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**TORNADO: THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE
IN DISASTER AND AFTER**
A Study in Residential
Integration

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This study is, in all respects, a cooperative research venture. If, however, inconsistencies or limitations are encountered by the interested reader, the responsibility is mine.

Mhyra S. Minnis

Lubbock, Texas
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
<u>PART ONE</u>	
I. INTRODUCTION: THE TORNADO'S DAMAGE AND COMMUNITY RESPONSE	1
II. BRIEF PERSPECTIVE: HISTORY OF LUBBOCK AND SELECTED NEIGHBORHOODS BEFORE THE TORNADO.	9
III. VOICES AND EXPERIENCES IN THE TORNADO	19
IV. AN OVERVIEW OF THE PARKWAY NEIGHBORHOOD: SCENE OF OUR STUDY	30
V. METHODOLOGY: ETHNIC COMPOSITION AND THEORETIC FOCUS.	40
VI. NATIVE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILIES	54
<u>PART TWO</u>	
VII. OCCUPATION STATUS: MOTHER AND FATHER BY ETHNIC GROUP.	57
VIII. AGE COMPOSITION AND FAMILY SIZE	65
IX. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS AND ETHNICITY	72
X. LANGUAGE AS A BARRIER TO ADJUSTMENT	83
XI. ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION.	89
<u>PART THREE</u>	
XII. ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENTS IN A TRI-ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOOD	97
XIII. ETHNIC RELATIONS AND PREJUDICE.	109
XIV. SATISFACTIONS: LIVING IN AN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD.	116
XV. ATTITUDES TOWARD LIVING IN THE PARKWAY NEIGHBORHOOD.	121
<u>PART FOUR</u>	
XVI. THE INEVITABLE UNCERTAINTY: FUTURE RESIDENTIAL PLANS	142

XVII. INTERPRETATION AND ANTICIPATION: SELECTED HIGHLIGHTS OF OUR STUDY	168
XVIII. EPILOGUE: A SUGGESTED ACTION PROGRAM.	177
APPENDIX A	179
APPENDIX B	183
APPENDIX C	187
APPENDIX D	188

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Path of Lubbock Storm	3
2	Map of Lubbock with Parkway Neighborhood Outlined .	5
3	Destruction at Ramada Inn Motor Hotel	23
4	Damage to Sign Structure at Ramada Inn Motor Hotel	23
5	Residential Destruction on 9th Street Near Avenue Q	24
6	Residential Destruction on 7th Street Near Avenue Q	24
7	Damage to Light Industry Near 10th and Avenue S . .	25
8	Damage to Automotive Repair Shop in 400 Block of Avenue L	25
9	Destruction Scene North of Downtown Area Near 6th and Avenue L	26
10	Sheet Metal Twisted Around Tree Near Loop 289 and US 87 North	26
11	Map of Study Area: Parkway Addition	31
12	Scene in Parkway Area	37
13	Scene in Parkway Area	37
14	Mi Casita Headquarters	38
15	Pyramid of Age Distribution by Sex and Ethnic Group	68
16	Anglos: Age and Education Younger than Median Age	101
17	Anglos: Age and Education Older than Median Age .	101
18	Negroes: Age and Education Younger than Median Age	103
19	Negroes: Age and Education Older than Median Age	103
20	Mexican Americans: Age and Education Younger than Median Age	106
21	Mexican Americans: Age and Education Older than Median Age	106

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Ethnic Composition, Sample 200 Families: "Settled" and "Tornado" Groups (First Interview)	44
2	Ethnic Distribution--(Second Interview) . .	45
3	Comparison of Ethnic Group: First and Second Interviews.	45
4	Native Origin of Families According to Ethnic Differentiation: Anglo, Negro, and Mexican American	55
5	Residence in Lubbock of the 200 Families in Sample	55
6	Occupational Status: Mother and Father by Ethnic Group.	58
7	Age Distribution of Adults by Sex and Ethnic Group.	66
8	Years of Formal Education: By Ethnic Group, Mother and Father.	74
9	Organizational Participation: Mother, Father and Child by Ethnic Group.	91
10	Age and Education by Ethnic Group and Median Age.	99
11	Ethnic Composition, Sample 200 Families: "Tornado" and "Settled" Groups.	123
12	Adjustment, Attitudinal Change: Between First and Second Interviews.	125
13	Attitude Change for Individual: Adults. .	132
14	Home Ownership: Tornado Group.	151
15	Home Ownership: Settled Group.	151
16	Residential Plans: Tornado Group. . . .	154
17	Residential Plans: Settled Group. . . .	163

PART ONE

I. INTRODUCTION: THE TORNADO'S DAMAGE AND COMMUNITY RESPONSE

On May 11, 1970, about 9:45 p.m., a devastating tornado struck Lubbock, a city on the High Plains of Northwest Texas, cutting a sheathe of destruction nine miles long and 1.5 miles at the widest point, damaging high rise buildings and reducing industrial and commercial complexes, motels and homes to rubble as though a mammoth demolition crew had gone berserk. Only the war-torn cities of Europe, in World War II, presented a similar picture which, because of effective strategic bombing, the central areas and the homes of the poor who, in cities, live near railroads and industry, were destroyed.* The tornado also concentrated on the heart of the city.

In a matter of a few hours, the devastation was heard 'round the world and the writer's anxious friends telegraphed inquiries as far away as Scotland and Portugal. Contrary to early rumored reports, the whole city was not demolished although about one-fourth of the city was involved in the storm.¹ Numerous residential areas of the west, northwest and southwest of the city were not damaged and, until the following day, many residents did not know what had happened. Twenty-six people died as a result of the tornado and many hundreds were injured.

The buildings in the central part of the city, including a high-rise luxury apartment about twenty blocks away, motels, homes and industrial complexes, following a path north along a main arterial street, Avenue Q, and east and west of it, expensive homes near the country club and a private airport, north of the city, felt the thrust of the tornado's ferocity. The most heavily damaged were the small, poor homes of the Guadalupe neighborhood, adjacent

*Based upon the senior author's personal experience as a researcher in this field.

to the downtown area, where the Mexican American minority lived in a close-knit, highly segregated community. Only about 83 somewhat battered housing units were left standing in this area. The "barrio," as it was affectionately called by the Mexican Americans, was a place of primary, gemeinschaft relationships and, while truly a slum physically and as to alienation from the larger community, was, in many ways, also a place of psycho-social and in-group feeling and living. The tornado shattered and disorganized this community and its way of life. (See map, path of tornado.)

The indices of residential dissimilarity for 35 Southwestern Central cities, in 1960, show that Lubbock was in the upper four most segregated cities as to Anglo against all other racial groups in the city and first as to Anglo-Negro segregation.² What man could not accomplish graciously as to residential integration, the tornado did.

Fortunately, those who were made homeless by the tornado were easily reallocated in another area which had available homes. Those in the lower socio-economic stratum whose homes were badly damaged or destroyed completely, comprising close to 700 housing units, were moved into a neighborhood where many homes had been vacant and vandalized, covering a period from two to six years, because Negroes had moved into this previously all-white neighborhood. (See also the description of Parkway area, Chapter 4.) A kind of real estate panic occurred in this community and houses plummeted in value but now became a refuge for a large number of the tornado victims. The city rented the homes in this neighborhood from FHA and Veterans' Administration and the reallocated people were settled in these homes, rent free (or for a \$1.00 per month) for three months. It was a generous gesture and fortuitous solution.

The people's response to the storm victims was tremendous, humane, and a model for action in disaster. Many organizations responded quietly and cooperatively, including: Mi Casita (Northeast Community Center), Guadalupe Center, American Red Cross, Salvation Army, Lubbock City Hall,

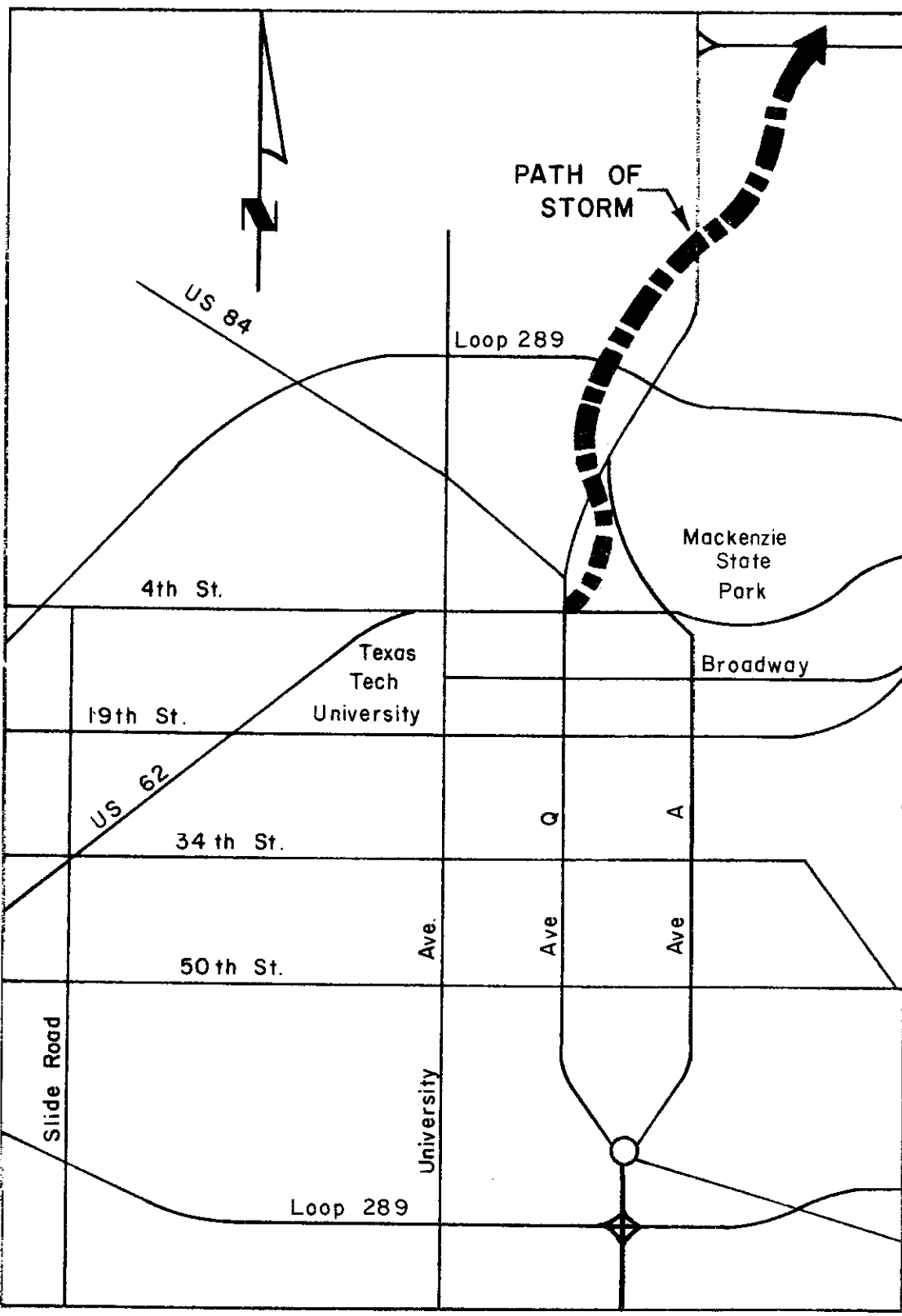


FIGURE 1. PATH OF LUBBOCK STORM

City-County Welfare Department, Texas Employment Commission, Small Business Administration, Federal Housing Administration, Farmer's Home Administration, Veteran's Administration, Social Security Administration, Internal Revenue Service, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation service, Corps of Engineers, the Lubbock Police Department, Office of Emergency Preparedness, Texas Tech University, and many small organizations and private individuals.

Immediately after the storm, the 3,000 homeless people were sheltered, fed, and housed in the municipal coliseum. The hospitals gave free services to those who had no hospitalization and health insurance. Human feeling and actions ran high.

The city was declared a "disaster area" and money, food, clothing, and offers of help poured in from Federal, State, and private sources. It was truly inspiring to see the eager offers from rich and poor, town and gown. The emotional response and the humanity which suddenly pervaded this city was heartwarming. On the lighter side, one women's group made one-half million sandwiches for the workers clearing the debris and poor people brought what clothing they could spare to clothe the less fortunate. It is regrettable that we need the prod of a tornado to respond as a united community. Such reactions and activities are, however, well known to social scientists who have studied behavior in disaster.³

The interest and empirical research of the study is the reallocated area called "Parkway," situated almost on the edge of the city, northeast, and comprising 80 square blocks. The area is distant from the center of the city. (See city map.) It is a neighborhood where, for the first time in Lubbock, Anglo, Negro, and Mexican Americans are now living not in geographically separate, selected areas, not across the street from each other but on the same side of the street, next door neighbors. The basic focus of this research design is the study of the adjustment of the three

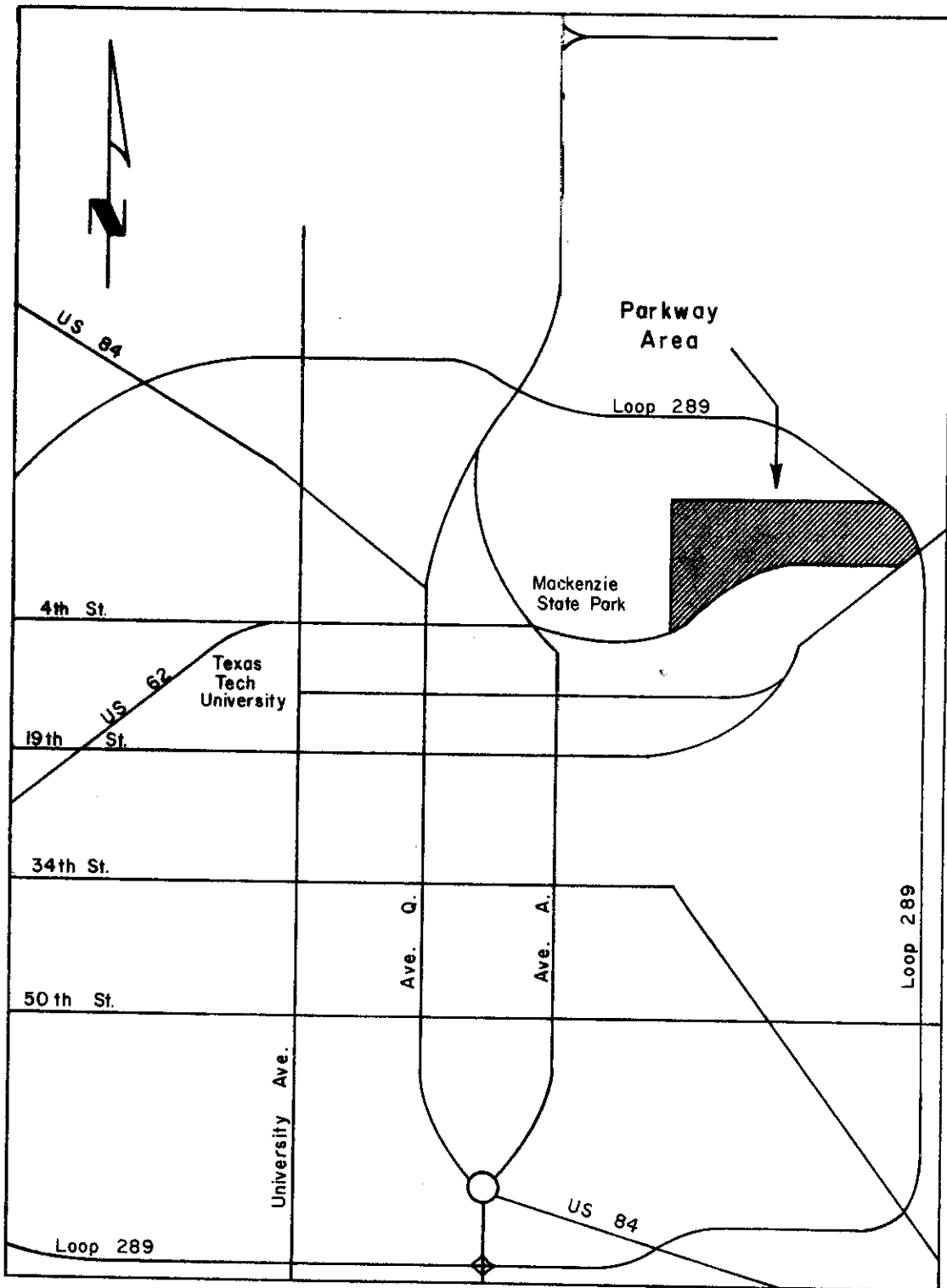


FIGURE 2. MAP OF LUBBOCK WITH PARKWAY NEIGHBORHOOD OUTLINED

ethnic groups, Anglo, Negro, and Mexican American--reflecting the tri-partite population composition of the city--to their new neighbors and their new residential setting. How do people learn to live together when they must--not directed by law or human value systems but by the freakish circumstance of nature, a destructive tornado.

While there exist many studies relative to organizational responses to disaster in communities, the social consequences have, generally, not been extensively studied. Our research may thus be unique in its focus.⁴

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Also, for a pictorial, colored booklet presentation of destruction, see The Lubbock Tornado, by newspaper reporters and photographers, men on the scene as interviewers, Lubbock, Texas: The Boone Publications, Inc., June 1, 1970.

2. Moore, Joan W. and Metteback, Frank G. Residential Segregation in the Urban Southwest: A Comparative Study, Mexican-American Study Project. University of California, L. A.: Graduate School of Business Administration. Table 2, p. 16.

On a scale of 0-100 as to segregation: Anglos vs. all other groups, Lubbock was 74.4 segregated, Dallas 83.2, Odessa 81.8, and Port Arthur 81.7. As to segregation of Anglos against Negroes, Lubbock was the first most segregated in the Southwest, or 94.4, with Odessa 90.5 and Dallas 90.2.

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"Disasters." The chapter also has extensive bibliographic references to people's reaction to disaster whether it be a coal mine cave-in, tornado, a flood or a war bombing.

Also see William H. Forum and Sigmund Nosow. "Community in Disaster." in Edgar F. Schuler, Thomas F. Hoult, Duane L. Gibson and Wilbur M. Brookover, Readings in Sociology. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 4th ed., 1971, pp. 279-285. Describes a disaster in Flint, Michigan, June , 1954, and the stages of rescue and assistance given by the community. Of especial interest is the role of two families and adolescents in the rescue process and human response.

II. BRIEF PERSPECTIVE: HISTORY OF LUBBOCK AND SELECTED NEIGHBORHOODS BEFORE THE TORNADO¹

The Development of the City and Its People

To understand the attitudes of the residents in the area studied, the background of the city's history and the neighborhoods from which our respondents moved may be essential and meaningful relative to their adjustment to the new Parkway neighborhood.*

The community in which the study was conducted, Lubbock, is a metropolitan area of approximately 150,000 population on the southern high plains of Texas. It is surrounded by a rich agricultural region, dominated by irrigated cotton production. In spite of its rather isolated location in the northern part of the state, in a dry, windy climate with limited water resources, the city has developed a thriving economy based on the distribution of goods and services to the large surrounding agricultural region, a number of industries (many related to the processing of cotton), an educational complex enrolling around 20,000 students at Texas Tech University (a multi-purpose university), and the presence of Reese Air Force Base, a jet pilot training center.

As late as the 1870's, there were no permanent residents anywhere in the vicinity although the Indians, Spanish explorers of the 16th and 17th centuries, and buffalo hunters had traversed the area frequently and used its canyon streams and small lakesites as camping places. The first settlers, mostly associated with cattle ranching, came in the 1880's. From the turn of the century, the new country town grew steadily, inhabited generally by Anglo Americans of rural background and identified, from its inception, as a community with a wholesome family environment and very active churches. In the first 50

* The neighborhood of our study is described in Chapter 4.

years of its incorporated existence (1910-1960), Lubbock increased its population sixty-six fold (1,938 to 128,068) more rapidly than any other Texas city and, in the 1940-1950 decade, qualified as the second fastest growing metropolitan area in the United States, with a 125 per cent increase. This increase of more than doubling in population in one decade did not, however, occur again between 1960-1970.

The age-sex distribution reveals a younger than average population with greater numbers in productive ages and a higher proportion of males (98.7 males to 100 females) than is typical of an urban community this size. The ethnic composition of the inhabitants of Lubbock remained fairly constant until the 1950-1960 decade with native-born, Anglo Americans comprising the vast majority of the population. There was a small but constantly increasing Negro minority present since 1920, and a very rapid influx of Mexican American immigrants after 1950 (growing from 3,196 in 1950)² until each of these minority groups constituted slightly less than 10 per cent of the total population in 1960. However, by 1965, Mexican Americans comprised 13 per cent of the population and Negroes about 8 per cent. At this writing, 1971, the estimate of the population of Mexican Americans in the city varies between 15 to 18 per cent. It is not yet known how many left the city after the tornado, both Mexican American and Negro.

These two ethnic groups were isolated residentially (much less so for the Mexican American than Negro group) and differ from the dominant white group in terms of family organization and, particularly, in education.* The Negro educational level is not so different from the total population as is the Mexican American; many of the

*See also educational and occupational levels, Chapters 7 and 9, in the sample of our study.

latter group had no schooling at all in 1960. The fertility rates, especially for Mexican Americans, were very high and the number of children under five unusually high even compared to the total Lubbock population noted for its large numbers of children at young ages.³ (See also the discussion in our study sample of size of families, Chapter 8.)

Both minorities were at least partially integrated into numerous activities of the community and there have been no major, outward conflicts between the ethnic groups in Lubbock's history. However, the three ethnic groups were highly segregated residentially before the tornado. (See introductory chapter.)

Occupationally, the Mexican Americans considered as "settled-out migrants" or those who have lived here for a number of years were beginning to move into more semi-skilled and skilled occupations as the structure of the city changed. Among the Negroes, skilled occupational opportunities were not as good or abundant with the exception that, unlike the Mexican Americans, there were a greater number of professional persons such as Negro doctors, teachers, ministers and social workers. Within their own sub-culture, the occupational structure of the Negroes thus mirrored the greater range of occupations found among the whites in the community. On the other hand, the Mexican Americans were disadvantageously competing against the larger Anglo community.⁴ (See also occupational breakdown of our study, Chapter 7.)

In 1960, approximately 3/5 of Negro women, 14 years old and over, were in the labor force, whereas there were only about 1/4 of the Mexican American women. (See also occupational breakdown of our study, Chapter 7.) Family income was in the same general low range for the two groups, but slightly higher for Negroes. Median family income, in 1959, was \$3,263 for Mexican Americans, and \$3,523 for Negroes as against \$5,582 for the total population.

Census housing data for 1960 revealed both Negro and Mexican American groups occupying units with high rates of deterioration and dilapidation (about 60 per cent for both groups). The average size of units was similar for both groups, but the Mexican Americans were much more over-crowded than Negro families, with 71 per cent in units with one or more persons per room, as compared to 43 per cent so designated for Negroes. The chapter describing the neighborhoods, below, also shows that the Negroes are highly concentrated in a few census tracts whereas the Mexican Americans resided, before the tornado, in somewhat more dispersed areas.

One of the significant influences on the cultural atmosphere of the city is the presence of the large university with its faculty from diverse backgrounds and talents. Since the establishment of Texas Tech University in Lubbock, in 1925, by the Texas Legislature, it has been credited with being a major impetus to the growth of the city as well as to the focusing of cultural interests of South Plains residents toward Lubbock. A museum was established on the campus in the 1930's and, recently moved to a new building, has grown into a widely recognized historical and cultural attraction. In the 1960's and 1970's, a law and medical school were established as part of the university complex. Lubbock also supports a 100-or-more member symphony orchestra, an active Little Theatre organization, and a thriving Garden Arts center, as well as numerous concerts and plays that come to the city each year.

There have been almost no major divisive political scandals or racial conflict in the city's young but vigorous development. The accumulation of wealth in the city has been, however, very uneven for the three ethnic groups--the Anglos are definitely in the saddle.

Thus, viewing the way of life of the two minority groups, Negro and Mexican American, in the city, their

residential segregation contributes to their non-participation in most cultural aspects of the community, although token attendance can be seen at cultural events. Greater numbers of Negroes than Mexican Americans are found, however, when the entertainers are nationally known among the two ethnic groups. Examples are the recent visit of the "Supremes," when Negro attendance was high. After the tornado, Mexican American attendance in a variety show, "Chicanos Unidos," was also well attended as ethnic awareness brought them together in disaster. Generally, the usually low participation of the two minority groups may, however, be due not only to their residential distance and isolation but also to the lack of funds.

Area Pattern of Lubbock*

The ecological development of the city of Lubbock has taken the shape of a grid-iron pattern from the beginning of its growth, having no natural features in the landscape (with the exception of one canyon on the northeast edge of town which is used for a park) to interfere with straight, parallel streets. The architecture has relied generally on the utilization of the abundant land in one story dwellings rather than multi-story, especially for single family homes. Although numerous apartments are two stories and, in 1965, a high-rise, luxury apartment was built.

The older parts of town contain many homes of frame construction, but those structures which were built during and after the 1940's utilized brick predominantly. For this reason, the tornado was more destructive in the older part of town. Texas Tech University, with its attractive Spanish style buildings and open spaces, and one of the largest continuous campuses in the United States, was on the western edge of the city when it was established, but is now completely surrounded by older housing and commercial

*See also map of city, page 5.

developments.

The oldest part of the city which was built around the original square on Texas Avenue (or what would be Avenue I) and Broadway (12th Street) has gradually been enveloped by the central business district and lower class neighborhoods. (This was mainly the area of the tornado's path.*) The main street, Broadway, running from downtown to the University, however, has maintained an attractive appearance, chiefly due to the presence of four large churches of 1500 to 5000 membership each in its 13 block length. As the development of the ecological areas occurred, business districts outside the downtown area developed in strip zones along certain streets, namely, 4th, 19th, 34th, and 50th streets, Avenues A, H, Q, and University. (See map of city.)

The lower class areas in which the Mexican Americans and Negroes live are found in the older parts of the city. Until the late 1950's, the Mexican American population inhabited only one general area, north of 4th street and each of Avenue Q., well known as the "barrio."

However, with the extremely rapid influx of Mexican American inhabitants, they moved into almost all areas of the older part of town, north of 19th. The Negro population has traditionally occupied the area east of Avenue A and south of 19th and, until the 1950's, had a very low standard of housing and almost totally renter-occupied. A low-cost, individual home development began east of the railroad tracks in the late 1950's for Negro families and, as a result, there is a fairly large attractive residential area of single family dwellings, although a considerable distance from the main part of the city. Across the railroad tracks, an urban renewal movement was started in the late 1950' and early 1960's

*See map of path of tornado, page 3.

for Negroes and, as the families in the area of highest congestion and poorest maintenance, as well as greatest social disorganization, were relocated, some of the slums were torn down.

The Slums of Lubbock

In the summer of 1964,* the researchers toured the Negro and Latin residential areas.⁵ The following is an impressionistic description of the Negro and Mexican American areas before the tornado, as recorded during this tour.

Negro Areas -- Where there are now fields, after Queen City, the heart of the Negro slum area, was razed by the City Planning Board, houses which still remain are very close together with no intervening spaces. They are about 10 x 12 feet in size, looking like large outhouses, painted a dull gray color, with rusted and falling screens, facing industrial complexes.

A few blocks away, houses somewhat larger, but still with much dilapidation, are in the midst of industrial areas. Streets are unpaved in many sections except for main streets. In Lubbock, home owners must contribute toward paving of the streets by the city and, thus, many low ecological areas are not paved. The dust is very bad on these unpaved streets, adding to Lubbock's periodic, natural sandstorms.

The Negroes have their own school, own hospital, and own small park. They are truly segregated, although not by law. The Negro superintendent and physicians and lawyers live in better homes near the school and hospital.

Manhattan Heights, a newly developed area, since 1959-1960, has small modest houses with more space around them. These are well kept, with lawns struggling to be

*The researchers toured these areas again in 1971 and the houses and conditions of living are worse, not better in appearance.

green, and streets paved. Actually, Manhattan Heights is one of the few high places, being close to a natural canyon and would be desirable for individuals favoring some height for their landscape--since Lubbock is flat although fairly high, over 3,000 feet, on the southern High Plains Plateau, the Caprock. The view would be attractive if it did not look out on industrial and commercial complexes and ill-kept surrounding terrain.

Beyond Manhattan Heights the houses of Negroes are smaller, but not as bad as the area of the former Queen City. Across the main highway, are lower-class white homes, somewhat better kept, but still facing industrial areas, and much in transition. Owners cannot sell these houses easily. Many are "marooned" lower-class families.*

Mexican American areas are found across the streets from Negroes and lower-class Anglo homes. Here are small houses, with a little more space than Negro homes, especially near the former Queen City area. There is much deterioration, and areas on the way to becoming real slums. Inside, these small houses are, probably, more crowded than Negro houses because of larger families. They attempt to keep the lawns green, but with many difficulties and expense of watering in Lubbock. Also here the small row houses, stucco or wood, are only about 12 x 15 feet, crowded together in back alleys, monotonous in appearance, and numerous ones with outhouses. Old cars, rusty and broken down, without tires are found in the front yards. People sit on the outside--since there are no porches--just gazing around. Small shacks on 4th Lane face alleys which are usually the route for garbage collections.

Guadalupe, a small neighborhood settlement house, is in the midst of a small, but well-kept park. There is

*This was found to be true also of the Anglo families in the Parkway area, scene of our present study, described in Chapter 4.

also a huge, brick church, recently rebuilt, which seems a strange building amidst all these shacks and dilapidation.* Those houses which are in the Arnett-Benson area northwest are larger and in better conditions but still really very small. Across the street are the Anglo houses. The Mexican American movement to the Arnett-Benson area began around 1955-1960.

In the spring of 1965, the first of 400 families began moving into the newly completed public apartment project. The only other public housing the city owns are the Hubb Homes built in 1942, for low income families in an area on the northeast part of town adjacent to the largest state park in the city. The Hubb Homes apartments were allowed to deteriorate during the 1950's and became the high focus of numerous delinquent activities. After proper housekeeping and managerial maintenance was restored in 1960, the rate of delinquency dropped sharply in the area.⁶

These were the poor areas of the city of Lubbock before May 11th; on that day, the tornado dealt a fierce blow to destroy large slum areas. From a structural point of view, because the buildings were already weak and of poor materials, the storm demolished them with ease (see pictures of the storm below). The storm hit hardest in the Guadalupe or the "barrio" and near areas.⁷

* The church and the Guadalupe settlement house were the central unifying agencies in the "barrio." These two structures escaped damage by the tornado since they were protected by a railroad overpass of one of the main arterial streets, Avenue Q.

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III. VOICES AND EXPERIENCES IN THE TORNADO

The traditional emphasis on pathological "problems" has focused only on the destructive and disintegrative effects of disaster; it has wholly neglected the observable reconstructive and regenerative human responses. If we fail to recognize both types of effect, we shall miss an essential purpose of disaster studies: to learn how human societies can persist in the face of adversity, overcome crisis and stress, and revitalize their social institutions.¹

The news of the tornado greatly distressed many people if one is to judge by the assistance of food, clothing, concern and sympathy that poured into the city; the humane side of people comes alive in a great disaster and Lubbock, during and immediately after the storm, is a good example.

Someone else's troubles are, however, never one's own; they cannot be as traumatic as one's own experiences. Many wondered, since only 26 people were killed, how the others survived the tornado's devastation. We were, therefore, interested in learning what had happened to those who had lived predominately in the Guadalupe neighborhood, which was hit the hardest, since the homes were old and shack-like and the wind had an easy task in playing havoc.

In our schedule, we asked those who had been hit by the tornado, "What happened to you in the tornado?" Of the 200 families in our sample, this question involved 105 family units or 53 per cent, termed the "tornado" group. Of the "tornado" group, 26 or 24.8 per cent were Anglos, only 2 or 1.9 per cent were Negro and 77 or 73.3 per cent were Mexican American. Since the tornado did not hit the Parkway area, this question was, of course, not applicable to the "settled" group.

While telling of their tragic experiences, many women cried, pouring their hearts out to the interviewer. It was almost a healing or therapeutic experience for them to have someone truly interested in their story. While

they described unbelievable destruction of their homes and furniture, varied values and actions emerged, such as: religious feelings that "God saved us," "Gracias a Dios"; great love for their family members when, in three or four cases, the father threw his body over his wife and children to protect them; and concern over their neighbors, "We cried and wept to see our neighbors die from their injuries." These were all part of their remarkable experiences.

While the following is not a statistically exhaustive account of destroyed or damaged houses or how different families escaped with their lives, it does give more specific, dramatic insight into actually what happened to some of those in the tornado.

In our sample, of those involved in the tornado, 105 units, 60 homes, or more than one-half were completely destroyed. As some expressed it,

"The roof came off, the walls blew in (or away) and only the 2 x 4's remained standing."

Another reported,

"Our house blew away and we lay huddled on the concrete foundation."

And again,

"We were not hurt, and we huddled in one corner of the house, the only part which was left." (This was experienced by six families.)

In our sample, about 28 houses which were not destroyed completely were seriously damaged with the roof blown off and windows and doors shattered. Thirteen houses were not seriously damaged but rain and hail ruined walls, doors and furniture.*

Interestingly, there were overlapping experiences

*About 83 housing units were left standing in the Guadalupe area which are now being studied, as a M.A. thesis, by Stanley Carlson, a graduate student in sociology, at Texas Tech University.

in their sudden realization that there was a storm. Ten families mentioned that they were watching television when suddenly the electric power went out and they were plunged into darkness. Then they heard the wind and hail which sounded

"Like the noise of a train passing over us."

And,

"The tornado sounded like bees in a can wanting out."

Still another expressed himself,

"We had no warning. Electric lights went off. We lay down in the hall. The house just exploded. It knocked the baby out and my husband caught the baby as he was flying through the air."

Still another summarized it,

"We finally got to the cellar of our next door neighbor and spent the night there, shivering and worrying. It was a nightmare."

Others had been out of town and returned to their lots which no longer had homes on them or homes with the roofs and windows blown away. One mother had come home from playing bingo and found her house severely damaged and 15 children, her own and neighbors', huddled together but unhurt. Another woman was less fortunate; she returned to town and to her home to find that her father and husband were killed.

In one family, the affect of the storm is still felt as an emotional after-effect,

"My 18 month old baby and I hid in the closet but the walls fell in. My husband was blown from the kitchen into the living room. Now my son will not sleep alone any more when it rains."

In another family of three, an older couple, the mother and daughter huddled in a small closet and the father in the bathtub and, while the kitchen wall fell on the mother and the closet walls on the daughter, they escaped only with broken ribs but, alas, "the cat ran away for awhile."

In a further, more tragic occurrence,

"Wind blew a board or glass into my husband's eye and put out his eye and a wall fell on my foot, but it wasn't cut off."

While few newly built homes in the community have any kind of cellar or basement, since the climate of Lubbock is benign, the small, older homes found in the Guadalupe area, had cellars which were, in numerous cases, merely holes in the earth below the house. This was a fortuitous factor in saving the lives of at least 25 families who sought shelter in their cellars or basements. Those families who have lived in this community for a number of years, some as many as 30 years, had experienced high winds before this tornado and had built storm cellars. Other places of escape included: ten families who covered themselves with blankets and were saved against flying or crushing debris; 15 families found shelter in bedrooms or under the bed; nine families huddled in a closet and, in one family, 11 people crowded into one closet; 15 families were saved by covering themselves with mattresses and, in one case, five people were under one mattress; and lastly, five families saved themselves by creeping into bathrooms or under tables and, in one instance, eight people crowded under one kitchen table. In one house, the wind locked the baby in the bedroom and the distraught parents used their bodies to pry it open and quickly,

"Daddy put himself over me and the children and our 15-month old baby. We were covered by debris but no one was hurt. Thank God. God saved us."

Numerous respondents told of trees falling on their houses and, in one case, a car from the street blew into their bedroom. While amazed and dazed, these families survived in strange and miraculous ways. In many ways, it is amazing and impressive how quickly and effectively these people figured out how to save themselves against the wrath of the storm. (See Figures 3-10, photos of tornado.)

With a few exceptions, other research studies in disaster also support our findings, that is, the remarkable



FIGURE 3. DESTRUCTION AT RAMADA INN MOTOR HOTEL



FIGURE 4. DAMAGE TO SIGN STRUCTURE
AT RAMADA INN MOTOR HOTEL



FIGURE 5. RESIDENTIAL DESTRUCTION
ON 9th STREET NEAR AVENUE Q



FIGURE 6. RESIDENTIAL DESTRUCTION
ON 7th STREET NEAR AVENUE Q

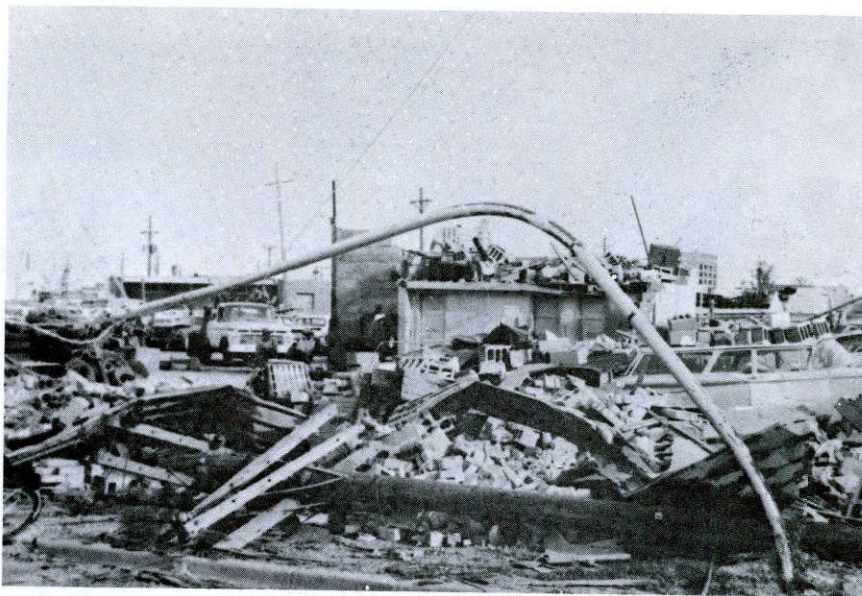


FIGURE 7. DAMAGE TO LIGHT INDUSTRY
NEAR 10th AND AVENUE S

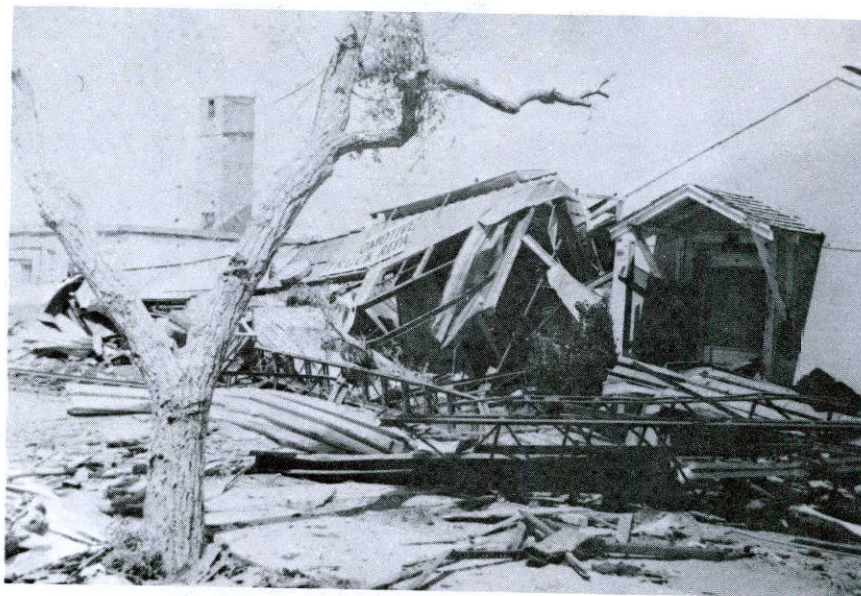


FIGURE 8. DAMAGE TO AUTOMOTIVE REPAIR
SHOP IN 400 BLOCK OF AVENUE L



FIGURE 9. DESTRUCTION SCENE NORTH OF
DOWNTOWN AREA NEAR 6th AND AVENUE L



FIGURE 10. SHEET METAL TWISTED
AROUND TREE NEAR LOOP 289
AND US 87 NORTH

reactions and quick solutions of people suddenly thrust into a disaster situation.

The popular image of how people behave in disasters is filled with lurid scenes of society and human nature in the process of disintegration. According to this image, when disaster strikes there are mass panics and wild stampedes. People trample one another and lose all sense of concern for their fellows. After panic has subsided--so the popular image suggests--many people are hysterical, or so stunned that they are helpless. Others turn to looting, pillaging, or other forms of selfish, exploitative behavior. The aftermath is widespread immorality, social conflict, and mental derangement. This grim picture is continually reinforced in popular fiction, movies, television dramas, and journalistic accounts. It is often given simple thematic variations: people responding to disaster conditions are depicted as "cowards" and "brave men," "heroes" and "heels," "saints" and "sinners," "good guys" and "bad guys."

Some of the concepts traditionally used by psychologists and sociologists when describing behavior in disasters are little more than symbolic transformations of this popular image; the words differ, but the basic imagery and meaning are the same. More recent research indicates that most of these popular and "scientific" images are stereotypes: they convey a grossly distorted image of how human groups generally behave under disaster conditions.²

Similarly, the popular misconception that during a disaster people panic, become hysterical and unable to act effectively is not supported by the experience of our research and our respondents. Quite the contrary, people moved quickly to save themselves, their families and their neighbors.

Reactions After the Tornado

In our reinterviews of our respondents, three months after the first interviews, we asked them "If there came another tornado and your place got hit, would you do anything different next time? We would like to know how you feel about that." (See appendix B.) We were interested

to learn how much they had thought about their fortunate escape with their lives and whether they had plans for a possible future disaster. How much had they learned from their experiences? Of course, the storm had come so quickly and without warning that actions for survival were, as shown above, quite spontaneous and remarkable.

They recognized this factor and nearly 40 families felt they would probably "do nothing different" or "we would do the same as we had done." A large group, 29 families, stated they "don't know," or "It is hard to say now what we would do." A third group, 15 families, stated, "We would go to a storm cellar (or shelter or take cover) sooner than we did." A fourth group, 10 families, emphasized the need to build a storm cellar or a safer facility in their rebuilt homes. One of this group made the suggestion that there is a need for a public storm facility in the future, especially for the poor neighborhoods. Nearly eight families said they would be more prepared insurance-wise, especially those who had no insurance.* Nine had no answer.

Other suggestions from eight other families were:

"We would open more doors."

"We would be more afraid and move faster to safety."

"We would expect the sirens to sound alarm sooner."

and lastly, one family stated decisively,

"We would move from Lubbock."

Considering the slogan on auto decals, "Lucky me, I live in Lubbock," the last statement does, indeed, point to a rebel.

*This hope for more insurance against storms may not be easily realized since numerous insurance companies have recently cancelled tornado insurance. State legislators are now reviewing this problem.

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IV. AN OVERVIEW OF THE PARKWAY NEIGHBORHOOD: SCENE OF OUR STUDY

The locale of our study is a neighborhood situated northeast on the edge of Lubbock. It is somewhat removed, perhaps isolated, from either commercial or residential areas because of a large state park which lies between the Parkway neighborhood and the main areas of the city.

Inasmuch as location, house construction, and the general physical environment are important factors in one's adjustment and attitudes toward living in a neighborhood, it will be helpful to provide a description of the Parkway community.

The Parkway area is a Federal Housing Administration development which was begun approximately six to seven years before our study was undertaken. Over 1,000 homes were constructed and many of them occupied by 1966, at which time Negro families began buying homes in the area. When this occurred, many Anglo residents moved out of the neighborhood leaving many houses vacant, which were still unoccupied at the time of our study. (See map of area.)

The neighborhood consists of approximately 80 blocks of somewhat irregular shapes, bounded on the south by Parkway Drive, Ironwood Drive on the east, East Cornell Street on the north, and Quirt Avenue on the west. The geographic design of the area is generally rectangular, although the curving nature of Parkway Drive makes it asymmetrical in appearance. Many of the streets are terminated by circular dead-ends, with the intention of deterring excessive driving speeds.*

*One of the most frequent complaints among those we interviewed concerned the lack of stop signs at major intersections of the neighborhood. After the matter was called to the attention of the City Council, many signs were erected, although not in sufficient numbers to quell complaints.

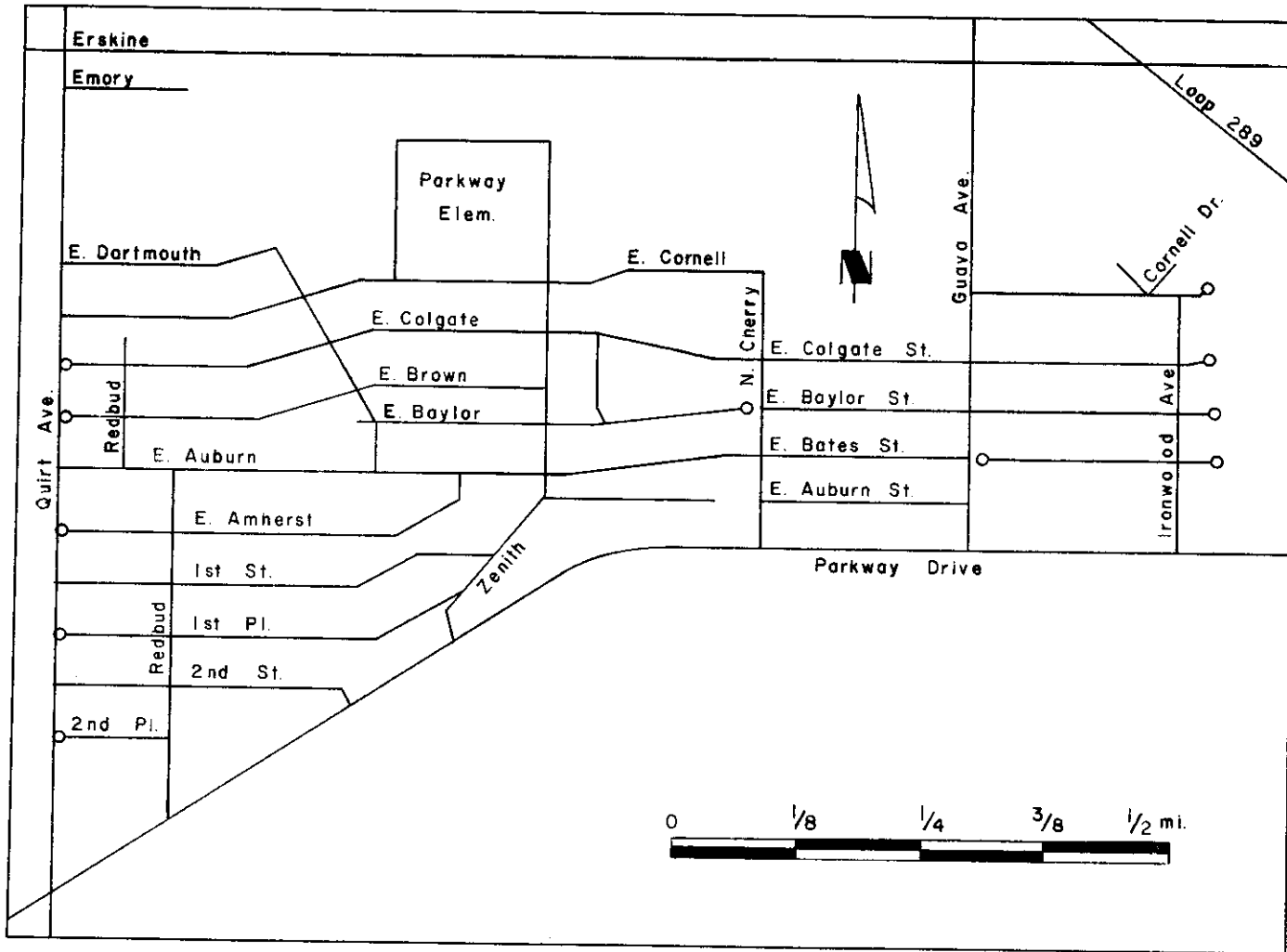


FIGURE 11. MAP OF STUDY AREA: PARKWAY ADDITION

The neighborhood's location is somewhat removed from other residential areas and shopping centers. It is bounded on the north by a vast, open field of grass and on the west by an undeveloped ravine. Before the tornado, there were only a few services available for community members. One Catholic church and a few very small Protestant churches were located within or near the area. Only one grocery store and two service stations existed. After the tornado, however, several businesses were established within existing buildings to serve the neighborhood. There is now a large grocery store, Brooks Super Market, which was moved from its former site near the Guadalupe neighborhood. At least two other major grocery stores have reopened within shopping centers adjacent to the neighborhood. Several service stations have been reopened, a laundromat, and a number of minor services were reallocated in the Parkway area so that, by the time of the conclusion of our study, there appeared to be no lack of available social, religious, and commercial services.

The neighborhood is composed of Levitown-like, lower middle class mass dwellings. They are characteristically of wood-frame design but most of them have at least some brick on the front or portions of the building. The houses have a rectangular floor plan with attached one-car garages and concrete slab driveways. Although color and floor plan are occasionally varied, the houses are generally painted either white, yellow, or brown with an occasional mixture of dull-brown brick veneer. Roofs are low in pitch and covered in asbestos shingles, mainly white or grey in color. The trim of the houses varies widely in color. It is this minor variation which most often expresses some individuality and gives the house a special character. There is usually one Mimosa or Honey Locust tree symmetrically aligned with each tree on the block in a manner typical of West Texas contractors.

The neighborhood has had a most unusual development

since its beginning eight years ago. An accurate account is provided by Mr. Howard Maddera, Executive Director of the South Plains Community Action Association:

In 1962 and 1963 the area north of Parkway Drive, immediately east of McKenzie Park and just inside of Loop 289, began to be developed with houses in the \$10,000 to \$15,000 range. It was thought to be one of the more desirable areas of Lubbock for several reasons: excellent access to the central business district; good transportation facilities to all other parts of the city; adjacent to McKenzie Park; good vista of the downtown area and McKenzie Park. The school system determined that there would be a new and modern high school, elementary school and junior high school in the immediate area. Commercial zoning was obtained and, to some extent, has developed. Several churches bought property in the community. The prospects for total development looked promising in 1962 and approximately 30 per cent of the area was developed in this fashion before the beginning of general economic leveling which led finally to a definite economic slump for the Plains area, particularly in this housing market category.

Essentially housing in this cost bracket had been over-built; the market had become saturated. With saturation of this housing market came a decline in need for building trade skills which brought about a substantial out-migration of people fitted to the cost of housing in this area. The natural result was abandonment of contracts, foreclosure by lending agencies and repossession by FHA.

Families from the Negro community which is immediately adjacent to the south began to buy in this area north of Parkway Drive. The reaction by the white population was typical and expected. With the moving in of Negro population, moving out of the whites began. Vacancies developed all through the community. Some of the Negro families had over indebted themselves when purchasing and, subsequently, were unable to retain the houses for which they had contracted, leading to more repossessions which further blighted the area. The distrust and lack of understanding existing between the races only served to reinforce the deterioration of the community. Vandalism and wrecking of unoccupied houses apparently sealed the doom of the area.

In late 1967, FHA devalued all the property east of Quirt Avenue and north of Parkway Drive to \$4500 per house. Each house was reconditioned

through the cooperation of the FHA and local realtors. These houses are now on the market again.¹

From that time until the storm's devastation, most of the houses remained vacant. After the reallocation, however, physical appearances changed. When the tornado struck in early May, vegetation was just beginning to grow after the winter months. Since the semi-arid climate of West Texas demands artificial watering of grass and shrubbery, the occupied houses with their verdant lawns stood in sharp contrast to the dry, dusty lawns of the vacant houses.* Although most of the unoccupied houses had been recently repainted, it was seldom difficult to distinguish them from the occupied ones. From the time the tornado victims were reallocated until we completed our study, we were constantly impressed with the verdure and freshness of most of the homes.

Both the "settled" and the "tornado" groups seemed to take special pride in the appearance of their houses, both within and without. In several homes of the "settled" group, especially the Negro homes, ornate, rather elegantly styled furniture was covered with transparent plastic sheets for protection against soil and stain. Most homes are at least partially carpeted, and some are furnished in tasteful and well-selected color schemes. Although many homes are occupied by tornado victims whose furniture had been damaged or destroyed, some had managed to collect or salvage enough furniture to present a neat, colorful appearance. In the victims' homes where furniture had been salvaged, there was frequently a touch of distinctiveness, particularly of Mexican or Spanish style. It was not unusual to find the brightly colored fabrics and painted pottery which have become associated with Mexican tradition

*During the period when the city government made available the houses for a token \$1.00 a month payment to the tornado victims, the care of the lawns were serviced by the city.

and life style.

The neighborhood is, however, not free of blight. There were several instances of abuse and neglect of the houses, which can, probably, be attributed to the feeling of impermanence of the reallocated people. There were large number of automobiles in various states of disrepair, some damaged by the tornado. A few lawns have become parking areas or dumping areas for cars in need of repair. Macabre-like, a few damaged cars were displayed to highlight the devastation of the tornado. It is not unusual to find as many as three or four cars near one home, especially if the family is large.² This is probably explained by the fact that many families may have had school-age children who attended different schools in dispersed or widely scattered areas which necessitated separate transportation. Often both the father and mother worked outside the home with conflicting time schedules. In addition, the automobile represents a middle-class value system which is expressed through car ownership.³

In contrast to the few well-kept houses, occasionally both the exterior and interior of the homes were dirty and cluttered. Furniture was sometimes worn and shabby, although almost every home contained a console (usually color) television set, which was frequently turned on at full volume during our interviewing.

We began to notice a change in the neighborhood's appearance during the course of the second interview. A number of weeks after the tornado, many families were granted Small Business Administration disaster relief loans. Since many of the tornado victims were uncertain about their future plans to rebuild, even three months after the storm, they sometimes began to purchase new, often expensive, furniture. The appearance of expensive furniture, in houses that were often neglected and unkept, appeared somewhat incongruous to the interviewers.

The first impression of the neighborhood was that of a new, sparsely settled housing area. However, as the

tornado victims became settled and the neighborhood became more populated, a contrast among the houses was apparent. By the end of the study, we found the houses varying in condition from meticulously cared for to totally disarrayed. One could almost predict the permanence of the resident by the condition of his house, although a few of the least-cared for houses were occupied by members of the "settled" group. By the time we left the neighborhood, it had developed the appearance typical of almost any lower middle class suburban area.

During our revisit, ten months after the tornado, the neighborhood had become quite encumbered with trash, garbage, and in a general state of neglect and disrepair. There are areas or "pockets" of well-kept grounds, but the total impression of the neighborhood is of a cluttered, unkempt area. However, on a very recent visit, we noted that new growth of grass and trees have considerably improved the neighborhood.

The neighborhood is, moreover, now alive with people, children, pet animals, and activities which no longer seems isolated, deserted and lonely. It now is a community of human interaction, sound and movement. (See Figures 12-14, photographs of the Parkway area.)

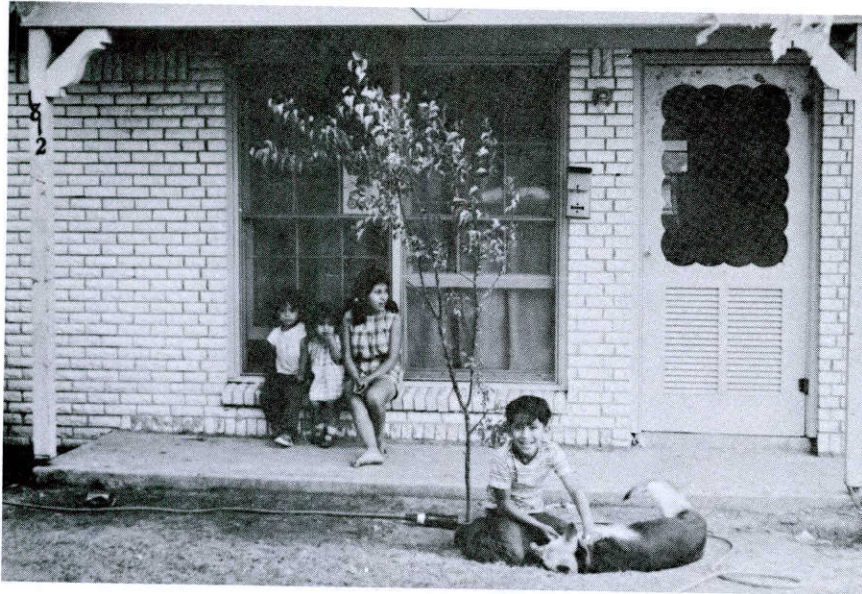


FIGURE 12. SCENE IN PARKWAY AREA

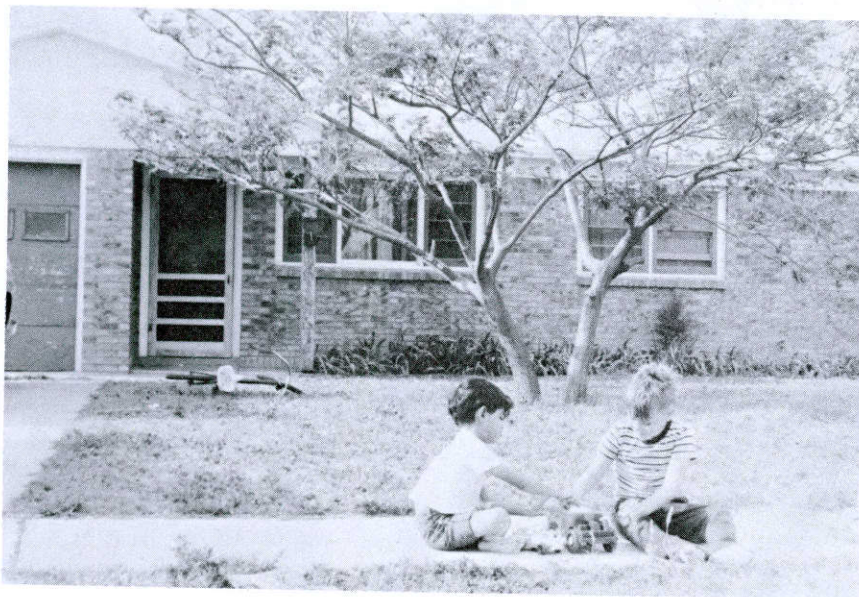


FIGURE 13. SCENE IN PARKWAY AREA



FIGURE 14. MI CASITA HEADQUARTERS

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V. METHODOLOGY, ETHNIC COMPOSITION AND THEORETIC FOCUS

For the sample and methodological backdrop of our study, we reviewed all television, newspapers, literature and scientific engineering accounts of the storm, as well as conversations with governmental and social welfare agency personnel and lay people working for and in the Parkway area, the locale of our study.¹ The basic data of our research analysis, however, are derived from two semi-structured schedules administered in personal interviews and a brief mailed questionnaire to the people in our sample (see appendices). Moreover, our research is a longitudinal study spanning a period of nine to ten months, that is, immediately following the tornado of May 11, 1970, three months later and nine months later. The time intervals, we felt, would make possible an assessment of the respondents' adjustment to the now racially-mixed neighborhood and to their new neighbors.

Our research design constitutes a stratified sample of 200 family units or one-fifth of the universe of a 1,000 housing units in the Parkway area. Utilizing semi-structured schedules, these families were interviewed by graduate research assistants under the direction of the principal researcher. In our sample of 200 family units, 95 or 45 per cent, were the "settled" group and 105 or 55 per cent were the "tornado" group (explained below).

Three months after the tornado, one-half of the original sample, or 100 families, was reinterviewed to ascertain change in adjustment and attitudes toward other racial groups in the neighborhood or satisfaction with living in this area. Lastly, we made a follow-up, by means of 130 mailed brief questionnaires, nine months after the tornado, partially to reinforce our original data. We received 45 letters or 38 per cent returns to the mailed questionnaire. (See appendices for schedules

and questionnaire.)

In selecting respondents in the sample, our aim was to interview every fifth house. If no one were at home, the interviewer went to the next house. Surprisingly, there were only a few refusals, despite the numerous people who came to the homes with many questions before us. The interviewers, mentioned above, were two male graduate students in sociology who had adequate English-Spanish bilingual ability. The principal researcher accompanied these graduate students on numerous occasions during the interviews to guide the interviewing and get a "feeling" for the respondents, as well as to study the community generally as participant-observer. The interviews lasted from forty-five minutes to two hours. (See the summary of the content of the schedules below.) It is to the credit of the research assistants that their manner and gracious approach were effective in establishing good rapport with the interviewees and thus explaining, to a degree, the few refusals.* Furthermore, the interviews themselves functioned as a kind of mental catharsis for the many who were disturbed by the tornado and the reallocation. Someone was willing to listen to what had happened to them in the storm and what their future plans would be.

To restate, three months after the tornado, one-half of the original sample, 100 families, were reinterviewed** to assess changes in adjustment and attitudes toward their neighbors and the now integrated community. As in the first interviews, when no one was at home, the interviewers continued to the next house until 100 families were

* This rapport was established despite many children, dogs, cats and blaring television programs competing with the interviewers.

**In the content of this study in the detailed, statistical analysis, the 200 families are analyzed numerically and percentagewise; however, for valid comparison, the second, or 100 interviews data are presented only percentagewise.

reinterviewed.

In summary, the schedule covered the following areas which were pertinent to our study:

- (1) Personal data as to present and pre-tornado residence; origin of birth and time lived in Texas and Lubbock; ages of parents and children; furthermore, where they were and what happened to them in the tornado (this question was intended for information but also as a "warming up" to establish rapport.)
- (2) Educational levels of parents and language proficiency in speaking or writing English or Spanish, or both.
- (3) Occupational background, previous and post-tornado, and the difficulty or ease in obtaining a job in Lubbock.
- (4) Transportation problems, since the Parkway area is somewhat distant from the center of the city and this created special difficulty for the reallocated families.
- (5) Organizational participation by parents and children both within and outside the community.
- (6) Adjustment to and interaction within the neighborhood-- neighborliness, social distance and interaction in old and new neighborhood (questions differentiated between "tornado" and "settled" groups.) In this area we asked whether they had visited or been visited by neighbors, close to them, once, twice, up to five times. We felt that while a neighbor might visit once to give solace and help to a tornado family in a mood of humane action, the test of neighborliness could be more effectively judged if neighborly visits were repeated beyond the first few days following the destructive tornado and a period of stress.
- (7) Satisfaction with neighborhood. Lastly, included in this large category was the sensitive area of how

well they liked living in a "racially mixed" neighborhood. (We feel that most of the respondents were outspoken since rapport had been well established by this time, although we allowed, impressionistically, for answers given to please the interviewer.)

At the end of the schedule, the interviewer immediately summarized his salient points and impressions of the household just interviewed.

Ethnic Composition of Our Sample of 200 Families

The sample of 200 family units includes three groups--Anglo, Mexican American and Negro, reflecting the tripartite ethnic division of the city--comprising the following breakdown: Anglos 48 or 24 per cent, Negro 52 or 26 per cent and Mexican American 100 or 50 per cent. (See Table 1.)

Moreover, the sample includes those who were living in the Parkway area before the tornado, called herein the "settled" group and those who were reallocated to this neighborhood after the tornado, termed the "tornado" group. In our sample of 200 family units, the "settled" group consisted of 95 families or 47 per cent. In a further breakdown, the "settled" group was ethnically composed of 22 Anglos or 11 per cent of the sample; 50 Negroes or 25 per cent, and 23 Mexican Americans or 12 per cent. On the other hand, in our sample the "tornado" group was composed of 105 family units: 20 of whom were Anglos or 13 per cent, two Negroes or only one per cent, and 77 Mexican Americans or 39 per cent. Thus the largest ethnic group in the Parkway area are now the Mexican Americans whereas, before the tornado, the Negroes were the largest group. Moreover, the 100 families who were reinterviewed three months later are similarly differentiated ethnically and as to the time of settlement, i.e. pre- or post-tornado. (See Tables 2 and 3.)

While we attempted to interview during periods when

TABLE I
 ETHNIC COMPOSITION, SAMPLE 200 FAMILIES: "SETTLED" AND "TORNADO" GROUPS
 (First Interview)

	"SETTLED GROUP"			"TORNADO GROUP"			Total of Sample	
	Number in Category	% of Ethnic Group Composition	% of Settled Group Composition	Number in Category	% of Ethnic Group Composition	% of Tornado Group Composition	No.	%
Anglo	22	45.8	23.2	26	54.2	24.8	48	24
Negro	50	96.2	52.6	2	3.8	1.9	52	26
Mexican American	23	23.0	24.2	77	77.0	73.3	100	50
Total	95	--	100.0	105	--	100.0	200	100

TABLE 2
 ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION -- SECOND INTERVIEW
 (100 Families)

	Tornado Group		Settled Group	
Anglo	17	32.1%	8	17.0%
Negro	3	5.7	29	61.7
Mexican American	33	62.2	10	21.3
Total	53	100.0	47	100.0

TABLE 3
 COMPARISON OF ETHNIC GROUP: FIRST AND SECOND INTERVIEWS

	Tornado Group		Settled Group	
	First Interview	Second Interview	First Interview	Second Interview
Anglo	24.8%	32.1%	23.2%	17.0%
Negro	1.9	5.7	52.6	61.7
Mexican American	73.3	62.2	24.2	21.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

both spouses were present, this was not always possible since we had limitations and urgency relative to the research design and time was of the essence. In about 17 per cent of the sample of 200 family units, both the father and mother answered different parts of the schedule or reinforced each other's responses. However, the largest number, 54 per cent, who participated in the interviews were the wives or female heads of the household. Furthermore, about five per cent of the respondents were adult children in the home. The remainder, 41 per cent, were interviews only with the man of the home.

As can be expected, more Mexican American wives, 26 per cent, could be reached for interviewing than Negro, 11 per cent, or Anglo 17 per cent. These differences can, partly, be accounted for by the fact that, in our sample, more Negro women, 10.5 per cent, work outside the home compared to Mexican American, 7.5 per cent. The Anglo wives, however, have the lowest group, 1.5 per cent, working outside the home; other factors may account for their lowest availability for interviewing.* Relative to the socio-economic levels to which these ethnic groups belong, the percentages of working mothers is comparable to occupational differentiation in other studies. Generally, in lower socio-economic and ethnically differentiated groups, the Negro woman is most often the bread winner.²

Tentative Plans--Nine Months After the Tornado

Since the plans of our respondents whether they would rebuild or move back to the Guadalupe area were still uncertain about three months after the tornado, when we reinterviewed a 100 families, we sent 130 follow-up brief questionnaires nine months after the May 11th tornado. The questionnaires were mailed to the entire group of "tornado" respondents, 105 families, and a stratified sampling of the "settled" group, 25 families.

*See also Occupational Table, Chapter 7.

The follow-up questionnaire was prompted by the development of definite plans, after many delays, for the tornado victims, by the passage of the Federal Disaster Bill, amounting to 2.5 million dollars.*

The bill will allow a grant to those whose homes were badly damaged or destroyed varying in amount up to \$5,000 for rebuilding, in addition to \$2,000 for their previous lot if the City Renewal Agency buys it. The tornado victims may rebuild in the Guadalupe area, or any place in the city, or buy a house in the Parkway area. Many of the reallocated families have already been given Small Business Administration and American Red Cross assistance. The grant will not be finally consummated until after the house is built. The builder will be sent a letter of the owner's eligibility for a grant before building begins. The grant will vary, based upon the differences between the previous property value and the cost involved in rebuilding a good present day standard house. To be qualified for a grant, the owner must have been an occupant of a single or multiple structure and must have owned his home before the tornado.

Actually, the Urban Renewal Agency of the city began to buy up houses and land in and near the Guadalupe area before the tornado, and they will continue to do so. The former Guadalupe occupants can return if they want to and will follow renewal plans as to purchasing remuneration, however, controlled or delimited by the city's overall renewal plans. Unfortunately, definite plans for tornado victims who were previously renters had not yet been finalized by the time we sent our questionnaires.**

The planners for the original renewal design for

*Information relative to the conditions of the grant for rebuilding are based on an interview with Orville Alderson, Director of the City Renewal Agency, Lubbock, Texas.

**Indications are that previous Guadalupe renters will be subsidized to buy or rent homes in the Parkway area.

the Guadalupe area, where many of our respondents had lived before the tornado, had visualized a kind of "Little Mexico" with Mexican color and flavor which would attract tourists and visitors, not unlike the area around the river development in San Antonio, Texas. Orville Alderson, Director of City Renewal, and his assistants showed and discussed this projected ethnic-centered plan to small groups of Mexican Americans all through the summer, after the tornado. Interestingly, the Mexican Americans in Lubbock rejected such a plan. They do not want to be a "Little Mexico" to be visited and stared at by the curious. They want their privacy and the absorption into the larger culture and the opportunities of the city where they have lived for many years.*

A recent study of the values of Mexican Americans in Lubbock indicates that this group, until recently rural in background, is now becoming urban oriented, with values as to educational and material goals changing toward the dominant Anglo American society.³ While these Mexican Americans were rural, seasonal migratory laborers in the recent past, today they are becoming more entrenched in and influenced by the urban way of life.

While specific details of the plans for previous owners are still not determined conclusively, we felt that both as to future expectations and plans, as well as to their adjustment to the new residential area, our questionnaire would now elicit valuable, reinforcing or contrasting data.

The letters of explanation and the brief questionnaire we sent by mail, nine months after the tornado, asked the respondents regarding their future plans now that governmental assistance was definite, (see appendices). These questions were somewhat different for the "settled" in contrast to the "tornado" group, but, basically, we

* See also the origin of our respondents, Chapter 6.

inquired: (1) whether they planned to buy, rent, rebuild, stay in the Parkway area, move to another part of the city or leave Lubbock altogether, and (2) now that they have lived in the Parkway neighborhood for a longer period and had experienced inter-racial living, how did they feel about this neighborhood.

As stated above, we sent the letters of explanation and the questionnaires to all the "tornado" group in our sample, or to all 105 family units, and to a sample of 25 family units of the "settled" group to a total of 130 questionnaires.

The selected number of the "settled" group was smaller because we felt their adjustment would not be as traumatic and less related to a time span as it was experientially for the reallocated, "tornado" group.

Since we mailed the questionnaire rather than interviewed the respondents personally, (as we did for the first 200 interviews and second 100 reinterviews) and we anticipated the low educational and socio-economic level of our respondents, we did not expect a large return.* As stated above, we received answers from 45 family units or about 38 per cent returns, a number sufficient to indicate the direction of adjustment over time.

The findings of the three different research instruments (see appendices) to assess satisfaction or dissatisfaction in living in a racially integrated community are delineated in the chapters which follow in this study.

Theoretic Focus of Our Study

The basic focus of our research design was to assess the adjustment of three racial groups--Anglo, Mexican

* It has been frequently pointed out in books on methodology, in social science, research that economic and educational levels of groups correlate with expectations of returns to questionnaires.

American and Negro--now integrated in one residential area. This residential integration is unique in that it was neither pre-planned by human action nor involved natural ecological processes of invasion or succession.⁴ We theorized that race would be a significant barrier to residential and interactional adjustment.⁵ We theorized further that, while race would be the most effective variable, other variables such as low occupational status,⁶ religious differences, differentials of educational levels, language barriers,⁷ low organizational participation and lack of community outlets would all contribute negatively to neighborly adjustment and interaction.⁸

Furthermore, less direct conditions but specific to our groups, relative to adjustment and a desire to return to the old neighborhood, would be the variable of previous ownership of homes in a highly gemeinschaft way of life, especially for the Mexican Americans.

A minor factor affecting adjustment would be related to the uncertainty as to future residential plans, that is, the temporary situation for some of our tornado group. The uncertainty as to where they would eventually live would make unnecessary or exclude, perhaps, close neighborly interaction in the present area.

We further theorized that adjustment and satisfaction with respect to living in this neighborhood would depend upon residential experience within a time span.⁹ In other words, attitudinal satisfactions toward living in this racially-mixed neighborhood would be affected by intensity of satisfaction--negatively or positively--with time actually lived here. We operationally defined "negative" as any decrease in favorable feelings about the neighborhood; "positive" change was defined as any increase in favorable feelings.

At the first flush, immediately following a tragic disaster, when human emotions still run to very charitable

and humane views and actions, contact with the other racial groups would be acceptable or even novel. We theorized that actual contacts over a time span, three to nine months, would change the attitudes of satisfaction negatively or positively. The change would, however, be correlated to the gradational intensity of the earlier attitudes toward adjustment or satisfactions with the neighborhood and neighbors.

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VI. NATIVE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILIES

After the tornado, on numerous occasions, this writer heard the unkind remark from Lubbock residents, "Why don't they send them back to Mexico?" a remark not unlike the one used as a solution for the Negro problem, "Why don't they send them back to Africa." While the remark was sometimes made with tongue in cheek, there was sufficient seriousness to sound ominous. The researchers were, therefore, interested to learn the country of origin and years of residence in Texas and/or Lubbock of the 200 families in our sample.

Of our 200 families or respondents, only 8 or 4 per cent were born in Mexico; 27 or 14 per cent were born outside of the state of Texas but in the USA; the largest number, 134 families or 67 per cent were born in the state of Texas; and lastly, 30 families or 15 per cent were born in Lubbock, (see Table 4).

A further breakdown as to years of residence in Lubbock, of those in our sample of 200, is revealed in Table 5. It is notable that while the range is 1-31 years of residence in Lubbock, there is a mean and median of 16 and 15 years, respectively.

Since the Mexican Americans comprise 100 families, or 50 per cent of our sample, to call them "outsiders" would, indeed, be a misrepresentation of fact and unrealistic. Were the suggestions taken at all seriously we would be deporting American citizens and even Lubbock residents of many years.

As Table 4 shows, all three ethnic groups were born predominantly in the state of Texas--among the Anglos, 26 or 54.7 per cent, among the Negroes 40 or 76.9 per cent and among the Mexican Americans 68 or 68.0 per cent.

Furthermore, the Mexican American group have the largest percentage, 19 or 19 per cent who were born in Lubbock itself, with Anglos second, 7 or 14.6 per cent,

TABLE 4. NATIVE ORIGIN OF FAMILIES ACCORDING TO ETHNIC DIFFERENTIATION: ANGLO, NEGRO, AND MEXICAN AMERICAN

Ethnic Group	Out of U.S.A.		Out of State		In Texas		In Lubbock		Total No. and % of sample	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anglo			15	31.2	26	54.7	7	14.6	45	24.0
Negro			7	13.5	40	76.9	5	9.6	52	26.0
Mexican American	8	8.0	5	5.0	68	68.0	19	19.0	100	50.0
Totals	8	4.0	27	13.5	134	67.0	31	15.5	200	100

TABLE 5. RESIDENCE IN LUBBOCK OF THE 200 FAMILIES IN SAMPLE

No. of years	Number	Per Cent
Less than 1 year	8	4
1 year	39	19
5 years	24	12
10 years	30	15
15 years	26	13
20 years	30	15
25-30 years	18	9
31 years	25	13
Totals	200	100

Range	1-31 years
Mode	2.5 years
Mean	16 years
Median	15 years

and Negroes third, 5 or 9.6 per cent.* Lastly, it is interesting to note that within the Anglo group, almost one-third were born out of the state and only five per cent of the Mexican Americans are outside of Texas, (see Table 4).

These stratified data point up the facts that the ethnic groups in the Parkway neighborhood are anything but "foreigners" and that economic or social solutions they face comprise our own state's and city's people. Fortunately, in the reallocation of the families in our study after the tornado, the city fathers showed a more humane and realistic solution.

*The ethnic differentiation of the population of Lubbock as a whole shows about 13 per cent Mexican American and 8 per cent Negroes in 1965. The latter group are below the national ratio, white to Negro. Estimates for 1970, indicate Mexican Americans to have increased to 15-18 per cent of the city's population. See also Chapter 2, history of the city.

PART TWO

VII. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS: MOTHER AND FATHER BY ETHNIC GROUP

In order to determine the general occupational distribution of the sample, ten general categories were adapted and utilized. Originally, the categories were used by Warner and Abegglen in their study of occupational mobility.¹ Also, the same basic format was modified and used for a study of juvenile delinquency in Lubbock.² As a result, the reliability of the categories, as indicators of occupational status in the Lubbock and Parkway areas, has been enhanced considerably.

Basically, each category represents a limited range of economically related occupations. The following list includes some examples of jobs which could fit into the respective categories: (1) Unskilled-Semiskilled--yard work, farm laborer, janitor, railroad worker, painter, and truck driver. (2) Skilled--electrician, plumber, machine operator and foreman. (3) Farmer--share cropper, renter or owner. (4) Clerk--department store salesman. (5) Minor Executive--production manager. (6) Major Executive--corporate management position. (7) Owner of small business--small shop or cafe. (8) Owner of large business--large restaurant, store, etc. (9) Professional--teacher, banker, doctor (10) Other--this is a residual category designed to hold occupations of members of the sample when the available information is insufficient or when the occupation is unique to the nine other divisions.³

Analysis and Breakdown

The percentages given in Table 6 are computed on a base number of 244 individuals. This number exceeds the basic 200 household sample because more than one person worked in some households.*

The most significant aspect of the occupational analysis

*The sample represents about one-fifth of the Parkway area inhabitants of a 1,000 homes.

TABLE 6. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS: MOTHER AND FATHER BY ETHNIC GROUP

	Unskilled Semi-Skilled		Skilled		Farmer		Clerk Salesman		Minor Executive	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ANGLO										
Father	17	6.9	15	6.1	1	.4	6	2.5	1	.4
Mother	2	.8	1	.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
NEGRO										
Father	19	7.8	19	7.8	0	0	4	1.6	1	.4
Mother	15	6.1	4	1.6	0	0	1	.4	0	0
MEXICAN AMERICAN										
Father	52	21.3	31	12.7	0	0	3	1.2	0	0
Mother	13	5.3	0	0	0	0	2	.8	0	0
TOTAL	118	48.2	70	28.6	1	.4	16	6.5	2	.8
	Major Executive		Owner Small Bus- iness		Owner Large Business		Profes- sional		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ANGLO										
Father	0	0	4	1.6	0	0	2	.8	4	1.6
Mother	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NEGRO										
Father	0	0	1	.4	0	0	1	.4	4	1.6
Mother	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MEXICAN AMERICAN										
Father	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	8.6
Mother	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	0	0	5	2.0	0	0	3	1.2	21	8.6

was related to the unskilled-semiskilled category. Nearly 49 per cent of the members of the household sample were working at jobs which required no specific skills. Almost one-half of the sample could be clearly classified as belonging in the lower socio-economic bracket. This is significant to the focal point of the study, the amount of "neighborliness" felt and generated by the occupants of the new housing area because, in previous studies, lower socio-economic groups have proven to be prejudiced toward ethnic groups and rigid in basic attitudes toward social change, especially those close in occupational competition.⁴

The Anglos represented approximately 25 per cent by ethnic breakdown of the total sample. Of that particular group, nearly one-third were unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Only two women were included in the Anglo unskilled category. Of the Negroes, who represented slightly more than 25 per cent of the sample, about one-half were unskilled or semi-skilled. As expected, there was a relatively large number, 15, of Negro women employed in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Mexican Americans comprised the rest of the sample; however, nearly one-third of them were employed as unskilled or semi-skilled laborers. In the Mexican American group there were only 13 women.

The individuals listed in the skilled worker category constituted slightly more than one-third of the total sample: Anglos, 8 per cent, the Negroes, 11.5 per cent, and Mexican Americans 15.5 per cent.

There was only one farmer, an Anglo, in the entire category. This is not unusual, given the present urban characteristics, in general, of the sample. Moreover, in the clerk-salesman category, there were only 3 per cent Anglos, 2.5 per cent Negroes, and 2.5 per cent Mexican Americans. There were only two men listed as minor executives, an Anglo and a Negro. No major executives were found. Since the sample is fairly large, one-fifth of the population

under study, and fairly representative, it is not likely that any exist in the area.

There were few owners of small businesses. Of the five interviewed, four were Anglo and one was Negro. No owners of large businesses were found in the sample. It is not likely that any live in the area from which the sample was drawn. Only three professionals were found in the sample. Two were Anglo and one was Negro.

Several individuals were found that did not fit any of the previous category. They were placed in the residual other category. The data, however, do not lend themselves to analysis because little or no qualitative material was available regarding this group.

Basic Generalizations:

A definite plurality of the individuals interviewed can be classified, based on their occupational status, into the lower socio-economic groups. This one factor is, probably, the most important in determining responses relative to neighborliness among the three different ethnic groups. As mentioned earlier, several studies verify the fact that the lower classes tend to be less receptive to adjustments in interpersonal relations. They also tend to be more ethnocentric than the middle classes. The lower class Anglos and Mexican Americans are more likely than the Negroes to resist the integrative effects of living in a tri-ethnic environment.⁵

The Mexican Americans tended, in this sample, to cluster in larger numbers than the other two ethnic groups into the lowest status job category. This is basically typical of the South Plains, Lubbock area. Numerous Mexican Americans who once provided unskilled migratory farm work, up to the 1960's, have been displaced by improvements in agricultural technology. As a result, they have had to seek employment in the urban areas. Since that time, they have been becoming more urbanized.⁶

However, at the present time, their lack of skills afford them little opportunity for vertical, occupational mobility. The problem of employment for the Mexican American has been complicated by the scarcity of jobs in general. The Lubbock area does not support enough industry to provide an adequate level of employment opportunities for the lower socio-economic class. Consequently, the Mexican Americans, who comprise a majority of the unskilled population, also comprise a major portion of the unemployment lists.

Obstacles to Employment as Perceived by the Respondents

The questions regarding obstacles to employment were included in the interview schedule to determine if any particular problems were perceived by the respondents themselves as persistent hindrances to finding work. Given the nature of the sample, in which the groups are predominantly in the lower socio-economic and lower educational status, certain variables were anticipated. For the Anglos, the basic answer expected was lack of skills or education. For the Negroes, discrimination and lack of education and skills were most likely to be indicated. The Mexican Americans, however, were expected to cite all the above mentioned difficulties as well as the added handicap of a language barrier.

The data in this area are not definitive; the information in our schedules was sufficient to indicate significant obstacles in employment for the three ethnic groups in our study.

Among the Anglo subjects interviewed, only 15.5 per cent related any employment difficulty. Lack of education and lack of skills were most frequently named as limiting factors.

Negro subjects cited most often a lack of education as a major prohibitive factor while lack of available jobs and discrimination were mentioned frequently. The

association of the two latter variables was expected.

Among Mexican American respondents a lack of education was most often mentioned as an obstacle to employment. Whether this reflects an awareness of individual inadequacies or merely a reflection of the dominant cultural values is difficult to say. As a corollary, lack of skills and lack of available jobs were often cited as occupational barriers. Interestingly, age and disability were mentioned by Mexican Americans as problematic over twice as frequently as mentioned by the two other ethnic groups.

In summary, the Anglos reported the least difficulty in obtaining jobs, 15.5 per cent. The Negroes indicated a greater degree of difficulty in finding jobs in all areas than did the Anglos. The Negroes' over-all responses regarding problems of finding employment totaled 33.7 per cent. Slightly less than one-half, 48.6 per cent, of the Mexican Americans interviewed indicated at least one factor contributing to difficulty in obtaining work.

Nearly 85 per cent of the Anglos reported no problem in obtaining employment. Sixty-six per cent of the Negroes interviewed indicated no difficulty in finding work. Of the Mexican Americans in the sample, 51.4 stated they had no problem in getting jobs.

The level of difficulty reported by the respondents in finding employment correlated closely with the mean of the educational level achieved by each group. The Anglos, who had the highest mean or average level of formal education, 10.2 years, had the least number of responses relative to the difficulty in obtaining work. The Negro respondents had a mean level of 9.8 years of education. By percentage they had only four per cent less formal schooling than did the Anglos. Again, however, by percentage the Negroes responded 18.3 per cent more of the time to questions regarding the difficulty in finding employment than did the Anglos.

The Mexican Americans interviewed had a mean level of formal education of 4.6 years. This figure is less than

half of either the Negro or Anglo total levels of education. Conversely, over twice the percentage of Mexican Americans reported difficulty in finding jobs than did the Anglos. Also, the Mexican Americans reported difficulties in obtaining work nearly 25 per cent more of the time than did the Negroes. These figures bear added significance when one considers that most of the members of the three ethnic groups interviewed are competing for jobs in the same strata--unskilled and skilled labor. (See Table 6 of occupational breakdown.)

Another variable related to education which concerns primarily the Mexican Americans is the language problem. Many are unable to read or effectively speak English. In this study, although there was little direct response under the language category, it was found that, by analyzing other aspects of the data, several have found language to be a problem in obtaining a job. Twenty-one per cent of the Mexican Americans interviewed were unable to read English at all. Several others (see Chapter 10 on language usage barriers) were limited, in varying degrees, in their usage, both written and spoken. It can be assumed any difficulty in communication is a formidable handicap in seeking a job.

Given the emphasis in American values, related to education and job efficiency, an employer is unlikely to hire a man with a fourth grade education when he can get another man with a ninth or tenth grade education for the same wages. As a consequence, the Mexican Americans, who in this sample have an average of four or five years of schooling,* must stand third in line, as an ethnic group, for employment in unskilled or skilled occupations. In that context, it can be seen that each of the ethnic groups, especially the Mexican Americans, have perceived their positions, as they relate to each other in terms of employability.

*If the young Mexican Americans are separated into age groups, the young Mexican Americans have an average education of eight years. See Chapter 12.

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VIII. AGE COMPOSITION AND FAMILY SIZE

One of the most striking differences we observed among the three ethnic groups, Anglo, Negro, and Mexican American, was the diversity of age distribution. While the Anglos and Mexican Americans of our sample were similar in mean or average age, 42.1 and 42.6 years respectively for males, the Negroes were considerably younger, 38.4 mean years for males. The differences became even greater when median ages are compared: 38.8 years for Anglo males, 42.5 years for Mexican American males, and only 33.0 years for Negro males and females. (See Table 7.) Thus one-half of the Negroes of our sample were younger than 33 years of age.

Mexican American Age Distribution

We interviewed a total of 403 adults in the Parkway area whose average age was 39.3 years. Of this number, only 102 were Anglo, 92 were Negro and 209 were Mexican Americans.* Most of the Mexican Americans who were reallocated in the Parkway area had been living in the Guadalupe neighborhood when the tornado struck. Although the age distribution for that area before the tornado was not known, the fact that many of the families we interviewed had been living in the Guadalupe neighborhood, for an extended period of time, led us to expect a relatively larger old age population among this group than among the other two. (See Chapter 6 on native origin of the three ethnic groups.) Our findings revealed, however, that more Mexican Americans were between the ages of 40 and 44 than any other age cohort. (See Table 7.) Median ages for males of this group was 42.5 years and 39.3 for females, indicative of a large percentage of females still within the child-

*Although the number of families in our sample was 200, there was more than an average of two adults in each family. This accounts for the total of 403 adults in this analysis.

TABLE 7
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF ADULTS BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP

	Anglo		Negro		Mexican American	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Number In Sample	50	52	45	47	108	101
Mean Age	42.1	39.0	38.4	34.3	42.6	39.2
Median Age	38.8	37.3	33.0	33.0	42.5	39.3
Modal Age	27 & 57	40.0	27.0	32.0	42.0	42.0

bearing age range. In fact, more than 68 per cent of the Mexican American females were under 44 years of age.

The age distribution of the Anglos whom we interviewed was quite close to that of the Mexican Americans although both groups were considerably older than the Negroes. Median age for the Anglos was 38.8 and 42.5 for Mexican Americans, but only 33.0 for the Negroes. (See Figure 15 Age-Distribution chart.) The age difference between Anglos and Mexican Americans was four years, while the difference between Negroes and Mexican Americans was ten years.

Anglo Family Size

Age differences are especially apparent in the number of children found in each family. Unlike the Mexican Americans, the Anglos tended to have small families, the largest having only six children. A smaller percentage of Anglo than Mexican American women were of child-bearing age, 72.5 per cent Anglo, 78.9 per cent Mexican American, yet the Anglo families had only 2.2 children per family as opposed to 4.3 children per Mexican American family. Although approximately 41 per cent of the females in both groups were younger than 34 years of age, almost twice as many Anglo women, 23.5 per cent, as Mexican American women, 12.1 per cent, were younger than 24 years.

Negro Family Size

Although the average age of the Negroes was less than either of the other two groups, the number of children per family, 2.9, was considerably lower than the Mexican Americans, 4.3, and only slightly higher than the Anglos, 2.2. This is particularly striking since 78.7 per cent of the Negro females were in the age bearing categories while only 68 per cent of the Mexican American mothers accounted for more than twice the number of children.* This was also reflected

*Age-bearing years are generally considered to include the years between puberty and 44 years of age. In our study, the youngest mother was 17, thus the range was 17-44 years.

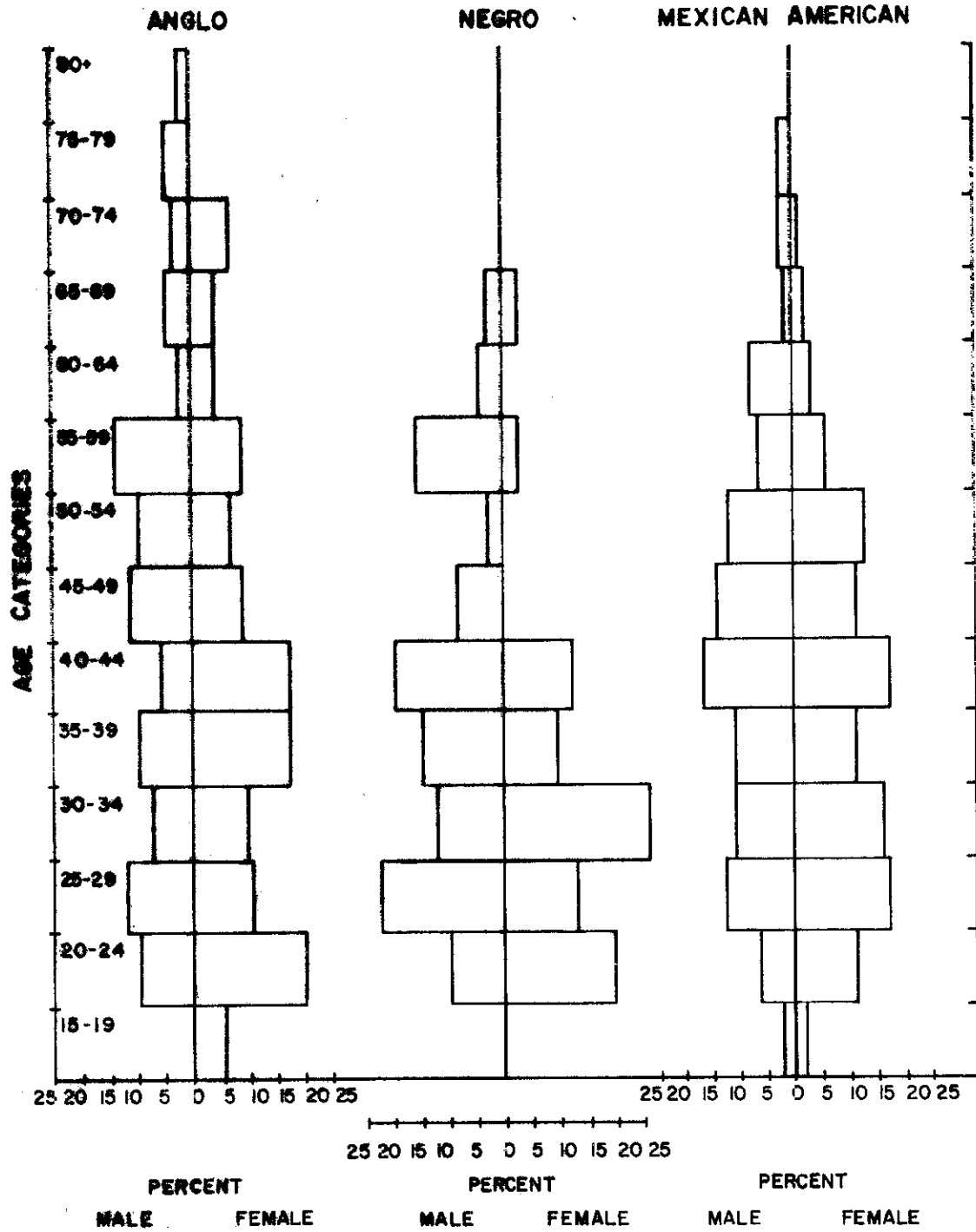


FIGURE 15. PYRAMID OF AGE DISTRIBUTION BY SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP

in the size of the Negro families in which the largest number of children was only eight while at least one Mexican American family had 13 children.

A possible explanation for this discrepancy may be within the history of the neighborhood's development. Only a few years before our study was begun, the area had been completely segregated; there were only Anglo families living there. (See neighborhood delineation above.) Eventually, one Negro family moved into the neighborhood and "block-busting" began. As more and more Negro families moved into the area, increasing numbers of Anglo families moved out. Soon there remained only scattered islands of Negro homes and a few sometimes isolated Anglo homes. The Negroes who moved into the neighborhood were mostly young, socially mobile, and had attained a high educational level. The older, more tradition-oriented Negroes were less likely to move into the neighborhood partly because of the expense of the houses, a learned resistance to change, and a reluctance to invade neighborhoods previously closed to them. The result was a rather youthful, middle class Negro population which appeared in our sample.

Mexican American Family Size

Of the 100 Mexican American families whom we interviewed, only 11 had no children at home. The remaining 89 families had an average of 4.3 children per family. This figure reflects not only the age composition of the Mexican American group but also the value system which favors large numbers of children. The number of children in the Mexican American families, whom we interviewed, ranged from as many as 13 to as few as one or, in a few cases, none. In contrast, the largest Negro family contained eight children while the largest Anglo family had only six. Furthermore, Mexican American women tended to marry at an earlier age, begin having children sooner, and have more children over a longer period of time than the Anglo or Negro women.

Discussion

The reasons for this phenomenon are many, some have already been mentioned. Certainly the family orientation of the Mexican American group perpetuates large families. The "machismo" concept of virility and the psychological and economic security afforded by the extended family unit also contribute to large family size.¹ Since Catholicism is the predominant religion among Mexican Americans, it is not surprising that birth control practices have met with resistance. There is evidence, however, that increased education may result in more liberal and receptive attitudes, especially among the younger Mexican Americans.² Urban sophistication in conjunction with higher educational achievements and a decreasing primary, strong family orientation may eventually lead to smaller family size and fewer dependents as this Mexican American group becomes more urbanized.³

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IX. EDUCATIONAL LEVELS AND ETHNICITY

Studies have shown that ethnic factors combine with educational levels to strongly influence economic performance.¹ That is, within a specific ethnic group, educational level of attainment is the most precise indicator of one's occupational status and economic performance. Between ethnic groups, however, ethnic factors account for much of the difference in socio-economic levels. For example, a high school graduate will likely occupy a higher economic position than a member of his own ethnic group with less education. On the other hand, he may not exceed the economic level of another ethnic group with less education.

For this reason, we found educational attainment to be a highly significant factor in determining adjustment among the three ethnic groups of our sample, Anglo, Negro and Mexican American.

Although 200 families were interviewed, we were primarily interested in the educational levels of both the father and the mother. In some families either one of the spouses was permanently absent from the home or the person interviewed was not an adult. This accounts for our receiving only 372 responses rather than the expected 400.* Both father and mother were interviewed whenever possible. When one or both adults were absent from the home, information about the level of the missing adult's educational achievement was supplied by the person interviewed. If the unavailable member were permanently missing from the home, no information was requested about him. If the respondent were a student at that time or a potential student, questions of his educational achievement were not recorded.

Responses to the question of educational level were

*In a sample of 200 families one would normally expect to find two adults per family if the family unit were complete.

placed in categories of 0-4, 4-8, 8-12, 12-14, and 14-16 or more years of education completed, (see Appendix A). Although the exact year of completed education was not recorded, the mid-point of each category was assumed to represent the mean or average for that category. Thus to compute the mean educational level of the Anglos, the number of responses within each category was multiplied by the mid-point of that category and a cumulative total compiled. The same procedure was used in computing the mean years of education for each group thus enabling a meaningful comparison to be made among the groups.

Responses were occasionally given in rather ambiguous terms especially if the person interviewed had attended school in another country, such as Mexico, and translation to American academic levels was difficult, or if he had received little formal education. In some cases, the respondent may have exaggerated or amplified his educational status in an effort to escape embarrassment or to avoid compromising himself before the interviewer.

Mean and Median Difference Among the Groups

Many differences among the three groups became apparent when the groups were compared by mean or average number of school years completed. Although the average numbers of years completed by all members of the sample, 372, was only 5.1, only the Mexican American group was extremely low, 4.6, in comparison to the Negro, 9.8 and the Anglo, 10.2. *

This discrepancy among the groups' educational levels is, perhaps, more realistically reflected by the median years completed since this statistic is less influenced by the extremes of a distribution than is the mean. That

* It should be emphasized here that we only considered the educational level of adults rather than children. Had we included the achievements of children under 18, the level would have been much higher.

TABLE 8
 YEARS OF FORMAL EDUCATION:
 BY ETHNIC GROUP, MOTHER AND FATHER

GRADES COMPLETED

		No Education		1-4		4-8		8-12		1-2 College		2-4+		No. In Category	Mean No. of Years	Median No. of Years
ANGLO	Father	1	2.3%	0	0%	8	18.6%	25	58.6%	7	16.3%	2	4.7%	43	9.74	10.0
	Mother	0	0	1	1.9	19	17.3	39	75.0	2	3.8	1	1.9	52	10.51	9.6
	Both	1	1.0	1	1.0	27	28.4	64	67.4	9	9.5	3	3.2	95	10.2	9.1
NEGRO	Father	1	2.2	1	2.2	7	15.2	27	58.7	8	17.3	2	4.3	46	9.9	8.6
	Mother	0	0	2	4.2	5	10.4	34	70.8	4	8.3	3	5.3	48	9.8	10.0
	Both	1	1.1	3	3.2	12	12.8	61	64.9	12	12.8	5	5.3	94	9.9	10.0
MEXICAN AMERICAN	Father	18	19.6	24	26.1	25	27.2	22	23.9	2	2.2	1	1.1	92	5.0	5.6
	Mother	19	20.9	26	28.6	32	35.2	13	14.3	1	1.1	0	0	91	4.3	4.1
	Both	37	20.2	50	27.3	57	31.2	35	19.1	3	1.6	1	.5	183	4.6	4.3
TOTAL	Of Both	39	10.5	54	14.5	96	25.8	160	43.0	24	6.5	9	2.4	372	5.1	3.2

is, although the average or mean years of education of the Anglos, 10.2, was greater than the mean for the Negroes, 9.8, the median of the Anglos, 9.1, was lower than the Negroes, 10.03. This results from the greater percentage of Negroes with more than 12 years of education, 18.1, compared with the smaller percentage of Anglos with more than a high school education, 12.7.* To restate, our analysis revealed that over one-half of the Negroes had more than ten years of education whereas one-half of the Anglos we interviewed had completed less than nine years.

In the area of higher education, it is significant that, as stated above, only 12.7 per cent of the Anglos had attended college while 18.1 per cent of the Negroes had gone beyond the high school level. In other words, although the mean educational level was higher for Anglos, 10.2 years, than for Negroes, 9.8 years, there was a much higher percentage of Negroes with college experience than the percentage of Anglos who had received college credit.

Anglo Educational Attainments

The mean years of education of the Anglos was higher, 10.2 per cent, than either the Negroes, 9.8 per cent, or the Mexican Americans, 4.6 per cent. Furthermore, Anglo females had completed more years, 10.5, than either the Anglo males, 9.7, Negro females, 9.8, or Negro males, 9.9. Anglo males, however, had completed fewer average years, 9.7, than had Negro males, 9.9, or Negro females, 9.8. All these groups considerably surpassed both Mexican American males, 5.0, and females, 4.3.

It is striking that the Anglo females had completed more average years of education, 10.5, than either Anglo males, 9.7, or Negro males, 9.9. It is also significant that the Negro females had completed more years, 9.8, than

* See Table 8. These percentages are the combined categories of (1) one to two years of college, and (2) three to four years of college.

the Anglo males.

It is the present educational trend that the females of each group receive more formal education at the high school level, while the trend is reversed at the college level. This trend proved to be true in both the Anglo and Negro groups but not in the Mexican American group. Analysis revealed that 15.3 per cent more Anglo males than females had attended college, while 7 per cent more Negro males than females had college training. In the case of the Mexican Americans, however, the trend did not prove to be true. Although only 3.3 per cent of the Mexican American males had attended college, that percentage was nonetheless 2.2 per cent greater than the percentage of Mexican American females with college experience.

Inasmuch as most Anglo males were employed in an occupational role requiring few years of formal education, (see Table 6), it is not surprising to find their mean and median educational levels somewhat lower than that required for higher occupational status. It is worthy of mention, however, that the median educational level, 9.1, was lower than the median for the state of Texas in 1960, 10.8.²

Given the occupational history and relatively advanced ages of the Anglo group (see age distributions, Table 7), it is not unusual to find a lower mean educational level among Anglo males than Anglo females, Negro females, and Negro males. It is revealing, nonetheless, to find Anglo males with less average educational attainments occupying similar jobs and housing facilities as the Negroes who have a higher educational level. (See occupational Table 6.)

Negro Educational Levels

It has been noted that the Negroes of our sample exceeded the other two groups in median years of education. Analysis revealed that a higher percentage of the Negroes had attended college, 18.1 per cent, than either the Anglos,

12.7 per cent, or the Mexican Americans, 2.1 per cent. Furthermore, Negro females had a higher percentage in the highest educational category, 6.3 per cent than either the Negro males, 4.3 per cent or the Anglo males, 4.7 per cent.

Despite this high educational level among the Negroes, they are underrepresented (only three persons above the clerk-salesman category) in the higher status positions. Moreover, most of the Negro females were employed only in the unskilled, semi-skilled and the skilled worker positions (see occupational Table 6).

A factor which somewhat accounts for the educational discrepancies between the Anglos and Negroes is the relative youthfulness of the Negro population. The median age of the Negroes, 33 years as mentioned above, was considerably less than the Anglos, 42.6 years. Recent integrative efforts by the school systems, increased emphasis upon education by employers and federal encouragement of minority groups for extended education have all contributed to an increase in educational attainment.³ In view of these factors, it is not surprising to find a highly educated group of young Negroes in our sample. It is somewhat revealing, however, to find them sharing the neighborhood with members of other ethnic groups with lower educational and socio-economic levels. Although they were apparently aware that other groups might relegate them to a low social status in spite of their educational and occupational status, it may have been vividly pressed upon them after they found themselves placed amidst other ethnic groups for perhaps the first time.

Mexican American Attainments

In comparison with the Negroes, the Mexican American group had completed an average of 5.2 years of education, less than the Negro group, 4.6 viz-a-viz 9.8 years. Furthermore, only 4.3 per cent of the Negroes had completed less than four years of formal education while 47.5 per cent of the Mexican Americans had terminated their education by or

before the fourth grade. Conversely, 43.2 per cent more Mexican Americans than Negroes had completed less than four years of education.

Further analysis revealed the high percentage of Mexican Americans who had completed less than four years of education. By combining the percentage of this group with no education, 20.2, with the percentage of this group with one to four years of education, 27.3, it becomes evident that the percentage of Mexican Americans with less than four years of education completed, 47.5 as stated above, constitutes almost one-half of this group's educational level. It becomes apparent that over twenty times, 27 to 1 more Anglos than Mexican Americans succeeded in going beyond the fourth grade.

Why Such a Difference?

Reasons for this discrepancy lie partly within the area of median age. The Negroes constitute a much younger group, 33 years median age, than the Mexican Americans, 42 years. While there is less difference between the median ages of Mexican Americans, 42.5 and Anglos, 38.8, there is a considerable discrepancy between the average educational level of Mexican Americans, 4.6 years, and Anglos, 10.2. The age distribution of the Mexican Americans is important because of its effect upon their formal education.

Previous conditions relative to their possibilities to attend school were limited when they were young and the children of migratory laborers. Recent technological changes in occupations in the city and region are beginning to affect this group, occupationally and educationally. They are in transition from rural, migratory laborers, to urban occupational status.⁴

Several additional factors have contributed to the lower educational achievements of the Mexican Americans. First of all, the fact that a large number of the Mexican Americans we interviewed were first generation immigrants partly explains this fact. Many of them received an

inadequate or sporadic formal education in Mexico and, later, as the children of seasonal laborers in the United States, their education was further inadequate or neglected. Different value orientation toward education, lack of legally enforced school attendance, and Anglo discrimination have all been important factors in the low educational achievement of this group.

Many of the older Mexican Americans we interviewed were first generation immigrants whose parents were born in Mexico. Although only four per cent of our sample had been born in Mexico (see discussion of ethnic origins, Chapter 6), they had occasionally returned to that country during their childhood to attend public schools where some had received their only formal education. This presented a problem in our attempts to assess the total amount of formal education which they had received. In addition, it was necessary to assume or translate that the respective levels and educational progression in Mexico were commensurate with the United States' educational system.

Since immigration to this country was often prompted by economic pressures and hopes for new opportunities, immigrants from Mexico have been predominantly of lower socio-economic background. This accounts for the large numbers of immigrants who worked as seasonal agricultural laborers during the time when many of the persons we interviewed were children of school age. Such transiency often meant frequent enrollment in many different schools during the year and frustration and discouragement for both parent and child. The result was very often the cessation of formal education.*

In addition to this disruption was the language problem. Children whose parents spoke little or no English may have had only limited contact with the language until their

*In recent times, educational schedules and adjustments are being implemented by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for the children of migrant laborers.

enrollment in school. If the child assisted in field work or were kept exclusively in the company of Spanish-speaking companions, his opportunities to learn English were practically non-existent before he entered school. (See discussion of language proficiency, Chapter 10.)

The value-orientation of the Mexican immigrant, as well as his lower socio-economic levels in general, tends toward concern with the immediate and pragmatic rather than the deferred gratification necessary for extensive education.⁵ Studies have shown that competition and educational achievement are characteristically valued less among Mexican Americans than among the Anglo culture; a factor which has added to the Mexican American's lower educational level. Their low valuation of education often became a self-fulfilling prophecy.⁶

In addition to differing values, state laws concerning mandatory school attendance have been changed and enforced in varying degrees. Before 1915, there was no law requiring public school attendance for Texas residents. Revisions of the law in 1935 and increased enforcement greatly affected the educational level of children of Mexican American immigrants since the new law made it illegal to drop out of public schools, in the state of Texas, before the age of sixteen. It was not so much the passage of the law as the additional enforcement which brought pressure upon Mexican American parents to keep their children in school much longer. Thus the new generation of Mexican Americans is becoming more educated.

Finally, discrimination and prejudice within the classroom and the wider community have discouraged Mexican American school attendance in the past. During the time when there was no mandatory attendance law, these factors were certainly influential in encouraging Mexican American children to leave school at an early age. All these factors have combined in various ways to discourage school attendance

among groups of lower socio-economic levels and especially among the Mexican Americans.

These problems have been accentuated by agricultural trends in the state. As farming has become increasingly mechanized, demands for seasonal and manual labor have progressively decreased. The subsequent reduction of job availability in agriculture has resulted in migration to cities and urban metropolitan areas where the largest number of Texas' Mexican American population is now located. Most of the second and third generations and, occasionally, even first generation Mexican Americans have shifted from a rural to a much more urban value system.⁷ The total effect of this trend is an increasingly urbanized Mexican American population whose younger members are now reaching higher educational levels. However, as to our analysis, the low education level of our respondents reflects the earlier migratory conditions and educational neglect and disadvantages.

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X. LANGUAGE AS A BARRIER TO ADJUSTMENT

Many factors have been identified as dysfunctional to the adjustment of groups and individuals to new social situations and we found, in the Parkway area, none to be greater than the barrier of language. Since we found no Negroes or Anglos in the sample who were bilingual or who knew more than even the rudiments of the Spanish language, it became apparent that those reallocated "tornado" victims who were unable to use the English language effectively were faced with a unique problem.

In the Guadalupe barrio, where many of the Mexican Americans, in our sample, previously lived, Spanish was considered the primary language while English was usually spoken only secondarily.* This impression is reinforced by a study of the Guadalupe area conducted, in 1968, to determine the reasons for a high Mexican American school drop-out rate revealed that over 50 per cent of the families interviewed spoke only Spanish in the home.¹ (Sample size of 100 homes.)

Many Mexican American people who knew little or no English could still function adequately within the limits of the old neighborhood. Even the businessmen, in or near the barrio, were likely to be at least functionally bilingual, thus enabling Spanish-speaking residents to meet most of their daily needs with little or no difficulty.

This observation reinforces the findings of Marden and Meyer, Minorities in American Society (1962) which reveal in part,

...some minorities desire assimilation involving the loss of ethnic identity. . . as in the cases of the European immigrant peoples. However, in the case of the people of Mexican descent, several factors suggest the possibility of their adjustment to American society on a basis of distinctive ethnic identity with co-ordinate rather than

*From an interview with Paulina Jacobo, a knowledgeable and life-long resident of the Guadalupe neighborhood.

minority status.²

The factors referred to in Marden and Meyer include: (1) the assimilation process has not advanced too far to preclude the establishment of a separate identity for the Mexican American; (2) an example of coordinate ethnic pluralism already exists in New Mexico and (3) a current tendency exists by which Mexican American groups cooperate to foster recognition of their common identification as "la raza."³ In summary, they have, according to Sanchez, "clung tenaciously to their language and to other manifestations of their sense of identity."⁴

Also, as Celia Heller has suggested, the Mexican Americans have not been geographically isolated from their original cultural as were the European immigrants.⁵ The Mexican Americans have had an alternative to assimilation or even adjustment--they may simply cross the Mexican border and once again become a part of their old culture.

The tornado, however, created a new situation. Many of these people were placed in a new environment where the ability to speak English was, in many contacts, imperative. Based on information derived from the interviews, nearly one-fifth of the Mexican American families were found to be living among neighbors with whom they could not communicate effectively.

A great deal of the time, the Mexican American housewife found herself alone all day, unable to communicate in the same language with her new neighbors and too far away from her former neighbors to visit or be visited. She often expressed feelings of loneliness and isolation in her new neighborhood and longed to return to the old Guadalupe barrio.

As previously implied, 36 or nearly 20 per cent, of our interviews with Mexican Americans were conducted completely in Spanish. Thirty-two or 90 per cent of those conducted in Spanish were with women. Consistent with the findings in the area of educational status where it was found that the Mexican American males had an average of .7 of a year more formal education than the Mexican American females, (see

Table 8 of educational achievement), the men in these homes seemed to have achieved a better speaking and practical proficiency in the English language. This phenomenon is most likely due to the more pervasive and intensified contact with both written and spoken English, experienced by the men in their jobs and other outside associations.

As we have already mentioned in other chapters of the study, families tended to be large among this group and, as a result, the Mexican American mother was likely to be preoccupied with child care and, generally, isolated within the home. She may, as a consequence, have lost or at least not progressed in the ability to speak or use English. The interviewers often experienced the results of her linguistic isolation when she became verbose during the interview. She frequently poured out her ideas, at great length, when given the opportunity to express her feelings to someone, in her native tongue.

During the course of the interviews conducted in Spanish, approximately 75 per cent of the Mexican American mothers expressed, in essence, a sincere desire to be more neighborly but they were prevented from doing so because of their language handicap.

The study revealed that, of the 183 Mexican Americans* interviewed, 87 or 47.5 per cent, nearly one-half, had received less than 4 years of formal education. (See Table 8 of educational achievement.) Nevertheless, of the 87 who had received less than 4 years of education, 51 or 58.6 per cent could read Spanish and 39 or 44.8 per cent could read English. However, of the total group of 183 Mexican Americans at all educational levels, only 27.8 per cent could read Spanish and only 21.3 per cent could

*In our sample, 100 Mexican American families were interviewed. This implies two adults per household or 200 Mexican American adults, since we only asked the adults' educational levels. Some houses, however, had one adult missing. This accounts for the missing 17 persons, resulting in a total of 183 Mexican Americans instead of the expected 200.

read English.

With reference to the ability to communicate in writing, the figures were equally low for those who were able to use either or both languages. Of those 87 Mexican Americans who had completed less than 4 years of education, 42 or 48.2 per cent were able to write Spanish and 39 or 44.8 per cent could write English. Of all 183 Mexican Americans interviewed, only 42 or 23 per cent could write in Spanish and 39 or less than 22 per cent were able to write in English.

These figures describe a semi-literate Mexican American population, almost half of which had less than an elementary level of education. Approximately one of every four was able to read either English or Spanish. Furthermore, almost four of every five Mexican Americans we interviewed were unable to write in either language. As stated above, one can infer that language functions as a barrier to a particular type of adjustment--the type where the Mexican American is assimilated into the dominant culture leaving no trace of his own heritage, or the easy neighborly process of communication through a common language.

Thus the degree to which the Mexican Americans retain their identity as a culture may depend to a great extent on how the dominant Anglo culture continues to react to them. In that context, Simmons states, "Mexican Americans want to be accepted as full members of the larger society, but do not want to achieve this at the cost of giving up completely their cultural heritage."⁶ In conclusion, it can be said that if good adjustment between Mexican Americans and Anglo and Negro Americans is dependent upon the eradication of cultural differences, of which language represents a large and significant part, then the achievement of this objective does not appear, at this time, to lie in the near future. If, on the other hand, adjustment can be attained in spite of cultural or language differences, then the prospect of acceptance among the other ethnic groups seems much more promising. At least these prospects may

hopefully be anticipated in the Parkway neighborhood, the locale of our research.

Interest in Adult Education

Although language barriers and lack of education are serious social and interactional problems, especially for the Mexican Americans, there is an apparent awareness among this ethnic group of the means and possibilities to overcome such obstacles. One of these ways is the implementation of adult education classes in the community. We asked the respondents in all three groups we interviewed if they would favor such a program if it were offered at no expense and at a convenient time. Nearly 73 or 40 per cent of the Mexican Americans approved of the idea; similarly, over 40 per cent or 23 of the Negroes, and 17, 30 per cent, of the Anglos expressed a desire to attend adult education classes.

We interpreted these responses as an indication of the cognizance of the problem by all three ethnic groups. Explicitly, these groups expressed an increased desire to understand and communicate with each other now that they found themselves in the same neighborhood. They also seem to be aware of the advantages of an increased educational level to function more effectively in the dominant culture. Not unlike national changes in ethnic expectations and opportunities, our respondents have also become oriented toward rising expectations relative to our society's economic opportunities and rewards.

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XI. ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION

In previous studies, voluntary organizational participation among varying ethnic groups has been shown to be an adequate indication of social adjustment.¹ Since the primary focus of this study is upon patterns and levels of adjustment in a tri-ethnic area, it seemed only logical to include an analysis of the level and type of organizational participation.

Three basic variables which were expected to affect the level of participation in this sample were educational status, occupational status and the Spanish-English language barrier. Regarding the nature of the interaction encountered within the various organizations as it would presumably affect the overall adjustment of the participants, it should be noted that there has been made, in another study, a positive correlation of the range of the contact, the frequency of the contact, and the facility of communication among the various groups to the ease with which overall adjustment occurred.²

In that context, it appears that the variables of educational and occupational status would have an appreciable effect on participation along with the Spanish-English language barrier. Logically, communication tends to reduce the barriers established by class or status, but if effective communication can not occur initially, then there is little motivation for people to group together in organizations of any type.

Method

The data which relate to organizational participation were broken down by ethnic group and by ascribed family roles--father, mother, child. Questions regarding organizational participation were limited to the Guadalupe Center, Mi Casita,* other (mainly church), and plans for

*Guadalupe Center and Mi Casita are multi-function family service agencies. Mi Casita is located in the Parkway area; Guadalupe Center is located in the old Guadalupe area where storm damage was heavy.

future participation. (See Table 9.)

Findings

The Mexican Americans, who had the largest population of the three ethnic groups, comprised, as anticipated, the majority of participants in each of the agencies and in church attendance (other). The most extreme example was found in the data relating to participation in the Guadalupe Center where 123 Mexican Americans, 98 per cent* (43 females, 49 males, 31 children) had reported participation. Only two Anglos, one father and one mother, and no Negroes indicated any contact with the agency. This phenomenon was most likely due to the extremely heavy concentration of Mexican American families living around the Guadalupe Center.

The level of Mexican American participation was also very high in Mi Casita services and activities; one hundred twenty-two individuals, 96.3 per cent (51 fathers, 54 mothers, and 17 children), were involved in its functions. In this agency only six Anglos (3 females, 3 males), 3.7 per cent reported any contact with the center. Again, no Negroes participated in any activities or received any services from the agency.

All three ethnic groups reported higher levels of participation in church activities than in secular agency activities. By percentage, participation by the three groups was approximately the same. (The population ratio in the sample was 2:1:1--Mexican American:Anglo:Negro respectively.) The numeric totals for church participation were as follows: 150 Mexican Americans, 48.8 per cent; 83 Anglos, 26.4 per cent; and 79 Negroes, 24.8 per cent. It should be noted here that nearly all church participation was segregated. Thus, again, the three ethnic groups did not associate with each other on an organizational level.

Finally, of those planning to participate in local

* Percentages are based on total number of participants in each agency, church and in future plans.

TABLE 9
 ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION:
 MOTHER, FATHER AND CHILD BY ETHNIC GROUP

		Anglo		Negro		Mexican American		Cumulative %		
Guadalupe Center	F	1	4.0%	0	0%	43	96.0%			
	M	1	2.0	0	0	49	98.0			
	C	0	0	0	0	31	100.0	2.0	0	98.0
Mi Casita	F	3	6.0	0	0	51	94.0			
	M	3	5.0	0	0	54	95.0			
	C	0	0	0	0	17	100.0	3.7	0	96.3
Other (Church)	F	28	26.4	27	25.0	52	48.6			
	M	28	26.2	28	26.2	51	47.7			
	C	27	26.5	24	23.5	51	50.0	26.4	24.8	48.8
Plan to Participate In The Future	F	6	26.6	2	9.5	13	61.9			
	M	6	26.6	2	9.5	13	61.9			
	C	6	30.0	2	10.0	12	60.0	29.0	9.7	61.3

Percentages based on row totals for each category.

organizational functions in the future there were 38 Mexican Americans, 61.3 per cent, 18 Anglos, 29 per cent, and six Negroes, 9.7 per cent. However, none of the respondents indicated the type of agency they planned to join, nor did they indicate plans for participation in any integrated activities.

Conclusions

From all indications in this study no Negroes interacted with any Mexican Americans in an organizational setting. By the same token, Anglo interaction with either Mexican American or Negroes in an organizational setting was negligible. For all practical purposes of analysis the Mexican Americans dominated participation in the secular agencies. This was primarily due to two closely related factors. Firstly, both agencies have names of obvious Mexican origin. The centers, in adopting the Mexican names, appear to have been directing their services toward the Mexican American population. Secondly, the other inhabitants of the areas served by the agencies, Anglos and Negroes, might have felt a certain amount of discrimination in the predominantly Mexican American "community," or perhaps a sense of ethnic non-involvement with the agency as they may have judged it by its Spanish name.

Regardless of the causes, the fact remains that clearly there was no interaction of any significance at the organizational or associational level among the three ethnic groups. From other studies³, it has been well established that the lower socio-economic strata, to which 60 per cent of our sample belongs, (see Table 6 on occupations), tend to have a low level of participation in organizations outside their own home or ethnic group. In this study all three groups followed that pattern practically without exception.

The educational status of the three groups is also characteristic of the lower socio-economic levels (see Table 8 on education). These two factors are enough to provide a reasonably stable position for assessment of

adjustment in the area under study. However, there is further evidence, but which relates only to the Mexican American subculture. The heavy participation of Mexican Americans in Mexican American agencies indicates a high degree of ethnic group cohesiveness. The degree of cohesiveness, which cannot here be objectively measured but which nonetheless is obviously high, facilitates the perpetuation of Mexican subcultural values, symbols and most important, language, and as a result insulates the group members from most of the factors critical to inter-ethnic adjustment. It is quite possible that adjustment could occur regardless of many of the cultural differences that exist among the three ethnic groups, but the language barrier (see Chapter 10 on language barrier) will prove to be most dysfunctional and, independent of all prejudicial factors, will provide a very significant obstacle to good adjustment.

One final generalization regarding the relatively constant levels of participation in each organization, centers around the possibility of widespread involvement of a small number of people. It is quite possible that relatively few families participated in several organizations. Assuming that increased participation would tend to raise the level of social awareness, the participants would be exposed to new alternatives of social behavior. The end result would be an expanded range of activities of a few families in a wide variety of organizations.

Religious Affiliation

Without exception, each person we interviewed professed membership in a local church. Although the extent of their participation in the church's organizational activities is not known, we were able to distinguish certain trends within each ethnic group. The Anglos, for example, all claimed Protestant membership with the exception of one Catholic. Baptist and Methodist affiliations predominated while many professed membership in more emotionally expressive

groups such as the Assembly of God or Jehovah's Witness, both being mentioned frequently.

The Negro group expressed membership preferences similar to the Anglos with the exception that we found no Catholics among the former group. Each Negro professed Protestant membership, most often as Baptist or Methodist.

The Mexican Americans in our study, however, were not so similar. Nineteen or 18.6 per cent of 102 Mexican Americans interviewed professed Protestant memberships. This is surprising since the predominant faith among Mexican Americans has traditionally been Catholicism.⁴ It may be that this points up assimilation and attitudinal change among younger group members although the average age of the Mexican American Protestants was 37.4, only slightly younger than the average age of the group as a whole. (See Table 7 on age distribution.)

On the whole, however, the great majority, 81.6 per cent, of the Mexican American tornado victims whom we interviewed had been members of the San Jose Catholic Church in the Guadalupe neighborhood. Many of them expressed a longing to return to the familiarity and in-group feeling to which they had been accustomed, with the church as the central, unifying agency.* The church itself was not destroyed by the storm, but its distance from the Parkway area posed many problems, especially for the older members of the community and those with inadequate or insufficient transportation. Although another Catholic church, Saint Patrick's, was located within a few blocks of their new homes, many of the Mexican Americans were reluctant to attend a new and different church. This

*Before the tornado, the San Jose Catholic Church and the Guadalupe Center (settlement type) had been the focal agencies among the Mexican Americans, according to an interview with Paulina Jacobo, a well-known Mexican American in Lubbock. Coincidentally, because of the protection of an overpass trestle, the church, the school and the center were not damaged by the tornado.

was undoubtedly due to a wish to cling to the familiar after the disruptive trauma of the tornado. The adjustment which would be required in changing to a new church was apparently frightening to some and many seemed to prefer non-participation to the threat of re-adjustment. This may mirror the church's cohesive and unifying influence in the Mexican American community; its absence may prove to be a key factor in any rapid adjustment to the new neighborhood.

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PART THREE

XII. ATTITUDES AND ADJUSTMENTS IN A TRI-ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOOD

Education, Age and Adjustment

We earlier discussed the correlation between education and adjustment. A third intervening variable of age is a significant factor relative to education and adjustment.

Studies have shown that acceptance of change, integration advocacy, and educational attainment are highly, positively correlated.¹ In general, the higher the age, the higher the rate of prejudice, the greater the discrimination, and the less the acceptance of untraditional views.² For example, a desire for educational and residential integration has been slight among southern Anglos. In fact, the 1965 Gallup poll (May 23, 1965) reported that in 1963, 61 per cent of white southern parents would have objected to sending their children to a school where a few of the students were colored.³ Similar discrimination, although less intense, has been found to exist between Anglos and Mexican Americans in regard to integration.⁴ Thus in areas of high educational attainment, less prejudice, discrimination, and more tolerance are expected to be found. Prejudice is expected to be greater among those with low educational levels of attainment than among high levels.⁵

Age and Education

In our sample of 200 families, we found age and education to be highly, negatively correlated within and among all three ethnic groups. That is, the older the respondent, the fewer were his years of formal education. This relationship varied among the three groups but was relatively consistent with each group. Although the ethnic groups varied considerably in both age composition and educational attainments, in each group age and education were inversely related. In order to present the data more clearly, we divided each ethnic group into an older and a younger group.

We chose the median age of each group as the dividing point. Thus for each ethnic group we have two age categories; one younger than the median age of that group and another older than the median age. (See Table 10 and Figures 16-21). Furthermore, by considering only those below or above the median age, we were able to compare statistically the two groups in a more meaningful way.*

We correlated the variables of age and educational level and indicated them on six scatterplots offered in this chapter as Figures 16-21. We plotted the educational level of each age cohort and drew a linear regression to indicate the trend of the correlation.** We then computed the Pearsonian correlation coefficient which is recorded beneath the chart to indicate the strength of the correlation.

Anglos: Age and Education

The median age of the Anglos in our sample is 42.3. The young Anglos, less than 42.3 years of age, had completed an average educational level of 12 years, the highest of any age and/or ethnic group of our sample. The range of educational level was only ten years, a reliable indication that most respondents had completed nearly the average number of years of education. A more accurate indication is provided by the standard deviation about the mean of only 1.62 and a variance of 2.62. (See Table 10.) In other words, as Figure 16 illustrates, most responses were clustered about the twelve year educational level. Only a few cases varied extremely from the mean of twelve years.

Between the ages of 18 and 27, we found very little variation in educational level. Most of this age category had completed at least the twelfth grade and a few had completed more. From ages 28 to 36 there was more variation

* We employed several measures of variability including the range, standard deviation, and variance of each group.

** The regression line follows point of average educational level for a particular age cohort. Thus the average level of education for each age category constitutes the point of the regression line.

TABLE 10
AGE AND EDUCATION BY ETHNIC GROUP AND MEDIAN AGE

	ANGLOS		NEGROES		MEXICAN AMERICANS	
	Less Than Median Age	More Than Median Age	Less Than Median Age	More Than Median Age	Less Than Median Age	More Than Median Age
Average Level of Education	12.0	9.3	11.5	9.0	8.4	3.6
Range	6-16 (10 yrs.)	4-16 (12 yrs.)	5-14 (9 yrs.)	0-13 (13 yrs.)	0-14 (14 yrs.)	0-15 (15 yrs.)
Standard Deviation	1.62	2.84	2.06	3.31	2.63	3.54
Variance	2.62	7.61	8.06	10.89	6.92	12.53

in educational levels and a slight tendency toward less years of education. As the ages increased toward the median age, this tendency toward less education continues. Thus, the young Anglo group was consistent in high educational attainments among the young with a progressive trend toward less consistency and less education as age increases.

The Anglos who were older than the median age, 42.3 years, and had completed an average level of only 9.3 years, 2.7 years less than their youthful counterparts. There was a much greater variation in educational levels (see Table 10) as the variance of 7.61 indicates. Furthermore, the youngest of this group had completed a relatively high educational level and, as age increased for this group, education decreased. (See Figure 17.)

The regression line of both groups indicates the high negative correlation between age and education. A correlation coefficient of $-.80$ for the younger group and $-.83$ for the older group indicates the progressive trend toward less education with each age increase.

Thus the Anglos were relatively homogeneous educationally. The fact that most younger members of this group had received at least a high school degree is indicative of the increased emphasis upon education and the often mandatory diploma for job acceptance. Yet, the Anglos were neither as young nor as well educated as the Negroes who represent a less consistent group educationally than the Anglos.

Negroes: Age and Education

The Negroes of our sample were relatively young. It has already been discussed that the median age of this group, 33.0 years, was almost nine years less than either of the other two groups.* When we divided this group into those younger and those older than the median age, several

*See discussion of age and ethnic groups, Chapter 8 of this paper.

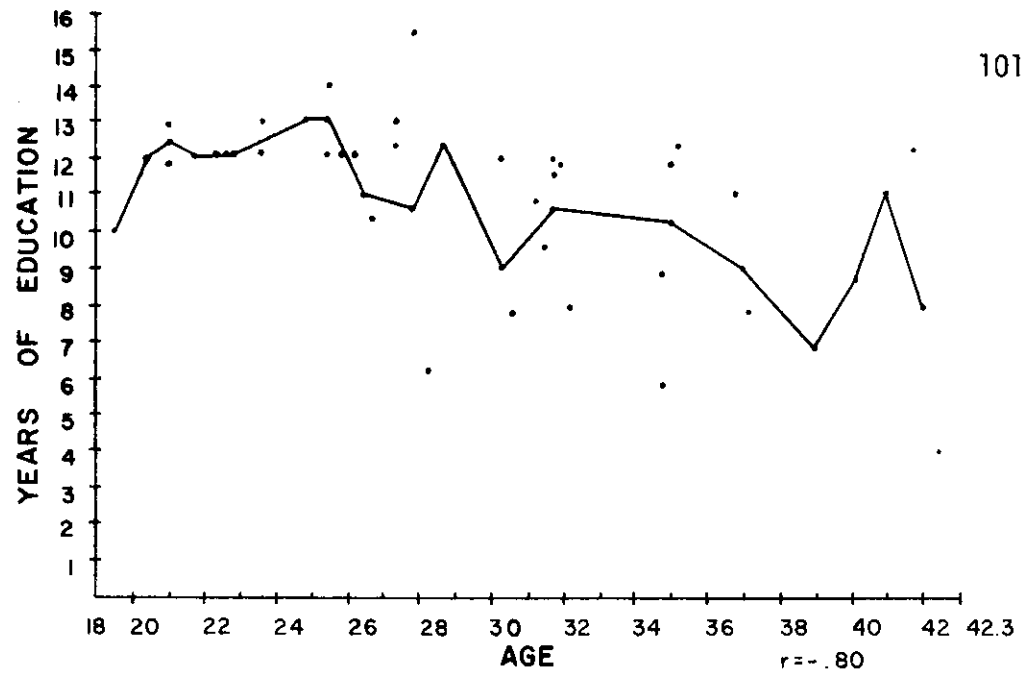


FIGURE 16. ANGLOS: AGE AND EDUCATION YOUNGER THAN MEDIAN AGE

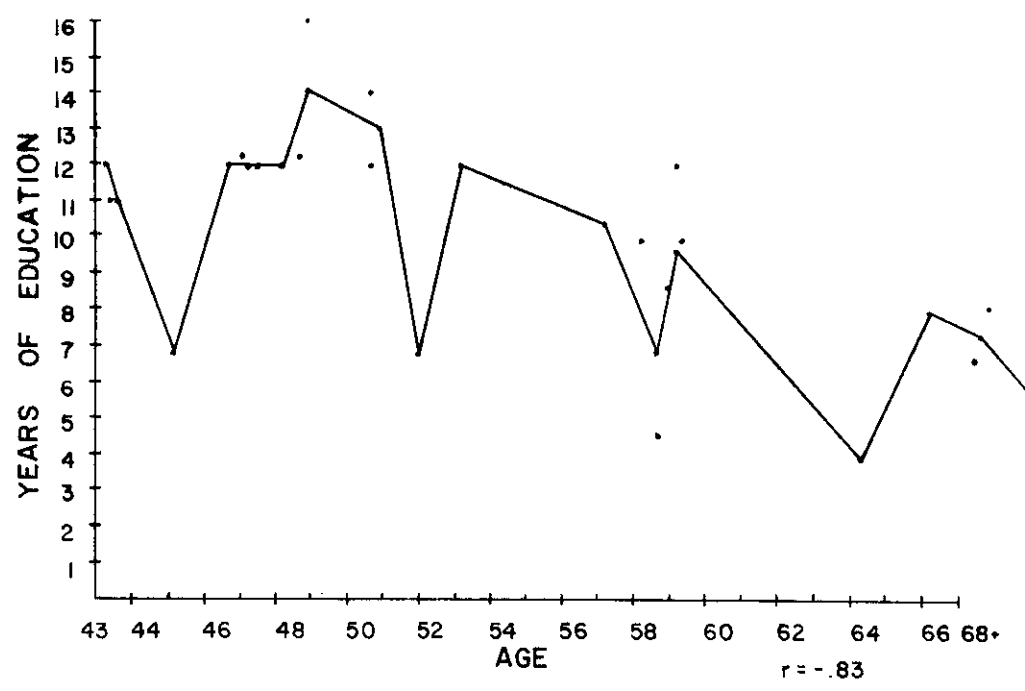


FIGURE 17. ANGLOS: AGE AND EDUCATION OLDER THAN MEDIAN AGE

differences were revealed.

The young group of Negroes were better educated than their older counterparts. The young group had completed an average of 11.5 years as compared with only nine years for those older than 33 years. Furthermore, the young Negroes were much less varied in their educational attainments than were the older group. The standard deviation about the mean of the young group was 2.06 with a variance of 4.24 while the standard deviation of the older group was 3.31 with a variance of 10.89. This indicates that the younger group was much more alike in its educational attainments with less range of achievement than the older group.

It is significant that neither of the Negro age groups was as highly, negatively correlated by age and education as either of the other two ethnic groups. The younger Negroes had only a $-.54$ correlation and the older group had a $-.48$ correlation. (See Figures 18 and 19.) This indicates a somewhat weaker correlation than might be expected in comparison with the other ethnic groups. Upon closer observation, however, it becomes apparent that an increase in age does not predict a decrease in educational level as closely. This is partly due to the youthful composition of this ethnic group which finds many of its members among those affected by mandatory school attendance and recently emphasized higher education.* Also, the group is predominantly urban and many of its members are young enough to have escaped the rural value system of the older generation who may have migrated to the city from rural areas. We also mentioned earlier that the Parkway area was one of the few integrated housing areas in the city and, consequently, we found Negroes of middle and upper middle socio-economic status who were, to a degree, forced to locate in this area while the Anglos were able to move

* See discussion of Negro educational achievements, Chapter 9.

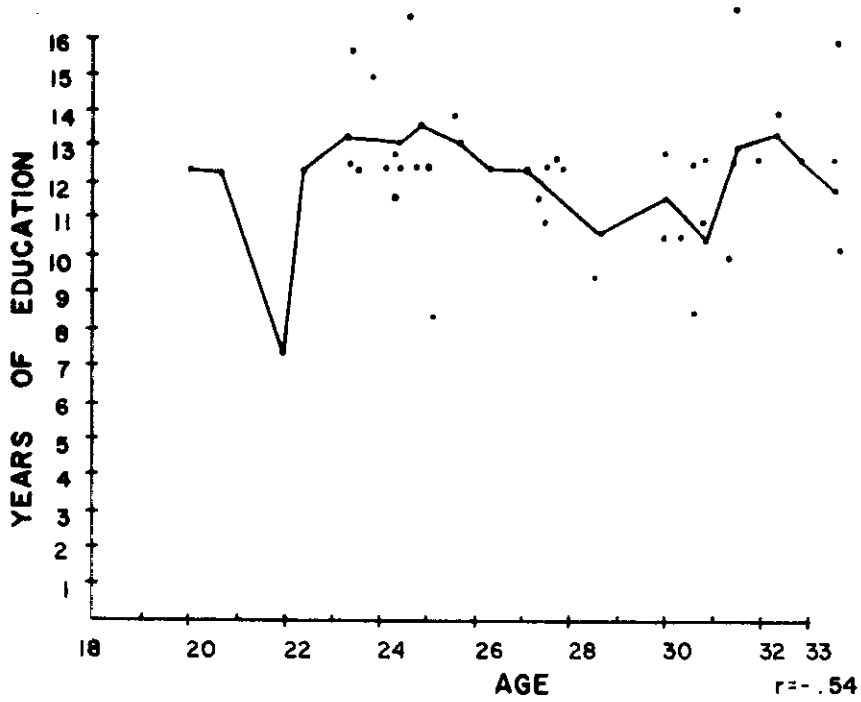


FIGURE 18. NEGROES: AGE AND EDUCATION YOUNGER THAN MEDIAN AGE

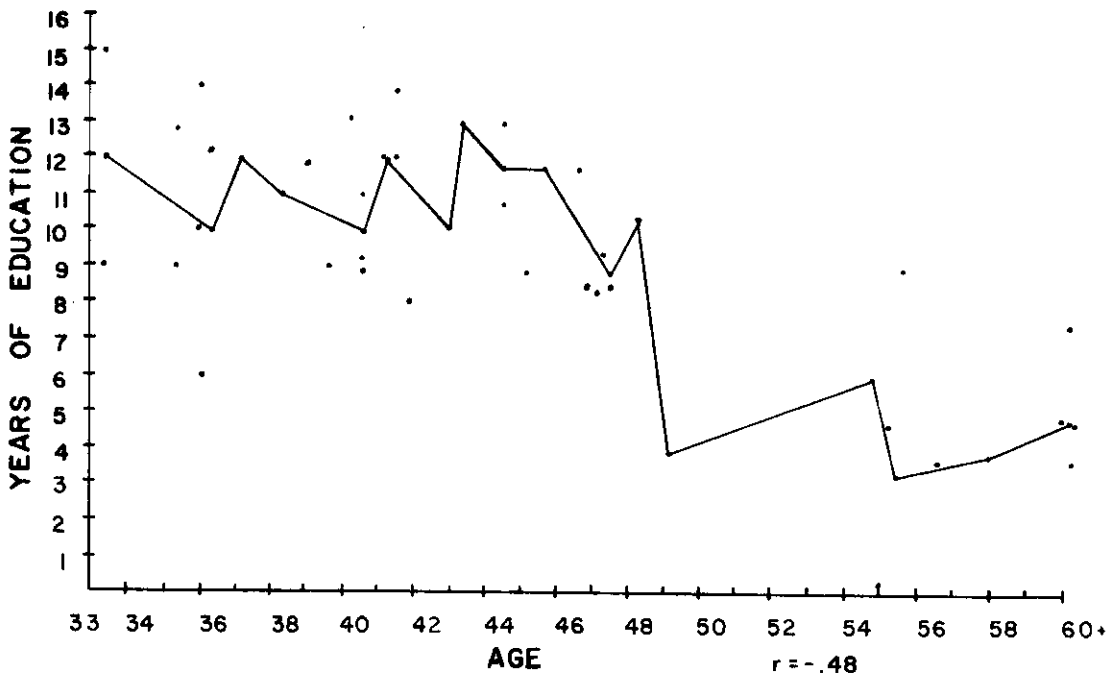


FIGURE 19. NEGROES: AGE AND EDUCATION OLDER THAN MEDIAN AGE

away if they wished. Thus educational and socio-economic levels were less commensurate for many members of this group.

It should be noted that there is only a slight decrease in educational level with increased age among the younger Negroes. Among the older group, however, there is a much more marked decline in educational attainment as a function of age increase.

Although the Negro group showed less negative correlation between age and education, they represent a more homogeneous group educationally than the Mexican American group. They are generally highly educated with an overall group average attainment of 9.9 years, with 11.5 average years of education for the younger group and 9.0 years for the older group. The Mexican American group is an entirely different story.

Mexican Americans: Age and Education

We found more contrast between the age categories of this group than either of the other two. As a group, the Mexican Americans had attained an average educational level of only 5.3 years. In spite of this rather low figure, the younger group, less than the median age of 42.3 years, had completed an average of 8.4 years (see Table 10). The older group, in comparison, had completed an average of only 3.6 years, a difference of 4.8 or a difference of almost five years between the two age categories. Thus we found a youthful Mexican American group of much more education than the older group. However, the lack of educational attainments of this group is evident. Even though the younger Mexican Americans had received two and one-half times the formal education of the older members of this group, the level of achievement of the younger group was still lower than any other age cohort of either of the two other ethnic groups. (See Table 10.) The level of 8.4 for the younger Mexican Americans is .6 years less than the older Negroes and .9 years less than the older Anglos. In comparison with their own age cohorts, the Mexican Americans attained 3.1 years less than the

Negroes and 3.6 years less than the Anglos of the same age category.

The Mexican Americans presented a wider variation of educational levels than either of the other two ethnic groups. The older group was the most varied of any group (see Table 10) with a standard deviation of 3.54 and a variance of 12.53. The younger Mexican American group was somewhat less diverse with a variance of 6.92 and a standard deviation of 2.63. (See Figures 20 and 21.)

The younger group presented a high negative correlation between age and educational level, $-.82$. The older group showed only a $-.52$ correlation. Thus for the group who were younger than the median age, generally, the younger the age, the higher the predicted educational level. The older group tended to be consistently low in educational attainments and, consequently, the regression line indicates neither increase nor decrease in educational level as age increases. Thus the reason for the relatively low correlation coefficient is explained by this consistency of low education of the older group.

The Mexican Americans are low in educational achievements as a group, yet the contrast between the two age categories indicates the trend toward higher educational attainments. With more education we may expect an increase in social and economic status, job opportunity, and the consequent decline of ethnic and racial prejudice.

In sum, among the three ethnic groups of our study, there was a generally high, negative correlation between age and educational level. The older Mexican Americans were the lowest in educational achievements and exhibited the greatest variance of years completed in education. The younger Anglos were the most highly educated of the age cohorts and ethnic groups, and they also showed the least amount of variance about the mean educational level. The Negroes of both age categories were comparatively more highly educated and displayed little diversity in the

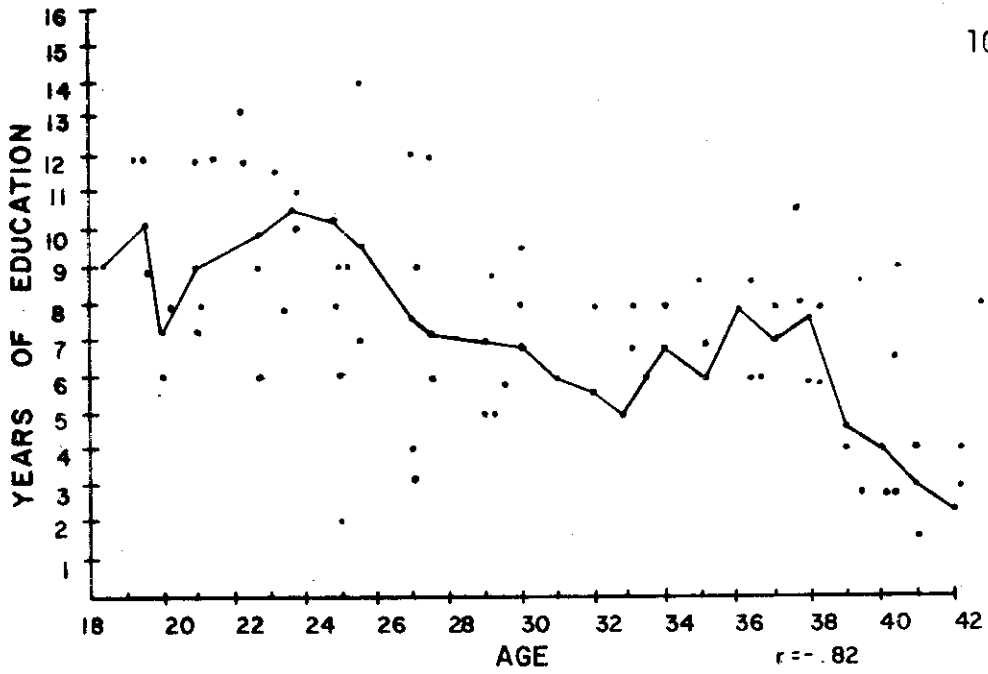


FIGURE 20. MEXICAN AMERICANS: AGE AND EDUCATION YOUNGER THAN MEDIAN AGE

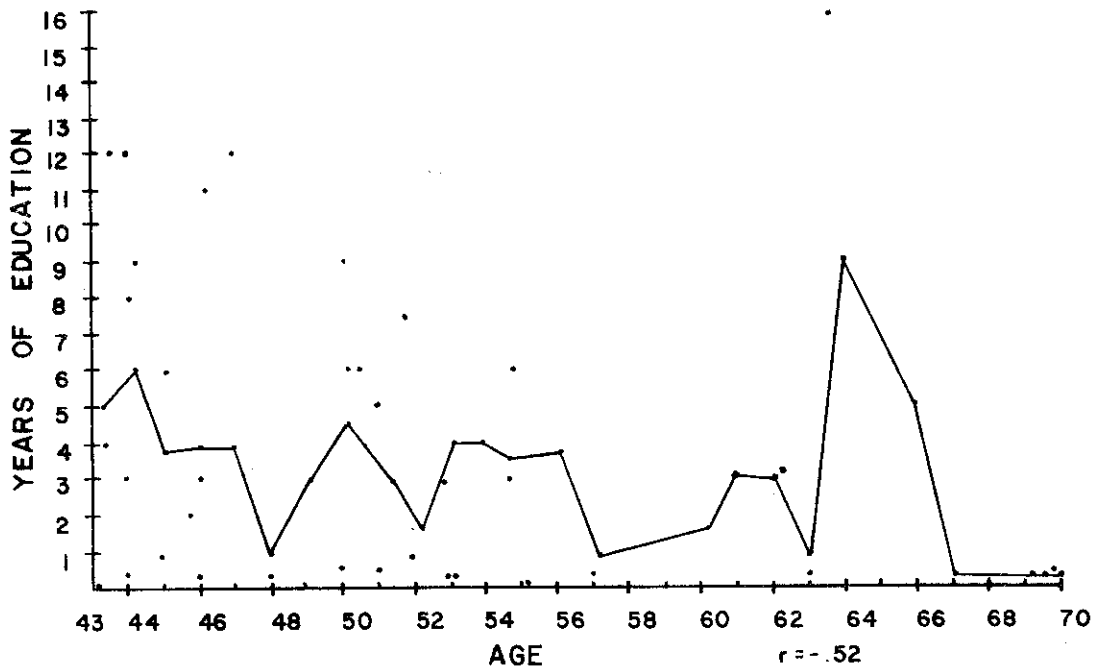


FIGURE 21. MEXICAN AMERICANS: AGE AND EDUCATION OLDER THAN MEDIAN AGE

general pattern of high educational attainments.

Thus the Anglos were relatively highly educated, the Negroes ranked second, and the Mexican Americans third in educational attainments. Considered by age cohorts, however, the younger members of each ethnic group were better educated than the older members.

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XIII. ETHNIC RELATIONS AND PREJUDICE

In our study we were interested in the adjustment patterns of three different ethnic groups: Anglo, Negro and Mexican Americans. We observed the influence of several independent variables upon this dependent variable of adjustment such as language, ethnicity (race), occupational status, etc. We have already discussed the direct influence of many such variables upon adjustment; it will be helpful now to indicate a few of the interrelationships among the dependent variables.

Prejudice has been defined as "a covert attitude or feeling, positive or negative, which is expressed through discriminatory acts."¹ It has been suggested that prejudice is the result of frustration caused by a blocked goal. The "scapegoat" hypothesis is derived from such displaced aggression. Other theories assume that limited goods, invidiously distributed, produce prejudice. Simpson and Yinger cite the cultural heritage as the source of prejudice.² Regardless of the hypothesis, discriminatory acts and statements are evidence of prejudice which directly affects the adjustment of any ethnic group.

Discrimination and prejudice are highly correlated with the adequacy of ethnic relations. Recent studies have shown that, indeed, prejudice is a highly significant factor in predicting the adjustment of minority groups as well as attitudes relative to integration.³ Also, since race and prejudice are very often juxtaposed as to be almost synonymous, there is little necessity to indicate the interrelationship between these two variables.

Inasmuch as each of the three groups in our study are racially homogeneous, we may discuss each in terms of their particular attitudes.* Therefore, the amount of

*Although there were occasional relatively wide ranges of scores for a particular variable, the overall variation among each group was rather small and the groups were very similar in almost every respect.

racial prejudice exhibited by a group is unique with that group. One such factor is the language barrier. Since a language difference exists only for the Mexican Americans in our study, it is a unique problem with to group. Since the language barrier inhibits communication, researchers such as Bracey have found a high positive correlation between prejudice and a language barrier,⁵ even in cases of a common language, if there is little or no communication among neighbors. Since the language barrier inhibits communication, suspicion and distrust follow.⁴ These problems are amplified when there is no possibility of conversation and the result may, consequently, be fear and prejudice.⁶

The language barrier was evident in the large percentage of Mexican Americans of our sample who were unable to read or write English, 78 per cent. Furthermore, we found many cases of Mexican Americans who were unable to express themselves adequately in spoken English.

Yet, in spite of this barrier, this group appears to have been best able to adjust. It seems that the other two groups became dissatisfied with the neighborhood because they were unable to communicate with their new neighbors rather than the converse. Thus, rather than the Mexican Americans becoming dissatisfied with their neighbors because of the language barrier, their neighbors developed negative attitudes and prejudices toward the Mexican Americans because of this barrier.* We asked members of all three groups what they either liked or disliked about the neighborhood. In similar expressions, we heard nine Anglos remark:

"I can't tell what they (the Mexican American neighbors) are saying, and I'm always afraid they're talking about me."

A number of Negroes stated:

"I don't mind having new neighbors, but I wish I had one I could visit and talk with."

*See discussion of attitudinal adjustment, Chapter 14.

Language created, thus, a problem of adjustment among all three ethnic groups but, apparently, no greater among the Mexican Americans than among the other two groups.

Prejudice and Social Participation

It has been shown that organizational participation and racial prejudice are negatively correlated.⁷ That is, the more often one participates in organized interaction, the less likely he is to be prejudiced. It has also been shown that high participation in primary group structures has significantly less effect upon prejudiced attitudes than does participation in secondary organizations.⁸ Thus prejudice is most likely to occur where social contact is limited to one's primary group.

Similarly, frequency of contact and proximity of living quarters have been found to be negatively related to prejudice.⁹ Finally, the range of organizational contacts has been shown to be negatively related to prejudice.¹⁰

To restate, prejudice is negatively related to organizational participation, (especially secondary organizations) frequency of contact, and proximity of living quarters. Therefore, as each of the latter variables increase in intensity, prejudice decreases; as social distance decreases, prejudice declines.

In our study, we found that the language barrier inhibited the frequency of contacts among Mexican Americans in regard to the other two groups. Among Negroes and Anglos, frequency of social interaction proved to be negatively related to racial prejudice. We found only two instances of overt discrimination, both of which were Anglo against Negro. Generally, however, increased interaction resulted in greater empathy and understanding among groups. In each instance of overt prejudice, there had been a minimum of social contact between the parties and this was usually in the form of a confrontation. Other instances were based upon gossip or unfounded tales of other-group misbehavior.

We found that most, 86 per cent, of the community members belonged to only one formal organization which was

usually a church. The Anglos participated most often in formal organizations, Negroes were the next most active participants, and Mexican Americans joined the fewest organizations. However, for organizations whose membership was drawn largely from only one ethnic group, such as Mi Casita or the Catholic church, naturally, the organizational participation was predominantly of that ethnic group.

The Mexican Americans of our sample were, therefore, typical of the larger Mexican American population of the United States. It has been found that although "scores" of Mexican American organizations exist with membership limited to that ethnic group, membership is characteristically composed of a nucleus of members who appear repeatedly on the rosters of many organizations.¹¹ That is, only a small number concurrently comprise the active membership of several organizations. Thus as a group, the Mexican Americans are organizationally inactive, i.e. in formal associations or reluctant to join. Or, it may be a family or culture pattern of not belonging. That is, other studies have shown that the kitchen may serve as the nucleus of visits and group participation among poorer economic groups.¹² Belonging to voluntary organizations is also a matter of time, distance, and money which the people do not have in abundance.

Regarding membership in organizations of dominant culture, it has been shown that Anglo attitudes in the Southwest are significantly more receptive to Mexican American than to Negro membership.¹³ Therefore, although the Negroes may have experienced more barriers to organizational participation, they join their own organizations more readily than the Mexican Americans. The Mexican Americans, conversely, have more organizational avenues available to them, because of less exclusions in Anglo groups, yet they join fewer organizations than the Negroes.

This phenomenon may be explained, at least partly, by the different value systems. We discussed earlier in

this paper the middle class orientation of the Negroes. The Mexican American group is traditionally less motivated to join and, hence, have fewer middle class values.

The nature of the organization's structure is highly related to its membership. For example, formal organizations (such as the American Red Cross) have been found to be more efficacious in disaster situations yet informal, less efficient but more personalized organizations (such as the Salvation Army) were more favorably received and remembered by those whom they served.¹⁴ The disaster victims remembered not the efficient housing and food given but the hand that gave the coffee and doughnuts. Also, the pattern of formal organizational participation is greater and more frequent among middle than lower classes; the lower class members, consequently, of each ethnic group are less likely to belong to formal organizations. Since class values follow ethnic as well as economic lines, it is not surprising that organizational membership should be higher among Anglos and Negroes than among Mexican Americans.

In summary, we found the language barrier to be a significant factor relative to prejudice between the Mexican Americans and the other two groups. Proximity of residence, however, appears to have been positively related to neighborliness and adjustment, while frequency and range of social interaction enhanced adjustment for all three groups. Although participation in formal organizations has been found to be negatively related to prejudice, Anglos have been more receptive to Mexican Americans rather than to Negroes. In spite of this, we found a great number of discriminatory statements by the Anglos directed at Mexican Americans. In these cases, prejudice appears to have been negatively related to social interaction and communication among all three groups.

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XIV. SATISFACTIONS: LIVING IN AN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD

One section of the interview schedule included questions to assess the respondents' feelings about living in a racially integrated neighborhood. The questions were made open-ended to provide for additional information in areas where quantitative "yes" or "no" types of inquiries were inadequate. Sensitive questions regarding race relations were asked near the end of the interview after good rapport had been established. Nevertheless, 23 of the interviewees chose to give ambiguous answers, or not to answer at all. The questions seemed to invite and evoke a wide range of responses which included not only the subject of integration, but a whole variety of complaints and evaluations regarding the general state of affairs in the Parkway area.

Both the favorable and unfavorable responses received from the sample were categorized according to ethnic group in order to determine and compare each group's reaction to living in an integrated environment. The unsolicited responses regarding other aspects of the neighborhood were directed primarily toward its physical condition.

Favorable Responses

Eight of the Mexican Americans said they were accustomed to living with Anglos and did not mind living in the integrated neighborhood. Four reported they enjoyed living with other ethnic groups because they felt their children could learn with greater ease to speak English. The other most typical response given by the Mexican Americans was, to the effect, that they liked living in an integrated neighborhood because they had a greater opportunity to meet other kinds of people. Sixteen, or 29 per cent, of the Mexican Americans who responded to the questions relative to integration gave favorable answers.

Ten of the Anglos, 30 per cent of those who answered the integration questions, gave favorable responses. Four

Anglos said they were glad that their children had the opportunity to play with children from different ethnic groups. Three Anglos indicated satisfaction with the integration because they were able to see, for the first time, how other ethnic groups lived. One of the most notable remarks, made by an Anglo, was, "We are fortunate to live in an area such as this so we can prepare our child for reality in an integrated setting."

The Negroes, on the whole, had the largest number, 22, and highest percentage, 66.6, of the three ethnic groups, of favorable replies to living in an integrated neighborhood. This may have been due, in part, to an occasional "Uncle Tom" type response. Also, many of the Negroes chose to live in the Parkway area long before the influx created by the tornado. Other factors affecting the Negro's level of acceptance of the integrated conditions included, a relatively high occupational level as compared to the other two groups in our sample and especially a higher than average level of formal education. In previous studies where the conditions mentioned here were given, the level of acceptance expressed by Negroes for integrated situations was also very high.¹

The more frequent and typical answers given by Negroes in response to the questions related to integration were: "It's no different than living in a segregated neighborhood" -- "Living here provides an opportunity for different kinds of people to get along together" -- "The children are becoming accustomed to all groups." *

Unfavorable Responses

Regarding unfavorable responses to living in an integrated neighborhood, the limited numerical breakdown by ethnic groups is as follows: 11 Mexican American--25.9 per cent, 7 Anglo--10.0 per cent, 2 Negro, 1.6 per cent.

One of the most frequent responses given by Anglo and

*The responses given above represent a general summary of the 22 Negro responses.

Mexican American women was, to the effect, they were afraid of Negro men. Stated in several different ways, another very popular reply was, there needs to be more racial balance in the neighborhood. Responses of that type usually came from members of a household who were isolated in a block occupied primarily by members of other ethnic groups. Several Mexican Americans stated their preference for an all "Chicano" neighborhood. They would rather have neighbors, as in their old neighborhood in Guadalupe, who spoke the same language. The Mexican Americans seemed, more than the other two groups, to be more free in expressing their overt feelings of resentment. The Anglos were more guarded than the other two groups in their expressions of dislike for the integrated situation. It was clear, however, that some of them resented the arbitrary integration of the area. An additional point of dissatisfaction for the Anglos was the implication of other racial groups meant that they were now of the same lower economic status which has been associated with the Parkway area. Typically, the Negroes in the sample gave ambiguous replies instead of negative responses.

Several responses were given by the members of the sample which were not directly related to the question of feelings about living in an integrated neighborhood, but were considered important enough to include under this chapter. Much of the information relates to the location of the neighborhood. For example, there were 15 comments relating to the distance of the area from the downtown.

One person said he liked living in the Parkway area because it was quiet and far from the "hub-bub" of the city. Six others, however, felt that the new area was inconvenient, as it was too far from their places of employment, their favorite shopping centers and their old friends. Four said they felt they had lost a sense of "home" which had been experienced in the old areas. As a result, many were reluctant to associate with their

new neighbors and would, whenever possible, return to the old areas to visit their friends.

A few of the families, four, who were already settled in the Parkway area before the tornado victims moved in, made remarks to the effect that the neighborhood was improved. It was no longer so vacant and lonely as there were many more people with whom to make friends. On the other hand, there were seven established residents of this area who deeply resented the fact that the newcomers, the storm victims, were able to purchase the same quality homes for a greatly reduced price. Both the price of the houses and amortization seemed inequitable to them. One interviewee suggested that the houses should be the same price for the settled and the storm victims with, however, a longer amortization period for the latter group.

Still other remarks were directed toward the services and facilities provided for the area. A few people complained about the poor trash collection service, while others were upset about not getting new fences built around their yards. Several of the people interviewed who had small children were concerned about the lack of play areas in the neighborhood.

On the whole, however, the respondents seemed to be generally satisfied with the physical state of affairs in the neighborhood. The variety of lesser complaints were to be expected, given the seemingly deserted condition of the houses in this area before the storm victims moved in. Furthermore, there had been wide-spread, although minor, vandalism in the area. Also, the vacant houses had suffered a normal amount of weathering and were much in need of minor repairs and refinishing.

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XV. ATTITUDES TOWARD LIVING IN THE PARKWAY NEIGHBORHOOD

A Quantitative Analysis

In the earlier discussion of our theoretic approach, we outlined several areas in which we expected change to occur during the course of the study. One of these areas involves the feelings toward living in the community among both the permanent, settled members of the Parkway neighborhood and those tornado victims who were moved there after the storm.

We mentioned earlier that many of the tornado victims had formerly lived in the Guadalupe "barrio" where kinship ties, ethnic similarities, and common backgrounds had created strong feelings of togetherness among the community members. We were interested in determining whether or not these same feelings of unity would be reestablished in the new neighborhood. The "settled" or former members of the Parkway area, we predicted, had been relatively satisfied with their neighborhood at the time of the reallocation of tornado victims into their midst. Thus we anticipated a situation in which both the "tornado" and "settled" groups, accustomed to frequent interaction and an attitude of sharing, were suddenly confronted with unfamiliar neighbors, in many cases from different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. We were, therefore, keenly interested in observing the subsequent adjustment process.

The process of adjustment involves changes in attitude, both positively and negatively. For the purposes of this discussion, a positive change is considered to be any change in attitude that may be regarded as an increase in favorable feelings about the neighborhood. Similarly, a negative change is any decrease in favorable feelings about the neighborhood.

We theorized that, at first, contact with the other racial groups would be acceptable or even novel and

attractive, especially when sympathy ran high for the tornado victims. We theorized that actual contacts over a time span, three to nine months, would, however, change the attitudes of satisfaction negatively or positively. The change would, however, be correlated to the gradational intensity of the earlier attitudes toward adjustment or satisfactions with the neighborhood and neighbors. For this reason, we expected to find propitious responses to our first interviews, administered to 200 families of both the "tornado" victims and the "settled" group immediately following the storm. We asked the 200 members of both groups how they liked living in this neighborhood. We reinterviewed one-half of the 200 subjects some three months later and asked them how they liked the neighborhood in an effort to determine the degree of positive or negative attitudinal change which had occurred during that time. Finally, we selected a sample of 130 of the original respondents (all or 105 of the "tornado" and 30 of the "settled" group) and asked them, by means of a mailed questionnaire, how they liked living in their new neighborhood, covering a period from five to six months after the second interview. Thus we witnessed the adjustment and attitudinal change of selected subjects throughout a period of about nine months. The findings are recorded in Tables 11, 12 and 13.

Attitudinal Changes

At the end of our first schedule, after we had established effective rapport, we asked the question, "How much do you like living here?" Responses were recorded within a categorical gradation including the possibilities of "like very much," "like much," "dislike much," and "dislike very much," * At the time of our second

* We omitted "indifferent" or "don't know" since we felt our respondents would find it too easy to use this category. However, some volunteered such an answer, and we did record their replies.

TABLE 11
 ETHNIC COMPOSITION, SAMPLE 200 FAMILIES: "SETTLED" AND "TORNADO" GROUPS
 (First Interview)

	"SETTLED GROUP"			"TORNADO GROUP"			Total of Sample	
	Number in Category	% of Ethnic Group Composition	% of Settled Group Composition	Number in Category	% of Ethnic Group Composition	% of Tornado Group Composition	No.	%
Anglo	22	45.8	23.2	26	54.2	24.8	48	24
Negro	50	96.2	52.6	2	3.8	1.0	52	26
Mexican American	23	23.0	24.2	77	77.0	73.3	100	50
Total	95	--	100.0	105	--	100.0	200	100

interview, three months later, we asked the question: "Now that you have lived here a few months, do you like living here?" Responses to this question were placed into gradational categories of "better," "same," "don't know," and "worse." Thus we were able to assess the initial feelings of the respondents toward their neighbors and to ascertain the number of direction of attitudinal change, between the time of the first and second interviews, for both the total number of respondents and for each individual.

Analysis revealed several quantitative changes which occurred between the times of our first and second interviews, recorded in Table 12. The attitudinal changes for individual cases, however, are shown in Table 13, page 132.

These different tables were necessary because the total number of satisfied respondents may have been no greater, at the time of the second interview; in several individual cases attitudinal changes did occur. Thus if the number of positive attitudinal changes recorded were the same as the number of negative changes, the cumulative results would show that no quantitative change had occurred even though there had been a change in some individual cases. For this reason, Table 13 is included to show the type and degree of change for each individual.

Before discussing the attitudinal changes among the three groups, it will be helpful to indicate again the ethnic composition of the Parkway neighborhood before the tornado victims were reallocated. We may infer, from the 95 families of the "settled" group in our sample, that the population of the Parkway area before the tornado was predominately Negro with a small percentage of Anglo and Mexican American families. Of the "settled" group in our sample, we found that 50 or 52 per cent were Negroes, 22 or 23.2 per cent Anglos, and 23 or 24.2 per cent Mexican Americans.

These figures are significant since, in contrast, in our sample of the "tornado" group, 77 or 73.5 per cent,

TABLE 12

ADJUSTMENT, ATTITUDINAL CHANGE: BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND INTERVIEWS

First Inter- view *Based Upon 200	Like Living Here						Dislike Living Here						Total In Category
	Very Much		Much		Total		Very Much		Much		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
ANGLO	23	47.9	16	33.3	39	81.2	1	2.0	8	16.6	9	18.7	48
NEGRO	29	55.8	19	36.5	48	92.3	0	0	4	7.7	4	7.7	52
MEXICAN AMERICAN	50	50.0	42	42.0	92	92.0	0	0	8	8.0	8	8.0	100

Second Inter- view *Based Upon 100	Like Living Here						Dislike Living Here						Total in Category
	Very Much		Much		Total		Very Much		Much		Total		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
ANGLO	12	46.1	3	11.5	15	57.7	3	11.5	8	30.7	11	42.3	26
NEGRO	19	61.2	6	19.3	25	80.6	1	3.2	5	16.1	6	19.4	30
MEXICAN AMERICAN	23	52.2	12	27.2	35	79.5	4	9.0	5	11.3	9	20.5	44

were Mexican American. Our impression is that the immediate affect of such a radical residential redistribution was the development of an attitude of acceptance or indifference relative to an emergency situation. After a period of living together, however, this attitude changed, in some cases to a feeling of resentment or even hostility.

Attitudes of Anglos

There appears to have been a negative attitudinal change, i.e. liked less, in all groups between the time of our first and second interviews. One of the most pronounced changes occurred among the adult Anglo population. At the time of the first interview, (based on 200 respondents) 39 Anglos or 81.2 per cent, liked living in the community while only 9 or 18.7 per cent disliked the area.

By the time of the second interview, however, (based upon 100 respondents) only 57.7 per cent of the Anglos were satisfied while 42.3 per cent were dissatisfied. There were, subsequently, 23.5 per cent, or nearly one-fourth of the Anglos, whose attitudes had changed negatively. Our analysis revealed that attitudinal change was related to the intensity of liking to live in this neighborhood. Thus it is significant to note that this negative change is most evident in the "like much" category where 16 or 33.3 per cent of Anglo respondents fell, at the time of the first interview. At the second interview, this category contained only 11.5 per cent of the respondents, reflecting the uncertain feelings of the Anglos at the first interview.

For example, some Anglo responses at the time of the first interview were:

"They (Negro or Mexican American neighbors) don't bother me and I don't bother them."

"We seldom see each other and, consequently, we get along just fine."

However, these same respondents stated, at the second

interview,

"I don't want my kids playing with his kids."

"We've had to call the police to make him quit making so much noise."

However, the number of Anglos who "liked very much" living in this neighborhood remained relatively unchanged during both interviews. This is, probably, due to the fact that a number of Anglos (in our sample, 22 families or nearly one-fourth) were living in the community when the tornado victims were reallocated there. Since only a few of the Anglo families we interviewed were tornado victims, most responses of the Anglos reflect the attitude of the "settled" group. (See Table 11.) That is, there appears to have been a feeling of indifference or tacit acceptance of the tornado victims by the settled group. This feeling may have been attenuated by the ensuing social contacts which occurred during the following months.

The subsequent, growing feelings of intrusion and displeasure are expressed in the negative responses revealed in the second interview. Thus almost one-fourth, 23.6 per cent, of the Anglos changed their feelings from an attitude of indifference or acceptance to one of displeasure between the first and second interviews. (See Table 12.)

Attitudes of Negroes

Of our total sample of 200 families, the adult Negroes exhibited less attitudinal change than either of the other two groups, Anglo and Mexican Americans, after the three month period between the first and second interviews. Among the Negroes in our sample, almost all, 48 or 92.3 per cent, declared their satisfaction with the neighborhood at the time of the first interview. Less than a fifth, 19.4 per cent, were dissatisfied when we asked them the second time. Thus only 8.5 per cent of all the Negro families we interviewed had become dissatisfied between the time of the two interviews. (See Table 12.)

An explanation of the Negro group's satisfaction

probably lies in the fact that only two Negro families, less than two per cent of our sample of "tornado" victims, were reallocated, as a result of the tornado. In other words, almost all the Negro families we interviewed had been living in the Parkway area at the time of the tornado. They had chosen to live here and were settled families who had become well adjusted to their neighborhood. The sudden introduction of new and different neighbors into their midst was, probably, received as a temporary inconvenience and possibly placed the settled families in the position of "host" to the tornado victims.

It is significant that, among the Negroes as well as the Anglos, the category in which most attitudinal change occurred was among those who were only moderately satisfied with the neighborhood. The Negroes who stated that they were "very satisfied," at the time of the first interview, tended to give the same response at the second interview; their gradational sense of satisfaction did not change. To restate, those persons who were "uncertain" about their feelings, at the time of the first interview, changed their attitudes negatively by the time of the second interview. Those who were "very satisfied" initially tended to maintain the same attitude for the duration of our study. The intensity or degree of satisfaction affected attitudinal changes.

Attitudes of Mexican Americans

We found a similar change in attitude among the Mexican Americans. (See Table 12.) When we first interviewed them, almost all, 92 or 92.0 per cent, said that they were satisfied with the new neighborhood. However, by the time of our second interview, three months later, only 79.5 per cent liked the community. In other words, 11.5 per cent had changed their minds negatively after three months. Moreover, no member of this group initially disliked the community "very much," but nine per cent had developed that attitude at the time of our second interview. Furthermore,

although there was a more than 11 per cent negative attitudinal change among this group, between the first and second interviews, there were seven per cent more who stated that they liked the neighborhood "very much," at the second interview. Thus, although there was an apparently negative attitudinal change for the Mexican American respondents as a group, i.e. from 92.0 to 79.5 per cent, there was an increased percentage of individuals who "liked the neighborhood very much," from 50.0 to 52.2 per cent. (See Table 12.)

The changes of attitude among the Mexican Americans were, probably, due to the initial gratitude most of them felt in just being alive and having a place to live. As time passed, however, the feeling of gratitude may have been superceded by either a feeling of genuine acceptance of others as their new and, probably, permanent neighbors or, negatively, by a growing fear or antagonistic reaction to a new situation. The former represents a positive attitudinal change; the latter a negative one.

In all three groups there appears to have been a large number who were relatively uncertain about their feelings toward their neighbors. These people typically responded, "live and let live," as long as they were not bothered by their neighbors. In many cases, however, they were forced to interact with their racially different neighbors, sometimes in undesired circumstances. For example, implying another racial group, children were often cited as a source of conflict. One lady complained of her child's persecution from neighboring children. Another complained of children having teased her dog unnecessarily. Still another declared that her daughter had been harassed by groups of neighborhood boys. Such incidents (or rumors of such incidents) served to reinforce preconceived fears and prejudice, reflected in negative changes of attitudes.

In summary, it appears that all three ethnic groups of our sample experienced negative attitudinal changes

during the three month interval if their initial attitudes were uncertain immediately after the tornado. The greatest amount of negative change occurred among the Anglos, less among the Mexican Americans, and least among the Negroes. In all three groups, the greatest amount of change occurred among those who were only mildly satisfied or slightly dissatisfied rather than among those whose feelings were very strong either positively or negatively. Specifically, those whose attitudes were gradationally at the upper level, i.e. "liked very much" or "disliked very much" did not change their strong views after their three months' experience in a racially integrated neighborhood.

Qualitative Analysis

Although quantitative data such as we have been describing may serve to highlight areas of change in the sample as a whole, there are many changes which occur and are not reflected in the quantitative accumulation of responses. One of these is the change in an individual's attitude between interviews and over a period of time. Such a qualitative analysis revealed attitudinal change of individuals between the time of the first and second interviews.

The data represent the responses of the 200 families of our sample and are recorded in Table 13. As we have done previously, each ethnic group will be analyzed separately to facilitate comparison among the three groups. Also, since we reinterviewed only one-half of the original 200 families, our qualitative data are relative to the 100 families.

Anglo Adults: Qualitative Responses

There was no positive change among the Anglo adults after a period of three months. It should be remembered that by positive change we mean any attitudinal alteration in the direction of a more favorable feeling, regardless of the original attitude. A negative change is the converse. Thus a change of attitude from "dislike very much" to a

feeling of "dislike much" is, nonetheless, a gradational positive change because it represents a more favorable attitude than the original feeling.

Although no Anglo adult, as an individual, experienced a positive attitudinal change, only four or 16 per cent had a negative alteration of feeling. The vast majority, 22 or 84 per cent, experienced no change of attitude between the times of the two interviews. This is an apparent contradiction of the quantitative findings discussed above (see Table 12) where there was an increase of negative responses from 18.7 per cent at the first interview to 42.3 per cent at the second session. It is ironic because it would appear that the qualitative evidence belies the quantitative data. A closer look at the two tables, however, will clarify this seeming contradiction.

In our discussion of quantitative changes, we hypothesized that the respondents who were most likely to experience a negative attitudinal change were those who were somewhat indifferent at the time of the first interview. We previously inferred that these ambivalent subjects were responsible for the large shift in responses from "like much" to the "dislike much" categories at the second interview. That is, those subjects who were indifferent at the first interview became definitely dissatisfied with the passing of time. Thus rather than negating this hypothesis, the qualitative evidence seems to confirm it.

Analysis of both the quantitative and qualitative data revealed that the feelings and attitudes of most Anglo respondents declined during the summer months. Relative to their initial feelings, most attitudes were more negative when we reinterviewed this group. That is, if the respondent had been indifferent toward his neighbors initially, he had become definitely displeased with them by the time of the second interview. If the respondent had been mildly dissatisfied initially, he had become very dissatisfied by the end of the summer. If he had been mildly satisfied with his neighbors at the outset,

TABLE 13
ATTITUDE CHANGE FOR INDIVIDUAL: ADULTS

	ATTITUDE						CHANGE									
	Liked Before, Dislike Now		Disliked Before, Like Now		Indif-ferent before, Indif-ferent Now		Liked Before, Like Now		Disliked Before, Dislike Now		Total Positive		Total Negative		Total No. Change	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ANGLO	4	16.0	0	0	3	12.0	15	60.0	3	12.0	0	0	4	16.0	22	84.0
NEGRO	5	16.1	0	0	0	0	25	80.6	1	3.2	0	0	5	16.1	26	83.9
MEXICAN AMERICAN	5	11.1	1	2.2	2	4.4	33	73.4	4	8.8	1	2.2	5	11.1	39	86.6

he had become either indifferent or dissatisfied with them, after three months.

The nature of their dissatisfaction took various forms. Typical complaints were:

"Since they (the tornado victims) moved here, the streets have become a racetrack."

Another resident said of his neighbor:

"He seldom speaks unless I speak to him first."

Still another complaint was:

"The neighborhood has become so noisy that it's difficult to sleep at night. Sometimes these people don't go to bed until midnight."

It should be noted that there are apparently certain norms by which the term "good neighbor" is measured. Recent studies have shown that both suburban American dwellers and European urbanites share similar conceptions of a "good neighbor."¹ Characteristics such as respect for privacy, limited sharing of gossip, and limited gregarious behavior are felt to be positive attributes in any neighborhood. These same qualities, or the lack of these qualities, were often the complaints of the families we interviewed.

For example, lack of respect for another's privacy was cited many times as the reason for dissatisfaction. As one lady stated:

"He's always coming over to use my telephone. He never leaves us alone for long."

Some complaints referred to the neighbor's failure to participate socially. It would seem that a desirable neighbor, in most instances, is one who is friendly but not overly intrusive, communicative but not verbose, and congenial but not aggressive.

Nonetheless, we found several instances of rather maladjusted families who complained that a "good neighbor" was measured by other standards than those just described. At one end of an interaction continuum, one might place families who desired almost no social contact. These were families in a sort of psychological retreat, preferring

to avoid interaction as a defense against social rejection. One such case was a racially mixed marriage between an Anglo and a Mexican American. They had been living in a rather secluded area with few neighbors nearby when suddenly they found themselves surrounded by new neighbors, the tornado victims. During our interview with them, the couple stated that they intended to move farther away where it ". . . wasn't so crowded." Further discussion revealed a deep-seated feeling of rejection by both Anglo and Mexican American groups. The couple said that their children were ridiculed while in school and they, as adults, were scorned by both ethnic communities. The solution, in this case, was to retreat from social contact with either group and remain relatively isolated.

We found several cases such as the one just described, yet not all reacted with the mechanism of retreat. In a similar case, the family had withdrawn socially but not physically. That is, they preferred to remain in a populated area but to maintain only a minimum of interaction with their neighbors.

At the other end of the continuum, we found families who demanded an apparent overabundance of social contact. The norm for a "good neighbor" or neighborhood seemed to require almost constant interaction in these instances. Typical of such cases were families who complained that they had been accustomed to a much more lively community and the Parkway area was too quiet. As one woman expressed herself:

"Over there (in the Guadalupe barrio) there was always someone coming by my house. All day, every day, they were knocking at my door. Children, grandchildren, old friends...I never used to be alone. Even while standing in my front yard, people driving by would shout, 'Hi, Maria... How are you, Maria?' Now, there is none of that here. Only a few friends drop by. Sure, I've met my neighbors. We visit in each other's homes, but it's not the same as before.

Such cases were not restricted to a particular group or even age cohort. It appeared to depend more upon

individual personality or familial characteristics than other factors.

However, these represent rather extreme cases. The majority of our sample appeared to share similar expectations of their neighbors. Partly due to such conceptions of a "good neighbor" there was an increase in dissatisfaction among all three groups between the first and second interviews. Statistically, it should be noted that those who were indifferent before and who remained indifferent at the second interview represented only a small percentage, three respondents or 12 per cent. Similarly, three or 12 per cent had been dissatisfied initially and remained dissatisfied at the time of our reinterview. By adding the percentage of Anglo respondents who were indifferent before, 3 or 12 per cent, and the dissatisfied group, it will be seen that there were almost one-fourth, 24 per cent of the Anglos, who were either indifferent or dissatisfied at the time of our first interview. In addition, there was another category of those who had been satisfied before and had become dissatisfied by the time of our second interview, four or 16 per cent. In all, those qualitative responses which were either indifferent or dissatisfied at the time of the second interview, 40 per cent, approximate the quantitative percentage, 42.3 per cent, of dissatisfied respondents at that time. (See Table 12.) Thus there is very little actual difference between the amount of negative quantitative and negative qualitative change for the Anglo group. In sum, both analyses support the conclusion that there was a substantial amount of negative attitudinal change among the Anglo adults of our two samples between the interval of our first and second interviews.

Negro Adults: Qualitative Responses

The Negro adults appear to have experienced relatively less negative qualitative change during the three month period. Although none of this group reported a positive change of attitude between the two interviews, only five

or 16.1 per cent, experienced a negative change. Combining the two categories, more than four-fifths, 26 or 83.8 per cent, reported no change in their initial feelings toward the neighborhood.

This apparent ability to adjust to their new neighbors can be at least partially explained by the fact that almost all, 50 or 96 per cent, of the Negroes in our sample were living in the Parkway area as the "settled" group when the tornado struck. Their attitudes were, consequently, more receptive and often more stable since they were already adjusted to the neighborhood. It may be expected that there should be less change and uncertainty of feeling toward their neighbors than would be the reaction of the tornado victims who were traumatically removed and reallocated in new surroundings.

This, in fact, proved to be true. The Negroes, as the host group, were initially more receptive of their new neighbors and satisfied than either of the other two groups. After three months had elapsed, however, this initial attitude had declined and the Negroes were less satisfied than the Mexican Americans who had originally a lesser attitude of acceptance, (see Table 13).

Mexican American Adults: Qualitative Responses

Of all the respondents we interviewed for the second time, only one, a Mexican American, stated that he had experienced a change from dissatisfaction to satisfaction with the neighborhood after the first three months. Almost three-fourths, 33 or 73.4 per cent, had been satisfied with the neighborhood initially and had remained satisfied when we reinterviewed them for the second time. Only four or 8.8 per cent had been dissatisfied before and were dissatisfied now. (See Table 13.)

The Mexican American group experienced less change of attitude--either negatively or positively--during the first three months than either of the other two groups. (See Table 12.) These findings seem to indicate a more

stable attitude of the Mexican Americans toward their neighbors than that of the Anglos or Negroes. There was less attitudinal change, either positively or negatively, for this group than either the Anglo or Negro group. Furthermore, the only instance of a positive attitudinal change occurred within the Mexican American group. It appears that this group adjusted to the new situation more favorably than either of the other two groups. The reallocation was a fortuitous solution for the homeless Mexican Americans. We can thus conjecture that the Mexican Americans were initially more satisfied than the two other groups and apparently continued to be content with the situation throughout the course of our study.

A Comparison of the Qualitative Findings: An Interpretation

There appears to have been an initial attitude of acceptance among all three groups immediately after the tornado when the families were reallocated in the new neighborhood. The settled Anglos were somewhat less receptive than the settled Negroes toward the tornado victims who were predominantly, 77 or 74 per cent, Mexican American. These Mexican American tornado victims, however, were not dissatisfied with their new neighborhood. Almost all, 92 or 92.0 per cent, of the Mexican Americans were glad to be living in their new homes.

During the summer months, the three groups found themselves in a situation which made adjustment difficult. The Anglos, who had been initially somewhat indifferent toward their neighbors, became less tolerant of having new neighbors, especially members of the two other ethnic groups. The Negroes' attitudes changed negatively during that time (see Table 13) which indicates that some members of this group had difficulty in accepting their new neighbors. The Mexican Americans seem to have been initially very receptive toward their new neighbors and, although in some cases this positive attitude diminished, this group showed less attitudinal change than either of the other two groups.

An explanation for these adjustment differences is likely to be found within the history of the Parkway neighborhood's development. It will be remembered that the neighborhood had been segregated until a few Negro families began moving into the neighborhood only a few years before the tornado's destruction. Therefore, many of the Anglo families we interviewed had been living in the community when it was an all-Anglo, completely segregated neighborhood. The fact that they had not moved out when Negroes began moving in indicates either an acceptance of the Negroes as neighbors or a feeling of resentment for being unable to leave and, consequently, forced to endure an unpleasant situation. This latter feeling appeared to predominate among the Anglos. They often expressed the feeling that economic circumstances had prevented their moving away and they, apparently, had projected these feelings of resentment upon their Negro neighbors initially and upon the tornado victims ultimately.

In addition, the Anglos in our sample had received somewhat less formal education than the Negroes, (see Table 8), a factor which may have influenced the Anglos' feelings toward their Negro neighbors, especially if they felt that the Negroes represented a threat to their job security and social status. This correlation between education and satisfaction is delineated elsewhere in this study.* Interrelated factors such as these contributed to the "settled" Anglos' feelings of hostility and alienation. In other words, they felt trapped.

The Negroes, on the other hand, appeared to be generally well-adjusted, congenial and happy. This is, probably, the result of the two factors discussed elsewhere, i.e. the relation of age and education to adjustment. Since the Negroes in our sample were much younger than the other two groups, the choice of this neighborhood represents,

* See discussion of education and adjustment, Chapter 9.

perhaps, a transitory step in their vertical occupational, residential or social mobility. They seemed quite willing to accept conditions, both pleasant and unpleasant, in that light. Furthermore, almost all of the Negroes had chosen to live there and thus had not developed the feeling of being trapped that many of the Anglos had generated.

The Mexican Americans appeared to be the most flexible of the three groups. More of this group expressed satisfaction with their new neighborhood at the various periods of interview than either the Negroes or the Anglos. The explanation of their satisfaction is, probably, to be found in several areas. Certainly the low level of mean educational attainment, 4.3 years, was highly correlated with the low occupational status attained by many of the Mexican Americans.* Educational level and occupational status have been shown to be positively correlated. The Mexican Americans apparently realized the barrier to occupational advancement presented by a lack of education and were, therefore, somewhat resigned to a lower socio-economic status.

Furthermore, many of the Mexican Americans we interviewed seemed to espouse a different cultural value system than the Negroes or Anglos. Whereas these latter groups were characterized by desires for vertical occupational and social class mobility and concern with the future, reflecting the values of the dominant American culture, the Mexican Americans were more "being-oriented" rather than "doing-oriented."² They were also apparently willing to accept their plight as an act of God's will.³ The researcher very often heard the words, "Todo es lo que Dios Quiere" (All is as God wishes). Therefore, a feeling of futility in changing one's plight possibly accounts for the Mexican American's readiness to accept his new situation as the will of divine providence.

*See discussion of educational level and occupational status in Chapters 7 and 9.

Another variable affecting the Mexican American's acceptance of the new neighborhood may be found in the self-concept of the Mexican American as a minority group. It has been suggested that minority groups are continuously placed in a situation which demands role and status justification as well as constant redefinition of their self-concepts and identity.⁴ If this hypothesis is accepted, it could well explain the Mexican Americans' ready adjustment to new and different situations.

In summary, the Anglos appeared to be the least willing to adjust to their new neighbors; the Negroes were initially tolerant but later became less satisfied; and the Mexican Americans were most adaptive to their new environment, at least with reference to the area of our research.

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PART FOUR

XVI. THE INEVITABLE UNCERTAINTY: FUTURE RESIDENTIAL PLANS

In our study we are interested in adjustment. An indication of adjustment is a family's residential plans. For this reason, we sought answers to questions of buying, renting or rebuilding in the Parkway area or another location.

Immediately after the storm's destruction and many homes were damaged or destroyed, the tornado victims were invariably faced with the decision of either repairing their damaged dwellings, rebuilding their former homes if they were beyond repair, or continuing to live in the new Parkway area and buying a new home there. Almost without exception this appeared to be the foremost question in the minds of all the tornado victims we interviewed.

This was not a problem faced exclusively by the tornado victims, however. Even though many members of the Parkway area whom we interviewed had received relatively light damage from the storm, many were, nonetheless, debating the possibility of moving out of the neighborhood after they had been living with their new neighbors for some time. The reason for this consideration was simply a matter of adjustment. When the settled resident found it difficult to accept his new neighbors, he was faced with the almost identical decision as that of the tornado victims; either adapt or leave.

It will be remembered that we polled residents of the Parkway area at three different times and asked them about their future residential plans each time. We interviewed a stratified sample of 200 families immediately after the tornado's destruction; we reinterviewed 100 families of our original sample after a period of three months, and after a total period of nine months, we sent a questionnaire to 130 of the families whom we had interviewed twice previously. Thus we were able to ascertain the decision

patterns of almost 50 families during the aftermath of the debacle and we were able to record the struggles with uncertainty which many families experienced.

Attitudes of Tornado Victims

Most of the tornado victims owned or were in the process of purchasing a home. Before the storm's destruction, 18 or 69 per cent of the Anglos, one or 50 per cent of the Negroes, and 42 or 55.6 per cent of the Mexican Americans had either owned or been purchasing their homes. (See Table 14.) After these families had been reallocated in the new neighborhood, it seemed only natural that there should be many instances of nostalgia and longing to return to their old homes. A typical response was:

"I like it here and things are very nice, but I just want to go back to my old home."

When asked to describe the things they liked best about their former home, responses often approximated one lady's reply:

"The thing I liked most about my old home was the fact that we owned it and it was paid for."

In many cases, there seemed to be the sense of a certain loss of security which the ownership of a home had represented. Although in many instances the new home in the Parkway community was larger, more expensive, and of sounder construction, the tornado victims often seemed to long to return to the security afforded by home ownership.

The Anglo tornadovictims of our sample were the most inured to home ownership of the three groups we interviewed. Over three-fifths, 69 per cent, had been buying or had owned their home at the time of the tornado. Inasmuch as we found only two Negro tornado victims in our sample, there is insufficient grounds for generalization relative to this group. The Mexican Americans, however, had owned or been purchasing their homes in slightly more than half, 55 per cent, of the cases. (See Table 14.)

It is significant that at the time of the first inter-

view the Mexican Americans appeared to be equally as nostalgic about their former neighborhood as the other two groups were toward their old homes in spite of the fact that almost half, 35 or 44.4 per cent, had only been renting their homes. However, analysis of our data revealed a decrease rather than an increase in these nostalgic feelings among the Mexican Americans as time passed. Thus, despite the initial disruptive effect of reallocation, the Mexican Americans proved to be more adaptable to their new surroundings than either the Negroes or the Anglos.

Vicissitudes of Fate: The Plight of the Tornado Group

The trauma of having their homes damaged severely or destroyed was great for most families. In almost every instance, the decision of whether to rebuild or relocate was foremost in the minds of the tornado victims. Furthermore, there were many variables which influenced the uncertainty and inability to make this decision.

In order to rebuild, the families had to have either immediate funds or the necessary collateral to borrow from a bank or loan company. Since the overwhelming majority of tornado victims, in our sample, were from the lower economic stratum, the ability to readily produce the money necessary for immediate repairs was highly unlikely.

Many of the reallocated families had been living in the Guadalupe "barrio" when the storm struck. Several factors relative to this area were influential in determining whether or not the families could rebuild their homes in that neighborhood. The Guadalupe neighborhood was predominantly comprised of Mexican American families who had begun building homes there in the early thirties.* At that time, it was permissible to construct dwellings of less substantial material than is now possible. In addition, lot sizes were often as small as 20 to 30 feet wide on street frontage. Since that time, Lubbock City

*From conversation with a reliable interviewee.

Ordinance and the Lubbock Building Code have made it unlawful to build a home of substandard material and/or upon a lot which has a street frontage of less than 50 feet in width.¹ Therefore, those tornado victims who had been situated upon such small lots were confronted with the problem of being unable to rebuild their homes even though money might become available to them.

Although more than half, 42 or 55.6 per cent, of the Mexican American tornado victims stated that they had either owned or were buying their homes when the storm came, several instances of mistaken, misunderstood, or legally incorrect house titles were discovered.² Such cases were usually the result of the family's misunderstanding of proper legal procedure although at least two cases of intentional deceit were uncovered. One such case involved a semi-literate Mexican American couple who had migrated to Lubbock during the "Bracero," farm labor importation program, of the early fifties. The family had saved enough money to make a small down-payment on a house which was valued at \$2500. It was agreed that the couple would then begin making monthly payments of \$50 per month to the real estate broker who was also the alleged former owner of the house. The couple signed a "title" paper, written in English (which they neither spoke nor read) and began meeting the monthly payments. From that time, in 1958, until the tornado of 1970 (twelve years and \$7,200 later), they had faithfully met the payment schedule. After the storm struck when they applied for their insurance money, they found that the actual title to the house was still in the hands of the original owner who had subsequently collected the insurance payment on the destroyed house. Thus the family was left with neither home nor insurance money.

In another instance, a family discovered that the insurance coverage for which they had been paying was denied them because the title of their house had been

incorrectly documented and recorded.*

Cases of intentional fraud were rare, however, and most of the tornado families were faced with the problem of securing enough money to make repairs. In a few cases, we found families who owed debts to the city of Lubbock in the form of delinquent taxes or utility payments which had to be satisfied before the city would allow them to rebuild their homes.** Thus some families needed money to satisfy existing debts in addition to repairing or rebuilding their homes.

During the time of our study, several actions were taken by various funding agencies which affected the decision and indecision of the tornado people. For that reason, it will be beneficial to highlight the major events as they occurred after the tornado's destruction.

Immediately after the storm of May 11, 1970, the Office of Emergency Preparedness of the Federal Government made assistance available to meet the victims' needs of all sorts, ranging from subsistence necessities to legal advice.³ In addition, at least 16 other agencies began operations within the immediate disaster area.*** In addition, emergency relief was provided by "literally thousands of rescue workers."⁴ Lubbock's Municipal Auditorium, several church buildings, and many homes became refuge sites for the homeless. Texas Tech University dormitories served as temporary housing for hundreds of storm victims.⁵ At least two hospitals,

*Texas law allows the original titleholder to maintain possession of the title until the purchase price has been paid in full, if he so desires.

**Conversation with Mr. F. M. Godinez, legal advisor for Mi Casita.

***These included the American Red Cross, Salvation Army, Lubbock City Hall, City-County Welfare Dept., T.E.C., Small Business Administration, St. Joseph's Catholic Church, F.H.A. Texas Tech University, Farmer's Home Administration, V.A., Social Security Administration, I.R.S., Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Corps of Engineers, and Office of Emergency Preparedness.

Methodist Hospital and St. Mary's of the Plains were jammed to overcrowding by the emergencies. In general, immediate assistance arrived from all quarters. As soon as such immediate necessities had been met, the Lubbock City Council appointed an 11 member Citizen's Advisory Commission which would make recommendations to the City Council. On May 28, the CAC recommended the application for Neighborhood Development Program and Urban Renewal funds to rehabilitate storm damaged areas.

On June 6, 1970, the City Councilmen of Lubbock made an application to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for a Neighborhood Development Grant totaling \$4,740,004. Under the plan, HUD officials proposed:

". . . a city's share of \$1,035,002 in non-cash credit for public improvements begun during the past three years. This amount would allow a government grant of \$2,070,004 in actual program participation, plus an estimated \$2,670,000 in direct grant to property owners primarily for improvements necessary to bring dwellings up to the city building code, plus some for relocation assistance to persons displaced by property acquisition.⁶

In addition, the Small Business Administration consented to include a number of damaged dwellings in their disaster relief program which had been operating since the tornado's occurrence to aid in reestablishing small businesses. Under this concession, many of the storm victims were able to secure loans of as much as \$5,000 for aid in rebuilding of their homes.⁷

In addition to these disaster relief programs, we earlier described the F.H.A. housing in the Northeast Parkway area which was made available to storm victims for rent of only \$1 per month for a period of three months from the time of the tornado. After three months had elapsed, the reallocated families were told that they would then have to decide if they wished to continue living in the Parkway dwelling or return to their former residence. If they chose to stay, it was understood that

they would either have to begin making payments for the house or else pay a commensurate rental fee. If they intended to rebuild their old home, however, they must decide to do so soon; since their rental would be discontinued.

Meanwhile, city councilmen presented the residents of Lubbock with four proposals for a redevelopment project which would cost approximately \$19 million. It would provide the city with a chain of six small lakes along Yellowhouse Canyon near the city, at a cost of \$6 million, \$1.2 million for a central library, \$1.8 million for improving and acquiring parks throughout the city, and a 16 block civic center to be built almost adjacent to the Guadalupe neighborhood at a cost of \$8.6 million.⁸ Publicity urged "Vote for All Four." The proposal came only four months after Lubbock residents had approved a \$14 million airport expansion plan in April, 1970. The city, therefore, had approved almost \$33 million for municipal improvements while having secured less than \$2 million for aid to tornado victims.

Reaction to this proposal was rather strong* yet, in spite of this, all four proposals were passed on August 8, 1970.** This occurred immediately before the time of our second interview, three months after the tornado. The

* See especially the editorial comments of the University Daily, August 7, 1970; the Idalou Beacon, August 8, 1970, and La Voz de los Llanos, July 21, 1970. Although these publications tend to be limited in their distribution, the policy of Lubbock's only major newspaper was to support the proposals and, consequently, there was no opposing voice in the publications, although debate was presented on the local T.V. stations the night before elections.

** Although the passing of these proposals may appear unconcerned on the part of the majority of Lubbock's citizens, it is significant that when we asked the tornado victims of our sample whether they had voted in the election, only ten or less than five per cent, declared that they had voted in the election. In contrast, voter turn-out for the election was among the highest in Lubbock's history, with only two previous exceptions. Transportation difficulties and lack of information contributed to the low voting rate of our respondents.

responses of those we questioned were of general misunderstanding of the proposals and increased apprehension about the effect of its passage upon the development plans for their old neighborhood.

Before the voting took place, additional financial aid had been made available to disaster victims by the Community Action Board which allocated \$31,000 to "meet the needs of tornado victims."⁹ By the end of the summer months, the CAB funds had been combined with more than 1,758 SBA loans totaling \$14.1 million.¹⁰ Together, the disaster relief funds had been raised to almost \$15 million, considerably more than the scant sum of two months previously.

The increased financial relief came with an August decision by the F.H.A. to extend to one year the length of time that tornado victims might continue to live in the housing project. With the assistance of HUD, it was decided that the occupants must either begin paying for the houses with the intention of owning them or else begin making rent payments.¹¹ In the latter instance, payments would be based upon the occupant's ability to pay. Thus the rent was to vary from family to family, a decision that created no small amount of chagrin among the reallocated members of our sample.

By the conclusion of our study, nine months after the tornado, uncertainty still prevailed among the tornado victims concerning their future plans. Although there were more than \$15 million dollars available in this form of disaster relief, there remained the problem of zoning regulations and invalied titles. In January, 1971, the City of Lubbock had reserved \$8.6 million in federal funds to assist in reconstruction of public streets and utilities in the Guadalupe area.¹² In addition, the Zoning Board had relaxed its "fifty linear feet" requirement to allow selected reconstruction of many homes. By the conclusion of our study, 22 families had rebuilt new homes and had returned to the Guadalupe neighborhood. Twenty families had

signed options with the Urban Renewal Agency to sell their lots and to repurchase larger lots which would meet the zoning requirements.¹³

The picture is not entirely optimistic, however. Even though S.B.A. loans are available for the repurchasing of lots and reconstruction of houses, there is a maximum amount of \$5,000 available to each family. Since the value of many destroyed homes exceeded this amount considerably, the price of an additional lot would make the cost of rebuilding a rather complicated matter. Furthermore, as demands for property increase, so does the cost of the property increase. Consequently, we began to hear many complaints of the increased property costs by the conclusion of our study.

Each of these factors considered separately would not have made the decision to return or relocate so difficult; when considered together and over a period of time, however, they rendered the decision often complicated and, occasionally, impossible.

Attitudes of the Settled Group

The Parkway area is an F.H.A. financed project intended to provide inexpensive housing for relatively low income families. For this reason, most of the houses which were occupied at the time of the tornado were being purchased by the occupants of the houses.

It will be remembered that the Parkway neighborhood had been only partially occupied when the integration problem began and many families began moving out of the community. From that time until the tornado's occurrence, there was an increasing number of vacant houses in the area. Therefore, because almost all, 93 or 96.7 per cent, of the settled group members were buying the houses in which they were living and because there was no market for either selling or renting these houses, at that time, it is not

See discussion in Chapter 4 for an historical and more exact description of the area.

TABLE 14
HOME OWNERSHIP: TORNADO GROUP

	Buying		Renting		Owned		No.
Anglo	10	38.4%	8	30.8%	8	30.8%	26
Negro	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0	2
Mexican American	18	22.7	35	44.4	24	32.9	77
Totals	29		44		32		105

TABLE 15
HOME OWNERSHIP: SETTLED GROUP

	Buying		Renting		Owned		No.
Anglo	18	81.8%	2	9.1%	2	9.1%	22
Negro	50	100.0	0	0	0	0	50
Mexican American	23	100.0	0	0	0	0	23
Totals	91		2		2		95

surprising to find that the settled residents of our sample were almost all either paying for a home or the owners of their homes.

However, we found two or 9.1 per cent of the Anglos who were renting their homes. (See Table 15.) Both cases, however, proved to be relatives of the owner of the house who allowed the houses to be occupied either rent free or for only a small fee.

Immediately following the tornado's destruction, when we conducted our first interview, there was a feeling of helpfulness among the settled members of our sample. We received numerous comments from the reallocated group praising the generosity and assistance offered by the settled group members. As one lady said:

"When we first moved here, we had no phone, no clothes, no transportation. Our neighbors helped us unpack, brought us food, gave us clothes, and allowed us to use their telephone."

After the initial adjustment was completed, there began to be hints of jealousy and misunderstanding among the members of the settled group. Few of them seemed to understand the meaning of the disaster relief loans and several indicated a jealousy of the "free" money which the tornado victims seemed to be able to receive.

When the S.B.A. loans became available in June, several disaster victims used at least part of the money they received to buy new furniture. By the end of the summer, we began to notice the appearance of such new furnishings and often the settled residents commented about it during the interview. At first the comments were merely indications that the neighbor was aware of the new furniture. During the reinterview, however, we heard several comments of jealousy and resentment.

Another source of misunderstanding resulted from the F.H.A. decision to allow the tornado victims to remain in the houses for one year (instead of the original three months stipulation) and to pay rent which had been adjusted

according to the family's income. The settled group members learned quickly that they were paying double and sometimes triple the amount paid by their neighbor for a house of the same value. This was the source of complaints to the F.H.A., quarrels between neighbors and, occasionally, the move to another location.

By the end of our study, we found several families who were considering abandoning their home, as some of their neighbors allegedly had done, because of the inequity in house payments. In other instances, the payment discrepancy may have been the precipitating factor in a combination of variables which caused the settled families to move away. One Negro respondent suggested that while he realized the tornado victims, his neighbors, could not make large payments, a longer amortization period would result in more equitable and just housing conditions in this area.

For others, they were content to stay with their new neighbors in spite of such misunderstandings and inequities and, apparently, most of the settled residents took the whole situation in stride and were continuing to live as they had before.

Future Residential Plans: Anglo Tornado Group

Before the tornado struck, 10 or 38.5 per cent of the Anglo tornado victims had been buying their houses and 10 or 38.5 per cent owned their homes. Thus, 20 or 77 per cent of this group had been home owners or in the process of buying before they were reallocated. (See Table 14.) This might indicate a propensity on the part of this group toward home ownership. However, when we asked them as to their plans at the first interview, only 7 or 27.9 per cent planned to rebuild their former homes. (See Table 16.) Also, less than one-half, 11 or 42.3 per cent, planned to buy their new Parkway house. That is, a total of only 18 or 59.2 per cent intended to continue buying a house; 7.8 per cent had a negative change of plan as to home ownership.

TABLE 16
RESIDENTIAL PLANS: TORNADO GROUP

FIRST INTERVIEW: TORNADO GROUP

	Unde- cided	Plan to Stay and:		Plan to Move to:													
		No.	Buy	Rent	Old Neigh- borhood and rebuild	Old Neigh- borhood and rent	Another Part of Lubbock and Buy	Another Part of Lubbock and Rent	Out of City								
Anglo	3	11.5%	26	11	42.3%	2	7.7%	7	26.9%	3	11.5%	0	0	0	0%	0	0%
Negro	1	5.0	2	1	50.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mexican American	6	7.8	77	43	55.8	4	5.2	19	24.7	5	6.5	0	0	0	0	0	0

SECOND INTERVIEW

Anglo	0	0	19	11	57.9	0	0	3	15.8	0	0	5	26.3	0	0	0	0
Negro	0	0	2	1	50.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50.0
Mexican American	0	0	41	27	65.9	3	7.3	9	21.9	0	0	2	4.9	0	0	0	0

THIRD INTERVIEW

Anglo	0	0	13	1	7.7	1	7.7	4	30.8	0	0	5	38.5	1	7.7	1	7.7
Negro	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mexican American	0	0	25	5	20.0	6	24.0	9	36.0	4	16.0	0	0	1	4.0	0	0

Moreover, by the second interview, three months later, many had changed their minds about buying their new house, more than half or 57.9 per cent now stated their intention to buy the Parkway home, while only 15.8 per cent intended to rebuild their old home, and the remainder or 26.3 per cent planned to move and buy in another part of Lubbock altogether. (See Table 16.)

Reasons for this attitudinal change are related to the previous discussion of events which were occurring at this time. The S.B.A. loans provided many with sufficient funds to weather the immediate needs. In addition, the Anglo value system was apparently effective in causing more Anglos than Mexican Americans to be protected by home-owner's insurance policies. The combination of these two factors, and with the low rental rates for tornado victims, resulted in several decisions by the Mexican Americans to relocate in the Parkway area.

Nine months after the storm's occurrence, the trend had reversed itself. At this time, only 7.7 per cent intended to buy their Parkway home; which represents fewer, 50.2 per cent, than six months earlier and 44.6 per cent fewer than the first interview. Furthermore, 30.8 per cent intended to rebuild their former dwellings; 15 per cent more than six months earlier and 3.9 per cent more than nine months earlier.

A possible explanation for this rather drastic change of attitude is to be found in the social rather than the economic realm. At the second interview, it seemed that the changing financial program made it much more attractive to relocate than to rebuild. After an extended period of time, however, social factors appeared to take precedence over the economic. Fears, prejudices, clashes with neighbors, and misunderstandings of other groups became important determining factors.

Regarding the increase in the number of decisions to rebuild, it is likely that the additional federal subsidies

and loans, as well as the city's agreement to aid in rebuilding damaged areas played a large role in influencing the reconstruction of damaged homes. It will also be recalled that only \$2.1 million in relief assistance had been available at the second interview, while \$14.1 million had become available nine months later. (See preceding discussion.)

Before the tornado, six or 23.1 per cent of the Anglo tornado group in our sample of 200, had been renting their homes. Immediately after the tornado, however, only three or 11.5 per cent were planning to return to their old neighborhood and rent. (See Table 15.) Furthermore, only two or 7.7 per cent were planning to rent their new Parkway home. In sum, only five or 19.2 per cent intended to continue renting immediately following the storm's disaster.

By the second interview, three months later, there were no families who had intentions to rent either in their new Parkway neighborhood or elsewhere. The reason for this follows from our previous discussion. If there were an increased number of assistance programs to either buy or rebuild, and if the houses were available for one year for only a small monthly payment, it is not expected that there should be little incentive to rent rather than to buy.

By the mailed questionnaire six months after the second interview, the plans of the Anglos had changed only slightly regarding their intentions to rent. Only 7.7 per cent were then planning to rent their new house, only 7.7 per cent intended to return to their old neighborhood and rent; lastly, 7.7 per cent intended to move to another part of Lubbock and rent. In all, less than one-fourth 23.1 per cent planned to continue renting a house.

It is evident that the Anglo tornado victims were becoming more dissatisfied with their new neighborhood. Initially, all respondents of this group intended to either relocate in the Parkway area or return to their former neighborhood and either buy, rent, or rebuild. Three months later the picture had changed. At this later

period, 26.3 per cent were now planning to move to another part of Lubbock and buy, an indication that they expected to leave the Parkway area even though they were not able to return to their former neighborhood and rebuild or buy. Six months later, five or 38.5 per cent planned to move to another part of Lubbock and buy, one or 7.7 per cent intended to move to another part of Lubbock and rent, and one or 7.7 per cent planned to move out of the city. Thus, seven or 53.9 per cent of the Anglos in our sample were planning to leave both the Parkway area and their former neighborhoods.

Residential Plans: Negro Tornado Group

We found only two Negro tornado victims in our original sample, therefore it is difficult to generalize from this small number. The only significant finding is that one Negro family planned to buy their new Parkway home at both the first and second interviews, while the other had decided to rent their new house by the second interview.

Residential Plans: Mexican American Tornado Group

Before the tornado, the great majority of Mexican Americans in our sample had been living in the Guadalupe neighborhood. Only slightly more than one-half, 42 or 55.6 per cent, had been owners or purchasers of homes. The remainder, 35 or 44.4 per cent, had been renting their homes. Therefore, it was not unexpected to find that almost the identical percentage, 43 or 55.8 per cent, were planning to buy another, new house in the Parkway area after their reallocation.

The nostalgic feelings of this group, as mentioned earlier, were very strong immediately after the tornado. Almost one-fourth, 19 or 24.7 per cent, wished to return to their old neighborhood and rebuild at that time. However, it will be recalled that the Citizens Advisory Committee, which had been appointed by the City Council to make recommendations for reconstruction, had not yet formulated

an acceptable plan for "redevelopment" of the Guadalupe neighborhood. In addition, Urban Renewal funds had not been appropriated, at our first interview, and the storm victims had little or no financial aid to depend upon. It was mostly those whose homes had been partially or completely insured or those where damage was slight that an immediate return to the old neighborhood was possible. Furthermore, the City Zoning Code at that time forbade construction on lots of less than 50 linear feet of frontage. Thus responses concerning future residential plans were initially based upon the only possibility which was, in most cases, to remain in their new homes. Also, since over one-half had been home owners or buyers before the tornado, one could expect that the same buying pattern would be followed in the new neighborhood.

Three months after the disaster, the situation was only slightly altered. Although the Urban Renewal requests had been granted,* by the beginning of August when we began our reinterview, only \$2 million had been made available to tornado victims. A few SBA loans had also been issued at that time, but only two to three million dollars was the total amount of aid available. On the other hand, we have already mentioned the \$33 million airport, convention center, library, lakes and parks project which the city of Lubbock had just approved. In other words, it must have appeared the odds were that little financial aid would be available to rebuild. Therefore, it is not surprising that 10.1 per cent more Mexican Americans were adjusting to the idea of relocating elsewhere. Nor is it unexpected that nearly three per cent less than earlier were planning to return to their old neighborhood and rebuild.

In addition to the financial incentive (or rather

*See discussion of the history of financial aid in this chapter.

lack of incentive) to rebuild, there is the adjustment factor which influenced the Mexican American's increased number of decisions to remain in the new, Parkway area. We discussed earlier the Mexican American's adjustment to the new community.* We found that a strong desire to return to their familiar environment had diminished by the second interview and the Mexican Americans proved to be the most satisfied and adaptive of the three ethnic groups--Anglo, Negro and Mexican American. Thus increased social adjustment and inadequate financial assistance, combined with indefinite reconstruction plans, resulted in the Mexican Americans increasingly, 65.9 per cent, to choose relocation in the Parkway area at the second interview.

There was a measure of uncertainty about the city's future reconstruction plans during the summer months that contributed to the tornado victims' anxiety and uncertainty. Between June and mid-August, the City Council and the Citizens Advisory Committee repeatedly met with Guadalupe residents and former residents to decide which plans were to be adopted to meet the needs of the community members. Alternative plans were presented and discussed, but by mid-August there were still no concrete plans.¹⁴ Thus reallocated Mexican Americans were unable to assure themselves that, although they may have wished to return to Guadalupe, it might be possible.

On August 8, 1970, the citizens of Lubbock approved a "Disaster Recovery Package."¹⁵ The civic center is to be located near the Guadalupe neighborhood and will include some lots and houses owned by several Mexican American respondents of our sample. The property was to be purchased at ". . . full market value."¹⁶ Furthermore, a committee was appointed ". . . to make sure profiteering doesn't take place in which owners are talked into selling their property for less than market value."¹⁷

*See discussion of adjustment and satisfaction with the community, Chapter 14.

The adjacent property within the Guadalupe neighborhood was, consequently, placed in a tenuous position by the passage of the proposals. Proximity to the civic center made the land escalate in value. Soon after the passage, land speculators began attempting to buy land for resale.* Such attempts, and rumors of such attempts, created even more uncertainty among many of the reallocated Mexican Americans in the Parkway area. It is small wonder, therefore, that members of this group were uncertain of their future plans.

Six months later, plans had changed considerably. Now, only 5 or 20.0 per cent, were planning to remain and buy their Parkway home. This figure is 45.9 per cent fewer than the second interview. However, six or 24 per cent were planning to remain and rent the Parkway house, 16.7 per cent more than before. In comparison, nearly three-fourths, 73.2 per cent, had been planning to remain at the second interview; less than one-half, 44 per cent, planned to remain six months later. That is, 29.8 per cent had decided to leave the neighborhood between the second and third interviews.

At the second interview, only 21.9 per cent were planning to return to their old neighborhood. By the conclusion of our study, 52 per cent, more than one-half of the Mexican American tornado victims were planning to return.

There were certainly many interrelated factors which account for this change. The Mexican Americans were the most adaptive group of the three. However, this fact does not mean that they lost the desire to return to their former homes. On the contrary, it appears that the members of this group largely reconciled themselves to their fate as victims of the storm, and were willing to make the most

*This researcher had occasion to witness at least three "roving speculators" as they toured the community August 10, 1970, two days after the passage of the proposal. Interviews with the Guadalupe residents immediately thereafter confirmed the intentions of these men.

of an unalterable situation.¹⁸ We perceived that they felt unable to either comprehend or influence the decisions of the officials responsible for planning the future of the Guadalupe neighborhood. This feeling was manifest in the failure of most, 94.6 per cent, to vote, with little understanding of the nature of the election. In addition, only a small percentage were capable of reading the English language publications; by and large, they were exposed only to verbal or hear-say information sources. Given the low mean educational level of this group, 4.6 years, the language difficulties, the resulting lack of understanding in general, it is little wonder that uncertainty and ambivalence prevailed.

By the conclusion of our study, the plans were definite concerning the Guadalupe neighborhood. Zoning restrictions had been reconsidered, additional financial assistance was available for reconstruction of homes, the City of Lubbock had appropriated sufficient funds to reconstruct public streets and utilities in the neighborhood, and land prices had become more stable. In the Parkway neighborhood, the twelve month period of reduced rent payments was drawing to a close and a decision had to be reached concerning future housing. Furthermore, the general physical condition of the Parkway area was deteriorating, especially in some blocks, and the initial feelings of goodwill had subsided considerably. All these factors in combination now affected 52 per cent of the male Anglos who were planning to return to their old neighborhood.

Future Plans: Settled Anglo Group

Before the tornado, 18 or 81.8 per cent, of the "settled" Anglos had been buying their house (see Table 15). Those who were either buyers or owners of a home constituted 90.1 per cent of the total group. Similarly, when we conducted the first interview, immediately following the storm, we found that 18 or 81.8 per cent of the settled Anglos were planning to buy their houses and one, or 4.5

per cent, was planning to rent. That is, 19 or 86.3 per cent were planning to remain within the neighborhood. The remaining three, or 13.7 per cent, were planning to move away for reasons unrelated to the reallocation of the storm victims which resulted in a more racially mixed neighborhood.

Three months later, as revealed above, the Anglos' attitudes had declined. Satisfaction with the neighborhood was less than before, reflected in the residential plans (see Table 17) of the group at the second interview when four per cent fewer Anglos were planning to stay and buy their Parkway house. Also, 8.5 per cent more of this group were planning to move away from the neighborhood.

Nine months after the tornado, we sent questionnaires to several Anglo members of the settled group. The fact that only one family responded precluded any generalization. However, this may be indicative of an increased out-migration from the neighborhood or a change of residence within the community. General apathy or projected dissatisfaction may account for some failures to respond. Regardless of the reason, insufficient data make prediction invalid. We can, however, predict that increased dissatisfaction with the neighborhood* and the out-migration plans of the first three months will result in a continuation of plans for the Anglo group to leave the neighborhood.

Negro Residential Plans: Settled Group

Before the tornado all the fifty Negroes of the "settled" group, in our sample, had been buying their homes. After three months, we found only one family, 4.8 per cent of this group, planning to move out of the community. Six months later, we received responses from only two families and one of these was planning to leave the community. Whether this indicates a trend is impossible to state on the basis of

*See discussion of neighborhood satisfaction, Chapter 14.

TABLE 17

RESIDENTIAL PLANS: SETTLED GROUP

	Unde- cided		No.	FIRST INTERVIEW					
				Plan to Buy this House		Plan to Rent This House		Plan to Move Away And Rent	
Anglo	0	0	22	18	81.8%	1	4.5%	3	13.7%
Negro	0	0	50	50	100.0	0	0	0	0
Mexican American	0	0	23	9	39.1	0	0	14	60.9
SECOND INTERVIEW									
Anglo	0	0	9	7	77.8%	0	0	2	22.2
Negro	0	0	21	20	95.2	0	0	1	4.8
Mexican American	0	0	8	8	100.0	0	0	0	0
THIRD INTERVIEW									
Anglo	0	0	1	1	100.0	0	0	0	0
Negro	0	0	2	1	50.0	0	0	1	50.0
Mexican American	0	0	4	4	100.0	0	0	0	0

limited data.

It is significant that, although the Negroes experienced a decline in their initially favorable attitude toward the neighborhood, only one family was planning to leave. This may have been due to the limited number of residential choices available to members of this group. Although more highly educated than either of the other two groups and occupying higher occupational status, integrated residential areas are generally restricted to the eastern portion of the city. It may be that the dissatisfaction was not great enough to motivate migration to another area. Regardless, the settled Negro group appeared to be a fairly stable and a residentially entrenched group.

Mexican American Residential Plans: Settled Group

All of the Mexican Americans in the settled group of our sample had been buying their homes when the tornado struck (see Table 15). Immediately thereafter, 14 or 60.9 per cent stated an intention to move out of the neighborhood and buy another home. By the second interview, however, all those we questioned were planning to continue buying their Parkway house. There had been no change of decision at the conclusion of our study.

It is quite striking that almost three-fifths, 60.9 per cent, of this group apparently decided to leave the neighborhood immediately after the storm's destruction. We found this very difficult to explain. Perhaps fear and the trauma of the tornado's damage might have prompted a few such decisions. However, this would hardly account for such a large number. Regardless of the reasons, more than one-half of this group were planning to move away.

By the second interview, however, all were planning to remain in this neighborhood. Nine months after the storm, there was still a unanimous decision to continue living in this area.

At the time of this writing, HUD officials have recently announced the appropriation of \$3.3 million for the purpose

of buying 300 of the renovated Parkway area houses. These houses will then become single unit public housing to be occupied by qualified families. These families will have the option of either renting or buying the houses in the same manner as the tornado victims of our study. In fact, tornado victims are to be given priority as potential occupants of these homes thus affecting the future plans of at least a few of the families of our study.

Certainty or Uncertainty?

Among the tornado victims, the Anglos showed an increased dissatisfaction with their new neighborhood and 69.3 per cent were planning to move away by the end of our study. We found too few Negro tornado victims to allow valid generalizations. The Mexican Americans initially planned to return to their former homes in many cases, 31.2 per cent. After three months, they were largely, 73.2 per cent, planning to relocate in the Parkway area. By the conclusion of our study, 52 per cent were planning to return to their former homes while 44 per cent were planning to relocate in the Parkway neighborhood.

The settled group of Anglos became increasingly less content with their homes. The pattern of estrangement is statistically obvious. Initially, there was only nostalgia or the apparent practicality of rebuilding their former dwellings. As conditions changed and it became obvious that returning to their old neighborhood would be impractical or even impossible, the Anglos were faced with either accepting the Parkway area as their new home or searching elsewhere for a home. The mounting dissatisfaction was manifested in the increasing number of decisions to leave the new neighborhood by whatever means. Thus with each interview there were more decisions to leave and fewer to stay. Nine months after the tornado, only 15.4 per cent of the Anglos in our study were planning to stay in the community while 84.6 were intending to leave.

Among the settled Negro group there was a similar

discontent, although not as pronounced as among the Anglos. The Mexican Americans, however, became increasingly satisfied to remain within their new neighborhood.

Both the tornado victims and the settled residents experienced adjustment difficulties as a result of the tornado's disruption. Both groups reacted to the reallocation by the psychological mechanism of retreating. Of the two, it appears that the tornado group was better able to adjust than the settled group.

LIST OF REFERENCES

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2. Taken from conversation with staff members of Mi Casita, a federally funded Catholic Relief Agency which supplies sustenance and legal assistance to tornado victims and, especially, with Mr. F. M. Godinez, legal advisor and attorney who counseled the tornado victims.
3. Lubbock Ayalanche Journal, May 20, 1970, p. A-5.
4. Ibid., May 24, 1970, p. A-1.
5. University Daily, Texas Tech University, June 5, 1970.
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10. University Daily, September 13, 1970.
11. Lowe, Jeanne. Cities in a Race With Time. New York: Vintage Books, 1967, p. 265.
12. Lubbock Ayalanche Journal, December 31, 1970.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., July 28, 1970.
15. Ibid., p. A-1.
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17. Ibid.
18. It has been suggested that the Mexican American world-view tends to be fatalistic and includes feelings of inability to interfere with Divine Will. In this regard, see Madsen, William. Mexican Americans of South Texas. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1968, pp. 15-17.

XVII. INTERPRETATION AND ANTICIPATION: SELECTED HIGHLIGHTS OF OUR STUDY

The conclusion to our research presents only a few highlights of our study; it does not attempt to interpret extensively the detailed, statistical analysis of our findings. Our predictions or anticipations derive both from our findings and our general knowledge of the community in which our study is based; these findings do not imply that such generalizations could apply definitively to other communities where racial, residential research has been or will be studied.*

Furthermore, while there exist many studies relative to organizational responses to disaster in communities, the social consequences of a particular disaster have generally not been studied extensively; we feel that our research is thus unique in its focus.

The basic theoretic focus of our study was to assess the adjustment of three racial groups--Anglo, Negro and Mexican American, reflecting the tri-partite ethnic composition of the city's population--now integrated into one residential area. This integration is unique in that it was neither pre-planned by human action nor involved the natural ecological processes of invasion or succession but by the freak action of a devastating tornado. We felt we had to learn all we could about this newly formed neighborhood and the people as to their ages, occupation status, educational levels, social participation, linguistic differences, and attitudes toward other racial groups within their neighborhood. Our study first presents these variables separately, and in the latter chapters, the interrelationship of these variables as they pertain to residential adjustment.

* One of the researchers plans to replicate this study in a few years when a further time interval may reveal areas of greater adjustment or non-adjustment.

Our analysis channeled our data and findings to the basic theories presented in the chapter on methodology which we restate here. We theorized that race would be a significant barrier to residential integration and adjustment. We further theorized that other variables such as occupational status, religious differences, educational differences, a language barrier, low organizational participation would all contribute negatively to neighborly adjustment.

Moreover, less direct but specific to our group would be the affect of previous home ownership and a desire to return to the old neighborhood with its secure, highly primary way of life, especially for the Mexican Americans. Furthermore, residential plans which were temporary relative to some of the respondents in our study would exclude, perhaps, neighborly interaction and satisfactory adjustment. We theorized that satisfaction with living in this now racially integrated community would be related to a time span. These complex interrelated variables which affect the attitudes and satisfactions in living in this neighborhood are analyzed in the content of this research presentation.

However, it may be helpful to review here selected areas of our findings. Based on their occupational status, a definite plurality of our respondents can be classified in the lower socio-economic groups, although two Anglos and one Negro in our sample were classified as professionals. Since studies indicate that the lower classes tend to be less receptive to adjustment and interpersonal relations, we found that the lower occupational Anglos and Mexican Americans were more likely than the Negroes to resist integration and the affects of living in a tri-ethnic neighborhood.

While the data in the area of unemployment are not definitive, the information in our study was sufficient to indicate significant obstacles to employment for all three ethnic groups in the city. Such close competition for jobs is not conducive to friendship among ethnic groups

and adjustment to neighbors, in the area of our study, were indirectly, negatively effected. The Mexican Americans especially reported difficulty in obtaining work in the larger community.

The most striking difference we observed among the three ethnic groups--Anglo, Negro and Mexican American--was the diversity of the age distribution. Anglos and Mexican Americans had a median age of 42 years in contrast to the Negroes, with a median age of only 33 years. The younger age group of the Negroes may contribute to their greater tolerance of the other two groups and to their better adjustment in this tri-ethnic neighborhood. Furthermore, our study revealed that the Negroes in our sample were more highly educated than the other two groups, especially the Mexican Americans. Perhaps this may also explain their initial, more tolerant attitudes and greater acceptance of their neighbors.

On the other hand, in numerous, previous studies of the Mexican Americans in Lubbock, it was shown that they had the lowest educational level of any minority group in the country, that is, around three to four years of formal education. However, when we divided the three groups as to younger and older age cohorts, the younger Mexican Americans showed an educational level of eight years, indicating significant changes in the educational structure of this minority group. Since educational attainments are highly significant in determining adjustment, the rising educational levels, especially for the Mexican Americans, may influence the future tolerance of the younger generation in this neighborhood. The Mexican American educational levels of the older group reflect the earlier migratory conditions of educational disadvantage and neglect. These patterns are changing.

Moreover, recent, urban sophistication in conjunction with increasing educational achievement among the young Mexican Americans, and the decreasing primary, strong

extended family patterns, may eventually lead to changes relative to inter-group living. According to Ewing's study, the former migrant Mexican American now has children who are oriented toward the urbanized way of life.¹

Language was found to be a barrier to adjustment. If adjustment can be attained despite cultural or language differences, the prospects of acceptance of one ethnic group by the other seem promising. At least such prospects may be hopefully anticipated in the Parkway neighborhood.

Moreover, although language and the lack of education are serious social and interactional problems, especially for the Mexican Americans, there is an apparent awareness among these ethnic groups of the means and possibilities to overcome these obstacles. This could be the school, for the younger generation, and adult education for the older group. Over 40 per cent of our respondents expressed a desire for adult education if effectively implemented. We interpreted these responses as an indication of their cognizance of the problem. It was an expressed desire to communicate with each other now that they find themselves in the same neighborhood. They also see increased educational opportunities as a means of functioning more effectively in the dominant culture. Not unlike national changes in ethnic expectations and opportunities, our respondents have become oriented to the rising expectations relative to society's economic opportunities and rewards.

In sum, other factors were: relative to ethnic relations and prejudice, we found the language barrier to be a significant negative factor in the Mexican Americans' interaction with the other two groups. Proximity of residence, however, appears to have been positively related to neighborliness and adjustment, while frequency and range of social interaction enhanced adjustment for all three groups. Low participation in formal organizations was found to be negatively related to prejudice. Anglos were, however, found to be more receptive to Mexican Americans than to Negroes. In particular cases, prejudice appears to have been negatively

related to social interaction and communication.

With reference to liking the neighborhood, our respondents seemed generally to be satisfied with the physical state of the Parkway neighborhood. A variety of lesser complaints were to be expected, given the seemingly deserted and vandalized condition of the houses before the storm victims moved in. Also, the vacant houses had suffered a normal amount of weathering and were much in need of minor repairs and refinishing.

The Negroes, on the whole, have the largest number of respondents and highest percentage, among the three ethnic groups, who felt favorably toward living in an integrated neighborhood. As stated previously, their higher educational and relatively higher occupational levels and the fact that most of them had freely chosen to live in this neighborhood, may relate to their satisfaction. Numerous Mexican American respondents expressed their feelings that it was good for their children to grow up in an integrated neighborhood.

With reference to adjustment to their neighbors and the neighborhood, over a period of time, our study revealed that the Anglos appeared to be the least willing to adjust to their new neighbors; the Negroes were initially the most tolerant and the Mexican Americans were of necessity the most adaptive to their new environment.

As to attitudinal changes after living in the Parkway area for a period of nine to ten months, it appears that all three ethnic groups, in our sample, experienced negative attitudinal changes during the three month interval if, immediately after the tornado, their initial attitudes were uncertain or indefinite. The greatest negative changes occurred among the Anglos, less among the Mexican Americans, and least among the Negroes. In all three groups, the greatest amount of attitudinal change occurred among those who were only mildly satisfied or slightly dissatisfied rather than among those whose feelings were very strong either positively or negatively. Specifically, those whose attitudes were gradationally at the upper level, i.e. "liked

very much" or "disliked very much," they did not change their strong views after their three months' experience in a racially integrated neighborhood. In other words, the patterns of adjustment and attitudes toward inter-racial living were found to be complex; not only were these patterns affected by many variables but by time, by strong and intense unchanging attitudes, by interaction and by the experience of actual living.

The above are the basic findings of our research, but we feel that because of our knowledge of the neighborhood and the larger community, we may make bold with certain predictions or, at least, anticipation.

Since youth is flexible and more related to adjustment than older groups, and the age distribution of Lubbock is younger than the average of the population of an urban community of similar size, this factor may influence adjustment to their neighbors in the future. Many signs of this can be seen in the Parkway area.

A second factor is that both minorities were at least partly integrated into numerous activities before the storm and there have been no major, outward conflicts between the two ethnic groups and the Anglo population in Lubbock's history. Furthermore, there were no major divisive political scandals or racial conflicts in the city's development.

A third factor may be the significant influence of the large university in the cultural atmosphere of the city with a faculty from diverse backgrounds and talents, credited with major impetus in the development of the city. Such diversity points toward residential tolerance which may contribute eventually to adjustment in the Parkway neighborhood.

A fourth anticipated influence may be the experiences in the tornado, a stress situation in which much concern for others was shown, calling upon the humane side of people. During the storm, people did not panic; they moved quickly to save themselves, their families and their neighbors. Hopefully, this concern may leave its residual, kindly attitudes in this new neighborhood.

The Parkway neighborhood, the scene of our study, actually has homes which are more modern, better constructed with more space and more attractive, with open fields which create a sense of suburbia in contrast to the earlier neighborhood, especially the Guadalupe area, which was crowded, in a transitional zone near the center of the city. From the time the tornado victims were reallocated and until we completed our study, we were constantly impressed with the verdure and freshness of the homes and land around them in the neighborhood. The Parkway area may be accepted eventually as a preferable neighborhood, despite the racial intermixture. Although the old *gemeinshaft* neighborhood, especially for the Mexican Americans, may be remembered nostalgically, the fact is that now, in the Parkway neighborhood, the Mexican Americans are the largest group and, consequently, primary relationships may be reestablished with time.

From the point of view of the "settled" group, advantageous conditions may exist. While many homes and yards are cluttered and ill-kept, the neighborhood is now alive with people, children, pet animals and action. This is in great contrast to the pre-storm condition in this neighborhood when the settled group felt isolated, deserted and lonely. It is now a community of human interaction, sound and movement. Thus it may be anticipated that the settled group will also come to be satisfied with this neighborhood.

Although, in a very recent visit, we saw friendliness, curiosity as to their neighbors and participation in street activities, each ethnic group seemed to co-mingle with its own people. However, the children seemed to intermingle naturally with the other racial groups. The future adjustment to interracial living lies in the hands of the youth. Many of our respondents remarked favorably as to this interaction. With reference to the native origin of the 200 families we studied, they are mainly Texas born and Lubbock residents of long standing--some have lived in the city as long as 35 years or more. Their deeply felt attitudes and goals

are to be part of the larger city and not a colorful minority.*

We stated in the introduction, that what man could not accomplish graciously as to residential integration, a tornado did. Now we need to make a slight amendment, the tornado made a starting prod toward racial, residential integration; the rest of the rugged road must be travelled and won by man learning to live amicably with his neighbor.

* This brief summation does not include extensively two significant areas discussed in much detail and careful statistical analysis in two preceding chapters. These are: (1) the attitudinal changes, negatively or positively, relative to adjustment within a time span, Chapter 15; and (2) the relationship of adjustments to renting, buying, owning, and rebuilding of the respondents' homes. The Parkway area residents had no control over these changes which were affected by official action. The plans of our respondents, therefore, underwent numerous changes during the period of our study because financial aid and grants, from city and federal government and other agencies, kept changing throughout the year of our study and were not finalized even at the end of our research design. Such community changes are reflected in our respondents' indefinite and changing plans and adjustment. These resulted in a complex presentation which the reader would do well to review. (Chapter 16.)

LIST OF REFERENCES

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XVIII. EPILOGUE: A SUGGESTED ACTION PROGRAM

From the data of our study, discussions with many residents of the Parkway area, and repeated visits to this neighborhood, a few very necessary actions for a planned program became obvious to us. We should like to suggest these for those in Lubbock who are interested in the social conditions of all its citizens.

1. There is a need for a central community house, which would act as an integrating, unifying focal point for all the residents of this neighborhood, with leaders and active workers selected from all three groups--Anglo, Negro and Mexican American. The activities would need to be varied and reach all ages. Suggestions and ideas should be derived, by means of careful, personal interviews or schedules, from all the residents. Thus we would listen to their suggestions or needs, with feet on solid ground.
2. Since there is already much open land or fields around this neighborhood, a logical step would be a multi-activity park utilizing these open spaces. What type and what activities could be learned by means of the schedule, mentioned above.
3. Special programs in school which would bring the children of these three ethnic groups into more inter-mixed, extra-curricular activities; the children are and will be the agents who will integrate this neighborhood successfully. Furthermore, more special activities in the schools which will bring the parents and children of all ages together should, in the long run, be effective.
4. Adult education which is more actively solicited, publicized and carefully explained to the residents should be planned. While there already is an adult education program, our study revealed that few in this

neighborhood know about it, especially where language and literacy are problems and impediments. Over 40 per cent of our respondents favor a program which would teach the English language and introduce occupationally useful, vocational training.

One other area of adult education might be some form of small group tutoring in the homes, a program in which students and/or other volunteers can actively and actually participate. This would be a mutually rewarding experience.

5. The physical appearance of the community could be much improved with public, chained, or cemented large ash cans and, perhaps, grass mowers upon a public rental basis, and/or information regarding the care of lawns, trees, etc. It is now an attractive neighborhood but could easily become another slum if left without vigilance or interested care.
6. Although, after our own reports to authorities, traffic signals and street controls were introduced to this area, such controls need to be enlarged and evaluated as to their efficiency. Many complaints were made to us that youngsters use the unmarked streets as race tracks. During our visits, we also found ourselves in need of more carefully placed traffic signs and signals.

Despite the existence of Mi-Casita in this area for some time, we were impressed, after careful questioning, how few knew about their activities or the very existence of this organization, especially among the Anglos and Negroes. Many felt the services were only for Catholics. We cite this as an example to indicate how the lack of intensive information and communication among the people will result in any program as futile and inadequate. For any action program to be successful, publicity regarding its intent, purpose, activities and services need to be repeatedly and effectively made known to all the residents of this area.

APPENDIX A

SCHEDULE FOR RESEARCH: TORNADO

T0-Tornado group
Und-undecided
NA-no answer
NAP-not applicable

Interviewer _____

Date _____

QUESTIONS ANSWERED BY:

Male head () Female () Female head () Both () Other ()

I. PERSONAL DATA AND HOUSING

A. Name _____

B. Address (present) _____

C. Were you in the area when the tornado hit? Yes No

T0: 1. If yes, what happened to you during the
tornado? _____

D. In the place where you lived before, did you rent?

Buy? Or own?

Monthly rent _____ Monthly payments _____ Value of home _____

E. What city and state were you born in? _____

F. How long have you lived in Lubbock? Months _____ Years _____

G. How many persons live in your home? _____

H. What are the relationships of the people in the house?

Ages _____

I. Space:

1. Number of rooms _____

2. Interviewer's impressions of house _____

3. Condition of physical setting (yard, street, etc.) _____

II. EDUCATION

A. What is the highest grade in school completed?

Father: 1-4 4-8 8-12 NA College: 1-2 3-4

Mother: 1-4 4-8 8-12 NA College: 1-2 3-4

B. Would you be interested in adult education or training
classes? Yes No NAP UND

C. ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO COMPLETED LESS THAN 4 YEARS EDUCATION:

Can you read a newspaper in

Father: English Spanish Other _____ NA

Mother: English Spanish Other _____ NA

D. Can you write?

Father: English Spanish Other _____ NA

Mother: English Spanish Other _____ NA

III. OCCUPATION

A. Where do you work? _____

B. What is your usual occupation? (Ex. carpenter, machinest, housewife, etc.)

Father: _____ Mother: _____

Other _____

C. Have you changed jobs since the tornado? Yes No NA

If yes, why _____

D. Can you suggest any reasons why it has been or is difficult for you or any member of your family to obtain a job in this city. Check as many as you wish.

Lack of jobs in city	Father _____	Mother _____
Lack of education	Father _____	Mother _____
Lack of skills	Father _____	Mother _____
Health problems	Father _____	Mother _____
Disabled	Father _____	Mother _____
Teenager	Father _____	Mother _____
Too old	Father _____	Mother _____
Family responsibility	Father _____	Mother _____
No problem	Father _____	Mother _____
No answer	Father _____	Mother _____

Other (specify) _____

IV. TRANSPORTATION

TO: A. Do you have your own transportation? Yes No

B. If no, what kind of transportation do you use?

For father _____ For mother _____ For children _____

V. ORGANIZATIONAL PARTICIPATION

TO: A. Did you go to the Guadalupe Neighborhood Center Council?

Father: Yes No NA

Mother: Yes No NA

Children: Yes No NA

If yes, how often do you attend? Once ()

Twice () Special occasions ()

Explanation _____

B. Do you go to the Northeast Community Center?

Father: Yes No NA Und
 Mother: Yes No NA Und
 Children: Yes No NA Und

If yes, how often do you attend? Once ()

Twice () Special Occasions ()

Explanation _____

C. Do you go to Mi Casita?

Father: Yes No NA Und
 Mother: Yes No NA Und
 Children: Yes No NA Und

If yes, how often do you attend? Once ()

Twice () Special Occasions ()

Explanation _____

D. If you do not go to any of the above three, do you belong to any other? Yes No NA

If yes, would you please tell us about it?

E. Do you plan to go to any of the above?
 Yes No NA Und

VI. ADJUSTMENT

A. Neighborliness: repeat for neighbor on right, left, and across the street

1. Since the tornado, have you spoken to your next door neighbors?

Right: Yes No NA Left: Yes No NA

Across street: Yes No NA

2. Have you visited your neighbor? Right: Yes No
 Left: Yes No NA Across street: Yes No NA

3. If yes, once, twice, three, four, five or more times? Right___ Left___ Across street___

4. If no, why not? Right_____

Left_____

Across street_____

5. Has your neighbor visited your house?

Right: Yes No NA Left: Yes No NA

Across street: Yes No NA

6. If yes, once, twice, three, four five or more times? Right___ Left___ Across street___

7. Is your neighbor: Right: Anglo Latin Negro
 Left: Anglo Latin Negro Across street:
 Anglo Latin Negro

B. Social Distance

1. Would you invite your neighbor for lunch?

- Right: Yes No NA Left: Yes No NA
Across Street: Yes No NA
2. For dinner with your family? Right: Yes
No NA Left: Yes No NA Across street:
Yes No NA
 3. For a social party? Right: Yes No NA
Left: Yes No NA Across street: Yes No NA
 4. If yes, with your other friends? Right:
Yes No NA Left: Yes No NA Across street:
Yes No NA
 5. Do you like living here? Like very much
like much dislike much dislike very much
NA UND
 6. Do your children like living here? Like very
much like much dislike much dislike very much
NA UND
 7. Can you tell us a little more about your
answers? _____

C. Future Plans

I know the next question is difficult to answer for me or for you, but could you try and tell us what your future plans are?

- TO: 1. Do you plan to buy this house? Yes No Und
2. Do you plan to rent this house? Yes No Und
3. Do you plan to move back to your old neighborhood and rebuild your house? Yes No Und
4. Do you plan to move back to your old neighborhood and rent a house? Yes No Und
5. What did you like about your old neighborhood?

6. What did you like about your old house? _____

7. What didn't you like about your old neighborhood?

8. What didn't you like about your old house?

- Settled group: 9. What do you like about this neighborhood? _____
10. What don't you like about this neighborhood?

APPENDIX B

TORNADO: FOLLOW-UP SCHEDULE
(some of data fill in from PInt.)

PInt-Previous interview
TO:-Tornado group
Setl-Settled group

Name of interviewer____
Date_____
Time for Int._____

I. PERSONAL DATA

1. Name_____ TO: Setl_____
2. Address_____
3. No. of children and ages (from PInt)_____
4. Religion: Protestant (specify denomination)_____
Catholic Other_____
5. Race: Anglo Negro Mexican American
6. Employment: Yes No
 - a. Before To: Yes No (PInt Occupation)_____
 - b. After To: Yes No If yes, what did you do?

 - c. Unemployed now: Yes No If no, what do you think is the reason?_____

II. TRANSPORTATION (follow up those who were without from PInt)

1. PInt without transportation Yes No
2. Has transportation been solved? Yes No If yes, mode of transportation_____

III. ADJUSTMENT CONTACTS IN NEIGHBORHOOD

1. Since last time visited, have you become better acquainted with your neighbors? Yes No
What kind of contact? a. Visits in the home_____
b. Visits in the yard_____ c. Other_____
2. Children only play with neighbors children
a. In home_____ b. In yard_____ c. In neighborhood_____
d. In school_____ e. Other_____
3. What racial group are your neighbors? A N MA
4. How do you feel now about living among different racial people?_____

IV. SOCIAL DISTANCE

1. Now that you have lived here a few months, do you like living here?
Better_____ Worse_____ Don't know_____ Don't care_____
- Reasons: (feel secure) Yes No Why?_____
- Too Crowded:_____

D. Choice of Residential Area

T0: 1. If there had been no tornado, if you wanted to and if you could afford it, would you have moved into this area?

Yes No NA Und

Settled group: 2. Since the tornado are you planning to move out of this neighborhood?

Yes No NA Und

3. If no, can you tell us why? _____

4. If yes, can you tell us why? _____

E. Social Interaction

Teenagers

1. Do your children go around with children of other racial groups? Yes No NA

If yes, in school only ()

In neighborhood ()

In community center ()

At other social gatherings ()

If no, can you tell us why not? _____

Adults

1. What do you like about living in a mixed neighborhood? _____

2. What don't you like about living in a mixed neighborhood? _____

Race (ethnic) Anglo Negro MexAmer Other

Interviewer's General Impressions:

2. Do you find people more friendly _____
Less friendly _____ Please explain: _____
-
3. Do you find neighborhood more lively? Yes No
Please explain your feelings _____
4. Do you feel far removed from town? Yes No
Please explain your answer _____
5. How do your children feel about living here now?
a. Do they want to go back to their old neighborhood? Yes No
b. Younger children Yes No c. Teenagers Yes No
Please explain _____
d. Do they want to stay here now? Yes No
Please explain _____

V. WHAT ARE YOUR PLANS NOW?

- TO: & Setl. 1. Original plans (PInt): _____
2. Plan now: To rent here: Yes No To buy here:
Yes No To move out: Yes No Why? _____
- TO: 3. To rent in old neighborhood Why? _____
4. To rebuild in old neighborhood. Why and what
kind of help do you expect? _____
-
5. Are you planning to move anywhere else when
you get the chance? Yes No
If so where? _____ We would like to hear
more about that, and your reasons for it.

VI. SUGGESTIONS FOR COMMUNITY ACTION AND INTERACTION

1. What do you think needs to be done for this community?
a. physical improvements _____
b. social improvements _____
2. How would you avoid difficulties of conflict in this
community?
a. among adults _____
b. among children _____
c. among teenagers _____
3. Do you feel there should be interaction (get to know
each other better) among the people in this community?
Yes No Please explain _____
-

4. Do you have any special or specific complaint about this neighborhood? Yes No
Please explain _____
5. Do you have any special or specific complaint regarding your neighbors? Yes No
Please tell us more about your problem _____
6. Do you think that anything good has come to you out of the tornado? Yes No
Tell us about it _____
7. How do you feel about the renewal plans for the city?

8. If there would come another tornado and your place got hit, would you do anything different the next time? We would like to know how you feel about that.

VII. INTERVIEWER'S IMPRESSIONS:

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE: TORNADO GROUP

Please circle the best answer.

With regard to your future plans:

1. Do you plan to buy this house? Yes No Undecided
2. Do you plan to rent this house? Yes No Undecided
3. Do you plan to move back to your
old neighborhood and rebuild
your house? Yes No Undecided
4. Do you plan to move back to your
old neighborhood and rent a house? Yes No Undecided
5. Do you plan to move to another
part of Lubbock and buy a house? Yes No Undecided
6. Do you plan to move to another
part of Lubbock and rent a house? Yes No Undecided
7. Do you plan to move away from
Lubbock? Yes No Undecided
8. What are your feelings now about your old neighborhood?

9. Now that you have lived here for some time, how do you feel about living in this neighborhood?

Please place this questionnaire in the enclosed stamped envelope and return it to us. Please answer as soon as possible. Thank you again.

Signed _____ (Sign only if you want to.)

Address _____

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE: SETTLED GROUP

Please circle the best answer.

With regard to your future plans:

1. Do you plan to buy this house? Yes No Undecided
2. Do you plan to rent this house? Yes No Undecided
3. Do you plan to move away from
this neighborhood and buy a house? Yes No Undecided
4. Do you plan to move away from
this neighborhood and rent a house? Yes No Undecided
5. Now that you have lived here for some time, how do you
feel about living in this neighborhood?

Please place this questionnaire in the enclosed stamped envelope and return it to us. Please answer as soon as possible. Thank you again.

Signed _____ (Sign only if you want to.)

Address _____