



1962

A Study of Assimilation Patterns Found Among Former Agricultural Migrant Families of Mexican Descent

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A STUDY OF ASSIMILATION PATTERNS FOUND AMONG
FORMER AGRICULTURAL MIGRANT FAMILIES
OF MEXICAN DESCENT

by

Robert Andrew Reicher

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

January
1962

LIFE

Robert Andrew Reicher was born in Chicago, Illinois, October 31, 1926.

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From 1952 to 1958, he was assistant pastor of Saint James Catholic Church, Arlington Heights, Illinois. There he was assigned to direct programs for the Spanish-speaking agricultural migrants and ex-migrants. He entered the University of Illinois for undergraduate work in sociology in January, 1958. Transferred to Sacred Heart Parish, 19th Street, Chicago, he entered Loyola University in September of 1958. He is a member of the advisory board of the National Conference to the Spanish-Speaking, Bishops' Committee for Migrant Workers, and has testified before the Congress of the United States.

He has written "Curtains of Prejudice Ring Migratory Workers," Community, XVIII (February 1959), 4-5 and "Mexicans in Our Midst," The Priest, XIII (September 1957), 680-5, as well as other articles on social problems.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Each year, throughout the United States, almost a million men, women, and children participate in agricultural migrant labor. In some areas, agencies of the federal and state governments recruit workers and channel them into areas of immediate need. In other areas, contracts are signed between the representatives of farmer organizations and labor contractors or crew leaders. In the halls of Congress, various aspects of the agricultural labor system, both in foreign and domestic matters, are discussed and debated.

The agricultural migrant travels through much of the United States. In the Rio Grande Valley, migrants reside for the winter months beginning the work season in Texas, going north through Arkansas to the Great Lakes States. South of the border a half million Mexicans channel through cities like Guadalajara, Monterrey, and Durango to reach destinations in California, Michigan, Colorado, and other states. These Mexican nationals enter the United States under the provision of Public Law 78 which law aids exchanges between the sovereign states

of Mexico and the United States.¹ Citizens of the British West Indies and American citizens from Puerto Rico come to the mainland under private agreements. Japan and the Philippine Islands send several thousand workers each year.²

Hired farm workers are in critical demand during short periods of the year. Local sources of labor supply simply cannot fulfill the demands of growers and canners at the wages offered. Workers are recruited from distant areas, leaving homes for varying periods of agricultural work. These workers, foreign and domestic, make up the agricultural labor pool in the United States. Under the migrant labor system, there are close connections between the Mexican national economy and the American cotton crop, between the prices of vegetables and the wages paid field laborers in the United States.

¹U. S. Department of Labor, Farm Labor Fact Book (Washington, 1959), p. 163. The 82nd Congress, 1st session, formalized previous agreements between the two governments of the United States and Mexico. The agreements appear in Public Law 78, which has since been modified several times. Its substantial regulation of the importation of Mexican nationals under temporary visas has been renewed periodically in the past. The 87th Congress, 1st session, renewed Public Law 78 until December 31, 1963.

²Ibid., p. 127.

Half the annual migrant worker force is made up of American citizens, almost 400,000 of them, who travel with their 150,000 dependents. From this agricultural working force come the men, women, and children of this study who have left their work on the soil and their migrant life to become members of the industrial complex of a northern state. The homes of origin of the ex-migrants in this study are located in the Rio Grande Valley. One-quarter million inhabitants of the Rio Grande Valley in Texas leave the state each year to work as agricultural migrants.³ Some leave the state never to return. It is a group of these non-returnees that this study will consider.

In this study, the subjects are Spanish-speaking families of the Rio Grande Valley who have found residence outside of Texas and employment outside of agriculture. As migrants, their movement was part of a complex pattern.⁴ Some left Texas to travel across one-third of the United States. Others worked in Texas fields before leaving the state. Each year some abandon this migrant life to remain in the areas

³Farm Labor Fact Book, 127.

⁴Ibid.

where they worked in agriculture. California's Professor Varden Fuller asserts:

Moreover it is to be noted . . . that many individuals and groups have made their way through farm employment and into more acceptable situations in agriculture and elsewhere. Hence migratory labor has fortunately not been entirely a dead end.⁵

The ex-migrant, wherever he is found, has been the object of discussion and study. Senator Harrison Williams, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, conducted hearings in Madison, Wisconsin in September of 1959. Two witnesses spoke of year-round residents who were once agricultural migrants. In Stockton, California, three priests devote their activities to former agricultural migrants. In Van Buren County, Michigan, a county health officer voiced concern about the living conditions of ex-migrants now permanent residents there.⁶ The present study will discuss a very specific group of ex-migrants who abandoned the agricultural migrant stream in northern Illinois.

⁵Varden Fuller, "Economics of Migrant Labor," Social Order X (January 1960), 6.

⁶William Fleming, "Proceedings of the National Conference to Stabilize Migrant Labor," Unpublished proceedings (Chicago, 1959), p. 224. The official proceedings are available in the offices of the Catholic Council on Working Life, 21 West Superior, Chicago, Illinois.

This study is concerned with Spanish-speaking ex-migrants. At the very beginning of this study, it is important to define the term "Spanish-speaking." As used in this thesis, the term "Spanish-speaking" will always refer to Americans of Mexican descent. For stylistic purposes, the terms "Mexican-Americans," "Spanish-Americans," and "Americans of Mexican descent" will be used interchangeably. In addition, the homes of origin of the subjects of this thesis are in the "winter garden" area of Texas. This is the area centered in and around the towns of Carrizo Springs, Asherton and Crystal City, Texas. All of the married persons in this study were born in this area. In addition, the subjects are former agricultural workers.

The subjects of this thesis abandoned the migrant stream in Cook County, Illinois. More details of the requirements for inclusion in this study will be given later, but the two important characteristics noted here are the Mexican ancestry and the former participation in agricultural labor. Since this point is very important, it can be reiterated that none of the subjects of this study was born in Mexico. The men, women, and children are products of a Spanish-American cultural heritage, which heritage has been studied by many

researchers.⁷ Any study of the ex-migrant worker in this thesis must include some reference to the Spanish-American cultural heritage which they possess. Not all of them can be expected to manifest an identical level of this influence, but more detailed discussion and analysis of this influence will be an important part of this study. The influence of Mexican ancestry, the proximity of origin to the country of Mexico, and the migratory way of life may have some influence on the level of participation shown.

All subjects of this thesis came to the state of Illinois. They labored in the fields of the adjoining townships of Wheeling and Elk Grove in Cook County. In these townships, they abandoned the migrant stream and began a way of life different from that experienced previously. They assumed a part of life in the industrial complex of the Chicago metropolitan area.

⁷For example, see Sigurd Johnson, "Rural Social Organization in a Spanish Cultural Area," Unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1941); Ozzie Simmons, "Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans in South Texas," Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Harvard University, Cambridge, 1952); Carolyn Zeleny, "Relations between the Spanish-Americans and Anglo-Americans in New Mexico," Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Yale University, New Haven, 1944). Of the three dissertations, that of Simmons is the most helpful for this study.

Some studies, such as that of Simmons, analyze the relationships between Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans in the Rio Grande Valley.⁸ Other studies, such as that of Basil Zimmer, discuss the impact of urban life on the rural migrant to the city.⁹ This study will attempt to record the impact of the change from an agricultural migrant life to a life in industrialized Cook County on the Spanish-speaking subjects.

Leonard Broom and Eshref Shevky conducted a study of Spanish-speaking people in the United States; at the conclusion of an article describing their research, they stated:

Three main patterns of development are possible in the future:

- (1) the continued isolation of atomistic enclaves.
- (2) emergence of an integrated ethnic community.
- (3) reduction in the isolation of the Mexican-American population, their incorporation in the larger society, and the progressive liquidation of ethnic enclaves.¹⁰

The writers do not assert that this is a temporal succession of developments. These possibilities reported by Broom and Shevky provide a beginning for this study of Mexican-American ex-migrants.

⁸ Simmons, passim.

⁹ Basil Zimmer, "Adjustment of Migrants in the Urban Area; a Study of Participation in the Urban Community in Relation to Migration Experience," Unpublished doctoral dissertation (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1954).

¹⁰ Leonard Broom and Eshref Shevky, "Mexicans in the United States, a Problem in Social Differentiation," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVI (January 1952), 158.

In the study of the ex-migrants of this thesis, these possibilities have become important. Some ex-migrants in Cook County have chosen to remain in isolated atomistic enclaves. By "atomistic enclaves" the writer means clusters of Mexican-American families, ranging from three to seventeen in number, located on farms where permanent residence has been established. Others have entered into an area in Chicago where large numbers of Spanish-speaking people already live and where more are entering. This is not an integrated ethnic community at the present time. Finally, others have separated themselves from places of residence with other Spanish-speaking families and live in areas surrounded by Anglos.¹¹

The writer believes that a study of these subjects is important because the number of domestic migrants in agriculture has decreased to form one-half the migrant labor force. In studying the ex-migrants in this thesis, the writer is studying one small segment of the ex-migrant group in the United States. For the purpose of convenience, the ex-migrants will be divided into three categories. The ex-migrant who remains in the rural areas will be termed Category I ex-migrant. Those who enter the city of Chicago will be termed Category II ex-migrants. Category III ex-migrants will be those who have

¹¹ Simmons, Zeleny, and others use this term without quotation marks.

separated themselves at least in residence from other Spanish-speaking families.¹²

The first part of this thesis considers the rural enclave ex-migrant, Category I. This rural enclave ex-migrant and his family live as permanent residents on farms where they formerly labored. By "permanent," the writer means an ex-migrant who no longer returns to the Rio Grande Valley every winter and is permanently employed outside of agriculture. He does not mean to imply that the ex-migrant will always remain in the northern part of the United States. In Cook County, the use of migrant labor developed since 1940. In 1959, two hundred family groups migrated to Bloom and Thornton townships. This migration in these two townships was first noted in 1940, with ten or fifteen families. After the war, the number increased until the present level of two hundred families was reached in 1950.¹³

¹²Edward Marciniak, Toward a National Policy for Migrant Labor (Chicago, 1960), p. 9. Mr. Marciniak points out the changes in the domestic and foreign composition of the migrant labor force.

¹³South Cook County Council for Migrants, "Reports and Studies," Unpublished confidential reports (Blue Island, 1957), passim.

Another concentration of twenty-five families works in the fields near Chicago Heights, Illinois. This migrant group began its work in 1947. Other isolated groups of migrant workers may be found around Volo, Blue Island, and Sauk Village.¹⁴ Some may also be found in the Glenview area of Illinois.¹⁵ Still others may be found near Elgin.¹⁶

The largest concentration of migrant workers in Cook County is found in Wheeling and Elk Grove Townships. These two townships cover an area which extends along both sides of the Northwest Highway and the Chicago and Northwestern railroad tracks from Desplaines to Palatine. Approximately 4000 migrants entered this area in 1956. This number includes workers and their dependents. Ex-migrants are found in all the areas mentioned, but the greatest number of ex-migrants is to be found in the Wheeling and Elk Grove Townships area.¹⁷

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Information about this group was received from the chief farm placement officer, United States Department of Labor, Chicago, Illinois. The information was obtained in an interview in February of 1959.

¹⁷In 1951, the American Association of University Women under the direction of a migrant chairman made the first census of this area. The Cardinal's Committee for Spanish-speaking People, a Catholic organization, made a more extensive survey in 1953 going into Palatine Township and parts of Lake County. The Migrant Ministry under Miss Dortha Weaver studied Wheeling Township in 1954. A Paddock Publications reporter studied the two townships in 1955.

All the migrant workers known to the writer are Spanish-speaking.¹⁸ No braceros are found in Cook County, although some Mexican citizens may be found.¹⁹ None of the persons in this study is a citizen of Mexico.²⁰

¹⁸In February of 1959, the writer interviewed the chief migration officer of the Chicago Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Department of Labor. This official informed the writer that no more than thirty Puerto Ricans were used in agricultural labor in Cook County in 1958. He stated that insistence on minimum wage standards, housing conditions, and guaranteed work periods made the Puerto Rican agricultural worker more costly than his Mexican-American counterpart. The Puerto Ricans were used on a mushroom farm and on a strawberry farm during 1958. The office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is located in Chicago, 30 East 8th Street.

¹⁹The writer interviewed the chief farm placement officer for the midwest area of the United States Department of Labor in February of 1959. He verified the information obtained from the office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. This office is located at 105 West Adams, Chicago, Illinois, and is to be distinguished from the Illinois Office of the Department of Labor located at 165 North Canal. The same information was given in March of 1959 by the head of the farm labor placement service at this time.

The Deputy Commissioner of Labor in the State of Illinois informed the writer in January of 1961 that 400 braceros were used in 1958 in Illinois.

In March of 1959, an investigating officer of the Department of Justice, Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, 433 West Van Buren, stated that the number of Mexican nationals employed in agriculture in Cook County with the use of a work permit visa was "negligible, amounting to no more than five or ten in any one year."

²⁰All subjects in the three categories are American citizens by birth and not by naturalization.

At the beginning of 1959, there were forty-four enclaves in Wheeling and Elk Grove townships where ex-migrants lived. The smallest of these was inhabited by three families. Seventeen families dwelt on the largest of these enclaves. These ex-migrants live on farm property, in buildings such as barns, tool sheds, and service structures. More details will be given in the chapter on Category I ex-migrants.

The writer finds it difficult to use a term to describe the areas in which these clusters of residences are found. They are located in the Chicago Metropolitan Area, even though they are found on farms. Suburban developments encroached upon these farm areas as early as 1950. Because of the closeness of these enclaves to the rapidly developing towns of Arlington Heights and Mount Prospect, the writer hesitates to use the word "rural." Because of the nature of the dwelling places, the word "suburban" seems inappropriate. The word "urban" cannot be used if it is to signify an incorporated area, since none of the farms is located within the village limits of any community.

The sample of Category I ex-migrants was selected in the following manner. It was necessary to select a group of ex-migrants with similar backgrounds. After surveys were conducted by the writer and other records were consulted, the

study was restricted to ex-migrants who were American citizens by birth. The married adults were born in the winter garden area of Texas. The period of migration to Cook County for the subjects of this study of all categories began in the spring of 1946 or 1947. The period of permanent residence in Illinois began in 1951 or 1952. In 1958, 204 families of Mexican ancestry lived in various parts of Wheeling and Elk Grove townships. Fifteen married adults of these families were born in Mexico; some few were born outside the Rio Grande Valley.²¹ It was discovered that the adults in forty-three families fulfilled the requisites for study, that is place of origin, agricultural labor, time of engagement in agricultural work in Cook County, time of initial permanent residence, and change to industrial work. By adults, the writer means the heads of families and their wives. The names of these families were placed on cards and fifteen cards were selected from a box into which the cards had been placed. These fifteen families selected at random are the Category I subjects of this study.

In a period extending from April of 1955 to February of 1956, eight families left the Wheeling and Elk Grove township enclaves mentioned above. They entered an area in Chicago

²¹At least six of the married adults of the 204 found were born outside Texas, during periods of parental migration.

which is bounded by the 16th Street railroad tracks, Canal Street, Ashland Avenue, and Cermak Road. This area is experiencing an increase in the number of Spanish-speaking people who live there. The eight families studied fulfilled the same requirements for inclusion in the study as those in Category I. The married adults are American citizens by birth, worked as agricultural migrant workers, entered Cook County in 1946 or 1947 and abandoned the agricultural stream in 1951 or 1952. These families appear in this study as the subjects in Category II.

Further investigation showed that fifteen families who fulfilled the basic requirements for inclusion in this study also left the rural enclaves previously described. Instead of their entering Chicago, they separated themselves in residence from other Spanish-speaking people. They moved into areas of incorporated and unincorporated Cook and DuPage Counties. Ten of these fifteen families were selected for study by placing their names in a box and drawing out ten at random. These first ten chosen are Category III subjects.

Thirty-three families are the subjects of this study. ✓
We will attempt to discover behavioral patterns which may or may not indicate a change in their former behavioral patterns, maintained while they were agricultural migrants.

The ex-migrant in the three categories has attracted the attention of organizations and individuals. In the rural areas, special educational and social welfare programs have been inaugurated. They were sponsored by the American Association of University women and the Cardinal's Committee for Spanish-speaking People. In Chicago, the Pilsen Neighbors, a community organization, has attempted to incorporate the Spanish-speaking people into the community structure. The ex-migrant, completely separate from other Spanish-speaking people, has been the recipient of care and protection from the Opportunity Council. The Opportunity Council is a human relations organization established in the northwestern suburban area of Chicago.

In this study, appropriate reference will be made to these organizations and others which have been involved in the life of the ex-migrant. We will attempt to see what part these organizations have played in the assimilation process of the Spanish-speaking ex-migrants. In this study, we will try to compare the categories for evidences of assimilation or marginality. It is hypothesized that different degrees of assimilation will manifest themselves in the lives of the ex-migrants.

TABLE I

ELIGIBLE FAMILIES AND
PERCENTAGE STUDIED
JANUARY, 1959

Description	Total of Families Meeting Requirements	Sample	
		Number	Percentage of Category Total
Category I Rural Enclave Ex-Migrant	43	15	34.9
Category II Urban Ex-Migrant	8	8	100.0
Category III Separated Ex-Migrant	15	10	67.8

There are also limitations to this study of the assimilation and marginality of the ex-migrants. It is difficult to know if those already more assimilated moved to urban centers and non-rural areas, or whether the moves hastened the assimilation. Another limitation is the incompleteness of the categories. There are ex-migrants who have returned to Texas and have abandoned the migrant stream there. There may also be ex-migrants who moved, but did not move to the areas where Spanish-speaking people live nor to the incorporated and unincorporated areas away from the Spanish-speaking families of the rural enclaves. Some may have moved into other parts of the city of Chicago, but none could be found.

A variety of approaches has been used to define the term "assimilation." Some early studies of assimilation presuppose a superiority of the Anglo-Saxon life, if this can be defined.²² A more sophisticated approach to assimilation was found after World War I in the study of Thomas and Znaniecki.²³ This work

²²Edith Abbott, Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem (Chicago, 1926); Tenements in Chicago, (Chicago, 1931); Jane Addams, Hull House Papers, (Chicago, 1906); Harry Pratt Fairchild, The Melting Pot Mistake, (Boston, 1926); H. W. Saveth, American Historians and European Immigrants, (New York, 1948).

²³William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York, 1927). This work first appeared in 1918, but the 1927 Knopf edition was used in the preparation of this thesis.

recognized elements of the immigrant culture and the host culture in the persons studied. Thomas wrote with values of his own. He assumed that the assimilation of immigrants was a problem to be solved. He believed that two elements influenced the rate of assimilation, the similarity between the incoming and receiving cultures as well as the attitudes of members of the host culture toward the incoming group. Harold Pedersen recognized a cultural pluralism in which a host culture and an immigrant culture existed together.²⁴ Another approach accepts the emerging culture concept, but finds other elements in the emerging culture which are not found in either the incoming or the host cultures.²⁵ Assimilation may also refer to the individual or the group. It may also refer to changes in the host culture as well. One also realizes that assimilation may be viewed as a continuous process rather than an accomplished fact.

The concept of assimilation is further complicated if the distinction between the cultural system and the social system is valid. This distinction is presented by Talcott Parsons and

²⁴Harold Pedersen, "The Emerging Culture Concept; An Approach to the Study of Culture Change," Social Forces, XXIX (December 1950), 132.

²⁵C. Wright Mills, Clarence Senior, and Rose Kahn Golden, The Puerto Rican Journey (New York, 1950).

Alfred Kroeber.²⁶ Parsons defines culture as the "transmitted and created content of values, ideas, and other symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behavior and the artifacts produced through behavior." The social system is "the specifically relational system of interactions among individuals and collectivities."²⁷ In the assimilation of the ex-migrant to a different way of life, the subject may begin assimilating to one or both of the systems.

Park and Burgess offer a definition of assimilation:

It is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other groups or persons by sharing their experiences and history and are incorporated with them in a cultural life.²⁸

In this study, we will accept the definition of Ogburn and Nimkoff in which assimilation is the process whereby "individuals or groups once dissimilar become similar, that is, become identified in interests or outlook."²⁹

²⁶ Alfred L. Kroeber and Talcott Parsons, "The Concept of Culture and Social Systems," American Sociological Review, XXIII (October 1958), 583.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (Chicago, 1921), p. 735.

²⁹ William F. Ogburn and Meyer Nimkoff, Sociology, 2nd. ed. (New York, 1950), p. 185. For other definitions, see Henry Pratt Fairchild, Dictionary of Sociology, (New York, 1944), p. 276.

In addition to the concept of assimilation, the concept of marginality is important in this study. The culture of the ex-migrants is influenced by a Spanish-American cultural heritage as well as an agricultural, but highly mobile, way of life. The ex-migrant has placed himself in areas where these notes are not to be found in the Anglo culture which surrounds him. When one views the ex-migrant in these circumstances, the concept of the marginal man comes immediately to mind.

As the concept was originally presented by Stonequist and Park, the marginal man was a man in conflict. Park stated: "The marginal man . . . is one whom fate has condemned to live in two societies, not merely different but antagonistic cultures."³⁰ The conflict of two cultures is essential to the original views of Stonequist and Park. Other authors modified the concept of Stonequist, since they were not satisfied with the presentation of Stonequist. These include Goldberg, Rose, Golovensky, and Slotkin. However, the original concept of the marginal man may be described in the words of Robert E. Park:

³⁰ Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology, XXXIV (May 1928), 681.

. . . a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice in the society in which he now sought to find a place. He was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies which never completely interpenetrated and fused.³¹

Stonequist lays even greater emphasis on the conflict between two cultures and describes the marginal man as "poised between two social worlds."³² Goldberg, however, speaks of a marginal culture rather than a marginal person, seeing an individual born into two cultures and sharing them both in primary group experience.³² James Slotkin found no conflict in the marginal culture of Jews.³³ A contrary opinion is voiced by Golovensky in this sense; he sees strong intracultural antitheses which are just as strong as intercultural antitheses.³⁵

³¹Ibid., 892.

³²Everett Stonequist, "The Problem of the Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology, XL (July 1935), 8.

³³Milton Goldberg, "A Qualification of the Marginal Man Concept," American Sociological Review, VI (February 1941), 52-8.

³⁴James Sydney Slotkin, "Status of the Marginal Man," Sociology and Social Research, XXVIII (September 1943), 47-54.

³⁵David I. Golovensky, "The Marginal Man Concept; an Analysis and Critique," Social Forces, XXX (March 1952), 337-9. See also: Arnold Greeb, "A Reexamination of the Marginal Man Concept," Social Forces, XXVI (December 1947), 167-71.

The ex-migrant is involved in two cultures. This thesis seeks to study the patterns of behavior with respect to the involvement of the ex-migrant in the cultures which affect him. The same indicators will be used for all of the families studied. Family life, religious life, education, work, social life, and recreation will be examined. Included under the study of family life, with attention given to these factors in all three categories, will be the language spoken, the type of food eaten, family financial arrangements, and the place of residence. The study of religious life will include attendance at services as well as the reception of the sacraments of baptism, confirmation, Holy Communion, matrimony, as well as the making of the ^Easter Duty. The educational aspect of ex-migrant life will include the educational attainments of parents and children. The analysis of working life will include nature of employment and salary received. In the matter of social life, voting habits and participation in social clubs will be considered. Finally, recreational life will be studied according to the types of recreation found among ex-migrant adults and children.

The techniques used for securing data were direct observation, personal interview, and quasi-participant observation, in which the researcher has a role to play. The interviews began in September of 1959 and were concluded in

January of 1960. The interviews of Category I and Category III ex-migrants took place on Wednesday evenings and Saturday and Sunday afternoons. In February of 1960, Category I and Category III ex-migrants were revisited to confirm the description of the housing. Category II families were visited on weekday evenings other than Wednesday.

The interviews of the subjects were informal and non-structured, although the same information was elicited from each family. Interviews were conducted with both husband and wife present, but no notes were taken in the presence of the interviewees. Immediately after each interview with a Category I or Category III family, the information was written down in the researcher's automobile. The information from Category II ex-migrants was written down after the researcher returned to his place of residence in the vicinity. It should be noted that basic family data, including names, birth dates, places of birth, religious practice, place of employment, salary, schools attended, sacraments received were known through the censuses taken by the Saint James Holy Name Society, the Illinois State Employment Service, and the Cardinal's Committee for Spanish-speaking People.³⁶

³⁶The Appendix lists the organizations contacted in preparation for this study.

The children of families in Category I attended four schools, three public and one Catholic parochial school. The writer interviewed the principals of each of the schools for at least one hour in September of 1959. Seven teachers in these four schools were questioned by the writer, each session lasting about thirty minutes. The Catholic parochial school operated a special summer school for migrant and ex-migrant children. The records of this school were open for study.

The ex-migrants in the Wheeling and Elk Grove townships are characteristically Roman Catholic. Records of 435 families in this area who are ex-migrants reveal four non-Catholic families: Pentecostal, Mormon, Methodist and Jehovah's Witness. The writer interviewed the pastors of the five parishes under the direction of a Catholic pastor where ex-migrants live. These interviews took place in August of 1959. Although the families are characteristically Roman Catholic, no judgment is passed on the internal adherence of the ex-migrants to Roman Catholic beliefs.

Category II children attended five schools, three public and one parochial elementary schools and one public high school. The principals of the grammar schools were interviewed as well as an assistant principal of the high school. Four grammar school children's teachers were also interviewed. The interviews with the principals lasted an average of one hour, while the

teachers' interviews lasted fifteen or twenty minutes.

Category III children are enrolled in five public and one parochial schools. The five principals and three teachers were interviewed as were Category II principals and teachers.

The writer also visited the places of employment of the ex-migrant men and women. The interviewer spoke for ten minutes with the immediate superiors of the workers. Pastors of Category II residents who dwell in three Catholic parishes and the pastors of Category III residents were interviewed.

The interviews with the families themselves lasted about one hour and twenty minutes. The interviews were conducted in Spanish. This was the ordinary language of communication between the writer and the families visited.

It has been stated that the ex-migrants are Spanish-speaking people. The culture and mores of the Spanish-speaking ex-migrant are not easily defined. That this culture influences the subjects of this thesis is beyond question. The important aim of the thesis is to examine the impact or penetration of the Anglo culture on the ex-migrant families.

The culture of the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest is described by Lyle Saunders:

The Spanish-speaking peoples of the Southwest are not an easy group to delimit . . . They are not exactly a racial group, although they frequently refer to themselves as la raza. They are certainly not a nationality group . . . Nor can the group be said to be homogeneous culturally . . . Some include among their cultural equipment traits that can be traced back to pre-Spanish days. Some retain the folkways of isolated Rio Grande villages. Some exhibit many of the characteristics of the urban-industrial population. Even the term "Spanish-speaking" is misleading since some do not speak Spanish at all, and others fluent in both English and Spanish prefer to speak the former . . . The Spanish-speaking people viewed as a group do have characteristics that distinguish them from Anglo people. Physically they are easily identifiable because of a common but by no means uniform genetic inheritance from the populations of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain and various North American tribal groups. Socially, they possess a variety of cultural traits that can be traced to Spain or Mexico. Subjectively defined, the Spanish-speaking people are those who think of themselves as "we" in response to labels "Spanish-speaking," "Mexican," "Mexicano," and similar terms and are thought of by Anglos in terms of "they" in response to these identifying symbols.³⁷

Several incidents occurred during the interviews which indicated an identification with the Spanish cultural heritage and indicated a separation from the Anglo community which surrounded the ex-migrants.³⁸

³⁷ Lyle Saunders, Cultural Differences and Medical Care, the Case of the Spanish-speaking People of the Southwest (New York, 1954), pp.42-3. Saunders synthesizes several studies.

³⁸ The term "Anglo" is in common use by the Spanish-speaking themselves according to Father Leo Mahon, head of the Cardinal's Committee for Spanish-speaking Peoples.

One fourteen year old girl told the writer she could never be accepted in Anglo society because she is a Mexican. She and her parents were born in the United States and are American citizens. Another adult told the writer he was not allowed to build or purchase a home in DuPage County because he was Mexican. In a suburban town, an Anglo family sold a poorly kept home to an ex-migrant family. Within a few days of the sale, a complaint about the condition of the home was filed at the Village Office alleging building code violations. The ex-migrant was forced to vacate the premises. He believed he was the object of discrimination. Whether or not the estimate of the two men was correct does not eliminate their self-conception as Mexicans. Children in school refer to themselves as Mexicans.

The family behavior patterns may be studied for evidences of Spanish cultural influences. What are some of the possible elements for study?

A long-time student of Spanish-American culture said in a speech:

The husband and father holds the dominant position in the family. In many instances, the father does many of the things we would consider as part of the task of the mother or wife. In the typical Spanish-American family, the father controls all the purse strings. In many instances . . . the father buys food for the family and for the children. It is easily noticeable in stores which cater to Spanish-speaking people that the father or husband is treated with great enthusiasm by the sales people . . . Ties are

maintained to other members of the family group.

It is not unusual for family groups to live in proximity because of family relationships. However, this very tendency to remain close to the family sometimes tends to make the Spanish-speaking people aloof and distant from the rest of the community. It has frequently been remarked that the Spanish-American is open, friendly, and warmhearted. He has a typical natural courtesy, and frequently tends away from offending or disappointing. He seems to possess a loyalty to friends and places which is not easily broken.³⁹

It would be difficult to confirm Hunt's generalizations, but we shall try to consider these generalizations when we discuss the ex-migrant families.

In his study, Saunders observes:

Any generalization that is made about the behavior of any large group of people is almost certain to be a great over simplification. When the generalization relates less to the actually observed behavior it is likely to be made even more oversimplified. And when it is made by persons belonging to an entirely different culture, their own cultural values and biases frequently lead to the imputing of motives that do not exist in the persons observed. Furthermore, the observers tend to evaluate the behavior . . . on the basis of their ideas of what kind of behavior is appropriate in the observed situation and often fail to take into account the possibility that, as a result of their participation in a different culture, the persons observed may have quite dissimilar ideas and act in accordance with them.⁴⁰

³⁹Lester Hunt, "The Puerto Rican in Chicago," Unpublished speech to Cardinal's Committee for Spanish-speaking People, (Chicago, 1954).

⁴⁰Saunders, pp. 104-5.

With the above cautions in mind, we will concentrate on observable behavior. One can observe the change from a life of wandering and instability in employment, education, place of residence. A further attempt will be made to see what behavioral patterns are visible among the ex-migrants. Broom and Shevky offer three reasons for a slow process of assimilation among the Spanish-speaking of the Southwest:

(1) Patterns . . . of mass employment in homogeneous groups.

(2) Casual labor which resulted in residential and institutional isolation; both in rural and urban areas the ethnic enclaves were marginal neighborhoods detached from the life and economy of the large community although dependent on it for jobs and services.⁴¹

(3) Language barriers.

Saunders notes other obstacles to assimilation. He cites the isolation of the Spanish-American community, the influence of the Catholic Church, the informal indoctrination of educational institutions, and the patron system, whereby men spent their lives on the same farm. In addition, Saunders notes the difficulties of a "double acculturation," that is an acculturation to Anglo life and an acculturation to industrial employment.⁴²

⁴¹Broom and Shevky, pp. 152-3.

⁴²Saunders, pp. 51-9.

Saunders also points out that the migratory work force is made up for the most part of the Spanish-Americans who are children of Mexican immigrants to the United States. These immigrants entered the United States during the revolutionary turmoil between 1910 and 1930.⁴³

George I. Sanchez tells of another obstacle to assimilation in the segregated school system of the Southwest:

In all parts of the Southwest at one time or another some Spanish-name children have had to attend segregated schools or classes. In some places, this segregation has extended only through the first grade. In other cases, it has extended through higher grades - even through high school.⁴⁴

In spite of such obstacles, evidences of assimilation can be found. In this introductory chapter, we have tried to view the thesis in outline. Former agricultural migrants have become permanent residents of Cook and DuPage Counties. Some have remained in isolated, atomistic enclaves. A sample of fifteen such families form Category I.

⁴³ Saunders, p. 55. See also Broom and Shevky, 152.

⁴⁴ George I. Sanchez, Concerning Segregation of Spanish-speaking Children in the Public Schools, Inter-American Occasional Papers, IX (Austin, 1951), p. 9.

Some ex-migrant families moved into an area in Chicago where many other Spanish-speaking people live. Eight such families form the group known as Category II. Some families separated themselves from the rural enclaves and did not enter the city of Chicago. A sample of ten families forms Category III.

In this thesis, we will examine the major institutional areas of ex-migrant life; this will include family life, educational life, religious participation, economic life, and participation in community activities, including voting. The identical material will be studied for each category. A chapter will be devoted to each category, with a chapter summarizing inter-category comparisons. Finally, there will be a short chapter summarizing the thesis itself. An appendix will list organizations working with the Spanish-speaking ex-migrant. A second appendix will give more detailed information about each and every family in the study.

No other thesis, as far as is known, addresses itself to the specific product under discussion, the ex-migrant who has abandoned his migratory way of life. It is hoped that such a study will give insight into the assimilation process as found in the ex-migrant worker.

CHAPTER II

CATEGORY I: THE RURAL ENCLAVE EX-MIGRANT

In this chapter, attention will be given to the ex-migrants who have chosen to remain in Wheeling and Elk Grove Townships of Cook County, Illinois.⁴⁵ Of the fifteen families included in Category I, twelve families live on the very farms where they lived while the wage-earners were employed in agriculture. Living in enclaves with other ex-migrants, they have become part of the industrial complex of a vast metropolitan area. From these isolated enclaves, the ex-migrant father ventures forth to a place of employment non-agricultural in character. During the school year, children stand on the highways waiting for school busses. From these enclaves, the families go forth to visit a doctor, see friends, or go shopping. A sample of fifteen families was selected for this part of the study.

The adult married male averages 39.2 years in age. The ages of adult married males range from thirty to sixty-one years. The adult married female in this category averages 38.1

⁴⁵Appendix II describes these families in greater detail.

years.⁴⁶ These married adults are the parents in Category I families.

TABLE II
AGE TO NEAREST BIRTHDAY OF
RURAL ENCLAVE EX-MIGRANTS
MARRIED ADULTS

Age	Male	Female
30-34	6	8
35-39	4	3
40-44	2	1
45-49	0	1
50-54	1	1
55-59	1	1
60-64	1	0
	15	15 ^a

^a Between the choosing of the sample and the final interview, one of the adult married females was fatally injured in an automobile accident. However, data regarding this person have been retained in the study.

⁴⁶ Since the number of subjects is small, exact averages are given. There could be some minor difference between the exact average and the grouped age data average.

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The fifteen families of Category I include fifty-two unmarried children living in the household, twenty-four girls and twenty-eight boys. The number of children still at home ranges from zero to thirteen. The average number of children still at home is 3.5. The mode is three, as is the median. Of the fifty-two children, thirty-four are attending school.

TABLE III
CATEGORY I: UNMARRIED CHILDREN^a

Age ^b	Male	Female
0-4	3	4
5-9	9	7
10-14	10	9
15-19	4	4
20-24	2	0
Total	28	24

^aThere are seven married children of the fifteen families who do not appear in this study.

^bAge to nearest birthday at time of interview.

Before discussing the indicators of assimilation or marginality found among the ex-migrants, a description of their housing would be helpful. Four Category I families live in residences formed by erecting plasterboard partitions in barns. Two Category I families live in octagonal shaped shacks or huts similar to those used as headquarters by construction men. Four families live in buildings which served as tool sheds or farm equipment storage places. One family lives in a former chicken coop. Another family resides in a long room attached to the outside of a barn. Two families live in barracks type structures used to house migrant workers in other days.⁴⁸

Nine families live in a single room, that is, a room in which the home is not partitioned into sections. Two families, one living in a barn, the other in a former tool shed, have assured themselves of some kind of privacy by dividing their quarters with a canvas curtain. Four families have used some kind of plasterboard walls to separate "rooms." Three families who have these dividers live in barns, and the fourth lives in one of the octagonal huts.

All homes are illuminated by hanging electric bulbs.

⁴⁸In an interview with the State Deputy Commissioner of Labor in January of 1961, the writer was informed that this housing will come under more stringent control and regulation in the future.

Since there are no outlets for electrical appliances, irons, hot plates, etc. are plugged into the sockets hanging from the ceilings. Each family has a television set as well as a radio.

None of the buildings described has indoor plumbing. Three of the barns have water sources in the building, but not in the residential quarters of ex-migrants. The family which inhabits the barracks type structure has a storage room in which a water tap is located.

Five families have attempted insulation of their dwellings by erecting an inner wall of plasterboard. Nevertheless, all of these buildings are very warm in summer months, and bitterly cold in winter. The writer has frequently visited these homes and found the entire family in bed, except for those at a place of employment. Heat is supplied by kerosene or oil stoves, and cooking is done on a kerosene or bottled gas burner.

In view of the description of the residences of the ex-migrant workers, the sharp contrast between their homes and the homes of the surrounding Anglo population is evident. These buildings were formerly used during the summer months by migrant workers. Now they are used for residences during the entire year. They are then used as permanent dwelling

places, not necessarily in the sense that no move is contemplated, but in the sense that the family has made the decision to remain in Illinois during the entire year.⁴⁹ No longer are Category I subjects part of an agricultural army which mobilizes each spring, but they live the entire year in a northern standard metropolitan area. This represents a significant change in the lives of these people from the Rio Grande Valley.

The subjects of Category I, however, live in homes significantly different from the residences of the surrounding Anglo community. When questioned about their reasons for remaining in the north, the adult married males stressed the economic factor. It cannot be said that the sole reason for leaving a way of life termed "mobile serfdom" is economic, but it can be said that each adult male in this Category specifically mentioned economic improvement as a reason for staying. The satisfaction of an economic need was important to all members of this Category.

The ex-migrant in this Category has assumed a place of residence in the northern part of the United States. His decision to remain is the beginning of a process of assimilation

⁴⁹Robert Gruenberg, Chicago Daily News, July 24, 25, 27, 1959, pt. 1, 3, 3.

Robert A. Reicher, "Curtains of Prejudice Ring Migratory Workers," Community, XVIII (February 1959), 4-5. "Mexicans in Our Midst," The Priest, XIII (September 1957), 680.

What other aspects of life are to be considered now that the commitment to life in Illinois has been made. First attention will be given to family life, with concentration on external visible elements of life in the family. Comparisons will be made among the three categories in a later chapter, but in this chapter attention is concentrated on Category I ex-migrant family life.

The same pattern of analysis will be used for all three categories. The housing and residences of Category I families is significantly different from that of the surrounding housing of Anglos. Are there other aspects in family life which are different from that of the Anglos and which may also manifest degrees of assimilation or marginality in the three categories.

First attention will be given to the language used in the home. The study shows that Spanish is still the ordinary language of communication in Category I ex-migrant families. Attempts were made to categorize the ability of the adults in their knowledge of English. Four Category I married men and six Category I married women replied when questioned that they knew or spoke no English.

To test the ability of Category I ex-migrants in spoken English, the writer asked four questions in English of all

married adults. The four questions were simple questions asking the name, age, place of employment, and length of time spent in Illinois. Four Category I men and six Category I women were unable to answer these questions in English. If the questions were answered in English, questions were asked about the children in school, their names, grades, and marks. If the respondents were unable to answer these questions in English, they were classified as poor in English in contrast to those who were able to answer all questions, the respondents were classified as poor in English. Five men and six women received this classification. Six men and three women were judged adequate in English because of their ability to answer all questions in English. The interviews, after the initial questions, were conducted in Spanish. Such classification is not completely satisfactory, but some attempt had to be made to judge the ability of the ex-migrant in his use of English.

All Category I adults and children spoke Spanish. This language was the language learned first by Category I adults, even though they were born in the United States. The use of Spanish in the home as the ordinary language of communication is in sharp contrast to the English used by members of the Anglo community. The inability of a majority of Category I

adults to speak English is an obstacle to share in all aspects of northern life. For example, all union meetings are conducted in English. The language differences help maintain a separation from the Anglo community because very few members of the Anglo community speak Spanish.

A well-known authority on Spanish-American minorities says:

No matter how sharply the Spanish-speaking may differ among themselves over the question of nomenclature, the sense of cleavage from or opposition to the Anglos has always been an important factor in their lives and it is this feeling that gives cohesion to the group. The sense of group identity also arises from the fact that the Spanish-speaking have had a similar history and have been influenced by a similar⁵⁰ relationship to a sharply differentiated environment.

The use of Spanish is reinforced by the reading habits of the ex-migrants in this category. Four women and one man read neither English nor Spanish. None of the Category I ex-migrants subscribed to a Spanish or English publication. Where reading material was observed, it was in Spanish. The only English printed matter observed were text books and advertisements. Most in evidence was a type of publication

⁵⁰ Carey McWilliams, North from Mexico (Philadelphia 1949), p. 8.

popular among Spanish-speaking peoples on both sides of the border. This is an adventure or love story told through cartoons and captions with dialogue indicated in balloons. Such books are 200-250 pages in length and are available in many places in the Chicago area. These reading materials were observed in four of the homes visited. The amount of literature and printed material, when observed, was in Spanish. The English material was the textbooks of the children and advertisements.

Every woman in Category I reported serving food popular among the Spanish-speaking people. Typical meals included frijoles and tortillas, meat prepared estilo Mexicano and other dishes. These women reported they served this type of food daily. In thirteen of the fifteen homes visited, foods such as bread, corn flakes, canned soups were seen. The adults expressed their preference for Spanish style foods. One may readily ask how these foods were available to the people of the suburban-rural areas. Twice a week, a yellow station wagon toured the enclaves where ex-migrants lived. The owner, an American citizen born in Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico, sold candies, soap, fruits, foods, literature and similar material to the ex-migrants. These were the brands popular among the Spanish-speaking and much of the material was imported from Mexico and Puerto Rico. This gentleman

and his son seemed to fill the role of the peddler who visited various places and exchanged information and products among scattered clusters of families.

The children, however, ate Anglo style food during the school year where a cafeteria was available. Two schools operate these facilities for students. Where lunch was taken to school, tortillas were usually used instead of bread. The principals of the schools were questioned about luncheon facilities. The principals stated that they saw tortillas frequently during the lunch period. The writer is reporting only what the principals said they saw. With regard to the continuance of culture traits and customs, Simmons makes the following observation:

The peculiar history of Mexican residence in the Southwest also helps to explain the durability of distinctive cultural patterns. The "Texas-Mexican" has never been an immigrant to "Anglo-American" society. Since he was "here first" the Texas-Mexican never felt any need to change his ways to fit those of the Anglo-Americans, especially since he was rejected by the Anglos from the beginning of their common contact . . . The Mexicans who were here from 1910 on . . . acculturated to the peculiar Texas-Mexican variety of Mexican culture as modified by Anglo culture . . . acquiring the Texas-Mexican attitude toward assimilation⁵¹ along with other elements of that group's culture.

⁵¹ Simmons, p. 519. Simmons uses Texas-Mexican as a term to describe residents whose ancestry dates back to the last century. For him, a Mexican-American is one who is a descendant of Mexicans who have immigrated since 1910.

Manuel Gamio seem to support Simmons's contention, although he does not present any satisfactory reason other than the attitude of the Anglo toward the Mexican-American:

In Texas, California, and Arizona, the Mexican immigrant and the American of Mexican origin are more or less at a disadvantage beside the white American, who, consciously or unconsciously, classes them more or less the same. From this situation two principal results follow: (1) the number of immigrants who become citizens of the United States is very small. (2) the Mexicans who become American citizens do not think of this citizenship as native white Americans. With the Mexican-American it is regarded as a patriotism attached to the local Mexican-American culture ⁵² as prevails in many communities of the Southwest.

It is this peculiar and particular background of the ex-migrant which helps maintain the status in which he lives. The Mexican-American of Category I retains the Spanish language in his home and also maintains allegiance to Spanish literature where it is available. We will consider his efforts to study English in another part of this chapter.

Another area for discussion is that of financial control of the family resources. Almost all commentators see the family as dominated by the father in the Mexican-American family.

⁵² Manuel Gamio, Mexican Immigration to the United States, a Study of Human Migration (Chicago 1930), p. 128-9.

Ozzie Simmons points out:

The conjugal family is characterized by the dominance of the father, who is accorded a great deal of respect . . . by the wife and children . . . The pattern of dominance by the husband and the rigid sexual division of labor often persists in those cases where both spouses are relatively well acculturated to Anglo American patterns in other respects.⁵³

In his small but informative book, John Burma reaches similar conclusions:

The majority of family heads in this group come from a comparatively simple culture in which custom and tradition dominate, and in which family life is somewhat controlled by community opinion. Family authority is usually vested in the principal wage earner or the person in control of family finances, who is usually the father or eldest male.⁵⁴

Sister Frances Jerome Woods points out:

Males are definitely in a privileged position in the Mexican family. The father usually assumes a patriarchal role in which he dispenses himself as the ultimate authority in matters pertaining to the family, and keep aloof from trivial domestic tasks.⁵⁵

⁵³ Simmons, p. 60.

⁵⁴ John H. Burma, Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States (Durham, 1954), p. 84. In this chapter, Burma discusses the American of Mexican descent.

⁵⁵ Sister Frances Jerome Woods, The American Family System (New York, 1959), p. 178. From the context it is clear that the author is treating Mexican-American families in this part of her book.

Sister Mary John Murray, in her study of San Antonio families, writes in a similar vein:

For the majority of the seventy unbroken homes in the present study it can be said that the husband and father possesses complete authority in family matters. Usually his word is law and is obeyed unquestioningly by his wife and children, especially his female children. They may not leave home without permission and then usually to church or to school. It is exceedingly rare for a Mexican to help his wife with the children and other household chores.⁵⁶

In the selections cited from the various researchers, it was noted that Woods, Burma, and earlier Hunt discussed the control of the family funds. In the migrant family, the wages are paid to the head of the family, either directly from the farmer or through a crew leader, even though the entire family may have worked in the fields. The president of the Cook County Vegetable Growers Association, the president of the Arlington Valley Growers Association, and the Farm Bureau Federation Cook County director were interviewed in November of 1960. These three men assured the present writer that no other custom was ever followed in the payment of migrant workers in Cook County. The head of the family

⁵⁶ Sister Mary John Murray, A Socio-Cultural Study of 118 Mexican Families in a Low Rent Public Housing Project in San Antonio, Texas (Washington, 1954), p. 39. San Antonio is sometimes called the gateway to the Rio Grande Valley, the homes of origin of the migrants and ex-migrants.

receives the salary for the entire family.⁵⁷ There are some differences between this picture of the Mexican-American family and the ex-migrant families in Category I. Before commenting on these differences, it would be well to heed Jones's warning, "It should be remembered that there are great differences in the background of these people."⁵⁸

Lyle Saunders tell his readers:

Some among the Spanish-Americans and Mexican-Americans have made the transition extremely well and are almost indistinguishable from the Anglos among whom they live. Others have barely begun to change and still retain all the characteristics of their old culture. But even the most acculturated of the Spanish-speaking group retain some elements of their Spanish cultural heritage and even the least acculturated Mexican American⁵⁹ has already taken on some Anglo characteristics.

With these cautions in mind, it is evident that the working members of Category I ex-migrant families who are not heads of families receive a salary directly from their employers. Control of these funds is not always vested, as it was before, in the father of the family. For example, each of

⁵⁷ Hearings before the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare United States Senate, Eighty-Sixth Congress, First Session on S. 1085, S. 1778, S. 2141 and S. 2498 (Washington, 1960), p. 152.

⁵⁸ Robert C. Jones, "Ethnic Family Patterns, the Mexican Family in the United States," American Journal of Sociology, LIII (May 1948), 451.

⁵⁹ Saunders, p. 59.

the families in Category I possesses a family car. There are four unmarried men working away from home who also own cars. Part of the salaries received from the employers must be used to maintain the cars that are not family cars. Hunt states that in a typical Spanish-American family, the father is responsible for the family shopping, even to the extent of purchasing food and clothing.⁶⁰ The women remaining at home possess some financial responsibility because they purchase from the itinerant peddler mentioned above. In addition other salesmen visit the homes to sell articles during the day to Spanish-speaking families. For example, a woman from Oak Park, Illinois collects used clothing and sells it from farm to farm on the Wheeling and Elk Grove townships area. Another salesman sells religious articles, statues, clothing, and other products. The decision to purchase or not to purchase as well as some financial jurisdiction is vested in others besides the father of the family.

Closely aligned to control of the family funds is the position of the father in the family. In the days of migrant labor, the father was with the family throughout most of the

⁶⁰Hunt, p. 3.

day. The children frequently worked in the fields with the father and mother as soon as they became of age. It is customary for even small children eight or nine years old to work in the fields. Now the father leaves the family circle each day for a place of employment. The father seems to maintain a position of dominance in the family, but there are forces at work which may tend to lessen or change this position with the passage of time. It would be exceedingly valuable if the family behavioral patterns during the period of migratory labor were known for the group under study, but these patterns are unknown and may be inferred only from observing migrant and ex-migrant families at the present time.

Earlier in this chapter, the dwellings of the ex-migrants were described in some detail. Such residences do not admit of much decoration and ornamentation. However, what decoration or ornamentation existed reflected the background of the ex-migrants. All fifteen homes possessed calendars distributed by firms serving the Spanish-speaking. The advertisements on the calendars were printed in Spanish. In addition, all fifteen homes displayed images of two apparitions of the Blessed Virgin Mary accepted as true by the Mexican-Americans. One was the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe and the other the apparition of Our Lady of San Juan de los Lagos. These statues indicated the Spanish-American origin of the ex-migra-

tory laborers, since these devotions maintain their popularity among the Spanish-Americans.

Among other areas of behavior which may hold clues to assimilation or marginality is the area of religious behavior. Saunders presumes that the overwhelming majority of Spanish-speaking people are at least nominally Catholic. While this is true almost by self-definition, not all adhere to the external, observable laws of the Roman Catholic faith. In discussing areas of religious behavior, we are restricted to a discussion of externally manifested religious activities without passing and judgment on internal commitment to the religion of the people involved.

All persons in this sample were baptized as children in the Roman Catholic faith. Catholic canon law requires baptism within a short time after death. Unless the baptism is required within a specified time by diocesan law, it is presumed that a month after birth is an acceptable period of time. Babies are expected to be presented for baptism within a month after birth. Fourteen children were baptized in northern Catholic parishes, none of them within this expected period of time. From the interviews the writer learned that the delays were occasioned, at least in part, by the absence of the compadre, the sponsor or godfather in baptism. In Latin-America, a close relationship exists between the family

of the baptized persons and the sponsors. In five of the fourteen baptisms discussed, the father explicitly attributed delay in baptism to the absence of suitable padrinos or godparents. Two attributed the delay in baptism to a lack of funds for the traditional baptismal celebration.

Seventeen of the thirty adults received the sacrament of confirmation. In the United States, confirmation is usually conferred after a formal series of instructions. In some parts of the Rio Grande Valley, confirmation is encouraged at the time of baptism or shortly thereafter. Of the fifty-two unmarried persons in this category, nineteen received the sacrament of confirmation. Of these nineteen, eleven were confirmed as part of a special summer religious instruction program for migrants and ex-migrants.⁶¹

Four married men and three married women stated that they received no formal instructions in the Catholic religion. Seventeen reported no formal instruction after the reception of First Holy Communion. The remaining five married adults could not recall religious instruction with clarity.

⁶¹ Infant confirmation would minimize its value as an index of religious participation.

Under ordinary circumstances, the Catholic Church recognizes members' marriages as valid which take place in the presence of the Church's official witness, the parish priest or his delegate. Of the fifteen marriages in this Category I, four marriages were so ceremonialized in the Catholic Church. Two of these marriages were revalidations, that is, marriages which are solemnized in the presence of a Catholic priest after previous civil marriage. The remaining eleven marriages were civil marriages and none of the marriages was a common law marriage.

Since the laws of the Catholic Church require marriage by a Church witness as a requirement for proper standing in the Church on the part of married persons, eight married adults were eligible to receive Holy Communion in 1959. Of the eight eligible, four received Communion during the Easter season of 1959. The Easter duty, as it is termed, is the minimum basic requirement for recognition as a practicing Catholic. The four adults came from two families.

Ten Category I adults report no attendance at Church. Twelve report irregular attendance, that is, on the major feasts of Christmas and Easter and on three or four Sundays during the year. Seven adults report regular attendance at Sunday services unless barred by sickness or another legitimate excuse. In interviewing the married adults, it was found that three men and two women told of frequent attendance at

religious services early in life, but a lessening of participation when migratory labor began. In these cases, this regular attendance ceased by the tenth birthday. None of the adults in this sample belongs to any religious society such as the Holy Name Society, the Knights of Columbus, the Caballeros de San Juan, or similar organizations. However, none of the adults belongs to such non-religious organizations for the Spanish-speaking such as the American G I Forum, the LULACS, (League of United Latin American Citizens), or protective and fraternal organizations among the Mexican-Americans.

Each of the fifteen families displays a picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the patroness of Mexico, and Our Lady of San Juan de los Lagos, a devotion made popular in the state of Jalisco in Mexico. Each family has a place before these images for candles, which were found burning in several homes. Each family displays external manifestations of the faith to which they nominally adhered, although attendance at church services did not always match the expectations and demands of church law. More will be said about this later.⁶²

⁶²There are many reasons offered for the lack of participation in church services, societies and the like for Spanish-speaking people in the United States. The language barrier, the cultural differences between the Anglo and Spanish heritage, the oft repeated anticlericalism of the Spanish-speaking may be partial explanations. See Robert E. Lucey, "Christianizing Mexican Catholics," America, LXXVII (August 16, 1947), 541-2.

It can be reported that there is increased participation in religious activities on the part of Category I children when compared with Category I adults. Special efforts have been made in the Category I area to instruct and attract Category I children. Increased participation may indicate a type of assimilation, but it may also reflect the special interest and availability of religious services. In discussing these programs, the "good work" is viewed only as it hastens or hinders assimilation.

Nineteen of the thirty children who have made their First Holy Communion received Communion during the 1959 Easter season. Twenty-nine Category I children attended special summer school sessions in religion. Of these, twenty-three attended Mass and received Communion during the summer months. The time of the summer sessions does not coincide with the Easter duty season. Of the thirty-one children over the age of seven, thirteen attend Mass on Sundays even during the winter time. Seven reported attending Mass about twice a month, and seven stated their attendance at less than once a month. The remaining five do not attend Mass at all. Nevertheless, it can be seen that children rank higher in formal religious participation than their parents.⁶³

⁶³No attempt is made to judge internal commitment, but simply to present the data gathered.

We will now turn our attention to the educational patterns found among ex-migrant adults and children. There are evidences of assimilation as well as marginality in this area under discussion. One of the most respected of all students of the Mexican-Americans, Hector Garcia, testified that white persons over twenty-five with Spanish surnames in Texas lacked education. Such persons complete only three and one-half years of school.⁶⁴ In one Rio Grande Valley County, Hidalgo, Simmons reports that agricultural migrant workers are excused from school because their wages are needed in the family.⁶⁵ He says that 57.9 per cent of the children of agricultural migrant workers do not attend school regularly. In an interview with Senator Harrison Williams, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, the writer was informed that low educational levels were a major concern of the committee. The interview took place in November of 1959.

Of the fifteen male adults in Category I, three never attended school. Three enrolled for one year. Two attended school for two years. Five spent at least three years in school.

⁶⁴Hector P. Garcia, "National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor Hearings," Unpublished official proceedings (Washington 1959).

⁶⁵Simmons, p. 135.

One entered sixth grade, but did not complete it. The last entered eighth grade, but failed to graduate. In addition to the brevity of school attendance, three of the ex-migrants told of prolonged absences from school because of the demands of migratory labor.

Of the adult married women in Category I, three failed to attend school. Two were enrolled in school for a single year. Four attended school for two years. Three spent three years in the classroom, and one attended four years. One woman could not recall the number of years she completed in school, although she did attend.

There are indications that formal education ends when the migrant leaves the grade school to participate in the trek across the country. Various types of educational facilities are open to Category I ex-migrant adults. The typical high school centered adult education program does not seem to meet the needs of the ex-migrant. Courses in world history, ceramics, physical education and the like do not seem to relate to the ex-migrant in the suburban area. A group of seven volunteers has attempted to satisfy a specific need by establishing courses in English in an Elk Grove township public school. In 1959-1960, the average weekly attendance was twenty-three. One of the married adults in this sample attended for a month in 1958, but not other

semesters. No other Category I ex-migrant participated in this well-publicized program.⁶⁶ In a nearby hospital, courses are offered in Spanish in prenatal care. Four ex-migrant women have enrolled in the hospital's clinic, but none has attended the above-mentioned classes.

The sample reveals a low level of education among the married adults of this sample. It also demonstrates an absence from adult education courses, even though these are provided for Spanish-speaking people.

The educational patterns obtaining for Category I ex-migrant children present a different picture. The child who is a migrant experiences great difficulty in securing an education. Even if he enters school each year, transfers are necessary in October and April. In spite of state laws, it has been found that there is a lapse of time between departure from one school and enrollment in the next. One of this writer's sources of information is a member of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare who informed the writer in 1959 that he believed educational levels maintained the migrant way of life.

⁶⁶ Disagreements about the direction of this program seemed to hinder its effectiveness.

TABLE IV
PRESENT GRADES ATTENDED BY
SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN^a, 6-15
CATEGORY I

Grade	Boys	Girls
1	2	3
2	3	2
3	1	2
4	5	1
5	2	3
6	2	3
7	0	1
8	1	1
9	1	1
Not attending ^b	2	0
Total	19	17

^aNo kindergarten facilities were available at any of the schools attended by Category I children at the time of the study.

^bOne fifteen year old boy does not attend because he speaks no English.

An eight year old child does not attend because he is mentally retarded.

Before discussing the obvious differences between the educational levels of the adults and those of the children, Saunders's comments may be noted:

In the culture of the Spanish-American villagers and in that of the particular group of Mexicans who migrated to the United States, formal education . . . was not . . . highly valued . . . The children of Mexican-Americans, too, have been at a disadvantage educationally as a result of parental influence, low income . . . and high mobility, and discrimination by Anglos . . . In recent years, however, many changes have taken place which together are resulting in the improvement of the level of Spanish-speaking people. Urbanization is bringing more of them where educational facilities are accessible, educational achievements suitably rewarded, and there is less expectation that the child of school age will work to help maintain the family . . . The rise in economic status has been accompanied by a general change in attitude toward education.⁶⁷

As was noted in the previous chapter, the subjects of Category I attending school are enrolled in three schools of the Cook County public school system and one Catholic parochial school. The Catholic parochial school, located in a town, is serviced by school busses. Four ex-migrant children attend the parochial school which has a total attendance of 1089. All attendance figures refer to the time of the study. The three public schools are located outside of towns in "rural" areas and are under the direction of the County Superintendent of

⁶⁷Saunders, p. 75.

An election in 1960 changed the status of the largest public school in this study.⁶⁸ The smallest of the schools with 145 pupils has three boys and two girls from the ex-migrant group. Fifteen Spanish-speaking children not in the sample also attend this school. In one public school which has a total enrollment of 459, three boys and five girls of Category I, as well as six Spanish-speaking children not in the sample. The final school has nine boys and eight girls of Category I out of a total enrollment of 769. When this study was made, eighty Spanish-speaking children were in attendance, but the number varies according to the time of the year. During the planting and harvest season, the number of Spanish-speaking children exceeds 140.

The principals of the three public schools were interviewed. The secretary of the high school district board was also interrogated. From these interviews, it was learned that Spanish-speaking children began to appear in the areas in 1946, although migrants were used as early as 1941. One principal stated that the state education laws requiring attendance were frequently overlooked in the period after World War II.

⁶⁸The school became part of a town school system with its own superintendent and administrative staff.

In 1952, the American Association of University Women with the Illinois Council of Churches established a summer school for ex-migrant and migrant children.⁶⁹ The summer school began with a four week session. In the last year of its operation, 1955, it lasted for five weeks. A six week summer school program was inaugurated in 1954 in an Arlington Heights Roman Catholic parochial school. The 1959 average daily attendance was 314. Nine of the older children, now out of school and not yet married attended the DesPlaines school. Each Category I child of school age, including the mentally retarded child, attended the summer school in Arlington Heights in 1959.

Interviews with teachers and principals revealed that in their judgment three of the thirty-four children were considered average in achievement. None was considered above average, and the remaining thirty-one were considered below average classroom achievement for their grades. However, four Category I children attend a special class for Spanish-speaking children in the largest public school. Since first grade children are automatically placed in this class room if they are of Mexican origin, it is difficult to see how their

⁶⁹These summer schools are mentioned to describe the various factors influencing or preserving assimilation. All of the summer sessions were conducted by Anglo faculty personnel.

achievement could be compared with that of Anglo children. One may also suggest that lower levels of achievement in later years may be ascribed to this early segregation.

One can appreciate the difficulties in achieving scholastic success experienced by Category I school children. The language used at homes impedes the use of English. The crowded conditions of these homes hinder study. Whatever may be said about these difficulties, one must note that attendance at school is regular. In addition, they attend summer schools.⁷⁰ These represent potentially significant steps toward assimilation into the dominant Anglo culture. It should be noted, however, that the principal of the local high school stated that no ex-migrant child had as yet graduated from high school. Whether or not improvement will be seen in secondary educational levels of Category I ex-migrants remains to be seen.⁷¹ In studying attendance records, there appeared no significant differences between the number of half days missed by Category

⁷⁰Herschel T. Manuel, "The Educational Problem Presented by the Spanish-Speaking Child of the Southwest," School and Society, XL (November 24, 1934), 692-5. There are many educational journals with articles on this subject, but this article outlines the problems very well.

⁷¹When this study began, one high school served the entire area. In 1960, a new high school was established and the area was then served by two high schools.

I children and the Anglo children in the same class. For example, four Category I children were in attendance at the Arlington Heights parochial school. The average number of half days absent for the grades in which Category I children were enrolled during the second semester of 1958-1959 was 9.5. Category I children averaged 10.5 half days absent from school. In the school with the largest number of Spanish-speaking children, Category I first grade children were absent 11.5 days. The Anglo first graders missed 14.6 half days. The teacher, however, insisted that the Anglo class experienced an outbreak of a children's disease in this time. Eighth grade Category I children missed 7.3 half days as compared with 7.1 half days absent for Anglo children for the second semester of the school year 1958-1959. The principal of the smallest school stated he saw no difference in attendance records for ex-migrant and Anglo children. He did point out, however, that he did have difficulty in securing registration of migrant children.⁷²

Whether or not there is an actual change in value judgment regarding education cannot be determined now. It is

⁷²There were at least eight different families not found in the sample who had to be encouraged to send their children to school. It has happened at least twice that no children from the enclaves described attended school until visited by a school official.

sufficient to note the regular attendance at school. Many ex-migrant children have already surpassed the educational attainments of parents.

Perhaps even more important than the educational achievement is the socializing aspect of the school experience.

Havighurst and Neugarten state:

The school may be viewed as a social system in much the same way as the family or peer group. Like the family or peer group, the school acts as one of society's agents in socializing the child and transmitting a wider culture.⁷³

The child who leaves the family daily to share in the social system of the school has the opportunity of assimilating to the social system of the school. Each day, after school is over, the child returns to his enclave. That the school has an influence in the process of assimilation is illustrated by the knowledge and use of English.⁷⁴ In the school situation, the child must communicate with Anglo children and teachers in English.

In addition, all four schools attended by ex-migrants offer various forms of extracurricular activities. The Spanish-

⁷³Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education (Boston 1957), p. 181.

⁷⁴During the interviews, conversations were held with the children in English without difficulty.

American children participate in athletic programs. In one school, ex-migrants make up one-half of the baseball squad, although not all members of this team are included in this sample. Three ex-migrant boys play with the school basketball team. In this sample, six Category I boys and four Category I girls participated in team competition without outside schools.

In the largest of the schools discussed in this chapter, three boys and one girl joined in the school-centered but not school-sponsored scouting program. Perhaps more would have joined if transportation home could have been arranged. These extracurricular activities, such as sporting events, team competition, scouting programs, brought the Spanish-speaking children into closer contact with the Anglo children.

Teachers and principals insisted that there was no disciplinary problem among the Spanish-speaking children with one exception, that of a Category I ex-migrant boy. One teacher described the Spanish-speaking children as "docile." Another stated that the Spanish-speaking children who gave her the greatest difficulties were those who had been "Americanized." The teacher spoke facetiously, but she did convey an idea by giving her impressions.

It can be seen in summary that the ex-migrant children exhibit greater time spent in formal education than that shown by their parents. The daily contact with the Anglo child

has helped the Mexican-American child to converse in English and share in the social system of the Anglo school.

We now turn our attention to another area of great importance. This is a consideration of the employment patterns among the married and unmarried Spanish-speaking ex-migrant. In Category I, twenty males not in school are employed full time. One married woman and two girls not in school also work full time.⁷⁴ None of these works regularly in agriculture, although seven ex-migrants, six men and one woman, assisted farmers during the harvest season of the year 1959. Two men work in a nursery. Two men are truck drivers. One works for a village government in its department of public works. The most highly paid ex-migrant works as a laborer in the construction industry. Of the fourteen remaining men, ten work in factories. In these factories, three perform maintenance work, and seven operate machines. Four men are employed in a business connected with the automotive industry, one in a garage, one as a car washer in an auto agency, another in a service station, and the fourth as a stock room clerk in a used auto parts store.

Two of the working women are machine operators in factories. The other adult female works as a clerk in a nursery.

⁷⁴In this context, adults are those no longer in school.

It was noted earlier that one factor in the decision to remain in Cook County was an economic factor. Complete statistical data is lacking, but in 1951, the average hourly wage paid to migrants averaged between 75 and 80 cents an hour.⁷⁵ The highest wage paid was 90 cents an hour. This fact was learned in a November 1959 interview with the Farm Bureau agent in Arlington Heights, Illinois. The writer interviewed the secretary of the Arlington Valley Growers Association, the president of the Cook County Truck Gardeners Association and several farmers.⁷⁶ Piece rates vary widely but the director of the Farm Placement Bureau of the Illinois State Department of Labor stated in 1959 that the top piece rate would not run to much more than 90 cents an hour if its were paid as an hourly wage.

⁷⁵ Sister Mary Eloise Thomas, "A Study of the Causes and Consequences of Migratory Farm Work in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin, 1940-1958," Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Notre Dame 1960), p. 161. This thesis in the present writer's judgment is the finest compilation of statistical data on the wages of midwestern farm laborers ever seen. In successive tables Sister Mary Eloise Thomas computes the wage rates for different crops in varying regions of the states included in the dissertation.

⁷⁶ The writer attended a meeting of the Cook County Truck Gardener Association in January of 1961. The chairman of the labor committee suggested a wage rate of \$1.10 an hour during the 1961 growing season.

The lowest paid worker among the twenty-two adult males who work receives \$1.25 an hour. The construction worker earns \$2.36 per hour. The average hourly wage of the adult male workers in this category at the time of the study is \$1.63 per hour. Overtime and layoff periods may affect the weekly income, but this hourly rate is the hourly rate received in January of 1959. In 1958, there was a period of recession which affected seven workers, but near the end of 1958 all workers reported steady, forty hour a week work.

One of the women reported a wage of \$1.05 per hour. Two women earn \$.90 per hour, including the factory worker and a nursery worker.

More important, perhaps, than the income increase is the change from agricultural labor to more permanent and stable employment. As will be seen later, there is an absence of participation in voluntary associations; but the type of work done has changed significantly.

One may legitimately ask what voluntary associations are open to ex-migrant adult males. The construction worker in this sample belonged to a labor union but never attended a single meeting. The truck drivers in this sample are not covered by union contract. In the factories where four men work who are factory workers, unions exist, but the Spanish-speaking men do not belong. All five factories have boxing

teams, baseball teams, and the like. The ex-migrant male workers do not belong to any of these recreational organizations. However, none of the ex-migrants belongs to the Knights of Columbus, Kiwanis, Rotary, Elks or similar social organizations which do exist in the area under discussion. Perhaps the economic status of the ex-migrants would prevent the proffering of an invitation. None of the men or women attend school-centered P-TA meetings in the public schools. The principal of the school with the largest number of Spanish-speaking children stated he occasionally saw the parents of the ex-migrant children at an evening athletic event. The ex-migrant does not belong to any neighborhood or community improvement association. It would seem that the participation of the ex-migrants in any voluntary association is nonexistent.

In a similar inquiry, we turn our attention to the social and recreational life of the ex-migrants. None of the adult married women report mixing socially with Anglo neighbors. By socially, the writer means entering a home for conversation, drinking coffee, or exchanging visits. The ex-migrants state they have never been guests for dinner in an Anglo home.

Two married women reported visiting Anglo homes to secure used clothing for children.

The fifteen families do report association with other Spanish-speaking people. The chief source of formal entertainment or recreation seems to be the weekly dance for Spanish-speaking people held in Des Plaines, Illinois. One family attended once in 1959; two families, twice. However, two more families attended at least once a month, and other families reported attending three or four times a year. None of the families report attendance at other dances in the year 1959. No adult is a member of the G I Forum or the League for United Latin American Citizens, both of which have Chicago area meeting halls. The LULACS have a chapter in Bensenville, Illinois; none of the ex-migrants are members but report attending at some affair sponsored by this organization during the year. All fifteen families have been at the meeting hall for some occasion at least once in the year 1959.

During the summer, a baseball team formed by Spanish-American young men, single and married, plays games in Bensenville, Illinois. The team has a following, and eight Category I married adults report seeing at least one game in the year 1959. During the year 1959, there was one attempt to form an organization in the area for all Spanish-speaking

people in DuPage and northwest Cook Counties. Two meetings were held and three Category I ex-migrant married men attended the meetings, but the group disintegrated. Another meeting was held in January of 1961, but no meetings have occurred since then.

From the interviews, the writer believes that there is a lack of social contact at least in social organizations with the Anglo majority on the part of the adults. The children, however, share in school activities and other social activities surrounding the school. Those in scouting, for example, have attended meetings at Anglo homes, but no meeting has ever been held in any of the ex-migrants' homes.

The unmarried men and women out of school have not dated anyone but other Spanish-speaking companions. Each of the young people reported attendance at dances for the Spanish-speaking at least four times during the year. However, they have also attended movies in English in nearby communities. Data on the activities of the unmarried but out of school group is not sufficient for any detailed generalization. It is sufficient to point out, however, that at least in dating the ex-migrants form this type of relationship with other Spanish-speaking young people.

None of the eligible adults in this sample is registered to vote in political elections. At the time of the study,

an interview with the Republican and Democratic Township Committeemen of Elk Grove Township indicated that special efforts would be made to register the Spanish-speaking eligible voters. However, Simmons points out:

First of all, it should be noted that a large percentage of the Mexican-American population, at least those in the labor role category, do not vote at all . . . the non-voting element is swelled by a lack of interest in the concept of active citizenship, although political apathy is not confined to Mexicans, of course. Some Mexicans still tend to think of themselves as Mexicans and elections as affairs of Anglos.⁷⁶

It is unfortunate that Simmons fails to give data supporting his impressions of the voting habits of the Mexican-American in the Rio Grande Valley.

In this first chapter, different aspects of ex-migrant life have been considered. It was found that Category I

⁷⁶ Simmons, p. 277.

⁷⁷ The writer is aware of an incident which occurred in Lake County, Illinois. A builder attempted to register Spanish-speaking people whom he had moved into an area to vote for subdividing the area into smaller lots. So many irregularities were found in registration that the Mexican-Americans were in danger of prosecution unless the petitions were withdrawn. The Mexican-Americans who were so maneuvered into the situation described were also ex-migrants. They do not enter into this study, except that the news of their difficulties might have become known to the ex-migrants in Wheeling and Elk Grove townships and hindered their registration. The area in the controversy was adjacent to Wheeling township in Cook County, Illinois.

ex-migrants lived in homes below the standards of the surrounding Anglo families. The significant change in the lives of the ex-migrants occurred when they abandoned their nomadic way of life and entered the industrial complex of Cook County. The Spanish language, Spanish style food, and decorations are still to be found in the homes of these people. Nevertheless, there are some changes which have occurred in the way the family lives as compared to the days of migrant labor. The fathers of the family are gone from the home each working day, and other members of the family have assumed some measure of financial responsibility.

There was found a significant difference between the educational attainments of ex-migrant parents and their children. Questions about the future patterns of education may legitimately be raised. However, at this time no ex-migrant child has graduated from high school, although attendance at elementary school is regular. There is association with Anglos in the classroom situation and some participation in athletic and organizational activities and events.

Children also indicate an increase in religious practice. However, the special efforts of the Cardinal's Committee for Spanish-speaking people must be kept in mind when attempting to evaluate the increased participation. It is not known if these noted increases will continue in later life.

The participation in voluntary associations is virtually negligible and interest in school-centered activities for parents has been slight. Although the men are regularly employed outside of agriculture, they seem to remain marginal when one considers the context of Anglo life in the same vicinity.

Adult social and recreational patterns still revolve around contact with other Spanish-speaking people. It seems to the writer that there are evidences of acceptance of behavior patterns from the Anglo community, especially on the part of the children. Nevertheless, the adults are in a marginal position with regard to the other people in the Wheeling and Elk Grove township vicinity.

CHAPTER III

CATEGORY II: THE URBAN EX-MIGRANT

The attention of this thesis now turns to the ex-migrant who entered the city of Chicago, After a stay which averaged four years and five months, the ex-migrants who lived in conditions similar to those described in the previous chapter entered an urban area. The first Category II family came to the city of Chicago to live in April of 1955. The last Category II family came to Chicago in February of 1956. These Category II families came to a part of Chicago where Spanish-speaking families have increased in number since the end of World War II.⁷⁸

⁷⁸The writer is unable to find accurate statistics for the arrival of Mexican nationals, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans in the neighborhood or area of Category II ex-migrants. There are obvious signs of an increasing Spanish-speaking population such as Spanish sermons in local Catholic churches, Spanish language papers, commercial enterprises with "Se habla espanol," lettered on the buildings. There are twenty-seven different establishments along 18th Street between Canal and Ashland with signs in Spanish, seven taverns between Racine and Morgan with Spanish names. There is a Pentecostal church with a Spanish-speaking minister, as well as an Assembly of God church for Spanish-speaking people.

This area extends from Taylor Street to Cermak Road and from Canal Street to Ashland Avenue. Although Spanish-speaking people may be found throughout this region, all Category II families live south of the 16th Street railroad tracks which divide the area. This part of Chicago is well known. Within its boundaries lie the famous Hull House and Howell House, settlement houses. Clifford Shaw wrote two books about two young men from this vicinity.⁷⁹ The Hull House Papers tell of times gone by in this region.⁸⁰ This area was included in the second zone of Ernest Burgess's concentric circle theory of city growth. Other sociologists have conducted research projects here. A sociology professor once remarked that this is the most researched area in the world.

It has been the receiving region for many immigrants to the city of Chicago. Some remnants of many immigrant groups can still be found. Irish, Jews, Germans, Lithuanians, Greeks, Slovaks, and Italians are some of the peoples who have assumed residence here for one time in the initial period of immigration. These have yielded to the Spanish-speaking

⁷⁹ Clifford Shaw, The Jack-Roller: a Delinquent Boy's Own Story (Chicago, 1930); The Natural History of a Delinquent Career (Chicago, 1932).

⁸⁰ Jane Addams, The Hull House Maps and Papers: a Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago (New York, 1895).

people taking the places of former immigrants. Some of the area changes have been described by Edith Abbott.⁸¹ The eight families of Category II entered this traditional port of entry to the city of Chicago.

One may legitimately ask why the change from one area to the other was made. In reality two questions are involved in this single inquiry. The first question asks the reasons for departure from the rural-suburban area. The second asks why the Category II ex-migrants have chosen this area of Chicago.

When reasons for leaving the rural area were sought, it was found that three families were obliged to move. Three families who lived in the path of a tollway entered Chicago. Two brothers took their families from the rural areas because they sought better housing. Two other men, heads of families, sought better employment opportunities. One man also the head of a family sought employment after a long period of layoff from work. The reasons cited were the initial reasons given for moving by the heads of the families involved. However, in each of the eight families in this Category, some

⁸¹Edith Abbott, The Tenements of Chicago (Chicago, 1927).

member of the family spoke of the poor housing in the rural areas.

Before discussing why this particular area of Chicago should have been chosen by Category II ex-migrants, it should be pointed out that some Spanish-speaking people have lived in the area for forty years.⁸² However, their numbers were limited and included not only Mexicans and naturalized Spanish-speaking Americans, but also Americans of Mexican descent. Much has been written about Puerto Rican migration to the city of Chicago, but apparently Puerto Ricans have not moved south of the 16th Street railroad tracks in great numbers.⁸³

The area should be well known to the Spanish-speaking people in Cook County for several reasons. The juridical national Catholic parish for the Spanish-speaking is located at Roosevelt and Newberry Avenues, in the heart of the area. Foods, magazines, and records for Spanish-speaking peoples are available along Halsted Street and Roosevelt Road. Each day, the Spanish language radio programs advertise several of

⁸²Robert A. Jones and Louis R. Wilson, Mexicans in Chicago (Chicago, 1931), p. 1-4. This book describes the three major colonies of Mexicans, Mexican-Americans and Americans of Mexican descent at the time of its publication.

⁸³This information was given by the executive director of the Cardinal's Committee for Spanish-speaking People in a December 1959 interview.

the stores in the area. In addition, certain types of clothing popular among Spanish-speaking people is available in the area.

With this background in mind, we can examine the reasons which each family had for entering this area in Chicago. The two brothers looked for a home at a price they could afford. They found what they desired and entered Chicago in April of 1955, the first of the Category II ex-migrants to do so. One woman told the writer that her sister already lived in the area and she encouraged her husband to seek a place of residence in this area. The father of the fourth family heard of lower rents in the vicinity from a friend and searched for a place to live. Two families were attracted to the vicinity by the number of Spanish-speaking people already located there. One father suggested that he wanted his children to have contact with Spanish-speaking children, whereas another mother believed her children would be better accepted in this type of neighborhood. The father of the next family stated he preferred the company of Spanish-speaking people. The last two families seemed to have no specific reasons for entering the area, but they did so.

After our discussion of the move from the suburban area, we can now give attention to some details of the Category II ex-migrants. The exact mean average of the age of the married adults is 38.0. The exact mean age of the married women is

36.6 years. Therefore, the adult married male of Category II averages 1.2 years less than his Category I counterpart. For Category II women, the age difference between them and their Category I counterparts, adult married females, is 1.5 years. Category II women are younger than Category I women. Therefore, the urban-dwelling ex-migrant is slightly younger than his rural-suburban counterpart. The age differential seems to have little bearing on this study.

TABLE V
THE AGE TO NEAREST BIRTHDAY^a
OF CATEGORY II MARRIED ADULTS

Age	Male	Female
30-34	3	4
35-39	3	2
40-44	1	0
45-49	0	2
50-54	1	0
Total	8	8

^aAge to nearest birthday at time of interview

The adult married males range in age from thirty-three to fifty-three. Adult married females range in age from thirty-three to forty-seven.

Twenty-nine unmarried children live in Category II households, including fifteen boys and fourteen girls. The range in number of children at home is from two to six. The mode and median are three. The mean number of children in Category II is 3.6, slightly more than Category I 3.5. Two married children of Category II parents live away from home and have no place in this study.

TABLE VI

THE CATEGORY II EX-MIGRANT CHILDREN ^a

Age	Male	Female
0-4	6	3
5-9	3	5
10-14	5	4
15-19	1	1
20-24	0	1
Total	15	14

^a Age to nearest birthday at time of interview.

The information for the tables was gathered by the writer himself. However, three separate censuses of the area were made available for consultation.⁸⁴

⁸⁴The most complete census of the area was taken in 1956 by the Cardinal's Committee for Spanish-speaking Peoples. This organization used names and addresses of school children enrolled in parochial schools and public school instruction classes to reach the conclusion that 5 per cent of the Spanish-speaking people in an area from Canal to Loomis and from Roosevelt Road to Cermak Road were Puerto Ricans.

The Pilsen Neighbors, a community organization, together with Howell House, a neighborhood settlement house, tried to obtain names of all Spanish-speaking people in the area in 1957 by conducting a house-to-house census of the area which extended from Sangamon Street to Ashland Avenue and from the 16th Street railroad tracks to Cermak Road. This census did not distinguish between Puerto Ricans and Mexicans or Americans of Mexican-American heritage.

The third census was a house-to-house census taken by a group of nuns during the summer of 1958. The census covered the area from Allport to Canal and from the 16th Street railroad tracks to Cermak Road. The nuns reached the conclusion that there were more Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the area than Puerto Ricans but they offered no statistical data to support their conclusions.

The writer found three Puerto Rican children in a school which had a Spanish-speaking enrollment of 180. However, in a small parochial high school which was closed in June of 1959, there were seven Puerto Rican girls out of a total of twenty-eight Spanish-speaking girls. The total enrollment of the high school was 158. Five of the seven Puerto Rican girls, however, lived outside the area in which the Category II ex-migrants lived at the time of the study.

The censuses indicate a preponderance of Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and Americans of Mexican descent in the area; but no statistical data exists to cover the area under discussion in this chapter.

The first obvious difference between Category I and Category II ex-migrants is the type of dwellings in which residence is established. Category II ex-migrants, before their entrance into Chicago, lived in enclaves similar to those described in the previous chapter. At the time of the writing of this study, three of the homes of Category II ex-migrants in the rural-suburban area are still used by ex-migrants who have taken their places.

A detailed description of one of the enclaves may be helpful here in understanding the significance of the change made by Category II ex-migrants. The largest rural enclave housed twenty-four ex-migrant families. Located along Mount Prospect Road north of Higgins Road, these twenty-four families abandoned the migratory way of life and lived in this enclave. The farm owner was in reality operating an apartment house or a number of housing units for ex-migrants. An aging barn housed two families, and two long low buildings originally built as storage sheds paralleled each other behind the barn. These units were divided into single room compartments with four families in one building and five in the other. Another barn, newer than the first, housed three families. Two families lived in individual shacks and another long low building housed five families. Three families lived in a building which also served to store farm equipment. All

water for these apartments or dwelling units came from spigots located in the barns. Electricity was supplied from over-hanging bulbs. Two of the units had dirt floors.

Two Category II ex-migrant families lived in the long building behind the old barn. These two families inhabited dark sections of the building with small windows. The two compartments were heavy with the odor of kerosene used for cooking and heating. These two families, headed by two brothers, purchased a three floor building along a major artery in the Category II area of Chicago. After remodeling the building, they moved in and a third Spanish-speaking family not included in this study occupies the third floor. The homes of the brothers are almost identical, since they live in six room flats, with bath rooms, tubs, sinks, gas stoves, and the like. Both flats had similar furnishings, including television sets, radios, and parlor sets. There were bedroom furnishings and rugs on the floors. Both kitchens had refrigerators and cabinets. This style of living as indicated by the furnishings and dwelling units represented a marked change from the style of life in the rural-suburban area. This home was purchased on contract, whereas the residences in the rural areas were rented by the month.

Another Category II family lived in a second floor rear, four room apartment with a single entrance. The bath tub and washroom were located in a corridor and shared with other residents of the building. The stairs to the apartment were in need of repairs and the building had not been painted for many years. However, this apartment supplanted an old trailer with a small room built on as an entranceway.

Still another Category II family left a five family rural enclave, which had been destroyed for a subdivision. This family lives in a third floor rear flat near the 16th Street railroad tracks. This family moved from a shed to a four room apartment with indoor plumbing and appliances such as a stove and refrigerator.

A Category II family moved to a home on a narrow side street between Halsted and Racine Avenues. This family formerly lived in a contractor's hut which had been partially insulated to protect against the cold. The apartment is located in a house built on the rear of a lot. This old home has flats on two floors and the Category II family now being discussed lives on the second floor. The small rooms, the darkness of the residence, the poor lighting, and cracked condition of the sinks and tubs make this the poorest of all Category II homes.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Rear lot houses are frequently found in this area.

A sixth family formerly lived in a service building on a farm. Only a few yards away existed another enclave of an adjoining farm. The family left the twin enclaves to enter an apartment with four rooms, located above a store. The apartment had indoor plumbing as well as large windows which overlooked a park.

The seventh Category II family lived in two separate rural enclaves before entering Chicago. The first was a shortened Quonset hut and the second a former storage building with a long narrow entrance. This family also overlooked the park from a newly painted second floor five room apartment.

The eighth family inhabits a three room apartment in an old home. The rooms are small and there is no bath tub. This family lived in a barn before coming to Chicago.

One may legitimately conclude that there has been a significant change in the actual physical surroundings of the ex-migrant families. If one may make a value judgment, he may admit that the physical surroundings at the present time are more conducive to health and better living than the former residences of Category II ex-migrants. The change to this type of residence should be an indication of some type of assimilation. The very conditions of the homes indicate a conformity to Anglo style of life in Cook County. Many of the former residences of ex-migrant were not built for human habitation. Now the ex-migrant lives in apartments or flats which were constructed and

and built for this purpose. All eight houses have equipment and furnishings which correspond to that in homes in the vicinity. All eight families, for example, have parlor sets which were non-existent in the rural enclaves. In addition, it might be helpful to note that three Category II ex-migrant families purchased their furniture used. All eight families owned gas stoves, which could not be used in their former residences. Besides, two families had such things as decorative lamps, mirrors and pictures. Such use of decorations and furniture represent a significant difference from the equipment used in the rural areas. It must be admitted, however, that changes in the visible features of a place of residence do not necessarily indicate a change in patterns of thought. Sorokin and Zimmerman catalogue some differences that may occur in the rural and urban families:

The chief differences in the relationships of the parents and children in the rural and urban families consist, probably, first, that in the rural family the influence of the parents over their children and in the shaping of their personalities and patterns of conduct and thinking is greater than in the urban family; second, that the mental, moral, and social similarity of their personalities and patterns of thinking is greater than in the urban family; third, that the ties between the two generations and the unity and solidarity of the two generations is more integral. Correspondingly, the continuity of family culture - its language, traditions, beliefs, and what not - are stronger in the rural family than in the urban . . .

In the rural family there is less competition with the influence of other social groups and agencies.⁸⁶

Sorokin and Zimmerman go on to explain that the rural family trains the child and offers him vocational guidance. In the urban family, they indicate, agencies assume some of the responsibilities ordinarily entrusted to the family in the rural areas.⁸⁷ The different style of living in the homes, as shown by the furnishing, etc., may also be an indication of what happens to the ex-migrant family when it moves to the city. Although Abbott has stated that the area in our discussion is a slum area or tenement area, it does represent a change from the rural area.⁸⁸

What accompanies the change from the rural area to the city of Chicago? We shall examine the language used in the home, for, as Woods says, language is "one of the strongest bonds uniting a cultural group," a "sign of recognition," a badge "of brotherhood."⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Pitirim A. Sorokin and Carle Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology (New York, 1927), p. 365.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 366.

⁸⁸ Abbott, p. 200.

⁸⁹ Sister Mary Frances Jerome Woods, Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups (New York, 1956), p. 25.

Merrill and Eldredge state further:

Language allows the individual to participate symbolically in the life of the group, and thereby acquire the meanings and goals that are central to its life. Without knowledge of the language, the individual remains definitely outside the meaningful existence of the adopted society. Its standards have no significance, its goals have no relevance, and its values have no importance for the individual if he cannot communicate with other members of the group.⁹⁰

In spite of the move to the city, it was discovered that seven of the eight families use Spanish as the ordinary language of communication. One father reported that in his family he made an effort to use English frequently. However, he reported that in conversations with his wife he ordinarily used Spanish. Using the same crude criteria which were used in the previous chapter, one man and one woman spoke no English. Five men and four women were judged to be poor in English. Two men and three women were able to converse in English, and one of these three women spoke excellent English. Although the number is small, there appears to be a greater facility in the use of English among Category II ex-migrants. Nevertheless, Spanish is the ordinary language of communication in all but one of the homes. Apparently,

⁹⁰ Francis E. Merrill and H. Wentworth Eldredge, Culture and Society (New York, 1952), p. 509.

The reading matter observed in Category II homes, with the exception of text books was in Spanish. None of the adults subscribed to an English or Spanish newspaper. Two adults reported that they occasionally purchased a Spanish language newspaper. In four of the eight homes, the cartoon novels popular among Spanish-speaking people were observed. However, three homes had English comic books present which upon inquiry were reported to be from the school as part of a course in literature.

The decorations, calendars, and the like indicated a Spanish cultural background. In the area under discussion, many business enterprises use these means of advertising to Spanish-speaking people.

The cultural origin of the ex-migrants was also apparent in the food served at home. Each of the homes, however, manifested evidences of ordinary Anglo style food. It is interesting to note that many of the local stores sell frozen and pre-cooked Spanish style foods. In a certain sense, food which appeals to the Spanish-speaking is more readily available in the city than in the rural areas. However, six of the eight women questioned told that they served food estilo Mexicano less frequently than they did in the rural areas.

None of the schools attended by Spanish-speaking children

operated cafeterias. As a result, the children were not given the opportunity of purchasing American style food each day.

It was noted that some of the financial control of Category I fathers was lost when the fathers decided to remain in the north. Complete control of finances was replaced by a partial sharing of financial responsibility. In Category II, the opportunity of the sharing of financial responsibility is not as great since only two Category II unmarried persons work full time. These two girls are allowed to retain part of the salary which they earn. All eight married adult women report shopping in stores without their husbands present.

There are then conditions which tend to reduce paternal authority in the family even more than in Category I families. However, we cannot overlook the presence of other Spanish-speaking people in the area. These families may tend to reinforce parental authority.

Thomas and Znaniecki made their famous study of the Polish peasant. In their analysis of the Polish family they made many trenchant observations with regard to the families which they studied. In the second volume of their study, they state:

There is, of course, a certain reciprocal dependence between the social organization and individual life organization . . . But the nature of this reciprocal influence in each particular case is a problem to be studied, not a dogma to be accepted in advance. These points must be kept in mind.

Each individual family demonstrates a difference in adjustment to the urban surroundings and a difference in the acceptance of the influence of the ethnic community.

Another area of behavior to be considered is the religious participation of Category II ex-migrants. Again, the reliance is placed on externally manifested activities without decision or conclusions about the internal commitment of the families interviewed. All Category II ex-migrants are baptized Roman Catholics. Sixteen Category II children were baptized in northern states, but two of these were baptized in the canonically required time. As was noted before, this is one month after birth. It was also learned that Category II ex-migrant attach great significance to the custom of the compadre, the godfather of the children. It was revealed that all family heads still sought a specific person to act as sponsor with the special relationship established between the godparent and the family of the

⁹¹William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York, 1927), II, p. 1128.

child.

Nine of the sixteen adults reported reception of the sacrament of confirmation.⁹² Of the twenty-nine unmarried Category II subjects, seven received the sacrament of confirmation. When one views the ages more closely, he would find twelve of the twenty-nine eligible to receive the sacrament. The three oldest unmarried Category II children reported that the migratory way of life prevented instructions for the sacrament.⁹³

Of the sixteen married adults in Category II, two men and one woman have never received formal instructions in the religion in which they were baptized. Of the remaining thirteen, five received no further instruction other than that required to receive first Holy Communion. The children received more instructions in the Catholic faiths than the parents.

All parents according to ecclesiastical law should have been married in the presence of a Catholic priest. Four of the Category II marriages, or one-half, took place in this manner. One of these four marriages is termed a revalidation,

⁹²Confirmation among older Spanish-speaking people is not necessarily a sign of further instruction because of the custom of confirming infants.

⁹³In the Chicago archdiocese, the bishop or one of his auxiliary bishops customarily visits a parish every two or three years to administer the sacrament of confirmation. This is preceded by a period of instruction for the confirmands.

that is, an ecclesiastical ceremony after a previously performed civil ceremony.⁹⁴

The Easter Communion or Easter Duty may be licitly received by those married adults who have been married in a religious ceremony. Therefore, eight of the sixteen Category II adults could licitly receive the Easter Communion. Of the eight married adults who were eligible, six received the Easter Communion during the year 1959.

Four of the sixteen adults reported they did not attend church services. Six adults spoke of attendance on the major holy days, including Christmas and New Year's Day and some few Sundays during the year. Six stated they attended Mass on Sundays and holydays unless legitimately impeded.⁹⁵ Four Category II adults who do not now attend regularly reported regular attendance when they lived in the Rio Grande Valley. The use of medals, pictures, statues etc. in all homes demonstrates some attachment to the nonessential yet visible elements of the Catholic faith.⁹⁶

⁹⁴This marriage took place shortly before the study began.

⁹⁵Legitimate excuses include illness, distance, grave inconvenience.

⁹⁶In 1960, plans were inaugurated to assist migrant workers in religious practices and services by travelling priests and by cooperation between clergymen in the Rio Grande Valley and other parts of the United States.

None of the adult males belongs to the Caballeros de San Juan. This noteworthy organization, however, attracts more Puerto Ricans than Mexicans or Mexican-Americans.⁹⁷ It should be noted that one of the two brothers did belong to the Holy Name Society of the parish in which he lived. The other brother occasionally received Communion with the society, but never attended meetings. In 1958, the parish inaugurated a fund drive. Both brothers assisted in the drive by visiting Spanish-speaking people. The brother who was active in the Holy Name Society was also active in the community organization in his neighborhood. This participation will be discussed in a more appropriate part of the chapter. One would be led to conclude that the majority of the Category II ex-migrants failed to participate in voluntary associations with their local religious center. Nevertheless, the participation of one ex-migrant was better than participation manifested by Category I ex-migrants.

There is a difference between religious participation of Category II adults and Category II children of school age. This may be interpreted as an indication of assimilation.

⁹⁷The executive director of the Cardinal's Committee told the writer in 1959 that the organization attempts to help the Spanish-speaking immigrant to Chicago. The personnel directed their efforts to the newly arriving Puerto Rican. He also stated it was difficult to unite Puerto Ricans and Mexicans.

However, the efforts expended in the rural areas together with the proximity of church services, schools, instructions and the like would aid this increased participation. Of the eighteen unmarried Category II ex-migrant who could be expected to attend services, ten report regular attendance.⁹⁸ Eleven have received their first Holy Communion, but of these eleven, seven received their first Holy Communion as part of the summer school program described in detail in the previous chapter. It should be pointed out that there are no cars or busses which bring children to church services. These are not needed because the churches are so close to the homes of the ex-migrant children. The ten children who attend regularly made their Easter duty in 1959.⁹⁹

There is another aspect of religious participation which should be further explored. In Chicago, there is an arrangement known as the released-time program. With parental permission, a child may be dismissed from public school classes on Wednesday afternoons to attend religious instructions. Fifteen children of Category II have received permission from their

⁹⁸There are twenty-nine unmarried Category II subjects.

⁹⁹Proximity to facilities may explain the fulfilling of the obligation.

¹⁰⁰The released-time program exerts a pressure on Catholic children to attend. The parents of Catholic children are visited if the children fail to appear at the classes. It has regularized attendance at religious instructions.

parents to attend religious instructions. Two of these fifteen children never attend religious services. In general, however, the participation in religious services on the part of children exceeds that of parents and that of children in Category I.

Another area for discussion is the educational attainments of children and adults. Of the eight married adult males in Category II, one spent only a few weeks in school. Four reported completing the second grade. Another completed the third grade. The seventh informant reached the seventh grade. The last informant believed he reached the fourth or fifth grade, but was unable to recall the exact grade accurately. All eight subjects also reported missing school for lengthy periods during the planting and harvesting seasons. In this last fact, the educational experiences of Category II adult males are similar to those of Category I.

All eight adult females of this Category attended school. One woman graduated from grammar school, followed by some type of vocational training in high school. Three women completed the second grade, while two more finished the third grade. The last Category II married female ended her education in the sixth grade. Each woman told of absences from school for migratory labor.

These married adults have several opportunities of resum-

ing education if they so desire. In addition to Chicago Board of Education programs in high schools, there are citizenship and English classes in the area where the ex-migrants reside. Both Howell House and Hull House, two settlement houses, provide courses in reading and writing English. One adult male attends a weekly course in English at one of the two settlement houses.

It can be seen that the educational attainments of the Category II ex-migrants are low. It can also be seen that one of the married adults participates in any type of adult education program. This low level of education can easily be contrasted with the educational patterns of ex-migrant children. It is difficult to say whether or not there is an increased awareness of the necessity of education or whether the children attend because of compulsory education laws or the example of surrounding children. Whatever reasons may be assigned, the increased level of education over that of the parents can be measured.

TABLE VII
PRESENT GRADES ATTENDED BY
SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN, 6 - 15
CATEGORY II

Grade	Male	Female
1	0	1
2	2	0
3	1	1
4	2	1
5	0	0
6	1	1
7	1	2
8	1	0
9	1	0
10	0	1
Not attending ^a	0	1
Total	9	8

^a A nine year old girl is not attending school because she is mentally retarded.

All children required to attend school are enrolled and attend regularly. The mentally retarded girl has not been given the opportunity of going to a special school.¹⁰¹ The pupils in Category II are enrolled at five schools, three of these public grammar schools and one public high school, and one being a parochial grammar school. The smallest of the public schools has 380 pupils with a third of these students with Spanish surnames. In this school, 20 per cent of the eighth grade children have Spanish surnames, while 63 per cent of the first grade children have Spanish surnames. Another public school with an enrollment of 731 has a student body with 46 per cent bearing Spanish surnames. The principal of the third public school states that 40 per cent of her students have Spanish surnames. The parochial school, however, had a Spanish surname student body with 65 per cent of its students bearing Spanish surnames. The writer uses the term "Spanish surnames" to indicate the inclusion of Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Mexicans.¹⁰² The enrollment figures from the high school were unavailable, but one teacher believed that

¹⁰¹The child did receive some religious instruction and was prepared for her first Holy Communion.

¹⁰²The parochial school described here is the territorial school in the area. Other parochial schools are attached to so-called national parishes.

The principals of the public schools told of a noticeable increase in the number of Spanish-speaking children in the past five years. In the parochial school, eleven children enrolled in a ten week period in the second semester of the 1958-1959 school year. Ten of these eleven children were Spanish-speaking. To meet the challenge of new arrivals to the area, both parochial and public schools have established remedial reading programs. The parochial school participates in a Catholic Charities Summer Program which is not to be confused with the CYO summer program.¹⁰³

The influx of Spanish-speaking children into the area of Category II ex-migrants makes it difficult to judge achievement. To state that children are above average or below average may not be significant because the presence of large numbers of Spanish-speaking children may lower the class reading achievement levels. In a February 1960 interview with the assistant superintendent of the Archdiocesan School Board, it was discovered that there is no official rating of schools on a scale. However, he did point out that the reading achievement levels for the various grades in the

¹⁰³The CYO summer program is chiefly a recreational program instituted by the Most Reverend Bernard J. Shiel, Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of Chicago.

parochial school were among the lowest in the system. He also pointed out that remedial reading programs are established in areas of greatest need. There were three such programs in operation in the summer of 1959 in the area described in this chapter.

Another influence affecting the children in their knowledge of English is the tutorial system inaugurated in the parochial school. High school students spend time each day assisting the Spanish-speaking children to learn English. Therefore, when teachers of Category II ex-migrant children state that eleven of sixteen students match the achievement of the class it must be understood in the proper frame of reference. It could be more significant to point out that in 1957, seven Category II children attended some type of summer educational program. In 1958, nine attended. This type of participation indicates a need for the program and a willingness to participate in it.

The writer deliberately tried to listen to the ex-migrant children during their lunch hour at the Catholic parochial school. Observations of these children at lunch time and also during recreation periods indicated that English is the ordinary language of communication among the children in the parochial school.

Teachers and principals declared that the ex-migrant

children do not present a serious disciplinary problem. The attendance records also indicated no significant difference between the days absent of ex-migrant children and other children in the class. In the parochial school, for example, Category II children averaged 8.5 half days absent for the second semester of 1958-1959, while the school average was 9.5.

In the rural setting, extracurricular activities were sometimes difficult for Category I subjects because of distance from school. The subjects in Category II were able to participate in school activities with greater facility. Four Category II ex-migrants joined the scouting programs in the different schools. Seven girls participated in the various levels and branches of girl scouting activities. The number of girls participating in such activities seemed unusually high, and it was found that an adult committee had just completed a campaign to increase membership.

None of the public grammar schools participated in an interscholastic sports program. The parochial school sponsored a softball team and one Category II ex-migrant boy played on the team. The opportunities for team competition in the public schools considered in this chapter are not as great as those discussed in the previous chapter.

The increased educational levels of the children when compared with those of the parents seem evident. It is also apparent that some Category II ex-migrant children shared in extracurricular activities. Four boys and seven girls were involved in scouting programs. The percentage of young children sharing in this type of program is higher than those of Category I. However, Category II children did not have to secure transportation home. The school then exerts some assimilating force on the Category II ex-migrants.

Another area of behavior considered in the previous chapter is the area of employment. In Category II, eight married male adults are regularly employed. Three married women and two unmarried girls are employed full time. None of the full time employees, male or female, work in an occupation even remotely connected with agriculture. One Category II unmarried male has a part time job in a retail store.

The occupations of Category II ex-migrant married adults display great variety. One adult male drives a delivery truck for a furniture store. Another is a janitor in an office building. A third has found employment as a car washer for a railroad. The five remaining men have found employment in factories, four operating machines and one acting as a machinist's helper.

Two of the married women work in factories, one on a

box making machine, and the other on a machine in a candy factory. The third married women clerks in an 18th Street cleaning establishment. One twenty-two year old girl works in an electronic parts factory. An eighteen year old unmarried girl works as a clerk in a variety store.

It would appear that the earning power of Category II ex-migrants is better than that among Category I ex-migrants. The mean hourly wage of the adult male in this Category I is \$1.63. The highest wage paid is \$2.35 an hour and the lowest \$1.25 an hour. In the Category II adult married males, the wages range from \$1.40 an hour to \$2.65 an hour. The mean hourly wage earned by Category II ex-migrants is \$1.815 an hour. The pay for women is slightly above that earned by Category I ex-migrant women. The factory workers receive \$.99 an hour as the mean hourly wage. The retail store clerk receives \$.80 an hour, while the factory workers are paid \$1.00 an hour.

It should be noted that the ex-migrants in this Category have worked steadily since their entrance into the city. Only one of the adult males has changed jobs since his arrival. However, none of the men or women participate in any company-sponsored social programs. As far as could be determined from interviews with employers, three of the companies have bowling teams. None of the ex-migrant men belong to them. Two of the

men belong to labor unions but do not attend meetings. Another man belongs to a company sponsored welfare group which has an annual outing. The member of this group did not attend. It would seem that the pattern of non-participation in company-sponsored programs repeats the experience of Category I ex-migrants.

The Category II ex-migrant earns more money from his present job, far removed from agriculture. His costs of living, however, are higher. More will be said on this point in the chapter on intercategory comparisons.

Another facet of ex-migrant life in the city is the pattern of social and recreational activities. The adult married couples report an absence of social exchange with Anglo neighbors. However, the man who belongs to the Pilsen Neighbors has attended various affairs with his wife and children. There are many more Spanish-speaking people in the area than in the rural enclaves. When questioned, all eight families shared in recreational activities established for the Spanish-speaking population. For example, all eight families told of adult attendance at dances sponsored by and for the Spanish-speaking people. No Category II ex-migrant has joined any social organization for the Spanish-speaking people.

In the vicinity of 18th Street, there are many taverns

with Spanish names. When asked about these centers of entertainment and meeting, three adult men told of entering them at least once a month. In general, the adults attend recreational affairs sponsored by or for the Spanish-speaking.

The two unmarried Spanish-speaking girls out of school told of dating. Neither of them has ever dated an Anglo. The chief center of recreation for these younger people is the dance for Spanish-speaking citizens of Chicago.

Another element of the recreational picture must be introduced here. It is relevant to note that the local recreation park had an extensive Little League. In 1958, three Category II boys played in this league. In 1959, three participated in the Little League and another played in the Pony League for older boys. It is obvious that the rural-ex-migrant did not have such a program readily available.

The chief form of summer recreation for Category II ex-migrants is swimming; for the children at the park pool have the opportunity of doing so often, as long as the weather permits. One family has reluctantly allowed its children to go to the park pool, but the other families accept it as a valuable source of recreation for the children. During the summer months the children use this pool at least twice a week. It is also possible for Category II children to use school yards, parks, vacant lots for general recreation and

games. A local movie theater is located in the southern part of the area discussed in this chapter of the thesis. Two grammar school children told of monthly attendance at the movie house. Other children report much more irregular treats to a movie. It is interesting and significant to note that the children have not reported attendance at a Spanish movie theater which is located nearby. Adults in this Category do not attend movies regularly, that is, more than once every four months or six months. Only two adults reported attending the Spanish films within six months prior to the interview.

The availability of facilities has introduced a difference in recreation patterns between those of Category I and Category II children. The availability of such facilities also brings Category II children into contact with Anglo children outside of school. A question may legitimately be raised about delinquency or social disorganization among ex-migrant children, since the part of the city under discussion in this chapter has a high crime rate. A lieutenant and a juvenile officer informed the writer that the area falls under the jurisdiction of the Maxwell Street Police District. These two officers in November of 1959 cited official police records which indicated the district was second in the city in reported auto thefts, second in acts of vandalism

reported to the police and third in reported burglary. The juvenile officer stated he handled as many cases in 1958 and 1959 as any other juvenile officer in Chicago. An official of the CYO informed the researcher that the Big Brothers, a form of assistance to juvenile offenders, has one of its most active programs in the area. However, none of the Category II ex-migrants were reported to the police for any reason. Sutherland and Cressey believe that a rise in the delinquency rate in newcomers to an area will not appear in less than five years.¹⁰⁴ They suggest that delinquency rates should be examined at some period of time after entrance into the city.¹⁰⁵ The ex-migrants did not complete five years in the city at the time of the study.

Another aspect of ex-migrant behavior is their participation in political elections. It will be remembered that no Category I ex-migrant registered for voting. Four Category II ex-migrants were registered, although only one had voted in an election prior to the presidential election of 1960. The Pilsen Neighbors, a community organization, attempted to register all eligible citizens in the

¹⁰⁴ Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey, Principles of Criminology 5th ed., (Chicago, 1955), p. 161.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 138-150.

area it served, including Negroes and Spanish-speaking adults. The president of this organization reported his influence on one Category II ex-migrant, who in turn influenced the other three to register for voting. This is the same ex-migrant who participated in church activities by membership in the Holy Name Society and also by membership in the Pilsen Neighbors.¹⁰⁶

Various areas of behavior of Category II ex-migrants have been discussed in this chapter. Although comparisons will be made in a succeeding chapter, it will be helpful to point out some of the differences between Category I and Category II ex-migrants. Category II residents have improved housing and furnishings. The Spanish language is preferred but one family does use English regularly. The children attend school and special remedial programs are made available to children for better reading ability. Like Category I children, those of Category II will surpass the educational attainments of their parents.

There are also evidences of increased religious practice, especially among the children. The condition of the urban

¹⁰⁶ No Category I ex-migrant joined any community organization or neighborhood improvement association.

families in economic matters has improved so much so that two families are home owners. However, the percentage of married women working is higher for Category II than for Category I.

Social life for the young adults and married persons includes the dances for the Spanish-speaking. The grammar school children have access to many more recreational facilities than their Category I counterparts, Use of these facilities introduces children to Anglo children and their customs.

More Category II ex-migrants are registered to vote in elections when compared with Category I. At the time of the study only one had voted in an election.

After turning our attention to Category III ex-migrants we will make more specific comparisons among the three categories of ex-migrants.

CHAPTER IV

CATEGORY III: THE SEPARATED EX-MIGRANT

At the beginning of this study, Broom and Shevky were cited. They anticipated the isolation of Spanish-speaking in atomistic enclaves, the existence of Spanish-speaking people in integrated ethnic communities, and a reduction in the isolation of the Mexican-American population and its eventual incorporation into the larger society with a progressive liquidation of ethnic enclaves.¹⁰⁷ We have studied the first two categories of ex-migrants, those who have remained in the enclaves in rural areas, those who have entered the city of Chicago; we now turn our attention to the third category of ex-migrants, those who have separated themselves in the area of their residence from other Spanish-speaking people. We are studying here those who left their rural surroundings not for the city of Chicago but for a dwelling place in the larger Anglo community.

The study of these separated ex-migrants of Category III

¹⁰⁷Broom and Shevky, p. 158.

is the most difficult of all three categories. The Category III ex-migrants are scattered over a much wider area, but they are also more difficult to located.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, a study of this category must be extremely valuable. The patterns of behavior of this Category III may manifest the highest level of assimilation or the lowest level of marginality.

Before beginning the study of Category III, some general observations are necessary to understand the background of Category III ex-migrants. In many Cook and De Kalb County towns and villages, there are found homes built a half century ago or more. When compared with modern home subdivisions, these older homes can sometimes be lower in standards of comfort and cleanliness than the recently constructed houses. Numbers of these substandard housing can be seen in and around the areas of Bensenville, Wooddale, Schiller Park, Roselle, and Arlington Heights.¹⁰⁹ In addition, there are older homes originally constructed outside village limits, but now on territory incorporated into expanding suburban villages. These older homes may rent at less cost

¹⁰⁸The writer was unable to find several families who could have been included in the universe from which this sample was taken.

¹⁰⁹In September of 1960, for example, two homes were condemned and burned within the village limits of Arlington Heights, Illinois. Ex-migrants formerly lived there.

than more modern residences. Dotting the northwest suburbs are farms now engulfed by subdivisions and newly built industrial plants. Many farm houses still standing are rented by Spanish-speaking people. For example, on a two mile stretch of River Road, no fewer than five farm houses were rented by ex-migrant families during the summer of 1961. Of course, not all of these families were included in the universe from which the samples of this thesis were taken.

In other areas of Cook and Lake Counties and in the northern part of DuPage County, there are clusters of homes in unincorporated areas. Zoning laws are usually less strict than those operative in incorporated towns and villages. Into these homes, old and new, in unincorporated areas, some ex-migrant families have moved.

Therefore, we have discussed three different types of residences where ex-migrants may live, older homes in incorporated areas, newer homes in unincorporated areas, and farm houses not now occupied by farmers or owners. Category III ex-migrants who have separated themselves from immediate and close contact with other ex-migrant families have moved into one of these three types of residences.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ There can be found other families not eligible for inclusion in this study because of place of origin, or length of time in the north.

Fifteen families were found fulfilling the requirements for inclusion in this study. Ten of these families were selected at random in the manner previously described. These ten families are the members of Category III. The same problems, interviews, and questions were raised with the members of Category III as with Category I and Category II ex-migrants.

The first questions raised with Category III ex-migrants involved their reasons for departure from the isolated enclaves which they formerly inhabited and their reasons for moving away from close and immediate contact with other Spanish-speaking people. Answers to these questions may offer some clues to a degree of assimilation or marginality.

In response to the initial question, all ten category III parents told of the poor housing which they formerly used. However, two families were forced to move because of tollway construction and three other families had to move because of subdivision construction. All ten families have members who tell of poor housing, and of these ten, five families were forced to move because their homes were torn down. In the reports of the Category III ex-migrant adults we can see similarities to those of Category II ex-migrants.

The second question or second part of the question may be asked in several ways. Was there a deliberate attempt to

lose identification with the Spanish-speaking people? Was there an attempt to secure greater identification with the Anglo majority? Was there merely a utilitarian purpose in finding better housing? All married adults were questioned about their desire to identify themselves with the Anglo majority. None of the adults affirmed this as a reason for moving. Seven adults strongly denied this. This answer seems confirmed by the social and recreational patterns of the adults which will be discussed later in the chapter.

Category III adults placed greatest emphasis on the need for better housing. The opportunity of securing better housing seems to have prompted the separation of Category III ex-migrants from other Spanish-speaking groups in the Chicago metropolitan area. Four adults told of a lack of desire to enter the city of Chicago. Apparently, the need for better housing prompted Category III ex-migrants to look in the rural-suburban areas and they did not enter Chicago.

Since comparisons were made between the past and present dwelling places of Category II ex-migrants, it would be profitable to do the same for Category III ex-migrant families.

Two families inhabited the largest rural enclave described in some detail in the last chapter. One of these families purchased a small four room house in an unincorporated area. The house was not new, nor was it completely finished. The

previous owners lived in the house, working on it when possible. The second family left a shed to rent four rooms in DeKalb County in an old home within village limits.

A cluster of tar paper shacks formerly housed ex-migrants on the east side of Wheeling township. Two of the families left these shacks for different housing. One purchased a fifty year old home on contract. It was formerly a farm house and is located in Palatine township. The other family rented a former farm home in Elk Grove township.

One Category III ex-migrant family lived in a long low storage building, since destroyed for a rising subdivision. This family moved to a partially completed home in an unincorporated area near Des Plaines. The head of the family pointed with pride to the improvements made after purchasing the home on contract.

A fifth family rents six rooms in a two storey frame house in a town after leaving a Quonset hut in Wheeling township. Another family left a small, dilapidated trailer to enter a rented white stucco house.

The seventh family moved from a contractor's hut to rent four rooms in a residence described as eighty years old. The eighth family rents three rooms on the second floor of a former farm home. This eighth family left a barn to move to this place of residence. The ninth family also left a barn to rent a

a small, shabby farm home. The building has cracked walls and needs paint and repairs, but it represents an improvement over the barn. The last Category III family left a trailer for a white frame house located behind a nursery.

It should be noted that all homes have indoor plumbing and electricity. Eight of the homes are heated by oil furnaces and two are heated by oil stoves. Three homes use bottled gas for cooking purposes. Category III ex-migrants have improved facilities over their former places of residence. None of the previous homes of Category III ex-migrants had indoor plumbing. It should also be noted that four Category III ex-migrants and their families have inaugurated purchase of homes on contract.

Although the buildings represent a substantial improvement over previous places of residence, several of the buildings need repairs. For example, one farm house is sagging to one side. One of the entrance stairs to another farm house needs to be replaced. On the other hand, it is judged that these homes compare with the other homes in the immediate vicinity.

It was found that improvement in living facilities also meant improvement in home furnishings. Without entering great detail, it seems sufficient to state that the furnishings were not present in the former homes of the ex-migrants.

TABLE VIII
AGE TO NEAREST BIRTHDAY OF
CATEGORY III MARRIED ADULTS^a

Age	Male	Female
30-34	1	3
35-39	5	3
40-44	2	2
45-49	1	2
50-54	1	0
Total	10	10

^aAge to nearest birthday at time of interview.

The exact mean age of the married adult males in this Category is 40.3. The exact mean age of married adult females in this Category is 37.6

TABLE IX
AGE TO NEAREST BIRTHDAY OF
CATEGORY III UNMARRIED EX-MIGRANTS^a

Age	Male	Female
0-4	3	1
5-9	4	3
10-14	4	5
15-19	2	4
20-24	2	0
Total	15	13

^aAge to nearest birthday at time of interview.

Category III ex-migrant families averaged 2.8 children still at home with the parents. Four children are married and have no further appearance in this study. Of the twenty-eight children four single men and two single women are regularly employed outside the home. Seven boys and ten girls are in school. Although comparisons will be made in the following chapter, it may be helpful to recall that Category I families averaged 3.5 children still at home, while Category II families averaged 2.9

children still living at home with parents. Information for this chapter was obtained by the writer by personal interview and observation.

Category III ex-migrants are undergoing pressures to change their patterns of living. Similar pressures were also noted for Category I and Category II ex-migrants. These pressures are intensified for Category III families since there is no daily nor immediate contact with other Spanish-speaking families. Even though visits are exchanged between families, there is no ordinary, daily contact in the routine of daily life.

The first significant indications of a greater level of assimilation are discovered in the use of English at home. Three Category III ex-migrant families report English as the ordinary language of communication in the family circle. The remaining seven families, however, still use Spanish at home. Using the technique outlined in the previous chapters, it was found that one adult married ex-migrant spoke no English, three poorly, and six adequately among the males. Among the women, it was found that one spoke no English; four spoke English poorly and five adequately. Although comparisons will be made, it may help to recall four Category I adult males and six women spoke no English. One man and one woman spoke no English as members of Category II.

Because a move has been made into an Anglo community, the

researcher might anticipate greater use of English reading materials such as books, newspapers, and magazines. From the observation of the writer, this anticipation is not borne out in practice. None of the families subscribes to an English language newspaper, although Spanish newspapers were seen in three Category III homes. In three homes, the popular Spanish novels could be seen.

The children of Category III parents speak Spanish. However, it would be worthwhile to comment briefly on the unique circumstances of Category III ex-migrants when compared with the subjects of the other two categories. For the Category III ex-migrant children, there are no Spanish-speaking children in the immediate vicinity of their homes. Upon questioning, it was found that the fathers of the families had no objection to the association of their children with the Anglo children in the vicinity. It should be pointed out that two Category III fathers believed their children were not accepted by some of the families surrounding them. Therefore the children were susceptible to a lessening of the Spanish cultural influence by the constant use of English.

There were other instances of a lessening of Spanish cultural traits. Spanish style foods were virtually unavailable to Category III subjects in their homes or in the immediate vicinity of their homes. They were not visited by the peddlars

nor did the stores nearby carry foods appealing to Spanish-speaking people. Two women reported daily making of tortillas but the rest were satisfied with purchased bread. All ten families reported a greater use of what might be termed Anglo style food in the homes.

Calendars, pictures, statues, and decorations similar to those used by other subjects were found in Category III homes. It was the observer's general impression that the number of such statues, pictures, and the like were less in evidence than in the homes of the other subjects of other categories. If this observation is correct, then the lessening of the use of materials popular among Spanish-speaking people has declined.

Another important area discussed in previous chapters is the financial control of family funds. While the families worked as migrant workers, the father of the family received the wages for the entire group. Four unmarried adult males work full time. These are allowed control over their salaries as long as they contribute an amount each week to family expenses. The two unmarried girls who work full time are also allowed this responsibility. The four male workers own cars and assume financial responsibility for these vehicles.

It is also evident that the father leaves the family each day for a place of employment. In this matter there is no difference among the categories, but this does represent

a difference from the days of migratory labor.

All Category III ex-migrants were baptized as Roman Catholics in infancy. However, nine of the children of this category were baptized outside the state of Texas. It was discovered that one of these children was baptized within the canonically acceptable time of one month. The parents of Category III assured the interviewer of their adherence to the custom of the compadre and its special significance for Spanish-speaking people. In the observance of this custom, there seems to be no significant difference among the subjects of the three categories.

Eight of the twenty adults reported the reception of the sacrament of confirmation. Of the twenty-eight unmarried Category III ex-migrants, nine have received the sacrament of confirmation. The unmarried adults who work told of experiencing difficulty in securing religious instruction. In this aspect of their lives, there seems to be little difference among the subjects of the three categories.

There are twenty married adults in Category III. One man and two women report no formal instruction in the religion of their baptism. Three of the parishes in which Category III ex-migrants live offer class instructions in the teachings of the Catholic Church. None of the Category III adults availed themselves of additional instruction. One person did write for

a free Spanish catechism offered on a radio broadcast.

Of the ten marriages in category III, six have taken place with the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. A civil ceremony preceded the religious ceremony in three of the six cases. As was previously explained, the religious ceremony is necessary for acceptance as a practicing member of the Catholic Church as well as eligibility for the reception of the Easter Communion which is one basic test for adherence to the Catholic faith. Of the twelve eligible, three men and four women received the Easter Communion in 1959.

Eleven unmarried Category III ex-migrants have received their first Holy Communion. Of these eleven, eight received the Easter Communion in 1959. Category III ex-migrants are not aided by the special programs helping the Category I ex-migrants or the proximity of Spanish-speaking priests or the availability of services for Category II ex-migrants. It would seem then that religious practice has been more in evidence among Category III ex-migrants than in the other categories.

The twenty married adults of Category III do not manifest as great a participation in religious services as do the children. Of the twenty married adults, two men and two women report regular attendance at Mass on Sundays unless impeded by a serious reason. Three men and four women never attend

religious services. Five men and four women report irregular attendance, that is, attendance on the major holydays and on several Sundays during the year.

There are nineteen unmarried Category III ex-migrants who can legitimately be expected to attend services on Sunday. Not all of them have made their first Holy Communion. Nine of these attend services regularly, three not at all, and four irregularly, according to the definition given above.

None of the children or adults belonged to any religious organization such as the Holy Name Society, Knights of Columbus, Caballeros de San Juan. Each family, however, called itself Catholic.¹¹¹ Category III ex-migrants seemed to reflect similar religious patterns of behavior as those shown by Category I and Category II ex-migrants.

Formal education of Category III ex-migrants was limited as it was for members of the other two categories. Three men spent three years in school, and one received no formal education at all.¹¹² Two adult males report three years in

¹¹¹One pastor informed the writer that the rapid expansion of suburban parishes after World War II made it difficult to spend time seeking the Spanish-speaking out.

¹¹²The man without formal education stated he was not allowed to attend school because he was "Mexican." The executive secretary of the National Conference for the Spanish-speaking told the writer that in some Rio Grande Valley Counties Spanish-speaking children were not allowed to attend school.

school, and two others told of completing the fourth grade and the fifth grade respectively. One adult male graduated from a Catholic parochial school in the Rio Grande Valley. The last adult male completed a second grade and part of the third. Category I adult males averaged 2.33 years of formal education, Category II, 3.65 and Category III, 3.1. There seems to be little difference between the educational patterns of the migrants in Category II and Category III.

In all three categories, the married women averaged less education than the men in the same group. Two Category III women reported no formal education, and told of completing the fourth grade. One woman finished the fifth grade and attended school for short periods thereafter, but she never completed the sixth grade. Another woman ended her formal education in the fifth grade, and another terminated her educational career following the seventh grade. Category I women averaged 2.86 years in school, Category II, 3.5 and Category III, 3.0 years completed in school. The school experience for members of all three categories was interrupted by summer migration which lasted into the harvest season and the fall months as well as spring planting migration.

None of the Category III ex-migrant adults avail themselves of any adult education program offered to them. There are adult education programs offered in six high schools.

Category III ex-migrants have not enrolled in the Elk Grove

or Bensenville programs sponsored by private groups. Two men did attend a series of discussions on unions held in West Chicago, Illinois. The men attended three times and stopped. Category III children demonstrate an entirely different pattern in formal education since they are enrolled in school and attend regularly.

TABLE X
PRESENT GRADES ATTENDED BY
SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN, 6-15 CATEGORY III

Grade	Male	Female
1	1	1
2	1	1
3	0	1
4	1	0
5	1	1
6	0	2
7	1	0
8	2	1
9	0	3
Total	7	10

All Category III children required by state law to attend school are currently enrolled in five public and one parochial schools. None of the Category III children over the age of sixteen has remained in school. Secondary education for Category III ex-migrants has not led to graduation.¹¹³

In the previous chapters, some effort was made to discuss comparative achievement between Anglos and Spanish-speaking students. The Spanish-speaking children of Category III find themselves in schools where the number of Spanish-speaking children is very small. In the parochial school, for example, four Spanish-speaking children are found in a total enrollment of 1246. Three of these are Category III children. The principal of the parochial school stated that the children are below average in achievement for this grade. However, she insisted that the children were not the poorest in their classes. One of the ex-migrant children repeated a grade in the parochial school, and the principal felt there was notable improvement. She believed that special help during the summer would bring him to the average achievement level for his class.

¹¹³ Sanchez, p. 14-5. Sanchez cites the lack of secondary education for Spanish-speaking children. In discussions with other students of the problems of the Spanish-speaking the writer found difficulties in high school for Spanish-speaking students in cities as widely scattered as Denver, Colorado, Stockton, California, and PawPaw, Michigan.

The principals of the public schools were concerned with the low reading levels found among ex-migrant children. The distribution of ex-migrant children in the public schools showed only a few Spanish-speaking children in each school. School A had one Category III child, with three Spanish-speaking children out of an enrollment of 897. School B had two Category III children with no other Spanish-speaking children out of a total enrollment of 416. School C had three Category III children and a total of six Spanish-speaking children out of a total enrollment of 718. School D enrolled two Category III children, with another Spanish-speaking child, a Cuban, enrolled in a total enrollment of 1117. School E enrolled six ex-migrant children with nine Spanish-speaking children out of a total enrollment of 675. To assist the children in their reading achievement, the principals of two schools inaugurated remedial reading programs for them. Three teachers attempted to aid the children by after-hours sessions. Two teachers engaged older students to help the ex-migrant children during lunch periods. One teacher asked a retired teacher to tutor the ex-migrant children in her care. In the schools attended by Category III children, special attention is given to language. With this special help, it may be hoped that achievement levels for Category III ex-migrants may be significantly above those of the other two categories in the

future. At the present time it is difficult to compare the achievement of the students in the three categories because of the differences involved.

The Category III children maintain a satisfactory attendance record at school. In the second semester of 1958-1959 school year, Category III children averaged 8.9 days absent. This was .2 day higher than the non-ex-migrant pupils. Category III children also joined in various extracurricular activities associated with the school setting. One of the public schools was the center for an active scouting program. Two Category III ex-migrant boys participated in the programs and projects of this group. In other schools, three ex-migrant girls joined a scouting program also. In this Category III, one of the mothers took her regular turn as hostess for the group. This is in sharp contrast to the Category I experience.

Two of the three Category III ex-migrant boys who are in the sixth and the eighth grade participate in athletic events by team membership in basketball and softball. The high school girls indicated a lack of participation in extracurricular activities.

The first serious disciplinary problem among school children was discovered in this category. We have noted the generally favorable attitude of teachers toward ex-migrant

school children. An eleven year old Category III ex-migrant boy has been reprimanded by teachers and principal for disobedience in class. This boy had a record of unusual lack of discipline in his former school, but the problem seemed to become more intense in new surroundings. The mother of this boy has been employed outside the home and the boy has been left in the care of an older sister. The mother has been working away from home since 1953.

Turning to employment patterns found among Category III residents, it was discovered that fourteen men, single and married, worked at full time employment away from the home. None of these men was engaged in any form of agricultural labor, nor have they had any contact with this type of employment which characterized their lives for many years. One adult male works as a janitor for a parochial school and church. Another works as a general handyman in a business which supplies automotive equipment. One operates a vehicle for a newspaper distribution agency. Two work for a construction company in west Cook County. A sixth works in a garage. Four adult married males in this category work in factories, two, operating machines, and one in the shipping department with the last a carloader.

Four unmarried males are also employed forty hours a week. Two work in factories; one works in an automobile agency

where he washes and services new automobiles. The final unmarried adult works in a highway restaurant as a bus boy.

In addition to the men, four married women, Category III ex-migrants, and two unmarried women are also employed full time. In their employment, the women average \$1.10 and hour.

The average hourly wage rate for adult male workers is \$1.65 per hour. The highest wage, received by the men working in construction, amounted to \$2.30 an hour. The lowest wage, \$1.25 and hour, is received by the young man who works in a restaurant. Category III families average 2.0 workers per family, while Category I and Category II families average 1.67 and 1.35 workers per family.

None of the men or women belongs to the regularly organized recreational and social groups of their companies. Several companies had bowling leagues, golf teams, and the like. Three men informed the writer they took their families to the annual company outing. One personnel manager informed the writer that he made several attempts to interest his Spanish-speaking employees in company-sponsored recreational programs but found little success. Three men belonged to labor union, but only one attended a union meeting at any time. Two men saved regularly in company sponsored credit unions.

It would seem that Category III ex-migrants do not participate in voluntary associations any more than workers of Category I or Category II. Children, however, seem to share in the groups sponsored by various organizations for their benefit.

One might anticipate a lessening of social and recreational contact with other Spanish-speaking people because of the separation in place of residence. Distance and time have diminished the regular seeing of other Spanish-speaking people, but the recreation and social life of Category III ex-migrants reflects the origins of the ex-migrants.

The Category III ex-migrants may be studied with regard to their social and recreational contact with the Anglos near whom they live. Two Category III ex-migrants told of attending local community parties, but the other eight families remain outside the Anglo pattern of social adult life. There is no exchange of visits nor dinners. The Category III ex-migrants, on the contrary, still adhere to the dance for Spanish-speaking people as a regular source of entertainment and recreation.¹¹⁴ Four Category III

¹¹⁴The dance as a source of contact among ethnic groups is a common occurrence in the United States. See Arthur Wood Evans, Hamtramck - Then and Now (New York, 1955), p. 33. In Chicago three radio stations broadcast information about such dances.

families, however, spoke of lessened attendance at such affairs.

Category III ex-migrants not in school but unmarried maintain association with other young men and women who are Spanish-speaking. In other words, even though their place of residence is in the Anglo community, they do not date Anglo boys and girls.¹¹⁵ The unmarried adults seem to share both the Anglo and Spanish cultures in their dating patterns. There is attendance at Spanish-speaking dances, but also attendance at movies, stock car races at O'Hare Stadium, and recreational and amusement parks.

Category III ex-migrants also indicate a pattern of non-participation in political activities. At the time of the interviews, none of the Category III ex-migrants had been contacted to vote in political elections. In this area of their lives, their behavior is similar to that of Category I and Category II ex-migrants.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵Three interethnic marriages have taken place over a period of three years in the area where Category I residents live. However, none of these subjects have any relation to the present study since they were not involved in the universe from which the samples were taken.

¹¹⁶This seems to be in contrast to the Puerto Rican voting patterns in Chicago.

Although comparisons will be made in greater detail in the next chapter, Category III ex-migrants seem to manifest greater participation in the Anglo culture than do members of the other Categories I and II. Category III ex-migrants have moved to areas where Anglos live. Some of them have initiated the purchase of homes. The use of English, foods less popular among Spanish-Americans and other factors reflect closer adherence to Anglo customs. Nevertheless, the Category III ex-migrants are limited in their social contacts with Anglos. Of all three categories, Category III ex-migrants give greatest indication of assimilation.

CHAPTER V

INTER-CATEGORY COMPARISONS

In November, 1959, the National Conference to Stabilize Migrant Labor took place at Loyola University in Chicago. The report which summarized the proceedings said in part:

The unbalancing effect of the foreign labor program upon the supply and demand for farm labor is evident in farm population statistics. During the last two decades, while farm population declined about 30 per cent and the number of hired workers declined about 23 per cent, the number of farm migrants, including foreign workers, remained the same at one million. However, had there been a normal labor market in operation during these 20 years, the size of the migrant army would have shrunk considerably. Instead the 500,000 Americans who did leave the migrant labor stream were simply replaced by 500,000 workers from abroad.¹¹⁷

The large number of ex-migrants can be visualized from the passage cited above. In this thesis, thirty-three of these ex-migrant families have been discussed in differing aspects of their lives. There has been an attempt to discover what has occurred in the lives of these families, numbered among the

¹¹⁷ Marciniak, p. 9.

half million who have abandoned the mobile serfdom of migratory labor.

It would be beneficial to recall the reasons for leaving agriculture which were offered by the ex-migrants. The specific reason given by each adult centered about the desire for economic improvement and security. The poverty, wages, housing conditions, and absence of other advantages have been documented by many authors. The ex-migrants of this thesis have abandoned their attachment to agriculture and entered the industrial complex of Cook County.

It would be additional beneficial to recall the common elements shared by all subjects in this study. In the first place, the adult married males and females were born in the Winter Garden area of the Rio Grande Valley. They are Americans citizens and all were married in the Valley. They engaged in an agricultural pilgrimage until they abandoned their migration in 1951 and 1952. The adult married males entered into industrial life. In many instances, affecting Category I ex-migrants, the temporary dwellings became year round homes. All the ex-migrants in this study are Spanish-speaking and all are baptized Roman Catholics. The two chief influences on the ex-migrant are his Spanish

speaking background and his nomadic agricultural life. It is in these areas that we look for indicators of marginality or assimilation.

TABLE XI
FAMILY COMPOSITION

Category	Unmarried Children		Average in Family
	Male	Female	
Category I	28	24	3.5
Category II	15	14	3.6
Category III	15	13	2.8

From the table above, it can be seen that the largest average unmarried children are found among Category II ex-migrants. Category III children still at home is lower than the average number of those from the other two categories.

TABLE XII
AVERAGE AGES
MARRIED ADULTS

Category	Male	Female
Category I ^a	39.2	38.1
Category II	38.0	36.6
Category III	40.3	37.6

^aThis includes the age of the woman killed after the sample was chosen.

The difference in ages among the three categories seems to be slight, and, as far as can be judged, plays no significant part in considering the ex-migrant families.

When questioned about the motivation for leaving the agricultural life, all adults in families told of a desire for better housing and employment. However partial or incomplete this motive may be for abandoning the agricultural migrant stream, the motive of economic improvement was mentioned by all families involved.

Although the rural-urban dichotomy is difficult to define, there has been a change from agricultural life to an industrial way of life. MacIver discusses the rural-urban distinction in

the following manner:

One of the broadest and most revealing of all social contrasts is that exhibited in the differences of rural and urban life. The city is in itself an environment created by society, in which for the purpose of common living many aspects of the natural environment are modified or entirely eliminated . . . Under rural conditions social attitudes and social institutions present characteristic differences from those developed within the city. Nevertheless, the comparison is beset with difficulties.¹¹⁸

He continues, "City and country are for our present purposes the two great generic modes of human habitation. But between the two there is no sharp demarcation."¹¹⁹ MacIver also finds a semi-isolation, a predominant mode of occupation, a variety rather than a specialization of labor, a simplicity and frugality in living, and a more dominant family life characterize the rural family.¹²⁰ It would seem that some of these elements have been found in the lives of the ex-migrants. When they enter different environments, different patterns of assimilation or different levels of marginality are discovered.

As soon as the decision to remain in Illinois was made,

¹¹⁸Robert M. MacIver, Society, a Textbook of Sociology (New York, 1937), p. 114.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 115

¹²⁰Ibid., pp. 119-23.

there was a change from agricultural labor to industrial labor. The mobile way of life responded to an urban way of life. New pressures were placed on the Mexican-American family. John Burma stated:

The authority of the father was unquestioned and the oldest male was a patriarch whose authority was widely felt . . . The role of the woman has always been a subordinate one . . . but it has been extremely important in the stability and the integration of the family group . . . The role of the man is less restricted. He is expected to assume material responsibilities for his wife and children, to be loyal to the large family group, and to live up to his community responsibilities.¹²¹

What are the patterns of family behavior evident in all three categories of ex-migrants in this study? The financial control of the Spanish-American family has been described by Burma,¹²² Woods,¹²³ and Hunt,¹²⁴ This has been partially altered because the father of the family no longer receives the wages of the entire family.¹²⁵ In addition, the drivers of

¹²¹Burma, p. 9.

¹²²Ibid., p. 84.

¹²³Woods, p. 178.

¹²⁴Hunt, p. 7.

¹²⁵In 1960, Rev. William McKeon pointed out that the Mexican-American family has been a family on the move. The parents came from Mexico during the revolution, and its descendants began mobile farming. The only institution that has remained stable is the family, since the political institution, the educational institution, and the religious institution have changed.

cars not the family cars retain portions of their salary to operate their vehicles.

It is obvious also that employment patterns and educational patterns for the ex-migrants and their children have changed. Although some Category I ex-migrant families have worked on farms during the harvest season, this practice is far from common. It is unknown among the members of the last two categories. As a result of the new type of employment patterns the father of the family leaves his home each day. The children no longer work with the parents and they are in regular attendance at school. We will attempt to summarize the data presented by means of tables.

The first are for consideration will be the religious behavior of the ex-migrants. This area may not be the first are in importance, but observable behavior is readily categorised. It is again important to note that the study of religious assimilation or lack of it implies nothing about the internal commitment of the subject to the religion professed.

TABLE XIII
ECCLESIASTICAL MARRIAGES

Category	Total in Category	Number	Per Cent of Total
Category I	15	4	26.7
Category II	8	4	50
Category III	20	6	60

If ecclesiastical marriages are an indication of assimilation to the religious patterns of northern Catholics, it is to be noted that the percentages indicate a higher proportion of Category III ex-migrants married ecclesiastically.

TABLE XIV
MARRIED ADULTS
EASTER COMMUNION - 1959

Category	Total in Category	Number	Per Cent
Category I ^a	30	4	13.3
Category II	16	6	31.1
Category III	20	7	35.0

^aIncluding deceased woman.

TABLE XV
CHURCH ATTENDANCE
MARRIED ADULTS

Category	Regular		Irregular		Never	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
I ^a	7	24.2	12	41.4	10	34.8
II	6	37.5	6	37.5	4	25.0
III	4	25.0	9	45.0	7	35.0

^aThis does not include the woman who was killed

TABLE XVI
EASTER COMMUNION
UNMARRIED

Category	Eligible	Recipients	Per Cent
Category I	30	19	60.3
Category II	18	11	64.4
Category III	11	8	72.8

From the two preceding tables, one can see the higher religious practice in Category III.

proportions of unmarried persons attending when compared with the married. It is also evident that Category II adults have the greatest proportion in regular attendance, but Category III children have the greatest percentage in reception of the sacrament.

TABLE XVII
MASS ATTENDANCE
UNMARRIED

Category	Eligible	Regular	Irregular	Never
Category I	31	13	14	5
Category II	18	10	5	3
Category III	19	9	7	3

The next area to be considered is the area of education. Children of all three categories manifest a remarkable increase in education when compared with parents.

TABLE XVIII

YEARS OF EDUCATION
MARRIED ADULTS

Category	Male	Female
Category I	2.93	2.86
Category II	3.65	3.5
Category III	3.1	3.0

The level of education among children has already surpassed that of their parents. In addition, education for the children is a continuing process. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that no ex-migrant in this study has completed secondary school. When contact was first made with the Spanish-speaking in the rural areas in times past, school delinquency was a serious problem.

However, the grammar school children demonstrate different levels of contact with the Anglo world. The contact between Anglos and Spanish-Americans in the Category I area is limited to the school setting. It was noted that six boys and four girls of Category I participated in athletic events in competition with other schools. Three boys and one girl shared

in scouting activities.

Category II students found other means of recreation in the city. One family restricted attendance and activities in the local park and pool. The remaining children used swimming pools, parks, ball fields with Spanish-speaking and Anglo children present. Category II public school children do not attend schools which allow intrascholastic teams. One boy attending the parochial school played on a baseball team, while four boys and seven girls participated in scouting activities.

Category III children had no daily contact with other Spanish-speaking children. Their source of play and recreation both in and outside of the school had to be the surrounding Anglo children. Two boys and three girls shared in scouting events. Therefore, Category III children by necessity had more frequent and regular contact with Anglo children.

Another area for consideration is the area of employment. We shall try to compare average hourly earnings among the three categories.

TABLE XIX
AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS

Category	Male	Female
Category I	\$1.63	\$.93
Category II	\$1.82	\$.94
Category III	\$1.65	\$1.10

The highest paid men are in Category II and the highest paid women are in Category III

TABLE XX
WORKING WOMEN
MARRIED

Category	Number	Per Cent
Category I	1	6.67
Category II	3	37.5
Category III	4	40.0

It is to be noted that the highest proportion of married

women who work is to be found in Category III. To state categorically that this follows the norm of work patterns of urban married women would be an oversimplification of a complex comparison, difficult because of the nature of the rural-urban dichotomy. However, there are several authors worth hearing. "Urban women are twice as likely to be in the labor force as farm women."¹²⁶ Robert Smuts states that in the history of the female working force, there has been a trend toward working urban women.¹²⁷ It would seem that economic necessity is the reason offered for women working by the ex-migrants themselves.¹²⁸ Clarence Long states:

When female labor force participation, standardized for age and rural-urban distribution residence, is compared with the proportion standardized for age only, the increase is found to have been somewhat larger as a result of migration.¹²⁹

It has been discovered that even in cases where voluntary

¹²⁶ National Manpower Council, Womanpower (New York, 1957), pp. 81.

¹²⁷ Robert W. Smuts, Women and Work in America (New York, 1959), pp. 2-4.

¹²⁸ The question then may be raised, "Is this a sign of assimilation?"

¹²⁹ Clarence D. Long, The Labor Force under Changing Income and Employment (Princeton, 1948), p. 103.

associations are joined by ex-migrants working in a plant or business, there is no sharing in the functioning of these organizations. One Category II ex-migrant was the sole example of participation in a community organization and a church society.

TABLE XXI

RENT

Category	Monthly Payments
Category I	\$31.50
Category II	\$74.17
Category III	\$76.25

The largest rents are paid by the Category III ex-migrants. Three category III ex-migrants have initiated the purchase of a home. Two Category II brothers have also cooperated in the purchase of a home.

Another area discussed in the previous chapters was the social and recreational life of the ex-migrants. It was found, for example, that unmarried ex-migrants who are of the age of dating engage in this practice with other Spanish-speaking people. The school children, however, have contact with Anglo

children. The experience of the children in their relationships to Anglos exceeded that of parents. Members of all categories reported little contact on a social level with Anglos.

The common source of entertainment and recreation is the dance for the Spanish-speaking. They vary from simple weekend dances to well-publicized evenings with the election of a queen and the hiring of entertainment. Spanish style food is served and the Spanish language is spoken by those attending. At these dances the opportunity of interchange with friends and acquaintances is present.¹³⁰

Although the automobile makes the Chicago metropolitan area more or less accessible to anyone with a car, certain areas are more accessible than others. For example, dances in Des Plaines, Buffalo Grove, and Bensenville are those which are more likely to attract Category I residents. Category II migrants would be more likely to attend dances in Chicago. Category III ex-migrants would be close to Schiller Park or Bensenville.

¹³⁰Burma, p. 27. Burma discusses the "Spanish" dance but fails to mention its socializing aspects.

TABLE XXII
DANCE ATTENDANCE^a

Category	Monthly	Quarterly ^b	Rarely ^c	Unknown ^d
Category I	2	7	4	2
Category II	1	6	1	0
Category III	0	6	4	0

^aThis refers to adult married persons.

^bAt least four times a year, but not once a month.

^cThree times a year or less.

^dNo family failed to attend at least once in 1959.

In the Category I area, dances are held in nearby towns. In the city where Category II residents dwell, the Perez Post of the American Legion, the Caballeros de San Juan, the LULACs and others sponsor such dances. Category III residents may drive to Chicago or the rural areas, but as can be seen they attend these dances less frequently than members of the other categories.

In addition to dance attendance, Category I, II, and III ex-migrants exchange visits with friends and relatives who are Spanish-speaking. It is difficult to compare one group with another. For example, in the urban area, Spanish-speaking

people are present in larger numbers than elsewhere. On the other hand, Category III ex-migrants do not live in the immediate vicinity of other Spanish-speaking people. Three Category III families visited Texas in the years 1958-1960. Two Category I families did the same thing, but no Category II family returned home to Texas for a visit. Conclusions should be carefully drawn since financial ability and age of children are factors entering into a visit to the state of birth of the ex-migrants.

The ex-migrants characteristically do not participate in elections or in community activities. The only exception to this general statement was found among Category II ex-migrants. A determined effort to register Spanish-speaking people produced one ex-migrant who voted, although others registered.

It is important to suggest that certain factors indicate the validity of the general hypothesis. In the matter of religious behavior, Category III residents outrank members of the other categories in religious participation. Category III residents also have a higher proportion using English at home, who have inaugurated the purchase of a home, and who have separated themselves at least physically from daily close contact with other Spanish-speaking people.

That there is not complete assimilation and a marginal status is evidenced from the lack of participation in voluntary

associations and the general use of Spanish at home. However, the process of assimilation is not static buy dyhamic and this group could be restudied in future years for further evidences of assimilation.

What is strikingly different about the ex-migrant families is the series of differences which exist between parents and children. In the matter of religious practice, education, association with Anglos, etc. the children are the ones who seem most assimilated.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the previous pages, we have attempted to study aspects of the patterns of life among a small number of families. We have attempted to study thirty-three ex-migrant families, families who have abandoned the fields for a life in the industrial complex of northern Illinois. Other changes have taken place in the lives of these people since their departure from the mobile serfdom of migratory labor. The desire for economic security and stability has played a great part in the changing patterns of ex-migrant life.

We have seen fifteen Category I families, that is, families who have chosen to remain in rural areas in Cook County, living in substandard housing, isolated from the surrounding area by language culture, economic position. It is in these clusters or enclaves of Spanish-speaking families that manifestations of the Spanish-speaking background may be found. Although the influences and traits of the Rio Grande Valley origin of these families can be seen, there are also

evidences of assimilation. Most noticeable are the differences between children and adults, as far as association, language, education, religious practices, and participation in voluntary associations. Evidences of assimilation among adults are found in their employment patterns, in the exercise of financial responsibility in the family, and separation from agricultural life and labor.

Category II ex-migrants have entered the urban center of Chicago, bearing with them their Spanish-American culture. Subjected to the same pressures as Category I ex-migrants received, Category II ex-migrants entered the city. Category I and Category II ex-migrants share a common cultural heritage manifested in family structure, language, food, religious decorations, literature and the like. Yet there are some visible differences between Category I and Category II ex-migrants. Two Category II ex-migrants have initiated the purchase of a home. Furnishings of rented flats are different from those of the rural inhabitant. Although there is an improvement in income, there is also an increase in expenses. Whereas one Category I married female ex-migrant worked full time, three Category II married women were employed. The children in an area where many Spanish-speaking people live

took part in the activities of urban life. Only one family of the eight resisted change by trying to control some contacts on the part of the children with other families. Nevertheless, there was a greater use of English in this category, and one of the adult married men participated in community and church activities.

Category III ex-migrants also shared in the Spanish cultural heritage. However, they separated themselves at least in distance from other Spanish-speaking families. As a result the children shared the Anglo culture much more deeply than the members of the other two categories. The highest proportion of working married women was found among Category III ex-migrants, as well as the highest percentage of home owners. The greatest evidences of assimilation were found among Category III ex-migrants.

Even as the words of this thesis are being written, changes are taking place in the lives of the ex-migrant families. New subdivisions and highways have swept other rural enclaves out of existence. More will soon disappear. In the city, plans for a new expressway and highway may force Category II ex-migrants elsewhere. Some of the older farm houses will be torn down for commercial establishments. In this thesis, however, we have attempted to freeze reality for the purpose of study and analysis. In the future, many

more studies of ex-migrants may be made. The study of the ex-migrants in this thesis should aid a more timely and thorough understanding of the concept and process of assimilation.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE

American Association of University Women,* Northwest Suburban District. This was the first organization to establish any program for the Spanish-speaking in the north-west suburban area. The summer school, with its instruction and medical care, operated from 1951 to 1956.

Arlington Valley Growers' Association, 1420 Northwest Highway, Arlington Heights, Illinois. This marketing cooperative spoke for a number of growers on policies affecting migrant labor and the housing of ex-migrants.

Cardinal's Committee for Spanish-Speaking People, 1300 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. This agency of the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Chicago with fifteen priests and two lay members coordinates Catholic activities among the Spanish-speaking.

Catholic Council on Working Life, 21 West Superior, Chicago, Illinois. This laymen's organization sponsored a major conference on the problems of the migrant worker.

Christian Family Movement, 720 North Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois. This action-oriented couples' organization of the Catholic Church undertook many services for the Spanish-speaking.

Cook County Farm Bureau, 120 North Duntun, Arlington Heights, Illinois. This member of the Farm Bureau Federation represents many growers in the Arlington Heights area.

Howell House, 1831 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois. This settlement house operates a program for community organization in Chicago.

* A new president is elected yearly and the address of the organization changes.

Illinois Fair Credit Committee, 21 West Superior, Chicago, Illinois. This organization soon to be replaced by the Illinois Conference on Consumer Problems focuses attention on credit buying in the city of Chicago.

Illinois State Employment Service, 165 North Cahal, Chicago, Illinois. This branch of the Employment Service processes requests for migrant labor.

Opportunity Council,* This is an organization of men and women interested in the problems of the ex-migrant in the Arlington Heights area.

*The president is elected yearly and the address of the president becomes the address of the organization.

APPENDIX II

FAMILY RESUMES

Category I

Family 1. Arnulfo B. earns \$2.35 per hour on a construction job. His wife, Maria, was killed in an automobile accident shortly after the study began. The residence of his family is a weatherbeaten barn. A seventeen year old daughter maintains the home, while twin daughters, 11, are in the fifth grade, a boy, 10, is in the fourth grade. Arnulfo never attends religious services. The children in this family are noted for their extreme shyness.

Family 2. Alejandro T. is employed in a nursery where he earns \$1.50 an hour. His wife, Aracelia, cares for her two children, boys, 12, and 10, who are in the fifth and fourth grades. A four year old daughter completes the family circle. The residence is an equipment shed. Without insulation it is one of the poorest of Category I dwellings. The family possesses an old religious statue as its proudest possession.

Family 3. Tomas P. is employed in a nursery, where he earns \$1.30 per hour. Cruzita, his wife, remains at home since she must care for a fifteen year old boy, mentally retarded, and a girl, 11, in the fifth grade. Two boys, 17 and 16, work outside the home. An octagonal hut is their residence. Mrs. P. has suffered from an illness for several years.

Family 4. Rafael R., truck driver, has three boys, 4, 2, and 1 respectively. His wife, Maria, was expecting the birth of another child as this thesis is being written. The equipment shed seems small for the family. This family has been the object of charitable attention by several Anglo organizations. Rafael earns \$1.70 an hour.

Family 5. Pedro G. and his wife live in a very warm barn. His job pays \$1.72 an hour as an employee of a suburban village government. Children are all married.

Family 6. Cesare R., and Eligidia live with thirteen children ranging from three to twenty-one in a contractor's hut. Three boys and two girls are working. Cesare earns \$1.74 in a factory. A certain coldness and reserve seemed to characterize this family.

Family 7. Serafin R., garage attendant, and his wife Genevera have one child, an eleven year old boy in the sixth grade. The home is a barracks structure. As a clerk in a nursery, Serafin earns \$1.65 an hour. The home of this family has vast amounts of religious equipment in it.

Family 8. Mario M. earns \$1.65 an hour driving a truck. His wife Lucia and a son, 8, and a daughter, 6, live with him in a room attached to a barn. Mario operates a truck for a newspaper agency.

Family 9. Living in a barracks type structure, Serafin R. is neighbor to Alfredo M. who works for an officially franchised automobile dealer. His three children, a girl, 13, in the sixth grade, and two boys, 3 and 1, are cared for by Adela M. his wife. He earns \$1.48 an hour.

Family 10. Alfredo P. is a machine operator, earning \$1.40 in a plastics factory. His home is a former chicken coop, where his five children, a girl, 15, a boy, 11, a boy, 9, a boy, 4, and a girl, 2, live with him and his wife Maria. Alfredo makes \$1.40 operating a machine in the factory.

Family 11. Ernesto R. and his wife, Ernestina, live in a former equipment shed. Their oldest son, 15, does not attend school. Ernesto earns \$1.30 in a factory and supplements his income by summer weekend agricultural work. A girl, 13, a girl, 9, and a boy, 7, complete the family.

Family 12. Jaime Ll. earns \$1.33 an hour operating a machine. His wife Cleofa lives with him in a barn, but no married children live at home.

Family 13. Porfirio DelaC., and his wife Eladia have three children, two girls, 14 and 7, and a boy, 6. They live in a former equipment shed, but Porfirio earns \$1.25 an hour on his full time job.

Family 14. Domingo C. earns \$1.45 an hour in a service station. His wife, Alicia, lives with him and two children, a boy, 11, and a girl, 9. Their residence is a former shed.

Family 15. Manuel C. earns \$1.45 in a factory. His wife, Lucia, lives with him in an old trailer. Four children, two boys, 13 and 10, and two girls, 11 and 9, complete the family circle.

Category II

Family 1. Adolfo C. drives a truck to earn \$1.67 per hour. A boy, 14, a girl, 9, a boy, 2, and Maria, his wife find home to be a dingy second floor flat.

Family 2. Eugenio M., earns \$1.40 as a car washer, but part time employment in a band earns additional income for the family. Two girls, 14 and 12, and Carolina, his wife, complete the family. Home is a four room apartment above an apartment which is very large.

Family 3. Jose C. earns \$1.57 as a machinist's helper. His first floor rear apartment is in poor condition. Two boys, 11 and 9, are in school.

Family 4. Amparo, a janitor, earning \$1.95 an hour, works in a factory. A girl, 21, also works, full time and there are children 15, 12, 9, 7 years in age. Together Amparo purchased a home with his brother.

Family 5. Gregorio M. earns \$2.65 an hour in a steel fabricating plant. Gregorio is the active ex-migrant. A boy, 13, a boy, 10, a girl, 9, a girl, 7, a boy, 4, and a girl, 1, complete the family with Elena. They live in a five room second floor apartment.

Family 6. Emil A., earning \$1.45 an hour, and his wife, Juanita, maintain a five room second floor home. A boy, 13, is the oldest, a girl and two boys, 6, 4, and 3 are the children of this family.

Family 7. Jesse P. live in a small three room apartment with Maria. Jesse works in a garage for \$1.50 an hour, A four year old boy and a three year old baby complete the family.

Family 8. Octavio A., factory worker, at \$2.33 an hour lives in a third floor apartment, with his wife Petra. Two children, one twelve, the other six are members of this study.

Category III

Family 1. Jose D., janitor, earns \$1.30 an hour; including an old home and other utility benefits, the Catholic Church which employs him finds him job training, housing, school direction, etc. There are two boys and a girl who work, 21, 18, for the boys, and 19, for the girl.

Family 2. Maximo F., truck driver, and his wife Emilia, live in an old farm house, There are four children, two boys, 14 and 11, and two girls, 12 and 9. Maximo earns \$1.70 an hour,

Family 3. Mateo F. , handyman, earns \$1.25 an hour. A girl 13, a boy, 8, and a four year old completes the family with Angelina, his wife. They live in a three room flat near Bensenville.

Family 4. Reuben Ch., earns \$1.50, as a garage helper. Children are fourteen, thirteen and twelve, including the oldest a girl in high school. The four rented rooms in a frame building seem very well kept. His wife is Lucinda.

Family 5. Ricardo M., earned \$1.40 an hour, before a slight recession. An oldest girl, 14, is in first year high school. Children are fourteen, ~~nine and, five year old.~~

Family 6. Juan Q. works as a machine operator. He earns \$1.63 an hour, and his wife Maria also works. The family lives in a small four room apartment.

Family 7. Jesus P., earns \$2.30 in construction. He rents a six room farm house. There are three children, 11, 7, and 4.

Family 8. Juan R. earns \$2.32 an hour as an employee in the construction industry. He lives with his family in a rented white frame house. A son, 16, works and a daughter, 5, is not yet in school.

Family 9. Rudolfo N. is a factory worker who earns \$1.57 an hour. His son, 20, and a daughter, 17, also work full time. An eight year old boy is in the second grade. The home of Rudolfo and his wife is the best of the Category III ex-migrants.

Family 10. Carmen T. works in a factory as a stockroom attendant. His pay amounts to \$1.55 per hour. His wife Jesusita takes care of a two year old son. Together they live in one of the older homes inside of the town limits of a rapidly expanding suburb.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Reverend Robert Reicher has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

February 1, 1962
Date

+ [Signature]
Signature of Adviser