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ABSTRACT

This study began in 1958 as an investigation of the adjustment problems of Mexican-Americans in a highly visible barrio on the outskirts of Racine, Wisconsin. It was believed that an understanding of the process of value assimilation would explain their success or lack of success in adjusting to Anglo society. However, as we have come to see it, and as does anyone who has seen the research reports, motivation, education, and experience play a smaller part in determining how far people rise than is usually considered to be the case. When the study began, no one considered it a project encompassing the problems of people in the Negro community (Negroes were not interviewed until 1960) as well as in the Mexican-American community, nor had anyone considered the possibility of reinterviewing everyone 10 years later, as has been done. While the research now includes the problems of both the Mexican-American and Negro communities, it also focusses on the organization of the entire city and how this organization affects the relative economic absorption and cultural integration of its most recent immigrants. The researchers now perceive the social and economic status of Mexican-American and Negro immigrants as a matter of concern to the entire community rather than as an adjustment problem of the residents of the barrio or the inner city--and a problem related to the organization of individuals. (Author/JM)

Lyle W. Shannon et al.

# A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC ABSORPTION AND CULTURAL INTEGRATION OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN AND NEGRO INMIGRANTS TO RACINE, WISCONSIN

## Introduction

This study began in 1958 as an investigation of the adjustment problems of Mexican-Americans in a highly visible barrio on the outskirts of Racine, Wisconsin. It was believed that an understanding of the process of value assimilation would explain their success or lack of success in adjusting to Anglo society. Acquisition of the values of the latter, it was hypothesized, was the necessary and probably sufficient condition for goal-oriented behavior leading to occupational mobility and higher incomes.

Persons in official and unofficial positions of power and leadership in the host society (sometimes called gatekeepers) as well as behavioral scientists with what might be termed a psychological (motivational) orientation are quick to accept the logic of the value assimilation approach because they perceive the world about them as one in which the determinants of mobility are within the individual. Mobility follows internalization of appropriate values. To these gatekeepers and behavioral scientists the idea that the system is all-powerful, perhaps oppressive, is just as inadequate an explanation of what happens as is an explanation which attributes success or mobility to chance, to the "fates." As we have come to see it, and as does anyone who has seen our research reports, motivation, education, and experience play a smaller part in determining how far people rise than is usually considered to be the case. The way the society is organized, the position at which people enter the social order, and a variety of fortuitous events (chance, if you wish to call it that) constitute a chain of circumstances and events (an experiential chain) that goes much further in explaining how people come to be where they are.

When we began the study, no one considered it a project encompassing the problems of people in the Negro community (Negroes were not interviewed until 1960) as well as in the Mexican-American community, nor had anyone considered the possibility of reinterviewing everyone 10 years later, as we

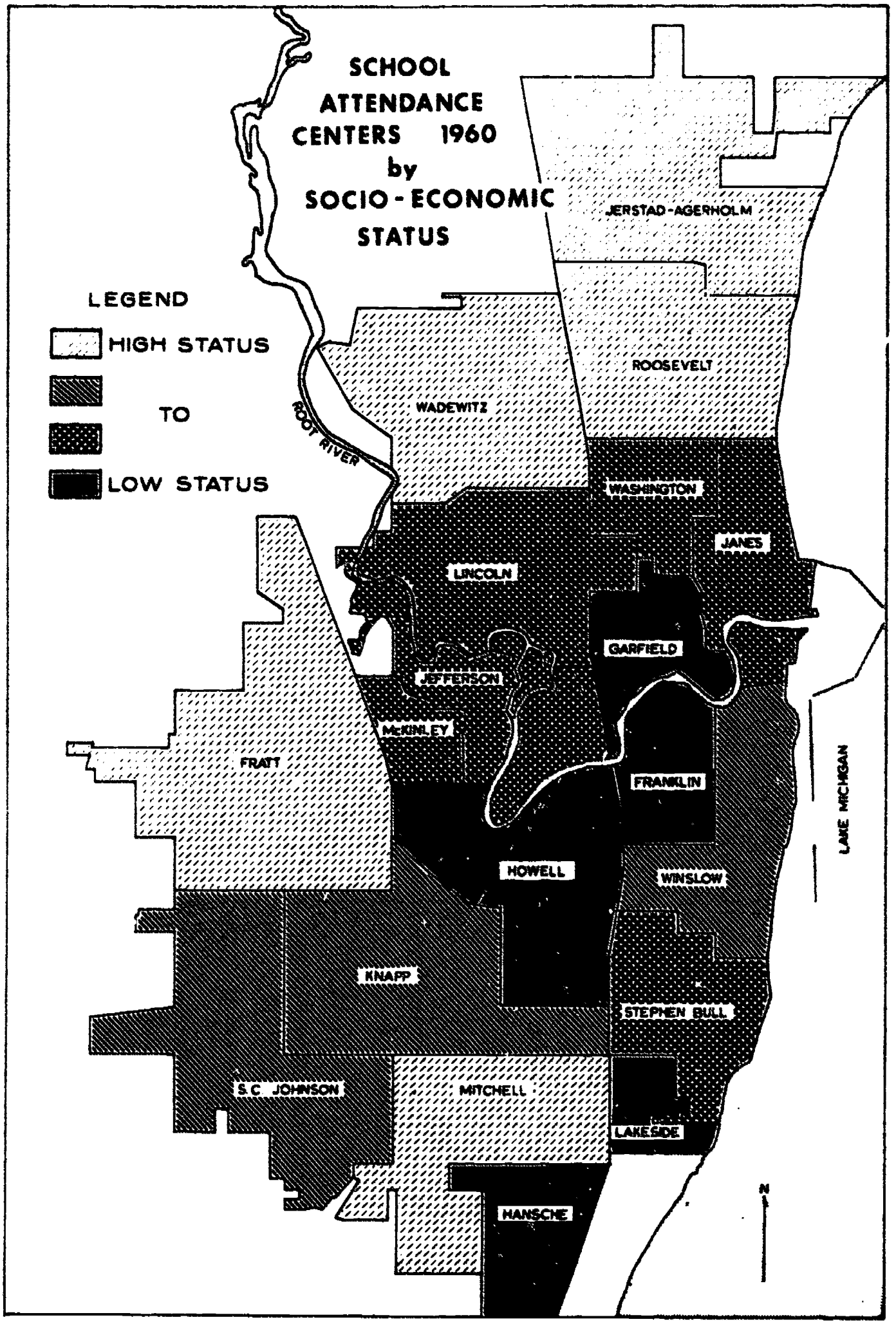
have done. While our research now includes the problems of both the Mexican-American and Negro communities, it also focusses on the organization of the entire city and how this organization affects the relative economic absorption and cultural integration of its most recent inmigrants. In our work we now perceive the social and economic status of Mexican-American and Negro inmigrants as a matter of concern to the entire community rather than as an adjustment problem of the residents of the barrio or the inner city--and a problem related to the organization of society rather than the organization of individuals.

There are, of course, those who will reply that we were incorrectly presuming that the Mexican-American and Negro inmigrants wished to emulate the Anglos or Whites in the host society. While some members of each group have chastized us for assuming that they want to be Anglos or White men and some have even gone further and have said that we are attempting to force them to be like Anglos or White men in order to survive, our findings support the position that most inmigrants who have attempted to become absorbed into the economy of a northern industrial community have indeed sought many (if not all) of the same things as their Anglo or White counterparts in the community.

## Background of the Restudy

In 1959 we interviewed 209 Mexican-Americans and 209 Anglos; in 1960 we reinterviewed most of those who had been interviewed and additional persons to complete a sample of 236 Mexican-Americans and 284 Anglos and added a sample of 280 Negroes; and in 1961 we interviewed 137 Negroes and 189 Anglos. These samples were selected from lists of persons in such a way as to guarantee that they were samples of the population or universe of persons about whom we wished to gain information in that particular year.

When we set about the task of selecting samples for interviewing Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and Anglos in 1960, we decided that a sample stratified by school attendance centers would be the best way in which to guarantee representativeness. These 1960 attendance centers are shown on the map on the following page. Knowledge of the race and ethnic composition of these centers enabled us to pick a sample that would rep-



resent all types of Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and Anglos (with children 0-20 years of age) in proportion to their distribution in Racine--we had in essence a miniature of the population of child-rearing persons in Racine. We, of course, utilized a variable sampling ratio in order to have a sufficiently large number of Mexican-Americans and Negroes for the kinds of statistical analyses that we wished to conduct. In approximately half of the households we interviewed the male head of the house and in the other half we interviewed his spouse or the female head of house. The distribution of the 1960 sample, upon completion of the interviews, is shown on the map by that title.

The possibility of conducting a restudy and reinterviewing each of the original respondents occurred early enough in the analysis phase that all their interviews were retained. A file was constructed for each respondent in which we placed their interviews and any other pertinent information that we had accumulated on that family. This set of files contains data on 280 Mexican-American, 280 Negro, and 413 Anglo respondents.

## Theoretical Framework of the Restudy

The primary goal of the original project and the restudy has been to determine which combinations of individual characteristics (socially acquired prior to living in Racine, or in the Racine industrial milieu) and group identities determine the level at which the immigrant is initially absorbed into the economy and the rate and extent to which he has moved upward in the social system of the host community during the years 1960 to 1971.

The major variables for the study are outlined in Table 1 and have been diagrammed in a causal sequence in Table 2. The dependent variables are economic absorption and cultural integration.[1] Each is measured by a

[1] By economic absorption we are referring to the process of getting a job and moving upward in the employment hierarchy on a basis of one's abilities and experience. By cultural integration we are referring to the process of acquiring a position in the larger society or a subsociety and learning how to play the roles and engage in the behavior expected of any person in that position in the society rather than how one might be expected to play it as an "ethnic" or "racial" minority group member.

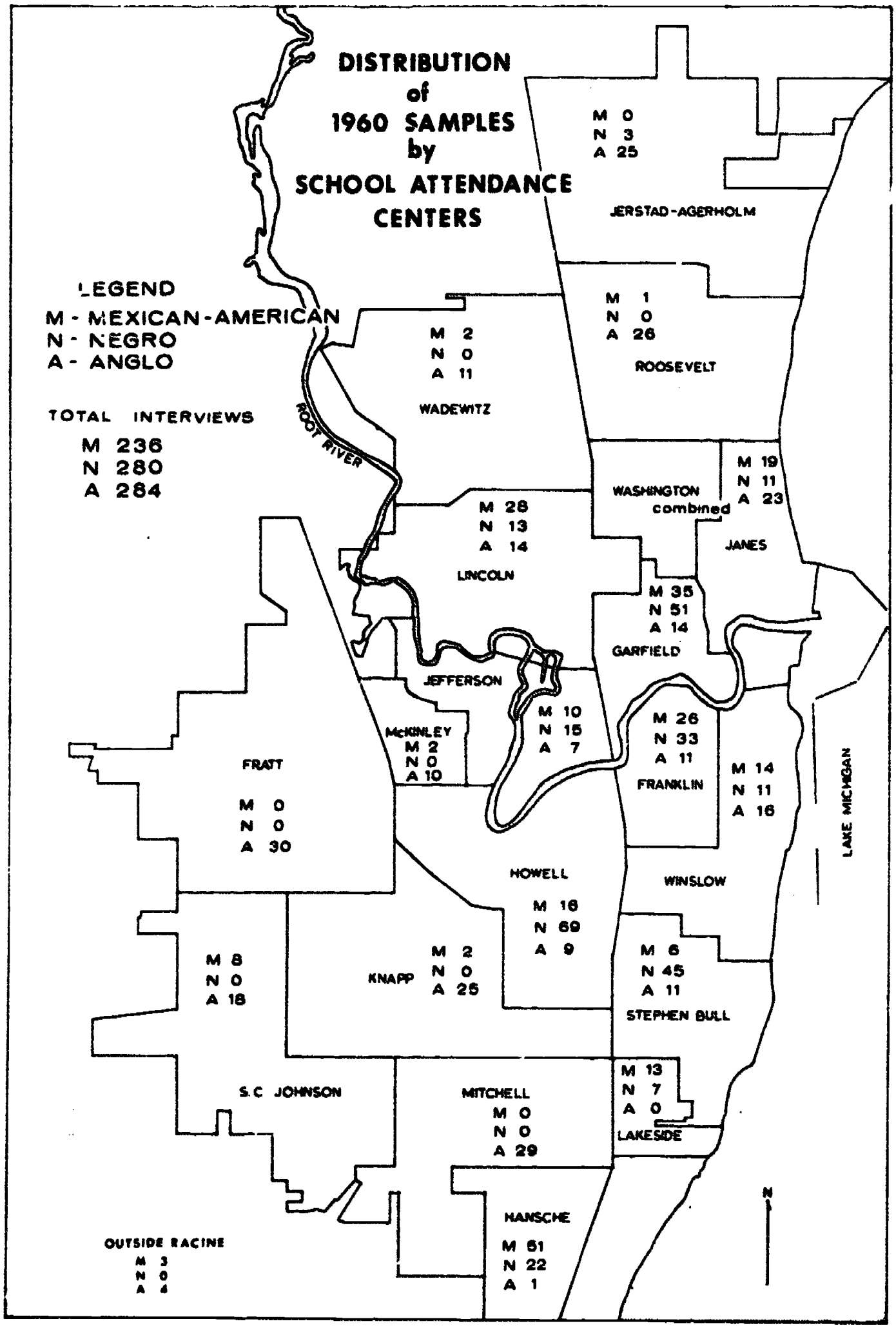


Table 1: OUTLINE OF THE MAJOR VARIABLES

I. Dependent Variables

**Time 1: 1959, 1960, 1961**

**Economic Absorption**

1. Present occupational level
2. Income
3. Level of living
4. Place of residence

**Data indicative of mobility**

5. Occupation of head of household's father
6. First job of respondent or spouse and subsequent jobs

**Cultural Integration**

1. World View
2. Level of aspiration for children
3. Language spoken by respondent and spouse
4. Ethnic or racial identity of associates
5. Attitudes toward Southwest vs. industrial Midwest
6. Views on integration

**Data indicative of intergenerational change**

7. Language spoken by children

**Time 2: 1971**

**Economic Absorption**

1. Present occupational level
2. Income
3. Level of living
4. Place of residence

**Data indicative of mobility**

All of the data above for Time 2 will be used in measuring comparative mobility between Time 1 and Time 2 with adjustments for change in the occupational composition of Racine 1960-1971, for inflation, and for upward movement in the level of living.

**Cultural Integration**

1. World View
2. Level of aspiration for children
3. Language spoken by respondent and spouse
4. Ethnic or racial identity of associates
5. Attitudes toward Southwest vs. industrial Midwest
6. Views on integration
7. Family planning

**Data indicative of change**

8. Language spoken by children and all cultural integration variables (Time 2) are indicative of change between Time 1 and Time 2

II. Independent Variables (Hypothesized to be Determinants of Status at Time 1 and/or Determinants of Change Between Time 1 and Time 2)

**Antecedents to 1959, 1960, 1961**

1. Area of socialization
2. Area of education
3. Area of first employment
4. Years of education
5. First employment level
6. Occupation of father
7. Urban and industrial experience prior to Racine and/or including Racine

**Antecedent to 1971**

All variables considered antecedent to 1959, 1960, 1961 and all variables measured in 1959, 1960, 1961 that may be considered determinants of level of economic absorption and cultural integration in 1971, e.g.:

1. World View
2. Race and ethnic identity of associates
3. Level of aspiration
4. Language spoken
5. Coping behavior

Table 2 : DIAGRAMMING THE VARIABLES IN A CAUSAL SEQUENCE

<u>Generalized Antecedents</u>

1. Characteristics of place of origin

   a. Common to all OR unique to respondents
   b. Physical and social
   c. Larger society OR sub-society

2. Abilities, attitudes, aspirations, statuses, etc., acquired by respondents in their place of origin through social inheritance

   a. Characteristics of group
   b. Characteristics of individual

<u>Time 1</u>

1. Characteristics of new place of residence including predominantly Anglo hosts

   a. Common to all OR unique to respondents
   b. Physical and social
   c. Larger community OR sub-community

2. Abilities, attitudes, aspirations, and statuses acquired by respondents at the time of first measurement

   a. Characteristics of group
   b. Characteristics of individual

<u>Decision to Move</u> (fortuitous experiences and idiosyncratic reasons may intervene here)

<u>Initial experience in new community at time of entry--prior to Time 1 in study:</u>

   a. Common to all OR unique to respondent
   b. Larger society OR sub-society

Closely related to initial experiences are the association hypotheses. These association hypotheses are also relevant at Time 1 and Time 2. Changes in economic absorption and cultural integration between Time 1 and Time 2 should be greatest for those who have had the types and patterns of associations hypothesized to maximize these changes.

<u>Time 2</u>

1. Characteristics of place of residence including hosts and immigrants:

   a. Common to all OR unique to respondents
   b. Physical and social
   c. Larger community OR sub-community

2. Abilities, attitudes, aspirations, and statuses acquired by respondents at the time of second measurement

   a. Characteristics of group
   b. Characteristics of individual

series of responses to questions which are analyzed independently and/or by transformation into scale scores.

While the absorption and integration variables may be treated as dependent at either of two points in time, circa 1960 or 1970, some may also be treated as independent variables (e.g., language) when considered antecedent to Time 1. Although dependent at Time 1, some variables may also operate as independent variables when antecedent to Time 2. The independent variables are those which were conceptualized as operating prior to 1960 in the first study and prior to 1971 in reference to the restudy. Since the inmigrant population had to a large extent only recently arrived and the independent variables had not had time to show their effect in Racine, the relationships found at Time 1 were in part due to the workings of these variables in their original settings as well as in the northern industrial community.

The hypotheses relating to race and ethnic or socioeconomic status differences to be tested by the restudy are:

1) Differences in measures of economic absorption that were found in 1960 between racial and ethnic groups will have increased rather than decreased by 1971. In other words, during the period that Mexican-Americans and Negroes were believed to be "catching up," time will have increased economic differences.
2) Differences in measures of cultural integration between racial and ethnic groups will have decreased between 1960 and 1971. In other words, time in the community eliminates cultural differences.
3) Variables of an antecedent nature (life experiences in the process of socialization and early working careers prior to 1960) that had some significant relationship to measures of adjustment in 1960 will have less relationship to adjustment in 1971. In other words, experiential variables antecedent to 1960 will decrease in "explanatory strength."
4) Variables that have been hypothesized by some behavioral scientists to be independent variables or determinants but which we have treated as dependent (such as level of aspiration) will be related to socioeconomic status to a greater degree in 1971 than

in 1960 and to race and ethnicity to a lesser degree. If socioeconomic status measures have a broader range of scores within each group at the time of the second observation compared to the first observation, there will also be more variation in level of aspiration and similar variables within the group.

5) Perception of goals and types and patterns of coping behavior will vary with race and ethnicity with SES controlled less than without socioeconomic status controlled.

6) Types and patterns of coping behavior will vary with race and ethnicity with SES controlled less than without socioeconomic status controlled.

The following specific hypotheses refer to differences between individuals within groups:

7) Measures of economic absorption will remain more highly correlated with independent antecedent variables among individual Anglos than among individual Mexican-Americans and Negroes with controls for age and time in the community.

8) Measures of economic absorption will be more highly correlated with what might be considered fortuitous variables among Mexican-Americans and Negroes than any other category of variables and greater for Mexican-Americans and Negroes than for Anglos.

9) Measures of economic absorption will be more highly correlated with coping behavior for Anglos than for Mexican-Americans and Negroes because of the differential effectiveness of patterns of coping behavior known to and available to each group.

10) Measures of cultural integration will be correlated with measures of economic absorption within groups; the highest correlations will be among Anglos and the lowest among Mexican-Americans.

11) The relationship of cultural integration to other variables, particularly those indicative of economic absorption, will be greater for those persons longest in the community.

12) The relationship of variables such as level of aspiration to economic absorption will be greater within the Anglo group than within either the Mexican-American or the Negro group.

13) Perception of goals and goal directed behavior will be more highly correlated with measures of economic absorption among Anglos than among Mexican-Americans or Negroes.

In essence, we have hypothesized that although there are differences in the extent to which Mexican-Americans and Negroes will be economically absorbed and culturally integrated, these differences are more closely related to the organization of the larger society than to either the group or individual characteristics of the inmigrants. We have also hypothesized that there will be significant differences in the extent to which members of the inmigrant minority groups have been absorbed and integrated and these differences can, in part, be related to the experiences of the individual in interaction with members of the larger society and the subsociety rather than to their individual characteristics or traits.

Another set of hypotheses state that economic absorption and cultural integration are associated with: early, frequent, intense, and lengthy interaction with members of the host community. Thus, economic absorption and cultural integration will take place if:

14) migration has been early in one's lifetime;

15) inmigrant interaction with members of the host community is frequent;

16) inmigrant interaction with members of the host community is intense, i.e., primary group interaction rather than of a secondary group nature; and

17) contact is carried out over a lengthy period of time, i.e., time in the community is hypothesized to be related to absorption and integration.

## The Search for Respondents

In July of 1969 we applied to the Public Health Service for funds with which to conduct the restudy and, pending their response, began a search for the 973 respondents. After a lapse of 10 years, the task appeared formidable. Simply put, our search began with a letter (in Spanish for the Mexican-Americans) and a Spanish-English questionnaire which we mailed to the best address we could obtain through the City Directory, the Telephone Directory, or the address of the last interview. The undelivered letters and returned questionnaires indicated the size of the task that remained.

In May of 1970 we received a small grant from NIMH which greatly facilitated our search by permitting us to travel to Racine more frequently than had been possible with our limited funds and to hire 12 University of Wisconsin--Parkside students to assist us. We continued search and contact work with the Parkside students, we contacted various social welfare agencies in Racine, we wrote letters to known families and friends of our missing respondents (the information being obtained from the schedules saved from each year's interviews), we used the Racine Unified School District's census extensively, and we used some imagination to find people whose names had changed through remarriage or for other reasons were now spelled differently, or for whom we originally had an incorrect spelling.

Slowly addresses were verified and questionnaires were returned. By September of 1970 we had located 74 percent of the Mexican-Americans, 71 percent of the Negroes, and 81 percent of the Anglos. By November we had reached 78 percent of the Mexican-Americans, 88 percent of the Negroes, and 88 percent of the Anglos.

Christmas vacation took us to almost every Texas border town between El Paso and Brownsville in our search for Mexican-American respondents who could not be located in Racine. In these communities we contacted many people and searched tax records, church records, and the records of welfare agencies for addresses or clues to the whereabouts of our respondents. By January we were able to report that 85 percent of the Mexican-Americans and 93 percent of both the Negroes and Anglos had been located.

At this time we learned that our larger application to NIMH for the three-year restudy had been approved and funded and we commenced work on the interview schedule construction.

## The Master Core Variable Deck (MCVD)

After formulating the hypotheses to be tested in the restudy (and concurrently with the search for respondents) we methodically examined the questions asked in 1959, 1960, and 1971, the completeness of responses obtained, and all data available on problems encountered in coding open-ended responses. Our objective was to determine which items should be in-

cluded in a Master Core Variable Deck for comparison with 1971 data on a basis of two criteria: 1) relevance to the hypotheses to be tested in the restudy and 2) adequacy of response to the question or scalability of the items. It was particularly important that the "best" possible measures of economic absorption and cultural integration be included and that if either they or antecedent variables had not been coded in a manner that would readily permit comparison with the 1971 data in the detail desired, they be recoded before inclusion in the MCVD.

When the variables and scales were chosen from the circa 1960 data, a careful check was made as to source of the variables using 1960 as the base year. Corresponding data were obtained from the 1959 survey on questions not asked of those individuals reinterviewed in 1960. In cases of individuals interviewed in 1959 but not in 1960, the data were obtained entirely from the 1959 schedules. Twenty schedules never previously coded were now coded and added, making the total number of cases 973.

Corrections on identification numbers involving race and sex were made and all variables were recoded as necessary. It was necessary to refer back to the 1959 and 1960 schedules in many instances since a certain amount of collapsing had been done; coded values did not always match year by year. At this point work decks were made for each year in which the recodes were produced. These work decks were sorted and merged by ID number and card number. The data were written on disk in a direct access file so that further corrections could be made as necessary.

An SPSS data file labelled "Racine.Master 60" was created. Each variable and scale was given a variable name, a variable label, and value labels within each variable and was written on the disk.

A codebook with marginals was produced for all variables and a thorough variable check was made for consistency and internal logic. As corrections were necessary, using procedures in SPSS and the ability to change raw data in the direct access file, Racine.Master 60 was recreated and rewritten a number of times until it was found that the data were accurate.

The file was backed up on tapes and the data were punched out on cards which are stored in our IBM card files.

## Interview Schedule Construction

Development of questions for the reinterview began with selection of pertinent items (measures of economic absorption and cultural integration and the variables hypothesized to be their determinants) from the 1960 MCVD. Our choice was limited to those questions asked of each race/ethnic group in at least one of two possible years. Those questions from the MCVD which were included in the 1971 interview were worded exactly as they appeared at first usage (with the exception of certain Spanish translations which were reworded in more acceptable form).

Those questions repeated from the 1959, 1960, and 1961 interviews are: 18, 19, 20--p. 17; 21, 22, 23--p. 18; 27--p. 20; 29, 30--p. 21; 31, 32, 33, 34--p. 22; 35--p. 23; 36, 37--p. 27; 38--p. 28; 39, 40, 41--p. 29; 42--p. 30; 43, 44, 45--p. 31; 46, 47, 48, 49--p. 32; 50, 51, 52--p. 33; 62 through 72--p. 36; 73, 74, 75, 80, 81--p. 37; 101, first 9 items--p. 45; 117, 118--p. 53; 110, 120, 121, 122, 123--p. 54 (see Appendix A for Interview Schedule).

Our interest in tracing events during the years from 1960 to 1971 led us to the development of a series of questions about moves and job histories. The data obtained on job level are comparable to job data obtained in the earlier interviews.

We asked for information about each child ever-born to respondent in order to up-date the record and to provide the names of spouses of married children in the event of a restudy in 1980. Questions 9 through 13 were developed to take care of gaps in job histories and to determine job-seeking behavior.

Data on working wives are obtained in questions 15 and 16 and, while comparable to the MCVD in a limited fashion, obtain data in an expanded form. It was necessary to determine head of household's father's occupational level. While this may be a repetition of the item as asked previously, we had no assurance that the situation would have remained static.

Question 24 covers 1960 to 1970. The retirement and vacations items were included to determine continued oritentation towards point of origin.

The increase in availability of various types of welfare led us to question 53 (as did the obvious increase in eligibility with longer residence). Questions 54 through 60 were designed to delve into respondent's assessment of the equality of opportunities in diverse aspects of life in Racine. Questions 106 through 111 go beyond Racine.

The list of possessions was expanded (see questions 76-79) and we went one step beyond whether or not families were presently buying on credit to determination of what they were planning to purchase (question 82).

Although the question is worded differently, data obtained from question 83 regarding home ownership may be compared with data obtained circa 1960. The U.S. Census of Housing was the source for questions 84 to 88. We went from these to include questions 89, 90, and 91.

The income questions appear in a different form in 1971 and we followed by questions designed to more fully describe the work situation as well as other means of obtaining money (questions 92 through 100).

In addition to those from circa 1960, we included 19 more social and welfare organizations in Racine, which are followed by three questions to determine respondent's amount and type of contact with Racine organizations. Health and family planning behavior are elicited in questions 112-116.

All questions appear in Spanish as well as in English. All Spanish translations are the product of input by Racine Mexican-Americans as edited by a University of Iowa Ph.D. candidate in Spanish. Each translation was intended to ask, in colloquial Spanish, the same question as does the English version.

The format of questions evolved from the consideration of many schedules used in other research, from our decision to precode, code, and keypunch from the schedule, and from pretest evaluation of earlier versions of the schedule.

## Training the Interviewers

Some 90 applicants for positions as interviewers were considered and 40 were placed in our training program. The Parkside students who had been working with us for a year were given first priority. Thirty-five finished the 50-hour training course outlined in *A Community Self-Survey System* (revised from *A Bilingual Community Self-Survey System* prepared for the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1965). The training involved: lectures on the background of the research project; lectures on survey research methods in general and coding practice; extensive practice interviewing under controlled conditions and in the field. Samples of materials used during training are included in Appendix B.

We repeatedly stressed the importance of establishing rapport, of interviewing the specific person whose name was on each schedule, of asking the questions (all appropriate to respondent and respondent's situation) in the form in which they appeared in the schedule, and we gave instructions as to whom to substitute under what conditions. We further stressed the importance of recording answers at the time they were given and, in the case of open-ended questions, of recording in respondent's own words.

The importance of accuracy and thoroughness were emphasized in training. As soon as actual interviewing commenced the interviewers learned we were serious as we returned incomplete schedules for more work. Mistakes diminished rapidly.

During the six days of training, the interviewers became acquainted with each other and with the four members of our staff in Racine for the training and interviewing period. Our continuous contact with them and our knowledge of the Mexican-American and Black communities convinced them of our seriousness of purpose.

## The Interviewing Process

The city had been divided into socioeconomic areas, as previously described, and the interviewers were divided into groups on a basis of our evaluation of their ability to best relate to people in each of these areas. Female Mexican-Americans interviewed female Mexican-Americans and males interviewed males, Negroes interviewed Negroes, and so on. In previous years of interviewing, considerable emphasis had been placed on the importance of never leaving a home until sufficient rapport had been established that an interviewer would be welcome in subsequent years, an attitude we continued to stress and from which we profitted.

The project director, project coordinator, and two research assistants were in the office every morning at 8:00 A.M. and worked until 8:00 P.M. The day began by selecting a new list of respondents for each interviewer. These lists in turn were given to the project director who looked at the files of interviews from previous years in order to determine the exact nature of each interviewer's assignment. He made brief notes to acquaint the interviewer with any particular problems that might be encountered in the process of introduction and establishing rapport. The interviewers felt that they knew what to expect when they approached each household.

The interview schedule was constructed so that the name of each respondent and spouse and his/her address was shown on a label on the front cover. The interviewer's name was also shown there. As the interviewer made his/her approach it was convenient to hold up the interview schedule and proceed through the introduction on the back cover, at least until very familiar with the process of making an introduction, finding the respondent, and establishing rapport. Each interviewer carried his/her interviews in a plastic binder which identified him/her as an interviewer for the Iowa Urban Community Research Center. Identification cards were also provided.

Interviewers had very little trouble establishing rapport and securing the interviews. While we were fortunate in avoiding publicity in the local news media, we apparently enjoyed excellent word-of-mouth publicity from the many persons with whom we had become acquainted in the community. While there were some refusals, these numbered less than three dozen and in most cases it was possible to conduct a substitute interview with the spouse. This was taken into consideration during the coding process since attitudinal material from a spouse cannot be compared with attitudinal material of the original respondents. Some of our respondents were institutionalized and there were a number deceased or, even more difficult, what we called "double deceased." In these cases, factual information was obtained if at all possible from a spouse, son, daughter, grandchild, brother, sister, in order that we might know how our respondents and their families played out their lives.

There were, of course, the expected inquiries about the study and requests for information before agreeing to an interview. Since every household was given a card with the name, office address, and telephone number of the director, inquiries could be dealt with readily and in most cases difficult interview situations were handled with ease. Our greatest problem was the high mobility of respondents--the interviewers were in continuous need of assistance in relocating respondents whom we had found late in 1970 or early in 1971.

Interviewers checked in with us every day. At this time each interviewer received a new quota of interviews and spoke with the director or project coordinator regarding problems on the previous day's interviews. Each day all interviews were checked for validity by comparing them with interviews from the original study and for quality by closely checking com-

pleteness of the interview. If interviews were unsatisfactory, the interviewer was instructed to return to the respondent and obtain the missing information.

In anticipation of the necessity of rigorous controls over the flow of interviews in, out, and within the office, we prepared an Interview Flow Chart with an accompanying Operation Description. The furniture in the room provided us by the University of Wisconsin--Parkside was arranged according to the flow chart.

There were, of course, 973 interview schedules which we needed to be able to locate at all times; therefore, we used three lists to control the whereabouts of the schedules: the Area List (by address, by SES); the Interviewer Log (who has what schedule); and the ID list (to show stage of activity within the office). The Flow Chart and Operation Descriptions are in Appendix C.

We note with satisfaction (and considerable pride) that no schedules were lost.

Outcome of Interviewing

We believe that our success can be attributed to: 1) the fact that we commenced our search for respondents long before funds were available for the restudy and left no stone unturned; 2) the fact that most of our money has been spent on interviewer salaries so that call-backs could be made as frequently as necessary; 3) the length of time that we have been in the community in close contact with Mexican-Americans and Negroes; 4) our use of race and ethnic interviewers who were thoroughly trained and in personal contact with us during the interviewing period; and 5) the fact that the mass media gave us absolutely no publicity.

The results of our efforts are presented by ethnicity and sex in Table 3. Since we had been told by professional and non-professional persons alike that our respondents could not be found after 11 years and that, if found, we would have difficulty interviewing minority group persons, we look with considerable satisfaction on these results.

Interviews were completed with 74 percent of the original respondents and with a surviving spouse or other family member for another 9.5 percent. This means that a member of almost 85 percent of the 973 families was interviewed in the course of the 1971 restudy. Factual data were obtained

TABLE 3. SOURCE OF DATA ON 973 ORIGINAL RESPONDENTS, BY PERCENT: 1971

| | Mexican-American | | Negro | | Anglo | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | % | N |
| Interview: Original Respondent | 72.5 | 64.5 | 79.1 | 87.9 | 70.7 | 71.1 | 74.1 | 721 |
| Interview: Surviving Spouse or Other Family Member | 6.3 | 7.2 | 9.6 | 1.8 | 14.9 | 14.2 | 9.5 | 93 |
| Factual Data: Other Interview | 2.1 | 0.7 | 6.1 | 1.8 | 3.2 | 1.8 | 2.5 | 24 |
| Factual Data: Non-interview Source | 12.7 | 15.2 | 2.6 | 1.2 | 8.0 | 9.3 | 8.2 | 80 |
| Limited or No Data | 6.3 | 12.3 | 8.6 | 7.3 | 3.2 | 3.6 | 5.6 | 55 |
| | 99.9 | 99.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 99.9 | |
| Total N | 142 | 138 | 115 | 165 | 188 | 225 | | 973 |

on another 10 percent of the original respondents from interviews with other persons or documentary search. This left only 5.6 percent of the original respondents unlocated or with so little data obtainable on them that they were placed in the category of Limited or No Data on Respondent. It is particularly interesting to note that 69 percent of the Mexican-American respondents were reinterviewed (interviews were completed with someone in 75 percent of the Mexican-American families), as were 83 percent of the original Negro respondents (an interview was conducted with someone in 88 percent of the Negro families).

Our failure to secure interviews with more of the original Mexican-American respondents must be attributed to the disproportionate number who were deceased or not located. Most of those who were not located had returned to Texas. Although we sent interviewers to Texas, it was difficult to find respondents who had returned there in the limited time that interviewers could spend in any single community.

The question of outright refusals is dealt with in another table (Table 4), since refusals by original respondent did not preclude an interview with the spouse, therefore placing the family in the second category of Table 3. In Table 4 we note that the lowest refusal rates were for Negro females (0.6%), Mexican-American males (4.2%), and Negro males (4.3%). All in all, our interviewers had their best reception in Negro and Mexican-American homes.

Table 5, although similar to Tables 3 and 4 in several respects, enables one to see that the problem of death in the Anglo sample was mitigated by the fact that data on the deceased was obtained from other sources, mostly interviews with surviving spouses or with other family members. Illness constituted something of a problem with Anglos, while incarceration prohibited interviews with about four percent of the Negro males. While refusals were also a problem with the Anglos, factual data on the original respondent's circumstances were also usually obtained. The same was true, of course, for refusing Mexican-Americans and Negroes. On the other hand, the proportion of Mexican-American males and females who were not located presented something of a problem because we obtained data on only about half of them. There were fewer Negroes in this category and very few Anglos who were not located and on whom we obtained no data.

TABLE 4. COMPLETED INTERVIEWS AND REFUSALS, OR STATUS OF, 973 ORIGINAL RESPONDENTS, BY PERCENT

| | Mexican-American | | Negro | | Anglo | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | % | N |
| Interview: Original Respondent | 72.5 | 64.5 | 79.1 | 87.9 | 70.7 | 71.1 | 74.1 | 721 |
| Refusal: Original Respondent | 4.2 | 8.7 | 4.3 | 0.6 | 6.4 | 8.9 | 5.7 | 56 |
| Deceased, Institutionalized, Non-located, etc. | 23.3 | 26.8 | 16.5 | 11.5 | 22.9 | 20.0 | 20.2 | 196 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 99.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |
| Total N | 142 | 138 | 115 | 165 | 188 | 225 | | 973 |

TABLE 5: INTERVIEWS WITH ORIGINAL RESPONDENT AND CIRCUMSTANCES REQUIRING USE OF OTHER DATA SOURCES, BY PERCENT: 1971

| | Mexican-American | | Negro | | Anglo | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | % | N |
| Original Respondent: Interview | 72.5 | 64.5 | 79.1 | 87.9 | 70.7 | 71.1 | 74.1 | 721 |
| Deceased Respondent: Factual Data From Other Sources | 7.0 | 5.0 | 4.3 | 2.4 | 15.4 | 11.0 | 8.2 | 80 |
| Institutionalized or Too Ill to be Interviewed:Factual Data Other Sources | 1.4 | .7 | 4.4 | .0 | 3.2 | 4.0 | 2.4 | 23 |
| Respondent Refused:Factual Data Other Sources | 4.2 | 8.7 | 4.3 | .6 | 6.4 | 8.9 | 5.7 | 56 |
| Respondent Not Located:Factual Data Other Sources | 6.3 | 6.5 | 5.2 | 1.2 | .5 | .4 | 2.8 | 28 |
| Respondent Not Located: No Data | 4.2 | 7.2 | 2.6 | 4.8 | 1.1 | 2.7 | 3.6 | 35 |
| Respondent Located: No Data | 2.1 | 5.1 | .0 | 2.4 | 2.1 | .9 | 2.0 | 20 |
| Respondent Located: No Interview, Facts From Other Sources | 2.1 | 2.2 | .0 | .6 | .5 | .9 | 1.0 | 10 |
| | 99.8 | 99.9 | 99.9 | 99.9 | 99.9 | 99.9 | 99.8 | 973 |

The only group about whom we must express considerable concern is the Mexican-Americans who were located but never interviewed, although they never refused. Had our best Mexican-American interviewers been with us at the conclusion of the interviewing period, this could have been avoided.

The data on interviewers' assessment of the situation and the number of call-backs at respondent's place of residence sheds some light on this matter. While the Negro completion rate was high and the percentage of refusals was very low, interviewers reported that they had trouble getting the interview from 46.4 percent of the original respondents in contrast to 30.7 percent of the Anglos and 24.8 percent of the Mexican-Americans. What this amounts to is an inverse relationship between completion and reported trouble--Negro interviewers reported the most trouble but had the highest completion rate. Mexican-Americans reported the least trouble but had the lowest completion rate. For those who reported trouble, Negroes referred to the necessity of frequent call-backs in 68 percent of the cases while Mexican-Americans gave 60 percent but Anglos only 36 percent. The data on call-backs verifies Negro evaluations of their difficulties with the average Negro interview requiring 5.17 calls. On the other hand, the average Anglo interview required 3.56 calls and the average Mexican-American interview required only 3.31 calls. Mexican-American interviewers evidently had a lower threshhold for defining call-backs as trouble than did Negroes and Anglos.

Residential Mobility

The activities involved in locating and reinterviewing our sample led us to expect the differential spatial mobility shown in Table 6. This table reveals how patterns of movement differed for those families with the same head of household between 1960 and 1971. Neither Mexican-American nor Negro families with the same head of household stayed at their same place of residence to the extent of the Anglos. If all 973 families are considered, 42 percent of the Negroes made two or more moves between 1960 and 1971, while only 32.5 percent of the Mexican-Americans and 20.8 percent of the Anglos did so.

If the figures for all 973 families, regardless of status of head of household, are considered, 51.4 percent of the Mexican-Americans and

TABLE 6: CHANGES IN RESIDENCE FOR HOUSEHOLDS WITH SAME HEAD, BY SEX OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, BY PERCENT: 1960-1971*

| | Mexican-American | | Negro | | Anglo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female |
| Stayed at 1960 Residence | 26.0 | 38.9 | 24.6 | 20.0 | 45.6 | 54.1 |
| Moved Within Racine | 55.7 | 33.3 | 69.7 | 72.5 | 35.6 | 32.4 |
| Moved From and Returned to Racine | 3.7 | .0 | 0.5 | 2.5 | 1.2 | 5.4 |
| Moved Away From Racine | 9.1 | 16.7 | 3.1 | 5.0 | 16.6 | 8.1 |
| Not Ascertained | 5.5 | 11.1 | 2.0 | .0 | 0.9 | .0 |
| | 100.0 | 100.0 | 99.9 | 100.0 | 99.9 | 100.0 |
| Total N | 219 | 18 | 195 | 40 | 331 | 37 |

* Omitting intervening moves.

68.6 percent of the Negroes moved within Racine, compared to 36.1 percent of the Anglos. Mexican-Americans returned to their former homes more frequently than did the Negroes or Anglos or they moved from the barrio to the inner city and in some cases back again to the barrio. Negroes moved about in the inner city and Anglos moved out of the inner city to the suburbs or to other cities. The proportion of Anglos who moved away from Racine was 17 percent but only 10.4 percent of the Mexican-Americans and 3.6 percent of the Negroes moved away.

All of what we have presented in the past few pages may be combined to conclude that the Anglo interview completion rate, although entirely adequate for our purposes, would have been higher if fewer had died, been ill, and/or refused. The male Negro interview completion rate would have been higher if fewer had died, been institutionalized, left town, or refused. The Mexican-American interview completion rate was reduced by the number who had died, refused, or left town, or who were simply not interviewed because they were never pinned down for an interview.

In the course of our search for respondents we became concerned about whether or not we had a sufficiently precise method of measuring variation in housing characteristics of the different neighborhoods to and from which our respondents had been moving. As it were, we had already discarded school attendance centers as an approximation to homogeneous neighborhoods and had substituted modified centers and natural areas in their place. Our concern led to development of a sub-project, "The Ecology of Racine." 1960 Census Block Data and, as it became available, 1970 Census Block Data, were utilized in generating block scores and from them natural areas which had greater validity than those which we had previously outlined.

The development of this project is described in "The Ecological Distribution of Negroes in Racine, Wisconsin" (see Appendix D) in considerable detail.

Although our overall project proposal did not mention the Ecology of Racine, the block scores and natural areas will facilitate our analysis of respondent moves between 1960 and 1971. Each address at which a respondent's family resided from 1960 to 1971 has received a census tract and block number code. This code, in turn, may be matched with the block's Geometric scale score and its Natural Area designation. Thus, we will be

able to describe movement patterns in terms of the kinds of areas in which respondents have lived between 1960 and 1971, movement that involves changes in natural areas and/or types of blocks, and the sequence of these moves as they may or may not relate to occupational mobility and income fluctuation.

We anticipate doing computer plotting of moves as well as statistical analyses of their relationship to other variables.

## The Coding Process

The interview schedule was designed to facilitate interviewing, initial coding by the interviewer wherever feasible, final coding and check coding, and keypunching. As a result, there were relatively few coding operations which took place outside each respondent's own interview schedule.

Each interviewer's work as a recorder (and our own coding operation, as well) was made relatively simple by the large number of questions which could be handled by a circle around the appropriate code response. Lines were provided on which responses to open-ended questions were to be written and boxes were provided in which the coder would record the proper 1-to-n digit code for that response. Interviewers were well instructed that responses longer than the space provided could be written anywhere on the page they wished, except in the coder's territory. They complied.

Thus, when a completed interview was turned in, it was already partially coded and was ready for the first coding operation. As each interview underwent the quality control operation it was being checked for completeness. Any items that were skipped were referred back to the interviewer.

Serious coding began when most of the interviewing was completed. In order to avoid the problems of boredom and/or too many diverse aspects to remember at one go-through, the coding was organized into four sets (or Rounds) which commenced with the easiest and progressed to the most difficult codes. We commenced coding completed interviews with original respondents. Problem cases were dealt with later.

Round 1 consisted of four types of coding. The first was a more meticulous check on the precoded items than was possible during quality control. All cases where a response would have been inappropriate, or Inapplicable, received a zero (0). For instance, if a respondent had not moved from his/her address of the circa 1960 interview, the interviewer circled one (1), Stayed,

and skipped all questions pertaining to moves. Each of the boxes provided for codes describing moves thus received a zero (0). The third facet of Round 1 coding was the recording of simple numeric codes, such as years, number of moves, jobs, or children, age, dollar amounts, etc.

Respondent's occupation preferences for their children and occupations the children prefer (Questions 39 and 40) were coded according to codes in the MCVD. These codes were fairly simple and provided a "sneak preview" of what lay ahead.

One further aspect of Round 1 which should be mentioned was the assignment of a nine (9) code in cases where information was refused or the respondent simply didn't remember or have an opinion or, in a very few cases, where a question was skipped.

Check coding for this round involved a rapid scan of each schedule, except for Questions 39 and 40. This housekeeping check was the last simple operation in the coding process.

The second round of coding dealt entirely with job coding. No other operations were performed and all occupational level questions were coded at this time.

*The Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, Second Edition, March 1949, was our primary source of occupational level. This volume, rather than the 1965 DOT, was used for maximum comparability with the 1960 codes. We plan a later recode according to the 1965 DOT.

We made use of materials accumulated for the circa 1960 coding as preparation for job level coding, and added to these the Production Non-Exempt Wage Rate Survey provided by the Manufacturer's Association of Racine.

Inasmuch as our emphasis in 1971 was on present or most recent job information for the male or female head of household, contrary to husband's job in 1960, a check on the 1960 head of house job codes proved the necessity of recoding the old interviews. This we did, with the additional code of sex of head of household.

Check coding for Round 2 required a check on each job level code. Occupational level is too major a variable to allow sample check coding. The check coder's disagreements were listed by ID and card/column notations. These disagreements were then arbitrated by a third party and any disagreements of more than an incidental nature which emerged were thoroughly discussed by the coder, the check coder, and the arbitrator.

In order to establish code categories for the responses to open-ended questions we drew a 1-in-4 sample of the responses to each question. The responses to each question were studied and code categories proposed which would enable the coder to logically assign each response to a code category. These proposed categories were pilot coded and necessary changes were made to establish the final codes.

In a few cases, fortunately where we had provided for two- or three-column codes, the responses proved too individual to allow for just a few code categories. For these we instituted an "open code" system in which we kept a record of the item and its assigned code number. Very similar responses thus received the same code and each new response received a new number. Naturally, these cases resulted in a very unwieldy set of codes. This situation was later resolved in a code collapsing operation when all schedules had been coded.

Most of the open-ended items were dealt with in Round 3. Included in this round was the race/ethnic coding of the names of childrens' spouses.

By the time we came to Round 3 we had established a degree of familiarity with each respondent which allowed us to make another check on the precoded items. This time we were looking for slips such as circling the code for Seasonal on a particular job when the job is clearly Non-Seasonal. Another slip, and a good example of what we were doing, was finding a son's preferred work recorded on the "daughter's" line (see Q40) when the family has only sons.

Check coding on Round 3 began as a specific check on every newly coded item on every schedule as it was processed. We settled our differences of opinion as we did in Round 2. When it became apparent that there were very few disagreements on the open-ended codes we went to a 1-in-4 check and finished the round in this manner.

The remaining items were coded during Round 4. Any open-ended questions remaining were handled as they were in Round 3. Computed annual income was calculated according to a formula which is fully described in the codebook.

Company name was coded according to employer type (professional services, heavy or light industry, retail, etc.) and make of newest car was coded according to eight size and general expense categories (Cadillac, Dodge, foreign, etc.). Model of car was coded into eight categories of

current (1971) retail price of $1,000 each. We used Edmund's *Used Car Prices* (Summer 1971) and Edmund's *1971 New Car Prices* in determining these values.

The items which presented the greatest difficulty in this round required coding from maps and both required the location of street addresses.

The coder needed to know where the respondent lived in order to determine if the neighborhood center given as respondent's own center was accurate, etc. This required knowledge of the city and the location of the specific neighborhood centers.

Assigning a Census tract and block number to each of respondent's moves during the 10-year period was meticulous work and required patience and a good deal of detective ability. Exact addresses had to be determined in cases where respondent remembered the street but not the house number. Also, a certain amount of tracing through old City Directories had to be done in cases where respondent gave an incomplete moves history.

Check coding began with a check on each of the newly coded items, with the usual exercise of arbitration and discussion in cases of disagreement. When we reached the point of consistent agreement we went to the 1-in-4 check code.

The last phase of coding was the Card 1 code sheet (see Appendix E), which had to be done after Census coding of present address. Although we hadn't foreseen the problems, we had ironed out the difficulties that cropped up regarding marital status and head of household status for those who were original respondents by the time Round 4 coding was completed. The Card 1 code sheets were check coded by the arbitrator.

These schedules were now ready for keypunching.

The remaining schedules were all special problem cases: those where we interviewed a surviving spouse or other family member when the original respondent was deceased; those where respondent and spouse were both deceased and we obtained factual data from a friend, neighbor, or family member; and those persons whom we couldn't locate and/or find anyone who could give us factual information whose data (such as it is) came from that available in City Directories.

In order not to lose the data in those interviews done with someone other than the original respondent, we decided to produce two data sets:

1) data/interviews of or about the original respondent, either to the present or to the point of death or loss (973 cases), and 2) data on actual respondent (773 cases).

Deck I contains data from interviews with original respondent, data about the original respondent garnered from interviews with surviving spouses or with spouses of respondents who refused to be interviewed or who were unavailable, and factual data obtained from family, friends, directories, etc., in those cases where the original respondent was not located or where there was no close survivor.

In those cases where data about the original respondent was contained in an interview with another, the data on the original respondent was coded onto mimeographed forms and remains with the rest of that person's file. The new respondent's data was coded within the schedule and a new ID number was assigned to him/her. This new respondent's data belongs to Deck II.

All cases on which we had factual data only and those interviews with a new respondent went to the coder for processing. They went through the usual check coding process.

Factual data only cases went through still another step at this point. We kept a tally of all coded items, designated "Special 9's," which were items which we could not have been expected to obtain. For example, one can't get attitudes from a corpse.

The factual only cases received their Card 1 code sheet and were ready for keypunching.

After check coding, the interviews with a new respondent were given to the check coder and arbitrator. Theirs was the task of extracting from each new respondent's interview that data which was appropriate to the original respondent until his/her death. Each code item in the schedule was dealt with and received a specific code, an Inapplicable code where appropriate, or a Not Ascertained code (again, we continued our tally of Special 9's).

The check coder independently handled all cases which were relatively clear. These were check coded by the arbitrator and disagreements worked out between the two. These disagreements did not go to a third person since they arose from problems in determining what data from new respondent was appropriate to the life of the original respondent.

The remainder of the cases were coded by the check coder and the arbitrator in collaboration. The problems were so complex and each case so

unique that it took two people working together to construct a picture of the deceased respondent's life. After all were coded, we began again and checked ourselves.

After completion, these cases went to the keypunch operation, factual data on original respondent to be included in Deck I and data from new respondents in Deck II.

All schedules were keypunched by IUCRC staff on a machine rented for use in our office. Data from each schedule was punched by one person and repunched by a second person. These two sets of cards for each schedule were run against each other for verification. Differences in punches between two cards were reproduced in a print-out and errors were thus spotted and corrected.

Both sets of cards punched for interviews with original respondents were retained. One set was assigned to Deck I and the other set was assigned to Deck II. Data extracted about the original respondent from another person was retained in Deck I; the second deck used for punch verification was discarded. Cards containing data from new respondents were placed in Deck II and the other deck was discarded.

When all the cards had been punched and verified, we began work on those items which had been coded in expanded form. Deck I was sorted into card order (1 through 17) on the counter-sorter. Then the 973 cards which comprised a particular card, e.g., card 4, were sorted into numeric responses to a particular code category. The number of responses per category and the category identification were written down so we could obtain a clear picture of any particular code's problems.

Each expanded code was considered in its entirety. We did as much collapsing and combining of similar types of responses as we could. Each card on which we modified a code was duplicated and the revised code inserted.

There were quite a few within-a-card consistency checks that were possible to handle before Deck I was ready to be put on tape and disk. These were instances where we could say if card 5, for example, is punched 2 in column 49, then card 5, column 61 should be 0. Or, if card 7, column 13 is 1, then card 7, column 33 should not be 0. If this counter-sorter operation threw out cards which contained invalid codes we pulled the file and rechecked our coding. Each invalid code was corrected.

Similar between-cards consistency checking was carried out after the data was on disk. Any corrections produced from this check were also made on the IBM cards.

The coding was done from hand-written code sheets prepared for each round. Upon completion of coding and code collapsing, we were prepared to finalize these codes into a code book.

Each code item was produced on its own page. This page contains the card and column location of the item, the question which was the basis for the code, and the list of categories. In the case of repetitive sequences of questions (moves, jobs, children) the question, its location, and code categories are reproduced to account for the maximum number of occurrences of that event among the respondents.

The typewriter terminal and ATS were considered the most efficient way to produce the code book. Each set of repetitive material was typed once, assigned a code name, and recalled as appropriate. Ten copies of the code book were generated on thesis paper, collated, punched, and placed in notebooks.

The number of Special 9's per code were recorded by hand as the last step in code book production.

Data Processing

The cards (17 per case) were taken to the Computer Center, sorted, merged by ID and card number, and written in a direct access file. The cards were returned and are filed in our IBM card files.

Three SPSS data files were created since there are limitations on the number of variables allowed in an SPSS data file (see Appendix F). The first, Racine A, contains the bulk of the data, excluding move and job histories and the data on children. Racine B contains data pertaining to jobs, the job history, and moves. The third, Racine C, contains data applicable to children and all the data on each child.

A codebook with marginals was produced for each distinct variable. A careful check was made for any discrepancies between variables and for any values that did not have a label. Corrections were made and each file was rewritten. The direct access file was also corrected each time.

At this point a new direct access file was created with each person having a record length of 1500. The 1971 data used approximately 950 of

the 1500 locations. This enabled us to add to this direct access file all of the variables and scales from Racine.Master 60. This means that whenever runs are requested using variables from both 1960 and 1971 the runs can be made with minimal effort.

During this period of time, the Guttman scaling process began. The variables used in each 1960 scale were again examined, as were the 1971 data in order to be sure that 1971 scales would duplicate 1960 scales. As a consequence, some scales were rejected and others altered. Since we did not know the precise method used in the 1960 CDC machine scaling programs, we decided to test run the methods of Guttman scaling available to us. The final decision was to use the Guttman scaling procedure from OSIRIS and to use the scale scores assigned each individual. The 1960 data were then rescaled following the same routine to be utilized for the 1971 data. All scales were also run by the SPSS Guttman scaling process, although individual scores were not assigned. Some additive scales and Geometric scales were also produced.

These scales were added to the direct access file and to the appropriate SPSS files. The data files were each written twice on tapes. A card file with the locations and tape identification is available.

Every variable shown in Appendix F has been listed in ID order in the various data files. The location of each variable or scale in the various data files is indicated by an X. For instance, an X opposite a variable name under "60" identifies that variable as being in the SPSS file Racine.Master 60. "A" represents SPSS data file Racine A, "B" is SPSS data file Racine B, and "C" is SPSS data file Racine C. "DAI" indicates that the variable is in the direct access file labeled DIRECT.ACCESS.IUCRC. CV means that the variable needs to be computed. A second X is placed under each file in which the various variables are located requiring computation of the variable. Additional scales and variables are listed on the last page.

## Change in Marital Status as a Complicating Factor in Measuring Vertical Mobility

In a longitudinal study such as ours it would have simplified the analysis if all families had remained together with no losses through death or changes in marital status. This not being the case, it would have still simplified the analysis if only female non-heads of household had died or

left home. Our analysis was complicated by the fact that less than two-thirds of the female respondents had the same marital status in 1971 as in 1960. On the other hand, more than three-fourths of the male respondents had the same marital status. How much and in what ways various changes in marital status influenced the economic absorption of inmigrants remains to be seen.

Differences in change of marital status are readily apparent. Of the 973 families, 12.3 percent of the Mexican-American families had a female head of household (more often as a result of divorce or separation than widowhood), 24.7 percent of the Negroes had a female head of household (mostly through divorce or separation), and 15.8 percent of the Anglo families had a female head of household (most were widows). Table 7 shows even more clearly that the Mexican-American family is between the Negro family and the Anglo family in terms of marital stability.

Families in which the original female or male respondent has been divorced or separated are proportionately highest among Negro female (31.3%) or male (15.5%) respondents, followed by Mexican-American females (14.4%) and males (8.8%). While the addition of those who have been divorced and remarried to those who are divorced or separated changes the race/ethnic sex rankings somewhat, Negro respondents remain significantly ahead of Mexican-Americans in this respect. It should also be noted that the Mexican-American proportions of divorced and separated respondents would be higher if more were known about the status of the almost 15 percent for which this information was not readily divulged by the respondent.

One further observation may be drawn from Table 7, and that is in regard to widowhood. While the proportion of families in which the original female respondent has been widowed or widowed and remarried is greatest for Anglos (21.8%) and is similar for Mexican-Americans (13.5%) and Negroes (9.5%), the latter are least widowed in the case of both males and females. The greater number of Anglos who are widowed is probably due to the larger proportion of older Anglos in the sample. This must be investigated further by looking at separation, divorce, and widowhood within age categories.

The contrasting effect of divorce or separation and widowhood becomes even more apparent when sex of head of household is controlled. While the figures for male heads of household are essentially the same as in Table 7, the figures for female heads of household reveal that 73 percent of the

TABLE 7: PRESENT MARITAL STATUS OF 973 ORIGINAL RESPONDENTS, BY PERCENT

| | Mexican-American | | Negro | | Anglo | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| Married, Same Spouse | 104 | 80 | 87 | 82 | 159 | 145 |
| | *83.2* | *67.8* | *79.1* | *52.2* | *85.0* | *65.9* |
| Never Married | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 1 |
| | *0.0* | *0.0* | *0.9* | *2.5* | *0.0* | *0.5* |
| Separated | 6 | 11 | 11 | 15 | 3 | 4 |
| | *4.8* | *9.3* | *10.0* | *9.6* | *1.6* | *1.8* |
| Divorced | 5 | 6 | 6 | 34 | 5 | 14 |
| | *4.0* | *5.1* | *5.5* | *21.7* | *2.7* | *6.4* |
| Divorced and Remarried | 3 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 8 |
| | *2.4* | *4.2* | *0.9* | *3.8* | *0.5* | *3.6* |
| Widowed | 3 | 13 | 1 | 14 | 15 | 46 |
| | *2.4* | *11.0* | *0.9* | *8.9* | *8.0* | *20.9* |
| Widowed and Remarried | 0 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| | *0.0* | *2.5* | *0.9* | *0.6* | *1.6* | *0.9* |
| Married, Different Spouse | 4 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | *3.2* | *0.0* | *1.8* | *0.6* | *0.5* | *0.0* |
| *Total Percent* | *100.0* | *99.9* | *100.0* | *99.9* | *99.9* | *100.0* |
| Total N | 125 | 118 | 110 | 157 | 187 | 220 |

Not Ascertained: 37 Mexican-Americans, 13 Negroes, and 6 Anglos.

Anglo females are widowed, while 67.5 percent of the Negro females are separated or divorced. Between were the Mexican-American females with 44.4 percent widowed and 38.8 percent separated or divorced.

How the marital status of persons in these samples influences the employment status and income status of each group is another question that must be taken into consideration when attempting to obtain some measure of occupational equity. For example, since female heads of household have less earning power than male heads, the fact that only 8 percent of the Mexican-American families have female heads places the Mexican-American family in a better economic position than Negro families with 17 percent female heads. It might be noted at this point that according to the U.S. Census for 1970, 12 percent of the Mexican-American families had female heads in Racine as did 28 percent of the Negro families in the inner city.

## Age Differentials as a Problem in Analysis of the Data

The age distribution shown in Table 8 suggests that the Mexican-American respondents (and in all probability heads of household) were slightly younger than the Negroes, who were in turn considerably younger than were the Anglos. In order to compare various race/ethnic combinations with controls for sex of respondent, sex of head of household, etc., medians were computed for each group. Let us now examine these differences as they are shown in Table 9.

When husband's age is considered, with controls for sex of respondent interviewed, women (with one exception) reported their husbands to be slightly older than did male respondents report themselves to be. Mexican-American male heads of household, whether their age was reported by themselves or by their wives, were about the same age as that reported for Negroes in both 1960 and 1971. Both were 7 to 9 years younger than were the Anglos in 1960 and 5 to 7 years younger than Anglos on whom we obtained data in 1971.

When the male heads of household are compared, regardless of who reported their age, Mexican-Americans are slightly younger than Negroes but both are approximately 7 years younger than Anglos in 1960 and 5 or 6 years younger for those original male heads remaining in 1971. Negro female heads of household reported themselves 9 years younger than Mexican-Americans and Mexican-Americans 10 years younger than Anglos in 1971.

TABLE 8: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF 973 ORIGINAL RESPONDENTS 1960 AND SAME RESPONDENTS 1971, BY PERCENT

| | Mexican-American | | | | Negro | | | | Anglo | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | | Female | | Male | | Female | | Male | | Female | |
| | 1960 | 1971 | 1960 | 1971 | 1960 | 1971 | 1960 | 1971 | 1960 | 1971 | 1960 | 1971 |
| 1875-1909 | 15 | 6 | 33 | 16 | 5 | 5 | 16 | 15 | 52 | 24 | 85 | 46 |
| | *10.9* | *5.9* | *26.0* | *19.8* | *4.3* | *5.5* | *10.5* | *11.1* | *27.7* | *18.0* | *38.8* | *29.3* |
| 1910-1914 | 11 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 18 | 17 | 29 | 23 | 16 | 14 |
| | *8.0* | *7.9* | *3.1* | *3.7* | *6.1* | *5.5* | *11.8* | *12.6* | *15.4* | *17.3* | *7.3* | *9.9* |
| 1915-1919 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 12 | 10 | 22 | 19 | 26 | 24 | 23 | 20 |
| | *9.4* | *10.9* | *8.7* | *12.3* | *10.4* | *11.0* | *14.4* | *14.1* | *13.8* | *18.0* | *10.5* | *12.7* |
| 1920-1924 | 22 | 18 | 21 | 13 | 28 | 21 | 20 | 20 | 31 | 23 | 41 | 36 |
| | *15.9* | *17.8* | *16.5* | *16.0* | *24.3* | *23.1* | *13.1* | *14.8* | *16.5* | *17.3* | *18.7* | *22.9* |
| 1925-1929 | 28 | 22 | 26 | 18 | 23 | 20 | 46 | 39 | 26 | 22 | 27 | 21 |
| | *20.3* | *21.8* | *20.5* | *22.2* | *20.0* | *22.0* | *30.1* | *28.9* | *13.8* | *16.5* | *12.3* | *13.4* |
| 1930-1934 | 35 | 26 | 25 | 15 | 35 | 27 | 22 | 16 | 13 | 9 | 20 | 16 |
| | *25.4* | *25.7* | *19.7* | *18.5* | *30.4* | *29.7* | *14.4* | *11.9* | *6.9* | *6.8* | *9.1* | *10.2* |
| 1935-1939 | 12 | 9 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 8 | 11 | 8 | 7 | 4 |
| | *8.7* | *8.9* | *5.5* | *7.4* | *4.3* | *3.3* | *5.2* | *5.9* | *5.9* | *6.0* | *3.2* | *2.5* |
| 1940-1944 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | *1.4* | *1.0* | *0.0* | *0.0* | *0.0* | *0.0* | *0.7* | *0.7* | *0.0* | *0.0* | *0.0* | *0.0* |
| *Total Percent* | *100.0* | *99.9* | *100.0* | *99.9* | *99.8* | *100.1* | *100.2* | *100.0* | *100.0* | *99.9* | *99.9* | *99.9* |
| Not Ascertained | 4 | 2 | 11 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 2 |
| Inapplicable | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| TOTAL N | 142 | 103 | 138 | 89 | 115 | 91 | 165 | 145 | 188 | 133 | 225 | 160 |
| Median | 1926.4 | 1926.7 | 1923.7 | 1924.4 | 1926.2 | 1926.1 | 1925.1 | 1924.1 | 1917.5 | 1919.1 | 1916.8 | 1919.6 |

Percentages and medians do not include Not Ascertained and Inapplicable.

TABLE 9: MEDIAN YEAR OF BIRTH FOR RESPONDENTS, HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, AND SPOUSES, 1960 AND 1971

*A. Husband's Year of Birth, Male Headed Households*

| | Male Respondent | | | Female Respondent | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | N | A | MA | N | A |
| 1960 | 1926.4 | 1926.2 | 1917.5 | 1923.7 | 1925.1 | 1916.8 |
| 1971 | 1926.7 | 1926.1 | 1919.1 | 1924.4 | 1924.1 | 1919.6 |

*B. Head of Household's Year of Birth*

| | Male Head of Household | | | Female Head of Household | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | N | A | MA | N | A |
| 1960 | 1925.7 | 1925.3 | 1918.0 | 1919.2 | 1928.1 | 1909.5 |
| 1971 | 1926.5 | 1925.0 | 1920.4 | Before 1919 | 1926.9 | Before 1910 |

*C. Female's Year of Birth*

| | Male Respondent | | | Female Respondent | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | N | A | MA | N | A |
| 1960 | 1928.5 | 1930.5 | 1920.8 | 1925.9 | 1928.1 | 1920.1 |
| 1971 | 1928.7 | 1930.0 | 1922.3 | 1926.4 | 1927.9 | 1922.1 |

*D. Wife's Year of Birth, Male Headed Households*

| | All Respondents | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | N | A |
| 1960 | 1927.6 | 1929.7 | 1921.1 |
| 1971 | 1928.3 | 1929.2 | 1923.1 |

When we turn to wife's age, as reported by either the wife or, in the case of male respondents, her husband, we find that Mexican-American and Negro males report their wives younger than did females who were interviewed report themselves, while Anglo males reported their spouse's ages about the same as did females who reported their own ages.

When all respondents in male headed households are lumped together on wife's age in 1960, Anglo wives were more than 8 years older than Negro and more than 6 years older than Mexican-American wives, while the difference was 6 and 5 years respectively in 1971.

When we consider the median age differences of respondents as reported by themselves, Anglo males were older than Mexican-Americans and Negroes (about 9 years older in 1960 and 7 years older in 1971). Anglo female respondents were 6 years older than the Mexican-Americans and 8 years older than the Negroes in 1960 but 4 and 6 years older respectively in 1971. Anglo female respondents reported their husbands 7 or 8 years older than did Mexican-Americans and Negroes in 1960 and 5 years older in 1971. In 1960 Anglo male respondents reported their wives 7 years older than did Mexican-Americans and almost 10 years older than did Negroes, but in 1971 the differences were about 6 years for Mexican-Americans and 8 years for Negroes.

To sum up the age characteristics of our sample, differences in ages as reported by the respondent about him/herself and as reported by spouses were not sufficiently large to be of concern. Therefore, ages as reported by males in male headed households were combined with ages of males as reported by their wives in order to ascertain race/ethnic differences for male heads of household. Anglos were more than 7 years older than Mexican-Americans and Negroes in 1960 and 5 or 6 years older in 1971. In these same male headed households the Anglo females were more than 6 years older than the Mexican-Americans and almost 9 years older than Negroes. The difference had been reduced to 5 and 6 years respectively by 1971.

Although the Anglos are consistently older than the Mexican-Americans and Negroes, this does not present a problem as far as our analysis is concerned. We are basically interested in the extent to which Mexican-Americans and Negroes have caught up with the Anglos between 1960 and 1971 and with whether or not the variables that, in 1960, were correlated with measures of economic absorption and cultural integration for Anglos vs. Mexican-

Americans and Negroes have the same correlation today. These processual types of hypotheses are less dependent upon having samples that are equal in age than would be simple hypotheses in which little more was done than to compare inmigrants with their hosts in terms of various measures of economic absorption.

## Time in the Community as a Major Independent Variable

One other variable must be dealt with at this point and that is length of residence in Racine (Table 10). Mexican-Americans and Negroes had been in Racine significantly shorter times than had the Anglos, scarcely a startling finding since most had moved to Racine while only half of the Anglos had moved there. It must be noted that among the Mexican-Americans and Negroes there were relatively few differences between those in the 1960 sample and those remaining in 1971. As for the Anglos, those who were left in 1971 and on whom we obtained data, the reduced number of years residing in Racine was simply an artifact of the death by 1971 of those who had lived longest in Racine.

## Data Analysis

The data analysis phase of the project is structured for maximum efficiency: in using our 2741 terminal, in requesting only those runs required to test a hypothesis which have not been run previously, in rapid retrieval of data from runs already made.

We have made the basic runs necessary to test each hypothesis. At least two sets of data are required in each instance, one from the 1960 data and the other from the 1971 data. All data sheets are catalogued and identified by filing location. One large filing cabinet and the equivalent of half of another are filled with computer output. As each set of runs was developed for a hypothesis the catalog was consulted to be sure no duplicate runs were made.

## Results of the Restudy

It is not possible to present a list of the significant results of the restudy at this time since we are in the process of analysis and writing.

Analysis has been completed for Hypotheses 1 and 2. The remaining 15 hypotheses are in varying stages of analysis. Narratives have been pre-

TABLE 10: MEDIAN NUMBER OF YEARS RESIDING IN RACINE AS OF 1960: BASED ON RESPONSES FOR RESPONDENTS IN MALE HEADED AND FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS, 1960 AND 1971

*A. Male Headed Households*

| | Male Respondents | | | Female Respondents | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | N | A | MA | N | A |
| 1960 | 9.7 | 9.9 | 16.0 | 11.5 | 9.1 | 18.7 |
| 1971 | 9.5 | 10.1 | 14.4 | 11.2 | 9.1 | 15.5 |

*B. Female Headed Households*

| | Female Respondents | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | MA | N | A |
| 1960 | 13.5 | 10.2 | 31.4 |
| 1971 | 13.3 | 10.0 | 20.0 |

pared for all in which the 1960 data and results are described and descriptions of the 1971 data are being prepared for each hypothesis in turn.

As we are proceeding with hypothesis testing we are also writing papers deriving from the data. We shall continue writing up the data and plan to produce at least one article per hypothesis. Articles based on tests of Hypotheses 1 and 2 are in their final stages and will soon be submitted for publication. Other articles prepared to date include (see Appendix G for selected papers):

Lyle W. Shannon, "The Organization of Society and the Adjustment Problems of Inmigrant Minority Groups," Pacific Sociological Association, April 1972, 12 pp.

Lyle W. Shannon and Judith L. McKim, "Attitudes Toward Education and the Absorption of Inmigrant Mexican-Americans and Negroes in Racine," *Education and Urban Society*, June, 1974, 24 pp.

Lyle W. Shannon and Judith L. McKim, "Mexican-American, Negro, and Anglo Improvement in Labor Force Status Between 1960 and 1970 in a Midwestern Community," presented to Population Association of America, April, 1973. Forthcoming in the *Social Science Quarterly*, May, 1974, 34 pp.

Lyle W. Shannon, "Some Problems in Measuring Change in Occupation and Income (1960-1971) among a Cohort of Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and Anglos," *Pacific Sociolgoical Review*, forthcoming, late 1974, 22 pp.

Lyle W. Shannon, "The False Assumption that Age and Time in the Community are Powerful Determinants of the Level of Economic Absorption of Inmigrant Mexican-Americans and Negroes," presented to Pacific Sociological Association in March 1974 and submitted for publication.

Lyle W. Shannon, "The False Assumption that World View Explains How People Come to Be Where They Are," will be submitted for publication in May 1974.

## Publications on the Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Inmigrant Mexican-American and Negro Workers

National Institutes of Health Project
RG-5342, RG-998[illegible], GM-10919, CH00042, MH-18196, and MH-18321


### 1961

"Goals and Values in Agricultural Policy and Acceptable Rates of Change," Lyle W. Shannon, Chapter 12, *Goals and Values in Agricultural Policy*, Iowa State University Press, Ames, Iowa, 1961, pp. 260-284.

"Occupational and Residential Adjustment of Rural Migrants," Lyle W. Shannon, Chapter 11, *Labor Mobility and Population in Agriculture*, Iowa State University Press, Ames, Iowa, 1961, pp. 122-149.

### 1963

"The Urban Adjustment of Inmigrants: The Relationship of Education to Occupation and Total Family Income," Lyle W. Shannon and Elaine Krass, *The Pacific Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1, Spring, 1963, pp. 37-42. Reprinted in *Interpreting Education: A Sociological Approach*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969.

"The Public's Perception of Social Welfare Agencies and Organizations in an Industrial Community," Lyle W. Shannon, *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 32, No. 3, Summer, 1963, pp. 276-285.

"The Assimilation and Acculturation of Migrants to Urban Areas," Lyle W. Shannon, *The University of Wisconsin Urban Program*, 1963, 27 pp.

"Measuring the Adjustment of Inmigrant Laborers," Lyle W. Shannon and Kathryn Lettau, *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 2, September, 1963, pp. 139-148.

### 1964

"Economic Absorption of In-migrant Laborers in a Northern Industrial Community," Lyle W. Shannon and Elaine M. Krass, *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 23, No. 1, January, 1964, pp. 65-84.

*The Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Inmigrant Mexican-American and Negro Workers*, Lyle W. Shannon and Elaine Krass, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1964, 413 pp.

*When the Migrant Worker Settles Down*, Claire L. Peterson, mimeo, 1964.

### 1965

"Urban Adjustment and Its Relationship to the Social Antecedents of Inmigrant Workers," Lyle W. Shannon, *International Review of Community Development*, No. 13-14, 1965, pp. 177-188.

"Cultural and Related Restraints and Means of Overcoming Them," Lyle W. Shannon, Chapter 4, *The Economic Development of Agriculture*, Iowa State University Press, Ames, Iowa, 1965, pp. 66-80.

"Theory, Method and Findings in the Study of Acculturation: A Review," Claire L. Peterson and Thomas J. Scheff, *International Review of Community Development*, No. 13-14, 1965, pp. 155-176.

"Changes in Public and Private Language among Spanish-Speaking Migrants to an Industrial City," Thomas J. Scheff, *International Migration*, Vol. 3, 1965, pp. 78-86.

"Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of the Urban Newcomer," Lyle W. Shannon, *Emerging Problems in Housing and Urban Development*, Institute of Public Affairs, University of Iowa, 1965, pp. 24-46.

## 1966

"Acculturation and Ties to Former Home of Mexican-Americans in an Industrial City," Thomas J. Scheff, *International Review of Community Development*, No. 15-16, 1966, pp. 239-244.

"Differential Association, Cultural Integration and Economic Absorption among Mexican-Americans and Negroes in a Northern Industrial Community," Claire Peterson, Elaine M. Krass, and Lyle W. Shannon, *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, December, 1966, Vol. 47, No. 3, pp. 239-252.

"The Prediction of Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration among Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and Anglos in a Northern Industrial Community," Lyle W. Shannon and Patricia Morgan, *Human Organization*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Summer, 1966, pp. 154-162.

*The Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Immigrant Workers*, Lyle W. Shannon, Elaine Krass, Emily Meeks, and Patricia Morgan, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 1966, 453 pp., mimeographed, revised and completed report to NIMH.

## 1967

"The Assimilation of Migrants to Cities: Anthropological and Sociological Contributions," Chapter 2, Lyle W. and Magdaline W. Shannon, *Urban Affairs Annual Review*, Sage Publications, New York, 1967, pp. 49-75. Reprinted in *Social Science and the City: A Survey of Urban Research*, Leo F. Schnore, ed., Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1968, pp. 49-75.

*A Bilingual Community Self-Survey System*, Lyle W. Shannon, John Stratton, *et al.*, for the Office of Economic Opportunity, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1967, 460 pp.

## 1968

"The Study of Migrants as Members of Social Systems," *Proceedings* of the 1968 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, 1968, University of Washington Press, Seattle, pp. 34-64.

*A Community Self-Survey System* (revised from *A Bilingual Community Self-Survey System*), in four parts: *Part I, The Interview Schedule*, 73 pp.; *Part II, The Survey Director's Manual*, 54 pp.; *Part III, Manual for Training Local Residents as Interviewers*, 62 pp.; *Part IV, Manual for Training Coders and Code Book*, 266 pp., Iowa Urban Community Research Center and the Division of Extension and University Services, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1968, Lyle W. Shannon, John R. Stratton, and Joy Randall.

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"The Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Immigrant Workers: Characteristics of the Individual vs. the Nature of the System," Chapter 7, *Migration and Human Adaptation*, Eugene B. Brody, ed., 1970, pp. 167-188. Prepublished in *American Behavioral Scientist*, September, 1969.

1971

"Mexican and Mexican-American Migrants," Lyle W. Shannon and Robert V. Kemper, issue editors, *International Migration Review*, Fall, 1971, pp. 277-329.

1973

*Minority Migrants in the Urban Community: Mexican-American and Negro Adjustment to Industrial Society*, Lyle W. and Magdaline Shannon, Sage Publications, Beverly Hills, Calif., 1973, 352 pp.

1974

"Attitudes Toward Education and the Absorption of Immigrant Mexican-Americans and Negroes in Racine," Lyle W. Shannon and Judith L. McKim, forthcoming in *Education and Urban Society*, June, 1974.

"Mexican-American, Negro, and Anglo Improvement in Labor Force Status Between 1960 and 1970 in a Midwestern Community," Lyle W. Shannon and Judith L. McKim, presented to Population Association of America, April, 1973. Forthcoming in *Social Science Quarterly*, May, 1974.

"Some Problems in Measuring Change in Occupation and Income (1960-1971) among a Cohort of Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and Anglos," Lyle W. Shannon, *Pacific Sociological Review*, forthcoming late 1974.

"The False Assumption that Age and Time in the Community are Powerful Determinants of the Level of Economic Absorption of Immigrant Mexican-Americans and Negroes," Lyle W. Shannon, presented to Pacific Sociological Association, March, 1974. Submitted for publication.

"The Ecological Distribution of Negroes in Racine, Wisconsin 1960-1970," Lyle W. Shannon, John R. Faine, and Judith L. McKim, submitted for publiction.

"The False Assumption that World View Explains How People Come to Be Where They Are," Lyle W. Shannon, submitted for publication.