of this thesis, it will be in the main simply one of setting up the ideal-typical Spanish-American family from the information which has already been secured by students of the Spanish-American scene,⁴ then recording the information of the case records, and finally, by a comparison of the information of the family life of the relief clients with the ideal-typical Spanish-American family, arriving at conclusions as to the changes, if any, which have occurred in various phases of family life.

⁴ From my reading it was found that there is no published material which gives a complete picture of the Spanish-American family life in its rural setting. However, an over-all picture has been given by Irma Johnson, "The Spanish-American Family in New Mexico," (unpublished report to the Sociology Department, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1946).

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

New Mexico,¹ this land which in recent years has stimulated the research of the anthropologist, sociologist, historian, and their like, in an earlier era attracted attention of a different kind. For in the south in Mexico, news of the wonders of the north so stirred the spirit of the Spanish Conquistadores that in 1540 Don Francisco Vasquez de Coronado organized and led an expedition of the first group of Europeans thither. However, this excursion did not lead to a permanent settlement, and it was not until 1598 that Don Juan de Oñate brought the first colonists into New Mexico. Thus, New Mexico, home of numerous Indian tribes, was settled not by northern and western Europeans but by those of the south, the Spaniards. Of course, it might be observed that the original colonists were composed not only of the Spaniards but also of Mestizos² and Indians recruited in Mexico.

What has transpired in the intervening centuries is of interest to us only in the sense that it throws some light upon the social conditions which arose.

In the early years, the church was the dominant influence in the province. Bloom and Donnelly refer to the period from

¹ The section of this chapter which deals with the general history of New Mexico is based upon Lansing Bloom and Thomas Donnelly, New Mexico History and Civics (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1933).

² Mestizos are of mixed Spanish and Indian blood.

1618-1680 as the "great missionary era." This was followed by years of trouble and strife, for the Great Pueblo Indian Revolt of 1680 forced the Spaniards out of New Mexico's northern area until 1693 when colonists returned to control Santa Fe once again.

The eighteenth century was one of monotonous existence and relative seclusion. Little contact with the outside occurred, even with the south; in other words, the area which is now New Mexico was almost completely isolated. However, in the latter part of the century some commercial intercourse with peoples to the east came into being.

As the years passed, Spain's position and prestige began to wane over the world. Effects of this crumbling of an empire were felt even by such an outlying region as New Mexico, for in 1821, when Mexico gained its independence, the northern territory became a part of the new republic. However, even though New Mexico's history, culture, and national life were an integral part of Mexico, commercial activity between the two areas was of minor importance. Isolation, because of poor communication, even at this late date in history set New Mexico apart from her neighbors. However, in the 1820's Americans began to establish better contact with this remote region, and before 1846, when United States' troops under General Stephen Watts Kearney took Santa Fe, communication and trade had been firmly organized.

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New Mexico under American control. But it was not until 1912, after numerous disheartening efforts at entrance, that the "land of enchantment" was finally admitted into the Union as a state.

Even so, during the period after the United States gained control, increasing interaction developed with the outside world. The railroads of the 1880's were a great step forward, and the twentieth century witnessed the arrival of the great motor highways and air transportation which in the end have broken down New Mexico's isolation.

A few points, however, require clarification. The geographical factor has played an important role in the development of New Mexico. High mountains, table lands, and numerous river valleys distinguish the state's topography. Along the streams and rivers farming was feasible, and the early colonists were attracted to them so that today these valleys are dotted by many small farming communities, some of them centuries old. They have been most isolated. Although the larger centers of population were perceivably affected by the arrival of the railroads in the nineteenth century, it was not until the advent of the automobile and the motor highways that the influence of a new and different culture began to penetrate these farming villages. Even so, there are a few which have been little affected to this day.

In these small, isolated communities a culture developed with its own distinctive traits and complexes. The Spanish

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had left a heritage upon which was built a new and somewhat different way of life.

The ideal-typical family:

Family patterns were affected by this economic, geographical, and cultural isolation. The family institution, along with the other phases of Spanish-American life, took on its own particular traits. True, changes have taken place through time, but a general picture is available.

In the presentation of the ideal-typical family, the phases of family life which have special significance in the interpretation of the information relating to San José's relief clients will be stressed. What follows refers to an ideal-typical institution to which, in recent years, there are increasing numbers of exceptions.³

Characteristic of the Spanish-American family and fundamental in understanding its functions is the concept of the extended family.⁴ In the use of the term more than one interpretation may arise. It may be applied only to people who live under the same roof, or it may be expanded to relate to the family patterns as they exist in the community. Both interpretations are applicable when expounding upon the organization of Spanish-American life. In relation to the

³ Johnson, *op. cit.*, Chapter, "American Family in Transition," pp. 1-6.

⁴ Sigurd Johansen, "Rural Social Organization in a Spanish American Culture Area," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1940), p. 162. Johansen used the term "great family," but the synonymous term "extended family" has been adopted here.

former, it is the rule for members of three or four generations to share a common household;⁵ with regard to the latter, there are strong bonds which extend beyond those of the immediate family or household. Kinship ties are stronger than those which bind the community together.⁶ However, the community ties and structure are significant and are an integral part of Spanish-American society; often they coincide with the family patterns.⁷

Characteristics of the Spanish-American family which are significant to this study are its size, marriage patterns, balance of authority, security system as related to various phases of community life, adoption practices, immobility, work patterns, educational practices, morality, and particular customs and beliefs. Almost all are associated with the concept of the extended family.

The Spanish-American families are larger than those which are generally found in the American culture. There is a great deal of infant mortality, but even so, there are many children.⁸

⁵ Paul Walter, Jr., "A Study of Isolation and Social Change in Three Spanish Speaking Villages in New Mexico," (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Stanford University, 1938), p.101.

⁶ Johansen, op. cit., p. 183.

⁷ Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: El Cerrito, New Mexico (United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Rural Life Studies, I, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1941), pp. 61-62.

⁸ Johansen, op. cit., p. 179.

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As for the marriage patterns, young people marry at a comparatively early age; this is especially true for girls.⁹ Divorces are practically non-existent if not completely ruled out; separations are few.¹⁰

Parental authority is supreme. Control is asserted over children even after their marriage, for not only does control rest in the hands of parents, but it also is graded according to age--the grandparents being dominant over the parents, the great-grandparents over grandparents.¹¹ It is almost unheard of for children to rebel against parental control, for it is well established.¹²

Husbands have authority over their wives. There is male dominance within the Spanish-American family.¹³ However, among elders there is relatively little quarreling and dissension.¹⁴ Male authority also extends into the sibling relationships. Young men command authority over their sisters.¹⁵

Returning to a discussion of the household, it might

⁹ Loc. cit.

¹⁰ Walter, op. cit., p. 134.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 119-120.

¹² Ibid., p. 67.

¹³ Johnson, op. cit., p. 16.

¹⁴ Walter, op. cit., p. 110.

¹⁵ Helen Zunker, "A New Mexican Village," Journal of American Folk-Lore, 48:126, April-June, 1935.

be observed that the isolated, rural Spanish-Americans characteristically live in casas, or separate apartments within the same house. This group may include cousins, aunts, uncles, and grandparents.¹⁶ It would seem that this system would keep the kinship group together.

What economic security there is for the Spanish-American is within the family system. Children are expected to care for the elders and elders for the children. If within the immediate family there are no persons to care for those who are incapable of supporting themselves, it falls upon relatives to provide for the unfortunate.¹⁷ Behind the extended family stands the community as a form of security and protection for its members. Mutual aid and cooperation is exhibited among the members of a small, rural, Spanish-American community.¹⁸ Also, there is another kind of family-community relationship which is sometimes called the patrón-peon system. This requires some elucidation. The patrón, usually the head of a prominent, well-to-do family, has financial and political power, together with social prestige, concentrated in his hands. In return for the loyalty of the people in the community, he furnishes them employment, aid in emergencies, and assumes a parental role by giving advice to those in

¹⁶ Walter, op. cit., p. 140.

¹⁷ Leonard and Loomis, op. cit., p. 61.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

distress.¹⁹

A form of security is also realized by the adoption customs which have evolved. Moreover, they may serve other purposes, for there are a number of variations-- (1) children are given away by parents to friends or relatives; (2) children are taken over by relatives or friends, if there is death or separation of the parents, or if they are unable to provide for them.²⁰

What happens to an illegitimate child also has bearing upon family relationships. Such a child is accepted by the family, although the actions of the child's parents are scorned and condemned.²¹

The absence of mobility has been fundamental in the permanence and workability of the extended family, for its members will remain in the same localities for generations. They own their own home or casa and possess a small tract of land. Children generally remain in the village to till the very soil which supported generations of their ancestors. Mobility within the small, rural village is negligible.²² As

¹⁹ Florence Hawley and Donovan Senter, "Group-Designed Behavior Patterns in Two Acculturating Groups," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 2:137, Summer, 1946.

²⁰ Wesley Hurt, Jr., "Manzano," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1940), p. 105.

²¹ Walter, op. cit., p. 81.

²² Hurt, op. cit., p. 144, and Leonard and Loomis, op. cit., pp. 7, 21-22.

for mobility to and from these rural centers, that is also of minor import. Temporary absence from the home has been occurring in recent decades when males enter into the migrant labor streams during certain seasons of the year. However, excluding the mobility necessarily resulting from sheep-herding and other occupations related to livestock raising, the temporary movement of Spanish-Americans as migrant laborers is a modern phenomenon associated with the development of modern transportation.

As children remain in the community of their birth, and because there are few kinds and choices of occupations in a simple agricultural society, it appears that they should follow their father's occupation. Farming and livestock raising are the primary pursuits of the Spanish-Americans. All others are directly related to them. The women, of course, are by far the most restricted. Their place is centered in the family and the home; gainful employment outside the home is negligible. No encouragement is given for any outside participation, except in church activities. This division of labor according to sex is very rigid.²³

In this simple rural setting, there is little necessity for the formal education which has become so venerated by the American culture. The family is the chief educational agency,

²³ Leonard and Loomis, op. cit., p. 62.

backed up by the church.²⁴ Children learn by day to day contacts with life's realities. Because of the low standard of educational attainment it is not unexpected to find that family health practices are primitive in their nature. Patent medicines and different kinds of home remedies are relied upon for cure of injuries and disease.²⁵

The Spanish-American's standard of morality in relation to his own group is one in which honesty is demanded and expected. However, toward outsiders, namely the Anglo-Americans, the accepted rules of behavior are not stringent. Control over this and other morality traits is not by any formal law but through informal social control exerted by the folkways and mores of the group.²⁶ The family is the primary institution through which this control is applied, the church aiding to a considerable degree.

Some mention should be made of the role of the church with regard to the Spanish-American family. Much of the family stability is grounded in and founded upon church teachings. Its influence should not be minimized.

Before passing on, another observation is essential. We may note that the ideal-typical, rural, Spanish-American family has much in common with the ideal-typical, rural,

²⁴ Hurt, op. cit., p. 75.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 121-122.

²⁶ Leonard and Loomis, op. cit., pp. 60-62.

American family although differing in degree of conformity, large size, lack of divorce and desertion, parental control and authority, occupational and educational patterns, lack of mobility, informal social controls, and the idea of reciprocity.²⁷ Although they are not exactly alike, they tend to resemble each other closely.

San José:

One of the numerous, small, rural, Spanish-American villages which sprang up along the Rio Grande with the passing of years was San José, today a suburb of the city of Albuquerque. Its early history²⁸ has probably been lost forever, but it is certain that the village was well established in 1864, for at that time there were fifty homes and farms scattered along the river close to what is now South Williams Street.²⁹ The residents earned their livelihood from the land as farmers or by working for the local patrón.

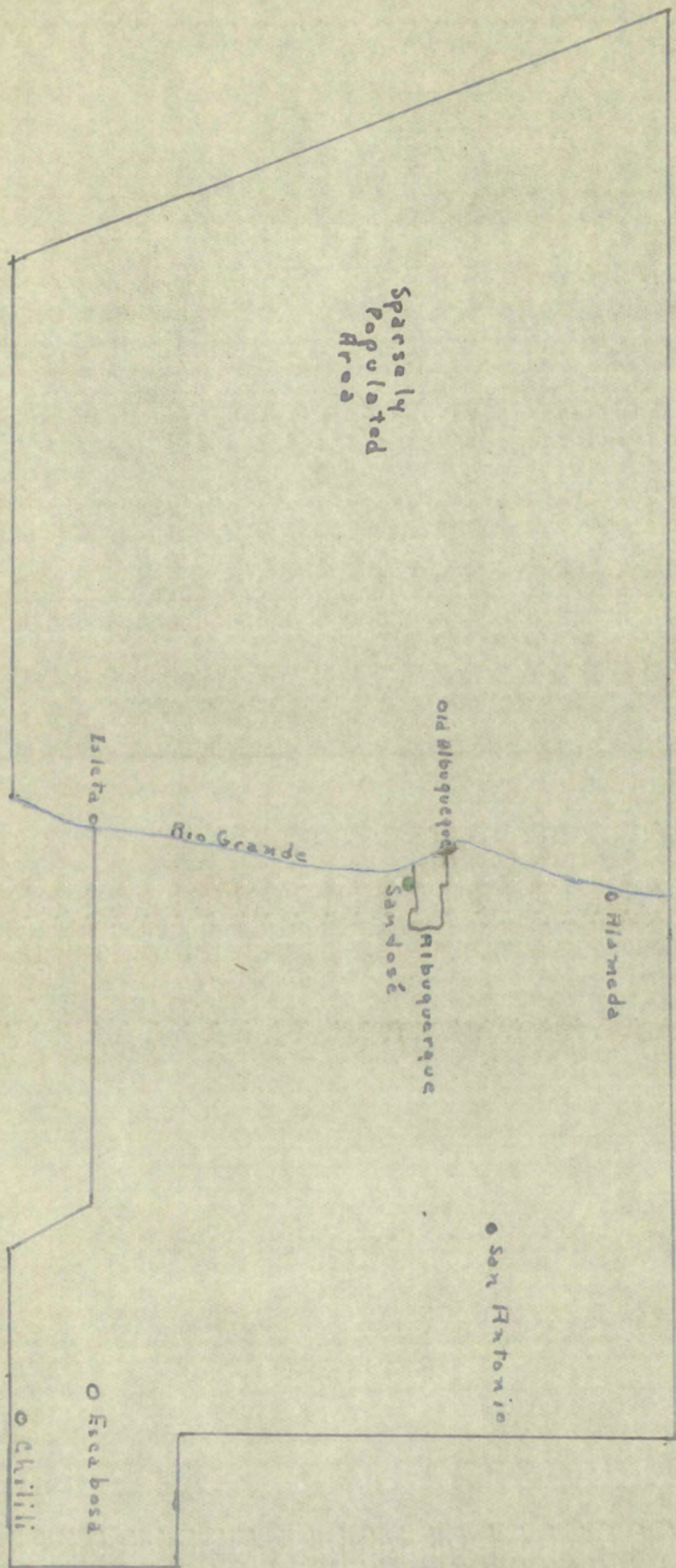
In 1882 there was still open country between Albuquerque

²⁷ For a detailed discussion of the American rural family see T. Lynn Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life (New York: Harper and Bros., 1940), pp. 350-366; J. H. Kolb and Edmund Brunner, A Study of Rural Society (revised edition; New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), pp. 17-42; and Carl C. Taylor, Rural Sociology (New York: Harper and Bros., 1933), pp. 268-288.

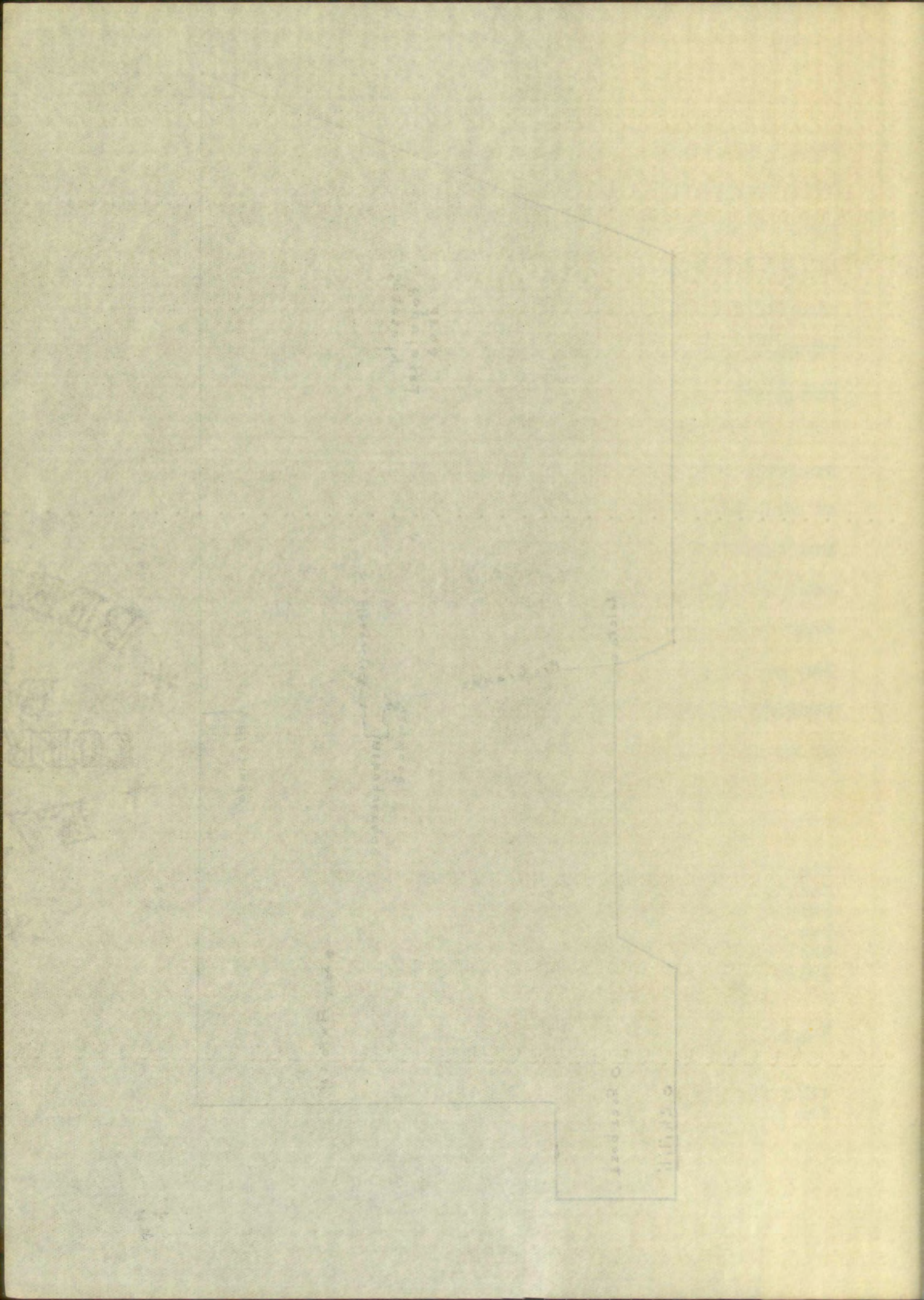
²⁸ The information on early history was taken from Waggoner, op. cit., pp. 22-33.

²⁹ San José is no longer on the river, which before 1870 followed the course which is now that of the railroad. The present course of the river is about one-half mile west.

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and San José, but the railroad arrived during the year, and this brought forth a great change. Today, no open space exists between San José and Albuquerque proper. In fact, the community may be considered a part of the metropolitan district of Albuquerque.³⁰

The boundaries which mark off San José are those of the San José school district. These were used for the other studies. Catherine Street serves as the northern boundary, the Santa Fe railroad tracks as the western, the southern extends beyond Wesmeco Drive out into the open country, and the eastern into the mesa.³¹

Today San José's population is approximately 3,000.³²

From personal observation a general description³³ of the area will be made. Today the community is about 85% Spanish-American. A few Negroes and Anglo-Americans have dwellings in the north and north-east sections, and there are a small number of Anglos located in other places, but mainly on the periphery.

³⁰ The Albuquerque district as referred to in this paper will include all the area within a five mile radius of the post Office of Albuquerque. Thus the surrounding suburban communities of Old Albuquerque, Martinez Town, Los Candelarias, Los Duranes, Los Griegos, Atrisco, Five Points, Armijo, Barelas, and San José will be in the district.

³¹ Waggoner, op. cit., p.

³² An estimate made by Frank C. Moore who is making a study of San José.

³³ For a detailed description, see Waggoner, op. cit., pp. 22-60.

San José is a poor community. As we shall see, there is a large proportion of families on relief. There are no paved sidewalks or streets. Homes appear in poor condition; lack of paint and crumbling buildings strike the eye. In fact, the greater part of San José could be considered a blighted area; some of this area could be considered a slum by usually accepted standards.

San José has no business district. It is a community of residences with a scattering of grocery stores and other small services.

For the purpose of acquainting the reader with the community, it might be well to discuss the variety of living conditions which exist in San José. Into the north and northeast, Anglo-Americans and Negroes have moved. In general, houses here are of wooden frame construction. The most modern part of San José is around South Broadway. The Spanish-Americans of the higher income levels appear to live here. Houses are stuccoed, but there are a few wooden and adobe homes among them. Also, in this section the newest and most modern homes are being erected. Around Smith Street residences are very close together. Everyone appears to be in his neighbor's backyard, typical of the rural arrangement of Spanish-American homes. Adobe structures are common. The people who live around South Williams Street and the railroad tracks, by generally accepted standards, appear to have a low

economic status. Almost all of the homes are adobe, and they are old. There is a lack of sanitation; outside toilets are prevalent. The homes are not adequate living quarters when judged by the general standards, for this district would be ranked as a slum. South John Street closely resembles the South Williams Street section in age but has one distinguishing characteristic. Many of the homes have a common backyard. However, the former is distinguished from the section around Smith Street in that there are clusters of this arrangement, while around Smith Street this is not true. Farther south on South Broadway are a group of residences set apart geographically from the others. There are a few Anglos living here. Most of the homes are of wooden frame construction.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

We now come to the subjects of the relief cases themselves. First, however, let us make a general survey of the kind of material which will be analyzed. In the selection of the case records, the active public assistance clients who were residents of San José during June and July of 1946, 115 in all, with a few exceptions, were used. Because they were so small a number that they would only tend to cloud the issues, eleven of the clients who were of Mexican¹ and Negro ethnic groups were eliminated. Eight others--Spanish-American and Anglo-American--were discarded for lack of adequate information. That left ninety-six case records--eighty-one Spanish-American and fifteen Anglo-American--to be studied. The latter were retained because (1) they have some value as a control unit, although they are too small a number from which to draw valid generalizations, and (2) they may be of aid for those who wish to use this material as a check on the other studies of San José.

Before proceeding, one note of caution must be interjected. No claim is being made or will be made that these cases are entirely typical. However, there is the possibility

¹ The Mexican, as differentiated from the Spanish-American, is one who was born in Mexico or into a culture associated with Mexico. The Spanish-Americans, as the term is used, are native New Mexicans, and they have a culture distinct from that of the Mexicans.

that many more of the life-histories of the other Spanish-Americans in San Jose are similar in significant regards to those of the clients in these eighty-one records. Let us observe a few pertinent facts. Waggoner's study in 1941 revealed that 53% of the people she interviewed were on relief.² To be sure the eighty-one cases do not approach 50% of the population of San Jose. However, there appear to be a number of people in marginal economic circumstances who are continually going off and on relief with changing economic conditions. This was borne out from my reading of the case records. Second, the war, it must be remembered, reduced relief loads everywhere. New Mexico was no exception. For example, the average monthly number of persons receiving general assistance in New Mexico in 1940 was 4,989. In 1943 it had dropped to 2,694.³ Third, only public assistance⁴ cases were used in this study; the child welfare services were not considered. On the other hand, Waggoner's 53% represented an even wider field of relief. Work relief programs were still in operation.⁵ Therefore, considering the

² Waggoner, op. cit., p. 54.

³ Report on General Assistance (Santa Fe: New Mexico Department of Public Welfare, Division of Research and Statistics, 1944), p. 3.

⁴ The public assistance cases of the Department of Public Welfare include the following: old age assistance, aid to dependent children, aid to the needy blind, and other services only. The child welfare services are under a different division of the Welfare Department.

⁵ Waggoner, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

fact that a great proportion of San José's population are on relief from time to time, and assuming that the cases which are being analyzed are a representative sample, it might well be that the former follow much the same pattern as do the people being studied. That would make the eighty-one records more typical of San José than the reader would be led to believe on first observation. Although no definite proof is available, there is little reason to doubt that this might not be true.

Division of material:

Returning to a discussion of the specific approach which will be taken: Because of the nature of the subject matter, certain divisions have had to be made in order to simplify the conglomeration of facts and figures which would otherwise be the result. The separation of the two ethnic groups, the Spanish-Americans and Anglo-Americans, which has already been called to the reader's attention, is necessary for comparative purposes. In most instances all the Spanish-American clients will be lumped together. However, there will be times when classification will be desirable to clarify a point.

In order to understand the nature of the material from which conclusions will be drawn, the cases will be analyzed in some detail. In the eighty-one Spanish-American records, fifty were old age assistance cases and thirty-one were aid to dependent children, general assistance, and those of other

services only. The fifteen Anglo-American cases contained eight old age assistance and seven in the other categories.

Because of this over-balance on the side of the old-age cases, the study must be considered in that light, inasmuch as any information gleaned will be weighted somewhat. Among the fifty Spanish-American old age clients, all the heads⁶ were over sixty-five; this was not true for the other case heads. For of the remainder of the Spanish-American clients, two fell into the 18-25 year old age group, six into the 26-35 group, nine into the 34-45 group, five into the 46-55 group, and nine into the 56-64 age group. Among the Anglo-Americans, eight were sixty-five or over, two were in the 26-35 age bracket, three in the 46-55 group, and two were between fifty-six and sixty-four.

Of the fifty Spanish-American old age cases, twenty-five were men, and twenty-five were women. Eight of the males had their spouses living with them. Seventeen of the males were living alone; in thirteen of these cases their spouses were deceased, in two the spouses had left them, and two males had never been married. All of the twenty-five women had been married at one time or another. Of the other thirty-one Spanish-American cases, twenty-four were headed by women and

⁶ The use of the term "head" will have a special meaning in this paper. It will refer to the leading figure of a case--males were considered over females, parents over children. Also, a person living alone who has never married will be designated as a head.

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seven by men. One of the men and three of the women had never been married. Among the Anglo-Americans, seven were headed by males and eight by females. Of these, only one of each sex had never married.

Reasons for relief:

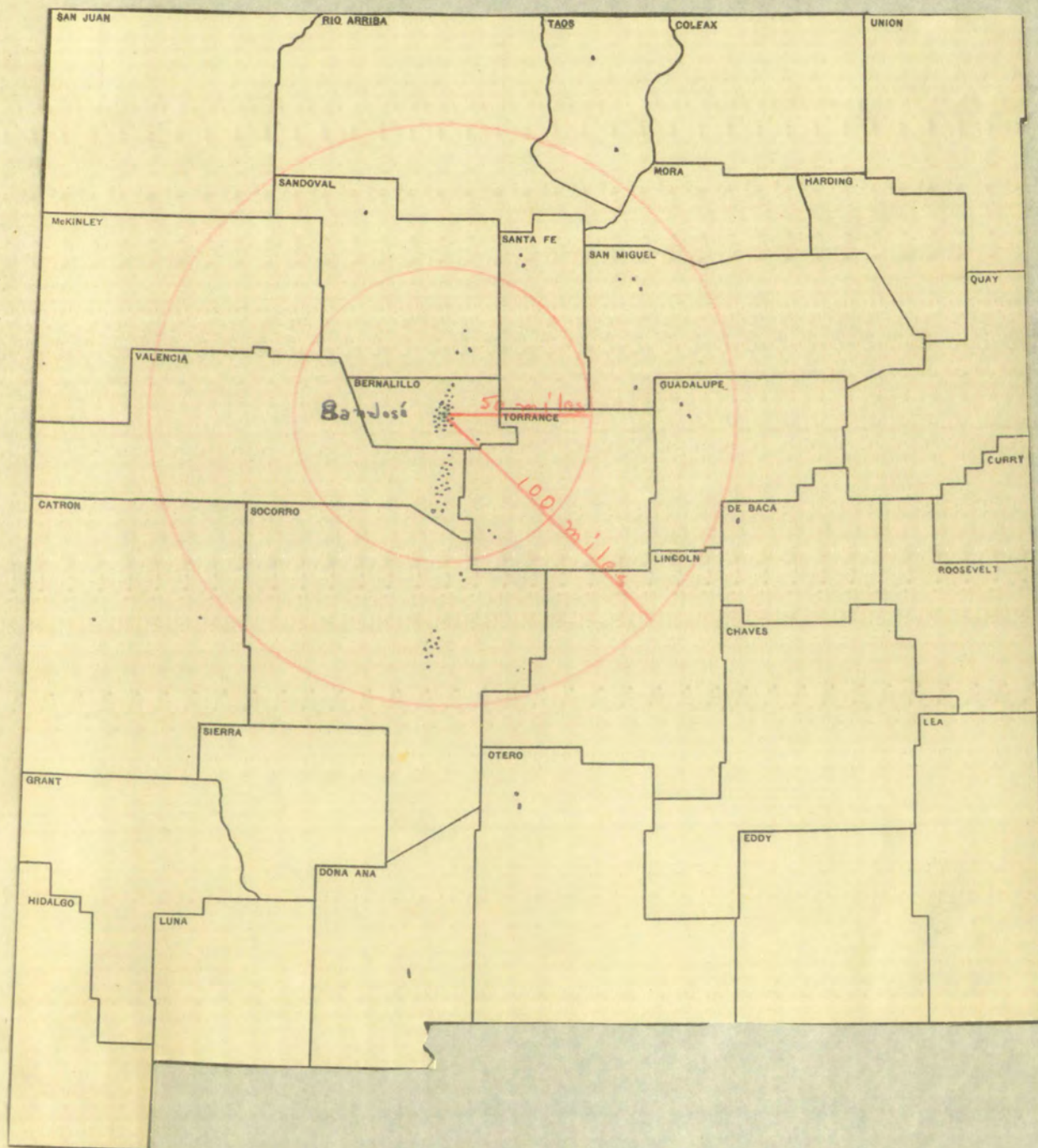
Naturally there were different reasons for the clients being on relief. For the aged, that was the primary cause. However, it was not always the single or immediate reason; illness, physical disability and lack of children's support were contributing factors. On the other hand, the remaining cases--aid to dependent children, general assistance, and other services only--contained such diverse causes as failure of parental support, illegitimacy, desertion, divorce, sickness, and loss of employment.

Original residence:

Where have these people come from? How many have moved into San José from the outside? Only six of the eighty-one heads among the Spanish-Americans were born in San José. Altogether twenty-eight, or 34.5% were born in Bernalillo County. The remainder were born outside the county, but all have their birth place in New Mexico.

The counties which furnished the greatest number of residents were Socorro and Valencia. A total of twelve came from Socorro while Valencia County contributed nineteen out of the eighty-one case heads. The last fact is interesting, for almost all of these people came from around the rural

BIRTH PLACES IN NEW MEXICO OF THE EIGHTY-ONE
SPANISH-AMERICAN HEADS



communities of Tomé and Valencia. Unfortunately from my reading it was impossible to gain an insight as to the whys and wherefores of this migration.

In general it may be said that the clients came from the Rio Grande Valley, especially from the counties nearest Bernalillo. There was a scattering from elsewhere, but there was a total lack of migrants from the eastern border of New Mexico, the south-west, and north-west. Also, the heads, in the main, migrated from small, rural villages.

The Anglo-Americans present a different picture. All were born outside of the state of New Mexico. However, aside from the fact that they came from east of the Rockies, no particular regions appeared to dominate, unless one would say they were the south and midwest. Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, New York, Texas, and Virginia were the states which were represented.

Occupational Background:

Closely allied to where people come from is the occupation which they have pursued.

Of the male heads among the Spanish-Americans, thirty-two in all, nine have been farm owners, twelve sheepherders, three railroaders, three farm laborers, three casual laborers and two have been engaged in business or as skilled laborers. In noting the occupations of these people, it is well to keep in mind the fact that almost all of them have been employed in one or more occupations and these which are listed above.

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TABLE I.

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE RELIEF CLIENTS

Occupation	Number of Spanish-Americans	Number of Anglo-Americans
Client has been a farm owner	9	1
Husband was a farm owner	7	1
Client has been a sheepherder	12	0
Husband was a sheepherder	7	0
Client has been a business man	1	3
Husband was a business man	1	1
Client has been a railroader	3	1
Husband was a railroader	4	1
Client has been a skilled laborer	1	2
Husband was a skilled laborer	1	2
Client has been a casual laborer	3	1
Husband was a casual laborer	9	1
Client has been a farm laborer	3	0
Husband was a farm laborer	5	0
Client's occupation was unknown	0	0
Husband's occupation was unknown	12	1
No husband	3	0
Total	81	15

appear to have been or are the individuals' principal pursuits.

Concerning the occupations of the forty-six husbands of Spanish-American women heads who had been married, the breakdown is as follows: seven had been farm owners, seven sheepherders, two in business or had a trade, four railroaders, five farm laborers, nine casual laborers, and twelve were unknown.

Thus we may note a few important observations:

1. In forty-three out of the sixty-six cases in which there was adequate data, the primary occupation was one which was related to agriculture. This includes sheepherding. To that may be added another ten who had been in agricultural work at one time or another, although today it could not be considered as having been their primary means of livelihood.

2. Of the sixty-six cases, sheepherding constituted an extremely high percentage--29%.

In contrast to this preponderance of agricultural labor among the Spanish-Americans, the Anglo-American males have or have had as their principal occupations a trade or a business. Only two cases were recorded where agriculture was the principal occupation although five more had at one time been connected with it. Moreover, it was observed that although the Spanish-Americans in general have been engaged in more than one occupation during their lifetime, the Anglo-Americans apparently carried this to a greater extreme. The variety

and number of their occupations were greater.

Mobility:

In this country and probably to a lesser degree elsewhere in the world, increased mobility of peoples has become an important factor conditioning relationships between individuals and groups of individuals. Mobility has become a prime agent in the breakdown of primary group relationships which are so typical of immobile societies.

Apparently these Spanish-Americans have not been able to escape this tendency of Americans generally to leave their old homes for new. From the previous discussion of the birth-place of the Spanish-American heads now in San José, it was observed that only six were natives of the community. And of these, only one has lived in the same house since birth.

There are other patterns of interest. They are as follows:

1. The older Spanish-American residents of the San José community--those who have been there for twenty years or more--came, with a few exceptions, from the surrounding area of Bernalillo County--Barelas, Los Padillas, Los Candelarias, and Old Albuquerque. In turn the clients who have migrated into San José within the last ten years have generally come from other counties.
2. The Spanish-American heads who came from outside of Bernalillo County have been much more mobile in that

and number of their occurrences with respect to

Results:

In this country and probably in a number of other

parts of the world, the most common species of the genus

an important factor in the determination of the species

varieties and groups of individuals. The results of the

study of the specimens of the genus in the collection

which are so typical of the genus in the collection

apparently show that the genus is a monophyletic group

to which this species of the genus is related. The results

of the study of the specimens of the genus in the collection

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showed that only one species of the genus is present

of these, only one has been found in the collection

There are other species of the genus, but they are

follows:

1. The other species of the genus is the

most common species of the genus in the collection

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study of the specimens of the genus in the collection

showed that the specimens of the genus in the collection

in the last few years have been found to be

common.

2. The specimens of the genus in the collection

of the specimens of the genus in the collection

they moved many more times before coming into San José. ✓ Also, these latter migrants did not follow any discernible pattern. In fact, they moved in various directions. There were no less than five cases in which the heads could be classified as transients, having been shepherders and having no permanent domicile before coming to San José.

3. In contrast to the Spanish-Americans, the Anglos were long-range migrants moving across state boundaries. For as previously noted, all were born outside the state of New Mexico. Furthermore, they have been relatively recent arrivals into the community. All except three have come in the last ten years. And they all moved more than once before their arrival in San José--all followed a pattern from which could be constructed an excellent jig-saw puzzle.

Reasons for mobility:

Although there was a great deal of confusion and ambiguity in the statements of why people moved and although the information was in the main lacking regarding the earlier migrations, certain patterns were observed with regard to the Spanish-Americans who had come into Bernalillo County from other sections of New Mexico. Forty-three of the fifty-three case heads who were born outside of Bernalillo County served as the basis for the analysis. Among the old age assistance clients the greatest number moved into the County

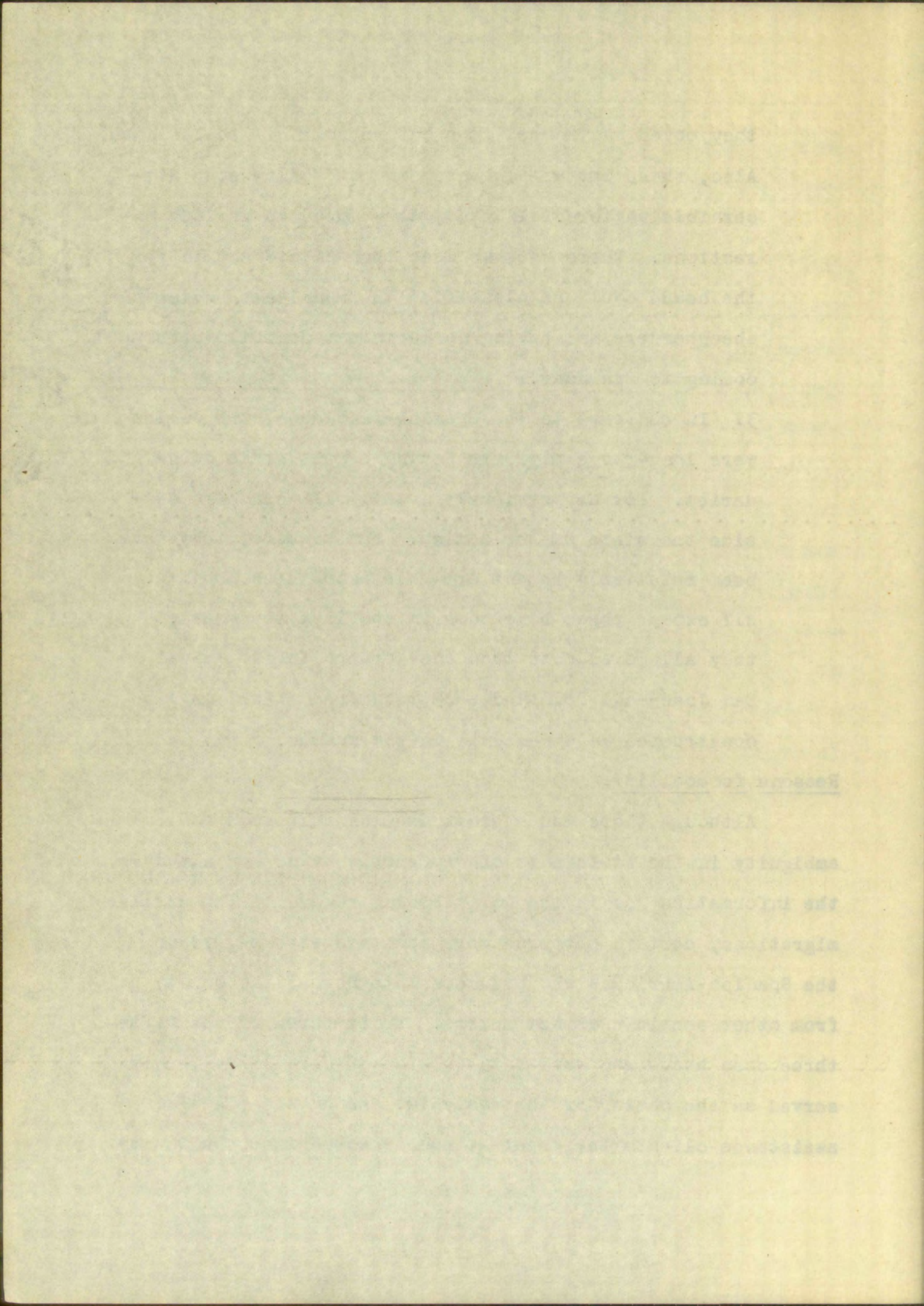


TABLE II

REASONS FOR MOBILITY OF FIFTY-THREE SPANISH-
AMERICAN AND FIFTEEN ANGLO-AMERICAN HEADS
INTO BERNALILLO COUNTY

Reasons	Spanish American		Anglo-American
	Old Age	Assistance Others	
Economic	7	7	5
To live with or be with children	13	4	1
To live with or be near relatives	2	2	1
To give children a better opportunity	1	0	0
Health	2	1	5
Came with parents	0	4	0
Unknown	7	3	3
Total	32	21	15

TABLE II

REASONS FOR HOSTILITY OF WHITE-THROATED
AMERICA AND OTHERS TO THE
INDIAN PEOPLE

Reasons	Number of cases	Percentage
Unknown	1	1.0
Game with Indians	1	1.0
Health	1	1.0
To give children a better opportunity	1	1.0
To live with the people	1	1.0
To live with the children	1	1.0
Total	7	7.0

to be near relatives, especially their children. Some came to aid their children, but most of the clients came to receive assistance from them.) One could probably classify the latter under the headings of emotional and material aid. In contrast, although the figures were small, in the other Spanish-American relief groups--aid to dependent children, general assistance, and other services only--composed of those in the lower age brackets, the largest number for any single reason came for economic gain, in search of employment. However, here kinship factors were also important in a number of instances. Health as a determinant of migration was noted only three times, and in comparison to the others was of minor significance.

Anglo-Americans were somewhat different. Of the fifteen heads, five came to Albuquerque to improve their economic status, while five came for reasons of their health. The remainder produced no uniformity, or reasons were not given.

Mobility within the community:

While on the subject of mobility, it might be well to consider the movement of these clients within Albuquerque and San José. In all, there are eighteen clients out of the eighty-one Spanish-American heads who have not changed their residence in the last twenty years. In addition, five have not moved in the past ten years, and eleven more have had a permanent domicile for the last five years. Thus in the five year span, July 1, 1941, to July 1, 1946, thirty-four out of

the eighty-one heads have not experienced a change in living quarters.

TABLE III
MOBILITY OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HEADS BORN IN
BERNALILLO COUNTY

Length of residence in San José	Number	Percent
Have not moved in the last twenty years	12	43
Have not moved in the last ten years	3	10
Have not moved in the last five years	5	17
Moved more than once in last five years	8	30
Total	28	100

Only twelve who changed their place of residence in the last five years limited their meanderings to San José. Of these, nine moved from one to three times, two from four to six, and one more than seven times. Thirteen more confined their movements to the metropolitan district of Albuquerque--ten moving from one to three times, two from four to six, and one moved more than seven times within the five year period preceding July 1, 1946.

the eight-one people have not experienced a change in living quarters.

TABLE III

MOBILITY OF WHITE-AMERICAN PEOPLE IN
SARASOTA COUNTY

Length of residence in Sarasota County		Persons	
Have not moved in the last ten years		15	42
Have not moved in the last five years		3	20
Have not moved in the last year		3	11
Moved more than once in last five years		5	20
Total		26	93

Only twelve who changed their place of residence in the last five years listed their reasons for doing so. Of these, nine moved from one to three times, and five from one to two times. Thirteen more indicated their movements to the Sarasota County office as follows: ten moving from one to three times, two from four to six times, and one moved more than seven times within the five year period preceding July 1, 1946.

TABLE IV

MOBILITY OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HEADS BORN OUTSIDE
BERNALILLO COUNTY

Length of residence in San José	Number	Percent
Have not moved in last twenty years	6	11
Have not moved in last ten years	2	4
Have not moved in last five years	6	11
Moved more than once in last five years	39	74
Total	53	100

The residue of twenty-two documents manifested divergent kinds of patterns. Fourteen heads of families came to Albuquerque and San José from outlying regions, and after coming into the metropolitan area, six did not move; six moved from one to three times, one from four to six, and one moved more than seven times. Eight of the clients moved in and out of the area--five from one to three times, two from four to six, and one more than seven times in five years. And among these twenty-two, there was a considerable amount of moving around when they were outside the metropolitan district of Albuquerque.

A phenomenon of the war was the visits by old women to the Los Angeles area for periods of three months to a year. In three cases, the clients went there to be with their children, but in the main they disliked the big city

TABLE IV

MOBILITY OF SPANISH-AMERICAN WAGES FROM 1900 TO 1910

Length of residence in the U.S.	Number	Percentage
Have not moved in last twenty years	6	12.5
Have not moved in last ten years	1	2.0
Have not moved in last five years	5	10.0
Moved more than once in last five years	28	55.5
Total	40	100.0

The residue of twenty-two persons who have not moved in various kinds of persons. Fourteen of these persons are in Albuquerque and San Jose from outside regions, and after coming into the metropolitan area, six of them moved to live one to three times, one from four to six, and one moved more than seven times. Eight of the others moved in one out of the area—five from one to three times, two from four to six, and one more than seven times. In this group, and from these twenty-two, there was a considerable number of moving around when they were outside the metropolitan district of Albuquerque.

A phenomenon of the war was the return of the Spaniards to the Los Angeles area for periods of time ranging from a year. In three cases, the return was to their homes with their children, but in the same they stayed in the city.

and were happy to return to their old habitat.

Anglo-American mobility followed a different pattern. Already we have seen that all Anglo-Americans are recent arrivals--all but two coming in the last ten years. And these two are the only ones who have remained in the same house for the last five years.

By way of conclusion, one might consider 42% of the Spanish-American clients were immobile during the five years previous to July 1, 1946 and that the other 58% were a highly mobile group.

Reasons for internal mobility:

An adequate statistical analysis is not feasible with regard to internal mobility, for one is beset by too many kinds of diverse movements, and it was difficult to secure the causes for many of the changes in residence. However, from the motives which were recorded, it appears, especially with regard to the Spanish-American old age assistance clients, that the factor of relatives, mainly children, played a dominant role in internal mobility. These kinsfolk influenced the head in varying ways, for he or she may have moved to be with them, to be near them, to get away from or to avoid them. Even for the old age clients there was some mobility because of desire for less expensive or better homes, trouble with neighbors, and difficulties with the landlord of one kind or another. However, these factors were more prominent in the other cases--aid to dependent children, general assistance,

and other services only.

Relatives as a causative factor in the changes of residence of Anglo-Americans was negligible. But it is impossible in the small number of cases at my disposal to find any nucleation about any one particular reason. Heads moved for such widely different reasons as noise of children to buying a home.

Home ownership:

Logically the question of home ownership is linked to the mobility pattern. Moreover, in regard to the Spanish-Americans, it happens that this is also related to another important phase of family life, namely the aid which immediate family members or other relatives provide the clients. (For the furnishing of living quarters is one field in which we find that aid is provided by children and relatives to those on relief.)

Twenty-two of the Spanish-American clients own their own homes; two more are in the process of buying their living quarters. In addition, ten have their dwelling houses provided for them by children in another house apart from the latter's residences. Of these ten, seven are provided for by the clients' sons, and three by their daughters.

Twenty-six of the Spanish-American heads live with relatives--three with sons, eleven with daughters and sons-in-law, one with a grandchild, three with parents, and eight with other relatives--brothers, sisters, and daughters-in-law.

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Twenty-one of the Spanish-American clients rent their homes.

TABLE V

LIVING ARRANGEMENT OF SPANISH-AMERICAN HEADS

Living Arrangement	Number	Percent
Own home	22	27.2
Rent	21	26
Live with children	11	13.5
Live with other relatives	15	18.5
Home furnished by children outside of their home	10	12.3
Buying home	2	2.5
Total	81	100

Thus we observe that the greatest proportion, 44%, of the heads have their living quarters given to them free by their relatives, principally children. And although it may be a small number on which to formulate any definite conclusions, it is at least interesting to find that the sons dominate in providing quarters apart from their own home in contrast to daughters who dominate in bringing their parents into their own home.

While Spanish-Americans are being furnished aid in the form of shelter, the Anglo-Americans have only three clients who are furnished living quarters by relatives. Six own their

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Casa:

Inasmuch as so many of the clients live with their relatives, there arises the question whether or not the pattern of the casa⁷ which was typical in the rural setting is still prevalent today among the Spanish-Americans. It was recorded as existing in fifteen of the cases which shows that it still persists to some extent even today in San Jose. In some cases, parents and children had this casa arrangement; in others, uncles, cousins, and other relatives lived in the same house but in different apartments.

The casa did not exist among the Anglo-Americans.

Family authority;

While on the discussion of the various living arrangements, it might be well to point out that the balance of authority has shifted to some extent. As was noted, some of the parents live with their children, and the children appear to command the greatest share of authority in at least some of the cases. There were a couple of cases, even when one takes into consideration the language handicap, where the children appeared to dominate in the discussions with the agency; it seems as though the children's opinions were dominant in the decisions. Also, and we shall note this in more detail later, in a number of cases parents had to leave

⁷ Cf. ante., p. 11.

own behavior the opportunity.

Case:

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1. Cf. Family, p. 11.

their children's homes because the latter did not want them around.

Family patterns:

Already we have touched upon a few points regarding the support which has been given by relatives to the clients in the form of living quarters. But this is only a portion of the general picture, for other aid has also been furnished by family members.

To bring this out a little more clearly, it may be said that within the past ten years there have not been any Spanish-American clients with living relatives, with the possible exception of two, who have not been assisted in some way.

This help varied from room, board, and financial assistance to care during illness. To be sure some may have been very meager, but it was aid, nevertheless.

Not only did immediate family members support the clients, but there were a number of occurrences of help by grandchildren, nephews, and other distant relatives. In one case a client had been supported by his sister. At the same time the latter also supported her uncle and another relative who lived nearby. Two examples are cases in which grandparents were allotted funds by grandchildren who were in the service. Also a similar occurrence took the form of a service allotment by a nephew. Added to these were a number of instances in which grandchildren provided relief in the form of food and cared for the elders during periods of illness.

Assistance among the Anglos is not as evident as among the Spanish-Americans. In two cases there was no aid recorded, and in the others it appeared that family members were not as willing to aid. However, even among the Anglo-Americans, there were evidences of help by persons beyond the immediate family. In two cases grandchildren provided relief to the clients. Assistance took varying forms--money, food, and care during illness.

Adoption practices:

The adoption practices which persist among San José's relief clients are worthy of attention. Altogether there were twenty Spanish-American cases in which divers kinds of adoption or quasi-adoption practices appeared. Except to recognize their existence, the four occurrences outside of San José are not of special interest as are the remaining sixteen adoptions.

First, because of broken homes caused by death, desertion, and divorce of the parents, two children were taken over by outsiders and five by near relatives. Of these seven, four occurred within the last ten years. The others were much earlier, in the 1920's.

Second, there were three children who were given away by parents whose homes had not been broken. Two of these took place in the 1920's when children were given to strangers, while one adoption took place in 1943 when grandparents were given a child by one of their daughters.

Finally, there has arisen the practice, which for want of a better term we shall designate as quasi-adoption, where children are placed in the homes of their grandparents who reside alone. These children are supported by their own parents but live with their grandparents in order to keep them company and to assist them in menial tasks about the home. Six instances of this practice were recorded, all of which occurred within the last five years in San José. This form of adoption appears to be a means of accommodation whereby children of the grandparents avoid taking their old folks into their own homes but are still able to provide for them in their old age.

Adoption practices were not encountered among the Anglo-Americans.

Illegitimacy:

Seven women were recorded as having borne illegitimate children. Three of these women bore their children when they resided outside of San José--two in the 1920's in Bernalillo County and one within the last ten years outside the county. In San José one mother gave birth to two illegitimate children in the last ten years; three mothers gave birth to illegitimate children within the last five years. In the former case the two children were readily received into the family unit. With regard to the three mothers who gave birth to illegitimate children within the last five years, all had their children accepted by other members of the family. However, in one

the parents reacted verbally against the mother even though they furnished her living quarters. The parents wanted her to get married to the putative father, but the daughter refused to force the issue. One of the other girls reacted in a somewhat similar way, for she was very reluctant to reveal the name of the father of her child to the welfare agency.

Family disorganization:

In any exposition of Spanish-American family breakdown one is confronted by the problem of finding within the same unit divergent patterns or reactions on the part of different members. In other words, one member might have been the cause of dissension and disorganization while others in the same family may have followed the accepted rules of behavior which were brought out in the commentary on the ideal-typical relationship.

To be sure, these Spanish-American cases are atypical as can be seen by the forthcoming discussion of divorce and desertion, but there are a number of phases of disorganization which are unique and will probably throw some light upon what is happening to family life in San Jose.

Because these are public relief cases, it is to be expected that the amount of divorce and desertion would be greater than among Spanish-Americans generally, for many of the clients were forced to accept government assistance because their spouses left them.

Altogether there were seventeen instances in which heads

of family units were involved in some kind of breakup between husband and wife. Six took place more than ten years ago, four of them as many as twenty or more years ago. Only three of these culminated in a legal divorce. Two of the ten heads remarried, one of whom had not bothered to obtain a divorce from his previous wife. All of these occurred while the clients were residents of counties outside of Bernalillo County.

Of the remaining eleven cases, all the marital difficulties happened in the last ten years, mainly in the last five. Of these eleven, ten took place in the Albuquerque district. Nine of these were separations or desertions with no legal termination of the marriage. One of the nine resulted in a reconciliation. The other two went through formal court proceedings.

From these statistics, it is evident that the Spanish-Americans of San Jose, if we can use these cases as criteria, do not rely upon formal legal means in dissolving their marriages. Also, it is of interest to note that it was mainly the clients in the younger age brackets who used desertion and separation during the last five years as the means of terminating their marital relationship. Of course, some of these breakups may still result in reconciliations or in a formal grant of divorce. However, it may be said that in so far as these Spanish-Americans are concerned they have made use of what Mowrer refers to as the "poor man's

divorce."⁸

There was no nucleation in the reasons for the divorces, desertions, or separations. They varied all the way from cruelty, drinking, and jealousy, to the husband leaving to live with another woman. Also, it might be observed that in at least three cases, the marital difficulties arose during or just after the husbands' military service.

Among the Anglo-Americans there were two separations and no desertions or divorces.

What other forms of disorganization are there? If one were to base it on any single criteria, disorganization would seem to be of minor importance. However, when one considers the various indications in combination, a somewhat different conclusion can be drawn.

Here for the sake of clarity, in the analysis of cases of Spanish-Americans, a separation is essential between the old age clients and the others. Among the former, we find a number of factors which are outstanding. In the past five years, there were seven cases out of the fifty where children helped disproportionately and complaints (verbal reactions) were made by the client against his or her children, or by the children against other siblings who they claimed had failed to cooperate.

⁸ Ernest Mowrer, Family Disorganization (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927), p. 89.

There was no objection to the terms for the al-
teration, especially of the terms. They varied all the way
from twenty, thirty, and forty, to the hundred, hundred
to live with another woman. Also, it might be observed that
in at least three cases, the matter of distribution of the
of just after the necessary writing.

Among the two divisions there were two divisions
and no division of the whole.
What other form of distribution was there? It was
said to be in the form of a division, distribution would
mean to be of such persons. However, there was one other
the various divisions in combination, a somewhat different
division can be made.

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all the children and the others. Among the latter, we find
a number of factors which are essential. In the past five
years, there were seven cases out of the fifty which children
United States, which have and some (which are not)
were made by the child against his or her children, or
by the children against other persons who they claimed had
failed to cooperate.

⁸ Ernest Hornet, Family Disposition (Chicago:
The University of Chicago Press, 1937), p. 22.

In addition, there were at least two cases where the clients wanted to secure public relief to avoid asking their children for aid.

Second, we discover that sons-in-law and daughters-in-law reacted against the aged in a number of ways. In six cases where the reactions took place in the last five years, there was no uniformity, but they were interesting, and it might be worth while to elaborate on them. One of the daughters-in-law refused even to allow her husband to take his mother for an automobile ride, to say nothing of allowing him to visit his mother. In another, aid which was provided by the daughter to her mother had to be given behind the back of her husband. Two other sons-in-law kept their wives' parents from living in their homes.

Comments about mobility have been made from time to time. One result of mobility appears to have been that parents lost contact with their children. There were seven heads who did not know where one or more of their children were.

Finally, there were two parents who were forced out of the homes of their children. In one particular case the mother wanted to live with her sons, but she was driven from the home of her two sons who were living together.

Summarizing, we observe that there were, at least, twenty-three records of old age assistance clients in which reactions appeared which are not typical of the ideal family. But, even

so, the reader must be cautioned. For example, in the aforementioned circumstance where the mother was ejected from her sons' home, she, afterwards, went to live with her grandchild, a daughter of one of these sons.

In regard to the other Spanish-American clients--aid to dependent children cases, general assistance, and other services only--we find three parents who neglected their children. Two instances of parental clash with foster children occurred, one resulting in an aunt taking over the children. In four records, there were obvious difficulties; these varied from a husband leaving his wife for a few months because she took care of her brother to a break with a son because of his marriage. In the latter, the mother had wanted her son to support her instead of getting married. Thus, there were dissensions in nine out of these thirty-one families, or in the eighty-one Spanish-American cases, there were thirty-two atypical occurrences resulting in some form of family disorganization.

Anglo-Americans apparently had a greater number of disorganized familial relationships. Only six families escaped some kind of difficulty, aside from divorce and desertion which have already been commented upon. However, there was little uniformity in the reasons--in one case a daughter was refused permission by her husband to visit her family; in another parents had lost contact with some of their children. Those are two examples.

Dispersion of children:

Mobility of heads has been discussed in some detail. But what of their children? Although information from all the records was not available, sufficient material from forty-three of the Spanish-American cases portray a pattern of dispersion of the children of the heads of completed families.⁹ Because of a deficiency in the case recording, we found some information a year or so old. The information about the whereabouts of children had not been brought up to date. But this discrepancy should not invalidate the overall picture.

TABLE VI

DISPERSION OF ONE HUNDRED SEVENTY-THREE CHILDREN OF
SPANISH-AMERICAN HEADS AND TWENTY-FOUR CHILDREN OF
ANGLO-AMERICAN HEADS

Local of children	Spanish-American		Anglo-American	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
In San Jose	64	37.0	8	33
In Bernalillo County (not in San Jose)	31	17.9	7	29
In New Mexico (outside Bernalillo County)	38	22.0	1	4
In California	27	15.6	3	13
Outside New Mexico (not in California)	3	1.7	4	17
In service	3	1.7	1	4
Unknown	7	4.1	0	0
Total	173	100	24	100

⁹ The term completed family here refers to those in which the women are no longer able to bear children.

Mutation of children

Location of birth has been discussed in some detail.

But what of their children? Although information from all

the records are not available, sufficient material has been

secured to show the Spanish-American cases between a period of time

between the children of the decade of 1900-1910.

Because of a deficiency in the case recording in 1910 and

information a year or so old, the information about the

associates of children has not been brought up to date, but

this discrepancy should not invalidate the general picture.

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF ONE HUNDRED SEVENTY-THREE CHILDREN OF
SPANISH-AMERICAN MARRIAGE AND TWENTY-FOUR CHILDREN OF
ANGLO-AMERICAN MARRIAGE

Local of children	Spanish-American	Anglo-American
In San Jose	64	17.5
In Berkeley County (not in San Jose)	31	11.3
In New Mexico (outside Berkeley County)	38	22.9
In California	27	15.6
Outside New Mexico (not in California)	3	1.7
In service	3	1.7
Unknown	1	0.5
Total	173	100

2 The term "completed family" here refers to those families in which the women are no longer able to bear children.

In the forty-three families, there were 173 children living. Of these, sixty-four made their home in San Jose. In addition, there were in Bernalillo County another thirty-one children, and outside the county, but still in New Mexico another thirty-eight children resided.

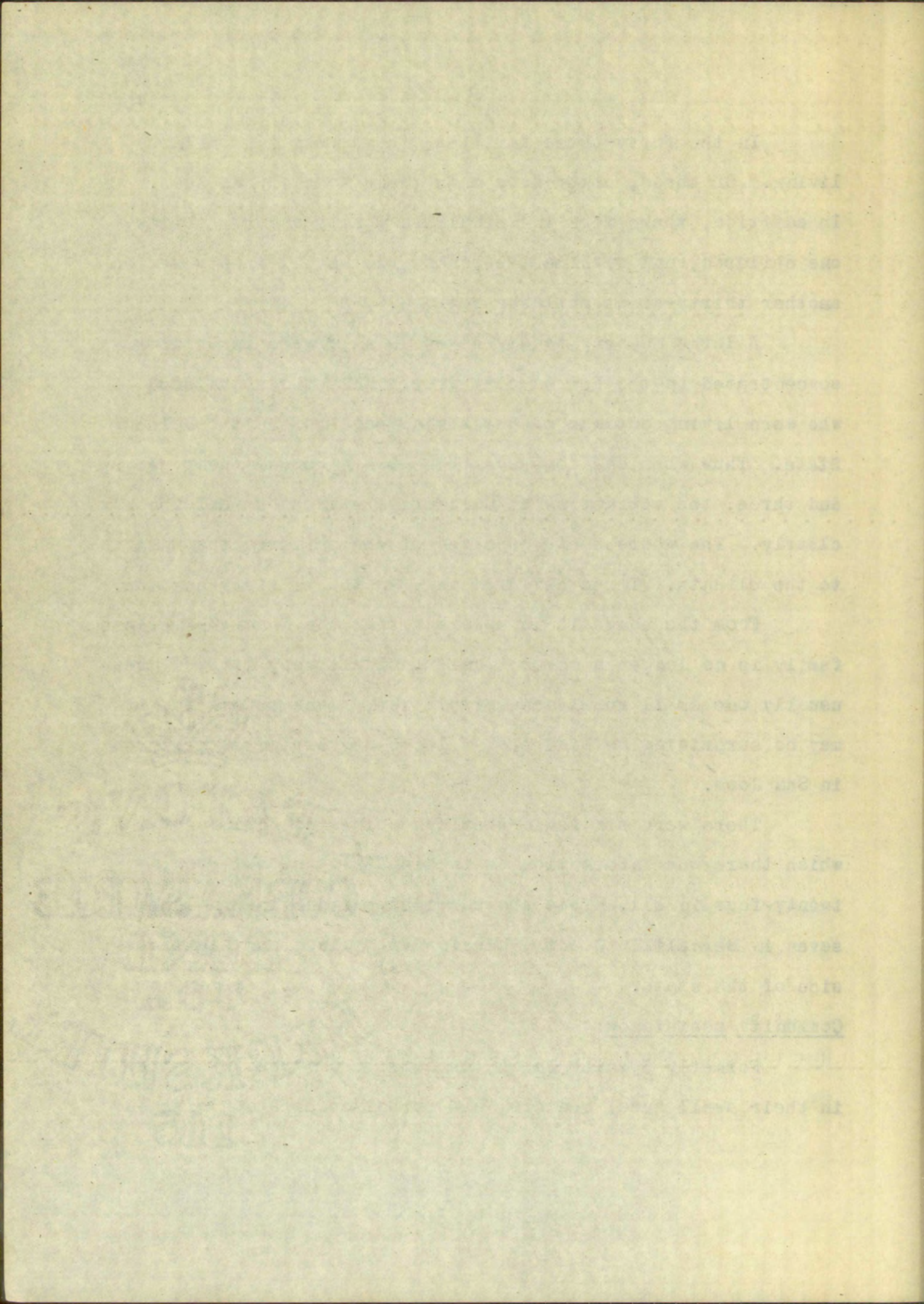
A large number, twenty-seven in all, were in California, concentrated in the Los Angeles area. Only three children who were living outside of New Mexico were not in the Golden State. Thus when one compares these two figures, twenty-seven and three, the attraction of California stands out all the more clearly. The whereabouts of seven of the children was unknown to the clients. Three children were in the military service.

From the above it is apparent that the Spanish-American family is no longer a compact unit inside a very limited area, usually one small rural community. Yet, maybe to others, it may be surprising to find such a large proportion of children in San Jose.

There were six Anglo-American completed families for which there was information as to dispersion of children, twenty-four in all. This showed eight resided in San Jose, seven in Bernalillo County, one in New Mexico, and eight outside of the state.

Community assistance:

Formerly Spanish-Americans were tied closely together in their small rural centers, and mutual cooperation with and

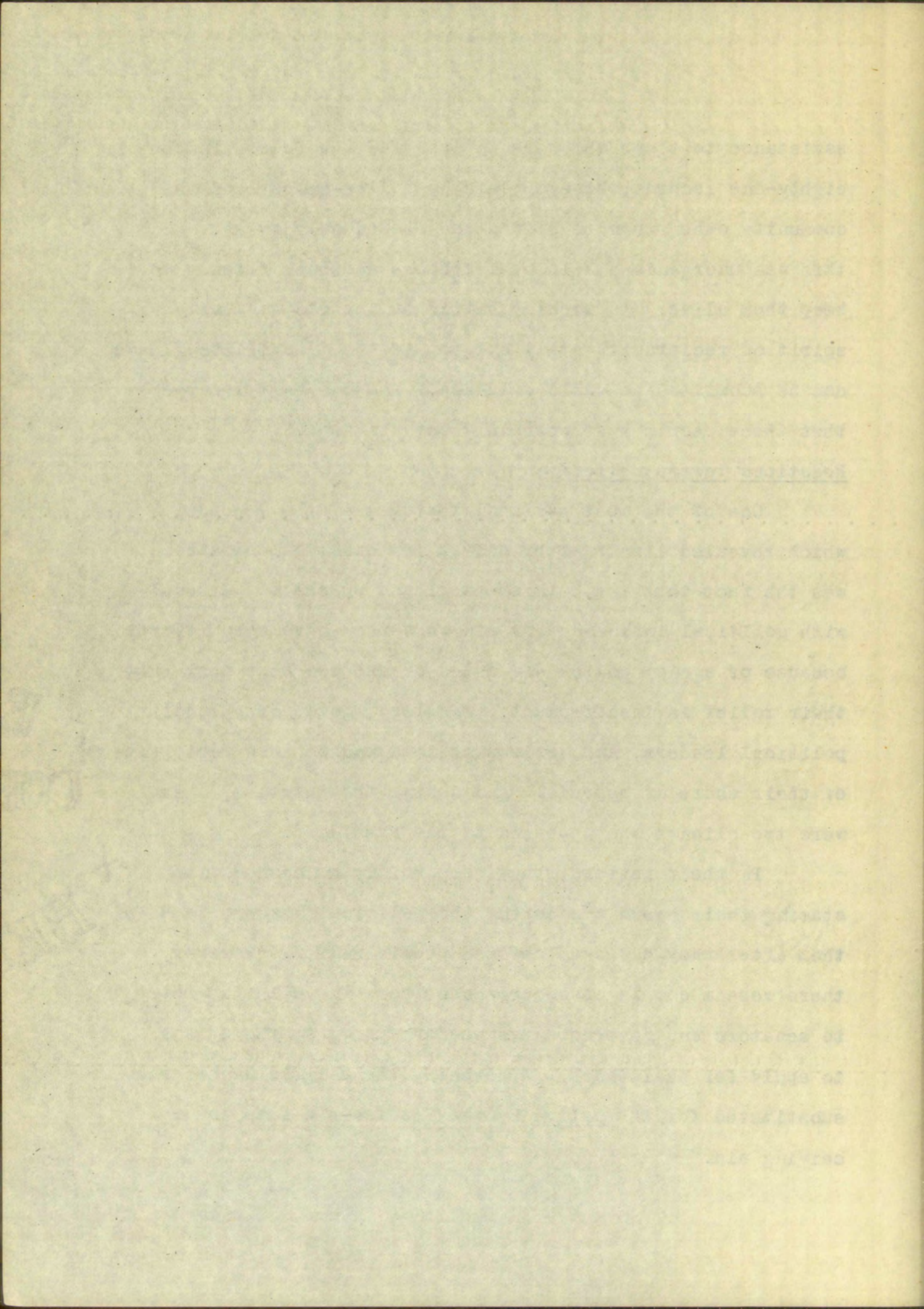


assistance to those who were in need was the rule. In the eighty-one records, however, aid by fellow-members of the community other than relatives was listed only twice. And this was unorganized help by neighbors to their friends to keep them alive. Apparently little of the old community spirit of reciprocity still exists, if the information gleaned can be submitted as valid evidence. And one must remember that these people have certainly been in need.

Reactions toward relief:

One of the most striking features of the records, which revealed itself after only a few cases had been read, was the fact that the Spanish-Americans appeal to persons with political influence for aid when they have been rejected because of agency policy and rules or because they feel that their relief is insufficient. Senators, governors, local political leaders, and various state agencies were recipients of their share of appeals. And during the thirties, there were two clients who appealed to the President.

In their letters, they were mainly concerned with stating their needs and asking the political leaders to help them after they had been refused public relief. However, there were a couple of occurrences where the clients wrote to senators and governors even before going to the agency to apply for assistance. Apparently the politician has been substituted for the patron by the Spanish-American now receiving aid.



There also were a few letters which attacked certain policies of the relief agency or the government. Some of these resulted from misunderstandings. For instance, there was a letter to the agency from a client who thought she was being refused relief when she came to the agency because the worker had gone to look for her record.

Second, many Spanish-Americans fail to understand the principles of relief. Most of them labor under the notion that it is some form of pension and are surprised and startled to find that it is only a program based upon need. Although this is probably a characteristic of all relief clients, the Spanish-Americans appear to present problems; because even after explanations by the social workers, they still believe that they are not being treated with fairness. However, they appear to be justly treated by the agency.

Third, there were a number of clients whose verbal reactions showed that they felt humiliated to have to ask for public relief. However, most of these were glad and some were almost eager to receive aid as time went by.

Jealousies crept out in a number of cases among the Spanish-Americans. Complaints by some clients about the larger amounts which their neighbors were receiving were recorded. They, of course, failed to consider that the need of those receiving the larger grants was greater. This is, apparently, another consequence of the expectance of a pension instead of relief.

There are also some other things which are
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the ninety-fourth one. The ninety-fifth one is
the ninety-sixth one. The ninety-seventh one is
the ninety-eighth one. The ninety-ninth one is
the hundredth one.

On the whole, however, one could say that the Spanish-Americans were cooperative with the agency and its policies. To be sure, verbal reactions were recorded, but the clients with four or five exceptions have not been found to deliberately conceal information or to falsify the existing conditions. We might consider two of the attempts to circumvent the agency. One tried to hide the fact that he had property when in reality he owned a farm. Another tried to conceal information about a child, one which had been given to the client by a daughter who had separated from her husband. No formal adoption proceedings had taken place, and the client attempted to pass the child off as one of her own.

Much of the Anglo-American reaction followed along a similar channel, except there were no direct appeals to political leaders even though complaints were lodged with the agency. There was one attempt uncovered where the client had concealed pertinent information. Also, there was the usual confusion between pension and relief. It is difficult, however, from the information at hand to judge the comparative reactions of the Anglos and Spanish-Americans; it is difficult to say which were the most cooperative.

Reactions toward health and education:

Although the cases were few in number, there were some interesting observations which can be gained from them in relation to the various reactions of the Spanish-American

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ollients toward formal education. All parents with children under twenty-one have accepted, at least in some degree, the formal educational patterns. However, two instances were noted where children left the city schools to return to their old home in rural centers, because the standards of dress and conduct were too exacting in the San Jose and Albuquerque schools which they were attending. Also, it was found that the Spanish-Americans appeared to want their children to go to school, but when they completed high school or even grammar school, the parents were satisfied. There appeared to be an incentive to push the children forward for awhile, but this became less as the child advanced in school. In judging these reactions, the reader must be cautioned that this is not necessarily an ethnic characteristic; it is a general reaction of persons in the lower economic strata.

There were reactions toward doctors and health measures. Four Spanish-American heads who have or have had venereal diseases--eleven of the eighty-one heads were recorded as having or having had this disease--failed to cooperate with the relief agency and health authorities in the matter, even though the advantages of treatment were explained. There were some interesting reactions. Some considered a few treatments were sufficient, or if the medicine made the person ill, he would quit. Then too, there was the case of a married daughter of a head who felt that her adopted daughter, because

she was an adopted child, should not be examined for the disease, even though the other members of the family were ill.

Some reliance upon witchcraft doctors and midwives by the relief clients was noted. In the last five years, there were two heads who visited witchcraft practitioners. One made a special trip to California for the sole purpose of securing the services of what she called a "famous witchcraft doctor." Two babies were delivered by midwives during the five years prior to July 1, 1946, and one woman was treated by a midwife during her menopause. However, it must not be assumed that there were not many who went to medical doctors, for there were.

Many clients were careless and indifferent to the effect of contagious or infectious disease upon others. Already we have discussed the reactions of some of those who had venereal disease. In addition, two parents returned from the tuberculosis sanatorium even though they knew--they had been warned by social workers and doctors--that the health of family members was being jeopardized, for younger children were exposed to the constant danger of contracting a very dangerous disease. But the clients complained of loneliness in the sanatorium, and they wanted to remain at home among friends.

Anglo-Americans appeared to be more cooperative with regard to health practices, although there is no clear cut case. One Anglo returned from a tuberculosis center when

the doctors advised against it. He then endangered the health of a small child. In the few cases it was difficult to arrive at any educational pattern although the clients seemed to be indifferent toward schooling for their children.

Other occupational patterns:

As the agricultural background of the heads has already been considered, we might discuss the occupations of their children. The Spanish-American children do not follow in the occupational footsteps of their parents. No children within San Jose were farm owners. A few, being casual laborers, might be employed in some form of agricultural pursuit now and then. Most of the children who reside in San Jose were employed by the Santa Fe railroad or were casual laborers. Those who live outside of San Jose and Albuquerque but in New Mexico were farmers, but they were a small proportion of the total. ✓

The Spanish-Americans in California were employed in defense industries.

The Anglo-American children followed a similar pattern; they did not pursue, generally speaking, the same occupations as their parents.

Occupations of Spanish-American women are of some significance. Twenty-five out of the fifty-seven heads and wives of heads have been gainfully employed outside their own home. Of these, sixteen were gainfully occupied after their husband's death, while the others worked before or

during their marriage. The occupational pursuits which were followed were mainly those of household servants. However, some were hotel maids and a few worked for laundries.

SUMMARY

Thus we find that San José's Spanish-American relief clients have certain characteristics. They came from rural centers and in general have been employed in agricultural pursuits. However, the males have been engaged in a number and variety of occupations.

Mobility exists to a considerable extent among Spanish-American heads. All except one have changed residence at least once since birth. However, only about 60% of the heads can be considered to have been mobile in the last five years. Not only have the clients moved, but their children have been scattered over a wide area.

Spanish-Americans do not own their own homes, but live with relatives, especially with next of kin. The casa, even though there are different relationships, is still used as a form of living arrangement to some extent.

Children aid their parents in different ways, and there is some reciprocity of aid even between relatives. But community help is not a part of San José's organization.

There are evidences of disorganization. Divorce, separation and desertion are prevalent. Also, when viewing the whole picture one is able to perceive some breakdown in

during their marriage. The occupational pattern is also
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a form of living arrangements to some extent.
Children and their parents in different ways, and
there is some reciprocity of kin even between relatives. But
community help is not a part of San Jose's organization.
There are attitudes of discrimination. However,
separation and distinction are prevalent. Also, when viewing
the whole picture one is left with the impression that

parental ties with children.

Old adoption practices are still a part of the culture pattern in San Jose. But a new quasi-adoption practice has arisen. Illegitimacy is still accepted, but mothers appear to resist being forced into marriage.

The relief clients send their children to school but reactions have arisen. The parents do not plan upon their children attending more than a few years of school.

The health practices of the Anglo-American culture are accepted by many. But they are rejected by others.

Finally we find children do not follow the agricultural pursuits of their parents. Nowadays women are gainfully occupied outside the home.

In contrast to the Spanish-Americans, the Anglos did not come from an agricultural background. They have been more mobile. However, today a greater proportion own their own homes. There is an absence of the casa as a living arrangement. The Anglo-American family showed less reciprocity than Spanish-American, and there appear to be more marked signs of disorganization. Anglo-Americans were not recorded on questions of adoption and illegitimacy. And finally, they appear more cooperative in matters of public health, but the picture on education is not clear.

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CHAPTER III

CONCLUSIONS

In drawing conclusions from this material, there are a number of things which must be kept in mind. A comparison will be made between the San José relief clients and the ideal-typical Spanish-American family. However, it must be recalled that there are at present great and varying deviations from the ideal-typical even in rural areas, for the ideal-typical family which is used as the basis for comparison is an historical concept and can hardly be classed as a phenomenon of the 1940's. But it must still serve as the base, for it will show the most clearly the changes which have taken place in family relationships.

Probably the most outstanding change in Spanish-American family life as observed among the San José relief clients, has been in relation to mobility. The family no longer remains in the same rural village in which the ideal-typical took its form. And after leaving the rural center, a separation of family members has taken place. All the children no longer reside with or near their parents. However, there is still some grouping of family members within San José.

Occupational changes have occurred. Children no longer follow the pursuits of their parents. Women work outside the home. And men in their life-time have become engaged in a greater number and variety of occupations; in times past,

Spanish-Americans were born into and died in the same occupation.

Today, Spanish-American relief clients, generally speaking, do not own their own homes, in direct contrast to the former pattern. Today, also, parents live with their married children, in contrast to the former custom of married children living with their parents. For in San Jose the elders came to live with their children. The latter apparently command the authority in the household in some cases. This is a change from the old pattern. In the ideal-typical arrangement the children, both married and unmarried, lived with their parents, and the latter were in authority.

The casa as a living arrangement still persists in San Jose, although a majority of the cliente fail to follow this pattern.

The idea of reciprocity among family members still persists. In all cases, except those without relatives plus possibly two other cases, there was some kind of aid within the kinship group. However, the fact that these people were on relief pointed to a changing relationship--the extended family no longer is the basic unit of economic protection. Then too, certain cases showed obvious disorganization with verbal blows being lodged by children or parents against other family members for their lack or inadequacy of assistance.

Other indications of disorganization which are not typical of the ideal-typical Spanish-American family exist to

position.

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a very great extent. Divorce and desertion, at one time unheard of, were common among San José's relief clients. Added to this, there was the refusal of children or in-laws to allow elders to live in the same house; there was loss of parental contact with children and other different kinds of trouble. All pointed to a breakup of the basic unity of the Spanish-American family.

Although adoption customs have persisted, the most important feature of the Spanish-American adoption practices in San José was the new quasi-adoption relationship whereby children live with their grandparents although they are supported by their parents. Apparently it is a form of accommodation by which children are able to aid their parents outside of the children's residence.

With regard to illegitimacy, the acceptance of children is still the rule in San José, but certain changes appear to be taking place. Mothers appear to resist being forced into marriage with the putative father.

Finally there are the health and educational practices of the family. The Spanish-American family in San José--in contrast to the ideal-typical--is no longer the basic educational unit; at least, the public school can be said to have taken away much of its responsibility. However, although the parents appear to want their children to receive some of

a very great extent. Divorce and desertion, at one time un-
heard of, were common among San Jose's better classes. At first
to this, there was the refusal of children or in-laws to
allow others to live in the same house; there was loss of
parental control with children and other different kinds of
trouble. All pointed to a breaking of the sanctity of the
Spanish-American family.

Although adoption practices have persisted, the most im-
portant feature of the Spanish-American adoption practice in
San Jose was the new parent-adoption relationship whereby
children live with their grandparents although they are sup-
ported by their parents. Apparently it is a form of accommo-
dation by which children are able to stay with their parents outside
of the children's residence.

With regard to illegitimacy, the acceptance of children
is still the rule in San Jose, but certain changes appear to
be taking place. Mothers appear to prefer being forced into
marriage with the putative father.

Finally there are the health and educational practices
of the family. The Spanish-American family in San Jose in
contrast to the Latin-American is no longer the family at-
tached to the land; at least, the public school can be said to have
taken away much of its responsibility. However, although
the parents appear to want their children to receive some of

the formal training, they do not place stress upon completing a long course of study. Family members are no longer expected to care for their own ills. However, there are some Spanish-Americans who have reacted against the new health practices. Even though many cooperate, there are a number who have refused to place their faith and trust in these new ideas.

Where is the family going? It appears from the material which has been analyzed that it is definitely in a state of transition. I can not say with certainty where it is heading. But it is apparently being influenced by the urbanization process which has had so great an effect upon the American rural family. The tendency appears to be in the same direction as the urban family with its great mobility, occupational variation, women employed outside the home, children following other occupations from those of their parents, high incidence of divorce and desertion, breakdown of parental authority, lack of the reciprocity ideal among family members, and dependence upon other institutions to provide for life necessities--economic, health, and educational.¹

Thus, the relief clients of San José have shown changes away from some of their old patterns but a persistence of others. But it may be said that the changes as reflected by

¹ For a discussion of urban life see Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, Urban Society (second edition; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1941).

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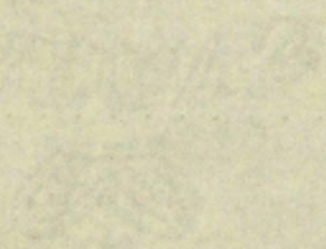
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these people are quite similar to those accompanying the process of urbanization the country over.

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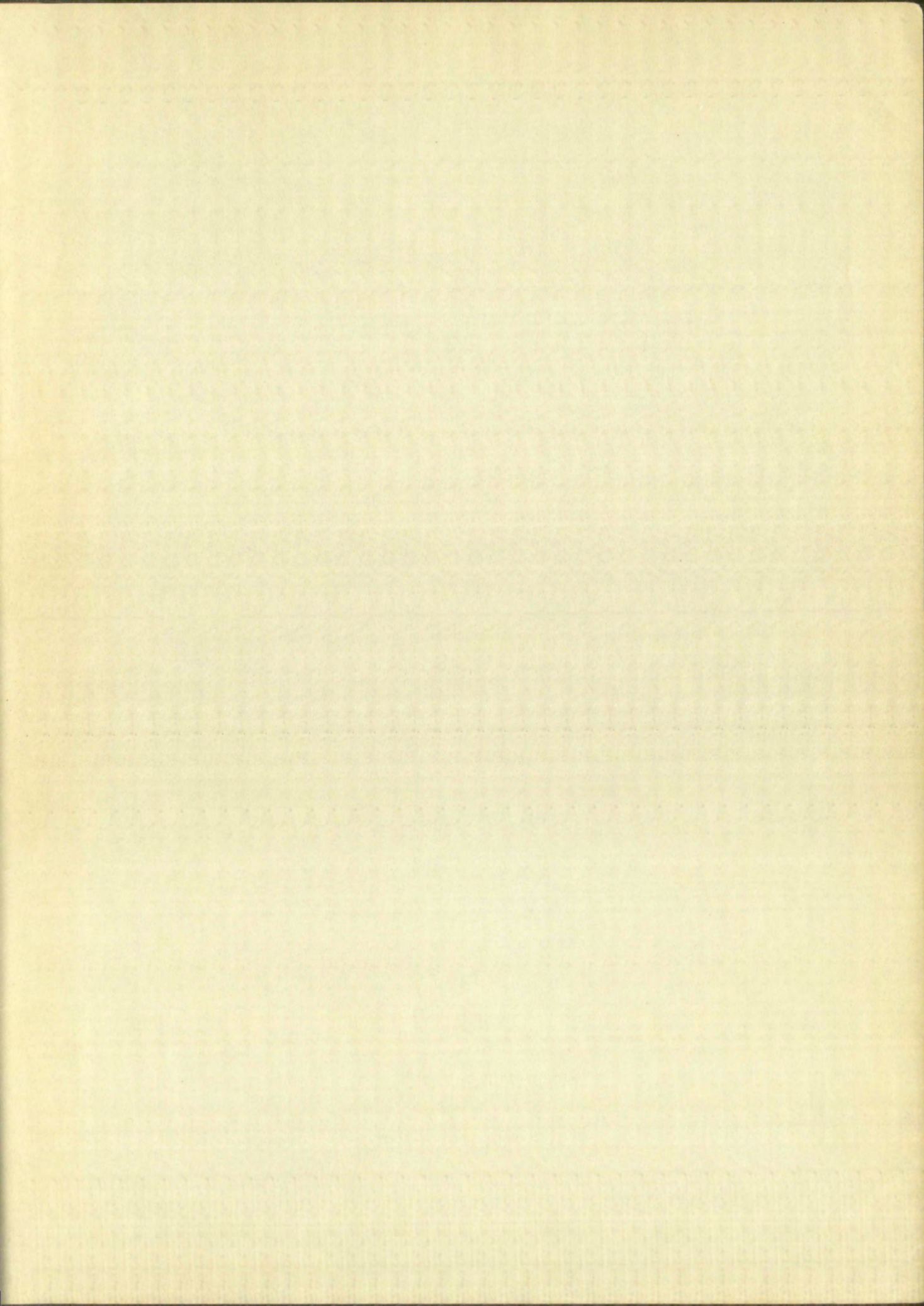
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