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ABSTRACT

This report provides statistical data on the job patterns that prevail for Spanish Americans in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. The Southwest once represented an internal colonial empire to the United States, and the inhabitants were treated as such. Present employment patterns must be viewed in this light. The data show that Spanish Americans are greatly underrepresented in white collar occupations and the training programs for these occupations, but they are fairly well represented in craftsmen jobs and in on-the-job training programs for blue-collar occupations. The presence of a large proportion of Spanish Americans in the population does not improve whitecollar employment opportunities in a region, even for the lowest level jobs. (BH)

SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICAN EMPLOYMENT in the SOUTHWEST

Spanish Surnamed American Employment in the Southwest

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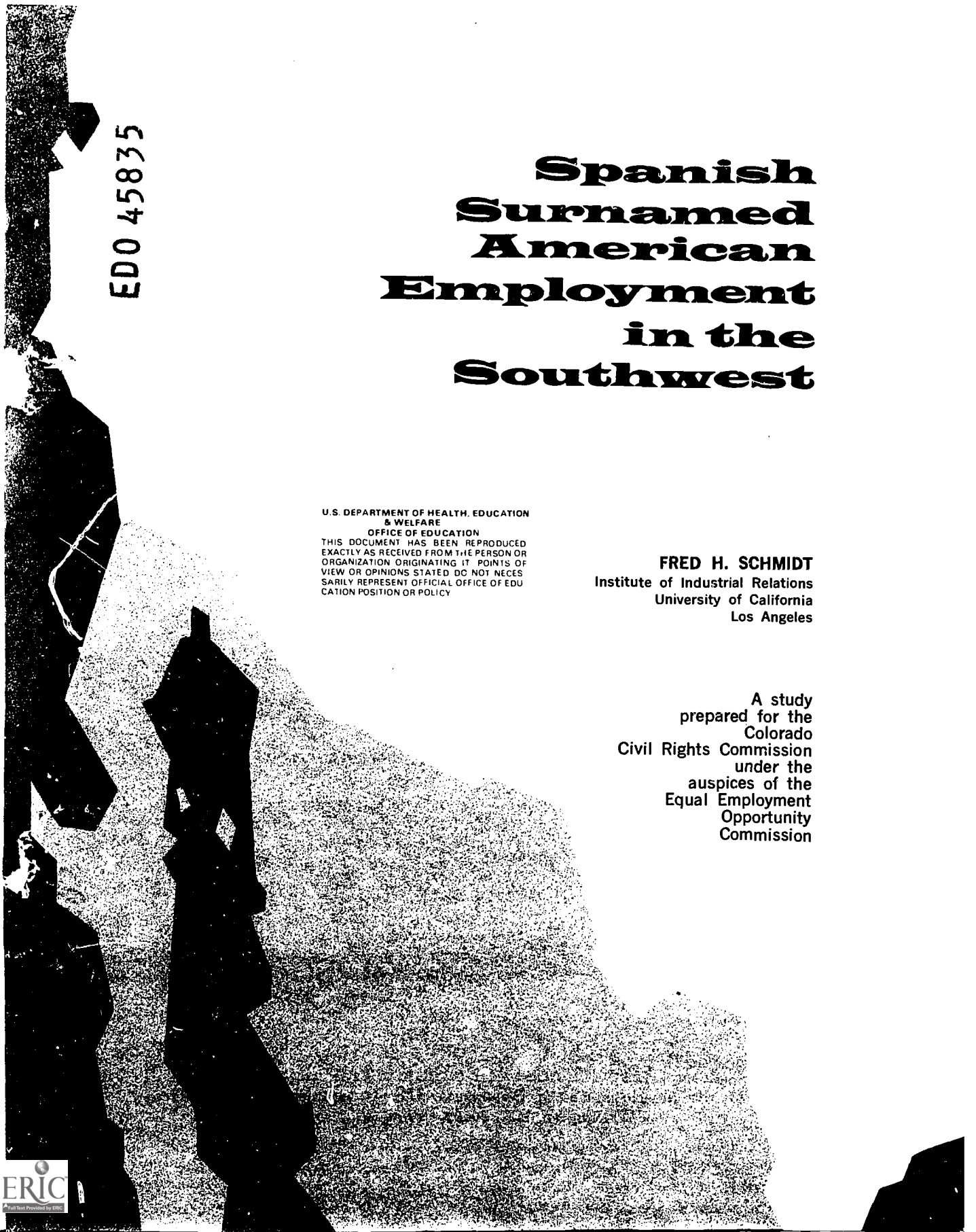
A study
prepared for the
Colorado
Civil Rights Commission
under the
auspices of the
Equal Employment
Opportunity
Commission



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Foreword

Forewords are really the last words. They come at the completion of one's work and acknowledge that the work of others went into it. Just under the expressed gratitudes lies a ruefulness for all the private burdens a possessive work places on some who are left unnamed. My open acknowledgments go to the Institute of Industrial Relations for many things, but mostly for the freedom to work; to Shirley Matthews for all her secretarial diligence; to Lester Saft for research assistance instantly available; to Daewon Kwon for programing order out of disorder; to Felicitas Hinman for editing large parts of the text; to Alan Horowitz, Susan Huxley, and Dina Lebow, each for taking some of the chores. And to Evelyn Crow of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission, Phyllis Wallace and Lafayette Grisby of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and those others on whom I have called for advice and assistance, my thanks. None of these persons or agencies need share any responsibility for this work, but they made it possible. The findings, conclusions, and recommendations, as well as any errors or inadequacies, are my own.

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Contents

Introduction

There is a large segment of our population who, because of their diverse backgrounds, cannot clearly be classified as either white or black, but who have suffered and continue to suffer crushing discrimination in employment. This is the group of Americans who share a Spanish heritage.

This study, "Spanish Surnamed American Employment in the Southwest," provides statistical information on the job patterns that prevail for this minority group in the southwestern part of the United States where they are most heavily settled. The report demonstrates again and again that, in the region studied, Spanish Surnamed Americans are underrepresented and underutilized in the labor force.

Equally significant, the report addresses itself to the historical background of Spanish Surnamed Americans in the Southwest, giving information which can provide new insights into how and why the discriminatory job patterns have evolved.

This study presents the picture as it is—and as it will remain unless all organizations who participate in, or can influence, the employment process use the data to pinpoint the problems and develop appropriate solutions.

WILLIAM H. BROWN, III
Chairman,
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Summary of Findings

1. Despite their being the Nation's second largest minority, Spanish Surnamed Americans have received scant attention in national affairs and are regarded as a regional phenomenon, rather than a national one. This comes partly from the one-sided treatment given the Southwest by U.S. historians.

2. Throughout the Southwest, among companies reporting to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, a general stairstep employment pattern for minority workers shows that their portion of the available jobs in an occupation descends as the occupational hierarchy ascends. They have a share of service, laborer, and operative jobs that is far in excess of their share in the labor force. In craftsmen jobs they approximate parity with the percentage they have in the labor force, but in all the other occupations they fall far below that level.

3. Their share of available jobs descends steeply once the line separating white-collar from blue-collar jobs is crossed. There is evidence of a job caste that walls off white-collar jobs from minority workers, and this wall is stouter against Spanish Surnameds in areas where their numbers in the population are proportionately greater, as it is for Negroes in those areas where they are a more prominent part of the population.

4. The presence of large minority groups in a local population does not appear as a factor that facilitates minority workers gaining white-collar positions. This holds true in even the lowest-skilled white-collar jobs for clerical and sales work, and is even true in the consumer-oriented industries.

5. The pattern of minority employment appears to be better for each minority group among employers who do not do contract work for the government than it is among prime contractors who have agreed to nondiscrimination clauses in their contracts with the Federal government.

6. Spanish Surnameds are greatly underrepresented in on-the-job training programs for white-collar jobs while being overrepresented in those for blue-collar jobs, indicating that they may become even more characterized as a blue-collar work force in the future.

7. The pattern of minority employment is better among employers who have arrangements with labor unions that affect to some extent whom they may hire than it is among those who do not have such arrangements.

8. There is some indication that the advancement of Spanish Surnameds into occupations and industries heretofore reserved for the employment of Anglos seems to facilitate the entry of other minorities into those occupations and industries.

9. Spanish Surnameds, as are other Southwestern minorities, are an immensely diverse group, but there are certain common features about the patterns of their employment throughout the region. In areas where they are a sizable part of local populations, they long have been regarded as casual, incidental workers, or as factory hands available for the laborer, service, and operative jobs in the generally lower paying industries that arose in those areas. Today, they do better than other minority workers in gaining skilled craftsmen jobs.

10. The place of Spanish Surnameds in the Southwest cannot be understood without a knowledge of how that region came to be joined to the Nation and the colonial attitudes that prevailed there toward all racial and ethnic minorities thereafter.

11. The Southwest has the most cosmopolitan population in the United States, over one-fifth of which belongs to easily identified minorities. All of these minority groups have experienced the segregation, discrimination, restriction of civil rights, and limited opportunities that are commonly known to be the lot of Negroes in this region and elsewhere.

12. These experiences provide further insight into the significance of racism, showing that racist attitudes cannot be dismissed as a consequence of a long-dead institution of slavery.

13. The shadows from past events in the lives of Indians, Spanish Surnameds, Orientals, and Negroes extend into the present and can be seen in the socioeconomic characteristics of these groups today.

14. The 3½ million Spanish Surnameds in the Southwest are its largest minority, many of whom have extraordinary rates of birth and death, poverty, subemployment, poor health, poor education, poor housing, and limited employment opportunities. Notwithstand-

ing, they have shown the same desire as others to be participants in the region's labor force.

15. The economic problems of Spanish Surnameds are exacerbated by the policies of the U.S. Government with respect to immigration and the contracting and commuting of workers from Mexico. No other region contends with these problems on a similar scale. No other group in the population is placed in the same continuing competition with the poverty of another nation.

A Difference Without a Distinction

This is a study of members of the second oldest, second largest minority in the United States. It is a study of an ethnic minority—one that has been called "The Invisible Minority."

Its members are of one race and one religion with the country's majority. They are white, Caucasian; they are Christian. They descend from Europeans, the very first to settle on this continent and on the land of this country. Their forebears outdistanced other Europeans in bringing a culture stemming from the Greeks and the Romans to most parts of the hemisphere—indeed, to a major part of what is now the contiguous United States. As a minority they stand second in number only to the descendants of those African blacks who were brought to this land along with that culture.

This ethnic group has no proper name, none that is universally accepted or descriptive. This is the first problem: What designation is adequate for those who have descended from or shared a common culture with Columbus, Ponce de Leon, Cortez, and all the men of Spain who followed them?

The question is a prickly one, for in contrast to English-speaking settlers who drove Indian groups into 300 years of retreat, the Spanish often mingled with and joined the indigenous populations into their society. The multifarious people who issued from this joining cannot now be distinguished by the usual designations of race, creed, color, or national origin. To the contrary, their distinction is that no one of these, nor all of them, suffices to describe their distinctiveness.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which has generated this study, has itself had nettlesome encounters that have arisen from the felt distinctiveness of this minority. The Commission was early charged with being insensitive toward this group. It was charged with having a prepossession for those black and white terms which are most often used to picture our riven population, but which tell nothing of this minority. The argument ran that any Commission plans to balance the rights of broad groups of whites and nonwhites would leave unredressed those grievous imbalances that persist among groups of whites. The statistics of black and white did not disclose the presence, much less the problems, of distinct people who for statistical purposes were subsumed into the predominant body of whites. The statistical convenience of a white-nonwhite division of the population concealed more than it revealed. So ran the argument.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, which created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, is not insensitive toward any of the country's minorities. The Commission acting under title VII of that act has broad authority to gather data on employment patterns and practices and to promote research of these. It has asked that this study analyze the employment patterns of "Spanish-speaking Americans" in the Southwest.

The phrase "Spanish-speaking Americans" is but one of the several ways in which allusions are made to the minority group under study. It is not definitive, and is perhaps a careless phrase in this context. It differs from the designation of "Spanish Surnamed American" which the Commission uses on the report forms (Standard Form 100, EEO-1) that it sends to employers for their use in reporting the number of their minority group employees. This form defines Spanish Surnamed Americans as those of Latin American, Mexican, Puerto Rican or Spanish origin. Obviously, the fact of such origin when stretched by the passage of generations does not assure that the subjects are indeed Spanish-speaking.

The employer reports are the source of much of the data used hereafter. The designations and the definitions supplied by the Commission and the interpretations employers have made of them must be accepted. However, it is readily apparent that a great confusion of tongues exists on this subject.

The Bureau of the Census has for four decades reflected the country's confusion and indecision in trying to gain an awareness of its Spanish Surnamed population. Over the years the Census has given much statistical attention to the country's Negro population. This began with the original Constitutional requirement that those "other Persons," those enslaved, should count as three-fifths of a person in determining a State's representation in Congress. But only since 1930 has the Census endeavored to identify and count those designated here as Spanish Surnameds. And only since 1950 has the Census Bureau settled on its own designation for members of this ethnic group. For the last two

census periods, data have become available on the characteristics of those persons the Census styles as "white persons of Spanish surname," but these data have been published for only five States. The five States of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas are where most of the Spanish surnamed reside, and they constitute the Southwest, the region to which this study is limited.

The past indecision of the Bureau of the Census underscores the general obscurity that surrounds this ethnic group and the lack of attention it has received in our national affairs. In the 1930 Census of Population, the Bureau sought a count of "Mexicans." A "Mexican" was defined as any person of Mexican origin whether or not he was Caucasian, Negro, Indian, or Japanese. This had interesting results. For instance, it found only 59,340 "Mexicans" in the entire State of New Mexico. A decade later the question asked by the Census enumerator was changed to inquire whether a person had Spanish for a mother tongue. There had been no influx of Spanish-speaking persons into New Mexico during that depression decade, yet in 1940 the Bureau found 221,740 persons, almost a fourfold increase, who responded yes, that Spanish was their mother tongue. The gross undercount in 1930 perhaps was occasioned by the sensitivity of people who objected to the inference of alien origins while knowing that their own State capital, around which they and their forebears had long resided, had been a territorial capital more than 10 years before the English arrived at Jamestown.

The Bureau's confusion of 1930 and 1940 has not disappeared in these subsequent years. The prefatory "Definitions and Explanations" for the last census in 1960 passes from one descriptive name to another in efforts to explain the Bureau's uncertain view of this group. It speaks of "Spanish-American," "Spanish-Colonial," "Hispano group," "Mexican American," and "Mexican-American," with hyphen added. Despairing of the adequacy of any of these, the Census has in the last two censuses settled on the identification of persons of Spanish surname. The determination of what is considered a Spanish surname is made essentially from a listing compiled in 1936 by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The Bureau states, "This classification does identify a population with distinctive social and economic characteristics highly correlated with certain national origins." [1]

The terms "Spanish-speaking American," "Spanish-American," or "Spanish Surnamed" are taken as synonymous for purposes of this study. In the Southwest all of them have currency, but in that region, many other terms could be substituted for them: "Latins," "Latin-Americans," "Hispano-Mexicans," "Mexicanos," "Mexican-Americans," and others that are purely local colloquialisms. What is considered an adopted and appropriate term in one area may be offensive in another. The extreme sensitivity of slotting people who range, ethnically, from Indian to unmixed Spanish ancestry is apparent. This explains part of the problem of giving this group a statistical existence. Their heterogeneity and their homogeneity is hereafter embraced with the phrase "Spanish Surnamed American." It is a phrase that has gained an official usage and in no way is intended to suggest any judgment of qualified citizenship.

[1] U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Final Report PC (2)–1B, p. VIII.

Yet, No Stereotype

Strangely, American ethnocentrism never developed a very firm stereotype of its Spanish Surnamed minority. The reasons for this would be a study in itself. Stereotypes and caricatures become part of our folkways to represent those peculiarities of a group that the majority believes exist, no matter how false or exaggerated these might be. The American stage long ago conventionalized the caricature of virtually every immigrant group, usually in comic proportions. Harold E. Adams, in his study of minority caricatures, recounts how in the variety halls, dime museums, beer gardens, and burlesque shows early images were shaped of the American Negro, Irish, German, Jew, Italian, even Chinese, but he does not even mention the Mexican or the Spanish.[1]

These early caricatures were designed to reveal the strangeness of language and custom of each group as it tried to fit into the national scene. Why was the Spanish Surnamed spared until relatively recent years? Perhaps because he was too far from the scene. He lived too far from the eastern cities which for so long were the major cultural centers of the Nation. He was unimportant, if not nonexistent, to the audiences in those cities. He appeared only in the regional literature of the Southwest, hardly ever in that of the Nation.

The literature of the Southwest concerned itself chiefly with the epic tales of men and women of great courage who peopled a hostile land—men and women from the Eastern States. Their fortitude and heroism, which were indeed of epic proportions, need not be taken from them, but it should be recognized that those who wrote in English were themselves the heirs of their fathers' work, and they wrote their fathers' history in terms that made it into America's version of the morality play—the Western.

The history that was written does not tell how things appeared to those who resisted or were supplanted by the settlers from the East, for those people wrote very little while retreating, and seldom in English. To this day, one searches almost in vain for Spanish surnames in the listings of writers, authors, and journalists from the Southwest who are entered in "Who's Who In America." The one-sidedness of the region's literature can be judged from the contrast between literary works that were of interest to the nation's publishing houses and what has survived in the ballads and narrative folksongs, the *corridos,* of this border country. These last tell the views of those who were dealt with as intruders in the very land in which they were born.[2]

Then, of course, it should be added that the Spanish Surnameds could easily escape national attention simply because of their residing in only one region of the country, a region so long considered remote from the Nation. Only in recent decades have Spanish Surnameds ventured out of the Southwest in any numbers, but they attracted little attention when they did so. Paul Taylor, an economist whose compassion for people equals his great scholarship, was almost alone in giving them attention. He spent years recording the movements and fates of America's Spanish-speaking minority wherever they went.[3] Over 35 years ago he began tracking them as if they were the lost tribes of Israel. When numbers of them left the Southwest to venture to "foreign" parts such as Bethlehem, Chicago, and the Calumet region—places then also remote to the cultural centers of the country—he followed them and wrote chronicles about their problems. But Paul Taylor's scholarly work on "Mexican" laborers was not the fare given Sunday supplement readers so that images of them might take shape and gain a substance which could then affect our national policies. Any national awareness of the Spanish Surnamed was limited to regarding him as strictly a regional phenomenon, perhaps a passing one.

These observations may suggest some of the reasons for the Nation's unawareness of the Spanish Surnameds within its population, but they do not account for the attitudes that have and do prevail toward them in the Southwest. In that region, other explanations must be found. The majority of persons in the Southwest have always been quite aware of the presence of the Spanish Surnamed. Not infrequently that majority has dealt with him in ways that most of the Nation might now wish to disavow. But, of course, history cannot be disavowed. It stands as it was lived. Therefore, it becomes essential that this study include a review of parts of

[1] Harold E. Adams, "Minority Caricatures on the American Stage," in *Studies in the Science of Society,* edited by George Peter Murdock, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1937, pp. 1–27.

[2] Americo Paredes, *"With a Pistol in His Hand,"* University of Texas Press, Austin, 1958, 262 pp.

[3] Paul S. Taylor, "Mexican Labor in the United States," vols. I and II, in University of California Publications in Economics, vols. VI and VII, Berkeley, Calif., 1928–30 and 1931–32.

that history. The societal forms that have developed and the attitudes that prevail toward the Spanish Surnamed in the Southwest cannot be understood apart from the events that brought these people into the country.

Those events are reviewed in the latter sections of this inquiry. The requirements of contractual research have dictated this order. The calibration of existing employment problems is first sought, then the search for their roots.

The sections next following are statistical accounts of various aspects of present employment patterns. Taken alone they provide but a dim understanding of those pervasive notions that complicate and restrict the employment opportunities of Spanish Surnameds. They are an uncertain guide to corrective action, because the employment problems of Spanish Surnameds can scarcely be dealt with, nor are they likely to be dealt with in any important sense, without some feeling —and precisely that—for the historical sequence that brings them before the Nation now.

For this reason there is one conclusion drawn from the region's history that must be laid out in advance of the statistics. Simply put, it is that the Southwest once represented an internal colonial empire to the United States. Those persons who first peopled the region, as well as their kinsmen who subsequently arrived, were generally regarded as colonial subjects and were dealt with as such. Their present employment problems can no more be understood apart from this acknowledgment than can the parallel problems of Negroes be made explicable apart from an acknowledgment of their former enslavement. The argument for this view is made in the sections devoted to the region's history.

The Employment of Spanish Surnamed Americans in the Southwest

Spanish Surnameds must be considered both as a native group and an immigrant group. Some have speculated that much of the reason for their lack of assimilation within the general population is their dual identity of being both native and foreign. Even the native part of the group had its own well-defined institutions and folk values when first thrust into contact with Anglo society, a society which placed heavy emphasis on industrial achievement, activity, and efficiency. It is argued that the different institutions and values of the Spanish Surnameds "have since been continually reinforced by a seemingly endless stream of immigrant and alien laborers from Mexico." [1]

If this summary observation is valid (though it seems too undifferentiating of a very diverse people), it is probable that the incompleted processes of assimilation are in part a consequence of the employment opportunities that the region has had for members of this group. If their institutions and folk values of an earlier time are steadily being fortified by infusions from areas of Mexico which have not adopted the institutions and values of an industrial society, then the nature of their work opportunities in this country must be considered as a factor that has slowed the assimilation process. Certainly, work opportunities determine the character of the immigrant more than the immigrant can determine the nature of the offered work.

In the Southwest, as will be shown, the Spanish Surnameds have largely stood by to provide the unskilled labor for the region. And Mexico has always been the ever present, ever available reservoir from which that pool of unskilled workers has been kept brimming. So it has been since there has been a Southwest. In agriculture, ranching, and mining, the earliest industries of the region, these were the people who served as laborers. As crops needed cultivation or harvest, these were the main body of field hands doing the chopping, thinning, and picking—moving like gypsies to get this work. When the railroads were laid, these were the section hands, and they serve them today as maintenance-of-ways workers. When irrigation works spread over the region, these were the ditchers and irrigators; when fruits and vegetables needed sorting and packing, these were the people who manned the canning plants and packing sheds; when smelters were built, they handled the ore; when construction boomed, they were the hod carriers and common laborers.

There is a difference in these kinds of work activities and those available to the great waves of immigrants who entered the country on the eastern seaboard. The industrial jobs that once were open to the immigrants from Europe by and large were of a different type and definitely in a more promising work environment. The immigrants to the Eastern United States entered a more industrialized and urbanized area, which could offer them a wider range of job opportunities than could the once largely agricultural and rurally situated industries of the Southwest. Mainly, it offered them more than the pick and shovel which they once used for digging the subways and storm sewers, laying the water mains, or cleaning the snow off city streets. Although many immigrants in the East entered the mines or miserable factory jobs, they at least soon found it possible to form unions and to improve their status in their jobs through collective actions.

This possibility is still largely unavailable to those Spanish Surnameds who even today, as will be shown, must compete with foreign nationals for their jobs.[2] Whereas the great body of American workers have long been relieved of a direct competition with foreign

[1] Julian Samora, "Spanish-Speaking Peoples," staff paper, prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Programs Division, Washington, D.C., Feb. 5, 1964, pp. 8 and 53.

[2] In 1965, union membership as a percent of employees in nonagricultural establishments was below the 29.5 percent U.S. average in all states of the Southwest, except California, where it was 33.8. Percentages for the other states were: Texas—13.3; New Mexico—13.4; Arizona—20.8; Colorado—21.6. These percentages contrast sharply with New York's 39.4; Pennsylvania's 38.4; New Jersey's 37.7; or West Virginia's 42.0.

See U.S. Dept. of Labor, *Directory of National and International Unions in the United States,* 1965. Washington, D.C., 1966, p. 58.

workers whose entry once hindered their efforts to structure labor markets in their own interest and to enhance the premiums paid for their work, this has yet to occur for the Spanish Surnamed workers. Government intervention to protect domestic workers has not extended to these workers of the Southwest. This is an historical anachronism, a governmental indifference more typical of the last century than the present one.

This situation is examined in a following section but can be illustrated here with a reference to those agricultural workers who, at this writing, have been on strike against California grape growers for over two years. The chief complaint of these workers has been lodged against the U.S. Government for permitting foreign nationals to work the crops which they have struck. And the present sharp conflict on this issue between the Department of Labor on one hand and the Department of Justice on the other makes it clear that this complaint cannot be tucked away without eventually reconciling its disposition with that of similar union complaints of almost a century ago.

Spanish Surnameds have long been regarded as casual, incidental workers. Never until now has there been a governmental concern that they should be much more than that. In the past, after the big waves of immigrations from Mexico from 1910 to 1930, even the job opportunities that had existed for Spanish Surnameds diminished, and the tide of entering workers was stemmed, and in some instances flowed back to Mexico while the depression punished the land. During the 1930's when new industries arose, such as the petroleum industry, the Spanish Surnameds gained only insignificant positions in it. And their representation there today has not been much improved. In the instance of this industry, little can be said about minorities being unaccepted because of their lack of training, for the Anglo Texas farm boys who entered the new oil fields as "boll weevils and roughnecks" were not trained either. They acquired their training on the job, relatively good jobs, jobs which later sustained them in the oil production fields, refineries, and pipeline operations throughout all the booms that accelerated the growth of that industry.

What happened in petroleum happened in the new metal fabricating, transportation, and other manufacturing industries that burgeoned in the region during and after World War II. The Spanish Surnameds and other minorities had only inconsequential roles in the building of these new industries. By and large, they were left with the laborer jobs in mining, smelting, or the low-paid operative jobs in the garment trades, textiles, and similar industries. The analysis that follows will show their job situations in contemporary terms.

This study is concerned primarily with how the labor market in the Southwest functions for over a million Spanish Surnameds who have a job there, or say that they wish for one. In 1960 there were 1,003,423 persons in this group who were over 14 years old and had succeeded in getting employment Of that number, 736,768 were males, and 266,65. were females. The labor force participation figures, the unemployment rates, the subemployment rates, and the relatively low incomes that prevail for Spanish Surnameds suggest that there is an undetermined number of others who might wish to join this employed labor force.

A close and recent look can be taken only at that part of this labor force working for employers covered by the reporting requirements of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and who responded to those requirements. In some cases, the information supplied in the employer reports can be supplemented or amplified from census data. This is fortunate because the employment coverage of the reports to the Commission falls short of including a majority of the jobs in the region.

The Pattern: Twenty Counties

The major employment counties in the Southwest in which Spanish Surnameds represent a substantial part of the population are shown in appendix table C. These counties a.e also listed in table 1, which shows total employment figures in each county according to the Bureau of the Census' "County Business Patterns" as of mid-March, 1966, a time contemporary to the period when the Commission was gathering its EEO–1 reports. (See app. A for a description of the data.) Also shown in this table are the number of employees accounted for in each county by the EEO–1 reports and the percentage these represented of total employment given in "County Business Patterns." In only one instance, that of Denver County, Colo., did the EEO–1 reports account for over one-half of the total county nonagricultural employment. For over one-half the counties the coverage of the reports was less than 38.0 percent, and it ranged as low as 13.6 percent in one county.

The range of the Commission's potential effectiveness may be more limited in the counties of the Southwest than is the case countrywide. An earlier study prepared for the Commission at Princeton University [3] found that the absolute amount of reported employment in the EEO–1 Reports for 1966 at the national level represented about one-half of the total employment shown in the census. The jurisdiction of the Commission has, of course, been expanded since 1966; but it began its functions in the Southwest with a jurisdiction over only a minority of the employment situations; at least this was the case in the listed counties.

[3] Orley Ashenfelter, "Minority Employment Patterns, 1966," Princeton University, April, 1968, 73 pp., plus tables, an unpublished analysis of employer information reports prepared for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

TABLE 1.—Employment coverage of EEOC reports and County Business Patterns for selected counties, Southwest: 1966

County	Total employment		EEOC as a percent of County Business Patterns
	County Business Patterns [1]	EEOC [2]	
ARIZONA:			
Maricopa	206,719	91,418	44.2
Pima	59,375	26,649	44.8
CALIFORNIA:			
Los Angeles	2,225,641	1,035,496	46.5
Orange	259,085	118,452	45.7
San Bernardino	103,361	35,934	34.7
San Joaquin	51,997	19,789	38.0
Santa Clara	234,920	115,820	49.3
COLORADO:			
Denver	213,039	114,424	53.7
Pueblo	24,263	11,761	48.4
NEW MEXICO:			
Bernalillo	69,198	29,814	43.0
Dona Ana	8,803	2,762	31.3
Santa Fe	9,072	1,349	14.8
TEXAS:			
Bexar	148,806	55,381	37.2
Cameron	24,342	7,162	29.4
El Paso	68,797	29,845	43.3
Hidalgo	22,486	3,623	16.1
Jim Wells	5,467	748	13.6
Nueces	53,872	17,051	31.6
Travis	53,717	14,615	27.2
Webb	11,309	1,933	17.0

Data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.
[1] Number of employees, mid-March pay period.
[2] EEOC data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, County Business Patterns, 1966, CBP-66-4, 6, 7, 33, 45.

Any detailed examination of employment patterns in a wide range of occupations, industries, and locations is tedious. The numbers assembled in the employer reports, which define these patterns, make such a vast array, they dull the senses. Finding those situations that might be of concern to fair employment practices agencies requires that these, too, be statistically presented.

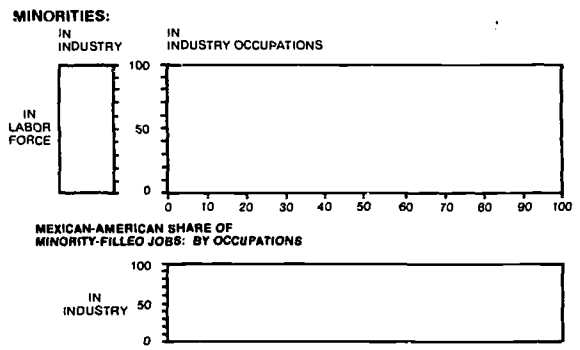
This is unfortunate. Statistics activate the senses of only those who are familiar with their use, and attaining the goals of equal employment opportunities may require a more vivid language, one that moves those who are unmoved by regression and correlation coefficients, "t" ratios, frequency curves, and the like.

A layman not attuned to the symbols of the statistician may find it difficult judging relative sizes and significances from them. Yet, all people make visual judgments of what they regard as big or little. They know what to them is a big horse, for instance, though they have not the faintest idea how many hands high it stands or how many stones it weighs. Their judgment is a visual one; it does not depend on knowledge of sophisticated weights and measures.

Perhaps this is why Herman P. Miller, although being a statistician's statistician for over 17 years with the U.S. Bureau of the Census, made profuse use of cartoons drawn to scale to show differences in income distributions when he wrote "Rich Man/Poor Man." [4] Obviously, he was endeavoring to reach those who were not statisticians—the same modest hope held for the present study.

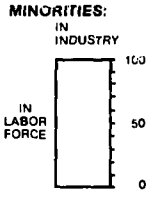
The computer tabulations of the data supplied by employers on the EEO–1 report forms are voluminous, filling many hundreds of pages. How this information can be presented in a graphic manner so as to be meaningful to the statistically-minded and yet convey to others the patterns of minority employment as they exist in the Southwest is one of the problems of this study. A device developed to do this is described in this section and is extensively used in appendix H, in which the employment patterns for selected industries and counties are shown.

A set of basic diagrams has been constructed to do what a draftsman's drawing does in making a blueprint of an object—to set to paper a scale drawing of the object from at least three perspectives: the end view, the side view, and the top or bottom view. The first rectangle is the end view, showing the level of minority employment among all employees in an industry (or all industries). The second rectangle shows minority employees as they are distributed in occupations throughout the industry (or all industries). The last, or bottom, rectangle shows how minority employment is distributed in occupations as seen from the perspective of the Spanish Surnamed—their share of the minority-held jobs. The basic set of diagrams are drawn within these three rectangles:



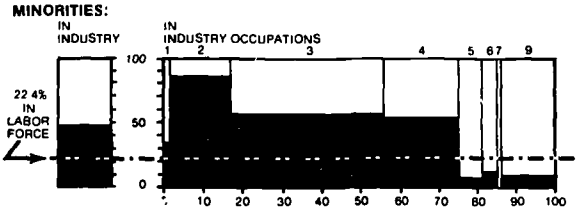
The smallest rectangle represents a receptacle containing all the employees in an industry (or, in all industries combined). Using the O–100 scale alongside of it, the percentage of total jobs held by employees from minority groups can be shown by shading part of the rectangle:

[4] Herman P. Miller, "Rich Man/Poor Man," Signet Books, The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., New York, 1965.



The significance of this minority employment level can be judged by comparing it first to the percentage represented by all minority persons in the total civilian labor force of the county (or other area) in which the industry, or industries, are located. This percentage, taken from the 1960 census, is depicted by drawing a centerline across the smallest and largest rectangles: In the example, the level of minority employment given in the EEO–1 reports can be read as approximately 19 percent, a level below the 20.7 percent representation they had in the civilian labor force shown by the census.

The largest rectangle is then divided into sections, each section representing the exact proportion of all employees shown by the EEO–1 reports as working in nine occupations in the industry:



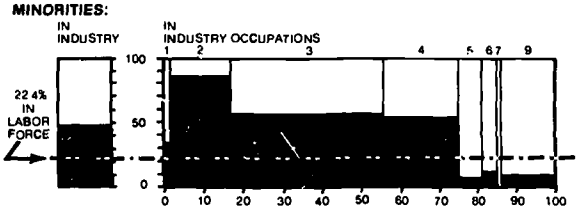
The nine occupations are numbered according to this code:

OCCUPATIONS CODE:

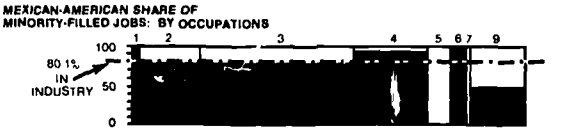
BLUE COLLAR:
1. SERVICE WORKERS
2. LABORERS (UNSKILLED)
3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

WHITE COLLAR:
5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

The exact percentage of minority employees in each occupational category, which is identified by nu. aber from the above code, is then approximated by the shaded areas in the diagram:



The bottom rectangle in the set is designed to show according to EEO–1 reports the percentage of all minority-filled jobs in the occupational categories that were filled by Mexican-Americans (read Spanish Surnameds).



The centerline drawn across this rectangle represents the percentage of all minority employees in the industry who are Spanish Surnameds. Thus, the completed diagram indicates the level of minority employment, how it was distributed among occupations, how it compares to their representation in the civilian labor force, the Spanish Surnamed share of minority-filled jobs by occupation, and how this compares with their proportion of all minority-filled jobs in the industry. The last line of type gives the percentage of Spanish Surnameds among all minorities in the labor force. This can be used for comparison with their share of minority-filled jobs in a particular industry.

The presumption is made here that if there were no such thing as a taste for discrimination and no differences in the relative abilities, job preferences, mobility, training, and education of persons identified with any racial or ethnic group—indeed, that if all jobs were randomly filled—then, as the statisticians assure us, there should be no deviations for members of a particular group being selected and distributed in all occupations and industries in the same proportion that they represent in the universe of people involved. If this is not the case, then other factors are affecting the selection process.

A final feature is added to the set of diagrams to indicate the extent of employment growth in the industry (or industries). This shows the extent to which the industry in question is one of the expanding industries in the area, and hence due priority consideration in efforts to revise overall employment patterns where such might seem appropriate.

A cautionary word should be said about these employment growth figures. Those shown on the diagrams are based on the 1950–60 census period. In many cases there are more recent figures available from the Bureau of the Census' "County Business Patterns." These last are not always comparable to census figures, and the division they make of industries into named categories do not always match those of the census, nor do either of these sources exactly match the divisions the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission had made of the data from the employer reports. An explanation of these difficulties and how industries were selected for diagraming is offered in appendix D, which contains a table comparing employment data by county and by industry from the census for 1950–60 with that from "County Business Patterns" for 1956–66. Use of this table will facilitate the use made of the employment pattern diagrams. Also, in appendix E, a table is given to make it possible to compare and reconcile how the Standard Industrial Classification Code (SIC)

was used by all three sources to define the industrial headings.

No. EPD-1.—DRAWING SEQUENCE: ALL INDUSTRIES—Twenty Spanish Surnamed counties: Southwest

	Item	Figure		
1	Percent growth in industry (growth patterns) 1950–60[1]			34.9
2	Employment level 1950	2,810,192		
3	Employment level 1960	1,511,810	4,322,002	
4	Minority level in industry (EEO) (percent)			19.0
	Occupational distribution of labor force in industry (accumulative):	Percent	Percent	Code
5	Service workers	8.1	8.1	(1)
6	Laborers	7.3	15.4	(2)
7	Operatives	18.9	34.3	(3)
8	Craftsmen	14.6	48.9	(4)
9	Office and clerical	18.0	66.9	(5)
10	Salesworkers	7.1	74.0	(6)
11	Technicians	6.1	80.1	(7)
12	Professionals	11.2	91.3	(8)
13	Officials and managers	8.3	99.6	(9)
	Minority level in occupations:			
14	Service workers		34.7	(1)
15	Laborers		48.4	(2)
16	Operatives		30.8	(3)
17	Craftsmen		18.1	(4)
18	Office and clerical		11.2	(5)
19	Salesworkers		9.0	(6)
20	Technicians		11.5	(7)
21	Professionals		5.7	(8)
22	Officials and managers		5.0	(9)
23	Minority level in total labor force in county (census)		20.7	
	SSA share of minority filled jobs by occupations:			
24	Service workers		46.9	(1)
25	Laborers		71.6	(2)
26	Operatives		68.5	(3)
27	Craftsmen		74.5	(4)
28	Office and clerical		58.9	(5)
29	Salesworkers		72.2	(6)
30	Technicians		45.2	(7)
31	Professionals		35.0	(8)
32	Officials and managers		58.0	(9)
33	SSA share of all minority filled jobs in industry		63.6	
34	Share of minority labor force		64.1	

[1] Santa Fe County excluded from growth figures only.

The completed diagram, which will be called an employment pattern diagram (EP diagram), is shown below, followed by the worksheet from which it was produced. EP diagram 1 is for all industries combined in the 20 selected counties in the five states. The counties were selected on the basis of their being those more populous counties in the region that have a high number of Spanish Surnameds. Appendix table C gives the percentage of their population that is Spanish Surnamed.

The pattern of minority employment for all companies submitting EEO–1 reports in 1966 in the 20 counties is shown (see app. A for a description of data contained in the EEO–1 reports). The employer reports from these 20 counties covered 58.1 percent of the Spanish Surnamed employees in the region that were accounted for in all of the employer reports. All minorities (Spanish Surnameds, Negroes, Indians, and Orientals), constituted 20.7 percent of the civilian labor force in these counties. However, they were only 19.0 percent of the work force in the reporting companies.

There is a deficiency in this comparison—the labor force figure is based on 1960 census data while the work force figure derives from the 1966 EEO–1 reports. Because overall employment in these counties grew during that 6-year period, it is possible that some change occurred in the percentage of the labor force that was composed of members of minority groups. There is no way, short of the next census, to determine the exact extent of any such change, but it is not believed that it would have been a significant amount during the 6 years. It is probable that any tendency for minority groups to gain greater representation in the labor force by virtue of their higher birth rates or immigration, is offset by the continuing immigration of Anglos into these counties.

Whatever the case, minority employees in 1966 had slightly less of a share of the jobs in the reporting companies than they represented in the total labor force of these counties in 1960. By the same standard, it is seen that they were overrepresented in three occupational categories and underrepresented in six. They were overrepresented, but in no case dominated, in the categories of service workers, laborers, and operatives. In the craftsmen jobs and in all of the white-collar jobs they were underrepresented. The degree of this underrepresentation generally increases as the occupational hierachy advances. There is a stair-step pattern in the employment of minority workers that reveals that their share of jobs descends as the job hierarchy ascends. It is a pattern, as will be shown, that is repeated industry by industry, county by county, with but few exceptions.

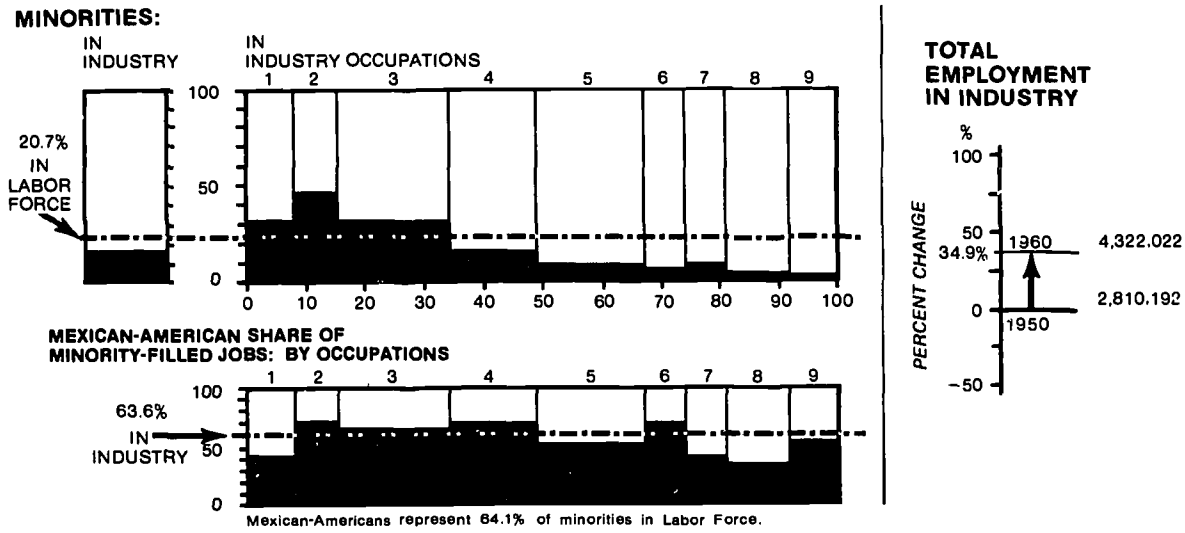
No claim is made that the order of occupations shown in the chart depicts a consistent hierachy of the status or preferability of jobs, going from lowest to highest. There are too many exceptions, and the jobs contained in the categories are too crudely grouped for that purpose. The categories are those utilized by the Bureau of the Census, which assigns jobs to one or the other according to its Classified Index of Occupations and Industries. The index introduces aberrations in any view of these occupational categories as an exact hierarchy. The service workers category provides an example. Those who are classified as service workers by the census include persons who work as messenger boys as well as detectives; they may be parking attendants or vocational nurses.[5] Whether the category should

[5] The Bureau of the Census lists service workers in the highest decile of occupations for the dispersion (deviation from the average) of their wage and salary incomes. See Herman P. Miller, *Income Distribution in the United States*, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1966.

TWENTY MEXICAN-AMERICAN COUNTIES; FIVE STATES

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ALL INDUSTRIES



be regarded as a beginning step in a scale of jobs will often depend on the nature of the industry under consideration. When all industries are being considered, as here, the classification is a Mother Hubbard, covering too wide a diversity.

Also concerning the job scale, it is recognized that a great many blue-collar jobs offer much better income prospects and enjoy higher social status than a great many white-collar jobs. The Chi-Square tests made of these data in a later section serve to refine these concepts. For the moment, it can be seen from the diagram that slightly less than one-half of all the reported jobs are considered blue-collar. Looking at the blocks of blue-collar and white-collar occupations separately, minorities have a generally declining representation moving from left to right on this scale.

An interesting feature about this allocation of workers is that minorities have a considerably higher representation in the highest skilled blue-collar craftsmen jobs than they have in the least skilled white-collar jobs of clerical, office and sales workers, which make up about one-half of all white-collar jobs. Thus, at the outset, any disposition to account for the low representation of minorities in white-collar occupations solely as a result of some skill gap between their groups and the Anglo population is rendered suspect.

Even though the existence of a skill gap between the groups is acknowledged, as it can be when these two population groups are viewed as undiversified entities, the fact remains that the skills of minority workers were sufficient to gain close to the same proportion of the highest skilled blue-collar jobs as they had in the total work forces of these companies. Yet, they did not come near to that proportion in the lowest-skilled white-collar jobs.

Thus, a wall separating white-collar from blue-collar occupations emerges early in the analysis. To what extent does it arise from the skill requirements of the white-collar jobs, and to what extent is it erected as a matter of taste by those standing to the right of the wall?

Herbert R. Northrup has suggested the hypothesis that companies headed by individuals of minority ethnic stock are more likely to have initiated programs sympathetic to bringing greater minority representation into the jobs under them.[6] His suggestion implies that the presence of minorities in category 9 will result in a higher level of minorities in categories 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. The pattern of employment in this diagram suggests a different hypothesis: That the flow of influence goes in the other direction, so that any breaching by minorities of the wall between occupational categories 4 and 5 tends to raise their level in all the higher categories, including 9.

The question is an important one and will be taken up again. Its importance comes partly from the fact that efforts to improve minority employment opportunities have given it slight consideration while emphasizing two other goals: The need to batter down formal

[6] Herbert R. Northrup, "The Racial Policies of American Industry," *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 90, No. 7, July 1967, p. 42.

institutional barriers around some skilled trades (e.g., union apprenticeship arrangements, exclusionary hiring halls, and the like), and the need to upgrade minority skills and education so that more minority members will find employment as technicians, professionals, officials, and managers.

This study will explore the proposition that because of priorities given to those two goals, a great middle ground of potential employment opportunities may be neglected, the entry to which is largely ungoverned by any formal (i.e., legal) institutional barriers, and for which it is implausible to argue that the skill and education requirements exceed those that prevail in the skilled craftsmen occupations where minorities have already gained a much higher representation. The question is, what supports the wall separating category 4 from categories 5 and 6?

Leaving this for the present, the bottom rectangle in the set of diagrams affords a view of the employment pattern of minorities from the perspective of the Spanish Surnamed. It shows the proportion of minority-filled jobs that went to Spanish Surnameds (labeled Mexican-American in the diagrams), 63.6 percent in the 20 counties. This is only slightly below the 64.1 percent they represented in the total minority labor force of these counties in 1960. This is the first of several indications that Spanish Surnameds are not necessarily favored over other minorities for employment in those counties where they are the main minority group in the labor force.

An examination of the distribution of Spanish Surnameds among the different occupational categories discloses a highly irregular pattern, one that will become more meaningful as the analysis is taken to individual industries at separate locations. For all reporting companies in the 20 counties, Spanish Surnameds appear to have a favor, or to be favored over other minorities, for the occupations of laborers, operatives, craftsmen, and sales workers. In these occupations they represent a higher proportion of the minority employees than their overall numbers represent among the employed minorities. Other minorities taken together have a representation more than proportional to their numbers among minority employees in the occupations for service workers, clerical and office, technicians, professionals, and officials and managers.

Included in the 20 counties is Los Angeles County, which alone accounts for almost one-half of all the employees accounted for in the EEO–1 reports from these counties. It also contains over one-half of the total number of employed persons the census shows for all 20 counties. Accordingly, the next set of diagrams (EP diagrams–2) presents the employment pattern for the remaining 19 counties when Los Angeles is omitted from the survey.

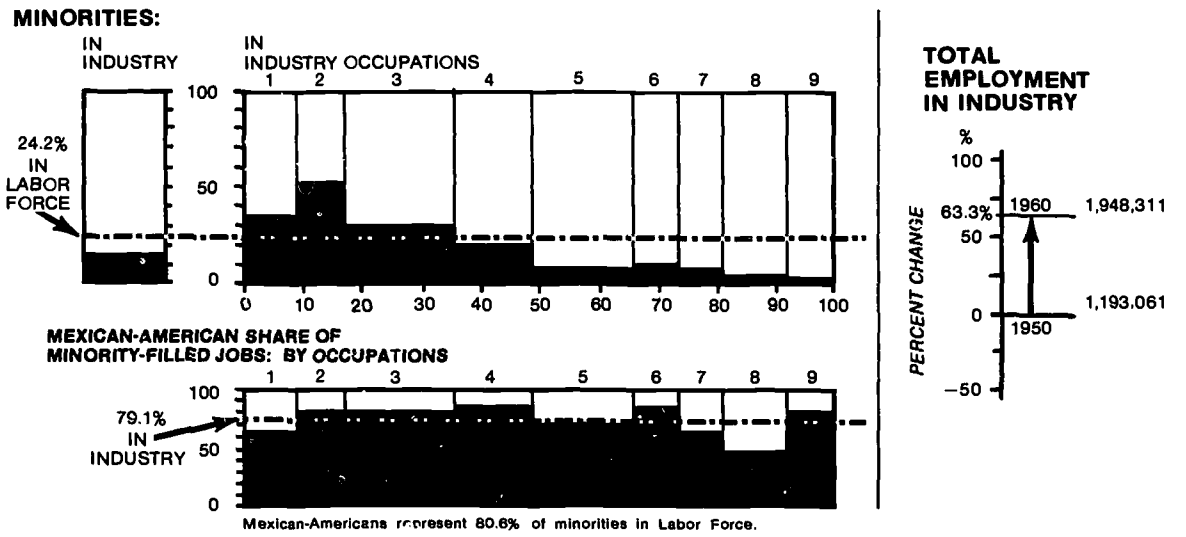
Except for a slight increase in the proportion of laborers and a slight decrease in the proportion of clerical and office workers, the occupational mix of the combined industries remains surprisingly unchanged when Los Angeles County is removed.

Minorities represent a larger part, 24.2 percent, of the total civilian labor force when Los Angeles is not

TWENTY MEXICAN-AMERICAN COUNTIES; FIVE STATES LESS LOS ANGELES COUNTY,

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ALL INDUSTRIES



included in the tally. Again, all of these counties in the five States were selected because Spanish Surnameds represented a large part of the population, but they are not necessarily the ones with the largest Spanish Surnamed populations. San Diego County, for instance, was omitted because only 6.3 percent of its population is Spanish Surnamed.

The pattern of employment with Los Angeles removed shows few changes. The same stairstep pattern emerges. Minority workers came closer to approximating their labor force representation in the craftsmen occupations, but they fare a little worse as sales workers and somewhat better as clerical and office workers.

The Spanish Surnameds in these 19 counties now constitute 79.1 percent of all minority employment in the reporting companies, while they were 80.6 percent of the minority labor force in 1960. They continue to trail other minorities in their share of the minority-filled jobs for service workers, technicians, and professionals. They almost gain their share of the minority-filled clerical and office jobs, increase their share of operative jobs, and they exceed their share of the minority-filled jobs among officials and managers. It should be noted, too, that the overall employment growth in these 19 counties from 1950 to 1960 exceeded that of Los Angeles County, 63.3 percent as against 34.9 percent.

No. EPD-2.—DRAWING SEQUENCE: ALL INDUSTRIES: Twenty Spanish Surnamed counties with Los Angeles excluded: Southwest

	Item		Figure	
1	Percent growth in industry (growth patterns) 1950–60[1]			63.3
2	Employment level 1950		1,193,061	
3	Employment level 1960		755,250	1,948,311
4	Minority level in industry (EEO) (percent)			19.7
	Occupational distribution of labor force in industry (accumulative):			
		Percent	Percent	Code
5	Service workers	9.2	9.2	(1)
6	Laborers	7.8	17.0	(2)
7	Operatives	18.8	35.8	(3)
8	Craftsmen	13.2	49.0	(4)
9	Office and clerical	16.9	65.9	(5)
10	Salesworkers	7.7	73.6	(6)
11	Technicians	6.5	80.1	(7)
12	Professionals	11.1	91.2	(8)
13	Officials and managers	8.3	99.5	(9)
	Minority level in occupations:			
14	Service workers		36.4	(1)
15	Laborers		51.8	(2)
16	Operatives		30.2	(3)
17	Craftsmen		22.3	(4)
18	Office and clerical		9.9	(5)
19	Salesworkers		11.7	(6)
20	Technicians		10.2	(7)
21	Professionals		5.2	(8)
22	Officials and managers		5.1	(9)
23	Minority level in total labor force in county (census)		24.2	
	SSA share of minority filled jobs by occupations:			
24	Service workers		65.9	(1)
25	Laborers		84.3	(2)
26	Operatives		84.1	(3)
27	Craftsmen		88.3	(4)
28	Office and clerical		76.7	(5)
29	Salesworkers		87.1	(6)
30	Technicians		61.7	(7)
31	Professionals		48.0	(8)
32	Officials and managers		80.3	(9)
33	SSA share of all minority filled jobs in industry		79.1	
34	Share of minority labor force		80.6	

[1] Santa Fe County excluded from growth figures only.

This overview of the reporting companies in the 19 counties shows that the wall that dams minority workers from white-collar occupations stands higher in these rapidly industrializing counties than it did when Los Angeles was included. The number of minority clerical and officeworkers is proportionately less, while the number of salesworkers is proportionately greater. But the last group is much less in aggregate size than the former.

Table 2 takes a closer look at the leading industries in the 20 counties. The three largest employment-offering industries reporting to the Commission are listed along with the total county employment covered in the reports. The extent to which Negroes and Spanish Surnameds are a part of each of these work forces is also shown. Negroes represent a relatively small part of the work forces because the counties were selected for their Spanish Surnamed populations, not Negro. However, the great similarity that is shown in the percentages of all employed Negroes and of all employed Spanish Surnameds who are blue-collar workers is one of the commonplace features of employment in these areas. Furthermore, in a majority of the instances shown, the percentage of all employed Spanish Surnameds who work in laborer jobs actually exceeds that of all employed Negroes.

Except for five instances in counties where Negroes constitute a part of the workforce, the percentage of all employed Spanish Surnameds who work as officials and managers exceeds that of Negroes. But the percentage of both groups who work in such jobs is negligible in virtually all cases except for retail trade and garment industries, in which the Spanish Surnameds improve their representation in counties where they are a major part of the population.

In only one industry in one county did the percentage of Spanish Surnameds who were officials and managers equal the percentage of officials and managers employed in the industry. In the apparel industry in Webb County, Tex. (Laredo), 1.7 percent of the jobs in the industry are for officials and managers, and that is the exact percentage of employed Spanish Surnameds in those jobs. However, this achievement is immediately explained by noting that 98.8 percent of the industry's employees covered by the EEO–1 reports were Spanish Surnameds. The writer also offers his personal observation that a very high proportion of the workers in the Laredo garment industry are non-

TABLE 2.—Employment patterns in selected counties, Southwest [1]

Area / Three largest employment industries	Total employed labor force	Negro in ELF (Percent)	SSA in ELF (Percent)	Total (Percent)				Negro (Percent)				Spanish-Surnamed (Percent)			
				White collar [2]	Officials and managers	Blue collar [3]	Laborers	White collar [2]	Officials and managers	Blue collar [3]	Laborers	White collar [2]	Officials and managers	Blue collar [3]	Laborers
ARIZONA:															
Maricopa	91,418	2.2	7.7	47.8	8.3	52.1	5.8	16.8	.4	83.1	19.0	15.5	2.2	84.4	22.8
Retail trade	12,961	3.0	7.4	48.3	10.5	51.6	2.0	15.5	.5	84.5	7.2	24.7	7.3	75.2	2.2
Electronic machinery	22,014	.8	4.0	41.1	6.1	58.8	3.0	14.8	—	85.1	17.0	17.6	1.1	82.3	11.8
Machinery and nonelectric	6,638	1.1	2.3	57.5	7.6	42.4	1.1	15.7	—	84.2	4.0	26.4	2.0	73.5	2.5
Pima	26,649	2.3	14.5	50.7	6.1	49.2	6.9	14.6	—	85.3	17.8	24.5	2.4	75.4	43.0
Transportation	3,775	2.7	18.4	20.4	2.0	79.5	13.1	5.8	—	94.1	48.0	9.9	.8	90.0	42.6
Retail trade	3,389	2.2	15.0	63.7	8.5	36.2	2.4	21.9	—	78.0	11.0	62.3	7.6	37.6	.8
Educational services	6,227	3.0	7.0	75.7	4.4	24.2	4.1	15.2	—	84.7	7.8	35.6	.4	64.3	25.5
CALIFORNIA:															
Los Angeles	1,035,496	6.8	9.7	51.0	8.3	49.0	7.0	20.3	1.0	79.6	16.2	20.7	1.8	79.2	20.0
Electronic machinery	152,909	5.0	7.1	60.2	8.6	39.7	3.5	21.0	1.0	79.0	9.3	20.4	1.5	79.5	13.0
Retail trade	106,750	7.8	9.0	56.8	10.4	43.1	5.4	34.3	2.1	65.6	9.6	41.7	4.4	58.2	14.7
Transportation equipment	124,898	6.6	7.7	39.8	6.6	60.1	2.4	8.7	.4	91.2	6.2	11.4	1.2	88.5	8.3
Orange	118,452	1.8	7.9	55.0	8.3	45.0	6.0	19.8	1.0	80.1	14.5	17.6	1.5	82.3	23.1
Electronic machinery	25,573	.8	5.0	59.8	9.5	40.1	2.5	28.6	2.6	71.3	9.2	24.6	2.4	75.3	6.7
Machinery and nonelectric	25,410	3.0	4.5	60.6	8.1	39.3	.5	20.1	.6	79.8	1.0	34.5	1.6	65.4	1.1
Retail trade	12,472	1.2	5.3	59.4	7.8	40.5	4.1	32.2	2.0	67.7	19.3	39.7	3.0	60.2	8.0
San Bernardino	35,934	2.7	12.6	35.2	7.8	64.7	10.3	15.7	1.4	84.2	17.8	8.3	1.0	91.6	26.3
Transportation	8,272	2.7	16.6	22.7	3.7	77.2	10.0	4.0	.4	96.0	29.0	3.8	.8	96.1	36.7
Primary metal	8,570	2.7	14.5	21.6	9.0	78.3	11.0	5.6	.8	94.3	17.6	2.8	.6	97.1	22.9
Retail trade	3,473	4.2	7.7	70.8	10.5	29.1	1.8	50.0	3.3	50.0	.6	52.7	5.5	47.2	3.0
San Joaquin	19,789	3.7	11.1	32.6	7.2	67.3	21.6	9.3	.2	90.6	43.1	9.7	1.7	90.2	42.5
Food and kindred products	4,400	4.0	16.2	21.5	7.5	78.4	25.0	1.7	—	98.2	68.1	2.0	.1	98.0	50.3
Transportation	2,236	6.0	16.0	8.3	1.2	91.6	65.0	—	—	100.0	70.5	3.0	—	97.0	77.0
Retail trade	2,757	2.0	5.5	72.6	9.9	27.3	3.1	49.0	—	50.9	10.9	55.5	4.0	44.4	7.1
Santa Clara	115,820	2.4	7.4	62.1	8.0	37.8	4.2	29.8	1.2	70.1	7.6	24.6	1.7	75.3	19.7
Electronic machinery	31,481	2.0	6.8	57.3	8.0	42.6	1.8	25.0	1.8	75.0	2.8	21.5	1.6	78.4	5.0
Transportation equipment	26,661	2.1	4.2	72.7	6.5	27.2	1.6	34.0	1.2	66.0	4.2	54.5	1.8	45.4	4.8
Educational services	7,328	3.0	1.8	84.8	6.6	15.1	1.2	41.5	1.0	58.4	7.0	45.3	.7	54.6	10.0
COLORADO:															
Denver	114,424	4.2	6.9	53.3	9.0	46.6	7.8	25.6	1.2	74.3	13.0	18.0	1.3	82.0	22.4
Retail trade	19,209	3.7	5.2	54.3	11.2	45.6	1.1	17.3	2.8	82.6	2.0	31.8	3.0	68.1	1.5
Transportation	13,812	3.0	4.5	36.8	7.4	63.1	9.3	3.2	.2	96.7	20.0	14.4	1.2	85.5	44.0
Communication	8,936	1.4	1.7	76.4	13.1	23.5	—	73.6	.7	26.3	—	87.5	2.0	12.4	—
Pueblo	11,761	2.0	22.7	26.2	8.5	73.7	18.6	6.8	.4	93.1	27.2	5.4	1.0	94.5	40.5
Primary metal	7,602	2.3	25.2	19.8	7.7	80.1	23.0	.5	.5	99.4	32.0	1.3	.6	98.6	48.5
Machinery and nonelectric	605	.8	21.6	16.0	8.4	84.0	28.2	20.0	—	80.0	20.0	5.3	3.0	94.6	35.1
Retail trade	872	1.3	13.0	62.5	14.2	37.5	1.1	50.0	—	50.0	—	44.2	7.0	55.7	1.7

NEW MEXICO:														
Bernalillo	29,814	1.3	24.6	59.8	9.0	40.1	6.0	20.0	.2	80.0	13.5	29.1	2.5	70.8	16.8
Retail trade	4,834	1.6	28.5	59.1	11.1	40.8	2.2	15.1	—	84.8	7.5	42.3	6.6	57.6	4.0
Business services	7,506	.6	12.8	82.6	9.3	17.3	1.7	58.3	—	41.6	12.5	50.8	1.0	49.1	9.1
Wholesale trade	2,371	.6	34.3	54.3	10.0	45.6	14.7	20.0	—	80.0	20.0	22.4	3.3	77.5	30.0
Dona Ana [4]	2,762	1.8	16.1	77.7	4.7	22.2	13.6	35.2	—	84.7	53.0	34.0	.8	66.0	45.6
Educational services	2,249	2.1	17.0	79.0	3.8	21.0	16.6	37.5	—	62.5	56.2	34.2	—	65.7	52.2
Santa Fe	1,349	.8	64.5	34.7	7.0	65.2	6.5	9.0	—	90.9	9.0	18.0	3.0	82.0	8.8
Medical services	414	1.0	66.1	32.1	1.4	67.8	4.1	—	—	100.0	—	11.0	—	89.0	6.2
Retail trade	237	.4	68.0	35.8	12.6	64.1	—	—	—	100.0	—	27.3	9.3	72.6	—
Contract construction	252	1.5	63.0	25.0	8.0	75.0	24.2	25.0	—	75.0	25.0	10.6	1.8	89.3	31.4
TEXAS:														
Bexar	55,381	5.3	37.4	44.5	8.5	55.4	9.0	17.2	1.2	82.7	15.0	21.4	2.5	78.5	17.4
Retail trade	13,607	5.7	33.0	51.5	12.0	48.4	3.0	12.5	1.5	87.4	8.0	38.2	6.2	61.7	5.8
Food and kindred products	5,787	3.6	45.8	27.6	6.7	72.3	17.1	9.0	—	91.0	27.0	10.3	1.3	89.6	25.2
Transportation	5,177	6.8	26.7	25.5	5.5	74.4	11.3	1.1	.2	98.8	40.1	10.1	1.0	89.8	23.3
Cameron	7,162	.3	77.2	27.8	7.0	72.1	35.1	50.0	—	50.0	4.5	13.0	1.8	87.0	44.8
Food and kindred products	2,784	.1	92.4	7.5	3.4	92.4	80.8	—	—	100.0	20.0	2.6	.8	97.3	86.5
Retail trade	1,156	.2	62.4	56.0	13.0	44.0	1.2	66.6	—	33.3	—	40.0	4.4	60.0	2.0
Apparel	608	—	96.7	6.5	2.6	93.4	—	—	—	—	—	3.5	.8	96.4	—
El Paso	29,845	1.6	54.4	42.7	8.5	57.2	7.3	12.1	.8	87.8	13.5	24.0	3.2	75.9	11.5
Apparel	4,712	.5	85.6	9.3	4.1	90.6	3.0	8.0	8.0	92.0	4.0	6.3	2.7	93.6	3.3
Retail trade	5,577	2.0	51.8	56.2	12.1	43.7	1.6	18.1	.8	81.8	.8	55.4	7.0	44.5	2.8
Transportation	3,627	1.7	65.0	43.4	5.2	56.5	17.0	18.4	—	81.5	23.0	37.0	2.2	62.9	23.5
Hidalgo	3,623	.6	72.8	18.3	5.7	81.6	39.2	—	—	100.0	—	7.0	1.1	93.0	52.4
Food and kindred products	1,139	—	79.1	14.3	3.7	85.6	63.5	—	—	—	—	4.8	.3	95.1	77.4
Agriculture and forestry	483	—	95.0	4.1	1.0	95.8	87.3	—	—	—	—	.4	—	99.5	92.0
Apparel	385	—	94.0	1.2	.5	98.7	2.5	—	—	—	—	.2	—	99.7	2.7
Jim Wells	748	1.1	29.7	23.7	7.0	76.2	20.4	—	—	100.0	25.0	17.1	.9	82.8	32.8
Transportation	214	2.3	61.6	19.6	9.8	80.3	24.7	—	—	100.0	—	1.5	—	98.4	37.8
Medical services	108	—	51.8	75.0	5.5	25.0	25.0	—	—	—	—	62.5	1.7	37.5	37.5
Mining	376	.7	4.2	10.9	4.7	89.0	19.4	—	—	100.0	66.6	—	—	100.0	12.5
Nueces	17,051	5.6	29.0	44.7	9.4	55.2	11.3	6.7	.2	93.2	39.8	21.3	2.2	78.6	23.3
Retail trade	3,314	4.5	34.6	54.4	13.0	45.5	3.5	11.3	.6	88.6	10.6	34.0	5.6	66.0	8.1
Transportation	1,571	29.1	20.6	19.8	5.4	80.1	33.3	1.0	—	98.9	58.5	10.1	1.5	89.8	38.4
Chemical and allied products	3,610	1.0	8.3	43.0	10.0	57.0	4.7	2.6	—	97.3	36.8	7.6	.3	92.3	49.0
Travis	14,615	9.2	17.4	53.6	9.0	46.3	7.6	9.8	1.1	90.1	16.8	14.5	1.6	85.4	24.7
Retail trade	3,245	9.6	12.8	52.2	10.0	47.7	2.0	9.2	1.2	90.7	4.8	18.6	3.5	81.3	6.6
Industries not classified	1,453	3.0	8.7	83.4	7.6	16.5	.2	38.6	—	61.3	4.5	68.5	6.2	31.4	—
Insurance	1,016	1.0	4.3	98.8	9.2	1.1	.1	45.4	—	54.5	—	88.6	—	11.3	4.5
Webb	1,933	.1	77.4	48.1	7.6	51.8	10.7	—	—	100.0	100.0	50.3	5.4	49.6	9.5
Retail trade	904	—	94.4	77.6	9.7	22.3	.2	—	—	—	—	78.2	7.7	21.7	.2
Apparel	175	—	98.8	3.4	1.7	96.5	—	—	—	—	—	3.4	1.7	96.5	—
Transportation	355	—	13.5	31.5	7.3	68.4	18.0	—	—	—	—	22.9	2.0	77.0	—

[1] Counties selected on the basis of their large Spanish-Surnamed population, 1966.
[2] Including officials and managers.
[3] Including laborers.
[4] Industry dominated county.

Source: Based on data supplied to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by covered employers on Form EEO–1.

English-speaking Mexican nationals who commute across the international boundary to work. There is, of course, a need for more Spanish-speaking supervisors in such a situation.

The Pattern: The Census

Further examinations of the employment pattern of reporting employers in the 20 counties are made in the following sections. This section recapitulates what the 1960 census reveals about the contrast between Anglo and Spanish Surnamed employment throughout the Southwest.

Table 3, showing the occupational distribution of Spanish Surnamed male and female workers as reported by the census, supports the observations made from the employer reports. Only 8 percent of Spanish Surnamed employed males were in either sales or clerical and kindred occupations, while 15 percent of Anglo males were in them; 28 percent of Spanish Surnamed employed females had such jobs, while 45.5 percent of employed Anglo females had them. By contrast, 48.7 percent of employed Spanish Surnamed males worked at craftsmen, foremen, operatives and kindred jobs, while 41.5 percent of Anglo males did so; 26 percent of Spanish Surnamed females had such jobs, but only 13.3 percent of Anglo females did. Stated in terms of the number of jobs, over one-fourth of all Anglo or Spanish Surnamed held jobs in the Southwest were in sales, clerical and kindred occupations, but Spanish Surnameds, who composed almost 12 percent of the total population, had only six percent of these jobs. Of clerical and kindred jobs, Anglo women alone held 1,031,662, over 67 percent of the total, while Spanish Surnamed women held but 3.5 percent, and the percentage of Spanish-Surnamed males was even less. Whatever factors cause this unbalanced distribution may be important determinants of Spanish Surnamed female labor force participation rates, as discussed hereafter.

If the occupational category of farmers and farm managers is omitted from the first five categories in the group of occupations in table 3, and the remaining four categories accepted as the white-collar occupations, it can be shown that only 16.2 percent of Spanish-Surnamed male workers had white-collar jobs in 1960, compared to 42.2 percent of Anglo males who had such jobs. Although it is not shown in this table, it should be observed here that the percentage of nonwhite male workers who held white-collar jobs in 1960 corresponded almost exactly to the percentage of the Spanish Surnamed males in those jobs. The wall held against both minorities.

In the case of Spanish Surnamed female workers the situation is somewhat altered; 36 percent of them had white-collar jobs in 1960, but 66.3 percent of the Anglo female workers had such jobs. The Mexican-American Study Project found that 22 percent of employed nonwhite females held white-collar jobs.[7] This suggests that female Spanish Surnameds succeed in crossing the barrier between blue- and white-collar occupations with greater ease than either nonwhite females or Spanish Surnamed males. One reason for this may be the relatively higher acceptance of Spanish Surnamed females in some forms of sales work, an occupation where their numbers come closer to a parity with Anglo

[7] This last figure is cited from an unpublished draft prepared by Walter Fogel and Leo Grebler, entitled "Occupations and Jobs: An Overview," table 13–4, p. 13, June, 1967. There are minor differences in the percentages given in the paragraph above and similar ones derived by Fogel and Grebler. However, these are all on the order of fractions of a percentage point, and no effort has been to reconcile the small differences.

TABLE 3.—Distribution by sex and occupation, Spanish Surnamed and Anglo populations, five Southwestern States, 1960

Occupation	Spanish surname				Anglo[1]			
	Male	Percent	Female	Percent	Male	Percent	Female	Percent
Professional, technical and kindred	28,955	3.9	11,683	5.5	805,595	13.6	433,769	15.4
Farmers and farm managers	16,442	2.2	482	0.2	253,603	4.0	12,759	0.4
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	32,010	4.3	6,744	2.5	806,000	13.6	153,416	5.4
Clerical and kindred	33,866	4.6	54,362	20.4	411,234	6.9	1,031,662	36.6
Sales	24,933	3.4	20,183	7.6	[illegible]467	8.1	252,075	8.9
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred	116,578	15.8	3,273	1.2	60	20.7	32,740	1.1
Operatives and kindred	168,497	22.9	66,212	24.8	[illegible]176	15.8	251,215	8.9
Private household	878	0.1	28,514	10.7	5,925	0.1	125,197	4.4
Service, except private household	52,749	7.2	41,189	15.4	305,754	5.2	347,942	12.3
Farm laborers and foremen	117,688	16.0	10,319	3.9	131,818	2.2	17,792	0.6
Laborers, except farm and mine	106,409	14.4	3,006	1.1	281,317	4.8	8,864	0.3
Occupation not reported	37,763	5.1	17,688	6.6	266,519	4.5	149,499	5.3
Totals	736,769	100.0	266,655	100.0	5,904,148	100.0	2,816,930	100.0

[1] "Anglo" represents the total employed in each category minus the Spanish surname and Negro totals.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. "U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname": U.S. Bureau of the Census. "U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Population Characteristics: Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas."

Adopted from "Mexican-Americans in the United States" by Lamar B. Jones, a report prepared for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (multilithed staff paper).

females than in any other white-collar occupation, although they are still far below them. In sales occupations, Spanish Surnamed males suffer one of their greatest numerical disparities with Anglo males. Whereas the number of Anglo males in this occupation exceeds the number of Anglo females by over 90 percent, the number of Spanish Surnamed males exceeds Spanish Surnamed females by less than 23 percent.

The nature of sales work suggests a tentative conclusion: It is here more than in any other occupation that preferences of social acceptability and subtle matters of taste can be as controlling as standards of education, training, or actual job performance in determining the initial admittance of persons to do this work. Much of sales work is of a persuasive nature, or is thought dependent on rituals of sociability. Persons selected to enact the rituals or add the touch of persuasion are those who offer minimum deviations from what the dominant society considers to be the currently accepted norms of appearance, conduct, and speech. It is not difficult to see how skin color, speech accents, and notions of comeliness are added to other long-respected requirements, such as those for haircuts, modest dress and general conformity.

It is tempting to observe that there might be no less firm ground than these last standards on which to rest the case for any essential job requirements. They define a traditionalism and conservatism which our experience of the past few years tells us is rapidly changing and no longer represents the unrelieved tone or habit of our society. We will return to this point later on, but we call attention to it now, because it is in sales occupations, perhaps, that a breakthrough can be made which will bring the largest payoff in improving employment opportunities for minorities.

At the other side of the white-collar wall, the overrepresentation of Spanish Surnameds in operative jobs may be thought of as offsetting their underrepresentation in sales and clerical jobs. This does not appear to be a fair assumption when the nature of these operative jobs are considered. It is not possible from the EEO–1 reports to break down this occupation into the spectrum of jobs that compose it. Employers in their reports dealt only with the broad occupational category and indicated none of the gradations between jobs that might be contained in it. However, the Mexican-American Study Project has examined the wide differences in desirability of jobs that are included in this category.[8] It found that the overrepresentation of Spanish Surnameds in the operative category occurred mainly because of their excessive representation in less desirable jobs, such as furnaceman, smelterman, filers, grinders, polishers, assemblers, laundry and dry cleaning operators, packers, wrappers, and also in the large numbers of them who work in generally lower-paying industries, such as furniture, stone and clay products, and textiles—industries in which most workers are often considered operatives regardless of the skill level involved. The same study found great variations in actual earnings between Spanish Surnamed and Anglo workers, although for census purposes they appeared to be similarly situated occupationally. The variances were to the disadvantage of the Spanish Surnameds, and the study concluded that much of this could be accounted for only as discrimination; any effort to explain their adverse position on the basis of differences in formal schooling was itself discriminatory, when schooling could not be related to the job performance required in these manual occupations.[9]

The Pattern: County by County

An employment pattern diagram is shown in the following pages for all industries combined in each of the 20 selected counties. A diagram also was made for Harris County, Tex. (Houston), because it is the center of the second largest metropolis in the region and is useful for comparative purposes. It has a relatively small Spanish Surnamed population, 6 percent of the total, but a quite large nonwhite population, 20 percent of the total. It is helpful to examine the county diagrams before those for selected industries within the county, because they reflect something of a composite of the employment patterns prevailing in all of the reporting companies within the county.

In eight counties, the aggregate number of minority workers employed by the reporting companies in 1966 was below the level their numbers represented in the county civilian labor forces in 1960. Of those minorities who were employed, Spanish Surnameds generally equaled, or exceeded, the proportion they represented in the county minority civilian labor forces. In five counties, they were employed below that proportion.

There are other wide differences between the counties, but there also are many readily apparent features that are shared by all, or almost all of them. One of these is the general stairstep effect produced by the declining proportion of minority employees as occupational categories move from service workers to officials and managers.

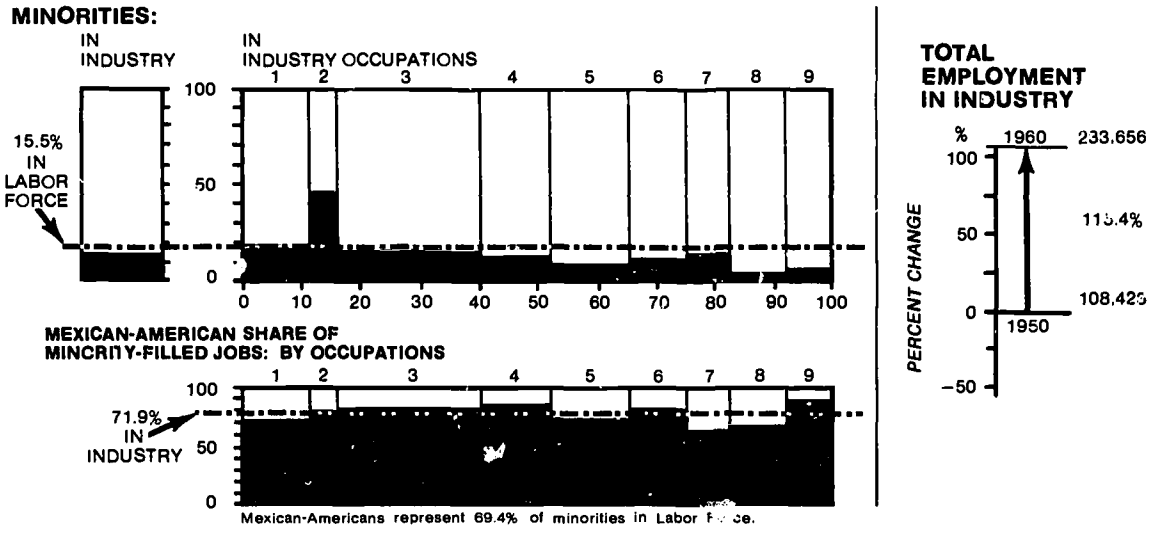
[8] Walter Fogel, *Mexican-American Study Project,* Advance Report 10, Leo Grebler, director, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, UCLA, 1966, pp. 205–211.

[9] Ibid., p. 192. Subsequent studies by Dr. Fogel, which are yet to be published, will show that persons of Spanish surname who have educational preparation comparable to Anglos still have incomes substantially below them, even where they are engaged in similar jobs. Their attainment of more education does not close the earnings gap that exists between them and Anglos who are similarly situated.

MARICOPA COUNTY, ARIZ.

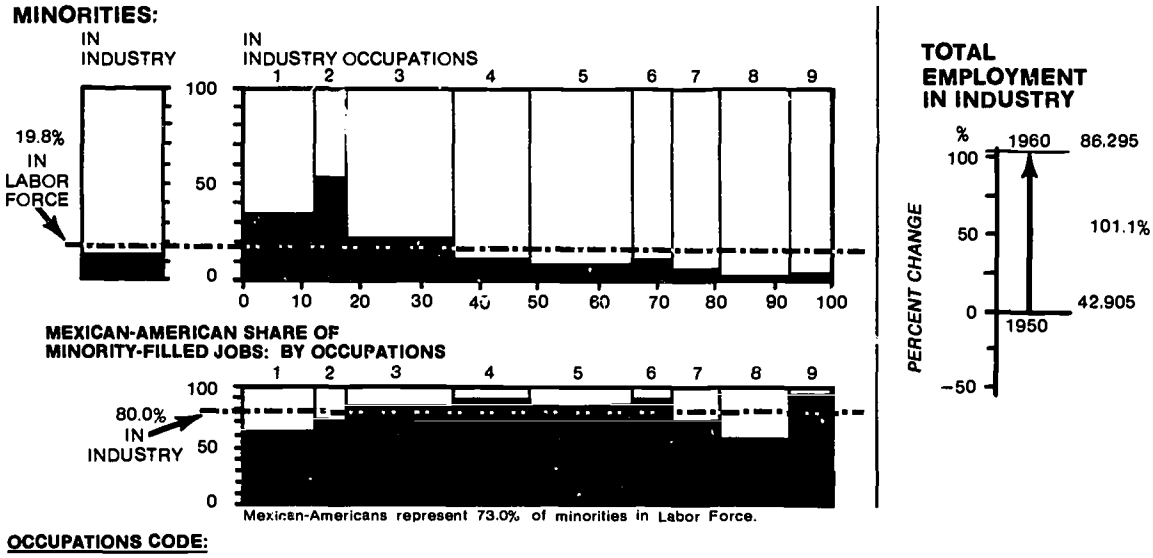
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ALL INDUSTRIES



PIMA COUNTY, ARIZ.

ALL INDUSTRIES



OCCUPATIONS CODE:

BLUE COLLAR:

1. SERVICE WORKERS
2. LABORERS (UNSKILLED)
3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

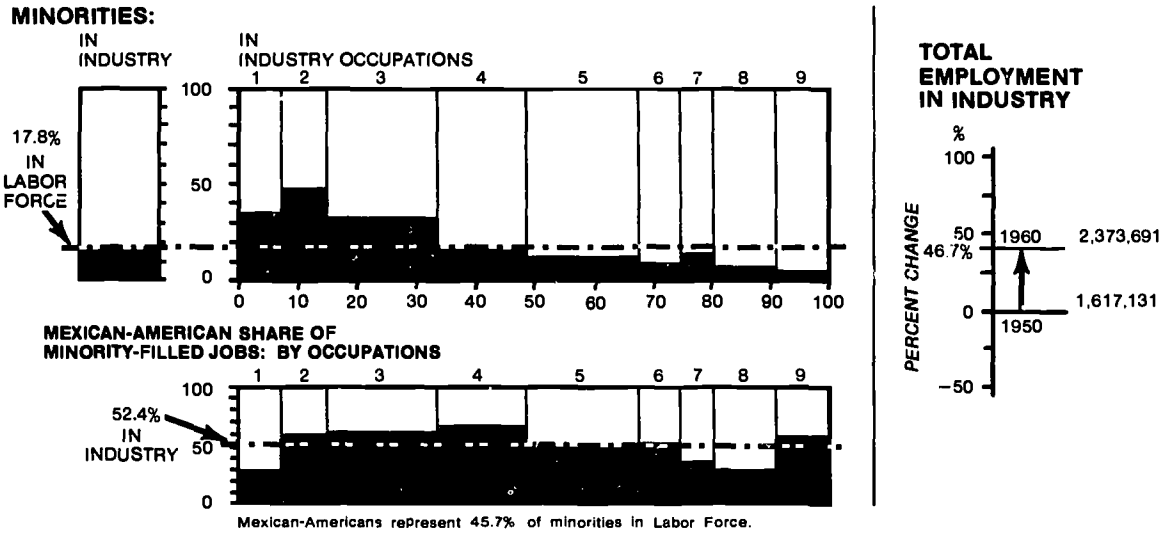
WHITE COLLAR:

5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

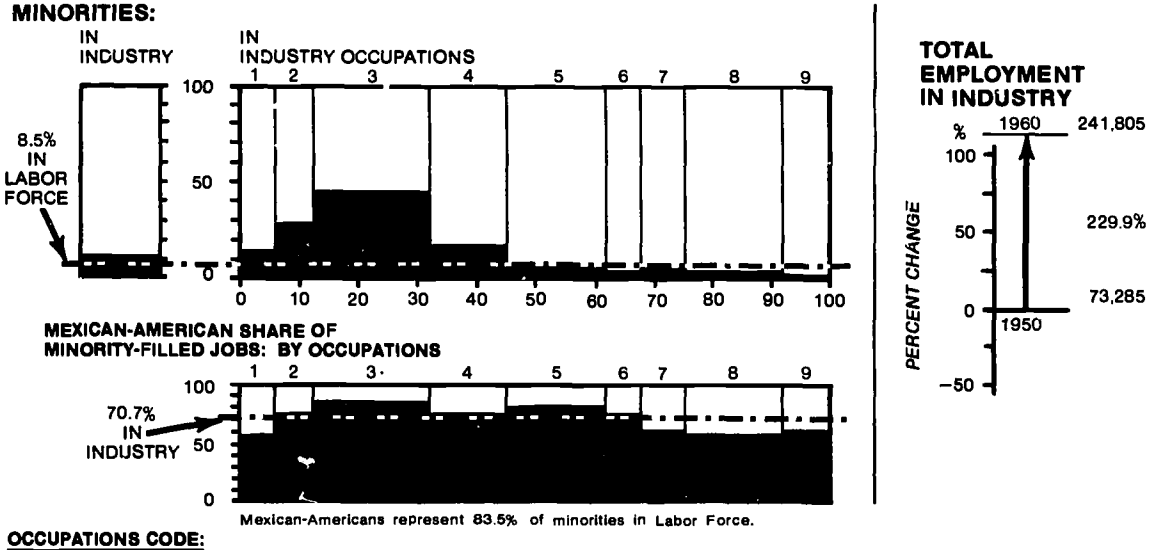
ALL INDUSTRIES



Mexican-Americans represent 45.7% of minorities in Labor Force.

ORANGE COUNTY, CALIF.

ALL INDUSTRIES



Mexican-Americans represent 83.5% of minorities in Labor Force.

OCCUPATIONS CODE:

BLUE COLLAR:

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3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

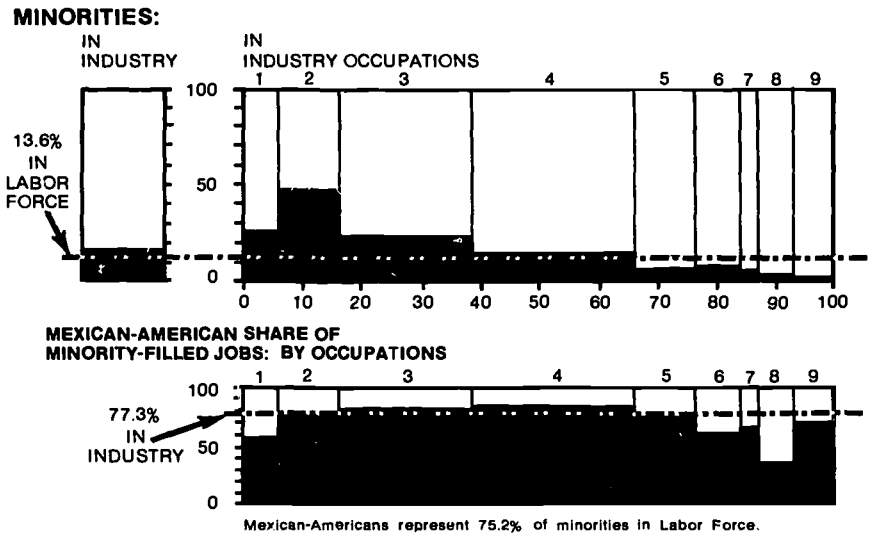
WHITE COLLAR:

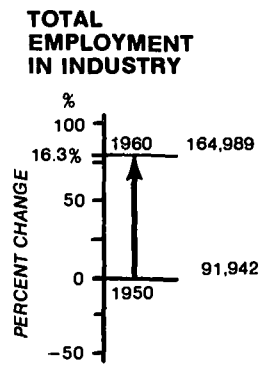
5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

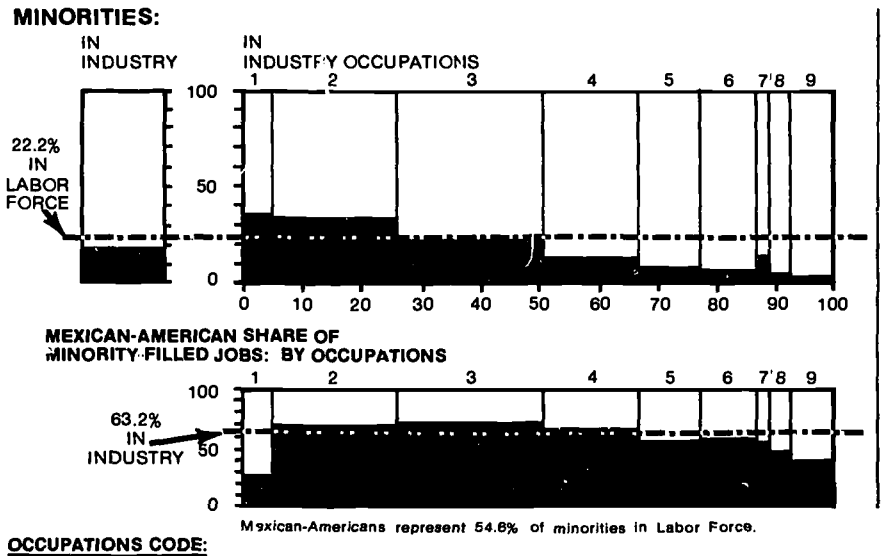
ALL INDUSTRIES

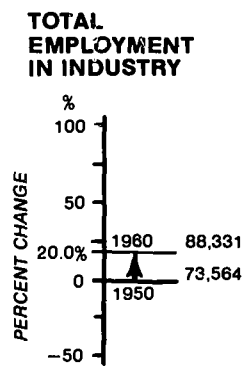




SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY, CALIF.

ALL INDUSTRIES





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3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

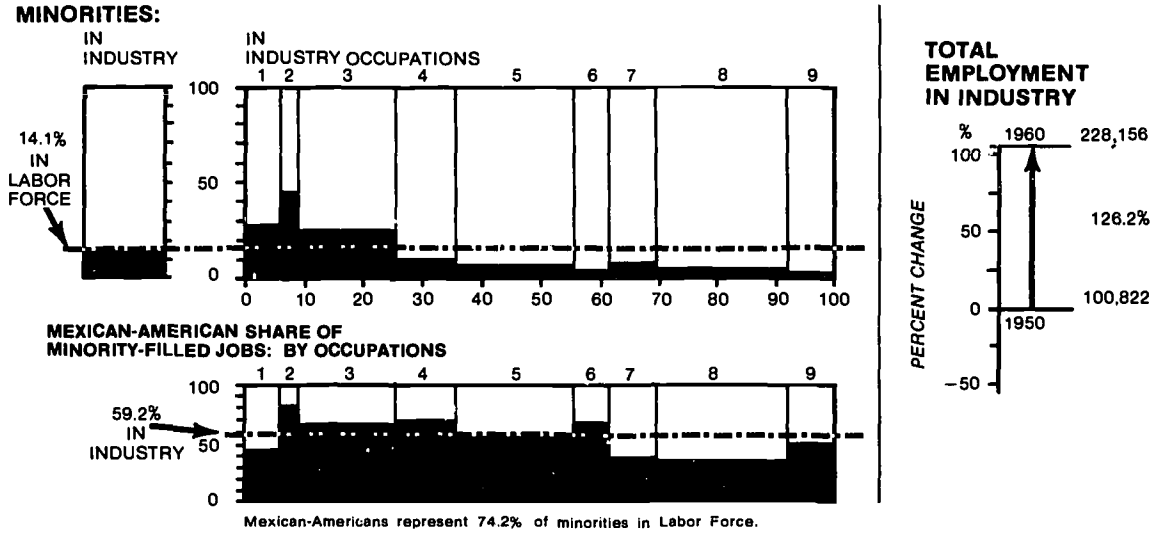
WHITE COLLAR:

5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIF.

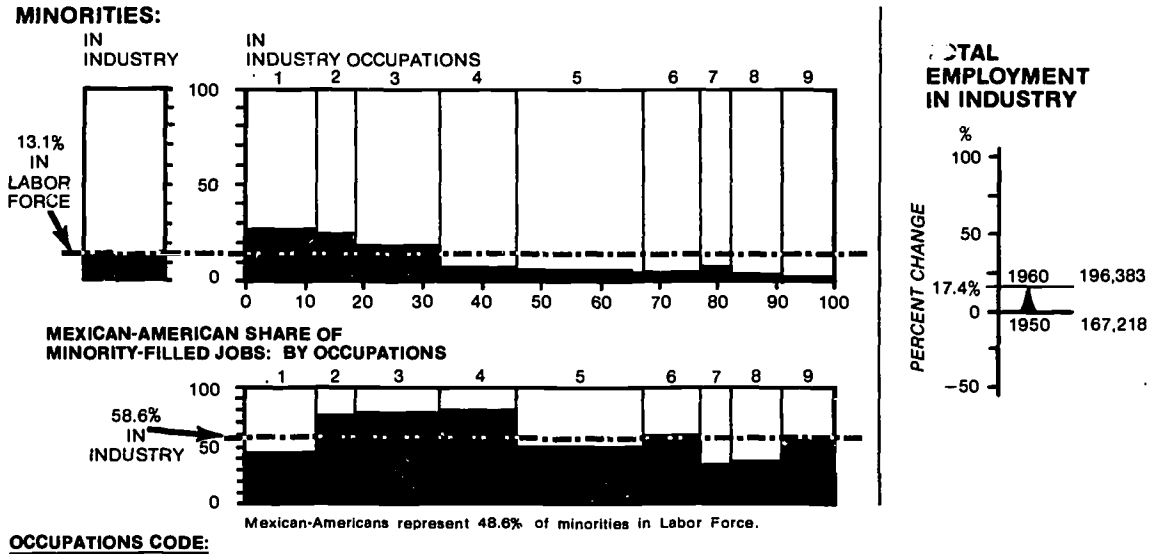
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ALL INDUSTRIES



DENVER COUNTY, COLO.

ALL INDUSTRIES



OCCUPATIONS CODE:

BLUE COLLAR:

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2. LABORERS (UNSKILLED)
3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

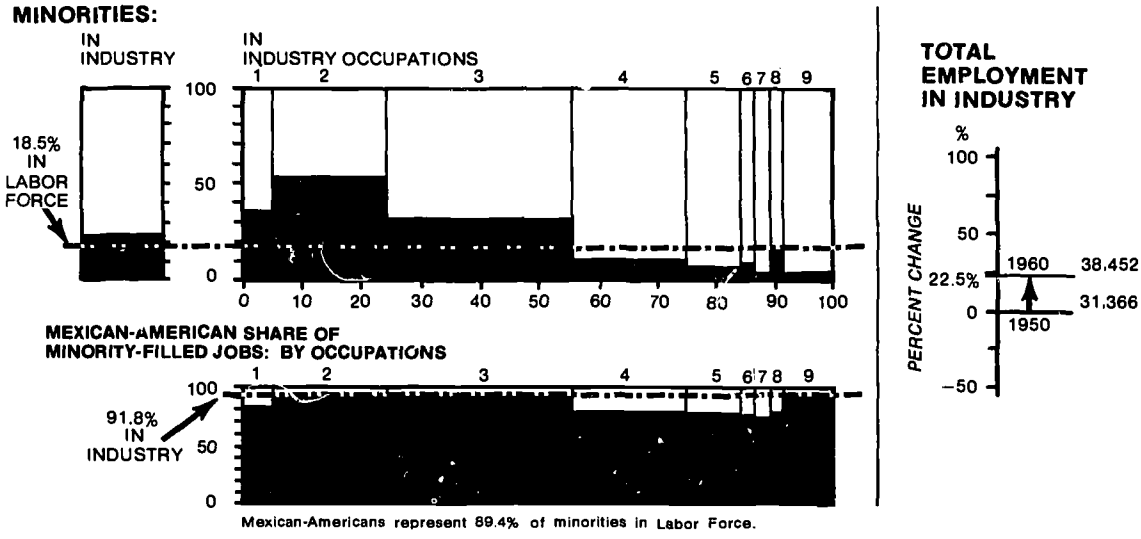
WHITE COLLAR:

5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

PUEBLO COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

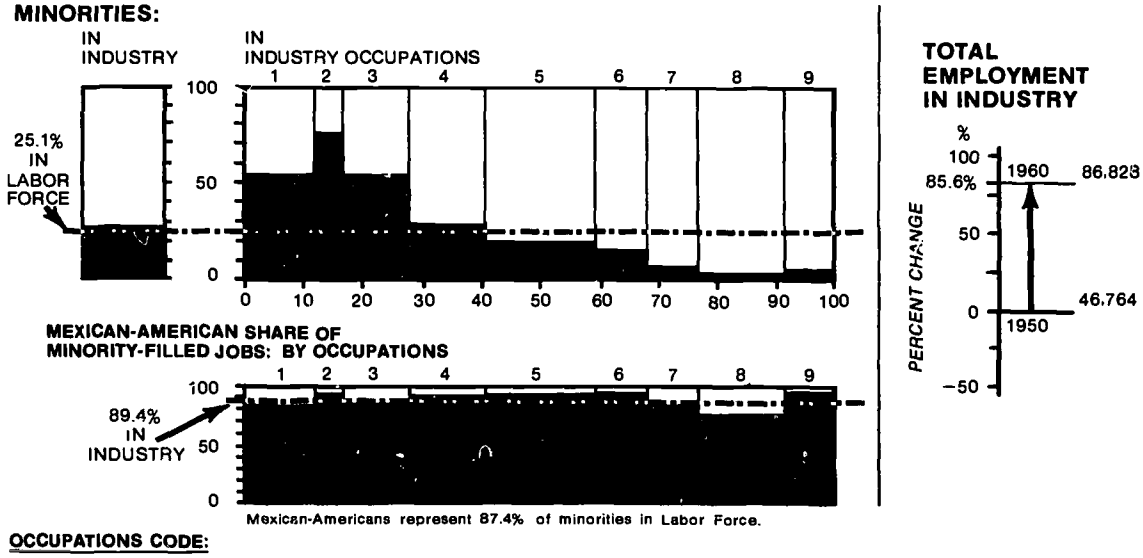
ALL INDUSTRIES



Mexican-Americans represent 89.4% of minorities in Labor Force.

BERNALILLO COUNTY, NEW MEX.

ALL INDUSTRIES



Mexican-Americans represent 87.4% of minorities in Labor Force.

OCCUPATIONS CODE:

BLUE COLLAR:

1. SERVICE WORKERS
2. LABORERS (UNSKILLED)
3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

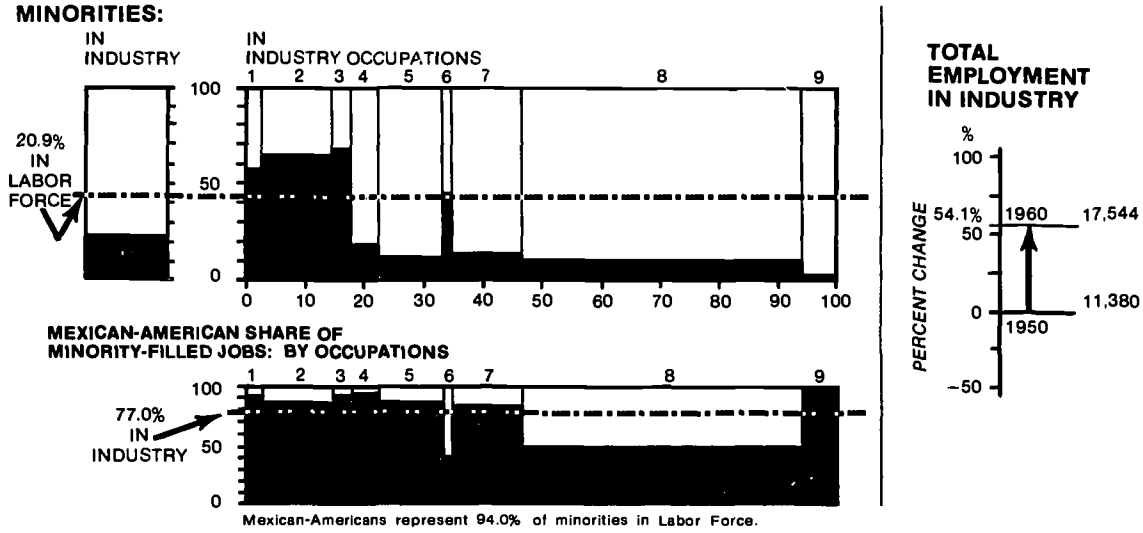
WHITE COLLAR:

5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

DONA ANA COUNTY, NEW MEX.

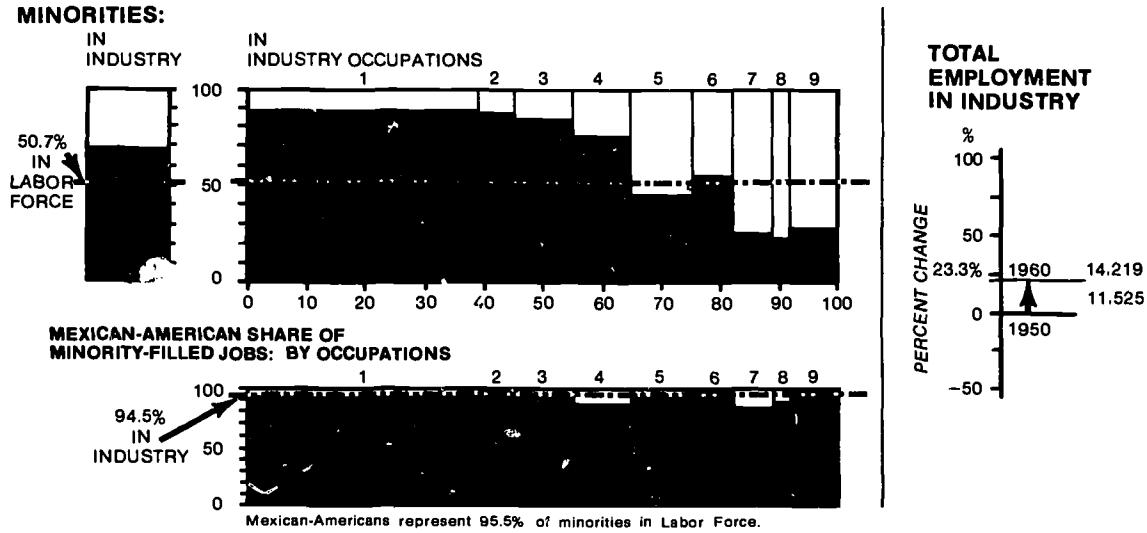
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ALL INDUSTRIES



SANTA FE COUNTY, NEW MEX.

ALL INDUSTRIES



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4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

WHITE COLLAR:

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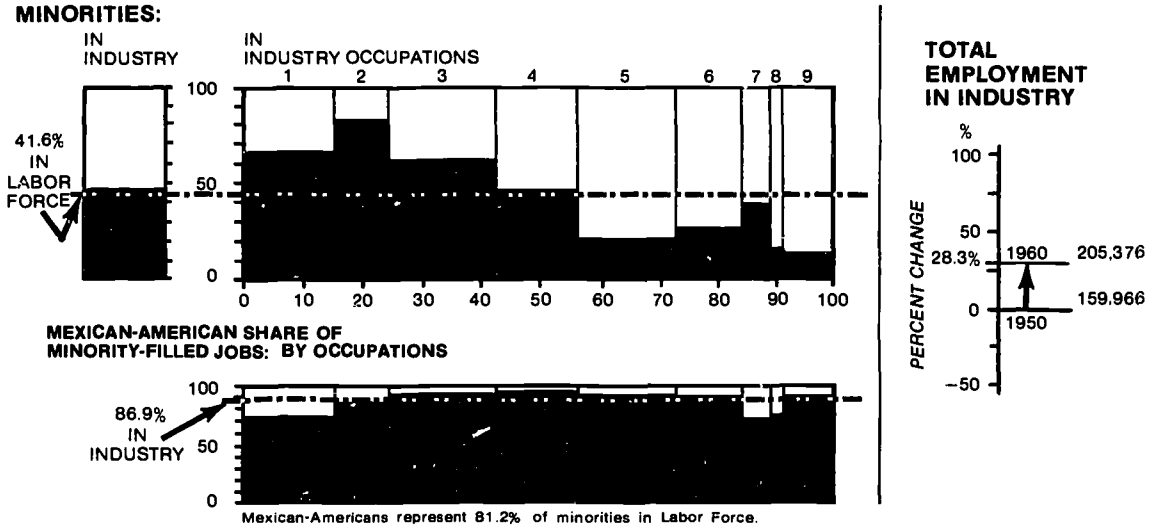
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS

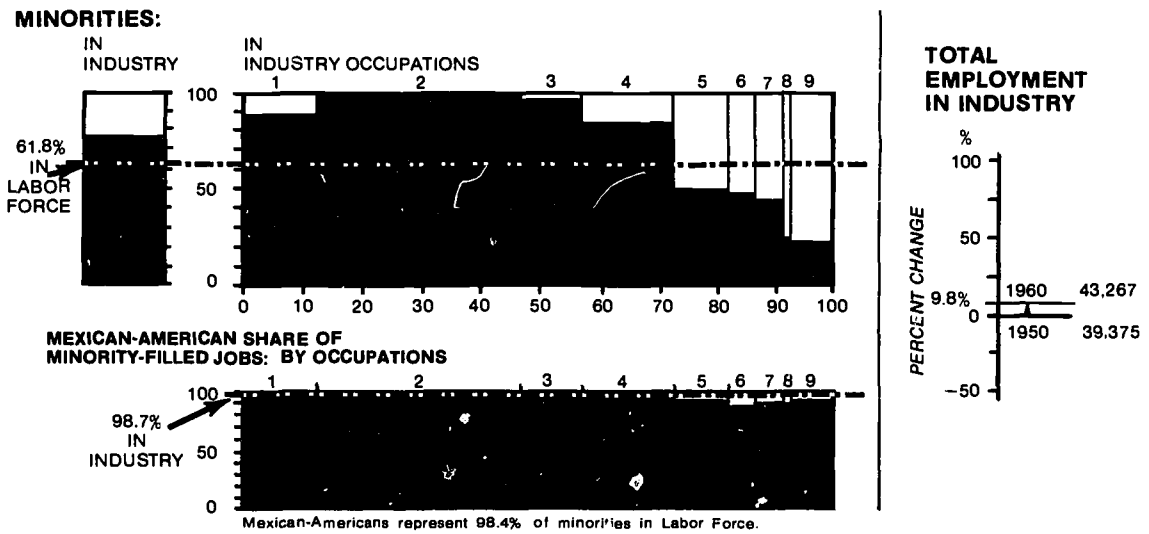
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ALL INDUSTRIES



CAMERON COUNTY, TEXAS

ALL INDUSTRIES



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WHITE COLLAR:

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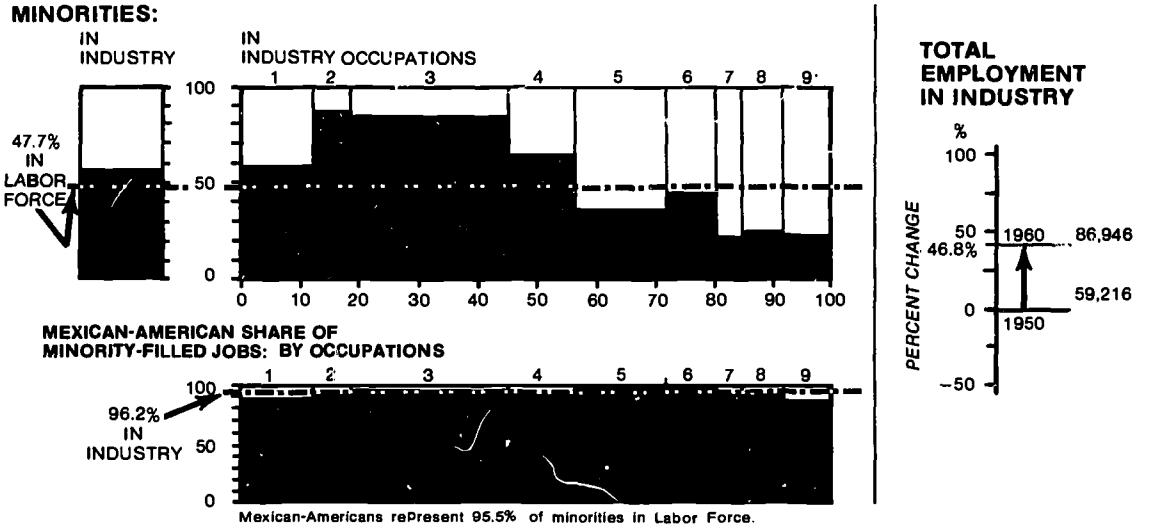
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

EL PASO COUNTY, TEXAS

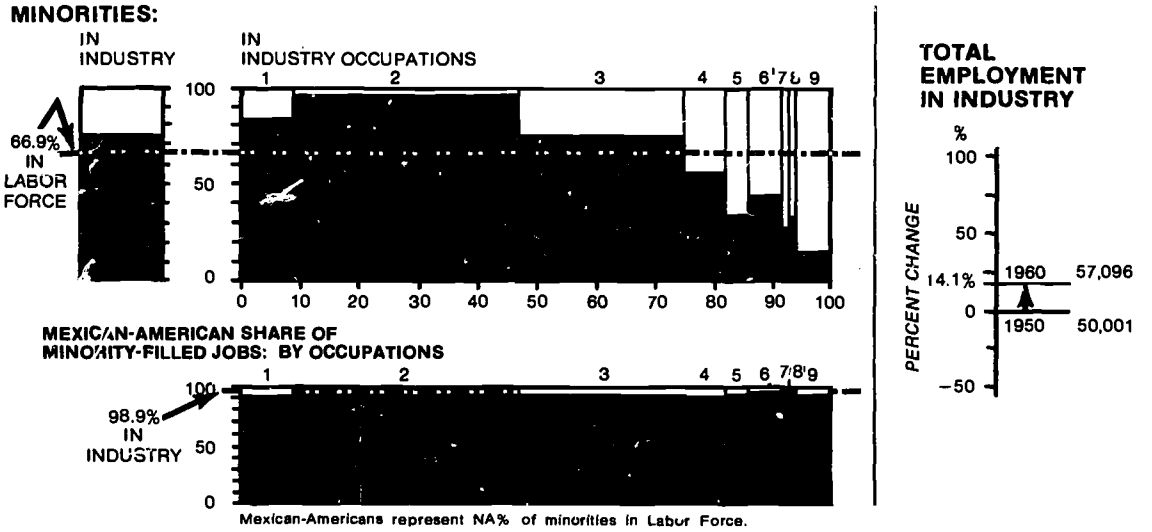
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ALL INDUSTRIES



HIDALGO COUNTY, TEXAS

ALL INDUSTRIES



OCCUPATIONS CODE:

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3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

WHITE COLLAR:

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6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

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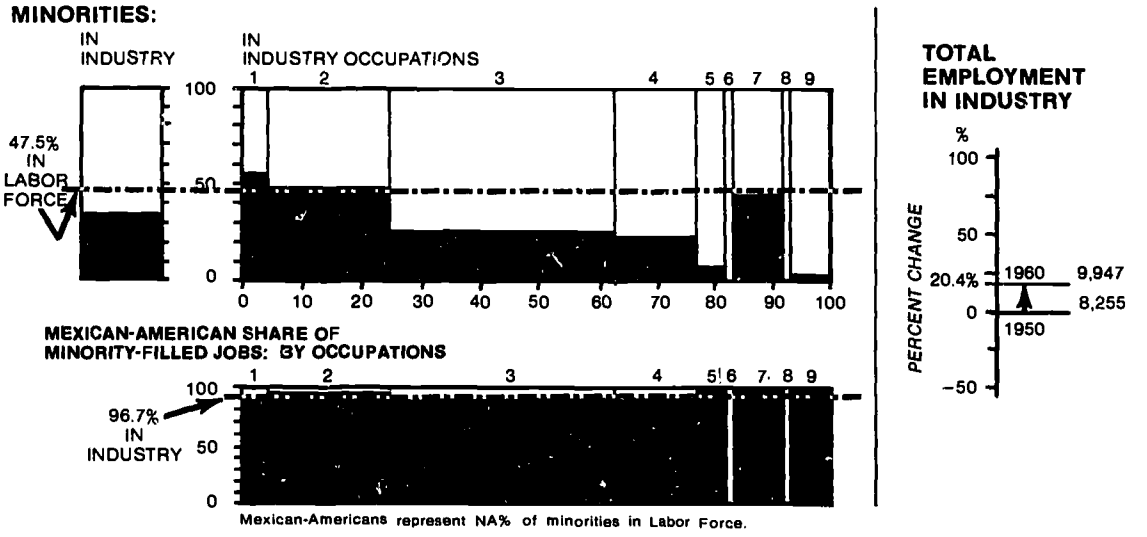
JIM WELLS COUNTY, TEXAS

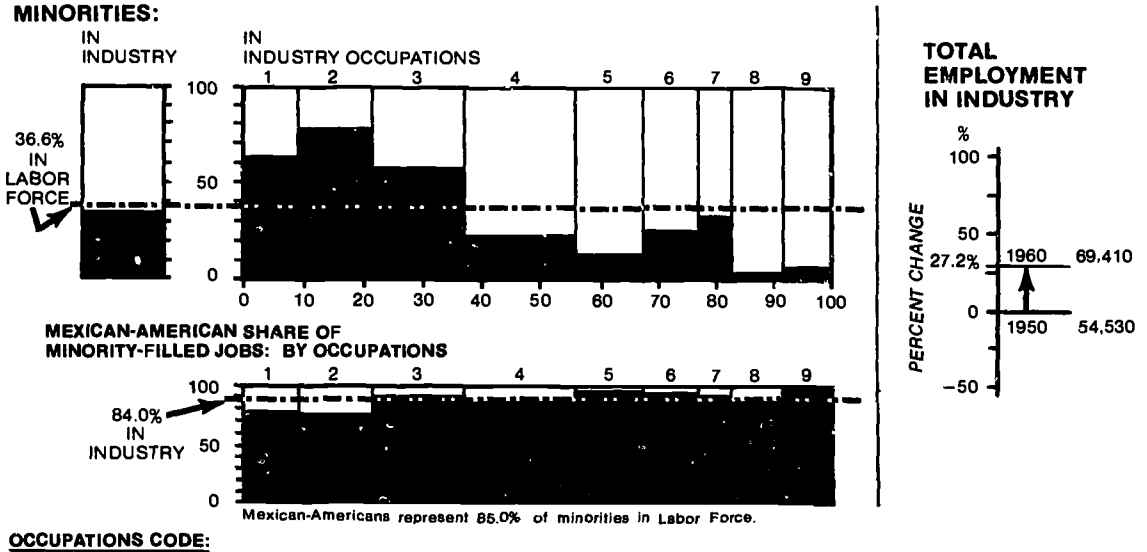
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ALL INDUSTRIES



NUECES COUNTY, TEXAS

ALL INDUSTRIES



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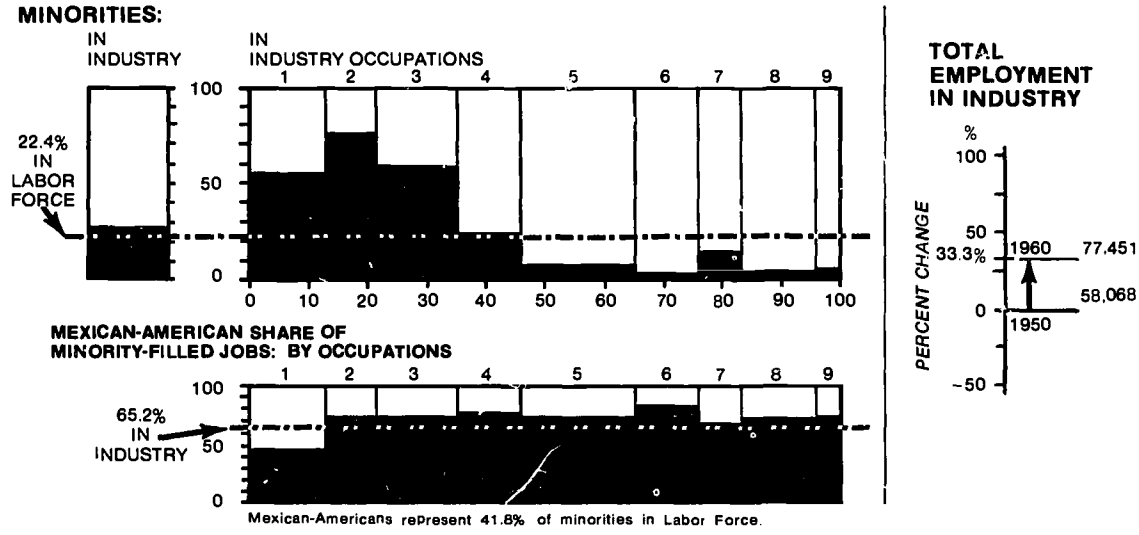
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS

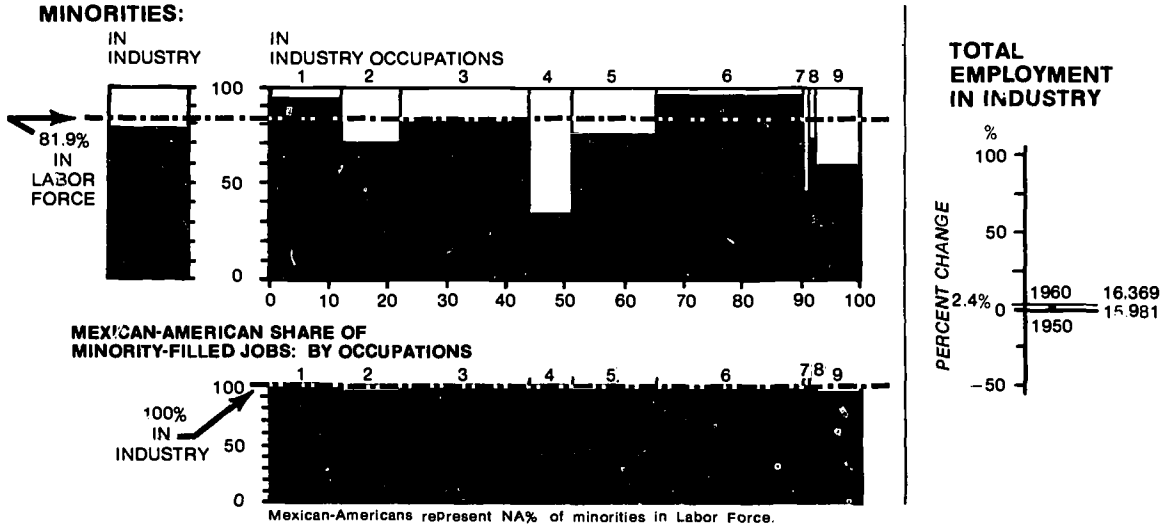
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ALL INDUSTRIES



WEBB COUNTY, TEXAS

ALL INDUSTRIES



OCCUPATIONS CODE:

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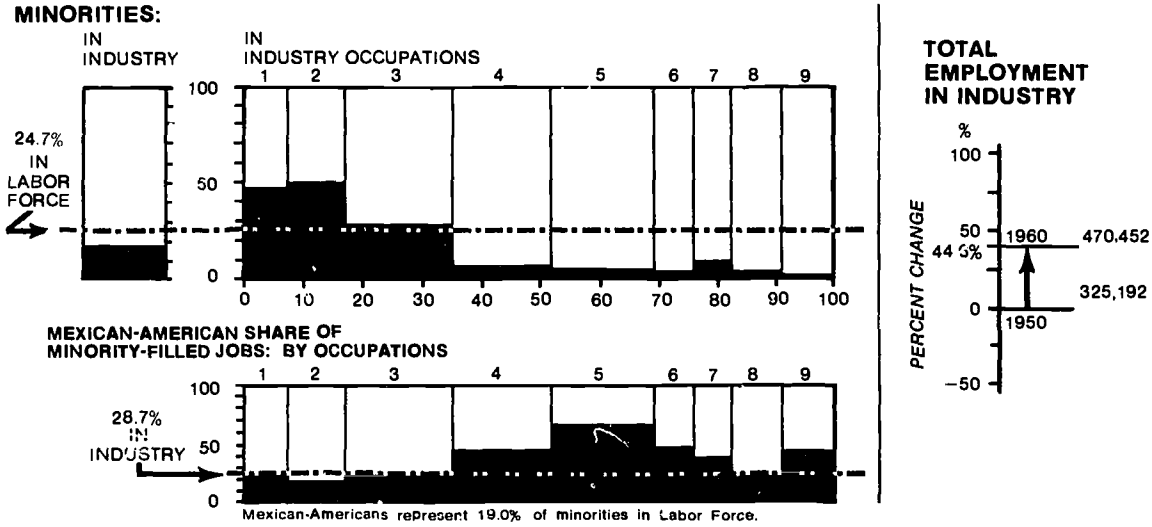
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ALL INDUSTRIES



The decline of this stairstep is so steep that once it passes beyond the demarcation line that separates blue-collar from white-collar occupations, the number of minority employees, scarcely without exception, never reaches a level that has a parity with the proportion that minorities represent in the civilian labor force of the county. In only two instances were there exceptions. In both Webb and Santa Fe Counties, where they are actually a majority in the population, the Spanish Surnameds exceeded their labor force parity in the salesworkers' occupations. The only other county where this occurred was Dona Aña, where the number in this occupation in the few reporting companies was so small as to be of little significance. In two other counties, Hidalgo and Cameron, where minorities also are actually the majority in the population, they did not gain their labor force parity in the sales occupations.

In none of these counties did the minorities reach their parity in the clerical and officeworkers occupation They came closest to achieving it in Orange, Bernalillo, and, again, Santa Fe. The gap in their employment level and this parity was pronounced in each of the other 105 separate white-collar occupational categories that are diagramed.

In contrast to their poor showing in the white-collar occupations, minority employees were quite heavily represented in the blue-collar occupations—and heaviest among laborers. In all but five of the 21 counties they were a majority of workers in that classification. And among minority laborers, Spanish Surnameds make up a majority in most of the counties. In only two instances did minority employees among service workers exceed the proportion they had among laborers.

These minorities are clearly the factory hands in the reporting companies, as is seen from the heavy representation they have among the semiskilled operatives, where their employment level fluctuates closely to what it is among service workers.

In the skilled craftsmen occupation, however, something appears that is at some variance with what has been observed in the country as a whole. In nine of the 21 counties, minority workers have a representation among craftsmen that is either close to or in excess of their proportion in local civilian labor forces.

Whatever factors have brought about this relatively better showing of minorities in the skilled trades may have important implications for ordering priorities in the efforts of creating equal employment opportunities. Much of that effort has been and is directed toward striking down institutional barriers which adversely affect minorities, such as some that are set up in the joint labor-management apprenticeship programs. The emphasis on these programs may have diverted attention from areas where larger payoffs are possible. Union rules and management compliance with them do sometimes serve to perpetuate systems that militate against minorities entering certain trades. This has been amply demonstrated by F. Ray Marshall and Vernon Briggs.[10] But where are the rules and formal

[10] F. Ray Marshall and Vernon Briggs, *"The Negro and Apprenticeship,"* The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1967, pp. 1–283.

institutions that have kept potentially skilled workers from crossing the threshold to white-collar jobs? They are less visible, but only because they are less formalized. Being less formalized they should be less defensible, and more subject to the Commission's persuasive influences or the power contained in Executive Order 11246.

The county employment pattern diagrams disclose that the Spanish Surnamed generally has been favored over other minorities in gaining entry to the skilled trades in these counties. They do not exceed their parity with other minorities in this occupation in all the cases reviewed, but in many counties it is here that they register their high watermark against other minorities. There may be a causal relationship: That minorities stand as well as they do in the skilled trades in the region and that Spanish Surnameds generally dominate among minorities in this occupation, indeed, reach their highest level above other minorities at this point, may indicate a sequence that may have primal value to the Commission.

We who have lived in the Southwest have witnessed a crudity of the times that is of more than casual significance. Simply put, when Spanish Surnameds move into a heretofore Anglo employment preserve, their entry seems to make it much easier for other minorities, such as the Negro, to gain admittance. There is no way to state it more gently. The observations of a lifetime confirm what one does not need statistics to vertify: Part of the ambience of this region, plainly stated, is that although Spanish Surnameds generally are not fully acceptable to the dominant society, they have been more accepted than Negroes—in some places more accepted than Orientals, in many places more than Indians.

There is no certainty about there being a causal sequence which results in better job opportunities for nonwhites when Spanish Surnameds have gained the initial minority acceptance in an industry or in occupations above the service, laborer, or operative level, but such a sequence is suggested by the employment patterns shown in these reports. In the long series of 299 employment-pattern diagrams for industries by county, in appendix H, it can be seen how often Spanish Surnameds dominate numerically among minority workers who have secured placements that are ranked above the service, laborer, and operative occupations. And the occupations where this dominance is greatest in an industry are usually not the ones where minorities taken together have numerical dominance. These patterns suggest a sequence where Spanish Surnameds moving into an occupation are followed by other minorities—something that can only be confirmed by observing these industries over time.

The suggested sequence can be seen by examining the employment pattern diagram for Harris County, a metropolis in which Negroes are the dominant minority group. In every industry there, a very steep descent is seen in the share minorities represent in occupations as these are scanned from left to right, from service workers to officials and managers. The profile of minority employment invariably crests at the far left of the scale. But this is not so for the Spanish Surnamed. Their share of the minority-filled jobs crests far to the right on the occupational scale in industry after industry, almost the reverse of the job profile for all minorities.

The pattern in Los Angeles County, where Spanish Surnameds are the largest minority group, is similar to that for Harris County. The proportion of jobs going to minorities descends as occupations ascend from left to right, but the share Spanish Surnameds have of minority-filled jobs is greater toward the right of the occupational scale than it is on the left. The principal irregularity in this profile of Spanish Surnamed employment in Los Angeles comes in the occupations of technicians and professionals where their share of minority-filled jobs drops sharply. But this is accounted for by the fact that Orientals have such a high representation in these occupations; it is not because Negroes outnumber them in those positions.

The suggestion that the improvement of Spanish Surnamed employment opportunities has importance for other minority groups is not meant to suggest that the Commission can or should give preference to Spanish Surnameds, or any other minority group, in its efforts to revise employment patterns. To do so would be contrary to its purposes, if not unlawful. However, it would be quite consistent with the Commission's purposes and the law for it to utilize its limited resources in those areas where an enlargement of job opportunities for the largest possible number might be expected.

The suggestion here is that an industry or occupation into which Spanish Surnameds have gained substantial entrance is likely to be one in which wider openings for nonwhite workers can be made with minimum effort. The social distance separating Anglo managers and workers from potential minority managers and workers has already been lessened. An affirmative program to hasten this process should not be seen as a stalking horse strategy to advance Spanish Surnameds, but rather one to advance all minorities.

The Pattern: White-Collar Occupations

But neither Spanish Surnameds, nor all minorities considered together, have entered white-collar occupations in numbers proportionate to their size in the labor force. Over one-half of all jobs in the reporting companies throughout the region are white-collar jobs, but of the Spanish Surnameds working for these companies only 21.1 percent hold white-collar jobs, and almost one-half of these are in clerical positions.

It is odd that in the group of 20 counties Spanish Surnameds do less well in gaining white-collar jobs (20.1 percent) than they do in the region as a whole. (This is not the case in professional occupations, where they gain slightly.) The oddity comes from the fact that these are counties where Spanish Surnameds are a substantial part, sometimes a majority of the population. That fact in itself does not seem to enhance their movement to such jobs. It will be shown in a later section that this also holds true for Negroes: They gain fewer white-collar jobs in those counties where they are a larger part of the total population than they do in the whole region. Both minorities make a better showing in gaining white-collar positions in areas where they are proportionately less of the labor force.

These findings indicate that the unfavorable occupational positions of these two minorities cannot solely be laid to their having an unhappy "strangeness" or "foreign" quality, when seen against the background of the local labor force. In areas where their numbers make them a more prominent part of that background, the forces that work to bar their entering white-collar work appear to be stronger.

Nor is it likely that this situation can be explained on the grounds that the educational gap existing between Spanish Surnameds and Anglos in these 20 counties accounts for all of this difference. Generally speaking, the 20 counties embrace the larger urban areas of the region and very probably offer better educational opportunities to Spanish Surnameds than is true of the region as a whole. Further more, Spanish Surnameds do find more placements in these counties in the top-skilled blue-collar occupation of craftsmen than they do elsewhere. Their education and skills take them further in blue-collar work but not to those many white-collar jobs, such as much saleswork, which are less demanding in terms of education and skills than are many of the craftsmen jobs.

This situation is plainly suggestive of some form of social caste system that endeavors to sustain a wall between blue- and white-collar jobs. The notion of caste at the work place appears to be greater where the size of the Spanish Surnamed group is larger. Perhaps size itself may be perceived as threatening, so that the forms of caste become more rigidly guarded.

It should also be observed that Negroes fare better in entering both white-collar and the higher blue-collar positions in the 20 counties than they do in the region as a whole, although their numbers represent proportionately less of the labor force here than in the whole region. Both in the case of the Negro and the Spanish Surnamed, the employer reports offer no evidence to support the view that a relative increase in the size of a minority in the labor force is accompanied by any overall increase in the influence they may have over their occupational position. This may occur in a county like Webb, where minorities make up an overwhelming 81.9 percent of the local labor force; but, then, it did not occur in Hidalgo where they are an impressive 66.9 percent of the local labor force.

The observation from census data that female Spanish Surnameds had found it easier than male Spanish Surnameds to cross the barrier to white-collar jobs is supported by the EEO data from the whole region. Whereas 62.1 percent of all females listed in the employer information reports were shown in white-collar jobs, only 36.4 percent of the Spanish Surnamed females were in such jobs. However, the relative gap between these two figures is less than that for Spanish Surnamed males; only 14.1 percent of them are in white-collar jobs, in contrast to the 42.9 percent of all males who are in such jobs. This 14.1 percent is less than the 16.2 percent of Spanish Surnamed males who were shown in white-collar jobs according to the 1960 census figures for all employed persons. Thus, with respect to getting white-collar jobs, Spanish Surnamed males can be said to have fared less well in 1966 in companies subject to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Office of Contract Compliance than they did in all enterprises in 1960. As for females, the 36.4 percent shown for white-collar jobs in the employer reports is slightly higher than the 36 percent shown for such jobs in the census reports. The Negro females in the reporting companies fared about the same as the Spanish Surnamed females: 34.3 percent of them were in white-collar jobs. But this definitely was not the case for Negro males. Only 9 percent of them were shown in white-collar jobs in the reporting companies. They had a smaller proportion of employees in each white-collar occupational category than did any of the other nonwhite males or Spanish Surnamed males. Negro females in several instances had a higher proportion of their total numbers employed by these companies in some white-collar categories than did other nonwhite or Spanish Surnamed females.

When all minorities are considered together, 14.9 percent of their males are in white-collar jobs and 38.9 percent of their females are in such jobs. Considering both sexes together, only 22.2 percent of all minority workers in the reporting companies were in white-collar jobs, whereas among all workers a majority, 50.3 percent, were in such jobs. But a more significant comparison should be made between Anglo workers alone and minorities. Of all Anglo employees in the reporting companies, a substantial majority, 56.7 percent, were in white-collar occupations. Of the 1,959,850 white-collar jobs in the reporting companies in the Southwest, 1,809,961 are held by Anglos and only 149,889 went to minority workers. The proportion of all Anglo workers in such jobs is over 2½ times as large as the proportion of all minorities working in them.

An interesting aspect of minorities in the white-collar occupations is that Orientals have a higher percentage, 58.1 percent, of their employed numbers working in

those occupations than do Anglos. This is due to the fact that male Orientals have an extraordinarily high proportion of their number, 21.8 percent, in professional occupations, and female Orientals have an equally extraordinary proportion of their employed numbers in clerical occupations, 52.7 percent. Yet, both male and female Orientals are well underrepresented among officials, managers, and salesworkers.

The figure of 149,889 minority workers in all white-collar occupations is almost exactly the same as the number of minority workers in the single occupational category of laborer, which is 148,455. Laborer jobs constitute only 8.1 percent of all the jobs available in the reporting companies, and 47 percent of those working as laborers are minority workers.

This imbalance appears even more extreme when only the jobs held by men are examined. There are 255,253 men working as laborers in these companies. Minority male workers fill 123,418 of those jobs, or 48.3 percent. Among the minority workers, the Spanish Surnamed male provides the largest group of laborers, 68,235, followed by Negro males, 49, 635. Again, although minority male workers comprise only 17.2 percent of all the male workers in these companies, they account for 48.3 percent of those males working as laborers.

The Pattern: The "Negro Counties"

This section examines the pattern of employment in those counties of the Southwest in which Negroes make up 10 percent or more of the total population. There are 97 such counties; they are listed in appendix G. An inexact shorthand phrase is used, referring to this group of selected counties as the "Negro counties" when comparing it to the previously discussed group of 20 selected "Spanish Surnamed counties."

The EEO–1 reports gathered employment information on 2,496,793 employees in the 97 counties. There were 192,176 Negro workers, or 7.6 percent of the total employees. Thus, it is apparent at the outset that Negroes are gravely underrepresented in the reporting companies in these counties in all of which Negroes were 10 percent or more of the population. Interestingly, the number of Spanish Surnamed workers exceeded Negroes in these counties. There were 214,949 Spanish Surnameds, making 8.6 percent of the total employees. These counties account for almost 80 percent of all Negro employees reported for the region, but less than 60 percent of the Spanish Surnamed employees.

Table 4 shows the distribution of minority workers by occupation and their percentages of total jobs in each occupation. Minority workers fared less favorably in these counties than they did in the 20 "Spanish Surnamed counties." They hold slightly less of all white-collar jobs, fewer of the craftsmen jobs, and even less of operative jobs. They fill 47.6 percent of all laborer jobs and increase their share of service jobs, holding 37.8 percent of the total. Spanish Surnameds best the Negroes in the share of jobs they take in every occupational category, except for service workers where Negroes hold over 60 per cent of the minority-filled positions.

In this setting, there can be little doubt that the service worker positions gained by Negroes are overwhelmingly of the humblest, most marginal type, such as janitorial, food serving, or refuse handling. In these counties not even the Spanish Surnameds compete with the

TABLE 4.—Minority and occupational distribution, "Negro counties," Southwest

Employees [1]	Occupation									
	Officials and managers	Professionals	Technicians	Salesworkers	Office and Clerical	Craftsmen	Operatives	Laborers	Service workers	Total
All employees	214,321	234,051	133,875	185,765	461,887	374,410	474,198	209,436	208,850	2,496,793
Occupational distribution	8.5	9.3	5.3	7.4	18.4	14.9	18.9	8.3	8.3	100.0
Participation rate	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Negro	1,533	3,084	6,153	4,142	14,922	13,521	54,275	44,537	50,009	192,176
Occupational distribution	0.7	1.6	3.2	2.1	7.7	7.0	28.2	23.1	26.0	100.0
Participation rate	0.7	1.3	4.5	2.2	3.2	3.6	11.4	21.2	23.9	7.6
Oriental	1,471	5,585	3,155	1,095	9,012	3,450	4,533	2,748	4,669	35,718
Occupational distribution	4.1	15.6	8.8	3.0	25.2	9.6	12.6	7.6	13.0	100.0
Participation rate	0.6	2.3	2.3	0.5	1.9	0.9	0.9	1.3	2.2	1.4
American Indian	431	282	327	509	1,037	1,499	1,971	1,188	764	8,008
Occupational distribution	5.3	3.5	4.0	6.3	12.9	18.7	24.6	14.8	9.5	100.0
Participation rate	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.3
Spanish Surnamed	3,879	3,489	5,161	6,675	21,612	30,715	68,452	51,377	23,589	214,949
Occupational distribution	1.8	1.6	2.4	3.1	10.0	14.2	31.8	23.9	10.9	100.0
Participation rate	1.8	1.4	3.8	3.5	4.6	8.2	14.4	24.5	11.2	8.6
Minority total	7,314	12,440	14,796	12,421	46,583	49,185	129,231	99,850	79,031	450,851
Occupational distribution	1.6	2.7	3.2	2.7	10.3	10.9	28.6	22.1	17.5	100.0
Participation rate	3.4	5.3	11.0	6.6	10.0	13.1	27.2	47.6	37.8	18.0

[1] Occupational distributions and participation rates are expressed in percentages.

Source: Data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on Employer EEO–1 Reports, 1966.

Negroes in taking such jobs, as they did in the "Spanish Surnamed counties" where they held almost one-half of the minority-filled service worker jobs. Here, they have less than 30 percent of them.

Again, it can be shown from these figures that Spanish Surnameds tend to move into occupations ahead of Negroes, even in these quite probably minority-conscious communities. They are represented in the craftsmen occupations with an employment level very close to the percentage they have in the total work force. But not so the Negro; he has less than one-half of what his numbers should give him in that occupation. In the white-collar occupations neither of these two minorities do quite as well as they do in the 20 "Spanish Surnamed counties," nor, for that matter, as well as they do in the region as a whole.

It seems clear that the presence of sizable minority groups in a local population is not necessarily a factor favorable to their advancement in employment, certainly not one that enhances their chances of donning a white collar. Orientals, for instance, in Texas, where their numbers are quite small, are more favorably situated in white-collar jobs than in California, where their numbers are much larger.

In table 5 a summary account is given of the placement of both Negro and Spanish Surnameds in white-collar occupations in the region, the "Negro counties," and the "Spanish Surnamed counties." The percentage of employed members of these two groups who have white-collar positions is compared to that for all workers in the reporting companies, with the difference between the two figures shown. These differences are not great, except for the better showing Negroes make in gaining white-collar jobs in the "Spanish Surnamed counties." However, the most significant aspect of these comparisons is that a relative increase in size of a minority in a given local population does not appear to be influential in improving its occupational position with respect to white-collar jobs.

TABLE 5.—Minority percentage distribution in white-collar jobs and difference from total distribution

	Negro counties [1]	Spanish-Surnamed counties [1]	Southwest
Percent of total employees in white-collar jobs	48.9	50.7	50.3
Percent Negro	15.3	20.0	16.4
Difference from total	33.6	30.7	33.9
Percent Spanish Surnamed	19.9	20.1	21.1
Difference from total	29.0	30.6	29.2
Percent all minorities	20.5	23.1	22.2
Difference from total	28.4	27.6	28.1

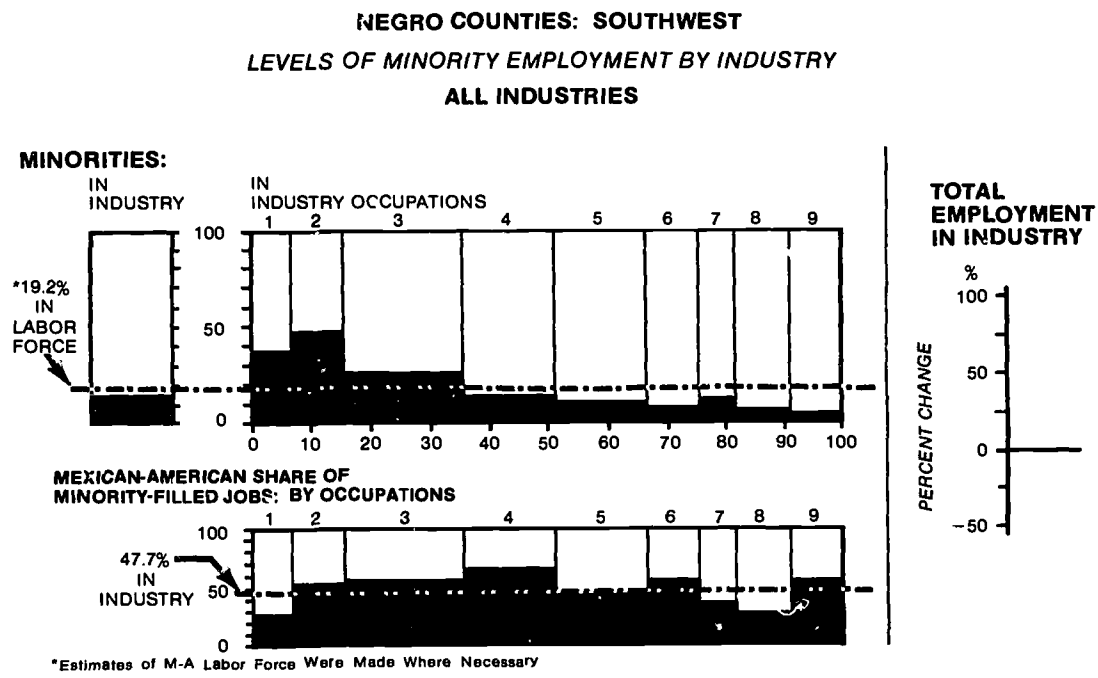
[1] See appendix G.

Source: Data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on EEO-1 Forms, 1966.

EP diagram 24 displays the minority employment pattern for these counties. It should be compared to EP Diagram–1.

The Pattern: Prime Contractors

Since long before the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 the Federal Government has held a power-



ful pry-pole with which it could move some employers to make improvements in the job opportunities of minorities. Under five Presidents, beginning with Roosevelt in 1941, and continuing with Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, there have been Presidential Executive orders affirming that there should be no employment discrimination in companies that serve as Government contractors. Those who accepted Government contracts also have been required to accept the nondiscrimination clauses they contained. For over a quarter of a century this has been the stated policy.[11]

Each President since Roosevelt has reasserted this policy and vowed enforcement of it. The Executive orders that have issued from recent administrations have sought to lengthen the leverage against employers and to set up effective administrative agencies to make use of it. Under President Eisenhower, enforcement of this policy was vested in Vice President Richard M. Nixon, who was made head of the Administration's Committee on Government Contracts. President Kennedy established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and named Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson to head it. After the latter acceded to the presidency, the present Executive Order 11246 was issued in 1965. It contains provisions that enable the Secretary of Labor to cancel, terminate, or suspend contracts with employers who do not comply with the nondiscrimination clauses in their contracts and to declare them ineligible for further Government contracts. All employers covered by Executive Order 11246 were required to file information on minority employment. This information is included in the data used as a basis for this study.

Following such a long period of governmental efforts, it would be a reasonable expectation to find that employers who were subject to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance in 1966 should be distinguished readily by the improved work opportunities minority workers have with them as contrasted with other employers. Unfortunately, this is not the case.

Each employer covered by Executive Order 11246 was asked to indicate on the EEO–1 report form whether he was a prime contractor or first-tier subcontractor. For the purpose of examining the employment patterns of those subject to the Executive order all employers who were prime contractors were grouped together. The employment information from this group was then summarized by State so that it could be compared with the information submitted by those employers in each State who were neither prime contractors nor first-tier contractors. The reason for not including information from first-tier contractors is that it seemed less certain that as high a proportion of them actually submitted the employment information. The burden is on the prime contractor simply to inform his subcontractors of their responsibilities under the Executive order.

It was not possible to include Texas in this comparison. The magnetic tape for Texas did not contain information that would enable the prime contractors to be separately considered. However, in the four remaining States it was possible to tabulate employment information for prime contractors having 1,232,944 employees. These employees were divided among the States as follows:

Arizona	52,205
California	1,069,348
Colorado	76,814
New Mexico	34,577

Those employers who were neither prime contractors nor first-tier subcontractors had 1,384,443 employees who were distributed among the four States roughly proportionate to the figures above.

In table 6 the percentage of minority employment in the work forces of the two groups of employers is shown by State and by occupation. In each State, minorities appear to fare worse with prime contractors

[11] Michael I. Sovern, "Legal Restraints on Racial Discrimination in Employment," *The Twentieth Century Fund*, New York, 1966, pp. 101–142.

TABLE 6.—Minority percentage of employment by occupations, prime contractors, and all other employers,[1] selected States

Occupation	Arizona		California		Colorado		New Mexico	
	Prime contractor	Others	Prime contractor	Others	Prime contractor	Others	Prime contractor	Others
Officials and managers	2.0	5.7	2.5	4.8	0.8	2.3	4.6	11.9
Professionals	2.4	4.1	5.0	7.2	1.4	3.6	5.0	6.3
Technicians	5.2	7.4	9.7	12.5	4.3	7.4	10.4	16.9
Salesworkers	5.9	11.7	5.0	8.2	2.6	4.6	16.1	24.9
Clerical and office	5.7	8.7	9.2	13.1	4.1	7.3	20.3	22.9
Craftsmen	9.9	21.2	11.4	15.9	(9.3)	(8.7)	21.7	31.1
Operatives	19.9	35.9	23.0	30.8	(17.5)	(17.2)	(49.0)	(45.6)
Laborers	45.3	56.6	37.6	47.8	(37.6)	(25.4)	62.1	74.0
Service workers	(33.3)	(23.0)	(33.9)	(28.3)	22.0	24.6	(65.1)	(52.1)
Total	11.9	21.7	13.2	19.5	9.9	12.3	22.7	35.6

[1] Excluding first-tier subcontractors.

Source: Data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from employer EEO–1 reports, 1966.

than they do with other employers. The few instances (in parentheses in the table) where minorities in an occupation are a higher percentage of those in the occupation when working for prime contractors rather than other employers are all in blue-collar occupations, mainly service workers, operatives, and laborers. Not in a single instance have minorities gained a higher percentage of the white-collar jobs with prime contractors than with employers who have no government contracts.

Table 7 separates the different minority groups to show the percentage of positions attained by each in occupational categories with both groups of employers. Those instances where a minority gained a better representation in an occupation with prime contractors rather than with other employers appear in parentheses. All of these instances seem insignificant. In only one case, involving Indians in New Mexico, did a minority group register more than a 0.3-percent gain in white-collar jobs working for prime contractors than with other employers. On the other hand, in many instances where minorities fare better with employers who are not Government contractors, the percentage differences are often considerable, especially for Spanish Surnameds.

TABLE 7.—Breakdown of minority percentage of employment by occupations, prime contractors and other employers,[1] selected States

Occupation	Arizona		California		Colorado		New Mexico	
	Prime contractor	Others	Prime contractor	Others	Prime contractor	Others	Prime contractor	Others
All occupations:								
Negro	2.2	2.4	4.7	6.2	1.9	3.8	1.0	1.6
Oriental	.2	.2	1.8	2.1	.3	.5	(.3)	(.1)
Indian	1.1	1.4	.2	.3	(.3)	(.2)	1.8	4.3
Spanish Surnamed	8.2	17.6	6.4	10.7	7.2	7.6	19.4	29.4
Service workers:								
Negro	(14.9)	(6.3)	(21.0)	(14.8)	10.3	11.4	(6.4)	(4.6)
Oriental	.2	.3	(3.8)	(3.0)	.5	.9	.4	.4
Indian	(5.6)	(1.0)	.3	.4	.2	.3	3.3	4.0
Spanish Surnamed	12.5	15.2	8.7	10.0	10.9	11.8	(54.8)	(43.0)
Laborers:								
Negro	(6.6)	(5.3)	12.8	12.8	5.1	5.1	(4.1)	(3.2)
Oriental	0	.2	1.6	2.1	(.4)	(.3)	(.3)	(0)
Indian	4.3	6.2	.6	.8	.6	.6	4.2	14.0
Spanish Surnamed	34.3	44.8	22.5	31.9	(31.3)	19.3	53.4	56.7
Operatives:								
Negro	(3.3)	(2.6)	(8.9)	(8.6)	3.0	3.0	1.5	1.6
Oriental	(.2)	(.1)	1.3	1.5	.3	.5	0	0
Indian	(1.8)	(1.7)	.4	.5	(.6)	(.4)	7.3	11.0
Spanish Surnamed	14.5	31.3	12.3	20.1	13.4	13.1	(40.0)	(33.0)
Craftsmen:								
Negro	(1.2)	(.7)	3.2	3.2	1.2	1.4	.4	1.0
Oriental	0	0	1.2	1.2	.2	.2	0	0
Indian	.8	1.6	.3	.5	(.6)	(.1)	(1.6)	(1.5)
Spanish Surnamed	7.7	18.6	6.6	10.9	(7.2)	(6.8)	19.7	28.4
Clerical and office:								
Negro	(1.0)	(.7)	3.4	3.5	1.2	3.0	(.5)	(.3)
Oriental	.1	.2	2.0	3.0	.2	.4	.1	.1
Indian	.2	.3	.1	.2	.1	.1	.8	1.4
Spanish Surnamed	4.2	7.4	3.6	6.3	2.4	3.6	18.7	21.0
Sales Workers:								
Negro	.7	.9	1.2	2.7	.9	1.0	.3	.3
Oriental	0	.1	.9	.9	.1	.3	(.2)	(.1)
Indian	0	.3	.1	.2	(.1)	(0)	(1.5)	(.7)
Spanish Surnamed	5.0	10.2	2.7	4.3	1.3	3.2	14.0	23.6
Technicians:								
Negro	1.3	2.0	3.0	4.7	.9	3.4	.5	1.2
Oriental	(.4)	(.3)	2.9	3.1	(.9)	(.8)	.2	.6
Indian	.4	.5	.2	.2	(.2)	(.1)	.5	1.7
Spanish Surnamed	3.0	4.4	3.5	4.2	2.1	2.9	9.1	13.3
Professionals:								
Negro	.2	.6	.8	1.8	.2	1.1	.5	1.0
Oriental	.8	.8	2.8	3.1	.7	.9	(1.2)	(.1)
Indian	.1	.2	0	.1	(.1)	(0)	0	1.4
Spanish Surnamed	1.1	2.5	1.3	2.1	.3	1.4	3.1	3.8
Officials and managers:								
Negro	.1	.1	.4	.8	0	.5	(.1)	(0)
Oriental	.1	.2	.6	1.2	0	.2	0	0
Indian	.1	.2	.1	.1	0	.1	.2	.6
Spanish Surnamed	1.6	5.1	1.2	2.5	.6	1.4	4.2	11.2

Source: Data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from employer EEO-1 reports, 1966.

This record has a rather profound signifiance. It reflects so adversely on the results of our present public policies concerning this subject that two tests were made of the analysis.

To begin with, it is clear that the work forces of employers who are not prime contractors include a substantially higher percentage of minority workers than do those of the prime contractors: 19.3 percent for the former and 13.2 percent for the latter. However, even though they employed relatively fewer minority workers, it was thought that they might have accomplished a better distribution by upgrading them to higher occupations, thereby compensating somewhat for the lower percentage hired. But this did not prove to be true.

It is recognized that there are differences between the types of work performed by the two groups of employers. These differences mean that the two groups consist of entirely different industrial mixes, which in turn produce a difference between them in the numbers of employees assigned to occupational categories. For instance, prime contractors have 54.5 percent of their total employees assigned to white-collar occupations, while the other group of employers have 48.8 percent. The contractor group has 17.9 percent of its total employees in craftsmen jobs and 6.4 percent in laborer jobs, while the other employers have 12.5 percent and 9 percent in these jobs, respectively.

With these different occupational distributions of employees, there should be, of course, a difference in the percentages that minority workers had in any given occupation. But the question is: Were minority workers distributed between the occupations as were all employees working for each employer group? If not, how far did their actual occupational distribution vary from that of all employees?

A chi-square test provides a means of evaluating the occupational distribution patterns of minorities to see if they are significantly different from the distribution pattern that all employees had with each group of employers. In applying this test, an assumption was made. It was assumed that both groups of employers had access to the same labor market, one that extends throughout the region. The hypothesis to be tested was that there would be no difference in the distribution of minority workers to occupations and that of all workers. Expectedly, the hypothesis proved false, but the test provides a measure of how far the actual observed distribution varied from the expected distribution. This variation was greatest in the case of prime contractors. Minority workers were distributed in the different occupations in a manner that varied more from that of all employees than was the case with employers who had no government contracts.

Table 8 shows the calculations made. The observed frequency (f_o) of minority employment in each occupation is compared to the expected frequency (f_e). The difference between these two frequencies in each occupation is then squared $(f_o-f_e)^2$, divided by the expected frequency and summed. The sum of the difference (x^2) for the two groups are quite close, but, again, those employers who are not government contractors came closer (to a hypothetical zero) in placing their minority employees in occupations with the same frequency with which all employees were placed, 53.14 as against 57.58. The tests are significant at the 1-percent level.

Yet another test was made of the data. An index of the occupational position of minority workers was constructed for the two groups of employers. This index shows the relative standing minority workers have in relation to all workers in each employer group. In these calculations, the percentage of all workers and of minority workers in each occupation was weighted by an earnings figure (California median male earnings per occupation). The sum of these weighted figures for both groups of workers were related to each other to produce an index number for both prime contractors and the other employers. The index for prime contractors was 88, indicating that the occupational position of their minority workers to that of all their workers stood as 88 to 100. For those minorities work-

TABLE 8.—*Chi-square test, prime contractors, and all other employers*[1]

Occupation	Observed distribution of minorities (f_o)	Distribution of total labor force (f_e)	$\frac{(f_o-f_e)^2}{f_e}$
PRIME CONTRACTORS			
Officials and managers	1.5	8.2	5.47
Professionals	5.8	16.3	6.76
Technicians	4.4	6.3	.57
Salesworkers	1.6	4.2	1.61
Clerical and office	13.4	19.5	1.91
Craftsmen	15.6	17.9	.30
Operatives	30.8	17.7	9.70
Laborers	18.6	6.4	23.26
Service workers	7.9	3.0	8.00
			Chi-square=x^2=57.58
OTHER EMPLOYERS			
Officials and managers	2.0	9.3	5.73
Professionals	1.6	5.9	3.13
Technicians	2.5	4.4	.82
Salesworkers	4.9	10.4	2.91
Clerical and office	9.9	18.8	4.21
Craftsmen	8.5	12.5	1.28
Operatives	26.6	17.8	4.35
Laborers	23.7	9.0	21.01
Service workers	20.0	11.3	6.70
			Chi-square=x^2=53.14

[1] Excluding first-tier contractor.

Source: Data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on employer EEO-1 reports, 1966.

ing for employers who were not prime contractors, it was 86.8.[12] Table 9 shows these calculations.

Thus, in this test minority employees enjoy a relative occupational position with all employees that is 1.2 points higher in the prime contractor group than the other group. The difference is quite small. It surely is not substantial enough to base on it the case for the efficacy of present policies to enforce nondiscrimination clauses in government contracts.

The four analytical views taken of the employment pattern of minorities working for prime contractors reveal an unexpected pattern. Returning to table 7, a rather puzzling feature of Spanish Surnamed employment can be seen. There are only 34 instances out of the 144 examined where the occupational position of a given minority appears better among prime contractors. Jobs held by Negroes account for 11 of these; Indians can claim nine of them, Orientals eight, and Spanish Surnameds only five. None of the five involving Spanish Surnameds are in the white-collar occupations. This fact, plus the better showing Spanish Surnameds have with employers who are not government contractors, may indicate that Spanish Surnameds often receive less consideration than do other minorities if and when prime contractors acting in response to government urging endeavor to follow an affirmative minority employment policy.

It may be that Spanish Surnameds are not thought of as "enough" of a minority—not dark enough, not large enough in numbers, not vocal enough to satisfy the employer's need for demonstrating an affirmative employment policy to the office of Federal Contract Compliance, if, indeed, that need is felt in a real sense.

But all of this leaves unanswered why minorites have fared better with companies where until very recently there has never been even lip service to the objectives of equal employment opportunity. One can only speculate on the answer. It was noted that the two groups of employers are roughly the same size in terms of total employees. It seems a reasonable possibility that those who are prime contractors have characteristics that put them in a favored position over other employers: They generally represent newer technological enterprises, ones that are demanded by the Government's latest defense, space, and other needs; they undoubtedly have experienced rapid and large growth, being helped in that growth by Government procurements; and they are quite likely to be able to compete better in the labor market by paying higher wages when bidding for the labor they need and desire—sometimes because of the liberality of Government contracts when urgent governmental needs must be met.

The schema, thus, is one where prime contractors are best able to "cream" the labor market. Other employers, having a generally less favorable position in these terms, choose their employees from the labor market after it has been creamed. Creaming in this usage does not mean deliberate hiring according to discriminatory ethnic tastes, but according to rigid and often artificial employment prerequisites and testing procedures that screen out large parts of the minority labor force due to factors related to their socioeconomic characteristics. High thresholds are erected before even

[12] No significantly different results are yielded in this test when earnings figures, other than California's, are used. The test was made using Texas occupational median earnings and the results were very similar, with the respective indices being 82.3 and 80.6.

TABLE 9.—Relative occupational index of minorities, prime contractors, and all other employers [1]

Occupation	Male median earnings, California (y_i)	Prime contractors				Others			
		Minorities		Total employees		Minorities		Total employees	
		Percent (x_i)	(x_iy_i)	Percent (x_i)	(x_iy_i)	Percent (x_i)	(x_iy_i)	Percent (x_i)	(x_iy_i)
Officials and managers	$7,606	1.5	11,409.0	8.2	62,369.2	2.0	15,212.0	9.3	70,735.8
Professionals [2]	7,403	5.8	42,937.4	16.3	120,668.9	1.6	8,792.0	5.9	32,420.0
Technicians [2]	7,403	4.4	32,573.2	6.3	46,638.9	2.5	13,737.5	4.4	24,178.6
Salesworkers	5,669	1.6	9,070.4	4.2	23,809.8	4.9	22,878.1	10.4	58,957.8
Clerical and office	5,141	13.4	68,889.4	19.5	100,249.5	9.9	50,895.9	18.8	96,650.
Craftsmen	6,033	15.6	94,114.8	17.9	107,990.7	8.5	51,285.5	12.5	75,412.5
Operatives	5,062	30.8	155,909.6	17.7	89,597.4	26.6	134,649.2	17.8	90,103.6
Laborers	3,826	18.6	71,163.6	6.4	24,486.4	23.7	90,676.2	9.0	34,434.0
Service workers	3,581	7.9	31,449.9	3.0	11,943.0	20.0	79,620.0	11.3	44,985.3
$\Sigma(x_iy_i)/100=$			5,175.17		5,877.54		4,755.64		5,475.31

Prime contractor relative occupational index $= \frac{5,175.17}{5,877.54} = 88.0$; other employers [1] relative occupational index $= \frac{4,755.64}{5,475.31} = 86.8$

[1] Excluding 1st tier contractors.

[2] Earnings for professional and technician were combined in the census.

Source: Data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on Employer EEO-1 Reports, 1966. U.S. Census of Population: 1960, "Detailed Characteristics," California PC(1)-6D, table 124.

entry jobs, thresholds such as high school diplomas, satisfactory test scores on paper and pencil tests of literary ability, examinations on cultural subjects that are only dubiously job related; all of these may serve to screen out persons capable of satisfactory performance on the job in question.[13] They are used extensively by employers who have the ability to take their pick of what is available in the labor market.

Title VII, of course, gives the Commission authority to examine the nature of ability tests that are used by employers and to determine if they are "designed, intended, or used to discriminate because of race" (sec. 703(h)). This language makes it unclear whether ability tests that are not designed deliberately for that purpose or used with such intention, but produce results that would be the same if they had, can be set aside. Certainly this is an area where the Commission's technical services might be profitably enlarged. A growing body of studies confirm those criticisms of testing procedures that the Commission has already made in its "Guidelines On Employment Testing Procedures." There is a need for bringing the findings of these studies together under an official format so as to increase employer awareness of how tests based on job-related criteria can serve their purposes and also improve employment opportunities for minorities.

These observations about the standing of minorities on the job ladder with prime contractors should not be read as a conclusion that contract compliance officers have been totally ineffective in altering minority patterns among such employers. What is not known is what the employment pattern for minorities would have been had no such efforts been made. The speculation made above on probable causes for the differing patterns between the two groups of employers is to suggest that there might be strong economic forces operating within the labor market to offset the efforts made by government contract officers. These forces come as a result of the favored position government contract employers have in the economy. That favored position is in itself an argument for stiffening the contractural expectations for equal opportunity. Those expectations need to be extended to the screening processes contractors use in selecting and promoting employers.

Dale L. Hiestand, in a study done for the U.S. Department of Labor, developed a stylized model to describe the general tendencies for utilizing minority manpower in the growth and decline of industries.[14] According to the patterns on which his model was based, he found very few Negroes employed in an industry during the initial period when its field is new. As it grows, some Negroes will be employed. As its growth rate slows down, more and more Negroes will be employed. When its growth rate is relatively slow, the employment of Negroes continues to increase; as the field declines, the employment of Negroes declines more slowly than that of whites. This model would fit with the characteristization given to prime contractors in the account above, namely, that they generally represent newer and more rapidly growing industries than do employers who are not government contractors. If this assumption is valid, it appears that all minorities, and especially Spanish Surnameds, are tracking the minority manpower pattern described in Hiestand's model.

That such strong economic forces might be exerting themselves within the institutional arrangements of the labor market requires at the very least that the sufficiency of present Federal contract policies on nondiscrimination be reexamined. If, in all these years, those policies have not been able to counterbalance, much less redirect, those economic forces, then there is a serious question about their adequacy. It goes without elaboration that there is no sanctity about economic forces or institutional arrangements for hiring. These are reordered in other areas to conform to the priorities set by our national purposes, and they can be reordered to help achieve equal employment opportunities.

Certainly, the results examined from these four States make a rather disappointing record should Federal contract compliance officers rest their case upon it after a quarter of a century of inserting nondiscrimination clauses into Federal contracts. It should also be quite important to learn whether this same record is duplicated in other areas of the country.

The Pattern: Consumer-Oriented Industries

Other investigations into minority employment problems have sensed a relationship between an industry's employment policies and the extent to which it is oriented toward the consumer market.[15] One conjecture is that companies producing goods and services directly for the consumer market are more likely than are other companies to have integrated work forces where they are dependent on an ethnically-mixed customer patronage. There is evidence in the data that this relationship does exist, but it does not support the conjectured reason for its existence.

The company reports were separated and summarized with the aid of the computer to compare the pattern of minority employment in consumer-oriented industries and other industries. Industries were dealt with

[13] Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "Guidelines On Employment Testing Procedures," Washington, D.C., 1966.

[14] Dale L. Hiestand, op. cit., pp. 58–77.

[15] Herbert R. Northrup, "The Racial Policies of American Industry," *Monthly Labor Review*, vol. 90, No. 7, July 1967, p. 42.

on the basis of their two-digit SIC code. Twenty industries were designated as consumer-oriented, and the reports of 6,720 establishments were separated from the other reports, being about one-third of the total reports. The two industry groups were also separated and summarized for the 20 "Spanish Surnamed counties," other counties, and all counties. The detailed tables for these groups in the region are shown in tables 10 and 11. The listing of industries selected for this examination is given in appendix F.

The consideration of which industries should be classed as consumer-oriented is somewhat arbitrary, since sometimes only a portion of a given industry may directly serve a consumer market. The list of those selected excludes such industries as communications and other utilities, which, although consumer-oriented, are not as greatly affected by the customer choices implicit in this hypothesis. One implication of the hypothesis is that industries serving a community in which there are prominent minority groups will endeavor to have those minorities represented in their work forces, at least, more so than do industries that are removed a step or so from any exercise of choice by the final consumer.

It was found that minority employees are employed at almost exactly the same rate by the two industry groups. However, minorities in the consumer-oriented group are more likely to be found in the white-collar occupations in proportions closer to that of all workers than they are in the other industries group. In the former, 66.7 percent of all employees are white-collar workers, and 42.4 percent of the minority employees are classified as white-collar workers, mainly as clerical workers. Among the nonconsumer-oriented industries only 46.8 percent of the jobs are white-collar ones, and only 17 percent of the minority employees are in such jobs. This latter group has a much smaller part of its total jobs in the sales and clerical categories, where minorities usually gain the major part of what white-collar jobs they hold.

It was also found that minorities come very close to gaining a parity with all workers in the share of craftsmen jobs that they hold in the consumer-oriented industries. Four percent of all workers are craftsmen in this group, and 3.8 percent of the minority employees are craftsmen.

In the nonconsumer-oriented industries 12.6 percent of minority employees are craftsmen, compared to the 17.5 percent of all employees who are in that occupation. For other occupations, the patterns follow very closely those observed heretofore. However, the stairstep of minority job shares descends in the nonconsumer-oriented industry group much more sharply as jobs advance on the occupational scale.

The assumption concerning consumer influence in this hypothesis is very probably false—minorities are not necessarily advanced into white-collar positions because of any presumed influence by minority customers pressing for such advancement or because in a more ethnically mixed population there is greater customer acceptance of minority employees in traditionally Anglo-filled jobs. If this were the case, one would expect to find higher proportions of Spanish Surnameds advanced to white-collar jobs in the "Spanish Surnamed counties" than in other counties. But just the reverse of this is true.

In the 20 counties, 41.3 percent of minority employees are in white-collar jobs, which constitute 63.4

TABLE 10.—Minority and occuaptional distribution "nonconsumer-oriented industry," Southwest

Employees[1]	Occupation									
	Office and managers	Professionals	Technicians	Sales-workers	Clerical	Craftsmen	Operatives	Laborers	Service workers	Total
All employees	240, 819	345, 676	190, 475	123, 119	530, 856	532, 824	665, 025	270, 518	141, 315	3, 040, 627
Occupational distribution	7.9	11.3	6.2	4.0	17.4	17.5	21.8	8.8	4.6	100.0
Participation rate	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Negro	1, 151	3, 590	7, 120	1, 230	12, 529	15, 142	60, 344	50, 166	38, 208	189, 480
Occupational distribution	0.6	1.8	3.7	0.6	6.6	7.9	31.8	26.4	20.1	100.0
Participation rate	0.4	1.0	3.7	0.9	2.3	2.8	9.0	18.5	27.0	6.2
Oriental	1, 147	7, 442	3, 900	443	6, 725	3, 802	5, 509	2, 626	2, 505	34, 099
Occupational distribution	3.3	21.8	11.4	1.2	19.7	11.1	16.1	7.7	7.3	100.0
Participation rate	0.4	2.1	2.0	0.3	1.2	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.7	1.1
American Indian	521	399	557	238	1, 079	2, 492	4, 062	2, 669	854	12, 871
Occupational distribution	4.0	3.0	4.3	1.8	8.3	19.3	31.5	20.7	6.6	100.0
Participation rate	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.4
Spanish Surnamed	3, 741	5, 339	7, 761	3, 045	20, 194	42, 995	101, 480	69, 108	18, 145	271, 808
Occupational distribution	1.3	1.9	2.8	1.1	7.4	15.8	37.3	25.4	6.6	100.0
Participation rate	1.5	1.5	4.0	2.4	3.8	8.0	15.2	25.5	12.8	8.9
Minority total	6, 560	16, 770	19, 338	4, 956	40, 527	64, 431	171, 395	124, 569	59, 712	508, 258
Occupational distribution	1.2	3.2	3.8	0.9	7.9	12.6	33.7	24.5	11.7	100.0
Participation rate	2.7	4.8	10.1	4.0	7.6	12.0	25.7	46.0	42.2	16.7

Occuptional distributions and participation rates are in percentages.

Source: Data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on employer EEO-1 reports, 1966.

TABLE 11.—Minority and occupational distribution "consumer-oriented industries," Southwest

Employees [1]	Occupation									
	Office and managers	Professionals	Technicians	Salesworkers	Clerical	Craftsmen	Operatives	Laborers	Service workers	Total
All employees	107,265	25,286	13,056	194,495	232,196	34,324	38,222	24,781	186,263	855,888
Occupational distribution	12.5	2.9	1.5	22.7	27.1	4.0	4.4	2.8	21.7	100.0
Participation rate	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Negro	1,049	287	318	4,847	8,345	1,305	6,172	4,600	25,245	52,168
Occupational distribution	2.0	0.5	0.6	9.2	15.9	2.5	11.8	8.8	48.3	100.0
Participation rate	0.9	1.1	2.4	2.4	3.5	3.8	16.1	18.5	13.5	6.0
Oriental	994	449	218	1,427	5,629	503	471	340	3,793	13,824
Occupational distribution	7.1	3.2	1.5	10.3	40.7	3.6	3.4	2.4	27.4	100.0
Participation rate	0.9	1.7	1.6	0.7	2.4	1.4	1.2	1.3	2.0	1.6
American Indian	304	53	24	784	530	104	136	100	871	2,915
Occupational distribution	10.4	1.8	0.8	26.8	18.4	3.5	4.6	3.4	29.8	100.0
Participation rate	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.3
Spanish Surnamed	3,815	525	716	14,329	17,084	3,602	7,777	5,350	22,414	75,612
Occupational distribution	5.0	0.6	0.9	18.9	22.5	4.7	10.2	7.0	29.6	100.0
Participation rate	3.5	2.0	5.4	7.3	7.3	10.4	20.3	21.5	12.0	8.8
Minority total	6,162	1,314	1,276	21,387	31,597	5,514	14,556	10,390	52,323	144,519
Occupational distribution	4.2	0.9	0.8	14.7	21.8	3.8	10.0	7.1	36.2	100.0
Participation rate	5.7	5.1	9.7	10.9	13.6	16.0	38.0	41.9	28.0	16.8

Occupational distributions and participation rates are in percentages.

Source: Data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on employer EEO-1 reports, 1966.

percent of total jobs in the consumer-oriented industries. In the other counties, 55.2 percent of Spanish Surnamed employees in consumer-oriented industries are in white-collar jobs, which are 68.8 percent of all jobs. In both sales and clerical jobs, in which one might think Spanish Surnameds would have a more ready acceptance in the 20 counties, they actually do no better than they do in the other counties.

These figures raise the suspicion of a job caste that softens more slowly where a minority is more sizable in the population, maybe because of its very size. Customer acceptance, or what is presumed as acceptance, of a Spanish Surnamed sales employee appears no greater in counties where Spanish Surnameds are a larger part of the population, nor where they are a larger part of the work force in consumer-oriented industries. There are more Spanish Surnameds in the sales jobs of these industries outside the 20 counties than within them, although the number of all Spanish Surnamed employees in the industries is much larger within the 20 counties.

This being the case, it is believed that the reason minorities generally fare better in securing sales and clerical jobs in consumer-oriented industries does not come so much from consumer influences as it does from labor market considerations. One of the significant differences between the two industry groups is the fact that one-half of all jobs in the consumer-oriented enterprises are either in sales or clerical; they account for one-half the work force. In contrast to this, only a little over one-fifth of the total jobs in other industries are in sales or clerical, 4 percent for the former and 17.4 percent for the latter.

It is not unusual to find large numbers of minorities entering those occupations of an industry which predominate in its work force, whether they are in service, laborer, operative, craftsmen, or clerical. The employment pattern diagrams of a great many industries in appendix H illustrate this. Perhaps, when one or two occupations predominate in an industry, it is in those occupations that management is most conscious of labor costs and hence most ready to accept any groups of workers able to perform the work at minimum costs. It cannot be shown from these data, but there are very likely much lower average earnings on the part of the many salesworkers, say, in retail trade than on the part of the relatively few selling machinery equipment.

For cost considerations, it is believed, a management of a company will be more likely to alter employment policies affecting a single occupation when that alteration may result in substantial savings by bringing to it workers not theretofore competitive with those already in it. The histories of a number of industries show a sequence of having worked a succession of minorities in their predominant occupational categories, one wave after the other, without basically altering its other occupational groups. (The garment and textile industries provide vivid examples of this.)

The importance of this to the Commission and to State fair employment practices agencies is that it suggests an area where small breakthroughs in changing employment practices may have large payoffs in improving minority employment opportunities. It is rather startling to find that in the nonconsumer-oriented industries less than 1 percent (0.9 percent) of the minority employees in those industries are in sales jobs. This can hardly be explained as the result of a skill gap when in those same industries 3.8 percent of the minority workers are already working in the higher skilled technician occupations. In terms of whole numbers

and percentages, every single minority group has more of its members working as technicians in these industries than they do in sales. There are 19,338 of them working as technicians in the reporting companies, but only 4,956 working as salesmen.

Except for the occupation of officials and managers, it is in the sales occupations of the nonconsumer-oriented industries (by far the largest of the two industry groups) that minority workers have their very lowest representation as a percentage of all employees in the occupation.

Part of the significance of saleswork in the efforts to improve minority employment opportunities comes in the exposure such workers have outside the industry itself. Inasmuch as altering public attitudes depends so much on simply seeing minority workers cast in new roles, sales jobs assume importance beyond their numbers. The minority craftsman has small exposure away from the work place; a salesman has a great deal.

This strategic importance of sales positions should be emphasized more in governmental manpower programs. The year the Commission collected these employer reports, the U.S. Department of Labor was estimating a need for 250,000 new sales employees a year.[16] However, at that time it reported only 2.9 percent of its 152,014 trainees under MDTA institutional training as engaged in training as salespersons (all types). Under MDTA on-the-job-training programs only 2.9 percent of the 68,997 trainees were authorized to train for clerical and sales positions.[17]

Two years later, in 1968, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare reported that only 2.2 percent of all institutional trainees under MDTA in 1967 were receiving training in saleswork, less than the number preparing to be cooks.[18]

The Pattern: Training Programs

It is not possible with but 1 year's data to make projections that would be indicative of the future employment patterns of minorities, but it can be done with some accuracy when the 1967 employer reports are available for comparison with the 1966 reports. This research should be given early attention. There even may be some urgency about doing it. There is a need to know whether future employment patterns are likely to reflect progress in attaining our national commitment to equal employment opportunity.

One of the disquieting rejoinders being made to those who feel that there has been progress in these areas is that despite great efforts and the appearance of progress, we are actually faced with widening gaps between promise and performance. The gaps between expectations and attainable goals widen simply because others are not standing still while minorities attempt to catch up with them. The dynamics of such catching up require more than their being placed on an equal footing with others; they also require that minorities move with like speed and in the same direction that is being taken by the work force of the future. Anything less than that will not soften the harsh outlines of a labor market in which minorities could become in effect a permanent underclass.

Students of manpower trends are reasonably settled in their view that in the work force of the future the numbers of white-collar workers will heavily predominate. Therefore, the employer reports in 1966, which enumerated the ethnic background of persons engaged in training, shed some light on the future of minority employment patterns. This evidence may be fragmentary, but there is no mistaking what it foretells.

Nine counties were selected in this examination. They are the larger ones of those 20 counties which have large Spanish Surnamed populations. The nine counties contain 84.3 percent of all employees covered by the EEO–1 reports in the 20 counties. Table 12 shows the percentage of Spanish Surnamed employees among all employees covered in these reports and the percentage of Spanish Surnameds among all those employees who were engaged in apprenticeship training programs or on-the-job-training programs for white- or blue-collar occupations. The message of these figures is remarkably clear. Spanish Surnameds were being selected for apprenticeship programs in numbers that roughly approximated their established share in the existing work forces. Their aggregate number in these programs, however, was not large; only 481

TABLE 12.—Spanish Surnameds in reporting companies and their training programs; for selected counties

	Percent of all employees	Apprenticeship (percent)	On-the-job training	
			White collar (percent)	Production (percent)
Maricopa	7.7	4.5	1.7	17.0
Pima	14.4	22.4	13.5	8.6
Los Angeles	9.7	14.1	3.2	13.0
San Bernardino	12.6	14.9	1.4	18.0
Santa Clara	7.4	2.7	1.5	8.5
Denver	6.8	5.2	3.1	10.2
Bernalillo	24.5	22.0	4.0	42.5
Bexar	37.4	23.6	22.6	51.2
El Paso	54.3	39.2	24.5	62.7

Source: Data gathered by the EEOC from employer reports.

[16] U.S. Department of Labor, *Occupational Outlook Handbook*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C., 1966–67 edition, p. 306.

[17] U.S. Department of Labor, 1966 *Report of The Secretary of Labor on Manpower Research and Training Under MDTA*, Washington, D.C., 1966, pp. 177–178.

[18] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Education and Training: Report of the Secretary of H.E.W. to the Congress on the Manpower Development and Training Act*, 1968, pp. 17–18.

were reported from the nine counties, 274 of whom were in Los Angeles.

With respect to on-the-job-training programs, a very decisive imbalance is evident: In virtually every instance, Spanish Surnameds have been entered into training for blue-collar production jobs at rates in excess of their share in the existing work forces of these companies. But in the case of training for white-collar jobs, they are greatly underrepresented in every instance, except Pima County, where a total of but 20 trainees in three industries brought the percentage of Spanish Surnameds close to their proportion in the total of all county work forces reported (17 of these 20 were in a single industry). Fifty-seven of the county industries that reported having on-the-job-training programs for white-collar workers did not have a single Spanish Surnamed trainee.

By examining the county employment pattern diagrams it can be seen that the reporting companies in most of these counties already have work forces in which white-collar workers are dominant. To the extent that this numerical dominance continues or increases, the Spanish Surnamed, judging from the 1966 training programs, will not have an increasing share of these white-collar jobs.

The Pattern: Union Agreements on Hiring

One of the questions asked of employers in 1966 was whether they had any arrangement with a labor organization that might affect whom they could hire. The specific question was:

> Does the employer have any arrangement with a labor organization, pursuant to a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding, formal or informal, by which the employer is obligated or required to accept for employment, or customarily and regularly accepts for employment, persons referred by such labor organization or any officer, agent, or employee thereof? If yes, and if the arrangement has been in effect for a period of 18 months preceding the preparation of this report, list on an attached sheet the local number, international name, and location of each such labor organization.

Although this question was designed to determine the names and addresses of referral unions that should be required to submit reports (EEO–3) to the Commission, it is clear that the intent of the law in seeking these reports was to enable the Commission to review the extent to which the membership policies of labor organizations might have affected the hiring policies of companies.

The question is pertinent. It goes to the heart of one of the main controversies in the debates and litigation over regulating fair employment practices. It enables a comparison to be made between the reports of employers who answered the question in the affirmative and those who did not. Those employment patterns that were affected in some degree by labor unions can be separated from all others.

The question was not repeated in the 1967 report forms. This may be unfortunate, as it will not be possible to measure the effects of the public debates and litigation that have centered on this subject since 1964—the 18 months' qualification to the question limits it to measuring the effects of labor union membership policies that influenced hiring in 1964, or before that date. Thus, the answers of 1966 will tell us nothing of the impact of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It seems appropriate, therefore, to recommend to the Commission that the question be put again to employers, so that the net effect of the act on trade union job referral policies might better be measured. It should be noted that the 1966 question also does not embrace the period since the Secretary of Labor's regulations respecting nondiscrimination in federally registered apprenticeship plans became effective for companies subject to the Federal contractor program, which was July 17, 1964.

From the responses of employers in 1966, it is possible to take an overview of employment situations affected by labor unions from a vantage that has not been available before. It is not known by this writer whether the Commission has yet published any reports based on those responses. This needs to be done, for, if the Southwest is at all indicative of the national situation, there are provocative aspects shown here that scarcely have been touched upon outside of the rhetoric of labor union pronouncements. Their importance lies in the fact that they are at some variance with the well-known and much-researched transgressions by some unions against the concept of fair employment practices. The overview afforded in this analysis is of total employment in those situations where employers acknowledge that they were under some obligation to one or more labor organizations in setting their hiring policies for at least a part of their work force.

It is not possible to take this overview of all five of the Southwestern States. To do so would introduce an aberration. This comes about because the Commission's question does not reckon with the fact that in some States an employer would proceed almost at his peril if he gave an affirmative answer, even where truthfulness required such an answer. Two States of the Southwest, Texas and Arizona, have so-called right-to-work-laws, which make it unlawful for an employer or union to enter into an agreement that conditioned employment on membership in a labor organization. Even where tacit arrangements exist to circumvent this restriction, how does an employer respond to a governmental query of when he last violated the law?

The responses of Texas employers are indicative of this dilemma. A computer tabulation shows them to be patently unreliable. Both Texas and Arizona should be dropped from this consideration. But in the other three States, employers could respond to the question without compunction, since union shop arrangements that effect hiring and tenure are lawful in their States.

California is the State with the greatest degree of trade union organization among its nonagricultural labor force, as shown in the footnote on page 8. Employers having 380,086 employees acknowledged that they had an arrangement which obligated them to accept for employment some persons referred to them by a union. Although this obligation probably did not extend to all the employers' jobs, it is reasonable to assume that it did extend to those occupations which provide the main membership base for California labor unions: craftsmen, operatives, and laborers. Those employers who had no such arrangement with a labor union had 1,605,696 employees.

Table 13 shows the percentage of minority employees among all employees and among employees working in those occupations that are commonly included in National Labor Relations Board determinations of an appropriate bargaining unit. These are given for both groups of employers. There are significant differences between the two groups.

Clearly, minorities had a greater representation among the employees of those employers who had hiring obligations to a union. In this group, minority workers constituted a higher percentage of all employees and of employees in each of these occupations. Perhaps the most surprising aspect of this is that minority workers showed their greatest relative gain between the two groups in the craftsmen occupation. Those working where union policies affected hiring were 14.9 percent of all craftsmen, but in situations not so affected they were only 12.1 percent. This is a relatively larger difference than appeared for the operative and laborer occupations.

It is difficult going beyond this finding to search for the causal factors that might explain it. The conclusion of so many observers is that trade unions by their very nature must serve only their present memberships and adopt restrictive policies against those not already a part of those memberships. There is much evidence in some unions to support that conclusion. Perhaps the key to an explanation lies in the phrase, "some unions." What we are looking at here is an overall employment situation where virtually all California unions have played a role. The unions which usually have been identified as ones having job entry policies that militate against minorities are largely those in the construction trades and the other craft trades. These unions often have decisive influence on the selection of persons for training or apprenticeship from among those who wish to enter the trade. As noted in appendix A, construction employees are undoubtedly underrepresented in the EEO–1 reports. Construction employers probably were inclined to report on their permanent employees rather than those they hire for limited periods when doing contract construction work.

TABLE 13.—Minority percentage of employment in selected occupations, employers with union arrangement hiring and those without such arrangement in California

[In percent]

Minorities	Craftsmen		Operatives		Laborers		All employees	
	Union	Non-union	Union	Non-union	Union	Non-union	Union	Non-union
Negro	4.0	2.9	9.0	8.3	18.8	10.6	7.2	5.1
Oriental	1.1	1.2	1.7	1.3	2.3	1.8	2.0	1.9
American Indian	.4	.3	.4	.5	.3	.7	.3	.3
Spanish Surnamed	9.4	7.6	14.8	15.9	24.8	28.9	9.4	8.4
Minority total	14.9	12.1	26.0	26.1	46.4	42.2	19.1	15.7

Source: Data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from employer EEO–1 reports, 1966.

That labor unions might actually help to improve the employment prospects of minority workers should not be dismissed as a possibility. When it is recalled that most of today's large industrial-type unions were born from a rupture in labor's federation in 1938; that from that period on these unions officially have embraced the nondiscrimination policy of the former Congress of Industrial Organizations; that in the reuniting of the separate federations in 1955 this policy was made one of the conditions for membership in the AFL–CIO; that some of the larger industrial type unions have devoted considerable effort to the advocacy of egalitarian principles, and have sought to instruct their memberships in such principles; that a few of these unions and the State bodies of the parent federation itself have had active roles in the civil rights movement from its very inception; it does not seem implausible to find that after 30 years of such advocacy and action substantive improvements have come about in the employment patterns for minority workers.

What would be utterly implausible would be to find that no such improvements had occurred. Had they not, the value of official and individual commitment to the precepts of equal opportunity could be dismissed as inconsequential. And we could then be resigned to immutable and impersonal historical forces—forces that excuse us from commitment.

But there has been commitment by much of organized labor. At the time it began, it was almost a pioneer venture, giving the prevailing social climate of the country. It is not necessary to enlarge upon this, or to examine whether it came from unalloyed altruism or base self-interest. The fact is that unions for autoworkers, steelworkers, packinghouse workers, industrial electrical workers, coal miners, hard-rock miners, garment workers, maritime workers, cannery and agri-

cultural processing workers, transport workers, and a few others took an active part in promoting equal employment opportunity. They did this years before a number of the presently active civil rights groups were organized, or before there was a civil rights march on Washington.

That their halting pursuit of their commitment to equal opportunity might have weathered away some of the intransigence that enfolds the issue, both in their own unions and in the other unions, is a possibility. Assuming that most of the intransigence was on the part of their own membership and not the employers, it is likely that, given the trade union preachments, employers themselves might have felt greater freedom to hire minority workers without thereby risking major industrial unrest over this breaching of community mores. The point could be illustrated with cases of the former Committee on Fair Employment Practices during World War II, when trade union leaders actually did work with employer and government representatives in stopping wildcat shutdowns and in gaining membership acceptance of minority workers when first they were hired or promoted in some establishments.

There is a possibility that these differences in minority job opportunities might arise from a difference in the types of industries that predominate in the two groups. The type of industrial activity which may be more likely to be effectively unionized may also be the type that for completely unrelated reasons employs more minority workers at all levels. It is not possible from this initial examination to answer that question. But, since the possibility exists, it merits further exploration.

The judgment of these statistics for the moment can be, at the very least, that there is not evidence from the California reports to support the view that labor unions have an overall retarding effect on the employment opportunities of minorities. On the contrary, it seems that they have advanced those opportunities. The statistics suggest that the value of commitment is quantifiable, and that is extremely important.

The reports from Colorado and New Mexico differ somewhat but do not contradict what was found in California. Table 14 gives the minority percentages working in the selected occupations for the union and nonunion groups of employers. In New Mexico, most minorities fare much better in their percentage of all employees and their percentage of those in craftsmen occupations in the establishments whose hiring policies are affected by labor unions. In Colorado, the differences between the two types of establishments are not enough to be significant one way or the other, but there are unaccounted for differences appearing in the operative occupation. Spanish Surnameds are employed in operative jobs at a much lesser rate in the union establishments than in the nonunion, although the reverse of this is true in the higher ranking craftsmen occupations.

TABLE 14.—Minority percentage of employment in selected occupations, employers with union arrangement on hiring and those without such arrangement in New Mexico and Colorado

[Percent]

Minorities	Craftsmen		Operatives		Laborers		Total	
	Union	Non-union	Union	Non-union	Union	Non-union	Union	Non-union
Nugro:								
New Mexico	1.0	0.5	2.5	1.3	3.2	2.7	2.0	1.1
Colorado	1.0	1.2	2.1	2.8	5.4	5.3	2.5	3.2
Oriental:								
New Mexico	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.0	.3
Colorado	.0	.2	.1	.3	.0	.3	.2	.4
American Indian:								
New Mexico	2.2	1.5	19.1	4.9	4.6	12.1	6.1	2.4
Colorado	.2	.4	.3	.5	.1	6	.2	.3
Spanish Surnamed:								
New Mexico	25.2	21.0	22.2	41.2	78.4	49.5	36.0	22.4
Colorado	7.0	6.4	7.9	14.3	22.3	25.2	7.9	7.6
Minority total:								
New Mexico	28.5	23.2	43.9	47.5	86.3	64.6	44.2	26.4
Colorado	8.4	8.4	10.6	18.1	27.9	31.5	10.9	11.6

Source: Data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission from employer EEO-1 reports, 1966.

As a means of testing to see if these different employment patterns for union and nonunion hiring policies might be accounted for entirely by differences in the industrial mix of the two types of employers, an index of the occupational position of minority workers (similar to that previously used in comparing prime contractor with other employers) was computed for both groups in the three States. Such an index removes the effects of the different industrial and occupational mixes and simply states how the earnings of minority workers stand in relation to that for all workers, regardless of what the mixes are. The results of this test were not appreciably different from the foregoing comparisons. The occupational position indices for minority workers did not vary over 1.7 points between the two groups of employers in any of the three States. They fared slightly better under union hiring arrangements in New Mexico and Colorado, and slightly worse under them in California. Because the differences were so small, no significant conclusion could be drawn from the test.

Furthermore, the use of this testing method may be inappropriate, since it determines the occupational position of minorities by utilizing employment figures in all occupations. Labor unions scarcely ever have any effective influence on whom an employer places in white-collar occupations, so the more significant view would be one limited to the top, or craftsmen, jobs within the coverage of the collective bargaining agreements. This view is given in tables 13 and 14.

A Further Word About Spanish Surnameds

This inquiry concerns primarily the employment patterns prevailing for Spanish Surnameds. The Colorado Civil Rights Commission and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission have asked that these patterns be related to the socio-economic status of Spanish Surnameds; therefore, this section examines those economic and social characteristics which most directly affect their employment.

There were almost 3½ million white persons of Spanish surname in these five States recorded in the 1960 census. Table 15 shows how they were distributed in the States and the percentages they represented of the total State and regional population. These population figures are to some extent an understatement, because the census does not include in its count all those persons who come temporarily to the country as farmworkers (the braceros), illegal immigrants, or commuters, whether alien or not, who live in Mexico but work in the United States. From 1950 to 1960 the average annual increase in the number of Spanish surname persons was 5.1 percent, which is larger than the 3.7-percent increase in the number of Anglos in that period, or the 4.9-percent increase in the number of nonwhites.

TABLE 15.—*Number of white persons of Spanish surname and their percentage of total population* Southwest: 1960

State	Spanish surname	Percent of total population
Arizona	194,356	14.9
California	1,426,538	9.0
Colorado	157,173	8.9
New Mexico	269,122	28.2
Texas	1,417,810	14.7
Southwest	3,464,999	11.8

Source: U.S. census, 1960, PC(2)-1B, table 1, p. 2.

The number of white persons of Spanish surname is increased by continuous immigration, but only a fraction of the total are foreign born. In the region, 84.6 percent of these persons were of native parentage. Table 16 shows that the percentage of foreign born ranged from 3.5 percent in Colorado to 20 percent in California. It is of some significance to repeat that these figures are for white persons of Spanish surname. The 1960 census actually lists 3,513,684 persons of Spanish surname in the five States, but 68,581, or 2 percent, of them were nonwhites, being classed as "American Indians," "Filipinos," or "All others." [1] Oddly, also, better than 6 percent of the foreign-born white persons of Spanish surname did not have Spanish as a mother tongue and 12 percent of the over one-half million foreign born did not come from Mexico. This illustrates again the difficulty of basing a definition of this minority solely on language, national origin, or the ethnicity of surnames. It is a semantic thicket through which we must proceed while pointing out necessary qualifications as we go.[2]

TABLE 16.—White persons of Spanish surname, native and foreign born, Southwest: 1950 and 1960

State—year	All classes	Native born		Foreign born	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Arizona:					
1960	194,356	160,106	82.4	34,250	17.6
1950	128,580	105,345	81.9	23,235	18.1
California:					
1960	1,426,538	1,141,207	80.0	285,331	20.0
1950	758,400	591,540	78.0	166,860	22.0
Colorado:					
1960	157,173	151,692	96.5	5,481	3.5
1950	118,715	113,750	95.8	4,965	4.2
New Mexico:					
1960	269,122	258,509	96.1	10,613	3.9
1950	248,560	238,040	95.8	10,520	4.2
Texas:					
1960	1,417,810	1,218,671	86.0	199,139	14.0
1950	1,027,455	840,535	81.8	186,920	18.2
Southwest:					
1960	3,464,999	2,930,185	84.6	534,814	15.4
1950	2,281,710	1,889,210	82.8	392,500	17.2

Source: *Californians of Spanish Surname* table A, p. 19, *Division of Fair Employment Practices*, Department of Industrial Relations, State of California, May, 1964.

Participation in the Labor Force

The labor force participation rate (i.e., the ratio of persons aged 14 and over who are employed or seeking employment to the total population aged 14 or over)

[1] U.S. census, 1960, DC(2)-1B, table A-2, p. 202.
[2] Ibid., table A-1, p. 201.

TABLE 17.—Labor force participation rates, [1] males in the Southwest, 1960

A. Total, 14 years and over

	Urban and rural	Urban
Spanish surname	77.5	78.1
Anglo	79.5	80.4
Nonwhite	74.4	77.6

B. By age class (urban)

Age class	Spanish surname	All males
14 to 19	36.1	42.5
20 to 24	84.9	88.0
25 to 34	92.6	95.8
35 to 44	94.1	96.6
45 to 64	87.1	89.8
65 and over	27.5	29.5

[1] Percent of the population in the labor force.

Source: Walter Fogel, Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 10, Leo Grebler, Director, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, UCLA, 1966.

TABLE 18.—Unemployment rates, males in the Southwest, 1960

A. Total, 14 years and over (all residences)

Spanish surname	Urban		
	Spanish surname	Anglo	Nonwhite
8.0	8.5	4.5	9.1

B. By age class (urban)

Age class	Spanish surname (1)	All males (2)	Ratio of columns 1 and 2
14–19	17.6	12.5	1.41
20–24	11.3	7.8	1.45
25–34	6.6	4.1	1.61
35–44	5.9	3.7	1.60
45–64	8.3	5.1	1.63
65 and over	12.6	7.1	1.78

[1] Unemployment as a percent of civilian labor force.

Source: Walter Fogel, Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 10, Leo Grebler, director, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, UCLA, 1966.

is not greatly different for the Spanish Surnamed male and the Anglo male. The two-point difference for urban and rural males, as shown in table 17 expands to 2.3 when only urban males are considered. However, as Prof. Walter Fogel of the Mexican-American Study Project has pointed out, the difference may be a function of the higher unemployment rates that existed for the Spanish Surnamed male as compared to the Anglo male. These unemployment rates are shown in table 18. Dr. Fogel surmises that the unemployment rate for the Spanish Surnamed males, which was almost twice as high as that for the Anglo males, undoubtedly forced some of them to stay out of the labor force. He found the difference in the participation rate to be greatest for urban workers aged 14 to 19, an age group largely representative of youths who had not held their first job.

In the case of females, the same study shows that a more pronounced difference occurs between the labor force participation rates for the Spanish surnamed and those for Anglos and nonwhites. The urban female rates are: Spanish Surnamed 30.8; Anglo 36; nonwhite 46.4. Professor Fogel speculates that the difference between the rates for the Spanish Surnamed female and the Anglo female may be explained by the larger size family of the former and that the even greater difference compared to the nonwhite female may be caused by the high incidence of families without a male head among nonwhites, their greater economic need that results from this, their willingness to accept private household employment, and a more receptive cultural attitude toward female employment.

An interesting aspect of the Southwestern labor market is found by comparing the above labor force participation rates of Anglos and Spanish Surnamed to what these rates become when they are based only on the civilian labor force. One of the unusual features of the region's border-State economics is the extent to which these are dependent on military salaries and expenditures.

Table 19 provides some additional labor force statistics, including the extent to which persons over 14 years of age are participating in both the civilian and military labor forces. Working from these figures it can be seen that, whereas only 2.61 percent of the total U.S. labor force was in the military, in the four border States of the region this percentage was 4.87. In each of the five States the percentage of persons over 14 years of age who were in the military exceeded by far this percentage for the United States.

The proportion of the employed labor force assigned to the military seems to increase with proximity to the Mexican border. If we consider all the border counties in the four States as comprising a separate jurisdiction, we find that a phenomenal 17.9 percent of all employed persons in this snake-like tier of 24 counties were in the armed services in 1960. In other words, about one out of every six employed persons was in a uniform of the armed forces. See appendix table B.

The number of Spanish Surnamed persons in relation to total persons is not in the same proportion on the military bases of the border States as in the labor forces of those States. This is understandable, because military personnel are drawn from all of the 50 States. Thus, the labor force participation rates excluding military personnel show a smaller difference between Anglo and Spanish Surname males: 78.5 for Anglo and 77.1 for Spanish Surnamed, a 1.4 point difference

TABLE 19.—Selected population and labor force statistics, United States and Southwest: 1960

Area	Persons 14 years old and over in labor force				Persons not in labor force				Total population
	Employed			Unemployed	Total	School age (0-15)	Working age (16-64)	Elderly (65+)	
	Total	Civilian	Military						
United States	66,372,649	64,639,247	1,733,402	3,504,827	109,448,150	57,955,829	38,434,636	13,057,685	179,325,626
Percent	37.01	36.05	.97	1.95	61.03	32.32	21.43	7.28	99.99
Male	45,171,998	43,466,946	1,705,052	2,295,722	40,835,442	29,370,517	6,386,674	5,078,251	
Female	21,200,651	21,172,301	28,350	1,209,105	68,612,708	28,585,312	32,047,962	7,979,434	
Arizona	446,829	429,862	16,967	24,126	831,206	468,715	288,885	73,606	1,302,161
Percent	34.31	33.01	1.30	1.85	68.83	36.00	22.19	5.65	99.99
Male	313,924	297,132	16,792	16,695	323,609	237,502	52,812	33,295	
Female	132,905	132,730	175	7,431	507,597	231,213	236,073	40,311	
California	6,061,748	5,761,433	300,315	373,908	9,285,178	4,937,698	3,234,744	1,112,736	15,720,834
Percent	38.56	36.65	1.91	2.38	59.06	31.41	20.58	7.08	100.00
Male	4,155,012	3,858,815	296,197	239,524	3,439,789	2,501,856	510,377	427,556	
Female	1,906,736	1,902,618	4,118	134,384	5,845,389	2,435,842	2,724,367	685,180	
Colorado	654,716	626,769	27,947	26,036	1,073,173	586,589	360,855	125,749	1,753,925
Percent	37.33	35.74	1.59	1.48	61.19	33.44	20.57	7.17	100.00
Male	450,559	423,298	27,261	17,196	402,594	296,841	56,257	49,496	
Female	204,157	203,471	686	8,840	670,579	289,748	304,578	76,253	
New Mexico	309,812	287,904	21,908	18,196	623,015	373,425	210,207	39,383	951,023
Percent	32.58	30.27	2.30	1.91	65.51	39.27	22.10	4.14	100.00
Male	223,642	201,914	21,728	12,857	242,844	188,616	37,363	16,865	
Female	86,170	85,990	180	5,339	380,171	184,809	172,844	22,518	
Texas	3,480,862	3,318,507	162,355	155,013	5,945,637	3,296,389	2,074,052	575,196	9,581,512
Percent	36.33	34.63	1.69	1.62	62.05	34.40	21.65	6.00	100.00
Male	2,425,803	2,267,103	158,700	103,415	2,214,944	1,867,419	333,003	214,522	
Female	1,055,059	1,051,404	3,655	51,598	3,730,693	1,628,970	1,741,049	360,674	

Source: U.S Census of Population, 1960, General Economic and Social Characteristics, tables 37, 52, Detailed Economic and Social Characteristics, tables 65, 82, 155, and 158

instead of the two point difference previously mentioned. This is shown in table 20.

These comparisons suggest a conclusion that the Spanish Surnamed male in the Southwest has essentially the same will and desire to be employed as does the Anglo male. It is not indicated to the same extent for the Spanish Surnamed female, perhaps for the reason of family size advanced by Professor Fogel.

The dependency ratio in a State is greatly affected by the age distribution of the population. In the New Mexico population, for example, over 65 percent of the population was not in the labor force in 1960, a figure 4 percent higher than that for the United States. But this can undoubtedly be accounted for by the fact that the State had a considerably higher percentage of its population under 16 years of age than did the United States. Actually, in New Mexico in 1960 a higher proportion of persons in the 16 to 64 age group were either working or seeking work than was true for the United States. The same was true in Texas and Arizona. Table 10 gives these figures for all of the five States and for the United States. In the case of California and Colorado, the percentage of persons in the 16 to 64 age group either working or seeking work was lower than in the United States—a consequence perhaps of the greater emphasis those two States place on education and of the higher personal incomes they enjoy. The commitment to education would tend to delay the age at which youth enter the labor force, and a higher median personal income would, of course, sustain a higher dependency ratio.

Whatever the subtleties that govern the will to work,

TABLE 20.—Civilian labor force and labor force participation rate for white and Spanish surnamed population, male and female, southwest: 1960

Area	White labor force less Spanish surnamed		Participation rate of white labor force less Spanish surnamed		Total Spanish surname labor force		Participation rate of Spanish surname	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Arizona	244,200	116,157	76.3	33.8	47,784	13,663	78.5	24.9
California	3,424,281	1,718,596	78.3	35.6	364,548	138,691	79.4	32.1
Colorado	396,633	193,474	78.4	34.9	32,311	11,431	70.3	25.4
New Mexico	149,860	86,960	80.9	33.1	53,990	18,632	68.9	23.8
Texas	1,812,407	812,349	78.9	32.1	302,412	113,000	76.5	27.0
Southwest	6,027,381	2,907,536	78.5	34.4	801,045	295,417	77.1	28.7

Source: U.S. census of population: 1960, General, Social, and Economic Characteristics, PC(1), 4C, 6C, 7C, 33C, 45C. ——: 1960, Persons of Spanish Surname, five southwestern States, PC(2), 1B.

it does not appear that the Southwest as a whole can be distinguished unfavorably with regard to the desire of its people to work.

Fertility

The relevance of dependency ratios to the employment needs of the Spanish Surnamed is obvious. Their exceptionally high fertility rates add another dimension to their economic problems. A study of the U.S. Department of Agriculture shows that the child-woman ratio for the Spanish Surnamed population in the Southwest is almost 70 percent higher than that for the other white population.[3] There are 3,810 children born to every 1,000 Spanish Surnamed women and 2,258 born to every 1,000 other white women. For the rural population this ratio per 1,000 women goes up to 4,657 children for the Spanish Surnamed and 2,694 for other white women. This fertility rate for the rural Spanish Surnamed woman is closer to those prevailing in underdeveloped nations than it is to the rates in western society. The rate is sufficient to double their number in each generation, even after allowing for the higher average death rate that prevails in their case.

The same Department of Agriculture study relates these fertility rates to the heavy incidence of poverty in Spanish Surnamed families. The percentage of their families in poverty ranges from 17.5 percent for urban heads of households in California to 47.3 percent in Texas, and from 30.2 percent of their rural families in California that are poor to 69.2 percent in Texas. For the five States combined, the Department study found 30.8 percent of all their urban families in poverty and 52.2 percent of all their rural families.[4]

One of the advance reports of UCLA's Mexican-American Study Project refines the Census figures to determine the actual number of poor children represented by the statistics on family poverty. The study project used a $3,000 annual income figure to draw the poverty line for families. Table 21 shows that there were 1.8 million poor children under 18 in the region with 430,000, or 29 percent, in Spanish Surname families; 395,000, or 22 percent, were in nonwhite families. Thus, in some contrast to the figures for poor families, when poor children are considered separately, it was found that a majority of them are not Anglo but are in either Spanish Surname or nonwhite families, with the former having the larger number.

TABLE 21.—Number and percent of poor families, poor persons in poor families, and poor children in poor families for Southwest 1960

Category	Population group		
	Total	Spanish surnamed	Nonwhite
All families	7,356,866	698,027	590,299
Poor families [1]	1,451,655	242,903	245,926
Percent of poor in each group	19.7	34.8	41.7
Poor in each group as percent of all poor	100.0	16.7	17.0
All persons in families	26,523,796	3,294,687	2,403,980
Poor persons	4,730,673	1,081,876	926,923
Percent of poor in each group	17.8	32.8	38.6
Poor in each group as percent of all poor	100.0	22.9	19.6
All children in families	10,606,485	1,620,000	1,110,220
Poor children	1,828,653	530,000	395,000
Percent of poor in each group	17.2	32.7	35.6
Poor in each group as percent of all poor	100.0	29.0	21.6

[1] Families with annual income under $3,000 in 1959.

Source: Frank G. Mittelbach and Grace Marshall, "The Burden of Poverty," Mexican-American Study Project, Leo Grebler, Director, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966, tables 1, 2, 3, pp. 3, 5.

To the extent that poverty breeds poverty, it is not unlikely that the coming generation will recruit most of its poor from these two minority groups. A study made of Colorado welfare records bears this out. Although the Spanish Surname population in that State represents less than 9 percent of its total population, in June 1966, 43 percent of all children on its aid to dependent children rolls had Spanish surnames.[5] The tendency that these children would become second-generation cases was revealed by a 1961 study in that State, showing that over 75 percent of all the second-generation cases (where the responsible relative had himself been a child recipient of A.D.C.) had Spanish surnames.[6] Negro and nonSpanish Surnamed white families each made up only about 12 percent of all of these cases.

These studies demonstrate what has long been known about the cumulative effects of poverty, which include the poor education, health, and housing that is closely associated with it. All of these factors bear on the employment opportunities of an individual.

Education

National statistics comparing education between the States offer some puzzling contrasts between the Southwest and the rest of the Nation. These statistics show that the median school years completed by persons over 25 years of age is higher in all of the South-

[3] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Low Income Families in the Spanish-surname Population in the Southwest,* Economic Research Service, Agricultural Economic Report No. 112, Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 10, table 5.

[4] Ibid., p. 12.

[5] Colorado Commission on Spanish surnamed Citizens, *The Status of Spanish Surnamed Citizens in Colorado,* Report to the Colorado General Assembly, January 1967, pp. 38–40.

[6] Ibid., p. 39, quoting a study of the Colorado State Department of Public Welfare, *Aid to Dependent Children,* Characteristics of Second Generation Cases, Report No. 63–D–1, Denver: State of Colorado, June 1963.

west—except Texas—than it is in the United States; its rates of nonenrollment in school of persons of school age are impressively lower than the United States rate in each of its States; except for Texas, its expenditures per pupil in average daily membership in public elementary and secondary schools is higher than the U.S. average. Clearly, the region compares favorably with the United States in these respects, but there are certain anomalies.

In 1960, 1.3 million adults in the region were functional illiterates, having attained either no schooling at all or less than 5 years; the percentage of these persons who were white ran considerably higher than do similar figures for the entire United States; over one quarter of all functionally illiterate whites in the United States are in these five States, as shown in table 22.

TABLE 22.—Selected educational attainments statistics for Persons 25 years old and over: 1960

Area	Persons 25 years old and over		Persons with no schooling		Persons with less than 5 years	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States:						
Total	99,438,084	100.0	2,274,813	2.3	6,027,769	6.1
White	89,581,174	100.0	1,720,154	1.9	4,268,575	4.8
Nonwhite	9,856,910	100.0	554,659	5.6	1,759,194	17.8
Arizona:						
Total	661,102	100.0	26,362	4.0	66,272	10.0
White	608,827	100.0	14,503	2.4	46,671	7.7
Nonwhite	52,275	100.0	11,859	22.7	19,601	37.5
California:						
Total	8,668,907	100.0	164,332	1.9	505,049	5.7
White	8,221,393	100.0	137,986	1.7	427,264	5.2
Nonwhite	647,514	100.0	26,346	4.1	77,787	12.0
Colorado:						
Total	940,803	100.0	11,046	1.2	44	4.7
White	913,967	100.0	10,393	1.1	41,857	4.6
Nonwhite	26,836	100.0	653	2.4	2,245	8.4
New Mexico:						
Total	444,503	100.0	19,674	4.4	54,040	12.1
White	416,158	100.0	12,013	2.9	42,922	10.3
Nonwhite	28,345	100.0	7,661	27.0	11,118	39.2
Texas:						
Total	5,030,559	100.0	204,045	4.1	672,226	13.4
White	4,442,605	100.0	172,335	3.9	533,467	12.0
Nonwhite	587,954	100.0	31,710	5.4	138,759	23.6

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1960, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, PC(1)-1C, 4C, 6C, 7C, 33C, 45C.

This lack of educational attainment among whites can be laid to the education gap that exists between Spanish Surnameds and other whites in the region. Table 23 shows the difference in median years of school completed by different population groups. Adult Spanish Surname persons had, on the average, 7.1 years of schooling compared to 12.1 years for Anglos and 9.0 for nonwhites, a gap of 5 years between the

TABLE 23.—Median years of school completed by Spanish surname persons 25 years and over compared with other population groups, five Southwest States, 1950 and 1960

State and population group	Median years completed	
	1950	1960
Southwest, total	10.6	11.6
Anglo	11.3	12.1
Nonwhite	7.8	9.0
Spanish surname	5.4	7.1
Arizona, total	10.0	11.2
Anglo	11.6	12.1
Nonwhite	5.5	7.0
Spanish surname	6.0	7.0
California, total	11.6	12.1
Anglo	12.0	12.2
Nonwhite	8.9	10.6
Spanish surname	7.8	8.6
Colorado, total	10.9	12.1
Anglo	11.3	12.2
Nonwhite	9.8	11.2
Spanish surname	6.5	8.2
New Mexico, total	9.3	11.2
Anglo	11.8	12.2
Nonwhite	5.8	7.1
Spanish surname	6.1	7.4
Texas, total	9.3	10.4
Anglo	10.3	11.5
Nonwhite	7.0	8.1
Spanish surname	3.5	4.8

Source: Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 7, "The Schooling Gap: Signs of Progress" by Leo Grebler, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, Los Angeles, March 1967.

Spanish Surnamed and Anglos. The median educational attainment of the Spanish Surnamed ranged from 8.6 years in California to 4.8 years in Texas. Table 24 shows that in the latter State over half of all Spanish Surnameds over 25 years of age had less than a fifth grade education. The same table compares the percentage of persons over 25 years who have acquired 4 years or more of high school. In none of the States have the Spanish Surnamed persons as high a percentage of high school graduates as nonwhite persons; much less, they do not even approach the degree of high school training that prevails among Anglos.

In only two of 35 metropolitan areas of the Southwest did the Mexican-American Study Project find

TABLE 24.—Percent of Spanish surname, Anglo and nonwhite populations 25 years of age and over who have completed 4 years of school or less and 4 years of high school or more in five Southwestern States, 1960

State	Spanish surname		Anglo		Nonwhite	
	4 years or less	4 years of high school or more	4 years or less	4 years of high school or more	4 years or less	4 years of high school or more
Arizona	35.0	14.7	3.6	53.3	37.5	15.7
California	23.9	24.5	3.6	54.8	12.0	39.7
Colorado	23.9	18.7	3.2	54.7	8.4	44.6
New Mexico	29.6	18.9	3.6	57.1	39.2	19.1
Texas	51.7	11.9	6.3	46.4	23.6	20.8

Source: Adopted from Julian Samora, "Spanish Speaking Peoples," staff paper, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, February, 1964. (mimeographed).

the educational gap between the Spanish Surnamed group and Anglos smaller than that between Negroes and Anglos.[7] All of these States are making efforts with some success to close these educational gaps which were a legacy from earlier years when this disparity did not appear as a matter of great concern to the dominant body of Anglos.

Joan W. Moore, the associate director of the Mexican-American Study Project, has pointed out that although the legal segregation of Spanish Surnameds in the schools ended in the 1940's, a widespread de facto segregation still prevails throughout the Southwest. The tracking system of separating academically gifted students from other students tends to resegregate them within nominally unsegregated schools. In their schools they generally receive "fewer special services, less counseling, less experienced teachers, and and poorer physical plants." [8]

The forms of educational discrimination are slow to disappear. U.S. Senator Ralph W. Yarborough of Texas, in introducing legislation for a "Southwestern Human Development Act" and a "Bilingual American Education Act" in 1967 spoke of "subtle and cruel forms of discrimination" that persist in the education of Spanish Surnamed children.[9] He told the Senate that equality of opportunity in the Southwest is a myth, that it is folklore, and pled for doing away with the "economic disadvantage * * * exploitation * * * discrimination * * * poor schooling, low health standards, job discrimination, and the many other artificial barriers that stand in the way of the advancement of the Mexican-American people along the road to economic equality." The Senator's bills seek to redeem the use of the Spanish language in the schools as a means of motivating those pupils who have been denied its use in their education.

A survey in the Southwest conducted by the National Education Association concluded there is "something inherent in our system of public schooling that impedes the education of the Mexican-American child—that, indeed, drives him to drop out." The Survey adopts the view of A. Bruce Gaarder, specialist in foreign languages with the U.S. Office of Education:

> The greatest barrier to the Mexican-American child's scholastic achievement * * * is that the schools, reflecting the dominant view of the dominant culture, want that child to grow up as another Anglo. This he cannot do except by denying himself and his forebears, a form of masochism which no society should demand of its children.[10]

The NEA survey found that in most of the States the schools were mandated by law to instruct in English only. Corporal punishment was meted out to those who lapsed into Spanish, even where 99 percent of a school's enrollment were Spanish Surnamed. "If you want to be American, speak American," was the justification offered by the schools. These schools urged the child on one hand to eradicate his Spanish; on the other they accepted National Defense Act funds to strengthen the teaching of modern foreign languages.

Housing

The principal aspect of housing that bears on work opportunities perhaps is the degree of residential segregation. The social reality of residential segregation in urban areas is now widely recognized as limiting the employment opportunities of racial and ethnic minorities. The larger the city and the more rigid the patterns of residential segregation, the more limited the minority worker will be in his search for employment. The labor market in which he resides develops what become for all practical purposes restricted areas to which he does not have ready access: Distance, travel time, or the lack of public transportation work against him on the one hand, and on the other he is restricted from freely moving his residence nearer to prospective employment sites.

A 1964 staff report to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights describes these restrictions in this manner:

> Segregated housing is a part of the pattern of discrimination against any minority. The problem of housing discrimination includes governmental support of residential segregation, the inability to obtain loans for certain properties, the refusal of some real estate brokers to show certain properties to Spanish-speaking homeseekers, the charging of higher rents to the Spanish speaking, and the outright refusal by landlords, builders, and homeowners to rent or sell to them.[11]

All of the minority groups in the Southwest have experienced the social, legal, and economic pressures that have produced those residential patterns, which have brought the word "ghetto" back into popular and precise usage. Before the revival of that word, the street parlance of the Southwest spoke of the "barrio," or the "Mexican quarter," referring to those areas where Spanish Surnameds resided. Negro neighbor-

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[7] Leo Grebler, Mexican-American Study Project, "The Schooling Gap: Signs of Progress," Advance Report 7, UCLA, table 6, p. 18.

[8] Joan W. Moore, *Mexican-American: Problems and Prospects,* Institute for Research on Poverty, The University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., p. 38.

[9] *Congressional Record,* 90th Cong., First Sess., Vol. 113, No. 5, Jan. 17, 1967.

[10] *The Invisible Minority,* National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1966, pp. 1–39.

[11] Julian Samora, "Spanish-Speaking Peoples," staff paper, prepared for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Programs Division, Washington, D.C., Feb. 5, 1964, p. 42.

hoods, of course, in the same parlance were known as "nigger towns," or, more genteelly, as "the colored quarters." It is a commonplace of life in the region for town plans to be drawn in "quarters."

Housing segregation has had two interesting and somewhat diverse effects on the Anglo majority. For one, it has reduced the visibility of the minorities, producing a mindlessness toward them—a capacity to not see what one does not wish to see. Yet, in another sense it has provided Southwestern cities with a quality of quaintness, something the Anglo majority is pleased to regard as tourist attractions.

Where else are the poor regarded as quaint? Here, the Indian woman sitting crosslegged on the sidewalk mothering her child and offering beaded fobs for sale is quaint. Her colorful skirt and severe hairdo are quaint; so is the dirt-floored hogan where she lives. The shacks of Spanish Surnameds with their luxuriant plantings in coffee cans are quaint, as are the Chinatowns and Little Tokyos that hide their poverty behind bright colors. A Sikh Temple is quaint, as are the bearded, turbaned old bachelors who sit around it and remember laws that prevented them from marrying during the years when that life urge might have possessed them.

Almost every town has counterparts of these. They are regarded as the quaintness of other times and other places, a kind of museum piece to show to visitors. The cultural differences of the people on exhibit seem to have made it unnecessary to contemplate their needs in the same terms used for members of the dominant culture.

These are, of course, subjective observations, but they are no less valid because of the difficulty of quantifying them. These situations have much to do with the task of structuring equal employment opportunities.

One of the goals the Mexican-American Study Project has set for itself is to develop some objective measurement of what it calls "the taste for discrimination" in housing. Its Advance Report 4 endeavors to find a statistical proxy for discrimination and to construct an index of the degree to which residences are segregated in a community. This it calls an index of residential dissimilarity, ranging theoretically from 0 to 100, with the first representing no segregation of a subpopulation from the rest of the population and the last representing total segregation.[12]

Table 25 gives the indexes of residential dissimilarity for 35 cities of the Southwest. The areas surveyed were limited to census tracts near the core of the cities in order to exclude outlying fringe areas, although these actually might be a part of the cities' metropolitan areas. This exclusion automatically eliminated from the survey many Spanish Surnamed barrios, which are, of course, tightly segregated. Such barrios often start as settlements of Spanish Surnamed agricultural workers on the outer edges of cities and towns, and many have been encompassed by the growth of the cities. Had all of these barrios been included in the surveyed area, the indexes of dissimilarity for Spanish-surnamed persons versus others would undoubtedly be higher than those shown.

It would be incorrect to interpret these residential patterns as the result of some iron law of separation that was enforced by the Anglo majority against the minorities. Obviously, there would not be such great differences between cities if this were the case. Although there are instances where local law enforcement authorities in the past maintained the segregating

TABLE 25.—Indexes of residential dissimilarity for 35 Southwest central cities, 1960

City	Anglo versus all others [1] (1)	WPSS [2] versus Anglo [3] (2)	Negro versus Anglo [3] (3)	WPSS [2] versus Negro (4)
1. Abilene, Tex.	68.3	57.6	85.1	55.7
2. Albuquerque, N. Mex.	53.0	53.0	81.7	62.4
3. Austin, Tex.	62.9	63.3	72.1	66.1
4. Bakersfield, Calif.	72.4	53.7	87.7	61.4
5. Colorado Springs, Colo.	55.4	44.8	74.0	53.8
6. Corpus Christi, Tex.	73.7	72.2	91.3	51.0
7 Dallas, Tex.	83.2	66.8	90.2	76.1
8 Denver, Colo.	64.9	60.0	86.8	66.0
9. El Paso, Tex.	52.9	52.9	79.2	59.5
10. Fort Worth, Tex.	74.8	56.5	85.4	78.1
11. Fresno, Calif.	64.4	49.0	92.0	55.2
12. Galveston, Tex.	58.1	33.3	73.8	52.1
13. Houston, Tex.	73.2	55.2	81.2	70.9
14. Laredo, Tex.	39.3	39.4	60.1	43.9
15. Los Angeles, Calif.	68.7	57.4	87.6	76.7
16. Lubbock, Tex.	74.4	66.0	94.4	89.0
17. Oakland, Calif.	60.0	41.5	72.2	56.4
18. Odessa, Tex	81.8	75.8	90.5	29.2
19. Ontario, Calif.	52.6	50.6	80.1	32.6
20. Phoenix, Ariz.	62.8	57.8	90.0	60.7
21. Port Arthur, Tex.	81.7	45.9	89.7	76.3
22. Pueblo, Colo.	39.9	40.2	57.0	44.1
23. Riverside, Calif.	67.7	64.9	80.8	45.6
24. Sacramento, Calif.	39.5	30.2	61.9	47.8
25. San Angelo, Tex.	67.2	65.7	77.5	75.6
26. San Antonio, Tex.	63.7	63.6	84.5	77.4
27. San Bernardino, Calif.	70.6	67.9	83.5	35.2
28. San Diego, Calif.	55.9	43.6	81.1	55.2
29. San Francisco, Calif.	46.8	38.1	71.5	65.9
30. San Jose, Calif.	42.5	43.0	64.7	44.4
31. Santa Barbara, Calif.	48.6	46.5	76.7	37.6
32. Stockton, Calif.	59.3	52.6	73.0	31.0
33. Tucson, Ariz.	63.9	62.7	84.5	64.1
34. Waco, Tex.	65.7	59.7	74.3	60.6
35. Wichita Falls, Tex.	76.8	64.8	86.1	47.6

[1] White persons of Spanish surname plus nonwhites.
[2] White persons of Spanish surname.
[3] Anglo whites, i.e., whites other than Spanish surname.

Source: "Residential Segregation in the Urban Southwest: A Comparative Study," Joan W. Moore and Frank G. Mittelbach, Mexican-American Study Project: Leo Grebler, Director, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966, table 2, p. 16.

[12] John W. Moore and Frank G. Mittelbach, with the assistance of Ronald McDaniel, *Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 4,* Residential Segregation in the Urban Southwest, A Comparative Study, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, Los Angeles, June 1966.

boundaries, or where company towns were deliberately designed to keep racial and ethnic groups apart, it should not be concluded that this is why population subgroups continue to be separated.

The perpetuation of this condition only partly may be attributed to past conditions. However, even if it is accepted that Spanish Surnameds live in ghettos by their own choice, it must be recognized that they may be accepting ghetto housing out of a need to find their psychological security within the segregated community. This itself then is a mark of the failure to develop multiracial and multicultural communities within which all persons are comfortable. The choice open to a member of a racial or ethnic minority is often a Hobson's Choice—the freedom to choose, but no alternative to choose.

Whatever else might be said about ghetto housing, it is well established that the segregation of racial and ethnic minorities in specific residential areas is associated with a high degree of poor housing and overcrowded housing in those areas. This has been shown in a report prepared for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by Lamar B. Jones.[13]

The extent of dilapidated and deteriorated housing and the ratio of persons per room are largely a consequence of income. That these factors have reciprocating effects on a worker's productive abilities, and hence his employment opportunities and income, is likely, though difficult to determine.

Income, Health, and Mobility

Comment has been made on the extent of poverty in minority group families. This section compares the median incomes of all persons who had income in the different groups. As a measure of their relative standings with each other, this is perhaps more significant than comparisons of the extent of poverty among them, for here we are looking at the central tendencies of income in the groups rather than just at those who trail behind those tendencies.

Table 26 shows the incomes of all persons who had income in 1959, the year used by the 1960 census for these tabulations. Persons of Spanish surname in the region had only two-thirds of the median income of all whites. Their median incomes were above those of Negroes and Indians in all States, except in Colorado

TABLE 26.—Median income for selected ethnic groups, Southwest 1959

Area	White		Nonwhite	
	Total[1]	Spanish surname	Negro	Indian
Arizona	$2,995	$1,945	$1,622	$1,000
California	3,547	2,835	2,528	1,921
Colorado	2,856	1,930	2,289	1,935
New Mexico	2,954	1,913	1,751	1,337
Texas	2,573	1,536	1,167	1,655
Southwest	3,186	2,065	NA	NA

[1] These figures include the incomes of persons of Spanish surname. The median would be higher if data were available separately for whites not having Spanish surnames.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960 Supplementary *Reports, Population Characteristics of Selected Ethnic Groups in the Five Southwest States*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1968, table 6.

where they trailed both of these groups. It was not possible to compute the median incomes for all Negroes and Indians in the five States combined, but data on this are available for males separately considered. From the source used in table 26 we find the Anglo male median income was $4,815; Spanish Surnamed male, $2,804; Negro male, $2,490; Indian male, $1,877. Thus, clearly, the incomes of persons of Spanish surname are much more on the order of incomes received by nonwhites than they are of incomes received by other whites. Furthermore, when family income is converted into personal income, the income gap between Spanish Surnameds and Anglos is increased considerably due to the larger average size families of the former. This conversion also places the per person income of Spanish Surnameds considerably below that of nonwhites.

An interesting characteristic of the Spanish Surname group is that the number of persons who are not employed but receive income is only 35.1 percent of the number of their employed. This is a smaller percentage than in the other groups. Table 27 shows that the number of Anglos with income is 43.4 percent more than their number of employed persons. For Negroes this percentage is higher, 45.2 percent; and for Indians it is higher yet, 75.5 percent. From this it is apparent that persons of Spanish surname are more dependent on employment for their incomes than are Anglos, Negroes, or Indians. However, the Orientals are even more dependent on employment income than Spanish Surnamed persons; the number of Orientals who have incomes is only 25.1 percent greater than the number who are employed.

These differences between the groups result from their access to or eligibility for nonwork incomes. Such nonwork income may come from dividends, rents, royalties, welfare payments, veterans' benefits, or a wide range of other transfer payments.

A puzzling aspect of these differences is that they vary considerably for some groups in some of the

[13] See: "Mexican-Americans in the United States," a report (multilithed) prepared for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission by Lamar B. Jones, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, September 1966. Professor Jones in table IX, page 40, of his report gives the high percentage of Spanish-surname housing that is deteriorated, dilapidated, or overcrowded and compares this with that of Anglo and nonwhite in selected standard metropolitan statistical areas.

Also see Julian Samora, Op. cit., pp. 44–45.

States. The variations are least for Anglos and largest for Orientals. Only in Colorado and New Mexico are there exceptions to the order that Spanish Surnameds are more dependent than Anglos on employment alone for the incomes they receive; and only in Colorado are they less dependent than Negroes on employment alone for these incomes. Even so, in each of these excepted cases, their median incomes are below that of Anglos, and it is below that of Negroes in Colorado. It is a likely speculation that the increased proportion of Spanish Surnameds who are receiving nonwork income in Colorado and New Mexico are receiving it through some form of public income maintenance program, not from dividends, rents, or royalties.

As an aside, this situation points up how all of the estimates on the extent of poverty in the United States can be faulted. When we define the poor as those with incomes below some selected level of income, we automatically fail to include in the count those whose incomes are above the poverty level as a result of income they receive only because they are poor.

We rely basically on income data from the census to estimate the extent of poverty. These will not give us a whole count of the poor. The household questionnaire used by the census enumerator inquires of a respondent whether he has had income other than earnings. If he has, the amount is entered on the questionnaire as a total without distinguishing whether it came from public assistance or stock dividends.[14] Thus, those who received income because they were poor enough to qualify for some form of income maintenance program, and were thereby raised above the poverty line, do not get counted as poor.

The point is not trivial. Over two and a half billion dollars a year goes to almost 5½ million recipients from but one of the several public income maintenance programs, that for Aid to Dependent Children. All of the recipients of benefits from this program are poor. But a large number were raised above the poverty line with these payments and are no longer counted as poor. However, instead of abolishing their poverty, the current payment for the cost of poverty simply has been made as it applies to their case.

Poverty has other aspects than the lack of income. One of these is the generally low level of healthfulness of the poor. This is something that cannot quickly be altered by the infusion of new money incomes. The net effects of poor health may have accumulated for a generation—and may take as long to be corrected.

Data on the health of persons of Spanish surname are extremely sketchy. The National Health Survey does not gather data on this group, as it does for some others. The existing information on their mortality and morbidity rates comes from a few, scattered local studies, and one State study which was made in California.

These studies indicate that there are significant differences in the mortality and morbidity rates of this group compared to other ethnic and racial groups. However, these differences are believed to be a result

[14] U.S Census of Population, 1960, Final Report PC(1), p. XXIV, question P34 on the household questionnaire.

TABLE 27.—Percent of persons who derive income[1] solely from sources other than employment, for selected ethnic groups, Southwest: 1959

Area	White				Nonwhite					
	Anglos		Spanish surname		Negro		Indian		Other[2]	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
Arizona:										
Number employed	344,558	42.1	57,381	30.1	12,994	55.3	13,007	79.9	1,922	20.6
All persons with income	489,938		74,708		20,180		23,403		2,318	
California:										
Number employed	4,861,314	45.8	459,712	35.3	289,005	48.4	10,786	78.1	140,616	23.9
All persons with income	7,089,025		622,397		428,972		19,212		174,356	
Colorado:										
Number employed	569,430	42.9	39,636	55.2	13,381	51.9	1,185	75.5	3,137	40.3
All persons with income	814,273		61,521		20,336		2,080		4,404	
New Mexico:										
Number employed	208,038	37.8	65,472	46.2	4,957	65.7	8,988	70.1	449	67.0
All persons with income	286,678		95,761		8,218		15,289		750	
Texas:										
Number employed	2,534,633	39.3	381,222	31.3	397,653	42.0	1,903	55.1	3,096	55.8
All persons with income	3,530,756		500,832		565,001		2,952		4,825	
Southwest:										
Number employed	8,517,973	43.4	1,003,423	35.1	717,990	45.2	35,869	75.5	149,220	25.1
All persons with income	12,210,670		1,355,219		1,042,707		62,936		186,653	

[1] Income of persons in 1959.
[2] Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Hawaiians, etc.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. Census of Population: 1960. Supplementary Reports, Series PC(51)-55, "Population Characteristics of Selected Ethnic Groups in the Five Southwest States," U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1968, table 6.

of the socioeconomic differences between the groups, rather than their racial or cultural characteristics.[15]

The death rates and the incidence of various diseases in the Spanish Surnamed population are those that are associated with a low income population. A study made in Colorado of that State's Spanish Surnamed population made this quite clear. It related the generally poorer health of the average Spanish Surnamed person to his economic deprivation and lack of medical care. That study produced the rather startling statistic that the mean average age at death of Spanish Surnamed persons who survive their first year was found to be 56.73; for all others in the population it was 67.46. They had over 10 years less of life than did others in that State.[16]

The Colorado study also found that the rate of death at birth among the Spanish surnamed was about twice as high as the expected rate and concluded that this came from poor prenatal care associated with poverty; it was "a reflection of a lower resistance to disease developing out of weakness at birth due either to lack of prenatal care or dietary deficiency of the mother." [17]

These group differences in life expectancy, mortality rates, and the age at which life ends stand as the final arbiter of the significance of unmet health needs. The point does not have to be belabored; that such unmet needs can affect employabiiity is evident, although not quantified.

Another factor that is commonly associated with employability is that of mobility. Table 28 shows the number and the percent of males and of Spanish Surnamed males over 5 years of age who in 1960 lived in the same house that they had occupied in 1955. It also gives the number and percent of persons whose change of residence in that period was from another location within their county of residence, or from a location outside that county. This last is taken as an indication of the extent of residence moving that is likely to be job related. Those movements of residence that a family makes within a county are less likely to be employment motivated, because they are so often made in response to changes in family size, family disruptions, altered economic circumstances, or other causes that are not job related. Thus, the comparison of the rate of intercounty movement of Spanish Surnamed males to that of all males in the population may be a rough indication of the employment mobility of the two populations.

This comparison suggests that the Spanish Surnamed males have only one-half the employment mobility of all the males in the population. Only 13.2 percent of the Spanish Surnamed males had changed their residence across county lines during the 5-year period, whereas 25.4 percent of all males had done so. This difference between the two groups varies from State to State, but in each State the Spanish Surnamed group appears to be less mobile than all males as a group. Although they made intracounty residential moves at a higher rate than all males, the Spanish Surnamed males crossed county or State lines at a much lesser rate. However, any conclusion that the Spanish Surnamed are less mobile than others in their search for employment must be treated as tentative and uncertain. It can also be observed that Spanish Surnameds may appear to be less mobile simply because a very small part of their population resides outside the Southwest. Very few of them could have migrated from other States, whereas the potential for Anglo and nonwhite migration from other States is much greater.

The apparent lack of mobility of the Spanish surnamed has been attributed by some to their being more rooted to given geographical areas and more committed to extended family situations which restrain their movement to new areas, even when those areas might offer them improved employment prospects. This conclusion can be questioned.

There are other readily observable traits of those with Spanish surname that belie such a conclusion. For one thing, it is inconsistent with the fact that such large numbers of them have migrated across international lines, those of Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and other Central and South American countries, and also with the fact that such an exceptionally large number of those who have not so migrated have at least one parent who did. In the Southwest in 1960, the number of Spanish Surnamed persons who were either born in Mexico or had one or both parents born there was four-fifths as large as the number of those who were native born of native-born parents.[18] Add to this that although these families have a more recent tie to a more rural, folk society, they are yet more urbanized than the population as a whole. Furthermore, those who are still attached to agriculture are in large part that industry's migratory labor supply throughout the region. From these characteristics it would appear doubtful that there is some innate cultural reluctance on their part to migrate. They have quite obviously moved from nation to nation, from rural to urban, and, in many instances, from one culture to another seeking better employment opportunities.

These contrary characteristics are suggestive of what may be an unexamined facet of the problem of mobility. Why do those who have moved so much now

[15] A. Taher Moustafa and Gertrud Weiss, *"Health Status and Practices of Mexican Americans,"* Mexican American Study Project, Advance Report 11, Graduate School of Business Administration, UCLA, Los Angeles, 1968, 1–52 pp.

[16] Colorado Commission on Spanish-surnamed Citizens, "The Status of Spanish-Surnamed Citizens in Colorado," Report to the Colorado General Assembly, Denver, 1967, p. 98.

[17] Ibid., pp. 102–103.

[18] Julian Samora, Op. cit., table 1.

TABLE 28.—Residence in 1955 of male Spanish Surnamed population and total male population, 5 years old and over, Southwest: 1960

State	Total	Same house as in 1960	Percent same house 1960	Migrants									
				Different house in United States [1]	Percent different house in United States	Same county	Percent same county	Different county	Percent different county	Same State	Percent same State	Different State	Percent different State
Arizona:													
Spanish surname	85,247	36,360	42.6	38,022	44.6	26,831	31.4	11,191	13.1	4,408	5.1	6,783	7.9
Total population	569,245	189,679	33.3	347,679	61.1	158,072	27.7	189,607	33.3	30,820	5.4	158,787	27.9
California:													
Spanish surname	624,508	222,081	35.6	330,307	53.4	235,389	37.7	94,918	15.2	49,657	8.0	45,261	7.2
Total population	6,943,659	2,507,594	36.1	4,047,073	58.3	2,237,959	32.2	1,809,114	26.0	792,217	11.4	1,016,897	14.6
Colorado:													
Spanish surname	67,058	28,486	42.5	36,574	54.5	24,074	35.9	12,500	18.6	7,661	11.4	4,839	7.2
Total population	763,639	301,945	39.5	433,785	56.8	192,100	25.1	241,685	31.6	98,230	12.9	143,455	18.9
New Mexico:													
Spanish surname	113,462	66,239	58.4	43,680	38.5	29,692	26.2	13,988	12.3	7,560	6.7	6,428	5.7
Total population	410,332	167,027	40.7	228,399	55.7	103,768	25.3	124,631	30.4	29,386	7.2	95,245	23.2
Texas:													
Spanish surname	582,960	282,939	48.5	271,780	46.6	210,132	36.0	61,648	10.6	48,578	8.3	13,070	2.2
Total population	4,152,885	1,805,149	43.5	2,196,327	52.9	1,296,344	31.2	899,983	21.7	528,520	12.7	371,463	8.9
Southwest:													
Spanish surname	1,473,230	636,105	43.2	720,363	48.9	526,118	35.7	194,245	13.2	117,864	8.0	76,381	5.2
Total population	12,839,760	4,971,394	38.7	7,253,263	56.5	3,988,243	31.1	3,265,020	25.4	1,479,173	11.5	1,785,847	13.9

[1] Those who have moved from abroad are not included in the migrant figures.

Source: Table 100, Residence in 1955 of the population 5 years old and over, by age, color, and sex, for the State and for cities of 250,000 or more: 1960 U.S. Census of the Population, 1960, "Detailed Characteristics" PC(1)-4D, 7D, 33D, 45D, and 6D and Table 3, Social characteristics of white persons of Spanish surname, by nativity and parentage for 5 southwestern States, urban and rural, 1960, U.S. Census of the Population, 1960, "Persons of Spanish Surname," 5 southwestern States, PC(2)1B.

move so little? Are limited employment opportunities a consequence of inadequate mobility, or is inadequate mobility a consequence of limited employment opportunity? Or can each be a function of the other?

One positive conclusion that comes from the 1960 census figures on the movement of persons between counties is that there is a wide difference in the rate of movement of those in some occupations compared to those in other occupations. For instance, in the total population of the United States, 33.5 percent of all male professional, technical and kindred workers over 14 years of age moved from one county to another in the 5 years preceding the census. But only 15.8 percent of those in labor occupations made such moves.[19] Did those who moved get the better jobs, or did those who had better access to better jobs move? To what extent does inadequate mobility hamper job opportunity and to what extent does inadequate job opportunity reduce mobility? The answers to this are beyond the scope of this study, but it deserves exploration.

The Social Security Administration's important study of labor mobility in the American economy has already shaken some of the concepts of conventional economic theory on the functioning of the labor market.[20] That study underscores the great amount of involuntary mobility, mobility which is not a result of any maximizing behavior, on the part of those who change jobs. It found that involuntary job changes dominated in the aggregate, and that the impact of this on earnings was such that a $1,820 difference in mean earnings existed in favor of "stayers" rather than "movers." The extent to which this might apply to minority group workers, for whom there are already systematic tendencies that tend to shift them to low-earnings-level industries, is a needed area for research. The SSA study concluded that in the case of the Negro male his labor mobility behavior is more likely to be affected and regulated by factors which are outside his own power to control. The same might be true for the Spanish Surnamed male worker.[21]

[19] U.S. Census of the Population, Mobility for States and State Economic Areas, PC(2)–2B, table 9.

[20] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "Interindustry Labor Mobility in the United States:" 1957 to 1960, Social Security Administration, Research Report No. 18, 1967.

[21] Ibid, p. 89.

A Further Word About the Region

The population of the Southwest is more urbanized than that of the United States. Over 80 percent of its people live in urban areas, as compared with only 70 percent of the U.S. population.[1] The lack of water in broad areas has driven the people *into an oasis society;* they cluster largely along the water edges, beside streams in mountain valleys, and around the scattered wells. In 1965 there were over 32 million of them—one-sixth of the Nation's population.

The two great watersheds made by the Continental Divide tilt the land and the people toward the seas. Over half of the people live in the maritime counties, those with shores open to the Pacific Ocean or the Gulf of Mexico, and their numbers are increasing at a spectacular rate. From 1920 to 1966 the population of the Southwest increased 252.6 percent—more than five times the U.S. rate![2]

There are reasons to believe that the Southwest will continue to grow in population at a faster rate than the Nation. Projections for the period from the 1960 census to the year 1985 indicate that all five States will experience a higher percent of net growth in population than will the United States. The net increase for the United States during this projected period is predicted to be 48.1 percent, while the increase for the five States will range from 54 percent in Texas to 129.8 percent in Arizona. California is expecting a 106.3-percent net increase, New Mexico 85.5 percent, and Colorado 69.6 percent. When the net increases expected in the five States are taken from the expected U.S. total, the percentage increase for the United States will be substantially less than the 48.1-percent forecast.[3]

The Southwest had a phenomenal increase in total employment from 1940 to 1960. Its rate of employment increase in the two decades was more than twice as fast as it was in the United States. These changes are shown in table 29.

TABLE 29.—Growth in total employment, Southwest and United States, 1940–60

Area	Total employment		Percent increase
	1940	1960	
Arizona	150,173	446,829	197.5
California	2,525,281	6,061,748	140.0
Colorado	349,735	654,716	87.2
New Mexico	140,269	309,812	120.8
Texas	2,138,355	3,480,858	62.7
Southwest	5,303,813	10,953,963	106.5
United States	45,375,815	66,372,649	46.2

Source: U.S. Office of Business Economics, "Growth Patterns in Employment b County 1940–1950 and 1950–1960," Washington, D.C., 1965, vols. 6, 7, 8.

In recent years, the States of the Southwest have begun to register unemployment rates that compare unfavorably with the U.S. rates. Chart 1 shows that in 1960 only California had an unemployment rate in excess of the U.S. rate. By 1967 three of the States had rates higher than the United States. However, there is considerable evidence that these rates are of only limited use in suggesting how workers are faring in the region's labor market.

The word unemployment is too tightly packaged. It must be recalled that measuring the rate of unemployment is done at one point in time and that it is not a measure of the number of those who have experienced unemployment during a period of time, nor does it measure those who have part-time employment and want fuller employment. This is illustrated by the unrevised 3.9 percent unemployment rate that was posted for the United States in 1966. A 3.9 percent rate that year meant that less than 3 million persons were out of work at a given time. It was based on an average per week. Actually, there were 10.5 million persons who were unemployed at one or more times during that year.[4]

[1] An interesting facet of the urbanization of persons of Spanish surname is that they, too, are about 80 percent urbanized, and over 75 percent of them live in the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, which identify the major urban concentrations. This contrasts with the fact that less than 65 percent of the U.S. population lives in such areas.

[2] U.S. Bureau of Census: "Historical Statistics Colonial Times to 1957," Series A 123–180, p. 12 and "Current Population Report.," Series P25, No. 354, Dec. 8, 1966.

[3] Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "State Data and State Rankings," part 2, 1964, S–1.

[4] U.S. Department of Labor, "Manpower Report of the President," April 1967, p. 123.

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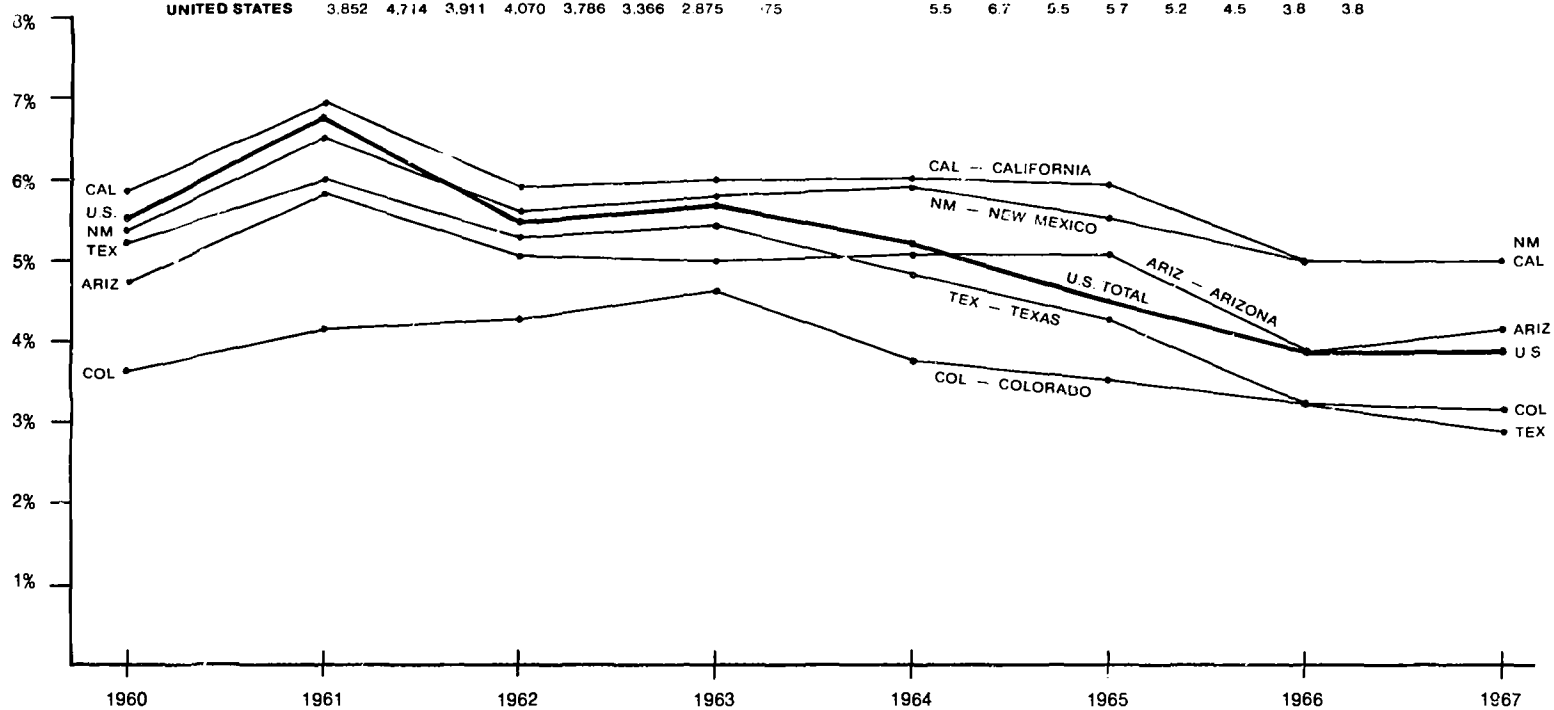
TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY STATE: 1960 - 1967

TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT — THOUSANDS

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
ARIZONA	22	28	25	25	26	27	21	24
CALIFORNIA	367	446	389	411	422	429	374	389
COLORADO	25	30	32	35	28	27	25	26
NEW MEXICO	18	22	19	20	21	19	18	18
TEXAS	190	220	195	204	186	169	130	121
UNITED STATES	3,852	4,714	3,911	4,070	3,786	3,366	2,875	75

TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT — % OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
ARIZONA	4.7	5.8	5.1	5.0	5.1	5.1	3.8	4.2
CALIFORNIA	5.8	6.9	5.8	6.0	6.0	5.9	5.0	5.0
COLORADO	3.6	4.2	4.3	4.6	3.7	3.5	3.2	3.2
NEW MEXICO	5.4	6.5	5.6	5.8	5.9	5.5	5.0	5.0
TEXAS	5.3	6.0	5.3	5.4	4.8	4.3	3.2	2.9
UNITED STATES	5.5	6.7	5.5	5.7	5.2	4.5	3.8	3.8



SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, *MANPOWER REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT*, TRANSMITTED TO CONGRESS APRIL 1968.
SOURCE: pp. 214, 259 TABLES A-11, D-3, D-4

The index of subemployment, which the Department of Labor has begun to construct, offers a more meaningful concept of employment opportunities. This index takes into consideration not only joblessness but the extent of part-time work when full-time work is wanted by the jobholder. Also, it counts those who are working at such marginal jobs that they cannot make adequate earnings, such as heads of households who are under 65 and earn less than $60 a week, and others under 65 who earn less than $56 a week. It also estimates the number of able males who have withdrawn from the labor force or have not been located in other surveys. Using these criteria the Department has constructed a rate of subemployment for 10 slum areas in the country, including three from the Southwest.[5]

The slum areas of San Antonio and Phoenix ranked first and third in the survey, with New Orleans holding the second place. The subemployment rate for San Antonio was 47 percent—almost one-half its labor force; for New Orleans it was 45 percent; and for Phoenix 42 percent. Other slum areas in the survey, ranked in order of their percentage rates, were St. Louis, 39; Philadelphia, 34; New York, 29; San Francisco 25; and Boston, 24.[6]

The range from Boston's 24 percent subemployment rate to San Antonio's 47 percent tells a great deal about the differences between these two cities. Although the unemployment rate in the Roxbury area of Boston was virtually identical at the time with that of the east and west sides of San Antonio, employment prospects were much worse in San Antonio. By itself, therefore, the rate of unemployment tells only a partial story. The composite subemployment rate discloses much more about the adequacy of employment opportunities in a community. And the sampling of cities thus far suggests that persons in disadvantaged areas of southwestern cities are at considerably more of an employment disadvantage than are those who live in some of the more widely known slum areas of the country.

Another measure of the adequacy of employment opportunities may be the number of persons going *into* private household employment. One characteristic of a well-to-do class is its ability to command the personal service of others. The notion of a house with servants universally suggests affluence, and the maid, the butler, the housekeeper, the family nurse are all suggestive of a master-servant relationship that results from that affluence. One sees this with the movie-sponsored image of a "proper Bostonian" attended by servants.

Despite that image, the chances of finding servants in a household in San Antonio are over twice as good as they are in Boston. The extent of private household workers per household in Boston is only 1.8 percent; the number in San Antonio is twice as high, 3.7 percent. Even in Laredo, often referred to as America's poorest city, the chances of finding servants in a home are over two and one-half times better than in Boston. As it happens, one can find in any city of the Southwest, as perhaps also the Southeast, a larger percentage of the labor force resigned to serving as private household workers than is the case in Boston or New York City, despite all the wealth the latter communities can command.[7]

The Southwest and the Southeast recently came to the Nation's attention in quite another way. When the Citizens Board of Inquiry Into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States reported in 1968 on the unmet nutritional needs of the country, the Southwest came into focus as one of the main areas with those needs. It, along with the Southeast, was seen as a region with large numbers of persons suffering from malnutrition. The Southwest and the Southeast contained virtually all of the counties that the board of inquiry identified as "emergency hunger counties," and, except for most of California and northern Colorado, the overwhelming majority of the remaining counties in the other parts of the Southwest were identified as places having serious hunger problems.[8]

These findings were treated with editorial surprise in the Nation's press, for they were in sharp contrast not only to the notions of pervading affluence in our society, but also to all of the accounts of legendary wealth, industrial growth, and prosperity that are associated with the Southwest. The picture of hunger abiding there alongside great wealth struck some as improbable.

But there is an even more improbable situation troubling the region. Its improbability comes from the casual treatment given to something of such immense importance.

One of the major problems of the Southwest is not just that it contains large numbers of the hungry poor, but that it is the only part of the United States that has daily and intimate contact with the povery of another nation. Only a fence line or river that is often wadable separate the four border States from Mexico.

[5] Ibid., pp. 74–76
[6] Ibid., pp. 74–76.

[7] These computations were made by relating the number of private household workers to the number of households in selected cities. Source: 1960 Census of Population, Vol 1, tables 13 and 74.

[8] Citizens Board of Inquiry Into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States, "Hunger, U.S.A.," A Report, New Community Press, Washington, D.C., 1968, 100 pp.

The Border

The 1,800-mile border that the region shares with Mexico gives rise to unique problems. It is along this border that the two nations spill into each other. For each community on one side of the border there is a companion community on the other. These twin-like communities are bound to each other in an economic and cultural symbiosis that is uncommon to most international boundaries. But the peculiar economic impact of the border extends inland, far beyond the border communities.

The border itself is something of a fiction. It becomes real when some national policy of either of the Nations wants to assert the fact of its existence, but most often it is a permeable thing, a membrane that joins rather than separates the nationally distinct communities.

For many persons along the border, the Mexican towns offer an economical place to live. They find it possible to work on the U.S. side but reside in Mexico. Such persons are called "commuters." The Federal Government has shown some reticence about examining the commuter situation. For example, the Government was brought to court in 1961 to show cause why it should not restrict the flow of commuters. The suit was a civil action brought by the Texas State AFL–CIO. The State labor federation charged that the flow of commuters had an adverse effect on the wages and earnings of Americans.[1] The case seemed to have irritated a governmental nerve at the highest level, for before it was over the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, had made affidavit in the trial.

The Secretary argued that any serious restriction in commuter traffic would have unfavorable, and possibly serious consequences for the relations between the two countries. It was his view that closing off the commuters would damage the economy of the region on both sides of the border:

> "In a very real sense, the cities along the border—for example, El Paso and Juarez, Eagle Pass and Piedras Negras, Laredo and Nuevo Laredo, Brownsville and Matamoras, San Diego and Tijuana—have grown into single economic communities. A disruption in the life of these communities would do real harm to good neighbor relations in the area."[2]

Although Secretary Rusk said that the United States and Mexican cities are "single economic communities," our governmental statistics do not treat them as such. For instance, we have no way of knowing the extent of unemployment in these "single economic communities." Unemployment figures, which so often determine an area's eligibility for programs of Federal community assistance (e.g., economic development aid, accelerated public works projects, and extended unemployment benefits), are based on a survey of persons in dwelling units within the United States, which leaves out commuter workers who are not considered in estimating the rate of unemployment in the local labor force.[3]

It is possible for total employment to drop in a U.S. border town without its unemployment rate going up. This would be the case where a large number of commuters were laid off in an industry; and some U.S. industries along the border have a decided preference for employing Mexican nationals. Thus, the presence of a pool of experienced and unemployed workers a few hundred yards across a tenuous border is an ever-present retardant to those wage determining forces that operate for workers elsewhere within the United States. The incontestable poverty of large numbers of Mexican workers, including many skilled workers, is a steady deterrent to the aspirations of domestic workers who must compete with them. If not their actual poverty, then the difference in expectations between foreign and domestic workers leads to the same end.

In the court trial mentioned, the U.S. Department of Labor accepted the estimates of the Mexican Government that its nationals working in the United States accounted for 36 percent of the labor income earned by residents in Juarez, 33 percent in Tijuana, 31 percent in Nuevo Laredo, 30 percent in Matamoros, 23 percent in Piedras Negras, and 22 percent in Reynosa,

[1] U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Civil Actions 3168–61.

[2] "Study of Population and Immigration Problems," Committee on Judiciary, Subcommittee No. 1, U.S. House of Representatives, Special Series No. 11, Washington, 1963, p. 184.

[3] Ibid., p. 172, letter of Seymour L. Wolfbein, Director, Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training, U.S. Department of Labor.

Mexicali and Nogales.[4] These estimates are of enormous importance. No other cities in the United States contend with a situation similar in scope. The U.S. worker who competes with the traffic of workers from Mexico is caught in a situation where he pays a substantial part of what the Secretary of State regards as a form of foreign aid to a neighboring nation.

In another lawsuit in 1959, in which efforts were made to shut off a stream of Mexican workers who were working at a struck meatpacking plant in El Paso, the U.S. Attorney General advanced the view that the commuters enjoyed the status of lawfully domiciled resident aliens and hence could not be excluded, even though they were not actually domiciled in this country. The court observed that this concept of the status of commuters was "an amiable fiction."[5] This "amiable fiction" has persisted for over 40 years. It still does.

The uniqueness of this tolerance for an alien labor supply should be contrasted with those policies that were developed many years ago to deal with the importation of cheap labor into other parts of the country. American labor union officials historically have objected to unrestricted immigration into the United States. Often they have been chided for their illiberal stance in this regard. They favored the exclusion of Chinese, a "gentlemen's agreement" to keep out Japanese, and generally tighter chokes on the floodgates that brought European aliens to this country. Their urgings undoubtedly were xenophobic, but their primary motivation was more a matter of labor economics. They could not accomplish the effective organization of workers so long as there existed an open sluice to bring new workers into the areas they endeavored to organize.

The Civil War produced a temporary labor shortage, and for at least two decades thereafter the government aided employers in contracting for alien labor. In 1885 the alien contract labor law was passed to curb the inducement of aliens to come to this country. "The objective of such inducements was to oversupply the labor market so that domestic laborers would be forced to work at reduced wages."[6] The 1885 statute was tightened in 1891, reaffirmed in 1907, and again in 1917. However, the 1917 act contained a proviso which permitted the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization to approve temporary admission of aliens. This is the discretionary authority that has enabled Mexican nationals to enter the country for work in very large numbers, as they have under a variety of programs, including the different "Bracero Programs" since World War II, whereby alien workers come for temporary periods of farm work. It places unions in border communities in the position of fighting the battles that unions in other regions of the country successfully won either 40 or 80 years ago.

A study of the El Paso-Juarez communities by two sociologists confirms these observations:

> The El Paso garment industries employed more than 4,000 persons of whom only about 300 were dues-paying union members. Union leaders complained that it was very difficult to organize the workers, many of whom lived in C. Juarez. Many workers were women who regarded their jobs as temporary. Moreover, it was customary for a regular proportion of these to migrate to Los Angeles as soon as they had accumulated enough savings. Since most workers were earning more money (between $32 and $50 per week in 1965) than bank clerks in C. Juarez, to cite one example, they saw little need to join the union. The peculiar problem of residing in one nation and working in another raised complex questions about workers' legal rights. As a result of all these factors, union leaders were beginning to pressure the U.S. Government to prohibit the employment in El Paso of persons residing in C. Juarez. This move was strongly and so far successfully resisted by El Paso businessmen.[7]

Their study makes the point that Juarez must not be thought of as a village outpost of El Paso. The population of Juarez was only about 5 percent less than that of El Paso in 1960, and was actually larger at the time of the 1950 census. The "Mexico VIII Censo General de Poblacion 1960" set the rate of unemployment in Juarez at 15 percent when the U.S. census that year revealed a rate of only 6 percent unemployment in El Paso. But the pressures to work in the United States were not generated entirely by unemployment. Perhaps even more pressure came from the fact that at the time of the censuses the per capita annual income in Juarez was only $640, while it was $1,920 in El Paso, over three times as much.[8]

The Bureau of Employment Security of the U.S. Department of Labor found that the rate of unemployment in 1966 in Texas border cities was almost 95 percent larger than in Texas interior cities; that firms which employ alien commuters tend to pay them lower wages than they pay U.S. residents for the same work, and that such firms tend to pay lower wages than firms that employ only U.S. residents.[9]

The commuter is but one of the forms of Mexican immigration. Commuters can be either aliens or citizens. Aliens who come in may be either "green-card-

[4] Ibid., p. 156.

[5] Ibid., p. 156.

[6] Ibid., p. 185, statement prepared by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice

[7] William V. D'Antonio and William H. Form, "Influentials in Two Border Cities," *A Study in Community Decisionmaking*, University of Notre Dame Press, 1965, p. 25.

[8] Ibid., p. 42, table II.

[9] U.S. Department of Labor, "The 'Commuter' Problem and Low Wages and Unemployment in American Cities on the Mexican Border," Bureau of Employment Security, Office Farm Labor Service, April 1967, pp. 1–36 (mimeographed).

ers" or "blue-carders." The green card (Immigration Form I–151) authorizes the alien to work and live anywhere in the United States he wishes; the blue card (Immigration Form I–186) authorizes him to enter the United States not to exceed 72 hours at a time. But there seems to be no assured way of keeping track of the 72 hours as it applies to an individual.

There are other types of entry both legal and illegal, temporary and permanent. The numbers of illegal entrants, the so-called "wetbacks," have been astronomical in some years (over a million were actually apprehended and returned to Mexico in 1954); then, there are the border crossers who come for shopping, visiting, business, attending school, or as tourists; finally, there are the contracted-for agricultural workers who continue to come for seasonal work under government-sponsored work arrangements.

The numbers of all these can only be estimated. The numbers of persons in some of these immigrant categories are shrouded in official obscurities. Yet residents in any border community can substitute their observed experience for this official silence. They see it as a phenomenon that has existed since the United States gained the Southwest.

The "1965 Annual Report" of the Immigration and Naturalization Service records that of the 110,371 deportable aliens located and returned that year, Mexican nationals exceeded those from all other countries combined. And of the 55,349 Mexicans who were returned, well over half had made surreptitious entries—in contrast to less than 10 percent of deported persons from all other countries who had done so.[10] Over 90 percent of the deported aliens who entered without legal inspection in 1965 were Mexicans! They came in under the hoods of automobiles, by foot across the desert, across railroad trestles and rivers, hidden in freight cars. They continue to come as they have always come. Their coming is assisted by organized commercial smugglers, the "coyotes" who prey on them, the counterfeiters and salesmen of fraudulent documents. In 1965 the Immigration Service's Fraudulent Document Center in El Paso reported it had had its most productive year since inception.[11] The Center may do an able job of investigating suspected documents, but the belief still prevails among Mexican Americans that for $100 in Mexico one can buy a fraudulent American birth or baptismal certificate to back up a claim to citizenship. The U.S. border is a Circean attraction for the poor. The border towns are their staging area, thus forcing these towns to continue to feed on what has made them ill. They import poverty.

[10] Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, Annual Report, 1965, pp. 7–8.

[11] Ibid., p. 12.

The Mexican-American Study Project has recorded the history and some of the implications of Mexican immigration pressures. That study estimates that a minimum of 60,000 persons crossed the border regularly in 1960 for employment. It estimates that 17,976 of the 32,684 permanent immigrants in 1960 entered the labor force. This figure represents the magnitude of the annual cumulative increase in the permanent labor force from this source. That same year the number of Mexican workers who took jobs in this country was at least 191,176, and most of those jobs were in the Southwest. Almost 90 percent of the permanent Mexican immigrants give one of the five Southwestern States as their intended place of residence.[12]

This situation, complicated and fraught as it is with implications for foreign policy, is taken as the basis for one of the recommendations of this study. Most of the efforts to stem the tide of Mexican nationals have turned on the "adverse effect" proscription of immigration law. This means that in each instance it is incumbent on the complaining party or agency to demonstrate that the entry of foreign nationals has an adverse economic effect on resident citizens. This is a great burden to carry to trial. The nature of practically all economic data, such as what is needed to establish this claim, is that they are measurements of things past, general rather than specific, and can only cautiously and tentatively be applied to current specific situations. If they satisfy the requirements of the law, they do so after the fact, which offers small assistance to the complainants.

It is suggested here that there is new law available that might supplant the adverse effect doctrine. That law is reposed in title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and, to the knowledge of this writer, has not been applied to this situation which plagues these border States. Since the previously mentioned cases were brought to trial, immigration statutes and rules on this subject may have to meet another test of law. Congress has stated that a new rule shall apply, one which makes unlawful any employment that favors a particular race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. "National origin" may be the key for unlocking judicial inability to redress these complaints.

An employer who has shown a demonstrable preference for hiring either commuters or resident aliens must certainly, at some point, need to meet the test of showing that this does not run afoul of a national injunction against showing preference for certain classes of workers because of their national origin, in this instance,

[12] *Mexican-American Study Project*, "Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and Its Implications," Advance Report 2, by Leo Grebler, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, UCLA, January 1966, p. 64.

Mexico. Observable evidence up and down the border is available to show that, for whatever reason, there are employers who have a predominance of commuters working in their establishments—why should this not be tested against the strictures Congress laid down in 1964? Inasmuch as the act permits a test by action of any of the Commissioners, as well as of an involved individual, this is not something that need await the happenchance of individual workers with motivation and resources to endeavor reversing a high policy of the U.S. Government.

The Acting General Counsel of the Commission has already ruled that the ac does not prohibit an employer and union from entering an agreement that discriminates against the employment of nonresident aliens as a class. This ruling is based on the grounds that this does not constitute discrimination based on national origins since to rule otherwise would conflict with government policy as expressed in the Immigration and Nationality Act, which states, perhaps somewhat ineffectively in this instance, that domestic labor should be protected from competition of foreign labor.[13]

Should not the Commission press government policy further to see if the predilection of some employers to use Mexican nationals violates title VII, whether or not this produces adverse economic effects on the domestic workers most immediately involved? The utilization of a class of workers who have a common national origin as recent as each morning they commute to work would appear to offend title VII, whatever the economic considerations. It seems unlikely that the court would construe title VII as the same type of "amiable fiction" that it found the residency requirements of immigration law to be. This suggestion, of course, is based on a layman's logic, but perhaps it deserves exploration by the Commission's General Counsel.

[13] Commerce Clearing House, Inc., Employment Practices, Decisions and Rulings, Equal Employment Practices Commission, 17,304.61, "Discrimination against nonresident aliens," No. 50–55, Aug. 18, 1967, p. 7413–35–36.

Our Manifest Destiny

It was observed at the outset that the central historical fact that is pertinent to this study is that the Southwest once represented a colonial empire to the United States. In today's world there is an unpleasantness about this admission. Most historians avoided making it in the past, and all would not accept it today.

Nevertheless, the acknowledgement of colonialism and colonial attitudes is as essential to an understanding of the present problems of Spanish Surnameds as is the acknowledgment of slavery in the case of Negro Americans. The shadows of the past do extend into the present, and the ones that concern us here begin with this country's initial annoyance over a Spanish presence on the continent.

Spain's frontier of settlements in lands that now are a part of the United States once exceeded by far that of any other European power. From its first permanent settlement in Florida in 1565 to its retrocession of Louisiana to France in 1800, Spain endeavored to hold a line of settlements that extended from St. Augustine, Fla., to New Orleans, thence to St. Louis and west to San Francisco by way of Santa Fe, N.M. The loss of the Louisiana territory separated its holdings on the continent. When the United States acquired that territory from France 3 years later, the area was set for an historic unwinding of national destinies that best can be compared to a corrida, a pageant of the bullring. There was never uncertainty as to which nation was the matador. It was a confrontation between a young, zestful nation born in the English cultural stream and a distant, ancient nation trying to hold together an empire that had brought Latin civilization to most of the Americas within the 300 years preceding.

The metaphor of the bullring is not overdrawn. The ceremonial ploys that characterized the confrontation in its early stages were clearly meant to hasten the fatal moments intended from the first. The trumpeting of the first bars of what was to be called "Manifest Destiny" could only mean death to Spain.

The United States doubled in size with the Louisiana Purchase. The country's boundaries on the west side of the Mississippi River became an almost exact reflection of the shape and size of its boundaries on the east. It was as though the continent had been creased along that river to make a giant inkblot which spread a symmetrical wing of the Nation's boundaries over the lands to the west.

In 1819 the King of Spain ceded Florida to the United States, following Jackson's invasion of that area. In exchange, the United States disavowed any claims to what is now Texas and to the other lands that lay to the west and southwest in what was known as New Spain. The Treaty of 1819 for the first time defined a boundary between New Spain and the great central river system that the United States had purchased from France. This boundary created for Americans the concept of a southwestern region adjacent to their country. The line of separation crossed the continent from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, setting the northern and eastern limits of the area referred to today as the Southwest.

When the boundary was drawn, none of the names of the present southwestern States had entered our language. There were allusions to vast, imprecise areas sometimes referred to as Texas and California, but there was no agreement as to their bounds, for they did not exist as natural or political entities. The political entities that confronted each other across the treaty line were the Spanish Crown and the United States of America.[1]

American maps for a period thereafter designated the entire area north of the 42d parallel as "Oregon." All the expanse below the parallel was simply marked "The Great American Desert" and the "Great Sandy Plain"—covering over 1,500 miles of geography unknown to Americans. The only other designations on these maps were the names of Indian groupings superimposed over the areas that they were thought to frequent.[2] Little else was known about the region in the United States.

The erratic thrusts of the westward migration were expected to bypass the Southwest and head only for the more salubrious Oregon Territory. This view did not reckon with the expansionist designs and covetous policies that obsessed other Americans 20 years later. In the next two decades American settlers moved to the

[1] T. Harry Williams, Richard N. Current, Frank Friedel, "A History of the United States: [To 1877]," Second edition, revised, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1965, p. 308.

[2] Charles O. Paullin, "Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States," Carnegie Institute of Washington and the American Geographical Society of New York, 1932, the "Smith Map of 1843," Plate 32 (c).

borderland frontiers. Some moved beyond it, going outside the United States, often moving in fugitive fashion: sometimes they went to be free of persecution, as in the case of the Mormons. The notion that the national boundaries should follow them became popularized in the tantalizing phrase, "Manifest Destiny," a belief that there was a providential design that their kind, the English-speaking "Anglo Americans," should fill the continent from ocean to ocean.

Spain's colonial empire southwest of the international boundary gave way to the Republic of Mexico in 1820. The lands adjacent to the United States, which had long been administrative outposts far removed from the main centers of Spanish activity, became States of the new Mexican nation: Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California. These areas already had a long history tying them to the European cultural stream. Their local history began in 1540 when Coronado spent several years exploring the region, twice wintering peaceably with the Pueblo Indians who dwelt then as now in cities with three-story houses. This happened 67 years before the first English settlement at Jamestown! Santa Cruz was established in 1603, 4 years before Jamestown and 17 years before the Pilgrims found their landing rock on the east coast. And, as has been said, Santa Fe, the present New Mexico capital, had been the territorial capital for over a decade before Jamestown.

The Spanish-speaking people in these areas knew that their forebears had established many things on American lands before the first Englishman ever reached those lands. They farmed and mined; they built aqueducts that still operate; theirs were the first wheels to turn on the continent; they introduced many grains, fruits, vegetables, and fibers to the land; they brought livestock and turned the horse loose in America; they organized cities and built over 50 missions from southern Louisiana to north of San Francisco Bay. They did all of these things, lived all this history, before their history was taken from them.[3]

These deep roots are slighted by most U.S. historians. The story of the country's development is too often told by those who scanned the westward movement only from the east. That perspective disadvantages those whose heritage ties them to the other half of the cultural division of Europe. It disadvantages even more those indigenous people who wrote no histories to tell of their three centuries of retreat before the advancing Anglos.

The Southwest became a place to discard what was unwanted, a dumping ground for the dispossessed, for Indian tribes that were pushed from their verdant eastern homelands and thereby made to compete with each other for the same living and hunting areas. The native tribes in the Southwest had been peaceably disposed toward the United States, but the influx of other Indians driven out by the United States became the cause of constant friction.[4]

All too often the movement west has been viewed as the individual acts of independent, self-sufficient pioneer types, willing to take the risks of failure or destruction. Without question, those who went to the frontier were generally of this character. But this is not enough. The pioneers were encouraged in their westward push by public policies, by Federal programs of frontier defense and for dealing with and moving the Indians. The superior forces of the fierce plains Indians could have cut down settlers as they arrived, had not Congress appropriated the funds to move these tribes and make available the U.S. Army to keep them at bay. This was a deliberate manpower policy, as deliberate as those policies today that are concerned with the efficient utilization and placement of the labor force.

Mention has already been made of a significant difference between English, later United States, and Spanish colonial policies. The Spanish often mingled their blood with that of native populations. Intermarriage between Spanish and Indian became sanctioned by royal decree in 1514. This contributed to the fact that the predominant population of Mexico became mestizos, mixed bloods, with only minorities of the original Indian and Spanish stocks.

In contrast to the English, the extent of Spanish penetration on the continent was not to be measured by a simple head count of the number of settlers who came from the home country. The Canary Islanders who were brought in to found San Antonio were few in number. However, they laid out a city not just for themselves but also for the native Indian populations. They intended to convert what Indians they could and to include them in their society. True, their manner of accomplishing this was not always gentle, and the place accorded Indians within Spanish colonial settlements was not always to their liking. Nonetheless, the Spanish had a more relaxed view than the English on questions of racial and ethnic integration. For instance, in the group of 22 adults who first settled Los Angeles, 20 were nonwhite of which 10 were Negro.[5]

One searches in vain for an English parallel to this colonial policy on our east coast. The peoples who

[3] Herschel T. Manuel, "Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest," University of Texas Press, Austin, 1965, p. 9. See also Carey McWilliams, "North from Mexico," Monthly Review Press, New York, 1961, pp. 32–33; and Howard F. Cline, "The United States and Mexico," Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1963, p. 33.

[4] Edgar Bruce Wesley, "Guarding the Frontier," University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1935, p. 177.

[5] Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, "San Gabriel Mission and the Beginnings of Los Angeles." San Gabriel: San Gabriel Mission, 1927.

faced each other across the new international boundary had this important difference. It set the stage for differences that persist today.

In the 1820's the Mexican Government permitted immigration into Texas and gave large grants of land to colonizers. Immigrants were required to accept Mexican rule and the Roman Catholic faith and to forego the practice of slavery, an institution it had made unlawful in 1829. None of these conditions were met with universal good faith. By 1836 the number of Anglo settlers who ranked under Mexican rule was sufficient to challenge that rule. They saw it as despotic, declared their independence, and successfully defended it. Mexico did not concede the loss, but 9 years later, in 1845, this did not stay the United States from annexing the newly born Republic of Texas. The gauntlet was then down.

Mexico promptly broke off diplomatic relations with the United States. The situation was aggravated by the fact that there was no agreement as to the extent of Texas' boundaries. Texans of that time held that their borders encompassed most of the present State of New Mexico, plus parts of the present States of Oklahoma, Colorado, Nebraska, and Wyoming. The area actually annexed by the United States was very much less than that and did not extend much past the center of the present State or south beyond the Nueces River. Even so, Texans for their part asserted a claim to all the land to the south between the Nueces and the Rio Grande Rivers.

President Polk eventually moved to recognize the Texans' claim and sent an army first to the Nueces and later to the Rio Grande. He alerted a Pacific naval squadron to seize California ports, should a war develop. When Mexican troops crossed the Rio Grande and attacked a unit of American soldiers in the disputed Nueces strip, Polk asked for and got a declaration of war from Congress on May 13, 1846.

Mexico was assaulted by land and sea. Military offensives were also carried out in New Mexico and California (including what is now Arizona). Anglo settlers in California proclaimed an independent State and then joined U.S. troops in reducing the opposition of Mexican loyalists in the fall of 1846. The United States soon held all of the Southwest.

But military victories for the United States came more readily than did Mexican acceptance of peace. A year passed while the American army pressed on to seize and occupy the Mexican capital at Mexico City, raising the American flag for the first time above the capital of a conquered nation. Even so, the Mexican Government would not assent to peace. It pled with the American commissioner to relinquish the demand that it cede "New Mexico, and the few leagues which divide the right bank of the Nueces from the left bank of the Bravo (Rio Grande)."[6] It would not formalize the peace that was already forced upon it.

When Congress lifted the injunction of secrecy from the messages and documents pertaining to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which was the treaty of peace that was made following a change in the Mexican Government, the reasons for Mexico's stubborn concern became generally known. Mexico had resisted accepting the inevitable out of concern for the fate of its own nationals who were to be absorbed by the United States. It acknowledged and accepted the pledge of the United States to recognize the right of its nationals to remain where they were and to preserve their property and nationality, but it was fearful, it said, lest "they remain strangers in their own country." It told the U.S. commissioner, "it is not the Government of Mexico that will place a price upon the adhesion of its citizens to the soil upon which they were born."[7]

It was a new, more suppliant Mexican Government that came to power 5 months after this exchange and assented to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The treaty secured for the United States the land it had gone to war to get. It was approved by the Senate. The Southwest had become part of the United States.[8]

A few years later, in 1853, the United States felt one further territorial need. An error in locating the proper latitude of El Paso had cost the country its claim to lands south of the Gila River which were thought needed for a railroad route to California. Accordingly, a railroad official was authorized to negotiate for the purchase by the United States of 30,000 square miles of land on the borders of New Mexico and Arizona. This was secured for 50 cents an acre, and the Southwest in its present bounds was defined. The area annexed covers the States of Nevada and Utah, in addition to the five States included in this study.

Had these lands not been taken from Mexico, that nation today would be equal in size to the coterminous United States. Mexico was cut in half and the acreage that was transferred is three-fourths that of India—such was the size of the vast internal empire that was created in the name of "Manifest Destiny."

It should be said that the country was not of one mind about this seizure. The Congress was divided on it. One freshman Congressman, Lincoln from Illinois, was outspoken against the war. He said of the President,

> I more than suspect that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong—that he feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to Heaven against him. * * * His mind tasked beyond its

[6] U.S. Senate, "The Treaty Between the United States and Mexico," 30th Cong., First Sess., Executive No. 42, Washington, D.C. 1848, p. 343.

[7] Ibid.

[8] T. Harry Williams, et al., op cit., pp. 520–527.

power, is running hither and thither, like some tortured creature, on a burning surface, finding no position, on which it can settle down and be at peace. * * * He knows not where he is. He is a bewildered, confounded and miserably perplexed man.[9]

But President Polk's chief perplexity was whether the United States was seizing all the land that he felt the situation warranted. When he submitted the treaty to the Senate for ratification, he confided to his diary, "If the treaty was now to be made, I should demand more territory." [10] He felt pressed by those who wanted to take all of Mexico and who saw in this act something more than a mere transfer of acreage.

U.S. Senator Sam Houston, the former President of the Republic of Texas, was one who argued,

> The Anglo-Saxon race [must] pervade the whole southern extremity of this vast continent. * * * [The] Mexicans are no better than the Indians, and I see no reason why we should not take their land. * * * We are now in the war * * * giving peace, security and happiness to *those oppressed people*.[11]

Abolitionist Congressman Thaddeus Stevens later spoke of them as "hybrid" people, degraded and priest ridden. Clearly, the United States wanted their land, not them.

[9] Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln: "The Prairie Years and the War Years," (one-volume edition), Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1954, p. 96.

[10] Henry Steele Commager, "Documents of American History," Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, Sixth Edition, 1958, p. 313.

[11] Ruth Landes, "Latin Americans of the Southwest," McGraw-Hill Book Co., St. Louis, 1965, pp. 51–52.

The Subject People

The seizure of land does not necessarily spell colonialism, nor must it result in people being treated as colonial subjects. Most of the lands that make up the United States were seized. But the consequences of such seizure in the Southwest were not the same as elsewhere. There are several reasons for this.

The Southwest was the last great land mass added to the country by conquest. At the time of its annexation, it already contained a rich variety of people, people who today make it the most cosmopolitan region of the Nation. It contains larger numbers of people of different races, religions, national origins, and at different stages of cultural development than any other region. Here are gathered some of the largest groups of Indians, both those native to the area and those driven here, those from both primitive and advanced cultures; here are the hispanicized Indians of this country and Mexico; here are four-fifths of all those who are linked to the Conquistadores by their Spanish surnames; here, if we leave Hawaii aside, are the Nation's largest groups of Orientals: Two-thirds of the Japanese, two-thirds of the Filipinos and over half of the Chinese; and a third of the Nation's combined groups of Asian Indians, Koreans, Polynesians, Indonesians, Hawaiians, and others; here, also, are over 2 million of the Nation's Negroes.

In the truest sense of the word, the region is cosmopolitan—its pepole belong to all of the world, and the ties of many with other parts of the world are still recent and unsevered, for here are found one-third of all the Nation's registered aliens.

These racial and ethnic groups are the minority people in the region. Of the 29.3 million persons in these five States in 1960, 6.2 million, over 21 percent, were part of the minority population. In a nation that has come to see its minority member as a black contrast in a sea of white faces and refers to him as "America's 10th man," the Southwest presents an exception. There, one of every five persons is a part of the minority, and he is seen as such, for he too is separately visible in the sea of white faces. The white descendant of European stock, who is not identified with one of the named racial or ethnic groups, is known as an Anglo. This in itself is an oddity, for where else in the country has a member of the majority acquired a single commonplace name?

Table 30 shows the population totals for the principal minority groups and the majority Anglo group of "other white" and compares these for the census years of 1950 and 1960. In that decade, each minority group showed a greater increase in population than did the Anglos.

The rapid increase in the size of the minority populations in recent years does not alter the claim made here that it is the Anglo who came to possess the region, and that he treated others as conquered or subject people while doing so. The evidence to support this can be drawn from the history of the region.

TABLE 30.—Population of selected ethnic groups, for five Southwestern States, urban and rural: 1960 and 1950

Census year, State, and area	Total	White			Nonwhite					
		Total	Spanish surname	Other	Total	Negro	Indian	Japanese	Chinese	Other
1960	29,30[illegible]012	26,576,041	3,464,999	23,111,042	2,72[illegible],971	2,171,444	188,694	170,647	103,794	93,392
Percent	[illegible]0.0	90.7	11.9	78.9	9.3	7.4	.6	.6	.4	.3
1950	21,0[illegible]3,280	19,223,082	2,299,550	16,933,532	1,830,198	1,494,189	131,912	92,356	63,334	48,400
Percent	100.0	91.3	10.9	80.4	8.7	7.1	.6	.4	.3	0
Percent change										
1950 to 1960	39.2	38.3	51.3	36.5	48.1	45.3	43.0	84.8	63.9	92.

Source: 1960 Census of Population, Supplementary Report PC(S1)-55, "Population Characteristics of Selected Ethnic Groups in the five Southwestern States," U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, issued July 1968.

The "Simpleminded Children"

Consider the Indians. They were here first, and their present multiplication despite their poverty is a success story in a grim sort of a way. In years past, forcing the Indians into cracks and corners where their subsistence became uncertain or impossible was the mark of a successfully pursued Indian policy. It was not believed that civilization and industry might prevail except that this be done.

There were never but two choices open to the Indians—between bewilderment and hostility or abjection and poverty—poverty in the most elemental terms of survival. Those who chose hostility were regarded as savages and dealt with as such. The advancing Anglo saw his terms of survival as requiring the removal or the extermination of the Indian—sometimes one, sometimes the other. Men of both races made their choice, and the Indian was virtually removed from association with the white man's civilization.

The annual report of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs for the year 1871–72 leaves no uncertainty about the Government's role in executing this manpower policy.[1] The Commissioner of Indian Affairs that year explained what was then seen as the one hope of the Indians:

> No one certainly will rejoice more heartily than the present Commissioner when the Indians of the country cease to be in a position to dictate, in any form or degree, to the Government; when, in fact, the last hostile tribe becomes reduced to the suppliants of charity. This is, indeed, the only hope of salvation for the aborigines of the continent. If they stand up against the progress of civilization and industry, they must be relentlessly crushed. The westward course of population is neither to be denied nor delayed for the sake of all the Indians that ever called this country their home. They must yield or perish.

The yielding continued until only 82 years ago, when U.S. cavalry troops engaged the last of the hostile Apaches in Arizona.[2] Because the Indians yielded they did not all perish. There were 188,694 of them counted in the five States in the last census. Table 31 shows how they were distributed among these States. Today, the Indians stand first in the Nation in their poverty. No group is poorer. Table 32 gives their median incomes and the percentage of males with income below $2,000.

TABLE 31.—Indian population in the Southwest: 1960

Area	Population		Percent Indian
	Total	Indian	
Arizona	1,302,161	83,387	6.4
California	15,717,204	39,014	.2
Colorado	1,753,947	4,288	.2
New Mexico	951,023	56,255	5.9
Texas	9,579,677	5,750	.1
Southwest	29,304,012	188,694	.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1966." (87th edition), Washington, D.C., 1966.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs acknowledges the abiding poverty of Indians today, saying, "Most Indians are poor, desperately poor—as poor as anybody we know in this country of ours." [3] Yet they are also one of the fastest growing minorities in the country, despite having higher infant mortality rates and a shorter life expectancy than any other racial or ethnic group.[4]

TABLE 32.—Income[1] of the Indian population, for Southwest, 1960

Area	Median income	Median income of males	Percent of males with income below $2,000
Arizona	(2)	$1,358	60.1
California	$1,921	2,694	40.8
Colorado	1,935	2,461	42.1
New Mexico	1,337	1,703	55.5
Texas	1,655	2,017	49.7

[1] Income of persons in 1959, 14 years old and over, 1960.
[2] Below $1,000.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1960, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, PC(2)-1C, table 56, pp. 234-239.

[1] "U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs Report," 1871–72, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1872, p. 9.

[2] There is a note of irony in that the commander of the U.S. forces in World War I, General John J. Pershing, earned the nickname "Nigger Jack," later softened to "Black Jack," because as a young officer it was Negro troops he led in the campaign *against the* Apache. See: Thomas J. Fleming, "Pershing's Island War," American Heritage, Vol. XIX, No. 5, August 1968, p. 34.

[3] U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, "The War Against Poverty—The American Indian," USGPO, Washington, 1964, p. 8 (pamphlet).

[4] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "Indian Health Highlights," 1964 Edition, Public Health Service, Washington, D.C., April 1964.

The problems of the Indian are much too diverse and complex to be detailed here. A recent Congressional investigation has reported that his plight, instead of being lessened, has worsened in the last 15 years. His unemployment rate is reported 10 times the national average; 50 percent of his children drop out of school before completing high school; President Johnson has called him "the forgotten American." [5] The compounded errors of the past, which demanded that the Indian give up being an Indian if he wished to share in the benefits of the U.S. economy, were detailed for the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress in 1968 by the Director of Program Development of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research. He urged that any program to rectify past errors undertaken by the Government must begin with breaking "its unfortunate tradition of dealing with Indians as though they are simple-minded children." [6]

Federal policy has indeed treated the pacified but untractable Indians as simple-minded children. That policy has vacillated over the years and has not yet settled on how to find accommodations with their diversity. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, which sees itself as shielding the Indians from predations of the unscrupulous, has itself been condemned for taking from them the choices of their own life styles, community, and the rearing of their children. In this connection it should be enough to recall that it was not until after World War II that citizenship was realized by the last of the Indian groups. And only in the last 20 years were the last of them given the right to vote and to serve on juries. Arizona and New Mexico were the last of the States to permit them jury service and to grant them the franchise.[7]

[5] Robert L. Jackson, "Indians' Plight Worse Congress Probers Find," Los Angeles Times, April 1, 1968.

[6] Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, *Federal Programs for the Development of Human Resources,* Subcommittee on Economic Progress, Joint Committee Print, Washington, 1968, paper submitted by Herbert E. Stiner, "Toward a Fundamental Program for the Training, Employment and Economic Equality of the American Indian," pp. 293–326.

[7] Felix S. Cohen, ed., *Handbook of Federal Indian Law,* Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office; 1942. U.S. Department of the Interior; Office of the Solicitor.

"* * * Strangers in Their Own Country"

Much larger in number than the Indians are the Spanish Surnameds. Table 30 shows almost 3½ million of them living in these five States in 1960. True, only a fraction might claim the distinctive heritage of being descendants of those settled families who lived in the region at the time of the war with Mexico, and for whom the Mexican Government expressed concern lest they remain strangers in their own country. However, those who came as immigrants at a later date moved into a social and economic climate already set by the relationship that had developed between the original Spanish and Mexican settlers and the Anglos who became dominant after the war and were then joined by such large numbers of other Anglos.

Article VIII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteed many things to the former Mexican nationals. Among these it gave assurance that Mexicans in territory previously belonging to Mexico would "be free to continue where they now reside * * * retaining the property which they possess." This pledge did not prove adequate in all cases. The ratification of the treaty opened the season for Anglo claims against the land properties of those for whom the commitment was made.

There are intricate and reasoned ways to explain the loss of land of former Mexican citizens and their heirs. But in so many instances it can only be seen as plunder—theft dressed up in the trappings of legalisms and political decisions which did not exist at the time of the treaty ratification.

Most historians of the region today acknowledge that there was wide-scale larceny as the Anglos acquired title to the land.[1] An account of the land losses of Spanish Surnameds in northern New Mexico has been made by Clark S. Knowlton, a sociologist at Texas Western College.[2] He affirms that the Spanish Surnameds, since 1854, have lost in New Mexico alone over 2 million acres of privately held land and 1,700,000 acres of communal land, granted and chartered under Spanish law to villages for communal grazing and timbering. In addition, 1,800,000 acres have been taken from them by the State, and other vast acreages have been taken by the Federal Government for forest reserves or granted by it to railroad companies.

These land transfers started with the treaty. A largely illiterate population was treated by the entering Anglos as fair game for sharp, if not shady, deals. Congress, in 1854, reserved to itself the right to pass on private land claims. The Spanish Surnameds, when contested for their lands, were required to pay for their own surveys and spend some time in Washington if they hoped to get their claims confirmed. The violence and conflict that grew out of these arrangements led Congress to establish a Court of Private Land Claims in 1891 for New Mexico and Colorado. This court continued until 1904. Dr. Knowlton says it rejected two-thirds of all the land claims of Spanish Surnameds coming before it. Many of them surrendered their lands without a struggle when their rights were challenged: "* * * they shrank from all Anglo contact * * *. To them the entire legal process seemed like a giant Anglo conspiracy to steal their property without possibility of escape or redress." [3]

Carey McWilliams has written that California was engulfed by a tidal wave of Anglos after 1848, and that they took possession of the land and proceeded to make things over to their own taste.[4] But the Texans, which is to say Anglo Texans, got an earlier start in their encroachments on Mexican holdings in their own State. They were not encumbered after gaining their independence from Mexico by the treaty guarantees that were later made by the United States. They could set about assembling larger land units with greater ease, partly because the Mexican grants in their State were less developed and less settled. In Texas, where even today a Spanish Surnamed remains a "Mexican" in the parlance of the street, there was less disposition to worry about the legalisms of land seizures. Texans felt little compunction about expel-

[1] A view that dissents sharply from this is presented by Wayne W. Scott in "Spanish Land-Grant Problems Were Here Before the Anglo," *New Mexico Business*, University of New Mexico, Bureau of Business Research, vol. 20, No. 7, July 1967, pp. 1–9. It is not persuasive to this writer, for his argument hinges on the claim that many of the titles were clouded under Spanish and Mexican law, and the act of dispossessing people of their birthlands would be no more commendatory had it been done in Spanish rather than in English.

[2] Clark S. Knowlton, "Causes of Land Losses Among the Spanish Americans in Northern New Mexico," *Rocky Mountain Social Science Journal*, Apr. 5, 1963, vol. I, pp. 201–211.

[3] Ibid., pp. 8 and 9

[4] Carey McWilliams, "North From Mexico," Monthly Review Press, New York, 1961, p. 92.

ling these "alien" people from their midst, even after the treaty.

In 1856 Colorado County in Texas expelled all "Mexicans" on 5 days' notice and forbade them to come within the limits of the county; Matagorda County took similar action; Uvalde County forbade them to travel on public roads without passes; at Goliad, where Texans fought valiantly for their own freedom, a resolution was passed, stating "the continuance of the greasers or peon Mexicans as citizens among us is an intolerable nuisance." [5]

Paul Taylor has recorded how in the Nueces strip in Texas land titles were acquired and large cattle ranches built on lands that had been Spanish or Mexican grants.[6]

Dr. Knowlton insists that this process is still at work in New Mexico. The construction of reclamation, irrigation, and flood control projects opens again the contest for water rights. Commercial and subsidized agriculture, hungry for larger holdings, encourages projects that impose heavy water or conservation charges upon land used for subsistence agriculture The decline of the sheep industry, the search for summer ranges or income tax writeoffs result in the continued land losses. The villagers in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and upper valley of the Rio Grande are pressed in this squeeze, and finding they cannot get public assistance if land is owned, they sell it for what they can get or abandon it and move to town in a search for employment or to join the welfare roles. Recently some of these people have substituted a new belligerence for what once was thought to be their rustic charm.

The formation by some Spanish Surnameds of the Alianza, as the Federal Alliance of Land Grants and Confederation of Free City States is known, the dramatic seizure of a court house, the shootings, the kidnappings, the internments and subsequent trials—all have made the Nation aware that here is another minority stirring in its frustrations. The appearance of their representatives at the Poor People's March on Washington in 1968 was treated as quixotic by most of the Nation's press—they were seen as quaint, out of the past, as were those Indians who went to the steps of the Supreme Court to protest the loss of ancient fishing rights.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture has acknowledged that these are unresolved problems. It has stated that many problems in parts of the Southwest spring not from the scarcity of resources such as water, but from the complications associated with the use of existing resources:

> Land transfers and boundary maintenance, especially for irrigated land holdings, are hindered by ambiguous land titles handed down by the Spanish Crown or by the Mexican Government, later interpreted by U.S. courts in terms of homesteading laws passed by the U.S. Congress during the latter part of the 19th century. This situation impedes those who are in a position to reassemble many of the fragmented land holdings into larger and more efficient units.[7]

Whatever the complication, the Department's observation must be unsettling to Spanish Surnameds who live in the affected areas. Here an agency of government, almost 120 years after Guadalupe Hidalgo, is saying that the land titles from the defeated nation are "ambiguous," that the boundaries of holdings are yet unclear. There is even an ironic note to the Department's statement that fragments of land should be assembled into larger holdings so that they may be more efficiently utilized. The titles to much of the land in question probably were rendered ambiguous and more susceptible to being taken away from the original occupants because no single person did own it; it was communal land, it belonged to the village that it might be more efficiently used. U.S. land law found it difficult to accommodate that communal arrangement and to protect it from homesteaders who wanted individual, private holdings.[8]

Author Steve Allen, southwesterner, whose successes as an entertainer have not kept him from writing broadly of his humane concerns, observes that the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest "unlike the Indians, whose misery they have shared, * * * have never had even the nominal protection of an agency such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs." [9]

"The dimensions of depressed economic condition of Mexican-Americans have never been brought into sharp focus." So states the Mexican-American Study Project, the first extensive and in-depth research of the Mexican-American population in the Southwest that UCLA has undertaken with Ford Foundation assistance. That study further observes, "abject poverty among Mexican-Americans has gone largely unnoticed in the Nation at large * * * few, if any, of the

[5] Frank W. Johnson, "A History of Texas and Texans," edited and brought up to date by Eugene C. Barker, the American Historical Society, Chicago and New York, 1916, vol. I, pp. 514–515.

[6] Paul Schuster Taylor, "An American-Mexican Frontier; Nueces County, Tex.," the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1934.

[7] U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Rural People in the American Economy," Agricultural Economic Report No. 101, Economic Research Service (U.S.G.P.O.), Washington, D.C., 1966.

[8] Agricultural Experiment Station, New Mexico State University, "Rural People and Their Resources: North-Central New Mexico," Bulletin 448, October 1960.

[9] Steve Allen. "The Ground Is Our Table," Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, New York, 1966, p. 36.

many nationwide studies of the poor have recognized the plight of the Mexican-American people." [10]

William H. Crook, former director of the Southwest region for the Office of Economic Opportunity, was one who tried to arouse public concern for those who were locked in seemingly hopeless, generations-old poverty. After touring an area covering several hundred miles of his region, he released these bitter words to the press:

> I'm still appalled by some of the things I saw out there. The way of life endured by some Mexican-American citizens here in Texas is incredible—something out of the 18th century. * * * Texans would gag on their food if they could witness the kind of poverty I saw on that tour. * * * There are human beings existing in the border towns of Texas under conditions as indescribably cruel as can be found anywhere in the world. * * * I'll never forget the hungry eyes of some of the children. It would be criminal for a civilized people aware of such misery to remain inactive.[11]

The widespread poverty among Spanish Surnameds cannot be disassociated from their employment opportunities. The reciprocal relationship between poverty and employment opportunities has already been detailed. It is enough to repeat the finding of the Mexican-American study project that about 35 percent of all Spanish-surname families in the Southwest are poor. Although this is less than the 42 percent of families that are poor in the nonwhite group, it should be emphasized that over one-fifth of nonwhites in the Southwest are not Negroes. The principal nonwhite groups that are neither Negro nor Indian are shown in table 33, which also gives their number in each of the States.

TABLE 33.—Nonwhite races, excluding Negro and Indian, in Southwest: 1960

Area	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	All Other [1]
Arizona	1,501	2,936	943	474
California	157,317	95,600	65,459	20,723
Colorado	6,846	724	605	792
New Mexico	930	362	192	458
Texas	4,053	4,172	1,623	2,123
Southwest	170,647	103,794	68,822	24,570
United States excluding Alaska and Hawaii	260,059	198,958	106,426	75,045
Percent in Southwest	65.6	52.2	64.7	32.7

[1] Asian Indians, Koreans, Polynesians, Indonesians, Hawaiians, Aleuts, Eskimos, and other races.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1966." (87th edition), Washington, D.C. 1966, table 25, p. 26.

[10] Frank G. Mittlebach and Grace Marshall, "The Burden of Poverty," Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 5, Leo Grebler, Director, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966, p. 1.

[11] *Austin Statesman*, Austin, Tex., Sept. 1, 1966.

Neither White nor Black

The presence of relatively large nonwhite minorities that are neither Negro nor Indian can provide further insights into the workings of racism in the Nation's past. The searchings of the national conscience on this subject have been devoted largely to retracing the experiences of the Negro so as to account for how he presently fares. Both the Negroes and the Indians have been seen as groups that were caught up in an historical matrix of forces that dealt harshly with them, but which somehow had to work themselves out before kinder, more humane attitudes might prevail. This view sees the Negro and the Indian as victims of unique, unrepeated historical accidents. Given these accidents, it was not possible to civilize the choices more than they were. It is a view that makes everyone a victim, regardless of where he stood in relationship to others.

What seems to be inadequate about this view is that it does not account for the experiences of other minority groups that were not a party to the same historical accidents. If other minority people have had treatment that parallels in some regard that of the Indians and the Negroes, then it is not realistic to treat racism as the consequences of nonrecurring historical accidents; rather, it is seen as a feature of individual character, one that becomes a group characteristic. If all racial and ethnic minorities have been similarly treated vis-à-vis the Anglo, then attention must turn from impersonal historical forces to highly personal individual choices. The point is pertinent to this study, for the attainment of truly equal employment opportunity must eventually rest on the single individual's efforts to civilize his choices. This is no more arguable than the proposition that individual acceptance of the premium we place on human life is more a deterrent to crimes of violence than are the laws against murder.

The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders arraigned American society in 1968 as a racist society.[1] The acceptance of that judgment was made easier for some persons because they saw the charge placed against the historic backdrop of slavery. This made it possible to view white racism and racial prejudice toward the Negro as a sort of lingering consequence of the institution of slavery: Had there not been a plantation economy in the South, there would not have been slavery; and had there not been slavery, we would not be burdened with the threat that racial prejudice makes on our future.

This would be a comforting conclusion, for the agony the Nation had in ridding itself of slavery could then be seen as absolving much of the guilt that lingers along with the prejudice. However, this is an erroneous conclusion. To believe it one must believe that racism is but a consequence of a long-past slavery. The history of the Southwest argues differently.

In the Southwest, it has been made clear that racism has been woven into the warp of our society without any dependence on the existence of slavery. Slavery in this region, with minor exceptions, was limited to Texas, essentially to east Texas. Yet, each of the minority groups dealt with in this study has been the victim of racial prejudice. The same patterns of segregation, discrimination, and unequal rights and opportunities that developed for the Indian, the Negro, and the Spanish Surnamed can be shown to have developed for the Orientals as well.

Significant numbers of Orientals began coming to California in gold rush days. By 1960 there were over 350,000 Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos residing in the five States. All of these groups have had their turns as victims of a hard discrimination, one that sometimes took on violent forms. The extent of the prejudice that has been manifested against them can be read in the records of anti-Chinese riots, the eviction of the Chinese from the mines, the Chinese Exclusion Act, the discriminatory taxation against their enterprises, the prohibition against Orientals becoming citizens, their relegation to segregated schools and neighborhoods, the prohibitions against their owning land, the bans against interracial marriages, and, finally, the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907, and the eventual congressional bar to Japanese immigrants that was enacted in the 1920's.[2]

For the Japanese the xenophobia that expressed itself through these acts erupted with fresh harshness in wartime 1942, when tens of thousands of them were interned almost overnight and relocated in concenration centers where 70,000 of them were still confined

[1] Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Bantam Books, Inc., New York, 1968.

[2] These historical facts are at long last being taught to California school children. See: John W. Caughey, et al, "Land of the Free," Benziger Brothers, Inc., New York, 1966, pp. 418–419.

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over 3 years later. Eugene V. Rostow said that the evidence of this experience supports only one conclusion: "The dominant element in the development of our relocation policy was race prejudice, not a military estimate of a military problem." [3]

It would be unlikely if the accumulated effects of these attitudes and actions were not registered in the present income figures for Orientals. Whether such a causal relationship can be shown or not, it is clear that Oriental groups have lagged behind the general population in their incomes. Table 34 gives the male median incomes and the percentage of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino males with income below $3,000. In each State where statistics are available, Orientals trail the general population. These income statistics are scant for States where the number of Orientals is small. California alone has over 90 percent of the region's Orientals, and there the disparity in their incomes and that of the general population is pronounced.

TABLE 34.—Median incomes [1] of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino populations for selected areas: 1960

Areas	Population	Male median income	Percent of males with income below $3,000
Arizona [2]	1,302,161	$4,069	38.0
Japanese	1,501	(3)	(3)
Chinese	2,936	3,696	42.3
Filipino	943	(3)	(3)
California [2]	15,717,204	4,966	30.3
Japanese	157,317	4,388	33.3
Chinese	95,600	3,803	39.0
Filipino	55,459	2,925	51.5
Colorado [2]	1,753,947	4,191	36.1
Japanese	6,846	3,700	41.0
Chinese	724	(3)	(3)
Filipino	605	(3)	(3)
New Mexico [2]	951,023	3,941	38.9
Japanese	930	(3)	(3)
Chinese	362	(3)	(3)
Filipino	192	(3)	(3)
Texas [2]	9,579,677	3,394	44.7
Japanese	4,053	2,494	55.7
Chinese	4,172	3,139	48.3
Filipino	1,623	(3)	(3)

[1] Income of 1959 persons.
[2] Figures in this row are based on total population.
[3] Data unavailable.

Source: U.S. Census of Population: 1960, "Nonwhite Population by Race," PC(2) 1C, tables 57, 58, 59.

There remains one other major minority group in the region, the Negro. So much has been written elsewhere about his economic and social problems that it is unnecessary to recount it here. It should suffice to observe that Texas was very much a part of the cotton-planting South, that it was a part of the Confederacy, and that it carried into this century all of the same customs and traditions that prevailed in other States of the Old South. No one can question that the 2 million Negroes who have been migrating steadily westward in these five States have all had their personal and family experiences with those customs and traditions that grew from the Negroes' past condition of servitude, and perhaps simply because they are black. Their experiences in the Southwest are but a replication of those that have left their mark on Negroes generally in the United States. The documentation is already abundant. It should do to recall that the explosive violence that has been erupting in the ghettos of U.S. cities in recent years had its beginnings in the Southwest. The community of Watts lies in the heart of Los Angeles. It is a community peopled largely by economic refugees who have come from other parts of the region, notably Texas.[4]

The significance of these observations is that all of the minority groups mentioned here have lived in this region under social and economic conditions that are commonly associated with the fate of the Negro in the United States. The Indian, the Spanish Surnamed, the Oriental, the Negro—all of whom are of significant number in the region's population—can match among themselves their experiences with segregated housing, segregated schools, discriminatory social treatment, repressed civil rights, and limited employment opportunities.

One must ask how such experiences can be explained except as manisfestations of colonial attitudes. They are the mark of a separatist society, not the characteristics of a free and open one. This is not to say that the notion of "Manifest Destiny," which was taken as an expression of a young nation's foreign policy, was simply and only one of raw imperial designs. Even were this the case, one would be hard put to indict the United States of that period without carrying the indictment to all of the other expansionist nations of that age, including Spain. Perhaps such an indictment would be admissible, but it serves no purpose here.

What does serve a purpose is to recognize that regardless of what judgment is made of generations past, the history of the Southwest gives a clear reading that the hundreds of thousands of Anglos who poured into the region saw the land and the opportunities it offered largely as something a kind providence had reserved for them and their kind. Those who were not of their kind were considered foreign, and the differences they exhibited were seen as but a measure of their infer-

[3] Eugene V. Rostow, "Our Worst Wartime Mistake," Harpers Magazine, Vol. 191, No. 1144, Harper & Brothers, September 1945, p. 197. Also: Jacobus tenBroek, et al., "Prejudice, War and the Constitution," p. 308.

[4] U.S. Dept of Commerce. "Hard-Core Unemployment and Poverty in Los Angeles," prepared for the Area Redevelopment Administration by the Institute of Industrial Relations, UCLA, Washington, 1965.

iority. When the Anglos became the majority they had few qualms about laying hold to any special rights they claimed for themselves. Those familiar with the regional history know that their genuine and fierce frontier notions of freedom often did not keep them from denying that freedom to others. That so many of the others had a high visibility and were seen as spicks, greasers, pepper bellies, niggers, japs, chinks, red skins, or as persons deserving some other contemptuous name, such as those that people everywhere apply to persons different from themselves, made it relatively easy to sort and segregate the non-Anglo. Those so sorted were not considered proper members of the dominant society.

These are the attitudes and memories that the region inherits from its past. The extent to which they have found contemporary expression is what this inquiry has endeavored to define.

Priorities for the Future

The Commission and State fair employment practices agencies have a common handicap. Both are charged with awesome duties while handling heavy case loads with severely limited staffs and budgets. These limitations make it all the more important that proper strategies be seletced to maximize the effectiveness of their work. The Commission's Office of Technical Assistance began a number of key programs in 1967 which were devised to gain the largest payoffs in terms of jobs and promotions for minority workers. It is hoped that some of the findings of the present study will be of assistance in ordering such priorities in the Southwest.

Priorities for larger payoffs can be selected along at least three lines—geographical, industrial, and occupational. The last of these already has been dealt with in some detail. There is an obvious need to stress white-collar employment for minorities. In this regard sales and clerical positions are most likely to yield the most jobs. They are at the beginning of the white-collar occupational spectrum and together account for over one-half of all white-collar jobs. Their strategic importance comes not only from this, but also from the vestigial notions of job caste that seem to prevail in some industries, so as to reserve these positions for Anglo workers. These occupations, more than any others, were the ones which attracted such a large influx of female workers into the labor force in recent decades. Further opening of them to Spanish Surnameds may substantially increase the lagging labor force participation rates of Spanish Surnamed females, as well as add to the motivation of Negro females by signaling a viable hope that increasing numbers of them may attain something other than service and operative positions, the two occupations where a majority of them now work. (Less than one-fourth of all workers are in those occupations.)

Selecting priorities among industries should be based on what the existing employment patterns are in different industries, their size, and whether they are growing in terms of employment. Obviously, there is small gain to be had in changing minority employment policies in an industry that is declining, or which accounts for only a tiny fraction of the total local employment. The industries selected for diagraming in appendix H are those in the 20 "Spanish Surnamed counties" that had a positive growth rate from 1950 to 1960 and accounted for at least 1 percent of the total reported employment in the EEO–1 reports from that county. Industries not shown in this series did not meet these criteria, hence would have limited impact for changing community practices. Those that are diagramed can be rated according to the employment figures shown in the diagrams and the supplemental figures for later years given in appendix D.

Those industries that grievously fail to meet reasonable expectations for equal employment opportunity can almost be located by riffling the diagrams. Comparing an industry's diagram with its neighboring industries, or with the composite diagram for the county, quickly suggests where important changes need to be effected. Some of these, such as educational services, printing and publishing, communications, wholesale trade, finance, insurance and a few others, are so consistently behind other industries in their own communities that affirmative steps are needed at the earliest opportunities. Some of the patterns even suggest an existing, though perhaps unspoken, quota system for minority employment. These are ones where an even percentage of minority workers are found in each occupation in the industry, although that percentage is far below the percentage of minority workers in the county labor force.

Selecting geographical priorities is a more complex matter. Those who feel the need for the Commission's assistance would not welcome an arrangement where their community was shunted aside so that greater attention might be given to another. Yet, it becomes an essential policy consideration to place technical services where the greatest gains can be made with available resources. In effect, this is what the Commission has already done in deploying its staff throughout the country.

The Commission, of course, has no control over the origin of complaints coming before it, but it does have wide discretion in the selection of areas where it offers its technical assistance or initiates complaints on its own motion. Accordingly, some exploratory efforts were made in this study to find ways in which geographical priorities might be determined.

Communities do not stand as equals in the degree of job segregation prevailing in their industries, just as they do not in the degree of residential segregation. The problem is how to construct some areal index of the degree of job segregation by companies subject to the Commission's jurisdiction.

TABLE 35.—Occupational position index of Spanish Surnameds male and female, selected counties

Counties	Male			Female		
	Average earnings		Occupational position index y/x	Average earnings		Occupational position index y/x
	Total x	Spanish surname y		Total x	Spanish surname y	
Maricopa [1]	$5,220	$4,130	79.1	$2,360	$2,019	85.5
Pima [1]	4,937	4,061	82.2	2,387	1,983	83.0
Los Angeles	6,026	5,145	85.3	3,077	2,789	90.6
San Bernardino	5,211	4,660	89.4	2,536	2,073	81.7
Santa Clara	6,825	5,518	80.8	2,775	2,240	80.7
Denver	5,253	4,334	82.5	2,683	2,229	83.0
Bernalillo [1]	5,426	4,193	77.2	2,523	2,078	82.3
El Paso [1]	4,352	3,799	87.2	2,017	1,824	90.4
Bexar	3,770	3,171	84.1	2,291	2,018	88.0

[1] To find comparable average earnings figures for Maricopa, Pima, Bernalillo, and El Paso, earnings of female laborers were set at $1,000.

Source: Data gathered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on employer EEO–1 reports, 1966. U.S. Census of Population: 1960, "Detailed Characteristics." California PC(1)–6D, table 124.

Since the number of minority and other employees per occupation is known, it is possible to weight these numbers by the median earnings for occupations where these are available. The U.S. Census of Population, "Detailed Characteristics," (PC(1) table 124), provides these earnings figures by occupation for several of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas whose boundaries correspond to those of counties surveyed in this study. Nine such counties were selected as shown in table 35, and the median male and female earnings for occupations in the SMSA were applied to the number of Spanish Surnamed males and females in each occupation and to all males and females in the occupations. From these, the average earnings of Spanish Surnamed males and females and of all males and females were computed for each county. The income figures were then related to establish an index of occupational positions showing how male and female Spanish Surnameds stood in relation to all males and females in each county.

The Spanish Surnamed male has an occupational position closest to that of all males in San Bernardino County, Calif., where this index is 89.4; his occupational position is furthest from that of all males in Bernalillo County, N. Mex., where this index is 77.2. For Spanish Surnamed females their occupational position in relation to all females is highest, 90.6, in Los Angeles County, Calif., and lowest, 80.7, in Santa Clara County, Calif. This index for females is higher than that for males in each of the counties except one, San Bernardino. There may be a slight distortion in the female indices because earnings figures were not available for female laborers in four of the counties, and these were arbitrarily set at $1,000 in making the computations.

The value of this comparison can be shown by examining the figures for El Paso County, Tex. There, although females receive a lower average income than in any of the counties, their occupational position in relation to all females is 90.4, almost as high as in Los Angeles. Generally, the average incomes of females in these counties is only one-half that of males, both in the case of all workers and of Spanish Surnamed workers. Thus, for Spanish Surnameds a greater gap exists for males rather than females, and the gap between them and all male workers is greater in Bernalillo County than in the other counties.

Recommendations

1. The Commission and fair employment practices agencies should treat sales and clerical occupations as ones offering the largest payoffs in increased employment opportunities for minority workers. They have strategic value not only in their growing size but in further dispelling notions of job caste that make these and other white-collar jobs largely an employment preserve for Anglo workers.

2. The Commission should explore every authority available to it to reduce the adverse effects Spanish Surnamed workers, as well as other workers, now suffer under present national immigration and border crossing policies along the Mexican border. The possibility of asserting title VII's prohibition against discrimination for reasons of national origin, instead of having to proceed according to the adverse effect doctrine, should be tested. This should be done by the Commission, or a Commissioner, acting on its own motion, without awaiting a complaint from an individual with the resources and patience to make the test.

3. To the extent that the Commission can select priorities among industry groups, attention should be given to the employment growth potential of the selected industries. Generally, minorities are already better represented in declining industries. There is less gain to be had in altering employment patterns in those industries where employment has stabilized as compared to those where it is expanding. These industries are identified in this study.

4. More attention should be given (through technical assistance programs) to reforming the testing and screening practices now utilized by employers. Because of the socioeconomic characteristics with which history has endowed many minority group members, present tests, educational credentials, and cultural standards effectively perpetuate by indirection a discriminatory practice that once was directly applied, but is now unlawful.

5. There is an urgent need for the Commission to satisfy itself on the validity of the conclusions drawn in this study about the less favorable minority employment patterns that prevail among prime contractors as compared to other employers. If they are valid, even if only in the Southwest region, then the efficiency of nondiscrimination clauses in federal contracts should be examined for its failures, not its successes. There is an obvious need for more affirmative use of the enforcement authority that already exists in the Office of Contract Compliance and in the Office of the Secretary of Labor. Among prime contractors, especially, the nature of preemployment testing and screening should be assiduously examined to be certain that these are related to the job functions in question.

6. Question nine in the 1966 EEO–1 employment information report should be restated in future report forms, but should be narrowed to inquire what occupations are affected by the employer's hiring arrangement with a labor union. There is no way of determining this from the way the question was put in 1966.

7. What was learned from the EEO–1 reports with respect to the small number of Spanish Surnameds in the Southwest who are in on-the-job training programs for white-collar positions should be examined to learn if this also is true in the national figures for any minority. If it is, that fact should be treated as a harbinger of an undesirable future situation. All the dimensions of present training policies should be examined for how they tend to shape the minority labor force of the future. In this connection, the Commission and State agencies should press for more MDTA training in white-collar occupations.

8. Reference was made in the text to the uncertainty about the function of labor mobility in determining employment opportunities. Recent studies raise serious doubts about what familiar economy theory states about the maximizing activity of those who move. There is a need to know to what extent employment opportunities are a function of mobility and to what extent mobility itself is a function of employment opportunities.

9. There is a great need for giving Spanish Surnameds some of the same attention Negro and nonwhite groups receive in statistical accounts. This is not simply a matter of refining Bureau of the Census enumerations. It is something that should be done in other governmental surveys, such as those of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Most definitely, there is a need for Spanish Surnameds to be separately considered in the National Health Survey. The Commission might state the case for these needs through the "Statistical Reporter" of the Bureau of the Budget, a highly useful organ that reaches the statistical technicians in all government agencies. The need for doing this is illustrated by the guidelines on needed areas of manpower research which recently were prepared for the U.S. Com-

mission on Civil Rights. If all the studies suggested in those guidelines by Profs. Eli Ginsberg and Dale L. Hiestand were completed, little more would be known of Spanish Surnamed employment problems than is known from present studies. There need to be linear studies over time, and the Commission should make the case for this before all the agencies of government. One thing is certain, though it does not appear in the data with which this study dealt; the awakening, the restlessness, the self-concept of a whole people--America's second minority—will require it, sooner than those outside the region might suspect.

Appendixes

APPENDIX A

Description of the Data

The basic data used in this study have been supplied by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In 1966, the Commission, in cooperation with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and the Plans for Progress program, collected employment reports (Standard Form 100) from 43,000 employers in the United States representing approximately 118,000 establishments. These reports contained information on total employment, male and female, and employment of Negro, Oriental, American Indian, and Spanish Surnamed persons, male and female, in nine standard occupational categories. They also contained information on persons in apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs, plus other information referred to in the text of the study.

The most serious limitations on these data are that they come only from employers who were subject to title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and from employers holding Federal Government contracts or first-tier subcontracts of $50,000 or more and had 50 or more employees. In 1966 those employers subject to title VII were generally those with 100 or more employees in at least 20 weeks in the calendar year. The act reduces this to 75 employees in 1967 and to 50 employees in 1968. Other than this exemption of employers of certain size, another serious limitation is that governmental bodies that were not also qualified as Federal contractors were exempted from the reporting.

There are other deficiencies in the data having to do with its representativeness (e.g., uncertain percentage of single establishment employers replying to the survey), the anthropological imprecision of employers in making racial and ethnic identifications, and certain inadequacies of coverage in some industries, such as in agricultural and contract construction. These inadequacies are pointed to in the study where they might be pertinent to the analysis.

In the region under study 20,870 information reports were received. The Commission had the reported information placed on magnetic tape. As is often the case in trying to make use of raw data, many problems and delays have been encountered. It would be tedious to recite these. Every effort has been made to overcome first-time problems and to organize these summary accounts of the reported information so as to provide a meaningful base for comparison with information that will become available for years subsequent to 1966. It had originally been hoped that data for the year 1967 might be included in this study. However, the delays in making magnetic tapes available for that year and the rigorous time limitations that governed this study foreclosed that possibility.

In addition to the magnetic tapes of the detailed records, a great deal of summary data was provided by the Commission. These consisted primarily of three summary printouts from the tapes for selected groups of counties and standard metropolitan statistical areas in the region. One group was for 20 counties selected for having both a large number and proportion of Spanish Surnameds in their total populations. Another was for 97 selected counties in which the Negro population was over 10 percent of the total county population, and the remaining group consisted of 23 selected SMSA's in the five States. The counties and SMSA's in these groups are listed in appendix table C and are sometimes referred to in the study as the "Spanish Surnamed counties."

Much of this study is based on summary tables from these printouts. They became available early in the study period and were utilized before the magnetic tapes of the detailed records were available for programing. They were used in constructing the many graphic representations of the patterns of minority employment in industries and counties shown in appendix D.

APPENDIX B

Selected Employment Statistics, Border Counties, United States: 1940–1960

Area	Growth in employment 1940–1950 (Percent)	Growth in employment 1950–1960 (Percent)	Percent of area employment in—	
			Four major industries, 1960	Armed services, 1960
United States	26.7	15.5	35	2.61
Four border States	49.4	39.2	.....	4.87
Calizmexas (border counties)	67.2	61.1	.....	17.9
Texas	33.8	21.7	37	4.66
Cameron	49.4	19.7	42	8.32
Hidalgo	47.1	14.8	57	.6
Starr	12.4	42.7	66	0
Zapata	30.8	−8.7	61	9.9
Webb	27.8	13.9	43	10.1
Maverick	26.5	3.7	49	3.9
Kinney	−47.3	−13.1	65	.6
Val Verde	5.0	60.6	55	32.2
Terrell	15.1	−25.7	62	0
Presido	−29.1	−24.8	58	0
Brewster	21.7	−10.8	55	0
Jeff Davis	58.7	−31.3	60	0
Culberson	3.5	50.7	53	0
Hudspeth	41.1	−19.1	61	0
El Paso	72.3	49.9	49	22.3
New Mexico	55.5	42.0	40	7.1
Dona Ana	55.6	64.5	58	15.7
Luna	45.4	20.7	48	.2
Hidalgo	12.0	−36.5	53	0
Arizona	63.8	81.7	39	3.8
Cochise	−15.3	114.5	49	21.6
Santa Cruz	12.6	16.9	48	0
Pima	108.2	96.1	42	6.1
Yuma	58.4	74.6	50	8.5
California	61.4	48.7	34	4.9
Imperial	12.9	21.8	60	1.8
San Diego	109.0	86.5	51	25.4

Source: "Growth Patterns in Employment by County, 1940–1950 and 1950–1960," U.S. Department of Commerce, Office of Business Economics, Vol. 6, 7, 8, 1965.

APPENDIX C

Spanish-Surnamed Population for 20 Selected Counties: 1960

County	Spanish-surnamed population	Spanish-surnamed population as a percent of total population
Arizona:		
Maricopa	78,996	11.9
Pima	44,481	16.7
California:		
Los Angeles	576,716	9.5
Orange	52,576	7.5
San Bernardino	60,177	12.0
San Joaquin	30,585	12.2
Santa Clara	77,755	12.1
Colorado:		
Denver	43,147	8.7
Pueblo	25,437	21.4
New Mexico:		
Bernalillo	68,101	26.0
Oonna Ana	25,214	42.1
Santa Fe	24,400	54.3
Texas:		
Bexar	257,090	37.4
Cameron	96,744	64.0
El Paso	136,993	43.6
Hidalgo	129,092	71.4
Jim Wells	18,848	54.6
Nueces	84,386	38.1
Travis	26,072	12.3
Webb	51,784	79.9

Source: U.S. Census of Population: 1960, "Persons of Spanish Surname," Five Southwestern States, PC(2), 1B.

APPENDIX D

Employment Growth In Selected Industries

This appendix shows the growth of selected industries over time. The 1950 and 1960 employment figures were obtained from "Growth Patterns in Employment by County," [1] which, essentially, derived them from the census of population for 1950 and 1960. It should be noted that these figures are the same as those depicted graphically with a vertical arrow on most of the employment pattern diagrams. The percentage growth from 1950 to 1960 for each industry, represented by the height of the arrow, corresponds to the percentage figure given in the following table.

Some industries for which data was provided by the EEOC are not shown in this table. The criteria used for selecting industries in each county were that they had a positive growth rate from 1950 to 1960 (using growth patterns data) and that they represented at least one percent of the reporte employment in the EEOC reports from the county. Industries not fulfilling these requirements were not included. Occasionally, growth rates were not available on an industry which did meet the one percent requirement; this is noted in the table by NA.

The 1956 and 1966 figures have been taken from the "County Business Patterns," [2] which are gathered from employer reports on the number of employees on their payroll.

The table reads from left to right with the 1950 and 1960 growth patterns figures on the top row, and the 1956 and 1966 county business patterns figures are given on the row below. Percentage growths are shown for both the growth patterns and county business patterns figures.

The purpose of this table is to supplement the employment pattern diagrams by viewing an industry's growth over a 16-year period. The county business patterns data also afford comparison with and fill some of the gaps left by the deficiencies of the growth patterns figures. Furthermore, they reveal some negative growth rates which do not show in growth patterns data.

The classifications utilized by growth patterns occasionally differed from those used by the EEOC. For instance, growth patterns figures combined such industries as insurance, finance and real estate, reporting one employment figure for all of these, while the EEOC reported each separately. In some cases, the table compares growth patterns figures for combined industry components that were reported separately by the county business patterns. The detailed record of each heading by Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) code in appendix E tells where this occurs. Instances where growth patterns figures combine industrial headings which county business patterns figures reported separately have been footnoted.

Occasional reporting difficulties were found with county business patterns figures. For instance, finance, under the county business patterns, is divided into four SIC categories (see app. E), and often all four would be reported in 1956 while only two or three would be furnished in 1966. County business patterns reporting deficiencies are attributed to its policy of avoiding disclosure of operations of individual reporting units (noted in the table by a "D") and not furnishing data for an industry that does not have 100 employees or 10 reporting units in the area covered (noted by a dash (—)).

[1] U.S. Office of Business Economics, "Growth Patterns in Employment By County 1940–1950 and 1950–1960," Washington, D.C., 1965, Vol. 6, 7, 8.

[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, "County Business Patterns:" 1956, 1966. Washington, D.C., 1958, 1967.

Comparison of employment data from the censuses of 1950 and 1960 with the 1956 and 1966 county business patterns [1]

County, industry	1950	1956	1960	1966	Percentage growth
Maricopa, Ariz.:					
Contract construction	9,421	10,668	21,444	15,571	127.0 45.9
Food and kindred products	2,678	2,667	5,050	4,737	88.5 77.6
Apparel	166	895	1,879	2,361	1,031.0 163.7
Printing and publishing	1,447	1,542	3,438	3,199	137.0 107.4
Primary metal industries	NA	3,122	NA	2,686	— −13.9
Fabricated metal industries	NA	1,017	NA	1,934	— 89.8
Machinery (nonelectric)	NA	1,639	NA	12,797	— 680.7
Electrical machinery, equipment and supplies	NA	222	NA	19,710	— 8,778.3
Transportation equipment	203	5,340	5,615	1,486	2,665.0 −72.1
Instruments and related products	NA	—	NA	D	— —
Transportation	3,937	NA	5,893	NA	49.0 —
Utilities and sanitary services	3,169	2,500	4,689	D	48.0 —
Wholesale trade	6,319	10,202	10,105	15,234	59.0 49.3
Retail trade	21,198	24,341	38,529	44,683	80.0 83.5
Finance	4,541	2,888	13,897	6,562	[2] 206.0 127.2
Insurance	4,541	2,905	13,897	5,937	[2] 206.0 104.3
Business services	3,743	1,432	7,681	5,361	[3] 105.0 274.3
Medical and other services	11,468	1,291	28,565	9,240	[4] 149.0 615.7
Miscellaneous and other services	11,468	4,603	28,565	11,724	[4] 149.0 154.7
Pima, Ariz.:					
Mining	1,612	2,294	3,446	4,312	113.7 87.9
Contract construction	4,670	4,484	8,273	5,409	77.1 20.6
Printing and publishing	527	631	940	932	78.3 47.7
Primary metal industries	NA	D	NA	144	— —
Machinery (nonelectric)	NA	139	NA	335	— 141.0
Electrical machinery equipment and supplies	NA	—	NA	0	— —
Transportation equipment	27	1,518	222	D	722.1 —
Transportation	3,565	NA	3,632	NA	1.8 —
Utilities and sanitary services	646	686	1,181	883	82.8 28.7
Retail trade	8,953	10,527	15,434	15,760	72.3 49.7
Finance [1]	1,607	D	4,554	1,879	[2] 183.3 —
Real estate	1,607	762	4,554	1,545	[2] 183.3 102.7

See footnotes at end of table

Comparison of employment data from the censuses of 1950 and 1960 with the 1956 and 1966 county business patterns [1]—Continued

County, industry	1950	1956	1960	1966	Percentage growth
Pima, Ariz.—Continued					
Personal services	2,870	1,408	4,410	1,994	53.6 38.0
Medical services	6,190	746	13,977	4,542	[4] 125.7 508.8
Educational services	6,190	199	13,977	594	[4] 125.7 198.4
Miscellaneous and other services	6,190	2,027	13,977	5,484	[4] 125.7 170.4
Los Angeles, Calif.:					
Contract construction	120,464	121,251	124,170	116,256	3.0 −4.1
Food and kindred products	37,071	41,808	51,668	49,735	39.3 18.9
Paper and allied products	NA	12,070	NA	15,884	— 31.5
Printing and publishing	30,164	29,510	43,487	38,467	44.1 30.4
Chemicals and allied products	13,932	19,217	22,163	21,348	59.0 11.0
Rubber and plastic products	NA	14,212	NA	24,255	— 70.6
Stone, clay and glass products	NA	18,025	NA	20,803	— 15.4
Primary metal industries	NA	24,596	NA	23,883	— −2.9
Fabricated metal products	NA	53,315	NA	62,693	— 17.5
Machinery (nonelectric)	NA	57,132	NA	67,442	— 17.9
Electrical machinery, equipment, and supplies	NA	51,400	NA	82,640	— 60.7
Transportation equipment	89,222	228,619	173,557	162,820	94.6 −28.7
Instruments and related products	NA	14,227	NA	21,022	— 47.7
Transportation	66,977	NA	80,961	NA	20.9 —
Communications	30,752	38,033	39,461	59,966	28.3 57.6
Utilities and sanitary services	25,389	15,786	29,989	15,173	18.1 −3.8
Wholesale trade	79,881	128,282	95,877	169,537	20.0 32.1
Retail trade	292,859	301,920	344,303	388,125	19.1 28.5
Finance	83,719	35,721	127,350	62,531	[2] 52.0 75.0
Insurance	83,719	35,917	127,350	50,028	[2] 52.0 39.2
Business services	52,352	42,112	95,203	92,019	[3] 81.0 118.5
Motion picture, amusement and recreation services	45,018	53,081	47,225	52,092	4.9 −1.8
Medical services	164,120	29,090	276,428	91,389	[4] 68.0 214.1
Educational services	164,120	4,144	276,428	23,182	[4] 68.0 459.4
Miscellaneous and other services [1]	164,120	37,875	276,428	89,448	[4] 68.0 136.1
Orange, Calif.:					
Contract construction	7,436	10,027	20,395	20,441	174.0 103.8

See footnotes at end of table.

Comparison of employment data from the censuses of 1950 and 1960 with the 1956 and 1966 county business patterns [1]—Continued

County, industry	1950	1956	1960	1966	Percentage growth
Orange, Calif.—Continued					
Food and kindred products	2,324	2,285	5,644	5,394	142.0 136.0
Paper and allied products	—	491	—	1,766	— 259.4
Printing and publishing	879	943	4,104	4,068	366.0 331.3
Chemicals and allied products [1]	420	734	2,236	1,787	43.2 143.4
Rubber and plastic products	—	1,402	—	3,511	— 150.4
Fabricated metal products	—	1,974	—	6,973	— 253.2
Machinery (nonelectric)	—	1,657	—	4,551	— 174.6
Electrical machinery equipment, and supplies	—	1,048	—	42,918	— 3995.2
Transportation equipment	2,158	1,061	15,076	10,360	598.0 876.4
Instruments and related products	—	1,513	—	1,047	— −30.7
Miscellaneous manufacturing	—	673	—	2,998	— 345.4
Wholesale trade	3,490	3,661	8,582	9,587	145.0 161.8
Retail trade	13,512	18,355	38,366	58,271	183.0 217.4
Insurance	2,639	1,325	11,725	4,849	[2] 344.0 265.9
Business services	2,182	1,130	7,382	6,114	[3] 238.0 441.0
Motion picture, amusement, and recreation services	886	1,838	3,513	5,302	296.0 188.4
Medical services	7,174	1,450	27,816	10,228	[4] 287.0 605.3
San Bernardino, Calif.:					
Contract construction	8,146	7,064	13,021	9,806	59.8 38.8
Food and kindred products	2,219	1,649	3,103	2,405	39.8 45.8
Printing and publishing	830	800	1,777	1,177	114.0 47.1
Stone, clay and glass products	NA	2,493	NA	2,671	— 7.1
Primary metal industries	NA	8,174	NA	D	— —
Fabricated metal products	NA	567	NA	1,789	— 215.5
Electrical machinery, equipment and supplies	NA	1,015	NA	1,261	— 24.2
Transportation equipment	333	116	2,872	3,179	762.7 2,640.5
Transportation	7,798	NA	9,268	NA	18.8 —
Wholesale trade	4,502	5,007	5,213	5,717	3.8 14.1
Retail trade	15,433	16,181	25,231	26,055	63.4 37.7
Finance [1]	2,649	1,477	5,872	3,051	[2] 121.6 106.5
Insurance	2,649	876	5,872	1,518	[2] 121.6 73.2
Business Services	2,643	763	4,332	2,950	[3] 75.8 286.6

See footnotes at end of table.

Comparison of employment data from the censuses of 1950 and 1960 with the 1956 and 1966 county business patterns [1]—Continued

County, industry	1950	1956	1960	1966	Percentage growth
San Bernardino, Calif.—Continued					
Medical Services	9,242	1,355	21,533	5,395	[4] 132.9 298.1
San Joaquin, Calif.					
Food and kindred products	4,202	3,205	6,192	4,236	47.3 32.1
Lumber and wood products	710	1,190	1,364	1,324	92.2 11.2
Paper and allied products	NA	1,111	NA	1,043	— −6.1
Printing and publishing	599	477	953	661	59.2 38.5
Chemicals and allied products	105	57	273	340	159.0 603.5
Stone, clay and glass products	NA	381	NA	1,658	— 435.1
Fabricated metal products	NA	419	NA	1,189	— 183.7
Machinery (nonelectric)	NA	1,284	NA	1,387	— 8.0
Transportation equipment	227	396	386	868	70.0 119.1
Transportation	4,169	NA	4,926	NA	18.1 —
Wholesale trade	2,908	3,074	3,378	3,899	16.1 26.8
Retail trade	11,840	9,988	13,753	12,913	16.1 29.2
Finance	1,826	766	2,773	1,342	52.0 75.1
Medical services	6,552	563	10,469	2,520	[4] 59.7 347.6
Educational services	6,552	—	10,469	1,009	[4] 59.7 —
Santa Clara, Calif.:					
Contract construction	9,481	10,017	18,163	14,652	91.5 46.2
Food and kindred products	7,810	8,288	10,352	9,125	32.0 10.0
Paper and allied products	NA	705	NA	2,269	— 221.8
Chemical and allied products	591	845	1,335	1,629	12.0 92.7
Fabricated metal products	NA	1,598	NA	2,073	— 29.7
Machinery (nonelectric)	NA	2,667	NA	11,888	— 345.7
Electrical machinery, equipment and supplies	NA	5,945	NA	24,105	— 305.4
Transportation equipment	228	3,392	3,347	5,229	1,367.0 56.2
Wholesale trade	4,225	4,477	6,162	10,357	45.8 131.3
Retail trade	17,610	19,531	31,109	39,813	76.0 103.8
Finance	3,870	2,104	10,313	6,387	[2] 166.0 203.5
Insurance	3,870	981	10,313	3,388	[2] 166.0 245.3
Business services	2,904	1,928	7,013	8,564	[3] 141.0 343.6
Medical services	12,713	1,795	34,636	10,339	[4] 172.0 475.9
Educational services	12,713	90	34,636	8,713	[4] 172.0 10,255.5
Miscellaneous and other services	12,713	1,821	34,636	10,402	[4] 172.0 471.2

See footnotes at end of table.

Comparison of employment data from the censuses of 1950 and 1960 with the 1956 and 1966 county business patterns[1]—Continued

County, industry	1950	1956	1960	1966	Percentage growth
Denver, Colo.:					
Mining	490		1,678		242.0
		3,290		3,396	3.2
Food and kindred products	6,312		6,352		.6
		8,044		7,399	−8.0
Printing and publishing	3,471		3,958		5.2
		4,048		5,492	35.6
Chemicals and allied products	1,177		1,258		6.8
		1,484		1,153	−22.3
Rubber and plastics	NA		NA		—
		5,217		D	—
Leather products	NA		NA		—
		2,542		D	—
Stone, clay and glass products	NA		NA		—
		1,294		1,083	−16.3
Fabricated metal products	NA		NA		—
		2,134		2,247	5.2
Machinery (nonelectric)	NA		NA		—
		3,015		3,047	1.0
Instruments, related products	NA		NA		—
		663		647	−2.4
Wholesale trade	10,236		10,612		3.6
		20,255		24,727	22.0
Retail trade	32,010		32,151		.4
		35,918		41,710	16.2
Finance	9,65?		12,635		[2] 30.8
		4,552		7,958	74.8
Insurance	9,656		12,635		[2] 30.8
		5,612		7,727	37.6
Business services	4,980		6,274		[2] 10.1
		3,275		6,253	90.9
Medical services	20,413		28,842		[4] 41.2
		1,958		12,492	537.9
Educational services	20,413		28,842		[4] 41.2
		D		4,269	—
Miscellaneous and other products	20,413		28,842		[4] 41.2
		5,569		11,287	102.6
Pueblo, Colo.:					
Food and kindred products	638		826		29.6
		699		755	19.7
Printing and publishing	326		417		27.9
		284		319	12.3
Primary metal industries	NA		NA		—
		8,266		D	—
Machinery (nonelectric)	NA		NA		—
		D		D	—
Utilities and sanitary services	522		620		18.9
		542		420	−22.5
Retail trade	5,063		6,150		21.4
		4,282		5,148	20.2
Finance	827		1,075		[2] 29.2
		406		591	45.5
Medical services	3,689		6,424		[4] 74.1
		325		2,157	563.6
Bernalillo, N. Mex.:					
Contract construction	7,747		8,734		12.7
		5,776		8,277	43.2
Ordnance and accessories	—		—		—
		1,000		D	—
Food and kindred products	698		1,708		144.6
		920		1,478	60.6
Printing and publishing	477		1,357		184.6
Stone, clay and glass products		513		726	41.5
	—		—		—
		199		595	198.9

See footnotes at end of table.

Comparison of employment data from the censuses of 1950 and 1960 with the 1956 and 1966 county business patterns[1]—Continued

County, industry	1950	1956	1960	1966	Percentage growth
Bernalillo, N Mex.—Continued					
Machinery (nonelectric)	—		—		—
		176		451	156.2
Miscellaneous manufacturing	—		—		—
		393		440	11.9
Transportation	2,921		3,643		24.7
		NA		NA	—
Utilities and sanitary services	801		1,328		65.7
		736		D	—
Wholesale trade	2,374		3,660		54.1
		3,525		5,557	57.6
Retail trade	9,289		14,227		—
		10,442		15,242	46.0
Finance[1]	1,900		4,383		[2] 130.6
		1,062		1,905	79.3
Insurance	1,900		4,383		[2] 130.6
		1,058		1,776	67.8
Business services	1,526		9,544		[2] 525.3
		685		8,857	1,192.9
Medical services	5,283		12,238		[4] 131.6
		691		3,447	398.6
Educational services	5,283		12,238		[4] 131.6
		112		765	583.0
Miscellaneous, other services[1]	5,283		12,238		[4] 131.6
		1,523		3,883	154.9
Dona Ana, N. Mex.:					
Contract construction	1,042		1,427		36.9
		545		868	59.2
Electrical machinery, equipment and supplies	NA		NA		—
	—		—	D	—
Educational services	882		1,046		[4] 18.7
		—		—	—
Miscellaneous and other services[1]	882		1,046		[4] 18.7
		117		437	273.5
Santa Fe, N. Mex.:					
Mining	—		—		—
		193		464	140.4
Contract construction	—		—		—
		1,084		1,021	−5.8
Food and kindred products	—		—		—
		—		160	—
Electrical machinery, equipment and supplies	—		—		—
		—		—	—
Wholesale trade	—		—		—
		330		458	38.7
Retail trade	—		—		—
		1,859		2,559	37.6
Finance[1]	—		—		—
		147		384	161.2
Personal services	—		—		—
		320		365	14.0
Medical services	—		—		—
		95		748	687.3
Miscellaneous and other services	—		—		—
		566		798	40.9
Bexar, Tex.:					
Mining	996		1,260		26.5
		2,498		1,261	−49.5
Contract construction	14,292		15,278		6.8
		11,233		14,217	26.5
Food and kindred products	5,625		7,091		26.0
		5,580		7,937	42.2
Apparel	2,489		2,518		1.1
		3,104		3,880	25.0

See footnotes at end of table.

Comparison of employment data from the censuses of 1950 and 1960 with the 1956 and 1966 county business patterns [1]—Continued

County, industry	1950	1956	1960	1966	Percentage growth
Bexar, Tex.—Continued					
Printing and publishing	2,423	1,923	2,818	2,471	16.0 28.4
Stone, clay and glass products	NA	1,090	NA	1,349	— 23.7
Primary metal industries	NA	329	NA	1,002	— 204.5
Fabricated metal products	NA	873	NA	1,176	— 34.7
Machinery (nonelectric)	NA	1,507	NA	1,782	— 18.2
Wholesale trade	8,438	12,556	10,230	13,945	21.2 11.0
Retail trade	33,495	33,465	38,230	38,319	14.1 14.5
Finance	7,099	3,076	10,975	5,080	[2] 54.5 65.1
Insurance	7,099	4,181	10,975	5,697	[2] 54.5 36.2
Personal services	NA	4,489	NA	6,362	— 41.7
Business services	4,854	2,216	6,967	3,917	[3] 43.5 76.7
Medical services	13,831	1,715	23,383	6,332	[4] 69.0 269.2
Miscellaneous and other services.	NA	4,439	NA	9,484	— 113.6
Cameron, Tex.:					
Food and kindred products	1,505	1,751	3,073	3,579	104.1 104.3
Apparel	48	D	403	D	739.5 —
Stone, clay and glass products	NA	--	NA	220	— --
Utilities and sanitary service	947	440	1,140	D	20.4 —
Wholesale trade	2,162	2,933	2,346	2,248	20.8 −23.3
Retail trade	6,536	6,992	7,997	6,449	22.3 −7.7
Finance	964	440	1,290	670	[2] 33.8 75.0
Personal services	NA	664	NA	790	— 18.9
Medical services	2,408	225	4,230	988	[4] 75.6 339.1
Industries not classified	NA	D	NA	110	— —
El Paso, Tex.:					
Contract construction	5,278	5,162	6,420	5,485	21.6 6.2
Food and kindred products	1,454	1,488	2,213	2,259	52.2 51.8
Apparel	1,025	3,492	3,157	9,703	208.0 177.8
Printing and publishing	653	592	1,203	736	84.2 24.3
Leather products	NA	151	NA	D	— —
Primary metal industries	NA	D	NA	1,959	— —
Fabricated metal products	NA	412	NA	613	— 48.7
Instruments and related products	NA	D	NA	—	— —

See footnotes at end of table.

Comparison of employment data from the censuses of 1950 and 1960 with the 1956 and 1966 county business patterns [1]—Continued

County, industry	1950	1956	1960	1966	Percentage growth
El Paso, Tex.—Continued					
Utilities and sanitary services	1,486	2,878	2,459	2,737	65.4 −4.8
Wholesale trade	2,866	4,840	3,730	5,733	30.1 18.4
Retail trade	12,152	13,710	16,097	16,686	32.4 21.7
Finance	2,070	997	4,016	1,787	[2] 94.0 79.2
Personal services	5,150	1,632	6,787	1,988	31.7 21.8
Business services	1,326	530	2,260	1,275	[3] 70.4 140.5
Medical services	5,183	864	10,463	3,086	[4] 101.8 257.1
Miscellaneous and other services	5,183	1,506	10,463	2,877	[4] 101.8 91.0
Harris, Tex.:					
Mining	7,122	18,499	12,226	18,098	71.6 −2.1
Contract construction	33,145	33,512	34,901	57,574	5.2 71.8
Food and kindred products	7,404	7,708	9,957	10,023	34.4 30.0
Paper and allied products	NA	3,162	NA	3,259	— 3.0
Printing and publishing	NA	4,980	NA	6,049	— 21.4
Chemicals and allied products	4,995	8,912	11,873	11,539	137.6 29.4
Stone, clay, and glass products	NA	2,394	NA	4,960	— 107.1
Primary metal industries	NA	6,059	NA	11,252	— 85.7
Fabricated metal products	NA	8,563	NA	16,975	— 98.2
Machinery (nonelectric)	NA	18,041	NA	18,209	— .09
Electronic machinery, equipment, and supplies	NA	1,481	NA	3,463	— 133.8
Transportation equipment	1,146	1,310	2,118	2,459	84.8 88.4
Transportation	24,802	NA	28,429	NA	14.6 —
Utilities and sanitary services	6,223	6,479	9,242	8,529	48.5 31.6
Wholesale trade	17,819	34,076	28,022	49,303	57.2 44.6
Retail trade	57,675	62,987	74,080	86,505	28.4 37.3
Finance	14,689	6,705	23,877	11,634	[2] 62.5 73.5
Insurance	14,689	9,124	23,877	12,080	[2] 62.5 32.3
Business services	8,819	5,290	14,505	14,629	[3] 64.4 176.5
Medical services	26,134	3,816	52,894	20,632	[4] 102.0 440.6
Educational services	26,134	471	52,894	4,752	[4] 102.0 908.9
Miscellaneous services	26,134	8,168	52,894	19,804	[4] 102.0 142.4

See footnotes at end of table.

Comparison of employment data from the censuses of 1950 and 1960 with the 1956 and 1966 county business patterns [1]—Continued

County, industry	1950	1956	1960	1966	Percentage growth
Hidalgo, Tex.:					
Mining	744	590	1,059	792	42.3 34.2
Contract construction	2,683	1,711	2,892	1,854	7.8 8.3
Food and kindred products	1,905	1,687	2,295	1,596	20.4 −5.3
Apparel	23	497	364	D	1,482.6 —
Paper and allied products	NA	116	NA	—	— —
Chemical and allied products	108	—	485	154	349.0 —
Utilities and sanitary services	994	322	1,149	266	15.6 −17.3
Wholesale trade	3,663	4,474	5,293	4,153	4.9 −13.7
Retail trade	7,111	5,789	8,838	6,857	24.2 18.4
Business services	994	196	1,167	137	[3] 17.4 −30.1
Medical services	2,863	262	5,404	597	[4] 88.7 127.8
Jim Wells, Tex.:					
Mining	1,231	NA	1,386	1,269	12.5 —
Transportation	408	NA	412	NA	1.2 —
Wholesale trade	232	NA	308	450	32.7 —
Retail trade	1,358	NA	1,556	1,283	27.8 —
Medical services	480	NA	872	220	[4] 81.6 —
Nueces, Tex.:					
Mining	1,900	3,947	2,564	4,115	34.9 4.2
Food and kindred products	1,272	1,400	1,618	1,963	27.2 40.2
Printing and publishing	469	474	745	579	58.8 22.1
Chemicals and allied [1] products	1,023	3,115	1,352	1,509	32.1 −51.5
Fabricated metal products	NA	394	NA	697	— 76.9
Primary metal products	NA	761	NA	D	— —
Transportation	2,340	NA	2,672	NA	14.2 —
Utilities and sanitary services	1,223	933	1,593	915	30.1 −1.9
Wholesale trade	2,462	3,891	3,155	4,584	28.1 17.8
Retail trade	10,920	10,915	10,989	12,164	18.9 11.4
Finance [1]	1,912	845	2,921	1,241	[2] 52.7 43.3
Personal services	NA	1,451	NA	1,832	— 26.2
Business services	1,522	500	2,245	1,010	[3] 47.5 102.0

See footnotes at end of table.

Comparison of employment data from the censuses of 1950 and 1960 with the 1956 and 1966 county business patterns [1]—Continued

County, industry	1950	1956	1960	1966	Percentage growth
Nueces, Tex.—Continued					
Medical services	4,132	114	8,222	2,442	[4] 98.9 2,042.1
Travis, Tex.:					
Contract construction	6,513	4,796	7,149	6,163	9.7 28.5
Food and kindred products	889	1,070	1,293	1,622	45.4 51.5
Furniture fixtures	633	462	703	766	11.0 65.3
Printing and publishing	1,101	1,125	1,869	1,631	69.7 44.8
Chemicals and allied products	188	128	259	123	37.2 −3.9
Stone, clay, and glass products	—	322	—	726	— 125.4
Transportation equipment	45	—	216	D	382.2 —
Communications	836	960	1,147	1,477	37.2 76.6
Utilities and sanitary services	923	336	1,274	351	38.0 4.4
Wholesale trade	2,050	2,318	2,392	3,445	16.6 48.6
Retail trade	*11,393*	10,459	*12,648*	14,051	11.0 34.3
Finance [1]	2,431	942	3,866	1,691	[2] 58.9 79.5
Insurance	2,431	1,350	3,866	3,676	[2] 58.9 172.2
Personal services	—	1,585	—	2,057	— 29.7
Business services	1,568	853	1,982	1,984	[3] 26.4 132.5
Medical services	10,397	489	17,355	2,136	[4] 66.9 336.8
Educational services	10,397	255	17,355	1,048	[4] 66.9 310.9
Miscellaneous and other services	10,397	2,311	17,355	4,464	[4] 66.9 93.1
Webb, Tex.:					
Apparel	172	390	230	363	34.3 −6.9
Retail trade	3,166	2,955	3,537	4,428	11.7 49.8
Miscellaneous and other services [1]	1,122	425	1,646	748	[4] 11.7 76.0

[1] See foregoing explanation of table.

[2] Finance, insurance, and real estate are combined in the 1950, 1960 census figures while reported separately in the 1956, 1966 County Business Patterns figures.

[3] Business service is combined with repair service in the 1960 census figures, but these are reported separately in the 1956, 1966 County Business Patterns figures.

[4] Medical service, legal service, educational service, miscellaneous and other service and industries not classified are combined in the 1950, 1960 census figures while reported separately in the 1956, 1966 County Business Patterns figures.

APPENDIX E

Standard Industrial Classification Code and Industrial Headings Utilized by Three Data Sources

EEO-1		Growth patterns		County Business Patterns	
Headings	SIC	Headings	SIC	Headings	SIC
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	01–09	Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	01, 02, 07, 08, 09 (except 0713)	Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	01–09
Mining	10–14	Mining	10, 11, 12, 13, 14	Mining	10–14
Contract construction	15–17	Contract construction	15, 16, 17	Contract construction	15–17
Ordnance and accessories	19			Ordnance and accessories	19
Food and kindred products including tobacco manufacturing	20, 21	Food and kindred products	0713, 20	Food and kindred products	20
				Tobacco manufactures	21
Textiles and mill products	22	Textiles and mill products	22	Textiles and mill products	22
Apparel	23	Apparel	23	Apparel and related products	23
Lumber and wood products	24	Lumber, wood products, furniture	24, 25	Lumber and wood products	24
Furniture and fixtures	25			Furniture and fixtures	25
Paper and allied products	26			Paper and allied products	26
Printing, publishing and allied industries	27	Printing and publishing and allied industries	27	Printing and publishing	27
Chemicals and allied products, including petroleum refining	28, 29	Chemicals and allied products	28	Chemicals and allied products	28
				Petroleum and coal products	29
Rubber and miscellaneous plastic products	30			Rubber and plastic products n.e.c.	30
Leather products	31			Leather and leather products	31
Stone, clay and glass products	32			Stone, clay and glass products	32
Primary metal industries	33			Primary metal industries	33
Fabricated metal products	34			Fabricated metal products	34
Machinery (nonelectric)	35			Machinery, except electrical	35
Electrical Machinery, equipment and supplies	36	Electrical and other machinery	35, 36	Electrical machinery	36
		Motor vehicles and equipment	371		
Transportation equipment	37	Other transportation equipment	37 (except 371)	Transportation equipment	37
Instruments and related products	38			Instruments and related products	38
Miscellaneous manufacturing	39	Other and miscellaneous	19, 21, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 39	Miscellaneous manufacturing	39
		Railroads and railway express	40	Railroad transportation	40
Transportation	40–47	Other transportation	41, 44, 45, 46, 47	Local passenger transportation	41
		Trucking and warehousing	42	Trucking and warehousing	42
				Water transportation	44
				Transportation by air	45
				Pipe line transportation	46
Communications	48	Communications	48	Transportation services	47
Utilities and sanitary services	49	Utilites and sanitary services	49	Communications	48
Wholesale trade	50	Wholesale trade	50	Electric, gas and sanitary services	49
		Food and dairy product stores	54	Wholesale trade	50
		Eating and drinking places	58		
Retail trade	53	Other retail trade	52 53, 55, 56, 57, 59		
Finance	60, 61, 62, 67	Finance, insurance and real estate	60–67	Retail trade	52–59
				Banking	60
				Credit agencies other than banks	61
				Security and commodity brokers and services	62
Insurance	63, 64			Insurance, carriers, agents	63, 641
Real estate	65, 66			Real estate	65
				Combined real estate, insurance and law	661
				Holding and other investment companies	67
Personal services	72	Hotels and personal services	70, 72	Personal services	72
				Hotels and other lodging	70
				Automobile repair and services and garages	75
Repair service	75, 76			Miscellaneous repair services	76
Business service	73	Business and repair services	73, 75, 76		
Motion picture, amusement and recreation	78, 79	Entertainment, recreation services	78, 79	Amusement and recreation services n.e.c.	79
				Motion pictures	78
Medical service	80	Medical, other professional services	80, 81, 82, 84, 86, 89	Medical and other health services	80
		Private households	88	Private households	881
Legal services	81			Legal services	811
Educational services	82			Educational services	82
Other and miscellaneous service	70, 84, 86, 88, 89			Miscellaneous services	89
				Miscellaneous business services	73
		Public Administration	91–93 (except 9190 part)		
		Armed Forces	9190 part		
				Government	91–94
				Museums, botanical and zoological gardens	84
				Nonprofit membership organizations	86
Industries not classifiable	99	Industry not reported	99		

Source: U.S. Office of Business Economics, "Growth Patterns in Employment by County 1940–1950 and 1950–1960," Washington, D.C., 1965.
U.S. Bureau of the Census, "County Business Patterns," 1966, Washington, D.C., 1967.
Data gathered by EEOC from employer reports.

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APPENDIX F

Consumer-oriented Industries

SIC code (two digits)	Industry
52	Building materials and farm equipment.
53	General merchandise.
54	Food.
55	Automotive dealers and service stations.
56	Apparel and accessories.
57	Furniture and home furnishings.
58	Eating and drinking places.
59	Miscellaneous retail stores.
60	Banking.
61	Credit agencies other than banks.
63	Insurance carriers.
64	Insurance agents, brokers and service.
65	Real estate.
66	Combined real estate, insurance, etc.
70	Hotels and other lodging places.
72	Personal services.
75	Auto repair.
76	Miscellaneous repair service.
78	Motion pictures.
79	Amusements and recreation n.e.c.

APPENDIX G

Listing of Counties With Population 10 or More Percent Negro

ARIZONA
Maricopa

COLORADO
Denver

CALIFORNIA
Alameda
Contra Costa
Fresno
Kern
Los Angeles
Monterey
Riverside
Sacramento
San Bernardino
San Diego
San Francisco
San Joaquin
San Mateo
Solano

TEXAS
Anderson
Angelina
Austin
Bastrop
Bell
Bexar
Bowie
Brazoria
Brazos
Burleson
Caldwell
Cass
Chambers
Cherokee
Collin
Colorado
Dallas
Delta
De Witt
Ellis
Falls
Fannin
Fayette
Fort Bend
Freestone
Galveston
Gonzales
Gregg
Grimes
Guadalupe
Hall
Hardeman
Hardin
Harris
Harrison
Henderson
Hill
Hopkins
Houston
Hunt
Jackson
Jasper
Jefferson
Kaufman
Lamar
Lavaca
Lee
Liberty
Limestone
Lubbock
McLennan
Madison
Matagorda
Milan
Montgomery
Morris
Nacogdoches
Navarro
Nueces
Panola
Polk
Red River
Robertson
Rockwall
Rusk
San Augustine
San Jacinto
Shelby
Smith
Tarrant
Titus
Travis
Trinity
Tyler
Upshur
Walker
Waller
Washington
Wharton
Williamson
Wood

APPENDIX H

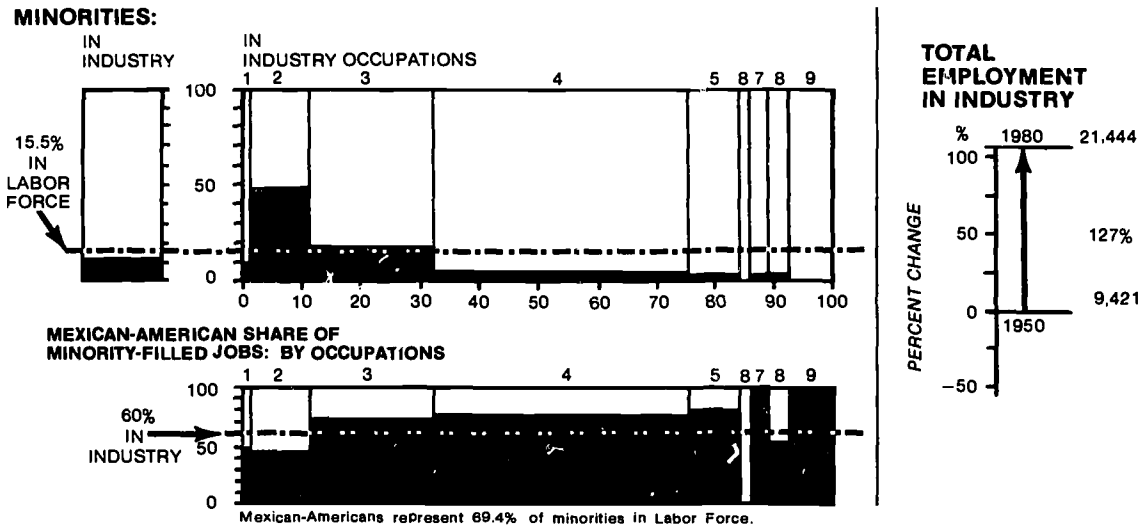
299 Employment Pattern Diagrams

for Industries for Selected Counties

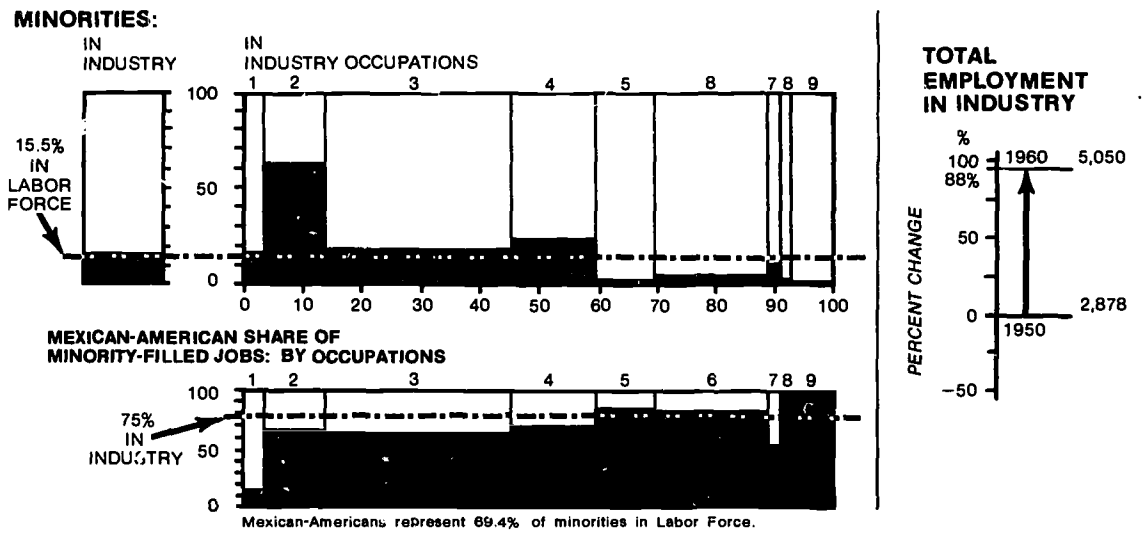
MARICOPA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



OCCUPATIONS CODE:

BLUE COLLAR:

1. SERVICE WORKERS
2. LABORERS (UNSKILLED)
3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

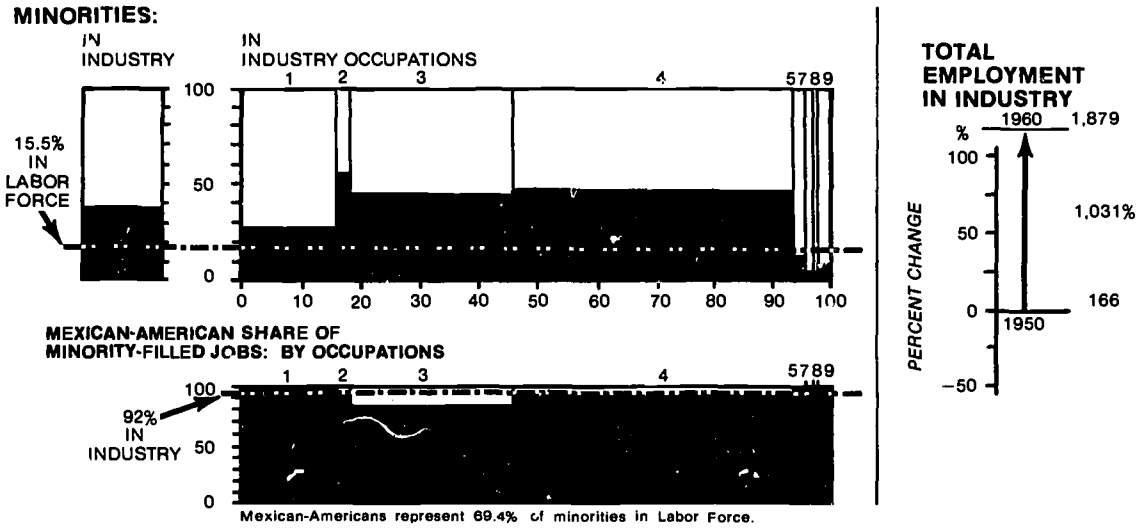
WHITE COLLAR:

5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

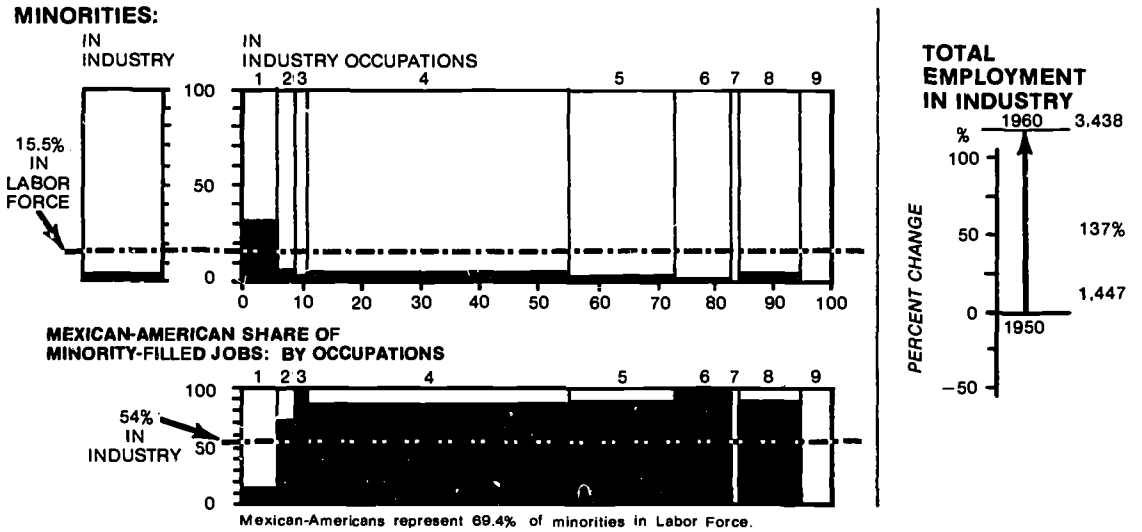
MARICOPA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

APPAREL



PRINTING/PUBLISHING



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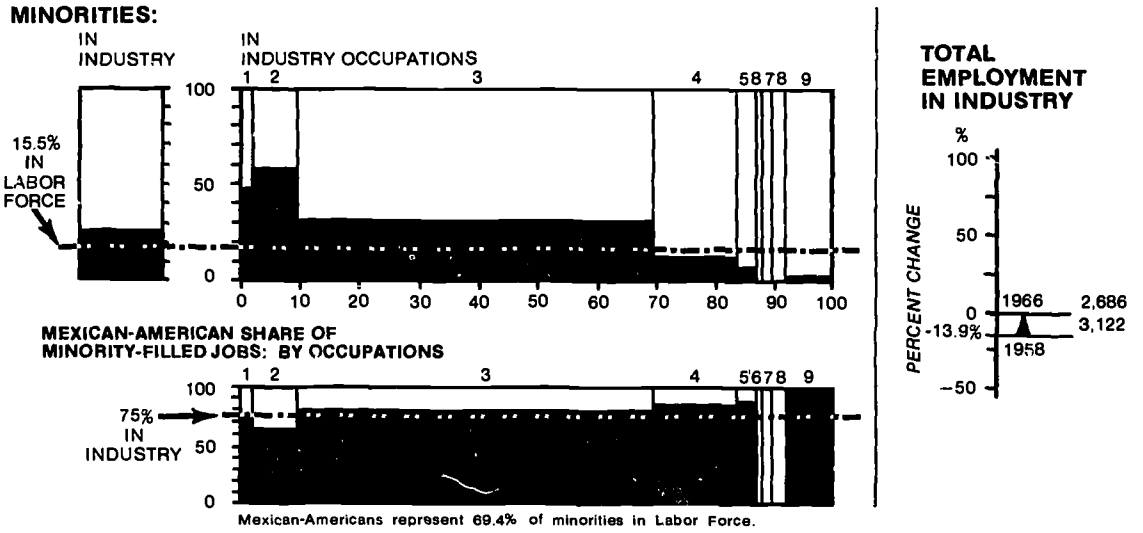
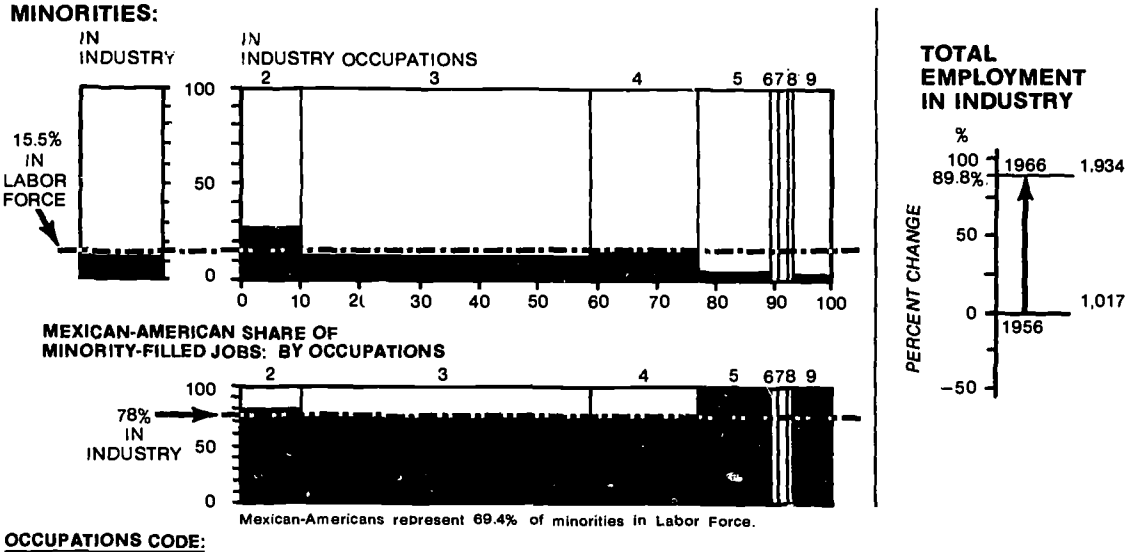
MARICOPA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PRIMARY METAL INDUSTRIES



FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS



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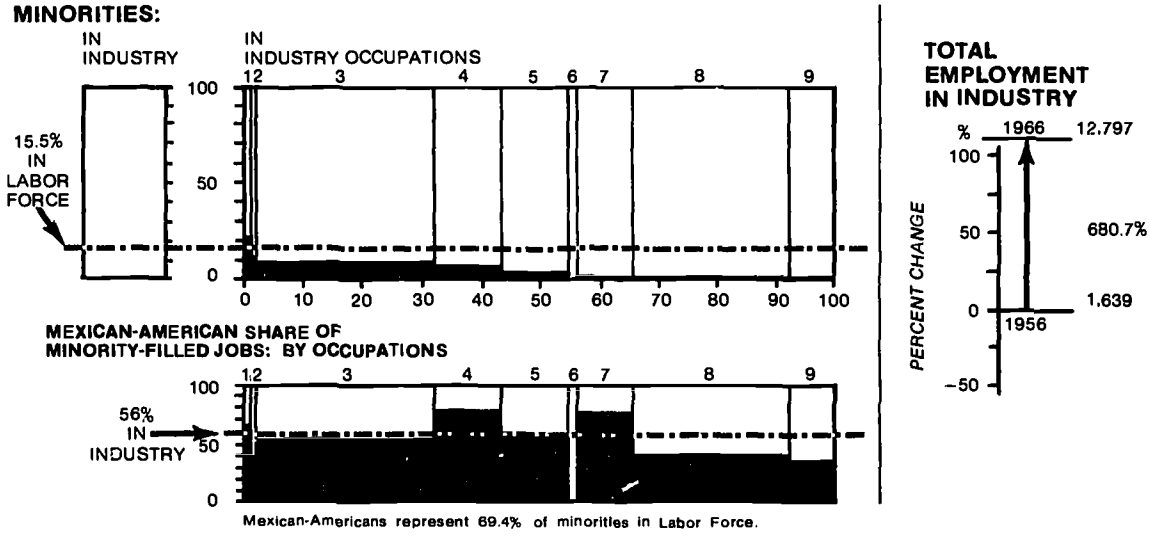
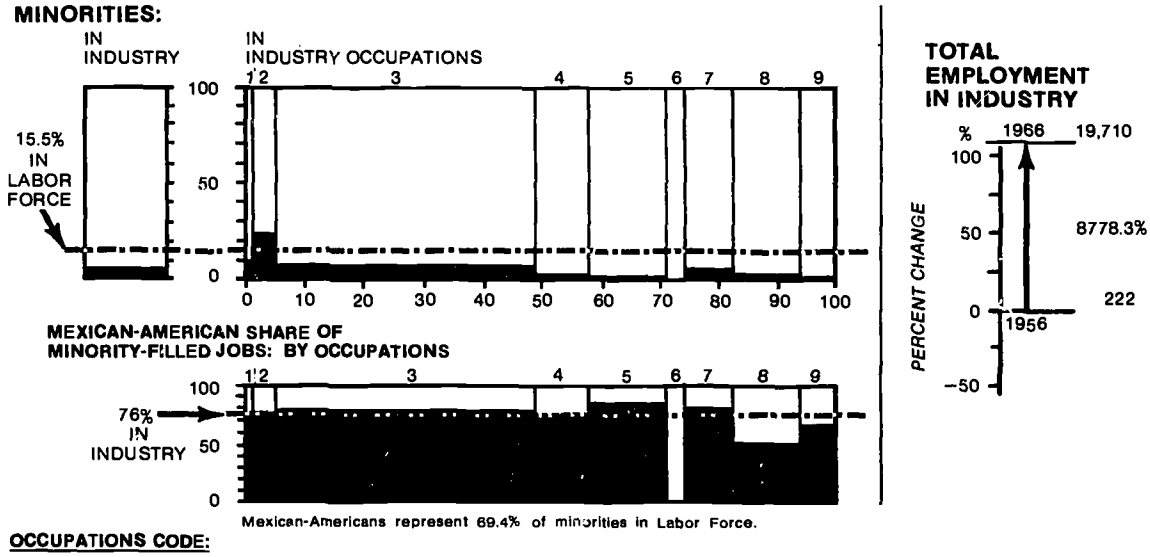
MARICOPA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MACHINERY (NON-ELECTRIC)



ELECTRONIC MACHINERY, EQUIPMENT, SUPPLIES



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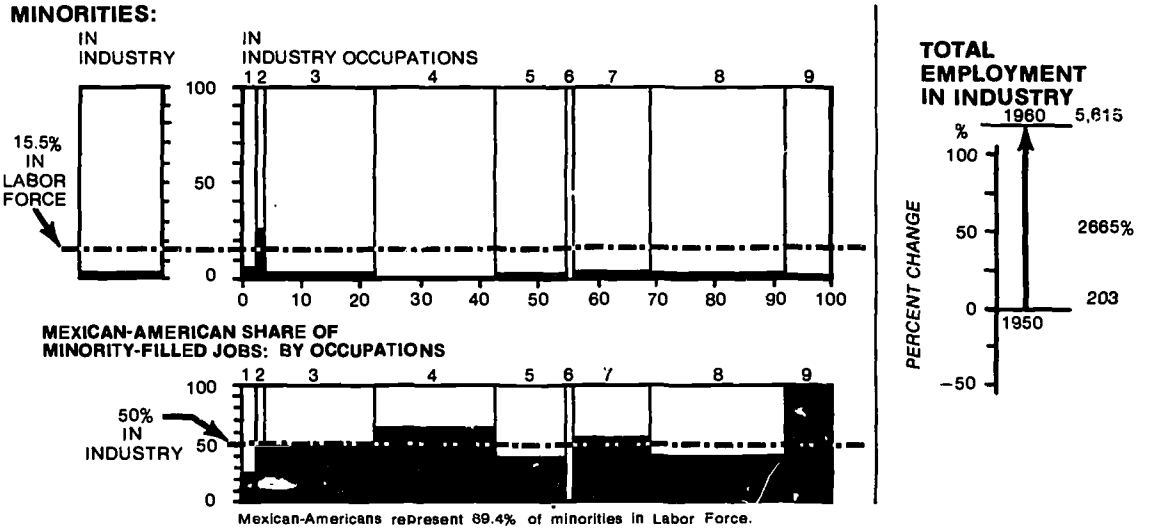
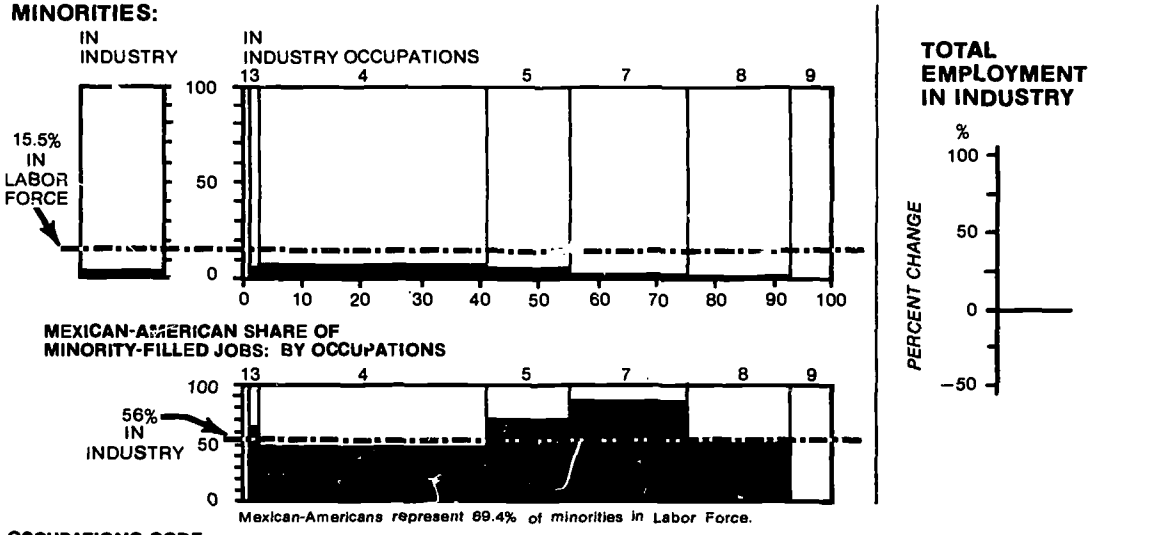
MARICOPA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT



INSTRUMENTS/RELATED PRODUCTS



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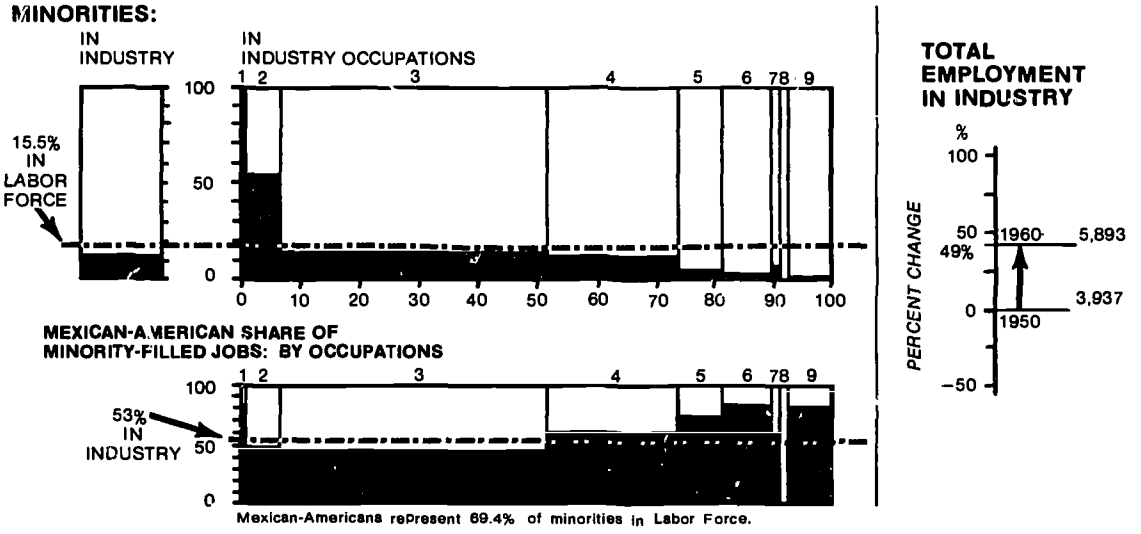
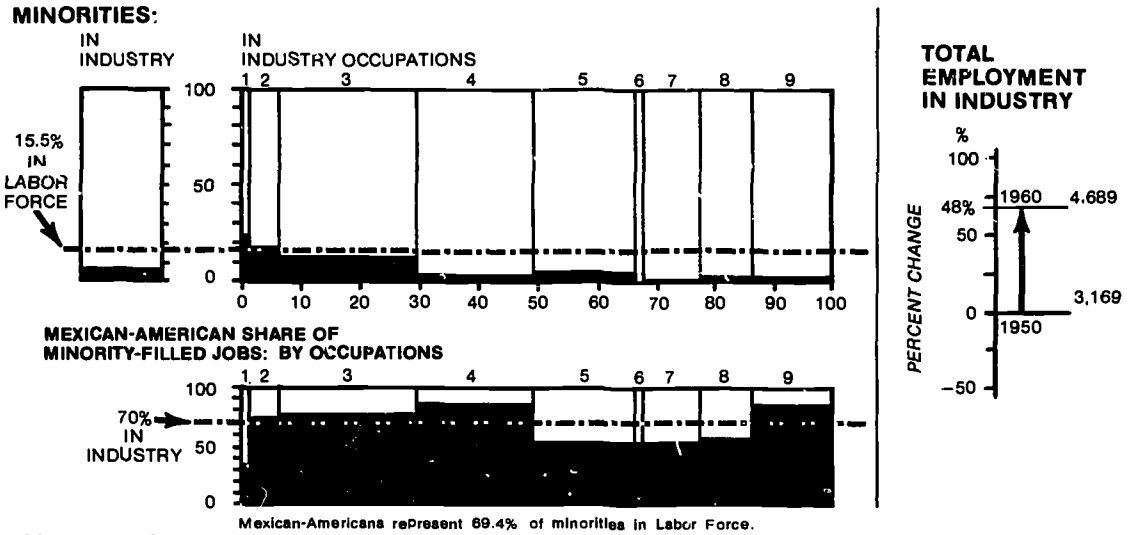
MARICOPA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

TRANSPORTATION



UTILITIES/SANITARY SERVICES



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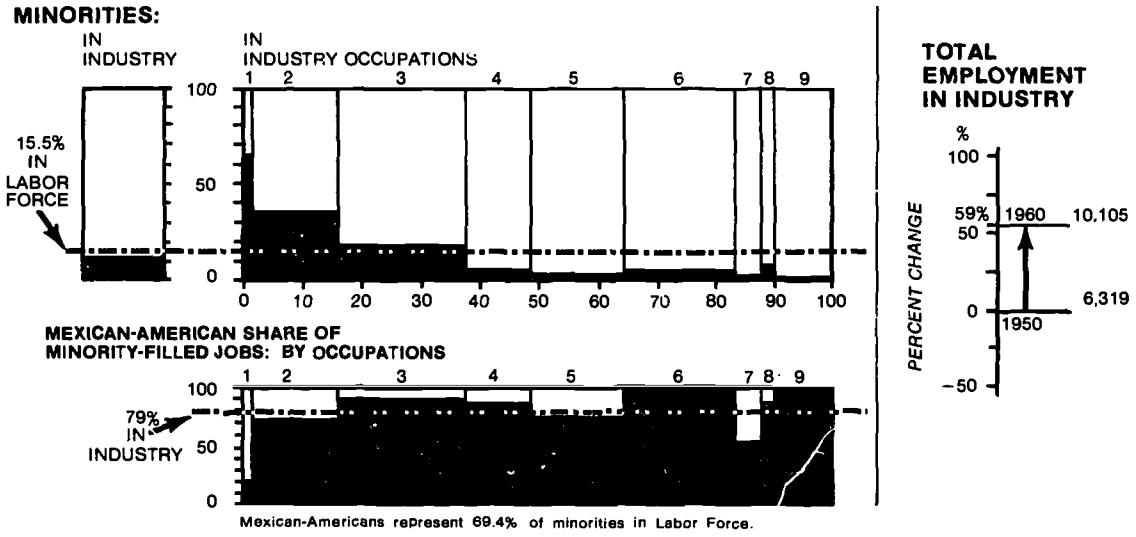
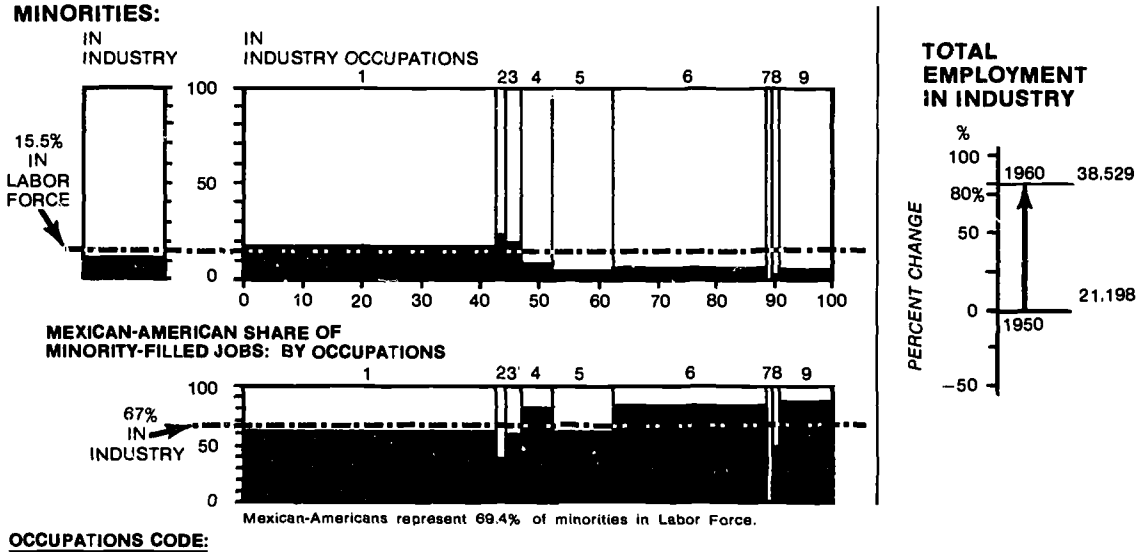
MARICOPA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

WHOLESALE TRADE



RETAIL TRADE



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8. PROFESSIONALS
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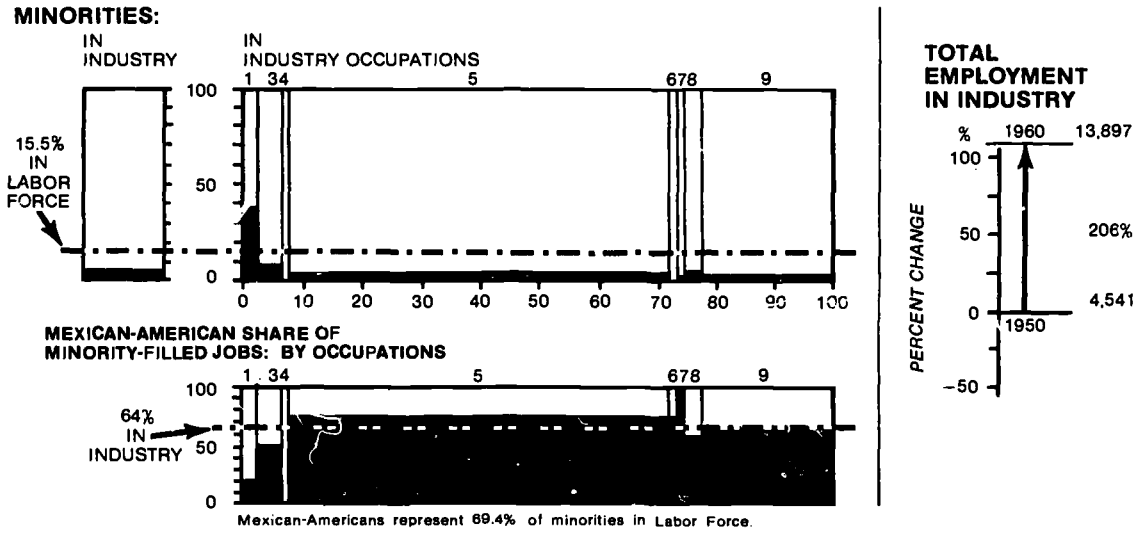
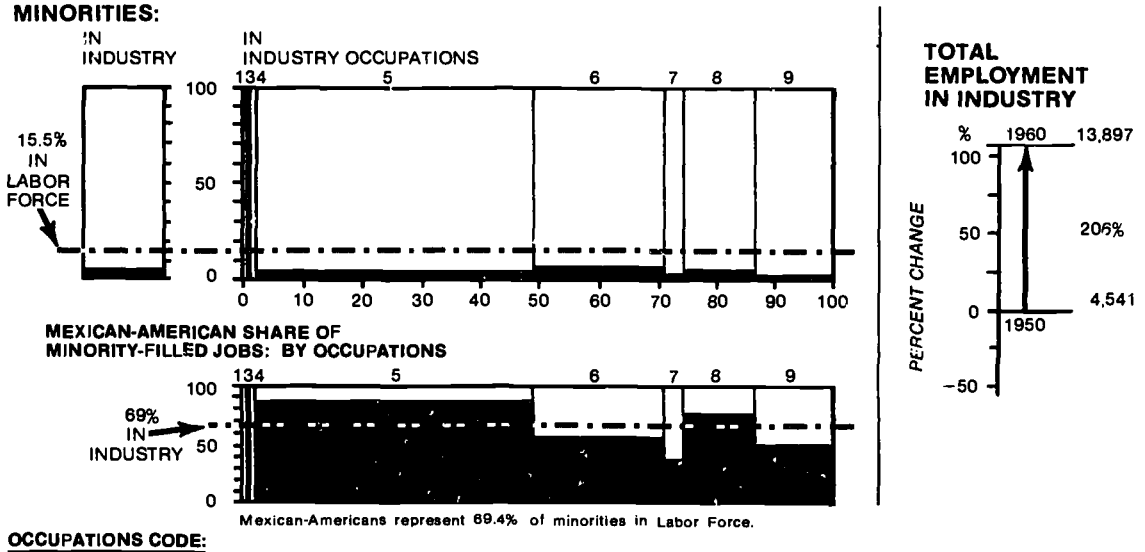
MARICOPA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FINANCE



INSURANCE



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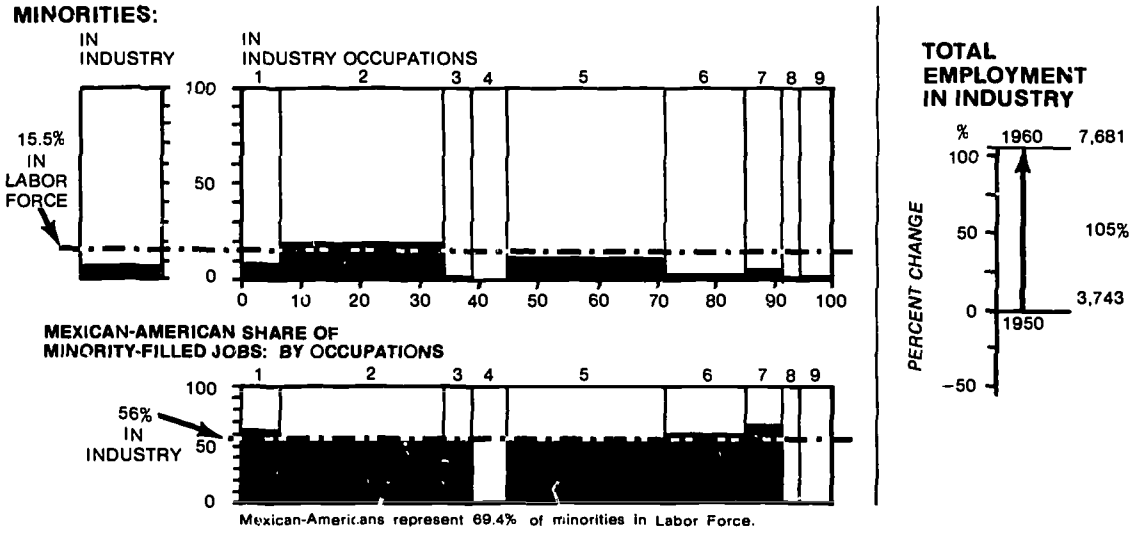
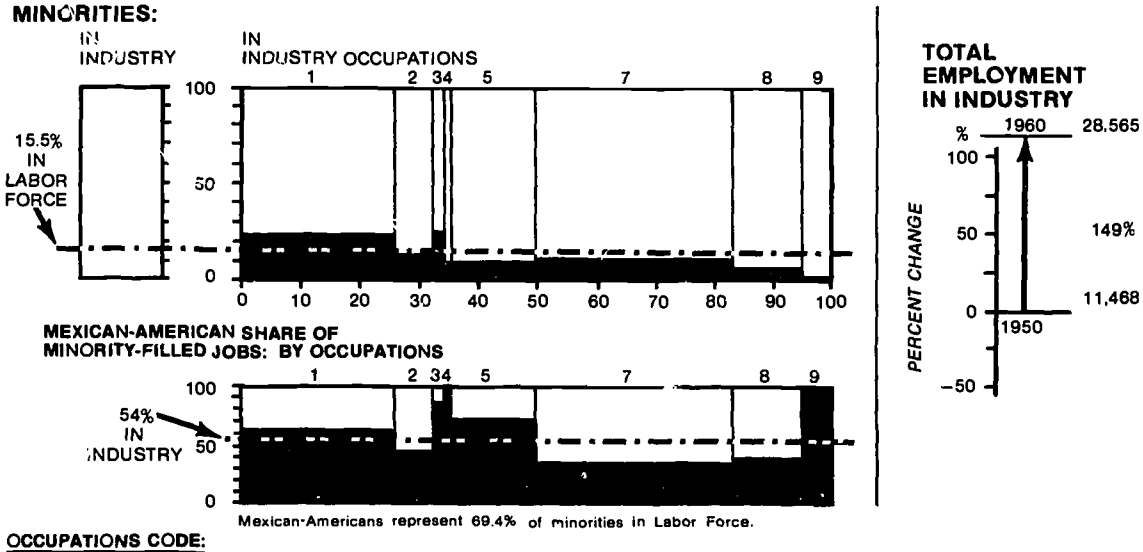
MARICOPA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

BUSINESS SERVICES



MEDICAL SERVICES



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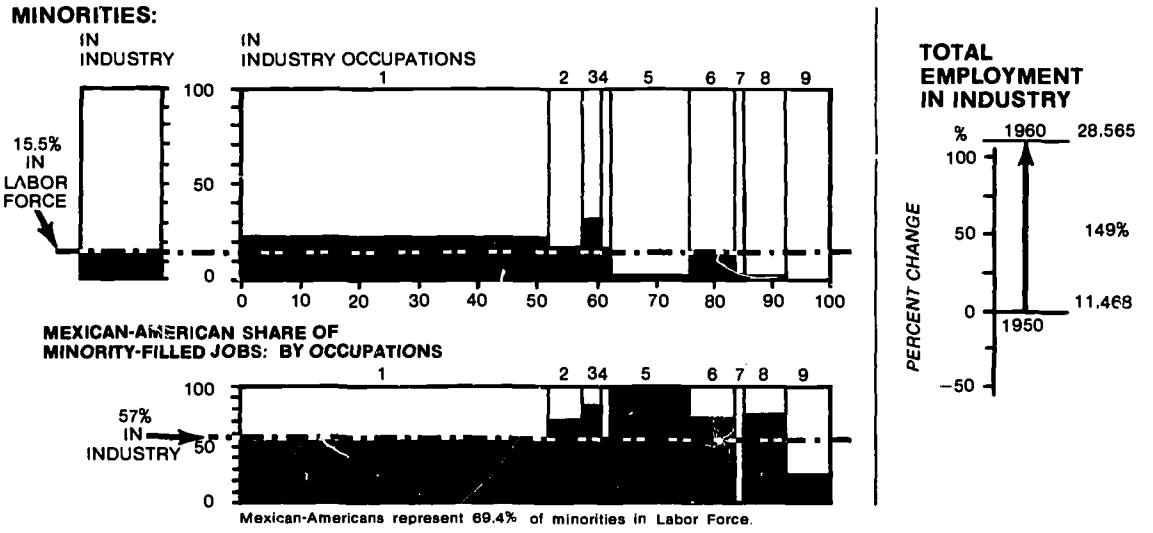
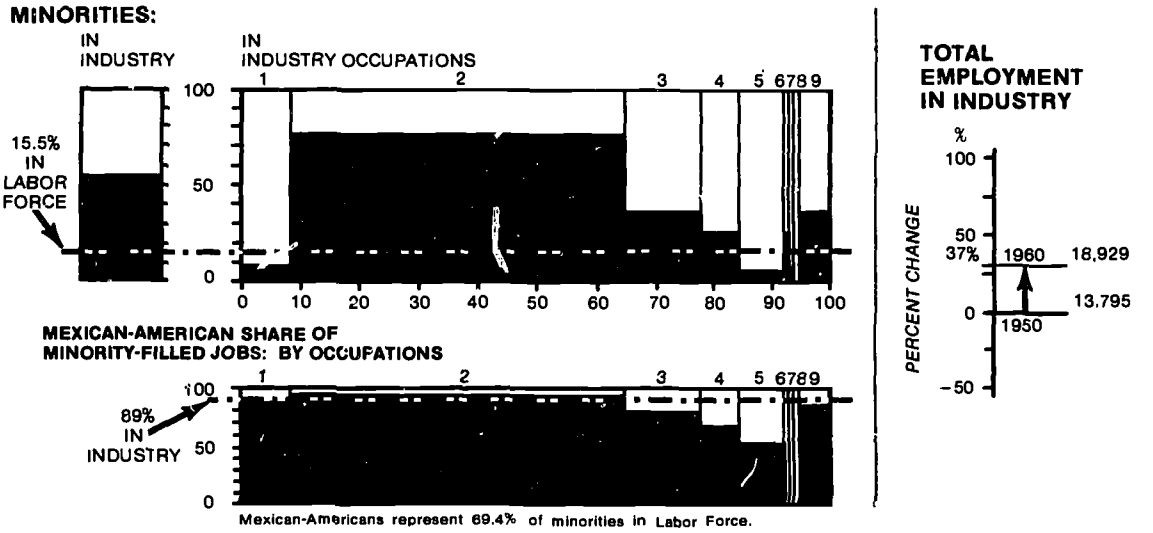
MARICOPA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MISCELLANEOUS/OTHER SERVICES



AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY/FISHERIES



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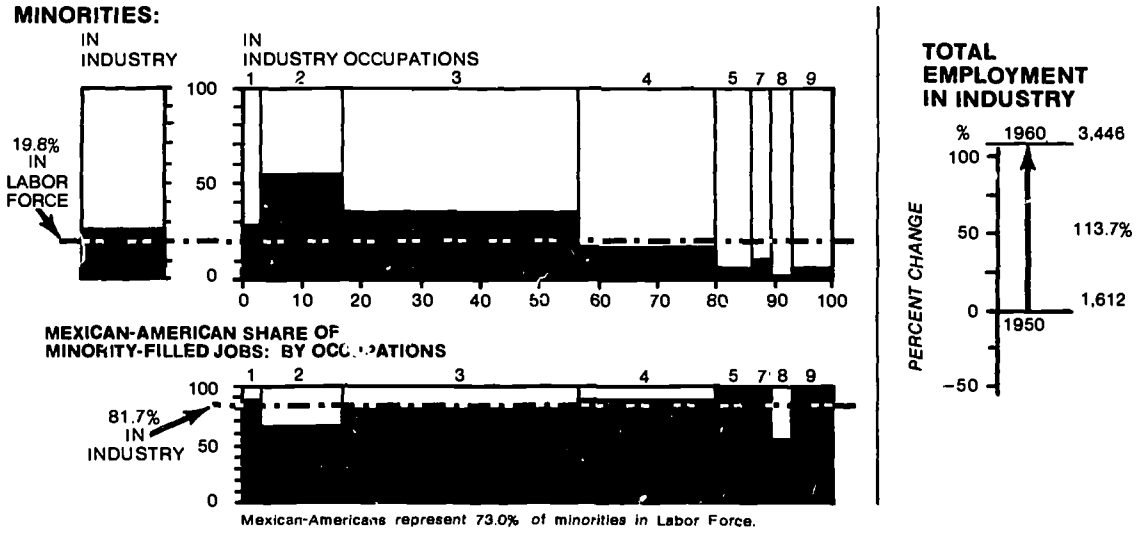
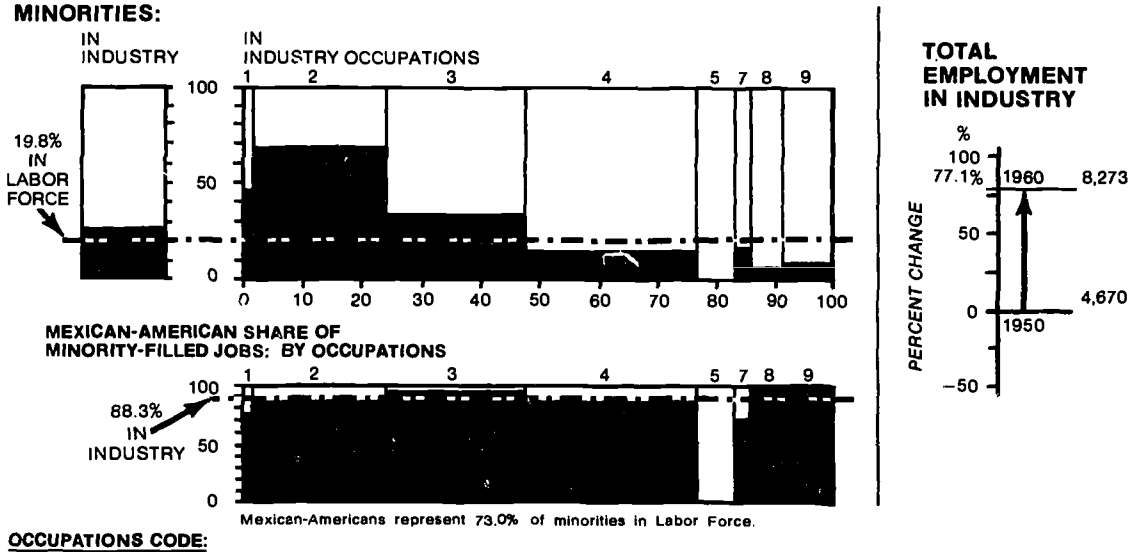
PIMA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MINING



CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



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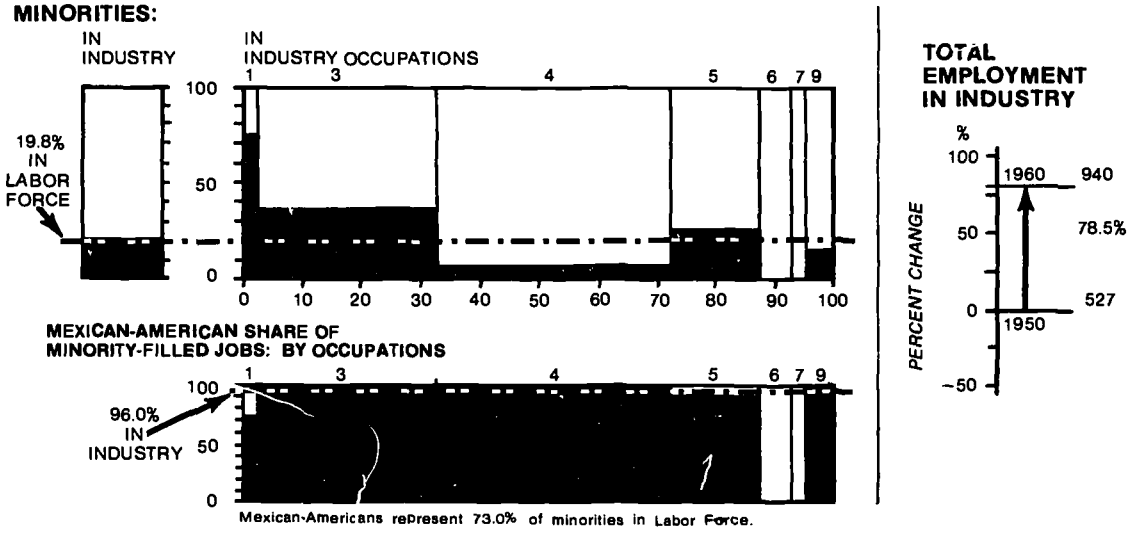
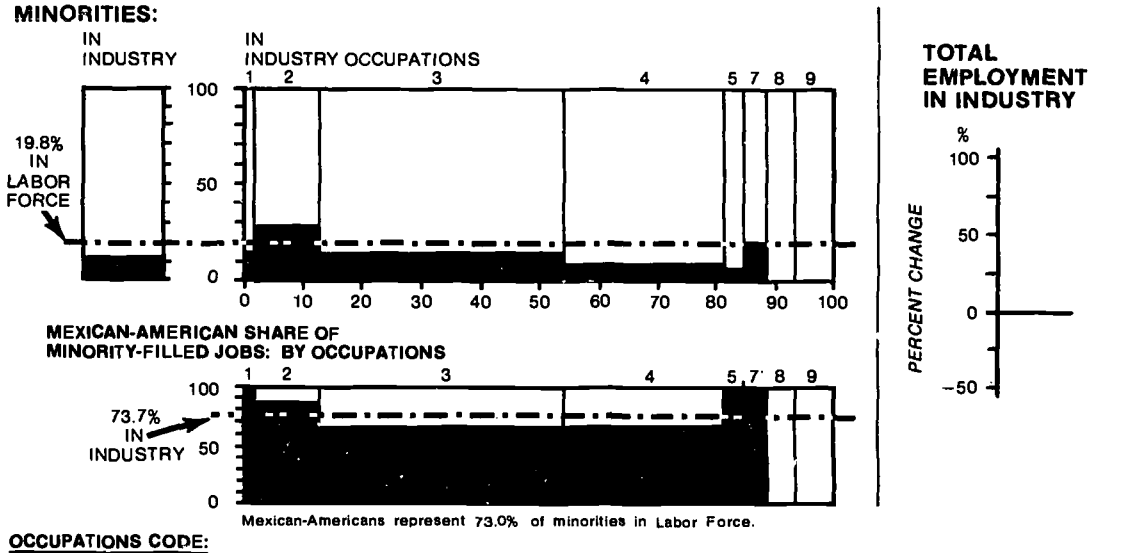
PIMA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PRINTING/PUBLISHING



PRIMARY METAL INDUSTRIES



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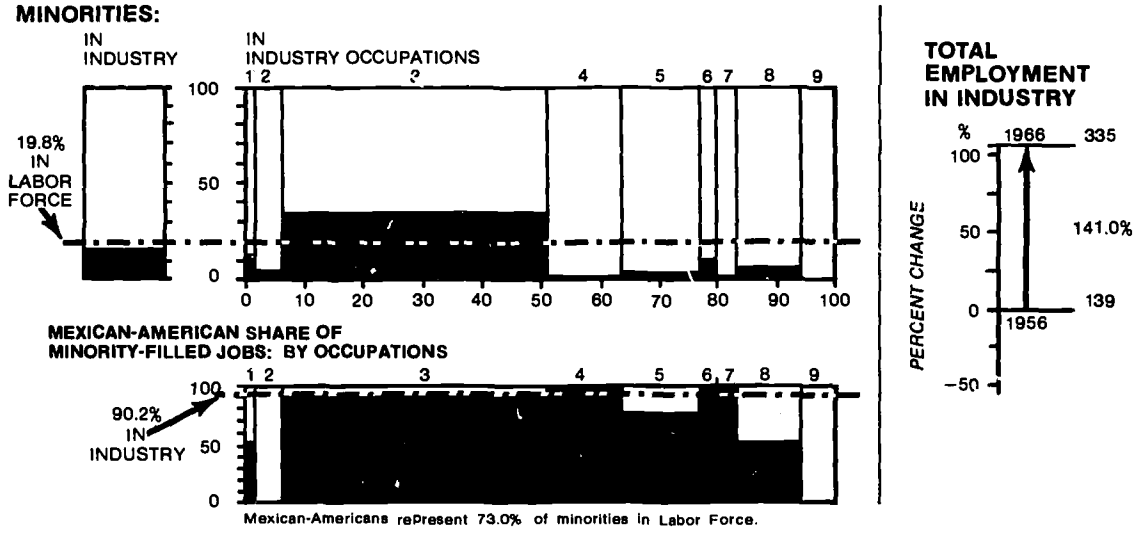
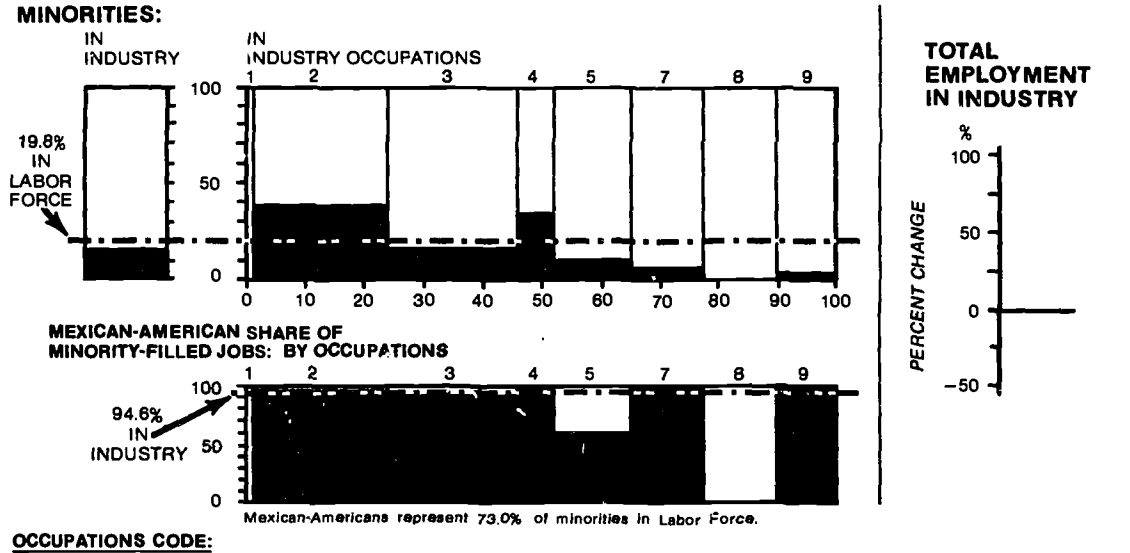
PIMA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MACHINERY (NON-ELECTRICAL)



ELECTRONIC MACHINERY, EQUIPMENT/SUPPLIES



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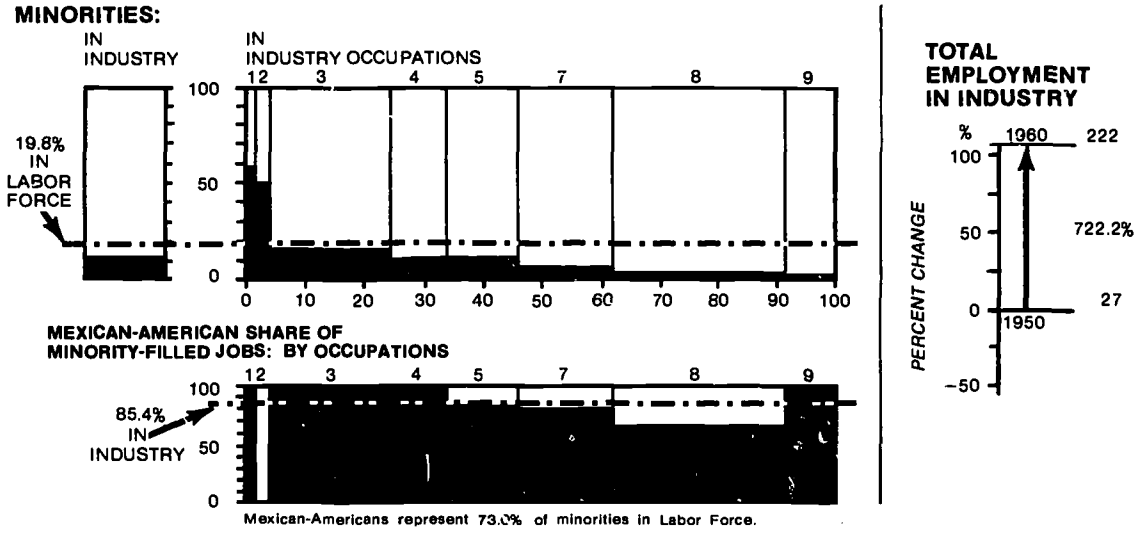
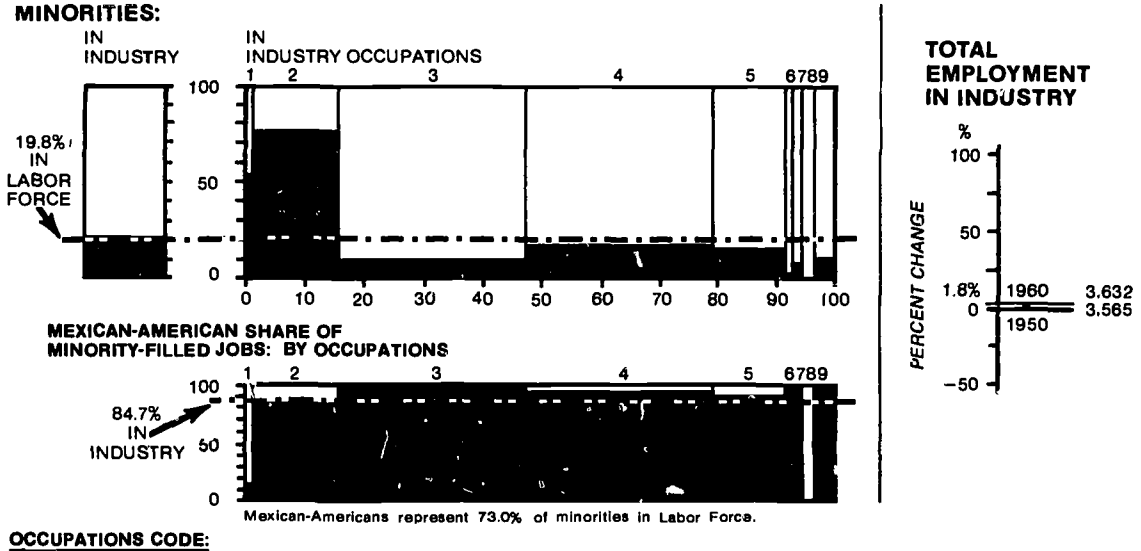
PIMA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT



TRANSPORTATION



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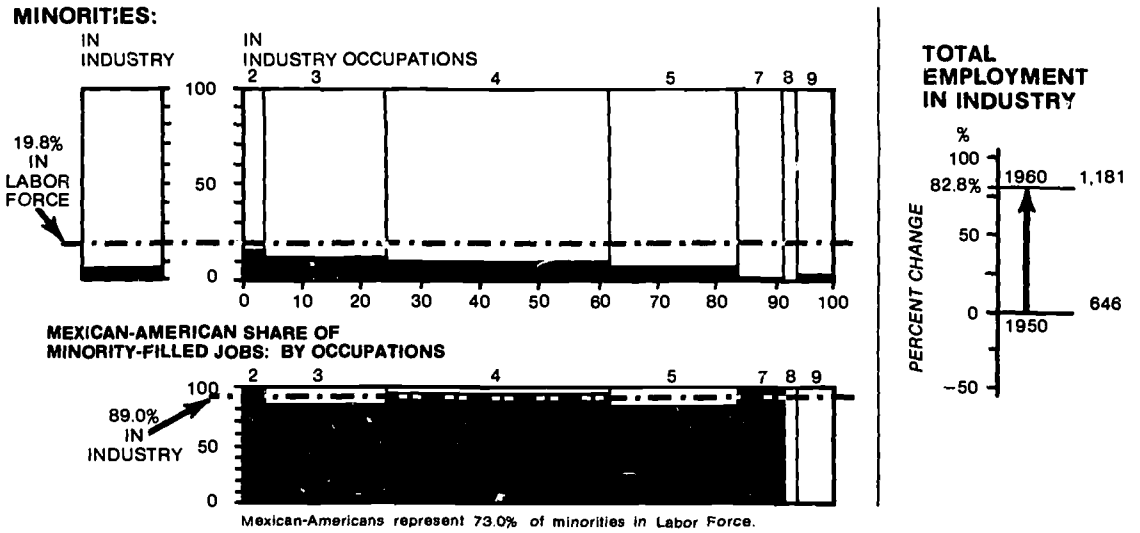
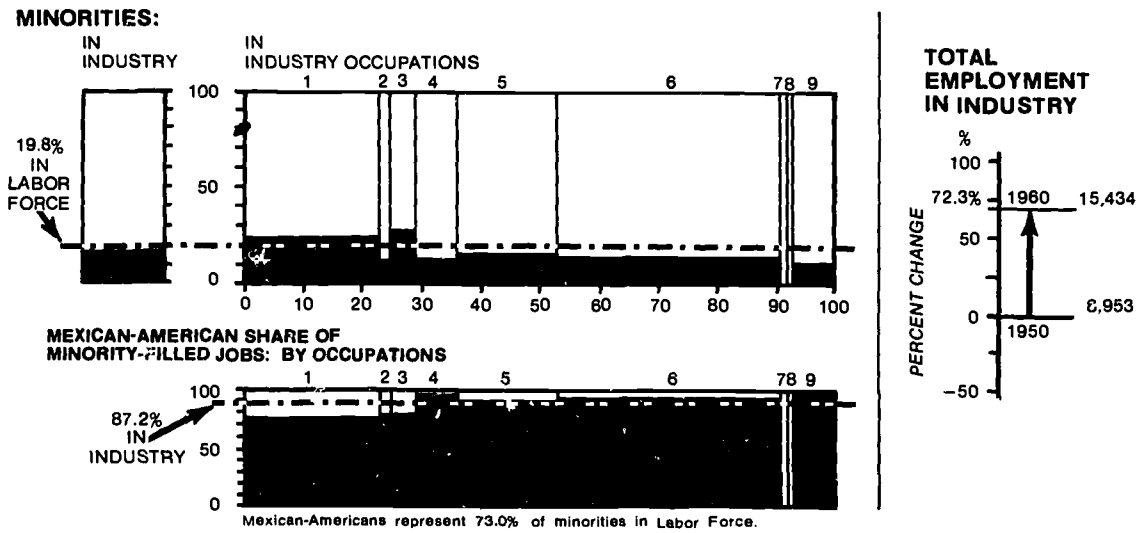
PIMA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

UTILITIES/SANITARY SERVICES



RETAIL TRADE



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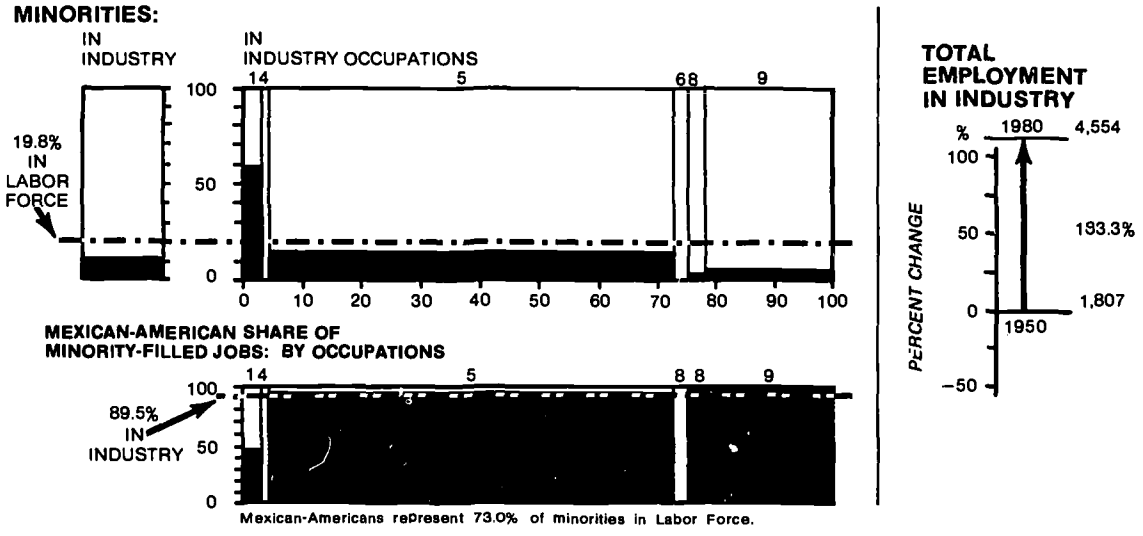
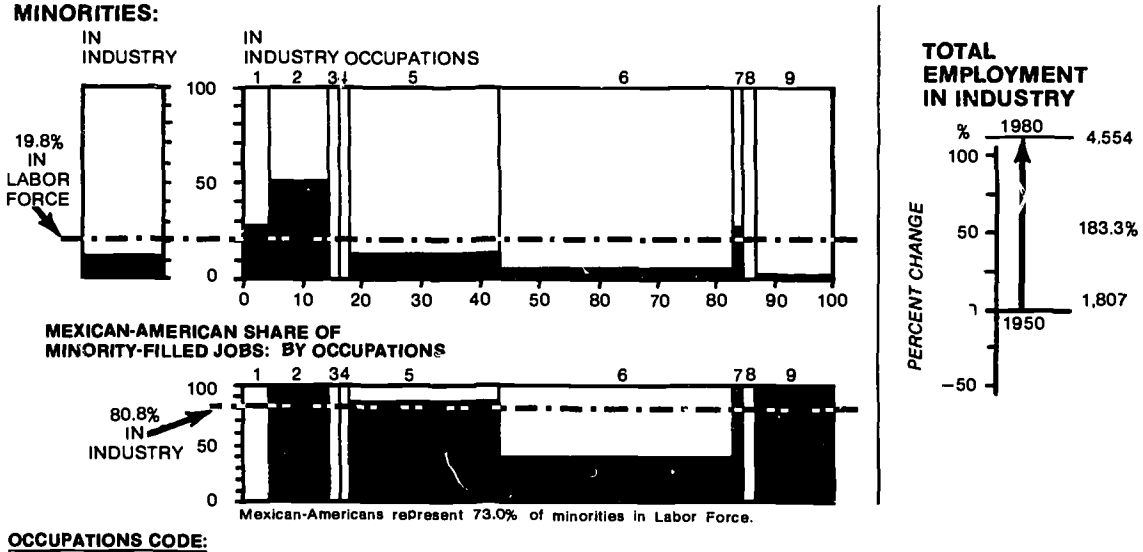
PIMA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FINANCE



REAL ESTATE



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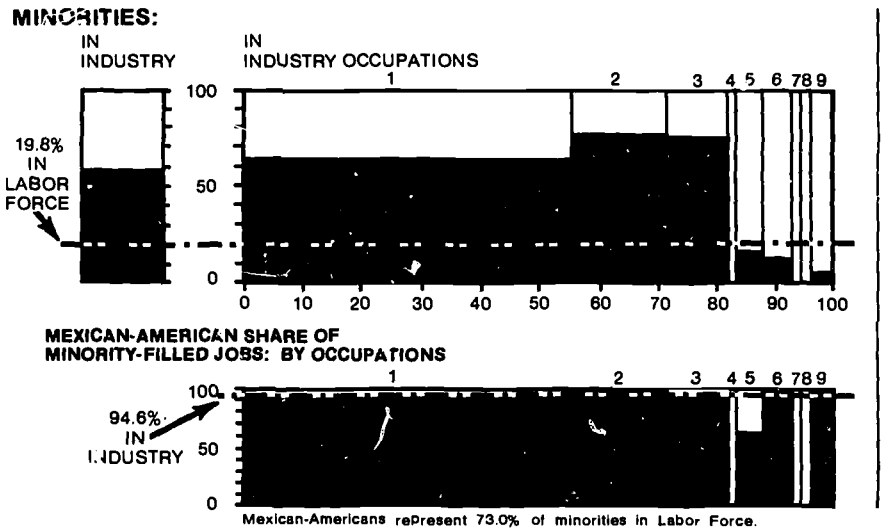
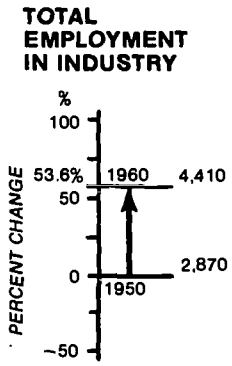
PIMA COUNTY, ARIZ.

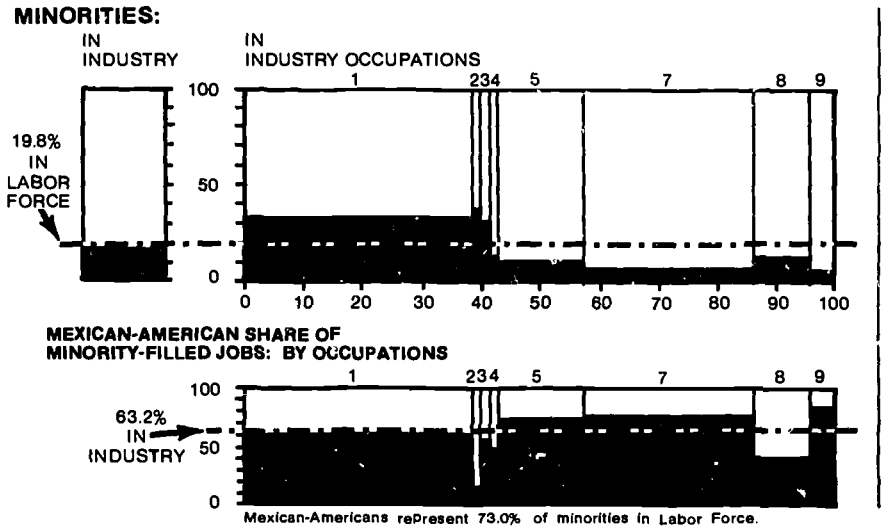
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

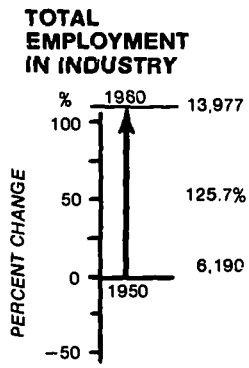
PERSONAL SERVICES





MEDICAL SERVICES





OCCUPATIONS CODE:

BLUE COLLAR:

1. SERVICE WORKERS
2. LABORERS (UNSKILLED)
3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

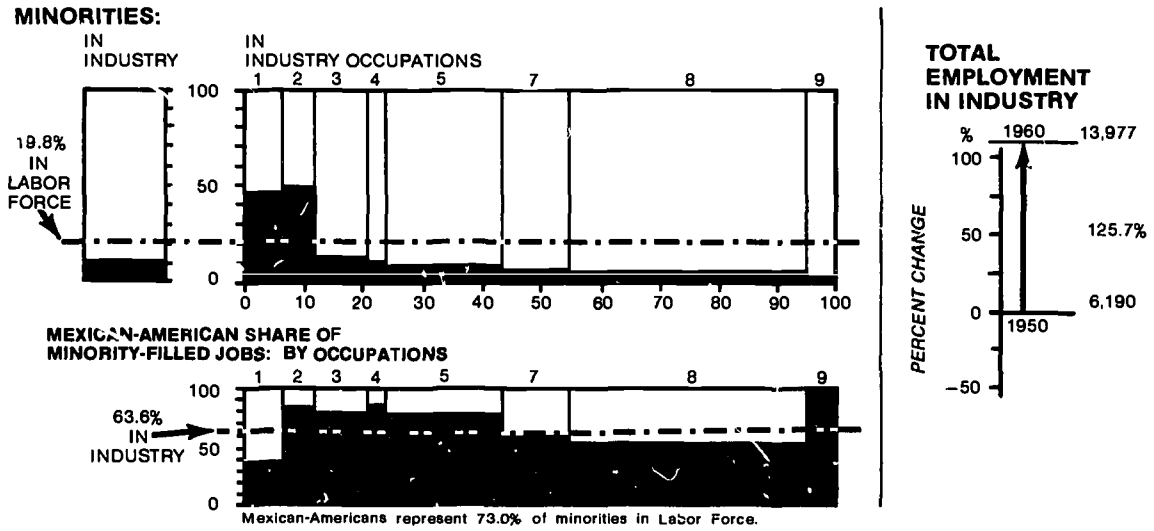
WHITE COLLAR:

5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

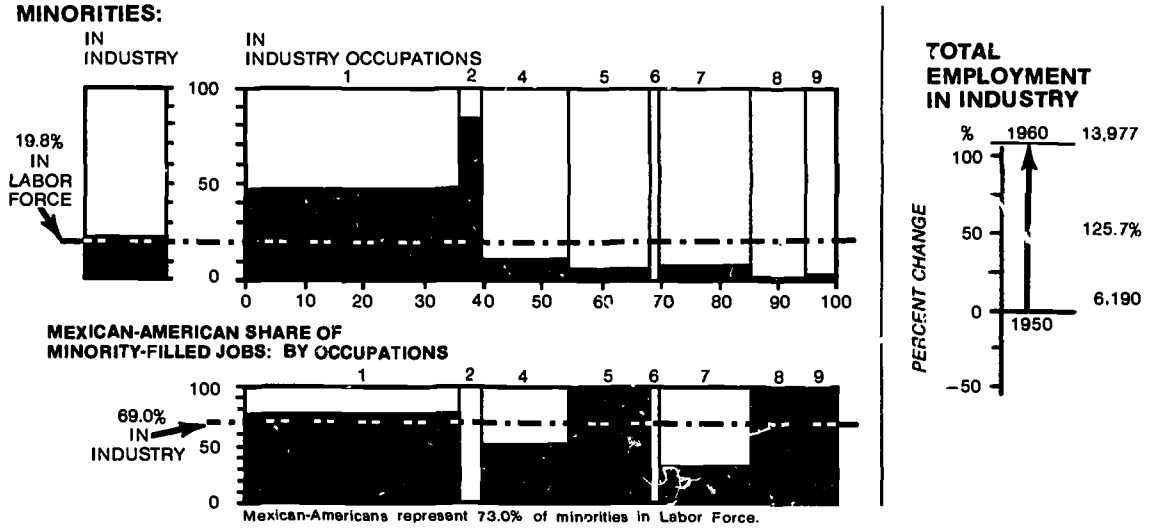
PIMA COUNTY, ARIZ.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES



MISCELLANEOUS/OTHER SERVICES



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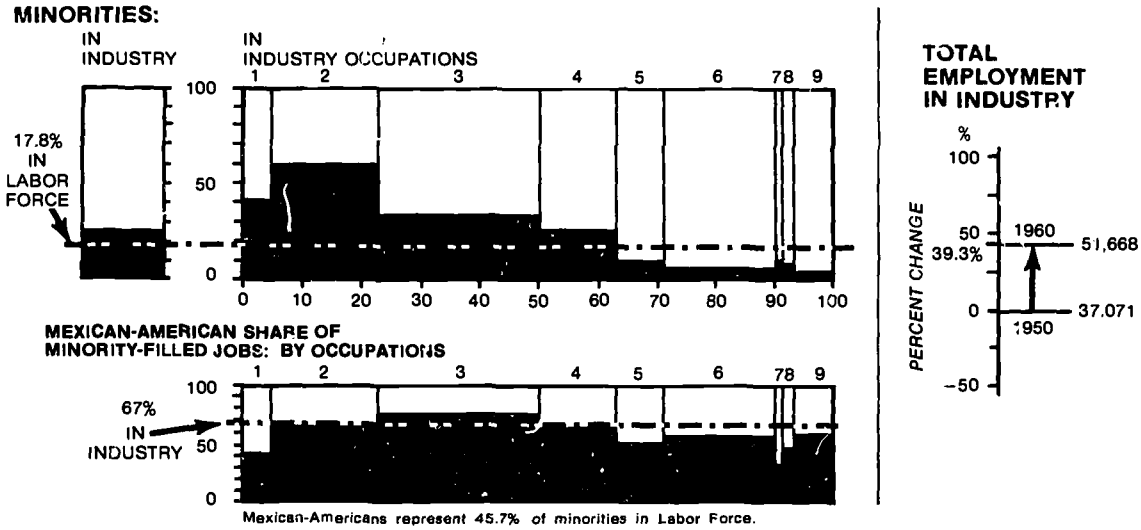
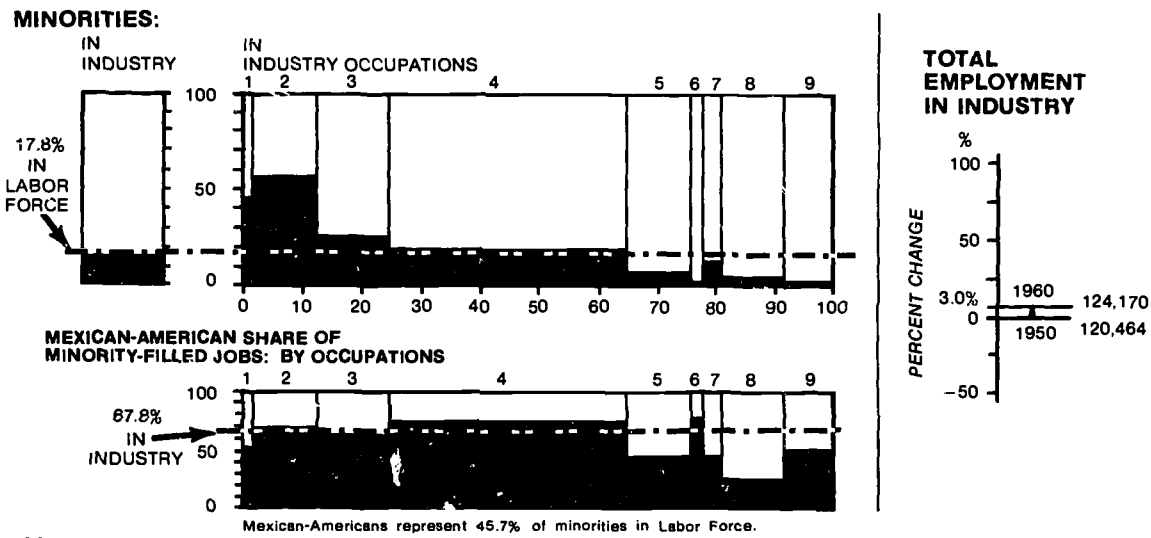
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FOOD & KINDRED PRODUCTS



CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



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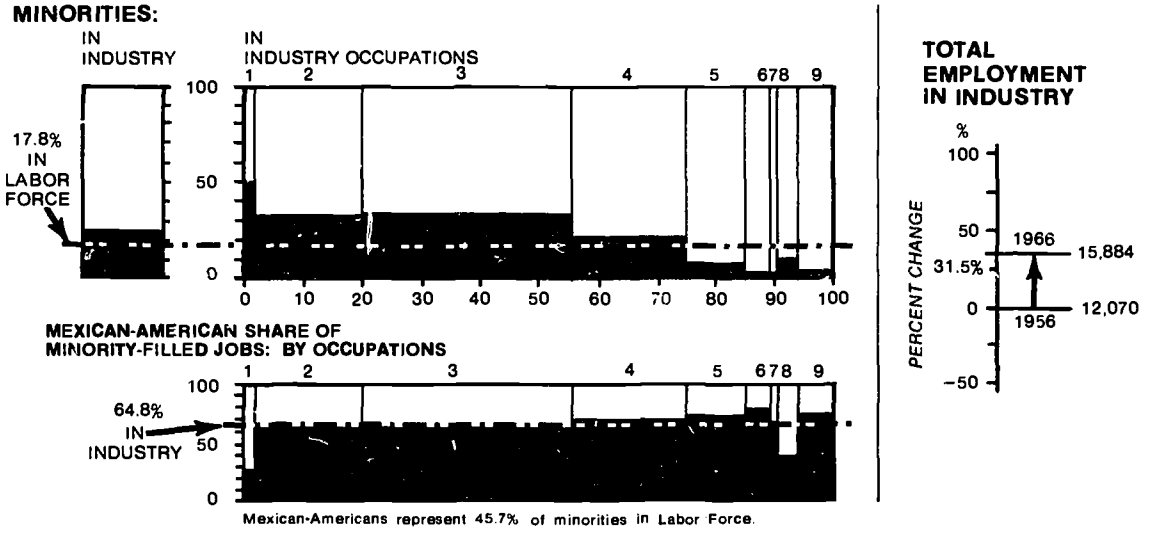
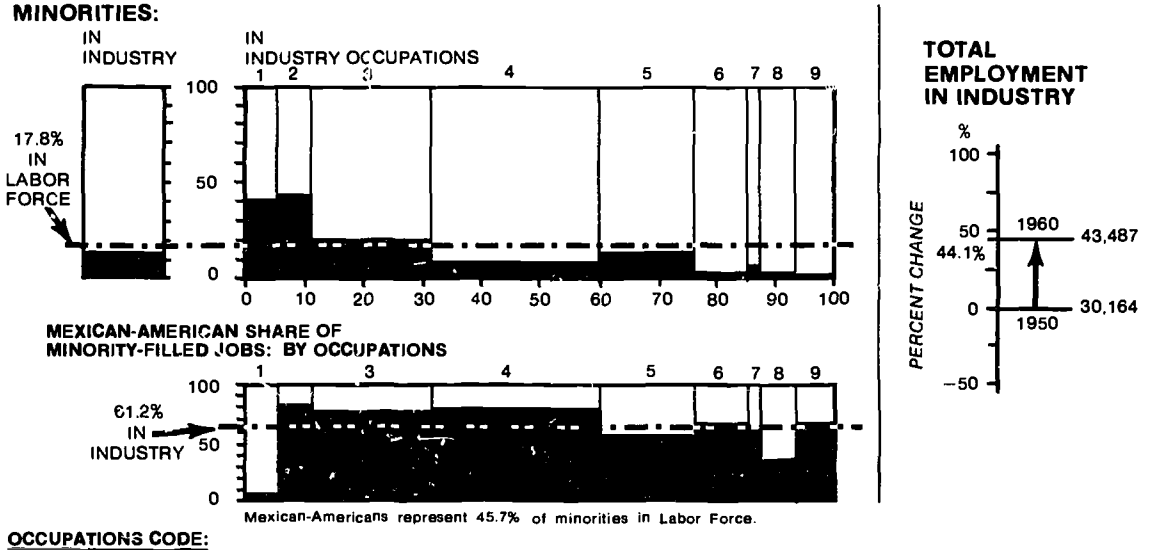
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PAPER & ALLIED PRODUCTS



PRINTING & PUBLISHING



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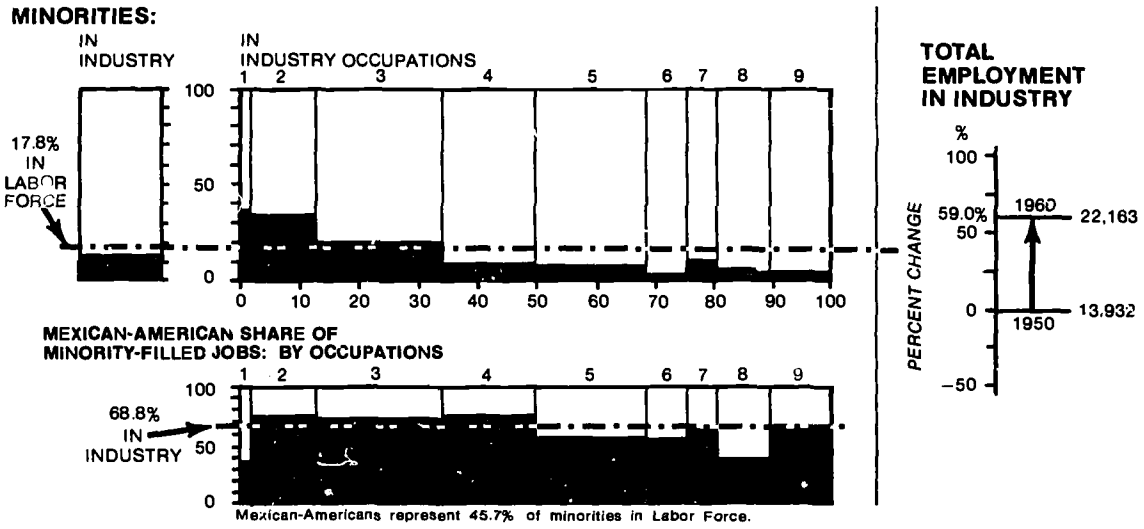
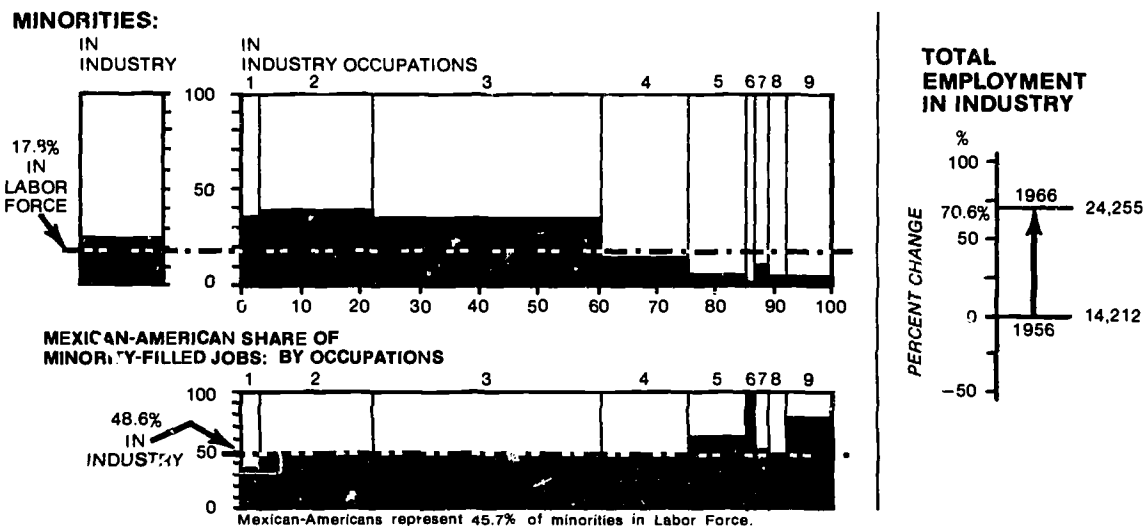
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CHEMICALS & ALLIED PRODUCTS



RUBBER & PLASTIC PRODUCTS



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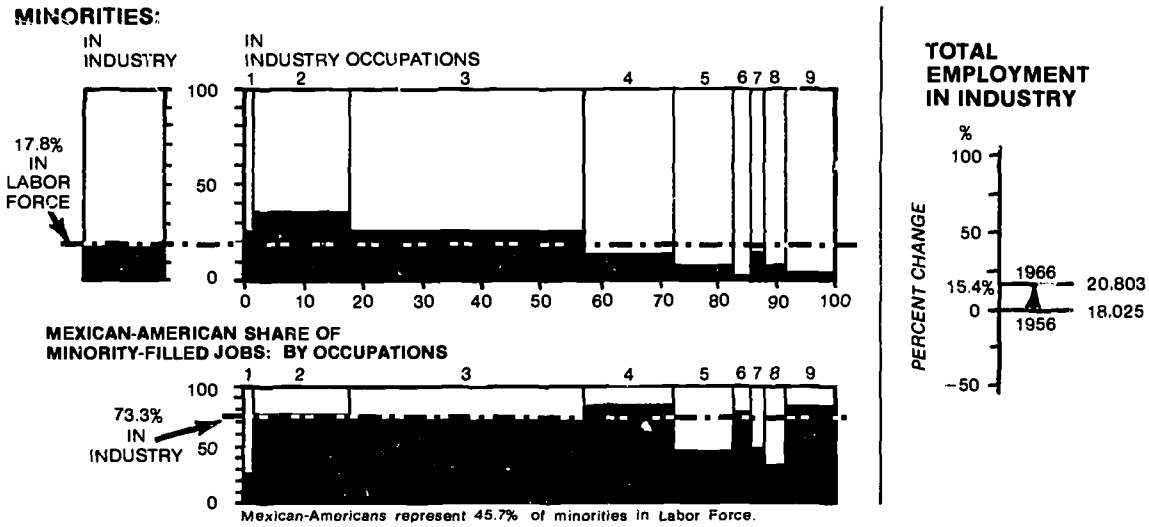
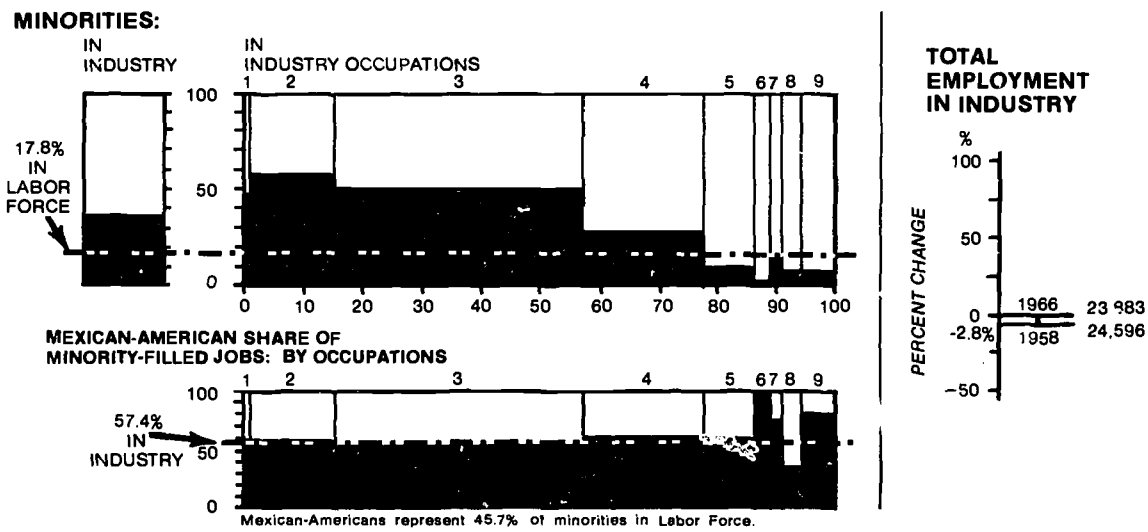
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

STONE, CLAY & GLASS PRODUCTS



PRIMARY METAL



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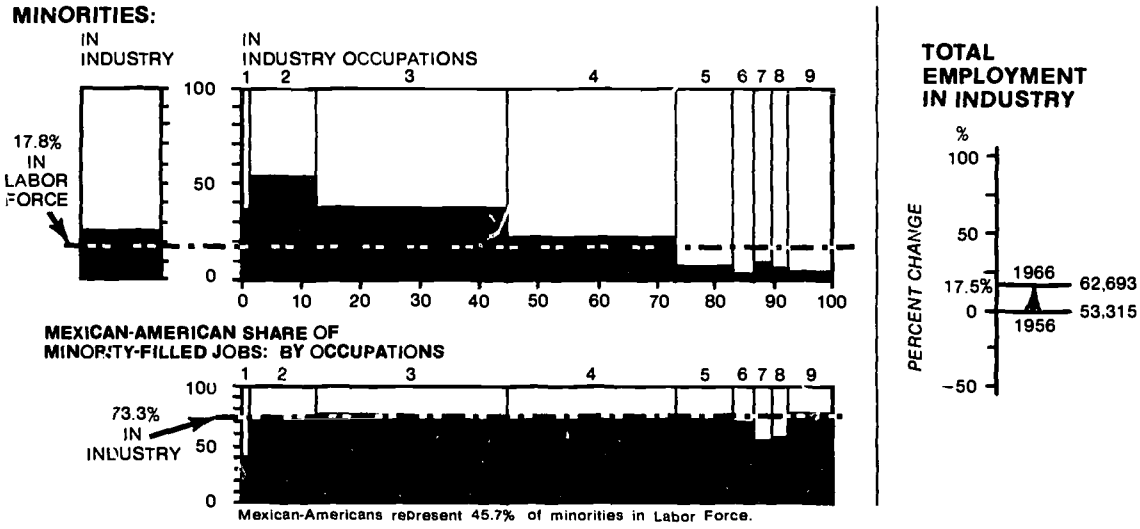
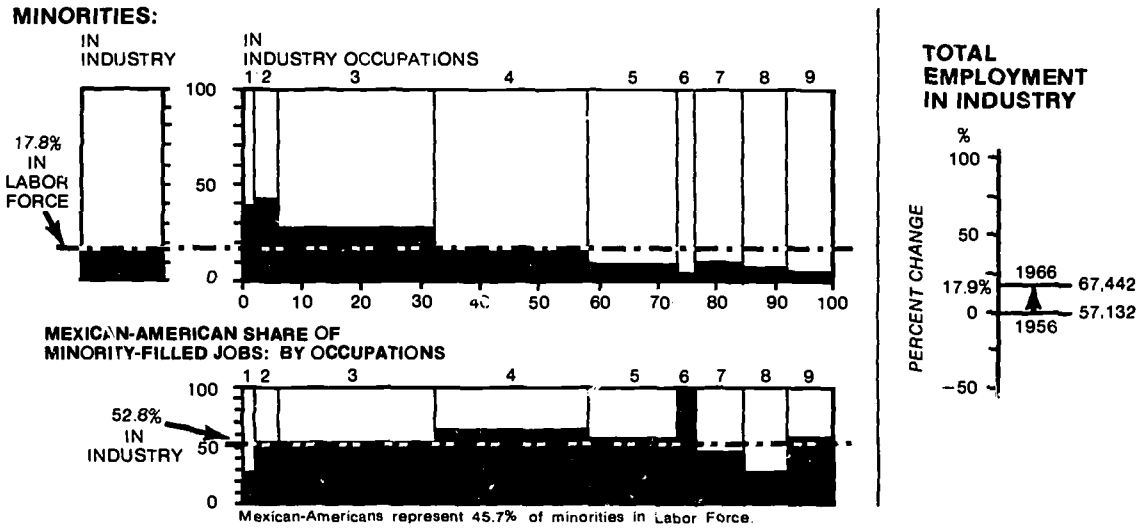
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS



MACHINERY (NON-ELECTRICAL)



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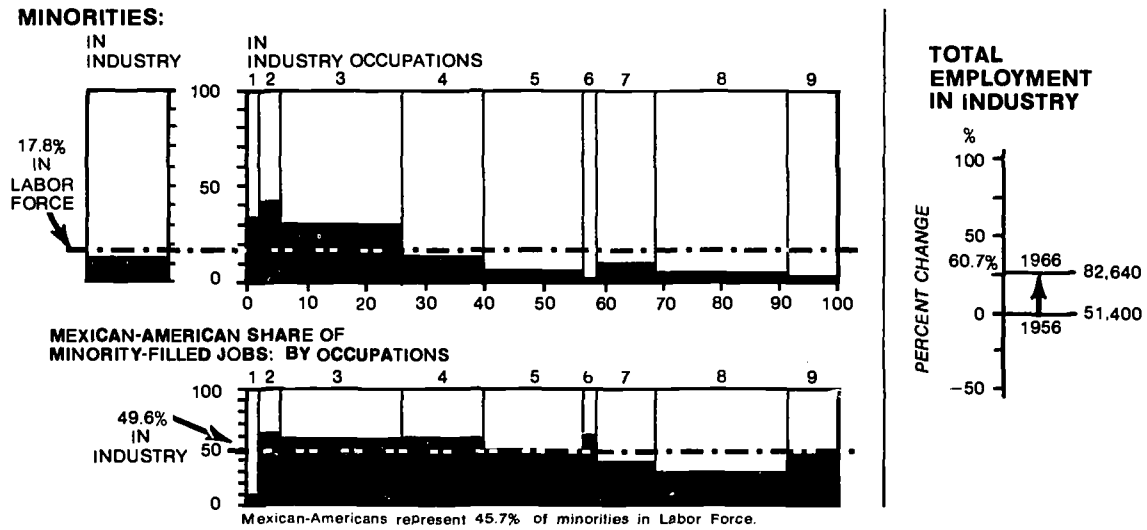
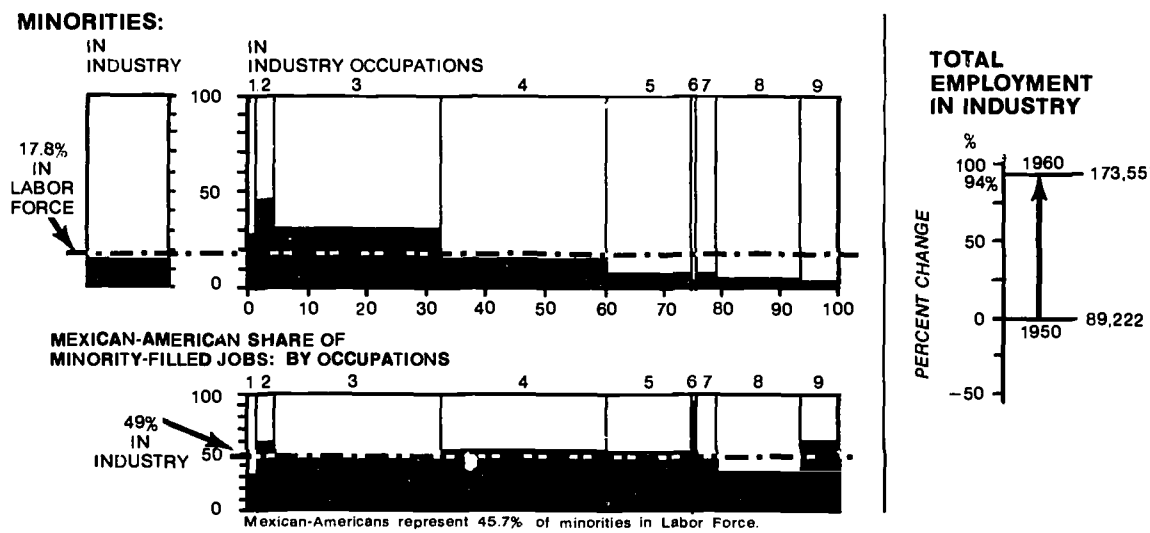
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ELECTRONIC MACHINERY, EQUIPMENT & SUPPLIES



TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT



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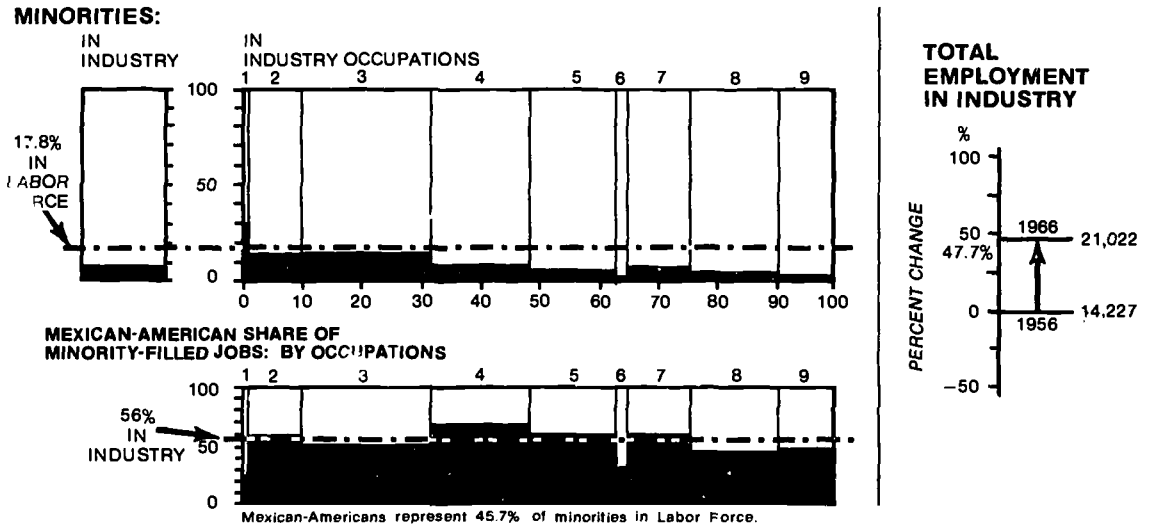
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

INSTRUMENTS AND RELATED PRODUCTS



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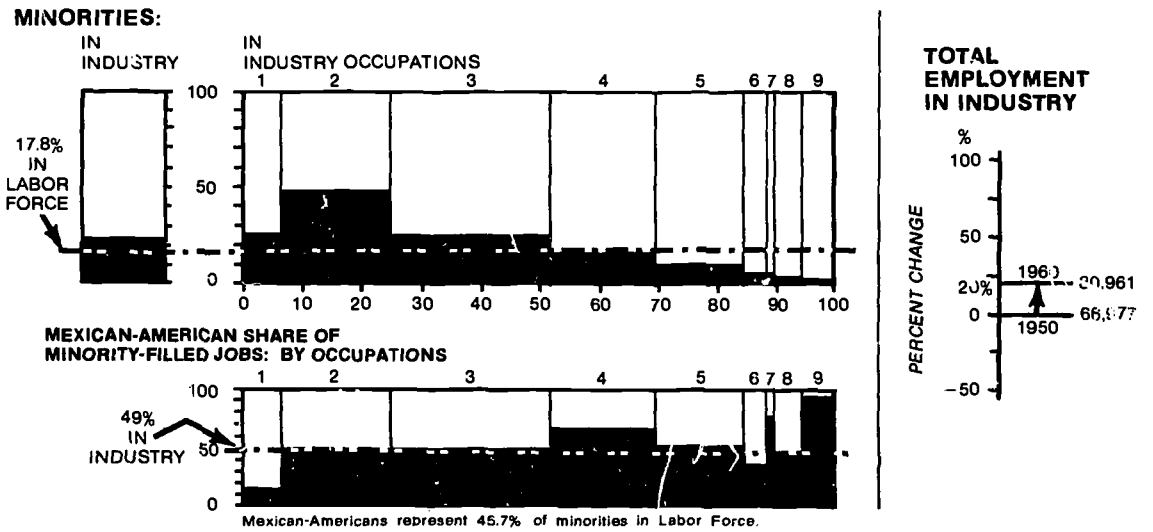

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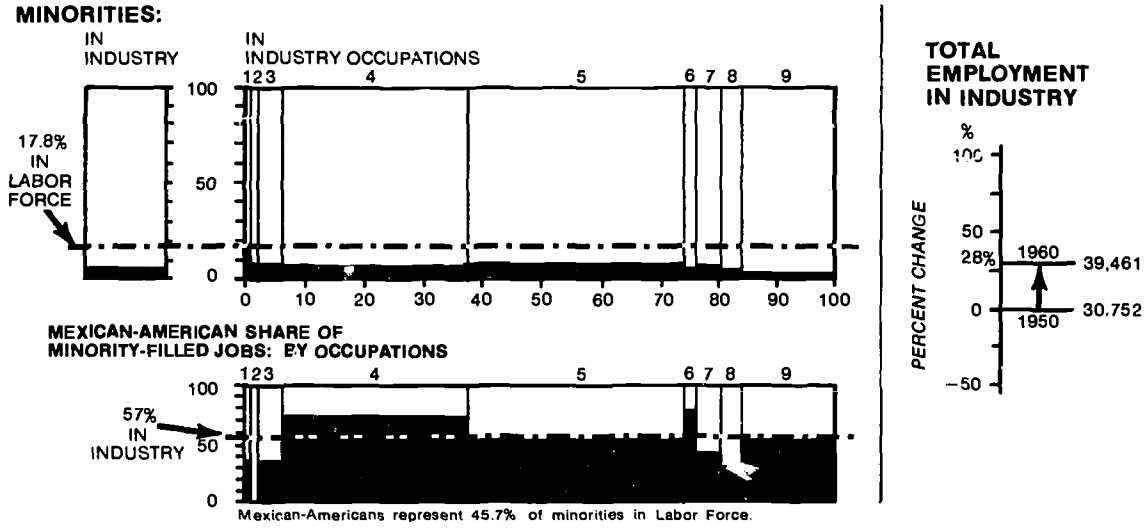
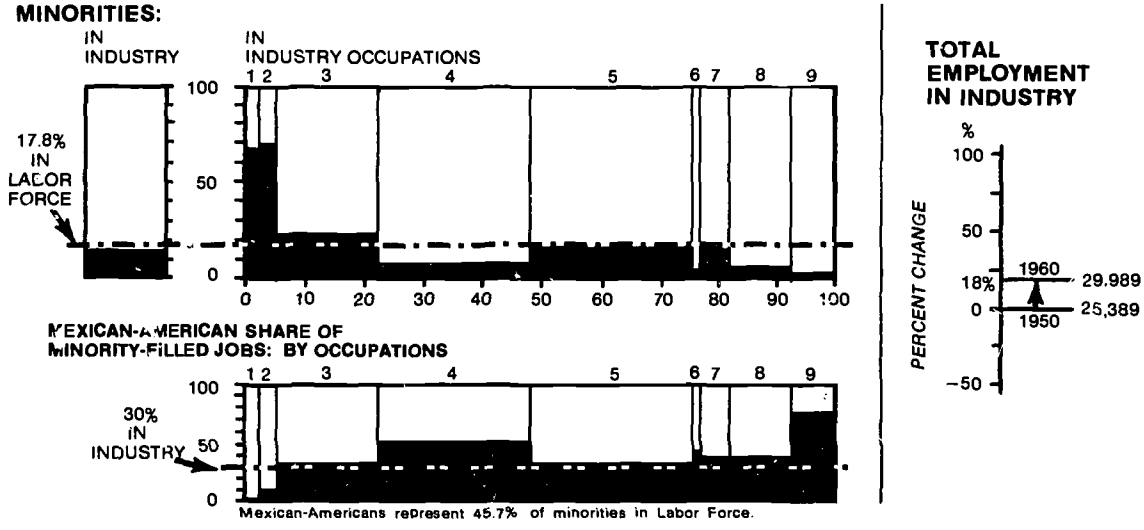
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

COMMUNICATION



UTILITIES & SANITARY SERVICES



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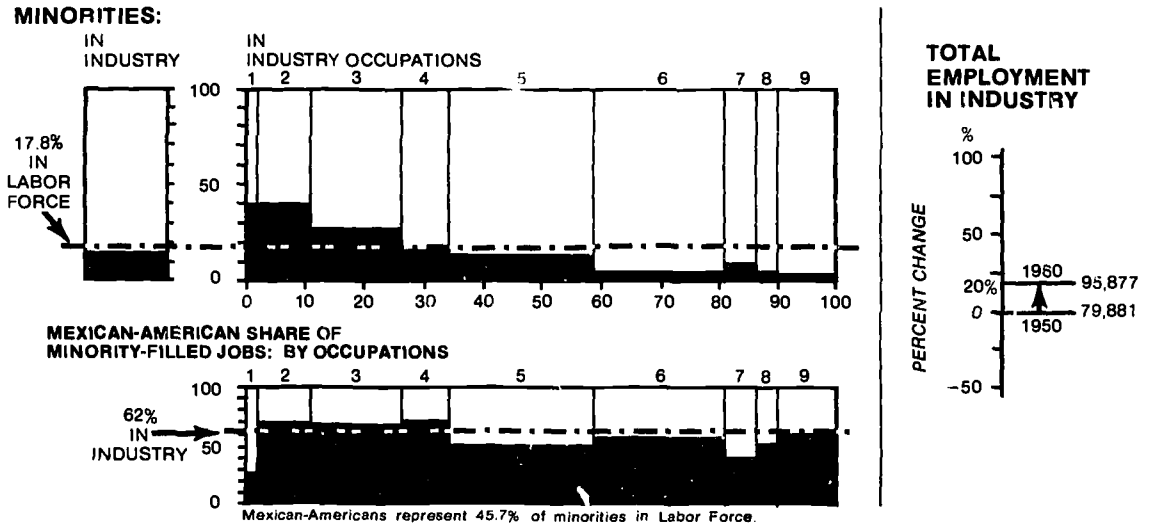
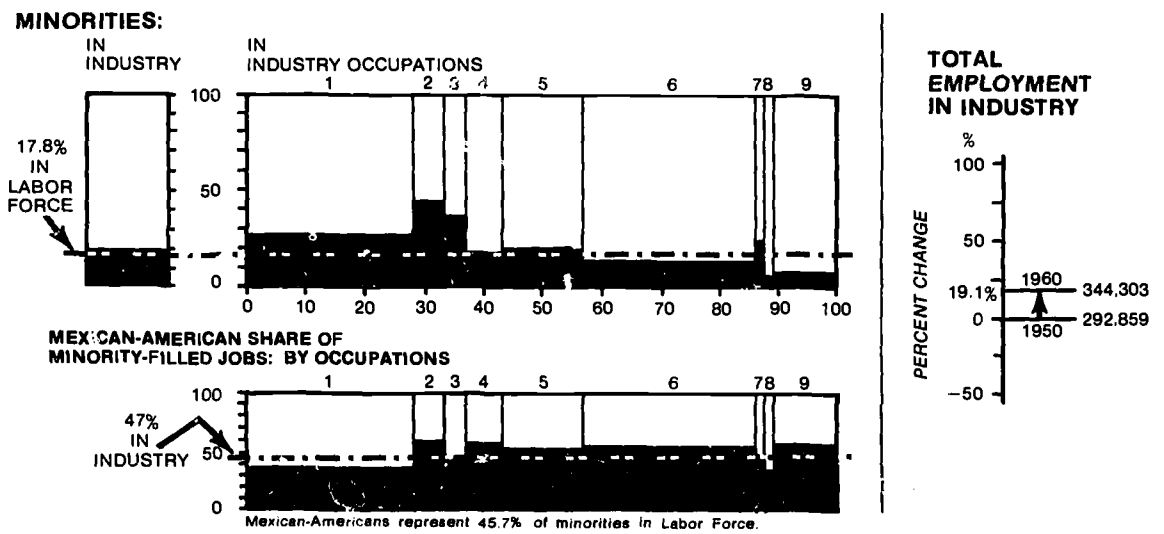
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

WHOLESALE TRADE



RETAIL TRADE



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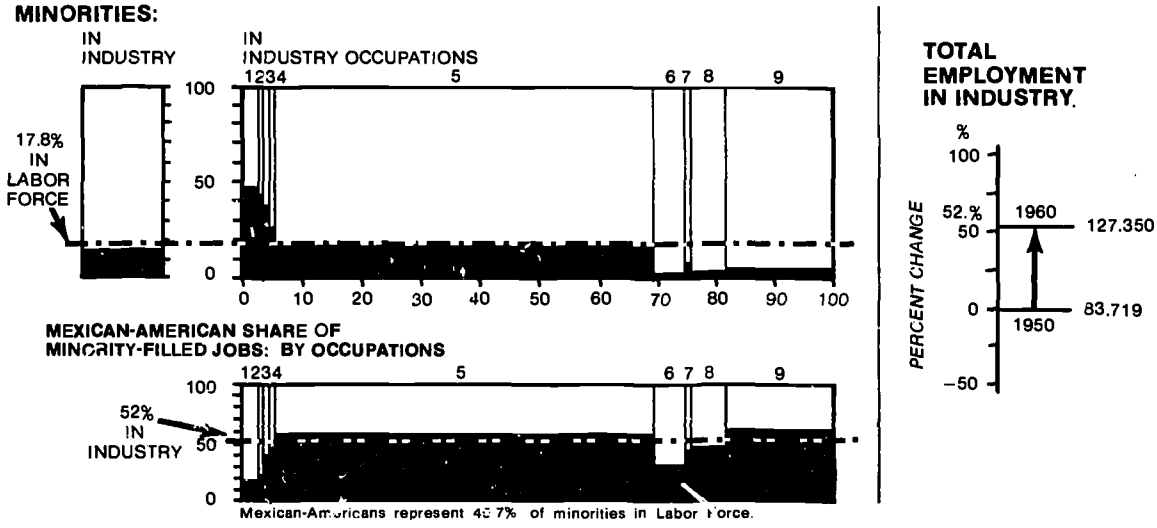
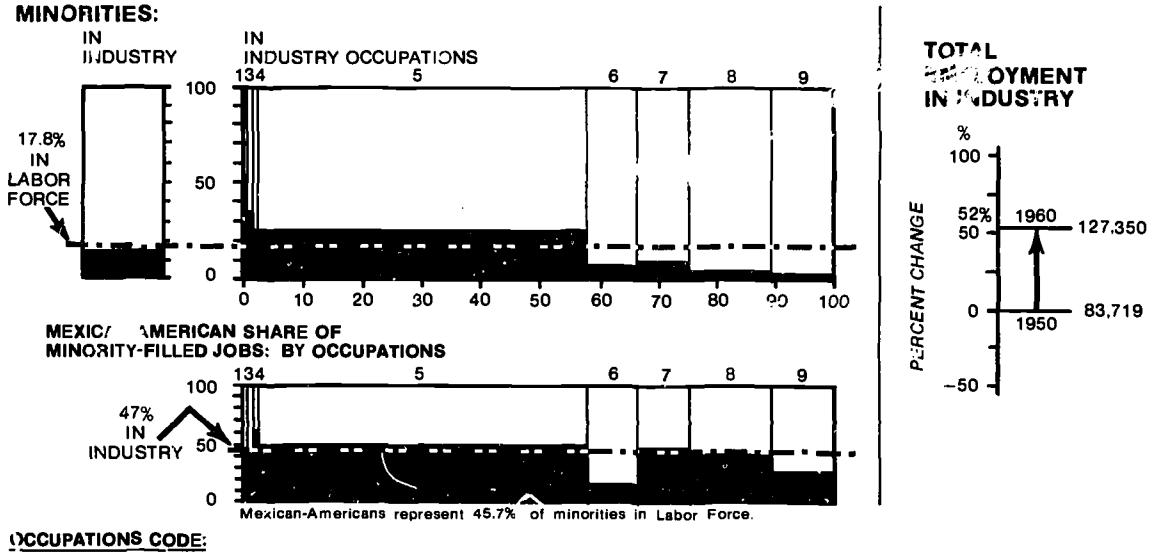
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FINANCE



INSURANCE



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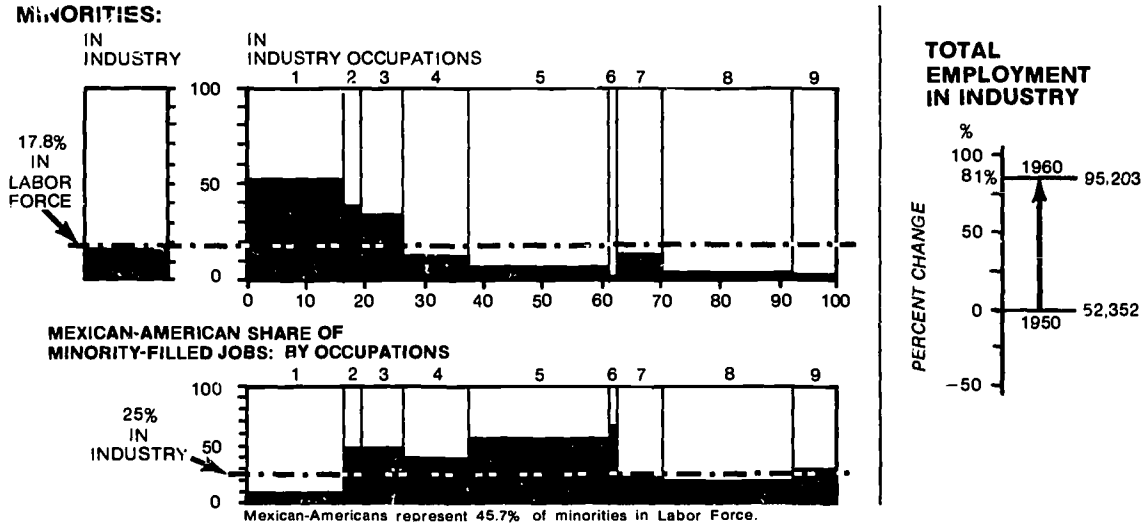
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

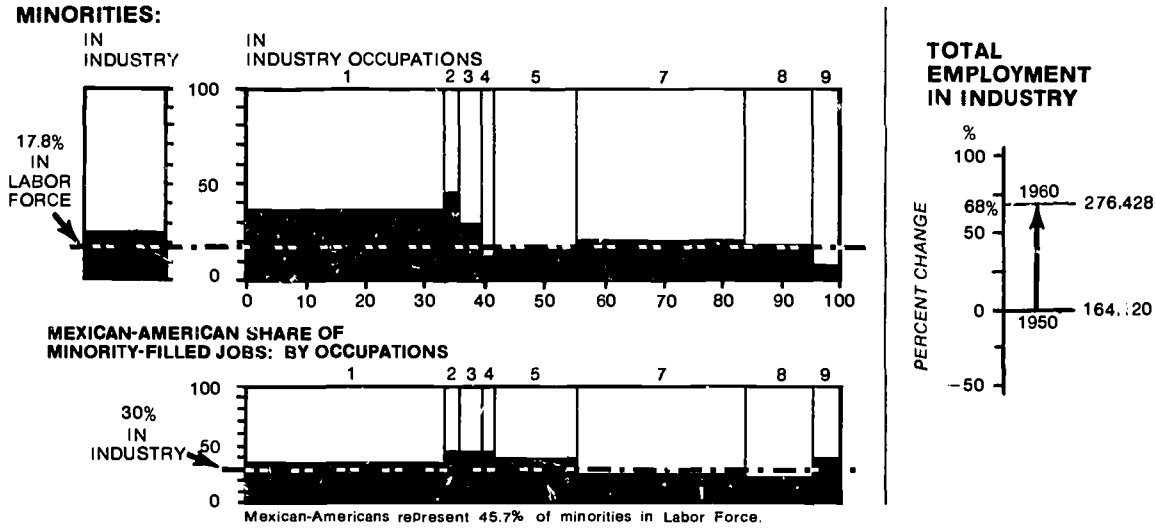
BUSINESS SERVICES



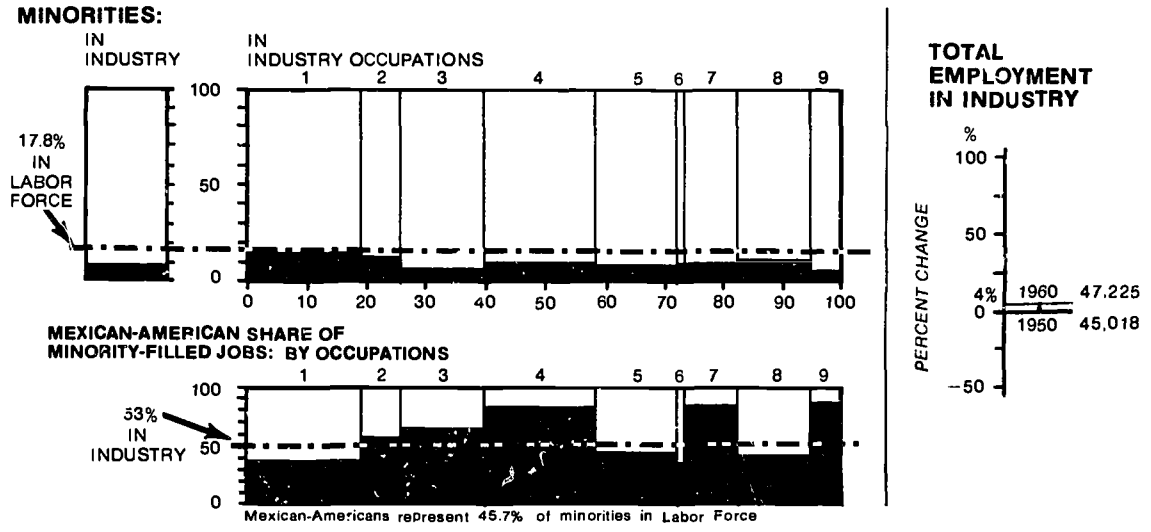
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MEDICAL SERVICES



MOTION PICTURE, AMUSEMENT/RECREATION SERVICES



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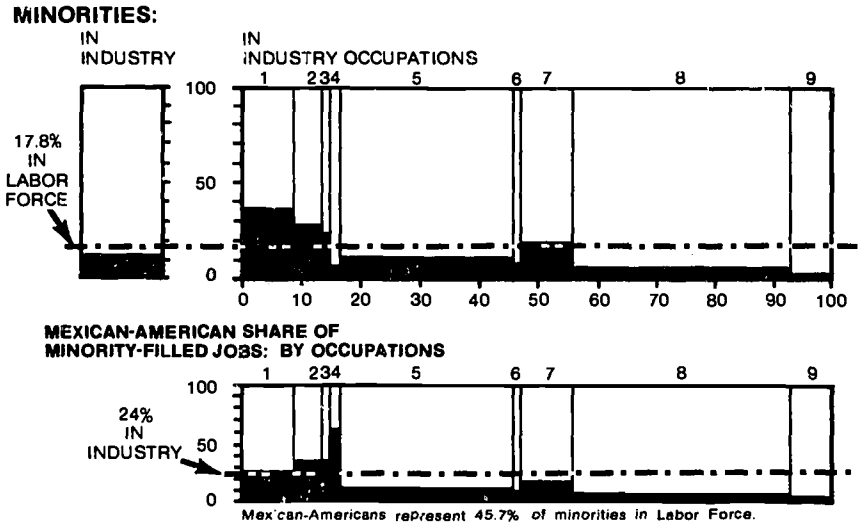
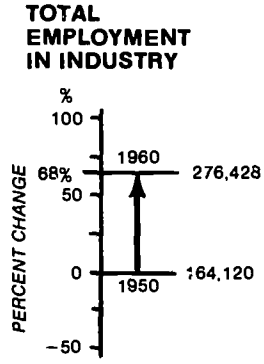
LOS ANGELES COUNTY, CALIF.

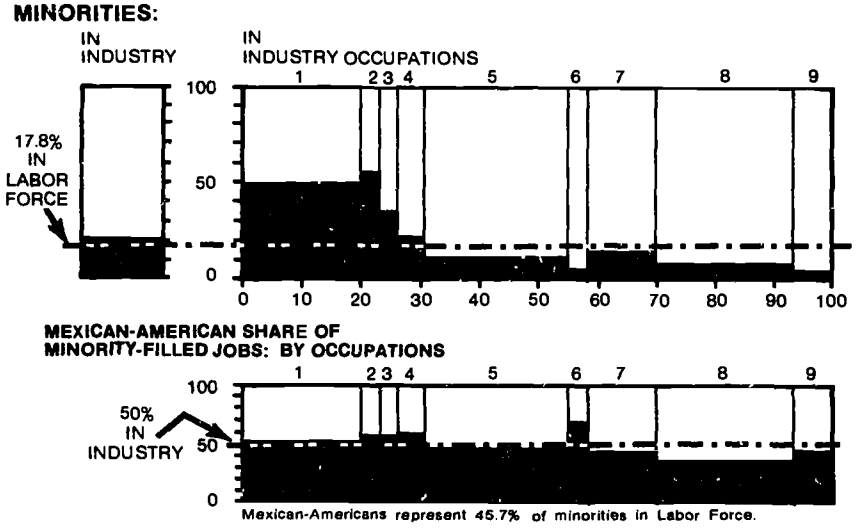
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

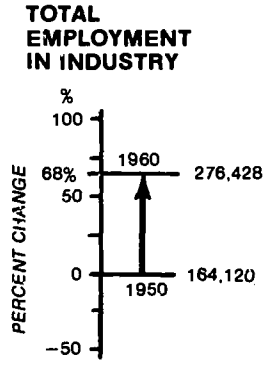
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES





MISCELLANEOUS/OTHER SERVICES





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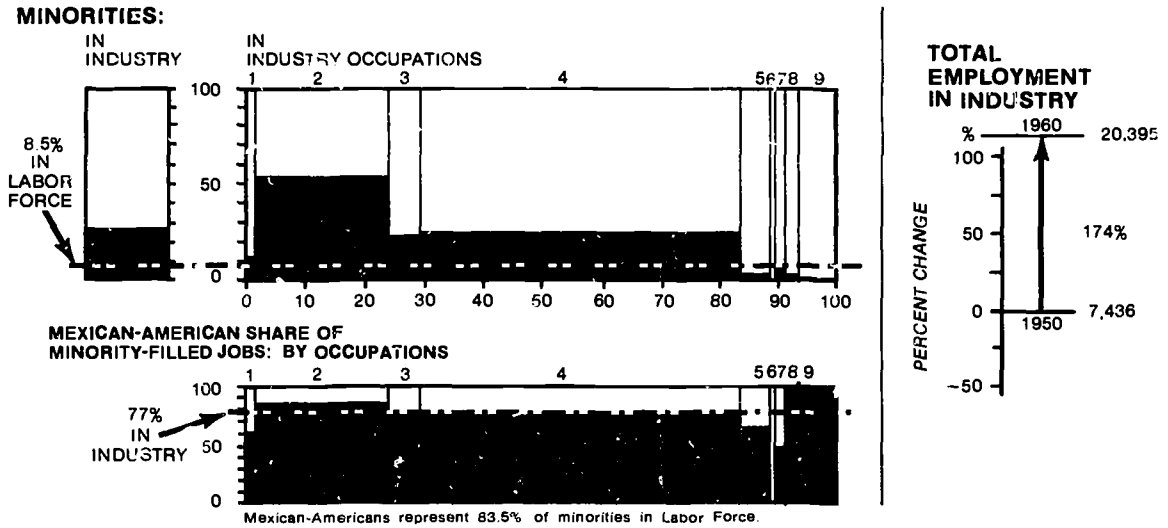
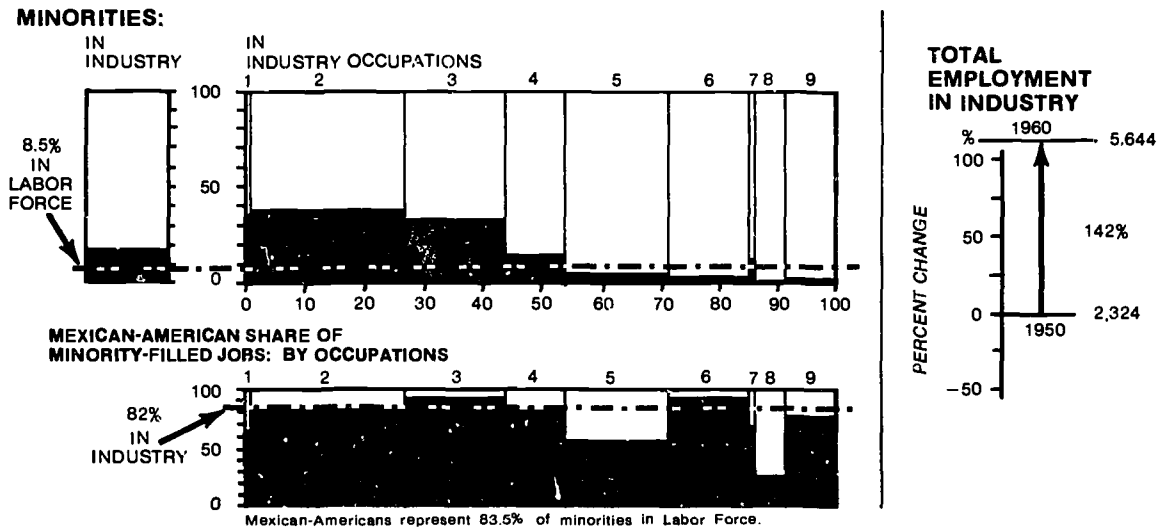
ORANGE COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



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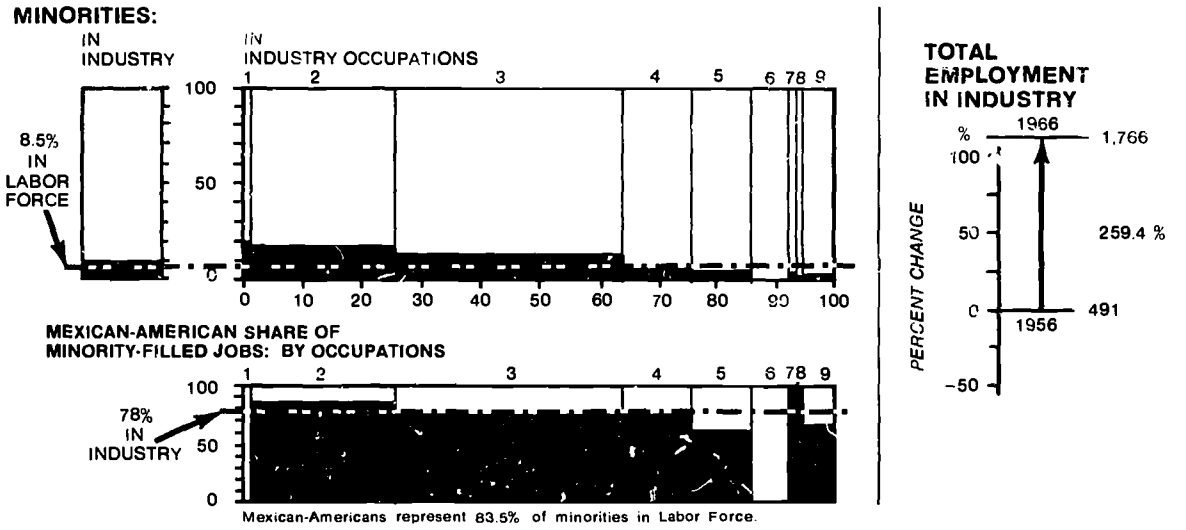
ORANGE COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PAPER/ALLIED PRODUCTS



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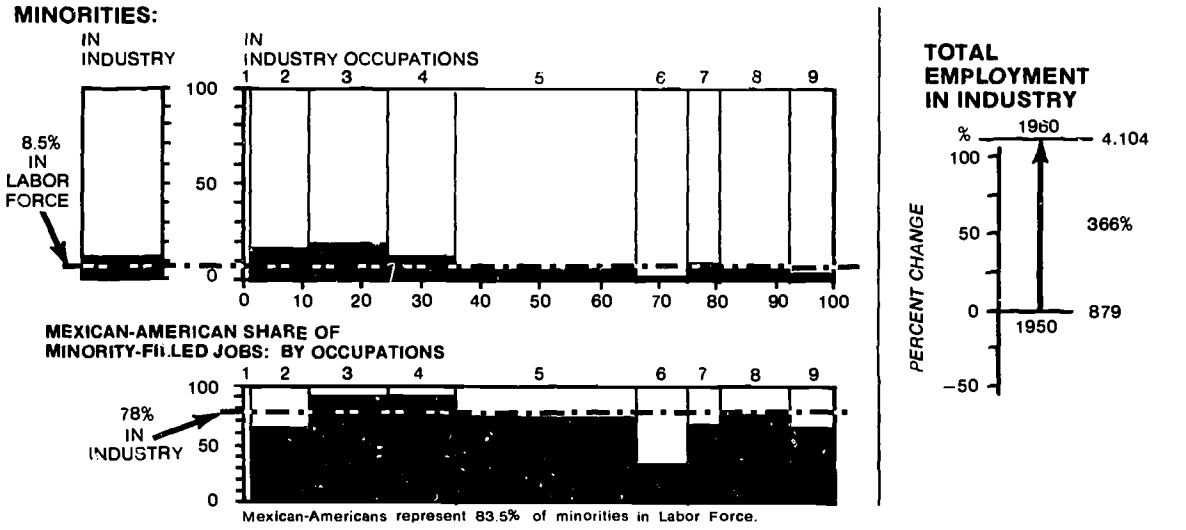

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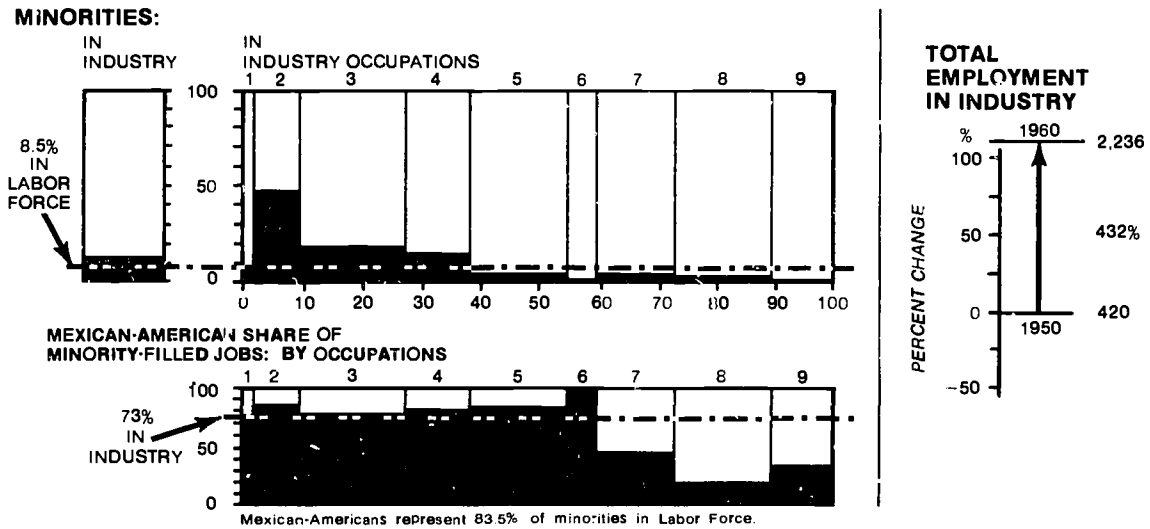
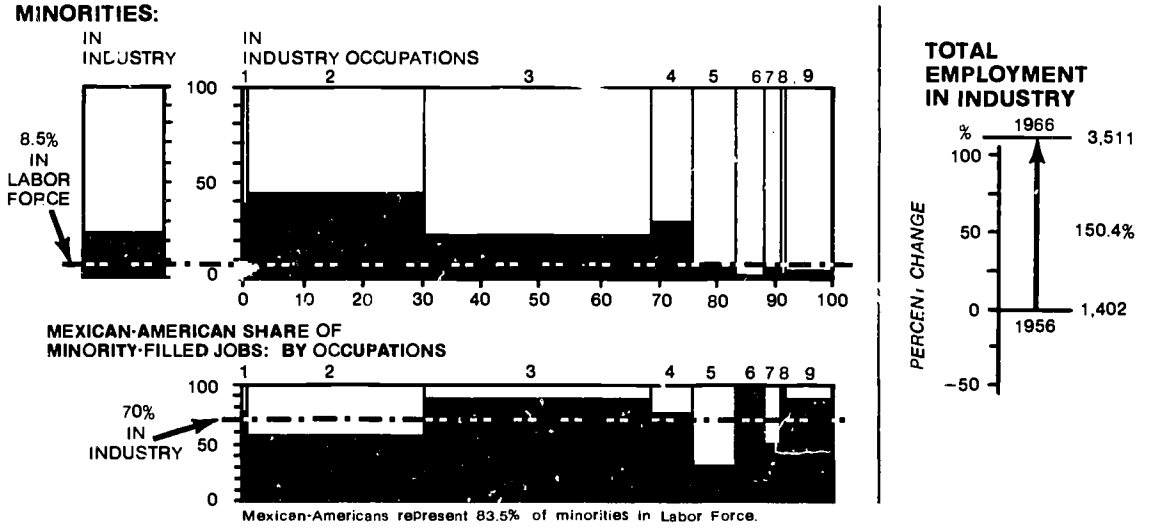
ORANGE COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CHEMICALS/ALLIED PRODUCTS



RUBBER/PLASTIC PRODUCTS



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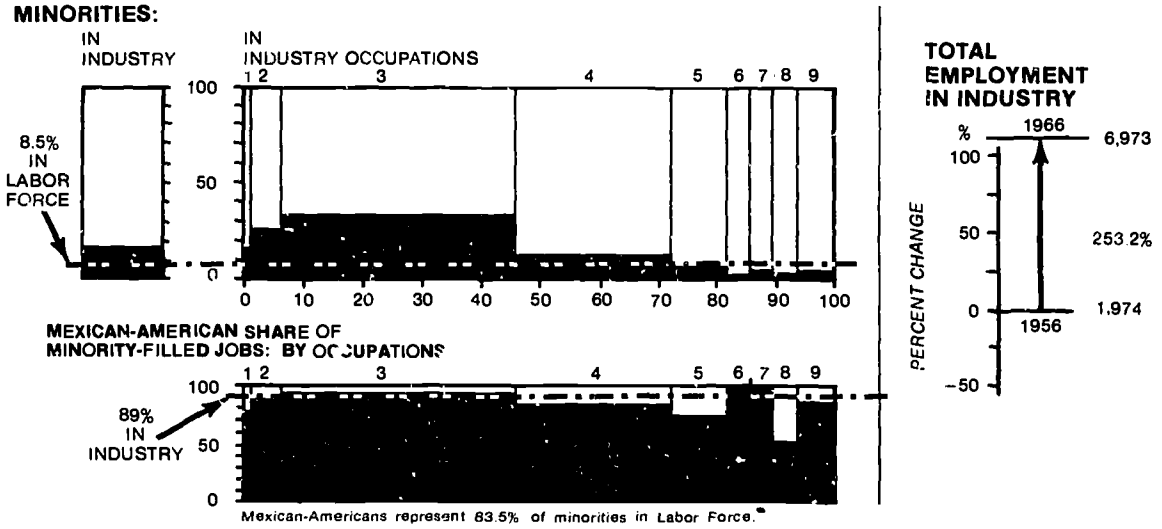
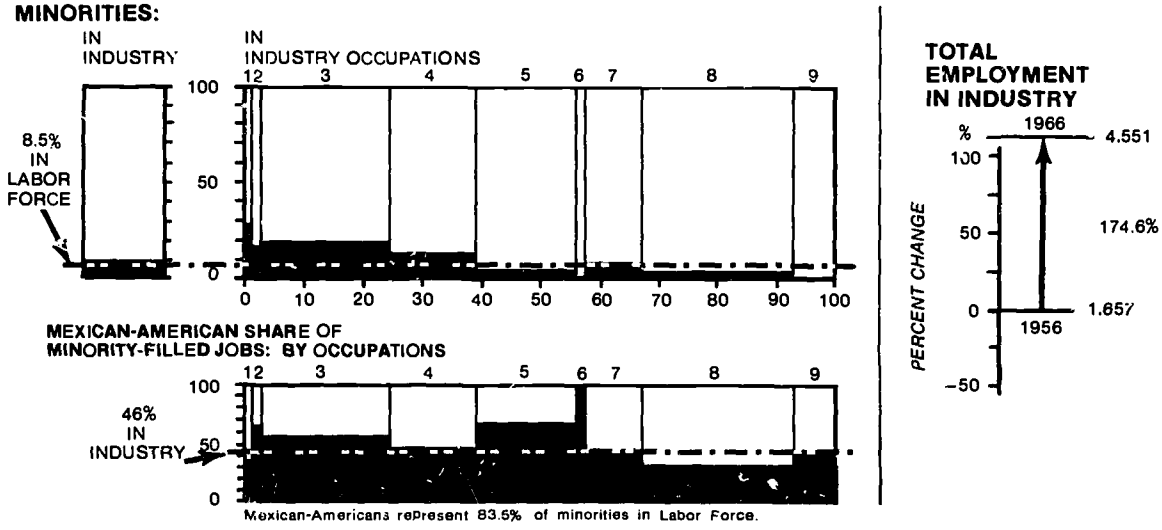
ORANGE COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS



MACHINERY (NON-ELECTRIC)



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3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

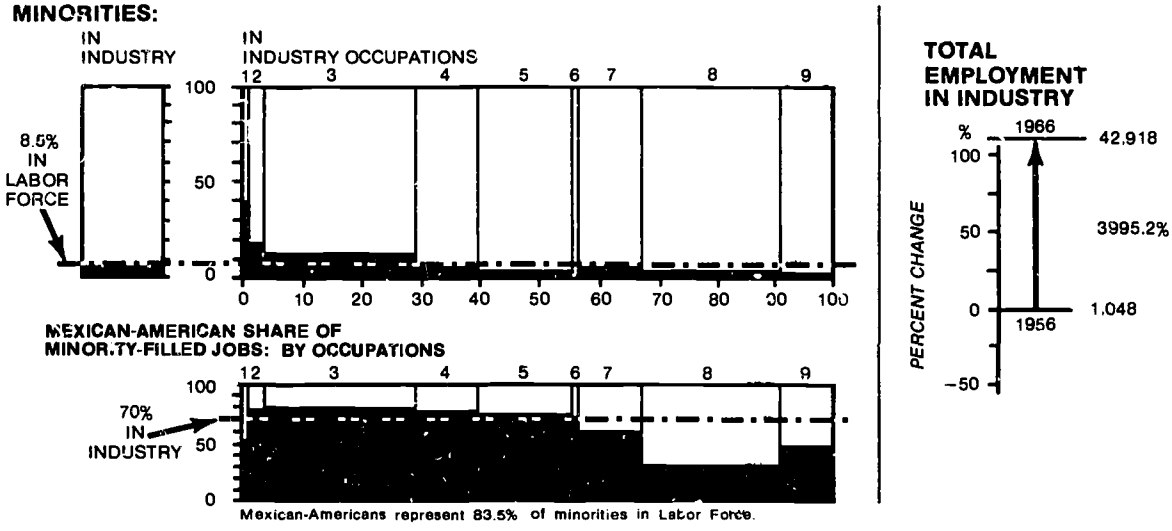
WHITE COLLAR:

5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

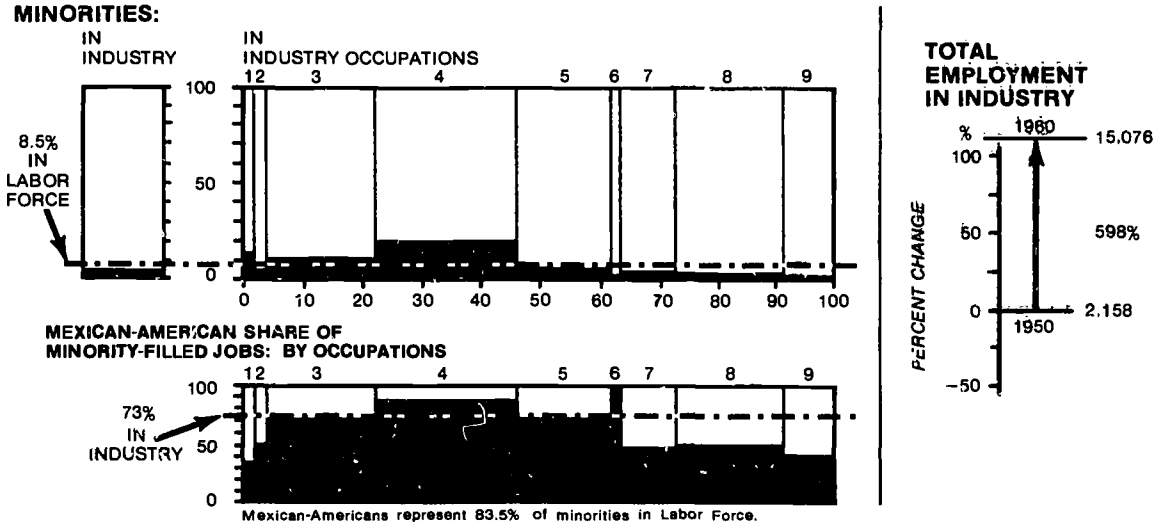
ORANGE COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ELECTRONIC MACHINERY EQUIPMENT/SUPPLIES



TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT



OCCUPATIONS CODE:

BLUE COLLAR:

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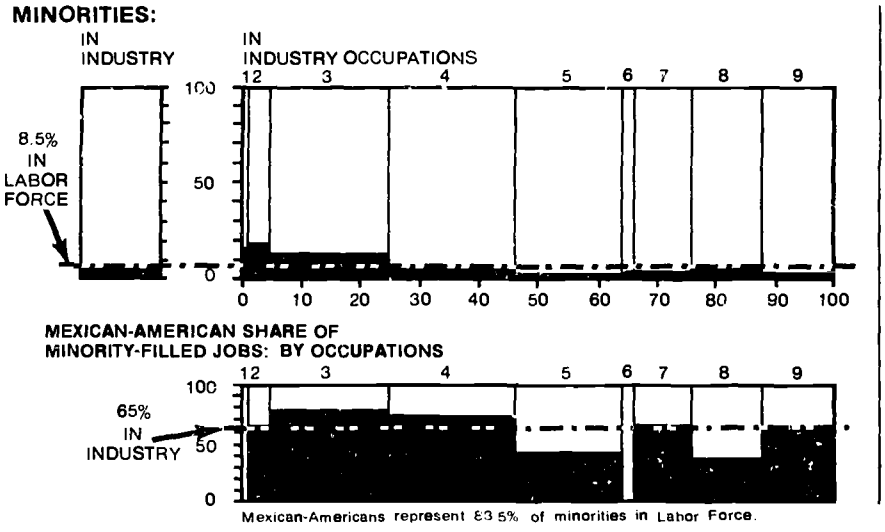
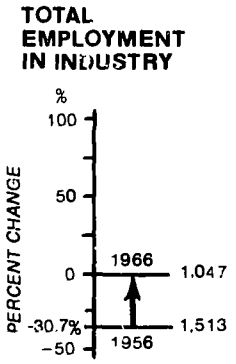
ORANGE COUNTY, CALIF.

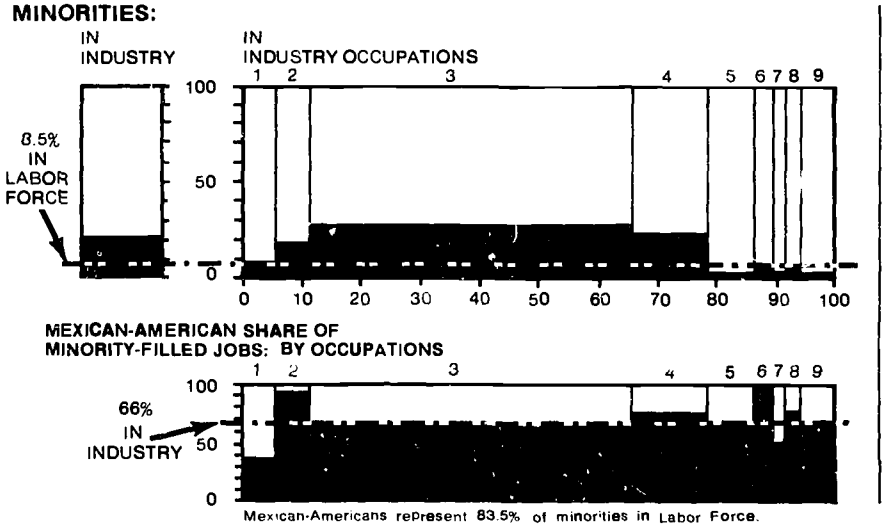
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

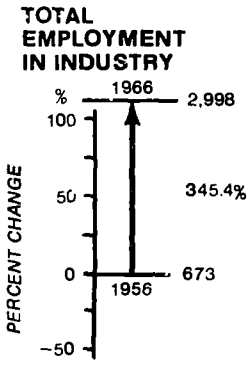
INSTRUMENTS/RELATED PRODUCTS





MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURING





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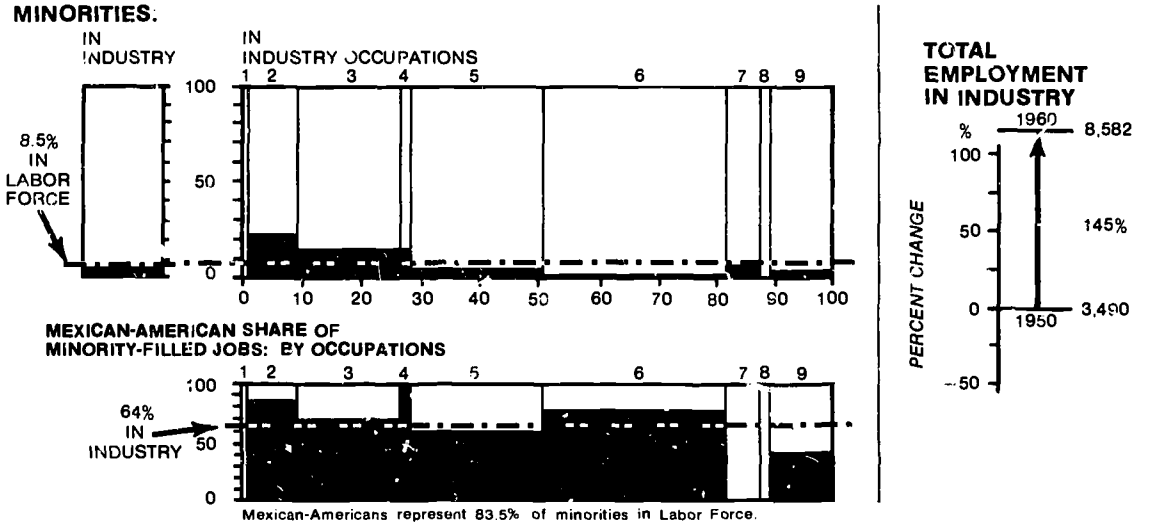
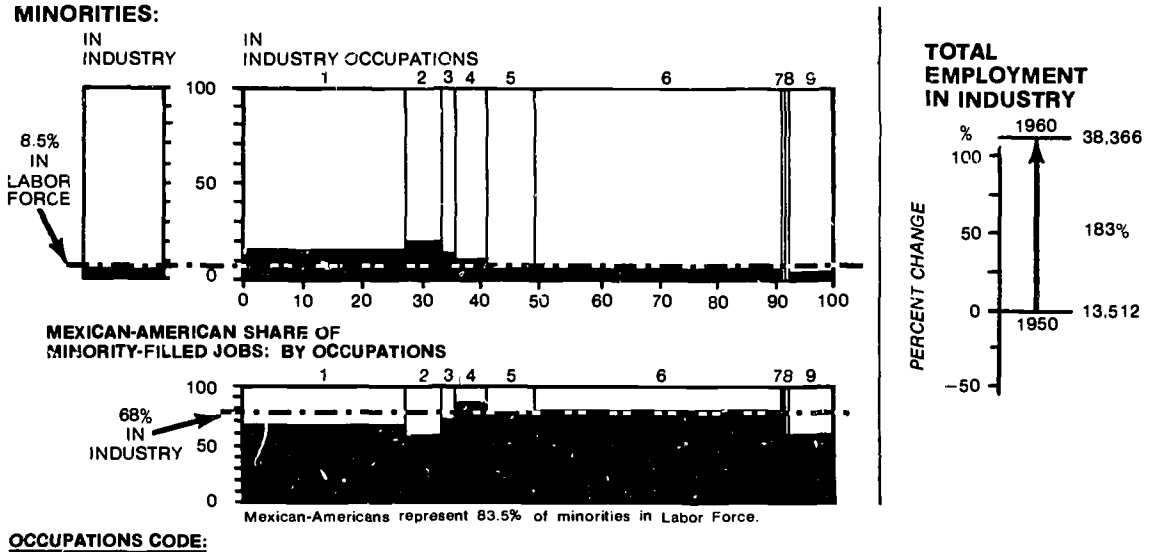
ORANGE COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

WHOLESALE TRADE



RETAIL TRADE



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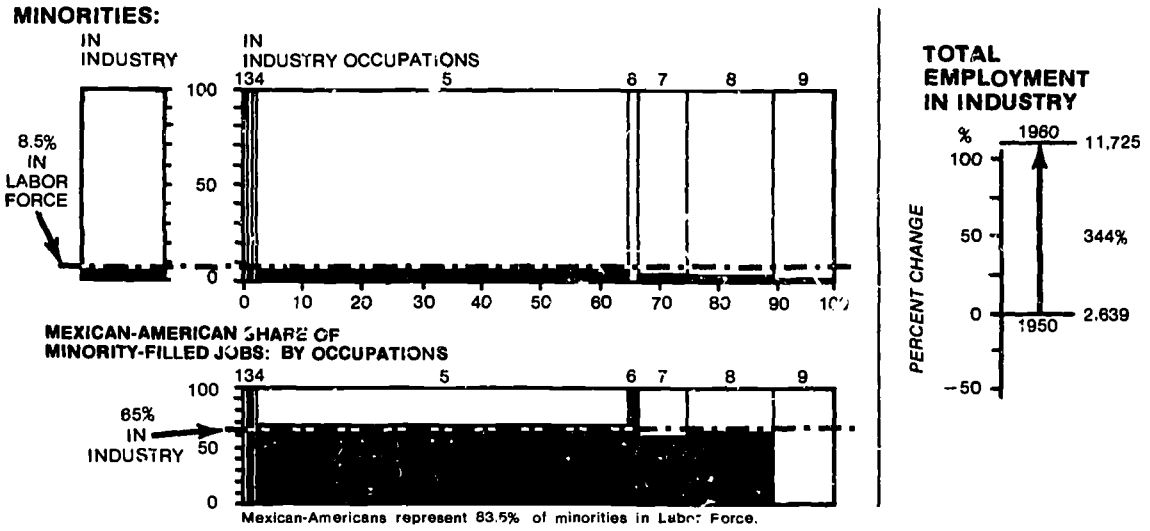
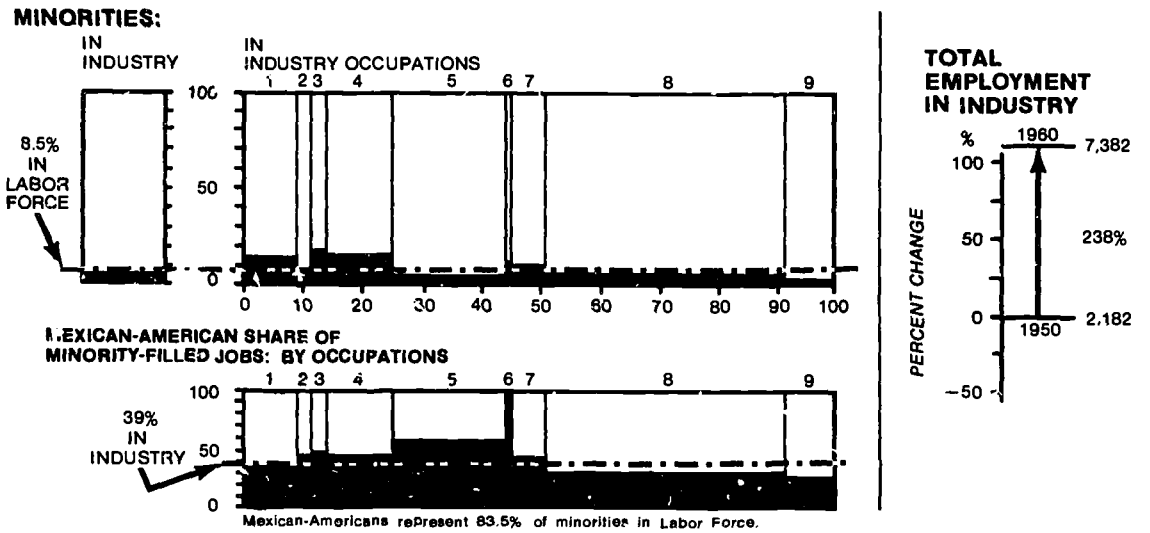
ORANGE COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

INSURANCE



BUSINESS SERVICES



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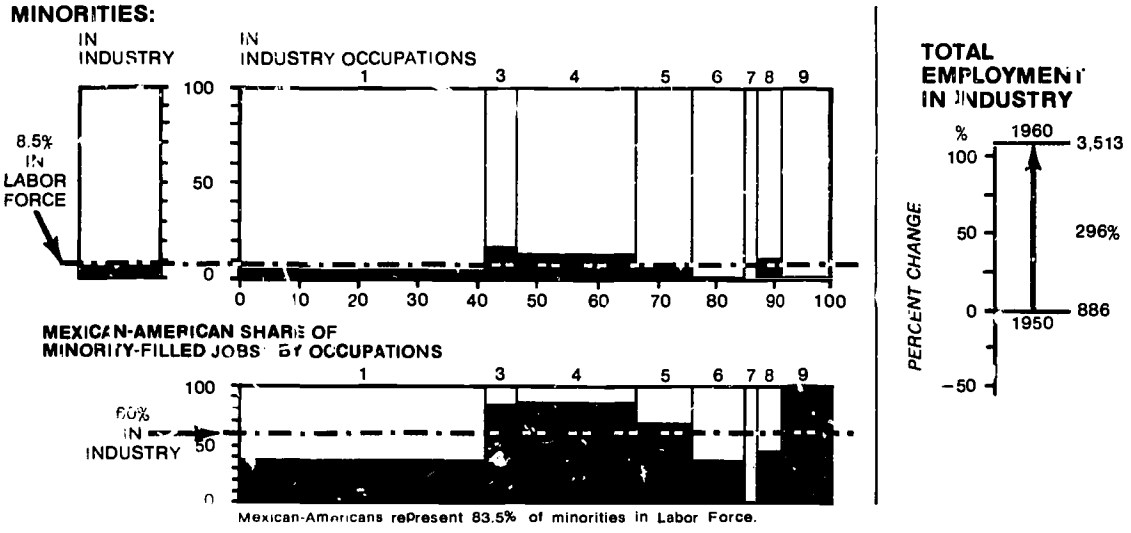
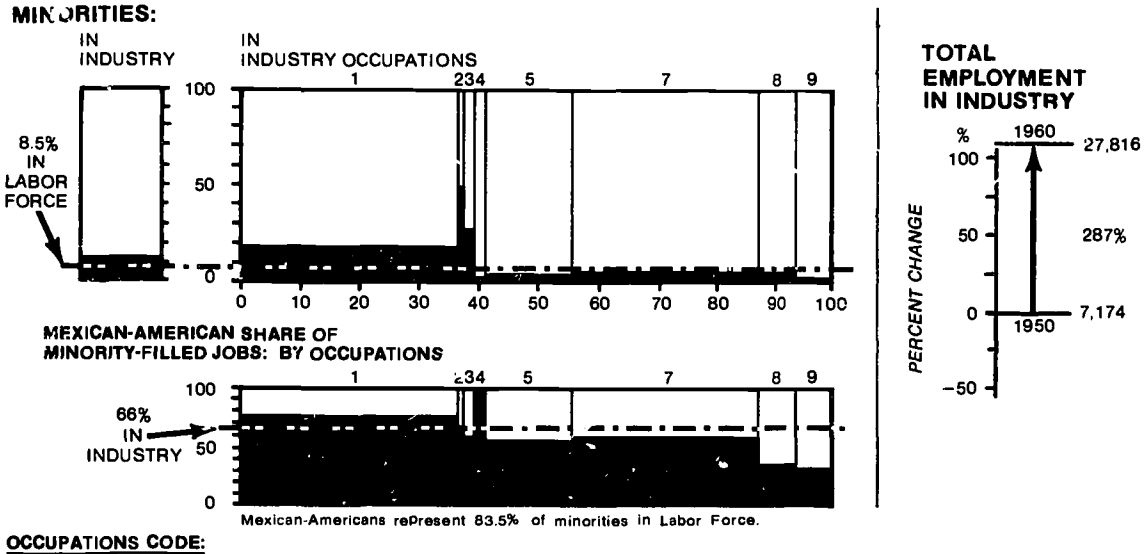
ORANGE COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MOTION PICTURE, AMUSEMENT/RECREATION SVS.



MEDICAL SERVICES



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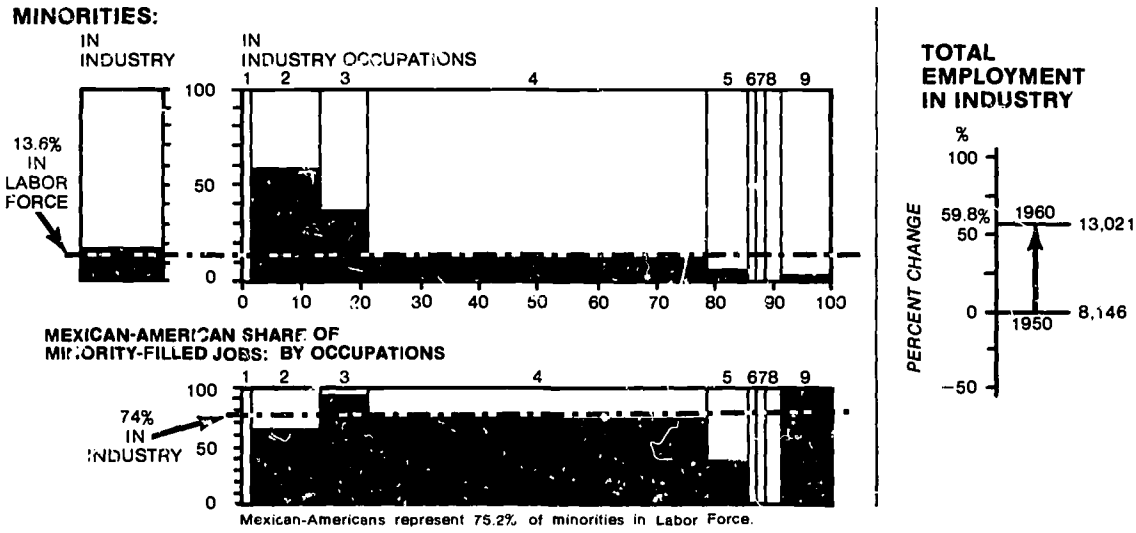
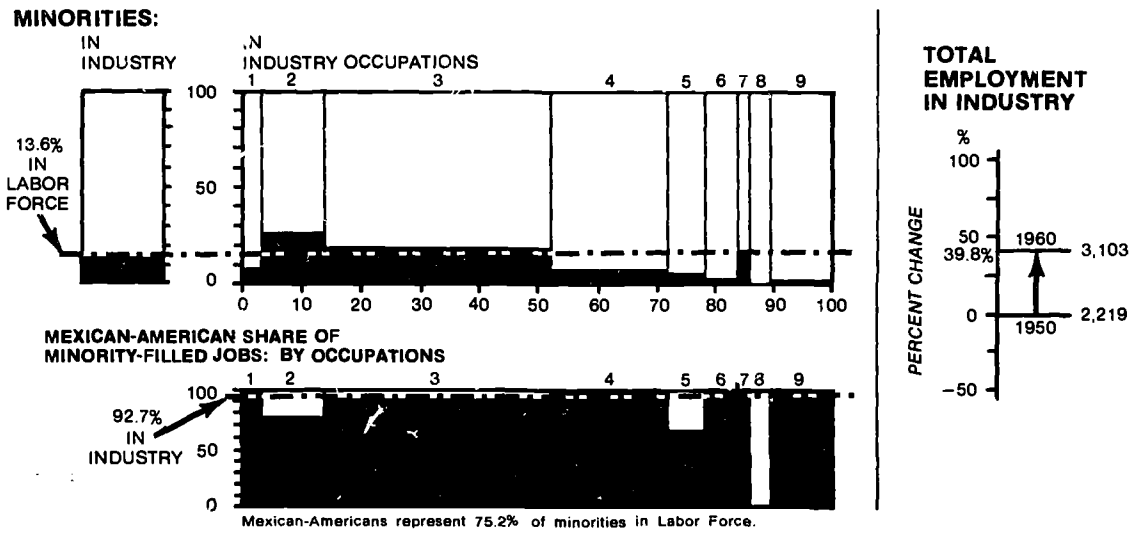
SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



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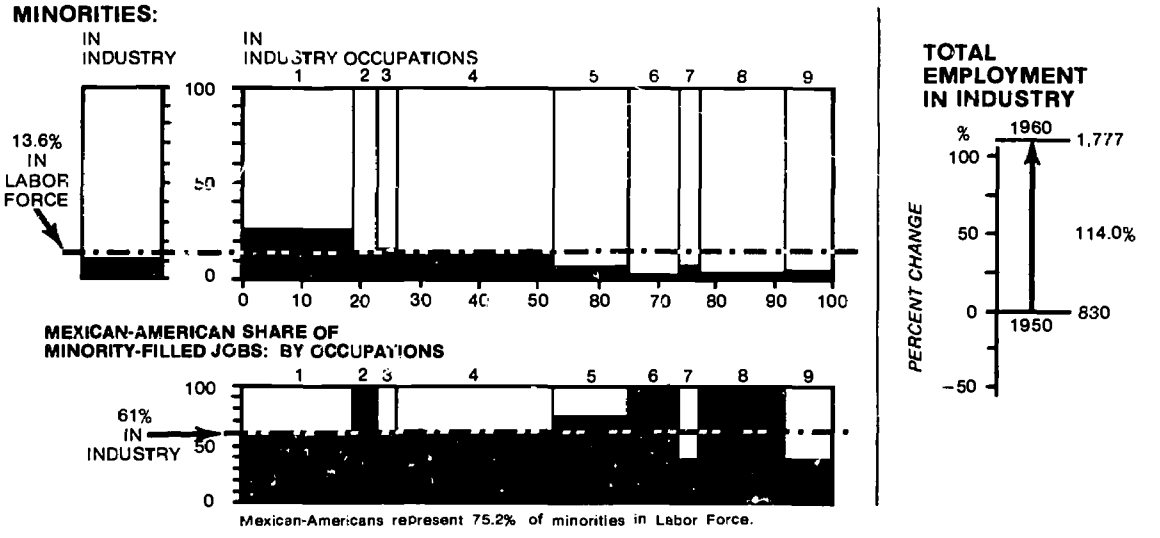
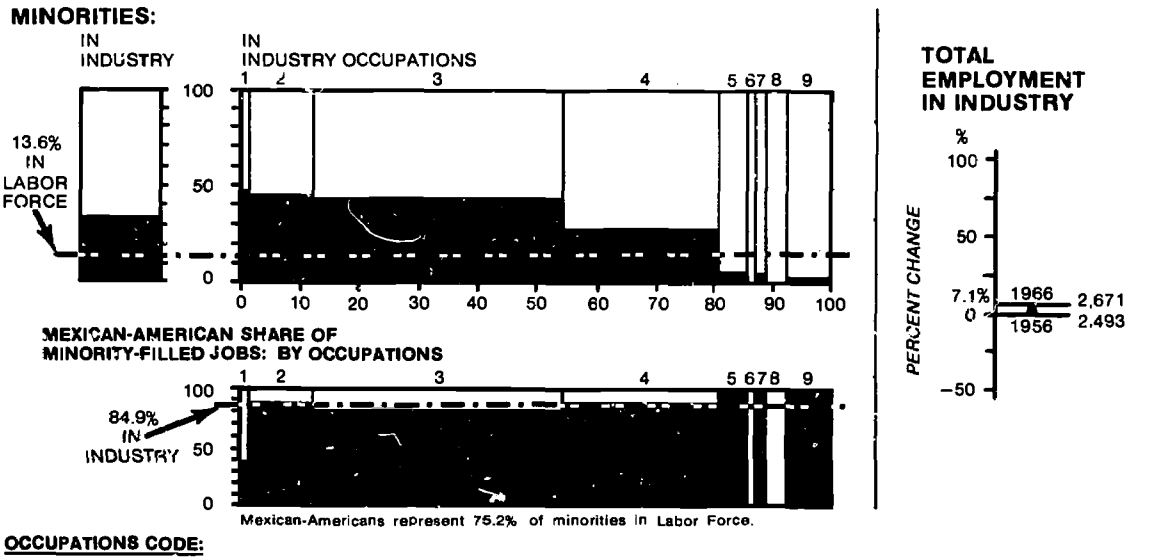
SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PRINTING/PUBLISHING



STONE CLAY/GLASS PRODUCTS



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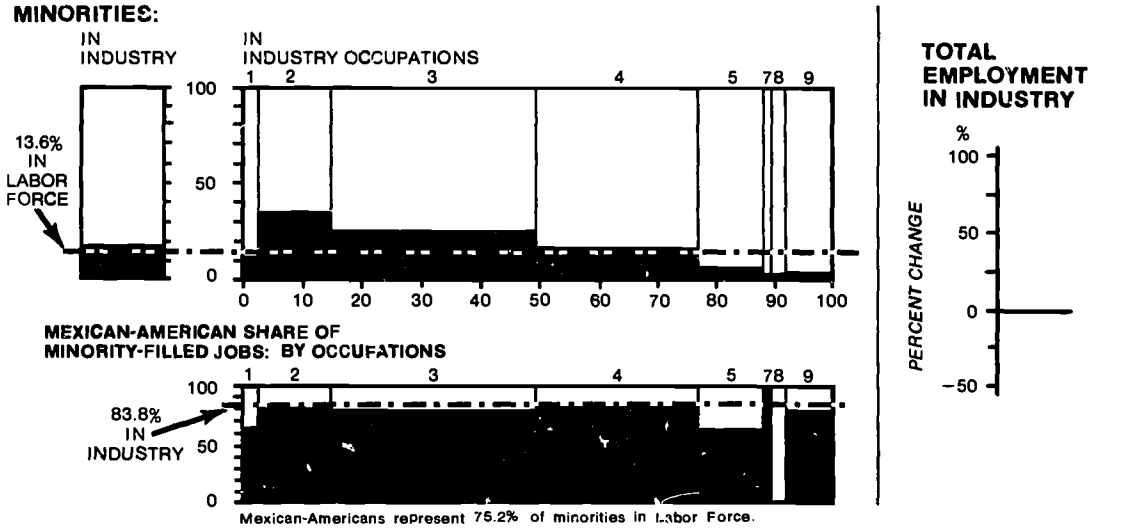
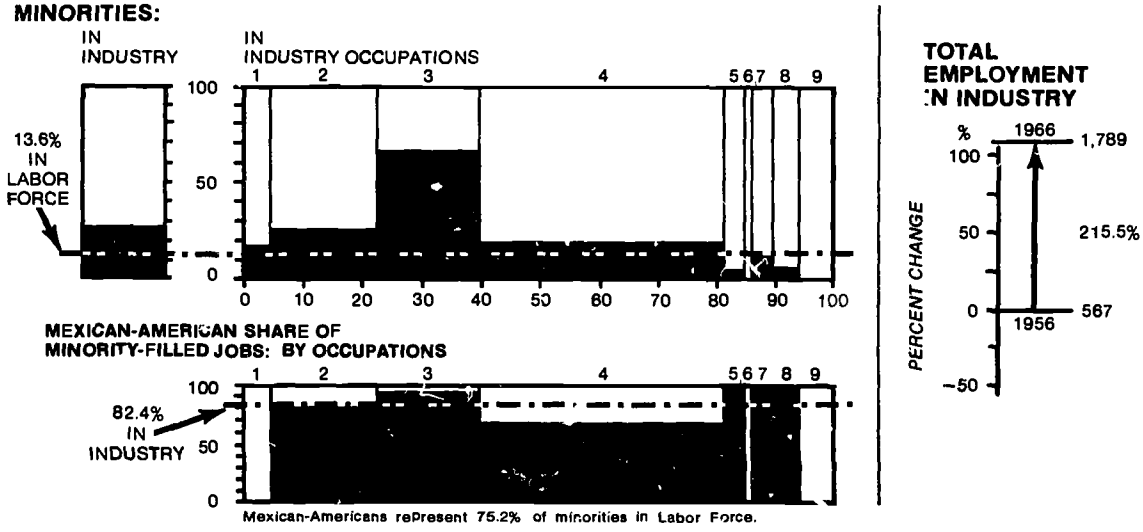
SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PRIMARY METAL INDUSTRIES



FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS



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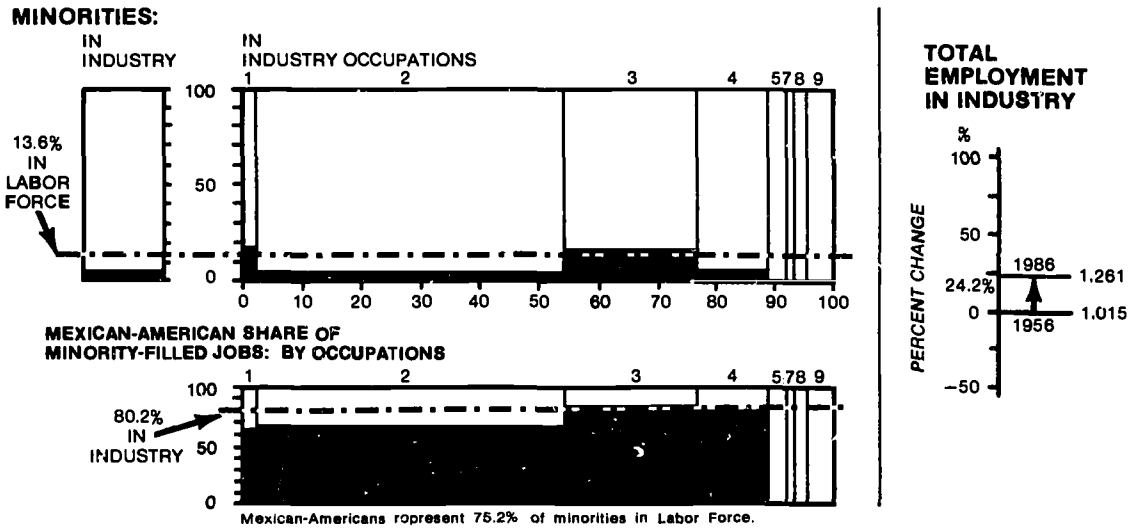
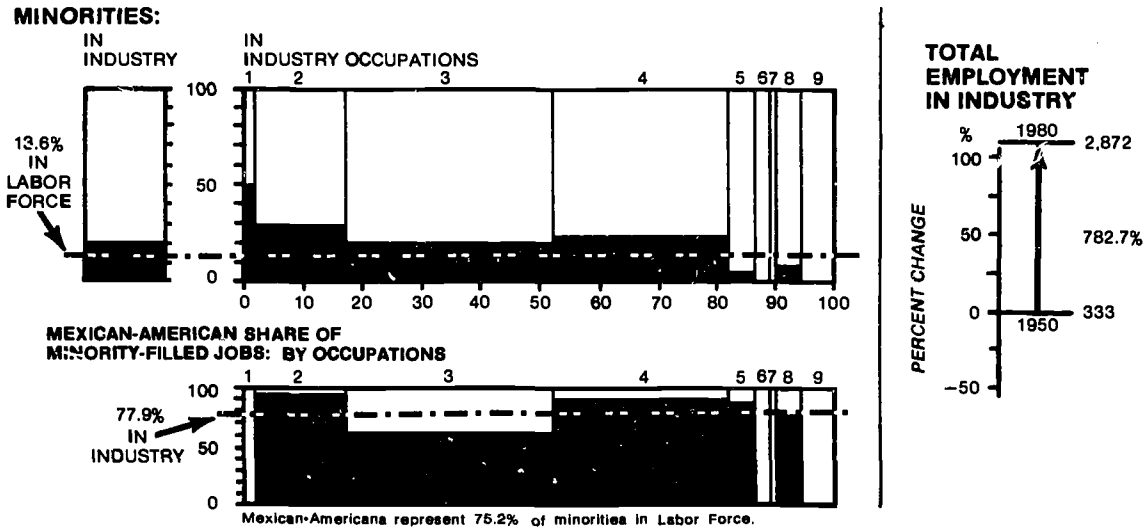
SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ELECTRONIC MACHINERY EQUIPMENT/SUPPLIES



TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT



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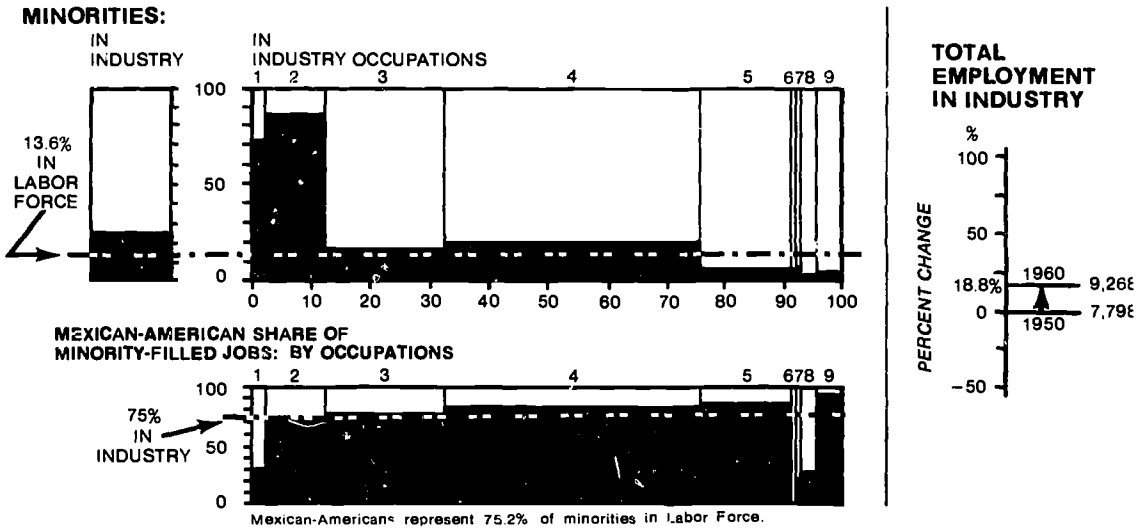
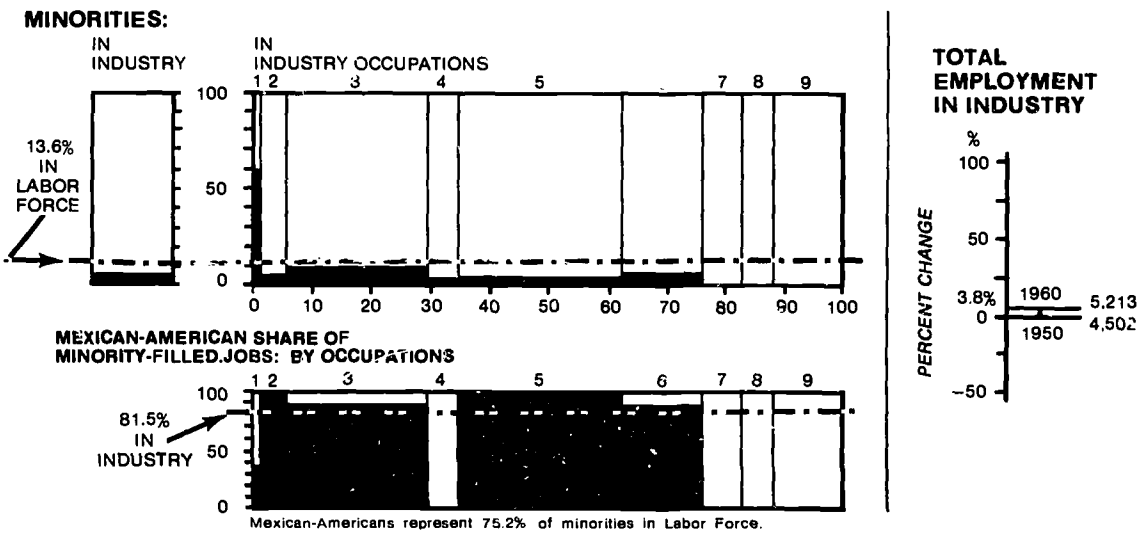
SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

TRANSPORTATION



WHOLESALE TRADE



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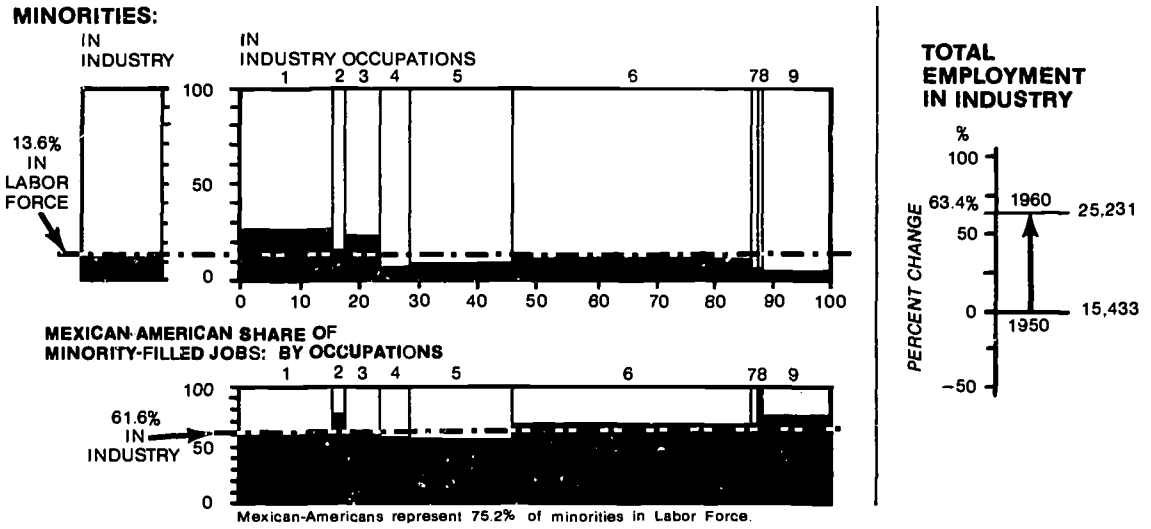
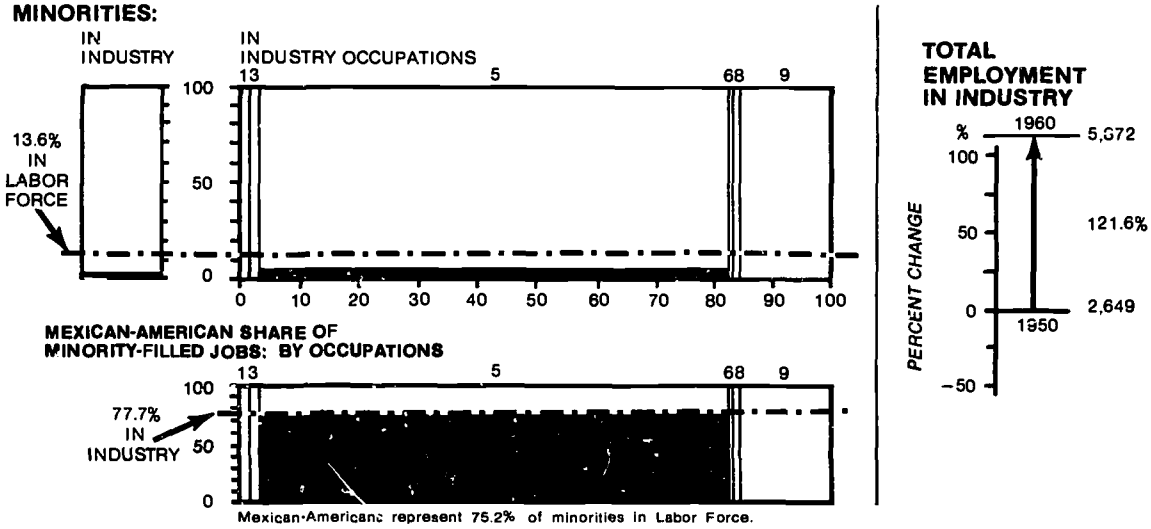
SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

RETAIL TRADE



FINANCE



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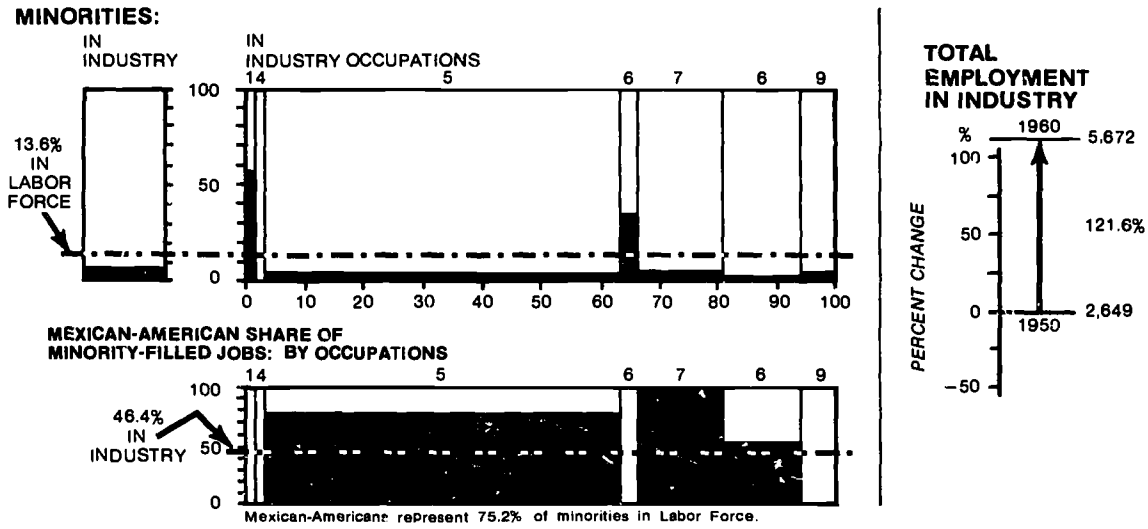
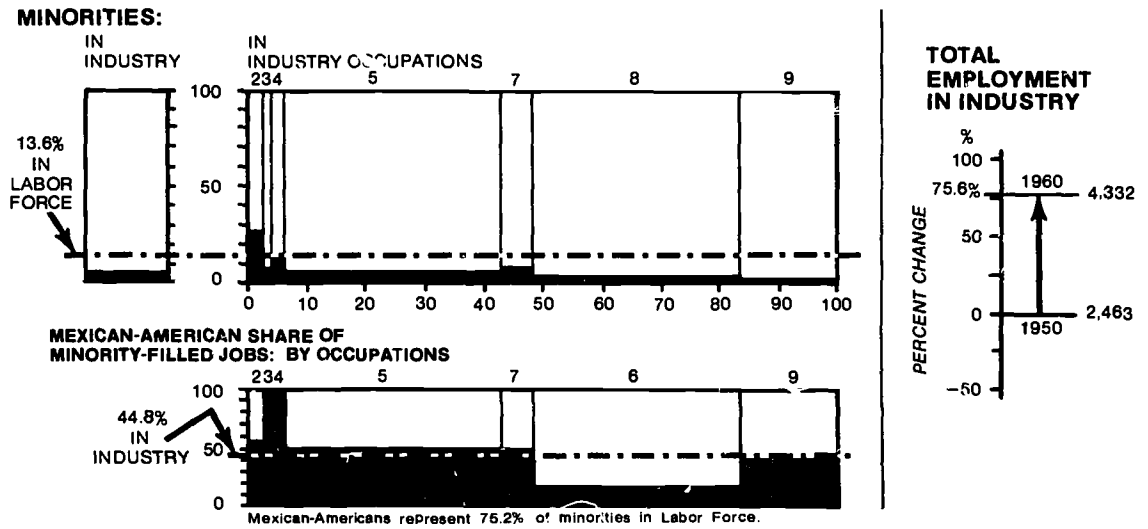
SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

INSURANCE



BUSINESS SERVICES



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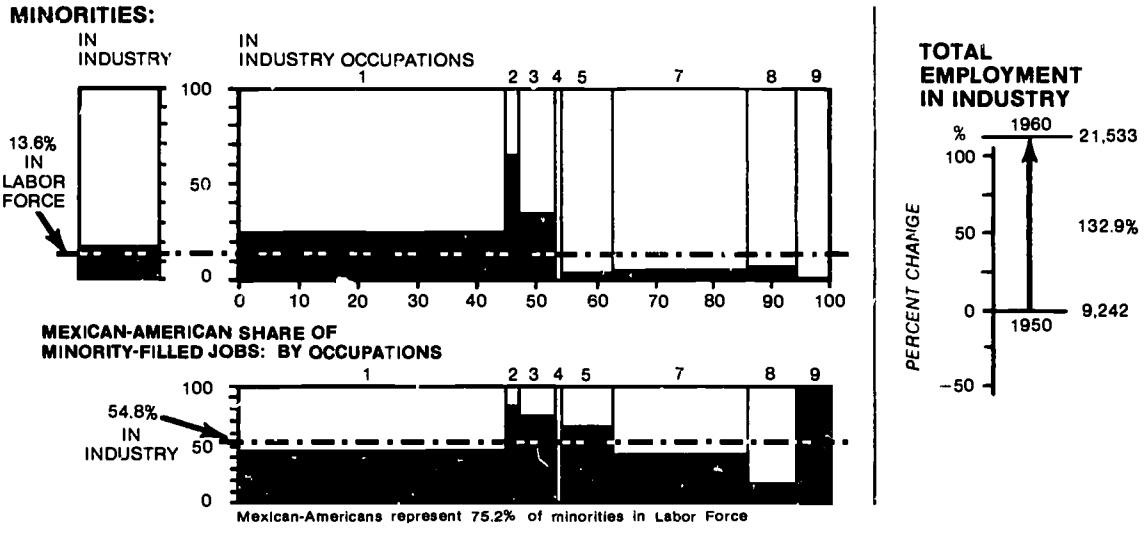
SAN BERNARDINO COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

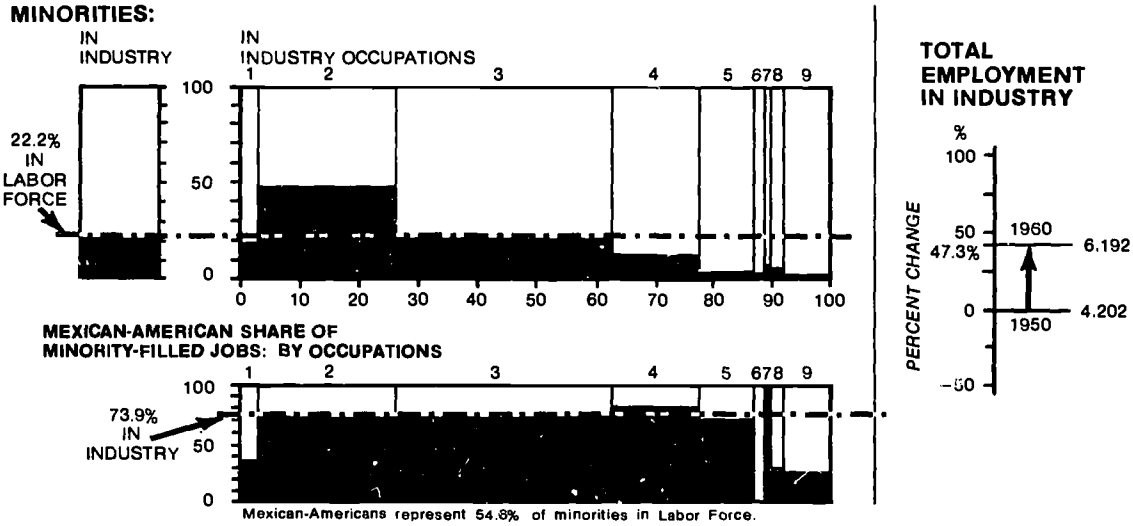
MEDICAL SERVICES



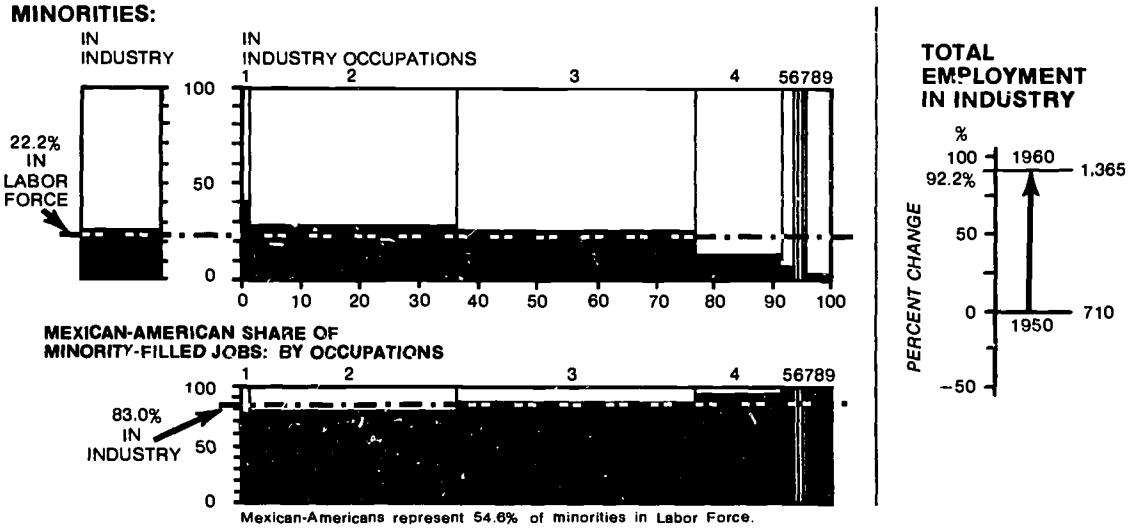
SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



LUMBER/WOOD PRODUCTS



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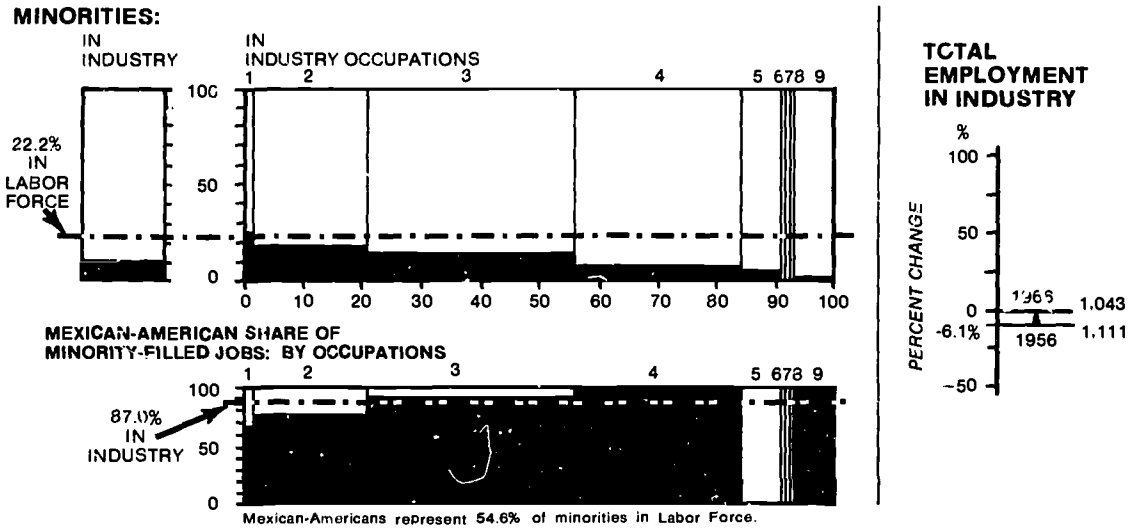
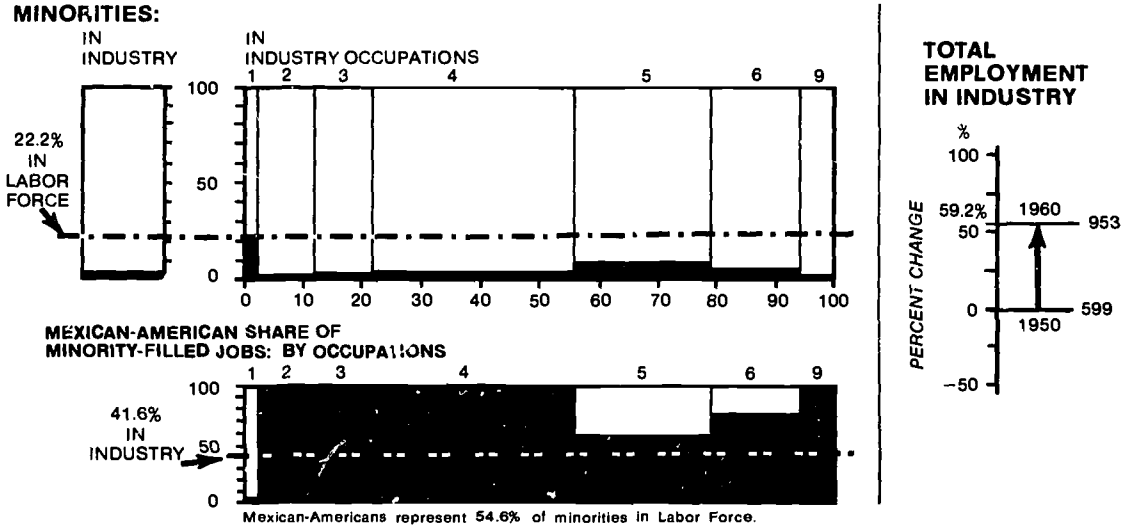
SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PAPER/ALLIED PRODUCTS



PRINTING/PUBLISHING



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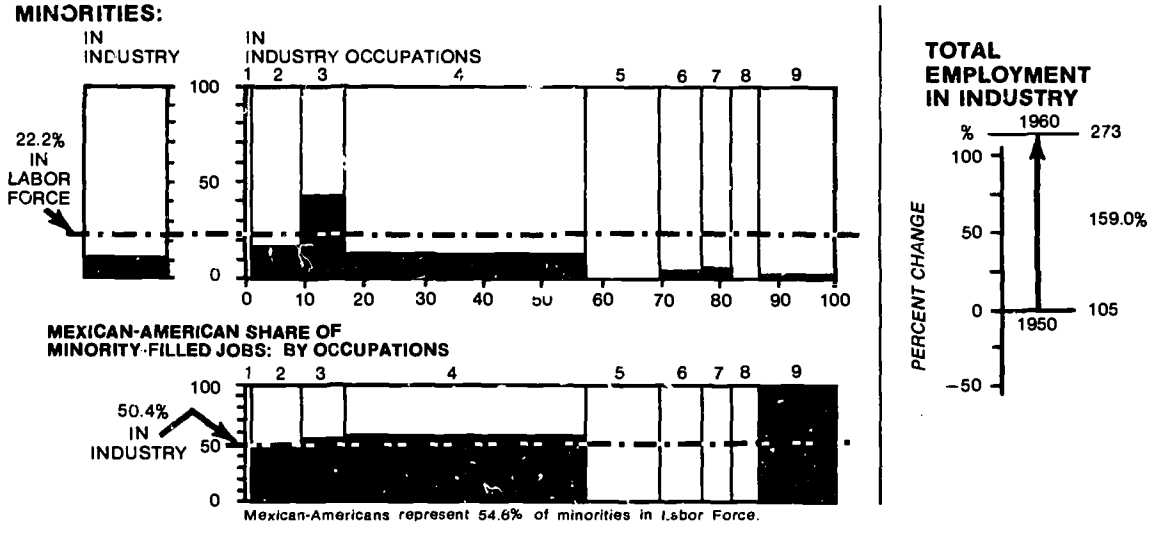
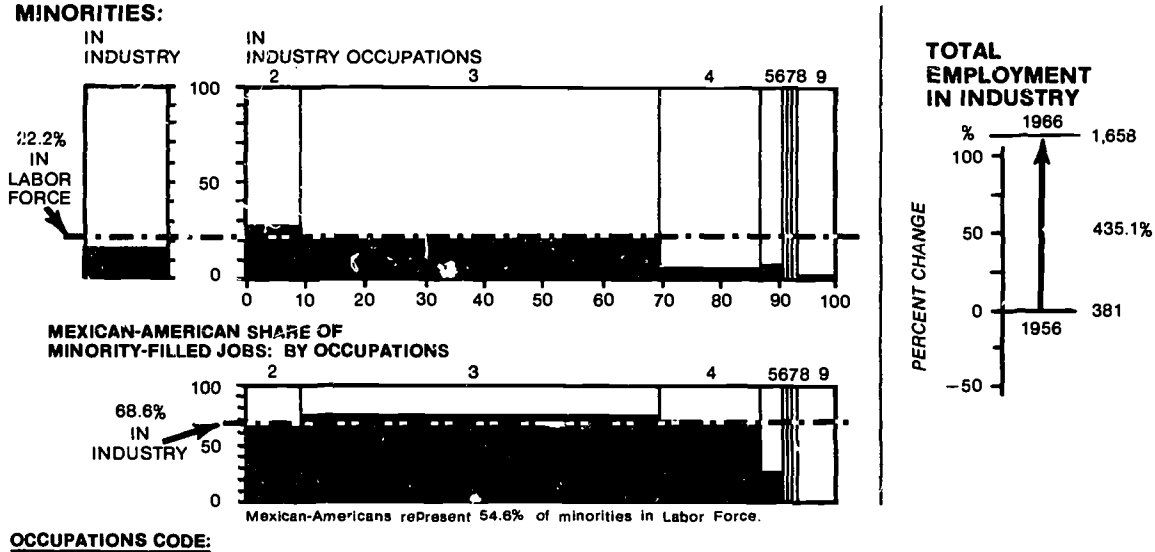
SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CHEMICALS/ALLIED PRODUCTS



STONE, CLAY/GLASS PRODUCTS



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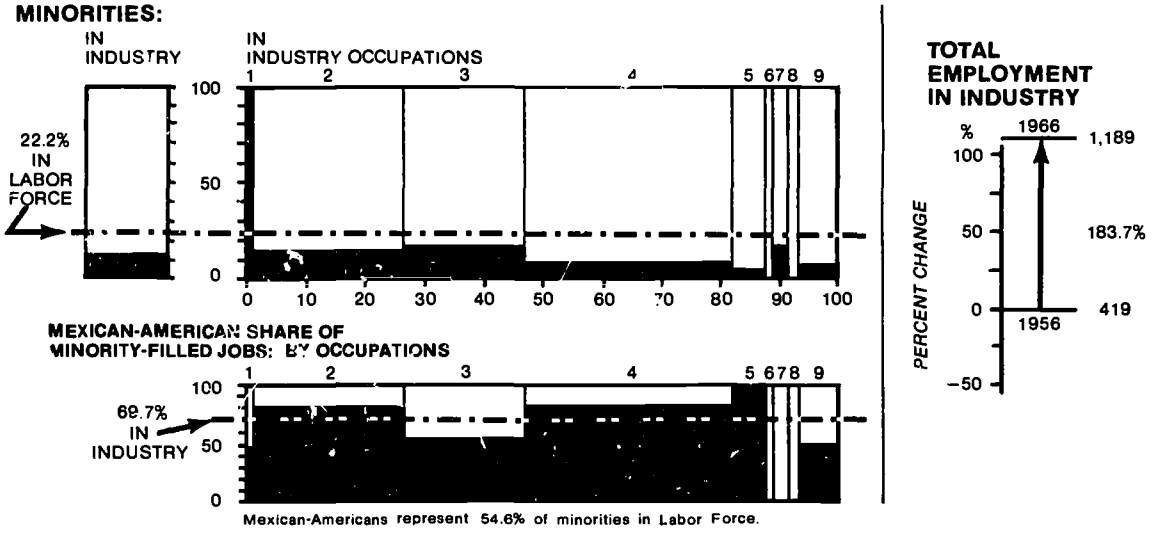
SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY, CALIF.

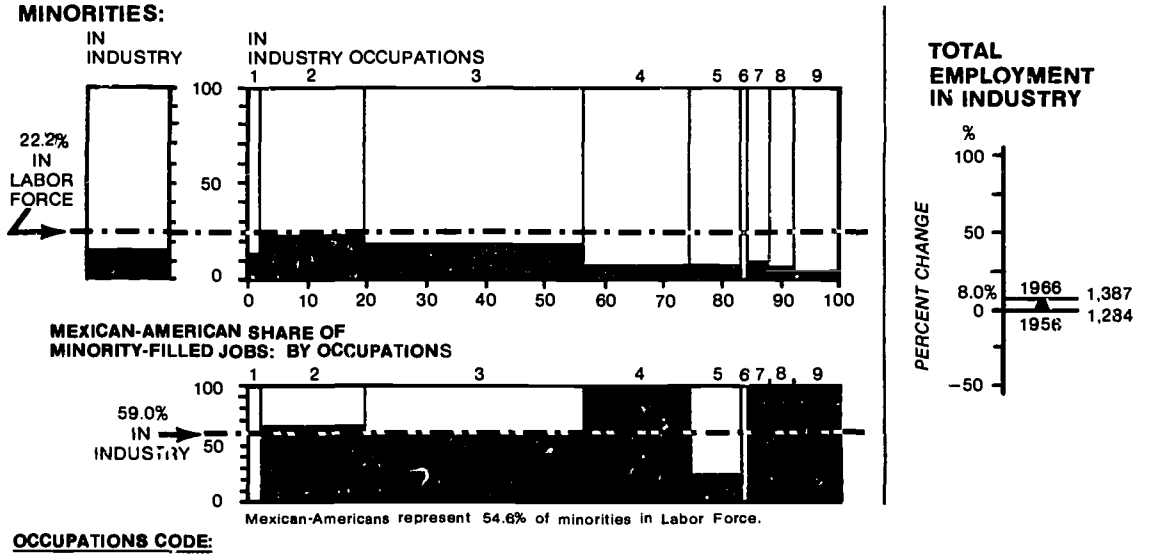
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS



Mexican-Americans represent 54.6% of minorities in Labor Force.

MACHINERY (NON-ELECTRIC)



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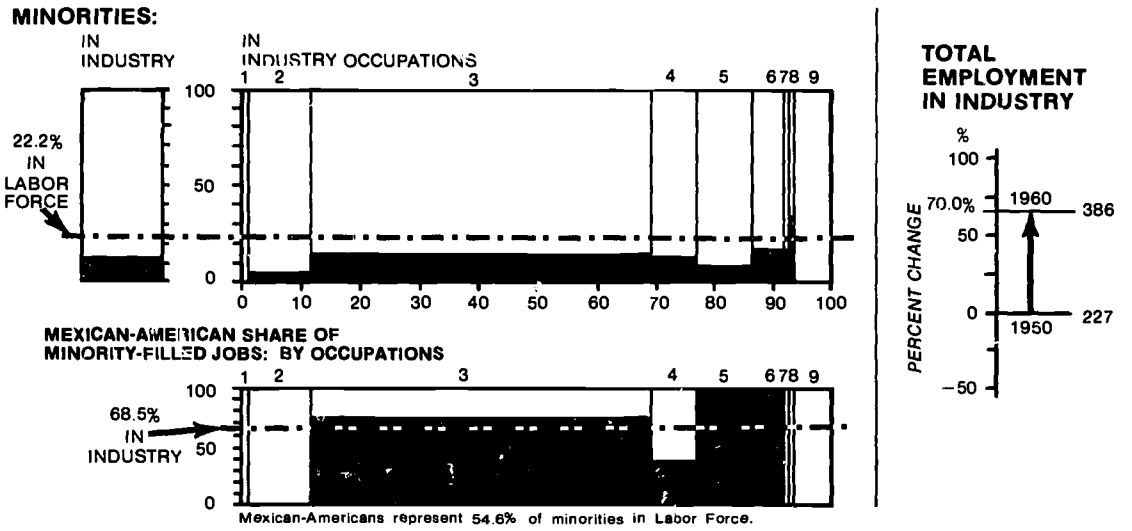
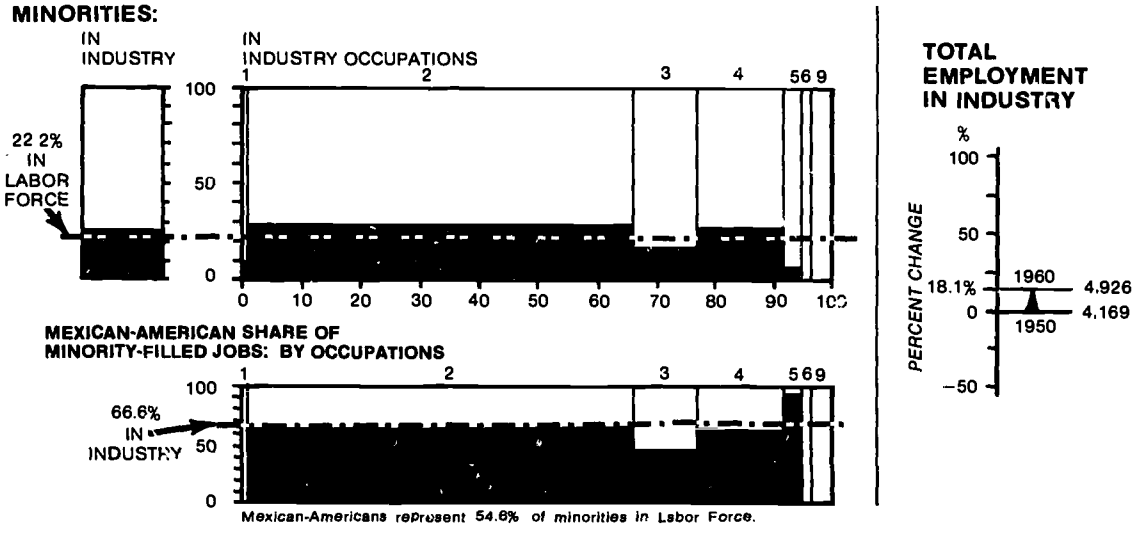
SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT



TRANSPORTATION



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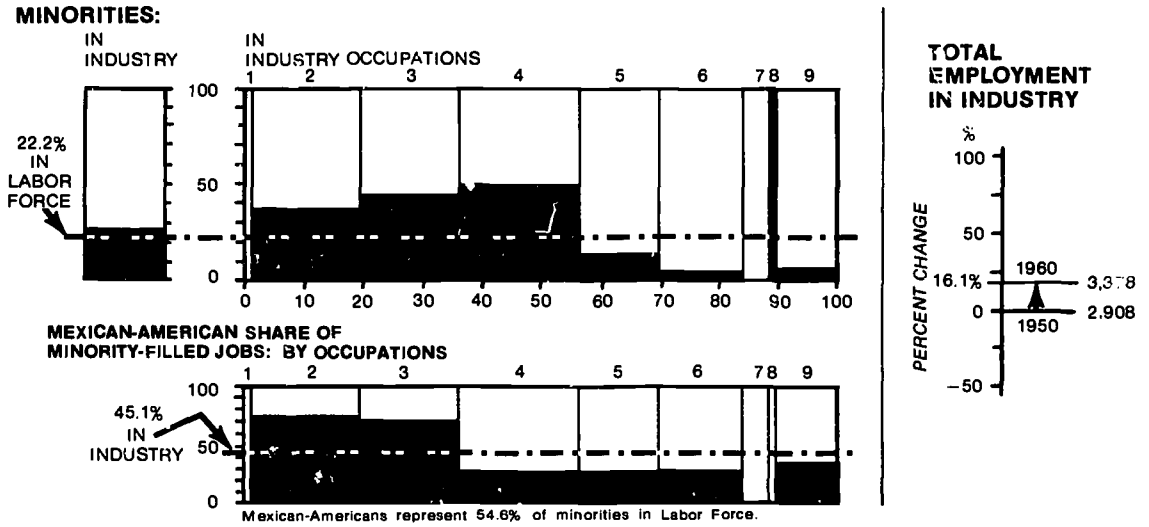
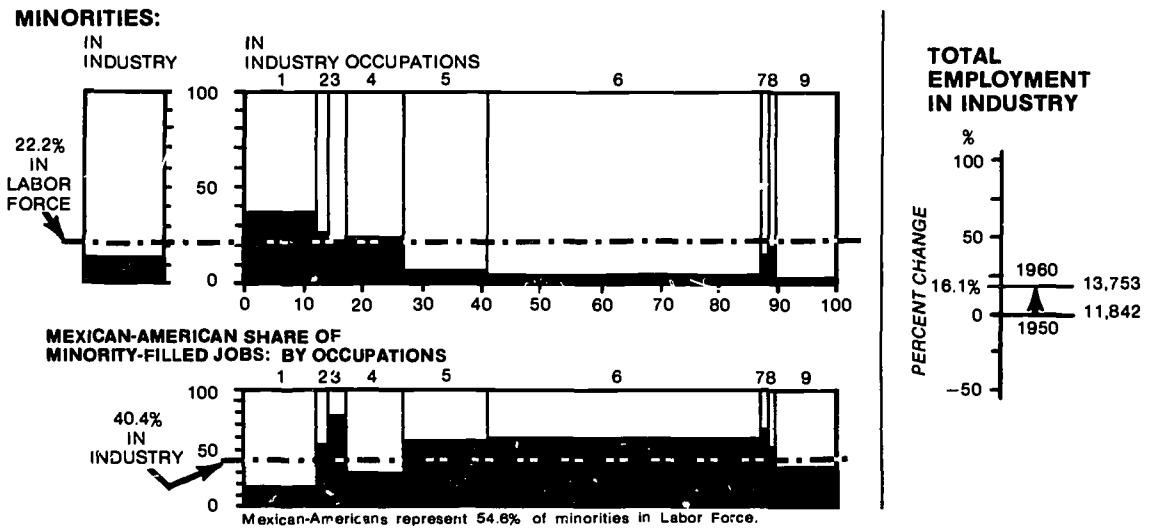
SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

WHOLESALE TRADE



RETAIL TRADE



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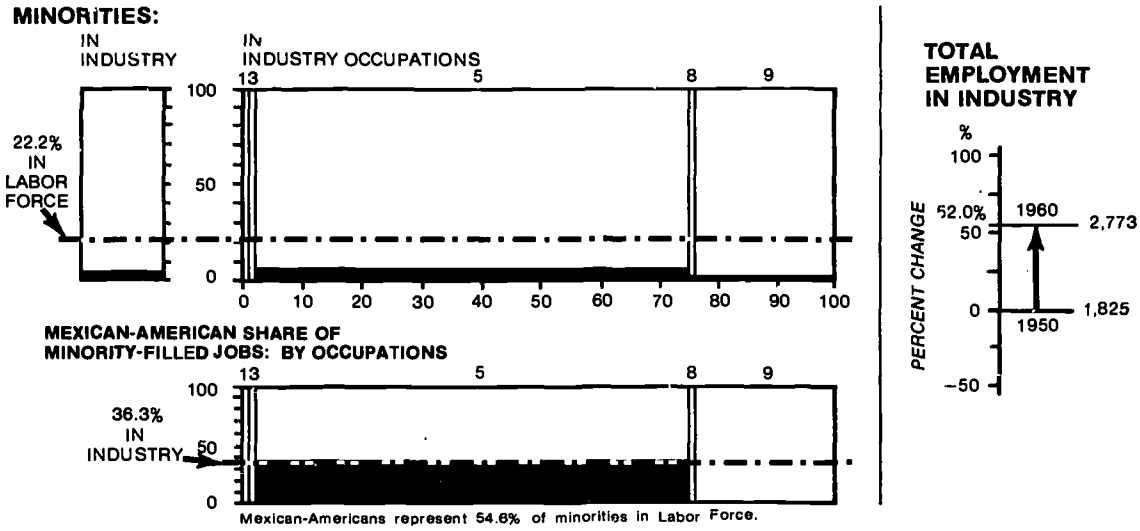
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

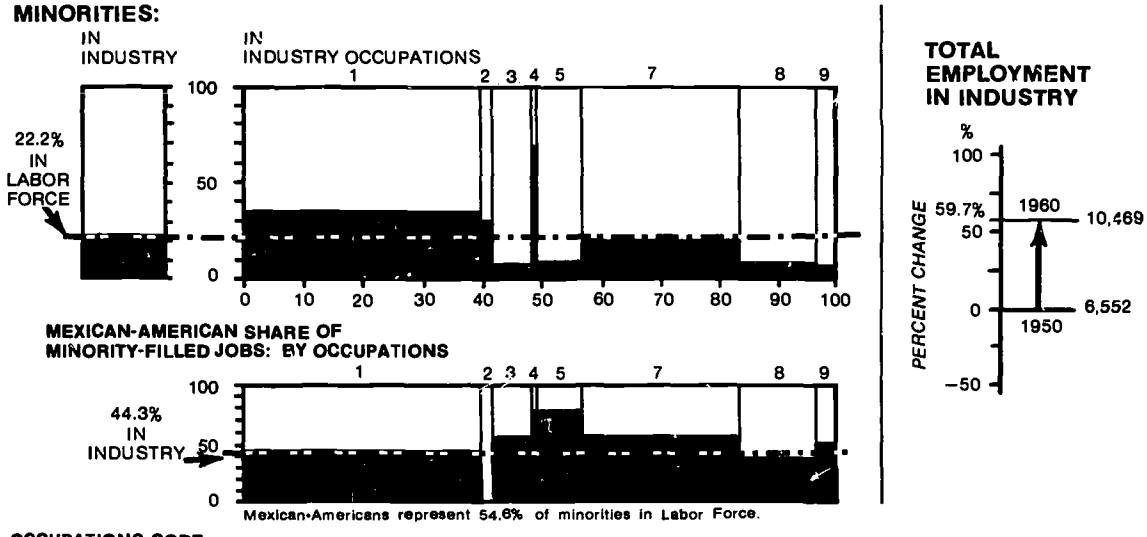
SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FINANCE



MEDICAL SERVICES



OCCUPATIONS CODE:

BLUE COLLAR:

1. SERVICE WORKERS
2. LABORERS (UNSKILLED)
3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

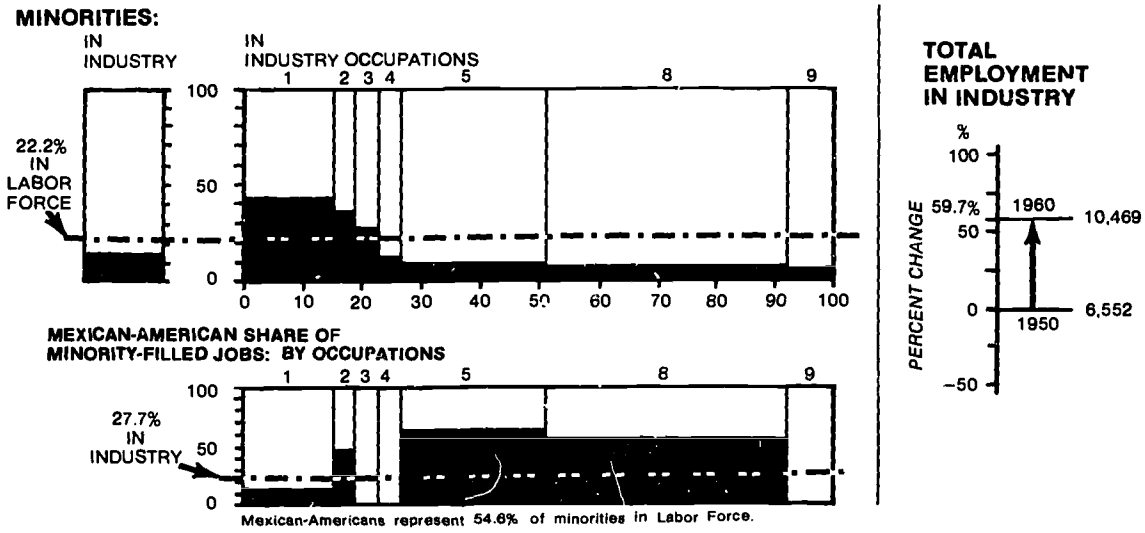
WHITE COLLAR:

5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

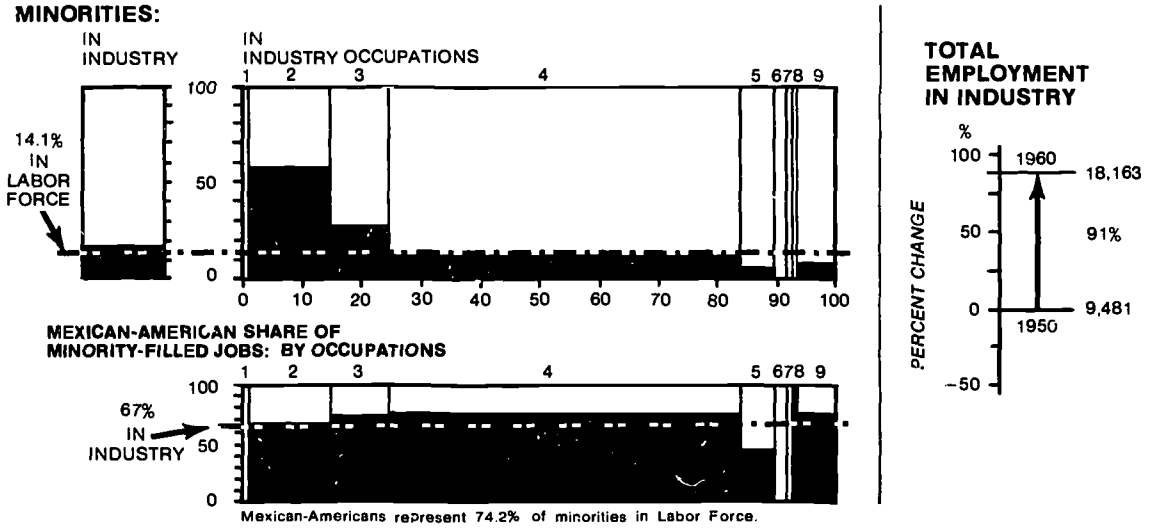
EDUCATIONAL SERVICES



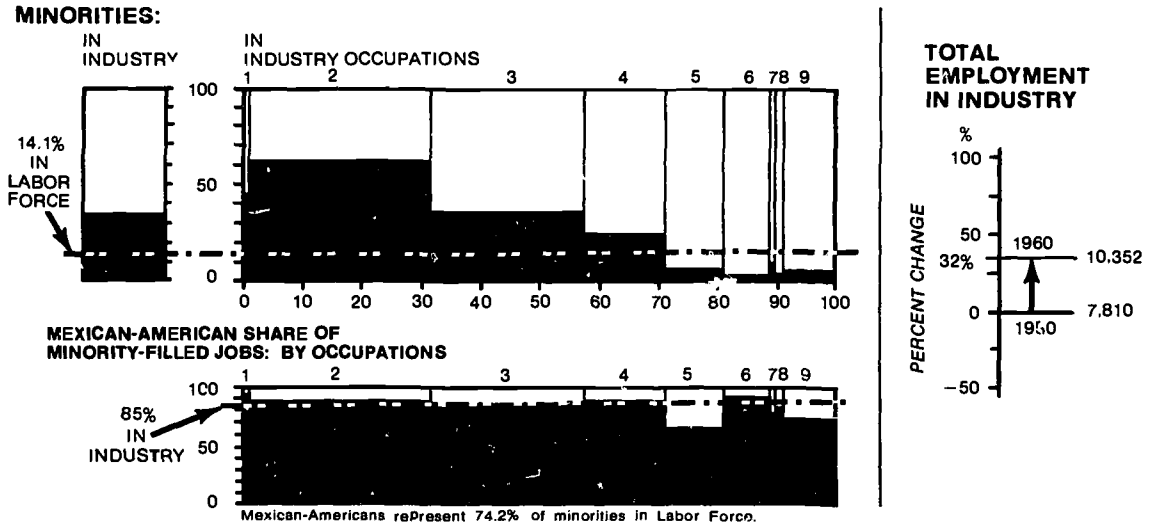
SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



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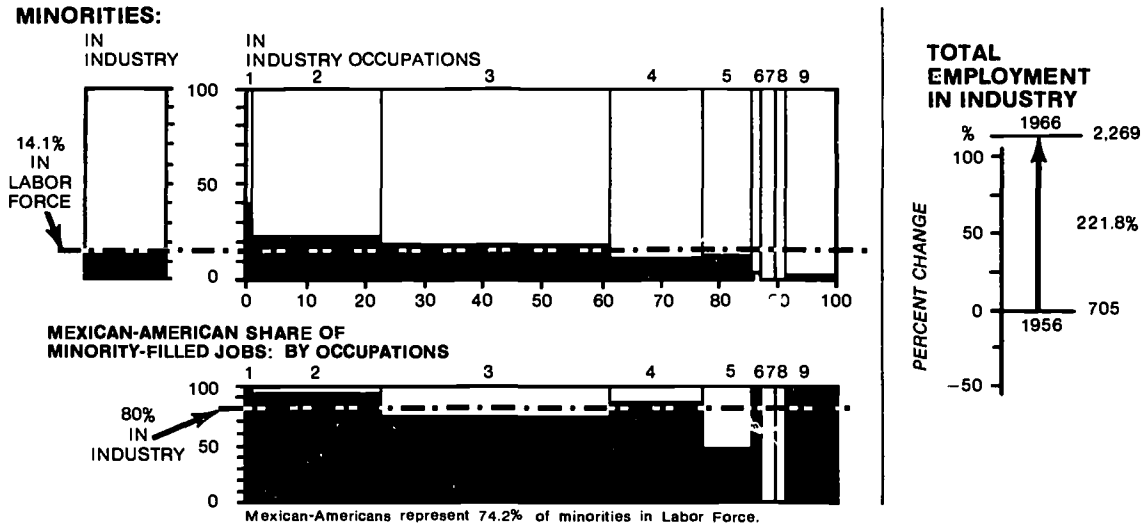
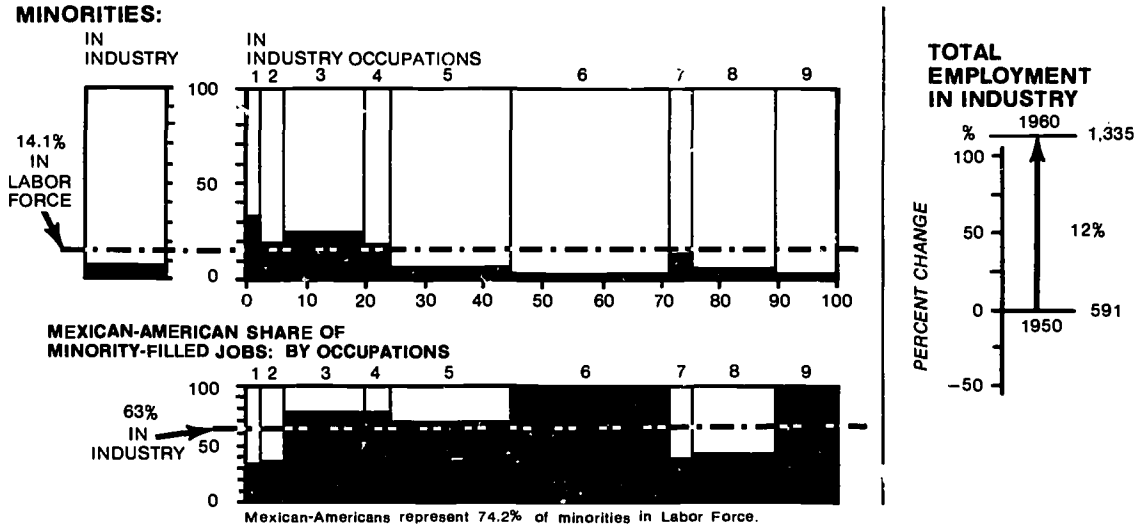
SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PAPER/ALLIED PRODUCTS



CHEMICALS/ALLIED PRODUCTS



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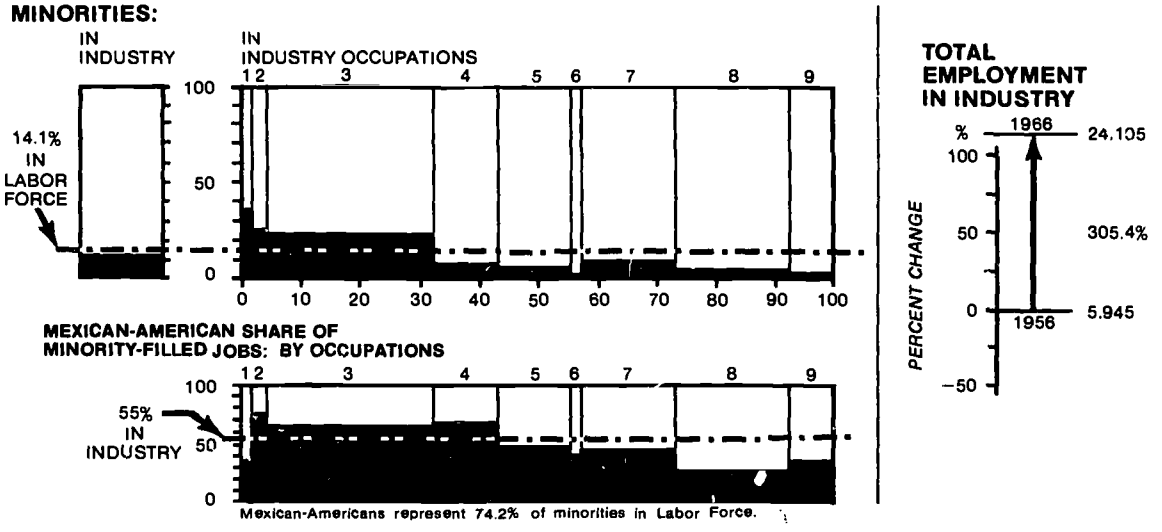
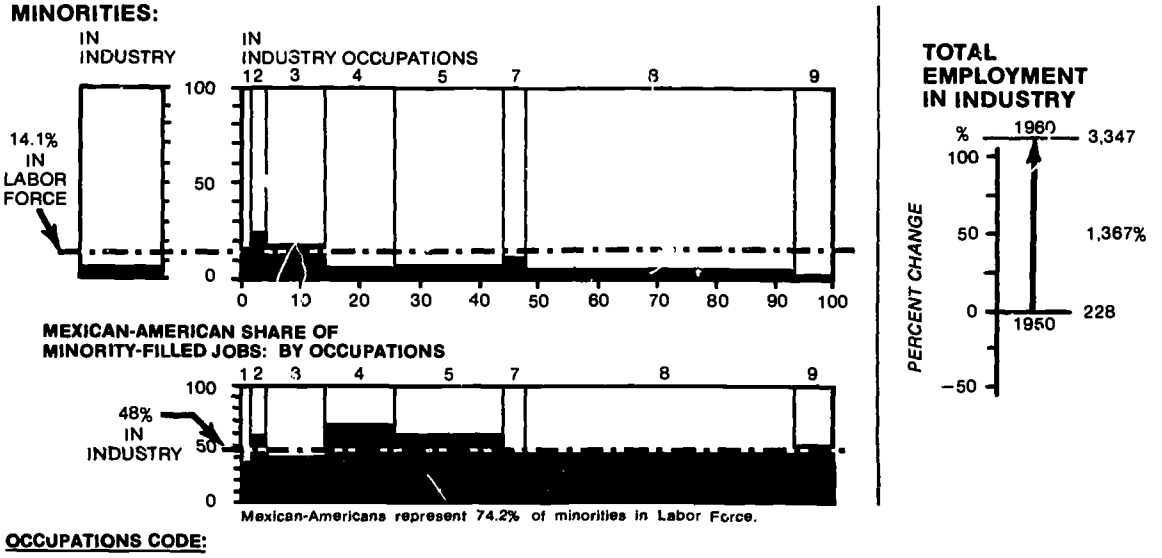
SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ELECTRONIC MACHINERY, EQUIPMENT/SUPPLIES



TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT



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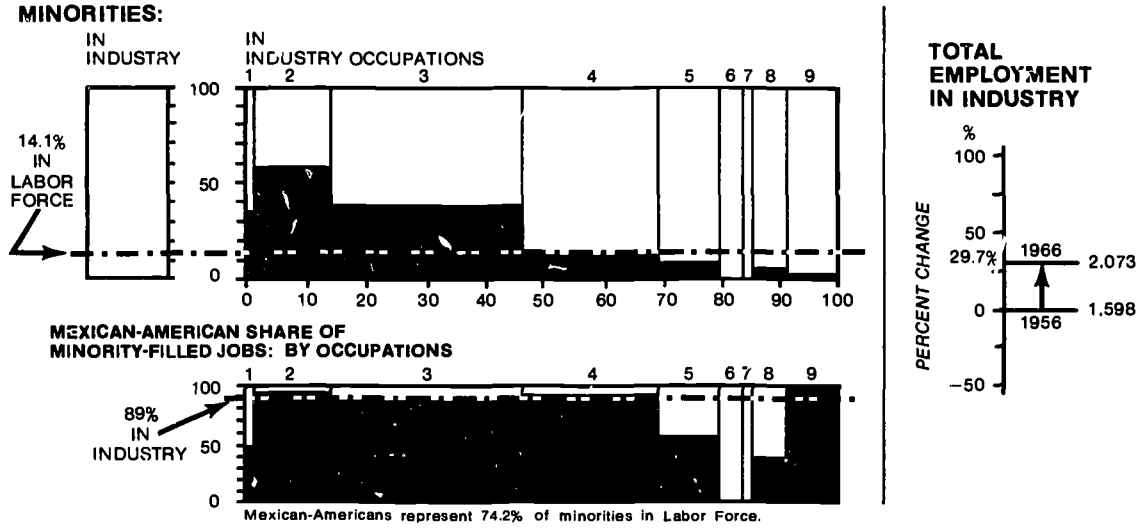
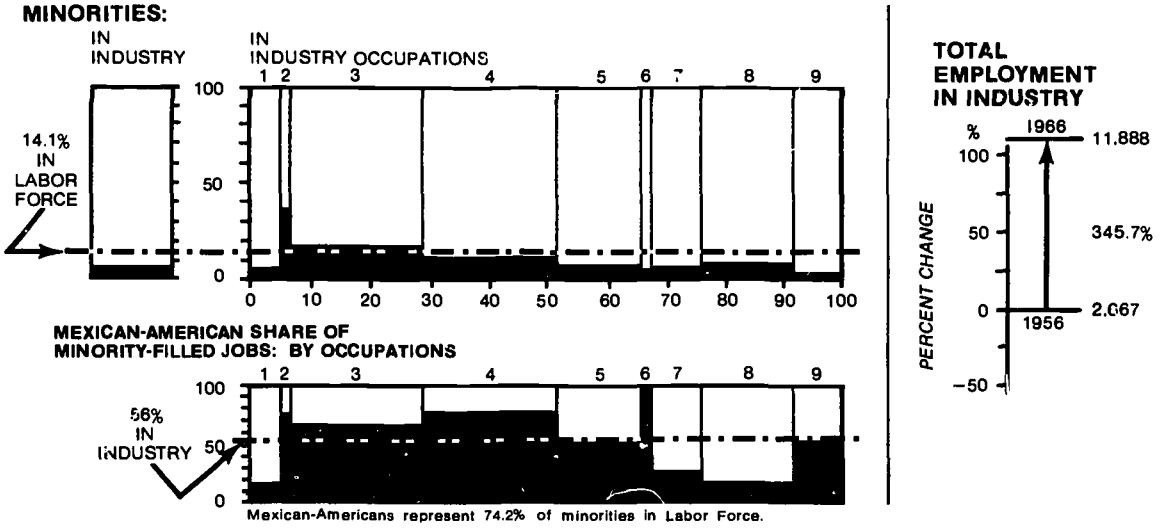
SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS



MACHINERY (NON-ELECTRIC)



OCCUPATIONS CODE:

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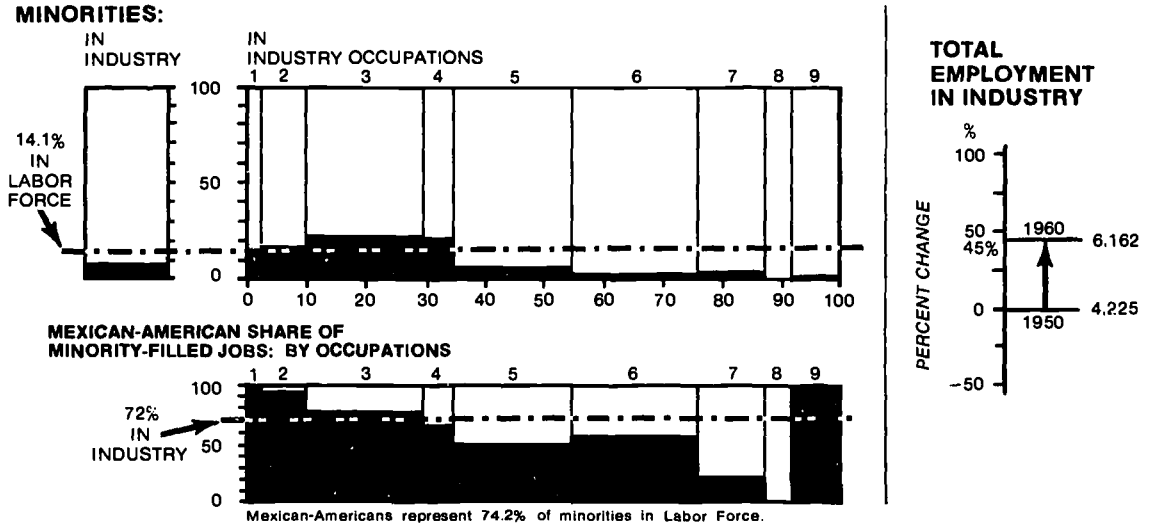
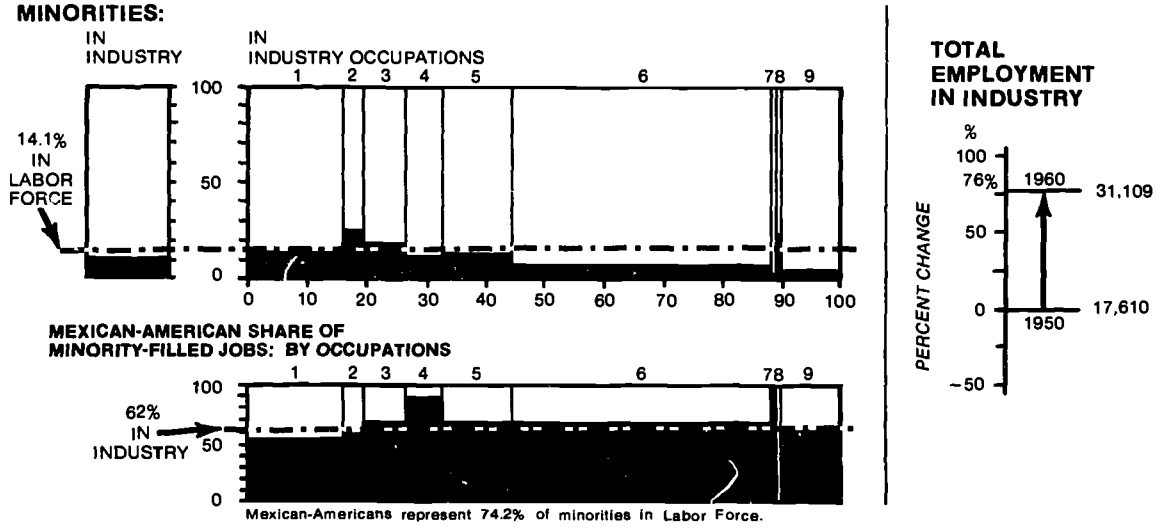
SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

WHOLESALE TRADE



RETAIL TRADE



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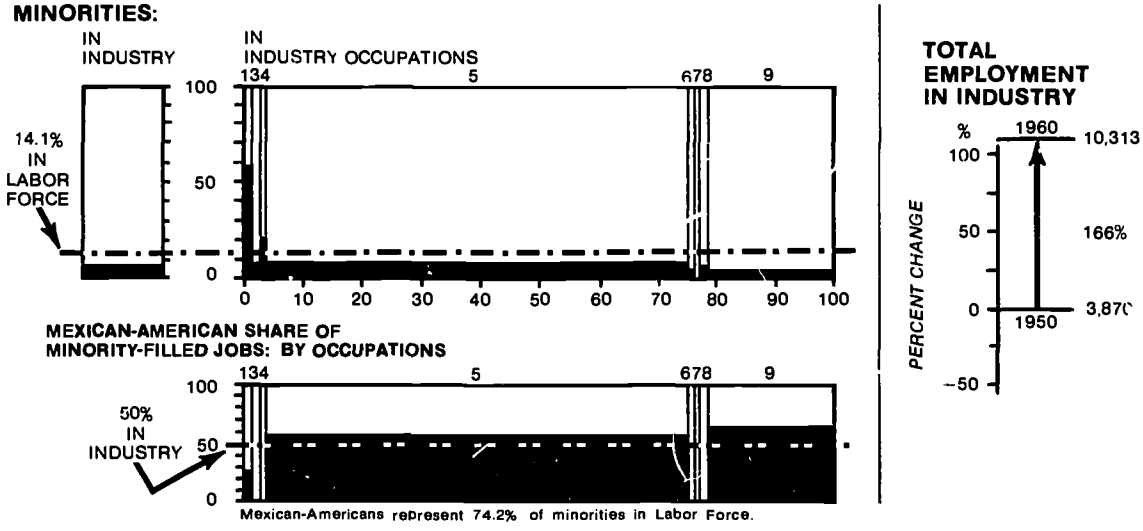
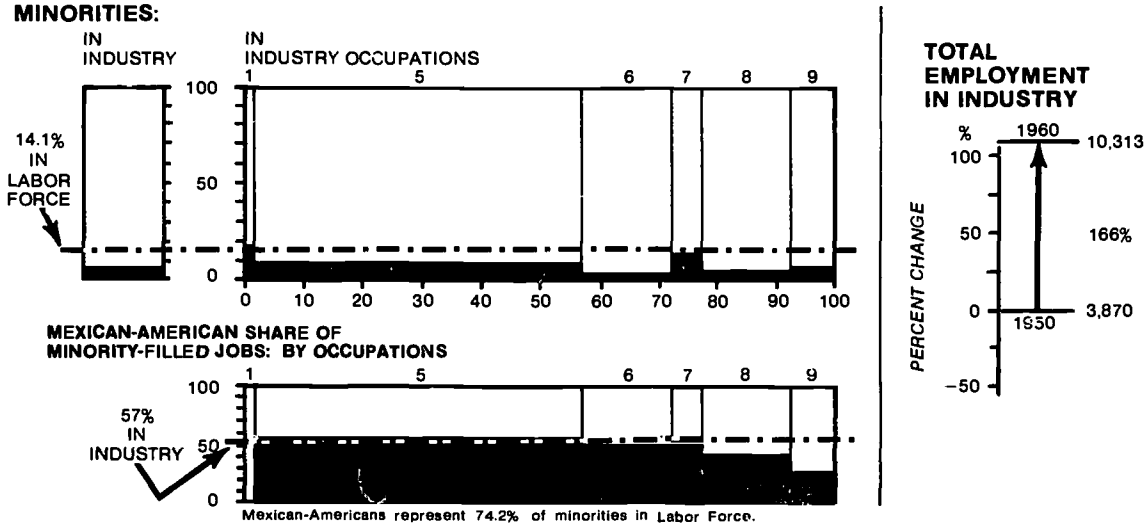
SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FINANCE



INSURANCE



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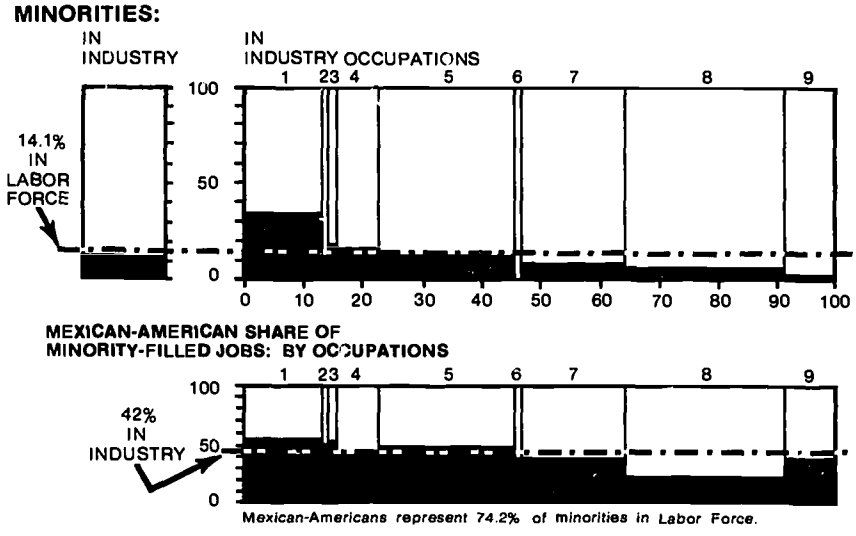
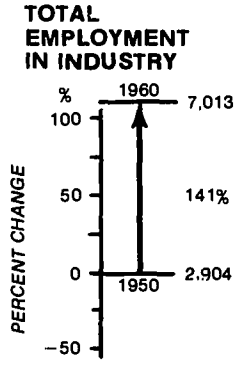
SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIF.

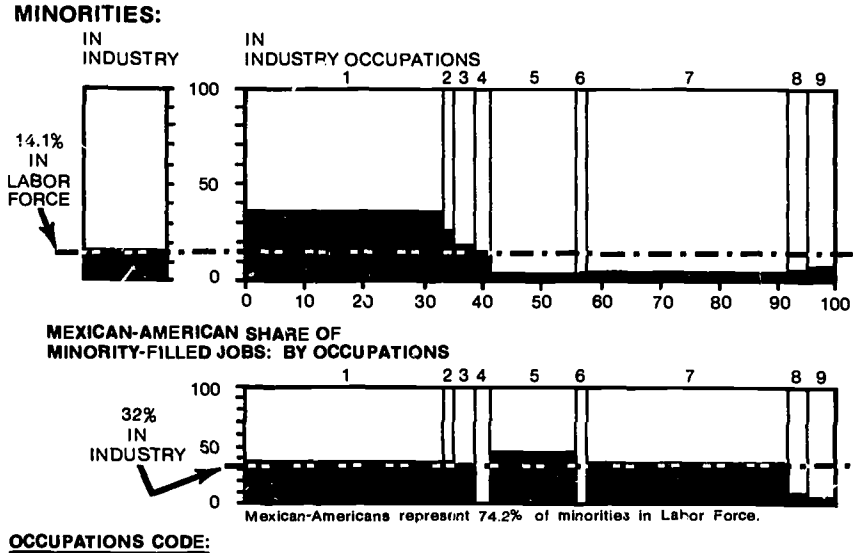
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

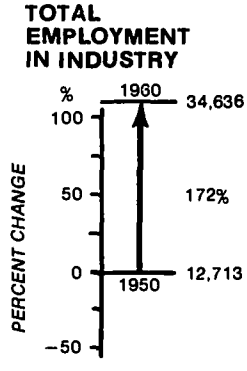
BUSINESS SERVICES





MEDICAL SERVICES





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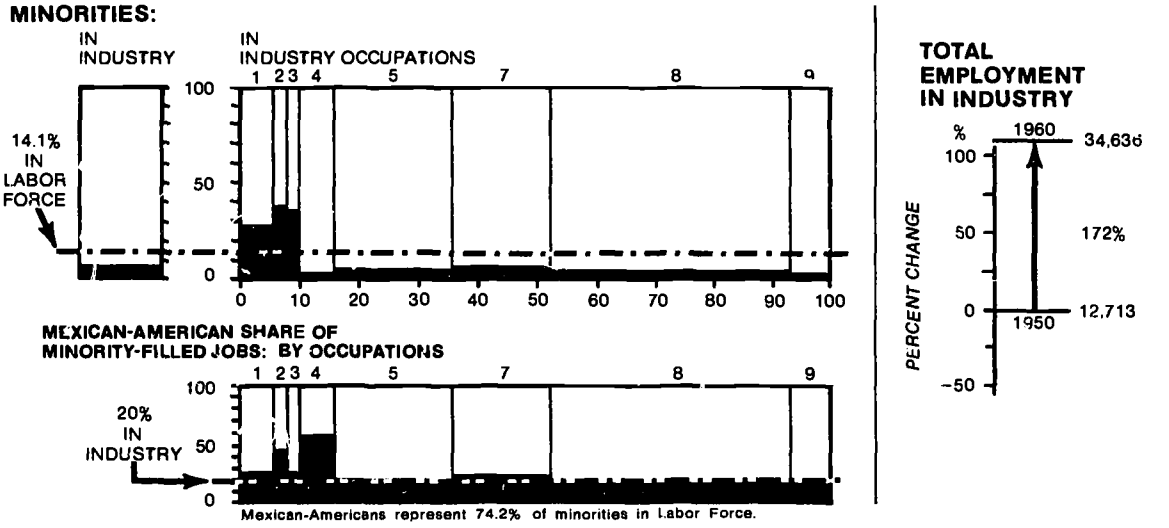
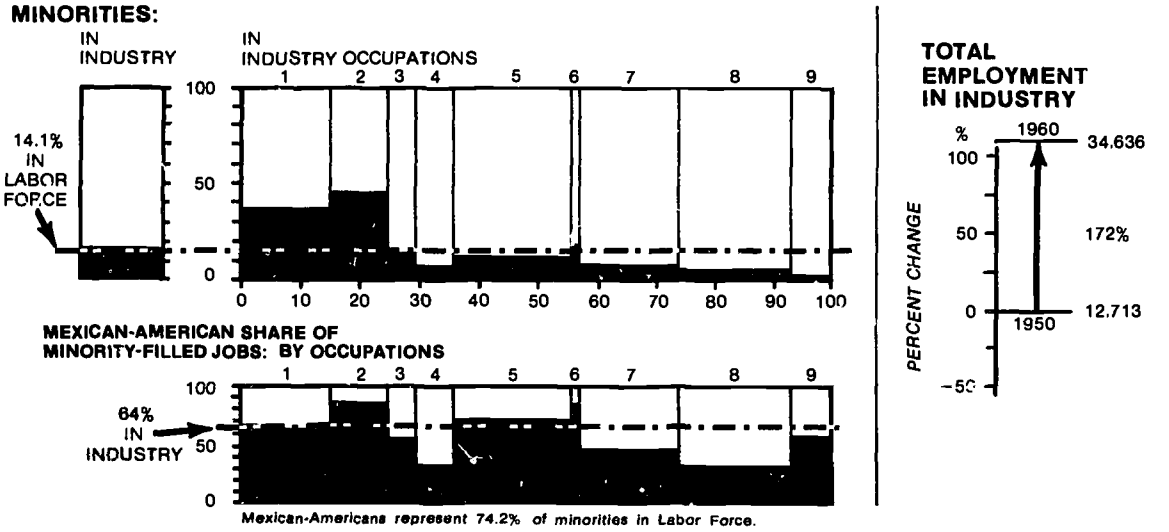
SANTA CLARA COUNTY, CALIF.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES



MISCELLANEOUS/OTHER SERVICES



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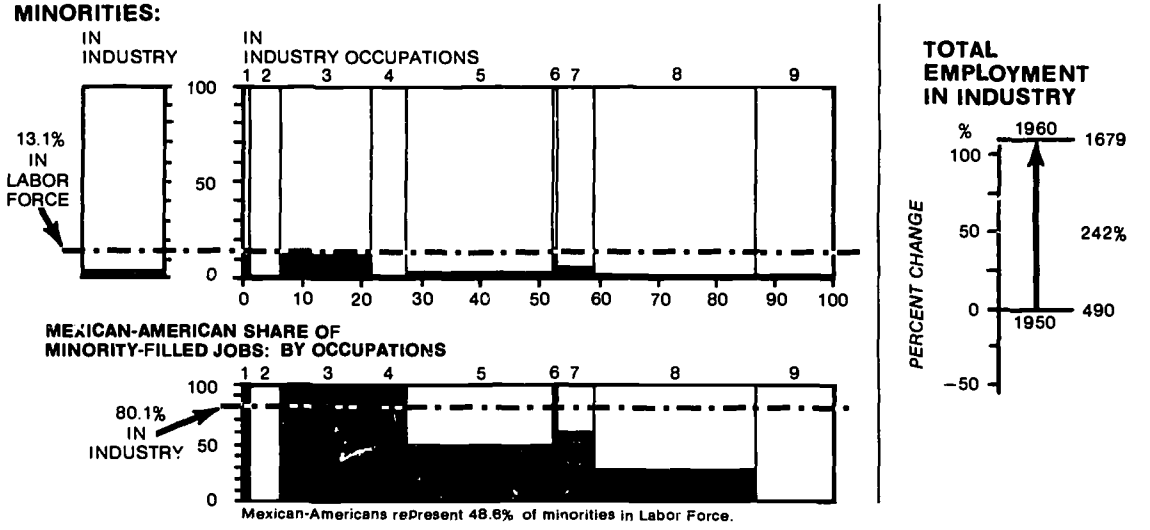
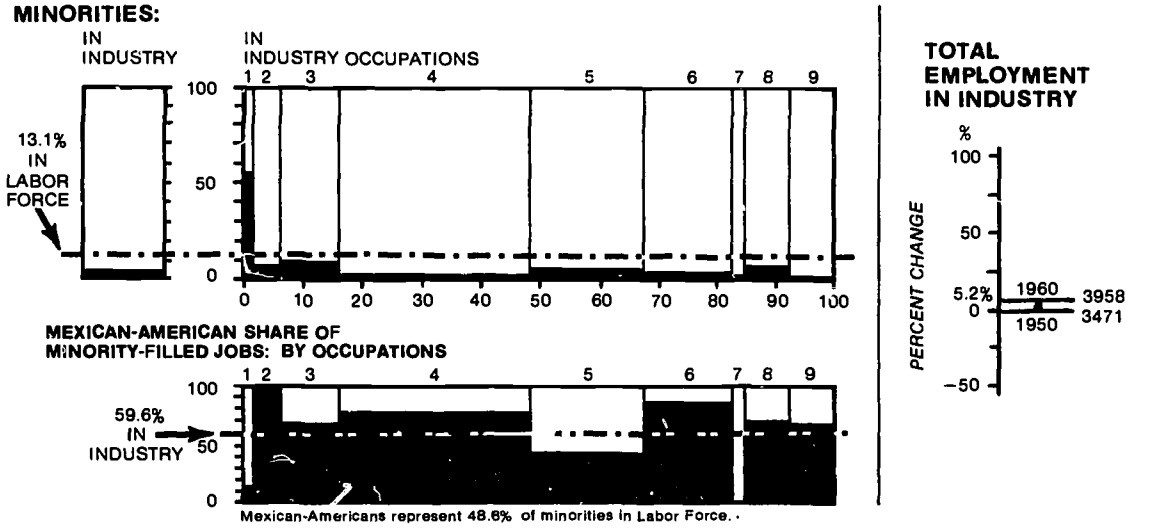
DENVER COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MINING



PRINTING & PUBLISHING



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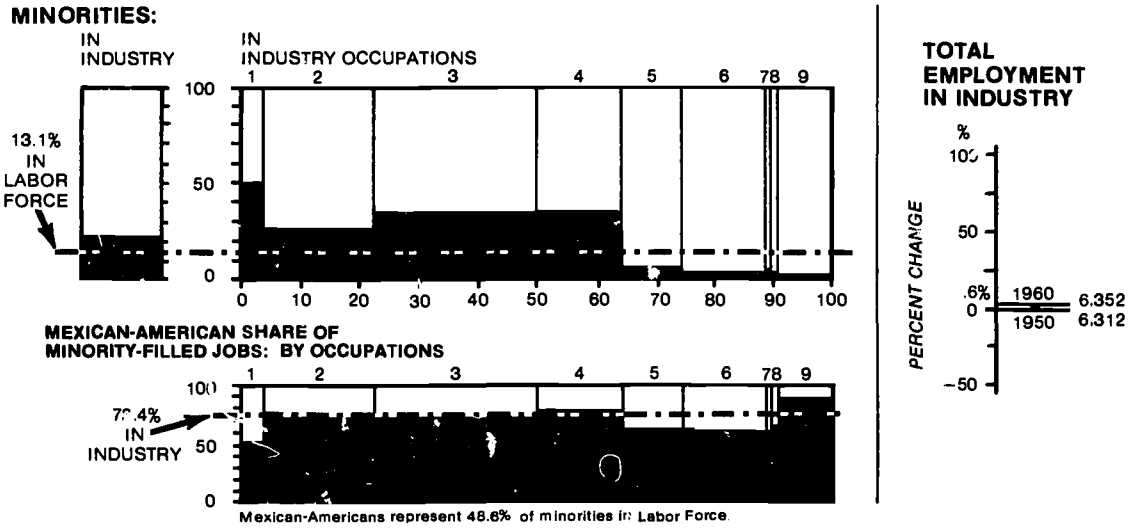
DENVER COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

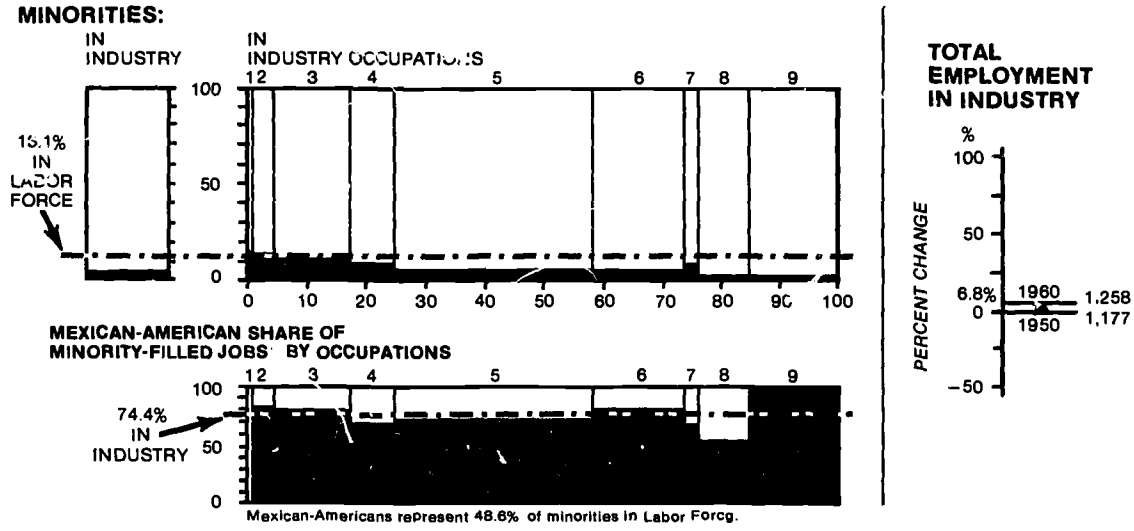
FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



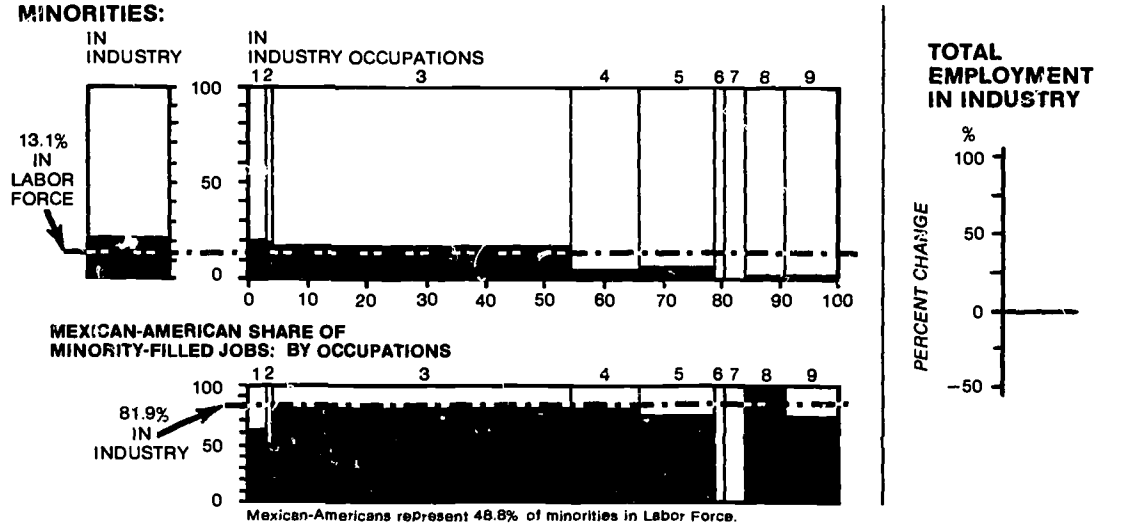
DENVER COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CHEMICALS & ALLIED PRODUCTS



RUBBER / PLASTICS



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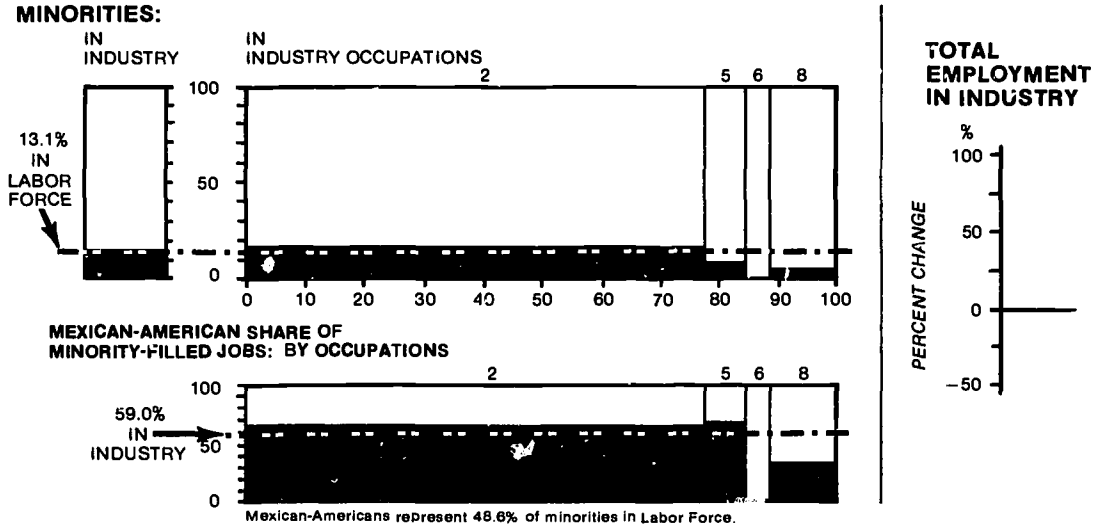
DENVER COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

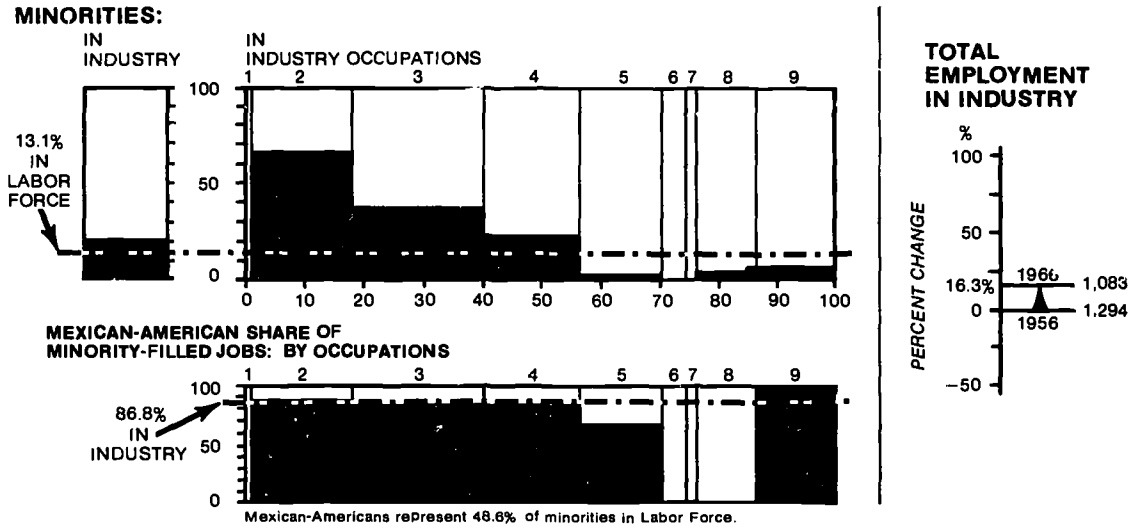
LEATHER PRODUCTS



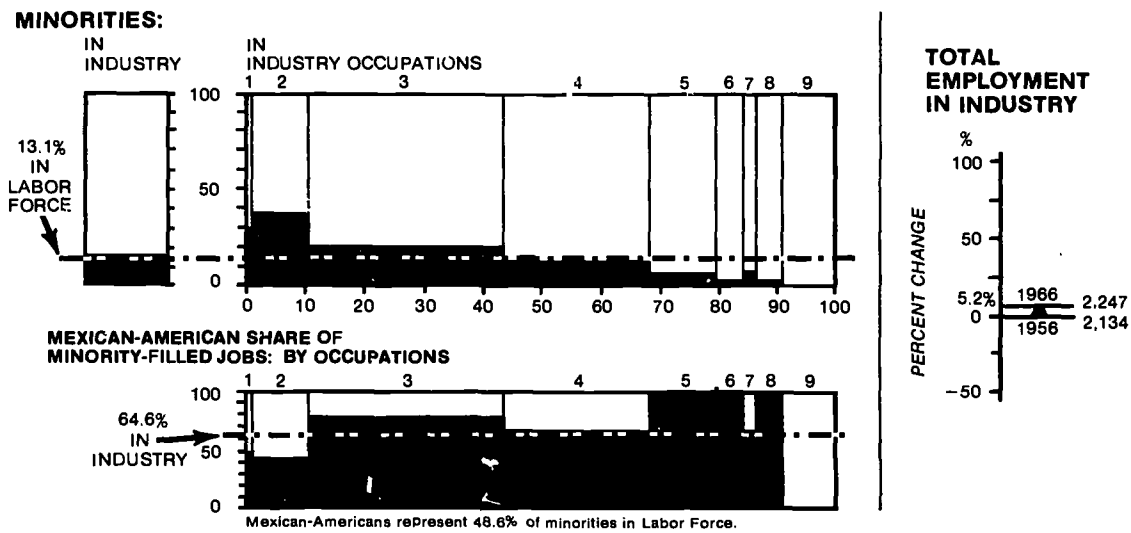
DENVER COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

STONE, CLAY & GLASS PRODUCTS



FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS



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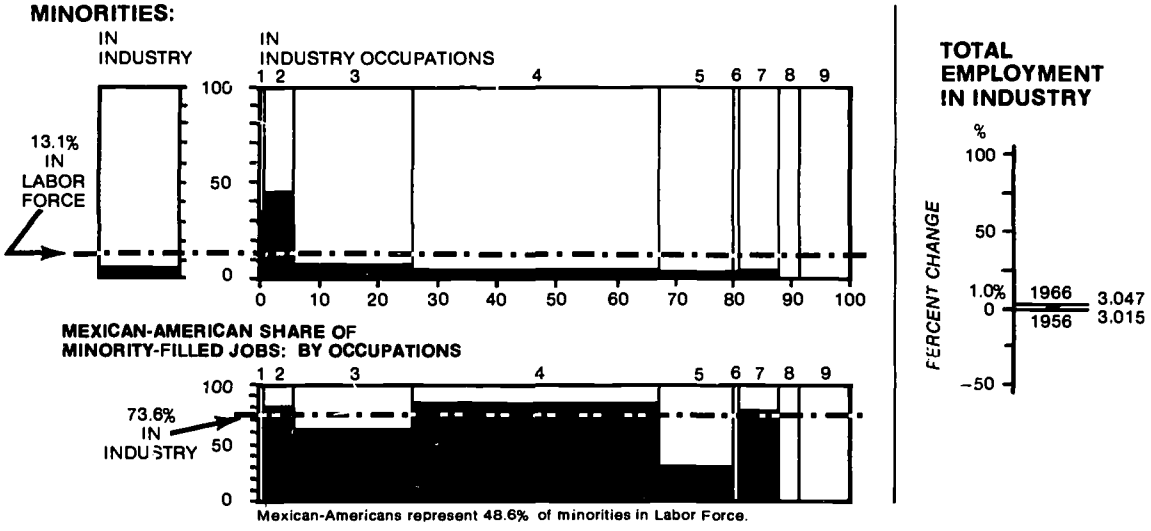
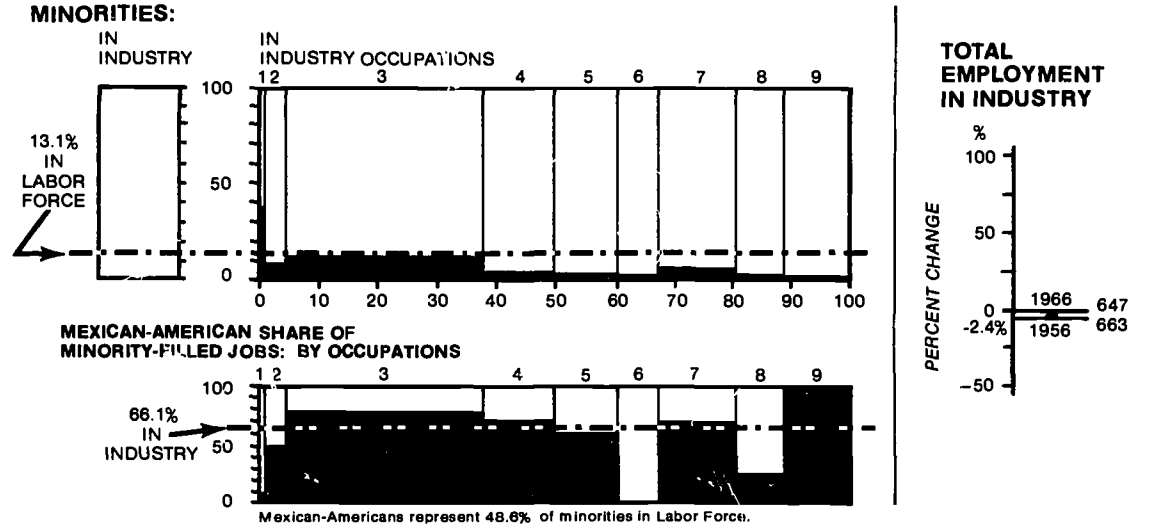
DENVER COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MACHINERY (NON-ELECTRICAL)



INSTRUMENTS, RELATED PRODUCTS



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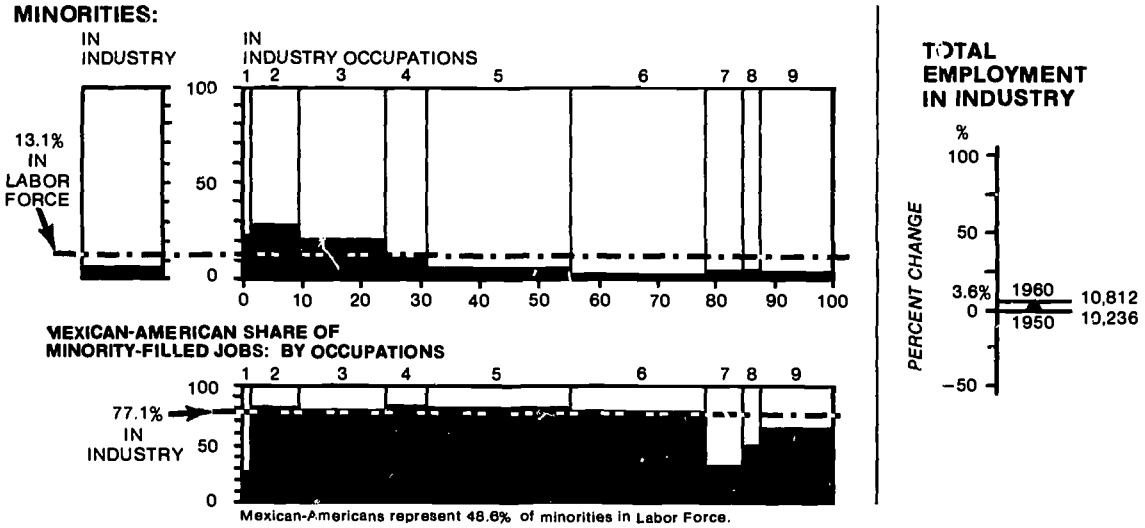
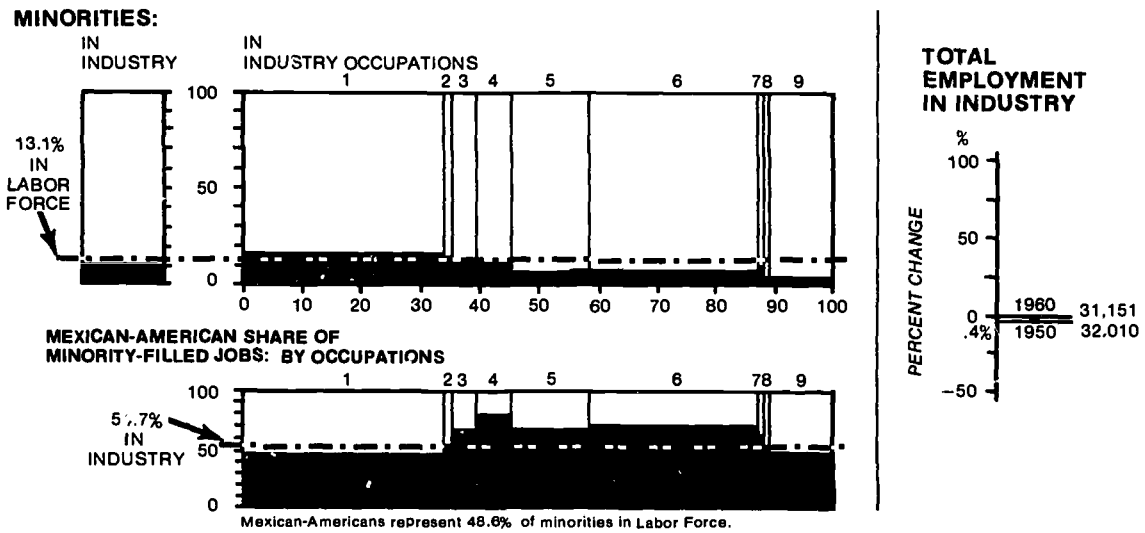
DENVER COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

WHOLESALE TRADE



RETAIL TRADE



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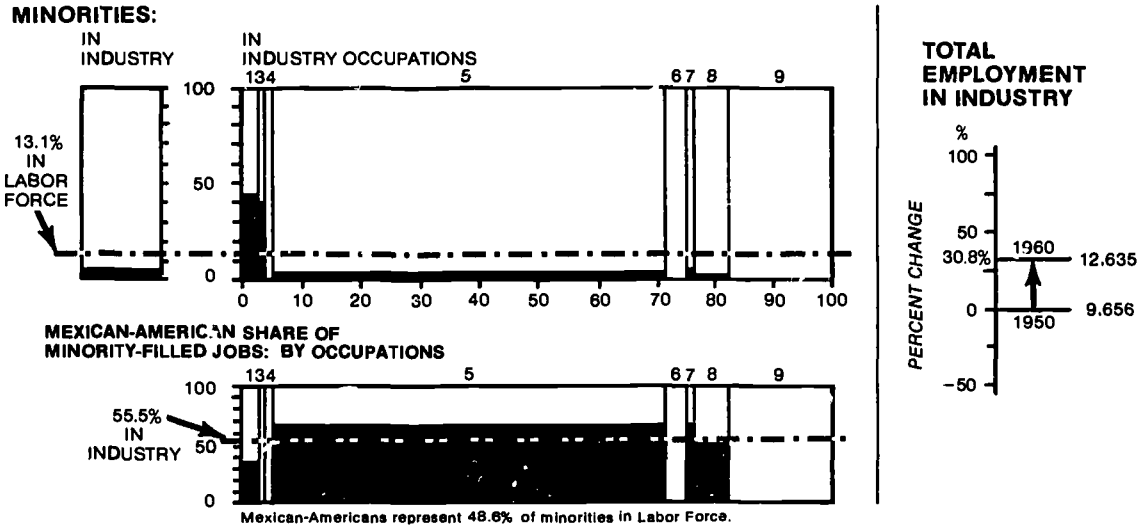
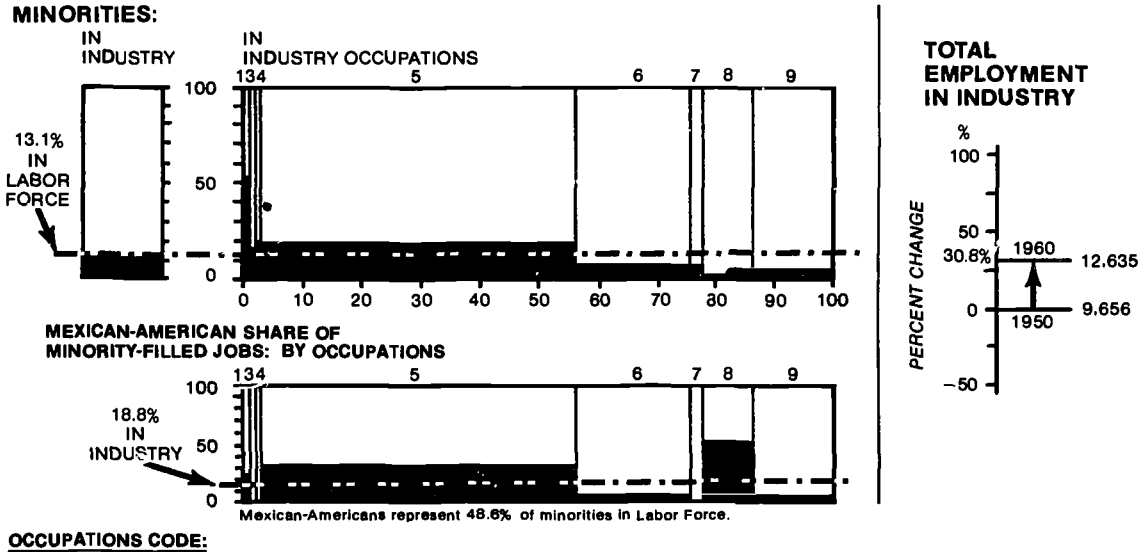
DENVER COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FINANCE



INSURANCE



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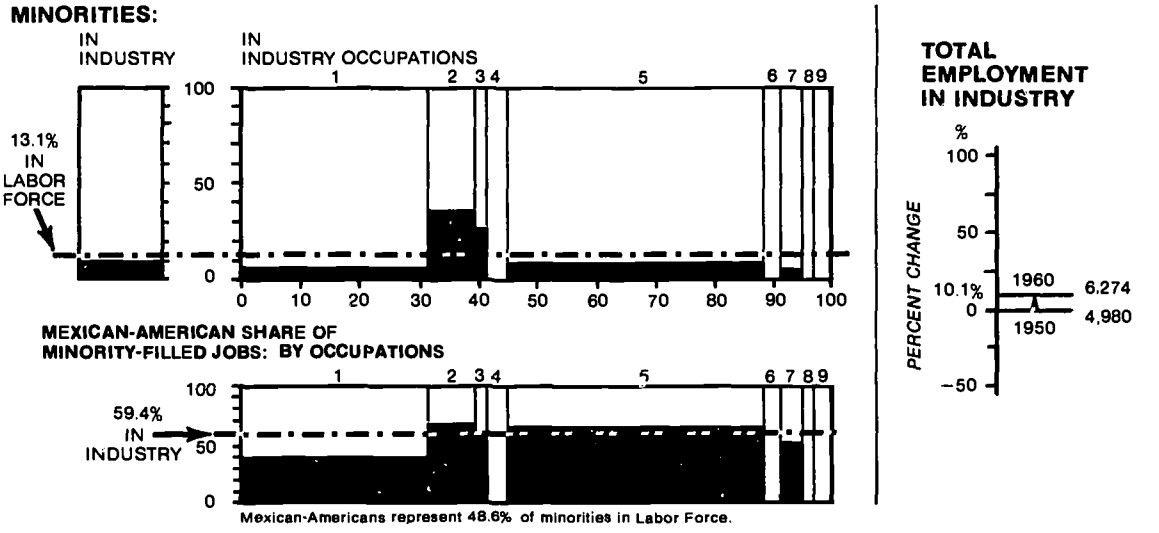
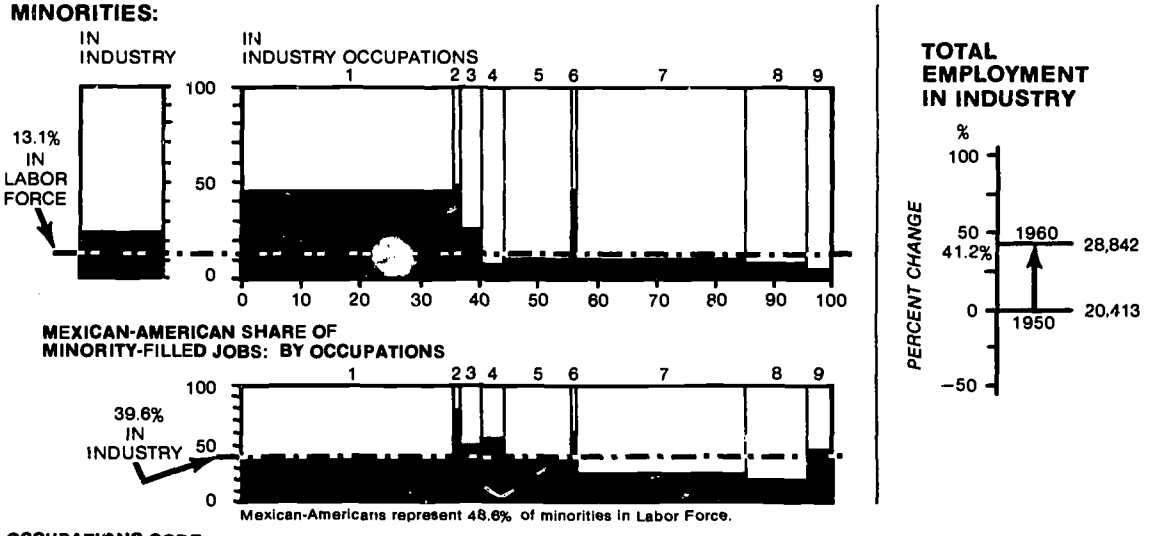
DENVER COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

BUSINESS SERVICES



MEDICAL SERVICES



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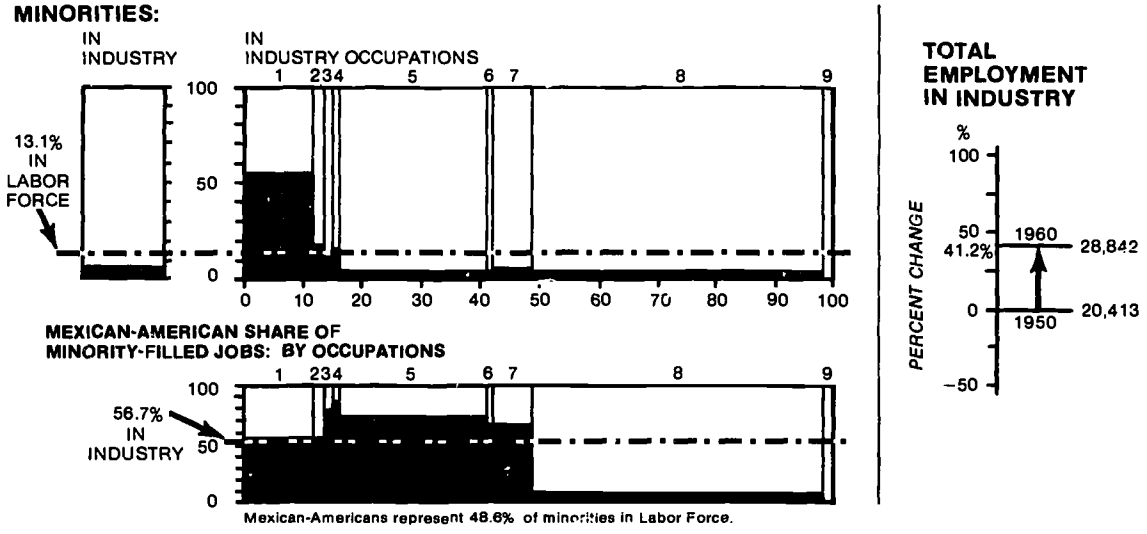
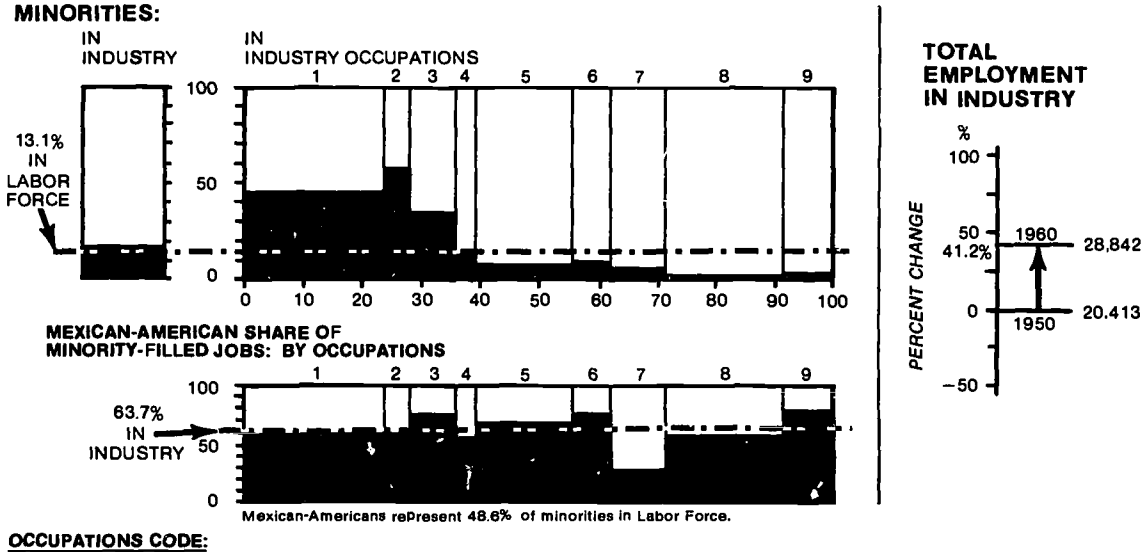
DENVER COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES



MISCELLANEOUS/OTHER SERVICES



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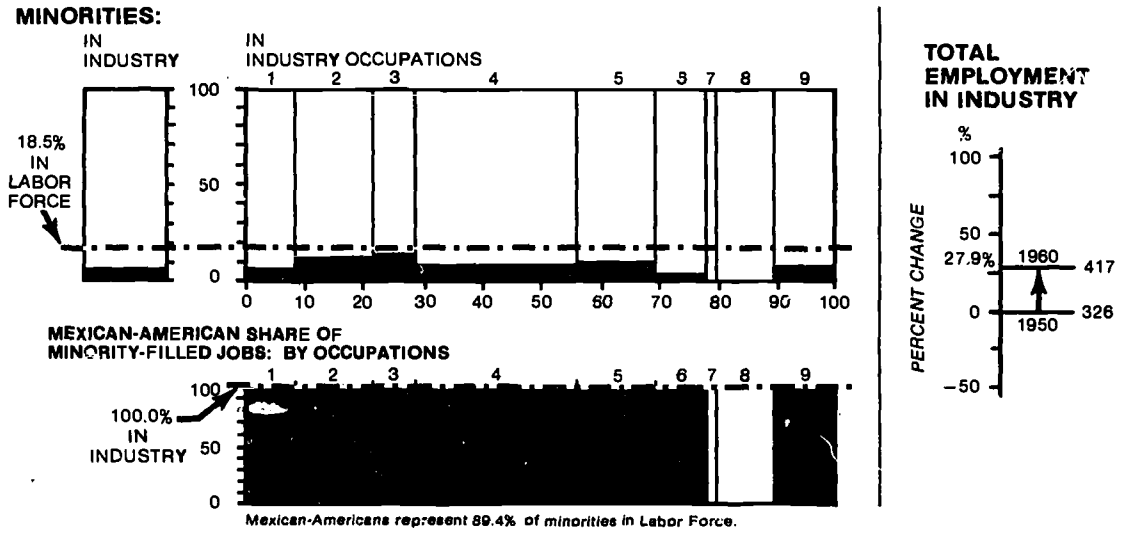
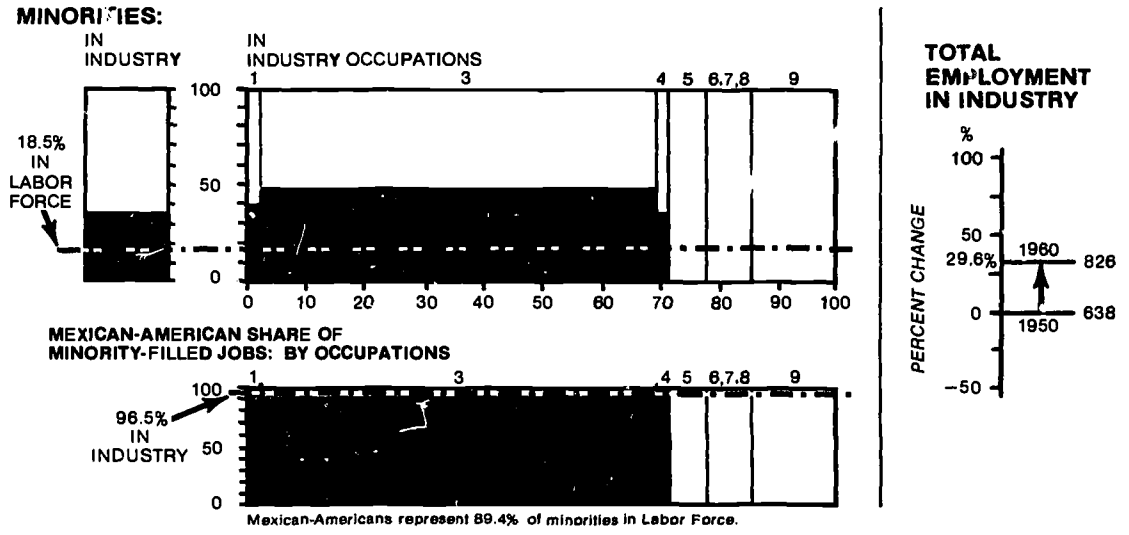
PUEBLO COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PRINTING/PUBLISHING



FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



OCCUPATIONS CODE:

BLUE COLLAR:

1. SERVICE WORKERS
2. LABORERS (UNSKILLED)
3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

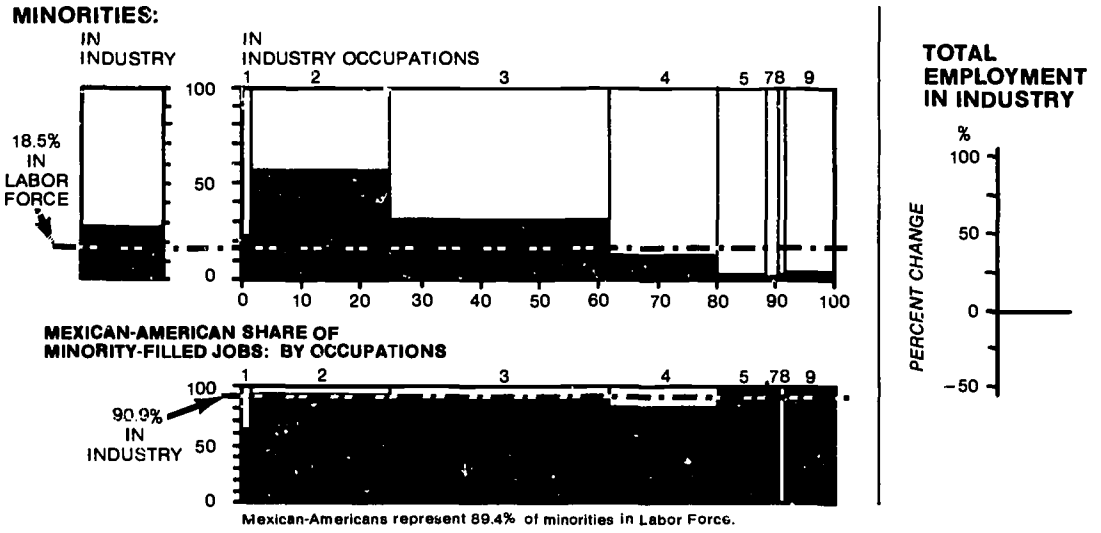
WHITE COLLAR:

5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

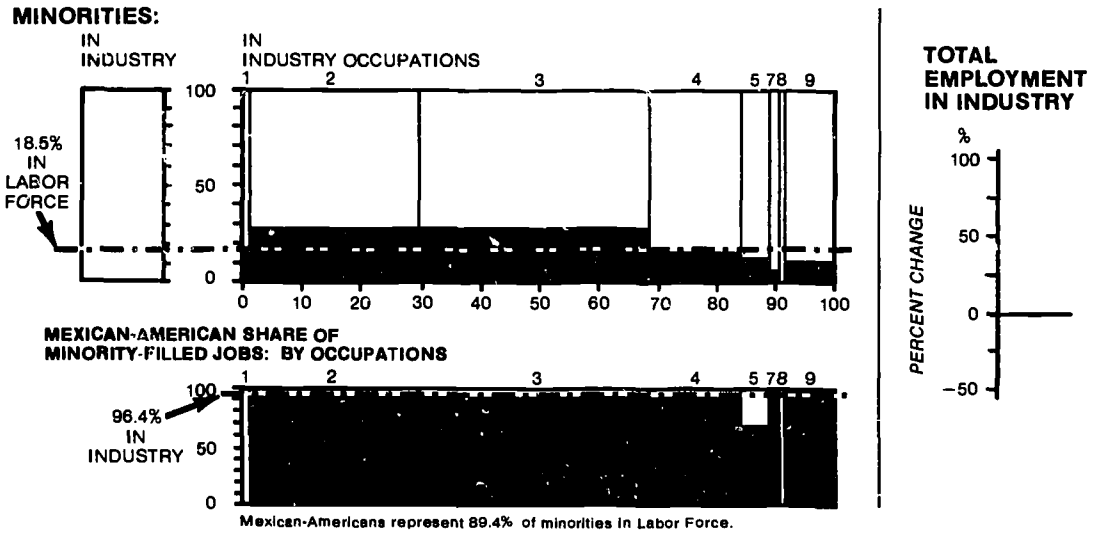
PUEBLO COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PRIMARY METAL INDUSTRIES



MACHINERY (NON-ELECTRICAL)



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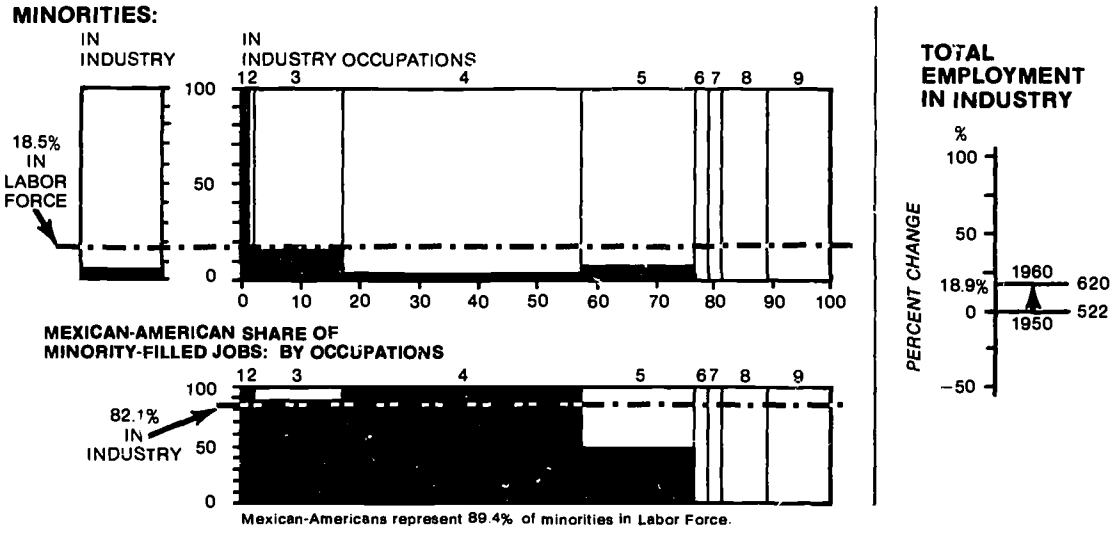
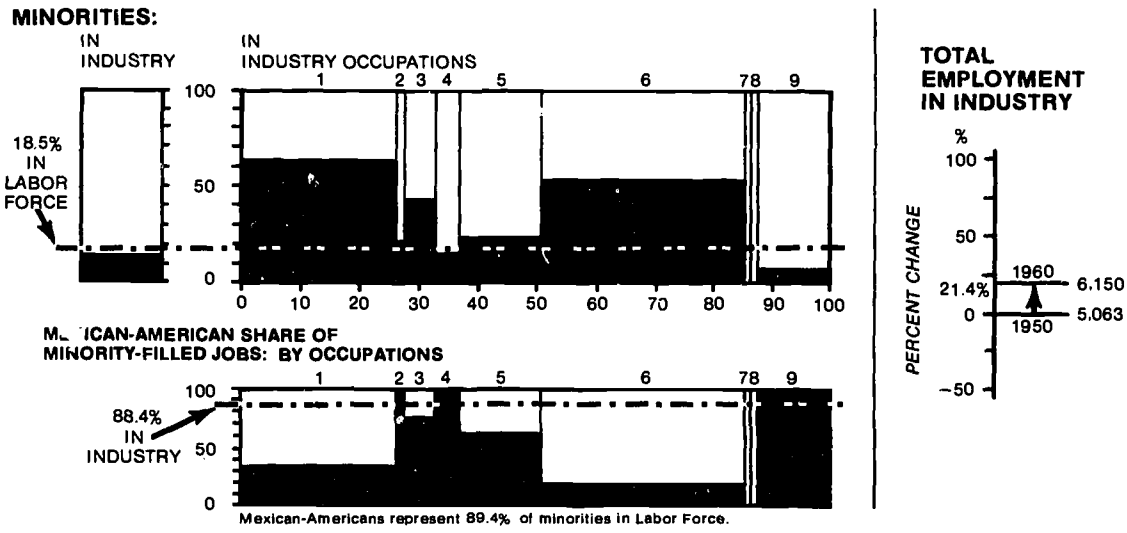
PUEBLO COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

UTILITIES/SANITARY SERVICES



RETAIL TRADE



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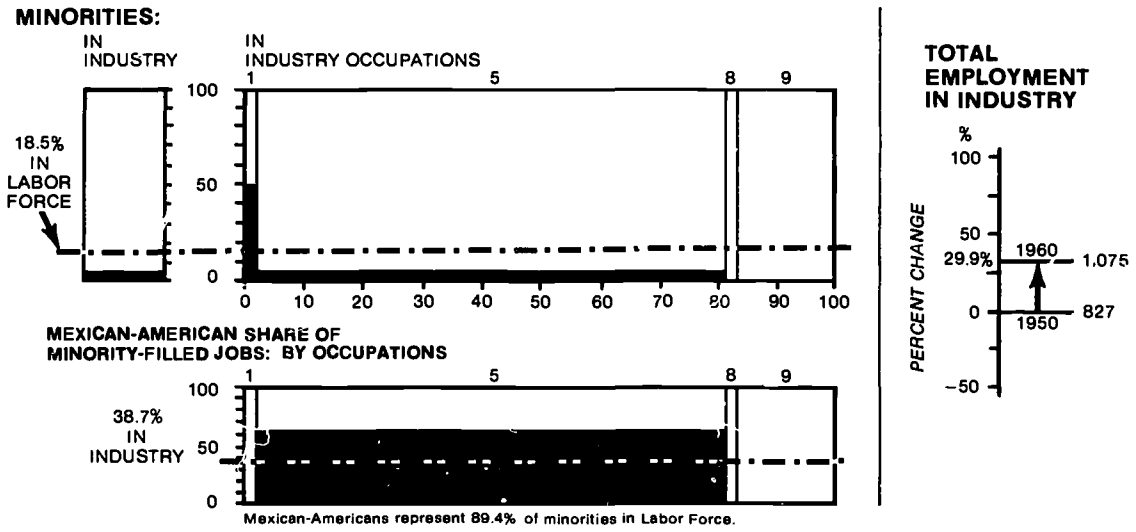
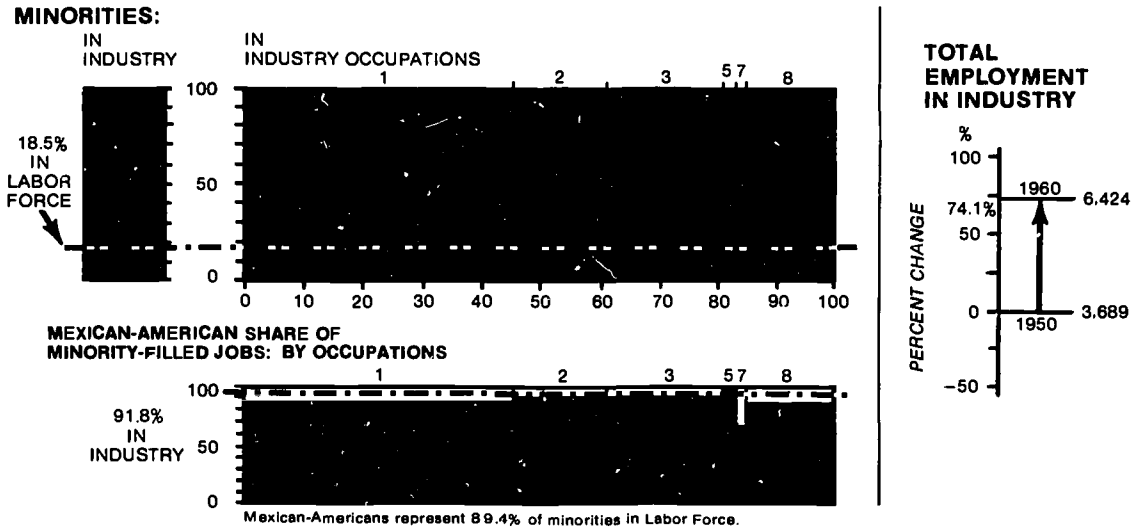
PUEBLO COUNTY, COLO.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FINANCE



MEDICAL SERVICES



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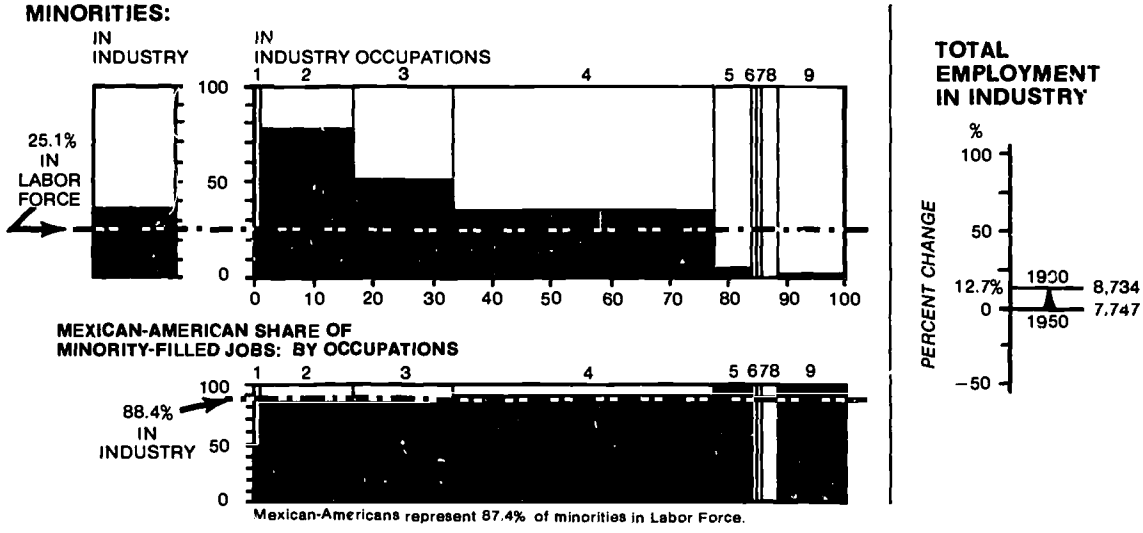
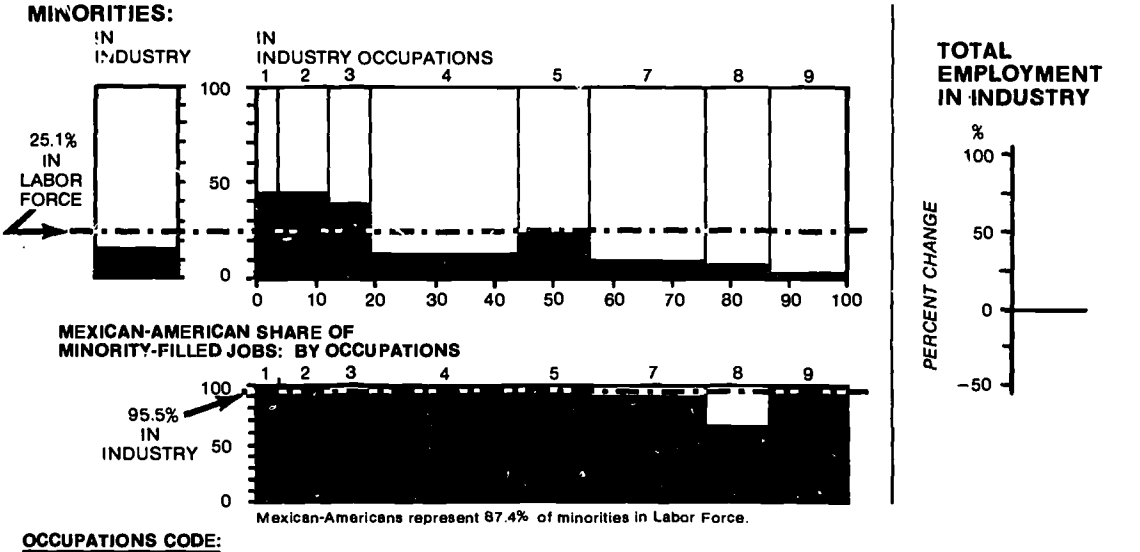
BERNALILLO COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



ORDNANCE AND ACCESSORIES



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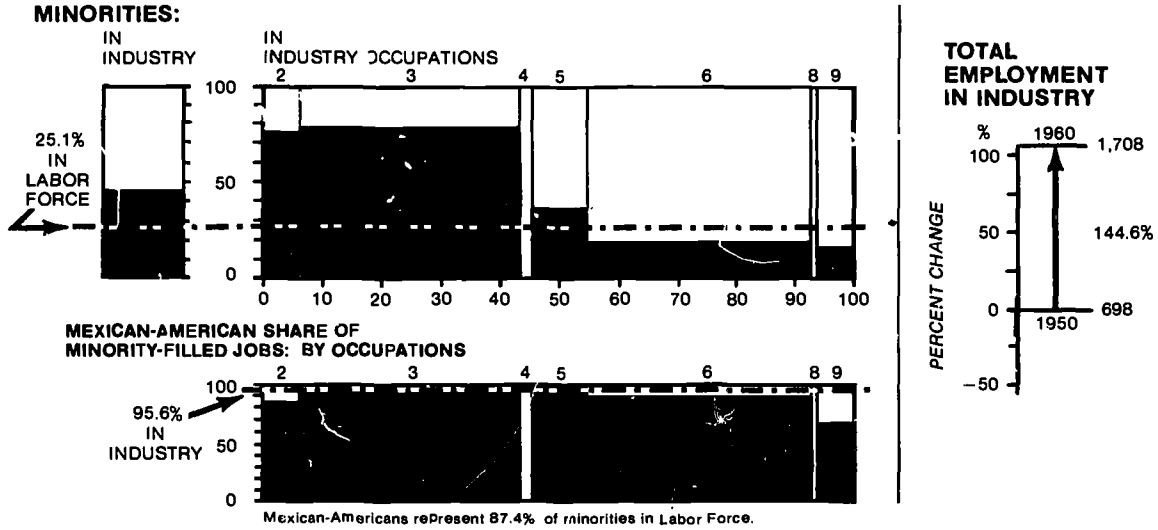
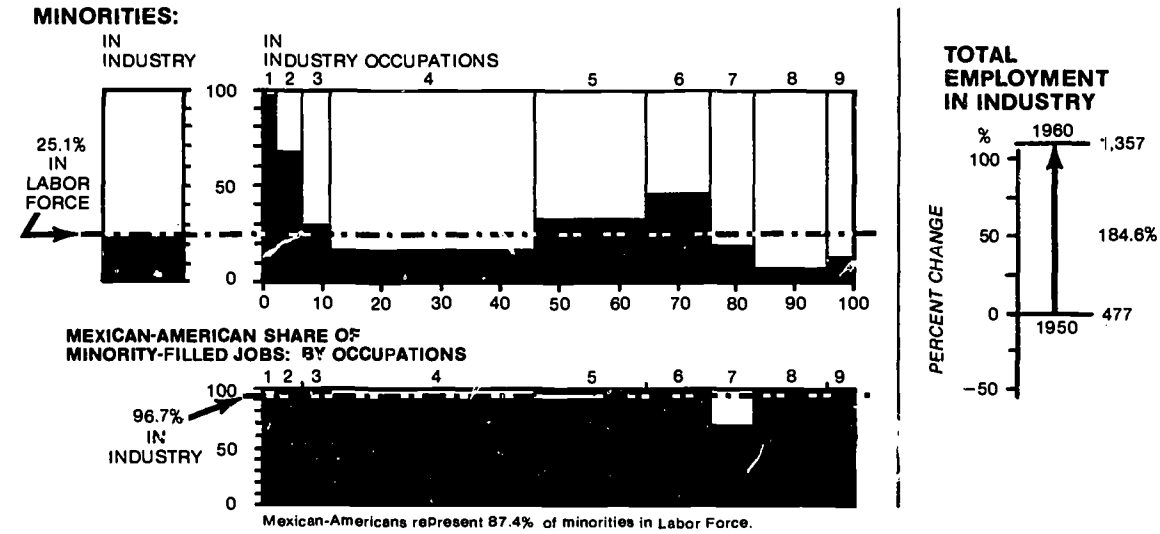
BERNALILLO COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



PRINTING/PUBLISHING



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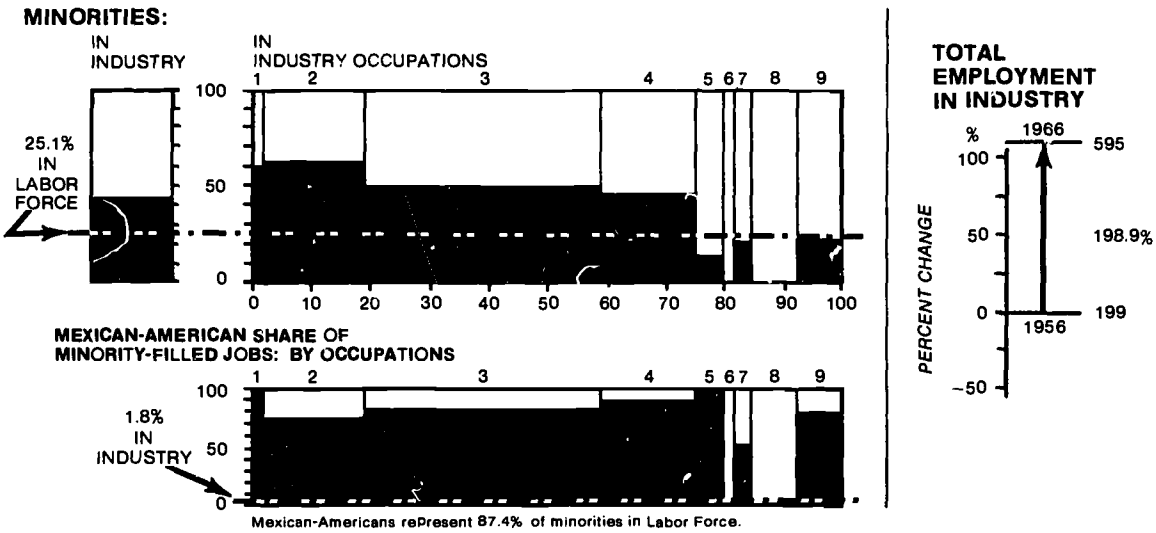
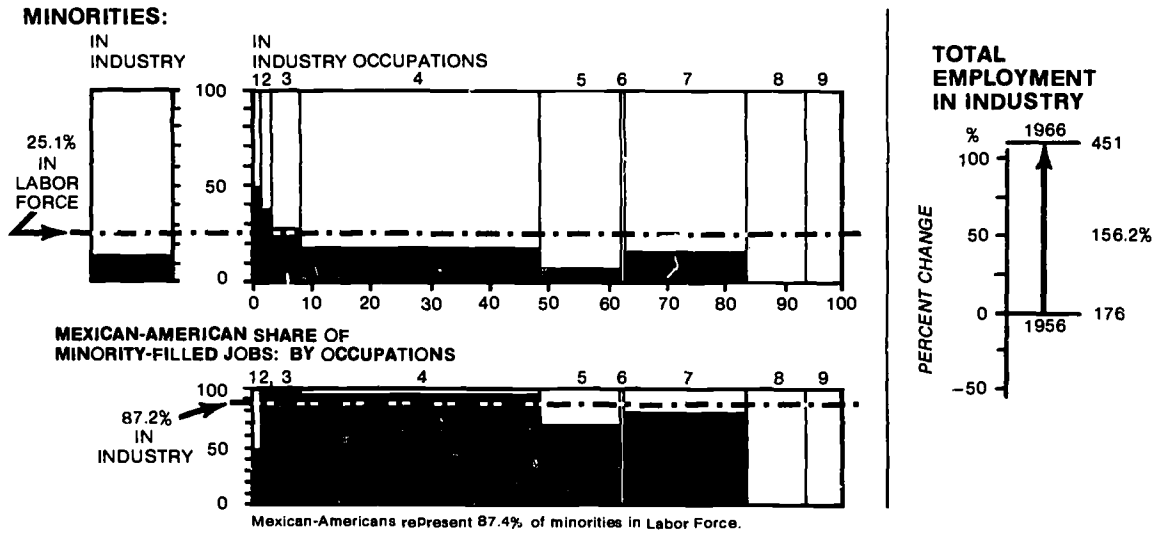
BERNALILLO COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

STONE, CLAY/GLASS PRODUCTS



MACHINERY (NON-ELECTRICAL)



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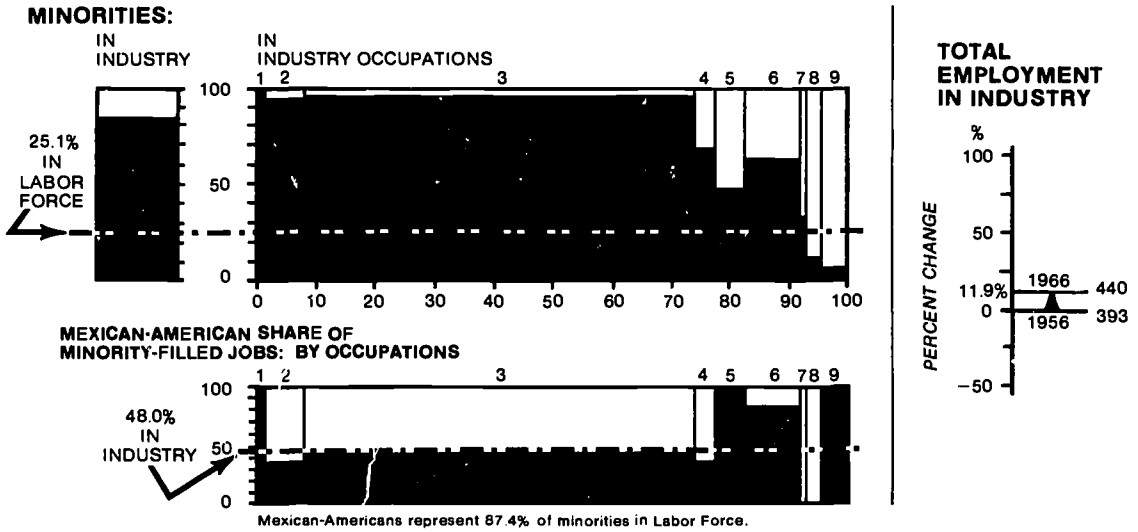
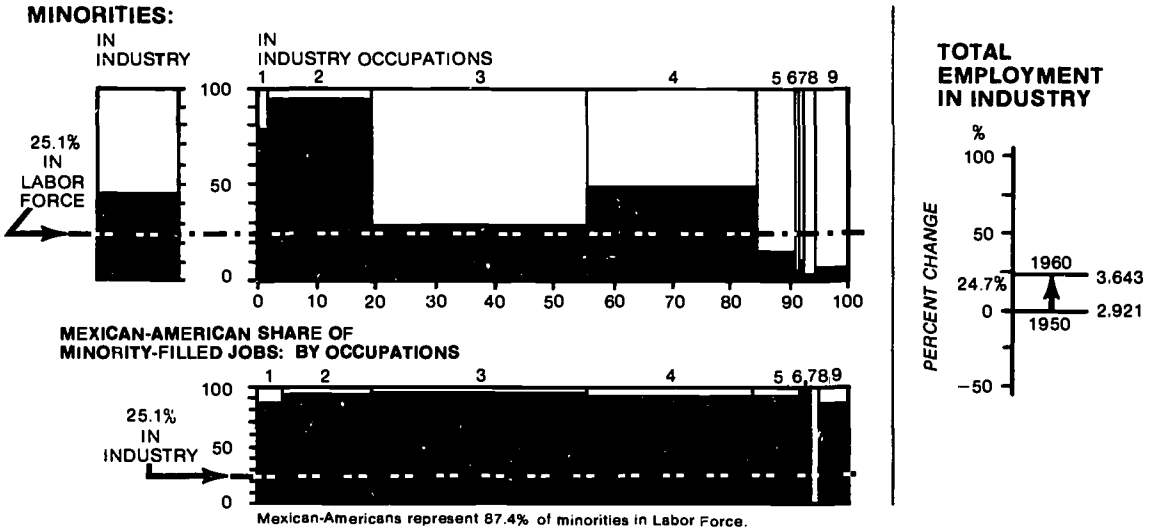
BERNALILLO COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MISCELLANEOUS MANUFACTURING



TRANSPORTATION



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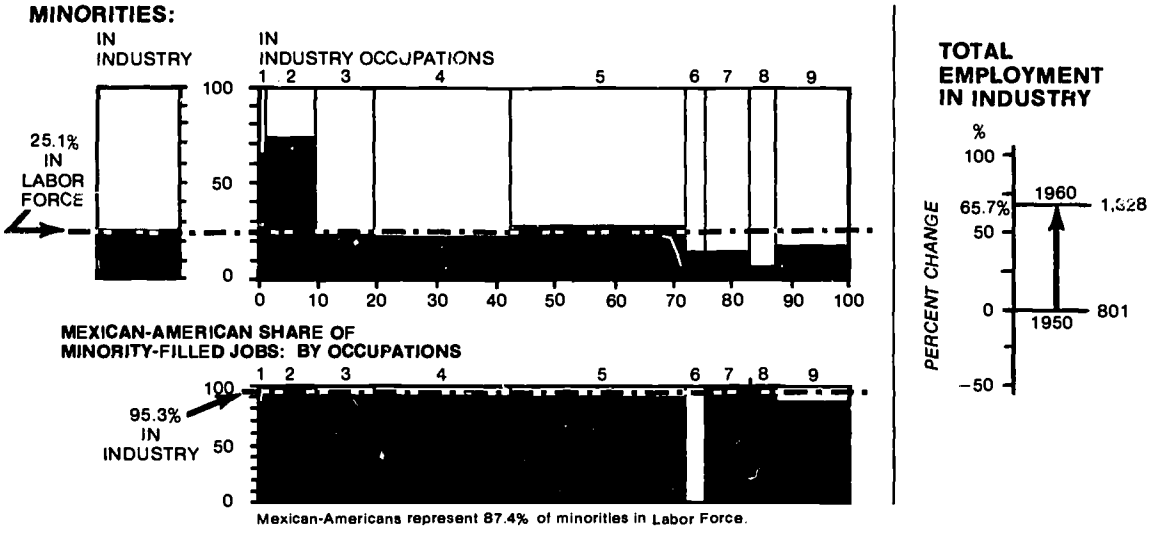
BERNALILLO COUNTY, NEW MEX.

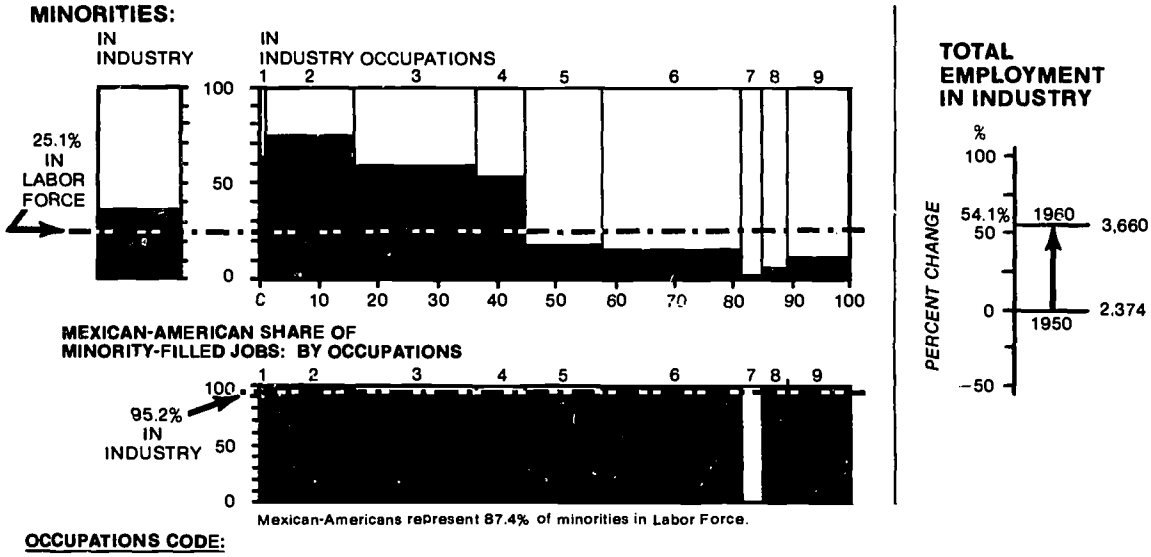
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

UTILITIES/SANITARY SERVICES



Mexican-Americans represent 87.4% of minorities in Labor Force.

WHOLESALE TRADE



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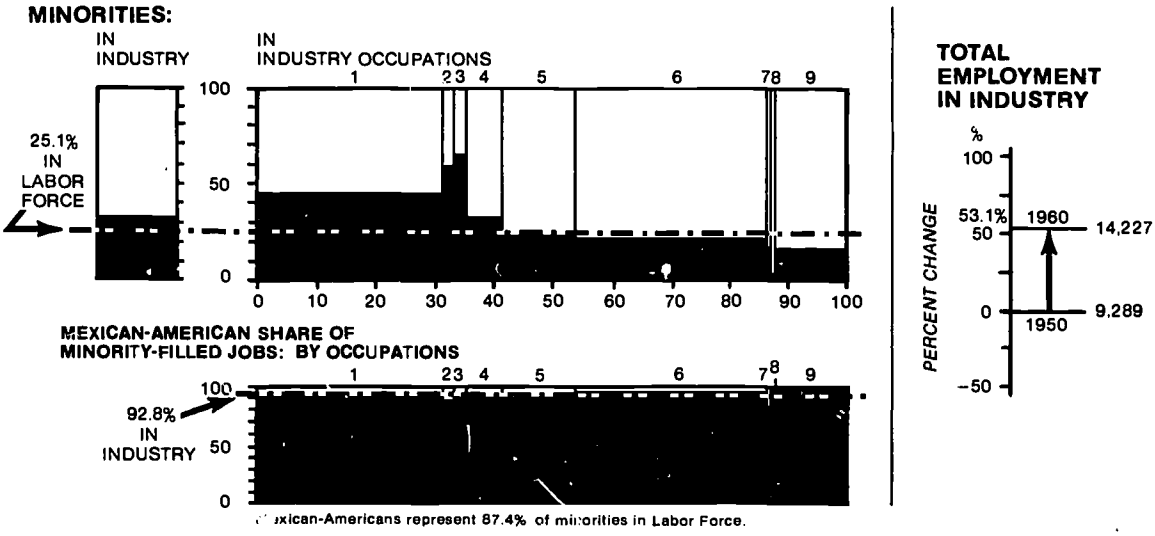
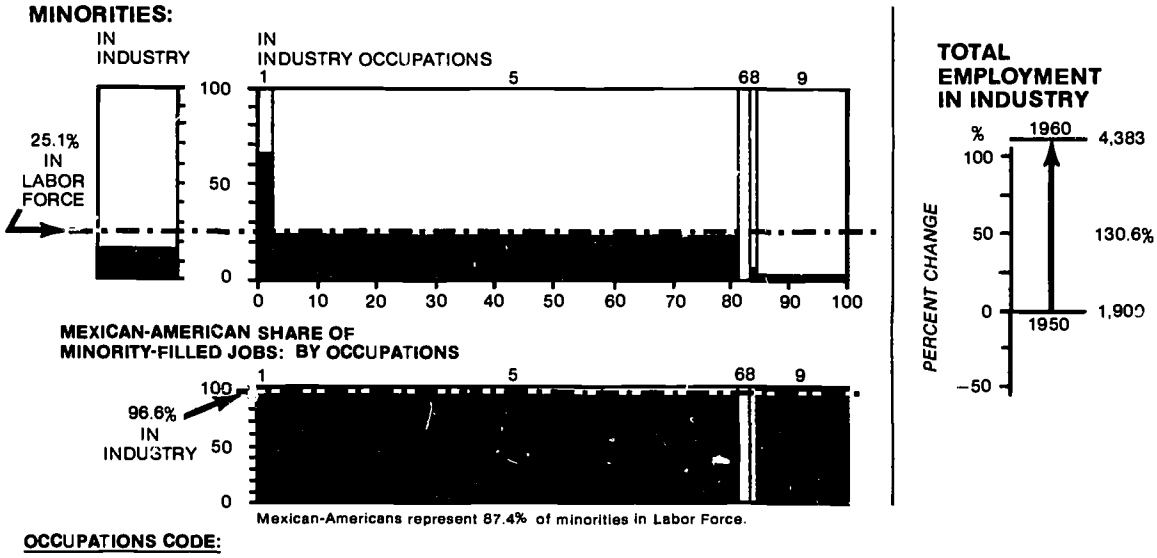
BERNALILLO COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

RETAIL TRADE



FINANCE



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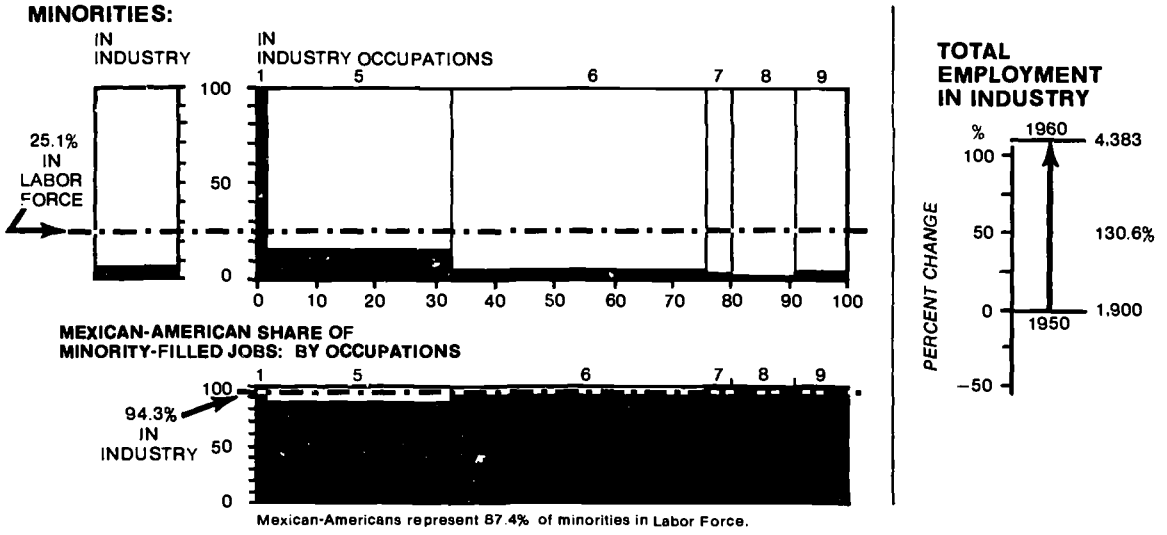
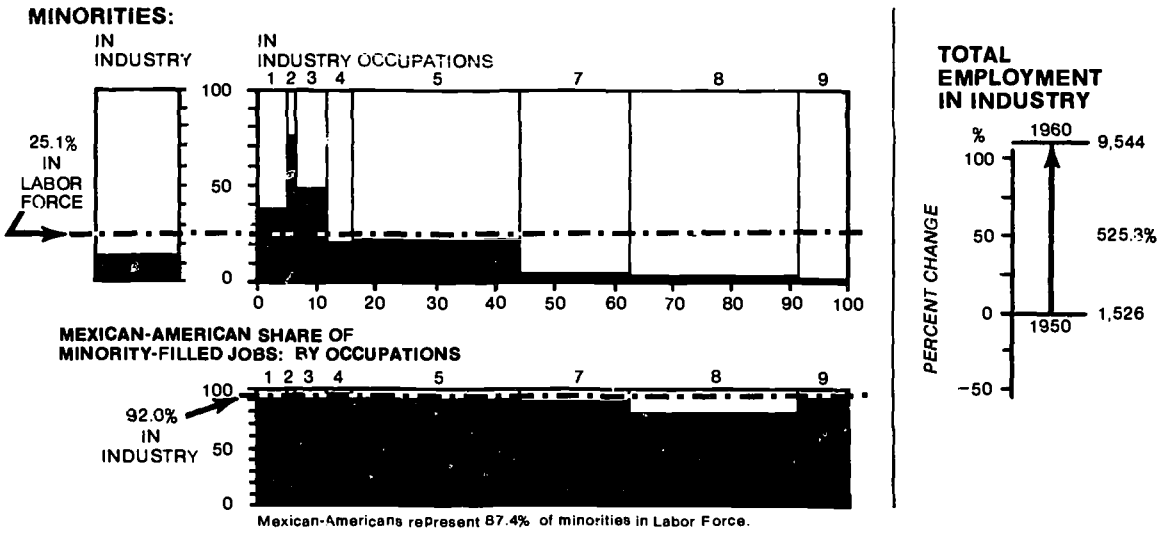
BERNALILLO COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

INSURANCE



BUSINESS SERVICES



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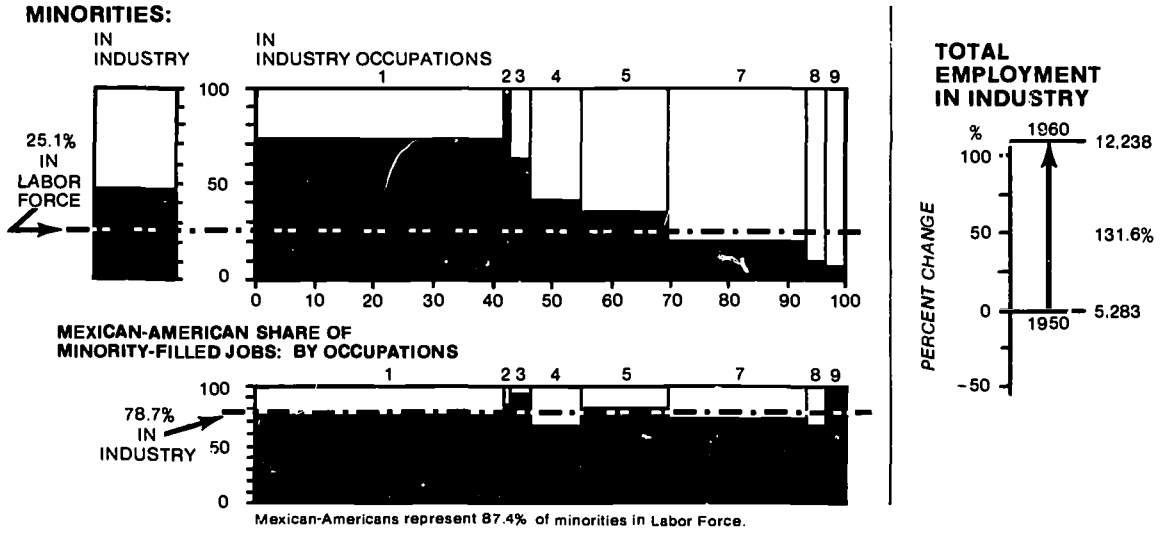
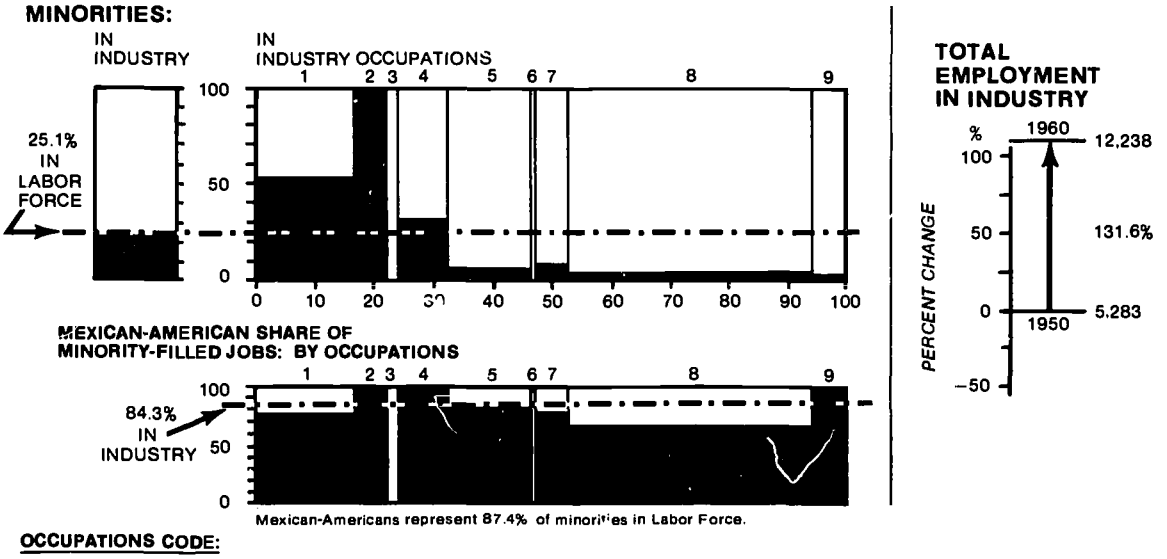
BERNALILLO COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MEDICAL SERVICES



EDUCATIONAL SERVICES



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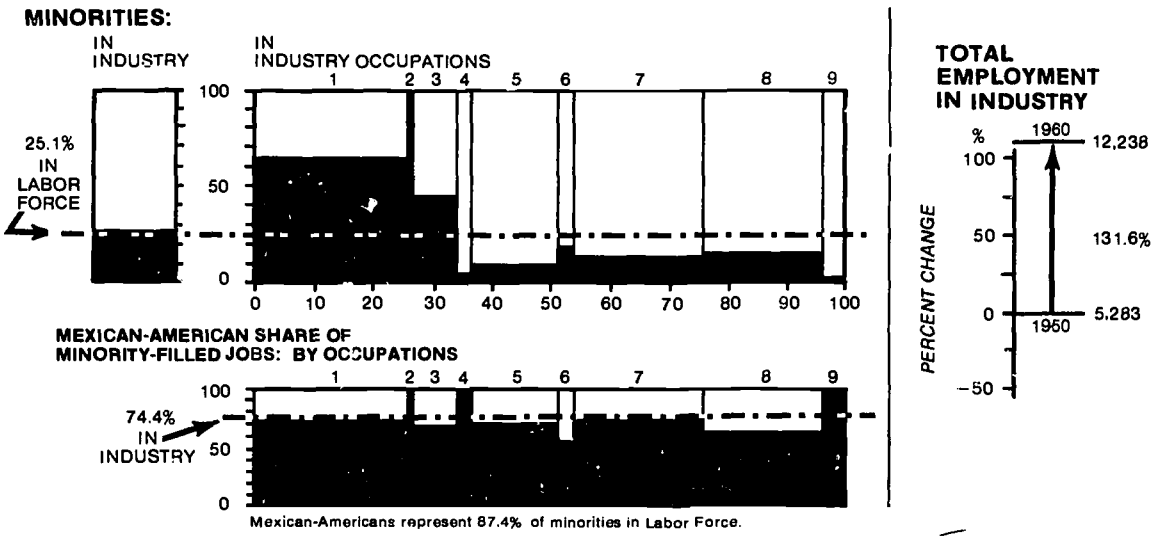
BERNALILLO COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

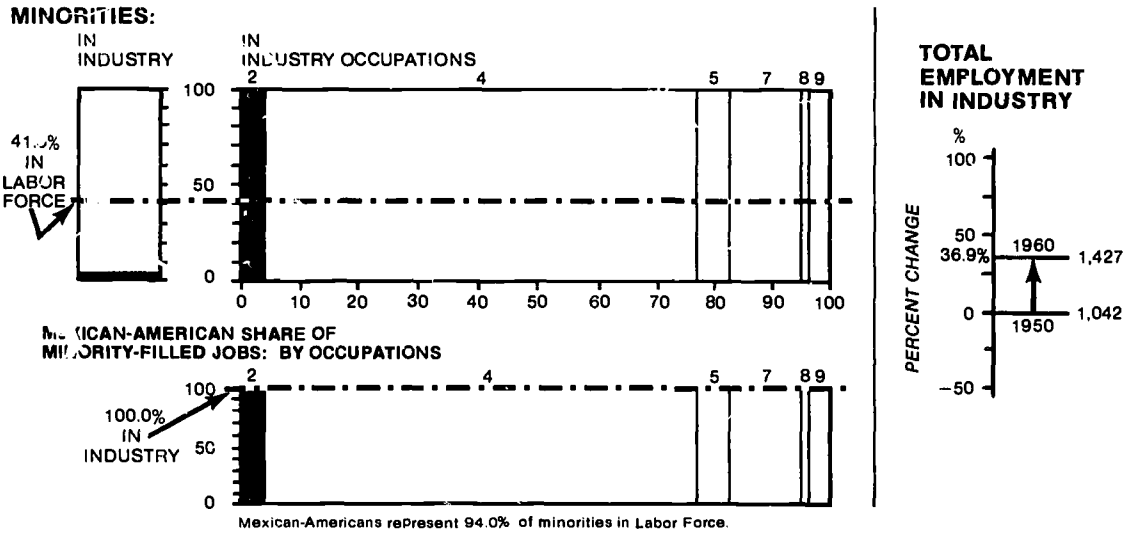
MISCELLANEOUS/OTHER SERVICES



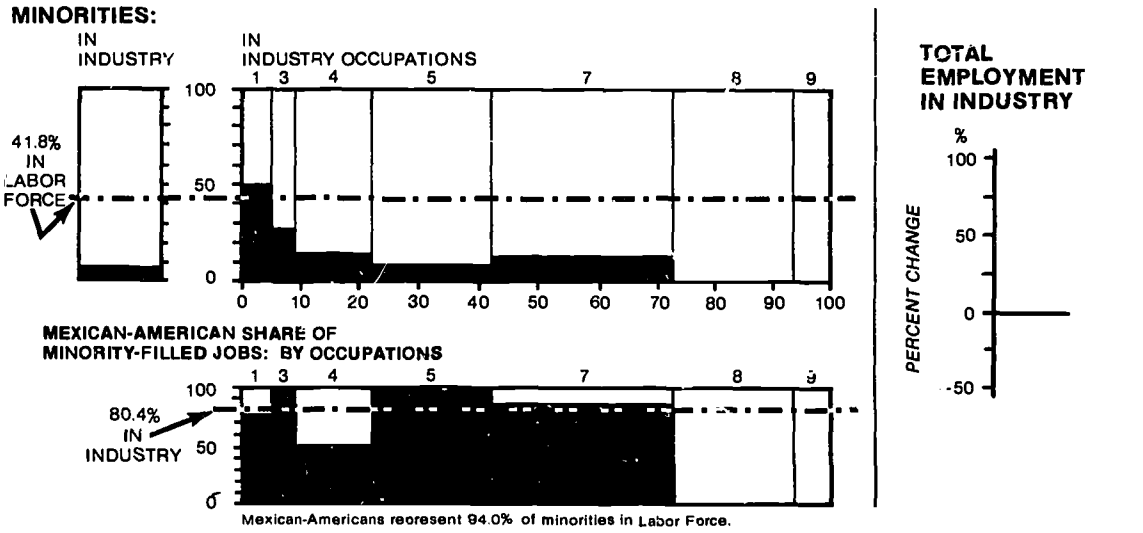
DONA ANA COUNTY. NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



ELECTRONIC MACHINERY, EQUIPMENT/SUPPLIES



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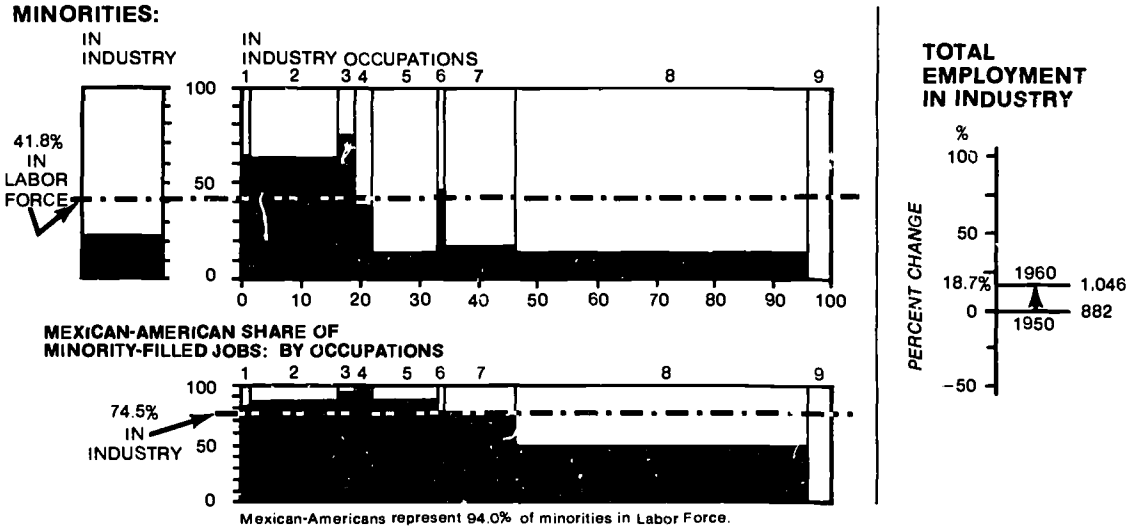
DOÑA ANA COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES



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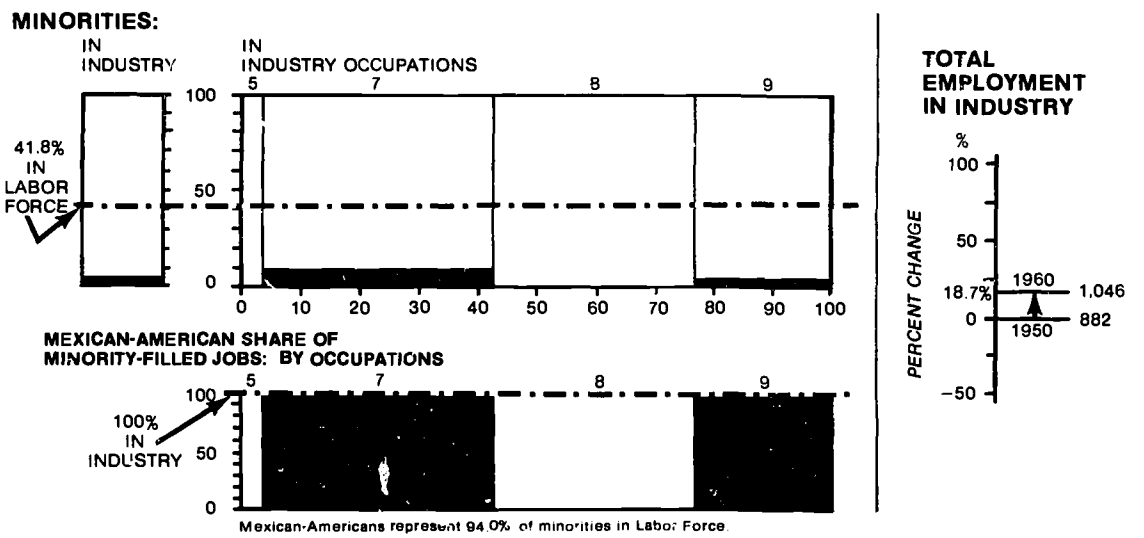

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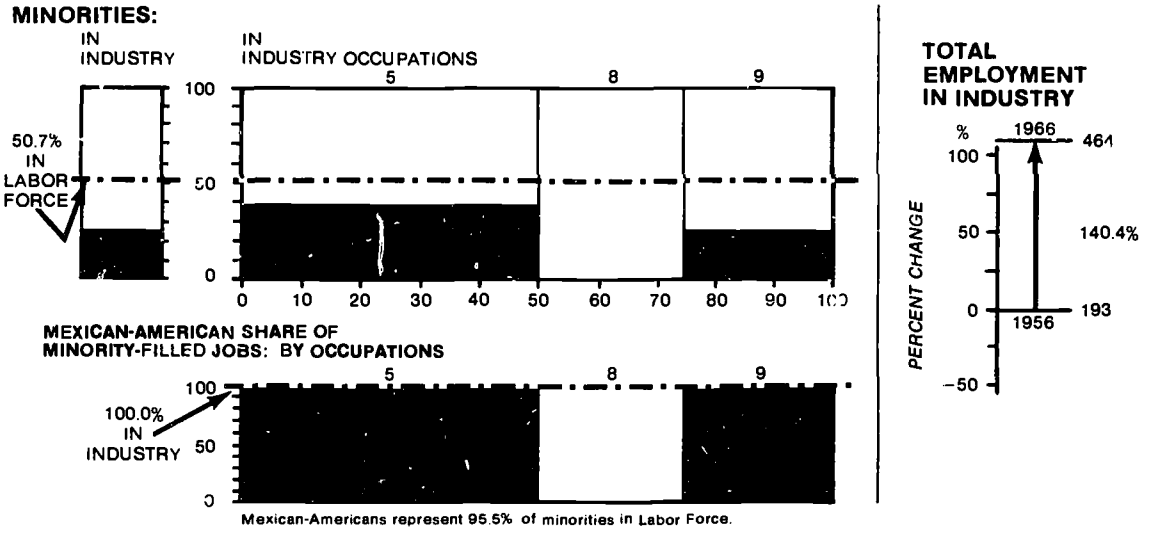
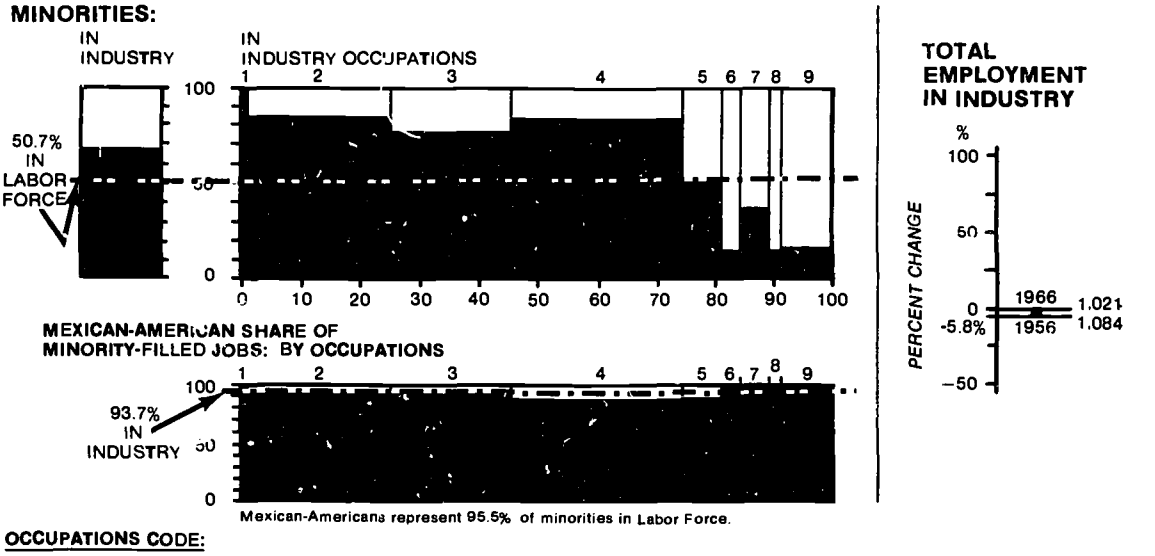
SANTA FE COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MINING



CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



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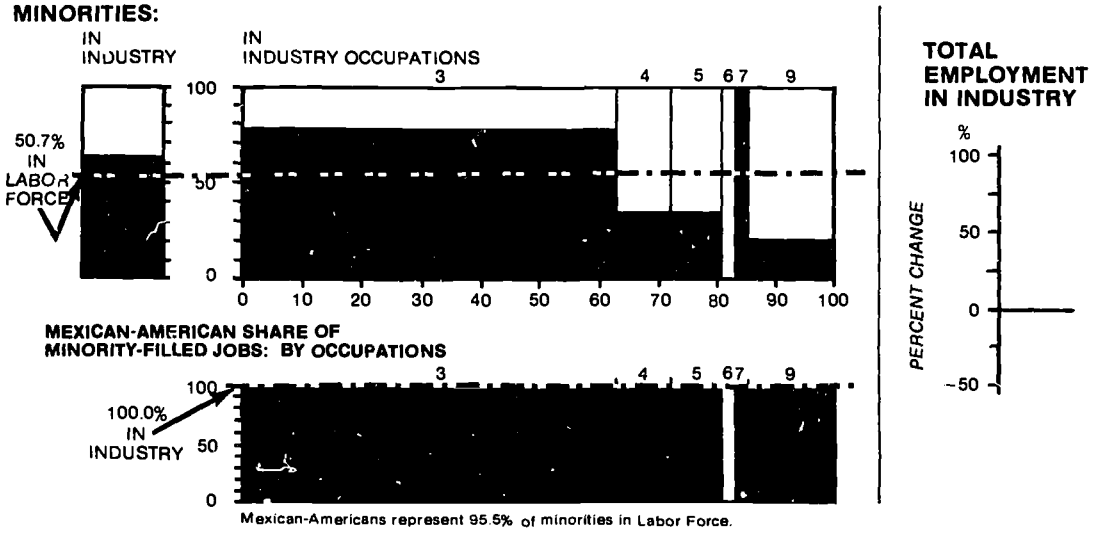
SANTA FE COUNTY, NEW MEX.

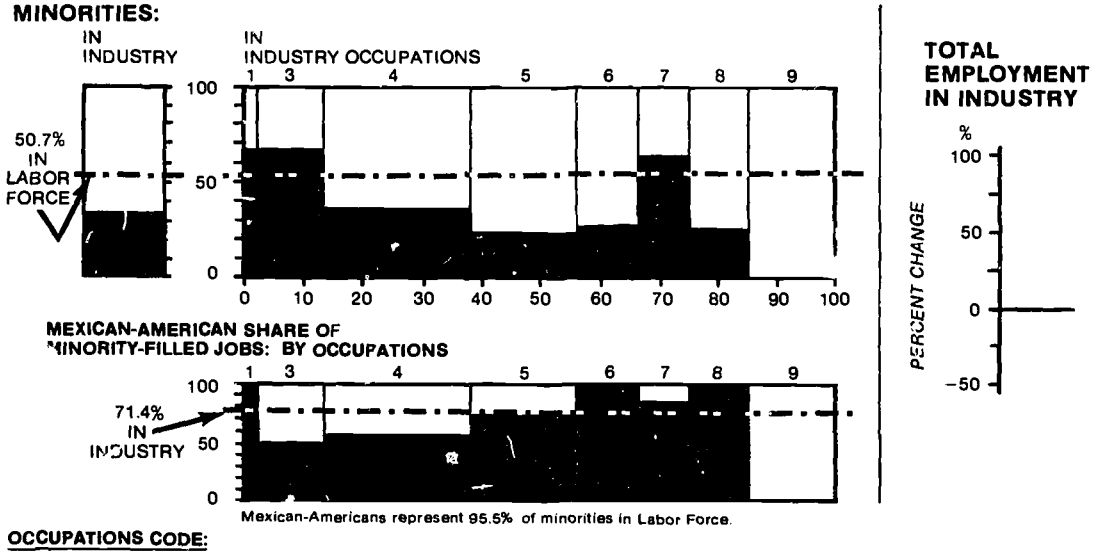
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



Mexican-Americans represent 95.5% of minorities in Labor Force.

ELECTRONIC MACHINERY, EQUIPMENT/SUPPLIES



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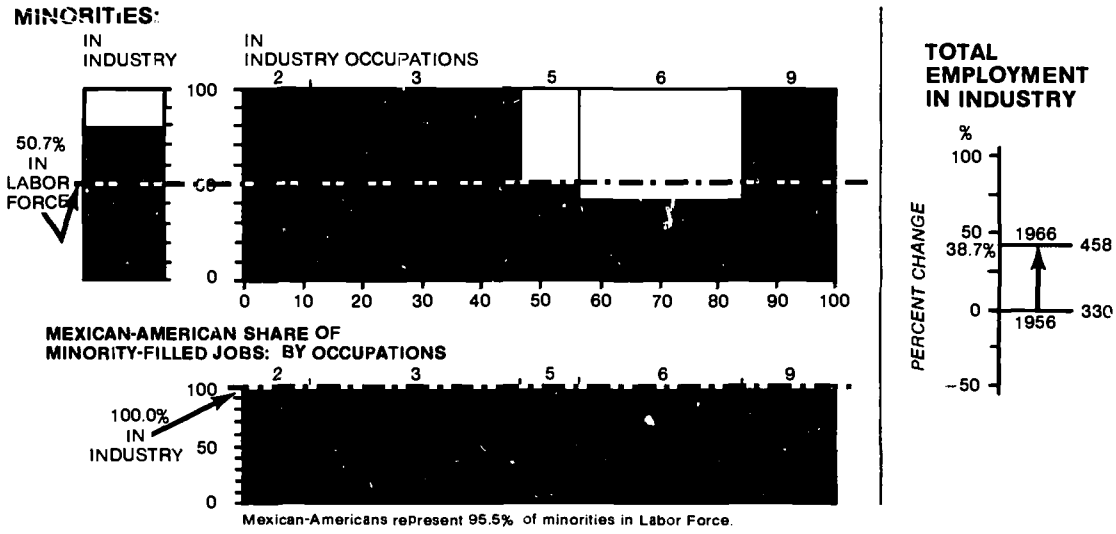
SANTA FE COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

WHOLESALE TRADE



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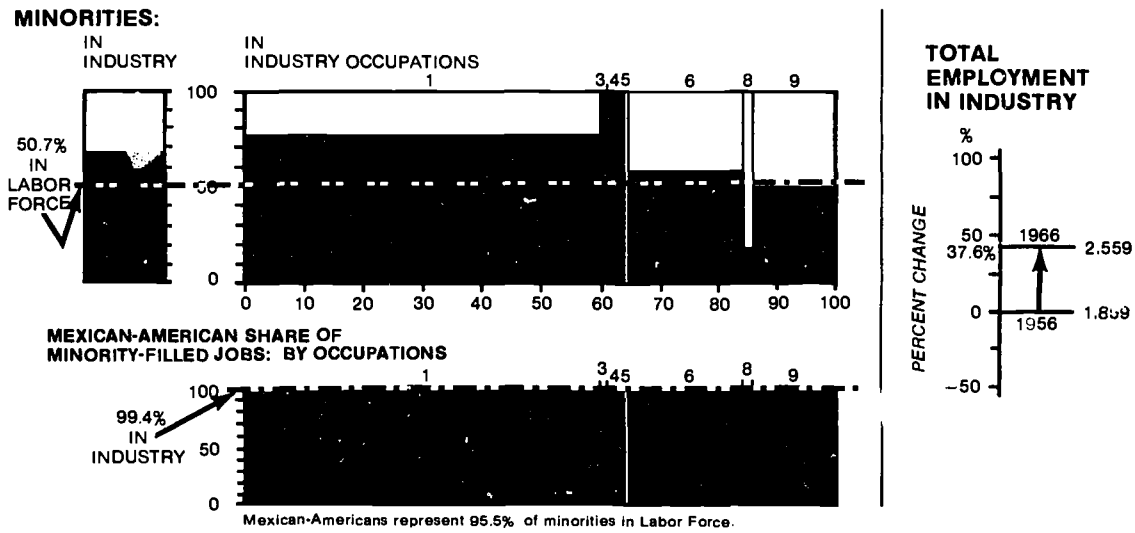
RETAIL TRADE



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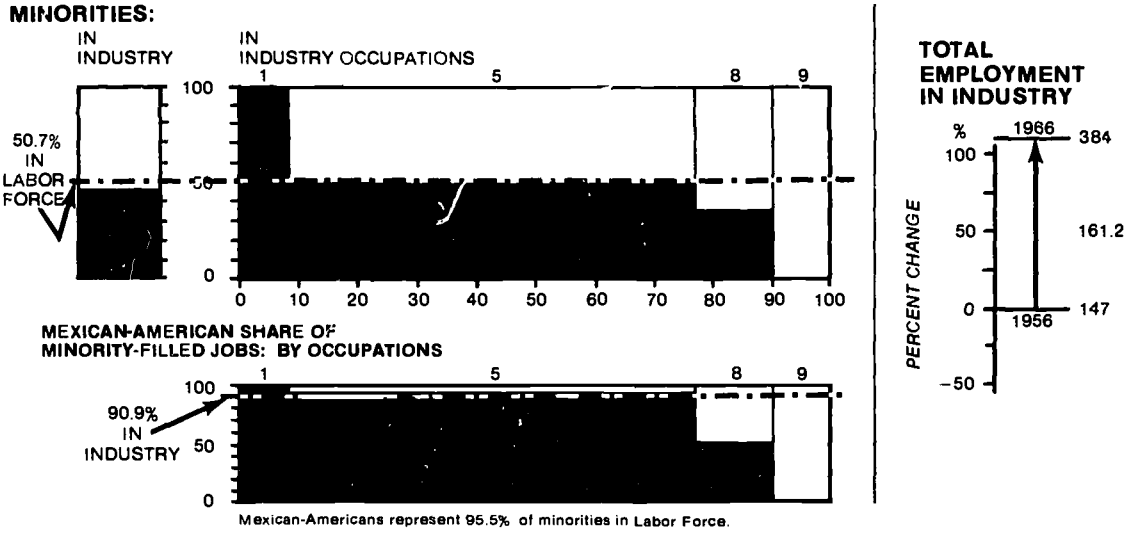
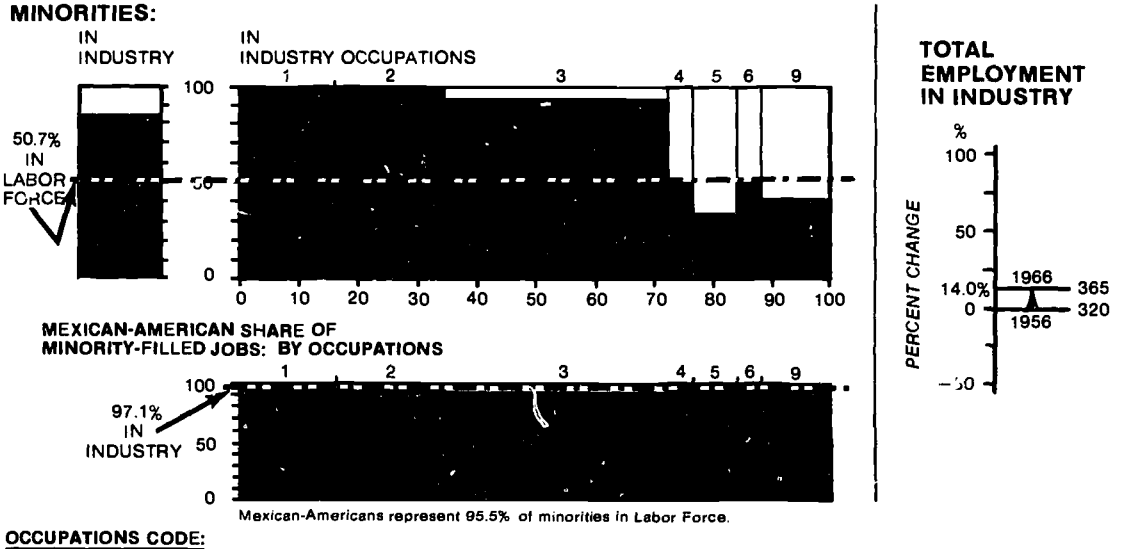
SANTA FE COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FINANCE



PERSONAL SERVICES



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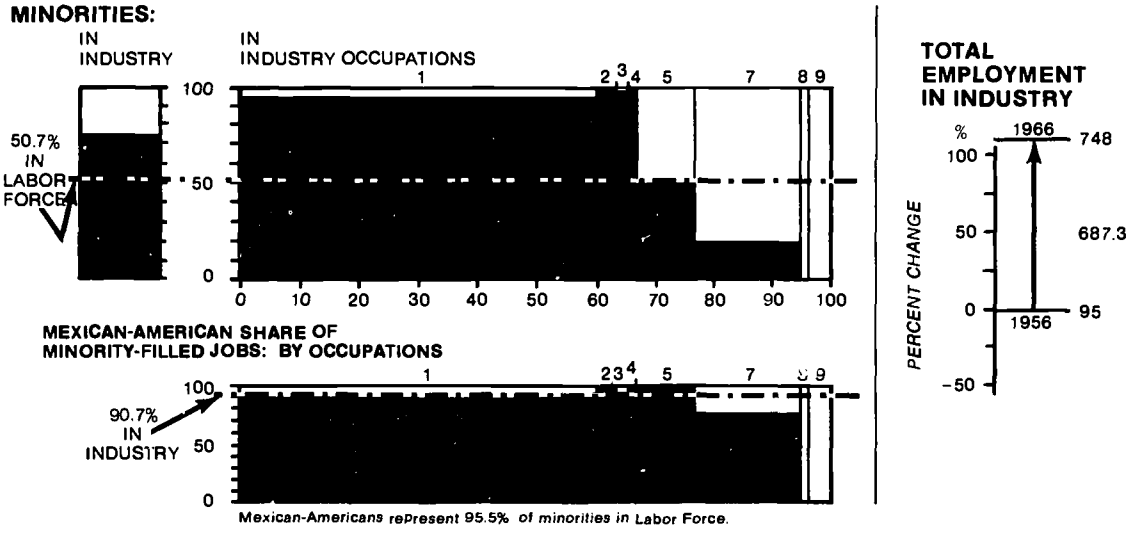
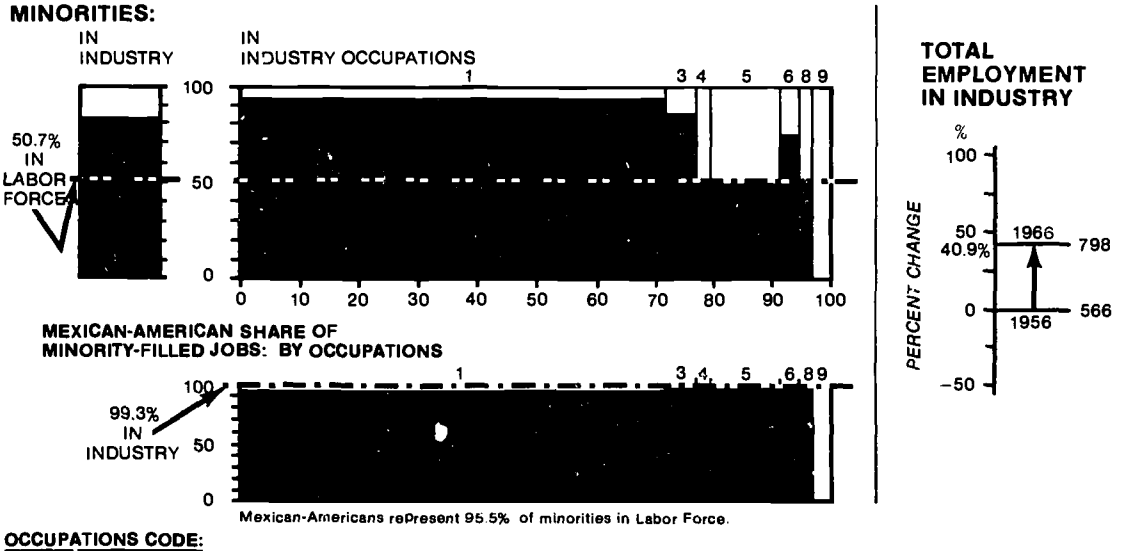
SANTA FE COUNTY, NEW MEX.

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MEDICAL SERVICES



MISCELLANEOUS/OTHER SERVICES



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4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

WHITE COLLAR:

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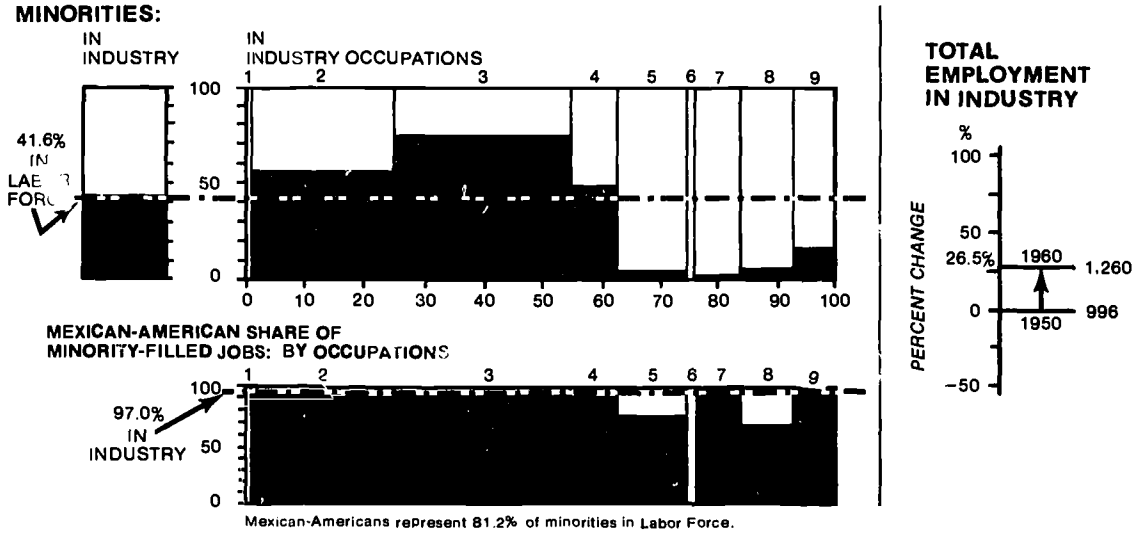
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

374-215 O - 70 - 13

BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS

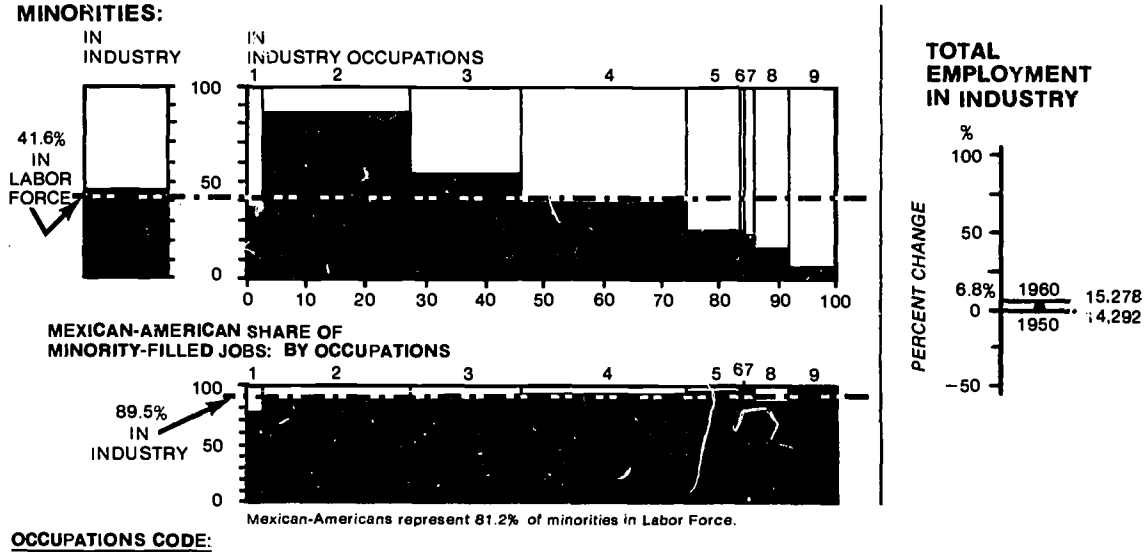
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MINING



Mexican-Americans represent 81.2% of minorities in Labor Force.

CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



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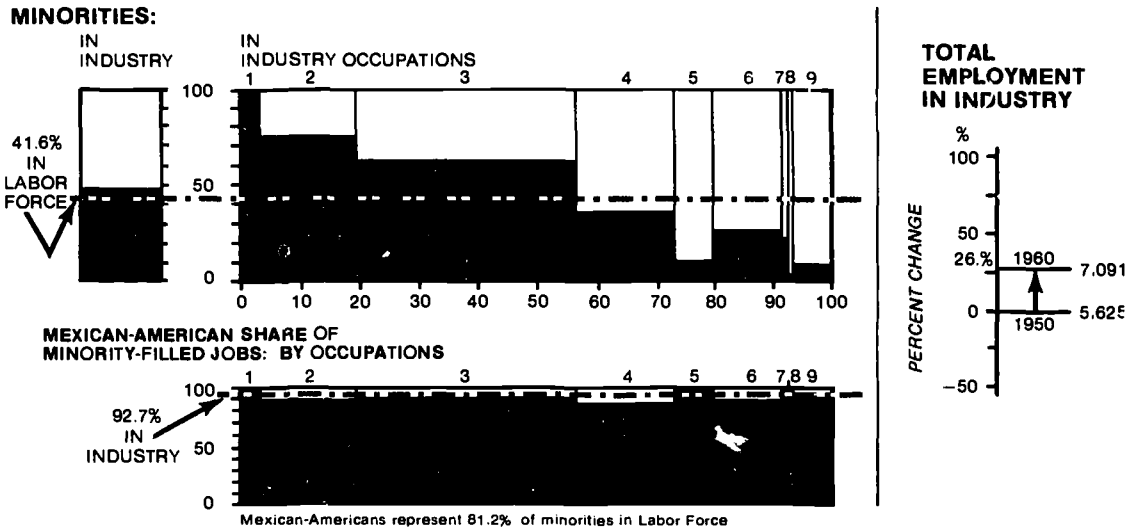
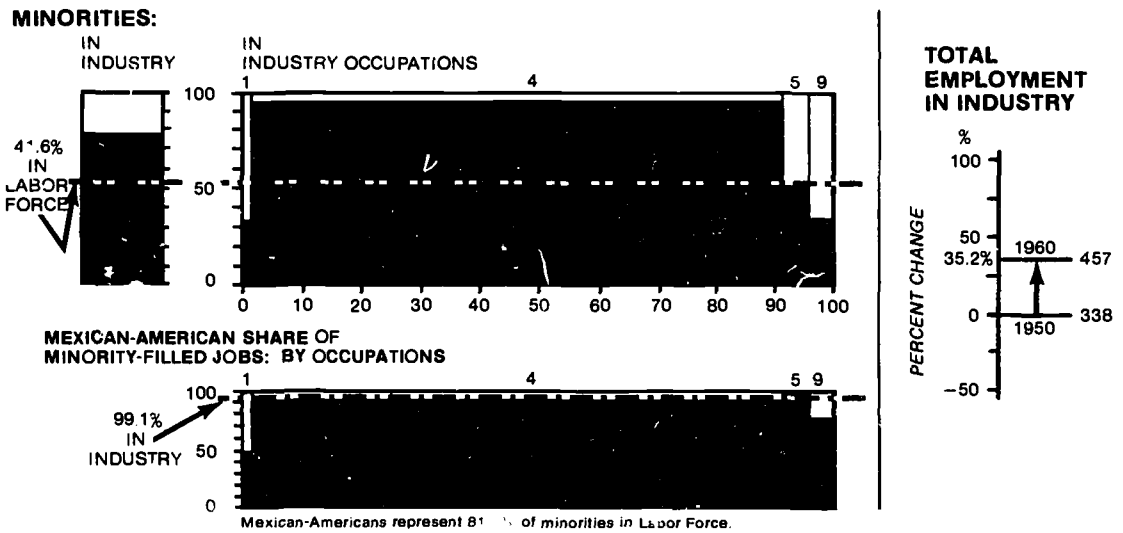
BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



TEXTILE PRODUCTS



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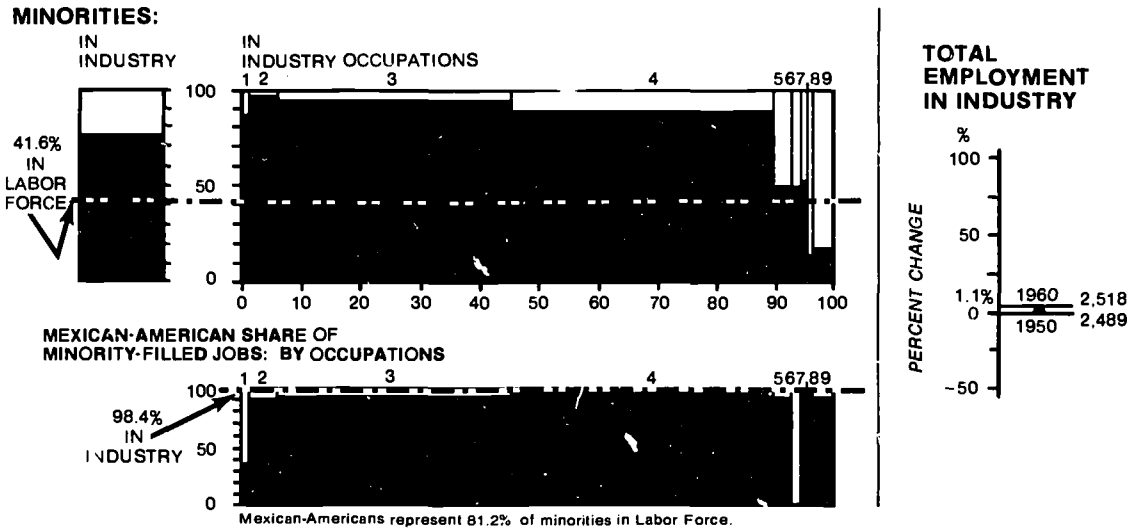
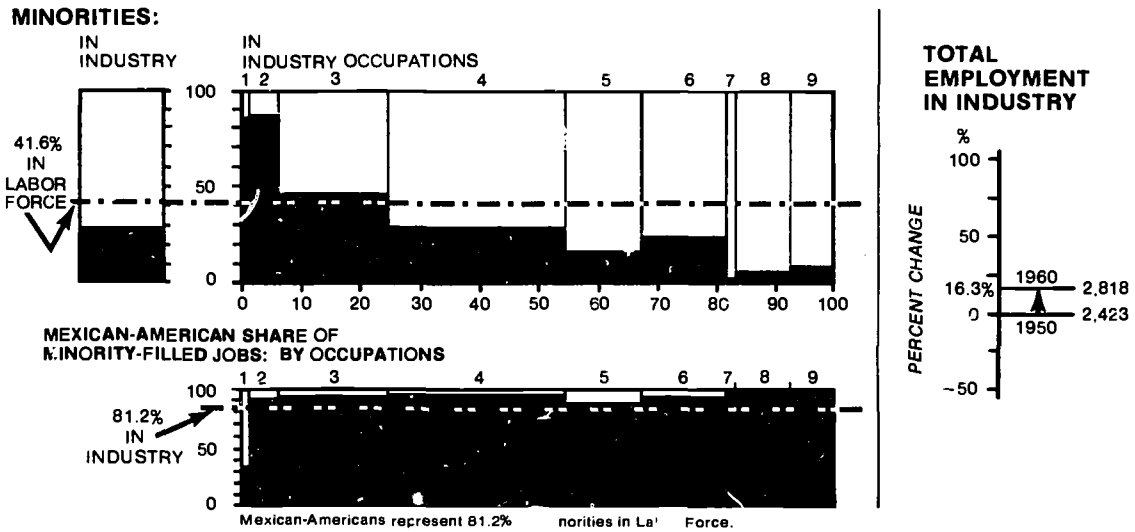
BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

APPAREL



PRINTING/PUBLISHING



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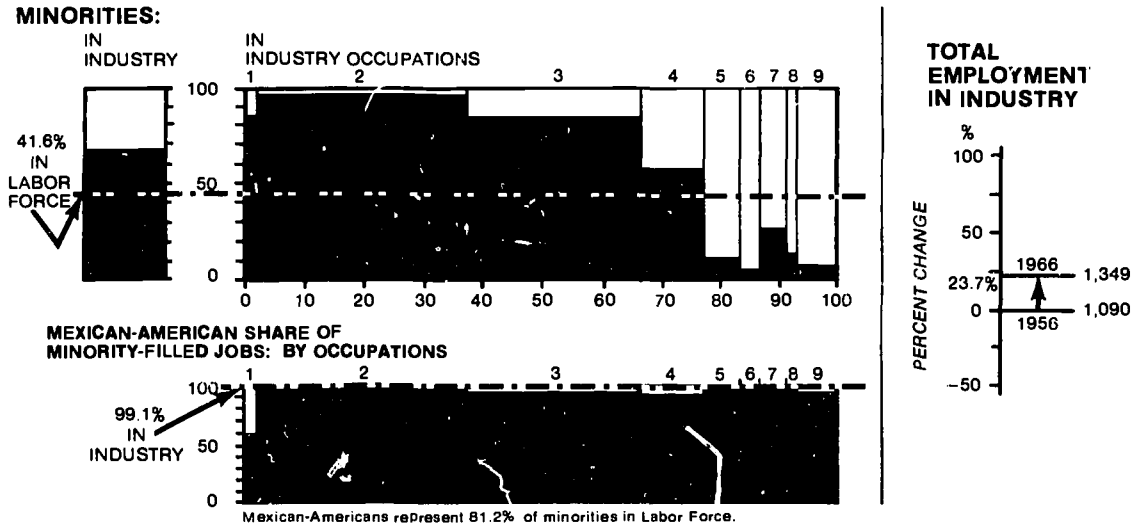
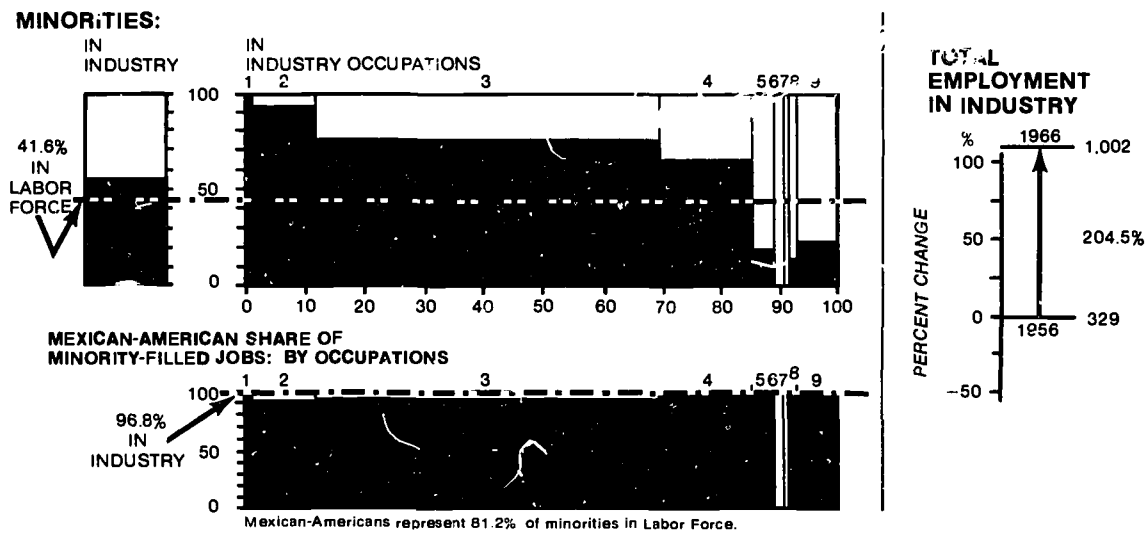
BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

STONE, CLAY/GLASS PRODUCTS



PRIMARY METAL INDUSTRIES



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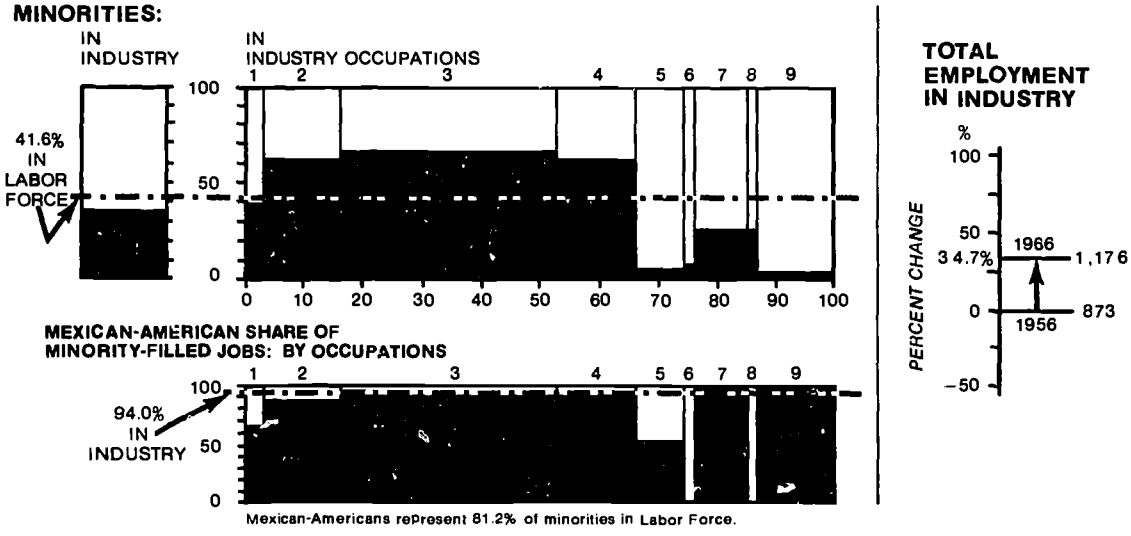
BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS



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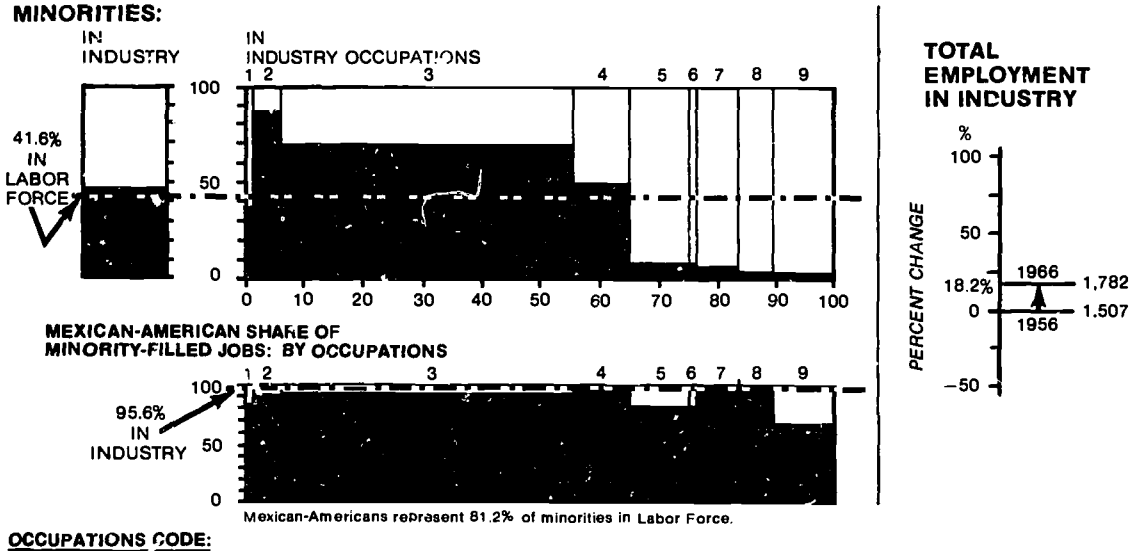
MACHINERY (NON-ELECTRIC)



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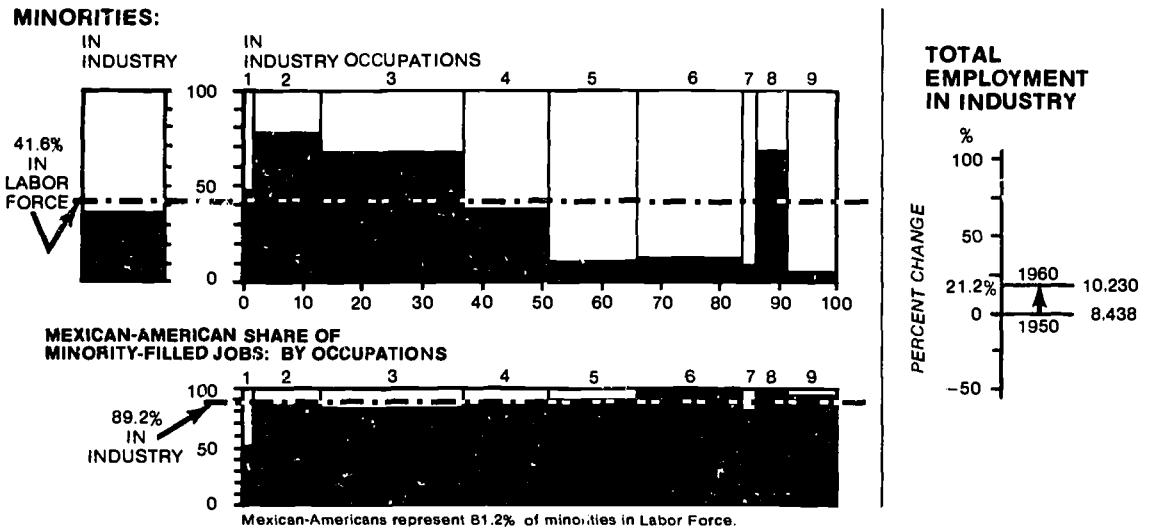
BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

WHOLESALE TRADE



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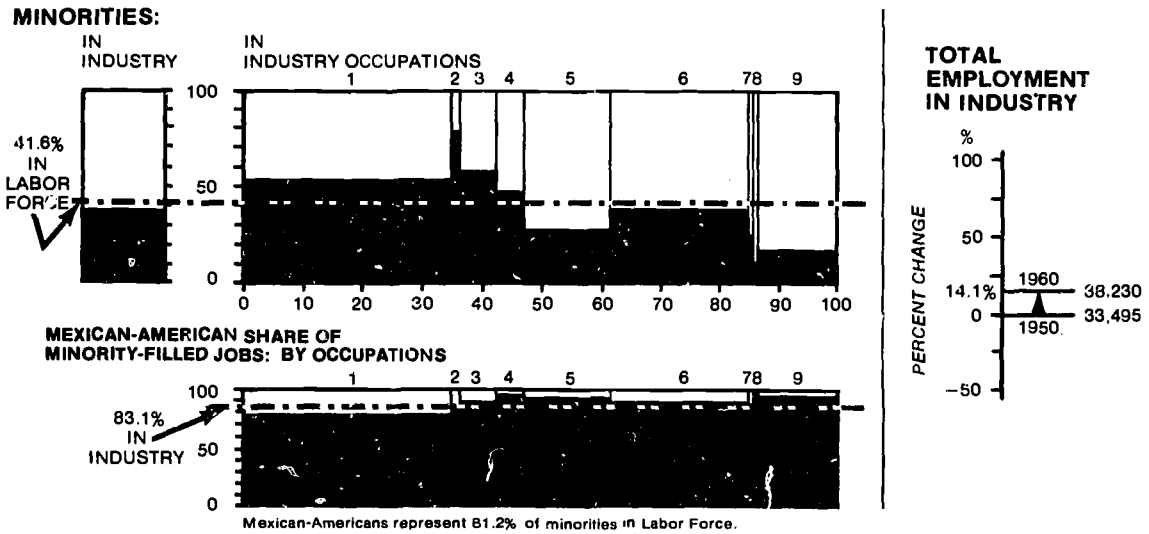
RETAIL TRADE



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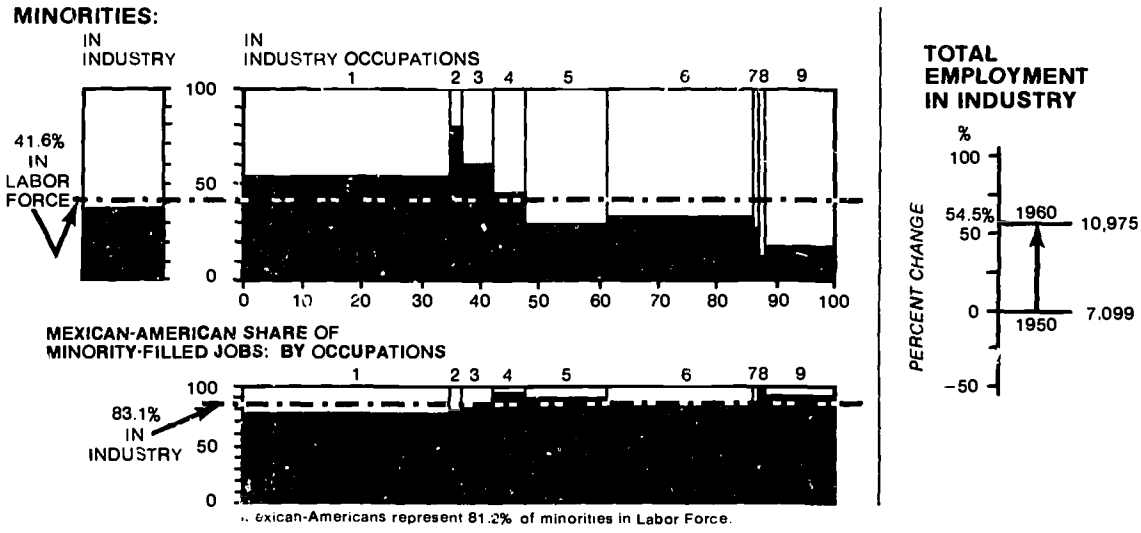
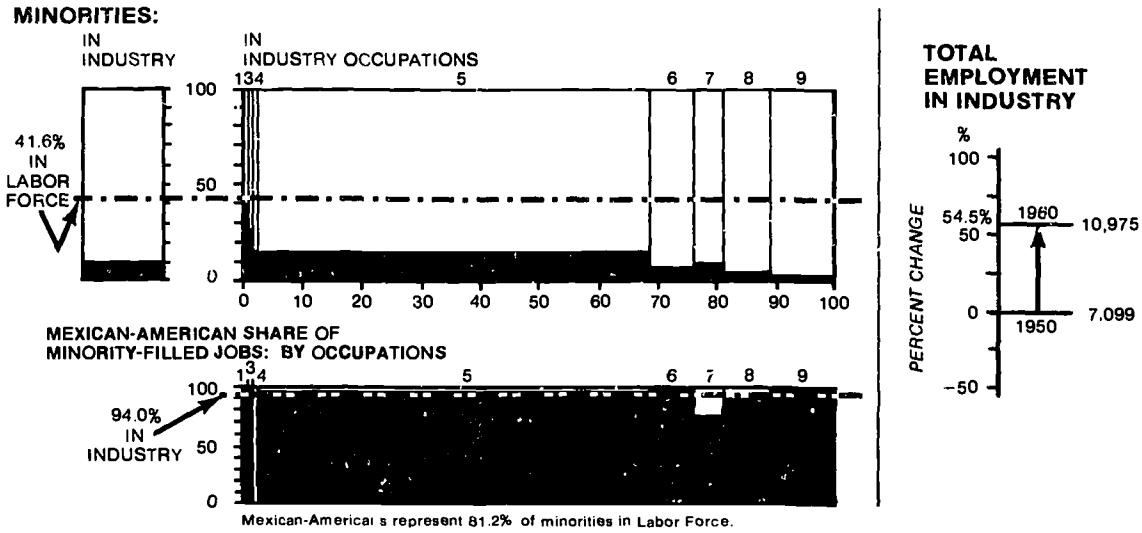
BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FINANCE



INSURANCE



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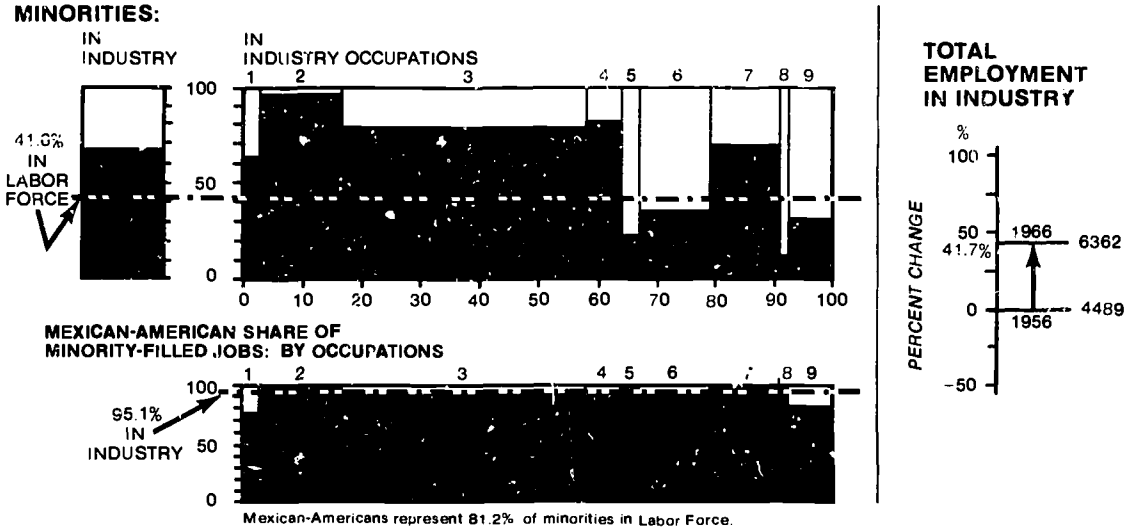
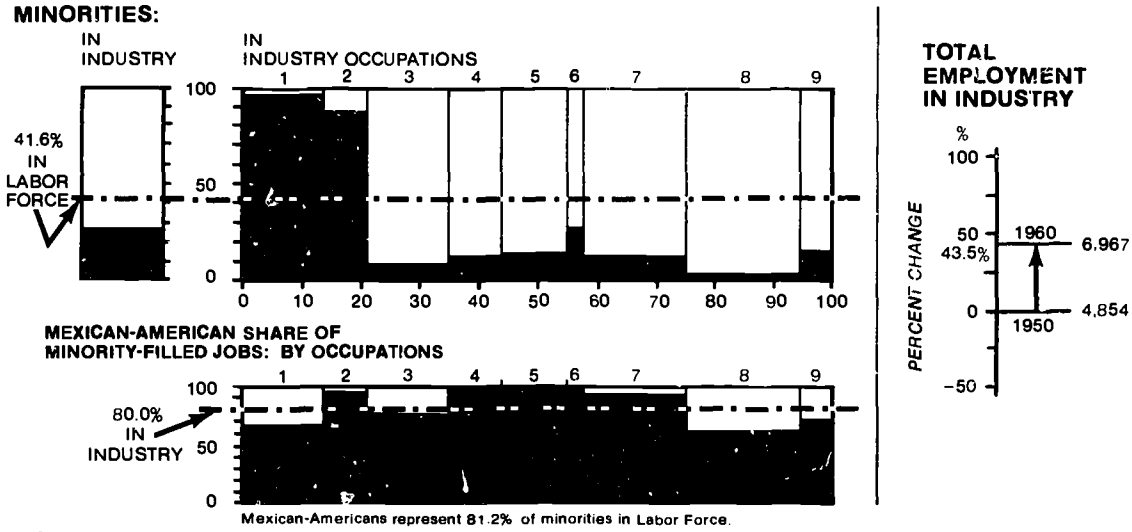
BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PERSONAL SERVICES



BUSINESS SERVICES



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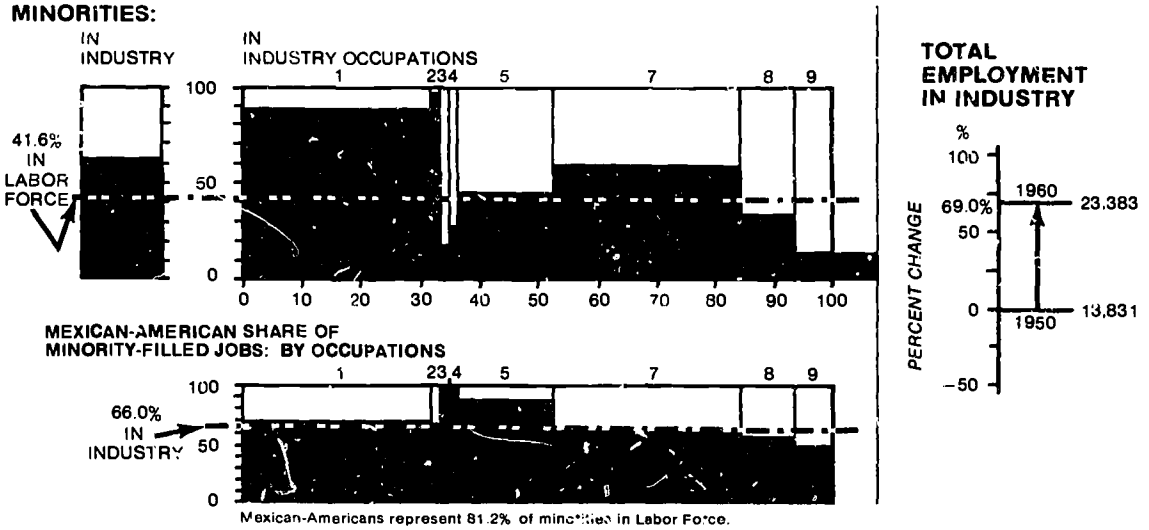
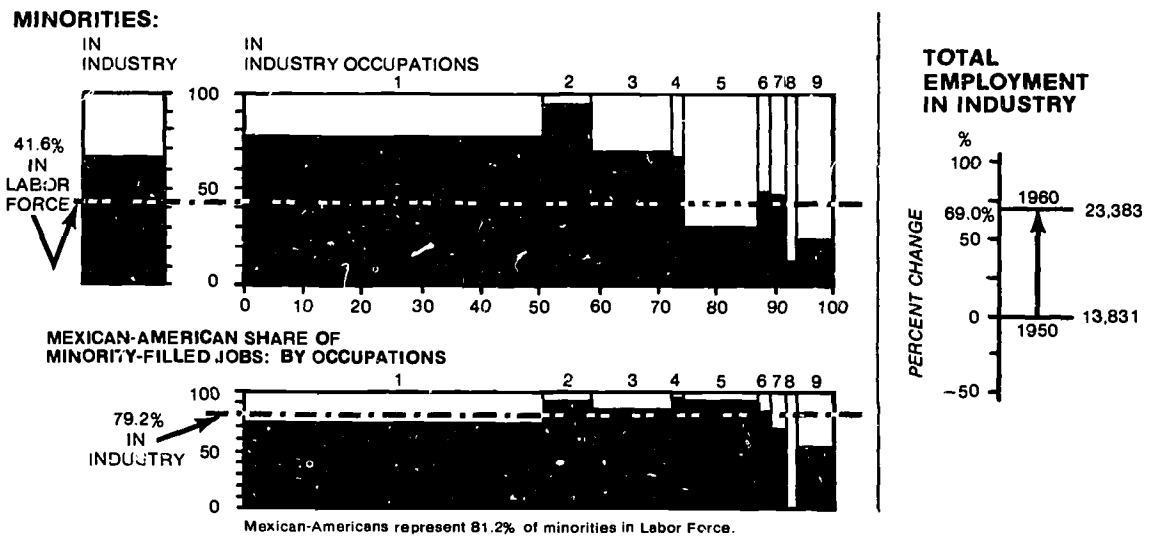
BEXAR COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MEDICAL SERVICES



MISCELLANEOUS/OTHER SERVICES



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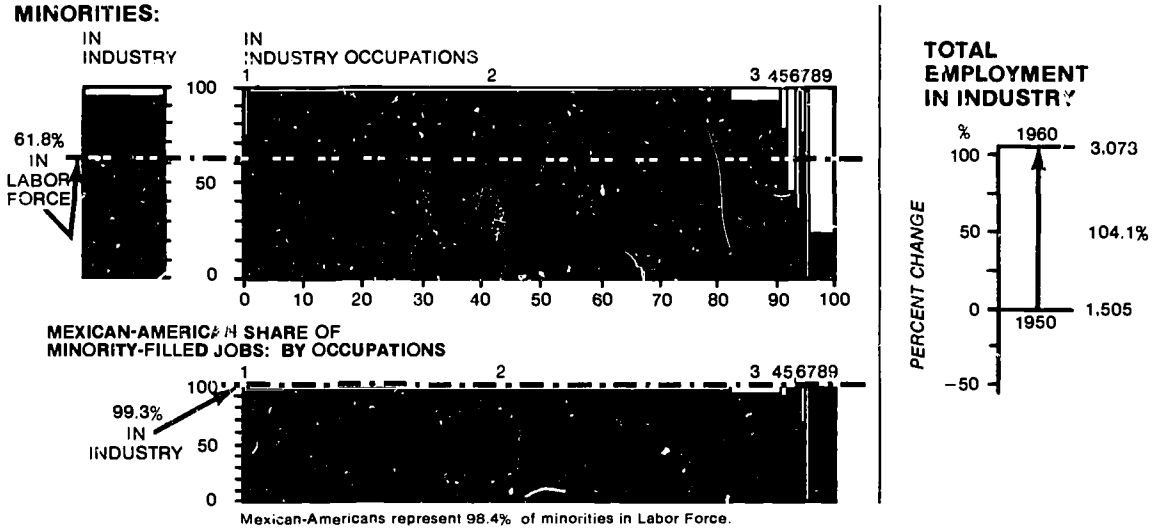
CAMERON COUNTY, TEXAS

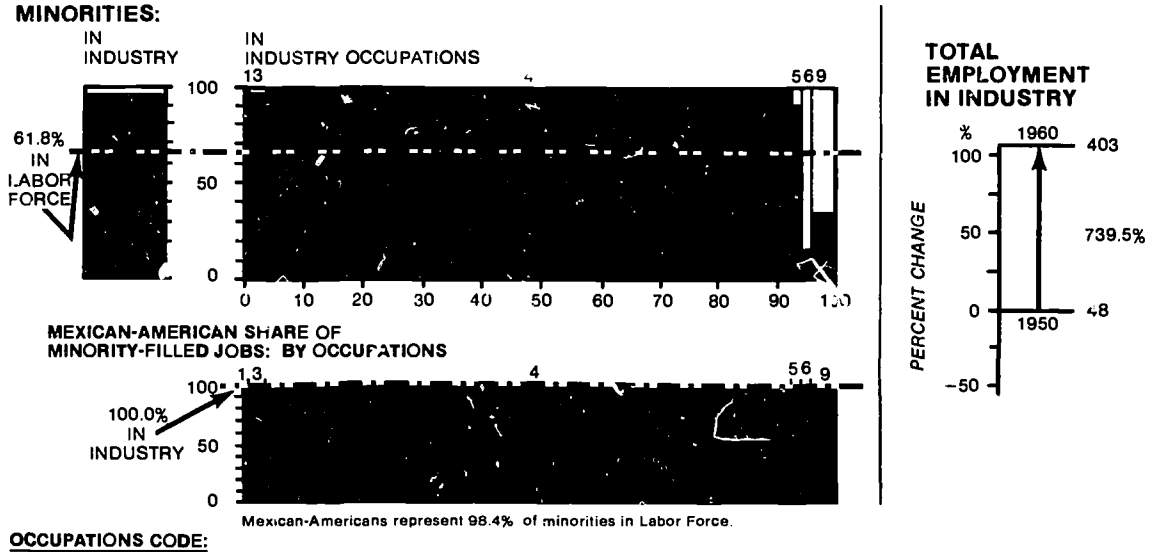
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



Mexican-Americans represent 98.4% of minorities in Labor Force.

APPAREL



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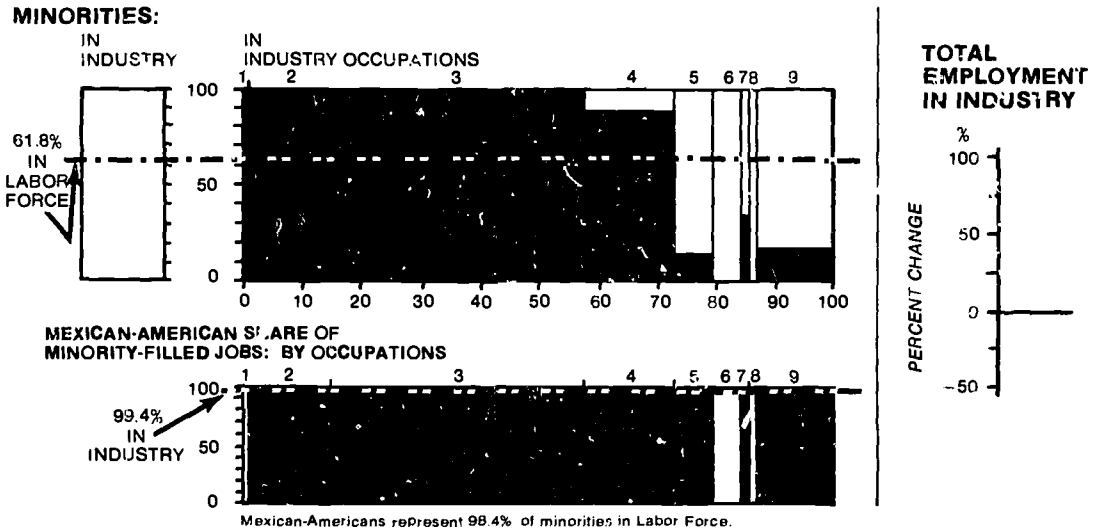
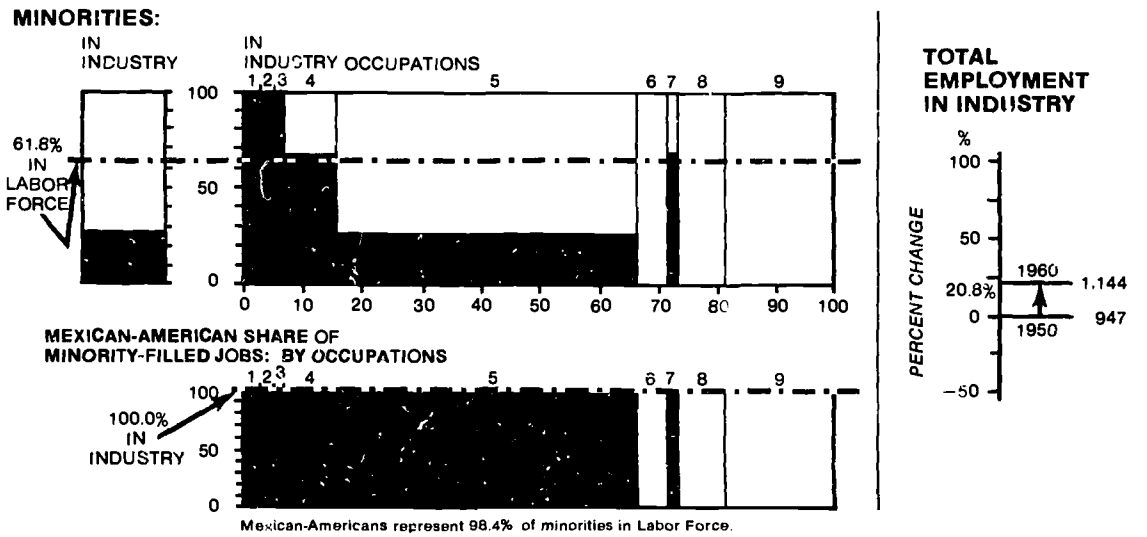
CAMERON COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

STONE, CLAY/GLASS PRODUCTS



UTILITIES/SANITARY SERVICES



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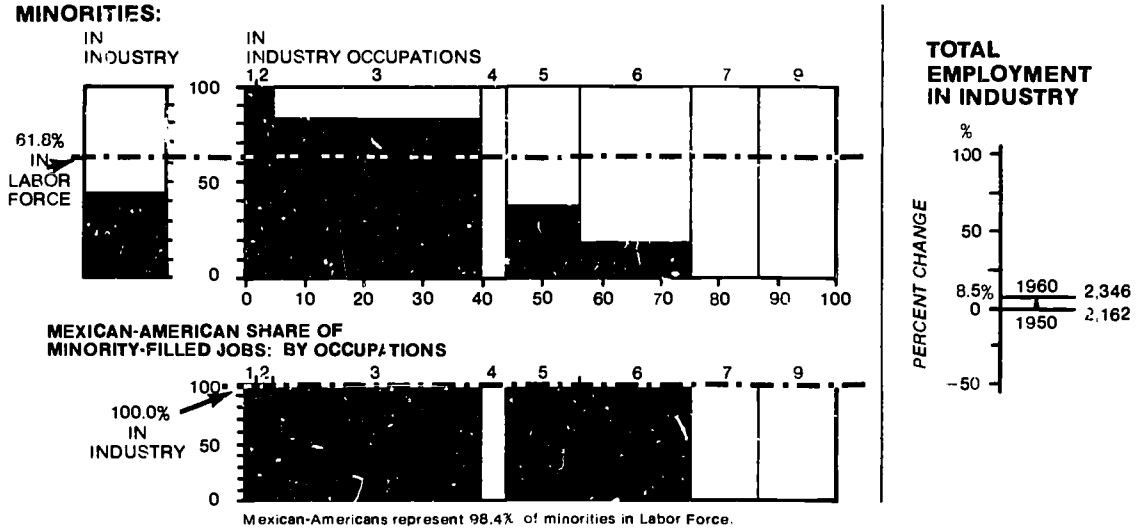
CAMERON COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

WHOLESALE TRADE



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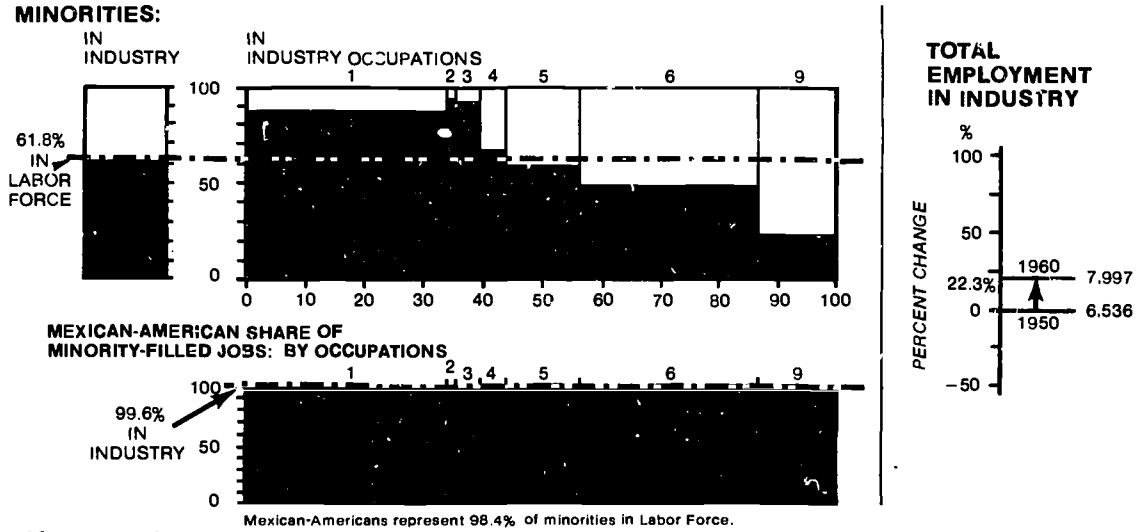
RETAIL TRADE



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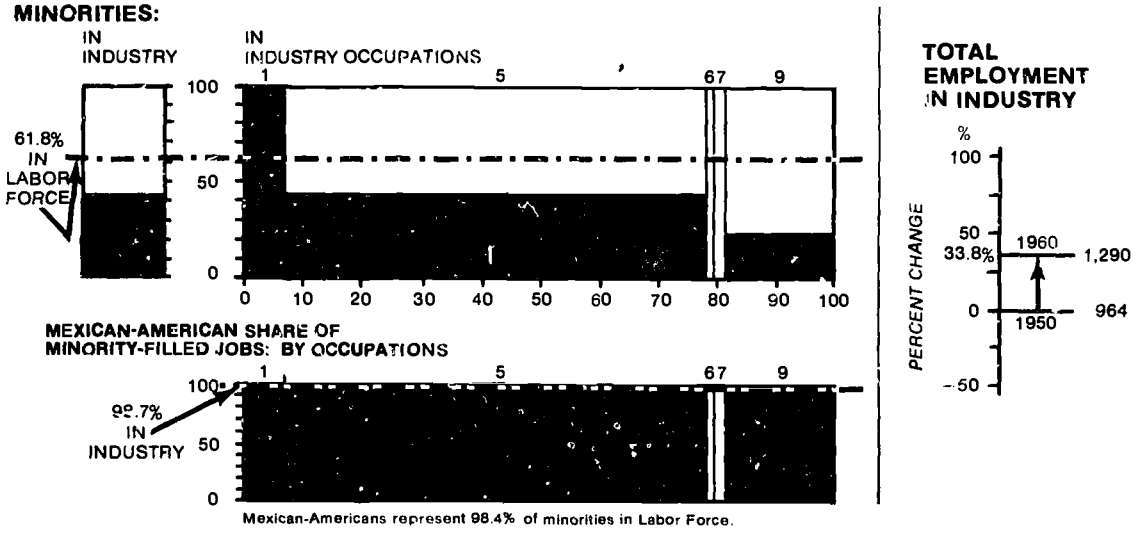
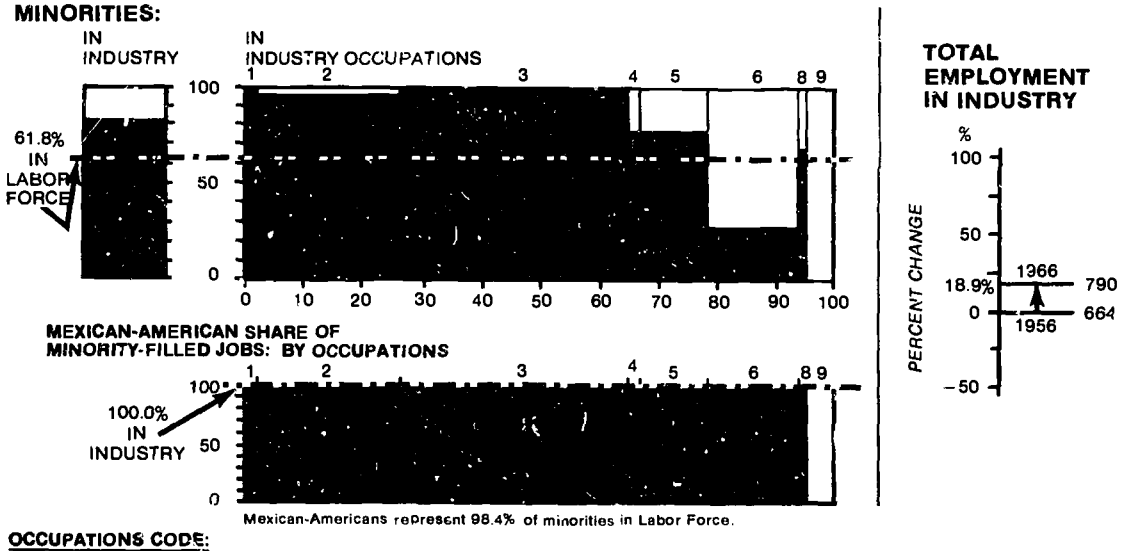
CAMERON COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FINANCE



PERSONAL SERVICES



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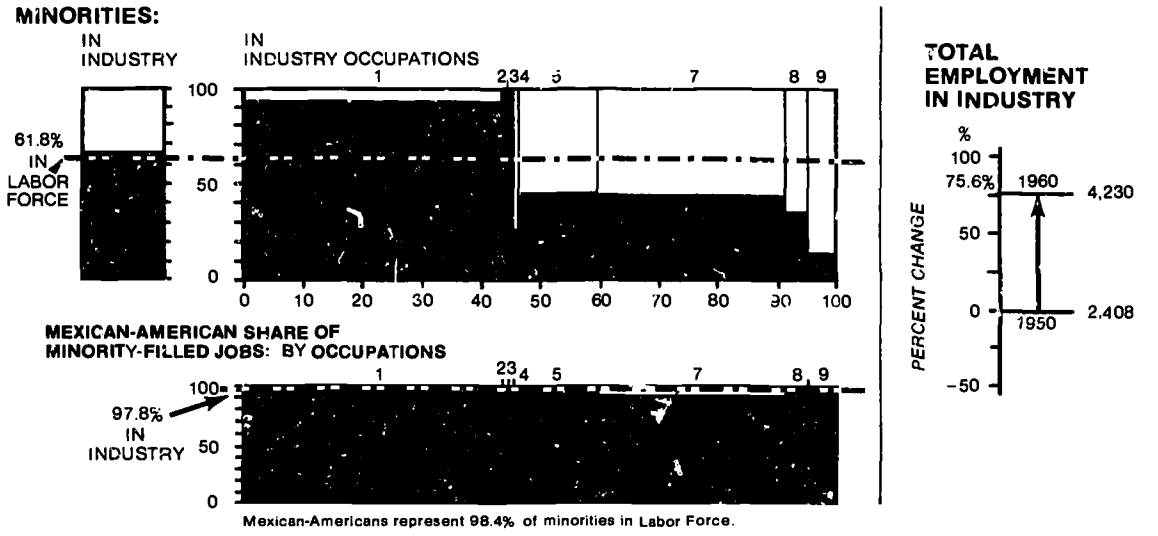
CAMERON COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MEDICAL SERVICES



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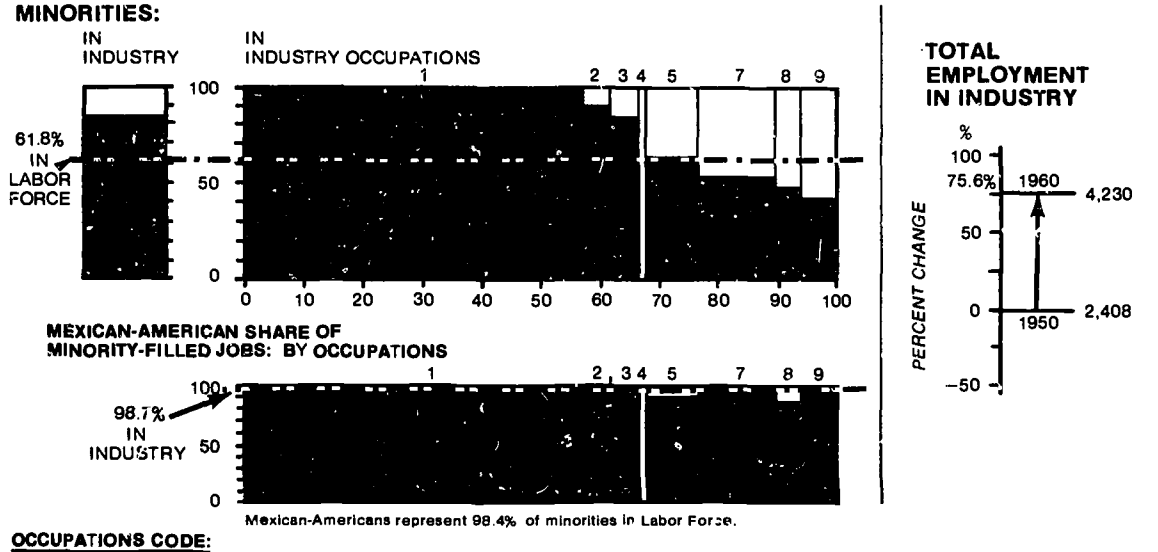
INDUSTRIES NOT CLASSIFIABLE



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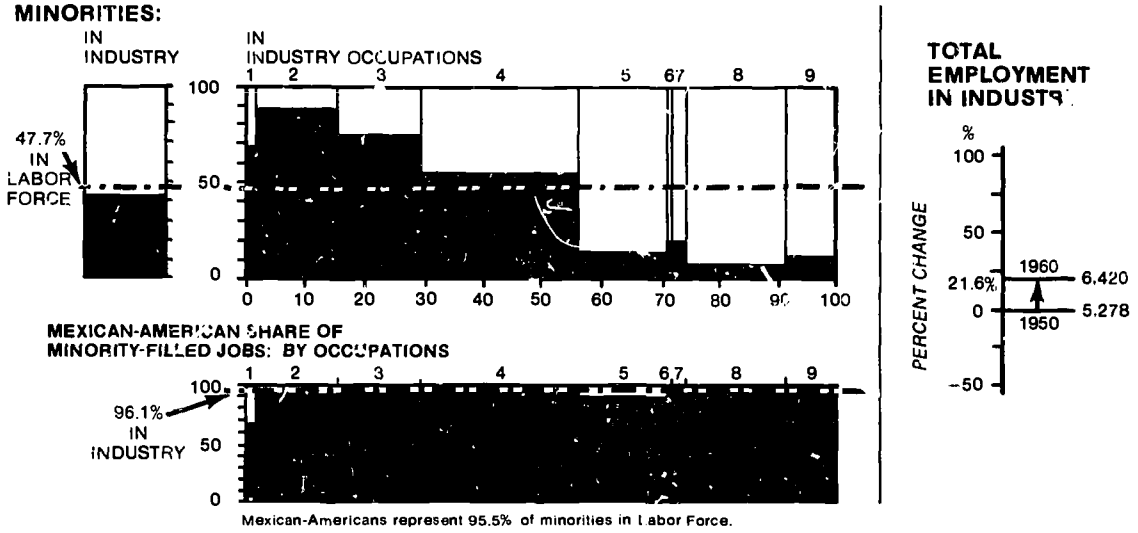
EL PASO COUNTY, TEXAS

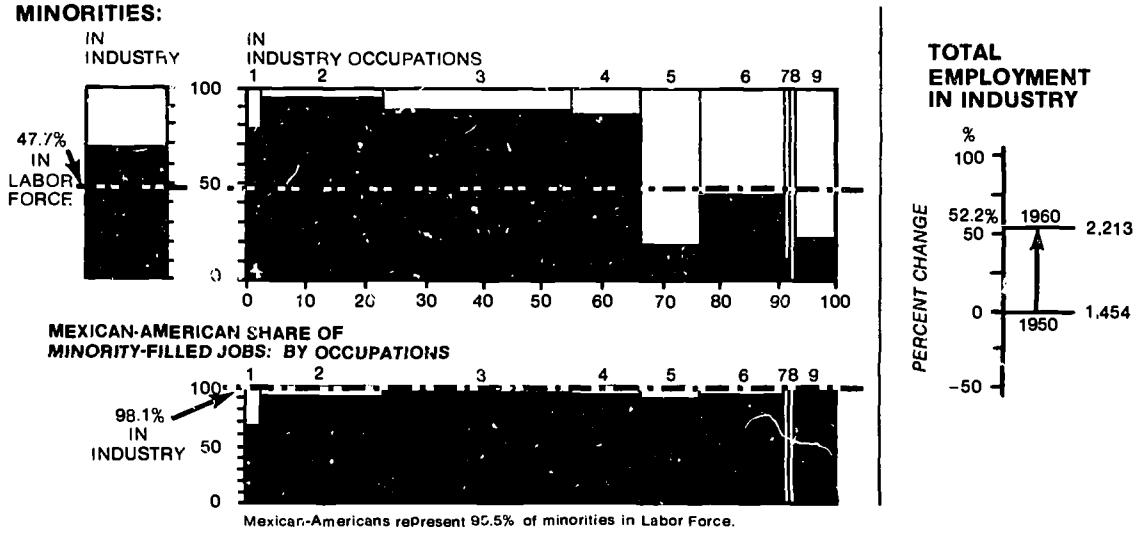
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



Mexican-Americans represent 95.5% of minorities in Labor Force.

FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



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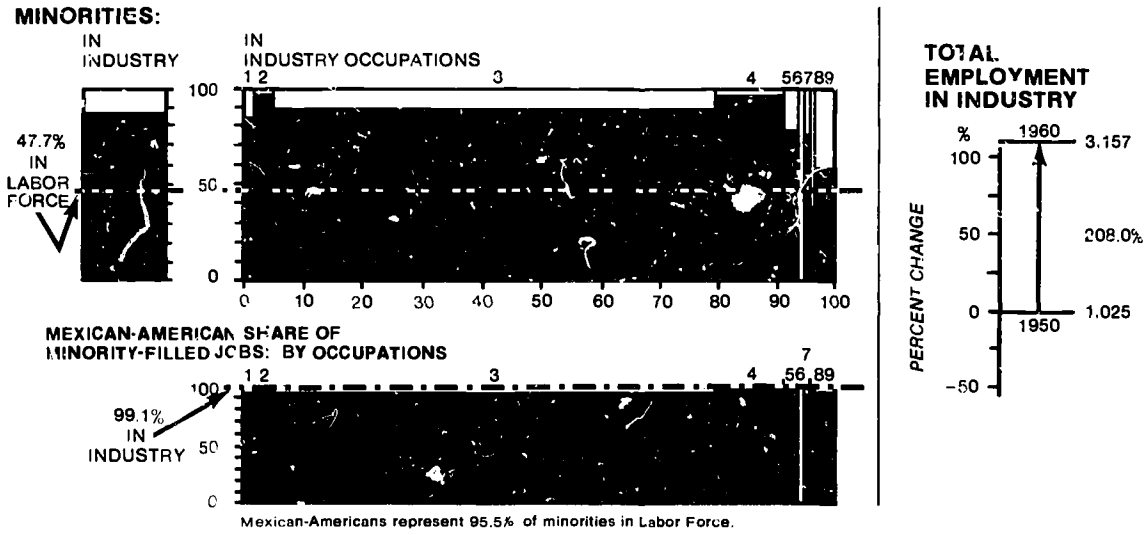
EL PASO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

APPAREL



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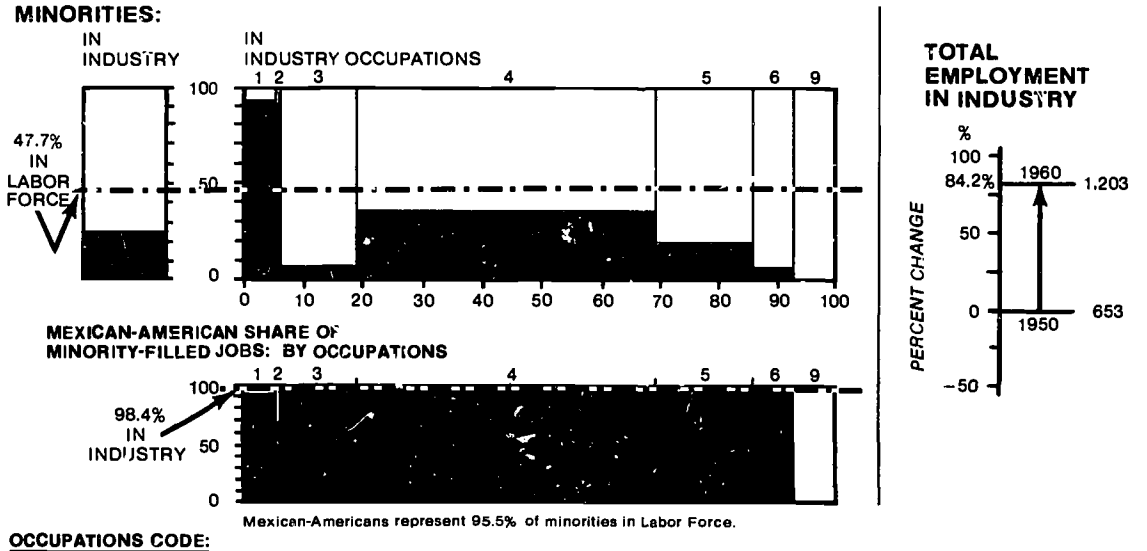

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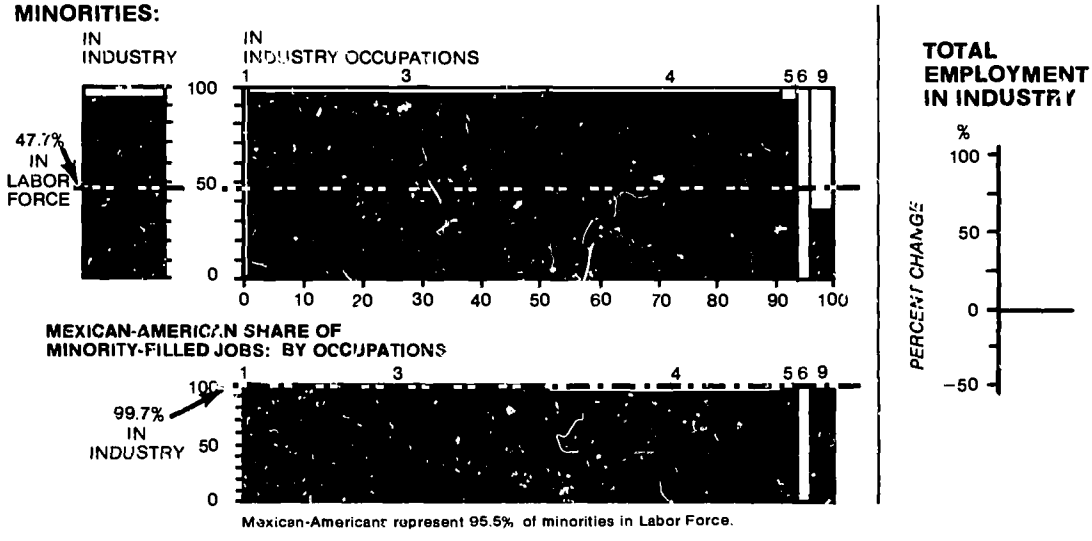
EL PASO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

LEATHER PRODUCTS



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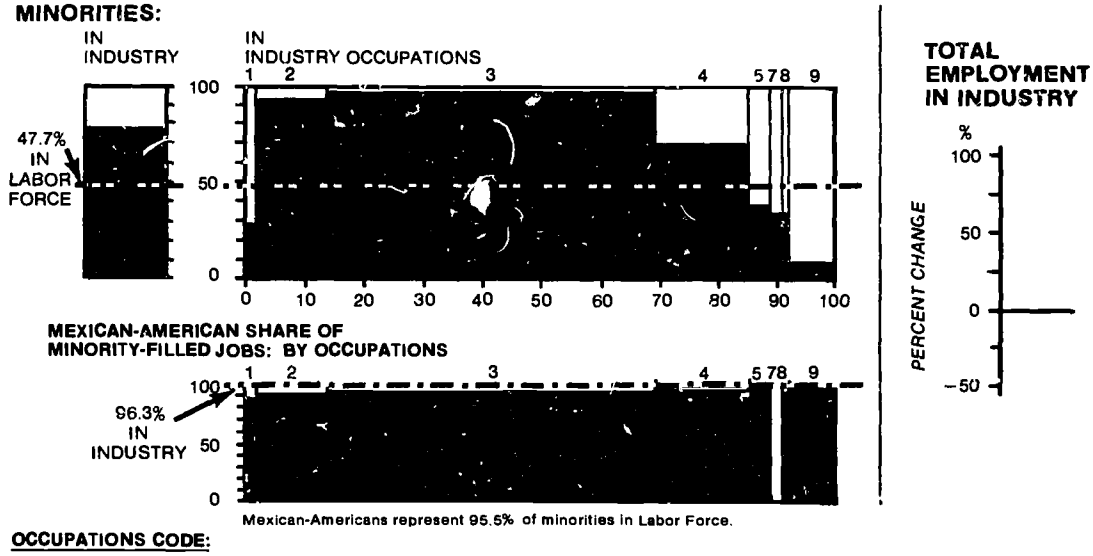

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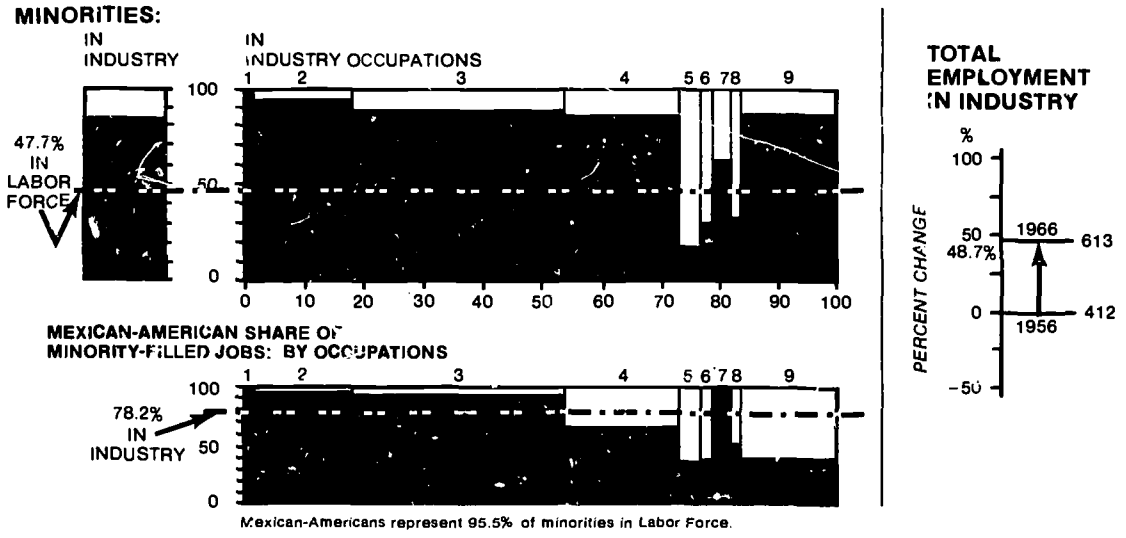
EL PASO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS



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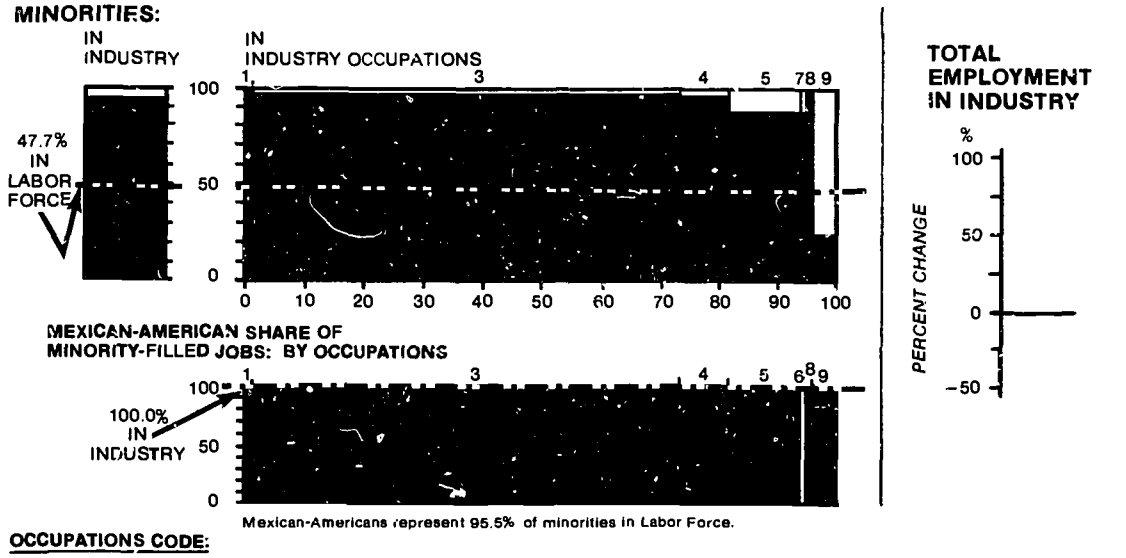
INSTRUMENTS/RELATED PRODUCTS



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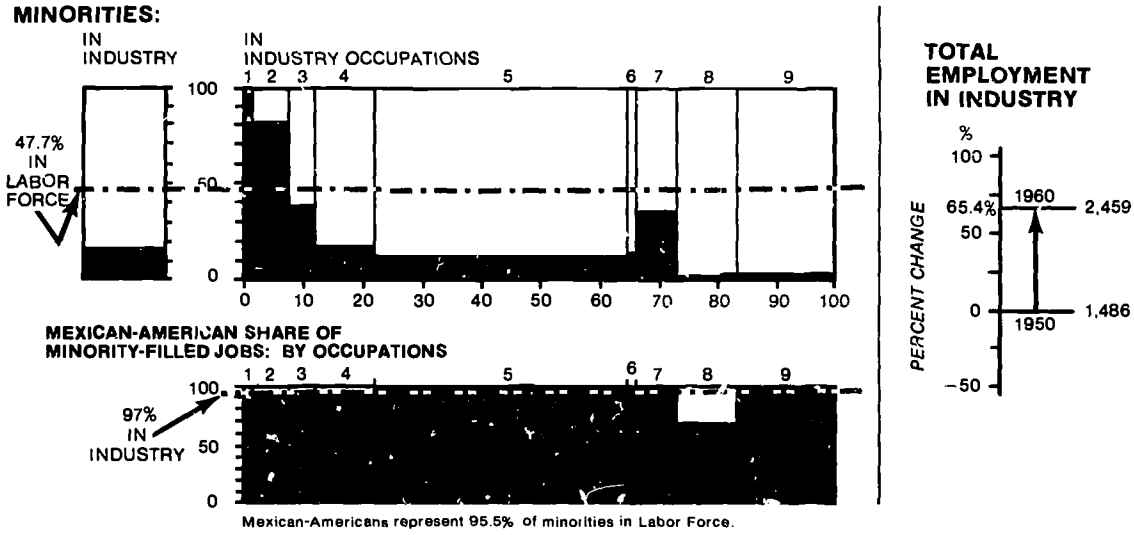
EL PASO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

UTILITIES/SANITARY SERVICES



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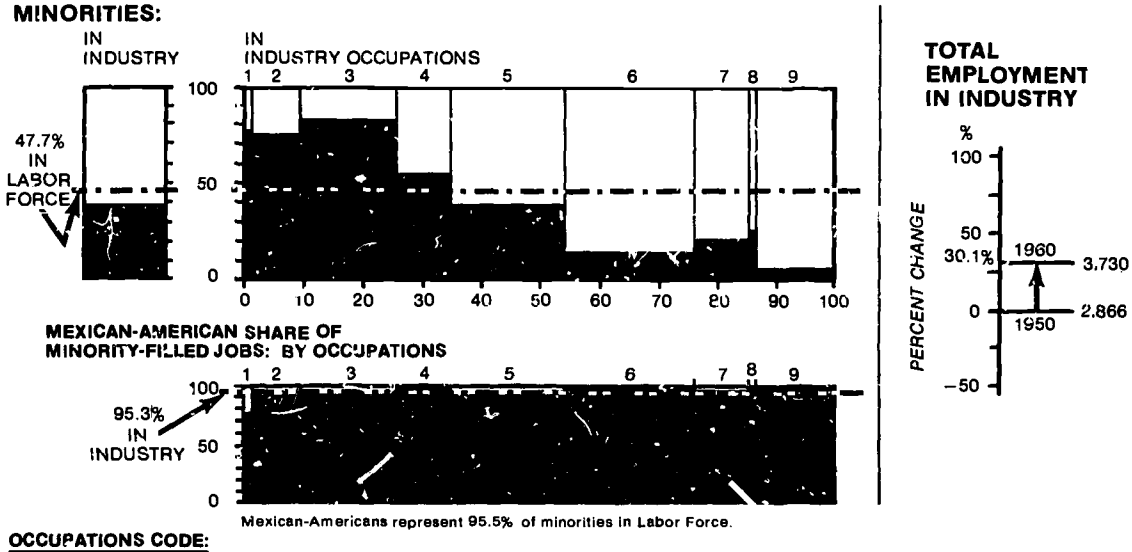
WHOLESALE TRADE



Mexican-Americans represent 95.5% of minorities in Labor Force.

OCCUPATIONS CODE:

BLUE COLLAR:

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2. LABORERS (UNSKILLED)
3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

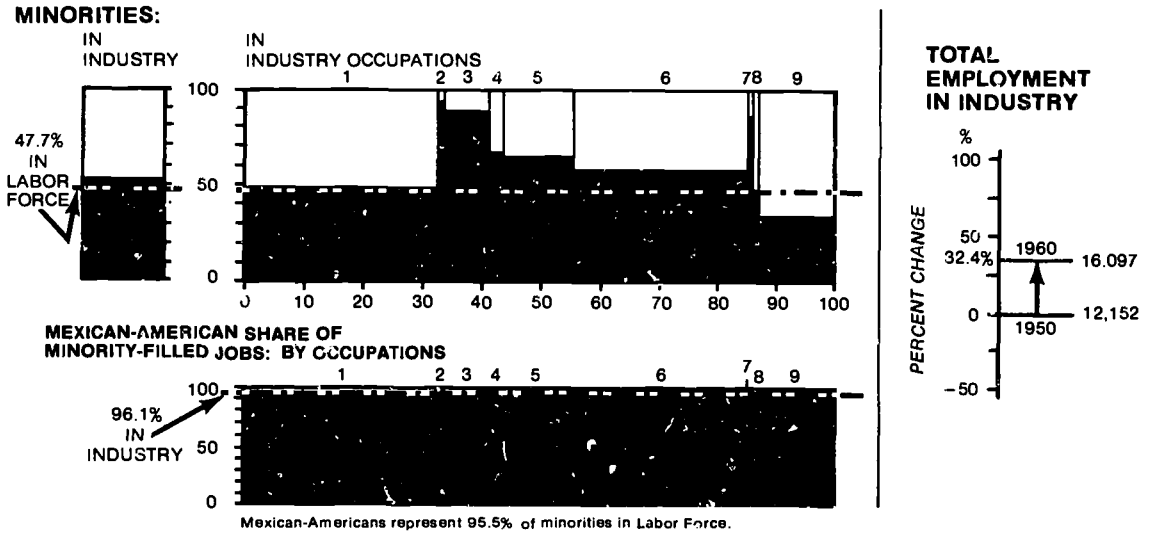
WHITE COLLAR:

5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

EL PASO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

RETAIL TRADE



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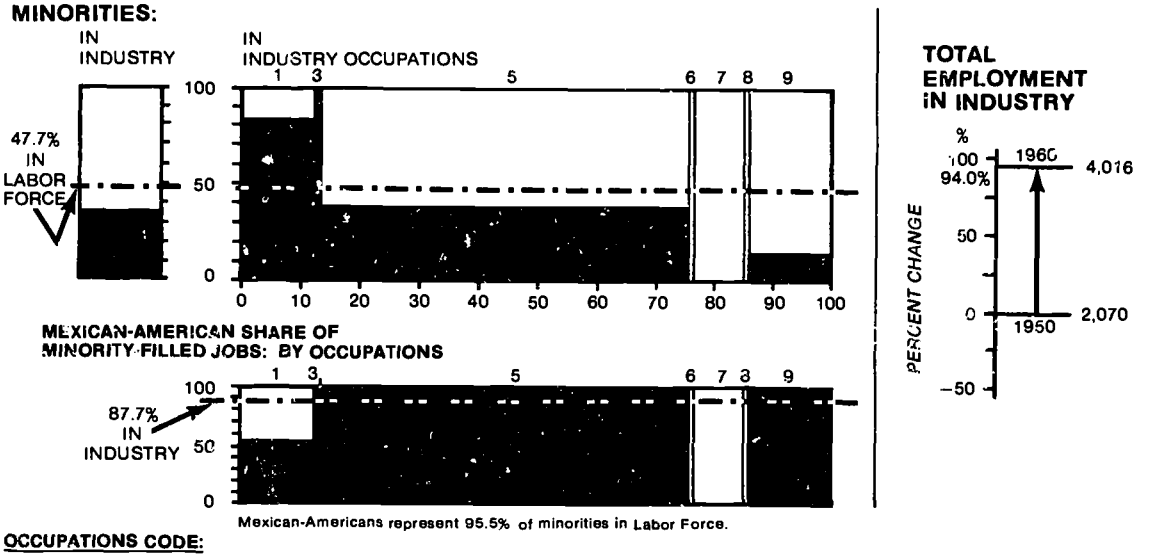
FINANCE



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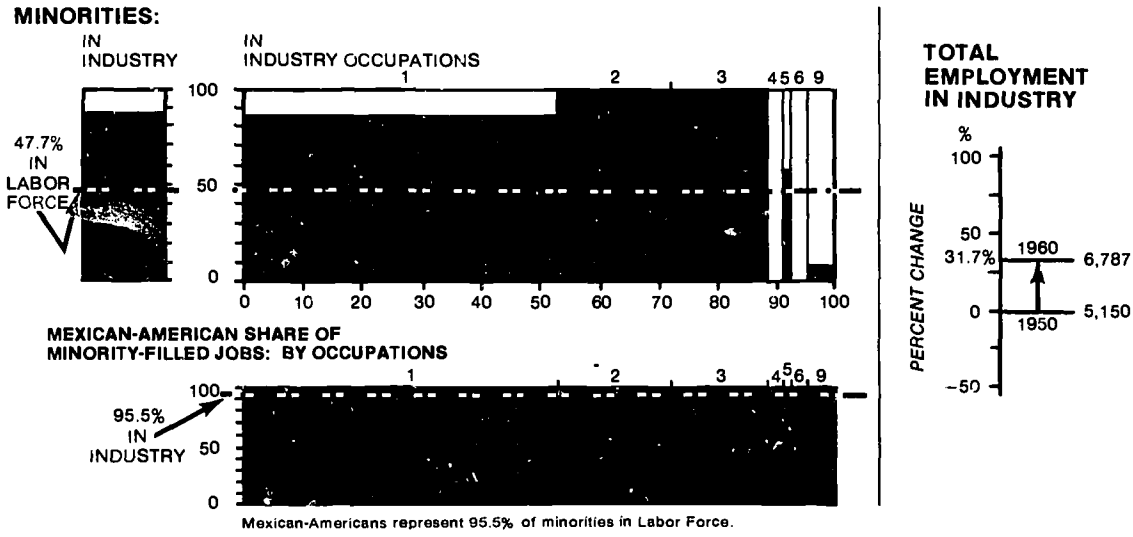
EL PASO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PERSONAL SERVICES



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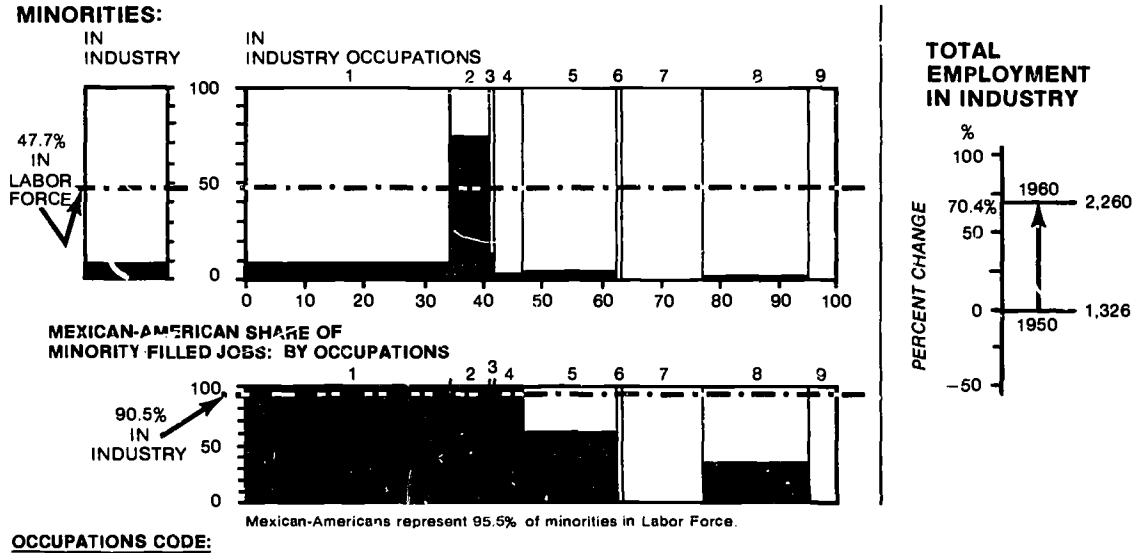
BUSINESS SERVICES



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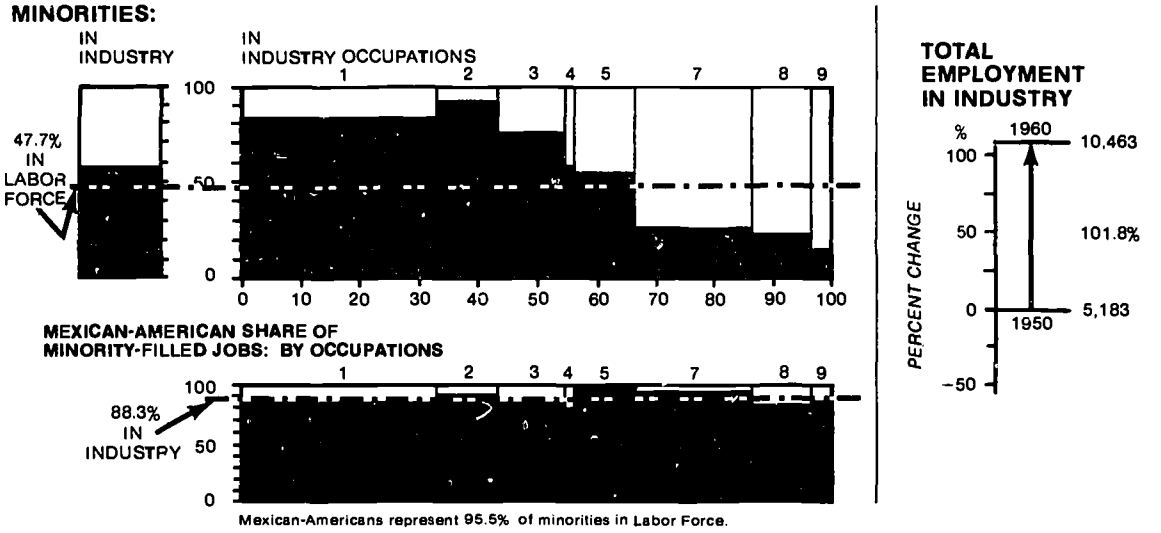
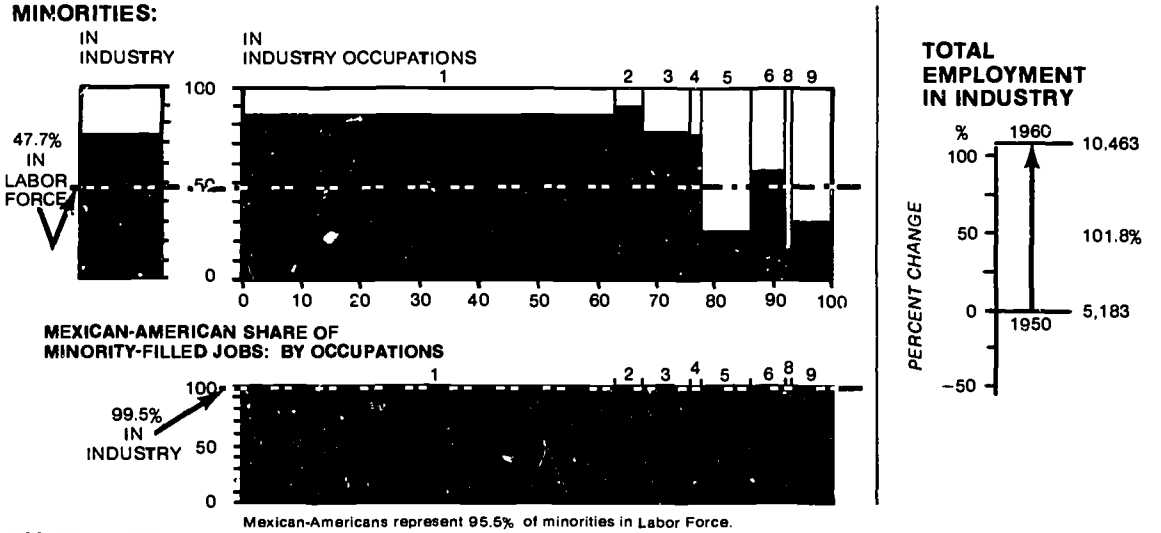
EL PASO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MEDICAL SERVICES



MISCELLANEOUS/OTHER SERVICES



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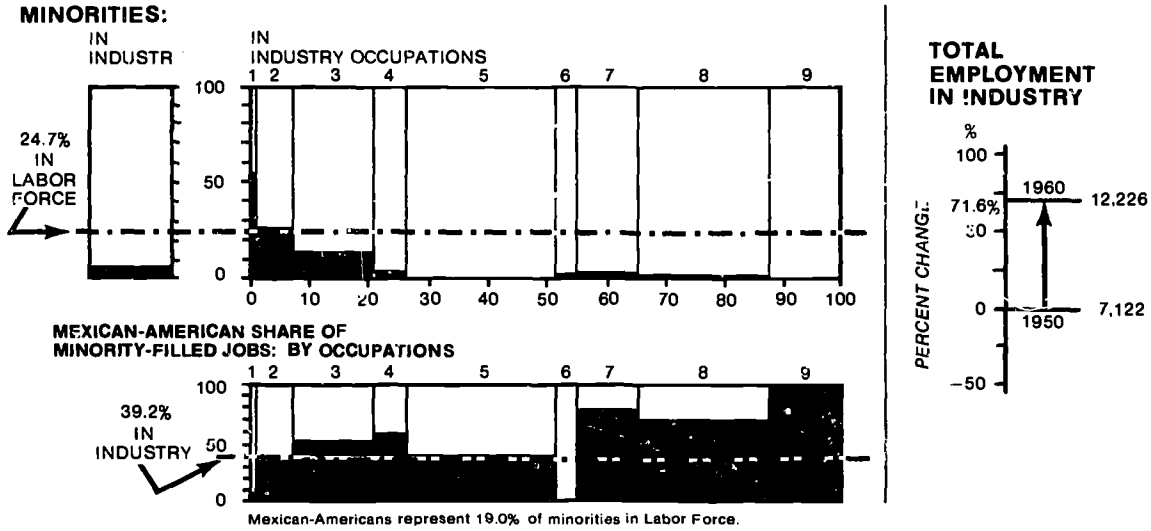
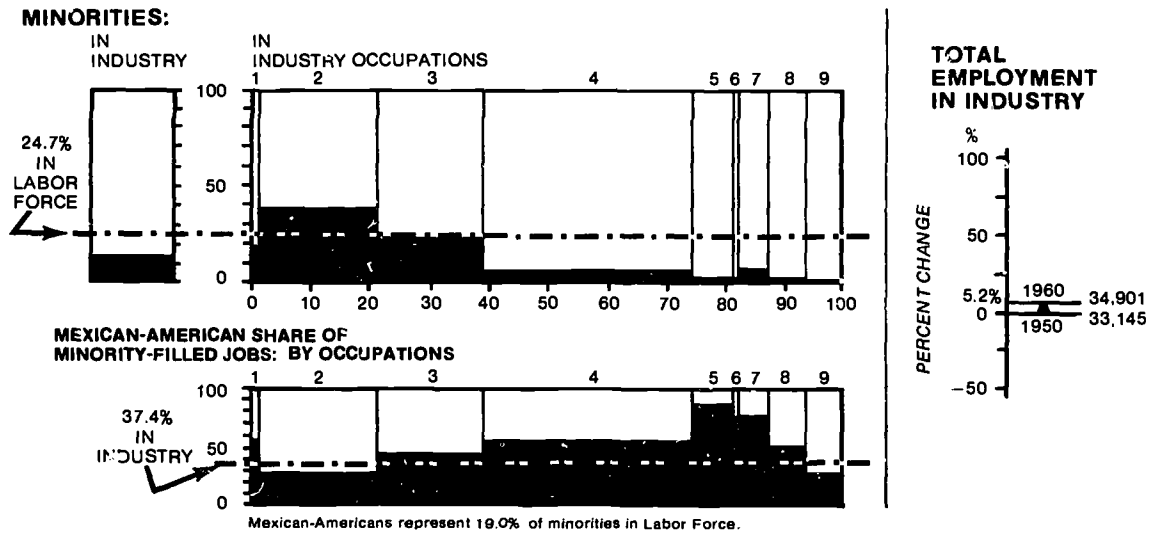
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MINING



CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



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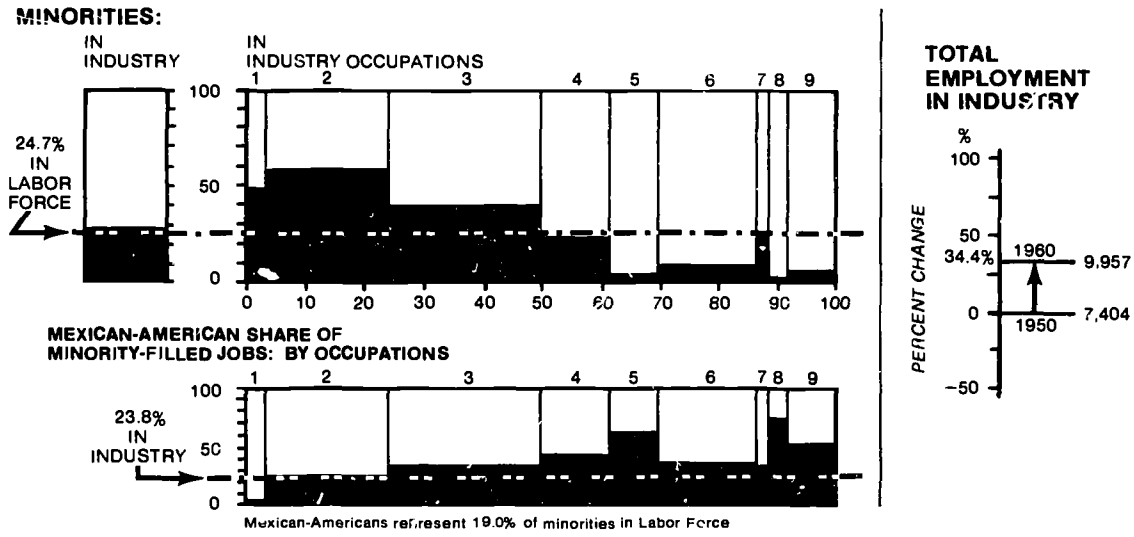
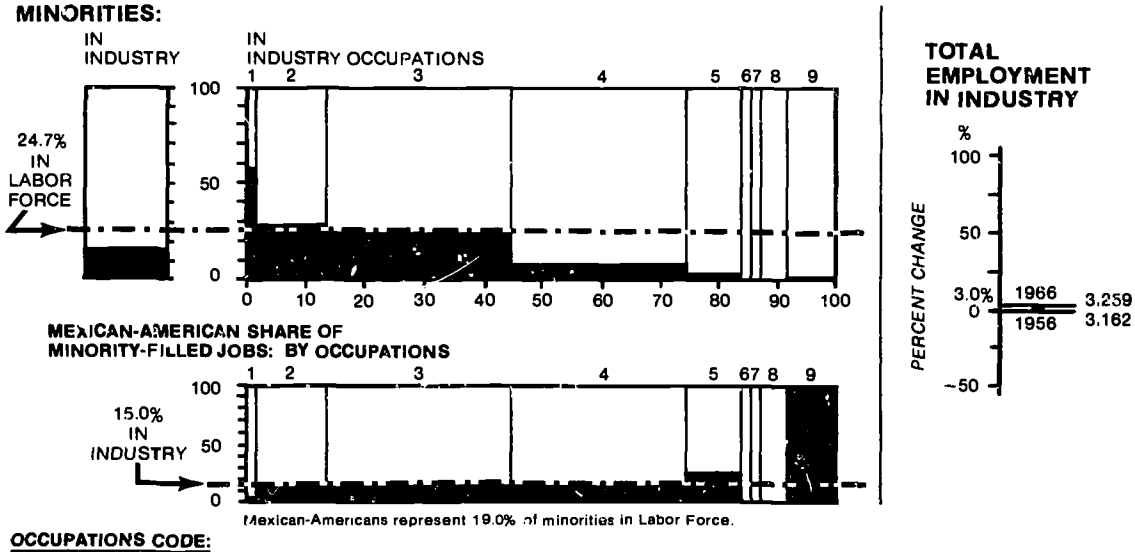
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



PAPER/ALLIED PRODUCTS



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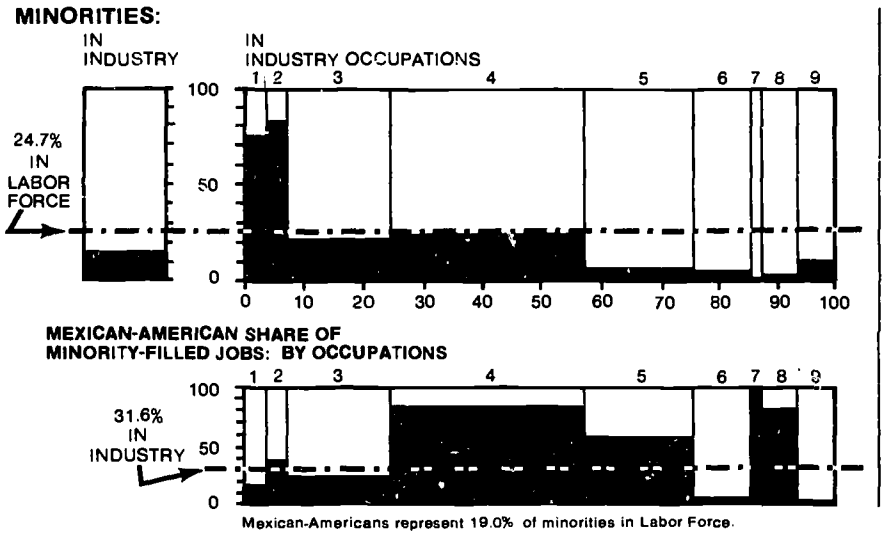
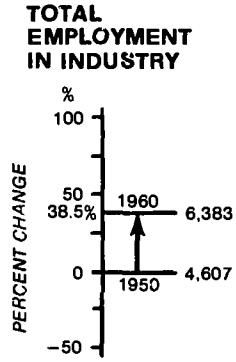
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

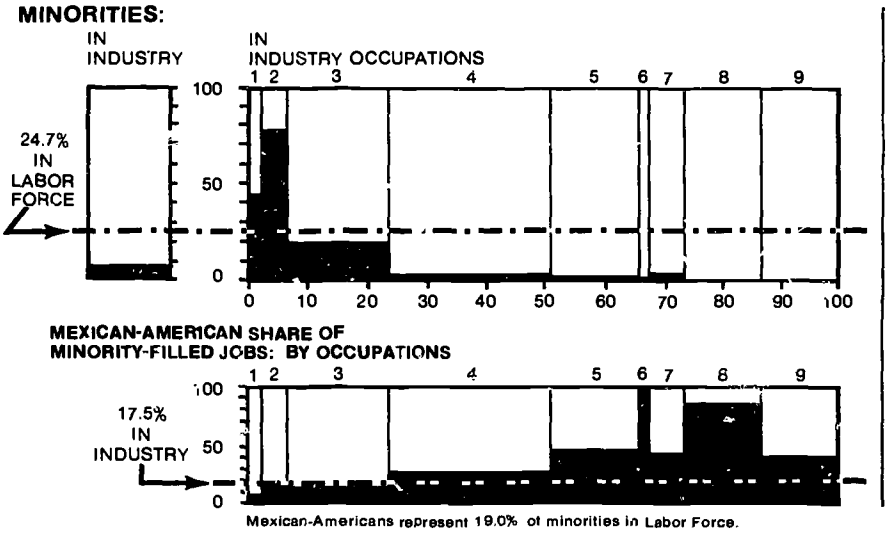
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

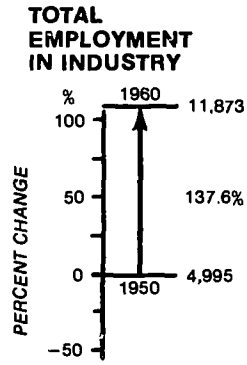
PRINTING/PUBLISHING





CHEMICALS/ALLIED PRODUCTS





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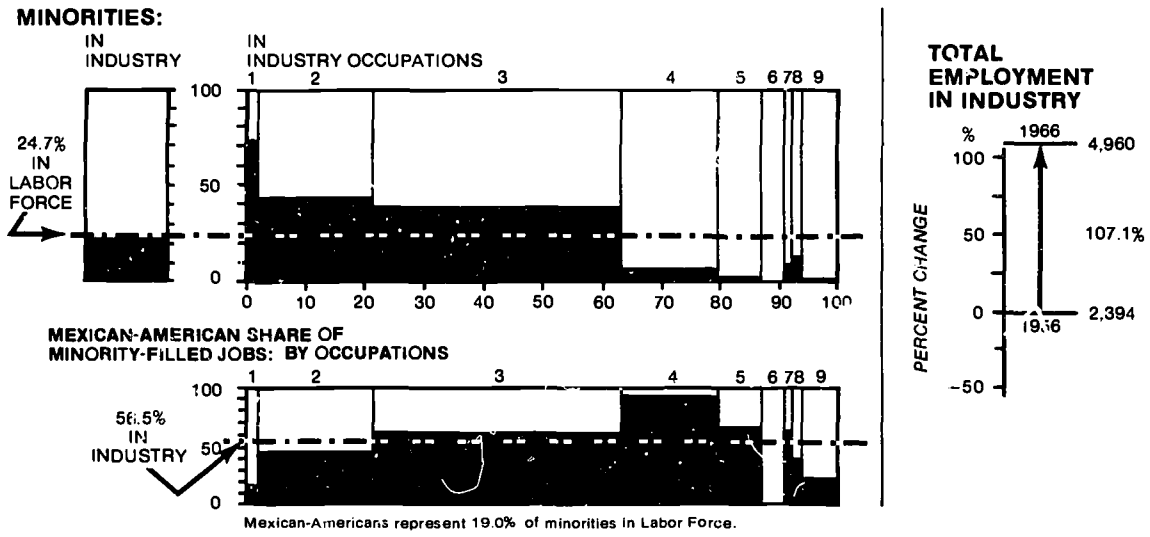
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

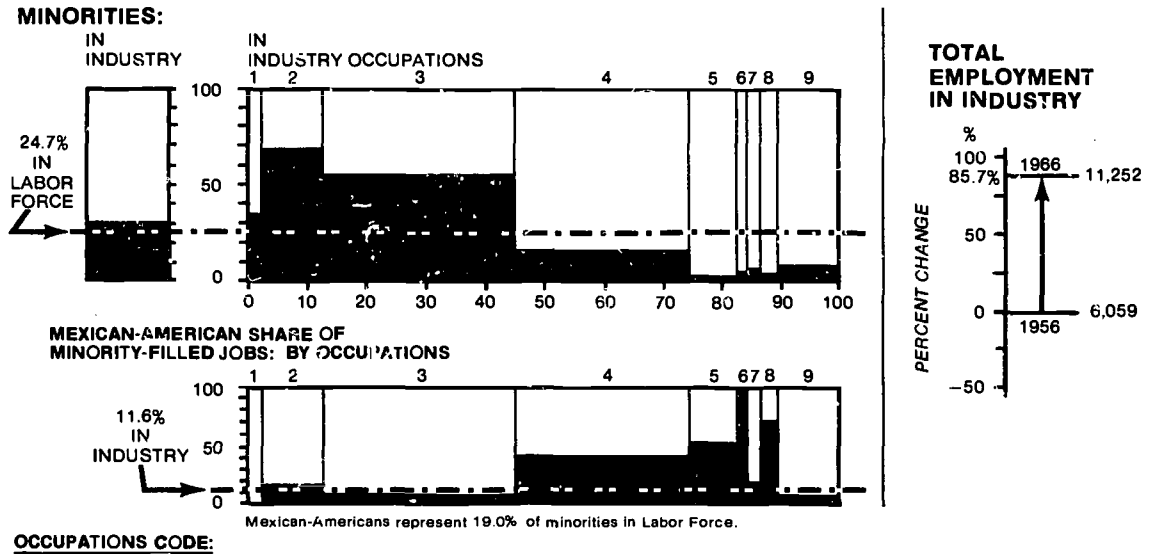
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

STONE, CLAY/GLASS PRODUCTS



Mexican-Americans represent 19.0% of minorities in Labor Force.

PRIMARY METAL INDUSTRIES



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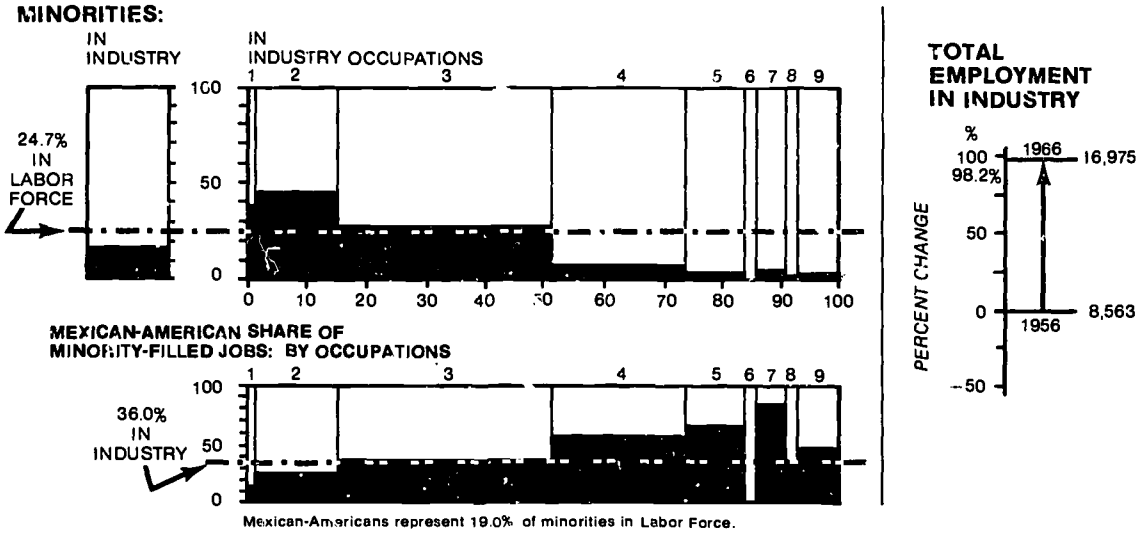
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS



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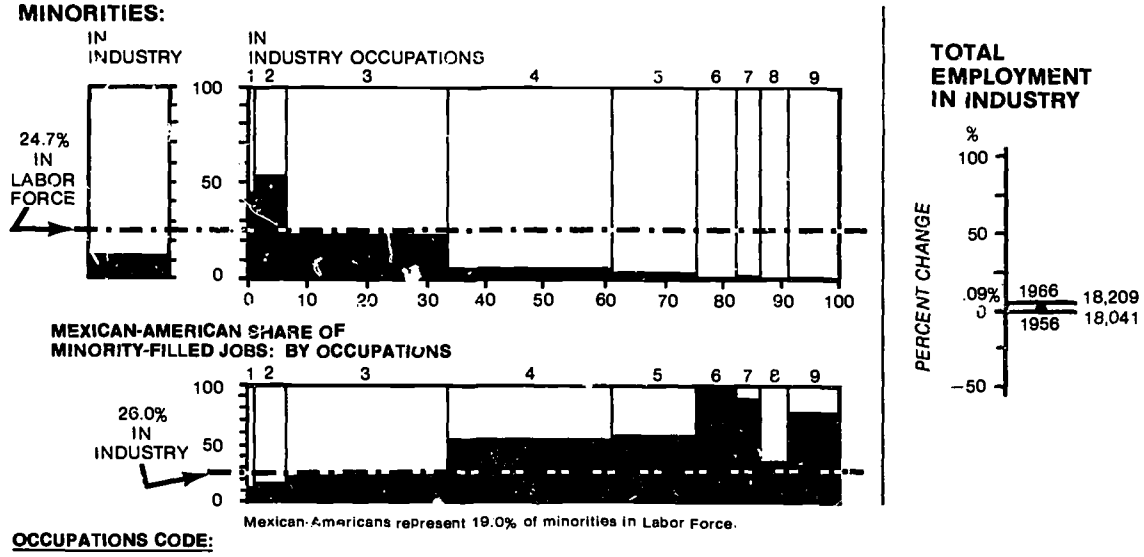
MACHINERY (NON-ELECTRIC)



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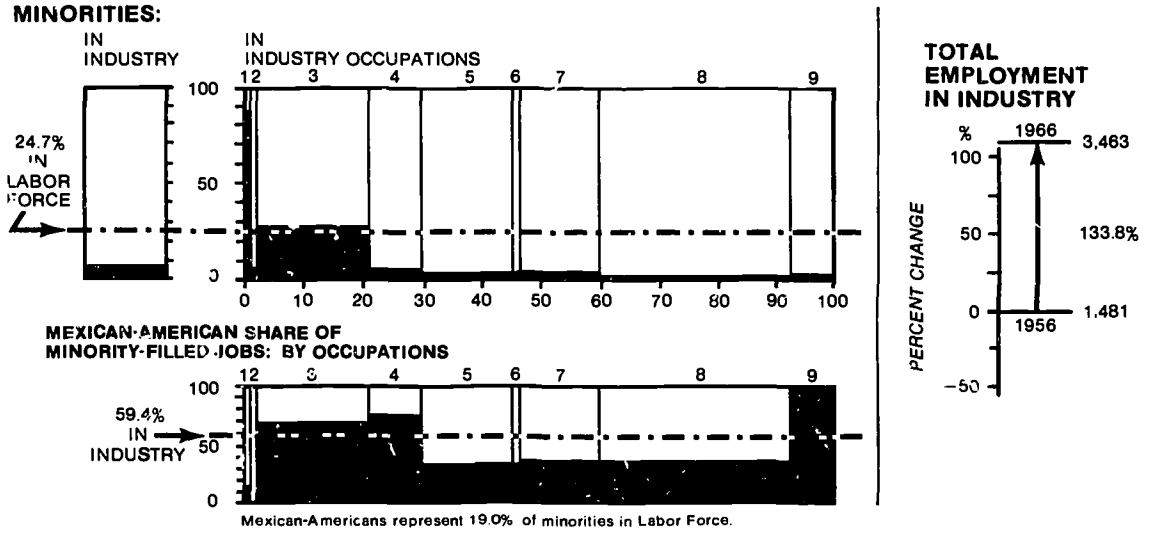
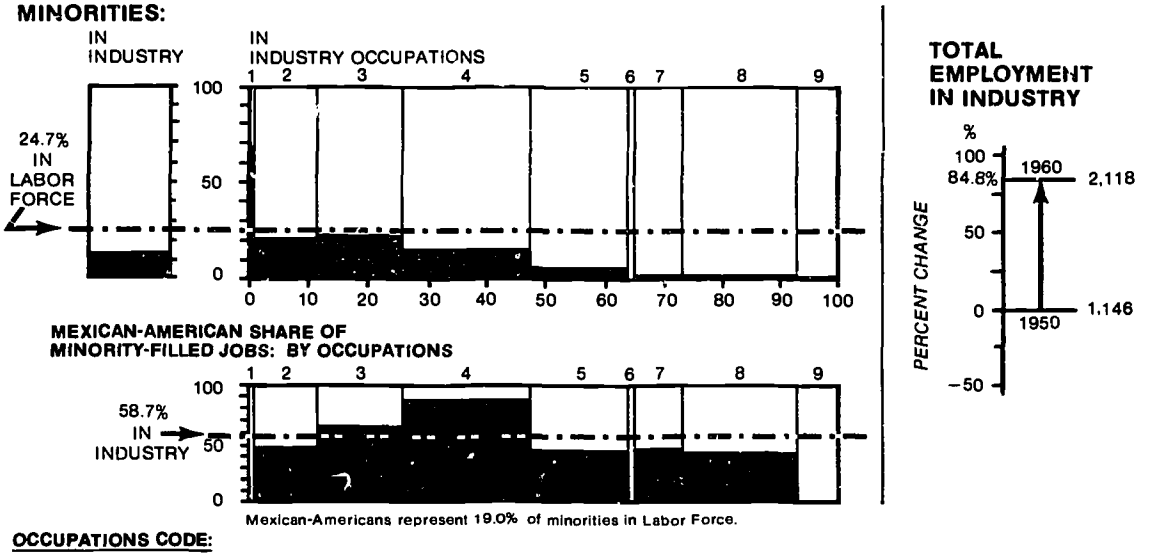
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

ELECTRONIC MACHINERY EQUIPMENT/SUPPLIES



TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT



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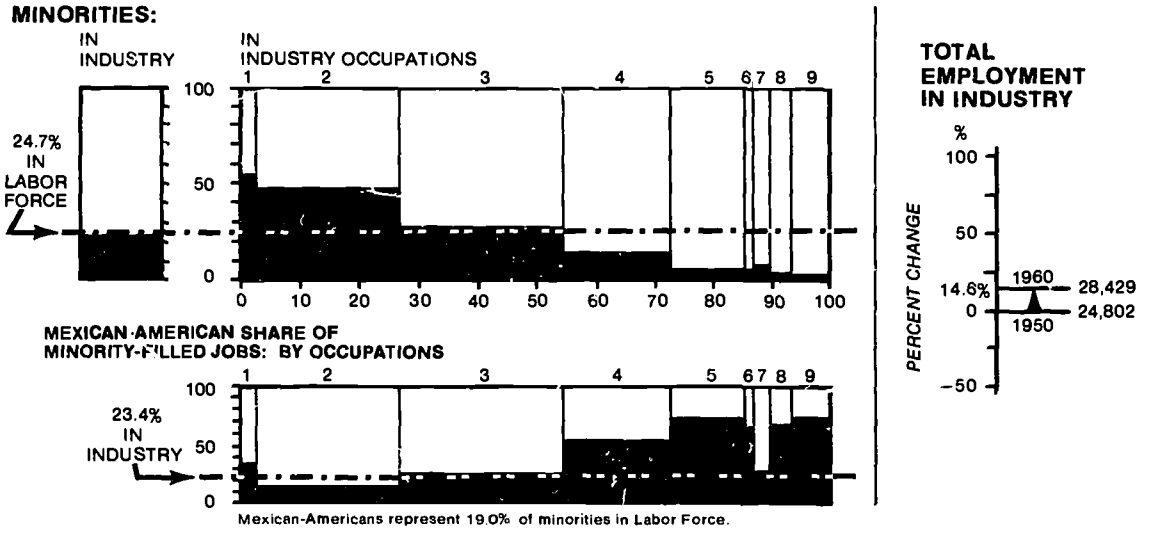
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

TRANSPORTATION



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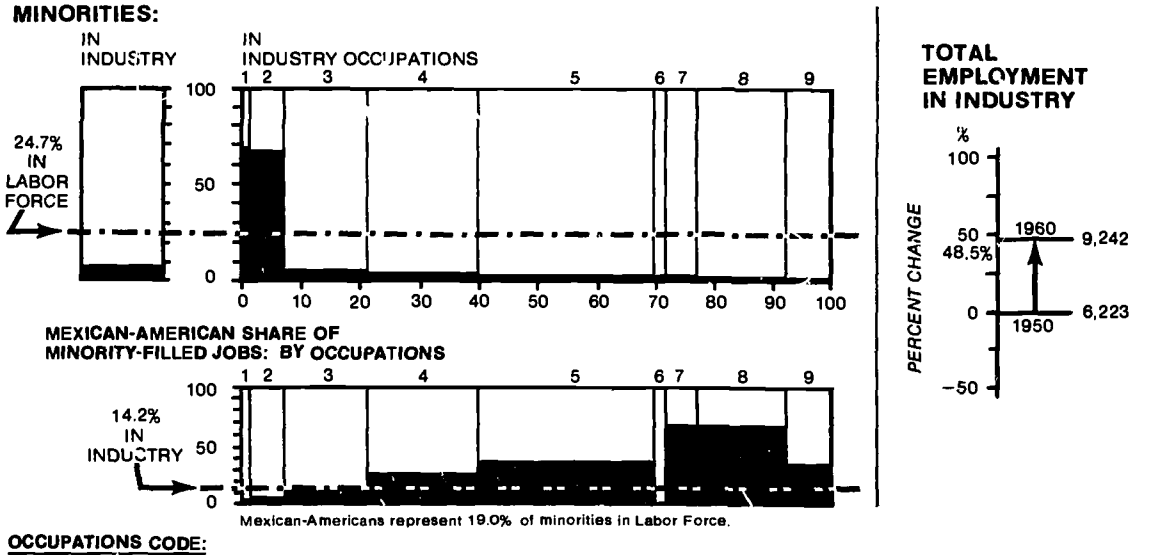
UTILITIES/SANITARY SERVICES



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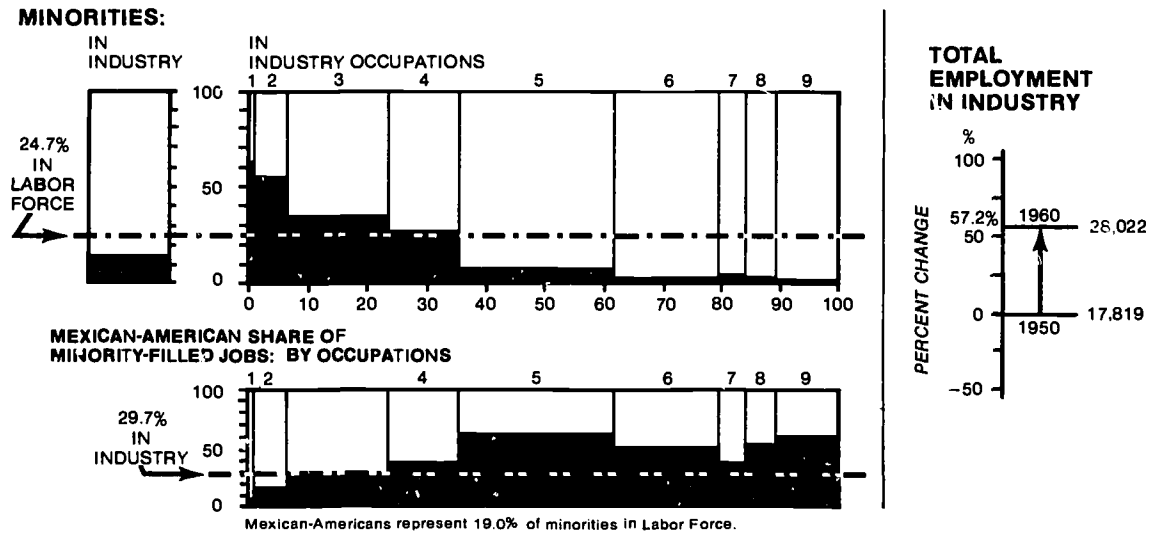
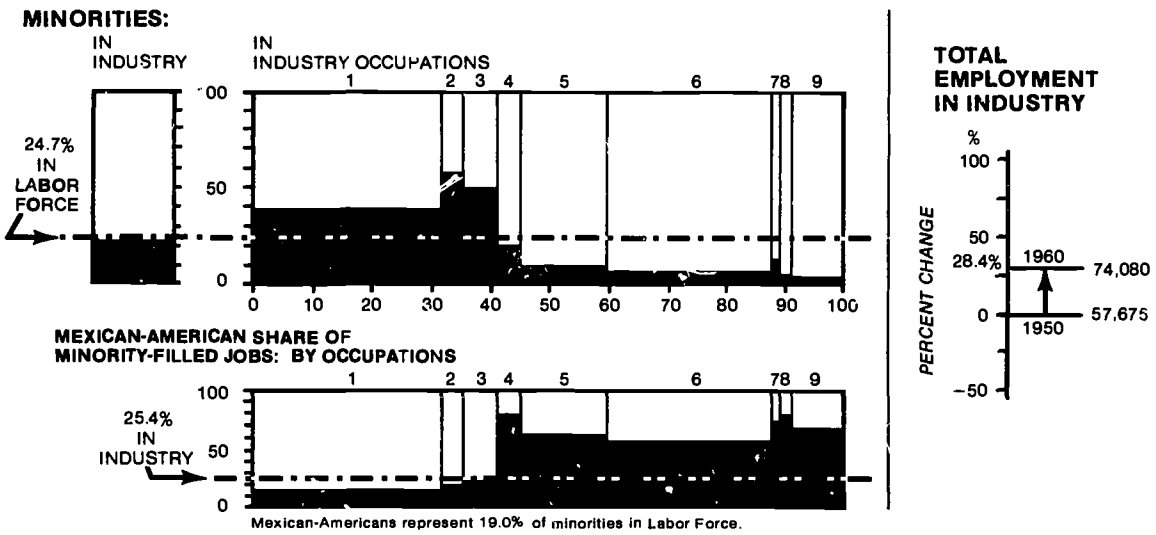
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

WHOLESALE TRADE



RETAIL TRADE



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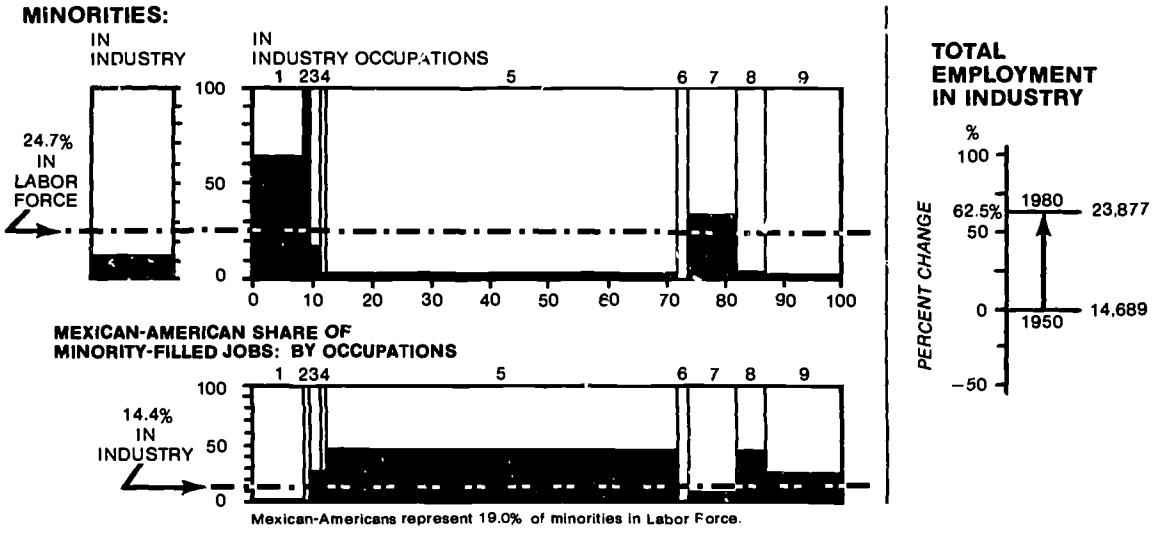
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FINANCE



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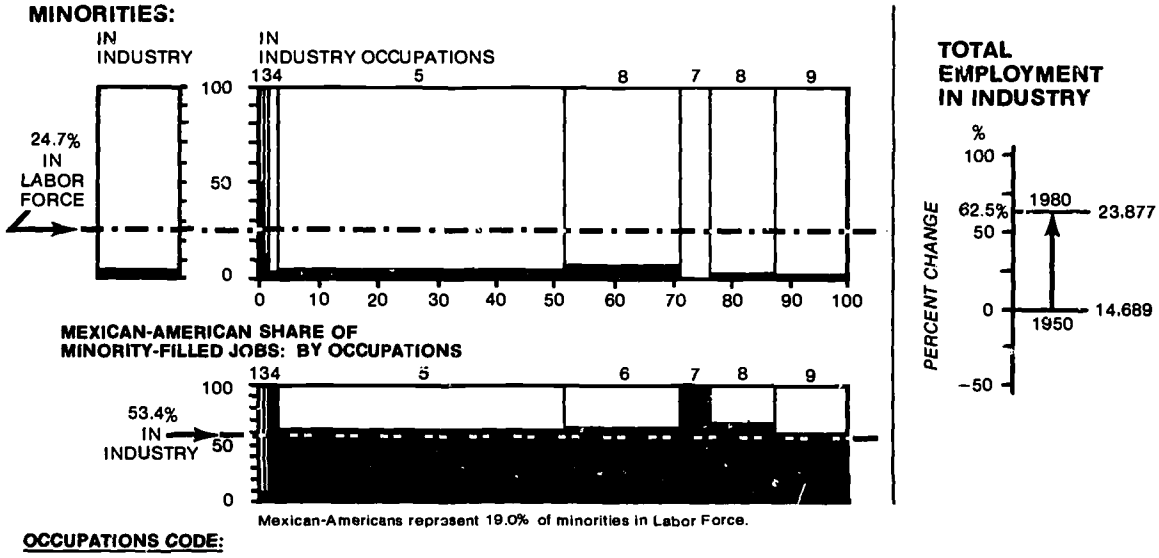

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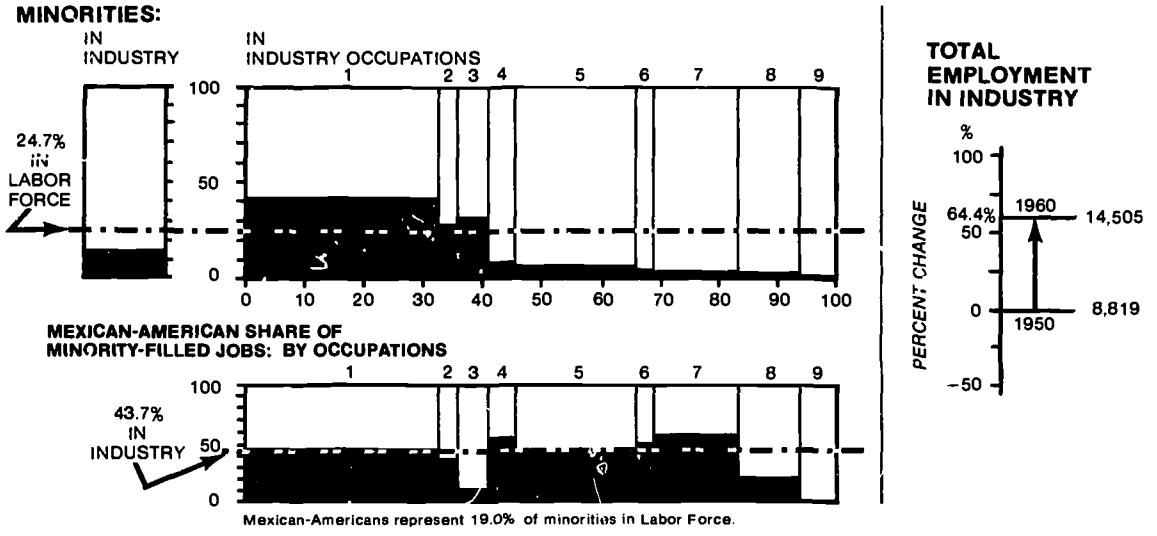
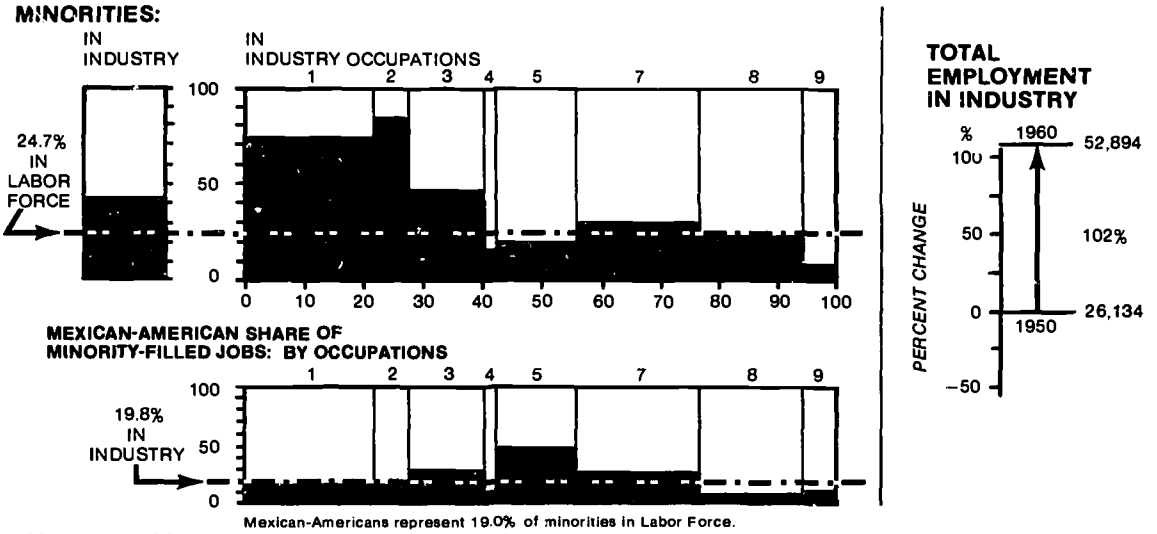
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

BUSINESS SERVICES



MEDICAL SERVICES



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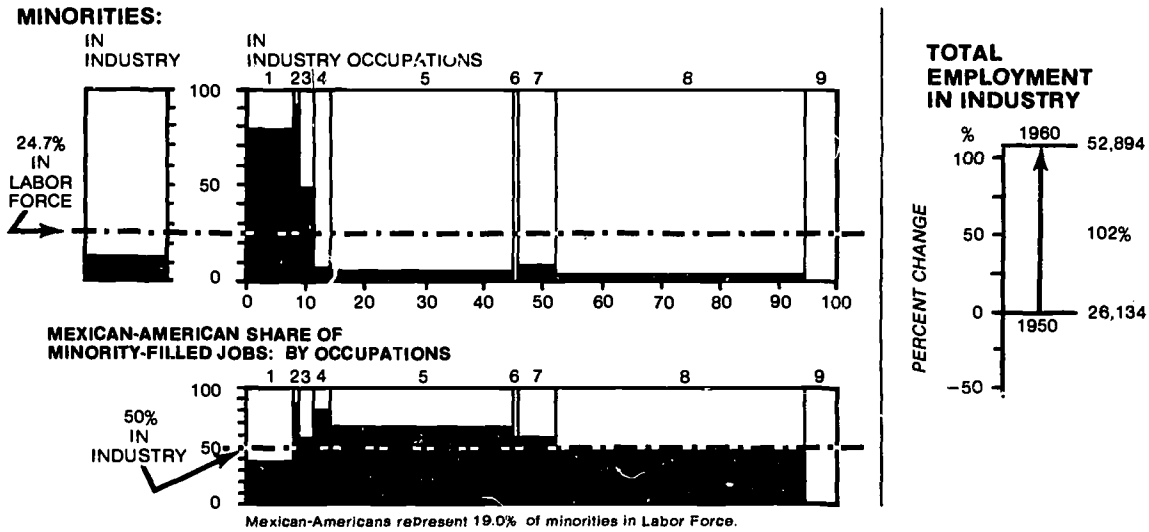
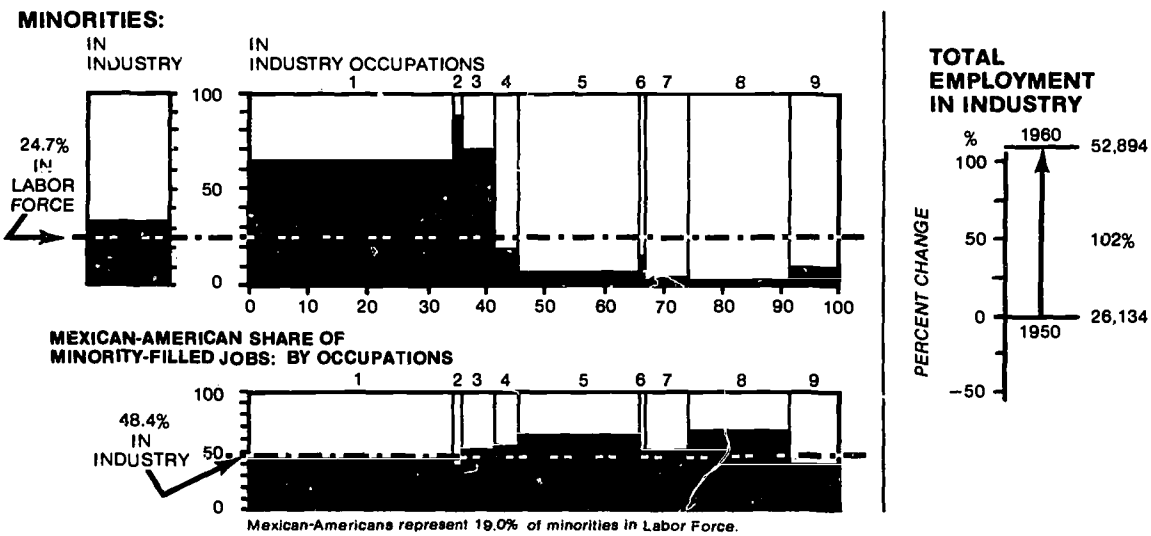
HARRIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES



MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES



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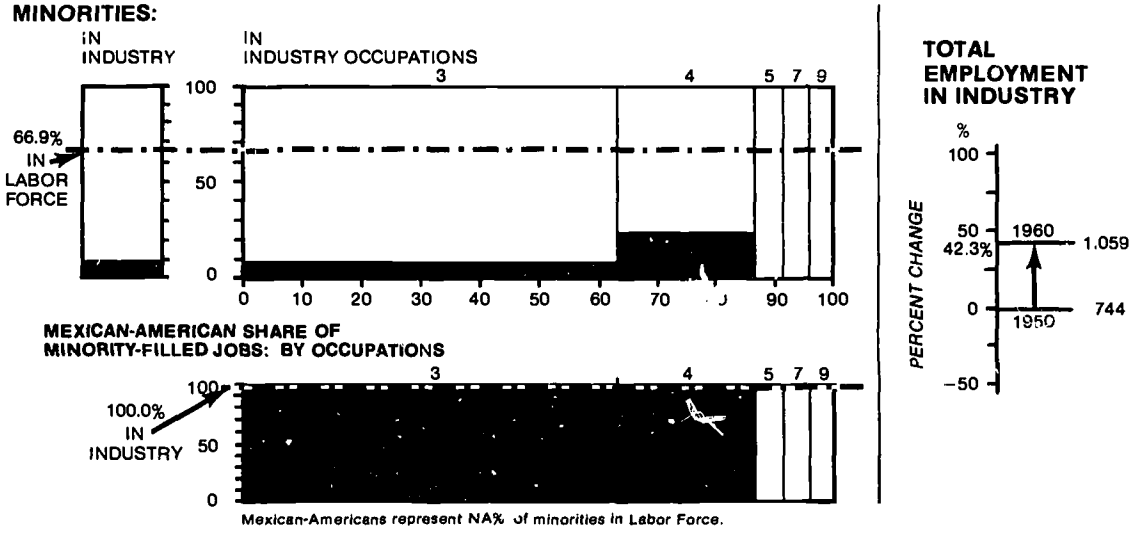
HIDALGO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MINING



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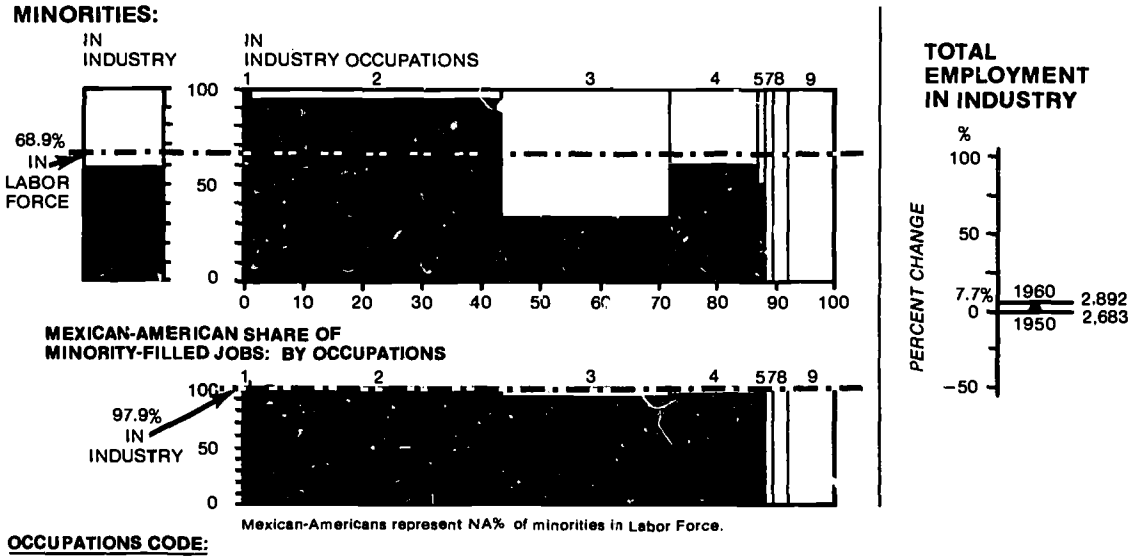
CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



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HIDALGO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

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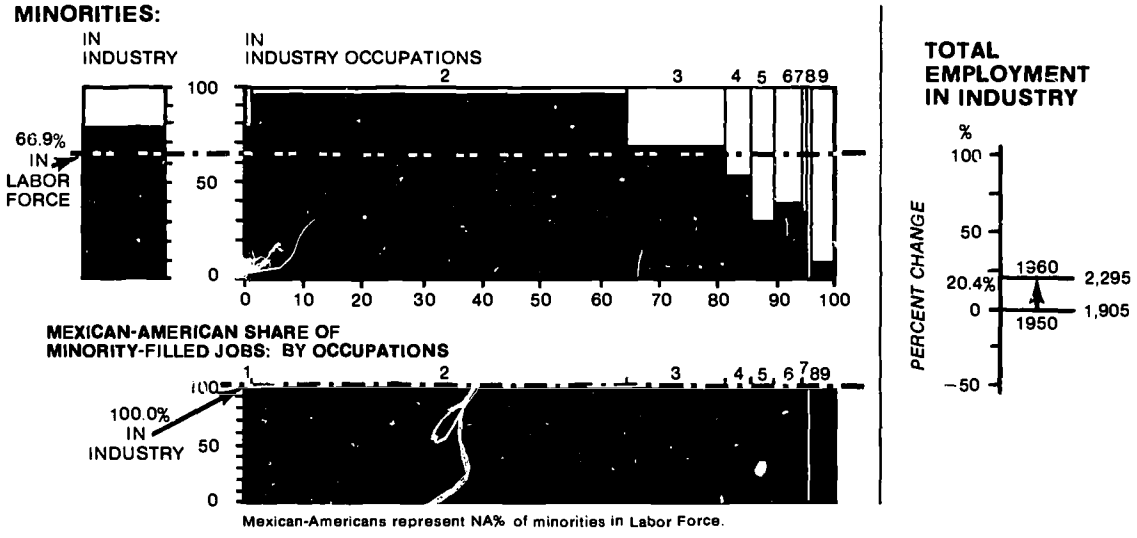

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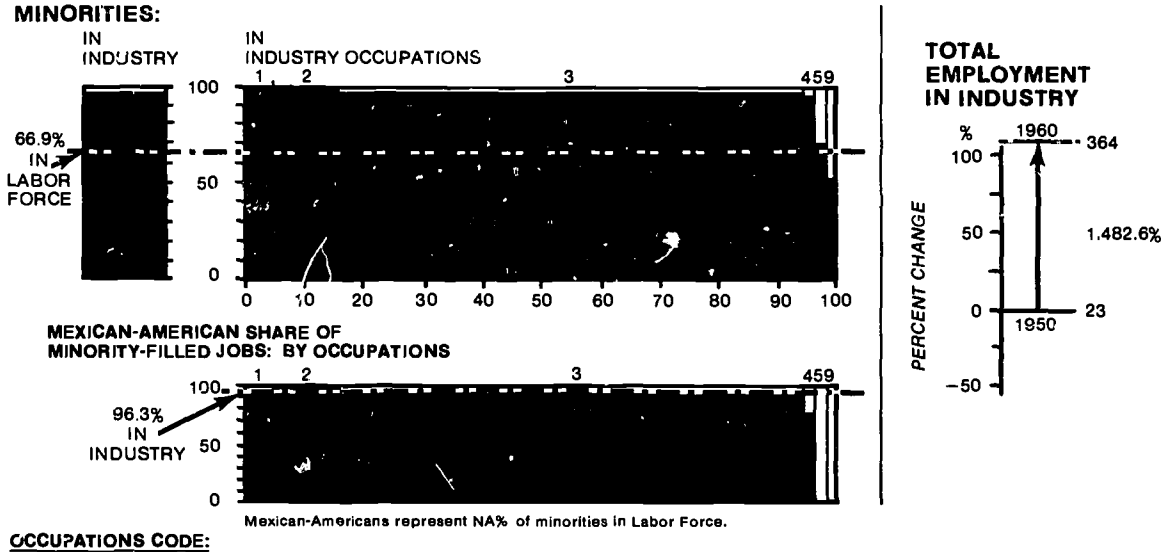
APPAREL



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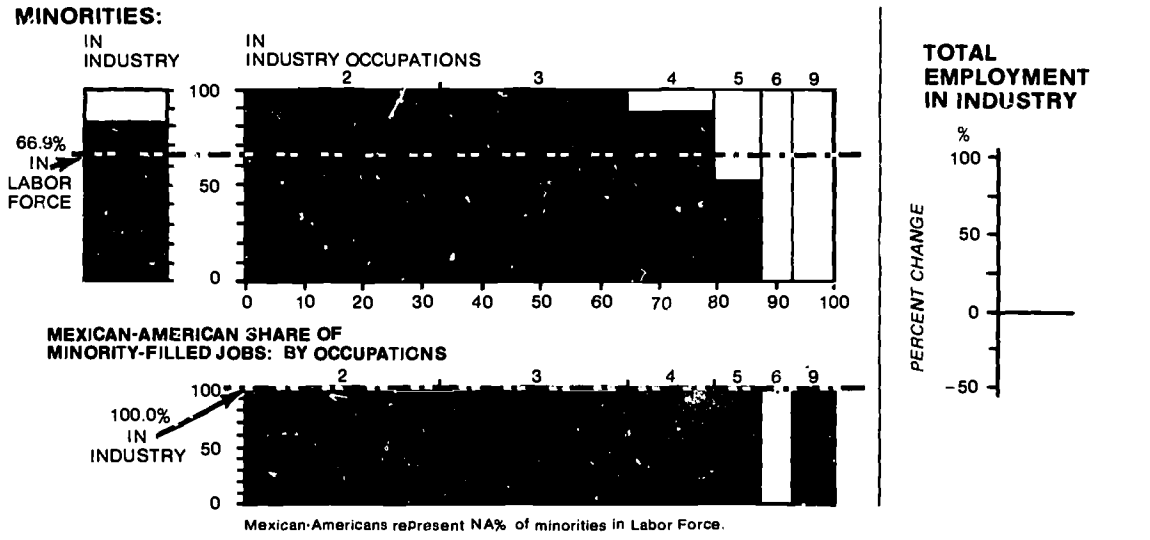
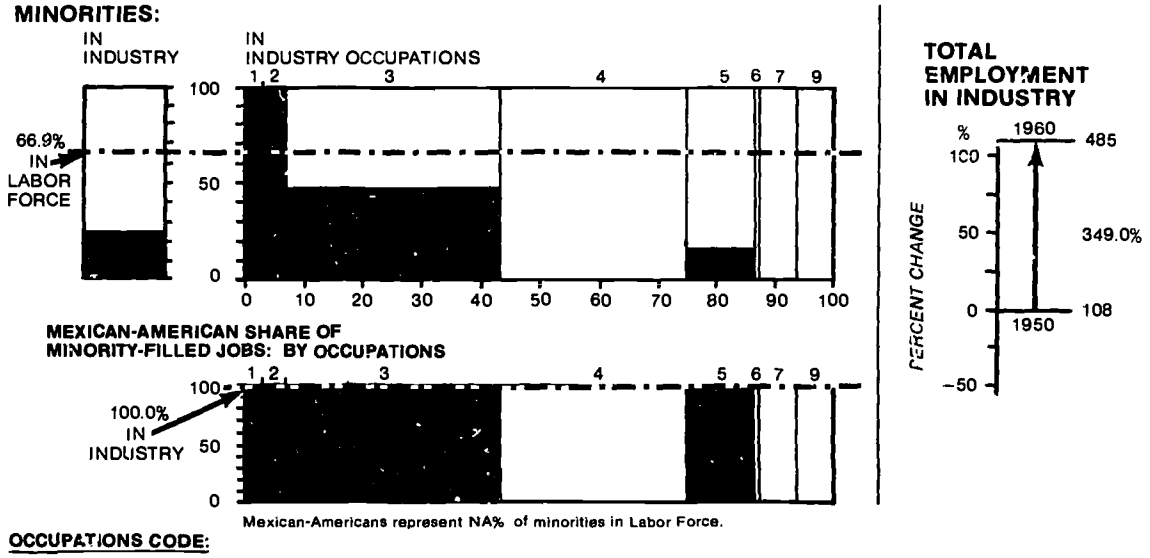
HIDALGO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PAPER/ALLIED PRODUCTS



CHEMICAL/ALLIED PRODUCTS



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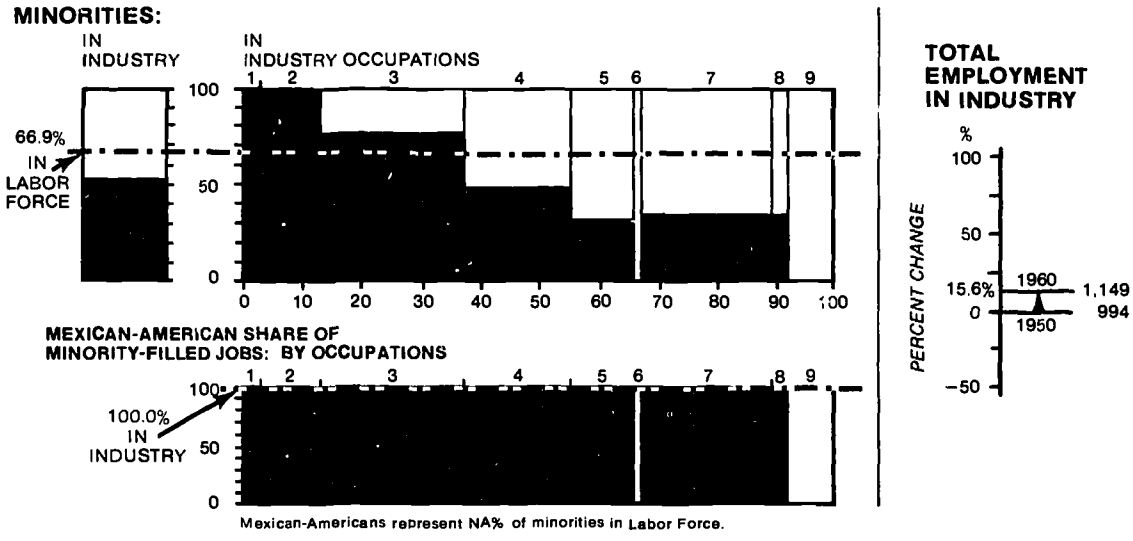
HIDALGO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

UTILITIES/SANITARY SERVICES



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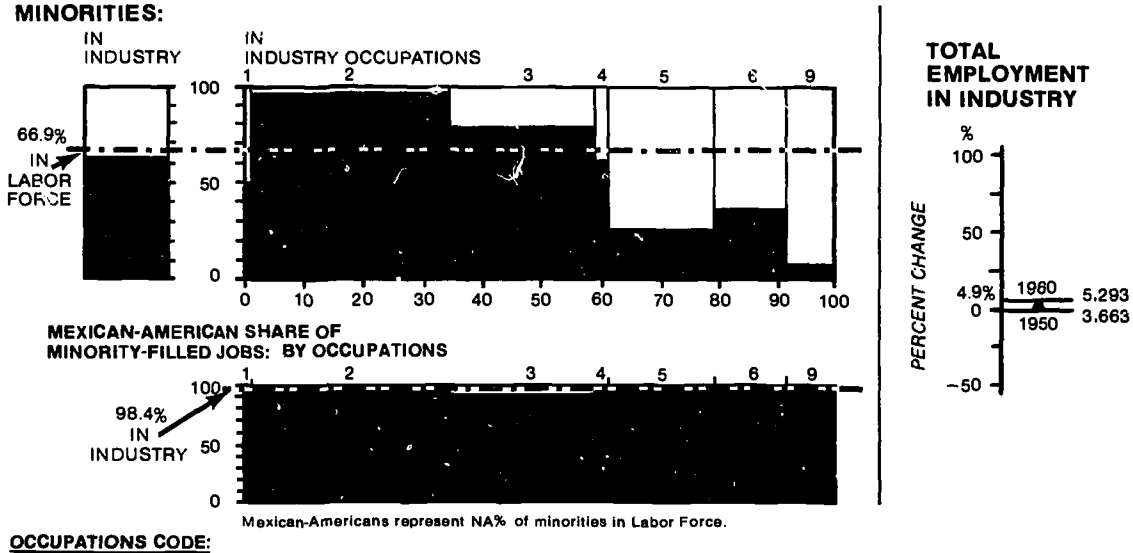
WHOLESALE TRADE



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OCCUPATIONS CODE:

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3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

WHITE COLLAR:

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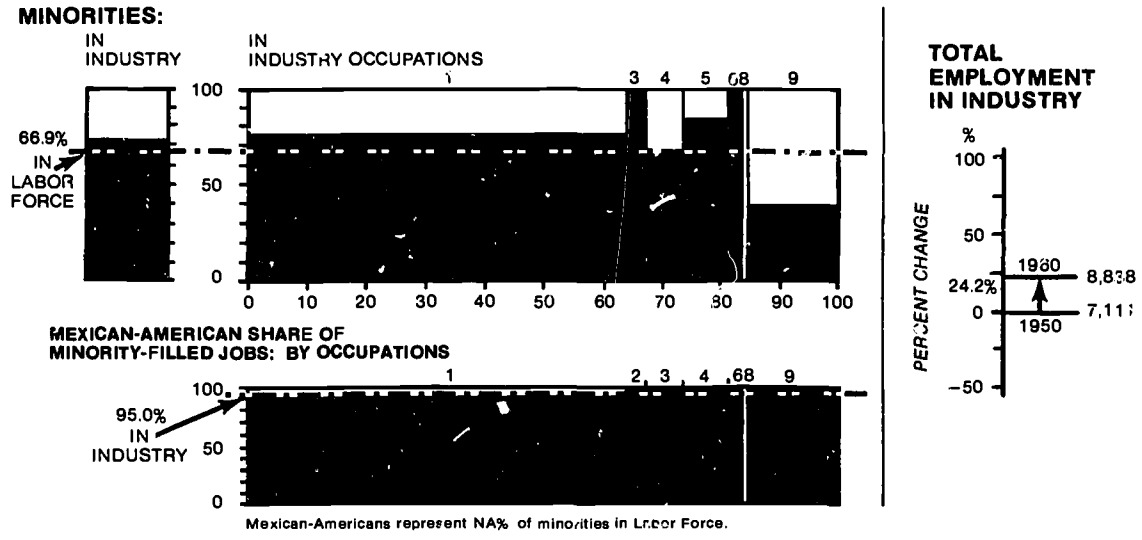
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

HIDALGO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

RETAIL TRADE



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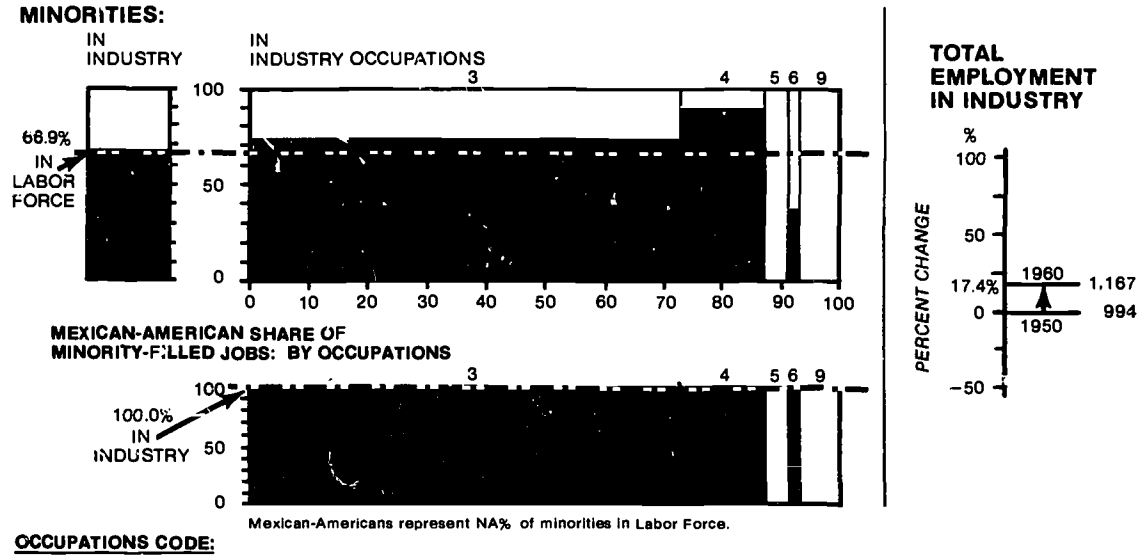
BUSINESS SERVICES



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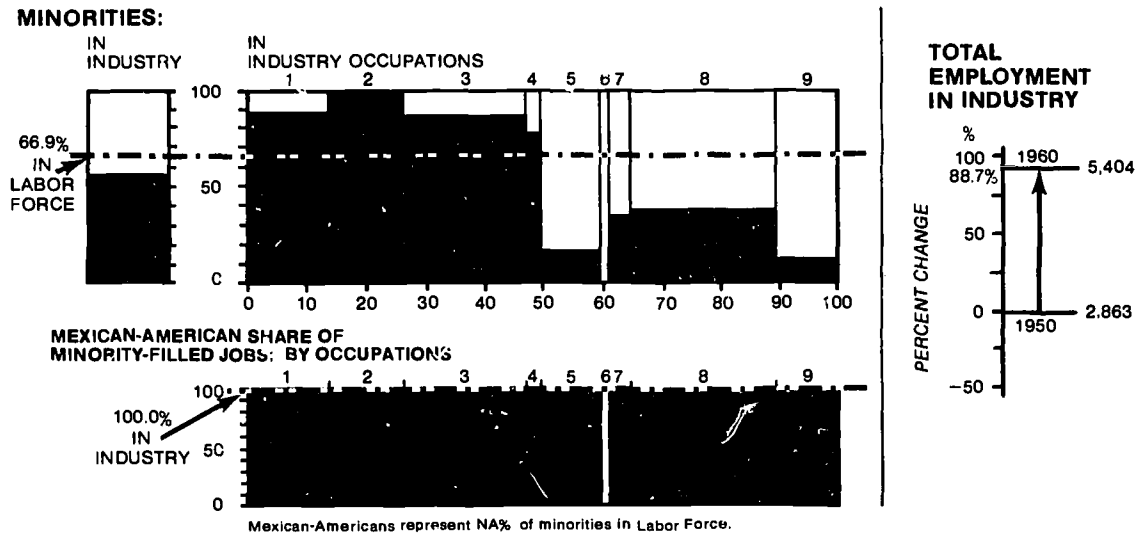
HIDALGO COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MEDICAL SERVICES



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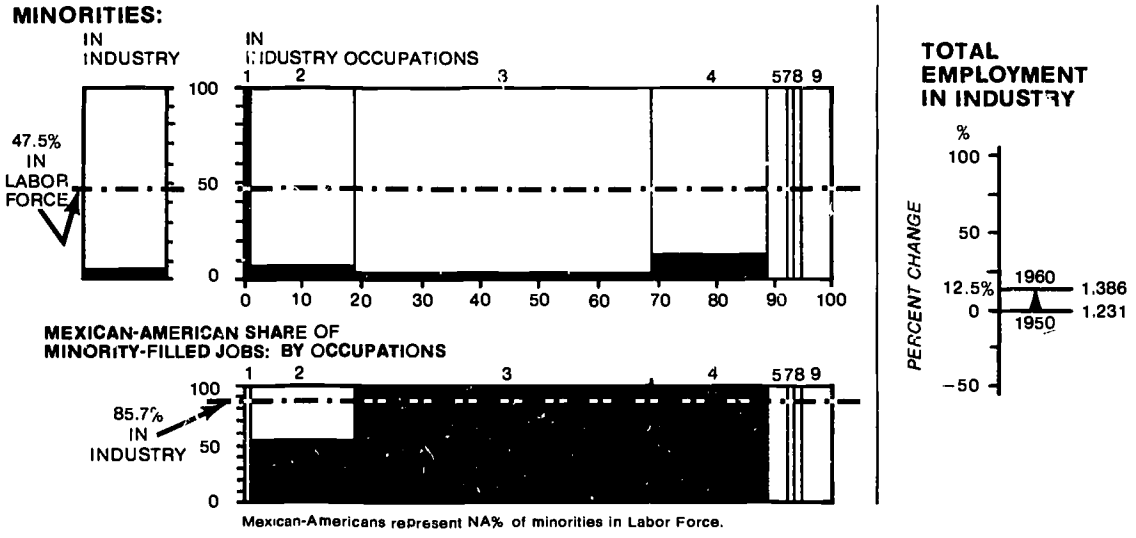
JIM WELLS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MINING



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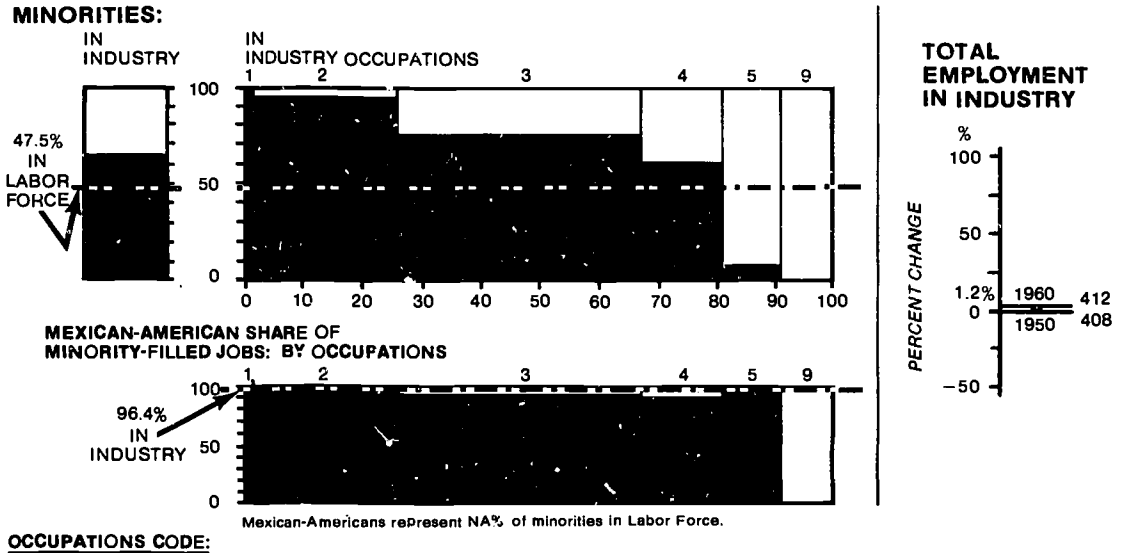
TRANSPORTATION



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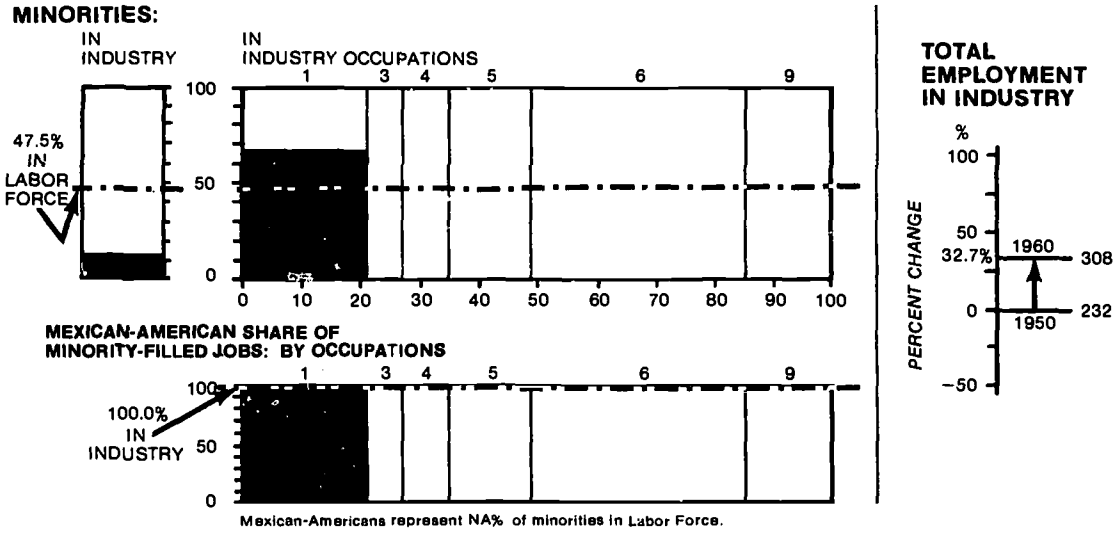
JIM WELLS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

WHOLESALE TRADE



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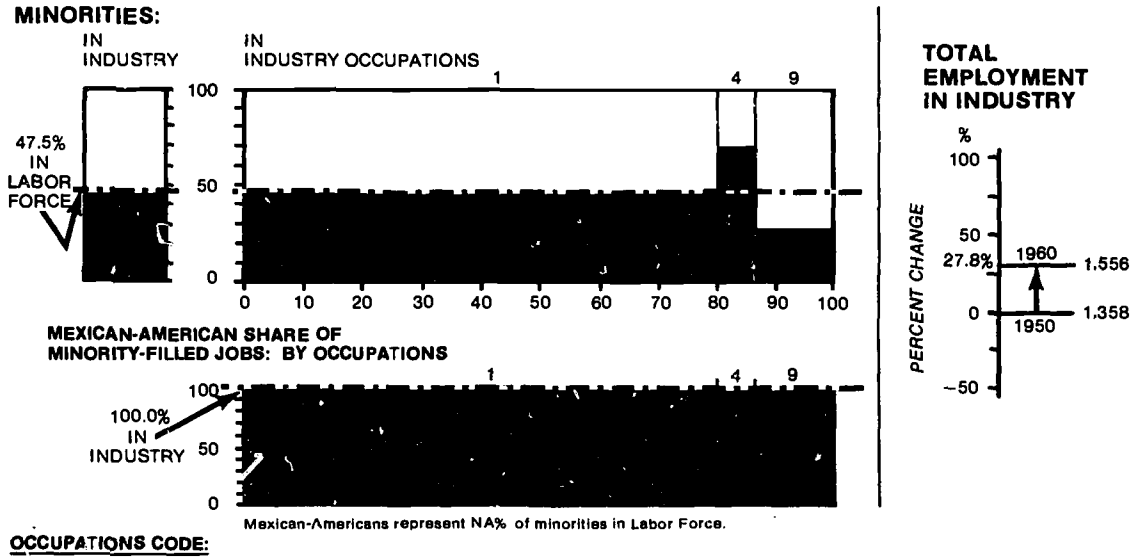

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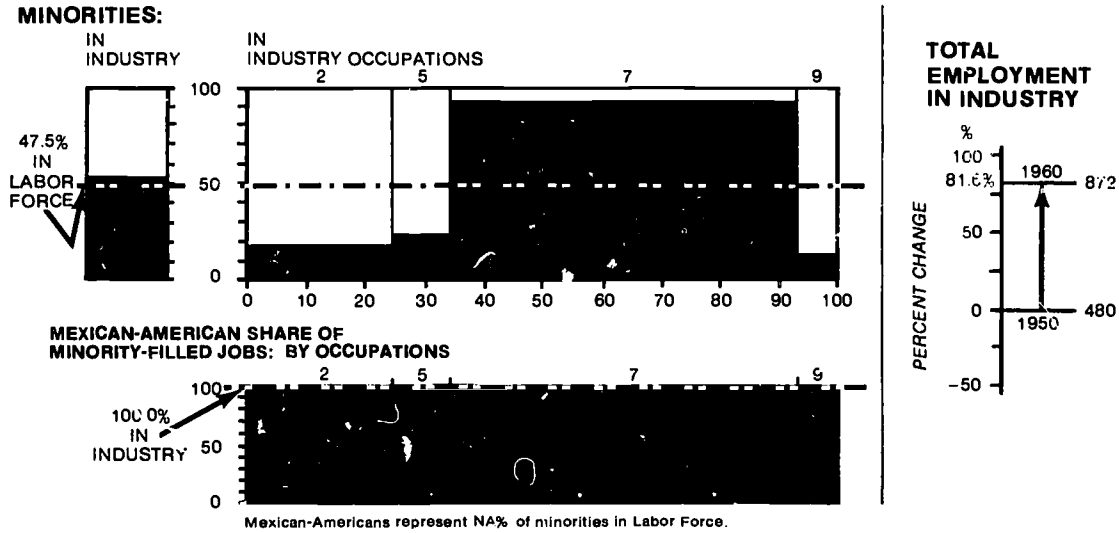
JIM WELLS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MEDICAL SERVICES



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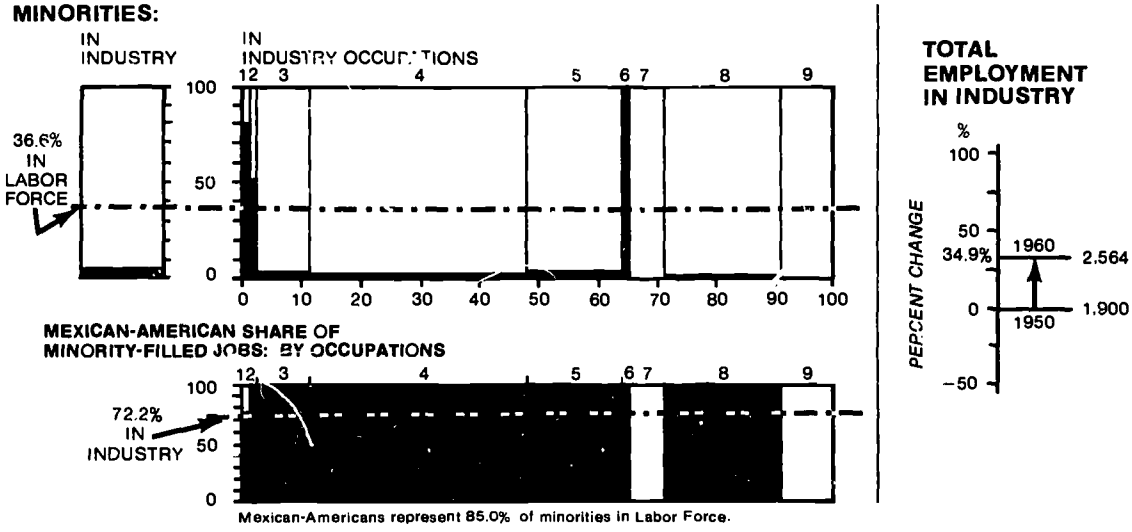
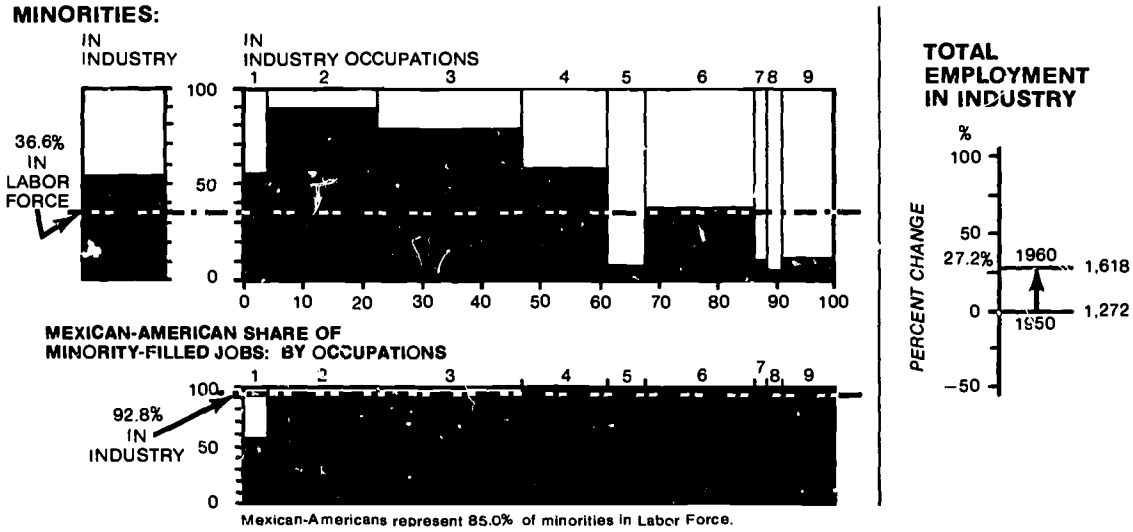
NUECES COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MINING



FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



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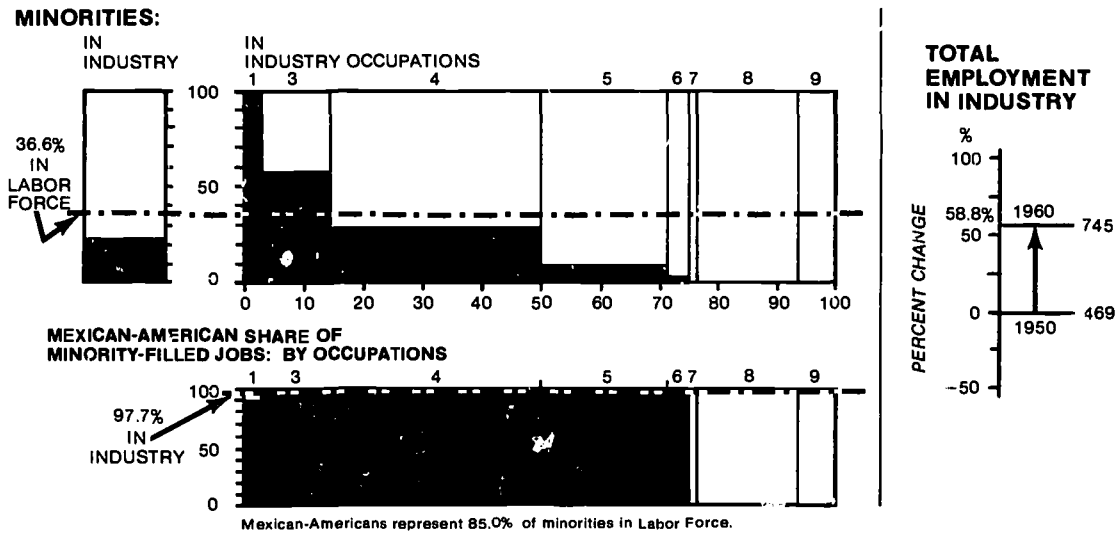
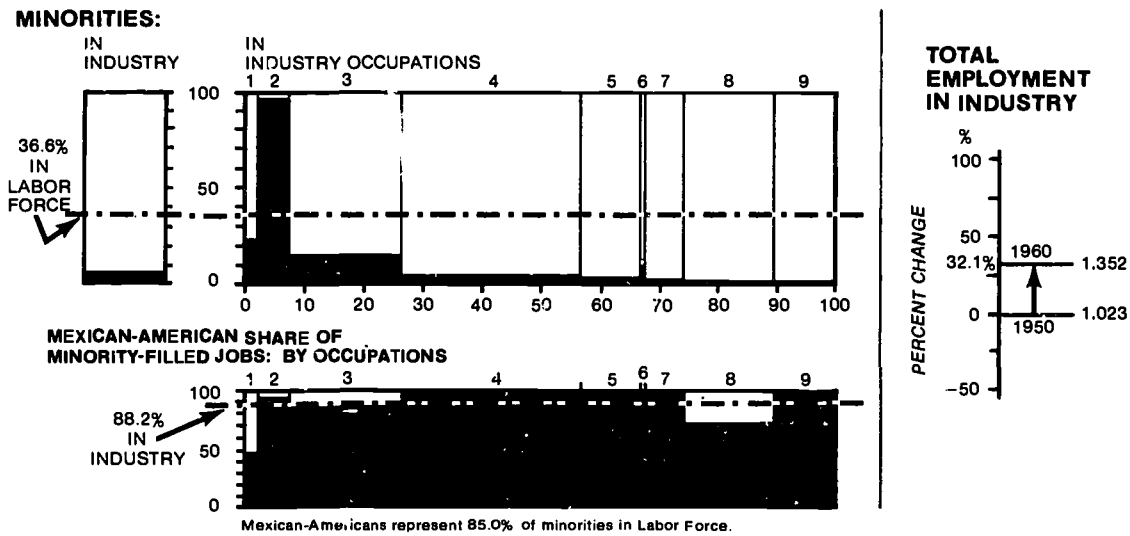
NUECES COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PRINTING/PUBLISHING



CHEMICALS/ALLIED PRODUCTS



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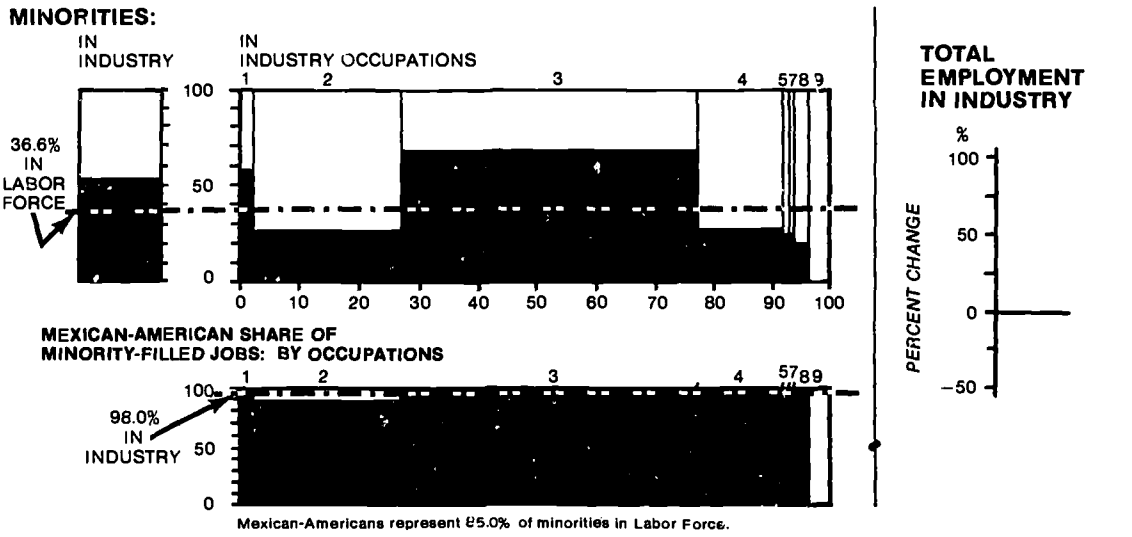
NUECES COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

PRIMARY METAL INDUSTRIES



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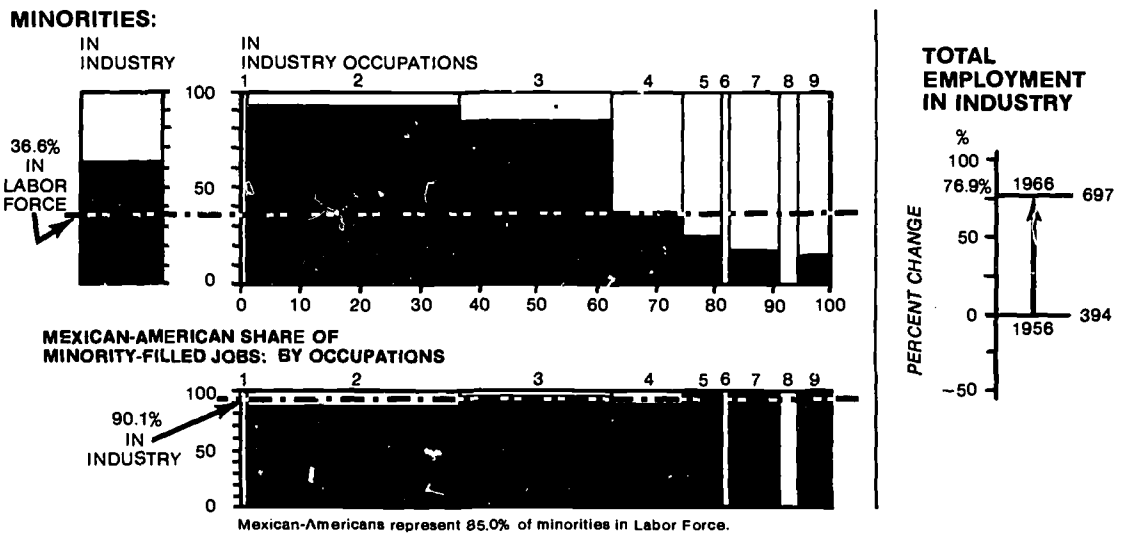
FABRICATED METAL PRODUCTS



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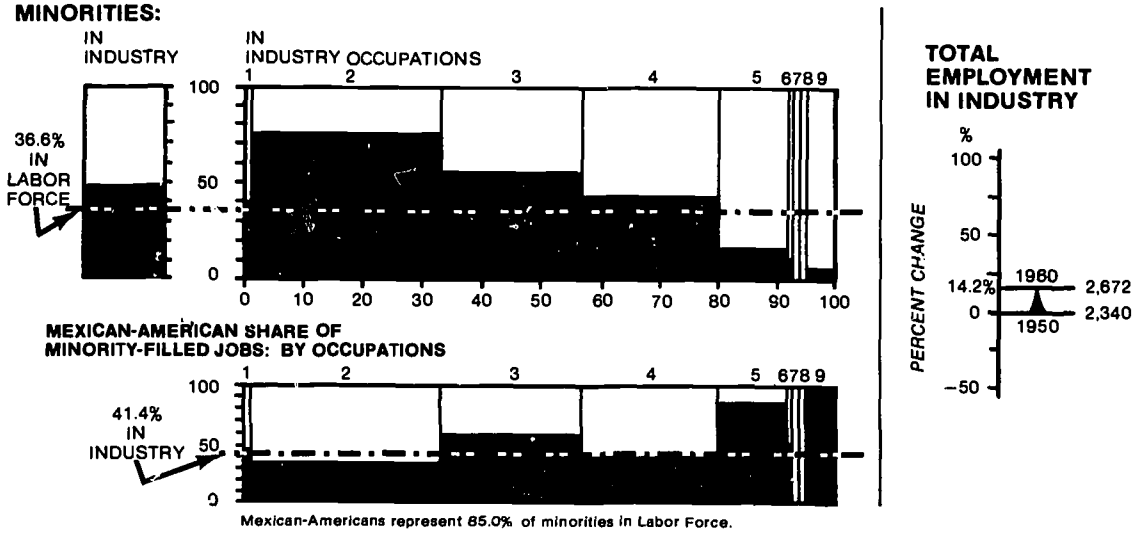
NUECES COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

TRANSPORTATION



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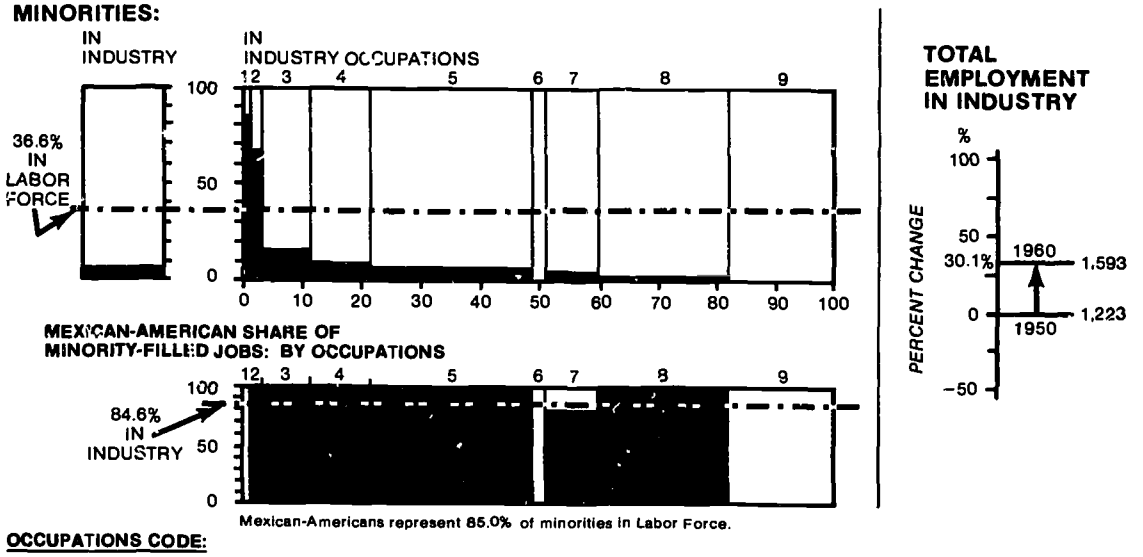
UTILITIES/SANITARY SERVICES



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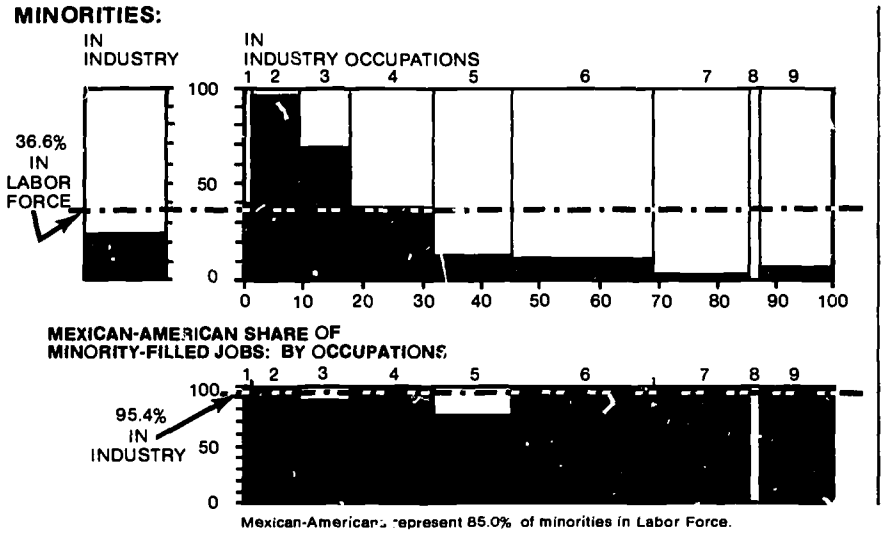
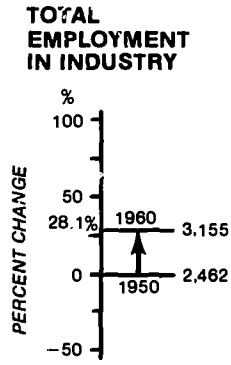
NUECES COUNTY, TEXAS

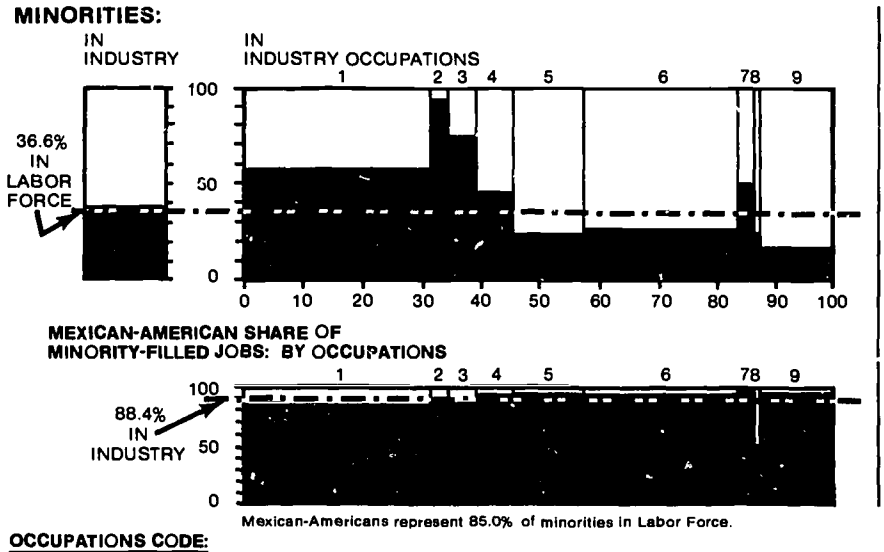
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

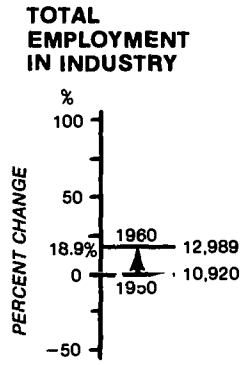
WHOLESALE TRADE





RETAIL TRADE





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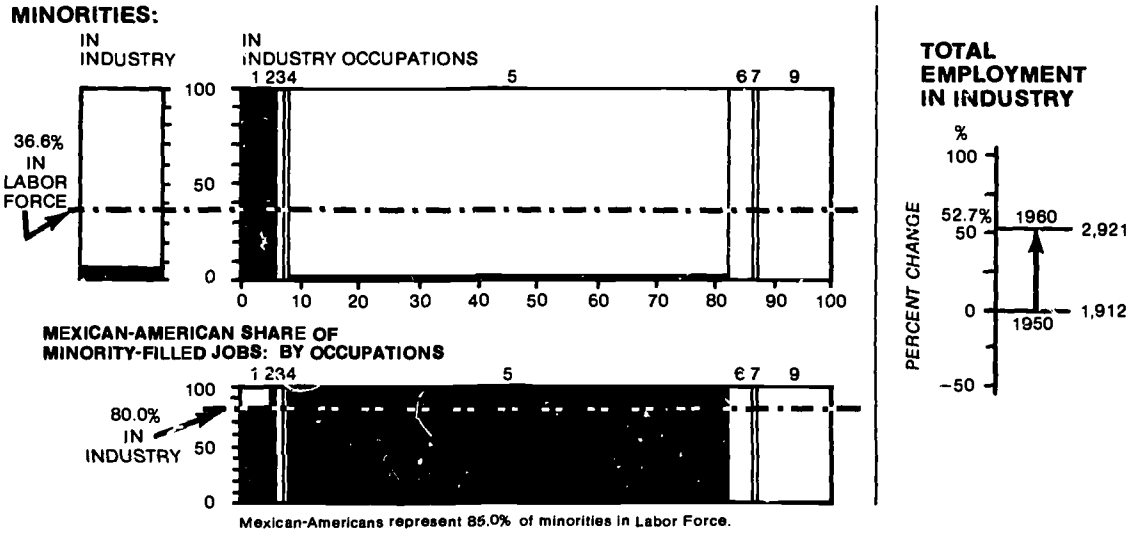
NUECES COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FINANCE



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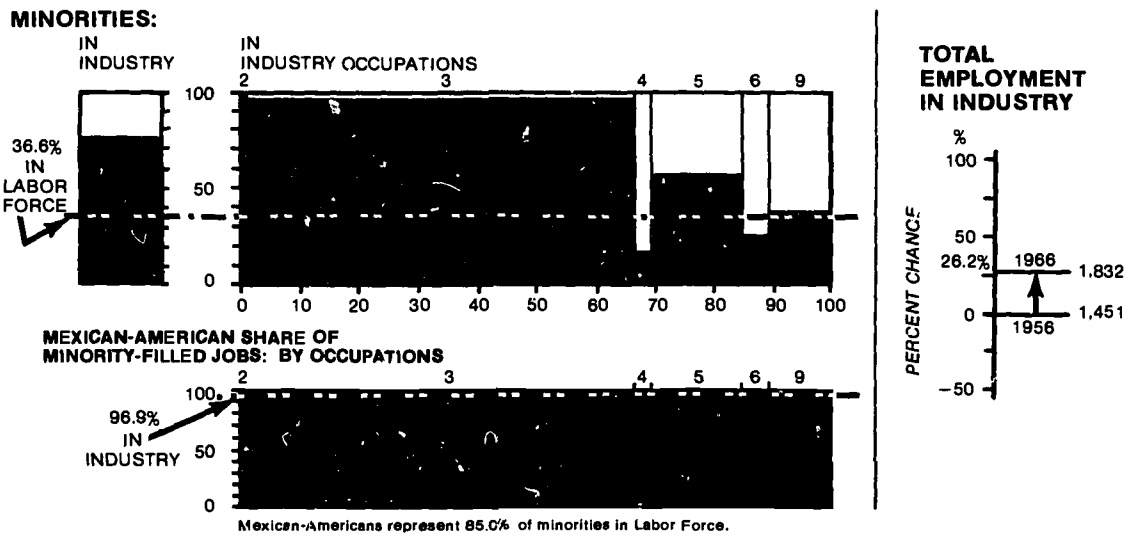
PERSONAL SERVICES



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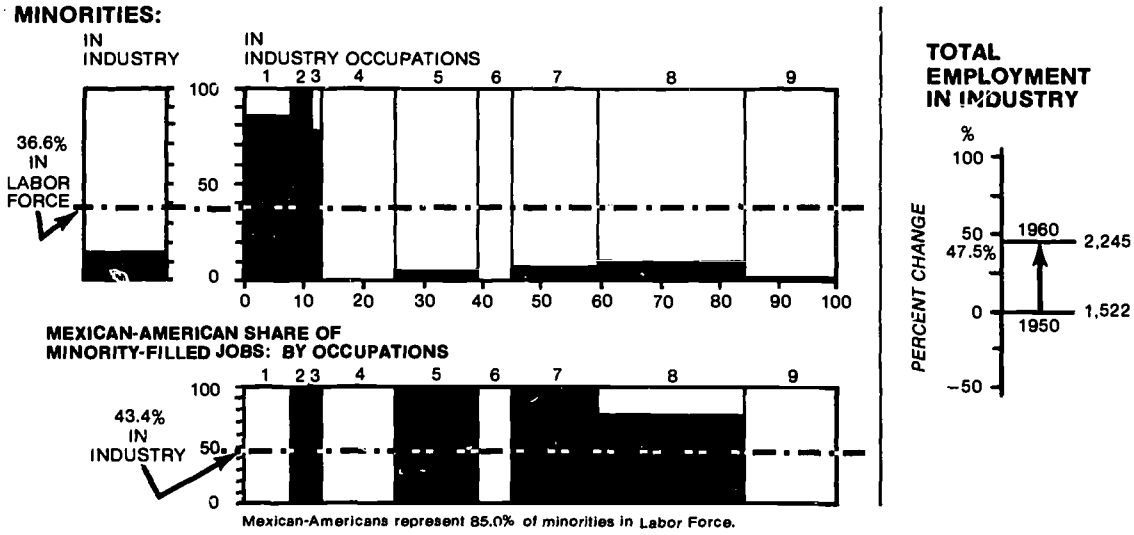
NUECES COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

BUSINESS SERVICES



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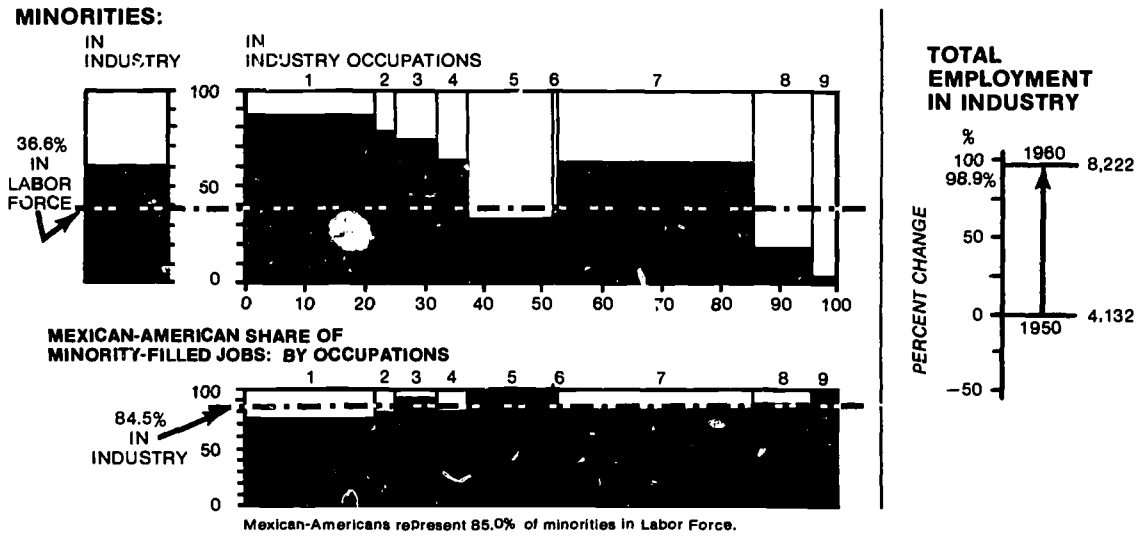

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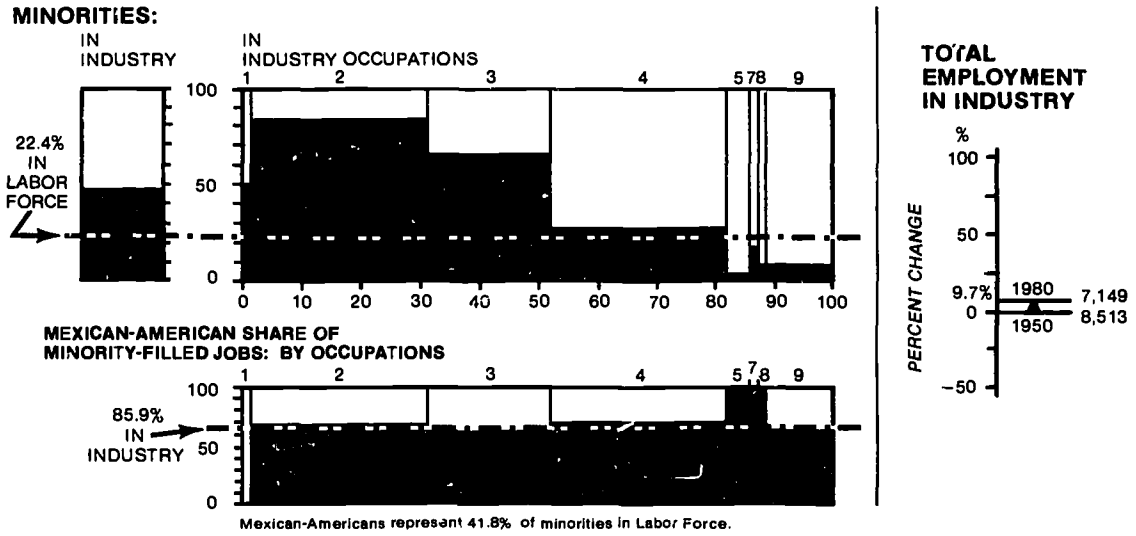
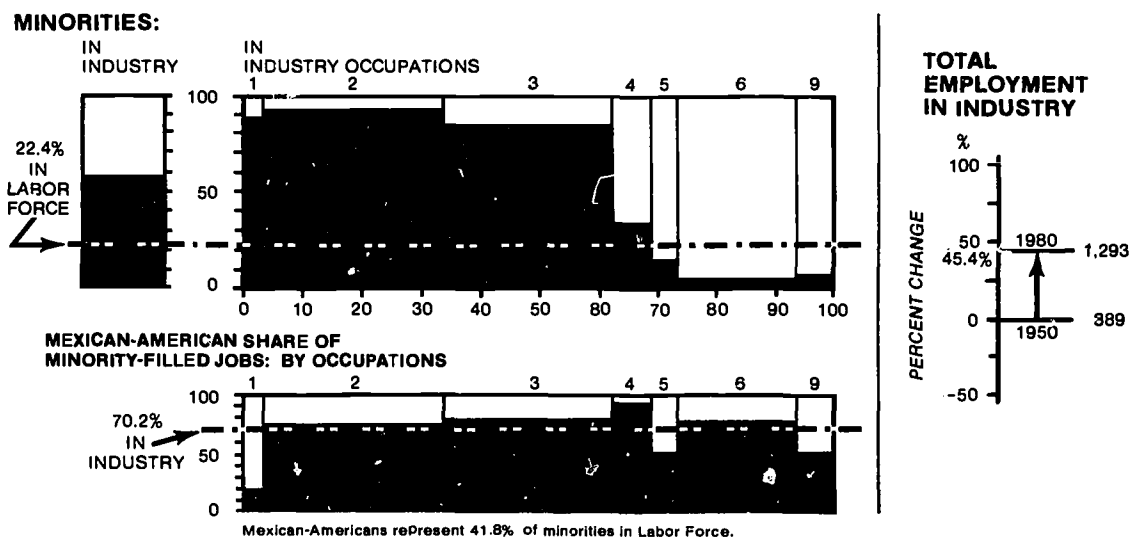
TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CONTRACT CONSTRUCTION



FOOD/KINDRED PRODUCTS



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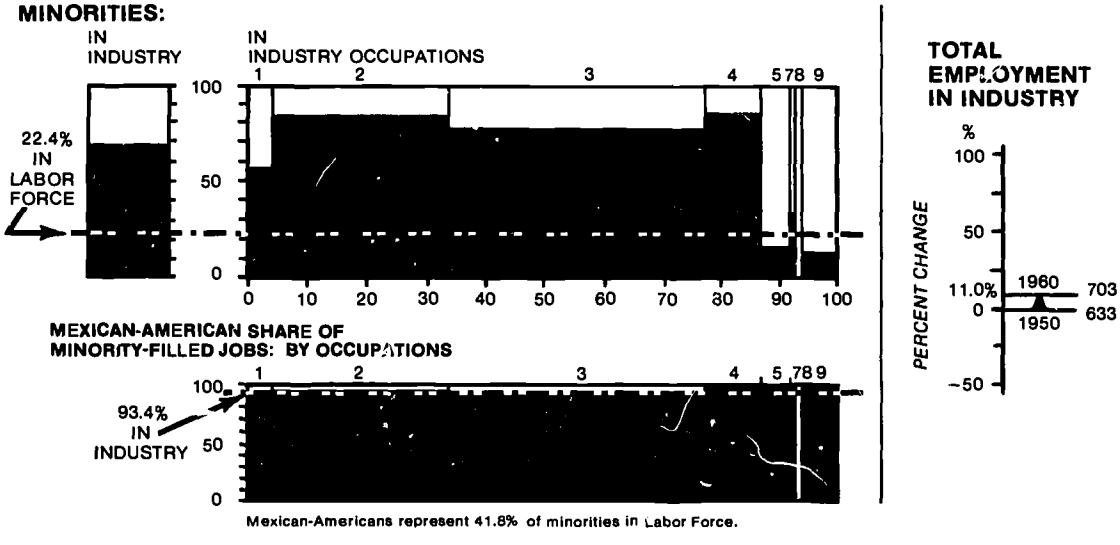
TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS

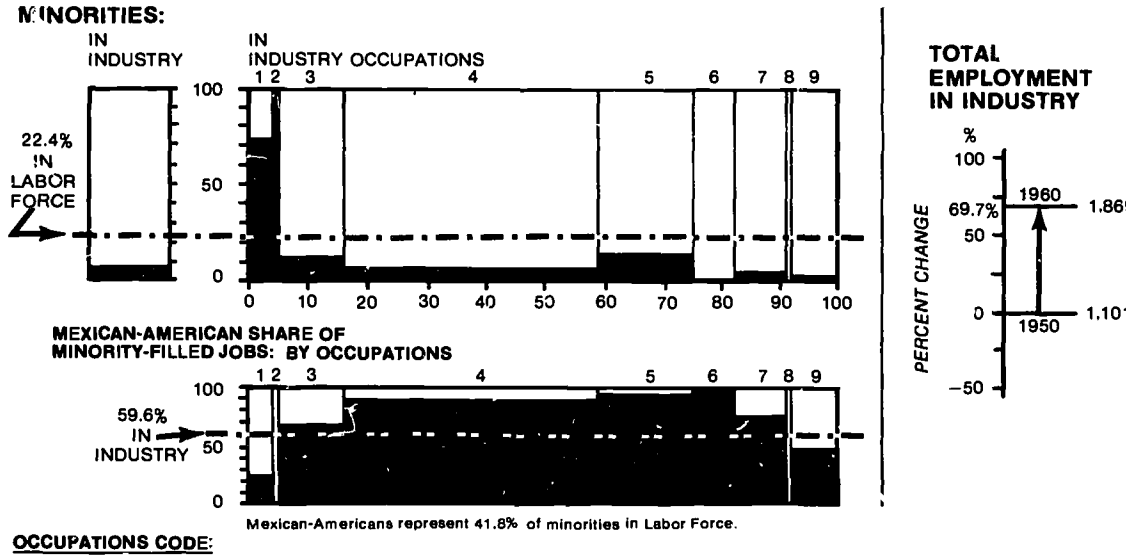
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

FURNITURE/FIXTURES



Mexican-Americans represent 41.8% of minorities in Labor Force.

PRINTING/PUBLISHING



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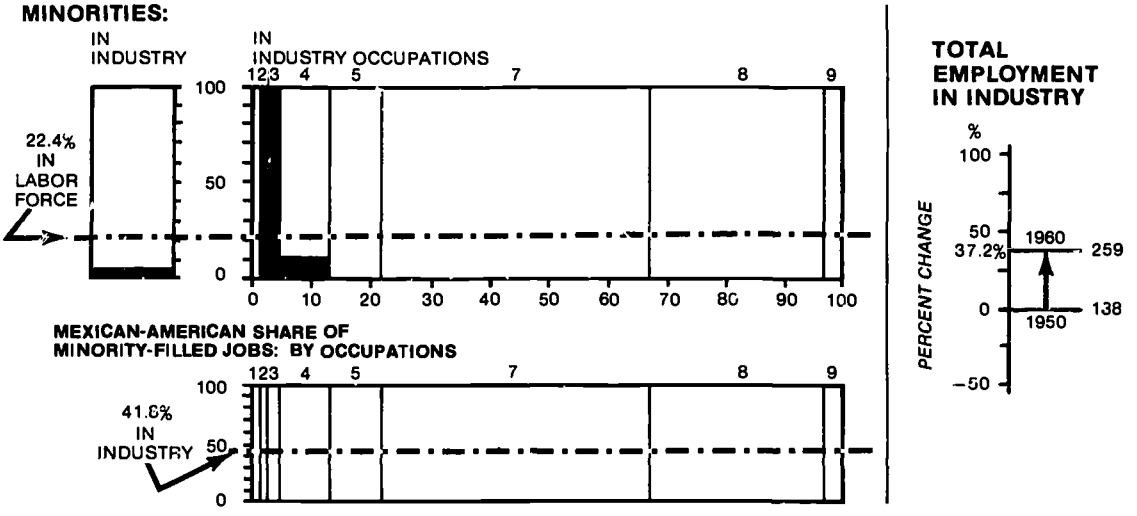
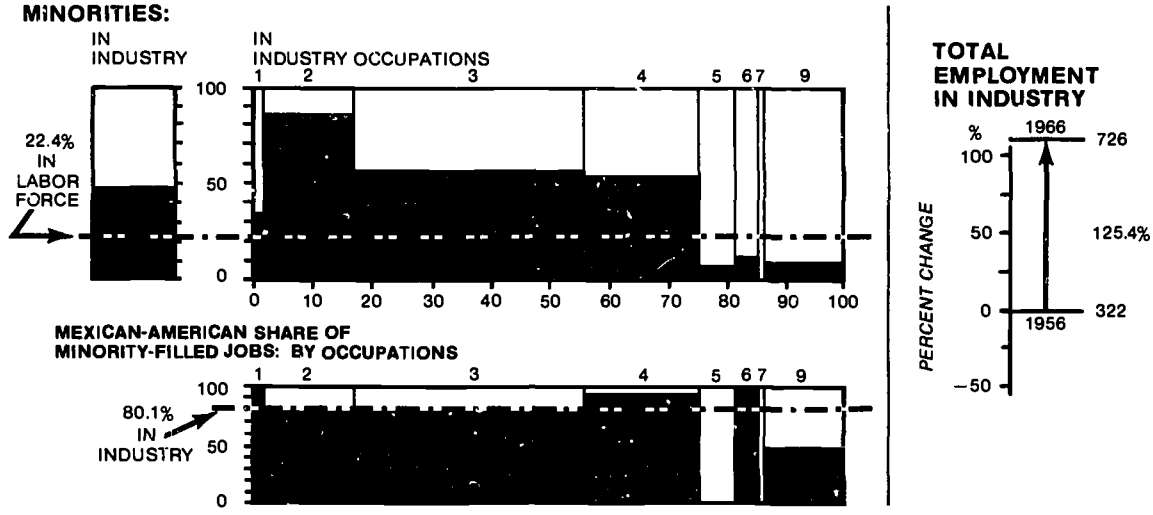
TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

CHEMICALS/ALLIED PRODUCTS



STONE, CLAY/GLASS PRODUCTS



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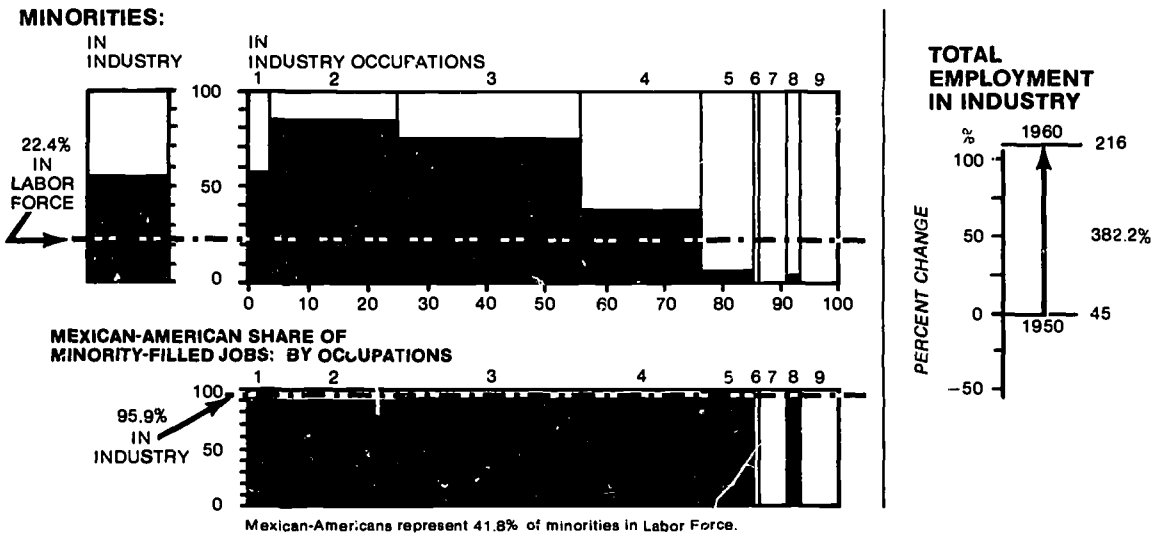
TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT



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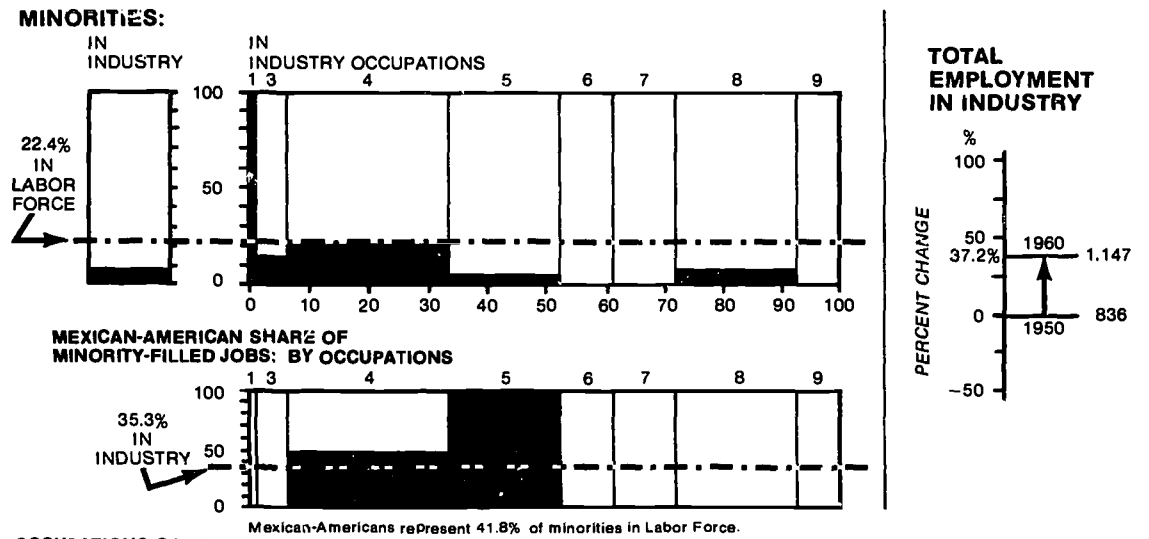
COMMUNICATION



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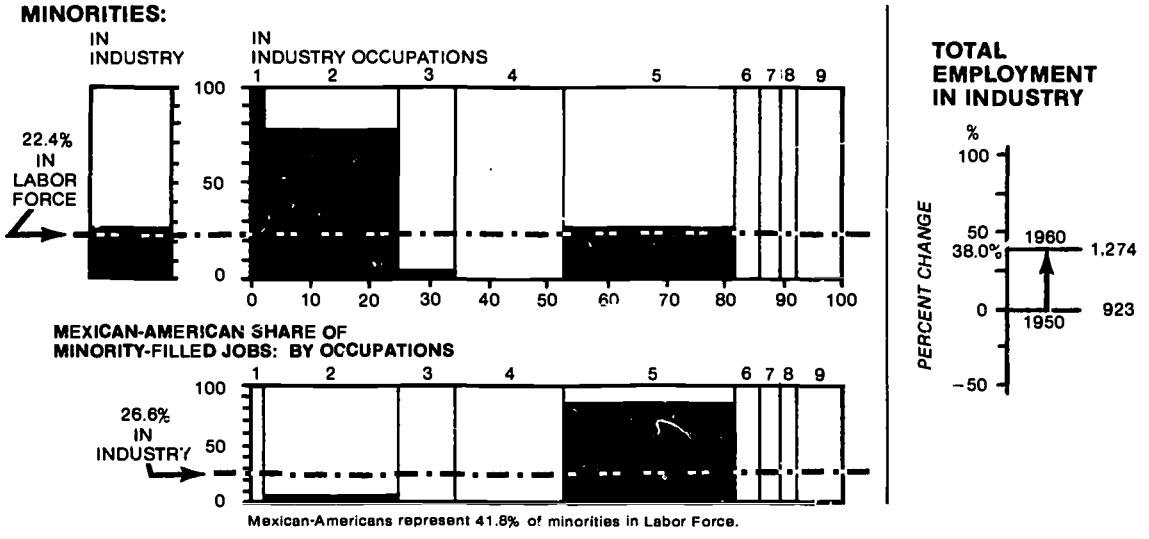
TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

UTILITIES/SANITARY SERVICES



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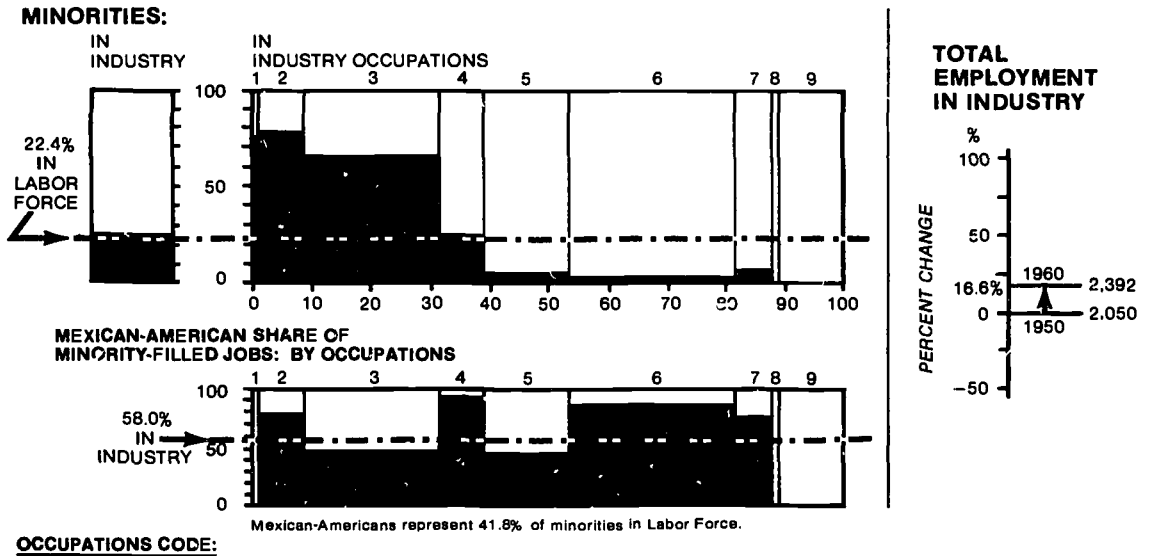

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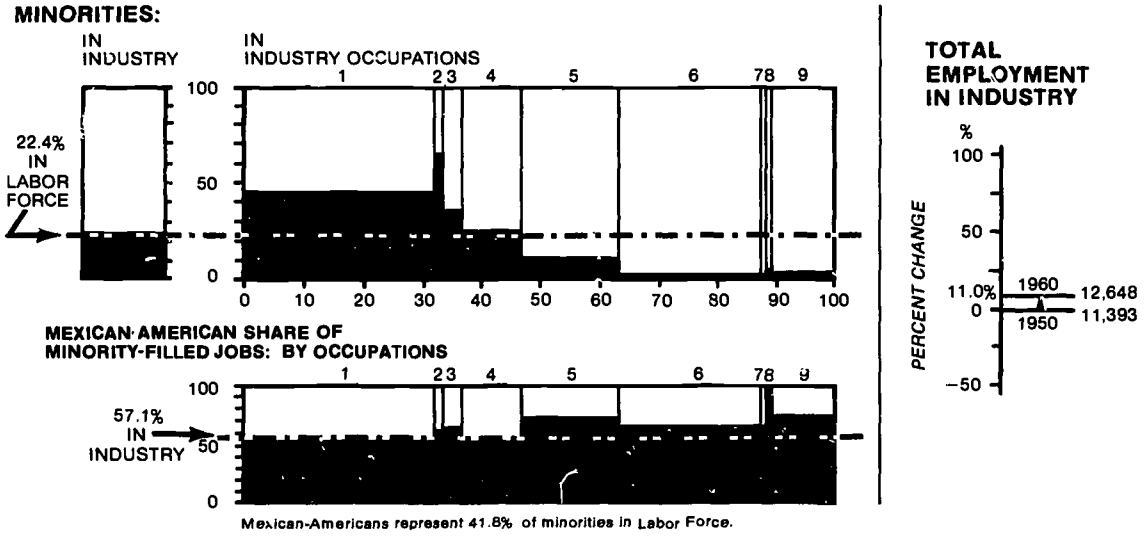
TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

RETAIL TRADE



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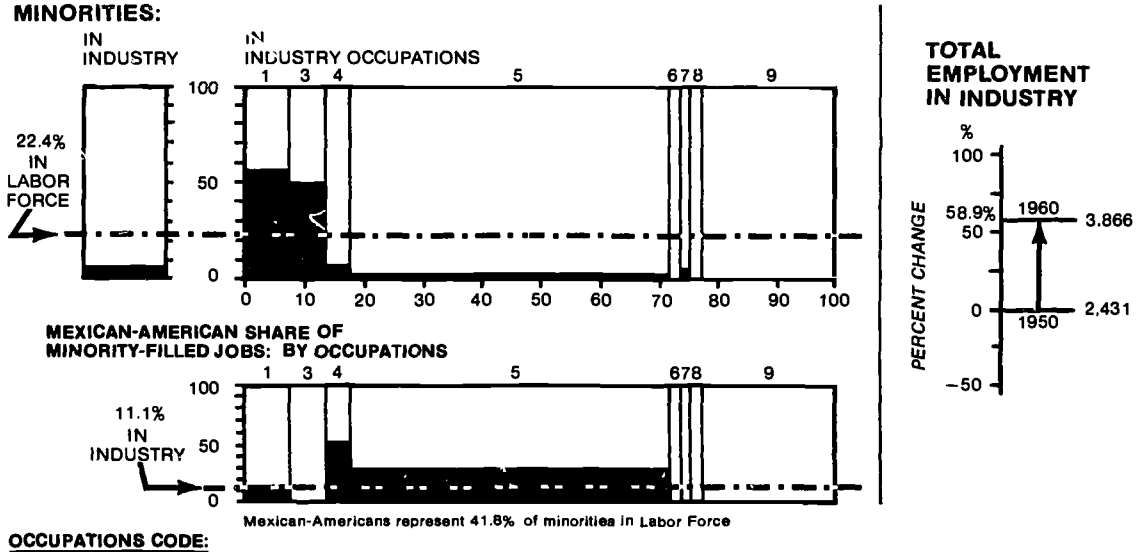

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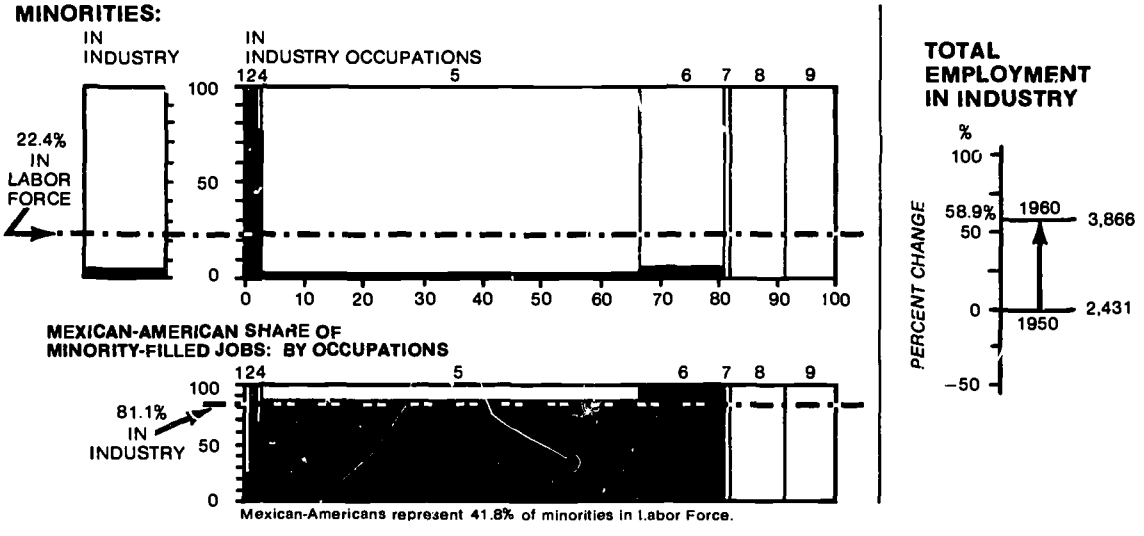
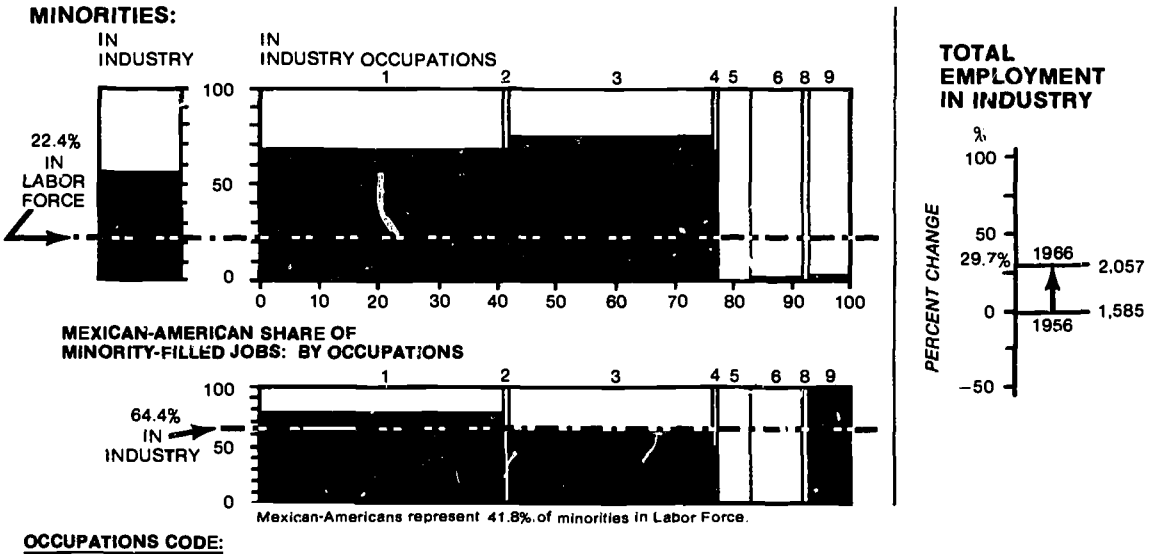
TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

INSURANCE



PERSONAL SERVICES



OCCUPATIONS CODE:

BLUE COLLAR:

1. SERVICE WORKERS
2. LABORERS (UNSKILLED)
3. OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)
4. CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)

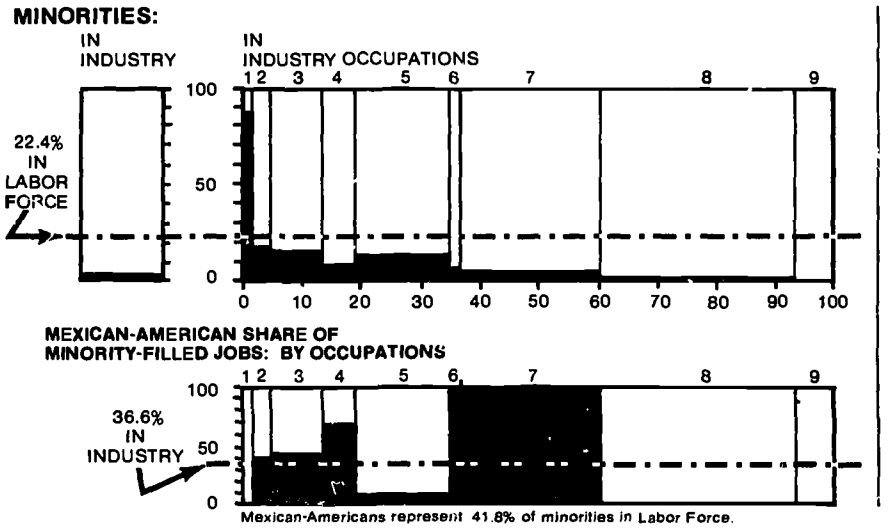
WHITE COLLAR:

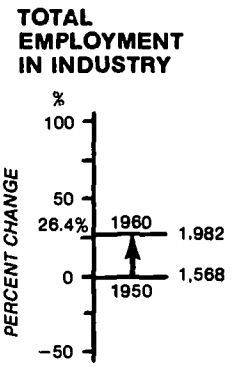
5. CLERICAL & OFFICE
6. SALES WORKERS
7. TECHNICIANS
8. PROFESSIONALS
9. OFFICIALS & MANAGERS

TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS

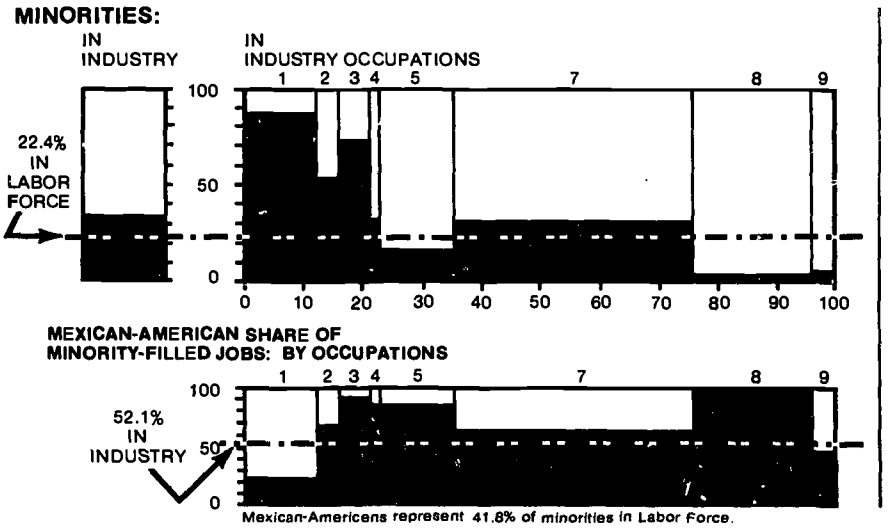
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

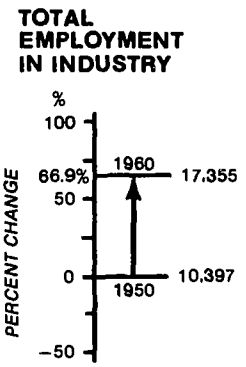
BUSINESS SERVICES





MEDICAL SERVICES





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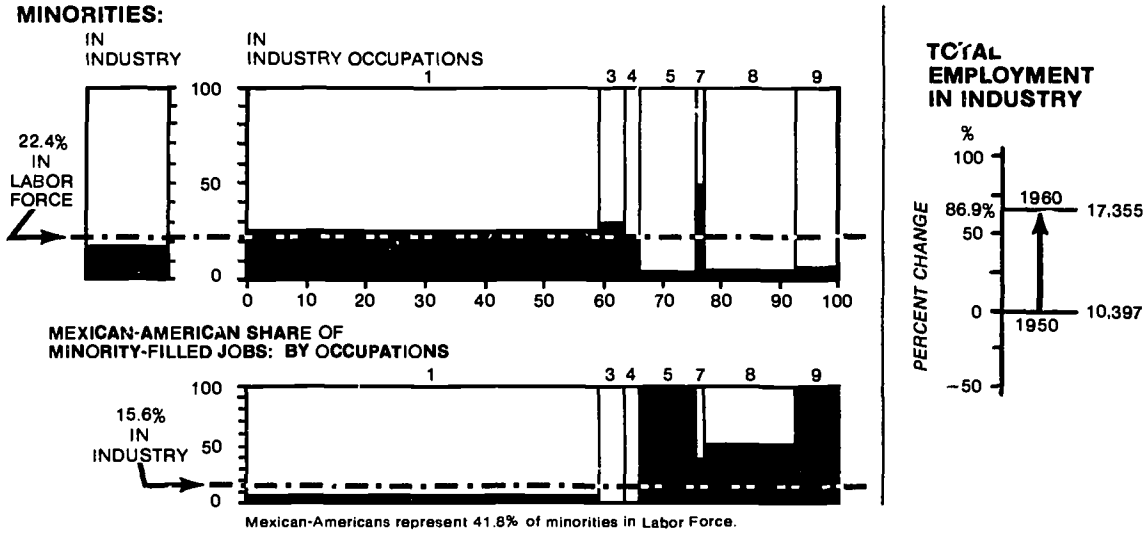
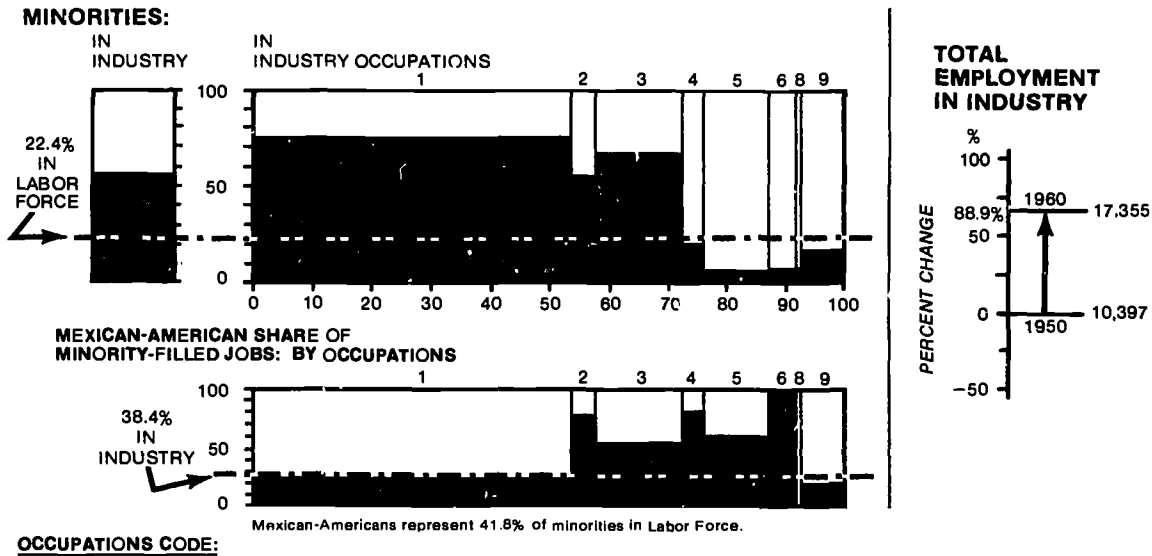
TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES



MISCELLANEOUS/OTHER SERVICES



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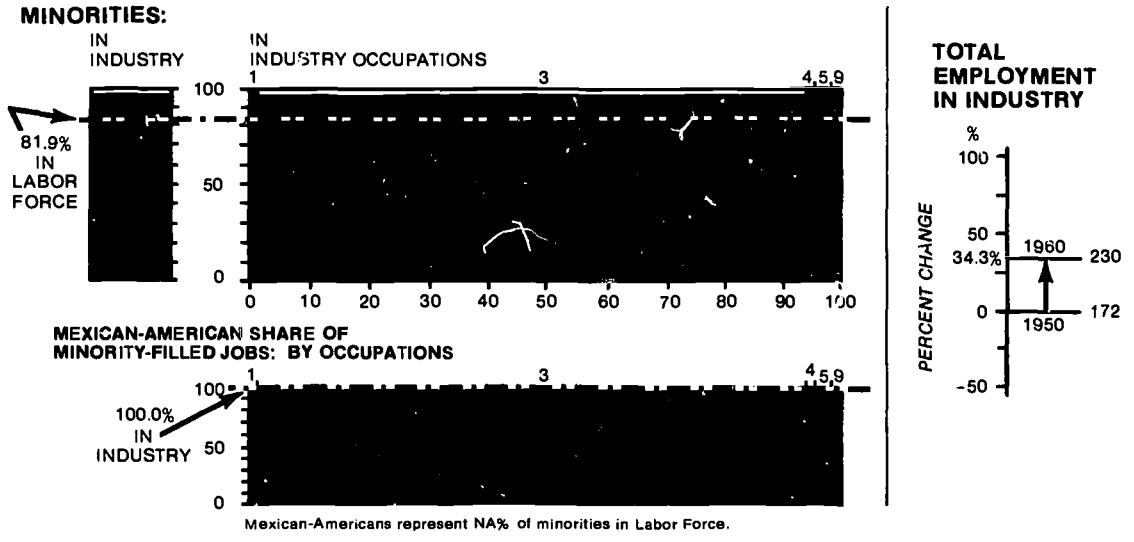
WEBB COUNTY, TEXAS

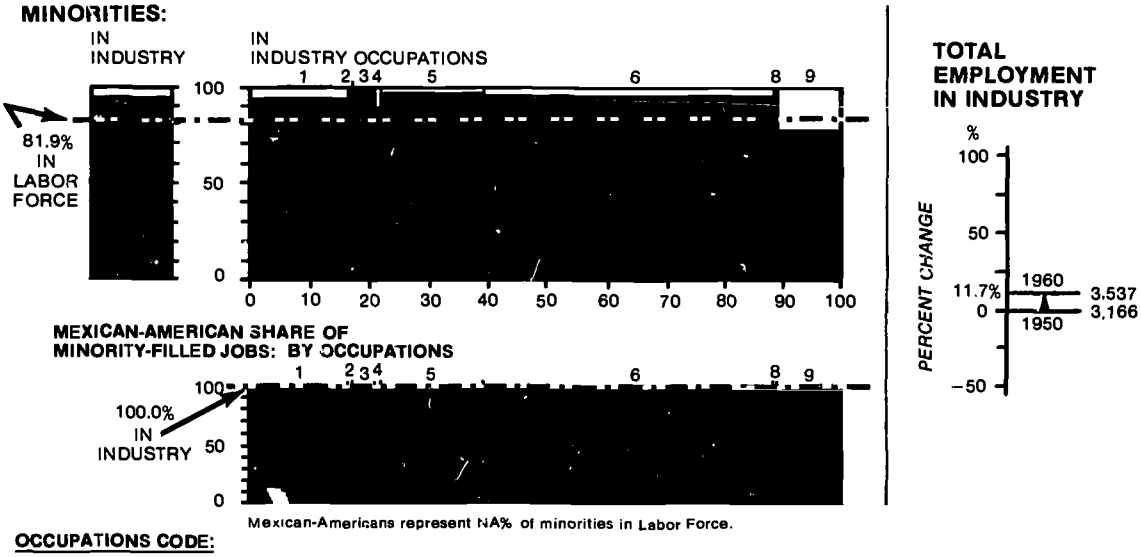
LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

APPAREL



Mexican-Americans represent NA% of minorities in Labor Force.

RETAIL TRADE



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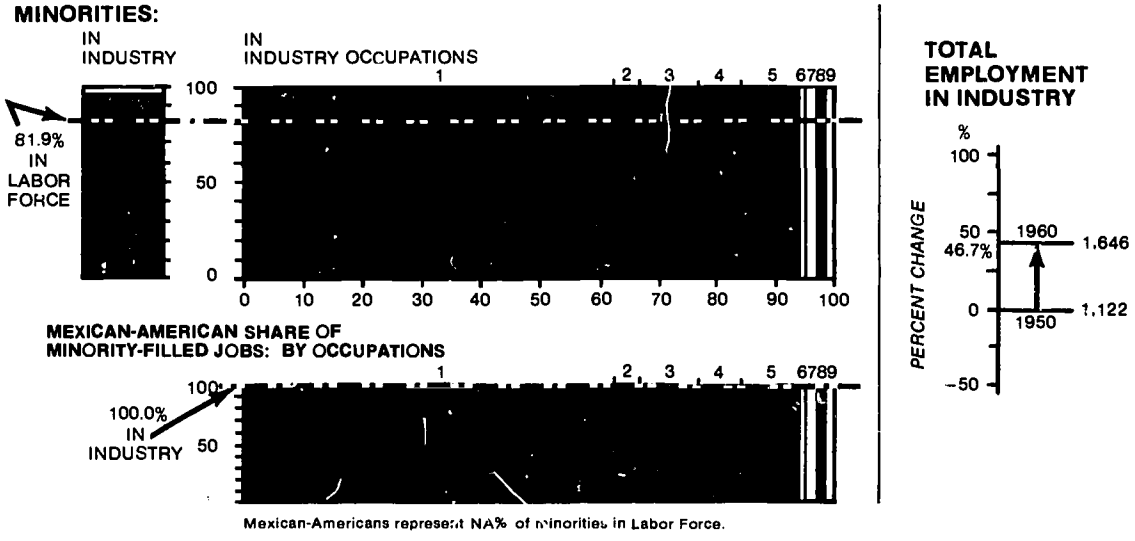
WEBB COUNTY, TEXAS

LEVELS OF MINORITY EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY

MISCELLANEOUS/OTHER SERVICES



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