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The Impact of "Sun Belt Industrialization"
on Chicanas

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The purpose of the SCCR Working Paper Series is to publish works that significantly increase our knowledge about Chicanos and other Latinos. We invite your comments and critique. Please address your remarks directly to the author.

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Introduction

Historically, Mexican American women have had lower labor force participation rates than Anglo or Black women. In 1960, only 24.4 percent Chicanas were employed as compared to 34.5 percent of Anglo women.¹ Explanations of these disparities in labor force participation rates have relied on a model of cultural determinism that identifies traditional cultural values and norms as the causal factors. Many authors assume that traditional family values alone determine whether Chicanas will enter the labor market, and that Chicanas violate those values when they work outside the home. According to the "traditionalist" model, Chicano "machos" prefer that their wives not work, and Chicanas value their homemaker roles over taking jobs, thus submitting to their husbands' wishes. A corollary notion is that acculturation will occur when Chicanas are gainfully employed and, consequently, they lose traditional family values.²

Over the last two decades, however, Chicanas have rapidly entered the labor force. Between 1960 and 1970 for example, married Chicanas entered the labor force nationally at a rate 15% higher than their white and black counterparts.³ In 1970, the gap in labor force participation rates had narrowed; 43 percent of all women worked as compared to 36 percent of Chicanas. By 1980, the gap between Chicanas and other women workers nearly disappeared: 52 percent of all women worked while 49 percent of Spanish-origin women were employed.⁴

At the same time, Chicanas consistently have had higher unemployment rates than Anglo women. In 1970, women of Mexican origin had an unemployment rate of fourteen percent compared to nine percent for all women. By 1980 their percentage of unemployed increased to ten while that for Anglo women was eight percent.⁵ Technically, the unemployed are

persons who are actively seeking jobs and are available for work. The official unemployment rate, of course, does not include the many "discouraged workers"—those who have completely given up the search for work. Groups with high unemployment rates usually also have higher numbers of discouraged workers.⁶ The historically high Chicana unemployment rates, whether official or not, indicate that more Chicanas would work if they could find jobs. In addition, since Chicanas tend to have larger families than Anglo women, differences in the availability of child care facilities may have a greater influence on their ability to remain in the work force.

The traditionalist approach neither predicted nor explained these trends. Instead of challenging the traditionalist perspective, adherents of the model merely modified it and claimed that declining family values explain Chicanas recent entrance into the labor force. Most cultural determinants do not actually examine Chicanas' values and beliefs. A recent empirical study, however, investigated how traditional values affect Chicana and Anglo women's labor force participation. Ortiz and her colleagues found that "the cultural argument was not supported; traditional attitudes did not have a stronger impact for Hispanic females."⁷ In addition, these researchers found that the significant factor influencing Chicanas' commitment to the labor force was women's prior work experience. Women with unskilled low paying jobs tend to prefer homemaking, while those who have more stable jobs want to continue working. Ortiz' argues that the availability of jobs, not traditional culture, determines whether Chicanas are committed to the labor force or not.⁸

The traditionalist approach is ahistorical and does not consider varying or changing regional economies. Yet, regional economies are the

products of distinct patterns of accumulation and industrial restructuring. Storber and Walter show how the "spatial division of labor, " the regional variation in industrial location, is the product of managerial strategies for minimizing production costs. Managers engage in "global scanning" in which they seek industrial sites which have lower labor costs, as well as "locational capability" which allow for new ways of organizing production and workers.⁹ Uneven regional development provides varied work opportunities for women workers. For example, two studies show that even though Chicanas are generally segregated into the lowest-paying jobs, there is regional variation in the types of jobs they hold and - in the labor force participation rates as well as discrimination.¹⁰ The traditionalist argument also assumes a mechanistic relationship between values and behavior by viewing the lack of employment as voluntary. In this regard, analyses of unemployment rates of Chicanas also helps to further illuminate the model's deficiencies.

Rather than assuming that culture determines whether Chicanas enter the labor force, a more fruitful approach is to examine changes in local labor markets, structural defects in the regional economies, and the varying impact of women's work on their families. Such an approach provides a corrective to the traditionalist perspective which perpetuates the stereotype of the reclusive, passive Mexican woman who devotes herself to motherhood, housework and her man. Instead, I argue that Chicanas have always placed a high value on work outside the home.

This paper analyzes data from a research project on women's work and family strategies in the context of "Sun Belt Industrialization" in Albuquerque, New Mexico,¹¹ for which in-depth interviews with twenty two married Chicana workers were conducted.¹² The criteria for

selecting informants were based on employment in either electronics or apparel factories. The focus was on women with at least one child under the age of six so as to understand working women's child care arrangements. These women were relatively young, with a mean age of twenty-nine and on the average, they had two children. Most of the women were entry level electronics assemblers or sewing operators who had worked at their jobs for about three years.

Two related processes will be discussed regarding the relationship between work and family life. Recent industrialization in Albuquerque created jobs primarily for women. The contours of the local labor market, including the availability of jobs women consider to be good ones and the instability of men's jobs, is the primary reason Chicanas choose to enter and to remain in the labor force. Concurrently, women's work dramatically altered Chicano families. The available evidence does not indicate a decline in familism, but a more complicated adaptation. The impact of women's work on Chicano families varies depending on family circumstances such as the ages of children in the household, the availability of child care, and the relative need for the woman's wages at home. Furthermore, traditional values and norms should be viewed as family ideology, a set of values and beliefs which prescribe proper behavior for women and men, and which are symbolically opposed to the world of work.¹² Women's views about being working mothers respond to the prevalent family ideology. All these related individual and familial processes must be viewed in the larger context of regional industrialization.

Sun Belt Industrialization

The state of New Mexico has been slow to industrialize. As late as 1970, manufacturing jobs accounted for only about six percent of total

employment. The service sector (including trade, finance and public administration) provided over sixty percent of New Mexico's jobs.¹⁴ Between 1960 and 1970, however, important changes occurred which are turning New Mexico into a Southwest industrial center. Significant growth of industrial jobs in the state has occurred due to the expansion of two industries: apparel and electrical machinery. Growth in both industries was dramatic, reflected in the expansion of the electrical machinery manufacturing, which grew by 353 percent,¹⁵ and in the apparel industry which quadrupled its employment.

Most of the recent industrial growth is located in Albuquerque, the state's largest city. Prior to industrialization, Albuquerque's economy was based on "guns and butter"--the military and related enterprises--and the public sector.¹⁶ Besides the State of New Mexico, other large employers included Sandia Laboratories, Kirtland Air Force Base, the Veterans Hospital and the Air Force Special Weapons Center. Albuquerque also served as the commercial center of the state providing a large number of sales and service jobs.

Albuquerque attracted manufacturers for several reasons.¹⁷ A low wage scale existed, especially for women's jobs. The median wages for female manufacturing jobs during the 1970's were 44 percent of the wages of male jobs. In electrical machinery, for example, women earned about 44 percent of the wages of men, while in apparels women earned almost 70 percent of men's wages.¹⁸ Taking inflation into consideration, average earnings in Albuquerque were almost 10 percent lower than national levels.¹⁹ Few manufacturing plants are unionized, partially accounting for lower wage rates. In addition, there was an available labor force in Albuquerque, especially women.²⁰ In Bernalillo County, the unemployment rate of Anglo women was only five percent in 1960, but this figure grew to

six percent in 1970 and to over seven percent in 1979. During the same years, Spanish surnamed women had unemployment rates of five percent, eight percent, and nine percent respectively.²¹

The recent recessions notwithstanding, Albuquerque has become a center of "sun belt industrialization." ²²Beginning in the late 1960's several companies—GTE Lenkurt, Singer Fridan, Levis Strauss and Ampex—opened plants in or near the city. Subsequently, other firms such as Motorola, Digital, Honeywell, General Electric, Signetics, Sperry Flight Systems, and Ethicon built plants in Bernalillo County. Between 1969 and 1979, employment in manufacturing in Albuquerque grew over a hundred percent, while total employment increased only sixty percent.²³ By 1980, manufacturing was the third largest sector of Bernalillo County's economy, employing over 218,000 workers.²⁴ Industrial growth continues. Intel Inc., for example, plans to employ about 1000 production workers by the end of 1984.²⁵

Changes in industrial employment affected men and women differently. The bulk of new jobs were "women's jobs." In electrical machinery, the female labor force grew six hundred and eighty percent. By 1970, women constituted forty-six percent of the total electronics labor force. In apparel—a traditionally female industry—the number of women employed increased four fold, while male employment increased only 300 percent. By 1970, women formed eighty-two percent of the apparel labor force. These increases in women's employment occurred during a period when total manufacturing in the state dropped by four percent between 1960 and 1970. Male jobs, however, accounted for a good portion of the decrease, declining by sixteen percent while female employment increased by fifty-eight percent. Women grew from 16 percent of the total manufacturing labor force in 1960 to almost 27 percent in 1970.²⁶ In

sum, while manufacturing declined in the state as a whole, the electronics and apparel industries—which employed increasingly greater proportions of women—grew tremendously.^{27 27}

While the growth of industrial jobs in Albuquerque primarily benefited women, Chicanas were affected the most. In the period of pronounced industrial growth, a large number of Chicanas entered the labor force. Between 1960 and 1970, the labor force participation rate of Anglo women increased eighteen percent while that of Spanish surnamed women rose by sixty-six percent.^{28 28} The labor force participation rate of Anglo women was forty-three percent in 1970 and forty percent for Spanish surnamed women. By 1980, fifty-two percent of all white women and fifty percent of the Hispanic women were in the Albuquerque labor force.^{29 29} Clearly, a significant proportion of Chicanas entered Albuquerque's labor market once industrial expansion began.

The women interviewed for this study first entered the labor force during this time of rapid growth in the labor market. However, women were interviewed in 1982-83 during a period of economic recession. How has industrial employment affected these women? Have they become less familistic?

Women's Decisions to Seek Work

Our informants entered the labor force, as all women increasingly are doing, when their children are under the age of six. This placed great pressure on the women, since they had to secure satisfactory child care arrangements. In addition, women struggled over the demands of caring for young children after work and the ideology that mothers—especially those with young children—should not work. According to the traditionalist viewpoint, we would expect these women to leave the labor force as soon as they could, but found instead, a more complicated situation.

When the woman originally decided to seek wage work, most of them were in difficult financial situations. A few of the women were already working when they married, but most of them started work after marriage. Many of the women entered the labor force when their husbands were either unemployed or making low wages. The women's primary motivation for seeking work was economic. There was a common refrain: "The way it is now, every thing's too high and we can't make it on one check." For the majority of couples, both husband and wife agreed that the woman should work. Eight of these husbands preferred that their wives not work, but agreed with the decision. In these cases, women's wage work is an economic strategy for families which have little choice.

Five of the women wanted a job primarily to get out of the house. These women generally had the support of their spouses regarding their decision to get a job. The women were critical of the boredom of housewifery. "I decided it {homemaking} wasn't for me", one woman noted. Sometimes they wanted personal satisfaction. One woman who was very independent said simply, "I'm a self-supporter."

Women's Work Histories

An examination of women's work histories and family circumstances sheds additional light on the question of declining familism of working wives and mothers. Most of the women moved through a succession of low-paying, dead-end jobs—as waitresses, fast food workers, or cashiers—before they acquired their current jobs. The apparel workers usually knew someone, often a relative, who already worked in the plant, and notified them the company was hiring. Some of these women had only worked at one factory where they were employed. Electronics workers, however, have longer work histories and therefore had a wider base of comparison. These women tend to have prior work experience in electronics

production (as well as in apparel factories), and often had some technical training. Electronics workers usually applied for their present jobs without prior knowledge that the company was hiring, and without the help of someone who was already employed. These women heard, either through their training or social networks, that electronics factories pay better and provide good benefits. Electronics employees have worked less time on the job than apparel workers.

Compared to previous jobs, these women achieved job mobility in terms of pay, benefits and job security. The benefits in particular, especially medical insurance and paid maternity leaves, were great improvements over their previous fringe benefit packages. Women's job benefits often were better than those of their husband's which meant that couples relied on the women's medical insurance, for example.

Compared to other jobs in the Albuquerque area, many women believed that their jobs were relatively good places to work. Several women compared their present jobs to previous ones or to the general Albuquerque labor market. They were aware that in general, appropriately stated by one informant, "Albuquerque's [jobs are] always underpaid." However, women characterized the wages in electronics as "the best you can find in Albuquerque." Also, women were aware of the limited jobs available in Albuquerque. Women recounted stories in the press regarding new firms offering employment, in which job seekers numbering in the hundreds waited around for hours for the privilege of submitting a job application. Women referred to these stories, or to the experiences of their relatives who were chronically unemployed. One woman summed up the general view: "There's no place else. It's hard to get a job and I feel lucky to have this one."

The Economic Contribution of Women's Wages

It is important to emphasize the financial contribution that these women made to their families; their wages cannot be seen as supplemental. Electronics workers earned on the average \$5.25 an hour, and generally were the best paid blue collar women in Albuquerque. There was considerable variation in wage rates for apparel workers, however, since they were paid on the piece rate system. Depending on how fast they sew, apparel workers earned between \$4 and \$7 an hour. On the average, electronics workers earned about \$12,000 a year, while apparel workers earned about \$9,500 annually.

One third of our informants earned more than their husbands earned. These women were the economic mainstays of their households, since they earned over sixty percent of the total family income. The other women earned between thirty and fifty-nine percent of the total family income. Clearly, these women made a significant contribution to the support of their families.

But more than the amount that they contributed, women's wages were pivotal in terms of the families' economic stability. When both husband and wife were working, the family was relatively secure. Unfortunately, many of the women's husbands—particularly those who work in construction—were periodically unemployed. These families were continually moving between the stability of two incomes and the hardship of having one wage. Therefore, the woman's income saved the family from financial disaster when husbands were laid off, and assured the family of relative stability when he was employed.

The family incomes of the informants were slightly lower than those of other dual workers families in Albuquerque. Combined with their husbands' wages and other income, informants' gross annual family incomes

were \$24,425. Gross family incomes ranged from \$13,500 to \$40,000 a year. The mean income of all families with two or more workers in Albuquerque was \$26,846 in 1979.³⁰ Compared to household incomes in the rest of the state, however, our informants were relatively well-off. The median family income for all residents of the state of New Mexico was \$16,930 in 1979. New Mexico Hispanics had a median family income of only \$13,800 at this time, a significant disparity from other families.³¹

The lives of the Chicanas surveyed in Albuquerque contrasted sharply with those of their mothers. The majority of women were born and raised in Albuquerque, while their parents were born in rural areas and later migrated to Albuquerque. Further, most of the women's mothers were housewives. When they compared their standards of living with those of their kin from rural areas, our informants higher incomes were probably quite noticeable.

It is important to recall, however, that these were relatively young families, and their economic needs were great. The men had not yet reached their peak job earnings, and many of them received low wages which were eroded by inflation. Several of the women had recently taken maternity leaves which considerably lowered the families' incomes. Since most of these couples were buying or constructing their homes, they had major payments to make. When husbands went to work after periods of unemployment, there was usually a time when the couples had to catch up on previously unmet needs. Since they had to cope with the fluctuations and loss of real wages by husbands, the women's wages were essential for family survival. These couples were caught up in a national trend, in which the proportion of multi-earner families with two or more wage earners is increasing.³² Most of our informants resigned themselves to the fact that, as one woman said, "Nowadays, both people have to work." Rather than

diminished familism, changes in the economy pushed these women into the labor force.

Since these women worked primarily for financial reasons, this could be seen as a reflection of Chicana familism. To a certain extent, support of their families is one way to express traditional values. But these women's economic contribution to their families was but one aspect of their commitment to the labor force. Another important factor was the satisfaction they received from their jobs.

Job Satisfaction

In order to gauge job satisfaction informants were asked a number of questions: what they liked and disliked about their jobs, what were the advantages and disadvantages; they were also asked to rank ten qualities of the job. Generally, the women believed that job security was the most important aspect of a job, and most of them believed they had secure jobs. The women's choice of the second most important feature was pay, and all of the women believed they received good pay. In addition, the majority of women believed they had good benefits, illustrated by one woman who observed, "That's the main reason I went back to electronics." The women were generally satisfied with the economic features of their jobs. Beyond issues of remuneration, though, there were important differences between electronics and apparel workers in terms of their views regarding their jobs. These differences, of course, stem from the distinct production processes.³³ Electronic workers, particularly those who did not work as assemblers, had higher job satisfaction than apparel workers.

In terms of the work process, two thirds of the women believed they could work at their own pace. Unfortunately, because of production quotas—which women generally felt was a disadvantage of their

jobs-self-pacing meant that women pressured themselves to work fast. Assemblers lamented the physical discomforts (such as eye strain, backaches and headaches) as a consequence of the fast pace as well as from the monotony. Apparel workers who sewed fast and who bettered the production quota, had more job satisfaction. These women felt that the piece rate system allowed them to make good money. Women who barely make their quota, or who were under the desired company speed, disliked the pressure of the piece rate system. Those women not meeting production quotas were either pressured to quit or, after a series of warnings, were fired. It is not surprising that the women found their work to be challenging.

Virtually all of the women believed they had a safe work place. Furthermore, all of the women stated approvingly that both their supervisors were good, and there were ample opportunities to converse with co-workers.

There were also several disadvantages of the job. Apparel workers had shortened work weeks during the 1982 recession, something most women disliked. They preferred a forty-hour week so they could make steady wages. In addition, most of the women believed they were not paid well enough for they work performed, and some of them would like more appreciation for a job well done. Only half of the women believed they have opportunities for promotions.

Despite these reservations, however, the majority of the women liked their jobs, but for varied reasons. An assembler said: "I enjoy it, it's easy." A machine operator reported, "I like the work, I think it's interesting." A materials handler liked the autonomy of her job because, in her words, "no one bothers me." An inspector cherished the opportunity to interact with friends and co-workers. "I

like going to work, "she said, "I get to talk to different people. It makes me forget half of my problems." Another assembler made the analogy between her department and home saying, "it's like a family." A quality control worker could find nothing wrong with her job claiming, "I like everything about that job." These women's comments were not unusual. On the whole, most of the women valued their jobs.

Women's Views on Being Working Mothers

Women's views on their status as working mothers reflected the contradictions between economic circumstances, on the one hand, and family obligations and ideology on the other. Traditional family ideology asserts that women should stay home and care for their families, especially the young children who require a great deal of attention. Finding the balance between these "competing urgencies," is difficult and filled with frustrations.³⁴ In an attempt to understand their values, and attitudes, women were asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with several statements regarding gender roles and women's work. The women's responses to these statements illustrate both how they construct the meaning of family, and how their circumstances temper their beliefs and values. Probably the most striking aspect of the women's views is in their variation, ranging from traditional to egalitarian viewpoints, some which were ambivalent and even inconsistent.

Given the state of Albuquerque's economy, with inflation and relative high male unemployment, it was not surprising that virtually all the women agreed with the following statement: "Women need to work to help their families with the high cost of living." The women's responses to other economic issues, however, were less clear. Most of the women disagreed with the notion that it is better for a marriage if a husband earns more money than his wife, and of the six of them who agreed, two earned more

than their husbands, while the rest earned less than their spouses. Apparently, even if a woman earned higher wages than her husband, she did not necessarily believe that he should earn more. In addition, the majority of the women disagreed with the more general view that men should get most of the higher paying jobs because they have families to support. These women's experience with relatively high paying jobs lead them to reject the view that men should be primary breadwinners. According to several women, "Women have to support families too."

Child care arrangements profoundly affected the women's views on being working mothers. Two thirds of the women had their husbands or female kin care for their children. Others took their children to either a private babysitter or a day care center. Many of these women had frequently changed child care providers, and had bad experiences with former babysitters. At the time we interviewed them, though, most of the women were generally satisfied with their present child care arrangement.

Despite this satisfaction, some of the women felt both sorrow and guilt about leaving their young children in child care. The statement that elicited the most responses from the woman was: "Working mothers miss the best years of their children's lives;" most of the women agreed with this statement. These women believe that by going to work while their children are young, they missed those important "first steps" in the children's development. Several of the women delayed entering the labor force not only because they did not want to leave infants with a sitter, but because they wanted to enjoy their children's developmental progress, For example, Mrs. Amijo³⁵ ²⁵ decided to wait until her daughter was one year old before going back to work, but circumstances forced her into the labor force for three months when her daughter was six months old. Mrs. Montoya was defensive on this issue. When her sitter informed her that

her son said the word "cookie", she replied: "Yeah, I know, I taught him how." She went on, "I felt like I heard it first."

Working while having young children placed certain demands on women's time. Women had to miss work to take their children for medical care, including the periodic check-ups as well as the inevitable illnesses. Many women indicated that the hardest aspect of a working mother's life is the lack of time to accomplish everything that needs to be done at home, and their fatigue from working and parenting very active youngsters. It is understandable, then that the majority of women agreed with the statement: "It would be much better all around if a woman can stay home and take care of her family instead of having to work."

Regarding the household division of labor, we found variation in how chores were divided. Five of the women had relatively egalitarian division of housework. Couples in these households either divided up the work, (she washed clothes while he took out the garbage, for example), or they both performed the same chore. Several of these couples negotiated a more equitable division of labor after the women complained they were doing too much. A second group of nine women were in situations in which they performed most of the housework. The remaining couples fell between these extremes, with women taking on a greater share of housework. With regard to child care, however, three quarters of the couples divided the chores equitably. The differences between how the couples divided up housework and child care were reflected in the women's agreement with several statements. Every woman agreed that: "Taking care of the children should be shared equally between husband and wife." Furthermore, most of the women agreed that "Sometimes I think that I cannot do enough for my family when I work," and "Sometimes I feel it is unfair that I have to work and also spend so much time taking care of my home and my children."³⁶

Finally, women were asked if they ever thought of quitting their present jobs. Most of them considered leaving their jobs, but for varied reasons. The frustrations or boredom of the work itself, the pressures of the piece rate or of managing home duties and a job, and the desire for higher wages (especially by apparel workers) were the reasons usually given. Only a few of the women wanted to stay home and rear their children. The others wanted better opportunities, specifically a job that paid more and allowed some advancement. Most of the electronics workers who wanted better jobs preferred to remain in the electronics industry.

One woman's statements illustrated how most women vacillated between their desire to support their families and still care for their young children at home. When asked whether she ever thought of quitting, she stated: "I always wanted to work, it's a habit I have. I can't be without work. I can't stay home; it's so boring. I have to work or else I won't be happy." Later, however, asked whether she would quit if she did not have to work, she contradicted herself: "It's kind of hard. I do like to work, but I think my family is more important." She realized she was contradicting herself, so she joked: "Maybe I like to work because I need the money."

Whether or not they held traditional views regarding family, the economic needs of their families often took precedence. Each family must find the balance in meeting these competing needs, and women constructed meanings which took each need into consideration. Thus, despite the women's misgivings about not being able to spend time with their children, the majority of them agreed that: "Working is an important part of my life that would be hard for me to give up." Furthermore, the majority of women claimed: "Even if I didn't need the money, I would continue to work." Finally, virtually all of the women believed that their work did not conflict with family responsibilities.

Conclusion

An analysis of the changing local economy—including job opportunities for women — and the multiple affects on women which in turn affects the family economy, must be examined before traditional norms can be interpreted as labor force determinants. Contrary to the traditionalist viewpoint, those Chicanas interviewed for this study indicated a strong committment to their jobs. Women's employment had a significant effect on the family economy. The impact on family ideology, however, was more complex. Once Chicanas entered the labor market, some of their views regarding family changed, while others remained the same. The extent to which women accepted the prevalent ideology or constructed a new meaning depended on their particular work histories and job satisfaction, their economic contribution to family economic status and the demands at home. In other words, rather than continuing an ideological separation between work and family, based on the assumption that family values determine women's labor force participation, one must investigate the reciprocal effects of work and family on women employees. Clearly, a combination of factors determines whether Chicanas prefer to continue wage work or not, factors similar to other American working class women.

Notes

[1] Rosemary Santana Cooney, "Changing Labor Force Participation of Mexican American Wives: A Comparison with Anglos and Blacks." Social Science Quarterly 56 (2), 1975.

[2] See Elizabeth M. Almquist and Juanita L. Wehrle-Einhorn, "The Doubly Disadvantaged: Minority Women in the Labor Force." In Women Working, Theories and Facts in Perspective. Ann H. Stromberg and Shirley Harkess, eds. (Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1978), Walter Fogel, Mexican Americans in Southwest Labor Markets. (DCLA: Mexican American Study Project, Advance Report 10, 1967), Roberta V. McKay, "Employment and Unemployment among Americans of Spanish Origin." Monthly Labor Review, April, 1974, Cooney, 1975, Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., Walter Fogel and Fred H. Schmidt, The Chicano Worker. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977). For a full critique see Patricia Zavella, Women, Work and Family in the Chicano Community; Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley. (Ph.D. Dissertation, Anthropology Department, University of California, Berkeley, 1982).

[3] Cooney, p. 253

[4] U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Report of the President. (Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982). 1970 Census of Population, Persons of Spanish Origin, PC(2)-1C. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973) and 1980 Census of Population, Provisional Estimates of Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics, PHC80-S1-1. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982). Statistics on women of Mexican origin only were not available at the time of this writing.

[5] U.S. Bureau of Census, "Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States: March 1976," Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No.30. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982). 1980 Census of Population, Provisional Estimates of Social Economic and Housing Characteristics, PHC80-S1-1. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982).

[6] U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Report of the President. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982). Discouraged workers have neither worked nor looked for work during the four week period prior to an unemployment survey. Nearly 75 percent of the recently discouraged workers cite labor market factors as the reason for not looking for work.

[7] Vilma Ortiz, Rosemary Santana Cooney and Ronald Ortiz, "Sex-Role Attitudes and Labor Force Participation: A Comparative Study of Hispanic Females and Non-Hispanic White Females." Paper presented at the American Sociological Association meetings, September 7, 1982, p. 13.

[8] A 1979 study by the Census Bureau found that Hispanic women left their careers for family reasons at about the same rate as white women. San Francisco Chronical, 18 July 1984.

[9] Michael Storber and Richard Walter, "The Spatial Division of Labor: Labor and Location of Industries." In Sunbelt/Snowbelt, Larry Sawers and William K. Tabb, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

[10] Laura Arroyo, "Industrial and Occupational Distribution of Chicana Workers." " Aztlan 4(2), 1973; Tacho Mindiola, "The Cost of Being a Mexican Female Worker in the 1970 Houston Labor Market." Aztlan 11(2), 1980.

[11] Special thanks go to Louise Lamphere and Peter B. Evans who are the Principal Investigators. This project is sponsored by National Science Foundation Grant No. BNS-8112726.

[12] Both the women and their husbands were interviewed twice. The total sample includes Chicano and Anglo dual workers couples, as well as Chicana single parents who are not discussed here. Informants were not randomly selected, but were referred to us from a variety of sources. Since we interviewed women in a particular stage of the life cycle, it is unclear how representative they are for the total female work force in Albuquerque. Other research shows variation in family strategies depending on women's age, marital status and skills, as well as the nature of the labor market. See Louise Lamphere, Filomena M. Solva and John P. Sousa, "Kin Networks and Family Strategies: Working Class Portuguese Families in New England." In The Versatility of Kinship, Linda S. Cordell and Stephen Beckerman, eds. (New York: Academic Press, 1980), and Patricia Zavella, 1982.

[13] Rayna Rapp, "Family and Class in Contemporary America: Notes Toward an Understanding of Ideology." Science and Society 42 (3), 1978; Jane Collier, Michelle Z. Rosaldo and Sylvia Yanagisako, "Is There a Family? New Anthropological Views." In Rethinking the Family, Some Feminist Questions, Barrie Thorne and Marilyn Yalom, eds. (New York: Longman, 1982.)

[14] 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, PC (1) - C33, cited in Peter B. Evans, "Comparisons of Labor Force Structures of New Mexico and Rhode Island", manuscript, n.d.

[15] Evans, n.d.

[16] Joseph V. Metzgar, "Guns and Butter: Albuquerque Hispanics, 1940-1975." New Mexico Historical Review 56(2), 1981.

[17] Recent studies indicates that a good business climate and right-to-work laws in particular are the most important motivation for new plant location. See Roger Schmenner, The Manufacturing Location Decision. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982), cited in Bennett Harrison, "Regional Restructuring and "Good Business Climates": The Economic Transformation of New England Since World War II." In Sunbelt/Snowbelt. Larry Sawers and William K. Tabb, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

[18] Evans, n.d.

[19] City of Albuquerque, "Social Profile of Albuquerque." Department of Human Services, manuscript, n.d.

[20] The city of Albuquerque provided tax incentives to attract new manufacturing plants to the area, and is considered to have a good business climate. Albuquerque is only a four hour flight from the Silicon Valley, which makes it relatively inexpensive to transport materials. Other features of the Albuquerque area include a relatively good housing market, especially compared to places like Silicon Valley in California, where some of the electronics firms have their headquarters. Albuquerque also has an interesting cultural environment—with the history of Indian, Spanish and Anglo settlement—and is close to the art center of Santa Fe. All of these features combined make Albuquerque a good place to either start new plants, or as in the case of GTE Lenkurt, relocate the firm's headquarters from other areas.

[21] 1960 and 1970 figures are from Patrick H. McNamara, "A Social Report for Metropolitan Albuquerque." Albuquerque Urban Observatory, Studies in Urban Affairs, No. 16, 1973. 1979 figures are from the New Mexico Employment Security Department, "Affirmative Action Information," Research Statistics Section, 1979 p.2.

[22] Other new industrial centers include Austin, San Antonio, Dallas, Tucson, Phoenix, Colorado Springs, El Paso and Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina. Increasingly, high tech firms are relocating from the Silicon Valley. See Anna Lee Saxenian, "The Urban Contradictions of Silicon Valley: Regional Growth and the Restructuring of the Semiconductor Industry," In Sunbelt/Snowbelt, Larry Sawers and William K. Tabb, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), and "High Technology Companies are Making Moves," The Washington Post, 26 December 1982.

[23] Evans, n.d.

[24] U.S. Bureau of Census, County Business Patterns, New Mexico, 1980. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981).

[25] Albuquerque Tribune, 12 July 1983.

[26] Evans, n.d.

[27] The feminization of the working class in Albuquerque can be seen in the following table:

	Anglo		Chicanos		Anglo		Chicanas	
	Men				Women			
	Ifpr	%U	Ifpr	%U	Ifpr	%U	Ifpr	%U
1970	77.6	4.5	76.8	5.7	42.9	6.5	40.2	8.3
1980	64.0	6.3	62.1	8.7	51.8	6.3	49.8	7.8

Source: 1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, New Mexico PC80-1-33, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government

Printing Office, 1983, p. 105 and 129), 1970 Census of Population, Characteristics of the Population, New Mexico. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, p. 151). Between 1970 and 1980, Anglo and Chicano men declined in their labor force participation rates (lfpr), while Chicanas and Anglo women increased their labor force participation rates. Chicanas had a higher unemployment rates (%U) than Anglo women in both years but a lower rate than Chicano men by 1980. Chicano men had the highest unemployment rate of all in 1980.

[28] U.S. Bureau of Census, 1972, cited in Patrick H. McNamara, 1973. In 1960, "Spanish surnamed" means white persons with a Spanish surname; in 1970 "Spanish surnamed" includes those women who speak Spanish as a native language as well as those with a Spanish surname. "Anglo" means the total population of women excluding Black and Spanish surnamed women.

[29] These figures are rounded off. 1970 Census of Population, Characteristics of the Population, New Mexico. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973). 1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, New Mexico, PC 80-1-C-33. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983). The term "Hispanic Women" refers to all women of Spanish origin, rather than only women of Mexican origin. These were the only statistics available.

[30] U.S. Bureau of Census, Advance Estimates of Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics for New Mexico, PHC80-S2-33. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980).

[31] U.S. Bureau of Census, Provisional Estimates of Social, Economic and Housing Characteristics, 1980 Census of Population and Housing Supplementary Report, PHC80-S1-1, cited in La Red/The Net, Newsletter of the National Chicano Research Network, Austin, Texas, June 1982, p.1

[32] Of all husband-wife families in 1980, 42 percent were dual worker families while 38 percent have only the husband employed. See U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Report of the President. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981). This report did not specify, but apparently the other 20 percent of husband-wife families have only the wife employed.

[33] For a discussion which examines the differences between women's work in the apparel and electronics industries in Northern Mexico, see Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, For We Are Sold, I and My People, Women and Industry in Mexico's Frontier. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983).

[34] The phrase was coined by Arlie Hochschild and quoted in Lillian B. Rubin, Intimate Strangers, Men and Women Together. (New York: Harper and Row, 1983).

[35] Women's names are fictitious.

[36] For a full analysis of these patterns, see Patricia Zavella, "The Effects of Women's Work: Chicano and Anglo Working Class Families," unpublished paper.