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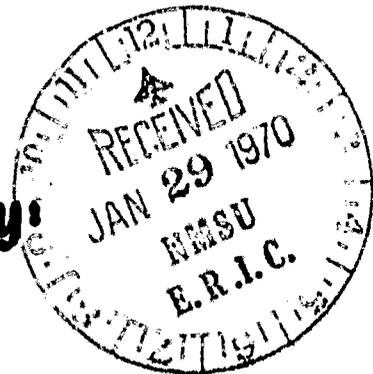
The purpose of this 1967 report sponsored by the Colorado Commission on Spanish-Surnamed Citizens was to study statistical, sociological, and psychological data pertaining to current problems, conditions, and needs of Spanish-surnamed residents of Colorado. The data were derived primarily from analysis of existing studies and the 1950 and 1960 census reports; from government records; and from interviews with public officials, Spanish-surnamed leaders, and other appropriate individuals. In addition, mail surveys were conducted with various agencies, and spot interviews were conducted with Spanish-surnamed citizens. Data were obtained on (1) the Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado, (2) economic status of the Spanish-surnamed, (3) education, (4) crime and delinquency, (5) health, (6) legal aid needs, and (7) housing. It was concluded that serious deprivation exists within the Spanish-surnamed population in the areas of income, employment, education, health, mental health, housing, respect for law, and legal aid. Furthermore, it was noted that these problems could get worse with the next generation unless the cycle of deprivation is broken. (TL)

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ED035503

Report to the Colorado General Assembly:



THE STATUS OF SPANISH-SURNAMED CITIZENS IN COLORADO



**Colorado Commission
on Spanish-Surnamed Citizens**

January, 1967

RC004018

COLORADO COMMISSION
ON
SPANISH-SURNAMED CITIZENS

Representative Frank Anaya, Chairman
Mr. William Lopez, Vice Chairman

Senator Raymond W. Braiden
(deceased)
Senator Roger Cisneros
Senator Donald E. Kelley
Rep. Victor B. Grandy
Rep. Clarence Quinlan

Mr. Fred Arguello
Mr. George Atencio
Dr. W. M. Oba
Mr. Joe Talmich
Mr. Candido Vielma

The Commission on Spanish-surnamed Citizens was established by House Joint Resolution No. 1014, First Regular Session of the Forty-fifth General Assembly. The Commission is comprised of three members of the Senate; three members of the House of Representatives; and six citizens of the state appointed by the Governor.

ED035503

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January 16, 1967

To Members of the Forty-sixth General Assembly:

In accordance with the provisions of House Joint Resolution No. 1014, it is with great pleasure that we transmit to you the final report of the Colorado Commission on Spanish-surnamed Citizens.

The Commission was established by the First Regular Session of the Forty-fifth General Assembly and was directed to study current problems, conditions, and needs of the Spanish-surnamed citizens of the state. As a result of this study we of the Commission have made nine recommendations which we hope will inspire legislative action. These recommendations concern: (1) education; (2) income and poverty; (3) health; (4) mental health; (5) highway deaths; (6) housing; (7) consumer problems; (8) indeterminate sentencing; and (9) re-establishment of the Commission.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to all those who assisted in the work of this Commission during its two years of study. Special thanks go to Dr. Richard A. Perchlik of Colorado State College who was appointed as Research Director in July, 1966.

It is our hope that a continuation of this study will be authorized so we can extend our efforts in finding solutions to the problems facing Spanish-surnamed citizens in Colorado.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Representative Frank R. Anaya
Chairman

FRA/mp

FOREWORD

This report represents the research done by the research staff of the Commission on Spanish-surnamed Citizens between July 1, 1966 and December 1, 1966. The Commission was established in House Joint Resolution No. 1014 (1965) by the first regular session of the 45th Colorado General Assembly and consisted of three members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate, three members of the House of Representatives appointed by the Speaker of the House, and six citizens of the state appointed by the Governor. The original membership was as follows:

Senator Raymond Braiden	La Jara
Senator Roger Cisneros	Denver
Senator Donald Kelley	Denver
Representative Frank Anaya	Denver
Representative Victor Grandy	Denver
Representative Clarence Quinlan	Antonito
Mr. Fred Arguello	Arvada
Mr. George Atencio	Denver
Mr. William Lopez	Fort Collins
Dr. W. M. Oba	Alamosa
Mr. Joe Talmich	Rocky Ford
Mr. Candido Vielma	Greeley

At the first meeting of the Commission, held on August 3, 1965, Representative Anaya was elected Chairman of the Commission and Mr. William Lopez was elected Vice Chairman.

The Commission was charged (1) to study current problems, conditions, and needs of the Spanish-surnamed residents of this state; (2) to study statistical, sociological, and psychological data, and other matters closely related to improving the opportunities of Spanish-surnamed residents for closer alignment with the social and economic life of this state; (3) to conduct hearings; and (4) to publish its findings and make recommendations for legislative action to the second regular session of the Forty-fifth General Assembly, and to the first regular session of the Forty-sixth General Assembly.

In order to carry out its second charge, the Commission, on July 1, 1966, appointed Dr. Richard A. Perchlik of Colorado State College as Research Director of the Commission and directed him to conduct research on the Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado, and submit a report to the Commission by early December, 1966.

It should be clearly understood that the research staff's effort to research the status and needs of the Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado within the five months allotted to this study could not be complete. The Forty-fifth General Assembly should be commended for initiating this formal

effort to focus upon the problems and needs of one of Colorado's significant and important ethnic minorities, but to understand the magnitude and complexity of any population group's socio-economic status is a challenge of great dimension and one demanding a long range and ongoing program of research and study.

In light of this reality, the research staff accepted its responsibility as one of opening the door to the problem, with hopes of organizing the vast accumulation of knowledge on Colorado's Spanish-surnamed population so as to suggest meaningful avenues of more thorough investigation and study in the future. It is hoped that continuous and more penetrating research may point to solutions to the manifold problems. It is assumed, and is strongly recommended, that the Commission on Spanish-surnamed citizens be re-established and continued during the Forty-sixth General Assembly.

In light of the time allotted to complete this research study, the research staff, with the consent of the Commission, decided to establish priority to a general survey of the total situation regarding Spanish-surnamed residents. One of the major goals of the research was to identify, analyze, and evaluate existing research and available knowledge about the Spanish-surnamed population. In addition, new research was conducted in those areas where previous study seemed to be lacking. This new research, however, was exploratory in nature and conclusions derived are tentative, and must be exposed to more thorough analysis.

The research staff expresses its deep appreciation to the many state and local officials and other individuals who provided information, consultation, and facilities during the course of the study. In particular, the staff thanks the following:

Paul Binner and Ethel Truitt, The Fort Logan Mental Health Center
Charlene Birkins and Michael Troian, Colorado Department of Public Welfare
Gilbert Cruter, Charles F. Croley, and Mrs. Lena Archuleta of the Denver Public Schools
Donald Davids, Colorado Department of Public Health
Leonard Davies, University of Denver Law School
William Foley, Stan Boucher, and George Jones, Colorado Department of Institutions
John Garcia, Director, Latin American Research and Service Agency
Robert C. Hanson, Director, University of Colorado Institute for the Behavioral Sciences
Hy Hechter, Neighborhood Health Center
Richard Jessor, Department of Psychology, University of Colorado
Samuel R. Martinez, Colorado Office of Economic Opportunity
Harold Mendlesohn, University of Denver
Donald Myer, Director, Colorado State College Computer Center
Dan Payne, Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education
Dr. Marion Phillipus, National Jewish Hospital
Fred Romero and Roy McCanne of the Colorado Department of Education
Dr. Bernard Spilka, University of Denver
Ruth Steiner, Colorado Civil Rights Commission
Bernard E. Teets, Colorado Department of Employment

Dr. Kayo Sunata, Ridge Home for the Retarded
Bernard Valdez, Denver Department of Welfare
Goodrich Walton, Department of Youth Service, Colorado Department of
Institutions
Colonel Ward, Denver Legal Aid Society
Dr. Jerry Weil, Weld County General Hospital

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COMMISSION ON SPANISH-SURNAMED CITIZENS

The Commission on Spanish-surnamed Citizens, established by House Joint Resolution No. 1014 of the First Regular Session of the Forty-fifth General Assembly, was directed to study current conditions of Spanish-surnamed residents of this state, to examine statistical, sociological, and psychological data, to conduct hearings, to publish its findings, and to make recommendations for legislative action.

The following recommendations were made by the Commission at its final meeting on December 29. They are the result of the Commission's staff research, public hearings, and visitations.

The Commission is convinced that although its study has touched on most of the problems facing Spanish-surnamed citizens, a more penetrating study over the next two years is needed.

Commission Recommendations

1. Education

Serious educational deprivation exists within the Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado. Most youths do not complete high school, and the median years of education among adults is significantly below that of the general population.

- a. Curriculums in most school districts are not meeting the needs of all the children. The curriculum must be individualized.

It is recommended that the State Department of Education take the responsibility of studying the curriculums in Colorado's schools in relation to the needs of non-college bound youth, and to make recommendations to school districts.

It is further recommended that the Colorado General Assembly encourage curriculum change by providing funds to match efforts of local school districts in implementing curriculum experimentation and new programs.

- b. Children from disadvantaged families often fail in school because they begin school in the first grade already handicapped from serious environmental deprivation. They are at a special disadvantage in terms of communicative skills. Unless these disadvantages are overcome early in the child's life the cumulative effect in school is overwhelming. Federal programs are attacking the problem but it is often too little and too late.

It is strongly recommended that the state expand its basic education legislation to extend regular state funding to pre-school and remedial education. Pre-school programs throughout the year, and remedial programs in the summer and evenings should receive state aid on the same basis as regular schooling.

The pre-school programs should be for those children experiencing serious environmental deprivation. A comprehensive testing program should be implemented for 3 and 4 year olds. Children showing environmental deprivation should be enrolled in the special pre-school program.

- c. The Constitution of the State of Colorado guarantees to every child a free public education. This provision is being violated throughout the state by assessing children many miscellaneous and sometimes prohibitive fees and charges. This practice places children from economically deprived families at a serious academic and psychological disadvantage, and often contributes to school failures and drop-outs.

It is recommended that the State Department of Education conduct a thorough investigation of school districts to determine the extent of contributory costs being assessed to children.

It is further recommended that maximum limits be placed on such costs and that procedures and standards be established to allow exemption from such costs of children from economically deprived families.

- d. Often the failure or lack of success in school of economically deprived children is due to the lack of empathy and understanding that teachers have for them. Few teachers in Colorado's schools come from economically deprived backgrounds and others do not always understand the special problems of the children from such backgrounds.

It is recommended that state funds be appropriated to match the efforts of local school districts in establishing in service education programs for teachers who work with the environmentally deprived.

In addition, it is recommended that the State Department of Education initiate a state program of teacher institutes or workshops for teachers of the environmentally deprived.

- e. Educational opportunity beyond the high school is minimal for young people from economically deprived families in Colorado. Existing institutions of higher learning are often far from one's home and as such create prohibitive

living costs. On the other hand, existing institutions do not adequately provide for special educational needs.

It is recommended that a state system of junior colleges be established with new institutions to be established where sizeable populations are not being served by such facilities.

Many scholarship and financial assistance programs are now available under various auspices, but they are still far short of the needs of the talented but economically deprived student.

It is recommended that an expanded program of financial grants be made available to promising students without adequate financial means to attend junior colleges or four year institutions of higher learning.

It is further recommended that any plan of financial assistance recognize the factor of distance from home to the institution to adjust for extra travel and living costs.

- f. Much of the unemployment which exists in Colorado is due to the absence of special job skills among much of our population. There is a great need for specialized vocational education.

It is recommended that the efforts in Colorado to expand and extend vocational education be accelerated. Top priority should be given to the establishment of vocational area schools which can be established by several school districts working together. Under the Federal Vocational Education Act of 1963 the Federal Government will match state financial efforts in this area up to 50%. It is strongly recommended that state funds be allocated for this purpose.

2. Income and Poverty

Our research and public hearings establish without doubt the existence of serious economic deprivation within the Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado. The plight of the Spanish-surnamed citizen who is poor is not unique; it is the plight of all those citizens unfortunate enough to find themselves unable to enjoy the great affluence and prosperity of the American system, and suffering the disabilities and hardships of poverty. It is a paradox that this richest nation of the world still experiences abject poverty and deprivation within one-fifth of its population.

Much is being done to face the problems of poverty. These efforts should be expanded and improved.

- a. One of the problems in Colorado is the lack of equalization of economic resources among counties. Counties with the

lowest economic base and the greatest poverty have the least economic ability to provide solutions or remedial programs.

It is recommended that the state establish an equalization program for county welfare programs so as to provide financial subsidies to counties with great need but the inability to raise monies locally.

- b. Much poverty is the result of unemployment brought about by modernization, automation, and the general obsolescence of many jobs.

It is recommended that the state expand upon existing federal job retraining programs which would provide a living income during the retraining period.

3. Health

Research indicates a serious health differential between the Spanish-surnamed population and the general population. We are convinced that the generally poorer health of the average Spanish-surnamed person is related to economic deprivation and lack of medical care. The simple conclusion is that poverty breeds poor health. Health care and health education should be improved for all the economically deprived.

It is recommended that public medical facilities be extended into neighborhood areas of deprivation and that prenatal care centers be established throughout the state.

It is further recommended that schools expand their programs of health education.

4. Mental Health

Mental sickness is more extensive among the poor than in any other economic class. Paradoxically, areas of greatest poverty have the fewest available public mental health facilities. Mental health facilities in Colorado are providing exceptional assistance but they are not extensive enough to meet the needs.

It is recommended that community mental health clinics be expanded and established throughout the state but especially in areas of economic deprivation.

It is further recommended that special programs be established to work at preventative action. Special programs for teachers would prove valuable in getting teachers to identify and understand interaction between children in the schools.

5. Highway Deaths

Research reveals a rate of automobile accident death among Spanish-surname persons which is twice their population percent. Of all 16-25 year old Spanish-surnamed youth who died in 1960 over 40% died in an auto accident. This could well be a reflection of poverty and poor and faulty vehicles possessed by the poor. It also could be the unfamiliarity the poor may have with autos. Driver education is not available to all youth at no cost.

It is recommended that a comprehensive program of driver training be established in all schools at no cost to the student. State funds should be made available to implement this program.

It is recommended that a more rigorous program of auto vehicle inspection be implemented to detect faulty equipment.

6. Housing

The Commission's visitations around the state have revealed deplorable housing conditions among large groups of our population. Blighted areas in the state are eyesores and serious threats to good health, decency, and education. Areas such as Lariat in Monte Vista, Santa Ritz in Durango, the Spanish colonies in Greeley and Fort Collins, and urban sections around Adams County are only a few examples. Migrant housing also is a serious problem. Unfortunately, jurisdictions and responsibilities are often ill-defined. Enforcement of codes is lax.

It is recommended that the General Assembly of Colorado establish a special committee to look into areas of blighted housing in Colorado and to establish a state code of standards. Enforcement powers should be granted to a state agency. State funds should be appropriate to assist communities unable to provide needed utilities and improvements to housing areas.

7. Consumer Problems

Often the poor and uneducated are victims of unscrupulous salesmen and fraudulent peddlers. The people least able to meet payments are saddled with exorbitant claims and garnishments.

It is recommended that the state establish a Consumer Counsel and staff to assist consumers in meeting special problems in the market place. This counsel should give aid and assistance and provide counseling services. The staff should provide educational materials in both English and Spanish. The Counsel should have the power to enforce existing laws protecting the consumer.

It is further recommended that garnishment laws be abolished or amended to provide a minimum salary or wage which is not attachable, based upon the size of a person's family.

8. Indeterminate Sentencing

The Commission found that sometimes inequitable sentences have been imposed for the same offenses by different judicial districts. As a result Spanish-surnamed persons often suffered injustices.

It is recommended that Colorado adopt the concept of indeterminate sentencing in place of the present sentencing practice.

9. Re-establishment of the Commission

The Commission felt that it had served a useful purpose and that there is a continuing need for its existence.

It is recommended that the Legislature re-establish the Commission for an additional two years.

THE STATUS OF SPANISH-SURNAMED CITIZENS IN COLORADO

I. NATURE OF THE STUDY

The data for this study was derived primarily from the analysis of existing studies and census reports, from government records, and from interviews with over seventy-five public officials, Spanish-surnamed leaders, and various individuals who had some experience in working with, or studying problems related to, the Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado. In addition, mail surveys were conducted with various agencies, and spot interviews were conducted with Spanish-surnamed citizens.

Limitations and Research Problems

The major limitation of this study is the uneven and often outdated data upon which the research was based. Of course, all population data used in the study has serious limitations since it derives from the 1960 census. The rapidly changing population of Colorado, undoubtedly, has produced significant changes by 1966 in our population distribution. It is assumed by the staff that the nature of the problems revealed by the 1960 census have, however, not appreciably changed although the degree and location of the problems may have changed.

One of the major limitations of the study was the designation of its focus as the Spanish-surnamed citizen of Colorado. As a designation of a meaningful cultural or ethnic group, the term "Spanish-surname" is inadequate, for it masks many variables which are significant for analysis. Such a designation assumes for research purposes that the Spanish-name of an individual is the most significant variable within his make-up which distinguishes him from other individuals within the population, and hence can lead to a determination of his unique characteristics, problems, and needs. In a more general fashion, such an assumption might suggest that a group of citizens of Spanish-surname who have special problems of employment, education, housing, and social mobility do so because of their Spanish name. This could be so if (1) there was general discrimination against a group identified by name, or (2) people of certain names generally possessed unique cultural traits which worked against them in the predominant culture, or (3) both conditions existed.

These assumptions are open to question. It is difficult to prove, for example, that "Spanish-name" as an object of discrimination in Colorado society is as great as the characteristic "Nonwhite" or "Negro" of other population groups. One could argue that "name" is recognized on written communication before "race" is observed from contact, but the vast majority of discrimination occurs after visual evaluation. Hence, unless we assume that "Spanish-name" also encompasses a group of people with distinguishable physical characteristics, it is difficult to accept "Spanish-surname" as a meaningful object of discrimination. We can, however, easily make this assumption about classifications such as "Nonwhite" or "Negro" for the simple reason that, if an

individual does not possess the distinguishable physical characteristics of the discrimination, he no longer classifies himself as such and literally "passes" into another racial group, for research purposes.

Secondly, it is difficult to assume that "Spanish-surname" reflects a generally defined cultural pattern of conduct which might be the object of discrimination or which might act as a deterrent in the predominant culture. The fact is that there are probably at least four different major cultural groups related to nationality within the population of Spanish-surnamed residents in Colorado, the rural Spanish-American and the Mexican-American, and the semi-aculturated and acculturated urban counterparts of each of those groups. This is a problem, but probably less of a problem than trying to get Spanish-surnamed individuals to accept uniform cultural designations. Unfortunately, "Spanish-American" and "Mexican-American" designations in Colorado have developed social and political connotations which would blur their cultural meanings. In other words, although the classification "Spanish-surnamed" has serious limitations for cultural designation, it is probably the best for statistical purposes. It is especially useful because the Bureau of the Census, since the 1960 Census, has used "white persons of Spanish-surname" in its compilations. One item of error should be kept in mind; that is, marriage can create or remove Spanish-surnames for females and for their children. The culture of the individual would not normally change appreciably, and the children of such a marriage may or may not reflect the culture of the father. The more general issue of culture and its implications will be discussed later in this study.

Serious obstacles to thorough and ongoing research on the Spanish-surnamed citizen in Colorado are both the absence of, and the lack of, standardization in data collection within the public agencies of the state. Some agencies, notably the Department of Institutions and particularly the Fort Logan Mental Health Hospital, have done an excellent job of record keeping regarding the Spanish-surnamed population and related data. Many other agencies of the state made no designation in their records, at all, of Spanish-surnamed categories. Ironically, educational institutions and agencies were most remiss in keeping records of Spanish-surnamed students and employees.

Even where Spanish-surnamed populations were designated in records, differing classifications were used among the various agencies. In some cases "Spanish" was used, in others "Spanish-American," in others "Spanish-speaking" and yet in others "Spanish-surnamed." Other kinds of data related to the study were also unstandardized among state agencies. For example, income classifications or categories might be different on various record forms, hence they could not be compared for analysis. It is highly recommended that general categories of information be standardized on record forms throughout state institutions to facilitate research.

It is also recommended that minority population designations such as "Spanish-surnamed" and "Negro" be established in all public records except applications. Some agency and school leaders stated that they had removed such designations to prevent discrimination. Others stated that they abstained from minority designation because of pressure from civil rights groups. For

whatever reason, the absence of minority designation on records (including the designation of income minorities, i.e., the poor) is detrimental to minorities in the long run because it effectively buries any problems which might be statistically evident from the records. For example, a curriculum director of a large Colorado school system argued that he did not keep count of Spanish-surnamed youngsters in his schools nor really worried about it since they had an educational program for all children. On the other hand a clear check of Spanish-surnamed youngsters in that school system might have revealed a high drop-out or failure rate indicating that the educational program was not equally serving all the children.

In general, we cannot solve the problems of our state unless we have good data efficiently stored and ready for retrieval and analysis. This study has revealed a serious lack in this regard in Colorado. Some of Colorado's major public agencies still do not possess automatic data storage and processing systems. It is strongly recommended that research budgets be substantially increased, that necessary data collection and storage equipment be established in all state agencies, and that items of general interest on all records be standardized within state agencies.

II. THE SPANISH-SURNAMED POPULATION OF COLORADO

According to the official 1960 U.S. Census, white persons of Spanish-surname number 157,173 in Colorado. This figure represents 8.96 percent of the total Colorado population. The Spanish-surnamed population increased 38,458 between 1950 and 1960--an increase of 32.4 percent. Coincidentally, the increase of the total Colorado population during this ten year period was also 32.4 percent. Although the identical percentage increase of populations of the two groups indicates a probable stabilizing of the Spanish-surnamed population in Colorado, it obscures differing patterns within certain age groupings and geographical areas. These differences will be discussed in greater detail later.

History

The Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado is a diverse and complex group. It is impossible to speak of this group as a unity. Consequently, any generalizations about its origins would be invalid and misleading. It is not within the purpose or scope of this study to trace the historic or cultural roots of the various Spanish-surnamed populations within Colorado, but a brief historical sketch of a few of the major groupings may serve as a helpful backdrop to the present status of these populations.

Lyle Saunders has suggested one historic classification of Spanish-surnamed groups which seems generally relevant in Colorado, although it may not be too significant to understanding contemporary cultural patterns, especially among urban populations.¹ Saunders has classified three historic groups as the Spanish-American, the Mexican-American, and the Mexican. The Mexican, the Mexican national who usually returns to Mexico, is of little significance in Colorado. It must be kept in mind that these designations are often used interchangeably in Colorado to refer to contemporary Spanish-surnamed persons. Such contemporary designations may, or may not, have any relationship to the historic groups described here.

The Spanish-Americans are descendents of Spanish colonists who moved into the upper and middle Rio Grande river valleys around 1598 and later. These people were lead by Juan de Onate and were preceded by soldiers and priests. Small isolated communities such as San Gabriel and Sante Fe were established. These communities were generally out of contact with the Spanish colonial settlements developing in the central geographic area of what is now Mexico. The Spanish-Americans who settled in those areas which are now within the States of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado were never really identified with Mexico; although between 1821, when this area came under Mexican rule after Mexico's independence from Spain, and 1848 when this area was ceded to the United States after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, they were legally Mexican citizens.

After setbacks by Indian uprisings and other adversities, the settlements slowly expanded. Even after 250 years of the original settlement, the total population of Spanish-Americans was no more than 60,000 in this area. Most of the population was living in small, self-sufficient, agricultural communities. In the early days of these settlements, because of a shortage of Spanish women, some men did take Indian wives, but since about 1800 little intermarriage with the Indian population has taken place. In later years it was also very uncommon for any intermarriage to take place between the Spanish-Americans and Anglo-Americans of the area. However, because of a continuous contact with persons who intermarried with Indians in Mexico and immigrated into the area, Spanish-Americans often possess Indian genetic characteristics, although not as pronounced as within the group classified as Mexican-American.

The communities of the Spanish-Americans were characterized by their isolation. This isolation gave communities a compactness and strong social organization which militated against social change. The family and the church were compelling social institutions. The family was an extended family including parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts, and great-grandparents. Leadership was institutional rather than personal, and a person achieved a leadership role by virtue of age and position in the family and not because of personal characteristics. Innovation and change were suspect because the system worked well enough to meet the challenges of survival. The role of education was primarily one of indoctrination. In Colorado a large percent of the Spanish-surnamed population in southern Colorado, especially in the San Luis valley, may trace their lineage in some way to the Spanish-American.

The Mexican-American, as the second historic grouping of Spanish-surnamed population, has much in common with the Spanish-American. Culturally, there is much similarity between the two groups. The two groups have virtually identical genetic backgrounds, although the Mexican-American exhibits more characteristics from the Indian than do the Spanish-Americans. Like the Spanish-American, the Mexican American reflects the culture of the small village, the non-competitive, tightly organized community, with strong ties to the church and the extended family.

Most significantly, however, the Mexican-American differs from the Spanish-American in his ties with his cultural past. The Spanish-American in the Southwest experienced little general migration. For generations, the Spanish-American resided in an area of his forefathers with much around him to maintain cultural identity and stability. In many cases Spanish-Americans retained land grants and property rights extending back 200 to 300 years. Even though most Spanish-Americans today live far from the villages of their grandparents, they are within a general area of cultural proximity and can maintain contact with their past and even return occasionally to the village of their families.

On the other hand, Mexican-Americans were basically immigrants to the land and surroundings in which they found themselves. Their cultural roots extended deep into remote and distant Mexican villages with which they could not maintain contact and identification. Lacking the stabilizing force of

geographic-cultural proximity, the Mexican-American was much more exposed to the acculturating forces of the Anglo world. The shock of acculturation was somewhat minimized, however, by the tendency of Mexican-Americans to seek residence in separate neighborhood and community groups where contacts with other Mexican-Americans were multiplied and where the opportunity to intermingle with Anglos was minimized.

Most Mexican-Americans are former Mexican nationals or their descendants, who migrated to the southwest from Mexico between 1900 and 1930. Some came out of dissatisfaction with conditions in Mexico after the revolution of 1910 and others were recruited to help raise food in this country in support of the war effort during the First World War. It is estimated that by 1930 over two million Mexicans had entered the United States legally or illegally.

The depression of the 1930's disillusioned many of the immigrants from Mexico. Jobs were scarce and economic conditions were extremely harsh for this group. Many returned to Mexico, but most remained in this country. Many of those who remained moved into the cities, such as Denver, and established themselves in barrios, segregated slum or run-down areas. Children of these people found themselves caught between two cultures. The parents often maintained the culture of their past, speaking Spanish and emphasizing cherished values, while the children were exposed to Anglo culture away from the home.

Many other Mexican-Americans moved into agriculture, performing unskilled and low paid tasks such as tending sugar beets and harvesting vegetables in Colorado. Much of this work was, and is, migratory in nature forcing mobility upon the people and hence arresting the process of education and acculturation. In addition to these two major groups one could add subgroupings related to intermediate generations of either group who resided in specific areas. For example, many Mexican-Americans of Colorado migrated from Texas where a few generations had lived and undergone some unique acculturation.

It must be kept in mind that this superficial historic sketch of these two major groupings may have little relevance to Spanish-surnamed populations as they exist today in Colorado. The vast expansion of the Anglo population in the Southwest, the world wars, the depression, and the manifold pressures of urbanization have had untold influence upon these original historic strains. The degree and nature of this influence would be interesting to analyze but it cannot be done here.

The focus of this study is the present day status of the Spanish-surnamed resident in Colorado. Such status will generally be related to generally accepted norms and values of the predominant culture of Colorado. No implication of conformity is suggested. Cultural factors unique to the Spanish-surnamed population will be considered later where it is felt such cultural factors are significant to status problems. However, the roots of the unique cultural factors will not be considered.

Location

According to the 1960 census, the Spanish-surnamed population is not evenly distributed over the State of Colorado. Table 1 and Map 1 summarize the location pattern of the Spanish-surnamed population by county in 1960. It is clear from Map 1 that, as a percent of the total population, the greatest concentration of Spanish-surnamed citizens by county exists in the southern part of Colorado, but in total number, the largest Spanish-surnamed population is located in and around Denver. Table 1 shows that the Spanish-surnamed population, both as a gross figure and as a percent of total population in the various counties, is experiencing significant shifts. Inasmuch as we have no accurate census figures since 1960, it is difficult to project these shifts into 1967, but there is no evidence that these patterns of change have been arrested. Map 2 graphically illustrates the shifting nature of the Spanish-surnamed population as a percent of the total county population. This does not necessarily mean the Spanish-surnamed population is shifting, but only that there is shift differential between the Spanish-surnamed population and the non-Spanish-surnamed population. In those counties where a trend seems to indicate the Spanish-surnamed population is growing as a percent of the total population, problems related to the Spanish-surnamed population, as indicated in this study, might be expected to increase also. Even in those counties where a rise in the percent of Spanish-surnamed is due to an accelerated rate of out-migration of non-Spanish-surnamed, it can pose the problems of a changing tax base. On the other hand, the rising percent of Spanish-surnamed citizens in a county might lead to possibilities of political leverage, on the part of the Spanish-surnamed groups, which might help solve some problems.

Gross percentage figures of the Spanish-surnamed population are less significant, however, than the figures within age groups. Table 2 reveals the changes of age group categories within selected counties and cities. The gross percentages hide the concentration of Spanish-surnamed in the younger age groups. In most counties this population concentration reaches its peak in the teenage group. This has special implication to education and youth problems. It is also safe to generalize that within the next 10 years the number of Spanish-surnamed citizens eligible to vote, as a percent of the total voting population, will rise appreciably and this may have significant political implications.

The differing patterns within age groups is interesting in light of the fact that within the total population between 1950 and 1960 the Spanish-surnamed population has increased at the same rate as the total population. The fact that the Spanish-surnamed percent of the total population did not go up, despite the obvious higher birth rates of Spanish-surnamed citizens in the early 1950s was probably due to a continuing influx of non-Spanish-surnamed citizens in their twenties and thirties. As this type of immigration tapers off, we can expect to see the Spanish-surnamed percentage of the total population increase in Colorado.

In general, the Spanish-surnamed Coloradan is migrating, like all Coloradans, from the rural areas to the urban areas. Although the total population of Colorado increased 32.4 percent between 1950 and 1960, the urban

TABLE 1

**COLORADO - SPANISH SURNAME POPULATION
BY COUNTIES - U. S. CENSUS - 1950 and 1960**

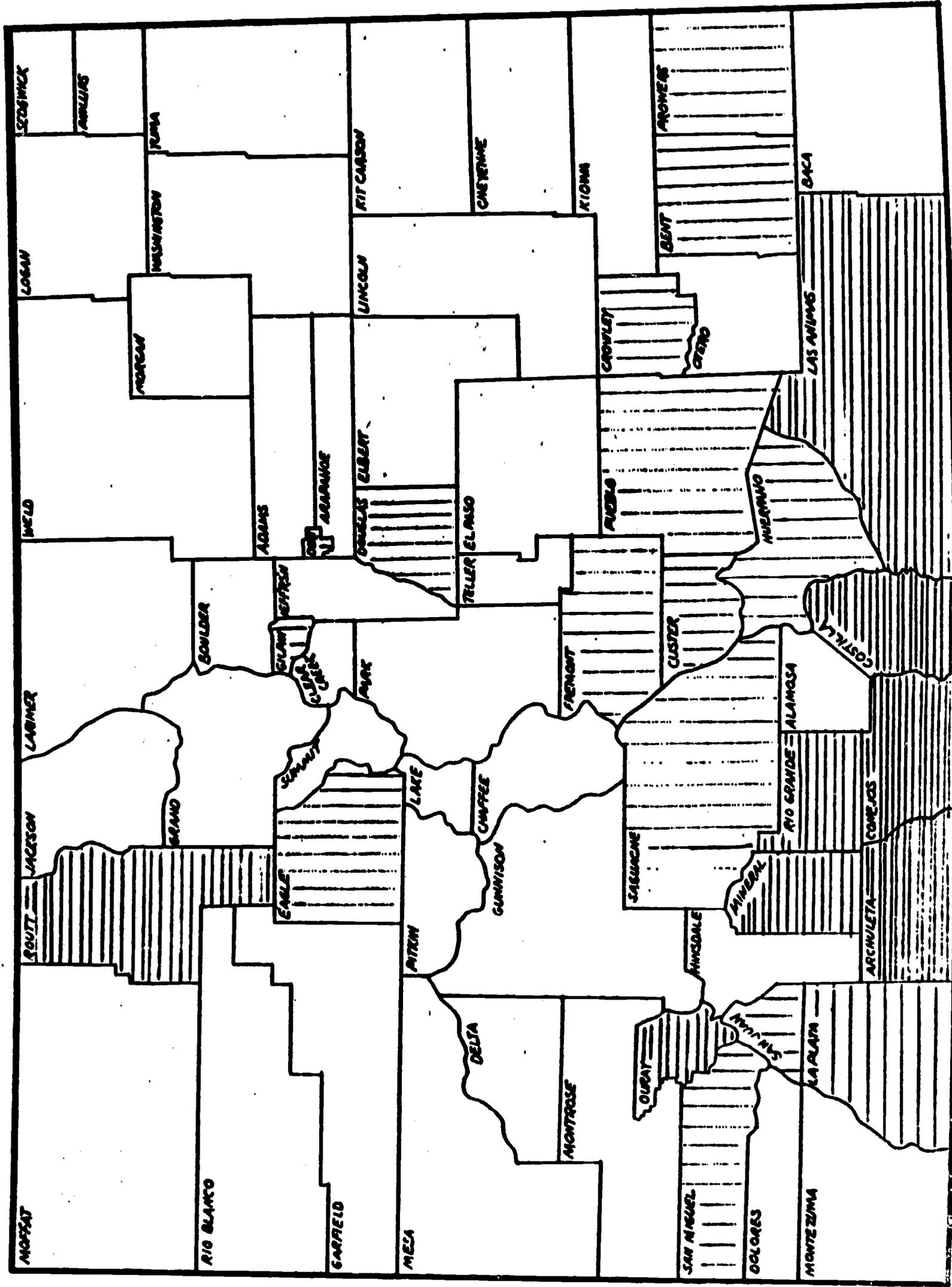
County	1950 Total No.	Percent of Total	1960 Total No.	Percent of Total	Increase or Decrease	Change of Percent
Adams	2,479	6.2	8,542	7.1	6,063	+ .9
Alamosa	2,662	25.3	2,494	24.9	(168)	- .4
Arapahoe	1,088	2.1	2,987	2.6	1,899	- .5
Archuleta	1,397	46.1	953	36.2	(444)	- 9.9
Baca	32	-	172	2.7	140	.
Bent	1,318	15.0	1,454	19.6	136	+ 4.6
Boulder	1,545	3.2	3,103	4.2	1,558	+ 1.0
Chaffee	631	8.8	732	8.8	101	.
Cheyenne	6	-	8	.3	2	.
Clear Creek	27	-	17	.6	(10)	.
Conejos	6,387	62.8	4,476	53.1	(1,911)	- 9.7
Costilla	4,760	78.5	3,065	72.6	(1,695)	- 15.6
Crowley	978	18.7	1,023	25.7	45	+ 7.0
Custer	40	2.5	93	7.1	53	+ 4.6
Delta	968	5.6	1,173	7.5	205	+ 1.9
Denver	24,950	6.0	43,147	8.7	18,197	+ 2.7
Dolores	6	-	3	.1	(3)	.
Douglas	66	1.9	191	4.0	125	+ 2.1
Eagle	783	17.4	1,187	25.4	404	+ 8.0
Elbert	29	-	62	1.7	33	.
El Paso	2,337	3.1	6,135	4.3	3,798	+ 1.2
Fremont	1,175	6.4	1,798	8.9	623	+ 2.5
Garfield	325	2.8	285	2.4	(40)	- .4
Gilpin	20	2.4	75	10.9	55	+ 8.5
Grand	79	2.0	91	2.6	12	+ .6
Gunnison	236	4.1	142	2.6	(94)	- 1.5
Hinsdale	-	-	3	1.4	3	.
Huerfano	3,437	32.6	3,608	45.9	171	+ 13.3
Jackson	11	-	58	3.3	47	.
Jefferson	744	1.3	2,515	2.0	1,771	+ .7
Kiowa	68	2.3	17	.7	(51)	- 1.6
Kit Carson	102	1.2	69	1.0	(33)	- .2
Lake	891	14.5	901	12.7	10	- 1.8
La Plata	2,240	15.1	2,346	12.2	106	- 2.0
Larimer	1,780	4.1	2,160	4.0	380	- .1
Las Animas	11,031	42.6	7,443	37.2	(3,588)	- 5.4
Lincoln	69	1.2	58	1.1	(11)	- .1
Logan	719	4.2	839	4.1	120	- .1
Mesa	1,543	4.0	2,612	5.1	1,069	+ 1.1
Mineral	64	9.2	3	.7	(61)	- 8.5
Moffat	156	2.6	207	2.9	51	+ .3
Montezuma	770	7.7	901	6.4	131	+ 1.3
Montrose	1,028	6.8	1,291	7.1	263	+ .3
Morgan	1,088	6.0	1,642	7.7	554	+ 1.7
Otero	6,036	23.9	5,328	22.1	(708)	- 1.8
Ouray	36	1.7	217	13.5	181	+ 11.8
Park	-	-	39	2.1	39	.

TABLE 1 (continued)

County	1950 Total No.	Percent of Total	1960 Total No.	Percent of Total	Increase or Decrease	Change of Percent
Phillips	-	-	31	.7	31	
Pitkin	4	-	4	.2	-	
Provers	1,142	7.7	1,424	10.7	282	+ 3.0
Pueblo	14,802	16.4	25,437	21.4	10,635	+ 5.0
Rio Blanco	16	-	32	.6	16	
Rio Grande	4,605	35.9	3,477	31.2	(1,128)	- 4.7
Routt	557	6.2	99	1.7	(458)	- 4.5
Saguache	1,410	24.9	1,411	31.5	1	+ 6.6
San Juan	205	13.9	145	17.1	(60)	+ 3.2
San Miguel	82	3.0	132	4.5	50	+ 4.5
Sedgwick	371	7.3	322	7.6	(49)	+ .3
Summit	-	-	22	1.1	22	
Teller	20	-	20	.8	-	
Washington	112	1.5	46	.7	(66)	- .8
Weld	8,647	12.8	8,831	12.2	184	+ .6
Yuma	21	-	75	.8	54	

SOURCE: Bureau of Census Reports

RELATIVE CHANGE OF THE SPANISH-SURNAMED POPULATION OF COLORADO
 IN EACH COUNTY MEASURED BY SPREAD OF PERCENTAGE POINTS BETWEEN 1950 AND 1960
 MAP 2

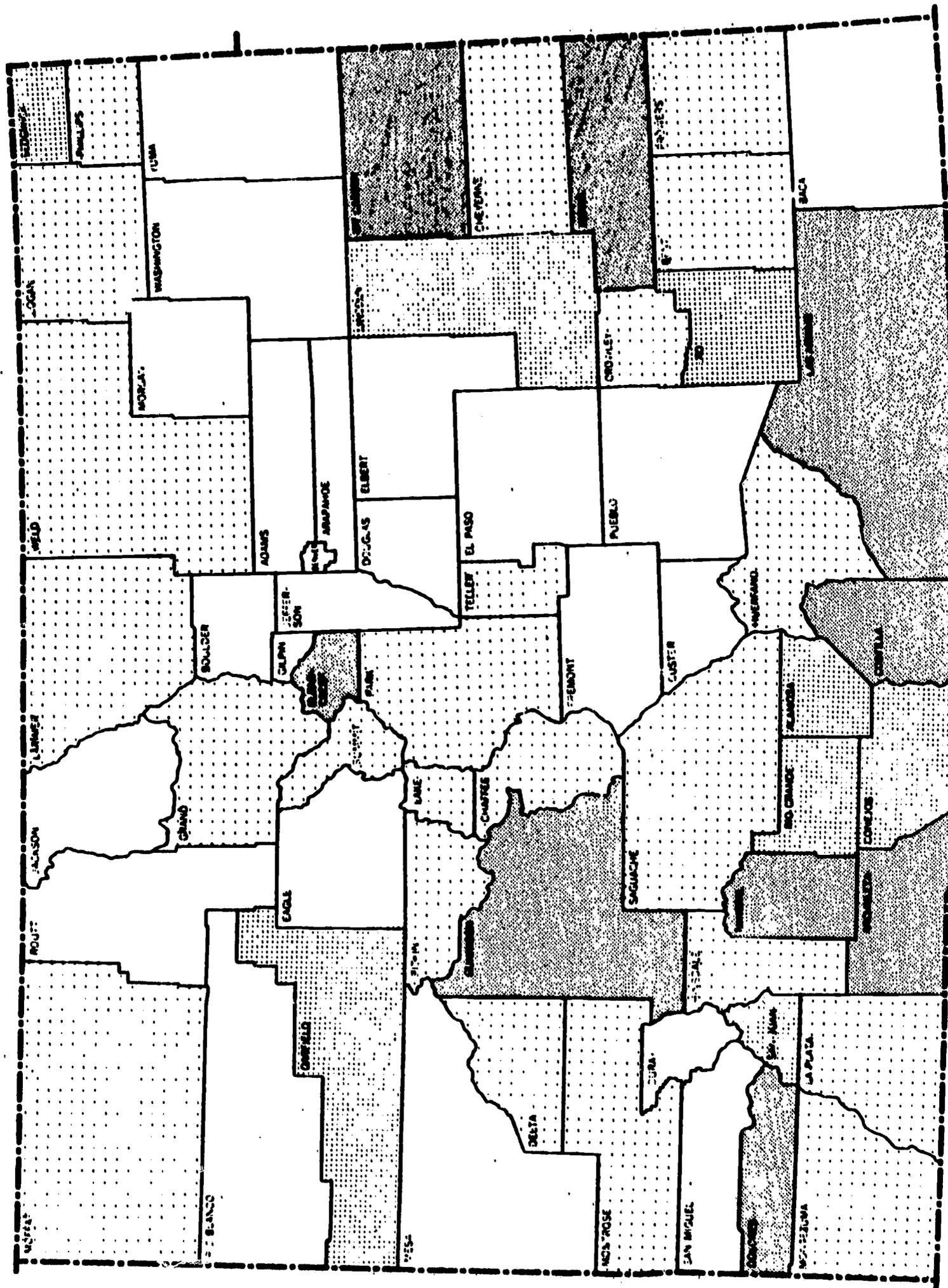


decrease of 2 points or more [diagonal lines] increase of 2 points or more [horizontal lines]

-1.99 to +1.99 change [white box]

SOURCE: Table 1

ABSOLUTE PERCENTAGE CHANGE OF SPANISH-SURNAMED POPULATION
 IN EACH COUNTY IN COLORADO BETWEEN 1950 AND 1960
 MAP 3



LARGEST DECREASE 95.3 - 31.8%
 LOWEST DECREASE 29.9 - 6.3%
 STAGNANT & LOWEST INCREASE 0.0 - 33.0%
 LARGEST INCREASE 50.9 - 502.6%

SOURCE: U. S. BUREAU OF CENSUS



TABLE 2

PERCENT OF SPANISH-SURNAMED POPULATION IN EACH AGE GROUP
IN SELECTED COLORADO COUNTIES AND CITIES - 1960

Counties	All ages	Under 5	5-9 years	10-14 years	15-19 years	20-24 years	25-29 years	30-34 years	35-39 years	40-44 years	45-49 years	50-54 years	55-59 years	60-64 years	65+ years
TOTAL STATE	8.96	11.98	12.14	12.35	11.55	9.87	9.07	8.51	7.08	6.08	6.14	6.11	5.86	5.36	4.61
Adams	7.10	6.12	8.92	8.37	9.97	7.27	6.12	6.37	5.30	4.88	5.71	5.00	4.92	3.82	3.89
Arapahoe	2.63	3.15	2.60	3.38	2.75	3.59	2.69	2.95	2.33	1.63	2.43	2.23	1.04	2.42	1.33
Boulder	4.18	5.66	6.23	6.61	4.44	3.40	5.68	3.69	3.02	2.50	2.59	3.55	2.92	2.38	1.93
Conejos	53.11	61.82	54.93	56.66	61.48	45.50	57.11	41.37	54.25	54.74	44.39	44.48	57.00	41.44	41.77
Costilla	72.65	71.99	74.03	77.24	93.89	59.91	51.45	69.42	75.39	67.83	74.65	68.52	55.26	84.67	64.00
Denver	8.74	12.97	13.52	13.60	11.57	10.19	9.43	8.62	7.58	5.91	5.44	5.07	4.25	4.02	3.59
El Paso	4.26	6.10	5.43	5.88	5.29	4.72	5.37	4.44	3.37	2.32	2.33	2.71	2.91	1.12	1.49
Huerfano	45.86	54.67	54.84	57.31	66.61	52.65	39.76	40.57	42.71	41.53	44.59	40.32	28.50	31.15	31.05
Jefferson	1.97	2.37	2.06	2.62	3.12	2.61	2.15	2.52	1.67	1.20	1.03	1.58	1.23	.92	.55
Los Animas	37.25	42.00	44.07	47.06	50.19	44.17	33.70	34.78	30.68	34.37	32.32	33.66	24.31	25.20	26.28
Mesa	5.15	7.14	6.70	7.08	6.60	7.33	6.22	4.53	4.23	2.56	3.64	3.90	1.92	5.11	2.40
Otero	22.08	31.05	29.53	28.82	28.59	27.47	27.36	23.05	15.73	14.71	14.07	14.30	15.66	11.22	9.78
Pueblo	21.43	29.57	29.20	26.99	25.33	27.06	23.61	24.31	17.68	16.35	13.76	13.78	17.04	10.45	8.29
Rio Grande	31.16	40.23	41.21	31.42	35.74	37.90	31.77	33.45	27.10	23.08	26.00	24.23	19.25	28.32	16.03
Weld	12.21	17.84	18.31	17.59	13.61	12.26	12.33	11.87	10.42	7.86	8.01	6.78	9.12	6.04	4.35
Cities															
Colorado Springs	4.94	7.44	7.23	7.27	6.66	6.66	7.06	4.16	3.67	2.92	2.93	2.71	3.17	1.48	1.50
Pueblo	17.59	25.01	23.96	22.27	21.07	23.81	20.02	21.09	14.08	13.91	6.67	11.11	11.71	9.11	6.85
Trinidad	34.50	42.28	40.81	44.19	43.31	51.52	31.96	30.23	29.73	36.24	30.04	28.77	23.02	20.20	23.54

Derived from U S. Census Bureau Reports

population of Colorado increased 55.5 percent. The slight increase of 2.1 points in the percent of the Spanish-surnamed population in Denver county indicates that the Spanish-surnamed may be urbanizing at even a higher rate than the general population.

The Problem

The very existence of this study assumes that the group of Colorado residents with Spanish-surnames have special and unique problems different from the general population. We have strong evidence around us that this assumption is true without a detailed study. We have a strong suspicion from general knowledge that Spanish-surnamed Coloradans have less money, less education, less social mobility, more problems of crime, poorer health, and poorer housing than the non-Spanish-surnamed population in general.

The findings of this study clearly support these suspicions as valid; however, establishing the obvious in itself does not help correct the obvious. We assume that it is undesirable that a segment of our population should have a concentration of problems and disadvantages more serious than the general population; we feel it especially undesirable if the only distinguishable characteristic of that segment of the population is their Spanish-surnames.

The challenge of the problem is to look at the status of the average Spanish-surnamed citizen in Colorado, analyze his various disadvantages and their possible internal patterns, and isolate the significant variables which are causing the conditions in hopes of eliminating or diminishing these causes.

Unfortunately, the conditions and causes of any person's disability are intertwined and inseparable. A condition of poverty is caused in part by lack of education, but lack of education can be caused by poverty. We know that poor health breeds poor education, but poor education breeds poor health. It is the old story of what came first, the chicken or the egg. We have discovered that Spanish-surnamed Coloradans generally have special problems of education. In comparing this fact with the total population we could assume that the independent variable is the Spanish-surname. Yet, if by some directive we could change all Spanish-surnames to non-Spanish-surnames, the children involved or their children would not have different patterns of education twenty years from now, if this is all we changed. It has been argued that the Spanish-surname is not the significant variable but rather a language pattern or a personality pattern typical to people with Spanish-surnames. Again, could we change the status of this group appreciably over the next twenty years if we changed only language and personality traits? This might succeed, or it might not, but even so, what conditions must be changed to change these traits? What is the role of education, employment, health and housing? Of course, changing personality or cultural traits of one kind might be a terrible price to pay for an acquisition of another cultural trait (having more material goods or better health).

What are the various conditions of the average Spanish-surnamed resident in Colorado; which of these conditions are causal of others; which is he willing to change; and which can he change?

The average Spanish-surnamed resident in Colorado is a complex being and each facet of his being must be studied before conclusions are reached. We have no basis in advance to assume that one facet of his being, that is his "Spanishness," is the most important and significant. In general, the average Spanish-surnamed resident of Colorado belongs to most of the following minority groups and possesses the traits associated with these groups:

1. the poor
2. the poorly educated
3. the unhealthy
4. the victims of discrimination
5. the illhoused
6. the rural folk
7. the Spanish-Mexican-American cultured
8. the law violator
9. the legally unprotected
10. the politically unrepresented

It is extremely difficult to determine which of the minority characteristics is predominant or most significant within the group possessing Spanish-surnames in Colorado. It is invalid to assume at the outset that all other minority characteristics possessed by a Spanish-surnamed minority are a result or a product of the "Spanish-Mexican Culture" syndrome. It is just as possible that all the minority characteristics listed are a result of the "poor education" syndrome, and, because of historical or coincidental conditions, most Spanish-surnamed citizens possess this syndrome. A similar assumption could be made of the cultural syndrome of "poverty."

In other words, as we study each of the minority conditions in which we find the average Spanish-surnamed Coloradan, it is essential that we attempt to isolate those that are most causal of the others and concentrate remedial efforts there. It might well be that a Spanish-surnamed group's poverty is most significant and causal of all other minority characteristics it possesses. It is possible that at one time in history the Spanish-surname and the Spanish-Mexican-culture it represented was a factor causing poverty (through discrimination, value rejection, etc.). The poverty may still exist as a carry-over from a past generation but it may be that today this cultural factor is irrelevant or minimal as a cause of the poverty. If this were true it would be useless and irrelevant to concern oneself with this factor in working to eliminate a poverty status. Fostering better understanding of Spanish-Mexican-American culture in our schools or within the public at large may or may not be relevant to the elimination of poverty, or trying to influence so-called Spanish-Mexican culture value patterns within the Spanish-surnamed population may, or may not, have much relevance to the elimination of poverty among Spanish-surnamed Coloradans.

These considerations of multiple causation and significant causation underlie the subsequent analyses of this study. In the subsequent sections of this study each of the possible minority statuses of the Spanish-surname population of Colorado will be scrutinized for cause and effect.

III. ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE SPANISH-SURNAMED

Income and Poverty

The clearest generalization that can be made about the Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado is that it exists in a state of poverty, or near poverty. This conclusion is inescapable from the latest complete data derived from the 1960 census, and other research. In view of the inflationary pressures in our economy since 1960 and the continued decline of unskilled and agricultural employment opportunities, there is no reason to assume that the economic condition of the Spanish-surnamed population has improved in recent years.

Most authorities on poverty accept a \$3,000 annual family income as the point below which poverty exists. Some experts argue, however, that this figure is unrealistic and a \$4,000 family income would better represent the poverty line. For the purpose of this study the \$3,000 poverty line will be used unless otherwise specified.

Table 3 shows the extent of Spanish-surnamed family poverty in Colorado by comparing family income between various groups. While only 18.3 percent of the total family population is under the \$3,000 income line, 35 percent of Spanish-surnamed families are so classified. When compared with the Anglo population, the Spanish-surnamed families have a poverty rate over twice as high. In Colorado the Spanish-surname family poverty exceeds even the non-white group. Of the five southwestern states with substantial Spanish-surname population, only Colorado shows a family poverty incidence higher than the non-white population. Of all the families in each of these population groups in

TABLE 3
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF POOR FAMILIES
IN VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS IN COLORADO, 1960

State and Population Group	All Families	Poor Families*	Percent of Poor in Each Group	Poor in Each Group as % of All Poor
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
COLORADO				
Total	438,815	80,455	18.3	100.0
White	427,209	77,258	18.1	96.0
Anglo	395,444	66,141	16.7	82.2
Spanish Surname	31,765	11,117	35.0	13.8
Nonwhite	11,606	3,197	27.5	4.0

*Families with annual income under \$3,000 in 1959.

SOURCE: UCLA, Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 5, 1966, p. 21

the five southwestern states, the percent in each that is earning less than \$3,000 annually is as follows (1960).

	Arizona	California	Colorado	New Mexico	Texas
Spanish-Surnamed	30.8	19.1	35.0	41.5	51.6
Nonwhite	57.8	24.8	27.5	56.3	57.7

SOURCE: UCLA, Mexican American Study Project, Advance Report 5, 1966, p. 21.

Another index of the disproportionate incidence of poverty among Spanish-surnamed families in Colorado is found in column 4 of table 3. It shows that of all poor families 13.8 percent are Spanish-surnamed. This is considerably above the 7.24 percent that constitutes the proportion of Spanish-surnamed families in the total Colorado family population.

A detailed analysis of Spanish-surnamed family poverty in Colorado by specific location exposes some interesting patterns. Table 4 summarizes these findings. Column 2 indicates the percent of Spanish-surnamed families within the total population of families, and column 4 indicates the percent of Spanish-surnamed families within the total population of families earning less than \$3,000 annually. If poverty were distributed equally throughout the population groupings in each area in Colorado, we would expect the two percents to be similar within each area. Actually, in every case, Spanish-surname families are more prevalent within the category of poor families than they exist within the group of all families. Column 5 shows the percent increase between these two percentages and is presented as a rough indication of the surplus of Spanish-surnamed families in poverty over the incidence of Spanish-surnamed families in the total population. In a general way, the higher the percent increase in column 5, the greater the poverty gap for Spanish-surnamed families in that location. This gap is also roughly revealed in the difference in median family incomes appearing in columns 10 and 11. The median differential is understated since available census data did not allow a calculation of a median family income figure for the other population excluding the Spanish-surnamed incomes. In general, where the gap is highest, as revealed in column 5 and between columns 10 and 11, a great income differential exists between the Spanish-surnamed population and the so-called Anglo population.

Where we find a large poverty gap, it is possible that more economic discrimination is taking place and also, there may be a high frustration level within the Spanish-surnamed population. This might account for the high crime rates among the Spanish-surnamed populations in these same areas, as is revealed later in this study.

The discrimination theory is somewhat supported by the fact that the counties with Spanish-surnamed family populations under 10 percent show some of the largest poverty gaps (e.g. Denver and Weld). The 90.88 percent gap in the state as a whole also indicates this. The remaining counties have very small Spanish-surnamed populations but evidently the poverty of those populations is much more prevalent than in the fifteen counties listed. Unfortunately, the census reports specific data only for these counties (15) which had over 2,500 Spanish-surnamed residents in 1960. The discrimination theory would

TABLE 4

SPANISH-SURNAMED FAMILIES WITH ANNUAL INCOMES OF \$3,000 OR LESS
AND MEDIAN INCOMES FOR SELECTED COUNTIES AND URBAN PLACES IN COLORADO
with comparisons to other groups, 1959 (derived from 1960 census)

County	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11	
	Total No. of S. S. families	% of all families	No. of S. S. families \$3000 or less	% of all families \$3000 or less	Increase of 4 over 2 as a % of 2	All families \$3000 or less as % of all families	All S.S. families \$3000 or less as % of all S.S. families	All other families \$3000 or less as % of all other families	Increase of 2 over 1 as a % of 1	All families \$3000 or less as % of all families	All S.S. families \$3000 or less as % of all S.S. families	All other families \$3000 or less as % of all other families	Increase of 7 over 8	Median income of S. S. families	Median income of total families							
TOTAL STATE	31765	7.24	11117	13.82	90.88	18.33	35.00	17.03	17.97	17.97	17.03	17.97	17.97	\$5089	\$5780							
Adams	1684	5.85	258	9.32	59.32	9.62	15.32	9.17	6.15	6.15	9.17	6.15	6.15	5842	6357							
Arapahoe	679	2.39	102	3.66	53.13	9.80	15.02	9.67	5.35	5.35	9.67	5.35	5.35	4662	7137							
Boulder	636	3.47	163	5.37	54.76	16.55	25.62	16.22	9.40	9.40	16.22	9.40	9.40	2436	6114							
Conejos	881	49.52	569	65.10	31.46	49.12	64.58	33.96	30.62	30.62	33.96	30.62	30.62	3063	3063							
Costilla	655	71.43	468	81.25	13.75	62.81	71.45	41.22	30.23	30.23	41.22	30.23	30.23	2105	2375							
Denver	8897	7.14	2405	12.75	78.57	15.13	27.03	13.27	13.76	13.76	13.27	13.76	13.76	4680	6361							
El Paso	1293	3.65	338	5.49	50.41	17.84	26.14	16.58	9.56	9.56	16.58	9.56	9.56	4240	5514							
Huerfano	789	40.13	452	53.55	33.44	42.92	57.28	33.30	23.98	23.98	33.30	23.98	23.98	2693	3451							
Jefferson	539	1.61	62	1.95	21.12	9.51	11.50	9.48	2.02	2.02	9.48	2.02	2.02	6582	7202							
Los Animas	1551	32.12	708	39.37	22.57	37.23	45.64	33.25	12.39	12.39	33.25	12.39	12.39	3223	3831							
Mesa	502	3.83	189	6.74	75.98	21.40	37.64	20.75	16.89	16.89	20.75	16.89	16.89	3738	5371							
Otero	977	16.72	464	28.30	69.26	28.04	47.49	24.13	23.36	23.36	24.13	23.36	23.36	3161	4678							
Pueblo	4994	18.14	1308	28.69	58.16	16.55	26.19	13.84	12.35	12.35	13.84	12.35	12.35	4424	5450							
Rio Grande	673	25.34	464	48.48	91.32	36.03	68.94	24.86	44.08	44.08	24.86	44.08	44.08	2446	4004							
Weld	1690	9.33	771	15.89	70.31	26.79	45.62	24.85	20.77	20.77	24.85	20.77	20.77	3213	4724							
Urban Places																						
Colorado	746	4.09	200	6.06	48.17	18.09	26.80	17.73	9.07	9.07	17.73	9.07	9.07	4142	5669							
Springs	3288	15.26	816	25.74	68.68	14.72	24.81	12.90	11.91	11.91	12.90	11.91	11.91	4652	5698							
Pueblo	787	30.37	361	38.94	28.22	35.77	45.87	31.37	14.50	14.50	31.37	14.50	14.50	3218	3972							
Trinidad																						

suggest that the smaller the Spanish-surnamed population is as a percent of the total, the easier it is for the majority group to exercise discrimination and exploitation.

Columns 7 and 8 indicate another dimension of income differentials between Spanish-surnamed and Other families in Colorado. Column 8 shows what percent of all Spanish-surnamed families is earning less than \$3,000, and column 7 shows what percent of all Other families is earning less than \$3,000 annually. In every location a greater percent of Spanish-surnamed families is earning less than \$3,000 than Other families earning less than \$3,000. Column 9 shows the difference in percentage points between the two groups. A pattern which emerges from these figures is that, in general, in areas where Spanish-surnamed families represent a high percent of the population, a greater percent of Spanish-surnamed families are poor. This does not contradict the conclusion drawn from column 5 regarding the percent of poor families which are Spanish-surnamed.

The reasons for this pattern is not easily determined. One reason might be that in areas of a high percentage of Spanish-surnamed populations, agriculture is the dominant industry, and the Spanish-surnamed population is concentrated in that industry which traditionally offers low wages. In urbanized areas there is more opportunity for Spanish-surnamed individuals to compete for higher paying non-agricultural pursuits. Of course, in the rural areas, the ownership of productive land and service business is usually in the hands of non-Spanish-surnamed individuals and consequently, these people do not suffer as much from the depressing influence of farm labor wages.

Table 5 has analyzed the same kinds of data for the same locations as in Table 4 using a \$4,000 poverty line. It is interesting that raising the poverty line \$1,000 had little effect upon the percentage of the total poor which are Spanish-surnamed. In about half the localities the percent went up a bit and in the other half there was a slight reduction. However, when we look to columns 7 and 8 and the differential figure in column 9, there appears significant changes from the \$3,000 poverty line. These columns reflect the percent of Spanish-surnamed families and other families which are poor.

The differential (column 9) of Spanish-surnamed families over Other families in the cities and suburban counties went up significantly when the \$4,000 poverty line was used instead of the \$3,000 poverty line. This indicates that in urban areas there are greater opportunities for incomes for Spanish-surnamed workers over non-Spanish-surnamed workers in this income area, a shade over extreme poverty. However, the higher cost-of-living in the urban areas probably cancels out any advantage this might provide.

One reason why the percent of the poor who are Spanish-surnamed declined somewhat (column 4) in some counties when the poverty line was raised to \$4,000 is indicated in column 8; that is, an increased number of non-Spanish-surnamed families living at this level, just above extreme poverty. This is exemplified in Weld County where less than one-quarter of all non-Spanish-surnamed families were earning less than \$3,000 but over one-third were earning less than \$4,000.

TABLE 5

SPANISH-SURNAMED FAMILIES WITH ANNUAL INCOMES OF \$4,000 OR LESS
FOR SELECTED COUNTIES AND URBAN PLACES IN COLORADO
with comparisons to other groups in 1959 (derived from 1960 census)

County	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9	
	Total No. of S. S. families	% of all families	No. of S. S. families \$4000 or less	% of all families \$4000 or less	S. S. families \$4000 or less as % of all families	% increase of 4 over 2	All families \$4000 or less as % of all families	S. S. families \$4000 or less as % of all S. S. families	All other families \$4000 or less as % of all other families	% increase of 7 over 8								
Adams	1684	5.85	484	9.81	67.69	17.16	28.74	16.44	12.30									
Arapahoe	679	2.39	183	3.97	66.11	16.22	26.95	15.96	10.99									
Boulder	636	3.47	273	5.76	65.99	25.87	42.92	25.26	17.66									
Conejos	881	49.52	678	60.43	22.13	63.01	76.96	49.33	27.63									
Costilla	655	71.43	529	77.68	8.75	74.26	80.76	58.02	22.74									
Denver	8897	7.14	3518	12.16	70.31	23.20	39.54	21.99	17.55									
El Paso	1293	3.65	600	5.73	56.99	29.55	46.40	28.92	17.48									
Huerfano	789	40.13	557	48.35	20.48	58.60	70.60	50.55	20.05									
Jefferson	539	1.61	105	2.11	31.06	14.88	19.48	14.80	4.68									
Los Animas	1551	32.12	1011	39.80	32.12	52.60	65.18	31.63	22.75									
Mesa	502	3.83	273	6.41	67.36	32.51	54.38	36.52	26.53									
Otero	977	16.72	616	25.73	53.88	40.96	63.05	36.52	17.80									
Pueblo	4994	18.14	2081	27.90	53.80	27.10	41.67	23.87	47.52									
Rio Grande	673	25.34	575	43.33	70.99	49.96	85.44	37.92	18.56									
Weld	1690	9.33	1119	15.26	63.56	40.51	56.43	37.87										
Urban Places	746	4.09	355	6.52	59.41	29.86	47.59	29.10	18.49									
Colorado Springs	3288	15.26	1276	24.26	72.08	24.43	38.81	21.83	16.98									
Pueblo	787	30.37	510	39.05	28.58	50.41	64.80	44.12	20.68									
Trinidad																		

Derived from U. S. Census Reports

TABLE 6

**SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF POOR AND ALL FAMILIES
FOR THREE POPULATIONS IN THE SOUTHWEST, 1960
(Families may be counted more than once)**

Characteristics	Total	Percent of Total	Poor	Percent of Poor	Percent Poor of Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
<u>Spanish-Surname Families</u>					
Number of Families	702,000	100.0	241,000	100.0	34.3
Number of Persons in families	3,325,000	-	1,092,000	-	32.8
Characteristics of Head					
Occupation Farmer or Farm Worker	81,000	11.5	56,000	23.2	69.1
65 Years old and over	63,000	9.0	38,000	15.8	60.3
Female Head	90,000	12.8	61,000	25.3	67.8
Employed less than 14 weeks or Unemployed	58,000	8.3	31,000	12.9	53.4
Head under 25 years of age	59,000	8.4	24,000	10.0	40.7
Head 0-4 Years of education	223,000	31.8	127,000	52.7	57.0
<u>All Families</u>					
Number of Families	7,356,885	100.0	1,451,655	100.0	19.7
Number of Persons in families	26,523,796	-	4,730,673	-	17.8
Characteristics of Head					
Employed Farmers and Farm Workers	383,023	5.2	167,364	11.5	43.7
65 Years old and over	865,651	11.7	415,431	28.6	48.2
Female head	660,013	9.0	327,724	22.6	49.7
<u>Nonwhite Families</u>					
Number of Families	590,514	100.0	245,926	100.0	41.7
Number of Persons in families	2,403,980	-	926,923	-	38.6
Characteristics of Head					
Employed Farmers and Farm Workers	37,676	6.4	22,245	9.0	59.0
65 Years old and over	58,717	9.9	41,287	16.8	70.3
Female head	106,871	18.1	77,864	31.7	72.9

SOURCE: UCLA, Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 5, 1966, p. 29.

The prospects for economic betterment for the Spanish-surnamed are indeed bleak in such counties as Conejos, Costilla, Huerfano, Los Animas, Otero, Rio Grande, and Weld where over 40 percent of the total population of families are living in poverty or near poverty. The real paradox is Weld County which is the richest agricultural county in the Rocky Mountain area and yet displays extreme economic deprivation within over a third of its population.

If we look at the abject poverty level of \$1,000 annual income or less in 1959, we find that 6.4 percent of the Colorado Spanish-surnamed families are in this group. This is compared with a 3.5 percent for the general Colorado population. At the other extreme only 4.8 percent of all Spanish-surnamed families are earning over \$10,000 annually while 14.6 percent of families within Colorado's general population find themselves in this enviable economic category.²

Poverty among the Spanish-surnamed population is aggravated by two factors: (A) the agricultural orientation or past orientation of many Spanish-surnamed persons, and (B) the size of their families. The depressing aspect of agriculture on income patterns is clearly evident in the research. For example, nearly 31 percent of the Spanish-surname families in the urban Southwest were earning less than the \$3,000 poverty level in 1959, but this proportion rose to 50 percent in rural non-farm and 59 percent in rural farm areas.³

The significance of rural orientation upon poverty is illustrated in table 6 where poor families (less than \$3,000 annual income) are compared to all families in the three population groups. Other significant factors are compared, but the fact that the head of family is an employed farmer or farm worker is impressive.

Size of family is another significant factor which increases the economic plight of the Spanish-surname population. Even where Spanish-surname families have similar incomes to Anglo families, this fact often masks the reality that the Spanish-surname family is sharing its income with more individuals within the family. Table 7 shows the pattern of larger families among the Spanish-surnamed population in the five southwestern states including Colorado.

TABLE 7
FREQUENCY OF LARGE AND SMALL FAMILIES IN THE SOUTHWEST
(Census of 1960)

	Percentage of Families Having only 2 or 3 Members		Percentage of Families Having 7 or More Members	
	General Population	White Spanish-Surname Population	General Population	White Spanish-Surname Population
Arizona	50.9	31.7	8.4	21.8
California	56.5	39.8	4.5	13.5
Colorado	53.5	33.7	5.6	20.1
New Mexico	46.3	34.8	10.0	20.5
Texas	53.7	31.2	7.3	24.8
Southwest	54.9	35.4	5.8	19.2

It can readily be seen that Spanish-surname families are larger. As compared with other population groups, the median family size of Colorado Spanish-surnamed families in 1960 was 4.38 members, while the median for the total Colorado population was 3.33 members, and for the non-white population was 3.44 members.⁴ It was not possible to derive from the available census data provided the median size of the non-Spanish-surname population excluding non-white, but it is reasonable to assume it would be somewhere in the neighborhood of 3.20 members.

The general gap that exists between the Spanish-surnamed population and other population groups is remarkably magnified when seen in terms of income per person in poor families. Table 8 shows the extremely low income per person in the Spanish-surnamed family, not only in relation to the total population, but also to the non-white minority in Colorado. Per person income in Spanish-surnamed families is only \$915 compared to \$1,736 for the total population of families.

TABLE 8
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME, MEDIAN FAMILY SIZE, AND
INCOME PER PERSON IN COLORADO, 1960

State and Population Group	Median Family Income	Median Family Size	Income per Person in Family
Colorado			
Total Population	\$5,780	3.33	\$1,736
Spanish-Surname	\$4,008	4.38	\$ 915
Nonwhite	\$4,531	3.44	\$1,317

SOURCE: UCLA, Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 5, 1966, p. 39.

There are other facts which point up the substandard incomes of the Spanish-surnamed population in Colorado even when compared with the non-white minority. While non-white family income in 1960 was 78.4 percent of the family income of all families, Spanish-surnamed family income was only 69.3 percent of that for the total population; and while non-white income per person was 75.9 percent of the per person income for the total population, Spanish-surname personal income was only 52.7 percent of that for the total population.⁵

The number of persons, especially children, within the poor Spanish-surnamed families is significant if we are concerned about the generational cycle of poverty. Growing out of a poverty childhood, Spanish-surnamed children have a good chance of creating their own poverty families in adulthood because of the many other poverty causing deprivations associated with poverty such as low education. Unfortunately, no reliable data could be found related to the

individual populations within poor families in Colorado, but figures for the five southwest states, including Colorado, indicate some patterns. Table 9 indicates the incidence of the number and percent of poor children in the major population groups. The table shows that about one-third of all Spanish-surnamed children are living in poverty, but more serious is that of all poor children, 29 percent are Spanish-surnamed. In light of the fact that in the same census about 23 percent of all poor families were Spanish-surnamed, we might expect the percent of the poor in the next generation who are Spanish-American to increase unless we provide means for the Spanish-surnamed children to escape poverty. There is no reason to believe that this gap between family poverty and child poverty is less in Colorado.

TABLE 9
ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PERCENT OF POOR CHILDREN IN FAMILIES,
VARIOUS POPULATION GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST, 1960

Population Group	All Children in Families	Poor Children	Percent of Poor in Each Group	Poor in Each Group as % of All Poor
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Total	10,606,485	1,828,653	17.2	100.0
Spanish Surname	1,620,000	530,000	32.7	29.0
Nonwhite	1,110,220	395,000	35.6	21.6

SOURCE: UCLA, Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 5, 1966, p. 5:

The interrelationships between poverty and other socio-economic factors is revealed in table 10 which summarizes such data for the total of five southwestern states, including Colorado. This data is not available for Colorado alone but we can assume general similarity. The data for this table was derived from U. S. Bureau of the Census primary materials and is based on a small random sample; hence it may be subject to some sampling error. The method used by the UCLA project in compiling this table is reported as follows:

Special tabulations were prepared for the Spanish-surname poor where each of the families was counted only once. . . . First, the record was searched to determine if the head of the family had the occupation of farmer or farm worker. If so, the family was recorded in this group no matter what the other characteristics were. If not a farmer or farm worker, the records were searched further to establish if the head was 65 years old or over. Again, if the answer was positive the family was classified under "head 65 and over" and nowhere else. The search continued in this manner until all families had been classified under one of the six specified categories in the order indicated. If they did not fit any of these classifications the families were placed in the "other" group. This

TABLE 10
ESTIMATE OF CHARACTERISTICS OF
POOR AND NON-POOR SPANISH-SURNAME FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS: 1960
(Families and Individuals Counted Only Once)

<u>THE POOR</u>				
	Number of families ^a	Members of families	Head's Children under 18	Persons ^b not in families
Total Number	241,000	1,092,000	527,000	105,000
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Head farmer or farm laborer	23.2	28.7	29.6	31.4
Head 65 years and over	14.1	9.1	2.3	16.2
Female family head	20.3	17.8	18.6	22.9
Head employed less than 13 weeks ^c	4.6	5.1	6.5	3.8
Head under 25 years	6.6	4.8	3.6	15.2
Head 0-4 years education	13.7	15.0	17.3	3.8
Other	17.4	19.6	22.2	6.7
<u>THE NON-POOR</u>				
	Number of families ^a	Members of families	Head's Children under 18	Persons ^b not in families
Total Number	461,000	2,233,000	1,007,000	75,000
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Head farmer or farm laborer	5.4	6.6	6.9	12.0
Head 65 years and over	5.2	4.1	0.6	9.3
Female family head	4.6	4.1	3.7	18.7
Head employed less than 13 weeks ^c	4.3	4.9	5.4	8.0
Head under 25 years	6.9	5.2	4.8	10.7
Head 0-4 years education	12.6	14.7	14.9	12.0
Other	61.0	60.4	63.9	29.3

^aPoor families are defined as having income of less than \$3,000 in 1959. Number of families equals number of family heads.

^bIndividuals were classified as poor if their income in 1959 was under \$1,500. Inmates were excluded.

^cIncludes unemployed.

SOURCE: UCLA, Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 5, 1966, p. 33.

procedure was applied to both poor and non-poor families as well as persons not in families. While the ordering is subjective, it is not without rationale.⁶

The comparison of the presence of these factors within the poor and the non-poor of the Spanish-surnamed population reveals some interesting facts. For example, just over 83 percent of the heads of poor families possessed one of the six characteristics associated with poverty, while only 39 percent of the non-poor families had heads possessing one or more of these characteristics. This pattern also holds for members of these families and persons not in families.

These tabulations also point up the fact that poverty among the Spanish-surnamed is caused by a combination of several characteristics rather than one. The impact of low education on poverty illustrates this conclusion. Other data tells us that in the Southwest 127,000 Spanish-surnamed families who were poor in 1960 had a head with an educational attainment of four years of schooling or less. These families represented 53 percent of all poor Spanish-surnamed families.⁷ Yet table 10 shows only 13.7 percent of Spanish-surnamed families having heads possessing this characteristic and none of the others. This means that many of the heads possessing the other characteristics such as "65 years and over" also have this low educational attainment. Poor education in and of itself is not a significant cause of poverty since the non-poor families showed a similar incidence of low education as an exclusive characteristic, but it may well lead to other causes of poverty such as unskilled farm labor, broken homes, and unemployment.

Another fact that must be considered in assessing the income and poverty status of Spanish-surname citizens in Colorado and future trends, is the age distribution of Colorado's Spanish-surname population. As was indicated in table 2 on page 13 of this report, the Spanish-surnamed percent of the population is considerably less in the age bracket over 50 years than it is in the teenaged bracket. Since it is a well established fact that there is a strong correlation between old age and poverty, we might expect that the poverty problem within the population will increase as the Spanish-surnamed youth of today moves into the class of the elderly in large numbers, within a few decades. Ironically, if the poor health aspects of poverty are allowed to continue their depressing influence on the Spanish-surname person's longevity (as will be discussed later in this report), the problem of old-age poverty may never materialize.

Employment

The problems of income and poverty cannot be separated from employment patterns and possibilities for the Spanish-surname person in Colorado. It goes without saying that, without adequate job opportunities for a segment of our population, their economic status will suffer. In general, the low income status of Colorado's Spanish-surname population might be traced to the following employment-related situations:

1. This group has a higher rate of unemployment than other groups.
2. This group earns lower wages than other groups.
3. If unemployment is the fact, it might be attributed to:
 - a. The areas of Spanish-surname populations are experiencing an economic depression.
 - b. There are jobs but this group lacks the necessary experience and education.
 - c. This group is the victim of discrimination.
4. If low wages prevail, they might be attributed to:
 - a. The primary industry of the area is traditionally low paying.
 - b. Higher paying jobs are available but this group lacks the necessary education and experience.
 - c. There is discrimination within the business or industry.

Both of the first two major reasons for low incomes prevail within Colorado's Spanish-surname community, but it is extremely difficult to analyze these facts for exact causes. Unfortunately, census studies, private industry surveys, and institutional data in Colorado do not normally identify Spanish-surnamed individuals; hence, much of the evidence for this report had to be derived from hand-sorted samples and surveys, and circumstantial evidence. Another problem is that all census data must derive from 1960 reports.

The findings first indicate that there is a more serious problem of unemployment among the Spanish-surname population than among the general population. Table 11 summarizes data on the fifteen Colorado counties with Spanish-surname populations over 2,500. These data were compiled from various U.S. Census reports of 1960.

The figures show that the percent of all unemployed which is Spanish-surnamed is, in most counties, significantly higher than the percent of the labor force which is Spanish-surnamed. In the total of these counties the unemployed is almost twice the labor force percent. In some counties, notably Conejos, Costilla, Huerfano, Las Animas, Otero, Pueblo, and Weld, the difference is remarkably large, indicating some significant local factors contributing to unemployment. It is difficult to isolate these factors but in view of the fact that these are counties with long histories of Spanish-surnamed populations with employment traditions in agriculture, it would be difficult to believe that existing jobs were being denied these people. Rather it would seem that traditional agricultural jobs are disappearing in these areas.

Table 12 summarizes some data compiled recently by the Colorado Department of Welfare which might throw light on this point. Both the general shift of the Spanish-surnamed population out of the rural areas and the indicated reduction of available agricultural jobs in specified areas point up the general employment problem in the agricultural and mining areas of the state. The table also points up the general reduction of unskilled job opportunities. These data clearly indicate the need for providing new job opportunities to replace traditional fields of endeavour which are disappearing, or for providing retraining of individuals to qualify for existing jobs.

TABLE 11
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF SPANISH-SURNAMED MALES IN LABOR FORCE AND
NUMBER AND PERCENT UNEMPLOYED IN SELECTED COLORADO COUNTIES - 1960

	<u>Labor Force</u>			<u>Unemployed</u>		
	Total	Spanish Surnamed	Percent Labor Force That is S.S.	Total	Spanish Surnamed	Percent Unemployed That is S.S.
Adams	44514	2537	5.70	761	124	16.29
Arapahoe	44517	1071	2.35	805	21	2.61
Boulder	2842	961	3.38	497	69	13.88
Conejos	2335	1063	45.52	146	109	74.66
Costilla	899	590	65.63	85	77	90.59
Denver	209671	13259	6.32	5087	803	15.79
El Paso	60096	1071	1.78	7541	135	1.79
Huerfano	2280	821	35.61	129	117	90.70
Jefferson	49949	833	1.67	844	12	1.42
Los Animas	5887	1664	28.27	307	168	54.72
Mesa	18928	764	4.04	722	45	6.23
Otero	8348	1375	16.47	215	101	46.98
Pueblo	40693	6756	16.60	1418	477	33.64
Rio Grande	3796	892	23.50	120	35	29.17
Weld	25936	2320	8.95	619	155	25.04
Total these Counties	547270	35977	6.57	19296	2448	12.69

Derived from: U.S. Bureau of Census Report

TABLE 12
SELECTED EMPLOYMENT FACTS RELATED TO
UNSKILLED LABOR OPPORTUNITIES IN COLORADO

	<u>1930</u>	<u>1960</u>
Shift in population of Spanish-surnamed persons to urban areas	38%	87%
Available Agricultural Jobs	107,600	48,660
a. Conejos County	2,110	841
b. Costilla County	1,344	301
c. Huerfano County	1,499	401
Mining Jobs Available		
a. Huerfano County	2,129	143

1930 to 1960 Changes: a. 69% population increase in Colorado
 b. 55% increase in semi-skilled jobs
 c. 54% decrease in agricultural jobs

SOURCE: Colorado Department of Welfare

Returning to table 11, we see that a very slight differential of unemployment percentage and work force percentage exists in the counties of Arapahoe, El Paso, Jefferson, and Mesa. In these counties there appears to be no major depressed industry traditionally using unskilled labor, the kind of industries usually using Spanish-surnamed labor. Also, in these counties the Spanish-surnamed population is relatively small and can be more easily integrated into many industries.

An attempt was made to discover more exact patterns of Spanish-surnamed unemployment in Colorado by analyzing the records of the Colorado Department of Employment. Unfortunately, no records on job requests and unemployment are kept which classify Spanish-surnamed persons as a group. It was possible to go through records and identify names as Spanish-surnamed, but for general records this task would have been prohibitive. One place where names were listed in a readily available and readable form was in the monthly check register, the listing of unemployment checks paid out in a given month. This record would not accurately reveal unemployment but it would show patterns of unemployed persons covered under the law. It did have the advantage of showing the industry involved. Since the analysis and tabulation of these data necessitated the visual scanning of I.B.M. print-outs and distinguishing Spanish-surnames and non-Spanish-surnames, out of a listing of over 15,000 names it was decided to tabulate only a 20 percent random sample of only one high incident month, March, 1966. Table 13 represents the results of these tabulations and computations.

Column 3 in each area breakdown indicates the percent of the total checks for that industry which was paid to a Spanish-surname. Almost without exception this percent was higher than the percent of Spanish-surnamed in the labor force. Of course, no data were available for the labor force in 1966 for cultural groups, or for the areas listed, but based on the 1960 calculation for the high Spanish-surnamed population counties listed in table 11, all other counties would be expected to show a very small Spanish-surnamed labor force. The high incidence of Spanish-surnamed unemployment as a percent of the total in Manufacturing and Construction is probably indicative of the place held by Spanish-surnamed workers in these industries. It is generally agreed in the literature on unemployment that when layoffs occur the unskilled and less desirable (in terms of experience) workers are laid off first. In Manufacturing and Construction where there is a great range of skills performed there are enough unskilled jobs to absorb uneducated and unskilled Spanish-surnamed temporarily and sporadically, but whenever there is a cut back they are the first to go. In other areas where there is a smaller percent of possible unskilled jobs such as Finance and Services there is not the potential for Spanish-surnamed layoffs.

Column 4 shows the percent of Spanish-surnamed covered unemployment within each industry relative to all Spanish-surnamed covered unemployment in that geographic area. With few exceptions, the great concentration of covered Spanish-surnamed unemployment is in the Construction industries. Again, this indicates the unskilled roots of Spanish-surnamed unemployment.

Paradoxically, in the Agricultural industry where we know much of the Spanish-surnamed unemployment exists we find little recorded on table 13

TABLE 13

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION CHECKS PAID TO SPAINISH-SURNAMED PERSONS
BY THE COLORADO DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT IN DESIGNATED AREAS IN MARCH, 1966

Industry	TOTAL STATE				AREA I			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
	total checks paid	checks to Spanish- surnamed	% of total checks	% of checks all industries	total checks paid	checks to Spanish- surnamed	% of total checks	% of checks all industries
Total	19390*	3745	19.31	100.00	8810	1435	16.29	100.00
Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries	40	35	87.50	.93	-	-	-	-
Mining	425	55	12.94	1.47	45	10	22.22	.70
Contract, Construction	9680	1780	18.39	47.53	3880	595	15.34	41.46
Manufacturing	3735	990	26.54	26.44	1740	405	23.28	28.22
Transportation, Communication, Utility and Sanitary Services	515	90	17.48	2.40	250	40	16.00	2.79
Wholesale and Retail Trade	3320	610	18.37	16.29	1710	235	13.74	16.38
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	500	95	19.00	2.54	450	80	17.78	5.57
Services	1185	90	7.59	2.40	735	70	9.52	4.88

*Totals may not correspond to actual totals
on record in the Department of Employment
because of sampling errors.

SOURCE: March 1966 Check Register
Colorado Department of Employment

TABLE 13 (continued)

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION CHECKS PAID TO SPANISH-SURNAMED PERSONS
BY THE COLORADO DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT IN DESIGNATED AREAS IN MARCH, 1966

	AREA V				AREA VI			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
	total checks paid	checks to Spanish- surnamed	% of total checks	% of S.S. checks all industries	total checks paid	checks to Spanish- surnamed	% of total checks	% of S.S. checks all industries
	1085	640	58.99	100.00	4305	485	11.27	100.00
Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mining	-	-	-	-	290	35	12.07	7.22
Contract, Construction	515	285	55.34	44.53	2650	300	11.32	61.86
Manufacturing	325	185	56.92	28.91	390	55	14.10	11.34
Transportation, Communication, Utility and Sanitary Services	15	15	100.00	2.34	125	20	16.00	4.12
Wholesale and Retail Trade	215	140	65.12	21.88	590	75	12.71	15.46
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	15	15	100.00	2.34	20	-	-	-
Services	-	-	-	-	240	-	-	-

AREA V

ALAMOSA, ARCHULETA, CONEJOS,
COSTILLA, CUSTER, HUERFANO,
LOS ANIMAS, RIO GRANDE, SAGUACHE

AREA VI

CHAFEE, CLEAR CREEK, DELTA, DOLORES,
EAGLE, FREMONT, GARFIELD, GILPIN,
GRAND, GUNNISON, HINSDALE, JACKSON,
LAKE, LA PLATA, MESA, MINERAL,
MOFFAT, MONTEZUMA, MONTROSE, OURAY,
PARK, PITKIN, RIO BLANCO, ROUTT,
SAN JUAN, SAN MIGUEL, SUMMIT, TELLER

because this industry is little covered under the law. One reason why poverty is magnified within rural areas is because the unemployment compensation check is seldom available to help bridge the gap. The unemployment compensation program will not meet the most acute needs of the Spanish-surnamed unemployed until all areas of agricultural employment are covered.

There is much other evidence that Spanish-surnamed persons in Colorado do not enjoy equal job opportunities compared to non-Spanish-surnamed persons. This lack of opportunity can be a reflection of unfair discrimination by employers, or it can be a reflection of the unequal education or experience possessed by a Spanish-surnamed applicant for a job. The presence of outright discrimination is difficult to identify or prove. Interviews with Spanish-surnamed individuals in the Denver and Weld County areas reveal a strong belief among this group that discrimination solely on the basis of the applicant's cultural background was the exclusive reason for their denial of a job. The records of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission, however, do not show a high incidence of complaints from Spanish-surnamed persons charging such discrimination. Under the Fair Employment Practices Act of 1957 the Commission is empowered to receive such complaints, hold investigations, and take action. In 1964-65 only 33 complaints were filed with the Commission from Spanish-surnamed persons or 31 percent of all complaints. On the other hand, Negroes filed 67 complaints or 62 percent of all complaints.⁸ There are three times as many Spanish-surnamed persons than Negroes in Colorado yet they filed only one-half as many complaints. The Commission suggested that this discrepancy might be due to a lack of knowledge of the law or the Commission by the Spanish-surnamed population, or that there is less discrimination against Spanish-surnamed persons because their minority identity is not as visible as that of the Negro's. There is no evidence to warrant acceptance of these assumptions. In all probability the number of complaints does not accurately gauge the existence of discrimination. The number and percent of complaints may better gauge the militancy of various minority groups at a particular point in time. Another reason for the low incidence of complaints from all minority groups is the lack of publicity and the lack of field representatives in the communities involved. A doubling of the Commission's budget and staff would probably increase the number of complaints, especially among Spanish-surnamed who are located in large numbers in communities throughout the state.

It is not easy to prove unjust discrimination against Spanish-surnamed persons, but the absence of representative numbers of Spanish-surnames on job rolls throughout the state might hint at its actual presence. It was not possible to survey all industries in Colorado but a few studies are revealing.

In 1962 the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission (later changed to the Civil Rights Commission) did an extensive plant inspection survey to discover the degree of minority group integration within plant staffs. The survey included 58 firms chosen at random from the Million Dollar Directory Dun and Bradstreet 1961 and the Manufacturers that Employ Over 100 Persons in the Denver Metropolitan Area 1959 Listings. The study was geared toward

TABLE 14
SPANISH-SURNAME PERSONS EMPLOYED IN 58 FIRMS
SURVEYED BY ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMISSION, 1962

Job Categories	Total Employees by Job Categories	Spanish- Surnamed	% of Total	% of All Employees This Category
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
OFFICE				
Professionals	1,552	17	1.10	.79
Secretaries	606	6	.99	.28
Clerks	2,573	91	3.54	4.24
Stenographers	179	7	3.91	.33
Typists	219	11	5.02	.51
Office Machine Operators	767	31	4.04	1.45
Telephone Operators	2,011	127	6.32	5.92
Messengers--Office Boys	67	4	5.97	.19
Watchmen--Guards	64	1	1.56	.05
Sales Agents	2,753	49	1.78	2.29
PLANTS				
Supervisors	1,146	9	.79	.41
Foremen	1,048	37	.91	1.73
Professionals	1,084	5	.46	.23
Skilled	6,512	898	13.79	41.88
Semi-Skilled	2,435	330	13.55	15.39
Unskilled	2,409	341	14.16	15.90
Technicians	383	10	2.61	.47
Skilled Helpers	193	27	13.99	1.26
Trade	766	43	5.61	2.01
Apprentices	71	5	7.04	.23
On Job Training	42	18	42.86	.84
Laborers--Porters	339	17	5.01	.79
TOTAL EMPLOYEES	27,219	2,144	7.88	100.00

SOURCE: Colorado Anti-Discrimination Plant Inspection Survey, 1962

the larger industrial employers within the state. The study was derived mainly from interviews with company management. Table 14 summarizes the findings of this study as they pertain to Spanish-surnamed persons.

Interpretation of this table is subject to serious limitations since we have no base populations for comparisons; that is, we do not have the locations of the plants nor the ages of the workers from which we might derive populations available for these various jobs. Nevertheless, it appears in column 3 that in most job categories there are fewer Spanish-surnamed employees than their percent in the labor force would lead us to believe. The Spanish-surnamed labor force in 1960 was an average of 6.57 percent for the fifteen

Colorado counties having the largest Spanish-surnamed population (see table 11). On the other hand, the Spanish-surnamed workers appeared to hold a disproportionate percent of the jobs in the skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled, and skilled-helpers categories. The concentration of Spanish-surnamed workers in these areas indicates that where there is a shortage of supply in certain job categories (skilled and semi-skilled) or where the wages are extremely low (unskilled) the Spanish-surnamed has a good chance to find employment where he has the skills (skilled and semi-skilled categories) or when he cannot compete for anything better than unskilled. Where there is competition for jobs that have prestige or that pay well, Spanish-surnamed persons do not seem to fare well. The high rate of Spanish-surnamed workers in "on job training" is probably due to a localized situation in one or two plants located in high Spanish-surnamed population areas.

Localized studies in the San Luis valley reveal both severe unemployment and low incidences of Spanish-surnamed persons in professional and skilled employment in that area.^{9,10}

Employment rosters within Colorado public institutions generally show a very low incidence of Spanish-surnamed employees. A study done by the Colorado Civil Rights Commission in 1965 on this point is reported on table 14A. The low number of Spanish-surnamed teachers in Colorado schools is a special problem and will be discussed in the section on education, but the incidence of Spanish-surnamed persons within the non-professional job categories of the public schools is also disproportionately low. For example in a survey of 63 school districts, a random sample of all districts throughout Colorado, conducted in September, 1966, showed that on the average, less than 4 percent of non-professional jobs in the schools were being held by Spanish-surnamed persons. The Denver Public Schools was exceptional for a large district and showed a 7.83 percent employment rate for Spanish-surnamed persons among its 1,149 classified service personnel.

Towns and cities of Colorado were also surveyed in the autumn of 1966 to determine municipal employment patterns of Spanish-surnamed persons. A random sample of 65 municipalities of all sizes and from all sections of Colorado was used and classified by percent of Spanish-surnamed persons in the municipality. Table 15 summarizes the findings and includes elected officials. It is clear from this data that the Spanish-surnamed population is extremely underrepresented in public employment in general. This is discouraging since it is government which is charged with enforcing the concepts of equal opportunity within our society. As is indicated in the Median of Percent column of table 15, Spanish-surnamed public employment is non-existent in most towns and cities sampled. In the category of general employment there appears a pattern of Spanish-surnamed employment in those areas with high Spanish-surnamed population, but even here, the percent is, in most cases, below the percent of the population. One encouraging finding is that in Denver, where we find the largest single concentration of Spanish-surnamed persons in Colorado, public employment in the general category showed a 9.9 percent Spanish-surnamed employment. This percent is actually higher than the 8.7 percent Spanish-surnamed population recorded in Denver in 1960. The

TABLE 14A

**EMPLOYMENT OF SPANISH-SURNAMED PERSONS
IN COLORADO STATE CLASSIFIED CIVIL SERVICE
BY SELECTED DEPARTMENTS, 1965**

Department	Total Employees	Number of Spanish- Surnamed Persons	Percent of Total	Spanish- Surnamed Median Income	Non- Minority Median Income
Fish and Game	414	13	3.14	\$405	\$492
Employment	612	58	9.48	425	492
Highway	2353	65	2.76	367	469
Public Health	224	3	1.34	288	570
Revenue	848	65	7.67	367	517
Stock Inspection	74	0	-	0	405
Highway Patrol	476	16	3.36	495	492

SOURCE: Civil Rights Commission-Compliance Survey, 1965

TABLE 15

**PERCENT OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND EMPLOYEES WHO ARE SPANISH-SURNAMED
IN SAMPLED COLORADO MUNICIPALITIES AND TOWNS, SEPTEMBER 1966**

Percent of Community Spanish-surnamed	Number of Municipalities	Job Categories	Range of percent S.S. Employees	Median of Percents
Less than 1%	19	Mayor	none	0
		Council	none	0
		Administration	none	0
		Police	none	0
		General	0 to 8.33%	0
1% to 5.99%	15	Mayor	none	0
		Council	none	0
		Administration	0 to 16.67%	0
		Police	0 to 8.33%	0
		General	0 to 13.85%	0
6% to 19.99%	15	Mayor	none	0
		Council	0 to 25.00%	0
		Administration	0 to 12.50%	0
		Police	0 to 20.00%	0
		General	0 to 41.67%	8.57%
Over 20%	16	Mayor	One Mayor	0
		Council	0 to 83.33%	2.00%
		Administration	0 to 100%	0
		Police	0 to 100%	0
		General	0 to 100%	13.50%

few other communities in Colorado which showed a proportionate level of Spanish-surnamed public employment were small communities with high percents of Spanish-surnamed in the population.

A spot survey of public employment in state and county government also showed a disproportionate incidence of Spanish-surnamed employment. At the state level this might be related to the higher percent of professional and skilled jobs in the total employment. In the county welfare departments (who we will see later deal to a large extent with Spanish-surnamed) out of 1,384 employees as of June, 1966, only 107 or 7.73 percent were Spanish-surnamed and most of these were clerks. On the state staff of the Department of Welfare only 8 or 5.29 percent were Spanish-surnamed. Two Spanish-surnamed state staff members were professionals.

In general, it can be said, that Spanish-surnamed persons do not experience success, proportionate to their presence in the population, in finding

employment, public or private, in all job categories, but especially in so-called white-collar jobs in Colorado. There may be many reasons for this. Surely unjust discrimination is a factor, but in white-collar areas, lack of education is an important factor. Another factor may well be the personal traits, such as poor dress, lack of sophistication, and poor health which are reflections of poverty, and hamper success at landing a job even though necessary abilities are possessed. A survey of the literature on youth unemployment leaves no doubt that a young person from the poverty minority is seriously hurt in job-seeking interviews because of a personal appearance he cannot easily improve within a poverty income condition. The simple matter of a decent haircut at \$1.50 can be a prohibitive factor.

It has been stated by some Spanish-surnamed persons interviewed in this study that to acquire a job does not require equal abilities compared to other applicants, but vastly superior abilities so as to compensate for discrimination, lack of polished appearance or language, or other lacks which are not essential to the successful performance of the job sought.

Welfare

The public welfare program of Colorado deserves special attention because often the end point for many Spanish-surnamed persons in Colorado who have fallen into poverty, for many reasons including unemployment, is the welfare rolls. Welfare is both an acceptance of society's obligation to help its unfortunate and a scheme to eliminate the causes of misfortune--the poverty itself. After viewing the state of Spanish-surnamed persons in relation to income and employment, it is no surprise that the welfare rolls reveal a high incidence of Spanish-surnames. Tables 16 and 17 show some general patterns.

TABLE 16

NUMBER OF CASES AND PERSONS WITH SPANISH-SURNAMES
IN SPECIFIED CATEGORIES OF WELFARE IN COLORADO IN SPECIFIED YEARS

Program	Date of Study	State Total		Spanish-Surnamed			
		Cases	Persons	Cases	% of State	Persons	% of State
A.D.C.*	Nov. 1961	8,274	32,727	4,391	53.07	18,345	56.05
Child Welfare	1964	-	10,897	-	-	3,077	28.24
Aid to Needy Dependent	Oct. 1962	5,704	-	1,830	32.08	-	-
Aid to the Blind	Oct. 1962	251	-	68	27.09	-	-

*Based on 6% sample surveyed by case workers.

SOURCE: Colorado Department of Welfare

TABLE 17
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF CHILDREN ON CHILD WELFARE
WITH SPANISH SURNAMES, IN COLORADO, 1961-1964

Year	Total Cases Open	Cases with Spanish-Surname	Percent of Total Cases
1961	8,215	2,226	27.1
1962	8,302	2,589	28.2
1963	10,391	3,100	29.8
1964	10,897	3,077	28.3

SOURCE: Colorado Department of Welfare

A detailed analysis by this researcher of all A.D.C. cases as of June 1966, revealed that, at that time, 42.94 percent of all children in A.D.C. cases were Spanish-surnamed (see table 18). This is a startling fact when we consider that according to the most liberal estimate of the total Spanish-surnamed population of children in Colorado, this A.D.C. figure would be over twice the expected incidence. The disturbing consideration is that there is evidence that many of these children, themselves, may become A.D.C. cases. A study done by the Welfare Department on second generation cases in 1961 points to this conclusion.¹¹ In November 1961, in a sample of 554 A.D.C. cases (6 percent sample) 41 cases were found to be second generation cases; that is, cases in which the responsible relative, usually the parent(s) had been included as a child recipient in an A.D.C. case during his childhood. In general, only about 7 percent of the sample cases were second generation cases, but over seventy-five percent of the second generation cases were Spanish-surnamed. Only 12.20 percent of these cases were non-Spanish-surnamed white and 12.20 percent were Negro. This indicates that some significant factors are operating within the Spanish-surnamed on A.D.C. which increase their children's chances, over all other groups, of themselves becoming A.D.C. cases. Surely one factor would be the greater number of children in Spanish-surnamed cases on A.D.C., but, as we will see, this is not significantly different than other groups. Probably more important is the cumulative deprivation of education, health, and housing which comes with poverty, and we know that the Spanish-surnamed population has the greatest poverty in Colorado.

In an attempt to more closely analyze the presence of Spanish-surnamed persons on A.D.C., permission was granted by the Colorado Department of Public Welfare to study A.D.C. records for one recent month. The Department keeps electronic data processing cards on all cases but, unfortunately, the policy of the Department does not identify cards by cultural group. Cards for all 12,077 A.D.C. cases open in June 1966 were interpreted and the printed names

TABLE 18
NUMBER OF CASES AND CHILDREN ON A.D.C.
IN SPECIFIED AREAS IN COLORADO, JUNE 1966

Area	TOTAL POPULATION		SPANISH-SURNAME POPULATION			
	Total Cases	Total Children	Total Cases	% of Area Total	Total Children	% of Area Total
TOTAL STATE	12077	35767	4932	40.84	15360	42.94
Adams, Arapahoe, Denver, Jefferson	6510	19244	2189	33.68	6755	35.00
Colorado Springs, Pueblo	1765	5274	758	42.95	2445	46.36
Boulder, Larimer, Morgan, Weld	1477	4291	749	50.71	2306	53.74
Alamosa, Conejos, Costilla, Rio Grande, Saguache	405	1168	349	86.17	1050	89.90
All Other Counties	1920	5761	887	46.20	2804	48.67

were then used as the basis for separating cards, manually, into two groups, Spanish-surnamed and all Other. No data on the card identified non-white, so resulting frequency on A.D.C. for the "other" group is slightly more than if the white non-Spanish-surnamed were tabulated alone. After the two groups were separated manually, the cards were programmed and processed through an I.B.M. computer to tabulate various data comparing the two groups on such items as frequency, number of children, and reasons for approval of the cases. Counties of the state were grouped to reveal different area patterns.

Table 18 summarized the number of cases and children on A.D.C. for the total state and for the five designated areas. When it is kept in mind that the percent of Spanish-surnamed population in the state in 1960 was only about 9 percent, the Spanish-surnamed case frequency of 40.84 percent of all cases on A.D.C. is disturbing. The differing rates of Spanish-surnamed persons on A.D.C. in the various areas of the state are generally correlated with the size of the Spanish-surnamed population in those areas, but in every area the rate is significantly higher than the percent of Spanish-surnamed in the population.

When the number of children involved in the A.D.C. cases are counted, the percent for Spanish-surnamed is even higher than for cases. This, of course, is a reflection of the greater number of children in Spanish-surnamed families. Actually, the difference in number of children between Spanish-surnamed and Other A.D.C. cases is not significant enough to account for the difference of the percents of the two groups on A.D.C. This fact would seem to throw serious doubt upon the charge often heard that prolific child bearing

is a cause of women going on A.D.C. If this were a significant variable it would be expected to show up between these two groups when one considers the vast difference between them in rates on A.D.C., compared to their presence in the population. Of course, only one child is necessary for an A.D.C. case. Actually the number of children of all women on A.D.C. does not show a pattern much different than women in the general population who have children. The average number of children of women on A.D.C. in Colorado in June 1966, was 2.96 and it is estimated that the number of children of women who have children in the general population is over 2.5. These facts question the charge that A.D.C. payments promote child bearing.

Table 19 shows the breakdown of A.D.C. cases, by number of children in each, for the total state and designated areas. It seems clear that about sixty-five percent of all A.D.C. recipients have three or fewer children. Actually, there has been some research elsewhere that has indicated that the poor have smaller families than the affluent.¹² Our research may bear this out. For example, within the Spanish-surnamed groups we find the highest percent of one child and two children situations in the area of lowest incomes in the state, Area 4. This is also true of the "other" group in that area.

The main concern of this particular research was to determine if any significant factor distinguishes Spanish-surnamed A.D.C. recipients from the "other" population group of A.D.C. recipients as to reasons for the high incidence of Spanish-surnamed females on A.D.C. Table 20 indicates the various reasons for each group and by geographic area.

For the state as a whole the distribution of reasons within each cultural group does not reveal many significant differences. A greater percent of the Spanish-surnamed recipients than "other" have Death of Wage Earner, Wage Earner or Applicant Disabled, or Wage Earner Incarcerated as the reason for approval of the case. It would seem that these data reflect the realities, to be discussed later in this report, that the Spanish-surnamed has a higher incidence of crime and ill-health than the general population; hence, these reasons for Spanish-surnamed females being on A.D.C. will have to wait for those sections for analysis.

Generally, the pattern of reasons within the five geographic regions designated on Table 20 parallel those of the total state, but there are some interesting variations. For example, "Wage Earner or Applicant Disabled or Incapacitated" is definitely a more prevalent reason for Spanish-surnamed recipients in every area but number 4, the San Luis Valley, where it emerges as a much more prevalent reason of the "other" recipients. We have not been able to explain this difference unless it is the social protectiveness of the Spanish-surnamed extended family in that area which would provide internally for this misfortune. It is also interesting that although the "other" group generally shows a higher percent tendency toward the reason "Wage Earner Absent or Deserting," in Area 3 (Weld, Larimer, Boulder, and Morgan) the Spanish-surnamed group shows a higher percent.

Generally, there does not seem to be a reason that emerges powerfully or consistently significant for Spanish-surnamed persons being on A.D.C. Where

TABLE 19

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF A.D.C. RECIPIENTS IN COLORADO CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF THEIR CHILDREN, BY AREA AND CULTURAL GROUP, IN JUNE 1966

No. of children of recipient	TOTAL STATE				AREA 1 ADAMS, ARAPAHOE, DENVER, JEFFERSON			
	SPANISH-SURNAMED		OTHER		SPANISH-SURNAMED		OTHER	
	No. of recipients	% of all S.S. recipients	No. of recipients	% of all other recipients	No. of recipients	% of all S.S. recipients	No. of recipients	% of all other recipients
One Child	1236	25.06	1742	24.38	533	24.35	1033	23.91
Two Children	1045	21.19	1779	24.90	461	21.06	1053	24.37
Three Children	879	17.82	1454	20.42	424	19.37	892	20.64
Four Children	698	14.15	1015	14.21	316	14.44	638	14.77
Five Children	441	8.94	623	8.72	197	9.00	366	8.47
Six Children	318	6.45	280	3.92	135	6.17	175	4.05
Seven Children	151	3.06	159	2.23	57	2.60	106	2.45
Eight Children	87	1.76	48	.67	38	1.74	33	.76
Nine Children	47	.95	28	.39	20	.91	19	.44
Ten Children	19	.39	8	.11	5	.23	3	.07
Eleven Children	6	.12	3	.04	0	-	2	.05
Twelve Children	5	.10	0	-	3	.14	0	-
Thirteen Children	0	-	1	.01	0	-	1	.02



TABLE 19 (continued)

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF A.D.C. RECIPIENTS IN COLORADO CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF THEIR CHILDREN, BY AREA AND CULTURAL GROUP, IN JUNE 1966

No. of children of recipient	AREA 2			AREA 3				
	COLORADO SPRINGS, PUEBLO		OTHER	BOULDER, LARIMER, MORGAN, WELD		OTHER		
	SPANISH-SURNAMED	% of all S.S. recipients		SPANISH-SURNAMED	% of all S.S. recipients			
	No. of recipients	% of all S.S. recipients	No. of recipients	% of all other recipients	No. of recipients	% of all other recipients		
One Child	171	22.56	235	23.34	209	27.90	201	27.61
Two Children	172	22.69	278	27.61	153	20.43	174	23.90
Three Children	117	15.44	214	21.25	132	17.62	149	20.47
Four Children	120	15.83	126	12.51	90	12.01	94	12.91
Five Children	74	9.76	85	8.44	61	8.14	69	9.48
Six Children	51	6.73	42	4.17	51	6.81	20	2.75
Seven Children	23	3.03	17	1.69	25	3.34	13	1.79
Eight Children	19	2.51	4	.40	13	1.74	7	.96
Nine Children	4	.53	5	.50	9	1.20	1	.14
Ten Children	3	.40	1	.10	3	.40	0	-
Eleven Children	4	.53	0	-	2	.27	0	-
Twelve Children	0	-	0	-	1	.13	0	-
Thirteen Children	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

TABLE 19 (continued)

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF A.D.C. RECIPIENTS IN COLORADO CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF THEIR CHILDREN, BY AREA AND CULTURAL GROUP, IN JUNE 1966

No. of children of recipient	AREA 4 ALAMOSA, CONEJOS, COSTILLA RIO GRANDE, SAGUACHE				AREA 5 ALL OTHER COUNTIES			
	SPANISH-SURNAMED		OTHER		SPANISH-SURNAMED		OTHER	
	No. of recipients	% of all S.S. recipients	No. of recipients	% of all other recipients	No. of recipients	% of all S.S. recipients	No. of recipients	% of all other recipients
One Child	91	26.07	21	37.50	232	26.16	252	24.40
Two Children	85	24.36	10	17.86	174	19.61	264	25.56
Three Children	60	17.19	10	17.86	146	16.46	194	18.78
Four Children	41	11.75	8	14.29	131	14.77	149	14.42
Five Children	28	8.02	3	5.36	81	9.13	100	9.68
Six Children	20	5.73	1	1.79	61	6.88	42	4.07
Seven Children	15	4.30	2	3.57	31	3.50	21	2.03
Eight Children	4	1.15	0	-	13	1.47	4	.39
Nine Children	2	.57	0	-	12	1.35	3	.29
Ten Children	3	.86	1	1.79	5	.56	3	.29
Eleven Children	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	.10
Twelve Children	0	-	0	-	1	.11	0	-
Thirteen Children	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-



TABLE 20

REASON FOR APPROVAL OF AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN CASES RECEIVING PAYMENT
IN COLORADO JUNE 1966, BY CULTURAL GROUP AND BY AREA

	TOTAL STATE			AREA 1 ADAMS, ARAPAHOE, DENVER, JEFFERSON			AREA 2 COLORADO SPRINGS, PUEBLO					
	SPANISH-SURNAME		OTHER	SPANISH-SURNAME		OTHER	SPANISH-SURNAME		OTHER			
	No. of cases	% of all S.S. persons	No. of cases	% of all other persons	No. of cases	% of all S.S. persons	No. of cases	% of all S.S. persons	No. of cases	% of all other persons		
Reasons for Approval of New or Reinstated Cases	41	1.66	40	.92	9	.75	20	.74	4	1.09	7	1.11
Death of the Wage Earner	452	18.31	551	12.63	142	11.76	256	9.45	100	27.17	97	15.35
Wage Earner or Applicant Disabled or Incapacitated	61	2.47	99	2.67	14	1.16	421	1.55	12	3.26	18	2.85
Wage Earner or Applicant in Hospital or Medical Institution	184	7.45	259	5.94	96	7.95	169	6.24	24	6.52	34	5.38
Wage Earner Incarcerated	705	28.55	1306	29.93	327	27.09	789	29.14	124	33.70	243	38.45
Wage Earner Absent or Deserting	196	7.94	438	10.04	91	7.54	280	10.34	21	5.71	67	10.60
Unemployment or Decreased Earnings of Applicant or Wage Earner	133	5.39	339	7.77	37	3.07	147	5.43	31	8.42	56	8.86
Divorce or Legal Separation from Wage Earner	521	21.10	1003	22.99	412	34.13	849	31.35	31	8.42	40	6.33
Loss or Decrease of Support from Legally Responsible Person	50	2.03	131	3.00	23	1.91	46	1.70	8	2.17	39	6.17
Loss or Reduction of Veterans Benefits	126	5.10	1197	4.51	56	4.64	110	4.06	13	3.53	31	4.78
Other reasons						all under 2%				all under 2.54%		

TABLE 20 (continued)

REASON FOR APPROVAL OF AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN CASES RECEIVING PAYMENT
IN COLORADO, JUNE 1966, BY CULTURAL GROUP AND BY AREA

	AREA 3 BOULDER, LARIMER, MORGAN, WELD		AREA 4 ALAMOSA, CONEJOS, COSTILLA RIO GRANDE, SAGUACHE		AREA 5 ALL OTHER COUNTIES	
	OTHER		OTHER		OTHER	
	SPANISH-SURNAME	No. of cases	SPANISH-SURNAME	No. of cases	SPANISH-SURNAME	No. of cases
Reasons for Approval of New or Reinstated Cases	No. of cases	% of all S.S. persons	No. of cases	% of all other persons	No. of cases	% of all other persons
Death of the Wage Earner	9	2.32	7	4.92	12	3.30
Wage Earner or Applicant Disabled or Incapacitated	87	22.42	41	28.87	82	22.53
Wage Earner or Applicant in Hospital or Medical Institution	11	2.84	8	5.63	16	4.40
Wage Earner Incarcerated	31	7.99	10	7.04	23	6.32
Wage Earner Absent or Deserting	143	36.86	36	25.35	75	20.60
Unemployment or Decreased Earnings of Applicant or Wage Earner	26	6.70	7	4.93	51	14.01
Divorce or Legal Separation from Wage Earner	35	9.02	3	2.11	27	7.15
Loss or Decrease of Support from Legally Responsible Person	24	6.19	13	9.15	41	11.27
Loss or Reduction of Veterans Benefits	10	2.58	4	2.82	5	1.37
Other Reasons	12	3.09	13	9.15	32	8.79
				all under 3.53%		all under 3.30%
				1		43
				4.17		7.69

reasons seem to predominate in some areas, they do so for both groups. If there was a clear reason which would develop out of a person's "Spanish-surnamedness" we would expect it to be predominant in every area and at about the same level. It is obvious that the reasons "Wage Earner Absent or Deserting" and "Loss or Decrease of Support from Legally Responsible Person" are the crux of the loss of income which places all A.D.C. recipients on the program. Surely illegitimacy is reflected in these reasons. These reasons point to deep sociological problems of our society and cannot be analyzed here; however, they become social burdens when the afflicted have no other means to compensate for loss of income. The higher incidence of Spanish-surnamed on A.D.C. may be simply a reflection of their more extensive poverty which forces them to turn to public assistance when social misfortune overtakes them.

In summary, the most valid conclusion from this survey of A.D.C. and general welfare is that a greatly disproportionate number of the Spanish-surnamed population finds itself on welfare. Especially important is that there is evidence that the next generation of Spanish-surnamed persons may find themselves there in even a higher proportion. Any program designed to assist the Spanish-surnamed person in general must place great emphasis on improving the impact of A.D.C., as well as getting at the roots of the high percent of Spanish-surnamed persons on the rolls. But a search for the reasons should not deter us from improving the remedial impact and role of A.D.C. and other such programs which assist the children involved. Many more case workers are needed to do an effective job of rehabilitation and their salaries must be raised to develop professionalism. Much could be said about the needs for improving welfare, but surely the average of \$140 per month paid to A.D.C. cases is only prolonging the poverty status of these unfortunate Spanish-surnamed recipients and, as we have seen in the previous sections, unless the cycle of poverty is broken within Spanish-surnamed families, the problem will continue and magnify into the next generation.

Remedial Efforts

The low income status of Spanish-surnamed citizens in Colorado is a symptom of many basic disadvantages such as low education, decline of traditional occupational fields, poor health, and unjust discrimination (against ethnic background and social class), but obviously, low income is also a cause of similar disadvantages, especially within the children of poor families. Hence, all efforts to increase job opportunities and reduce poverty of the Spanish-surnamed should be emphasized. Of course, public programs to combat unemployment and poverty cannot discriminate in favor of Spanish-surnamed persons, but if they are well conceived and effective they will, in fact, favor the Spanish-surnamed population which finds itself disproportionately within this group.

Under the Federal Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 several major programs have been funded in Colorado to attack, directly, the roots of poverty. These programs include such efforts as the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps,

Work Study, and numerous projects under Community Action Programs. A discussion and evaluation of these various programs cannot be made here, but an attempt was made to evaluate them in terms of their general impact on poverty among the Spanish-surnamed. The findings were not encouraging. Except for some educational programs and health programs, to be discussed later in this report, the poverty programs do not seem to be breaking the hard core of poverty in the State. One of the problems is that there is not enough money to really break through and reach the youth who really need help. For example, payments to encourage youth to get training under the Neighborhood Youth Corps are usually not high enough to stimulate youth to get involved. In other cases, efforts under Community Action Programs have not always been conceived and planned to get at root causes. Another problem is that the geographic area of a program or its special focus may be by-passing pockets of poverty among Spanish-surnamed citizens. It is recommended that a major research study be launched to evaluate the impact of these poverty programs, especially, as they alleviate poverty among the Spanish-surnamed.

Two special programs directed primarily to Spanish-surnamed residents in this general area deserve support and expansion. The first is the employment program sponsored by LARASA (Latin American Research and Service Agency) and supported by the United Fund. The U. S. Department of Labor's On the Job Training Program is also being sponsored by LARASA. The other is the newly funded Operation SER (Serving Employment and Rehabilitation) which has been established in Albuquerque to serve the five Southwestern states, including Colorado. SER is administered by Jobs for Progress, Inc., and sponsored by the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the American G.I. Forum, the nation's two largest Latin American organizations. Jobs for Progress, Inc. is proposing 11 centers in the Southwest to provide job training, placement, relocation, and remedial education services for all underemployed groups, with special emphasis on the bilingual, bicultural American of Spanish and Mexican descent.

IV. EDUCATION

The Problem

Levels of educational attainment for Spanish-surnamed adults in Colorado are consistently and significantly lower than other adults in the population. In 1960 the median educational attainment for all "Anglo" males in Colorado over 25 years of age was 12.1 years; for Spanish-surnamed males in the same age group it was 8.1 years. A detailed breakdown of the adult population by educational attainment levels for the different cultural groups in different counties is provided on table 21.

In the first column of the table we find the actual percent of the adult population that is Spanish-surnamed. In the succeeding columns we find the percent of the adult population of different educational attainments which is Spanish-surnamed, and the difference from the total percent in the first column. This difference indicates a disproportionate presence (all plus except where minus sign indicates deficiency) of Spanish-surnamed persons in this category. For example, in Adams county the Spanish-surnamed make up 5.48 percent of the population, yet in the second column, we discover that over 26 percent of all adults with less than 4 years of schooling are Spanish-surnamed. The difference, between these two figures, of 20.53 percentage points indicates a significant over-presence of Spanish-surnamed adults in this category of extremely low education. It must be kept in mind that a low difference or large difference in some counties is also related to the original percent in the first column. In other words, in a county like Jefferson, with only 1.52 percent Spanish-surnamed adults, there is not the possibility of as large a percentage point difference as in Conejos county. In fact, a smaller difference might actually reveal a larger gap, such as in Jefferson which has twice as many Spanish-surnamed in this low education group as in the total population. In general terms, however, the "difference" column gives us a guide to varying educational attainments. In almost all counties, it is not until we look at the group of adults with a little high school education that we find a proportionate number of Spanish-surnamed adults, and in most cases it is still less than the general population percent. With few exceptions, the percent of Spanish-surnamed population in each attainment group declines with increasing educational attainment. The notable exceptions are Conejos, Costilla, and Las Animas counties which show a marked drop in the "4 yrs. H.S." category and a return to the normal pattern of decline after "1-3 years college." This variance from the general pattern might reflect the migration of Spanish-surnamed High School graduates from these rural counties to the urban centers of Colorado, or a localized extreme drop-out pattern during early high school. In almost all counties, however, there is a significant drop of Spanish-surnamed percent in the 4 years of High School group, indicating a marked dropping-out of Spanish-surnamed youth before finishing high school.

Table 22 looks at educational attainment of the Spanish-surnamed adult from a different angle. In this table we see the percent of the total Spanish-surnamed adult population which has specified educational attainment as compared

TABLE 21

PERCENT OF ALL ADULT* POPULATION WITH VARIOUS LEVELS OF EDUCATION WHICH IS SPANISH-SURNAMED AS COMPARED TO THE PERCENT OF THE TOTAL ADULT POPULATION WHICH IS SPANISH-SURNAMED IN SELECTED COLORADO COUNTIES, 1960

COUNTRIES	YEARS SCHOOLING COMPLETED →		4 OR LESS		5 THRU 8		1-3 YRS. H.S.		4 YRS. H.S.		1-3 YEARS COLLEGE		4 OR MORE YEARS COLLEGE	
	% S.S. in total population over 25	% of group which is S.S.	Diff-erence from % of S.S. in total adult population	% of group which is S.S.	Diff-erence from % of S.S. in total adult population	% of group which is S.S.	Diff-erence from % of S.S. in total adult population	% of group which is S.S.	Diff-erence from % of S.S. in total adult population	% of group which is S.S.	Diff-erence from % of S.S. in total adult population	% of group which is S.S.	Diff-erence from % of S.S. in total adult population	% of group which is S.S.
Adams	5.48	26.01	20.53	10.53	5.05	6.01	.53	2.72	- 2.76	2.30	- 3.18	1.59	- 3.89	
Arapahoe	2.22	10.90	8.68	3.39	1.17	2.61	.39	1.68	- .54	1.46	- .76	1.58	- .64	
Boulder	3.18	28.84	25.66	5.83	2.65	3.68	.50	1.34	- 1.84	.94	- 2.24	1.02	- 2.16	
Conejos	48.66	82.19	33.53	60.12	11.46	34.00	-14.66	20.15	-28.51	23.77	-24.89	19.35	-29.31	
Costilla	68.18	80.85	12.67	75.10	6.92	56.44	-11.74	44.23	-23.95	45.26	-22.92	44.87	-23.31	
Denver	5.97	27.15	21.18	9.50	3.53	7.18	1.21	3.13	- 2.84	1.69	- 4.28	1.33	- 4.64	
El Paso	3.07	18.13	15.06	4.81	1.74	3.65	.58	2.27	- .80	1.74	- 1.33	.76	- 2.31	
Huerfano	36.76	50.29	13.53	46.90	10.14	26.91	- 9.85	17.62	-19.14	8.13	-28.63	7.14	-29.62	
Jefferson	1.52	3.74	2.22	1.37	.15	1.84	.32	1.45	- .07	1.51	- .01	1.23	- .29	
Los Animas	30.14	49.75	19.61	37.64	7.50	24.67	- 5.47	12.94	-17.20	13.98	-16.16	9.29	-20.85	
Mesa	3.68	20.31	16.63	5.37	1.69	2.66	- 1.02	1.99	- 1.69	1.34	- 2.34	1.27	- 2.41	
Otero	15.39	58.09	42.70	20.77	5.38	10.49	- 4.90	2.98	-12.41	2.02	-13.37	2.04	-13.35	
Pueblo	15.78	37.45	21.67	22.08	6.30	13.72	- 2.06	6.97	- 8.81	6.48	- 9.30	2.52	-13.26	
Rio Grande	24.38	70.66	46.28	39.88	15.50	18.85	- 5.53	6.19	-18.19	.86	-23.52	-	-24.38	
Weld	8.35	44.41	36.06	10.11	1.76	5.45	- 2.90	1.98	- 6.37	1.61	- 6.74	1.17	- 7.18	

*Over 25 years of age.

SOURCE: Derived from U.S. Census Reports

TABLE 22

PERCENT OF SPANISH-SURNAMED ADULTS* HAVING VARIOUS LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
 COMPARED TO PERCENT OF "OTHER" ADULTS HAVING THE SAME ATTAINMENT
 FOR SELECTED COLORADO COUNTIES, 1960

SCHOOL YRS. COMPLETED 4 OR LESS				5 THRU 8			1 - 3 H.S.		
Counties	% of all S.S.	% of all other	Diff- erence in %	% of all S.S.	% of all other	Diff- erence in %	% of all S.S.	% of all other	Diff- erence in %
Adams	10.81	1.78	9.03	41.08	20.24	20.84	23.20	21.07	2.13
Arapahoe	7.79	1.45	6.34	26.07	16.91	9.16	19.40	16.46	2.94
Boulder	24.92	2.02	22.90	36.30	19.27	17.03	16.17	13.89	2.28
Conejos	32.48	6.67	25.81	43.63	27.43	16.20	11.31	20.81	-9.50
Costilla	33.07	16.78	16.29	43.43	30.85	12.58	10.05	16.61	-6.56
Denver	19.49	3.32	16.17	38.59	23.36	15.23	20.85	17.87	2.98
El Paso	11.91	1.70	10.21	30.71	19.24	11.47	20.62	17.21	3.41
Huerfano	32.13	18.46	13.67	47.25	31.10	16.15	11.44	18.06	-6.62
Jefferson	3.99	1.58	2.41	14.41	15.96	- 1.55	19.96	16.38	3.58
Los Animas	31.08	13.55	17.53	44.50	31.81	12.69	10.97	14.46	-3.49
Mesa	24.46	3.67	20.79	38.75	26.11	12.64	13.89	19.20	-5.31
Otero	37.46	4.91	32.55	44.60	30.94	13.66	10.94	16.99	-6.05
Pueblo	22.20	6.95	15.25	45.71	30.22	15.49	17.03	20.06	-3.03
Rio Grande	29.77	3.98	25.79	51.57	25.06	26.51	11.78	16.34	-4.56
Weld	41.05	4.68	36.37	39.08	31.65	7.43	10.85	17.15	-6.30
SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED → 4 YRS. H.S.				1 THRU 3-COLLEGE			4 OR MORE-COLLEGE		
Adams	17.84	37.06	-19.22	4.90	12.06	- 7.16	2.17	7.78	- 5.61
Arapahoe	25.76	34.24	- 8.48	10.10	15.54	- 5.44	10.89	15.41	- 4.52
Boulder	11.14	26.93	-15.79	5.03	17.37	-12.34	6.44	20.52	-14.08
Conejos	7.43	27.90	-20.47	3.49	10.61	- 7.12	1.66	6.57	- 4.91
Costilla	7.28	19.66	-12.38	3.40	8.81	- 5.41	2.77	7.29	- 4.52
Denver	14.52	28.50	-13.98	3.83	14.18	-10.35	2.70	12.76	-10.06
El Paso	25.77	35.11	- 9.34	7.91	14.13	- 6.22	3.07	12.61	- 9.54
Huerfano	7.44	20.20	-12.76	1.06	6.98	- 5.92	.69	5.20	- 4.51
Jefferson	33.84	35.40	- 1.56	15.58	15.65	- .07	12.17	15.01	- 2.84
Los Animas	8.52	24.74	-16.22	3.41	9.05	- 5.64	1.52	6.39	- 4.87
Mesa	15.26	28.77	-13.51	4.30	12.32	- 8.02	3.33	9.92	- 6.59
Otero	4.98	29.54	-24.56	1.18	10.44	- 9.26	.82	7.17	- 6.35
Pueblo	10.84	27.13	-16.29	3.30	8.92	- 5.62	.93	6.71	- 5.78
Rio Grande	6.51	31.78	-25.27	.37	13.65	-13.28	0	9.17	- 9.17
Weld	5.88	26.55	-20.67	1.94	10.78	- 8.84	1.20	9.18	- 7.98

*25 years old or over

SOURCE: Derived from U.S. Census Reports

with the percent of all "other" adults which have that educational attainment. In other words, in Adams county 10.81 percent of all Spanish-surnamed adults completed less than 4 years of schooling and 41.08 percent of all Spanish-surnamed adults finished 5 to 8 years of schooling, etc. On the other hand, only 1.78 percent and 20.24 percent of all "other" adults were in these two educational attainment groups respectively. The third column in each educational group shows the difference in percentage points between the two populations.

Again, it is clear that Spanish-surnamed adults find themselves clustered in the low educational attainment categories as compared to "other" adults. In most counties over 50 percent, and as high as 82 percent (Otero), of the Spanish-surnamed adults have no more than an 8th grade education. The outstanding exceptions are Arapahoe, El Paso, and Jefferson which, as we can see from table 23, have the highest median years of schooling completed for Spanish-surnamed adults. Table 23 clearly summarizes the educational deficiency of the Spanish-surnamed adult, in the fifteen counties, by comparing the median years of schooling of the Spanish-surnamed with the median years of "others" in the adult population. It is worth noting that the high median education of the three counties cited is not due only to the generally higher educational levels of those counties. Arapahoe, El Paso, and Jefferson also show some of the smallest gaps between the medians of Spanish-surnamed and "other" than any of the other counties. Where the educational gaps in other counties are smaller it is where there are low medians across the board.

As was cited in the previous section of this study, Weld County had one of the lower income levels for Spanish-surnamed families. The low status of the Spanish-surnamed population in that county is again reflected in education. Weld county, in 1960, had the lowest median of educational attainment for Spanish-surnamed citizens of the 15 counties with significant Spanish-surnamed populations--6.0 years. Weld County also shows the largest gap between the medians of Spanish-surnamed and "other."

A relationship between educational attainment and income level is suggested in the Weld County reference. Table 24 attempts to focus on that relationship for the Spanish-surnamed population. Although a positive correlation generally exists between income and educational attainment, it is not perfect. Actually, there is a body of evidence growing to indicate that the ending of economic deprivation is less dependent upon improved education than was previously believed. A recent study by Walter Fogel of the UCLA Mexican-American Study Project analyzed this relationship.¹³ Professor Fogel confirms the close relationship between income and educational attainment, but he points out that the increase is not totally correlated. Through sophisticated statistical analysis of populations in the Southwest, he has shown that probably only one-half of the income differential between "Anglos" and Spanish-surnamed persons is due to educational differences. Other significant factors for income differentials are discrimination and the change from manual jobs to technical jobs requiring more and specialized education.

The above findings should not deter us from providing more education for Spanish-surnamed youth. There is no doubt about the positive role of education in economic advancement, but we must be concerned also with the kind of education provided. A survey of a sample of 65 school districts in Colorado

TABLE 23
MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED OF ADULTS*
IN SPANISH-SURNAMED AND OTHER POPULATIONS
OF SELECTED COLORADO COUNTIES, 1960

County	Spanish-Surnamed	Other	County	Spanish-Surnamed	Other
Adams	8.9	12.1	Jefferson	12.3	12.4
Arapahoe	11.5	12.4	Las Animas	7.3	8.8
Boulder	8.3	12.5	Mesa	8.3	11.7
Conejos	6.9	8.7	Otero	6.2	10.4
Costilla	6.8	7.6	Pueblo	8.1	10.2
Denver	8.6	12.2	Rio Grande	6.6	10.5
El Paso	10.1	12.3	Weld	6.0	10.9
Huerfano	7.0	8.5			

*25 years old or over

SOURCE: 1960 U.S. Census

TABLE 24
RANK ORDER OF FAMILY INCOME AND ADULT EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
FOR SPANISH-SURNAMED POPULATION IN SELECTED COLORADO COUNTIES 1960

Rank	County	Median Family Income	Rank	County	Median Adult Education
1.	Jefferson	\$6582	1.	Jefferson	12.3
2.	Arapahoe	5842	2.	Arapahoe	11.5
3.	Adams	5089	3.	El Paso	10.1
4.	Denver	4680	4.	Adams	8.9
5.	Boulder	4662	5.	Denver	8.6
6.	Pueblo	4424	6.	Boulder	8.3
7.	El Paso	4240	7.	Mesa	8.3
8.	Mesa	3738	8.	Pueblo	8.1
9.	Las Animas	3223	9.	Las Animas	7.3
10.	Weld	3213	10.	Huerfano	7.0
11.	Otero	3161	11.	Conejos	6.9
12.	Huerfano	2693	12.	Costilla	6.8
13.	Rio Grande	2446	13.	Rio Grande	6.6
14.	Conejos	2436	14.	Otero	6.2
15.	Costilla	2105	15.	Weld	6.0

SOURCE: 1960 U. S. Census

indicates that only a relatively small group of schools is providing sound educational programs designed for the non-college bound youth; programs which may provide specialized vocational and technical skills to boys and girls entering the job market.

Returning to tables 21 and 22 it is noted that an evident "drop-out" problem exists among Spanish-surnamed youth. This is indicated by a disproportionate percent of Spanish-surnamed adults who have less than a high school education. This point is made clearer by looking at the various age groups in school at a given point in time. This was done by the 1960 Census and is summarized on table 25. It can be seen that the percent of Spanish-surnamed children, ages 5 to 15, in school does not differ significantly from the percent of these children in school from the total population. But in the age groups after 15 years of age the Spanish-surnamed percent drops off markedly.

Unfortunately, none of the drop-out studies done in Colorado in recent years have done a valid job of identifying drop-outs among the Spanish-surnamed students, and hence have not been effective in pin-pointing the problem. One of the major problems faced in this study was the failure or unwillingness of educators to identify their students by ethnic background and other socio-economic categories. Most educators could not readily tell us how many Spanish-surnamed students they had in their schools and least of all, how many, if any, were dropping out of school. What was obvious to any spectator of commencement seemed to escape many superintendents or directors of instruction. The refusal to count the Spanish-surnamed students who drop-out could easily be a means of avoiding the knowledge of a problem. But even becoming aware of this gross fact of number of drop-outs is only the beginning. Unless we record individual drop-outs and identify them by various socio-economic factors, such as family income, marital status of parents, psychological patterns, etc., we know only of the problem and nothing else.

TABLE 25
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION OF DESIGNATED AGES
ENROLLED IN SCHOOL IN COLORADO, 1960

AGES	TOTAL POPULATION	SPANISH-SURNAMED POPULATION
5 and 6	69.3	63.9
7 to 13	98.1	97.4
14 and 15	95.2	89.4
16 and 17	83.5	68.0
18 and 19	48.0	34.0
20 and 21	26.3	12.4
22 to 24	13.1	8.1
25 to 34	6.5	4.3

SOURCE: Manuel, Herschel T., Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest, p. 53.

In summary, the problem of education and the Spanish-surnamed population is, at first and at least, a quantitative one--Spanish-surnamed students in general are not continuing their education beyond that which is legally necessary. All of this is doubly serious for the educational challenges of Colorado when we remember from our population statistics on table 2 of this report, that the greatest percent of Spanish-surnamed youngsters has entered the schools since the above educational statistics were compiled in 1960.

Desire and Aspiration

There is a prevailing opinion within the general population and among many educators that Spanish-surnamed youngsters, because of their cultural value system, do not share the desire to succeed materially in the general society or to acquire the education necessary for that success. It is alleged that, since they do not aspire to the fruits of the general education system, they do not aspire to success in that system. Patterns of low motivation and patterns of anti-social behavior are often attributed to the rejection of the school norms and goals by these Spanish-surnamed students. That educational leaders hold the belief, that such a value system generally exists among Spanish-surnamed youth, was confirmed by interviews with school administrators and public officials.

Inasmuch as the public schools have been reluctant to work at changing value structures among students, there has developed a quiet resignation and frustration among many educational leaders regarding the solution of the Spanish-surnamed drop-out and failure problem.

A sophisticated analysis of cultural value systems among the Spanish-surnamed youth of Colorado cannot be attempted here, but there seems to be increasing evidence that the vast accumulation of cultural studies done on the Spanish-American and the Mexican-American in the southwest may not have too much relevance to understanding value systems of contemporary Spanish-surnamed youth in Colorado who, in the main, are living in urban areas. Almost all major studies on the Spanish-surnamed populations in the southwest focus upon rural, small town, and compact communities which show a high relationship with rural folk culture. Recent studies underway at the University of Colorado's Institute of Behavioral Sciences, under the directorship of Dr. Robert Hanson, may shed new light on the contemporary aspects of culture and acculturation.

Regarding values, a recent study (1966) by Dr. Fred Romero, now of the Colorado State Department of Education, throws some doubt upon the general cultural-value theory of Spanish-surnamed student drop-out patterns. After exhaustive analysis of the literature dealing with the Spanish-American culture, he summarized what seemed to be a general agreement on the classification of values attributed to the Spanish-American. They are as follows:

1. Marriage assumed as an institution with romanticism attendant to folk societies. Consideration of mutual interests secondary. Family approval of great consideration.

2. **Distinct family roles. Husband is head and provider of family. Wife exclusively concerned with household duties.**
3. **Large families considered an asset. Children subordinate to parents, extending into maturity. No external influence.**
4. **Very close family ties maintained and extended into several generations. All blood relations considered part of immediate family.**
5. **Individual security during periods of crisis provided by family structure. The church is the only outside institution.**
6. **Recreation is the natural product of family functions. It is rarely organized or commercialized.**
7. **Religious activities are an integral part of family life, providing both religious training and recreation.**
8. **Home used as the center of production and consumption. Many items used and consumed by the family are produced by combined family effort.**
9. **Universal education was not a part of Spanish tradition during the colonization period.**
10. **Personal planning or goals in an agrarian society are limited to daily routines and the rhythms of the seasons. The concept of "success" is part of the personal interrelationships between the family or immediate community and does not involve material translations.**
11. **Time is a gift of life to be enjoyed to the fullest--and to be enjoyed, it must not be postponed. The concept of wasting time is not understood. There is no guilt complex to mar the enjoyment of the present.**
12. **Success, being a part of personal daily inter-relationships without material translations has no significance for the future. The future is entirely in the hands of God. The language is replete with proverbs to fortify this concept.**
13. **Making a profit from a transaction between two individuals is considered immoral. Transactions between people are made on the basis of need for each other's product.**
14. **Monetary system very limited in agrarian society. Barter system without profit motive not conducive to experience in handling money.**
15. **Competition in the folk society discouraged. Competition not compatible with family life, or inter-personal relations prevalent in folk cultures. Achievement concepts between individuals in competition not understood.**

16. No experience in high pressure salesmanship or resistance to system. Postponement of payments psychologically deceptive, due to time orientation.
17. In a patriarchal society, there is no real need for organizations. In the simplicity of agrarian society family groups are able to meet their needs without the complexities of organized effort. Also, since organizational goals involve the future, time orientation limits their use.
18. Lack of organizational experience promotes individualism and thereby reduces the individual's ability to function in organized situations. This has a tendency to limit horizons and stimulation for progress.
19. The Spanish folk culture values moving from a small village or rural areas to urban centers are immediately challenged at every point. The villager's value concepts about his life, his family are assailed daily. Because of economic conditions his initial contacts with urban culture are usually with people already in conflict with urban life. Therefore, his first view of urban life is a distorted picture. His efforts to assimilate distorted value concepts often result in serious consequences.
20. Change is not a great motivator.
21. Education is considered to have limited value.
22. Leadership roles have no great attraction.
23. Patience, submission, and conformity are accepted.
24. Work and thrift for their own sake have little value.
25. Catholic religious traditions and practices are influential.
26. Child-rearing practices are less demanding on the child and the family.
27. Fatalistic attitudes about self and control of social and environmental conditions are prevalent.
28. Inner personal values are stronger than those of action or doing.¹⁴

On the other hand, a survey of the literature produced the following classification of the primary middle-class values of the predominant population in the United States:

1. Personal values -- self-reliance, self-restraint, initiative, optimism about future, rewards for hard work, value in education, personal efficiency, physical activity, stimulation of competition, and cleanliness.

2. Time values -- future oriented, routine and punctuality.
3. Societal values -- materialism, scientific method, control of mechanistic world, group organization and cooperation, secular orientation, and cult of youth.¹⁵

To test the amount of acculturation existing in a sample of Spanish-surnamed youth in the Southwest, (that is the amount of change from Spanish-American values to predominant American values), Romero devised an acculturation scale and administered it to 348 Anglo and Spanish-American students enrolled in school. Approximately one-half of the sample had Spanish-surnames and the other half was Anglo-American. Three school systems were sampled and both urban and rural orientation was involved. The schools selected had at least forty percent Spanish-American in their total population. The schools were in Denver, and Walsenburg, Colorado, and Rio Arriba County, New Mexico.

The study showed no significant difference between the two cultural groups in their acceptance of the predominant American value system. In other words, the Spanish-surnamed youth seemed to show complete acculturation. This is a remarkable finding regarding the acculturation of Spanish-surnamed secondary school students. The study suggests a need for further research into the area of acculturation, and it throws some doubt upon previous hypotheses about Spanish-surnamed student motivation as related to values. It is probable that Spanish-surnamed students share with other students the desire to achieve predominant cultural goals.

Research by Dr. Marion Phillipus, Staff Psychologist at the National Jewish Hospital in Denver, has also challenged the general theory of cultural differences between Spanish-surnamed and non-Spanish-surnamed persons in our general culture.¹⁶ Dr. Phillipus administered psychological tests to one hundred and thirty-eight patients of the two broadly defined "cultural" groups. The verbal tests were administered to the Spanish-speaking subjects in Spanish. No statistical differences, between the two groups, were evident when test responses were compared with the various criteria selected. Even patients with serious brain damage reacted similarly no matter what their "culture." Dr. Phillipus concludes that cultural stereotypes usually ascribed to the minority Spanish-Americans, by the majority group of Anglos, are perceived by the majority group more in terms of economics than in terms of culture. In other words, certain behavior usually associated with Spanish-surnamed Americans is more an aspect of their economic deprivation than of their cultural background. Dr. Phillipus further concludes that the language difference often is the crucial factor in misunderstanding of behavior patterns.

Other evidence exists that the lack of educational aspiration among Spanish-surnamed youth is not a result of differing value systems. Interviews with youth workers, church leaders, and the youth themselves, in areas of Spanish-surnamed populations in Denver and Weld Counties, reveal a deep-seated longing among these young people for the life and things they see all about them. These young people have accepted the prevailing values of the society but are deeply frustrated in their inability or failure to reach them. It is not that they have not accepted the culture, but, more often than not,

the majority group of the prevailing culture has not accepted them.

Much more research is needed among the "new" generation of Spanish-surnamed youth to more clearly identify cultural traits in terms of their influence on desire and aspiration. This is of crucial importance because many new educational programs being developed in Colorado seem to be moving on the assumptions of cultural traits that may not exist. If it is true that Spanish-surnamed youth generally do not have value goals different from "Anglos," then educators who assume they do are wasting time and resources on fruitless programs and overlooking needed areas of concentration.

It is well established in sociological literature that social and self identity is essential to good mental health, stability, and aspiration. Surely identity and self-respect is vital to a student if he is to aspire to an improved (in his own eyes) status in life. The lack of aspiration in any Spanish-surnamed student is probably not his failure to accept prevailing cultural goals, but his awful awareness that he cannot make it. Assuming he has the ability, as many Spanish-surnamed students do who drop-out of school, it is the educational system and the majority society which kills his aspiration, not an inner deficiency.

Some recent programs in Colorado schools to improve the success potential of minority children, including Spanish-surnamed, by giving them special education in their cultural heritage, seem to ignore this consideration. If, in fact, children do not identify with a culture (a serious and debilitating condition) one does not develop such an identity by attempting to associate them with a culture they have rejected, or have never known. The desired cultural identity of most Spanish-surnamed children in Colorado may be the prevailing Anglo-American culture, hence, attempts to remind them of "their" "Spanish-ness" or "Mexican-ness" is only further alienating them from "their" cultural identity with the culture to which they aspire.

Having Spanish-surnamed children sing Spanish songs and Mexican songs and read Hispanic literature, to a greater degree than one would expect in normal inter-cultural education, may actually be isolating a child from his culture--the 20th Century Western United States culture. Each Spanish-surnamed child has a differing road to a cultural identity, but if our research indicators are valid, we have no reason to believe the most efficient or safest road leads through "Spanish-American" or "Mexican-American" cultural programs.

Nothing above in any way implies inferiority of any particular culture, it simply implies that no one culture should be predetermined as the most plausible for identity for all Spanish-surnamed youth. Some educational materials circulated and programs implemented, in Colorado schools, suggest that the "Spanish-American culture" or the "Mexican-American" cultural identity is the best and only approach for self-realization of the Spanish-surnamed youth.

If a child has some cultural identity with the "Spanish-Mexican" culture it, of course, should be encouraged--and in no way should it be disparaged or singled out for criticism. Bilingualism can be an asset for cultural identity

or for learning English more effectively--but it should not be condemned, discouraged, or criticized. Criticism of the language only further isolates the child who wants to identify with the prevailing culture, or it diminishes the cultural pride the child might have who has identified with the "Spanish-American" or "Mexican-American" culture.

The real challenge of aspiration among Spanish-surnamed youth is to convince them that they can make it in the predominant culture if they really try. This is not easy, because until our majority society faces the real obligation of accepting minority groups without unjust discrimination, they may not make it even if they try. This challenge, assuming the elimination of discrimination, can take two routes under the teacher's leadership. If a child identifies, or can easily identify, with the sub-culture of "Spanish" or "Mexican" heritage, then its achievements and glories should be emphasized to that student to give him an identity, pride, and confidence of success. If the child identifies with the majority culture, the characteristics he has which type him out of that culture should not be emphasized or criticized, but the teacher must understand those characteristics so she can provide the needed help.

It is very possible that many Spanish-surnamed children in school more easily identify with sub-cultures other than those of the "Spanish-American" or "Mexican-American." It might be the rural sub-culture; it might be the sub-culture of poverty; it might be the sub-culture of industrial labor; and it might actually be a sub-culture of welfare recipients. Maybe we need a more realistic portrayal of these cultures and their contribution to the predominant American culture.

Special history courses on the Spanish and Mexican culture in the Southwest may not be of much value if it is taught in a way that separates or discriminates. History of the Spanish-Americans and Mexican-Americans should be realistically integrated into the curriculum of the schools, and Spanish-American, and Mexican-American heroes and successes should be integrated into the study in such a way that it is thought normal and in the nature of things to study them as part of the American cultural heritage.

It would seem that the greatest single factor encouraging aspiration within minority group youth is the example of an environment that displays clear and visible evidence that people with their minority characteristics who applied themselves have succeeded to a degree proportionate to their numbers in society. Unfortunately, the total society does not provide this encouraging example. One might expect the school environment to provide such an example, but again, there is little encouraging evidence.

In September 1966 we surveyed a sample of 65 school districts throughout the state to discover how many Spanish-surnamed teachers were teaching in school districts which had at least one percent Spanish-surnamed pupils in specified grades. Table 26 summarizes our findings. The findings clearly show that relatively few Spanish-surnamed teachers are teaching in schools with noticeable numbers of Spanish-surnamed students. A separate survey of Denver schools was made for the Commission by the Denver Public Schools and

TABLE 26

PERCENT OF SPANISH-SURNAMED TEACHERS TEACHING
IN SELECTED SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN COLORADO WITH AT LEAST ONE PERCENT
SPANISH-SURNAMED STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN VARIOUS GRADES, SEPTEMBER 1966

Groups of Districts by Percent of Spanish-surnamed Students in Grade	Number of School Districts	Range of Percent of Spanish- Surnamed Teachers	Median Percent S.S. Teachers
First Grade:			
1 - 5 percent	12	0 - 4.17	2.13
6 - 10 percent	9	0 - 3.80	.34
11 - 25 percent	13	0 - 8.33	.11
26 and over	13	0 - 82.35	.00
Seventh Grade:			
1 - 5 percent	12	0 - 5.43	.00
6 - 10 percent	10	0 - 4.00	1.70
11 - 25 percent	15	0 - 5.26	.00
26 and over	12	3.70 - 88.89	4.00
Tenth Grade:			
1 - 5 percent	10	0 - 4.60	1.40
6 - 10 percent	8	0 - 2.40	.08
11 - 25 percent	11	0 - 5.70	.05
26 and over	11	0 - 55.56	4.30
Graduating Class-- Previous Spring			
1 - 5 percent	14	0 - 5.13	1.41
6 - 10 percent	5	0 - 4.00	1.10
11 - 25 percent	16	0 - 7.80	1.00
26 and over	7	0 - 55.50	5.13

SOURCE: Commission Survey

the following numbers and percents of Spanish-surnamed and Other teachers emerged for each major grade level:¹⁷

	<u>Anglo-Caucasian</u>	<u>Spanish-surnamed</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Asian</u>
Elementary	(1862) - 88.42%	(28) - 1.33%	(194) - 9.21%	(20) - .94%
Junior High	(831) - 90.03%	(22) - 2.38%	(62) - 6.72%	(7) - .76%
Senior High	(994) - 94.85%	(15) - 1.43%	(31) - 2.96%	(1) - .09%

When it is kept in mind that about 10 to 12 percent of the enrolled students in Denver are Spanish-surnamed, the very low percent of Spanish-surnamed teachers is discouraging. Obviously, the few Spanish-surnamed teachers in the secondary schools (probably most are Spanish Language teachers) throughout the

state give Spanish-surnamed teenagers, who are potential drop-outs, little cause to believe that hard work and sacrifice will get them good jobs.

Many school administrators argue that few qualified Spanish-surnamed teachers apply for jobs. This may be true, but it would seem that, given equal academic or even lower academic qualifications, the Spanish-surnamed teacher applicant deserves special consideration because of two special qualifications he possesses over other non-Spanish-surnamed applicants; these are: (1) his example or presence in the school can encourage Spanish-surnamed students, and (2) his ability to understand and give special counsel to many Spanish-surnamed students. It should be mentioned, however, that the second consideration may not always be valid because a Spanish-surnamed teacher from the upper-middle-class-urban culture may have nothing in common with a poor, working class Spanish-surnamed student. It might be wise to hire not only more Spanish-surnamed teachers and counselors, but more Spanish-surnamed teachers and counselors with a working class, lower-economic-class background. In fact, in general, one of the problems in education is that the vast majority of teachers are products of the white-collar middle class and have little sensitive and sympathetic understanding of the poor and disadvantaged student. Paradoxically, if our hypothesis is correct and most Spanish-surnamed youngsters (who are mostly economically disadvantaged) are aspiring to the Anglo-American cultural goals, these youngsters might have more empathy and get more encouragement from an Anglo teacher from a similar economic-disadvantaged background than from a Spanish-surnamed teacher from the upper-middle class.

Another factor, which develops separateness and destroys hope of real acceptance into the predominant culture, is de facto segregation of schools. Students easily get the impression (and not always incorrectly) that concentrations of their minority in a school is the majority society's way of cultural rejection. Denver is making a significant attempt to alleviate its problems of de facto segregation, but much has to be done, and the situations in the state as a whole need much study.

Another problem influencing aspiration is, of course, the curriculum. Oftentime, the student will reject the school program because he does not see in it a logical or plausible route to his aspired goals. Aspiration within our dominant culture does not necessarily involve college. Students know this, and they may resent the route of college preparatory courses. Our survey of Colorado school districts revealed few school systems that were doing anything significant in technical or vocational oriented education. Paradoxically, some schools with the highest percentages of Spanish-surnamed students had no vocational-technical programs. Some schools still believe that woodworking and crafts are meaningful vocational programs. Adjusting the curriculum to the changing needs of the students is a crucial challenge. The Superior School Program for Smiley and Baker Junior High Schools, in Denver, represents the kind of study necessary for improvement, although the program itself may, or may not, prove successful.

A last comment on aspiration involves the practice, in many schools, of creating general-type courses for the "non-college-bound." These are not vocational courses, but courses in the academic fields geared to what educators seem to perceive as the non-intellectual minds. Dr. Robert Vinter of the

University of Michigan's School of Social Work recently completed a three-year study financed by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.¹⁸ He reported that in most cases "our study showed that various aspects of the school system itself, rather than any qualities inherent in the students, were the chief factors causing students to leave high school." He added, "The term dropout might often be changed to pushout." The report also noted that "the American high school tends to be a white, middleclass institution loaded against the economically disadvantaged, working class pupil." The report said working-class youngsters "frequently are shunted into the general curriculum" by advisors or counselors who tend to automatically regard them as less capable than students from middle or upper-class backgrounds. They found that the general curriculum was held in low esteem by both teachers and pupils, and for more capable students placement in the general curriculum was demoralizing. Teachers in this general curriculum normally expect more behavior problems, hence they act in a way to anticipate them. "General education" programs as they operate in Colorado often involve the Spanish-surnamed youth. In such cases the Spanish-surnamed student who has ability is further demoralized and has his self image tarnished.

Failure to Achieve--A case for early educational intervention*

In the above section doubts were cast upon the role of cultural values or culture in general in the Spanish-surnamed student's desire or aspiration to achieve in school. This did not mean the cultural traits are without influence. On the contrary, they are of utmost significance to the Spanish-surnamed student who desires to achieve but cannot succeed. Emphasis, however, should be focuses away from ethnic cultural traits, or value orientation, and upon the total cultural deprivation of the child and how it stands as a barrier to success. As we pointed out in the section on income, the culture of the Spanish-surnamed Coloradan is in great part a culture of poverty. We will see in subsequent section the influence this has on physical health, mental health, and deviant behavior patterns of the Spanish-surnamed. The effects of this culture are already pronounced at the time this child first enters school; any really effective program of reducing the detrimental influence of this deprivation must begin early.

In the main, Spanish-surnamed children come to school from impoverished, lower-income homes. Their cultural and social background has not prepared them for school and the demands that will be made upon them in school, but they do have a culture and a social system. However, to say they are economically deprived does not say half enough because the problem is much more than poverty. Their whole environment impinges upon them and makes it almost impossible for them, or their children, ever to leave their urban or rural slum except to migrate to another slum. They are caught in a cycle of poverty.

The cycle of poverty means this: The environmentally deprived child enters school, fails because of his background, and drops out of school as soon as possible. He returns to his slum with its frustrations, crime, mental illnesses, and unemployment only to raise the next generation to repeat the

*The materials for this section were compiled and developed by Dr. John Meier and Dr. Glen Nimnicht of Colorado State College and The New Nursery School of Greeley, Colorado

same cycle. What does it mean to be caught in this cycle? The first effect for the Spanish-surnamed child is less chance to survive birth and infancy. For example, in 1960, in Colorado, 20 percent of all deaths under the age of five were Spanish-surnamed, about twice the percent of Spanish-surnamed births during the general period. Causes will be discussed in the section on health. If the Spanish-surnamed child survives birth and infancy, he still has a lower life expectancy, a difference of up to ten years.

Of course, part of this reduction in life expectancy is due to the poor health that is more common among the economically deprived. Mental illness is also an affliction of the poor. Not only are the poor more susceptible to illness, they are more likely to be mentally handicapped. Tunley writes, "Indeed most authorities agree that retardation could be cut in half if we applied what we already know about such familiar hazards as faulty metabolism and German measles."¹⁹ Unfortunately, this knowledge is not applied among that group which cannot afford to buy prenatal care of pregnant women. This accounts for much of the diagnosable mental retardation. The environment probably accounts for most of the mental retardation that cannot be explained by some diagnosable cause (see Chapter Six). The evidence is building day by day to demonstrate the relationship between the environment and mental development. It comes from animal studies, research involving humans, and sociological case studies.

In the past, the so-called educable mentally handicapped child was commonly handled in numerous special ways. Since the turn of the century, practices have ranged from special public school classes to absolute exclusion and isolation or even institutionalization. In some instances the early-identified mentally handicapped child has been withheld from kindergarten or first grade for an additional year's maturation; in others he has to be failed one or more times in the regular program before being considered for placement in a special class.

Keeping the child at home until he has matured sufficiently to attend the regular grades is based on the assumption that maturation is the only factor to be considered. If, however, a lack of training in the home has retarded the child's development, keeping him at home only accentuates the effects of such factors. . . . Allowing the child to fail in school for the first two or three years is likewise considered unsatisfactory. Such an experience for children during their formative years may produce inhibitions and poor attitudes toward learning when they do become ready for instruction; it may produce a distaste for school in general. School failure at this age level is considered a deterrent to good personality development.²⁰

The preceding quotation questions several of the traditional practices employed in the area of mentally handicapped children. Very little positive consideration in terms of special school programs has been given to the child whose problems are essentially cultural in etiology.²¹

Adding turbulence to already cloudy waters were psychodiagnostic discrepancies and even anachronisms, as the following citation purported:

Because of the continuing tendency of many special educators and researchers to base decisions and actions on unwarranted assumptions, and considering the diligent research of those who have provided a few answers during the past years, it is desirable to re-examine some of Goldstein's facts, determine their right to this label, and offer other possibilities for consideration. Unfortunately, much of Goldstein's position of ten years ago is, today, accorded almost universally unqualified acceptance by teachers, authors, other professionals and institutions of higher learning. Therefore, the purposes of this paper seem clear; to provoke the creative to seek answers; and to instill a healthy unrest in all who work with mentally subnormal.²²

Historically, only a few experimentally minded individuals demonstrated an interest in mentally handicapped people. The attitude long prevailed that only institutionalization, special education, or training was needed on the basis of what later proved to be an inaccurate diagnosis.²³ However, when the federal government, especially encouraged by the personal interest and support of Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, appropriated substantial sums of money to support research into the causes and prevention of mental retardation, public as well as professional activity in this area increased in direct proportion.

As part of a cross-cultural approach, Dennis (1960) presented data concerning the behavioral development among 174 children, aged one year to four years, in three Iranian institutions. A significantly greater retardation was evident in children living in two of the institutions compared to the near-normal development of those living in the third one. This was attributed solely to the lack of handling, including placing in a sitting and prone position, at the former two institutions. It was concluded that restriction of specific kinds of learning opportunities severely affected behavioral and motor development.

There had been considerable controversy regarding the inheritance of mental retardation versus the effects of environmental deprivation. It was considered meaningless to discuss this problem as stated because it was illegitimate to classify all cases of mental deficiency (i.e., heredity, brain injury, cultural deprivation, etc.) into one category. It appeared that the lower grades of mental retardation occurred in all classes of society. These cases were usually organic in etiology, some being specifically identified as arising from rare recessive genes, which was discussed in a later section of this review. The majority of the higher grade or borderline groups appeared to come from parents of lower socio-economic status and were thought to be the results of cultural deprivation or disadvantage. Since the diagnostic category of mental handicap included both mild and severe retardation, much confusion about the above etiological considerations was to be found in the literature.²⁴

Some of the effects of environmental enrichment on changes in measured intelligence have been investigated. Alper and Horne (1959) conducted a twenty-year longitudinal study of institutionalized mental defectives and found very few extreme shifts in intelligence quotients. Pinneau (1961)

reported many similar studies in his quite thorough treatment of some of the statistical reasons for changing intelligence quotients with especial reference to the 1960 revision of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale.

On the other side of the coin, Garfield, Wilcott, and Milgram (1961) reported a study of individuals who were institutionalized for mental handicaps and later released as not mentally defective. The implications of such misdiagnoses were considered to be formidable and gave great incentive for studies such as the present one.

A rather strong statement in favor of environmental influence was contributed by Knoblock and Pasamanick (1956):

Even though there are lacunas in the evidence, the patterning of almost all of the recent studies, ours as well as others, points the total picture overwhelmingly in one direction. The geneticists will need to give more than post hoc data, and will require experimental or better controlled epidemiological studies than have previously been offered to support their views. Otherwise, scientific parsimony seems to lead one to the conclusion that at the present time the most useful theory is that while man's fundamental structure and consequently his basic functioning is genetically determined, it is his socio-cultural milieu affecting biological and psychological variables which modifies his behavior, and, in the absence of organic brain damage, makes one individual different from the next.²⁵

One behavioral problem which frequently implied emotional maladjustment in the minds of school personnel was aggressiveness. Eron, et al. (1958), carried on an elaborate study of aggressive behavior. The research plan was to study the complete third-grade population in Columbia County, which included approximately 1,000 pupils per year, over a three-year period, and to hold interviews with their parents. A report gave results for some sixty families, in which was found (1) no relation between aggression at home and aggression at school, (2) a consistent relation between intensity of punishment by father and aggression in the children, and (3) an inverse relation between aggression and socio-economic status. On the latter point, the authors made some very relevant observations. They reported, for example, less aggressive children in the old Yankee families than among more recent immigrants, which difference may have involved a socio-economic factor. They also reported that social participation by the parents was inversely related to their children's aggression, as was the social mobility aspiration of the mother for her children.

These findings were corroborated by Bandura and Walters (1963), who demonstrated the importance of social learning or imitation in the formation of an aggressive personality. Thus, one's cultural heritage was seen to be directly related to the school's acceptance of his behavior, which was in turn evidently related to success and achievement of an academic nature. Those who were making a poor school adjustment, insofar as WASP (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant) criteria were concerned, were being penalized for what was socio-logically speaking quite an appropriate adjustment to their own cultural group.²⁶

Stein and Susser²⁷ found in a study of 50 adults, classified in school as educationally subnormal and recommended for special schooling, that in 20 cases there was evidence of brain damage or other serious handicaps to learning. In the remaining 30 cases there was no such evidence. When the families were divided into lower-social class and others, Stein and Susser found that the twenty with brain damage or other serious defects came from all social classes but all 30 of the others (clinically normal) came from the lower class.

Studies with children have demonstrated that the first born is more likely to be gifted or eminent than are his siblings;²⁸ twins on the average have IQ's several points lower than singletons; pairs of siblings spaced further apart in age do better on intelligence tests than those born closer together;²⁹ the older or only child is more successful in first grade than younger siblings.³⁰ Hunt's hypothesis is that siblings born close together do not get all the adult attention and stimulation they need for full development.

Another kind of evidence that illustrates the effects of environmental deprivation on young children comes from case studies similar to Anna, an illegitimate child who was kept in an attic-like room with little care or attention for six years. At the time she was discovered and removed from her mother's home she could not speak, or walk, or gesture or feed herself. She was so apathetic that it was hard to tell whether or not she could hear. Two years later Anna had progressed to the point where she could walk, understand simple commands, feed herself, achieve some neatness, understand people, etc. But she still did not speak. Her hearing and vision were normal. At age ten she had started to learn to speak. In the school for retarded children she could call attendants by name and she had a few complete sentences to express her wants.³¹ Davis, who wrote the case study of Anna, writes that there is a possibility that Anna may have been congenitally deficient, but he thinks that it is likely that Anna might have had a normal or near-normal mental capacity if she had not been isolated for six years.

Davis reports on a very similar case. Isabelle was discovered after spending most of her first six years in a dark room with her mother, a deaf mute. Isabelle had no speech; she made only a strange groaking sound. "The general impression was that she was wholly uneducable."³² Under a special program of training she covered six years of learning in two years and according to Davis, her I.Q. test score tripled in a year and a half. (This statement was based on the fact that at six and a half her score on a Stanford Binet was 19 months. At 14 Isabelle was in the sixth grade (still two years behind in school) and the teacher said that she participated in all school activities as normally as other children.

Other studies point in the same direction. Skeels (1965) reports on 13 infants who were moved from the unstimulating environment of an orphanage to a residential center where they received considerable attention and affection. Twelve similar children remained in the orphanage. The children who received the attention showed an average gain of 27.5 I.Q. points in 19 months while the other group had an average loss of 27.2 I.Q. points in 21 months. All of the 13 children who were removed from the orphanage were placed with families and now are young adults. All are self-supporting, eleven are married. Their average attainment in school is the 12th grade. Their occupations range from

domestic workers to professionals. In contrast, of the 12 who remained in the orphanage one died in adolescence after living in an institution for the mentally retarded, four are still wards of institutions, one is married and one is divorced. Their average attainment in school was the third grade, half of them are unemployed, and except for one person, the balance are unskilled laborers.

These studies report extreme cases, but the evidence is growing that the same kind of effect, to a lesser degree, can be observed in environmentally deprived children whether they come from the slums of the city or from the rural country side. In other words, a loss of intellectual ability seems to be a by-product of the culture of poverty.

Education alone will not solve the problems of poverty, but any long-range solution to the problem must involve educating the environmentally deprived children so that they can earn their share in our affluent society, and this brings us back to our major thesis: Education must begin before the child enters the first grade! The failure begins in the first grade and increases year by year. For example, Churchill found that in Fort Morgan, Colorado, in 1960, only 7 percent of the first grade children from lower socio-economic homes were doing above average work in school whereas 54 percent were doing below average work. By the time these children reach the fifth grade they will be doing comparatively less well in school. Deutsch and his associates have called this the cumulative deficit phenomenon--the longer these children remain in school, the greater becomes the difference in academic achievement between them and middle class children. Deutsch reports significant decreases in I.Q. test scores for Negro and white children from lower social class status from the first to the fifth grade.

In general, by the time these children reach fifth grade, they are two to three years behind in reading ability. Under normal school conditions, the child is already an educational drop-out. The question that remains is, will the school be able to keep the child in school until he reaches the legal age to drop-out, or can the child find a way out sooner? There is strong reason to believe that the child often wins. For example, in 1960 in Colorado, 24 percent of the Spanish-surnamed people over twenty-five had completed four or fewer years of school and only 18.3 percent had completed high school. Of course, this includes some immigration from Mexico and many older people with low levels of educational achievement. The figures tend to understate the case, however, because not all Spanish-surnamed people in Colorado are economically deprived. At the same time, only 3.2 percent of the Anglos and 8.3 percent of the non-white population had less than four years of school. Out of 154 Spanish-surnamed children who started school in 1952 and 1953 in Greeley, Colorado, 43 (29 percent) graduated, one died, 48 (30 percent) are known drop-outs, 40 (20 percent) moved, and what happened to 23 (15 percent) is unknown. Probably at least 50 percent of these last two groups are really drop-outs who reported they were moving and either never moved or never returned to school in the new community.

Many children from deprived environments will be classified as mentally retarded children by the time they reach the third grade. According to the I.Q. test scores on the Stanford-Binet and Peabody Picture Vocabulary Tests,

at least 6 (20 percent) of the thirty children who attended the New Nursery School the first year could have been legally classified as educable mentally retarded children.* If Deutsch's cumulative deficit phenomenon is correct, at least another three or four would probably have tested that way by the time they entered the third grade. Incidentally, much screening of children for educable mentally handicapped children begins in earnest near the end of second grade, when reading ability or disability makes the differentiation more pronounced. It is very doubtful that any of these children are mentally retarded in any but a functional sense of the term.

In a study of drop-outs in Fort Morgan, Colorado, Stevens (1962) found that among high school graduates, 2 percent had repeated a grade two times, 6 percent had repeated one year, and 92 percent were at grade level or above. Among the drop-outs, on the other hand, 14 percent had repeated a grade two times, 29 percent had repeated one year and 57 percent were at grade level. The drop-outs had lower grades and lower test scores on achievement and mental ability tests; however, 20 percent ranked at, or above the 65 percentile on tests of mental ability. On reading ability, half of the drop-outs fell below the 20th percentile, one-fourth fell between the 20th and 50th percentiles, and one-fourth fell above the 60th percentile. The drop-out typically does not participate in extra-curricular activities and is absent from school more than most other students. Stevens used Warner's classification of occupations in which Level I contains the highest or most desirable occupations and Level VII is the least desirable category of occupations. No drop-outs came from Level I or II, 2 percent came from Level III, 10 percent came from Level IV, 36 percent from Level V, 29 percent from Level VI, and 24 percent from Level VII; 60 percent of the children whose father's occupation was in Level VII were drop-outs, 30 percent in Level VI were drop-outs, 16 percent in Level V. Fifty percent of the drop-outs came from homes where the father had less than eight years of schooling. Drop-outs tend to associate with other drop-outs. Forty-eight percent of them come from families with six or more children and only 19 percent come from families with one or two children.

None of these findings are particularly startling or unexpected -- most research on the subject has found the same relationships, but when Stevens developed his model to identify potential drop-outs the description of the environmentally deprived child started to emerge. Stevens hypothesized that the critical number of drop-out characteristics that are associated with a drop-out is four and 82 percent of the drop-outs in his study had five or more drop-out characteristics. In other words, a drop-out can be described as follows: He is retarded one or more years in school and does not participate in extra-curricular activities. The principal wage earner's occupation

*Under the auspices of Colorado State College, an independent research and demonstration school (the New Nursery School) opened in October of 1964, in Greeley, Colorado. The school enrolled thirty environmentally-deprived Spanish-American children between the ages of three and five. Each of these children attend the New Nursery School three hours a day.

is in the lower two levels, the father has less than eight years of school, and older brothers and sisters have dropped out of school. He can also be described as being below the 49th percentile in mental ability, low in reading ability, absent more than ten percent of the time, and he associates with other potential drop-outs.³³

At the time this individual drops out of school, he has already experienced several years of failure. The school has not helped to overcome the initial handicap he starts with but rather has exaggerated it. Studies such as Equality of Educational Opportunity³⁴ by the U. S. Office of Education documents this point on a national scale. It is interesting and surprising to read that the Spanish-surnamed person is even worse off than the Negro in Colorado.³⁵ The report is broken down by race but the results reflect the differences in environment, not racial differences among which the Negroes traditionally represent the environmentally deprived.

With some exceptions -- notably Oriental Americans -- the average minority pupil scores distinctly lower on these tests at every level than the average white pupil. The minority pupils' scores are as much as one standard deviation below the majority pupils' scores in the first grade. At the 12th grade, results of tests in the same verbal and non-verbal skills show that, in every case, the minority scores are farther below the majority than are the 1st graders. For some groups, the relative decline is negligible; for others, it is large.

Furthermore, a constant difference in standard deviations over the various grades represents an increasing difference in grade level gap. For example, Negroes in the metropolitan Northeast are about 1.1 standard deviations below whites in the same region at grades 6, 9, and 12. But at grade 6 this represents 1.6 years behind, at grade 9, 2.4 years, and at grade 12, 3.3 years. Thus, by this measure, the deficiency in achievement is progressively greater for the minority pupils at progressively higher grade levels.

For most minority groups, then, and most particularly the Negro, schools provide no opportunity at all for them to overcome this initial deficiency; in fact, they fall farther behind the white majority in the development of several skills which are critical to making a living and participating fully in modern society. Whatever may be the combination of nonschool factors -- poverty, community attitudes, low educational level of parents -- which put minority children at a disadvantage in verbal and non-verbal skills when they enter the first grade, the fact is the schools have not overcome it.³⁶

The fact that the drop-out is more likely to be a juvenile delinquent or unemployed as an adult has been well documented elsewhere. For example, Otis, reporting for the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime and Its Implications for Education estimates that 95 percent of the 17 year old juvenile delinquents are school drop-outs.³⁷ In 1962, the

direct cost of juvenile delinquency was estimated at 200 million dollars and the loss of property was 115 million.³⁸ And, of course, following the same pattern the most likely person to be unemployed is the school drop-out. So we have the complete cycle, early failure in school leads to dropping out of school to juvenile delinquency and adult unemployment. The evidence seems to be clear -- early childhood education is a necessary intervening antecedent if the environmentally deprived child is to be given a chance to obtain the education he needs to break out of the cycle.

We are not offering nursery school education as a panacea to solve all the problems of poverty, discrimination, prejudice, unemployment and juvenile delinquency, but it is a necessary antecedent. Unless these children can enter school with a reasonable chance for success, they will not benefit from the school program, even programs allegedly tailored for them. For example, vocational education can not be effective unless children remain in school long enough to become eligible. Most adult retraining programs depend upon functional literacy (the ability to read at the fifth grade level), and all of them depend upon motivation. Environmentally deprived children probably will not achieve functional literacy and by the time they are adults, persistent failure will have bred a pessimism that destroys motivation for self-improvement.

Preschool education holds great promise for the Spanish-surnamed child breaking out of the shackles of economic deprivation. It may be that this kind of early intervention is the only effective means of breaking the cycle. The Headstart program is one type of program that may implement the potentials of early intervention, but the program has not been fully evaluated. There are some indications that the Headstart program is failing because it is intervening for too short a time. It is only logical to believe that six weeks of summer education is not going to remedy four years of deprivation. An ongoing program is needed and one which releases the potential of the child and not just acculturates him.

A different approach to early intervention with Spanish-surnamed children has been underway at Greeley for the past two years and the results have been most encouraging. This experiment is known as the New Nursery School and is under the direction of Dr. Glen Nimnicht and Dr. John Meier, both of Colorado State College.

The particular concern at the New Nursery School is for 45 three and four year old environmentally deprived Spanish-surnamed children. In addition to environmental deprivation, these children have a different culture and language. The directors believe that if they can demonstrate the effectiveness of a carefully designed nursery school program with these children, a similar program will benefit other environmentally deprived children.

The New Nursery School is located in a house near neighborhoods where most of the children live. The house was chosen because a noninstitutional setting within walking distance of as many of the children as possible was

desired. The house is near a public school so many of the children come and go with older brothers and sisters. The house is adequate for the needs and the school apparently has been accepted by the parents. Even though the school is unoccupied from 4:30 p.m. to 8:30 a.m., the school has not suffered from any serious acts of vandalism nor has any equipment been taken from the yard.

The instructional space in the school consists of an "L" shaped room and two responsive environment booths that are approximately seven feet by seven feet. The "L" shaped room contains an art area, a dress-up area, a block corner, a reading corner, a listening corner, a manipulative toy area and a concept formation area. The reading, listening and manipulative toy areas are clustered in the smallest part of the "L"; the noisier activities are in the other part of the room. Cubicles for each child's coat and boots are located on an enclosed porch adjacent to the main room. In addition to the instructional space, the New Nursery School has a bathroom, an office, a conference room (in the basement) and observation areas looking in on the main classroom and each responsive environment booth. The observation areas allow us to record anything that takes place in the learning areas and make the school a demonstration and behavioral science research center as well as a learning center.

Most of a child's three hours in school is spent in self-directed activities such as painting, working puzzles, looking at books, dressing up, building with blocks, and a host of other activities. About fifteen minutes a day are devoted to group activities such as singing, listening to a story, or participating in a planned lesson; a child does not have to take part in group activities if he does not want to.

Once each school day a booth assistant asks a child if he would like to play with the typewriter. If he says "yes," the assistant takes him to one of two booths equipped with an electric typewriter. The child is allowed to play with the typewriter for as long as twenty minutes. The child begins in the booth by simply playing with the typewriter. The assistant answers his questions and names the symbols he strikes, such as, "x," "a," "y," "comma," "space," and "return." The child will move from this first phase to finding and striking a letter that is shown to him. The child will move on to typing words and eventually to dictating stories to the booth assistant who transcribes the stories. Finally, he will transcribe his own stories.

Pioneers in this approach have had extremely good success in teaching three and four year old children to read using such procedures; but like them, the New Nursery school is not primarily so concerned about the children's learning to read at an early age as with the mental process involved in discovering such relationships as the association of sounds with symbols and the discovery of the rules for a new game as we move from one phase to another. Obviously, if the child can see a form such as A on a piece of paper and find the same form on the keyboard of a typewriter and hears a booth assistant say "A," this is accomplishing one of the school's aims of helping the child to perceive different forms and discriminate among sounds. When the child is in

the main room puzzles and other toys are used to help him develop a sense of form, size and color. Teaching materials patterned after those used by Montessori are now being constructed to supplement the toys, puzzles, and other paraphernalia currently in use.

To enhance the child's understanding and use of language, careful consideration is given to the correct use of language by the teaching staff within the school, but there is no admonishment or implication in any way that the child is wrong when he uses the language of the home whether it is Spanish or English or a combination. In fact, bilingualism is encouraged when it exists. Adult-initiated conversation is discouraged, but the opportunity for a child-initiated conversation is never passed up. There are four major objectives at the school:

1. Development of a positive self-image
2. Development of the senses and perceptions
3. Development of language skills
4. Development of problem solving and concept formation abilities

These four objectives closely parallel Deutsch's objectives at the Institute of Developmental Studies at New York University. These four objectives were chosen because the studies and research indicated that environmentally deprived children had not developed in these areas to the extent that one would expect from the observation of other children and the lack of development logically seems to be related to their environment.

The entire school is organized as an autotelic responsive environment as Moore has defined it. The reader who is familiar with nursery school education will note that many of the highly reputed nursery school programs in the United States have been operated more or less as responsive environments without saying so, but it is essential to state these principles explicitly because of their importance in formulating curriculum and procedures and in evaluating the results Moore and his colleague, Anderson, have defined an activity as autotelic if the activity is done for its own sake rather than for obtaining rewards or avoiding punishment that have no inherent connection with the activity itself.³⁹

At the end of the first year various tests were administered to the children with control and experimental groups; the data are encouraging. There have been substantial upward changes in some of the children's I.Q. test scores on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Tests. Since these test scores do correlate highly and positively with success in school, it can be hypothesized that the children will do better in school, a primary purpose of the enriched experience. Early results also indicate that the gap between deprived children's measured scholastic ability and the measured ability of non-deprived children can be narrowed.

Related observations corroborate the test results. One child who started with an I.Q. score of 87 can read and type over twenty words and can use the words to dictate stories to the teacher. Two children can read and type some words. Most of the other children have no difficulty in locating all the letters on the typewriter, and recognizing and naming the eight basic colors.

This fall, sixteen of the children entered kindergarten. In the judgement of their teachers, these children are doing considerably better in school than the teachers would normally expect of children with their background. Subsequent follow-up teacher interviews indicate that their teachers judge and predict first grade success for these graduates.

To gather more evidence, a group of similar (matched on several demographic and ideographic variables) Spanish-American children who are attending the same public schools, but did not attend the New Nursery School have been identified. These children will serve as Control Group B. As these children and those from the New Nursery School progress in school, more reliable and meaningful statements about comparative performance will be possible.

In general, programs such as incorporated in the New Nursery School and year-long Head Start Programs should become part of publicly funded education if we want to break through the cycle of deprivation found within much of the Spanish-surnamed population.

Non-academic Causes of Failure to Reach Aspired Goals

Many Spanish-surnamed students are leaving school despite their desire to pursue more education because they cannot afford to stay in school. The costs of education not only involve the obvious costs of clothing and materials but the countless costs of social and recreational programs without which a student cannot be fully accepted in his peer group. Peer group acceptance is not only vital to the self image factor discussed above, but to the emotional and psychological health of young people which is so essential to personal success. To the young girl or sensitive boy, inability to participate in the social life of the school is unbearable and leads to escapism.

But even the educational costs of the average school have risen to a point that is prohibitive to children of poverty and they are too often the Spanish-surnamed children. Book fees, towel fees, report fees, locker fees, special uniform costs, material costs, etc. have slowly escalated to the point of sometimes reaching over \$100 per year per student. This becomes a special burden in families with many children.

The Constitution of the State of Colorado guarantees to every child a free public education. This provision is being violated by almost all schools in Colorado, and the poor child, the minority child, and the Spanish-surnamed child are all being deprived of their rights. A full scale investigation of contributory costs in Colorado's public schools is vitally needed.

In the field of higher education, of course, the cost factor is more serious and crucial. Costs and tuitions have increased much faster than the level of poverty incomes. Between 1962 and 1970 costs in public colleges will have doubled.⁴⁰ Spanish-surnamed youth are most often caught in the squeeze. Scholarships and federal work-study programs have expanded, but college costs and numbers of potential students have increased even more. In addition, job opportunities around colleges have declined. The tragic reflection of

cost burdens and their effect upon college attendance among Spanish-surnamed is the high percent of athletes within the population of Spanish-surnamed college students in Colorado. Until the public meets its obligation to provide education for all of Colorado's youth able to absorb it, the athletic scholarship is the most reliable ticket to equal educational opportunity -- provided one is male, strong, and healthy. It is not that the athlete or the veteran should not have the scholarship, but that all able Spanish-surnamed youth should have equal opportunity to receive liberal scholarship aid.

Usually the greatest cost in attending college is room and board. Equal educational opportunity then becomes an aspect of chance as to where one is born. If one's hometown has a state college or university or junior college, educational opportunity is enhanced; if not, opportunity is limited. If the Spanish-surnamed youth or the youth of any economically deprived group is to enjoy opportunity to higher education we need more regional junior colleges or a vastly expanding scholarship program geared to need and distance from the nearest campus. Numerous data could be cited here to support the plea for greater financial support for the students if the democratic ideal of equal educational opportunity is to be realized in Colorado, and especially for the Spanish-surnamed. Space does not allow a detailed analysis here, but a major study of this aspect of education should be launched to expose the seriousness of the problem. A study done by Richard Perchlik in 1962 could be updated.⁴¹

Migrant Education

Some special mention should be made about the problem of educating the migrant worker in Colorado who is predominantly Spanish-surnamed. Colorado ranks 12th among all states in the number of inter-state migrant farm workers who are employed during the growing season. Among the Rocky Mountain and West Coast States, Colorado ranks fourth in the number of interstate workers employed.

Each year thousands of migrants (15,000 in 1962) enter Colorado temporarily to augment Colorado agricultural employment. These workers, primarily from Texas and New Mexico, often bring with them children of school or pre-school age. Although their numbers are not great, these children represent an educational obligation to the State. It is not only right that these children should be educated, but their concentration in certain localities in the State create special problems for the permanent Spanish-surnamed population. If these people are not educated and manifest the general disabilities of the uneducated, their behavior often reflects poorly on the permanent population. Their behavior patterns often can be the grist for the intolerant Anglo who is seeking stereotypes and examples to justify his discrimination against Spanish-surnamed persons in general.

Colorado is recognized as the leader in migrant education. In 1955 the Colorado State Department of Education began a program of special summer schools for migrant children. By 1960 six schools were operating and serving 644 children. In 1961 Colorado passed the "Migrant Children Educational Act,"

with an annual appropriation for the support of both a summer program and a regular school year migrant education program. The record since 1961 shows the following development of the Summer Program:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Days of Attendance</u>	<u>Program Cost</u>
1961	7	761	17,066	\$50,243.29
1962	5	577	10,194	\$41,035.27
1963	6	637	13,565	\$44,719.10
1964	7	870	17,854	\$64,830.60
1965	8	1,324	26,724	\$93,165.60

SOURCE: Colorado State Department of Education

The regular school year program was, by 1965, serving 1,066 children in 12 districts at a cost of \$39,256.

Under the leadership of Dr. Roy McCanne of the State Department of Education these programs are making excellent progress and should be strongly supported. Migrant children pose a serious educational problem to the Southwest area because of their lack of access to stable and continuous schooling. Dr. McCanne is working on a plan to implement an interstate migrant program. Colorado should continue to take a leadership role in this effort and support it financially. Because of the immigration of Spanish-surnamed into Colorado from surrounding states for residential purposes, we must be vitally concerned with educational levels in those states. Many of these in-migrants come from migratory farm backgrounds and hence their educational deprivation becomes a Colorado problem.

V. CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

Status

Crime and juvenile delinquency is without doubt more prevalent within the Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado than it is within the general population. Many records and reports could be cited to make the same point but we have restricted our focus to institutional and district court data. Much credit is due to the excellent research done by Bernard Valdez who compiled the Report of Spanish Americans in Correctional Institutions and on Parole, while serving as consultant for the Colorado Department of Institutions in 1963. Valdez indicated the difficulties of comparing data because of the lack of standardization of statistical methods and record keeping among the State Institutions but he did summarize the following findings:

1. A disproportionate ratio of Spanish-Americans to Others in all correctional institutions.
2. A much higher rate of delinquency in the younger age group than in the adult population. For example, the average age of Spanish-American inmates at Colorado State Penitentiary is 26.6 as compared with an average of 31.9 for Other inmates.
3. Spanish-American inmates have a more difficult time adjusting to institutional life than Other inmates. While 31 percent of the Penitentiary's population is of this group, 51 percent of the disciplinary violations are committed by Spanish-Americans.
4. Spanish-American parolees at Colorado State Penitentiary accounted for 27.5 percent of the parole violations for the period July 1, 1961, to June 30, 1962. This rate climbed up to 36.3 percent for the period July 1, 1962, to March 31, 1963. This sharp increase could not be explained by the Adult Parole Division since they do not keep statistics by ethnic group.
5. For a period of 15 months at the Colorado State Reformatory, the Spanish-American accounted for 41.9 percent of admissions. During the same period they also accounted for 57.3 percent of parole violations.
6. The percentage of repeaters at Colorado State Reformatory among Spanish-Americans is 56.1 as compared to 43.1 for Others.
7. Out of a total of 787 juveniles on parole as of June 1, 1963, 55.3 percent were Spanish-American. However, for the period July 1, 1962, to May 30, 1963, out of a total of 533 juvenile parolees booked in the Denver County Jail or Juvenile Court, 63.4 percent were Spanish-Americans.

8. . . . On June 26, 1963, the inmate population at Lookout Mountain School for Boys was 337 out of which 51.9 percent were Spanish-American. . . . Out of 337, 188 or 55.8 percent were committed by Denver County; and 104 or 55.3 percent of those committed from Denver were Spanish-American.

Charts 1, 2, 3, and 4 and table 27 which follow, also summarize data compiled by Valdez in 1962. Chart 1 indicates the general distribution of Spanish-surnamed persons within the four State Correctional Institutions at that time. It is interesting that the percent of Spanish-surnamed persons is progressively lower as we move from the youth institutions to the State Penitentiary. A few officials in the Department of Institutions explained this as a "burning-out" of Spanish-surnamed malefactors; that is, they supposedly became tired of fighting the system. This is a unique rationale, unsupported by any evidence, and probably reflects the bias of its authors. Why should anyone believe Spanish-surnamed persons should "burn-out" more readily than Anglos unless they sense an inherent inferiority?

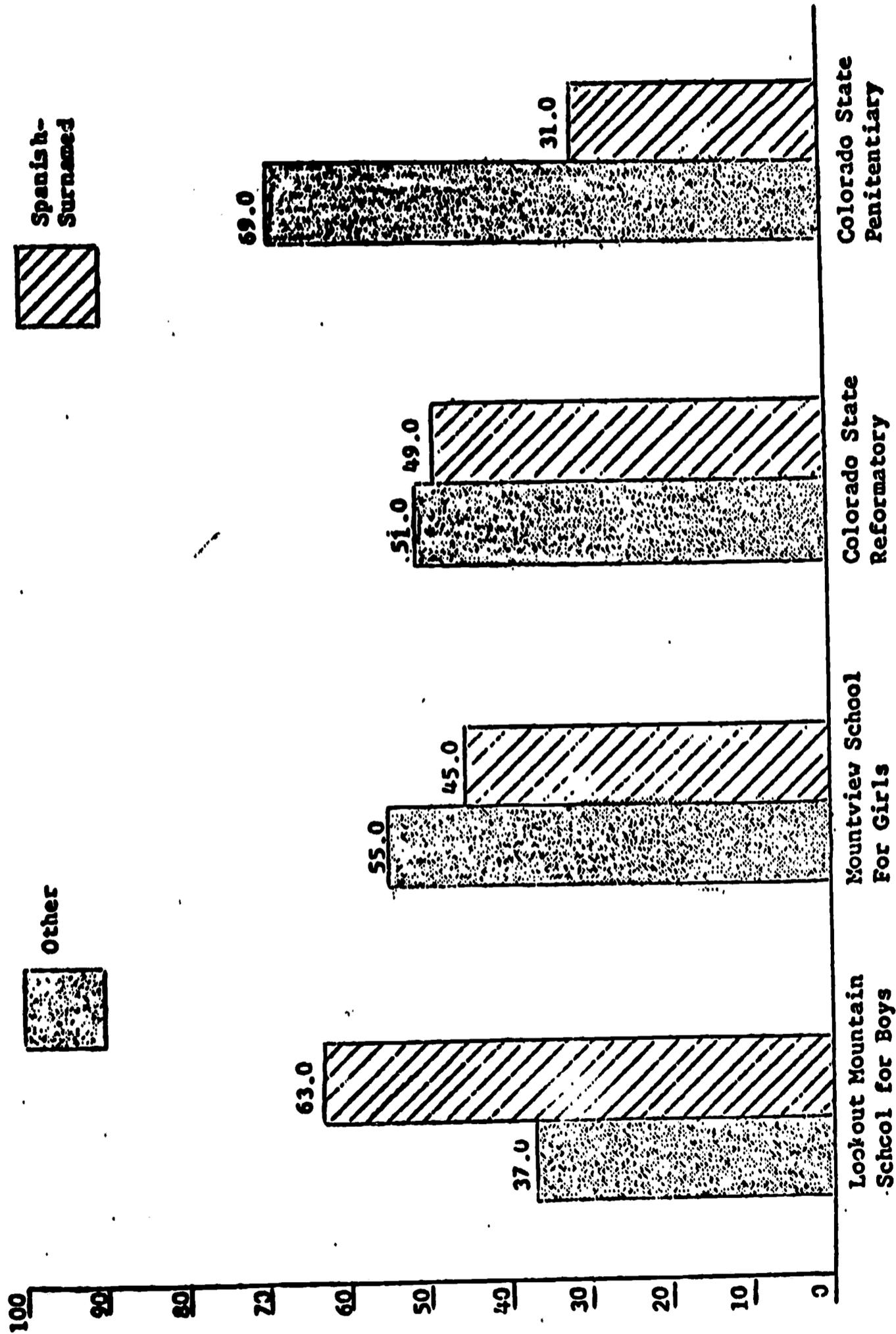
There are more rational probabilities for this phenomenon. In the first place the surge of Spanish-surnamed population in the early sixties was in the 10 to 17 year age bracket. On the other hand, the percent of Spanish-surnamed persons in the population over 30 years of age was relatively low. From these population facts one would normally expect a lower incidence of Spanish-surnamed inmates in the institution serving the adult criminal. This may change as the youth population surge reaches maturity in the future. Another factor deals with death rates. The shocking fact derived from our study of mortality statistics is that Spanish-surnamed youth have relatively lesser chance of surviving the early adult years than do Others in the population. Of all the persons dying in 1960 who were between 16 and 25 years of age, 18 percent were Spanish-surnamed or almost double their proportionate presence in the total population of that age group. Of all these Spanish-surnamed persons who died in this age group a shocking 43.13 percent died in auto accidents. It is possible that many of the Spanish-surnamed victims of auto accidents were driving in violation of the law (speeding, etc.) and hence were more prone to future criminality than persons dying of other causes.

The lower percent of Spanish-surnamed persons in the adult correctional institutions may be due to another factor dealing with apprehension and convictions. It must be kept in mind that even the 31 percent Spanish-surname figure of inmates at the Colorado State Penitentiary is much higher than the Spanish-surname population in general. The decline in percentage may really be reflecting a differing pattern of apprehension and conviction for Spanish-surnamed persons at different age levels. Persons working with the problem of delinquency have indicated, in interviews, a strong conviction that many delinquents and law violators of the Anglo majority group and middle and upper class are not booked on many violations and merely referred to parents. There is also a general conviction among Spanish-surnamed youth that this is so. It is also believed that even after conviction majority group delinquents are often given suspended sentences. Much more valid research is needed in this area of law enforcement to determine patterns if they exist.

CHART 1

PERCENT OF SPANISH-SURNAMED AND OTHER INMATES IN COLORADO STATE

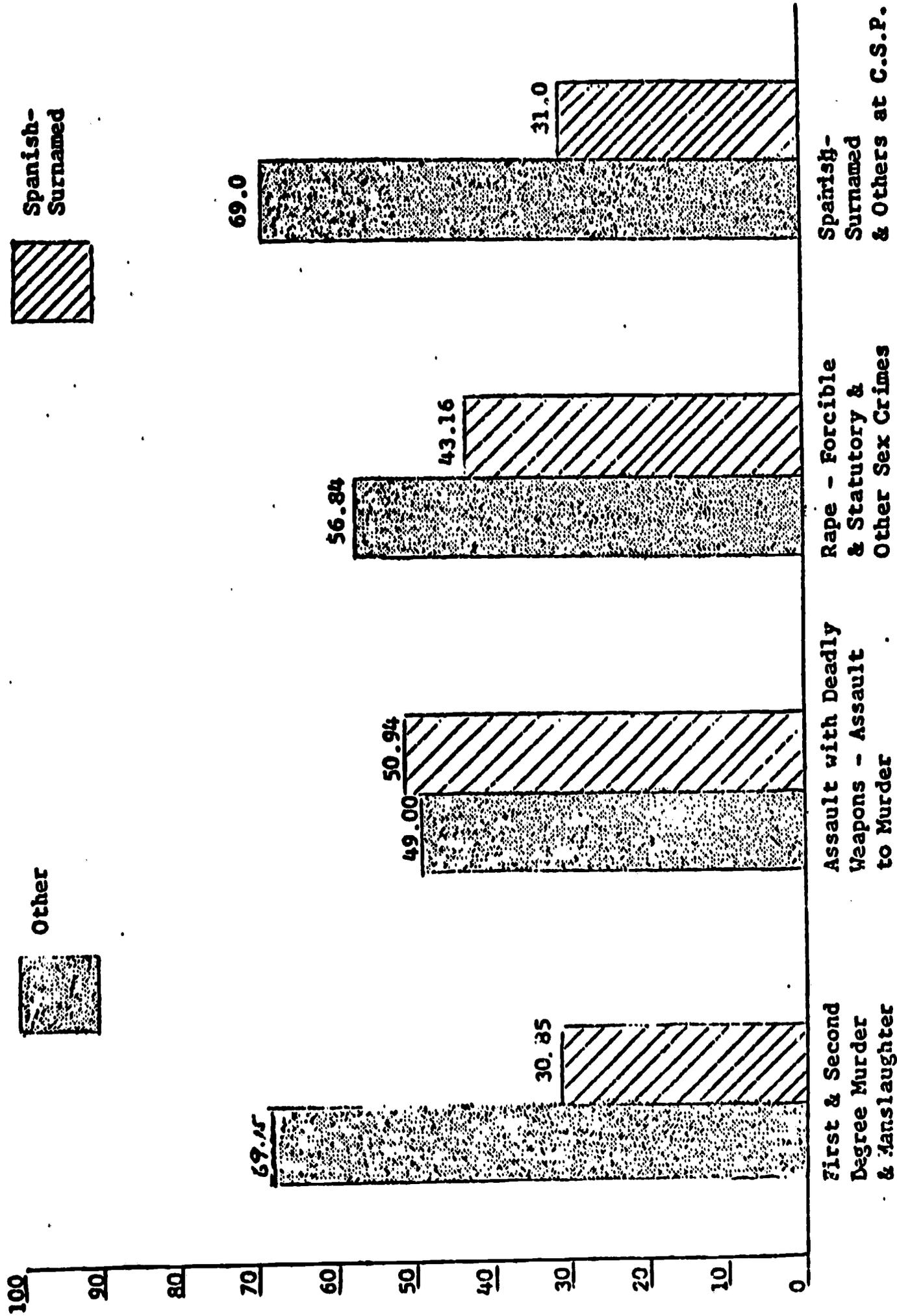
CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS AS OF JUNE 30, 1962



SOURCE: A Report of Spanish Americans in Correctional Institutions and on Parole by Bernard Valdez

CHART 2

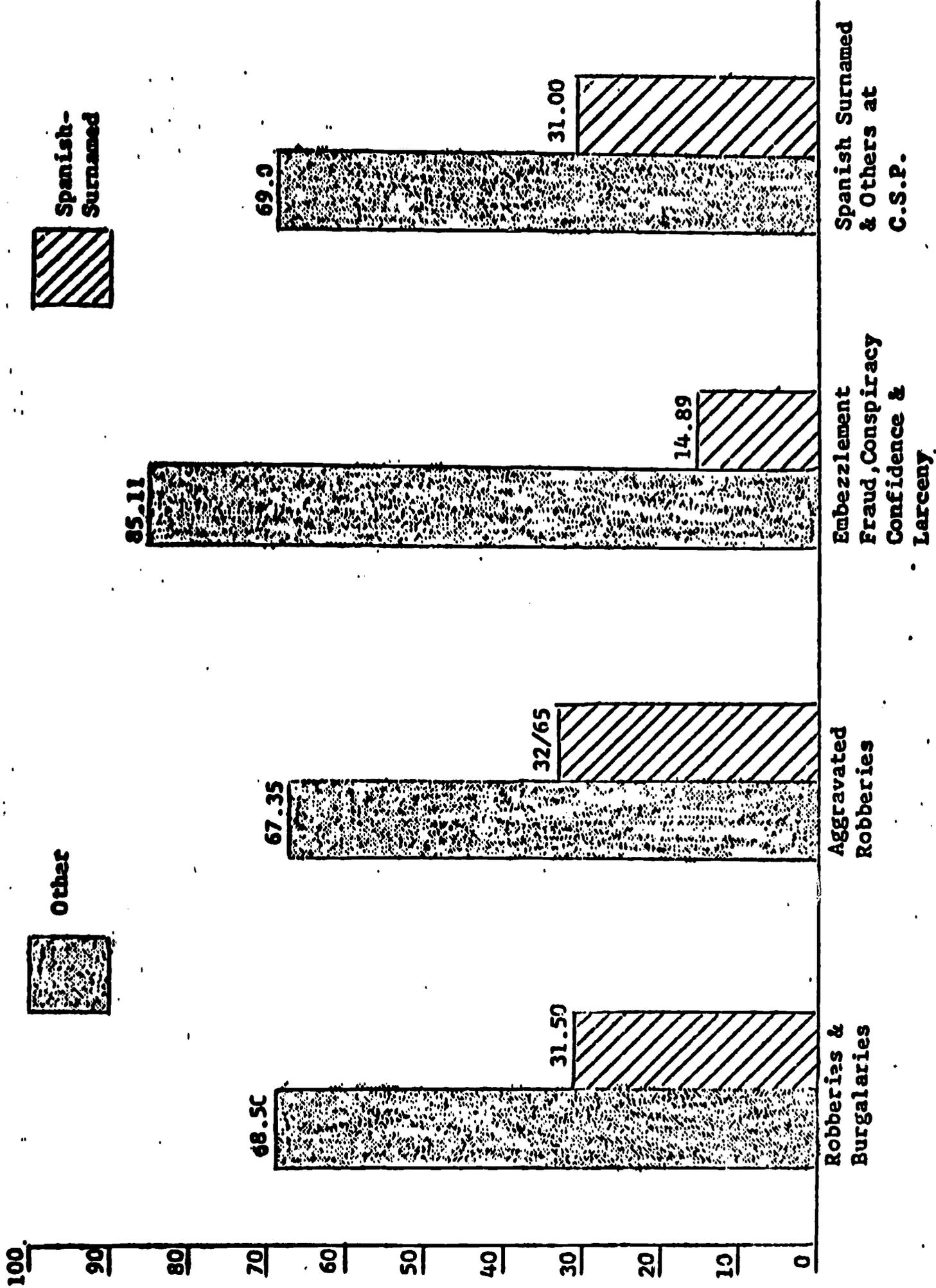
PERCENT OF SPANISH-SURNAMED & OTHER INMATES AT C.S.P.: AS OF JUNE 30, 1962 - Sentenced for Crime of
 FIRST & SECOND DEGREE MURDER - MANSLAUGHTER, ASSAULT WITH DEADLY WEAPONS - RAPE & OTHER SEX OFFENSES



SOURCE: Spanish Americans in Correctional Institutions and on Parole - Bernard Valdez

CHART 3

Percent of Spanish Surnamed & Other Inmates at C.S.P. as of June, 30, 1962 - Sentenced for Crimes of Robberies, Burglaries, aggravated Robberies, Embezzlement - Fraud - Conspiracy & Confidence

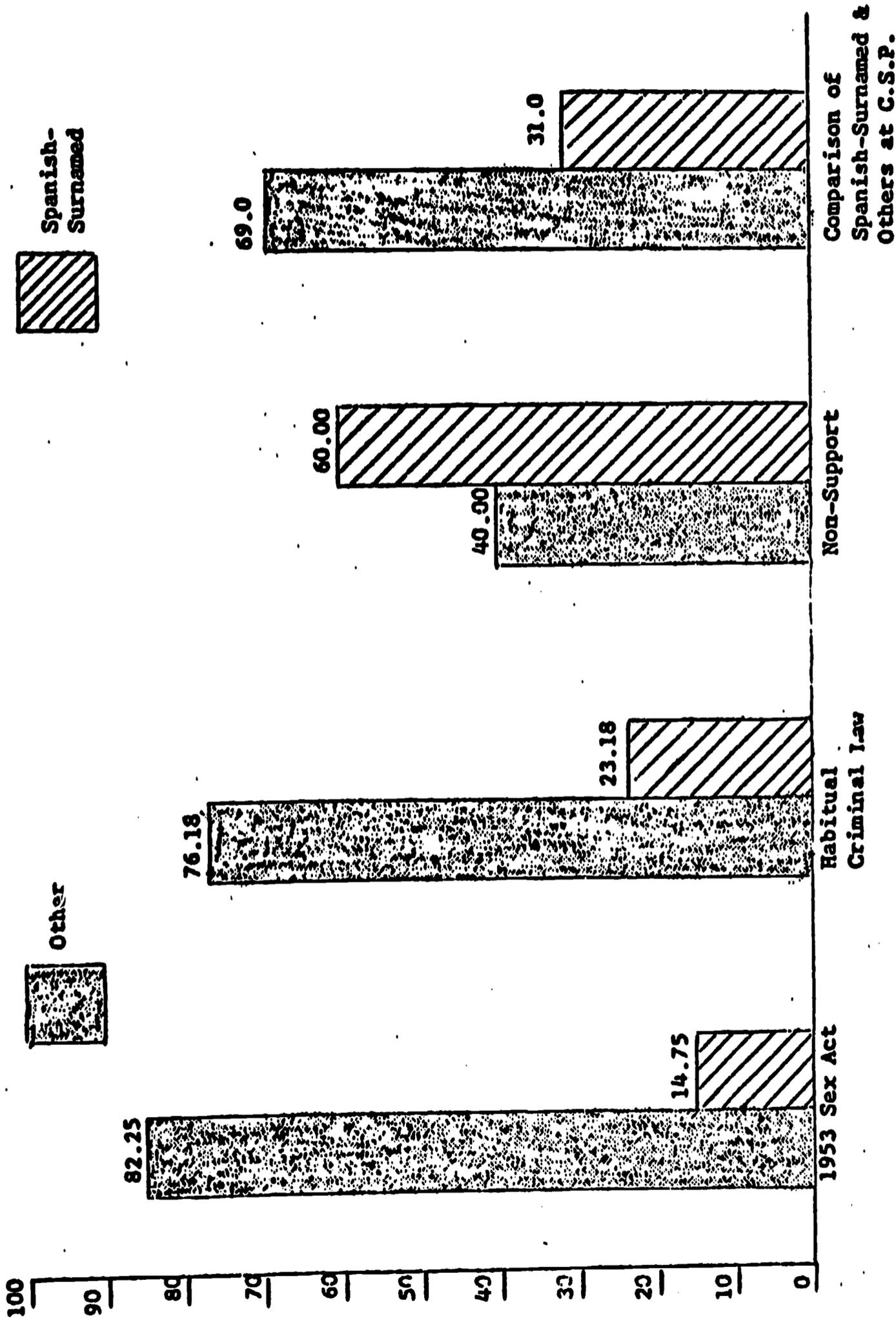


SOURCE: Spanish Americans in Correctional Institutions and on Parole - Bernard Valdez

CHART 4

PERCENT OF SPANISH-SURNAMED & OTHER INMATES AT C.S.P. AS OF JUNE 30, 1962 - SENTENCED UNDER

1953 SEX ACT - HABITUAL CRIMINAL LAW AND NON-SUPPORT



SOURCE: Spanish Americans in Correctional Institutions and on Parole - Bernard Valdez



TABLE 27
SPANISH SURNAMED AND OTHERS SENTENCED TO COLORADO STATE PENITENTIARY
1952 thru 1962 BY JUDICIAL DISTRICTS

Judicial District	Total	Others	Spanish Surname	% Spanish	Counties
First	291	256	35	12.03	Clear Creek, Gilpin, Jefferson
Second	2,579	1,930	649	25.21	Denver
Third	138	47	91	65.93	Huerfano, Las Animas
Fourth	428	363	65	15.20	Douglas, Elbert, El Paso Kit Carson, Lincoln
Fifth	57	47	10	17.54	Eagle, Lake, Summit
Sixth	205	160	45	21.95	Archuleta, Dolores, La Plata, Montezuma, San Juan
Seventh	675	566	109	16.15	Delta, Gunnison, Hinsdale, Mesa, Montrose, Ouray, San Miguel
Eighth	776	581	195	25.13	Boulder, Jackson, Larimer, Weld
Ninth	106	97	9	8.50	Garfield, Pitkin, Rio Blanco
Tenth	563	294	269	47.78	Pueblo
Eleventh	132	110	22	16.66	Chaffee, Custer, Fremont, Park
Twelfth	305	83	222	72.80	Alamosa, Conejos, Costilla, Mineral, Rio Grande, Saguache
Thirteenth	279	246	33	11.87	Logan, Morgan, Phillips, Sedgwick, Teller, Washington, Yuma
Fourteenth	173	159	14	8.09	Grand, Moffat, Routt
Fifteenth	117	105	12	10.25	Baca, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Prowers
Sixteenth	162	85	77	47.53	Bent, Crowley, Otero
Seventeenth	183	136	47	25.68	Adams
Eighteenth	205	197	8	3.90	Arapahoe
Total	7,374	5,462	1,912	25.93	

SOURCE: Spanish Americans in Correctional Institutions and on Parole - Bernard Valdez

* * * * *

The situation which finds so many Spanish-surnamed boys at the Lookout Mountain School is disturbing but there is some indication that it is not getting worse, and some hope that it may be turning to the better. In new admissions to the school the trend both in numbers and percent of Spanish-surnamed boys seems to be slightly downward during the last year, and more or less constant over the past five years. In 1960-61 there were 148 new admissions of Spanish-surname or 51.5 percent, and in 1964-65 there were 139 admissions of Spanish-surname or 47.9 percent.⁴³ For female admissions at the Mount View Girls' School the trend is even more encouraging. In 1955-56, 41 or 46.5 percent of all new admissions were Spanish-surnamed. Over the years the number has held constant but as a percent of total admissions Spanish-surnamed girls only represented 28.9 percent in 1963-64.

Of course, for both boys and girls these percents represent a highly disproportionate presence when compared to the fact that only about 12 percent of all persons in Colorado between the ages of 10 and 17 years are Spanish-surnamed.

Why are so many Spanish-surnamed youth in our correctional institutions? Surely one factor is their poverty. Any study on crime and delinquency shows a correlation between crime statistics and poverty. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the poor are more lawless or immoral, but only that the records show a correlation. Other possibilities will be discussed later.

In order to further analyze one aspect of crime among the Spanish-surnamed, the research staff did a detailed study of the juvenile referrals to the 22 district courts in Colorado. Excellent data was available because a few years ago Robert Hughes and others had developed a comprehensive record form to be used through the Division of Youth Services of the Department of Institutions. This form was to be used by all county courts in referring juveniles to one of the twenty-two district courts. The record form asks for a range of data including cultural group, age, sex, status of parents, school and work, last grade in school, family income, reason for referrals, etc. This is an excellent research tool and one which should allow systematic analysis of juvenile cases. These forms are to be filed with the State Judicial Administrator semi-yearly.

Unfortunately, all court officials are not sympathetic to the importance of research and have not complied with the request to submit the forms, or to fill them out correctly. Only 18 of the 22 District Courts filed their forms and not all the counties within those districts complied during the period we studied. A serious gap in the data is the absence of data from Pueblo whose court officials, for unknown reasons, did not submit the forms. The Judicial Administrator should make filing of the referral forms mandatory.

The last group of forms which were available covered the period June through December, 1965, with the exception of those from Denver which covered the whole year. This discrepancy should over-state the number of cases for the urban area but the percents for analysis should be comparable. A little over 2,600 forms were analyzed. These forms had previously been tabulated

by the Division of Youth Services but there was no breakdown by cultural group for individual items on the forms. They did, however, tabulate the count of Spanish-surnamed within the total groups.

Again, unfortunately, the Division of Youth Services did not have the funds to process their forms by machine so no electronic data processing cards were available for easy computation. It is highly recommended that money be allocated in the Department of Institutions' budget for an expanded research function. Until detailed and cross item analysis is commenced with case records, causal relationships will remain educated guess work.

Items on all 2,600 forms were key-punched on data cards and programmed for a computer. We sought only percentage tabulations for several items because of the nature of the study. Unlimited possibilities for additional research remain within the data. The data cards for this period are available at Colorado State College for any interested researcher. We grouped cards by counties into two major areas for analysis, Urban--Denver and surrounding counties, and Out State--all other counties. This grouping differed from that made by the Division of Youth Services in their analysis which handled Denver separately. We believe that urban conditions which influence delinquency have similar relevance for youth in the contiguous urban suburbs.

One general finding which is incorporated in the data, although not specified on all tables, is the breakdown of the total 2,600 referrals by cultural group. It is as follows:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Spanish-Surnamed</u>	<u>Other White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Males - Urban	35.02%	45.15%	19.83%
Males - Out-State	25.94%	67.62%	6.44%
Female - Urban	43.73%	39.36%	16.90%
Female - Out-State	25.00%	71.43%	3.57%

Some interesting general conclusions can be made from these facts. When we compare the Spanish-surnamed referrals with the actual Spanish-surnamed population, the extent of recorded Spanish-surnamed delinquency is manifest. We must make this comparison with the 10 to 17 years aged Spanish-surnamed population which can only be estimated, but for sure it cannot be over 15 percent for either of the areas. Even accepting a 5 percent error, the disproportionate presence of Spanish-surnamed youth among the recorded delinquents is striking.

The extreme percent of Spanish-surnamed female cases in the Urban area as compared to the Out-State area is amazing but may be a reflection of the family tension that develops between two generations in an urban setting which exaggerates the differing value systems. This may also account for some of the difference in Spanish-surnamed male categories. As we will see in table 33 the two reasons of "Runaway" and "Beyond Parental Control" account for 42 percent of all the Urban Spanish-surnamed female referrals.

Table 28 reports the findings concerning several socio-economic items for all the male juveniles referred. In this and subsequent tables comparisons are also made with the Negro group to show patterns with another minority group. Table 29 reports the findings for females. All percents refer to the percent distribution within the group specified at the head of each column.

Interestingly, although a greater percent of Urban Spanish-surnamed males than similar Out-State youth find themselves on the delinquent roles, both groups seem to suffer almost identical socio-economic disabilities. About 79 percent of each group finds itself not attending school, and about 65 percent of each group comes from a poverty family. All of this might suggest that a portion of the disproportionate existence of Spanish-surnamed males on the delinquency records may be ascribed to that group's disproportionate possession of economic-educational deprivation.

The data on females on table 29 are generally similar to the male data as it relates to Spanish-surnamed persons and their socio-economic deprivation, although the patterns for Spanish-surnamed females attending school, as compared to males, may mean that on the average they are younger. The vast discrepancy between Spanish-surnamed females on the referral rolls between Urban and Out-State may be partially attributed to the differing percents attending school.

Tables 30 and 31 summarize the marital status of the parents of the male and female juvenile referrals. It seems obvious that the broken home, from separation or divorce, has contributed to the juveniles disadvantage in almost every group and area. It is significant, however, to discover what factors seem to show differing patterns between the Urban and Out-State since the Spanish-surnamed showed a much higher disproportionate rate of delinquency in the Urban area.

The difference of separation and divorce rates between Spanish-surnamed and Other White is much higher in the Urban areas than it is in the Out-State. That is, separations rather than divorces seem to be the method of ending the marriage among the Spanish-surnamed group although the degree of broken marriages seems to balance. It is generally conceded that a separation is a poor man's divorce, hence again the data may be revealing the factor of poverty as being the significant difference between the two groups rather than family disorganization. On the other hand, one might argue that the separation in the case of the Spanish-surnamed is a reflection of Roman Catholicism and abhorrence of divorce.

It is also interesting that the degree of broken marriages is generally and significantly higher among the parents of Spanish-surnamed and Other White females than for males. This may point out that the broken marriage has a much stronger disorganizing impact upon the girl. This pattern seems to operate similarly for the Negro male which might support findings in sociological literature that Negro male children are often rejected in families with only a female head.

TABLE 28

EDUCATION, WORK STATUS, AND FAMILY INCOME
OF MALE JUVENILES REFERRED TO DISTRICT COURTS* IN COLORADO
BY AREA AND AS PERCENT IN EACH CULTURAL GROUP, JUNE-DECEMBER 1965**

Categories	URBAN ARAMS, ARAPAHOE, DENVER, JEFFERSON			OUT STATE ALL OTHER COUNTIES		
	Spanish Surname	Other White	Negro	Spanish Surname	Other White	Negro
	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group
School and Work:						
Attending School, not working	72.89	73.08	82.27	65.97	66.14	91.67
Attending School, working	7.43	9.86	5.32	14.58	22.75	-
Not attending School, working	4.22	5.95	2.48	9.72	5.29	2.78
Not attending School, not working	15.46	11.11	9.93	9.72	5.82	5.56
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Grade in School or Last Grade Completed:						
1st thru 6th grade	17.30	14.55	18.79	10.34	10.06	11.11
7th thru 10th grade	61.37	45.69	60.28	57.93	41.53	55.55
11th thru 12th grade	19.72	34.58	17.02	27.59	40.48	27.78
some college	1.61	5.16	3.90	4.14	7.35	5.56
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Family Income:						
Under \$3,000	34.54	23.86	36.30	35.42	23.02	33.33
\$3,000 to \$6,999	60.44	52.43	56.94	61.11	51.06	61.11
\$7,000 and over	5.03	23.70	6.74	3.47	25.93	5.56
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

*18 of 22 courts reporting

**Denver data includes total year

SOURCE: Colorado Court Report of Juvenile Referral Forms

TABLE 29

**EDUCATION, WORK STATUS, AND FAMILY INCOME
OF FEMALE JUVENILES REFERRED TO DISTRICT COURTS* IN COLORADO
BY AREA AND AS PERCENT IN EACH CULTURAL GROUP, JUNE-DECEMBER 1965****

	URBAN ADAMS, ARAPAHOE DENVER, JEFFERSON			OUT STATE ALL OTHER COUNTIES		
	Spanish Surname	Other White	Negro	Spanish Surname	Other White	Negro
Categories	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group
School and Work:						
Attending school, not working	77.27	69.19	82.35	82.14	81.25	25.00
Attending school, working	.91	4.04	2.35	7.14	5.00	-
Not attending school, working	2.27	4.55	1.18	-	3.75	25.00
Not attending school, not working	19.55	22.22	14.12	10.71	10.00	50.00
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Grade in School or Last Grade Completed:						
1st thru 6th grade	18.63	22.22	30.59	3.57	13.75	-
7th thru 10th grade	63.18	40.40	55.29	71.43	55.00	50.00
11th thru 12th grade	18.18	32.32	11.76	25.00	26.25	50.00
some college	-	5.05	2.35	-	5.00	-
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Family Income:						
Under \$3,000	47.94	40.10	55.29	42.86	21.52	-
\$3,000 to \$6,999	49.31	51.78	42.35	57.14	60.76	100.00
\$7,000 and over	2.74	8.12	2.35	-	17.72	-
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

*18 of 22 courts reporting

**Denver data includes total year

SOURCE: Colorado Court Report of Juvenile Referral Forms

TABLE 30

MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS OF MALE JUVENILES
REFERRED TO DISTRICT COURTS* IN COLORADO
BY AREA AND AS PERCENT IN EACH CULTURAL GROUP, JUNE-DECEMBER 1965**

	URB/4			OUT STATE		
	ADAMS, ARAPAHOE, DENVER, JEFFERSON			ALL OTHER COUNTIES		
	Spanish Surnamed 498 or 35.02% of urban	Other White 642 or 45.15% of urban	Negro 282 or 19.83% of urban	Spanish Surnamed 145 or 25.94% of out state	Other White 378 or 67.62% of out state	Negro 36 or 6.44% of out state
Marital Status	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group
Married	51.97	55.20	37.05	59.86	63.20	36.11
Separated	14.90	7.73	19.78	7.75	6.93	33.33
Separated:						
Death-Father	5.18	5.36	7.19	7.75	8.00	2.78
Death-Mother	3.52	2.36	1.08	4.22	1.87	5.55
Divorced	17.80	26.81	26.62	17.60	19.20	16.67
Never Married	6.63	2.52	8.27	2.82	.80	5.55
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

TABLE 31
MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS OF FEMALE JUVENILES
REFERRED TO DISTRICT COURTS* IN COLORADO
BY AREA AND AS PERCENT IN EACH CULTURAL GROUP, JUNE-DECEMBER 1965**

	URBAN			OUT STATE		
	ADAMS, ARAPAHOE, DENVER, JEFFERSON			ALL OTHER COUNTIES		
	Spanish Surnamed 220 or 43.73% of urban	Other White 198 or 39.36% of urban	Negro 85 or 16.90% of urban	Spanish Surnamed 28 or 25.00% of out state	Other White 80 or 71.43% of out state	Negro 4 or 3.57% of out state
Marital Status	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group	% of this group
Married	34.12	40.93	44.71	50.00	57.50	-
Separated	24.64	10.88	17.65	7.14	8.75	25.00
Separated:						
Death-Father	4.74	7.77	5.88	17.86	5.00	50.00
Death-Mother	1.42	1.55	2.35	7.14	5.00	-
Divorced	21.33	32.12	15.29	17.86	23.75	25.00
Never Married	13.27	6.74	14.12	-	-	-
Other	.47	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

*18 of 22 District Courts reporting

**Denver data includes total year

SOURCE: Colorado Court Report of Juvenile Referral Forms

Table 32 summarizes the reasons given for referring the male juvenile cases. Again, it is important to discover any discriminating patterns that might give us a clue as to the high rate of Spanish-surnamed boys on referral. It is difficult without more sophisticated statistical analysis to determine levels of significant difference, but only a few categories appear to have possibilities. Burglary is a more prevalent reason among the Spanish-surnamed over the Other White group especially in the Out-State area. We cannot suggest a clear reason for this discrepancy unless it is again a reflection of economic deprivation which leads to acquisitive crimes.

The data on females as reported on table 33 also fails to give us clear evidence of differences which might account for the startling difference of recorded delinquency between Spanish-surnamed and Other White females. Some of the differences in the data are interesting but inconclusive.

All in all, the data provided by the Report of Juvenile Referral Forms have great potential for sophisticated and continuous analysis of juvenile delinquency in Colorado. This first sampling was incomplete and information was unevenly recorded on the forms, but, if court officials can be convinced of the importance of ongoing research, it is possible that future research of the data provided may give us some insights into the causes of delinquency and especially the differential and disproportionate rates among Spanish-surnamed youth.

Differing reasons for commitment of inmates at the Colorado State Penitentiary for 1962 are summarized on Charts 2, 3, and 4. These charts represent the research by Bernard Valdez, as previously cited. The differential rates for various crimes as recorded between Spanish-surnamed and Other persons are graphically portrayed and may give us insights into the causes of the overall disproportionate presence of Spanish-surnamed persons in this correctional institution. We were unable to develop any conclusions from this data. A much more thorough analysis of individual cases is necessary.

The Operation of the Law

It is possible, and worth consideration, that differential rates of recorded juvenile delinquency between Spanish-surnamed and Other White boys and girls, or high crime rates for Spanish-surnamed in all age groups, can not be rationalized by statistical analysis of socio-economic and diagnostic data. It may be that patterns of law enforcement or social discrimination is overstating the case.

In the first place, it is commonly believed, and nowhere convincingly refuted, that police surveillance is much more extensive in the residential areas of the lower economic class. There may be sound reasons for this such as the presence in those areas of valuable commercial or industrial properties, or past crime patterns, but for whatever the reason, frequency of patrols in these areas is bound to apprehend a greater proportion of those groups who live in these areas. This includes violations and suspected violations for

TABLE 32

REASONS FOR REFERRAL OF MALE JUVENILES REFERRED TO DISTRICT COURTS* IN COLORADO BY AREA AND AS PERCENT IN EACH CULTURAL GROUP, JUNE-DECEMBER 1965**

	URBAN ADAMS, ARAPAHOE DENVER, JEFFERSON			OUT STATE ALL OTHER COUNTIES		
	Spanish Surname	Other White	Negro	Spanish Surname	Other White	Negro
Number in group →	498	642	282	145	378	36
Percent of area →	35.02%	45.15%	19.83%	25.94%	67.62%	6.44%
Reason for Referral	% of group	% of group	% of group	% of group	% of group	% of group
Auto Theft	1.72	2.12	3.02	1.41	4.86	-
Joy Riding	10.97	14.22	16.23	4.93	6.49	-
Car Prowl or Strip	2.15	3.27	1.51	1.41	1.89	..-
Gas Theft	-	.65	-	2.11	5.14	2.86
Burglary	22.80	18.63	29.06	21.13	12.70	28.57
B. & E. and Vandalism	.43	.82	.38	5.63	.54	-
Larceny, Grand	1.72	1.96	1.51	6.35	4.86	5.71
Larceny, Petty	13.33	12.42	16.98	11.27	14.32	31.43
Assault, Aggravated	1.72	.82	3.02	.70	.54	2.86
Assault and Battery	2.80	1.96	1.51	2.11	1.89	5.71
Runaway	2.58	1.96	1.13	2.82	4.32	2.86
Drunk	3.66	1.32	.38	3.52	2.16	-
Habitual Truancy	3.23	3.10	.75	.70	1.09	2.86
Vandalism	3.66	2.61	1.51	5.63	8.11	2.86
Beyond Parental Control	3.23	8.17	3.02	.70	2.70	2.86
Disturbance	2.37	1.47	.75	7.75	3.78	2.86
Possession of Intoxicants	.22	.98	-	8.45	6.49	-
Other Mischief	2.58	5.07	1.13	3.52	7.57	-
Abuse	.43	1.14	3.02	-	-	-
All others - each under 3%	20.43	17.23	15.09	9.86	10.54	8.57
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

*18 of 22 District Courts reporting
**Denver data includes total year

SOURCE: Reports of Juvenile Referrals

TABLE 33
REASONS FOR REFERRAL OF FEMALE JUVENILES REFERRED TO DISTRICT COURTS* IN
COLORADO BY AREA AND AS PERCENT IN EACH CULTURAL GROUP, JUNE-DECEMBER, 1965**

	URBAN ADAMS, ARAPAHOE DENVER, JEFFERSON			OUT STATE ALL OTHER COUNTIES		
	Spanish Surname -- 220	Other White 198	Negro 85	Spanish Surname 28	Other White 80	Negro 4
Reason for Referral	% of group	% of group	% of group	% of group	% of group	% of group
Auto Theft	-	3.65	1.18	3.57	-	-
Joy Riding	2.76	.52	7.06	-	-	-
Burglary	4.15	4.17	5.88	7.14	3.85	25.00
Larceny, Grand	.46	-	-	10.71	2.56	-
Larceny, Petty	7.83	7.81	15.29	17.86	10.26	-
Assault, Simple	1.38	-	-	3.57	-	-
Assault and Battery	1.38	-	4.71	-	-	-
Runaway	17.05	19.79	5.88	17.86	17.95	75.00
Drunk	3.23	-	-	3.57	1.28	-
Habitual Truancy	5.99	3.65	3.53	14.29	3.85	-
Sex	.46	1.04	1.18	-	3.85	-
Beyond Parental Control	24.88	31.77	16.47	14.29	16.67	-
Curfew Violation	.92	-	7.06	-	-	-
Disturbance	3.23	-	2.35	-	2.56	-
Possession of Intoxicants	-	-	-	7.14	14.10	-
Other Mischief	1.38	1.56	-	-	7.69	-
Abandonment	3.23	3.65	3.53	-	-	-
Abuse	.92	4.17	10.59	-	-	-
Custody	.92	1.56	3.53	-	1.28	-
Supervision	4.15	2.08	2.35	-	-	-
Inadequate Care	1.84	3.65	4.71	-	3.85	-
All other - each under 3%	13.80	10.92	4.13	-	10.24	-
Totals	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

*18 of 22 District Courts reporting
 **Denver data includes total year

SOURCE: REPORTS OF JUVENILE REFERRALS

which a police dispatcher would not bother to send out a patrol car in an upper-economic level neighborhood. The tendency to stop and question and accuse is often greater among law enforcement officers when they are working in economically deprived areas.

Another special problem of the Spanish-surnamed person is the low frequency of Spanish-surnamed policemen on police forces throughout the State. In our survey, reported on table 15 of this study, we discovered that in each group of municipalities, grouped by size of Spanish-surnamed population, the median percent of Spanish-surnamed policemen was zero. Even in the City and County of Denver, out of 821 police personnel only 14, or 1.71 percent, were Spanish-surnamed. This is an unfortunate situation. It often denies the Spanish-surnamed population a sympathetic and understandable hearing before the law; and can create, in the minds of that population, a feeling that the law is alien to its people. The presence of Spanish-surnamed policemen on local forces would also contribute to the attitude needed among Spanish-surnamed youth that they belong to a culture which has accepted them and offers them equal employment opportunity.

Once arrested there is no doubt that an economically deprived or minority person has a greater chance of being convicted. Short of education and funds he may not be aware of his rights or be able to afford the legal counsel necessary for his defense. The Spanish-surnamed defendant, who is often poor, is at a decided disadvantage before the bar of justice. The establishment of a Public Defender in Denver was a great step forward to equal justice for the indigent in Denver. The public defender system should be vastly expanded in Colorado if the Spanish-surnamed and others who find themselves economically disadvantaged are also to find justice.

Investigations conducted by the Commission on Spanish-surnamed citizens throughout the State indicate there are real problems of due process in many communities. The controversies in Fort Lupton during the summer of 1966 and in Pueblo in 1965 indicate that serious problems of unfair law enforcement may well exist in relation to Spanish-surnamed citizens. For example, in Fort Lupton Spanish-speaking migrant workers were arraigned without an interpreter present and counsel was unavailable in the town even if the defendant could afford it.

Many charges have been made by leaders of the Spanish-surnamed community that police brutality and discrimination exist against the Spanish-surnamed citizen. Pueblo was the center of a storm recently involving charges of discrimination against the police chief there. This research staff could not possibly investigate these numerous charges and pass judgement, but we heard much testimony to the effect that many Spanish-surnamed persons believe that the law is discriminating against them.

It is imperative that machinery be established to investigate and pass judgement on alleged cases of police discrimination and injustice. If rumors persist and no recourse is open frustration and disrespect or contempt for the law can develop. The Governor has established a Respect for the Law Committee.

There can be no real respect for the law by Spanish-surnamed individuals if they believe the law is abusing them if it is true or not. One of the most useful projects that the Governor's Committee could initiate to develop more respect for the law would be to have itself empowered, or have some other group empowered, to investigate charges of police brutality or injustice within the law. It may be that the Colorado Civil Rights Commission's powers should be widened legislatively so as to allow it to investigate charges of discrimination within law enforcement.

The burden of bail is another injustice which falls heavily upon the Spanish-surnamed person who comes before the bar of justice. As Ronald Goldfarb charges in his recent book on the bail system:

The American bail system is a scandal. It typifies what is worst and most cynical about our system of justice. It discriminates against the poor, against those who advocate or represent unpopular courses of action. It compromises and prostitutes the administration of justice by the courts. It is not only unfair; it is illogical; it does not even work well. The bail system is to a great degree a socially contemned ransom of people and of justice for no good reason.⁴⁴

It was discovered in Fort Lupton last summer that the bail system effectively worked as a fine system inasmuch as forfeiture action occurred in a cloud of ignorance on the part of the uneducated worker who felt he had no recourse.

The bail system clearly discriminates and punishes the poor. The affluent can easily put up their bail and buy their freedom; the poor often do not have the price of the bail bond. The average amount of bail is about \$500, and the average premium for a bail bond is \$25 to \$50 which is 5 percent or 10 percent of the amount of the bond.⁴⁵ Many of the Spanish-surnamed poor cannot raise this sum and must remain in jail. By remaining in jail he loses his earnings and often his job. His family suffers and may be actually pushed onto welfare. All of this happens before the man is tried.

An example involving a Colorado Spanish-surnamed person was cited nationally in Goldfarb's book when he quoted testimony of Congressman McVicker before a Congressional Committee:

In Adams County, Colorado, last year a twenty-one-year-old with no criminal record was accused of assaulting an officer of the law. He was arrested, and bail was set at \$10,000. Unable to afford the cost of this bail, he was imprisoned for eight months. Later the policeman confessed that he had falsely accused the defendant. . . . this twenty-one-year-old youth had lost much--his time, his good name, the companionship of his family, and the money he might have earned had the bail system in Colorado excluded an irrelevant but now controlling factor--namely, the financial status of the accused.⁴⁶

Alternatives to the bail system should be found. Surely the practice of releasing defendants on personal recognizance is a sound approach and has worked well in Denver. It should be expanded to all jurisdictions. In

addition there should be launched a full scale study on the bail system in Colorado with evaluations of alternative programs attempted in other states.

Remedial and Preventative

This is an area of vast scope but it should be stated that remedial probation and counseling services must be expanded if the problem of crime among the Spanish-surnamed is to be reduced. The almost total absence in Colorado of Spanish-speaking psychologists and probation officers is a serious problem that must be overcome.

VI. HEALTH

Physical Health

From our knowledge of the poverty which exists in the Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado it should come as no shock to discover the health standards within this same population are lower than for that of the general population. It is generally conceded within the literature that poverty and ill health are closely related. A further discussion of this hypothesis will be made later.

There is considerable evidence that the health of the general Spanish-surnamed population in Colorado is poor. Unfortunately, this generalization cannot be completely documented by factual data because most health data and hospital records do not identify Spanish-surnamed patients as such. It would have been possible to go through individual case records, and identify and analyze the data, but this would have been a monumental task far beyond the scope of this study. It is highly recommended that steps be taken to include ethnic classifications on all health records so as to facilitate research and corss-item analysis.

Nevertheless our generalization about the general ill-health of the Spanish-surnamed population was validated by (1) previous research, (2) interviews with medical officials, and (3) analysis of mortality statistics. Notably, the study done by Lyle Saunders in 1954 establishes a convincing case of the ill-health of Spanish-surnamed⁴⁷ persons in the southwest, including Colorado, especially in the rural setting.

Our major effort to document the health differential between Spanish-surnamed and the Other population of Colorado was the analysis of mortality statistics. The Colorado Department of Public Health does not identify ethnic background in its vital statistics, either in reports or in individual case data. However, through the cooperation of Dr. Donald Davids of the Department of Public Health's Statistics Section, all death index cards for 1960 were duplicated and made available for analysis. These cards numbered 16,320, the total of deaths recorded in Colorado in 1960. The year 1960 was selected because the data could be related in a general way to the base population statistics available from the 1960 census.

The index cards were then interpreted to get a print-out of the name punched on the card. The name on the card provided the basis for separating the cards manually according to "Spanish-surname" and "Other." This separation produced a count of 1,194 Spanish-surnamed mortalities in 1960 or 7.32 percent of the total, and a count of 15,126 Other mortalities or 92.68 percent of the total. The fact that the 7.32 percent figure for Spanish-surnamed is lower than their percent in the total population in 1960 (8.96) is reflective of the greater cluster of the Spanish-surnamed population below the age of 20 years in 1960. However, the difference in these two percents is less than we would normally expect when we see that in all the age groups under 20 years the Spanish-surnamed percent is close to 12 percent and over 35 years less than 6 percent. This means that the mortality records in 1960 must include a disproportionate number of Spanish-surnamed young persons. Our later analysis

supports this conclusion.

After separating the death index cards by ethnic group, they were further separated into age groups. If time had permitted, a further separation into geographic area groups might have proved useful for analysis. Several statistical items were tabulated by the computer for each group but only "Cause of Death" is recorded as significant for this study.

Table 34 summarizes our findings on causes of death for all age groups in 1960. This table also records that in 1960 of all persons who died after age one the average age at death for Spanish-surnamed persons was 56.73 years as compared to an average age at death for Others of 67.46 years. This is not a valid statistic of life expectancy but it does show that as of 1960, Spanish-surnamed Coloradans were dying, on the average, 11 years earlier than Others. A closer inspection of the data will give some indications if this discrepancy is due to poorer health or higher accident rates.

Column 4 of table 34 indicates what percent of deaths for the specified cause was Spanish-surnamed. Column 7 gives the percent figure for all Other persons. Roughly, we can conclude that if the Spanish-surnamed percent of a cause is over 12 percent (the highest percent for Spanish-surnamed in the population for any age group) there is a higher incidence of Spanish-surnamed for that cause than we might normally expect if no differences between the groups existed. Of course this is conservative because some of the causes are generally associated with age ranges in which the Spanish-surnamed population is much less than 12 percent. (50 years and over, for example, is around 6 percent.)

A closer look at column 4 shows that Spanish-surnamed make up a disproportionately higher percent of those persons dying of Rheumatic heart disease, Motor Vehicle accidents, Auto--Pedestrian accidents, Birth defects with prematurity, Other Birth causes, and Other Birth causes with prematurity. On the other hand, Spanish-surnamed make up a disproportionately smaller percent (less than 5 percent) of those persons dying of Other heart disease, Vascular lesions, Arteriosclerosis, and Emphysema. We will defer any attempt to interpret these differences until we look at the more meaningful age data on table 35, but column 3 reveals the causal patterns from another perspective. Column 3 shows what percent of all Spanish-surnamed deaths were ascribed to each cause. These percents should be compared to column 6 which gives similar tabulations for the Other population. Where a percent is higher in column 3 than it is in column 6 we can roughly conclude that that cause of death is more prevalent among the Spanish-surnamed. The range of difference may be misleading because, again, we do not have the age data on this table.

In addition to the predominal causes of Spanish-surnamed death which emerge from comparing column 4 and 7, Pneumonia is significant in comparing columns 3 and 6. This might indicate that the 12 percent of population cut-off point was too high for determining disproportionateness. High rates in columns 3 and 6 for both ethnic groups indicate that this is a problem of all Coloradans no matter what their nationality background.

The three pages of table 35 give a much more detailed analysis of the problem. By isolating those causes associated with age, a more meaningful

TABLE 34

CAUSE OF DEATH AND MEAN AGE AT DEATH OF SPANISH-SURNAMED AND OTHER PERSONS
IN ALL AGE GROUPS IN COLORADO, 1960

Cause of Death	SPANISH-SURNAMED				OTHER		
	(1) Total No. of Deaths	(2) No. of Deaths	(3) % of all S.S. deaths	(4) S.S. Deaths as % all deaths this cause	(5) No. of Deaths	(6) % of all other deaths	(7) Other Deaths as % of all deaths this cause
Rheumatic heart disease	6	1	.08	16.67	5	.03	83.33
Other heart disease	5587	233	19.51	4.16	5354	35.40	95.83
Malignant neoplasms	2361	143	11.97	6.06	2218	14.66	93.94
Vascular lesions	1670	81	6.78	4.85	1589	10.50	95.15
Motor Vehicle	419	70	5.86	16.71	349	2.30	83.29
Auto - Pedestrian	42	9	.75	21.43	33	.21	78.57
Other accidents	57	3	.25	5.26	54	.35	94.74
Influenza	65	5	.41	7.69	60	.39	92.31
Pneumonia	849	92	7.70	10.84	757	5.00	89.16
At Birth							
Birth defects--							
Asphyxiation and							
Infection	106	12	1.00	11.32	94	.62	88.68
Same cause with							
prematurity	327	65	5.44	19.88	262	1.73	80.12
Other causes	260	62	5.19	23.85	198	1.30	76.15
Other causes with							
prematurity	127	24	2.01	18.90	103	.68	81.10
Arteriosclerosis	412	17	1.42	4.13	395	2.61	95.87
Other diseases of the							
circulatory system	263	14	1.17	5.32	249	1.64	94.68
Suicide	257	15	1.25	5.84	242	1.59	94.16
Emphysema	209	5	.41	2.39	204	1.34	97.61
All other causes	3303	343	28.72	10.39	2960	19.56	89.61
Totals	16320	1194	100.00	7.32	15126	100.00	92.68

Mean age at death of persons
living more than one year.

SOURCE: Colorado Department of Public Health Records

SPANISH-SURNAME 56.73
OTHER 67.46

TABLE 35

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF DEATHS BY CAUSE OF SPANISH-SURNAMED AND OTHER PERSONS
IN VARIOUS AGE GROUPS IN COLORADO, 1960

Age at Death	5 or less						6 - 15 years					
	TOTAL DEATHS THIS AGE	SPANISH-SURNAMED			OTHER		TOTAL DEATHS THIS AGE	SPANISH-SURNAMED			OTHER	
		No. of deaths	% of all S.S. deaths	% of all deaths this cause	No. of deaths	% of all other deaths		No. of deaths	% of all S.S. deaths	% of all deaths this cause	No. of deaths	% of all other deaths
CAUSE	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rheumatic heart disease	0	0	-	-	0	-	2	1	2.43	50.00	1	.66
Other heart diseases	5	0	-	-	5	.43	2	0	-	-	2	1.33
Malignant Neoplasms	21	1	.32	4.76	20	1.73	23	4	9.75	17.39	19	12.66
Vascular lesions	6	2	.65	33.33	4	.34	3	0	-	-	3	2.00
Motor vehicle	24	6	1.96	25.00	18	1.55	25	7	17.07	28.00	18	12.00
Auto-Pedestrian	7	2	.65	28.57	5	.43	4	2	4.87	50.00	2	1.33
Other accidents	1	0	-	-	1	.08	1	1	2.43	100.00	0	-
Influenza	7	2	.65	28.57	5	.43	1	0	-	-	1	.66
Pneumonia	99	36	11.76	36.37	63	5.45	10	2	4.87	20.00	8	5.33
At Birth												
Birth defects-												
Asphyxiation and												
Infection	106	12	3.92	11.32	94	8.14						
Same cause with												
prematurity	327	65	21.24	19.88	262	22.70						
Other causes	260	62	20.26	23.84	198	17.15						
Other causes with												
prematurity	127	24	7.84	18.90	103	8.92						
Arteriosclerosis	0	0	-	-	0	-	0	0	-	-	0	-
Other diseases of the												
circulatory system	1	0	-	-	1	.08	2	0	-	-	2	1.33
Suicide	0	0	-	-	0	-	5	2	4.87	40.00	3	2.00
Emphysema	0	0	-	-	0	-	1	0	-	-	1	.66
All other causes	469	94	30.71	20.04	375	32.49	112	22	53.65	19.65	90	60.00
Totals	1460	306	100.00	20.96	1154	100.00	191	41	100.00	21.47	150	100.00

SOURCE: Colorado Department of Public Health Records

TABLE 35 (continued)

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF DEATHS BY CAUSE OF SPANISH-SURNAMED AND OTHER PERSONS
IN VARIOUS AGE GROUPS IN COLORADO, 1960

Age at Death	16 - 25 years						26 - 45 years					
	TOTAL DEATHS THIS AGE	SPANISH-SURNAMED			OTHER		TOTAL DEATHS THIS AGE	SPANISH-SURNAMED			OTHER	
		No. of deaths	% of S.S. deaths	% of all deaths this cause	No. of deaths	% of Other deaths		No. of deaths	% of S.S. deaths	% of all deaths this cause	No. of deaths	% of Other deaths
CAUSE	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rheumatic heart disease	0	0	-	-	0	-	0	0	-	-	0	-
Other heart diseases	13	1	1.96	7.69	12	4.51	208	10	9.09	4.81	198	19.56
Malignant neoplasms	20	1	1.96	5.00	19	7.14	195	9	8.18	4.62	186	18.37
Vascular lesions	8	0	-	-	8	3.00	47	5	4.54	10.64	42	4.15
Motor Vehicle	114	22	43.13	19.30	92	34.58	116	16	14.54	13.79	100	9.88
Auto-Pedestrian	2	0	-	-	2	.75	4	0	-	-	4	.39
Other accidents	10	0	-	-	10	3.75	33	0	-	-	33	3.26
Influenza	1	0	-	-	1	.37	3	0	-	-	3	.29
Pneumonia	3	0	-	-	3	1.12	43	9	8.18	20.93	34	3.35
Arteriosclerosis	0	0	-	-	0	-	0	0	-	-	0	-
Other diseases of the circulatory system	3	0	-	-	3	1.12	20	2	1.81	10.00	18	1.77
Suicide	19	0	-	-	19	7.14	98	11	10.00	11.22	87	8.59
Emphysema	0	0	-	-	0	-	5	0	-	-	5	.49
All other causes	97	27	52.94	27.84	97	36.46	350	48	43.63	13.71	302	29.84
Totals	290	51	100.00	17.59	266	100.00	1122	110	100.00	9.80	1012	100.00

SOURCE: Colorado Department of Public Health Records

TABLE 35 (continued)

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF DEATHS BY CAUSE OF SPANISH-SURNAMED AND OTHER PERSONS
IN VARIOUS AGE GROUPS IN COLORADO, 1960

Age at Death	46 - 108 years					
	TOTAL DEATHS THIS AGE	SPANISH-SURNAMED		OTHER		
CAUSE	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		No. of deaths	% of all S.S. deaths	% of all deaths this cause	No. of deaths	% of all Other deaths
Rheumatic heart disease	4	0	-	-	4	.03
Other heart diseases	5358	222	32.36	4.14	5136	40.95
Malignant neoplasms	2102	128	18.65	6.09	1974	15.73
Vascular lesions	1606	74	10.78	4.61	1532	12.21
Motor Vehicle	140	19	2.76	13.57	121	.96
Auto - Pedestrian	25	5	.72	20.00	20	.15
Other accidents	12	2	.29	16.67	10	.07
Influenza	53	3	.43	5.66	50	.39
Pneumonia	693	45	6.55	6.49	648	5.16
Arteriosclerosis	412	17	2.47	4.13	395	3.14
Other diseases of the circulatory system	237	12	1.74	5.06	225	1.79
Suicide	135	2	.29	1.48	133	1.06
Emphysema	203	5	.72	2.46	198	1.57
All other causes	2248	152	22.15	6.76	2096	16.71
Totals	13228	684	100.00	5.17	12542	100.00

SOURCE: Colorado Department of Public Health Records

picture emerges in comparing causes of death between the Spanish-surnamed and Other population. Although table 2 of this general report uses different age ranges than does table 35, it can serve as a guide in determining at what percent a cause of death rate for Spanish-surnamed persons becomes disproportionate. For the "5 or less" years group a 12 percent figure might well serve as the maximum level of disproportionateness in column 4. Table 35 does not give a percent of each cause for the Other population but it is the complement of the percent appearing in column 4.

In the "5 or less" age group, column 4 shows that of all deaths caused by Vascular lesions, Motor Vehicle accidents, Auto--Pedestrian accidents, Influenza, Pneumonia, and all Birth problems, Spanish-surnamed individuals account for a very disproportionately high percent. The sample for Vascular lesions is very small and is indeterminate, but the rates for the Other causes are disturbing. As later data points out, auto vehicle accidents are more prevalent among Spanish-surnamed persons at adult age levels, and hence this high incidence at infancy is merely a reflection of that fact. This will be discussed with adult deaths.

The sample for Influenza, again, may be too small to draw conclusions, but the rate of death from Pneumonia is of serious concern. The data says that over one-third of all infant deaths from Pneumonia are Spanish-surnamed; a rate three times as great as one would expect from the population distribution. This high incidence of pneumonia could be reflecting the poor living conditions and medical care of most Spanish-surnamed families living in poverty.

Birth deaths among the Spanish-surnamed is disproportionately high (about twice the expected rate) and highest in prematurity. The number of deaths due to prematurity could be a clear indicator of poor prenatal care associated with the poor. A study done at Denver General Hospital of 2,057 births showed that perinatal mortality per 100 births was only 3.7 when mothers had received prenatal care and 9.5 when mothers had not received prenatal care.⁴⁸ It is interesting that in comparing columns 3 and 6 of table 35, the rates within each group for specified causes, the comparison shows that about the same percent of both population groups die at birth but that twice as many Spanish-surnamed, as Other deaths, are from Pneumonia. This might indicate that the lack of medical care after birth is much more significant than lack of medical care before birth.

Another study done at the Denver General Hospital seems to show conclusively that income status (and related medical care) and not cultural or ethnic group determines infant mortality. Based on consecutive births from October 1964, to December 1965, the perinatal mortality per 100 births for all birth weights was almost identical for the three groups studied, Anglo, Spanish-surnamed, and Negro. The rates were: Anglo--4.9, Spanish-surnamed--4.8, and Negro--4.3.⁴⁹ It is generally conceded that admissions at Denver General for maternity generally represent a rather homogeneous economic class. In other words, when economic level is held more or less constant, perinatal mortality rates are the same. The implication of this is that the difference in birth deaths between Spanish-surnamed and Other on table 35 is related to

the economic deprivation of the Spanish-surnamed and little else. In the Denver General Hospital study cited above, about 81 percent of the mothers in each ethnic group were receiving prenatal care, again showing the uniform relationship between income, medical care, and good health.

Another conclusion that could be suggested from the data on the "5 or less" age group is that the high mortality of Spanish-surnamed infants may, with the exception of auto accidents, be a reflection of a lower resistance to disease developing out of weakness at birth, due either to lack of prenatal care or dietary deficiency of the mother.

In general, relatively few children die between 6 and 15 years of age so this group in the data has a small sample which makes analysis difficult. Again, however, the role of auto accidents among Spanish-surnamed is strikingly disproportionate. The percent of death due to Malignant neoplasms is also disproportionate, but since this cause of death does not emerge as significant in other age groups the incidence here is probably due to chance factors in a small sample. In the totals of this age group the tabulation shows that 21.47 percent of all deaths were Spanish-surnamed, twice the estimated percent of Spanish-surnamed persons in this total age group population.

The "16-25 years" age group tabulations show some interesting findings. Almost 20 percent of all motor vehicle accident deaths in this age group are Spanish-surnamed; again almost twice the percent to be expected from the age group population pattern. More striking is the fact that of all Spanish-surnamed deaths in this age group, 43.13 percent were caused by auto accidents.

The high rate of death due to auto accidents in all age groups of Spanish-surnamed persons is probably not a health problem, although poor reaction time, poor eyesight, poor hearing and such could contribute. This high rate of fatal accidents, however, is cause for deep concern. One factor may be related to income; that is, the use, by the poor, of older autos, with poorer equipment, which are accident prone. Another income related factor is that Spanish-surnamed youngsters, coming often from poor families where no car is present, do not get the experience and familiarity with cars at an early age. Since many Spanish-surnamed children drop-out of school they have no opportunity for formal driver training. In view of this tragic and useless loss of life and its obvious relation to Colorado's awesome highway death toll, special research should be undertaken to get at the root of the auto accident rate of Spanish-surnamed persons.

It is interesting that in this age group no Spanish-surnamed youth died of accidents other than motor vehicle. On the other hand, the youth of the Other population attributed almost 4 percent of its total deaths to this cause. No explanation is offered.

The complete absence of suicide among Spanish-surnamed in this age group as compared to over 7 percent of all deaths for the Other group is fascinating. Yet, if we look to the "26 - 45 years" age group, the Spanish-surnamed percent of total suicides is 4 or 5 percentage points above the

Spanish-surnamed population in this age group. Much more psychological research is needed to explain this, but one possible explanation could be that, as was suggested in the section on education, young Spanish-surnamed persons still aspire to, and have hopes of attaining, prevailing American value goals and do not feel extreme alienation from society. However, by the time a Spanish-surnamed person reaches his late twenties he is feeling the awful realities of economic failure, discrimination, and general alienation associated with the causes of suicide.

Over 27 percent of the deaths due to "other causes" were Spanish-surnamed and this cause contributed to 52 percent of all Spanish-surnamed deaths. These other causes range over one hundred possibilities and no one cause was significant. These figures do, however, along with the total percent for all deaths of 17.59 percent, indicate the disproportionate overall death rate for Spanish-surnamed persons in this age group.

In the "26-45 years" age group Vascular lesions (a general category related to the circulatory system), Pneumonia, and Suicide begin to take a disproportionate toll of Spanish-surnamed adults. No medical explanation was available for the high incidence of Vascular lesions among Spanish-surnamed adults and an attempt was made above to explain the suicide rate. However, there is much to suggest that the high incidence of Pneumonia (almost three times the expected percent from a 7 percent population) is related to the poverty diet, housing, and medical care of many in the Spanish-surnamed population.

It is interesting that the Spanish-surnamed adult has few fatal encounters with Arteriosclerosis (hardening of the arteries) and Emphysema. Both of these maladies may be related to affluence. There is a growing conviction among medical authorities that arteriosclerosis is related to high fat and "rich" diets, and that emphysema is related to extensive cigarette smoking, two luxuries most Spanish-surnamed persons cannot afford. However, it is possible that some emphysema among Spanish-surnamed persons is incorrectly diagnosed as pneumonia at death because there was no history of treatment.

It is probable that if the disproportionate auto death cause was reduced for Spanish-surnamed persons in the "26-45 years" age group, the total death rate for this group would be proportionate to its population. One might then say that the health of the Spanish-surnamed group would be comparable to the Other group. What the Spanish-surnamed lost in pneumonia because of his poverty he would gain in emphysema and arteriosclerosis.

In all age groups the Spanish-surnamed group shows a lower incidence of fatal malignant neoplasms (generally a cancerous condition) than the Other population group. Undoubtedly some of this difference can be explained by incomplete diagnosis of ailments among the poor, but if this does not account for the total difference, this difference might be worthy of scrutiny for cancer research.

The last age group analyzed on table 35 is "46-108 years" (the oldest person dying in 1960 was Spanish-surnamed at 108 years). Accidents seem to

be the only cause of death that seems to be significantly disproportionate for the Spanish-surnamed in this age group. In fact, if accidents could be reduced for the Spanish-surnamed group it might be possible to state that Spanish-surnamed persons would have a lower death rate due to health causes. What this might imply is that if a Spanish-surnamed person can survive the disadvantages of poor diet, housing, and poor health care, generally associated with his population, and reach 45 he probably represents an inherently stronger physical constitution which could better endure the disabilities of old age.

The total general analysis of these mortality data leaves the inescapable conclusion that death rates are disproportionately high for the Spanish-surnamed population for all age groups, but especially for birth causes associated with prematurity and for all causes related to poverty and poor health care.

It must be kept in mind that mortality statistics do not necessarily reflect the total health of a population. Much poor health does not result in death for a particular cause and health disabilities can stay with a person throughout his life which may be long. Much more research is needed to determine the health deficiencies and health needs of the Spanish-surnamed population. A large amount of the information is present in admission records of our hospitals, but unfortunately most of this information is buried in individual records which cannot be easily researched or tabulated. Even data which may be readily available does not often identify patients by ethnic group, income, and other socio-economic information which can lead the researcher to meaningful analysis.

The Department of Public Health does require hospitals to make periodic reports on certain communicable diseases. It would be a great asset to medical and health research if the state would also require reports on cause for admissions to our many government and private hospitals. Such reports could be made on standardized data collection forms which could be transferred to data processing cards.

Even this major effort would not do the job completely. Most health problems get no further than the doctor's office and even more, especially among the poor, never get beyond the person afflicted or his personal acquaintances. Doctors could be asked to submit additional reports, and attempts should be made to more effectively poll the health needs of our population. Neighborhood clinics and schools are doing a creditable job of identifying health needs but expansion is needed. Operation Headstart has made outstanding contributions in getting children examined early to ward off complications. To a major extent the health needs of the Spanish-surnamed population must be discovered and met where they exist--in the neighborhoods. Much of the Spanish-surnamed population is located in the poverty slums of Colorado and experience in Denver has indicated that these people are reluctant to go to the distant and unfamiliar clinics of the public hospitals.

The concept of the recently established Neighborhood Health Center at 29th and Welton in Denver, although now serving a predominant Negro area, holds great and exciting potential for the Spanish-surnamed population. The recent decision by the Denver Board of Health to establish a second center in near west Denver will go a long way in assessing and meeting the health needs

of a large group of Spanish-surnamed persons. The present Neighborhood Health Center has been an unqualified success in reaching the people in that area who need medical help but who cannot afford it. Over 45 percent of the people in the eight census tracts it serves have availed themselves of the Center's services in the short nine months the Center has been in operation.

A side benefit but vital adjunct to the Neighborhood Health Center's operation is the use of local people on its staff. It is inspiring to observe uneducated and poverty-stricken persons working with new enthusiasm and purpose in an operation which is serving their community. This kind of involvement by those Spanish-surnamed persons who have had a bad start in life can do much in developing confidence and a worthy self-image necessary for breaking out of the poverty cycle. The Denver Board of Health and Hospitals' decision to also establish satellite health stations in low income neighborhoods must be commended. As we saw from our birth and infant mortality statistics, maternity and infant care centers are badly needed. Most of the funding for these new and much-needed facilities comes from the Federal government. In addition the State of Colorado should initiate its own programs for expanding the Neighborhood Health Center concept into all the areas of the State where sizeable Spanish-surnamed populations exist.

Mental Health

Mental health, like physical health, can be associated with income levels and as such it is a problem for the Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado. As Michael Harrington points out, the notion that mental illness is a disease of the affluent is false.⁵⁰ The disadvantaged are more likely to be mentally ill than the middle and upper class. Holingshead and Redlich found the following relationships between mental illness and social classes in their study of New Haven, Connecticut.⁵¹

The social class breakdown goes from the upper class (I) to the lower class (V). The rates are for cases of mental illness per 100,000 population by class. In the first column the rates are for patients who entered treatment for the first time between June 1, 1950, and December 1, 1950. The second column shows re-entry of former patients from treatment during the same period. Column III shows the number of patients who were in treatment before June 1, and remained in treatment throughout the period under study.

Class	Rate Column I	Rate Column II	Rate Column III
I - II	97	88	368
III	114	68	346
IV	89	59	516
V	139	123	1406
All classes	104	76	638

In other words, the percentage of people from the lower class who were under treatment was four times as great as the percentage of the people in

upper classes I and II, and more than two and a half times as great as lower middle class IV. The percentage entering treatment was approximately 50 percent higher in the lower class V than in Classes I, II, and IV, and the percentage returning for additional treatment shows approximately the same differences. The conclusion one must reach is that a higher percentage from class V enter treatment in the first place, more return for additional treatment, and more remain longer under treatment.

It is reasonable to expect that mental illness may be a problem of the Spanish-surnamed community in Colorado. The field of mental health is vast and specialized. It is not the purpose of this study to discuss mental health or its needs, but to attempt to ascertain to what extent mental health is a problem of the Spanish-surnamed person in Colorado. Like so much other data in Colorado, mental health reports rarely identify Spanish-surnamed as such, but fortunately the data is available in the records.

A few preliminary studies point out some general problems. Alcoholism is a serious problem with the Spanish-surnamed male and alcoholism is an aspect of mental illness. In July 1965, Dr. Nancy Wertheimer of the Fort Logan Health Center did a study on the Fort Logan Community with emphasis on subpopulation Differences in Disorder Patterns.⁵² Her analysis of the ethnic data available in the Center's records revealed a very high incidence among Spanish-surnamed patients. As she reported:

The most striking ethnic variations are the high alcoholism rate in the Spanish-American males, and the high schizophrenic rates in the non-white group,

Dr. Wertheimer suggests that the cause of this high rate is the so-called Spanish-American culture. As she states:

Specifically, the Spanish culture appears to encourage young men to drink and to defy law and authority as a way of proving their manhood. Thus, the young men are exposed early to over-indulgence in alcohol. Alcohol is offered by this culture to youth as a solution to a major emotional problem, the problem of growing up. It is worth noting that the Spanish-American alcoholic admissions at Fort Logan tend to occur at earlier ages than do other alcoholic admissions.⁵³

These interpretations of the data on alcoholism among the Spanish-surnamed seem to be too general to be valid for the composite group in the Denver area with Spanish-surnames. This researcher doubts their validity and suggests that the cultural factor has not been isolated sufficiently to warrant those generalizations. Dr. Wertheimer found alcoholism among Spanish-surnamed males to be inordinately high even when adjusted for income with other groups. The unknown variable should be isolated, but it is doubtful if it is the cultural trait of "manhood," or what is termed by other writers as "machismo." The younger ages of Spanish-surnamed male admissions might be a reflection of greater school drop-out rates.

Stan Boucher of the State Department of Institutions compared the percent of Spanish-surnamed populations in different counties in Colorado with the rates of other items in Colorado counties. His research, using the Pearson method of correlation, produced some interesting findings relevant to mental health. For example, counties with high percentages of Spanish-surnamed populations correlated positively with the following items:

1. Male admissions to State Mental Hospitals with organic problems
2. Male admissions to State Mental Hospitals for neurosis
3. Female admission to State Mental Hospitals for organic problems
4. Male admissions to State Mental Hospitals for all reasons
5. Male admissions to State Hospitals for alcoholism
6. Suicide rates
7. Death from cirrosis of the liver (good index of alcoholism)

On the other hand, Boucher found negative correlation with the same counties on the following items related to mental health:

1. Percent of minimum out patient mental health needs met
2. Actual number of mental health clinic hours per 1,000 persons

Paradoxically, the counties with the highest Spanish-surnamed populations showed significant mental health needs but offered the least facilities.

In order to analyze more detailed data on mental illness we decided to look at the records of one institution, the Fort Logan Mental Health Center. Through the cooperation and help of Dr. Paul Binner we were able to get data cards on all Fort Logan admissions since its establishment in 1961. Research facilities and records at Fort Logan are excellent. Fortunately the data were coded by cultural group and other significant socio-economic information. We established a simple program for the computer in order to check some variables we thought significant for cultural group analysis. The Fort Logan records, including the data we had to work with, hold possibilities for far more extensive research on the Spanish-surname population than we could attempt for this study. Further analysis should be encouraged. Also, the records on the local mental health clinics became available too late for our study but should prove a "gold-mine" for research on mental health and the Spanish-surnamed population.

Table 36 summarizes the Fort Logan findings from the general socio-economic data. Of all the admissions since 1961, Spanish-surnamed males made up 10.24 percent of all males and Spanish-surnamed females made up 4.53 percent of all the females. We could not accurately compare this to general population data because it would have been unwieldy to hold age groups, year of admission, and place of residence constant and each separately for admission data. However, using maximum population figures of the average age of 36 years for Spanish-surnamed males in the Denver area (table 2) we get about 7.50 percent. This means that the 10.24 percent admission figure for Spanish-surnamed males at Fort Logan is disproportionately high. On the other hand, the female figure is disproportionally low.

TABLE 36

GENERAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ALL PATIENTS
AT FORT LOGAN MENTAL HOSPITAL, BY CULTURAL GROUP AND SEX, 1961-1966

Characteristic	MALE			FEMALE		
	Spanish Surname	Negro	Other	Spanish Surname	Negro	Other
Number of Patients	481	136	4079	125	131	2053
Percent of all Patients--That Sex	10.24	2.90	86.86	4.53	4.74	90.72
Average Age	36.74	37.18	41.49	32.82	36.69	41.04
Average Education of Parents	8.67	10.18	11.47	9.22	10.73	11.51
Average Number of Children in Family	3.18	2.00	1.80	3.08	2.14	1.81
Average Family Income	\$1910.07	\$1679.73	\$3211.75	\$2182.67	\$1693.22	\$3044.73
Marital Status as Percent of Each Cultural and Sex Group						
Single	16.42	24.26	16.69	18.40	13.74	14.26
Married	44.49	31.61	41.35	41.60	39.69	45.26
Divorced	15.17	15.44	26.03	12.00	15.26	20.01
Separated	20.79	24.26	12.87	18.40	25.95	11.18
Widowed	3.11	4.41	2.96	9.60	5.34	9.14
Unknown	-	-	.07	-	-	-

SOURCE: Fort Logan Mental Health Center

In comparison with the "Other" population group we find both Spanish-surnamed males and females having:

1. lower average age
2. lower education of parents
3. larger families
4. lower incomes

In all categories the difference is substantial. It could be argued that the seeming socio-economic disadvantage of the Spanish-surnamed male accounts for his disproportionate presence at Fort Logan, but similar disadvantages among the Spanish-surnamed females reflect a disproportionate lower presence. Evidently, some other factor is operating against the socio-economic disadvantages of the Spanish-surnamed females to keep their admissions down. Our cursory research could not isolate the significant variable but this warrants further study.

Table 37 summarizes our findings pertaining to the diagnoses of all male patients admitted to Fort Logan up to the summer of 1966. The data are separated by cultural group. On table 36 it was shown that Spanish-surnamed persons made up 10.24 percent of all males at Fort Logan; hence, any percent over 10.24 in column 3 of table 37 would indicate a disproportionate number of Spanish-surnamed patients having that diagnosis. As the table reveals, only "Mental Deficiency" shows a substantially disproportionate presence of Spanish-surnamed but, as we can see in column 4, this diagnosis involves only .20 percent or one-fifth of one percent of all Spanish-surnamed males. The slight disproportionate increase for "personality disorder" does not appear to be statistically significant. Except for alcoholism, which is not clearly identified in this data, no other diagnostic difference seems to emerge between the male groups. We ran the data through the computer a second time isolating only those patients with incomes under \$1,500 but again our results did not reveal any different diagnostic patterns.

It would seem from our analysis that no "cultural" factors are working within the data to distinguish Spanish-surnamed from the Other group in nature of mental illness. The only significant difference is quantitative and this seems to be related to economic levels within the Spanish-surnamed population. It was interesting that when the male group was analyzed with income held constant below \$1,500, the gap from the Other males, in average age and education of parents, did not diminish.

It would seem from this data that the Spanish-surnamed persons in Colorado have about the same problems of mental illness as the general population with the exception of alcoholism. Where the Spanish-surnamed population shows a higher incidence of general mental illness, it probably is due to lower income levels. Much more research is needed, especially in the clinic areas outside the Fort Logan Community area.

One recommendation seems warranted and that is that mental health clinical facilities need expansion in low income areas of the State. Indirectly this should serve the special needs of the Spanish-surnamed community. The

TABLE 37

DIAGNOSTIC CLASSIFICATION OF ALL MALE PATIENTS AT FT. LOGAN MENTAL HOSPITAL
WITH NUMBER AND PERCENT IN VARIOUS CULTURAL GROUPS, 1961-1966

Diagnostic Classification	SPANISH-SURNAMED		NEGRO		OTHER	
	Total All Patients	% of all this diagnosis with this diagnosis	No.	% of all Negro with this diagnosis	No.	% of all this diagnosis with this diagnosis
Accute and Chronic Brain Syndrome	57	3.51	2	7.02	51	89.47
Psychotic Disorder	540	7.78	42	4.63	473	87.59
Psycho-neurotic Disorder	193	6.22	12	3.11	175	90.67
Personality Disorder	3714	10.82	402	2.56	3217	86.62
Mental Deficiency	7	14.29	1	-	6	85.71
Diagnosis Not Made or deferred	184	11.96	22	3.26	156	84.78
		4.57	6	4.41		3.82

DIAGNOSTIC CLASSIFICATION OF ALL FEMALE PATIENTS AT FT. LOGAN MENTAL HOSPITAL
WITH NUMBER AND PERCENT IN VARIOUS CULTURAL GROUPS, 1961-1966

TABLE 38

Diagnostic Classification	SPANISH-SURNAMED		NEGRO		OTHER	
	Total all Patients	% of all this diagnosis with this diagnosis	No.	% of all Negro with this diagnosis	No.	% of all other with this diagnosis
Accute and Chronic Brain Syndrome	65	3.08	5	7.69	58	89.23
Psychotic Disorder	965	4.25	65	6.74	859	89.11
Psycho-neurotic Disorder	488	5.53	9	1.84	452	92.62
Personality Disorder	961	4.47	36	3.75	882	91.78
Mental Deficiency	7	-	0	-	7	100.00
Diagnosis Not Made or Deferred	270	4.44	16	5.93	242	89.63
		9.60	16	12.21		9.67

inadequacy of mental health facilities in Colorado is clearly documented in the numerous reports made by the State Mental Health Planning Committee. The recommendations made in the fall of 1965 in their report, "Planning Comprehensive Mental Health Services in Colorado," provide excellent guide lines for improvement. As far as the Spanish-surnamed community is concerned, special emphasis is needed in the alcoholism area.

Mental Retardation

As it was pointed out strongly in the education section, mental retardation is being more and more seen as an aspect of certain kinds of environmental deprivation. We were not prepared to do a meaningful job with the problems of mental retardation but we looked at State Institutional data to see if any patterns could be discerned for the Spanish-surnamed population. Unfortunately, it is generally agreed that much of the mental retardation within the Spanish-surnamed population is not identified because much of it may not be under treatment or institutionalized.

With the cooperation of Mr. Dan Payne, at the Western Interstate Compact for Higher Education at the University of Colorado, we were able to analyze recent records of the three State Institutions working with the mentally retarded. The State Home and Training Schools at Grand Junction and Wheatridge, and the State Hospital at Pueblo. Our findings are reported on tables 39 and 40.

Despite the general conviction that much of the retardation within the Spanish-surnamed population does not reach institutionalization, the Spanish-surname population for both males and females of about 15 percent in these three institutions was higher than one would expect from general population distribution in the State.

Inasmuch as the State of Colorado is not providing extensive institutional care for the mentally retarded, our resultant figures for various ethnic groups did not provide a large enough sample for sophisticated generalization about mental retardation as it relates to the Spanish-surnamed population. The high incidence of diagnoses in the "uncertain" categories and "cultural familial" for Spanish-surnamed males and females, however, is generally thought by people in the field to be related to unknown causes broadly associated with cultural or environmental deprivation.

Generalizations on the relationship between mental retardation patterns in the general population and the Spanish-surnamed population would be ill-conceived on the basis of our limited research. Yet it is safe to say that the shortage of public institutions for the mentally retarded in Colorado is a serious detriment to the Spanish-surnamed population which finds itself, to a large extent, in the state of low income and which cannot afford private treatment. The extensive waiting lists at all the State facilities indicate the vast need that is not being met.

State efforts in the field of mental retardation must be greatly expanded if the needs of Colorado's Spanish-surnamed population are to be met.

TABLE 39

**CAUSE OF RETARDATION OF MALE RESIDENTS AT COLORADO INSTITUTIONS FOR THE MENTALLY RETARDED*
BY CULTURAL GROUP, 1966**

DIAGNOSIS	WHITE - SPANISH-SURNAME		WHITE		NON-WHITE	
	Total No. diagnoses this group	% of all this diagnosis	Total No. diagnoses this group	% of all this diagnosis	Total No. diagnoses this group	% of all this diagnosis
Mental Retardation Associated With Diseases and Conditions Due to:						
Infection	7	3.7	37	4.3	4	2.01
Intoxication	2	1.0	4	.4	1	.50
Trauma or Physical Agent	8	4.3	63	7.4	8	4.02
Disorder of Metabolism, Growth, or Nutrition	3	1.6	18	2.1	3	1.51
New Growths	0	-	8	.9	1	.50
(Unknown) Prenatal Influence	38	20.5	203	23.8	25	12.50
Unknown or Uncertain Cause With the Structural Reactions Manifest	22	11.8	49	5.7	60	30.15
Mental Retardation Due to Uncertain (or Presumed Psychologic) Cause With the Functional Reaction Alone Manifest						
Cultural-familial Psychogenic -	14	7.5	33	3.8	4	2.01
Environmental Deprivation	1	.5	1	.1	0	-
Psychogenic -	0	-	1	.1	2	1.00
Emotional Disturbance						
Psychotic (or Major Personality) Disorder	2	1.0	4	.4	9	4.52
Uncertain Cause - Functional						
Reaction Alone Manifest	38	20.5	148	17.4	65	32.66
Others	50	27.0	281	33.0	17	8.54
Totals and % of all persons	185	14.99	850	68.88	199	16.13

*The State Home and Training Schools at Grand Junction, Wheatridge, and the State Hospital at Pueblo.

TABLE 40

CAUSE OF RETARDATION OF FEMALE RESIDENTS AT COLORADO INSTITUTIONS FOR THE MENTALLY RETARDED*
BY CULTURAL GROUP, 1966

DIAGNOSIS	WHITE SPANISH-SURNAME		WHITE		NON-WHITE	
	Total No.	% of all diagnoses this group	Total No.	% of all diagnosis this group	Total No.	% of all this diagnosis
Mental Retardation Associated With Diseases and Conditions						
Due to:						
Infection	4	3.0	38	5.5	3	2.77
Intoxication	0	-	6	.8	0	-
Trauma or Physical Agent	7	5.3	54	7.8	6	5.55
Disorder of Metabolism, Growth, or Nutrition	3	2.22	21	3.0	0	-
New Growths	0	-	7	1.0	0	-
(Unknown) Prenatal						
Influence	26	19.8	170	24.7	15	13.89
Unknown or Uncertain Cause With the Structural						
Reactions Manifest	21	16.0	55	7.9	35	32.41
Mental Retardation Due to Uncertain (or Presumed Psychologic) Cause With the Functional Reaction Alone Manifest						
Cultural=familial	7	5.3	23	3.3	1	.93
Psychogenic:						
Environmental Deprivation	0	-	0	-	0	-
Emotional Disturbance	1	.7	4	.5	0	-
Psychotic (or Major Personality) Disorder	2	1.5	6	.8	5	4.63
Uncertain Cause - Functional						
Reaction Alone Manifest	23	17.5	125	18.1	34	31.48
Others	37	28.2	179	26.0	9	8.33
Totals and % of all persons	131	14.13	688	74.22	108	11.65

*The State Home and Training Schools at Grand Junction, Wheatridge, and the State Hospital at Pueblo.

VII. LEGAL AID NEEDS

It was found that one of the most glaring needs of Spanish-surnamed persons in Colorado is adequate legal aid and information. Countless cases of injustice due to inadequate legal assistance have been uncovered by our interviews with citizens and legal officials and our review of the literature. The newly formed Administration of Justice Program is already documenting many cases of legal needs of the poor including Spanish-surnamed persons. The program is being sponsored jointly by the University of Denver College of Law and the Legal Aid Society of Metropolitan Denver. A grant of \$75,000 from the Federal Government has established a staff of 3 lawyers, 2 investigators, and secretarial and research assistance.

The main focus of the program is to discover the extent of legal needs of the poor in the Denver area. A unique aspect of this program is the establishment of an office in the poverty area of Denver to hear problems where they exist. This office has been set up and the extent of legal needs in this area is already being felt.

Legal needs of the Spanish-surnamed population are critical in several areas. One major problem is the relationship individuals on public welfare and public programs have with administrative agencies. We talked to many Spanish-surnamed persons on welfare who believed that their rights were being denied. The recipient is often intimidated and coerced by government agencies which give him assistance. The individual, often uneducated, does not understand the law or his rights under it. He often has no recourse but to accept what often is an arbitrary judgement. Appeals are possible but faced with the complexity of government and the absence of legal assistance the aggrieved often gives up in despair.

The whole field of administrative law is in a state of flux and the degree to which public assistance is a right is open to question. However, recent court decisions indicate that the law is looking more favorably upon the interests of the citizen receiving government benefits. A serious concern in all of this is the attitude this kind of injustice develops in the group involved. Resentment, often hostility, develops against government which has been mandated to be a helper but is seen as an enemy. Respect for the law deteriorates and unsatisfactory social disorganization can develop. Advocates for the poor should be readily available for citizens facing the administrative bureaucracy with grievances; they are not now generally available in Colorado.

Another serious area of concern is the relationship the Spanish-surnamed has with the business community. Often, because of lack of education and sophistication, Spanish-surnamed persons are exploited by unscrupulous business sharks who mislead their victims by false promises and then threaten with dubious legal maneuvers. Many times, readily available and inexpensive legal counsel could avoid the complications and problems. Repossessions of goods and garnishment of wages (often causing dismissal from one's job) are common results of ignorance and exploitation. More legal aid must be made available for the poverty section of our society.

The law itself should be changed to assist the Spanish-surnamed and Others in facing the problems of economic exploitation. Colorado has a weak usuary law and it does not cover extended time payment charges. Extended time payment charges are not considered interest in the eyes of Colorado law, yet a Spanish-surnamed couple, who may not understand English too well, buys a T V for \$25 down, and after many months of payments they, in effect, end up often paying 80 percent interest for the use of the seller's credit. The Colorado usuary laws should be expanded to include extended time payment charges.

Another disability of the Spanish-surnamed who may be poor and uneducated is his relationship with his landlord. Our whole body of law favors the landlord over the tenant. Rent must be paid, eviction is easy, even though the contractual obligations of the landlord to his tenant may be completely ignored. The organization of tenants in Eastern cities and rent strikes indicate the extent of the problem. Persons with grievances against their landlords should have recourse to inexpensive and readily available legal aid. Also, laws should recognize the rights of tenants as well as landlords.

Our statistics on education, poverty, and crime indicate the great extent of family problems among the Spanish-surnamed in Colorado. Yet divorce proceedings are expensive. The net result is desertion and separation with their paramount evils. Many fathers would be willing to accept their legal obligations if they could be worked out in court, but when lack of money leads to the non-legal route of solving marital problems the temptation is great to escape vague responsibilities. Legal aid societies, where they exist, traditionally do not handle divorce cases unless they are emergencies.

The Legal needs of Colorado's Spanish-surnamed population are not being met. The Legal Aid Society of Metropolitan Denver has done a fine job (over 8,000 new cases in 1966) but the budget and staff never meet the needs. Spanish-surnamed legal needs are indicated by a sample survey of the Legal Aid Society's records. In March 1966, out of a total of 484 cases, 133 clients, or 27.48 percent, were Spanish-surnamed. In August 1966, 141 cases, or 29.01 percent of the total 486 cases were Spanish-surnamed. This greatly disproportionate incidence of Spanish-surnamed cases suggests the magnitude of the problem.

Legal Aid Societies in Colorado Springs and Pueblo have been augmented recently by Federal grants. In Greeley, the Bar Association has recently established a committee to develop a Legal Aid Society. These developments are encouraging but cannot meet the needs. Unless the State provides some program of legal assistance to the poor, the exploitation and injustices, often administered to the Spanish-surnamed population in small towns and areas without legal aid societies, will continue.

VIII. HOUSING

No formal research was done by the staff in the area of housing since the Commission's hearings and visitations had looked into this area. However, interviews with citizens indicate that residential segregation and discrimination still exist to a great extent in Colorado. Two items revealed in our general research indicate the need for a formal research effort in the field of housing.

In a sophisticated study done by the UCLA Mexican-American Study Project, Denver recorded a substantial index of residential segregation between Anglo and Spanish-surnamed.⁵⁴ Only metropolitan areas were studied. In another UCLA Study of the metropolitan areas of the Southwest as a whole, over one-third of the Spanish-surname families lived in overcrowded housing units in 1960.⁵⁵ This ratio is disturbing when compared to a less than 8 percent ratio for Anglos, and a 22 percent for non-whites. In Colorado the ratio for Spanish surnamed was 35.3 percent as compared to 8.5 percent for Anglos. In another analysis for the total Southwest, 1.3 percent of all Anglo occupants were living in delapidated housing units, but 9.0 percent of all Spanish-surnamed occupants were living in dilapidated housing units.

IX. SOME CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

There seems to be little doubt that serious deprivation exists within the Spanish-surnamed population of Colorado in the areas of income, employment, education, health, mental health, housing, respect for law, and legal aid. In this age of prosperity and affluence it should be a serious concern of all Colorado citizens that a significant minority of our population exists in such a state of deprivation. Basic humanitarianism, if nothing else, should motivate us to redouble our efforts to provide solutions to this problem, but the social and economic costs of a significant segment of our population living in deprivation should cause us serious concern.

Colorado has been cited nationally for its fine atmosphere concerning civil rights. Undoubtedly it is deserved, at least in terms of the absence of blatant segregation against minorities or violent lawlessness or even militant demonstrations by minorities. Colorado may attribute its good fortune to the unique tolerance of its population or even to the tempering influence of its majestic geographic setting. These may be significant factors, but this study seems to indicate that our image, in terms of our Spanish-surnamed minority, may be better than we deserve and our good luck in avoiding demonstrations is due more to the wisdom of our leaders in providing laws which have allowed minorities to retain their faith in the correctiveness and just guidance of the law. Colorado should be proud of its leadership in providing fair employment practices legislation, fair housing legislation, a viable Civil Rights Commission, and sound institutional development; these have all helped to keep our problems in check.

But no society can rest on its laurels nor overlook the reasons for its success. There is growing evidence that the Spanish-surnamed community of Colorado may not be as willing in the future to accept the pace of improvement it has known in the past. The emergence of groups such as The Crusade for Justice and The New Hispanic Movement in the last few years in Colorado indicate a new force and drive of the Spanish-surnamed community which may demand new reforms and change.

This study seems to indicate that the problems of the Spanish-surnamed population may get worse with the next generation unless the cycle of deprivation is dramatically cut. This cannot be done only by teaching Spanish-surnamed youth about their ancestors or trying to end discrimination among Anglos by teaching them the glories of Spanish-Mexican history. These programs have their value but their impact has serious limitations. The challenge is to end the deprivations of the majority of Spanish-surnamed youth so they can have the means to utilize their latent abilities and break out of the vicious cycle of poverty. This may mean massive new programs and extension of old programs to eliminate those conditions which prevent Spanish-surnamed youth from succeeding no matter how good their intentions. Programs are needed to intervene early in education so as to overcome childhood environmental deprivation, to provide income for minimum clothing and food, to provide decent

housing, to provide public medical care, to provide low cost and meaningful education through college, and to enforce existing anti-discrimination laws and constitutional rights of all Colorado citizens.

We can always find and cite the individual Spanish-surnamed person who, with courage, fortitude, ambition, and herculean effort overcame his many deprivations of youth and rose to success. He may have triumphed even without help or special consideration. This person is indeed a man of exceptional talent and will. We marvel at his success, but how many of like background began the race, tried, and never finished? Can we accept a society that provides opportunity only for the exceptional person of the minority group? What about the average guy who makes an average effort and is no hero? What are his chances? What are the chances of the average Spanish-surnamed person in Colorado?

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