

The Prediction of Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration among Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and Anglos in a Northern Industrial Community

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Introduction

This is a report on a three-year study of immigrant labor in Racine, Wisconsin. The study has proceeded on the assumption that variations in economic absorption and cultural integration may be explained by: 1) antecedent experiences of a handicapping nature; 2) attitudes and values acquired previous to arrival in the community; and 3) present patterns of association, as well as by the attitudes and behaviors of people in the host community. The basic proposition is that measurable antecedent handicaps or indicators of these handicaps will explain a significant amount of the differences in absorption and integration within racial and ethnic groups as well as differences between racial and ethnic groups. This does not mean that discriminatory or other significant influences will be cast aside but rather that they account for only a part of the differences between groups.

Respondents were drawn from a population list of persons living in Racine who had children from zero to twenty years of age. Approximately half of the interviews were conducted with the male head of household and the other half with his spouse or the female heads of households.

The sample consisted of 284 Anglos, 236 Mexican-

Americans, and 280 Negroes.¹

Before presenting our most recent analysis of the data we shall briefly mention several previously reported findings on the relationship between social antecedents and measures of economic absorption.

When a summary scale of antecedent handicaps was constructed, Mexican-Americans were most handicapped and Anglos were least handicapped, with Negroes in between.² There were notable differences in the occupa-

1. A detailed description of the populations that were sampled each year and the samples selected for study is available upon request from the author. This mimeographed paper describes how the 1959 respondents were taken into consideration in selecting the 1960 sample. Since the 1960 sample of new interviews complements the 1960 reinterviews, we have sizeable samples of Mexican-Americans and Anglos that may be defined as representative of persons with children of ages zero through twenty. For a rather complete description of the social antecedents of the 1959 sample of Mexican-Americans and Anglos see: Lyle W. Shannon and Elaine M. Krass, "The Economic Absorption of Immigrant Laborers in a Northern Industrial Community," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, XXIII (January, 1964), 65-84.

2. A scale of antecedent handicaps was constructed with a coefficient of reproducibility of .8827 and a minimum coefficient of reproducibility of .6540. The following items characterized the most handicapped persons in the scale: respondent's former home was in southern U.S.A.; husband's father's occupation was agricultural laborer or farmer; respondent has lived in Racine nine years or less; husband has had less than eight years of education; husband's first job was agricultural laborer or farmer. The distribution of the samples according to the Antecedent Handicap Scale is shown below:

Score	Antecedent Handicap Scale			
	Percentages	Mexican	Negro	Anglo
0 (Least Handicapped)		11	20	84
1-5 (Most Handicapped)		89	80	16
		100	100	100

Anglos were significantly lower on the antecedent handicap scale than either Mexican-Americans or Negroes ($p < .001$, r_s Anglo-Negro = .6389). Negroes had significantly lower handicap scores than Mexican-Americans ($p < .01$, r_s = .1267).

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tional histories of respondents in the three groups. Anglos had significantly better first jobs and experienced more mobility between first jobs and present jobs (significant at the .001 level) than either Mexican-Americans or Negroes. Although Negroes also experienced significant job mobility, Mexican-Americans did not.³ When the sample was divided according to age of male and length of time in the community, Anglos were at significantly higher occupational levels within each group.⁴ However, within each ethnic group there were essentially no differences in occupational level when age and length of time in the community were held constant.

When the relationships between education and occupational level and between education and total family income were examined, they were found to be sizeable only for the Anglo sample, and even then the influence of education on income was less than it was on occupational status.⁵ There are two possible explanations for these findings. It may be suggested that discrimination in the community has established a definite job ceiling for

Mexican-Americans and Negroes.⁶ Or, it is possible that, since most of the Mexican-Americans and Negroes obtained their formal education in rural Texas and the Deep South, respectively, while most of the Anglos attended school in the urban North, the social environment in which the child went to school was more important in predicting occupational success than years of formal education.

Although size of community of orientation has been mentioned in the literature as an important antecedent, it appears to be practically unrelated to the various measures of economic absorption utilized in this study. The highest correlation between size of community of orientation and occupational level expressed as r_4 was only .13 for Mexican-Americans (significant at the .05 level). And when age of male and length of time in the community were controlled there was no significant relation-

3. The percentage of Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and Anglos in each of four occupational levels at the time of first job and present job is shown below:

Percentages	Mexican-American		Negro		Anglo	
	First	Present	First	Present	First	Present
I-II	3	2	5	1	27	42
III	6	15	8	26	19	31
IV-V-VI	43	80	52	71	45	26
VII	48	3	35	2	9	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100

I-II = professional, technical, managerial, proprietor and sales; III = craftsmen and foremen; IV-V-VI = operatives, maintenance, service, private household labor, industrial labor; VII = agricultural labor.

Measures of the relationship of race and ethnicity to occupational level and tests of the significance of the difference between race and ethnic levels are shown below for first jobs and present jobs.

	First Jobs		Present Jobs		First Jobs—Present Jobs	
	X^2	r_4	X^2	r_4	X^2	
Mexican-Anglo	p<.001	.3887	p<.001	.5423	Anglo	p<.001
Negro-Anglo	p<.001	.3568	p<.001	.4405	Negro	p<.01
Mexican-Negro	not sig.	.0635	p<.01	.1253	Mexican	not sig.

4. The only significant difference within ethnic groups was among the Negroes—old longtime residents were at higher occupational levels than old shorttime residents at the .05 level. See the author's "Urban Adjustment and Its Relationship to the Social Antecedents of Immigrant Workers," *AAAS Series*, in press.

5. The distribution of stated years of education among the samples is shown below. Anglos had significantly more education at the .001 level than either Mexican-Americans or Negroes; Negroes had significantly more education than Mexican-Americans. (Continued Next Column)

Stated Education of Males

Years	Percentages	Mexican	Negro	Anglo
0-8		76	46	22
9 or more		24	54	78
		100	100	100

It should be noted that we have been concerned with the problem of economic absorption rather than cultural integration. The relationship of education to economic absorption is probably not the same as that to cultural integration. Giorgio Mortara has stated, "The level of education attained by immigrants may have two opposite effects. The tendency of those who were taught in their motherland is to cling consciously or otherwise to the culture they have acquired, those who cannot read or write feel little compunction about losing something they never possessed. On the other hand, those who possess a genuine cultural background are far better fitted than illiterates to assimilate a second culture."

See: G. Mortara, "Immigration to Brazil: Some Observations on the Linguistic Assimilation of Immigrants and Their Descendants in Brazil" in *Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants*, Cambridge University Press, London 1946, p. 44.

The percentage of Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and Anglos in each of three total income categories is shown below:

Total Family Income - 1959

Percentages	Mexican-American	Negro	Anglo
Up to \$4499	50	28	13
\$4500 - \$5499	17	21	15
\$5500 or more	27	41	64
Not ascertained*	6	10	8
	100	100	100

Mexican-Anglo $X^2 = 96.95$, $p < .001$, $r_4 = .4114$

Negro-Anglo $X^2 = 31.97$, $p < .001$, $r_4 = .2426$

Mexican-Negro $X^2 = 24.87$, $p < .001$, $r_4 = .1919$

* (Not ascertained category eliminated in computing X^2 and r_4 .)

6. The complex relationship of education to occupation and income is analyzed in Lyle W. Shannon and Elaine M. Krass, "The Urban Adjustments of Immigrants: The Relationship of Education to Occupation and Income," *The Pacific Sociological Review* (Spring, 1963), 37-42. Also see, Gary S. Becker, *The Economics of Discrimination*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1957.

ship between size of community and occupation.⁷

If we substitute for size of community of orientation either a measure of urban exposure prior to the move to Racine or a measure of total urban exposure including the length of time spent in Racine, urban exposure still fails to show a significant relationship to present occupational level, income, or possessions for Mexican-Americans and Negroes, although there is a significant correlation between urban exposure and income for Anglos.⁸

The Categories of Variables

The findings summarized above are concerned with the relationship between individual antecedent variables and

7. The problem of measuring degree of urbanization was approached in several ways. One measure of urbanization was size of respondent's former home. When communities were dichotomized by size the following distribution was produced: Anglos came from significantly larger places than Mexican-Americans and Mexican-Americans came from significantly larger places than Negroes—all at the .001 level.

Size of Former Home of Respondents

Percentages	Mexican	Negro	Anglo
Rural to 50,000	52	80	33
50,000 and over	48	20	67
	100	100	100

8. Two scales of male urban exposure were constructed, one of urban exposure prior to the move to Racine and another of total urban exposure. The scale of prior urban exposure had a coefficient of reproducibility of .9018 and a minimum coefficient of reproducibility of .6328. It included the following items in order of the frequency of their occurrence: respondent held a job for at least six months in an urban place prior to coming to Racine; place where husband was born had a population of 10,000 or more; place where husband went to elementary school has population of 10,000 or more; respondent's hometown has population of 10,000 or more; respondent's last place of residence has population of 10,000 or more; respondent spent ten years or more in last place of residence; place where husband went to high school has population of 10,000 or more.

The total urban exposure scale had a coefficient of reproducibility of .9113 and a minimum coefficient of reproducibility of .6789. It is composed of the items included in the first scale but also includes responses indicating whether or not the respondent has been in Racine ten years or more and an item on whether or not the husband has spent six years or more in a job in an urban place including Racine. The distribution of the samples according to each scale is shown below.

Urban Exposure Scales

Score	Percentages			Score	Total Urban Exposure		
	Mexican	Negro	Anglo		Mexican	Negro	Anglo
0-1 (High)	39	25	74	0-1	34	25	72
2-7 (Low)	61	75	26	2-9	66	75	28
	100	100	100		100	100	100

Anglos were significantly higher on both urban-exposure scales than either Mexican-Americans or Negroes (prior exposure, $p < .001$, r_s Anglo-Negro = .4888 and Anglo-Mexican = .3248), (total exposure, $p < .001$, r_s Anglo-Negro = .4689 and Anglo-Mexican = .3495), but Mexican-Americans and Negroes did not have significantly different exposures.

measures of absorption. This paper will examine the relationship of not only single variables to measures of economic absorption and cultural integration, but in addition, the relationship of economic absorption and cultural integration to a variety of accumulated antecedent or intervening variables.

The following shall be considered antecedent variables: 1) education of male; 2) first work experience; 3) length of prior urban experiences; 4) urban work experience; and, of course, 5) the scale of antecedent handicaps.

Each of the antecedent variables has been referred to in the description of previous findings, and its measure has been presented in the footnotes of this paper with the exception of total years of urban employment.⁹ As in the case of most other variables, Anglos had significantly more urban employment than did either Negroes or Mexican-Americans.

Four additional variables may be considered as either antecedent or intervening variables depending on the point at which analysis commences: 1) occupational level of associates; 2) extent and pattern of social participation; 3) world view; and 4) occupational mobility type.

It is just as reasonable to view some of the intervening variables as measures of cultural integration as it is to view them as immediate antecedents of absorption and integration. To determine whether the associational and participational variables came before the various measures of absorption and integration, or are merely other measures or indicators, or further consequences of absorption and integration, requires a line of questioning that we have heretofore not pursued.

The "occupational level of associates" scale was based on the occupational level of two friends and two relatives with whom the respondent had frequent face-to-face or written contact.¹⁰ Anglos had associates with significantly higher occupational statuses than did Negroes or

9. The distribution of the samples according to total years of urban employment is shown below:

Total Years of Urban Employment			
Percentages	Mexican	Anglo	Negro
0 - 3 years	8	3	8
4 - 5	10	6	11
6 - 9	26	10	26
10 - 14	28	21	29
15 - 19	12	20	8
20 - 24	5	17	5
25 or +	5	23	6
Not ascertained and inapplicable	5	1	7
	99	101	100

Mexican-Negro $X^2 = 65.2833$, 1 d.f., $p < .001$

Negro-Anglo $X^2 = 88.4080$, 1 d.f., $p < .001$

Mexican-Anglo $X^2 = .7919$, 1 d.f., not significant

10. The respondent whose associates had the highest occupational status had at least two friends and two relatives who were at the craftsmen or foremen level or above. This scale had a coefficient of reproducibility of .8903 and a minimum coefficient of reproducibility of .7500.

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Mexican-Americans. Mexican-Americans were lower on the scale than Negroes but not significantly so.

Two scales on the extent of social participation were constructed, one for males and one for females.¹¹ Anglos had significantly higher participation scores than either Mexican-Americans or Negroes, but both the latter were essentially the same.

The "world view" scale was based on six questions designed to elicit responses which would identify the respondent's position on a continuum ranging from group-orientation and fatalism to individualism and the belief that one's environment may be manipulated.¹² Anglos were significantly more individualistic and less fatalistic than Mexican-Americans or Negroes.

The occupational mobility scale was based upon the respondent's statement concerning the occupational status of the male's father and the occupational status of the male at three points of time: first job, next-to-last job,

and present job.¹³ Anglos had achieved significantly more high-status careers than Negroes and Mexican-Americans, but Negroes had not achieved significantly more high-status careers than Mexican-Americans.

The following measures of economic absorption and cultural integration will be employed: 1) present occupational status; 2) income; 3) level of living; 4) world view; and 5) level of aspiration for children.

Level of living was measured by two scales of possessions: one included eight items ranging from a refrigerator to a late model car, and the other contained six items.¹⁴

Occupational Status of Associates Scale				
Scale Type	Percentages	Mexican	Anglo	Negro
Low Occupational Status	0-1	88	33	78
	2-3	11	25	16
High Occupational Status	4-5	1	42	6
		100	100	100

Mexican-Anglo $X^2 = 60.46$, 1 d.f., $p < .001$

Negro-Anglo $X^2 = 78.69$, 1 d.f., $p < .001$

Mexican-Negro $X^2 = 2.79$, 1 d.f., not significant

11. The most active males participated in the following: fishing or hunting, movies, taverns, sports or hobbies, dances or parties, clubs and church organizations. This scale had a coefficient of reproducibility of .8661 and a minimum coefficient of reproducibility of .6163.

Social Participation Scale				
Scale Type	Percentages	Mexican	Anglo	Negro
Low Participation Score	0-1	29	20	35
	2-3	20	14	15
	4-5	42	38	42
High Participation Score	6-7	8	28	8
		99	100	100

Mexican-Anglo $X^2 = 14.47$, 1 d.f., $p < .001$

Negro-Anglo $X^2 = 22.39$, 1 d.f., $p < .001$

Mexican-Negro $X^2 = .40$, 1 d.f., not significant

12. The world view scale had a coefficient of reproducibility of .9011 and a minimum coefficient of reproducibility of .7125. The most fatalistic and group-oriented respondents indicated agreement with the following statements: "Not many things in life are worth the sacrifice of being away from your family"; "The secret of happiness is not expecting too much and being content with what comes your way"; "The best job to have is one where you are part of a group all working together, even if you don't get much individual credit"; "Planning only makes a person unhappy, since your plans hardly ever work out anyway"; "Nowadays, with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself"; "Not many things in life are worth the sacrifice of moving away from your friends," and disagreed with the statement, "When a man is born, the success he is going to have is not already in the cards—each makes his own fate."

The distribution of the samples according to the world view scale is shown below:

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World View Scale				
Score	Percentages	Mexican	Negro	Anglo
0-3 (Individualistic and manipulative)		37	44	77
4-7 (Group-oriented and fatalistic)		63	56	23
		100	100	100

Anglos were significantly more individualistic and less fatalistic than Mexican-Americans or Negroes ($p < .001$, r_1 Anglo-Negro = .3436) but Mexican-Americans and Negroes did not have significantly different world view scores.

Although a question on planning for the future was included as part of the world view scale, it was so discriminating between Anglos, Mexican-Americans, and Negroes that it has also been included as a separate item in this footnote. Responses to the planning question are shown below:

"Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway."

	Percentages	Mexican	Anglo	Negro
Agree		57	18	51
Pro-Con		11	6	4
Disagree		31	77	44
Not Ascertained		2	—	1
		101	101	100

13. The occupational mobility pattern scale had a coefficient of reproducibility of .9189 and a minimum coefficient of reproducibility of .6151. The least mobile respondent had a father with low-occupation status (i.e., father's occupation was maintenance and service, industrial labor, agricultural labor or farmer) and himself had a first job, next to last job, and present job in the same categories.

The distribution of the samples according to the occupational mobility scale is shown below:

Occupational Mobility Patterns				
Score	Percentages	Mexican	Negro	Anglo
0-1		65	58	17
2-4		35	42	83
		100	100	100

Anglos were significantly more mobile than Negroes or Mexican-Americans ($p < .001$, r_1 Anglo-Negro = .3477) but Negroes were not significantly more mobile than Mexican-Americans.

14. Two scales of possessions were constructed. The first was a six-item scale for comparison with the 1959 scale and the second was an eight-item scale. The six-item scale had a coefficient of reproducibility of .9413 and a minimum coefficient of reproducibility of .7600 and contained the following items listed in the order of frequency with which they were found in homes: refrigerator, washing machine, telephone, sewing machine, fabric rug in front room, and 1957 or later model car. The eight-item scale contained the following items in order of the frequency with which they appeared in homes: refrigerator, television set, washing machine,

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Two "level of aspiration" scales were constructed. The first was limited to measuring the level of parents' aspiration for their children, while the second, the "level of aspiration and realism" scale, attempted to ascertain the respondent's views on how aspirations should or could be implemented as well as his awareness of the likelihood that they would be implemented. The "level of aspiration" scale revealed that Anglos had significantly higher educational and professional aspirations for their children than did Negroes, and Negroes had significantly higher aspirations than did Mexican-Americans. Anglos and Negroes were significantly higher on the "level of aspiration and realism" scale than Mexican-Americans, but Anglos did not have significantly higher scores than Negroes.¹⁵

The Problem in Relation to the Larger Society and Its Components

The first phase of the project in Racine (1959-1961)

subscription to a newspaper, telephone, sewing machine, fabric rug in front room, and 1957 or later model car. The latter had a coefficient of reproducibility of .9397 and a minimum coefficient of reproducibility of .7600. The distribution of the samples according to each scale is shown below:

Level of Living Scales

Score	Percentages			Score	Percentages		
	Six-Item Possessions Scale				Eight-Item Possessions Scale		
	Mexican	Negro	Anglo		Mexican	Negro	Anglo
0-4	68	72	11	0-6	77	83	24
5-6	32	28	89	7-8	23	17	76
	100	100	100		100	100	100

Anglos were significantly higher on both possessions scales than either Mexican-Americans or Negroes (six-item scale, $p < .001$, r_1 Anglo-Negro = .6389, Anglo-Mexican = .5918), (eight-item scale, $p < .001$, r_1 Anglo-Negro = .5907, Anglo-Mexican = .5338), but Mexican-Americans and Negroes did not have significantly different positions on either scale.

15. The educational and professional aspiration scale had a coefficient of reproducibility of .3984 and a minimum coefficient of reproducibility of .6675. Respondents with the highest levels of aspiration desired children to have a college education, would be satisfied only if children had some college or a college degree, disagreed that financially it would be practically impossible to put children through college, and would like children to go into a specific profession or a profession in general.

The second level of aspiration scale, one which took into consideration more than aspirations alone, had a coefficient of reproducibility of .3245 and a minimum coefficient of reproducibility of .6537. Neither of these scales met the minimum standards of reproducibility but were included as incipient measures that might have some usefulness as predictors. Respondents with the highest level of aspiration for their children and awareness of the requisites for advancement considered education more important now than when they were in school, desired children to have a college education, thought that the most valuable training for a child is in school, reported that the oldest child still in school gets good grades, disagreed that financially it would be practically impossible to put children through college, had children who would like to go into a specific profession or a profession in general, would like children to go into a specific profession or profession in general and would be satisfied only if children had some college or a college degree.

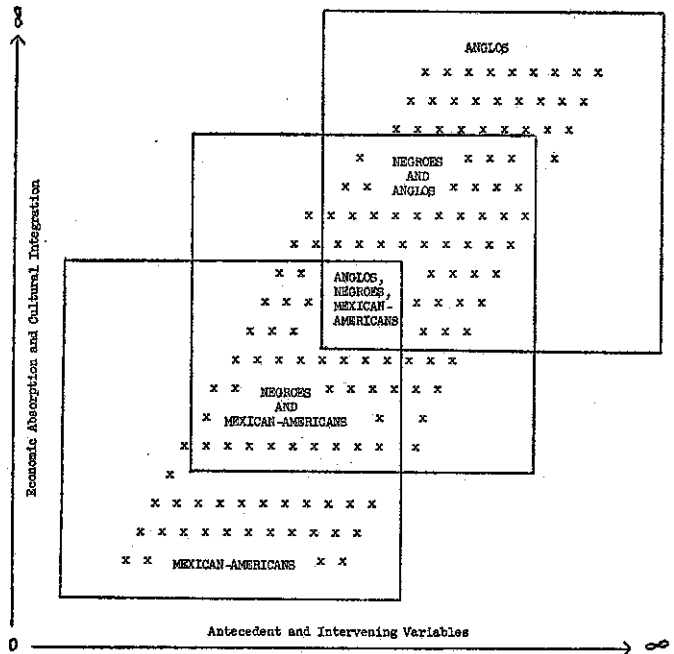
The distribution of the samples according to each level of aspiration scale is shown below:

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has given us a broad understanding of the problem and a basis for making predictions about which kinds of individuals (educated, industrially experienced, actively oriented, high aspiring, participating — Anglos, Negroes, and Mexican-Americans in that order of ethnicity) are most likely to be absorbed into the economy and which are most likely to acquire the behavior, goals, and values that indicate integration into the larger urban, industrial society.

The antecedent variables, the intervening variables, and the measures of economic absorption and cultural integration show significant variation between Mexican-Americans and Anglos, between Negroes and Anglos, and frequently between Mexican-Americans and Negroes. The question is: are these variables related to each other

Diagram 1
RELATIONSHIP OF ANGLOS, NEGROES AND MEXICAN-AMERICANS ON A CONTINUUM OF ECONOMIC ABSORPTION AND CULTURAL INTEGRATION AND A CONTINUUM OF ANTECEDENT AND INTERVENING VARIABLES



Level of Aspiration Scales

Level of Aspiration for Children	Percentages			Level of Aspiration and Realism	Percentages		
	Mexican	Negro	Anglo		Score	Mexican	Negro
0-2 Low Aspirations	87	77	56	0-4	75	61	54
3-4 High Aspirations	13	23	44	5-8	25	39	46
	100	100	100		100	100	100

Anglos had significantly higher levels of aspiration for their children than Negroes ($p < .001$, $r_1 = .2208$) and Negroes had significantly higher levels of aspiration than Mexican-Americans ($p < .01$, $r_1 = .1249$). In the case of the second level of aspiration scale, Anglos and Negroes had significantly higher levels of aspiration than Mexican-Americans; Anglo-Mexican ($p < .001$, $r_1 = .2152$); Negro-Mexican ($p < .001$, $r_1 = .1517$) but Anglos did not have significantly higher levels of aspirations than Negroes.

across groups and within groups in such a way that they account for a large proportion of the variation in absorption and integration, or do they tend to account for only a small part of this variation, leaving the situational and discriminatory explanations as more pertinent?

A description of the interrelationship of the Anglos, Mexican-Americans, and Negroes in Racine as well as the relationship of categories of variables to each other may perhaps be facilitated by presentation of Diagram 1. Here we have placed the various measures of economic absorption and cultural integration along one coordinate and the antecedent and intervening variables along the opposite coordinate. If we look at this as a correlation diagram in which, for example, absorption and integration increase with education we would expect the persons in each of the samples to be distributed around a line sloping from the lower left-hand corner to the upper right-hand corner.

We have found that on each of the variables, Anglos score highest, with Negroes usually next and Mexican-Americans lowest. The Anglos make up the bulk of the larger society. The Negroes total only about one-tenth of the population but are, in a sense, an organized community. The Mexican-Americans constitute the smallest element in the society and are not a community insofar as we can see. The significant correlation of almost any variable with any other variable in the combined samples is apparent from examination of Table 1; these correlations exist precisely because the Anglos, Negroes, and Mexican-Americans are arrayed in this order in reference to almost any variable that we have observed. Instead of starting out with the null hypothesis, as is traditionally

done, we should perhaps have commenced with the assumption that a relationship does in fact exist between every variable and every other variable due to the ethnic and racial heterogeneity of the population and the relationship of social and economic variables to race and ethnicity.

Furthermore, statistically significant relationships tend to either decrease, disappear, or change in direction as shown in Table 2, when race and ethnicity are controlled. Our report on completed research indicates that the interrelationships of most variables differ markedly in the Negro, Mexican-American, and Anglo subgroups.¹⁶ What this means is that a description of the larger society

Table 2
Relationship of Measures of Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration to Antecedent and Intervening Variables-Anglos, Mexican-Americans and Negroes

	Possessions			Occupational Level			World View			Level of Aspiration for Children			Income		
	A	N	M	A	N	M	A	N	M	A	N	M	A	N	M
Education	-	-	**	*	-	-	***	*	*	**	*	*	-	-	-
First Job	-	-	-	+	-	-	**	-	*						*
Prior Urbanization	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	**	-	-	+	+	*	-
Total Urbanization	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	***			+	*	-
Total Urban Employment						**	-	+	-	**					
Antecedent Handicaps	-	-	**	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	-	-	-
Social Participation							+	-	+	***	***		-	-	-
World View	-	-	-	-	-	-	*						*	*	*
Aspirations for Children	*	-	***	+	-	-	***	**	**	**	**	**			
Prof. Level of Associates	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*
Present Occupation	**	-	**				*	-	-	+	***	**			
Income							*	-	**	**	***	**			
Mobility Type							-	-	-	-	*	+			
Possessions							**	**	*	*	*	***			

- Indicates that r_h decreased when race and ethnicity were controlled.
+ Indicates that r_h increased when race and ethnicity were controlled.
* Level of significance .02 or .05.
** Level of significance .01.
*** Level of significance .001.

Table 1

Relationship of Measures of Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration to Antecedent and Intervening Variables-Combined Samples

	Possessions		Occupational Level		Income		World View		Level of Aspiration for Children		Number of Respondents
	r_h	Level of Sig.	r_h	Level of Sig.	r_h	Level of Sig.	r_h	Level of Sig.	r_h	Level of Sig.	
Education	.3327	.001	.247	.001	.2425	.001	.2974	.001	.2350	.001	679-790
First Job	.2428	.001	.391	.001	.1910	.001	.2076	.001			612-665
Prior Urbanization	.3504	.001	.2737	.001	.2324	.001	.3411	.001	.1119	n.s.	236-252
Total Urbanization	.3430	.001	.2749	.001	.2476	.001	.3535	.001			236-252
Total Urban Employment			.2670	.001			.1540	.001			739-770
Antecedent Handicap	.3735	.001	.1977	.001	.2080	.001	.2842	.001	.1820	.001	800
Social Participation							.1824	.001	.1433	.001	800
World View	.3031	.001	.2011	.001	.2561	.001	X	X	.2674	.001	800
Aspirations for Children	.2109	.001	.2535	.001	.3398	.001	.2674	.001	X	X	730-800
Prof. Level of Associates	.3660	.001	.3237	.001	.2180	.001	.2544	.001	.2020	.001	497-558
Present Occupation	.2290	.001	X	X			.2011	.001	.2535	.001	745
Income					X	X	.2561	.001	.3398	.001	731
Mobility Type							.2539	.001	.2150	.001	558
Possessions	X	X					.3091	.001	.2110	.001	800

may not apply to any one of the ethnic or racial groups making up the larger society.

In order to combine variables we have constructed several item-analysis scales from some of the antecedent and intervening variables that we have just described. One for economic absorption and one for cultural integration are presented in this paper.

Each item in the scales has a weight proportional to its correlation with the variable to be predicted. One scale was constructed for the combined samples of Anglos,

16. Lyle W. Shannon and Elaine M. Krass, *The Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Mexican-American and Negro Workers*, A Progress Report on National Institutes of Health Project RG-5342, RG-9980, GM 10919 and CH 0042, University of Iowa, 1964.

Mexican-Americans, and Negroes. Two separate scales have also been constructed for Mexican-Americans, Anglos, and Negroes. Those Anglos who have always lived in Racine are compared with those who have lived there ten or more years; those Mexican-Americans or Negroes who have lived ten or more years in Racine are compared with those who have lived there nine or less years. Values are presented in each table for the r_4 coefficient of correlation, a Chi Square test of significance and Guttman's coefficient of predictability.

In using these scales, our concern is with maximizing prediction improvement rather than merely presenting a statistically significant association between the predictor (scale score) and measures of economic absorption or cultural integration. Guttman's Coefficient of Relative Predictability will, therefore, be particularly appropriate as a statistical measure since it will tell us the amount of prediction improvement that is possible by using the predictor rather than the modal category of the marginals of a table.

It should be noted that a sizeable and highly significant relationship may be found between a set of scale scores and a variable, yet the coefficient of predictability may be near zero. This is most likely to be the case when the distribution of persons on one or both variables is skewed by race, ethnicity, or time in the community so that the cutting points selected result in a large proportion of the population being largely on one side of the cutting point or the other.

and Mexican-Americans are distributed in that order on both occupational level and world view and on most other variables that would be utilized in making up a scale of antecedent and intervening variables.

Table 3a presents the distribution of antecedent experience and present associations scale scores for the samples of Anglos, Negroes, and Mexican-Americans in relation to occupational level. Table 3b presents the distribution of scale scores in relation to world view. High-scoring respondents tend to be at the individualistic-activistic end of the continuum and low-scoring respondents at the group-oriented, fatalistic end of the continuum. The distribution of each ethnic and racial group according to scale scores and occupational level or world view is also shown. It is here that we clearly see that the overall association of scale scores and occupational level or world view is partially based on the relationship of these variables to race and ethnicity. Scale scores permit a 36 percent improvement in predicting occupational level and 38 percent improvement in predicting world view.

While correlations within each ethnic or racial group are smaller and less frequently statistically significant, the basic relationship of antecedent opportunities and preparation for absorption and integration in the larger society is demonstrated by our data even though the number of Mexican-Americans and Negroes in the entire distribution is not proportional to their distribution in the larger society.

We shall now turn to the separate scales that were

Table 3a
Predicting Occupational Level from Antecedent Experiences and Present Associations

Scale Scores	Combined Samples		Anglo		Negro		Mexican-American	
	Occup. Level		Occup. Level		Occup. Level		Occup. Level	
	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo
0-400	48	179	13	17	32	109	3	53
.401-.800	75	81	44	21	26	53	5	7
.801-1.200	102	34	93	14	8	19	1	1
Total	225	294	150	52	66	181	9	61
r_4	.4400		.3074		.1046		.4481	
X^2	98.6375		17.6892		2.2612		10.9096	
Sig.	p < .001		p < .001		n.s.		p < .001	
C	.3600		.0000		.0000		.0000	

The Findings

When the combined samples of Anglos, Mexican-Americans, and Negroes are examined without holding ethnicity or race constant, we find relatively high correlations between measures of economic absorption and cultural integration and their predictive set of scale scores. We have previously reported that Anglos, Negroes,

and Mexican-Americans are distributed in that order on both occupational level and world view and on most other variables that would be utilized in making up a scale of antecedent and intervening variables.

Table 4a deals with *occupational level* and its relationship to *antecedent experiences* and *present associates*. We note that the occupational level of Anglos who have always lived in the community may be predicted with somewhat less error through use of scale scores. The correlation of occupational level with antecedents was great-

Table 3b
Predicting *World View* from *Antecedent Experiences, Present Status*
and *Present Associations*

Scale Scores	Combined Samples		Anglo		Negro		Mexican-American	
	World View		World View		World View		World View	
	I*	F*	I	F	I	F	I	F
0-400	73	129	12	5	47	88	14	36
.401-.800	70	77	22	12	42	54	6	11
.801-1.200	58	23	26	10	28	10	4	3
1.201-1.600	104	24	97	19	6	5	1	
Total	305	253	157	46	123	157	25	50
r_4	.3373		.1731		.1775		.1600	
X^2	62.216		5.2849		8.0908		1,2675	
Sig.	p < .001		p < .05		p < .001		n.s.	
C	.3868		.0000		.0569		.0000	

* I = Individualistic, F = Fatalistic.

est among Mexican-Americans who were short residents, and the coefficient of predictability was also highest for this group. Although occupational level could be predicted with increased efficiency from scale scores for recently arrived Mexican-Americans, this relationship was not displayed for those who had migrated earlier. The fact that new arrivals among the Mexican-Americans had antecedents that correlated with scale scores and permitted increased predictive efficiency suggests that they were better able to use their capabilities than were earlier arrivals, or perhaps opportunities have been available recently that were not present at an earlier period. For Negroes, practically no relationship existed between scale scores and occupational level.

In Table 4b, *world view* is related to *antecedent experience, present status* and *present associations*. Although scale scores have little association with world view among Negroes and Mexican-Americans who have lived in Racine nine years or less they are related significantly to world view among those who have been longer residents of Racine. How world view comes to be associated closely more with antecedents, present status, and associations of persons who have lived in Racine for a longer period of time we cannot say, but it is likely that added time in the community gives those who are least equipped for absorption and integration an opportunity to acquire fatalistic attitudes. Those who have been here a short time are unaware of the continued difficulties that they may have and have not yet developed these attitudes. But as time goes on, they may realize that due to their handicaps, they will remain relatively immobile occupationally, and thus they become increasingly fatalistic. On the other hand, although scale scores were significantly associated with world view among both groups of Anglos, they were more highly correlated among those who had not always lived in Racine. It may well be that Anglos who have always lived in the community are

relatively absorbed and integrated and therefore do not develop these attitudinal differences related to their antecedents, status, and associations to the same extent as does an unabsorbed and unintegrated group.

Conclusion and Prospects

Sociologists would be inclined to accept the basic propositions of this study. We have demonstrated that significant correlations exist in the combined samples and in the individual samples, but we have not really shown that our predicting variables are always antecedents. In some cases they are antecedents and perhaps in other cases, consequences that happen to be correlated with the variable to be predicted.

Although we believe that we have discovered some of the antecedent sociological and intervening social psychological factors that facilitate economic absorption and cultural integration, it is also apparent that we do not have complete knowledge about the experience chains that facilitate or impede economic absorption and cultural integration. We must investigate the existence of experience chains by means of open-ended questions and probes developed from what we have learned during previous periods of interviewing. By relating patterns of experience to change we shall add a dynamic facet to the project.

Findings from the Racine research suggest that we must not only focus attention on the processes of economic absorption and cultural integration in reference to the larger community, but we must also place considerable emphasis on the process of integration into the Mexican-American and Negro subcultures of the industrial community.

In referring to cultural integration in the ethnic or racial subculture as well as the larger society or Anglo-middle and stable working class subculture, the impor-

Table 4a

Predicting *Occupational Level from Antecedent Experiences and Present Associations*

Male Education
Occupational Level of First Job
Occupational Level of Associates
Extent of Social Participation

	Time in Community		
	0-9 years in Racine	10+ but not always in Racine	Always lived in Racine
Anglo r_4		.1145	.2953
X^2		.4015	7.8594
Sig.		n.s.	$p < .01$
C		0	.1702
Negro r_4	.1375	.0000	
X^2	1.8060	.0000	
Sig.	n.s.	n.s.	
C	0	0	
Mexican-American r_4	.4355	.0322	
X^2	4.1863	.0238	
Sig.	$p < .05$	n.s.	
C	.3333	0	

Table 4b

Predicting *World View from Antecedent Experiences, Present Status and Present Associations*

Male Education
Present Occupational Level
Occupational Level of First Job
Occupational Mobility of Male
Occupational Level of Associates
Extent of Social Participation

	Time in Community		
	0-9 years in Racine	10+ but not always in Racine	Always lived in Racine
		.4278	.2050
		11.0070	4.5514
		$p < .001$	$p < .05$
		.1481	.1136
	1.9510	.2656	
	4.6363	7.6018	
$p < .05$	$p < .01$		
	.1621	.2698	
	.2477	.5088	
	.7280	7.6313	
	n.s.	$p < .01$	
	.1875	.4705	

tance of the social class element must not be overlooked. Integration into the larger culture at the lowest socioeconomic level or corresponding social class does not have the same meaning and consequences as does integration into the larger culture at a higher socioeconomic level or corresponding social class. It is for this reason that economic absorption and cultural integration are so closely linked.

In attempting to develop a better explanation of the processes of economic absorption and cultural integration in reference to both the larger culture and the ethnic or racial subculture, we must not only conduct more intensive observation and interviewing than was done during the first three years in Racine but must also maintain continuous contact with both subcultures and the larger culture.¹⁷ It is for these reasons that we plan to com-

bine sociological and anthropological approaches in an effort to obtain more adequate data and eventually a more sophisticated explanation of the behavior that takes place when people move from their southern or southwestern rural surroundings to a northern urban industrial community.

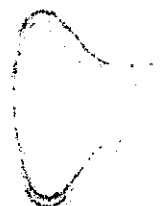
The results of the Racine study have indicated a need for more detailed descriptions of the ethnic subcultures as they exist in the industrialized north. This knowledge is not only of importance in and of itself, but it will form a basis for a further understanding of how the culture influences its members' behavior, values, and goals, and thus the processes of economic absorption and cultural integration. The degree to which the immigrant becomes absorbed and integrated in his new surroundings depends in part on the degree of persistence of his subculture. Much of the material relevant here can be gathered only through intensive, non-directed participant observation of small groups such as families peer gangs, and social cliques.

It is in this manner that we shall obtain a better idea of the immigrant's conception of his original subculture as well as his view of that into which he is becoming integrated. At the same time we shall investigate the extent to which integration into the latter facilitates or impedes his further integration into the larger community.

17. Oscar Lewis is well-known for his *Five Families*, Basic Books, 1959, *The Children of Sanchez*, Random House, 1961, and *Pedro Martinez: A Mexican Peasant and His Family*, Random House, 1964. Another and earlier volume dealing with the Mexican-American subculture is that by Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Differences and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest*, Russell Sage Foundation, 1954. And more recently there is William Madsen's, *The Mexican-Americans of South Texas*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.

There are, of course, even more numerous studies of Negroes in the United States and their problems of adjustment in urban-industrial areas—for example: Horace Cayton and St. Clair Drake's, *Black Metropolis*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1945; Franklin E. Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, The University of Chicago Press, 1939, *The Negro Family in Chicago*, The University of Chicago Press, 1932, *The Negro in the United States*, The Macmillan Co., 1949; Thomas C. McCormick and Richard A. Hornseth, "The Negro in Madison, Wisconsin," *American Sociological Review* (October, 1947); Maurice R. Davie, *Negroes in American Society*, McGraw-Hill, 1949; Charles S. Johnson, *Patterns of Negro Segregation*, Harper and Bros., 1943; W. L. Warner, B. H. Junker, and W. A. Adams, *Color and Human Nature: Negro Personality Development in a Northern City*, American Council on Education, 1941.

(Continued Next Column)



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**The Prediction Of Economic Absorption And
Cultural Integration Among Mexican-
Americans, Negroes, And Anglos In A
Northern Industrial Community**