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**A study of intergroup relations between Black and Hispanic
elderly**

Mizio, Emelicia C., D.S.W.

City University of New York, 1991

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A

A STUDY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS
BETWEEN BLACK AND HISPANIC ELDERLY

by

EMELICIA MIZIO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Social Welfare in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Social
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Social Welfare.

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INTRODUCTION

This study on intergroup relations begins a process of understanding how two elderly groups of minority people experience discrimination. It shows the complexity of this area of study. A wealth of information has been elicited in the qualitative data, which needs to be further mined by both the researcher and the reader -- for the insights it can provide in locating strategies to enhance intergroup relations in our increasingly pluralistic society.

The first chapter deals with the nature and scope of the problem from the perspective both of society and the individual. We note that the quality of life of not only a particular city, but of our nation is affected adversely by interracial tensions. Furthermore, how consumers of service get along with each other, not only with providers, is recognized as affecting the delivery of health and human services. The area of intergroup relations is shown to be an important area for understanding and research by social workers

The second chapter provides a review of the literature which draws heavily from the fields of sociology and social psychology. These disciplines have delved closely into ethnic/racial studies. Their literature base can enhance the social work profession's

understanding of intergroup relations. Theoretical issues are raised that are to be explored in the study.

The third chapter describes the methodology. It is an exploratory and descriptive study, collecting quantitative data but heavily focused on the qualitative data. The basis for the trade off between a small sample and an in-depth look at the study's participants' attitudes is explained.

The fourth chapter reports the findings. It was difficult to decide the order in which to present the findings as the many variables under study are all so interconnected. The conceptual framework for this study, to be discussed in greater detail in both the literature review and methodology sections, postulates that ethnic problems are overdetermined. Consequently, there is no linear progression or one-to-one relationship between variables that would provide a built-in structure. Choices, nevertheless, had to be made for presenting the findings.

At the beginning the sample's characteristics are described. Following this quantitative and then qualitative findings related to identity are reported. The seniors' comments on how similar or different they feel from the other group are cited. Blacks maintained less social distance from Hispanics than Hispanics did from Blacks. We note differences in individuals in both groups

of seniors and a broad range of responses, but the Hispanic seniors as a whole are more negative in their descriptions of Blacks than Blacks are of Hispanics.

Next quantitative data with reference to discrimination, experiences and attitudes is highlighted. Many people in both groups saw the other group as discriminating against their group and their own group as discriminating against the other. Seniors had been asked if they had been brought up to discriminate, which only four out of the forty-eight seniors interviewed had been. Their comments with reference to their upbringing are also reported.

Information is next provided on the seniors' perceptions of how Blacks and Hispanics got along with each other. On the whole seniors saw problems in intergroup relations, but within each group there were great differences of opinion. Their observations ranged from those that believed Hispanics and Blacks were helpful to each other and unified -- to those who believed that there was a long history of problematic relations.

Seniors had commented on why they believed people discriminated against Blacks and Hispanics and in general. Most seniors had cited multiple and overlapping factors in giving their reasons. Their explanations are reported.

Language was frequently cited as a factor in discrimination. Quantitative background data with

reference to language concerns is given next. Also included are many of the comments made by both Hispanic and Black seniors indicating this to be a strong source of friction between the groups.

Another area explored and reported on were the concerns with reference to resources and their control. The majority of the seniors did not blame each other for their socioeconomic plight, as will be noted from reading their comments. They did, nevertheless, tend to see competition for power and money in general to be entering into discriminatory practices. The difficulties of these seniors over resources were not in terms of abstracts but came out more strongly in terms of their participation in senior centers, where control over the choice of television programs, food and bingo games became heated. Quantitative and qualitative data relative to senior center participation are reported.

The fifth chapter provides highlights of the findings and draws conclusions. The findings are tied into theory. The complexity and multi-faceted nature of the subject matter is noted. Suggestions are made to providers for improving intergroup relations. The need for further research in this area is stressed. Suggestions also are made as to important areas for further exploration.

CHAPTER ONE: NATURE AND SCOPE OF PROBLEM

Problem For Society

Understanding the realities of race relations is of vital concern to American society and a prerequisite for developing strategies for improving the quality of life in this city. This, therefore, is an area of inquiry into which social work must delve as there are many implications for social work practice. As a basis for a genuine American nationality was searched for, tested, and examined beyond its surface appearances the, "American experience has reflected continuing patterns of racial, ethnic or religious contention.... That some of these contentions may not have had the appearance of conflicts manifestedly structured along racial or ethnic lines, does not preclude these recognitions once sociological analysis penetrates..." (Bash, 1979, p. 158). Notions of assimilation, melting pots, and cultural pluralism in truth have strong elements of American mythology.

Theorists writing about intergroup relations often make reference to the 1944 classic work, An American Dilemma, by Gunnar Myrdal. Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) concur with many others that the dilemma described by Myrdal is no different today. It is thought that egalitarian ideology continues to exist side by side with

social and personal forces serving to counteract our present efforts to eradicate racism. As a nation we support efforts to democratize Europe, but we go on fighting over what are legitimate expectations of minorities in terms of civil rights. We delude ourselves by the use of terms such as quotas vs. affirmative action.

The state of race relations, though, is far from being simply a secular problem. The New York Times (Ayres, July 18, 1989) reported on a "Maverick Priest". "In Father Stalling's view there is racism and insensitivity to the cultural, social and spiritual needs of black parishioners...across the country" (p. 22).

Race relations are clearly such a complex phenomena. They are enmeshed not only in a societal matrix but even in a world wide one. Inextricable linkages exist between individuals, society and amongst countries as well. Consider, for example, that early on in the New York City 1989 mayoral campaign apartheid in South Africa figured in the election in terms of a candidate's investment portfolio in that country's economy. Today race continues to play a role in politics. The New York Times (Applebome, November 18, 1990) featured an article analyzing the results of racial politics in the November 1990 nationwide elections.

Obscured is the fact that daily people from all ethnic/racial groups live and work together in harmony.

New York City, this nation and its citizenry can not allow race relations to deteriorate. Violent outbreaks of racial tension are becoming too frequent occurrences and making newspapers' headlines. We read about race riots as well as one individual attacking another. We are often unclear whether the incidents were actually racially motivated; nevertheless, we end up noting racial repercussions. There are also known to be many unreported events. Such incidents are but overt manifestations of festering sores, which can not be left unchecked. All-in-all the state of race relations in today's society must not be allowed to become a social problem with spiralling, social, psychological, spiritual and economic costs.

Problem For Individuals

The New York State Office for the Aging, documents the social and economic conditions of individuals 60 years of age and over. Their analysis relies heavily on data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, March 1985 Current Population Survey. In the report's Preface, Director Jane Gould (1989) writes, "The current status of the minority elderly in New York State can not be divorced from the realities of racism and discrimination". The findings presented reveal the effects of a lifetime of suffering from discriminatory practices and inequality of

opportunity.

The following represents highlights from the document:

In 1985 the minority aged in New York State numbered 474,439. This was inclusive of approximately 153,000 Hispanic elderly and 270,000 Black Aged. Attributable basically to the process of aging-in the minority elderly in 1990 as compared to 1985 are expected to increase by 27 percent. Projections are that by 1990 minorities will comprise more than 1 out of 4 elderly; whereas, in 1980 they numbered only about 1 plus out of 8 seniors.

Life expectancy is recognized to be a primary indicator of health and the quality of life of a group. Though minorities today are the fastest growing elderly populations they continue, nevertheless, to have the highest mortality rate. This is in spite of some increase in life expectancy. 1983 figures show a life expectancy at the age of 60 of 20.4 years for Whites and 18.4 for Blacks. Data specific to Hispanics is not available. Comparing Black men and White women there is a 30 percent difference in life expectancy. The minority elderly generally die from the same five major causes as Whites, but at higher mortality rates. These causes include heart diseases, malignant neoplasms, cerebrovascular D., pneumonia/influenza and diabetes mellitus. A number of factors are assessed to be contributing to, if not

actually responsible for, these differences in life expectancy. These variables include a shortage of money, problems in securing access to health care and preventive services, and in totality living under stressful disadvantaged conditions.

Sixty-two percent of the minority aged in New York State were at either the poverty or lower income level. This is in comparison with the 54 percent of all other elderly who were, instead, at either the middle or higher income levels. Of the 62 percent, 47 percent of the Hispanic elderly and 45 percent of the Black aged were living below or in marginal poverty in 1984. This contrasts with 24 percent of the non minority elderly.

What is reflected is the limited amount of personal income and the few regular sources from which minority seniors are able to obtain monies. These differences relate, as well, to a public policy that maintains Social Security and SSI benefits at such low levels. It is interesting that even though the federal portion of SSI has been indexed to inflation the State has refused to index, which has meant a declining standard of living for those recipients. At the present time SSI income for the elderly is 10 percent below the federal poverty level. (Nicot and Colon, 1990)

Seventy percent of the non minority elderly had income from combined sources, which included interest

payments from savings or property. Only 34 percent of minority elderly had such monies. The only source of income for 24 percent of the minority elderly in New York State was Social Security. Another 14 percent received supplementary SSI, while only 4 percent of the non minority elderly received SSI. Of great concern, then, is the estimate that about half of the potentially Hispanics eligible nation-wide for SSI are not applying, due in great measure to a lack of information. (Cubillos, 1987) The Social Security Administration currently has been funding outreach programs in an attempt to remedy this problem.

The retirement pension income for minorities was just 17 percent of the minority elderly population in comparison to 30 percent of the non minority aged, who were in receipt of such benefits.

It is interesting that both minority and non minority elderly were employed in 1984 at the rate of 25 percent. In fact, \$38 out of \$100 per capita income for the minority elderly came directly from their earnings, the single largest source of their income. Minorities, however, tend to have less choice as to the age of their retirement with illnesses, disabilities and deteriorating health having an earlier onset. Eight percent of the non minority elderly in comparison to 16 percent of the minority elderly did not work because of illness or

disability. There are, however, big differences in the types of occupations and salaries that the minority elderly and non elderly are able to secure. Only 35 percent of minority elderly were in "white collar" positions as compared with 62 percent of non minority elderly. All told the median income for the minority elderly in 1984 was \$5,600; while the non minority median was one-third more, \$8,326.

Fifty-nine percent of Hispanic seniors and 48 percent of Black elderly had not gone beyond elementary school in comparison to 26 percent of non minority elderly. Seventy-four percent of the non minority seniors attended high school or college; this differed from Hispanic and Black aged with only 49 percent having done so. This is attributable to lack of educational opportunities in the United States as well as in other countries for certain populations and classes.

The minority elderly marital status again reveal the results of stressful socioeconomic lifetime conditions. Though typically minority elderly are younger than their White elderly counterparts, they are widowed at an earlier age; 38 percent were widowed as compared to 31 percent for the generally older White elderly population. Twenty percent of Hispanic aged and 10 percent Black aged were separated or divorced as compared with only 4 percent of the non minority aged. Fifty-six percent of non minority

aged were currently married; while only 38 percent of the Hispanic elderly and 42 percent of the Black elderly were so.

The above statistical picture of the minority aged, documented by the New York State Office for the Aging, is one which lucidly demonstrates the disadvantaged status of these population groups. This status is by no means a chance occurrence and must be traced among other causes to racism. We know that each group consists of individuals who in their daily lives live out the state of race relations in this country and in their communities. Black and Hispanic intergroup relations are bound to be impacted by status considerations. It is important, therefore, not only for researchers to understand the state of majority-minority relations but necessary to study as well the state of minority-minority relations. This is especially critical in terms of the minority elderly, a vulnerable and greatly at risk population.

It is theorized that power, material interdependence and status impacts a group as a whole and has individual and intergroup ramifications. (Hewstone and Brown, 1986) Black and Hispanic elderly, whatever their preferences are generally forced to live side by side in "the poverty stricken inner city areas". They are more likely than other elderly to be living in public housing or in delapidated or over-crowded conditions. (New York State

Office for the Aging) Black and Hispanic elderly are forced into competition for scarce resources. Affordable housing, for example, is at a premium in New York City, with few available vacated public housing units. It is a high priority need of the minority elderly. Both groups have been known to accuse the other of receiving preferential treatment in securing apartments.

The socioeconomic status of the Black and Hispanic elderly, furthermore, makes them highly dependent on the non profit sectors for services and benefits. Again charges of preferential treatment by public and other employees for their own group are heard. The negative experiences of clients with helpers from other ethnic/racial backgrounds, such as those reported to staff members at the Institute for the Puerto Rican Elderly, may tend to be generalized to their elderly cohorts.

In recreational settings, too, choices have to be made about the spending of limited monies. This would include such basic aspects as menu selection and bilingual programming and staffing. Who is to be empowered to make such decisions and the nature of the choices made may become sources of friction. In exploring the state of Black and Hispanic elderly intergroup relations it would be important, therefore, to assess the degree to which competition for scarce resources is a factor that is creating difficulties between these two groups.

Need For Research Study

An in-depth understanding of the attitudes and behaviors of elderly Hispanics and Blacks with reference to ethnic/race relations is a requirement for social workers in their daily practice. Service providers must heighten their awareness of the manner in which intergroup relations amongst service recipients impact upon consumers of services program utilization and satisfaction.

There is presently an extensive body of literature in social work that explores the need for culturally and linguistically relevant services. New York City is becoming an increasingly multicultural city. Gelfand and Barresi (1987) highlight this as a trend all over North America with service implications, particularly as choices are being required at a time when funds are so limited. The importance of this area of study, therefore, can not be overstated.

A focal point of this literature base is the interrelationship between provider and consumer. A typical example of the area under examination and the perspective employed is presented by Jacobs and Bowles (1988) in a recently released publication of the National Association of Social Worker. They write that organizations, "which serve minority groups, often do not have ethnic minority staff with whom clients can identify.... Despite what is

known...service providers often continue to approach...from a 'color blind' and cultureless point of view.... As a result, ethnic and racial differences between therapists and clients often go unrecognized.... Often, these norms are diametrically opposed to the cultural values, behaviors, and family structures of ethnic minority families" (p. X).

This same theme is noted when discussing under or non utilization of services by ethnic minority elderly. Markides and Mindel (1987) write that, "It has been noted by many researchers that effective service delivery to ethnic elderly requires a conscious effort to be responsive to the cultural uniqueness of the elderly populations.... When program staffs reflect the background of their elderly clientele, including being bilingual, the utilization of programs is positively affected" (p. 224).

Missing almost totally from the picture, however, is the impact of consumers upon consumers. This information would be especially critical in situations where their interaction is a requirement of the situation as in public housing and in senior centers. Gelfand and Barresi (1987) recognize that, "Developing cooperation and tolerance, or even avoiding continued historic hostilities among ethnic groups, is a major task for providers concerned about serving diverse ethnic populations and yet minimizing their [monetary] costs" (p.164). In their total volume,

however, there is no reference to research in aging with this particular focus. For New York City, then, a good starting point for research in this area is gaining of insight into the attitudes and behaviors of Black and Hispanic seniors toward each other.

Such data becomes key to informed policy making, program planning, designing and actual service delivery to the elderly Hispanic, Black and other populations. We can not continue to pretend that choices do not have to be made with reference to integrated, segregated, or service patterns combining both elements. When individuals are no longer in their formative years, the extent to which one can anticipate attitudinal and behavioral changes is debatable. It is necessary to gather data that would help to guide us in determining the best ways in which to reach particular groups, responding appropriately as well as realistically to their needs. Ideally and philosophically one might support the concept of all public services being integrated ones. This, nevertheless, may or may not be realistic in terms of consumers' preferences, satisfaction with existing services, or underutilization of needed services and benefits. Service outcomes can not be left to happenstance.

An important policy consideration is the level of priority to be given by government agencies to the funding of ethnic/racial organizations for specialized programs to

meet the specific needs of a particular group. Instead, the field may wish to stress the value of all programs and workers being able to effectively work with all people. A choice is being made when one ignores or works indirectly or directly on race relations.

The New York City experience has demonstrated that despite the fact that services funded by public monies are legally open to all people meeting the eligibility criteria, programs under the auspices of any particular ethnic/racial group, understandably, tend to become basically segregated ones. These specialized services are designed to be culturally relevant for the targeted group, and perhaps they are the only programs that a particular population or sub grouping of that population may wish to utilize.

The Hispanic Senior Action Council (HSAC), a program of the Institute for the Puerto Rican/Hispanic Elderly (IPR/HE or Institute), is one such governmentally funded program, with additional monies from foundation sources. This program illustrates the dilemma faced by the field. HSAC serves both social and advocacy purposes and concentrates on Hispanic elderly concerns. Without HSAC many of the Hispanic seniors in its membership would not be expected to participate elsewhere in services and activities. Individuals from other population groups then for many reasons, may not feel comfortable in using these

very same specialized programs. Only two non Hispanic seniors, a married couple, are members of HSAC, which has a membership of well over one thousand. The extent to which we should be focusing on developing programs with an ethnic/racial identification, as with HSAC, -- and/or developing strategies for integrating programs, such as the ones in the many senior centers is problematic. Hard informed choices in decision making are a necessity.

Of great concern is the Hispanic underutilization of the service network in general. There is considerable research in this area. Orlando Rodriquez (1987) in a study, conducted under the auspices of the Hispanic Research Center at Fordham University, reviewed the literature in this subject. He writes, "Research has identified the utilization of social and health services as one of the most crucial policy areas affecting Hispanic life in the United States. These studies point to the underutilization as an ever-present fact in Hispanic life, but they differ substantially in attributing causes to the observed underutilization patterns" (p. 2).

Rodriquez further states that research literature has identified a number of factors which attempt to explain underutilization. He breaks these down into two major categories. One factor he classifies as subcultural, which includes values and social life which work against using the service network. The other he classifies as

institutional, which refers to the characteristics of the social welfare system and agencies, which serve to discourage Hispanics from their use of the delivery system. No reference is made, however, throughout his discussion to ethnic/race relations of the client system as a possible variable or "factor" serving as a barrier to service usage. Factor is defined by Rodriquez as a group of variables, which measure different aspects of an explanatory concept. Variable or factor, race relations in terms of potential or actual consumers-to-consumers interactions is an aspect that has yet to be examined in depth. Such research can provide insights into service underutilization, program requirements, and consumer satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

In reviewing the literature, Harel, McKinney and Williams (1987) conclude that this research has serious limitations. They found that a major deficit of studies on ethnicity is that they have not simultaneously examined the variables of well-being and service needs of the ethnic aged. This dissertation does attempt to explore concurrently ethnicity and intergroup relations with attention to service utilization and satisfaction.

Underutilization by Hispanic elderly remains a chronic problem. This fact, even, was noted in a New York Times article on August 12, 1990. (Howe) Earlier a hearing was held by the New York State Assembly Standing Committee

on Aging on April 25, 1989. Its subject was stated as being "The Hispanic Elderly: Access to Community-Based Services". The declared purpose was the provision of a forum for gathering data relative to the "underserved needs" of the Hispanic elderly in order to obtain the basis upon which to formulate a legislative response. One of the "Selective Subjects" to which Witnesses were to bear testimony was "Senior Citizens Centers: Health, Inter-generational, Recreation, and Socialization Programs". This was no different from the many hearing that are currently being held at the time of this writing dealing with a proposed Minority Initiative to place discretionary monies into a minority elderly fund to promote access and offset budget cuts to the most vulnerable of groups.

The joint report of July 1987, from the New York City Human Resources Administration (HRA) and the Department For The Aging (DFTA) revealed that their 308 senior centers served a higher proportion of minorities than were found in the general population. The Hispanic elderly, however, only constituted eight percent, which was supposedly identical to their numbers in New York City's population. It is important to take note of the acknowledged undercount of Hispanics in the 1980 Census, due to large numbers of illegal immigrants. The majority of center participants were found to have greater economic

and social needs than the general aged group. According to this HRA and DFTA report, "increasing the numbers of low income and minority clients served, especially in those communities where they are underserved is a goal of the centers" (p. 4). The issue, then, is how to encourage and insure full participation of those in need and to learn what role, if any, problematic race relations are playing in the elderly not seeking services or level of satisfaction when using services.

The proposed Consolidated Services Plan, Fiscal Years 1988-1990 of the City of New York Human Resources Administration, included plans to provide assistance to senior center for increasing outreach programs to the growing elderly minority populations. Their solution to the problem of underutilization in relation to need were such things as flyers and posters and whenever possible to hire bilingual staff.

Senior Centers are acknowledged to be a vital service and much more than simply a social and recreational experience. Centers are access points for many other services, such as a daily hot meal, medical screenings, benefits processing, information and referrals, etc. These are often critical to the very survival of an elderly person.

The value of centers' social functions, however, in and of themselves should not by any means be negated. Monk

(1988) discusses a distinction that had been made by Weiss (1973) distinguishing between the loneliness of emotional isolation from social isolation. The first refers to a need for a personal attachment and intimacy. The second speaks to the need of a person for involvement in an active and engaging social network. It is the seeking after another accepting group or environment. Senior centers clearly have a vital role to play in lessening or fostering feelings of social isolation. What is more, in terms of the Hispanic elderly, "senior citizen's clubs can help fill the psychological and social void left when traditional roles, values and expectations, no longer exist in the urban, nontraditional setting of the host society" (Becerra and Shaw, 1984, p. 34).

Hispanic seniors frequently complain to staff members at IPR/HE about what they experience as the unwelcoming environment of their neighborhood centers. Most centers tend to be populated primarily by White or Black seniors. The Institute, a multi service program, does not itself have a senior center. It does, however, under a contract with the New York City Department For The Aging place outreach workers at centers, and these staff members report hostility directed at the Hispanic seniors, who may or may not speak English. Outreach workers continue to be placed at these centers because of the poor attendance by Hispanic seniors. Some seniors who had earlier attended

briefly, often report to the outreach workers feeling unwanted, and for that reason had not returned. It is also thought that many others fear not being accepted, and would not come in on their own. The outreach workers generally are able only to increase participation on the days when they are in attendance at a particular center. This continues to reflect an ongoing problem at the centers.

During the 1987 to 1988 funding year the Office of Staff Development and Training of the New York State Department of Social Services contracted with the Institute to provide cultural awareness training for senior center personnel. The Department at least recognized that issues of inter ethnic/racial relations had to be addressed on a staff level. It was thought that the center environments had to be changed if Hispanic seniors were to be attracted and retained. Funding was lost for this particular program even though the New York City Human Resources Administration admits to the further need for such training. There are many requests coming in from centers to the Institute for this training, which the Institute is unable to subsidize on its own.

Staff at senior centers admit to difficulties. At an intergroup relations workshop for providers in October 1990 staff from various centers and other settings expressed great concern over the racial/ethnic conflict in

evidence. Their problems were no different from the ones that had earlier supported the need for this research endeavor.

One center director described how her Italian seniors had even removed chairs so that the Hispanic seniors would not have a place to sit. Another director reported how angry and jealous her Black seniors were when the outreach worker had special bilingual activities, even when they are invited to attend. One director and the residence manager of a center in a senior housing complex reported that the Hispanic tenants were staying away from the center. This leaves many seniors with little else to do. This center should be noted to be in a drug infested neighborhood, as many centers are, so that tenants fearing for their lives do tend to restrict their activities outside their Development. The director attributed the Hispanic seniors lack of participation to their inability to speak English so that they can not communicate with the monolingual center members or staff.

The resident manager, who is Black, thought the problem was in reality not the language, but rather the overtly expressed hostility communicated by many Black tenants toward the Hispanic tenants. Both director and resident manager did agree that the Black tenants were feeling displaced as the proportion of Hispanic tenants had greatly increased in the development and there was

evident fear that Hispanics would become the majority. If the Black seniors are truly feeling threatened then this is bound to be expressed behaviorally. It is important to understand the significance of this threat to the Black seniors and how this is in turn being experienced by the Hispanic seniors. Ways then must be found to reduce this threat.

Farley (1982) in discussing ethnic conflicts points out that probably the most important factor in determining the type of relationship which two groups will develop will depend on whether one group has been in a position to gain at the expense of the other. Housing shortages contribute to this problem as do other service gaps. An important point, too, to remember in race relations is made by Markides and Mindel (1987). The perception of majority varies from group to group. They specify that to Blacks many Hispanics seem a part of the dominant majority and, one should add, and vice versa.

All-in-all no senior should be kept away from the use of services, such as senior centers, because of feeling uncomfortable or by being made to feel unwanted because of the state of intergroup relations. We must insure that this same problem does not keep seniors from other services, such as health services, where long waits in crowded facilities are often required. If race relations are indeed a problem, hard data should assist us with

determining what if anything can be done to improve race relations. If this is not feasible then we must plan and develop in so far as possible alternative services.

The study of Black and Hispanic race relations take on a special significance when we recall that the Hispanic and Black elderly populations are rapidly growing, without any foreseeable improvement in their socioeconomic conditions. By the year 2000 it is projected that Blacks and Hispanics will grow to be 13 and 11 percent of all elderly New Yorkers in the State. (New York State Office for the Aging) Hispanic and Black elderly intergroup relations, consequently, can not continue to be ignored.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

There is a large body of literature in the area of race and ethnic or intergroup relations. The subject has been of special interest to researchers in the fields particularly of sociology and social psychology. There have been numerous studies which have had a national as well as comparative international foci. Research designs have varied and have included many national public surveys to many small laboratory experiments. The examination of the literature from these fields along with social work materials is important for the light such data might shed on the study of Black and Hispanic elderly intergroup relations.

Ethnicity: A Perspective

The process of studying intergroup relations, as See and Wilson, sociologists (1988) write, begins with a fundamental question with reference to the manner in which ethnic identity arises, persists and is altered. They point to documentation from current research that shows people have a psychological proclivity for deep group attachments. Individuals tend to esteem their own over others, regardless of direct self interest. See and Wilson take special note of the work of Tajfel (1981) and his

research on the minimal intergroup situation paradigm. In Tajfel's experiments, individuals even showed favoritism toward groups to which they were arbitrarily assigned. This was so despite a lack of face-to face interaction amongst subjects and even when there existed as a consequence of this preference, a potential for lower material rewards. In their review See and Wilson conclude that, "research suggests that the proclivity for invidious outgroup intergroup comparison cannot be reduced to materialistic factors" (pp. 224-225).

Hamilton and Troler (1986) also examine Tajfel's minimum intergroup situation paradigm and other research in this area which support the contention that clear preferential treatment is given to in-group members. The basis upon which the categorization of in-group/out-group is made does not have to be itself meaningful, but will become significant, nevertheless, in terms of treatment of others and assumptions made about others. There are cognitive-perceptual concomitants of in-group/out-group categorizations, which are to be discussed later.

Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) as well, give special prominence to Tajfel's work in cognition and motivation. They highlight findings that show that an individual's need for positive distinctiveness in self and group identities relates to the social categorization of others. This need becomes a motivator for prejudice and results in

intergroup competition and intergroup discrimination. The result of social categorization consequently is intergroup competition.

Stephan (1985) in his extensive review of the literature on intergroup relations also examines what he characterizes as in-group/out-group bias. He, too, establishes that evidence demonstrates that the process of simply dividing people into any type of ad hoc groups brings forth a pro in-group bias. Again it was pointed out that the group distinctions do not even have to serve an actual function and no direct self gain has to be involved. What is more, in the experimental situations studied, most times the subjects happened to be strangers and anonymous. Of special interest is the conclusion that this bias exists even when self identity processes are not involved, as the findings in those particular group of laboratory experiments demonstrated.

According to Stephan theoretical explanations with reference to causative factors of in-group/out-group bias generally fall into two large categories, cognitive and motivational. As described above, the cognitive process of simply categorizing groups as competitors immediately sets up anticipations and rationalizations for devaluating the out-group. This explanation clearly falls into the cognitive category. A motivational type of explanation is the notion that when social identity is involved the

desire to achieve a positively valued differentiation from others appears to be a motivator for the in-group/out-group bias.

See and Wilson (1988) highlight the work of Gordon (1978) in explaining this phenomenon's operation with reference to ethnicity. Gordon's work has been of interest not only to social psychologists but also to social workers. Currently Markides and Mindel (1987) in their work in the areas of aging and ethnicity utilize Gordon's (1964) broad definition of ethnicity as a framework for their book. Ethnicity is, therefore defined in terms of social groups that are distinctive on the basis of race, national origin or religion. This broad sweep is realistic as group identification in today's society are known to take on many forms.

Gordon (1978) hypothesized a biosocial predisposition to ethnic group identification and affiliation. This predisposition is said to tie into narcissism and in the interest of self protection to enter into group conflict. See and Wilson, however, add that there are intervening process and societal variables in operation which work as mediating forces. For them, "social, societal, and cultural, not biosocial predispositions, determine variations in ethnic conflict" (p. 225).

There are many theorists, such as Jackman and Crane (1986), whose focus is on the idea that intergroup

attitudes at their core express group-level interests. Jackman and Crane analyzed 1975 national survey data from the Institute of Social Research at the University of Michigan. This study, to be discussed later in greater detail, examined the relationship between interracial friendships and attitudes. They reviewed the work of Blumer (1958) and others, who believed as they do, that for interpretation of the findings, a political conception of intergroup attitudes is in order. The collective sense of intergroup position, dominant to subordinate, energizes intergroup attitudes. They believe that at issue in intergroup relations is not affect, personal animosity or friendship. No matter what the affect or the degree of friendship, the findings demonstrated that the intention is to defend group privilege.

Ethnicity With Special Reference To The Minority Experience

The minority and majority experiences appear to make a significant difference in how people perceive others. Stephan (1985) cites a number of studies (Branthwaite and Jones, 1975; Brewer and Campbell, 1976; and Dutton, 1976). These studies were not based on groups formed in laboratory experiments, with which a large segment of the literature in the area of intergroup relations deal, but

rather on real social groups. The studies found that majority group members showed less in-group/out-group bias than did minority group members. It is thought that in-group/out-group distinctions may have greater salience for minority group members. This may be in self protection. This is of interest in noting the group boundaries that are being drawn by Black and Hispanic elderly.

Marger (1989) in examining cultural and structural pluralism points out that the minority group retreats to the minority community as a defense against dominant group hostility or to ward off out-group attack of its cultural system. Black antagonism toward Whites is seen as reactive with a historical grounding in White exploitation rather than White racist community ideology. Black-Hispanic relations, reactive or ideological require study.

Markides and Mindel (1987) incorporate the impact of minority status in applying modernization theory to ethnicity in relation to aging. According to classical theorists modernization processes, such as urbanization, bureaucratization, and secularization, etc. erode ethnicity. This perspective is challenged by them as being too narrow.

See and Wilson (1988) explain, however, that without an open society allowing access to the prerequisites for assimilation counterforces will emerge. These include

ethnic political activism, a desire for self determination, and competition for resources. They point to the negatives of social stratification evident in segregation but recognize the potential in ghetto existence for development of viable minority institutions and political power. It is Marger's (1989) contention that structural pluralism does arise from discrimination, creating ecological concentrations of minority groups that may or may not be culturally pluralistic. He concludes in an analysis of the Irish and American experiences that ethnic distinctiveness may be a factor in maintaining structural pluralism but is not its producer.

Markides and Mindel propose that ethnicity is not a static phenomenon and maintain that changes are not always unidirectional. Industrialization may have brought in its wake the weakening of the extended family along with a diminishing status for the elderly. Many people, nevertheless, do retain their cultural heritage intact, though, there may be differences amongst individuals and generations. Furthermore, culture is noted to take on a different salience at different periods in an individual's life. In addition, they do agree that ethnicity is found to interact with minority status. Markides and Mindel, like See and Wilson, recognize the complexities of ethnic existence. They establish that the Black Church and Barrios in this urban and discriminatory society serve

often as coping mechanisms that reinforce cultural traditions.

Zuniga (1988) in discussing the strengths inherent to biculturalism cited Goodman's and Berman's (1971) research on Chicano, White and Black children. Chicano children in the Barrio were taught the centrality of the family and obtained a strong family orientation. In keeping with cultural traditions they were taught to respect and help others and to be disciplined. These traditions were found by the researchers to continue to exist and to be useful in promoting social competence. The Anglo and Black children in contrast were peer oriented. They placed less value on control of ego impulses. There was greater emphasis on material goods and acquisitiveness. The Chicano children instead placed greater stress on the value of social interaction and had a humanistic rather than materialistic orientation. Zuniga also examined the work of other theorists which support the reality of the maintenance of the Chicano culture as well as the complexities inherent in bicultural development.

That ethnicity as a factor continues to enter into the daily lives of people through their value orientations expressed in their life styles can not be negated. Daily media accounts demonstrate ethnicity to be a factor in intergroup relations in New York City. What ethnicity means in terms of Black and Hispanic elderly intergroup

relations requires examination.

Intergroup Relations

Robert B. Hill, a sociologist, wrote the 1987 Encyclopedia of Social Work article on "Intergroup Relations". He delves into the sociological and social psychological literature. Hill prefers to use the term intergroup relations rather than ethnic, race, or minority relations, which he considers to be too limiting as terms. However, in his discussion of intergroup relations he only refers to relations between minorities and dominant groups. Hill is concerned with how racism plays itself out in patterns of subordination from a continuum of oppression to assimilation, in unidirectional or reciprocal acculturation.

Hill, consequently, does not explore the subject of minority to minority relations. He does, however, make the point that during the 1970's, a period of difficult economic times, Hispanics were scapegoated. Hill describes this population as then being vulnerable to charges of taking jobs from 'real' Americans. (p 949) During riots in Miami during the Summer of 1989, television newscasts showed Black youth hurling these same accusations. Though clearly in this country neither the Black or Hispanic populations are truly part of the institutional power

structure they are at times in positions of some power particularly in relation to each other. The term intergroup relations will, therefore, for purposes of this study, be extended to give consideration to relations between Black and Hispanics.

Stephan's (1985) socialpsychological definition provides such a broadened focus. Intergroup relations "consist of the systematic study of relations between individuals as they are affected by group membership" (p. 599). This particular definition seems particularly useful for this exploratory study with its focus on minority intergroup relations.

This wider focus is in line with Williams' (1977) view of the many faceted aspects to intergroup relations. As part of a primary process all social systems have racial, ethnic and religious groupings. Kinship groupings transmit their sub-cultural differences. Their intergroup relations are governed by norms which are at one time diffuse, particularistic and collectively oriented. These relations are deeply embedded in societal substructures and stratification systems. In fact, according to Williams economic and political statuses are ascribed and transmitted through these very kinship groups and relationships. Institutionalized ranking scales ascribing esteem and privileges for the various groupings are created. These are part of economic and political

derivative processes. Power determines the awarding of benefits and sanctions. It is thought that power considerations to a tremendous extent serve to govern intergroup relations and to establish the boundaries of subgroupings. Racial and ethnic relations change through social power shifts in political institutions and movements. Conflict and social accommodation reflect these power relationships.

With further reference to intergroup relations, Hill focuses on the inaccuracy of the term race, which he characterizes as having a social meaning rather than anthropological significance. He, therefore, believes that the term intergroup relations has the advantage of drawing attention not only to the role that the physical plays but to the cultural part as well. This combination is particularly meaningful in terms of Blacks and Hispanics, as many Hispanics would not be physically distinguishable from Blacks. The cultural or ethnic identification clearly is of significance.

Identifications: Color Vs. Culture

Jones (1986) establishes that "skin color has been the organizing principle or schema for much of race relations in the United States for over three centuries" (p. 311). American Blacks in this racist and color

conscious society, have commonly centered their identification on color. There is however a discernible trend to speak instead of Afro or African-Americans. To Baird (1970) the word "Black" and Black identification, though better than the slave designation of Negro, has been fostered by an oppressive society. Black, then accordingly, does not describe who a people are, while land, history and culture do. Hispanics and Blacks, thereby, have different and very distinct heritages and importantly a historically different perspective on color.

Longres (1974) points out that for the Puerto Rican the primary source of self identity is culture or class, not color. This is recognized to be true for other Hispanic groups as well. The older generation socialized with closer ties to their Hispanic roots, would be expected to identify more closely with their cultural heritage than may be observed with the youth. Hispanic youth living side by side with Blacks may at times take on a Black identification. In general, this is not expected to be the case with the Hispanic elderly.

Garcia (1982) analyzed data from the National Chicano Survey of Mexicans in Detroit measuring ethnic identification, identity and consciousness. Garcia concluded that the ecological milieu along with the ascriptive characteristics of individuals may in interaction produce varying impacts on consciousness,

identity or identification. The type of self identification or externally forced identification may become a source of intergenerational conflicts between Hispanic youth and the community's elderly. It also has created conflicts with many Blacks who may find it difficult to understand why color is not the primary basis for self identity for the Hispanic community as a whole.

Culture In The American Societal Context

Mahard (1989) reported on a study conducted by the Hispanic Research Center at Fordham University. It was a New York metropolitan area based study, with a representative cross-section consisting of 1,002 Puerto Rican seniors, 55 years and over. Forty-eight percent of the seniors interviewed responded that they thought themselves "more Puerto Rican than American." Another 44 percent saw themselves "equally Puerto Rican and American." Only 8 percent identified with "more American than Puerto Rican".

A newly released, September, 1989, national survey of 48,000 Hispanic households, sponsored by the Commonwealth Fund Commission, found that more than 60 percent of elderly Hispanics were not born stateside. In fact 98 percent of Cubans and Puerto Rican elderly were not born in the continental United States. What is more, 40 percent

of this elderly population did not come to the continental United States until at least the age of 45. This is definitely way past their formative years when their core identity is established, and attitudes and behavior may well have become fixed. (Andrews)

See and Wilson (1988) in discussing Gordon's (1978) work point out that ethnicity cannot 'be shed by mobility'. It is a part of the 'self'. In reflecting on the work of Cornell (1985) they talk of the difficulty in going in and out of a community of culture. It necessitates responding to differences in world view, behavioral patterns and systems of meaning. (p. 225) Mizio (1983) elaborates on the problems involved for the Puerto Rican in making a transition from a basically humanistic culture in Puerto Rico to a materialistic one on the mainland. She highlights that this movement from one country to another is especially complicated when the other country's laws are based on different set of value premises, sanctioning the legitimacy of the host's culture and life styles. Case examples are provided showing the impact on individuals of having to respond to such differences.

For the Hispanic elderly holding on to cultural traditions may well be proving maladaptive in an urban ghetto. The prohibitions against confrontations and aggressive type behaviors, the patterns of subordination

and adherence to authority, male and female role strictures, and expectations of being treated with "respeto" will make survival difficult. (Mizio, 1981)

Southern Blacks, as contrasted to Northerners, perhaps, can be expected to more easily relate with understanding to these cultural patterns. Johnson (1979) examined the roots of Black culture. He writes that the eye behavior, reluctance to look directly in the eye of a person in authority, is found in many West African cultures. This is a behavioral pattern which is understood by Southern Blacks and is most common to the behavior of many Hispanic elderly. Differences in expectations in role behaviors may be causing cultural misunderstandings between Black and Hispanic elderly and is an aspect that requires exploration.

Jones (1986) discusses Black culture from a multidimensional and evolutionary perspective. He utilizes the acronym TRIOS to discuss the cultural aspects of Time, Rhythm, Improvisation, Oral Expression and Spirituality. Jones traces their African origins and their evolution in the context of the wider American society. The Black culture's time orientation focuses on behavior and functions rather than time tables.

In examination of these cultural characteristics, similarities between Black and Hispanic cultures emerge. Jones' discussion of time, for example, is very similar to

what Hall (1977) characterizes as polychronic time systems in which he classifies the Hispanic culture. This is in contrast to monochronic time systems with their emphasis on schedules, promptness and segmentation, in which the wider American society falls. Polychronic time systems rather than stressing keeping to predetermined linear schedules emphasize completion of transactions and people involvement. Several things go on at the same time. Nevertheless, similarities may be obscured or negated by other characteristics such as the earlier identified Hispanic cultural patterns plus language impact.

It is important, however, to add that neither Hispanics or Blacks are monolithic. Williams (1977) reviews the literature in intergroup relations and notes that there are differences in values within minority groups. He cites a number of studies, including national survey data reported on by Rokeach (1973) with reference to values held by White and Black respondents. These findings lead to the conclusion that there is a common fund of shared values, both instrumental and terminal. In addition, when there is control for socioeconomic class factors, Blacks and Whites have emerged similar in value systems. In the Rokeach study the sole value that continued to show a difference between Blacks and Whites, even when controlling for economic and educational level, was the value of equality and the evaluations it was

given. Williams comments that that this in no way negates the uniqueness, unity and integrity of Black cultures in the United States.

Language And Its Significance

Language is one is also a significant part of one's cultural heritage. As Mahard (1989) explains, language questions are often core items in measures of acculturation. In the Fordham University study 97 percent of the respondents chose to be interviewed in Spanish. These ties to the Spanish language seem to be true also for other than the Puerto Rican senior. In the analysis of the 1980 Census Mann and Salvo (1984) found that over 92 percent of Hispanic adults over the age of 25 spoke a language other than English at home.

Sotomayor (1977) stresses that for the Hispanic people language, as for other groups, plays a significant social and survival function and serves to foster group solidarity. This is as true for the Black community. Dodson and Ross (1977) write "Black Vernacular English (BVE), the language of most Afro-Americans, can be identified as one expression of an Afro-American culture, evolved from the survival of African cultural traditions as adapted to conditions in the new world" (p. 3). Rap music appears to be serving a similar function today in

the Black community.

Farley (1982) saw evidence from a broad, cross national perspective that differences in language have been and are a potentially explosive factor in group relations. He cites examples of the Flemish and Walloons in Belgium as well as the French and English Canadians. Lambert (1986) reports on a number of studies conducted with English speaking Canadians. Results demonstrated that when a bilingual person was conversing in French that person was assessed to be less intelligent, less attractive, less trustworthy, etc. than when the individual was speaking English. Lambert also cited a number of controlled studies with French Canadian school children. These children achieved higher levels when taught in French. Lambert concludes that language identity in good measure becomes cultural identity.

The New York Times (September 24, 1989) reported on a forthcoming election to be held in Quebec where two English-language protest groups were expected to secure significant votes. English-language signs at present can only be displayed inside buildings and what is more the French ones must be dominant. Farley warns that as the Spanish speaking groups become the largest minority group in the United States the potential for language based conflict will increase. Furthermore, he contends that, "Ethnic conflicts tend to be more intense when the

groups involved speak different languages" (p. 198).

When conducting sensitivity and cultural awareness training with Black Medicaid and Income Maintenance workers this writer has found that many are angered by Hispanic applicants limitations in speaking English. Senior center personnel also have thought of this factor as problematic. It appears, however, to go way beyond verbal understanding. The significance of language as embedded in a culture as an issue in Hispanic and Black elderly intergroup relations bears examination.

A Three Tiered Framework

Jones (1986) in his review of research on race relations and cultural differences and following Cole (1970) presents a three dimensional perspective on Black culture. The three tiers consist of: the Mainstream Experience, the Minority Experience, and the Black Experience. These tiers can serve as a framework for looking at some similarities and difference between Black and Hispanic elderly.

The extent to which non English and Spanish speaking seniors share even in the Mainstream Experience may well differ from the Black elderly. Elderly with difficulties speaking, reading or writing English are often fearful of traveling alone. This serves to isolate them and maintains

them ghetto-bound and limits their mainstream participation. Mahard (1989) in the Fordham University Study pointed out with reference to the Puerto Rican elderly that irrespective of length of residence in the mainland The Puerto Rican elderly population is largely unacculturated. She highlighted that for approximately one-fourth of the sample being unacculturated resulted in becoming extremely dependent on others for the performance of routine tasks.

Hispanic elderly who do not read, listen or watch the English media will have different stimuli shaping to their perceptions. As illustration, "las novelas", soap operas, which tend to have a wide following amongst people who spend a great deal of time at home, are not the same for English or Spanish speaking audiences. Explicit sex is not part of the Spanish speaking presentations. In fact when sex is alluded to, it is strictly in terms of a married couple or a long term relationship. This both responds to and maintains cultural traditions.

For many Hispanic elderly the only media influence may be the Spanish one. Spanish media presentation of news events clearly reflect biases and political interests of the Hispanics. As See and Wilson (1988) discuss the media is a potent force in promoting ethnic identities and ideologies, spreading information and documentation, activating propaganda and securing mobilization. They

also elaborate on how the communications media encourages a standardization of culture. The Hispanic elderly person, who only watches the Spanish media, has in this way less exposure to mainstream culture than the Black elderly. The degree of accultuation to mainstream culture of Black and Hispanic elderly is expected thereby, to vary and may serve to influence their attitudes toward each other.

There is also a Black press and Black programming which is bound to influence the Black community and its elderly. The Sunday morning program Positively Black on October 1, 1989 discussed the respective roles of both the Black and White press. The Black press was considered to play an important part in bringing critical information to the Black community, which the White Press suppressed or distorted. In general the White press was thought to be inflammatory in promoting divisiveness between groups and promoting negative stereotypes of Blacks. This negative stereotyping is very much part of the Black Experience in this country, as it is of the Hispanic one.

The Black Experience is described by Jones (1986) in terms of reactionary and evolutionary features which are unique to the Black community. While it is just as possible to speak of the Hispanic Experience as related to oppression. they do have different histories, cultural heritages and historical relationships to the wider American society. External forces have the potential for

dividing or uniting the Black and Hispanic communities not only in terms of minorities to majority relations but also minority to minority relations. The impact of forces may lead to a perception of common cause or to a protection of each group's own interest.

Simpson and Yinger (1965) observe that in the United States there are a number of minorities rather than one that become subject to the manipulations of the powerful majority. The majority is able to play one group against the other. There consequently develops a hierarchy of minorities. The New York City experience throughout the years has borne out the fact that minorities are very conscious of the ethnic/racial identification of the leadership and have long memories for past events. Political events such as any election period will lead minority groups to the forging of new alliances and to strive to be the largest beneficiary of any political spoils. In looking at Black and Hispanic elderly relations it, therefore, will be important to note the existing societal context.

Chestang (1976) writing of the Black Experience characterizes it by, "Three conditions socially determined and institutionally supported...: social injustice, societal inconsistency, and personal impotence" (p. 61). This portrayal can easily be used to characterize as well the Minority Experience. The Minority Experience is

depicted by Jones (1986) as related to the shared commonalities of the experiences of powerlessness, discrimination and disadvantage. Disadvantage is elaborated on by Williams (1977) and is seen as consciousness of deprivation in relation to power, wealth, income, authority, prestige or social respect. The weighting of these factors will vary amongst individuals and groups.

The loss of social respect should be highlighted as of tremendous significance to the Hispanic elderly. "Respeto", a broadened concept of respect, is a central value of the Hispanic elderly and is expected to be a key factor in all social relations. The extent to which the elderly Hispanic feels respect is being accorded by the Black senior is bound to have some impact on the perception of whether there is a sense of a common bond in the Minority Experience. Furthermore, as presented in an earlier section the perception of who is a majority to a minority individual could very well be another minority group. The extent to which there is bonding of groups in relation to the Minority Experience is clearly not a constant. Williams finds a great deal of historical evidence that lends support to the conclusion that, "The balance between ethnic retensionism and separatism versus partial assimilation and social integration is delicate and variable, changing over time and from situation to

situation" (p.66). The above factors are bound to play a role in Black-Hispanic elderly encounters and warrant consideration.

Chatters and Taylor (1989) report on a national study with 581 Black respondents ages 55 years and older. One of the questions asked of the respondents was whether they had experienced a racial problem and were treated badly within a month before the interview. Thirty-six people, 5.8 percent of the sample said they had been. Seven individuals, 2.1 percent, reported racial problems as their most upsetting life problem. The researchers in their discussion stress that there are differences in how individuals experience the impact of similar events. They point to the importance of an examination of the differences in stress and coping mechanisms as related to age and other status group differences. And, I would add ethnic group differences, which also relate to status group differences. In this article there was no mention of whether the racial problems were with majority and/or other minority group members.

In conducting cultural awareness training this writer has heard complaints related by both Blacks and Hispanics about having been discriminated against by other minority group members. It would be important to explore the differential impact of ethnicity in response to problematic racial encounters in comparisons of Black and

Hispanic seniors when reporting particularly on comparable life events.

Mahard in an interview with this writer on June 28, 1989 reported that in the Puerto Rican Elderly Survey there had been a section on discrimination. The written material, however, was not made available. Forty percent of the seniors interviewed felt that Puerto Rican experience "a lot" of discrimination and another 40 percent assessed discrimination as "some". The Puerto Rican seniors, in the same proportions, thought this was as true for the Black community. An important question is the degree to which this perception then creates a bond?

It is recognized that the questions asked in the surveys of Black and Hispanic seniors are not directly comparable. The data, nevertheless, suggest that there may have been differences in the degree to which Black and Hispanic seniors had perceived discrimination to be a problem. In New York City, however, at this particular time racism is figuring prominently in the thoughts not only of minorities but of many other individuals and groups. Bias related crimes are reported frequently in the communications media. The societal context at which time the seniors are being interviewed, again it is stressed, will require careful attention.

Situational Context

Dawes and Smith (1985) take note that situational factors are most often cited by researchers as attenuating factors in relationship to attitude and behavior. The environmental context, therefore, in which the seniors find themselves is to be assessed. Situational factors have many dimensions and work to influence attitudes and behavior.

Situational factors also figure prominently in Allport's (1954/1979) well known taxonomy, which is widely used for analyzing contact situations. One category of the taxonomy is The social atmosphere surrounding the contacts. The six areas under this category include whether the contact is perceived as: voluntary or involuntary; real or artificial; typical or exceptional; interpersonal or intergroup; segregation or egalitarianism expectations; and intimate, transient, or trivial. Other categories in the taxonomy include: Quantitative aspects of the contact; Areas of contact; Status aspects of the contact; and Role aspects of contact. Allport also includes in his classification, Personality of the individual experiencing the contact with areas related to prejudice and its roots. (Hewstone and Brown, 1986, pp. 2-5)

Not to be neglected is also the aspect of situation

choice, which Dawes and Smith estimate to be highly correlated with attitude. Hewstone and Brown cite research dealing with selective entry and contact avoidance. There is much question, nevertheless, with reference to the direction of causality, as to whether attitude determines contact or vice versa. Jackman and Crane (1986) stress contact to be the precursor to attitudes even in terms of choosing friendships. Hewstone and Brown consider that it is safer to assume mutual causality and a dynamic relationship between contact and attitude.

Living side by side in ghettos for both the Black and Hispanic elderly generally is not a matter of situation choice. Choosing to attend or not to attend a senior center is perhaps more likely to reflect greater choice and already may be indicative of some attitude differences with reference to Black and Hispanic intergroup relations.

All-in-all it will be important for a study of attitudes in intergroup relations to keep in perspective the Black and Hispanic elderly Mainstream Experiences, Black and Hispanic Experiences, and Minority Experiences -- and to place it within the current social climate and situation in which the respondents are located.

Attitudes

Dawes and Smith (1985) in their article on "Attitude

and Opinion Measurement", following Allport's (1935) lead, comment that attitudes are defined less successfully than they are measured. They point to the debate over the nature of the components of attitudes. A tripartite, consisting of the cognitive, affective, and behavioral components, has been of interest to many theorists. Some researchers, however, have eliminated totally the behavioral component. The majority of theorists, have made their central focus the affective. In terms of the Black and Hispanic elderly it would be of interest to explore the tripartite in a situational and societal context.

The relationship between attitudes and behavior is said to be many-to-one. Various attitudes may relate to one particular behavior and in turn any particular attitude may be associated with a multitude of behaviors. The overall relationships are one-to-many. Additionally, there are factors in behavior and in broad attitudes that may bear no direct relation to each other.

In discussing the complexity of the relationship between attitudes and behavior, Dawes and Smith cite, as one of many such research endeavors in the area of discrimination, the Schuman (1972) study of heads of household and their wives in the Detroit area. Only thirteen percent of the respondents agreed in principle to discrimination as being right. Yet 41 percent were willing to accept discrimination were it necessary for the harmony

of the firm. Fifty-three percent, however, would go along with discrimination if the majority of Whites in the firm supported it. In terms of the Black and Hispanic elderly any piece of behavior should, therefore, not be taken to reflect the same cognitive or affective components and vice versa.

The LaPiere (1934) study, despite some research flaws, is assessed to be the most famous observational study in the area of race relations specifying behavioral discrepancy. In the early thirties LaPiere traveled the States, going to 251 establishments with a young Chinese couple. They only were refused admittance once and this was when all were poorly dressed and in an old car. LaPiere, six months after their travels, wrote to all these same establishments asking the question, "Will you accept members of the Chinese race as guests in your establishment?" One hundred-twenty-eight responses were received with 90 percent of the respondents stating "no". Dawes and Smith present a critique of certain aspects of the study. They, nevertheless, take note of the significance of the study's findings and the difference between these results and Gunnar Myrdal's presentation in the book the American Dilemma (1944). Whereas in Myrdal's data Americans professed an idealistic attitude set their behaviors proved discriminatory; in contrast, in LaPiere's study attitudes were negative but behaviors positive.

The critical point made for purposes of this study is that there are no simple and perfunctory one to one relationships between attitudes and behavior. There are many compounding variables. In the Detroit area study respondents were anticipating and very much concerned about the operation of social norms and peer pressures. What these norms are in terms of Black and Hispanic intergroup relations requires exploration.

Again in the Detroit area study we take notice that situational factors require attention. Hill (1987) alerts us in general to the environmental context in which the intergroup contact is taking place. The degree and nature of intergroup hostility may vary from place to place. Individuals are known to behave quite differently in various group settings. Hewstone and Brown (1986) cite research showing individuals are often different when operating in an interpersonal situation as distinct from intergroup situations. Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) in turn specify that immediate social forces are to be noted. The type of group contact whether it is cooperative or competitive will critically affect discrimination and prejudice.

There have been numerous studies in terms of White's perceptions of Blacks, which should not be taken at face value. Reviews of national opinion polls and surveys show that in the last forty plus years racial discrimination

toward Blacks in terms of attitudes toward this population and public policies have changed dramatically. As illustration, this was evident in the findings of research conducted in the years 1942, 1956, 1963, 1970, 1972 and 1976 by the National Opinion Research Center. In both North and South changes were seen in views with reference to integration in relation to schools, jobs, transportation, parks, restaurants and hotels. Later National Opinion Research Center and Harris polls revealed increasing willingness to vote for qualified Black candidates, greater acceptance of integrated socialization, and less negative stereotyping of Blacks. (Hill, 1987; Dovidio and Gaertner, 1986)

In other studies identical instruments, using adjective checklists were administered three times to comparable samples in a thirty-three year period, demonstrated considerable attitude changes. The results showed that stereotyping by Whites is becoming increasingly favorable toward Blacks while becoming increasingly negative toward Whites. Interestingly over time the stereotyping by Whites of both Blacks and Whites is becoming increasingly identical. Media portrayals of Blacks also have changed from being typecast in low level positions and subordinate statuses to increasingly positive characterizations and to more egalitarian relationships with Whites. (Dovidio and Gaertner)

What these changes are reflective of is subject to speculation. It has been suggested that changes in the media stem from Black community pressures rather than a positive regard. In addition researchers such as McConahay, to be discussed, have found that issues of social desirability enter in responses given by subjects. (Dovidio and Gaertner)

Dawes and Smith point to a truism that when individuals are asked about attitudes they are cognizant that their attitudes are being scrutinized. Consequently, they may give what have been called reactive responses. This, too, has to be kept in mind when interviewing the Black and Hispanic elderly. Dawes and Smith give as an example the desire to appear unprejudiced. In this same vein Hill refers to the challenge by many researchers of findings purporting marked increases in racial tolerance. These researchers contend that what is evident is the unwillingness to reveal "redneck attitudes", which are no longer socially acceptable. This is of course a change in itself.

What is interesting to consider is that there may be some reversal in attitudes for the Hispanic elderly, but it may well be in the opposite direction from the evident changes in the general population. Color related discrimination runs counter to traditions, yet may in this state side environment be receiving greater degree of

community social sanction. Again it should be remembered that social identity for the Hispanic is based on culture not color. This should not be taken, however, to mean that Hispanics in their countries of origin never discriminated. Tumin (1969) in discussing race relations in Puerto Rico highlights its complexity. He notes that with reference to racial differences there is little by way of effective ideology supporting differential advantages. Neither will you find serious community norms or formal laws. What one does note is a disproportionate number of dark skinned individuals in the lower class. At the same time the Puerto Rican perceives Ramon Betances, who was dark skinned, as one of the greatest historical figures.

Katz, Hass, and Wackenhut (1986) in "Racial Ambivalence, Value Duality, and Behavior" postulate that Whites' racial attitudes show increasing complexity and differentiation, with a polarity of negative and positive existing side by side in an individual. Whites, accordingly, tend to uphold the democratic value of humanitarianism; this leads them to support the underdog. At the same time they subscribe to the value of the Protestant ethic and individualism; the individual is responsible for his/her own destiny. This leads to their perception of Blacks as both disadvantaged by the system and yet psychologically deviant, upholding values and

norms counter to the general society. The individual consequently is conflicted. Katz, Hass, and Hackenbut cite a number of experiments in which this ambivalence manifests itself in unstable behavior and extremes of positives and negatives.

This same ambivalence is often seen present in the Medicaid and Income Maintenance trainees, who are primarily Black and Hispanics, in cultural awareness sessions conducted by this writer. They, too, share in and are products of the Mainstream Experience. The elderly Black and Hispanics deal with these helpers. One must wonder how these experiences then get translated into intergroup relations amongst the elderly themselves.

Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) differ somewhat from Katz, Hass, and Hackenbut in their views and see racism as aversive. They feel that Whites in reality have negative feelings about Blacks, which they do not acknowledge. Any ambivalence relates to their inability to reconcile these feelings with their egalitarian value system. These researchers conclude from their experiments that the contemporary forms of racism in contrast to more traditional types are less overtly negative, not as direct, and more subtle. This ties into the historically racist cultural traditions of this country as well as commonly experienced cognitive defects in information processing. Gaertner and Dovidio, however, are not

convinced that redneck racism is still not a significant social force in this country.

McConahay (1986) proposes that today racism is subtle and symbolic and that it has not declined to the degree that is claimed. Those who practice the modern racism do not define themselves or their beliefs as racists. The modern racist, in fact, sees racism as bad. Because of early racial socialization, to a great extent on a non verbal level, the affective component is acquired early in life. It is thus not readily subject to change. McConahay supports Gaertner's and Dovidio's view that the individual is ambivalent and in conflict over egalitarian values and antiblack feelings. Experimental findings are presented with their results also showing unstable and extreme behaviors.

Modern racism is defined by McConahay in terms of views that Blacks are making illegitimate demands for changes in the racial status quo at a time when discrimination no longer exists. This is expressed by these individuals through abstract ideological symbols and symbolic behaviors. People recognize what would be considered unacceptable responses so couch them in ideology. McConahay to tap into modern racism, developed a scale, designed with nonreactive measures of antiblack prejudice. McConahay takes note that this scale will again require changing as the development of nonreactive

measures will need to be ongoing. The subject of discrimination is a sensitive area. Blacks and Hispanic elderly may not be as sophisticated as the White and educated population for which the Modern Racism scale was developed. Getting honest responses from the Black and Hispanic elderly, nevertheless, required care in the wording of the questionnaire and in the conducting of the interviews as well.

The New York Times (October 8, 1989) reported on interviews conducted with about 300 students at 20 universities. By far the greatest concern of those interviewed was race relations on campus. The article cited a mock slave auction at the University of Wisconsin at Madison as well as broadcasting of racial slurs on a radio station of the University of Michigan. Wellesley's Task Force on Racism issued a report stating that the university is covertly racist and that subtle forms of racism exist, which might not be recognized as such. Evidently both the traditional and modern racism are alive and well. This is the society in which the minority elderly find themselves.

Kurzeja, Koh, Koh, and Liu (1986) studied attitudes of Whites toward their own group and Asians. The attitudes of Koreans and Japanese toward their own respective group and Whites were also examined. All groups gave preference to their own. The Koreans, though, held quite favorable

attitudes toward Whites, but their view of their own group was, nevertheless, significantly higher. The researchers looked at the level of acculturation of both Asian groups. The elderly Koreans were described as immigrants, who are impoverished in terms of English language proficiency and under-acculturated to the majority society. Whereas, the Japanese elderly Nisei are depicted as having attained a high level of sociocultural assimilation to the majority society.

The above researchers report the findings for Japanese and Korean attitudes toward Whites to be in line with expectations with reference to concepts of cross cultural adaptations. One type of adaptation is considered to be adhesive, where the old traditions and social networks are retained, but certain aspects are added on without any replacement or significant modification of the old. When people are confined to their ethnic enclave and have little access to the majority the adhesive adaptation is thought to be strengthened. This is the type of adaptation that the researchers attributed to the Korean elderly, who not attempting to integrate apparently did not experience difficulty directly with the majority culture.

Hewstone and Brown (1986) cite research that shows that in-group favoritism and out-group discrimination has been shown to increase when people live alongside each

other. People then become, for one, clearer on group dissimilarities, and for another, experience a greater need to redefine themselves which is stimulated by the contact. This has implications for Black and Hispanic elderly relations as they do live side by side in frequent residential and possibly involuntary contact, which are factors considered to be relevant by Allport, to be discussed, in terms of impacting attitudes and behavior.

Another form of adaptation described in the study of Asian American elderly is called accommodative pluralism. This type of adaptation appeared prevalent for the Japanese elderly. There was a high level of cultural assimilation without social assimilation, but where the individual attempted to assimilate in so far as the situation permitted. They, therefore, directly experienced discrimination. The Japanese found they were not being allowed to integrate fully into the majority society, which resulted in less favorable attitudes toward Whites than the Koreans held.

The Hispanic elderly, particularly those with difficulty in speaking English, are probably closer in description to the Korean elderly in their level of acculturation. The Black elderly are probably closer in description to the Japanese elderly in their type of adaptation. The Japanese elderly, however, are a much more affluent population than the Black elderly, which has to

influence and make for differences in their perceptions of self and others. It would be important to compare Black and Hispanic attitudes toward their own group, toward each other as well as toward Whites, giving consideration to levels of adaptation and frequency of contact.

Recognition of differences between Blacks and Hispanics are often not made by the wider American society. Dawes and Smith (1985) discussed a study conducted by Funk et al. (1976), who researched the similarity of group stereotypes held by forty-nine subjects, forty-six of whom were White. Puerto Rican and Blacks were perceived by the respondents as emotional, aggressive, activist, nonindustrious and poor. The results fell into clusters on a scale with Puerto Ricans and Blacks represented by points at the same corner of a triangle. The clustering results of all groups stereotyped were assessed to be related to skin color or else cultural characteristics associated with color. Dawes and Smith in their presentation of this research study make the point that they would doubt that Black and Puerto Ricans making these judgments would see the same similarity between their groups as did the White respondents.

Hewstone and Brown (1986) discuss the phenomenon of "lumping". They cite research studies by Taylor (1981) and Taylor, Fiske, and Etcoff (1978) along with the work of Wilder (1978) and Rose (1981). They, too, point out that

people tend to categorize by race and not individuate the person. Importantly, Hewstone and Brown note that for minority groups this process of categorization with its lumping effect can have a debilitating impact. In the case of Hispanics and Blacks not only is their identity as individual group members lost but even their group identity is lost when others make no distinction between them. The need for group distinctiveness was highlighted earlier.

The theory of social identity focuses on the group ethnic/racial identification of people and the corresponding tendency to emphasize intergroup comparisons. People manifest a need to retain a positive distinctiveness. This becomes problematic in a society that lumps Blacks and Hispanics together into a minority designation with the accompanying stereotypes.

Much of what has been discussed falls into this major theory or conflict theory, which looks at intergroup relations from the perspective of competition for resources. The Hispanic and Black elderly in effect do have to compete for resources, Funding is limited. For example, the senior housing development, earlier referred to, only has a certain number of housing units. Special bilingual programming again has economic costs but it also has psychological ramifications for those targeted and non targeted group members. The impact that social identity

concerns and conflict issues have in governing intergroup relations of Black and Hispanic elderly are, therefore, important aspects to explore.

Cognition In Intergroup Relations

Cognitive processes, particularly as related to stereotyping are assessed to play a central role in intergroup processes. Today they are viewed as central to the understanding of discrimination and prejudice. Consequently cognitive processes are expected to influence intergroup relations between Black and Hispanic elderly as well as all others. This is of great concern for as Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) point out, the cognitive perspective maintains that stereotypic thinking with its ramifications is directly related to normal and inescapable human functioning.

Stone (1985), a sociologist, alerts us to the danger of looking at race relations from a perspective of kin-based groupings or primordial processes. Though not mentioned specifically, cognition would also fall into these type of processes. Working in the area of race relations, accordingly, would to him, lead us into genetic engineering, rather than to his proposed economic and political negotiation. To Stone these sorts of explanations can also serve as an excuse for perpetuating

injustice. But as Stone, also points out, man is instrumental in shaping his own destiny. If cognition truly impacts on race relations, then, it behooves us to understand its operations in order to secure the knowledge that would enable us to develop interventions that would be effective in helping to minimize cognitive distortions.

Tidwell (1987) in "Racial Discrimination and Inequality" in the Encyclopedia of Social Work, it should be pointed out, does not appear to attribute any major role to cognition in racial prejudice and discrimination. He does, however, take note in quoting the United States Commission on Civil Rights that stereotypes perpetuate discrimination and deny opportunities. Tidwell presents three theories to account for prejudice and discrimination, encompassed under the categories of normative-cultural, psychological, and sociostructural. The normative-cultural focuses on socialization processes and is viewed as the line of least resistance for the individual. The psychological looks at personal attributes and tendencies. The sociostructural takes the view that dominant groups discriminate to strengthen their political and economic interests. His thesis is that the sociostructural perspective may be sufficient to explain the persistence of racial inequalities in the United States.

Williams (1977) examines the process of

categorization from a sociological perspective of social categories and collectivities. He acknowledges, though, that psychological processes play a key role in intergroup relations. He views ethnic groupings as both primitive and derivative with economic and political forces both reinforcing and creating categorizations and social groupings.

Hamilton and Troler (1986) do stress the role of cognition and highlight stereotyping in relation to racism. They note that earlier two basic perspectives held prominence in explaining stereotyping in the same way as racism in general. One view stressed the motivation which serves the intrapsychic needs of individuals. Another approach, the sociocultural, has focused on the role of socialization and social learning. Hamilton and Troler place their greatest emphasis on the role of cognition. They define stereotypes in terms of cognitive categories used for processing of information by a social perceiver. People in order to deal with an informational overflow develop categories to simplify the processing of information. There are, however, consequences of categorizing, both in terms of not perceiving accurately an out-group member, as well as making inaccurate distinctions between members of one's own group and another's group.

Pettigrew (1987) also examines the many cognitive

types of distortions as tied into stereotyping. He defines stereotyped beliefs in terms of two types of associated categories, types of people and clusters of characteristics. He is particularly concerned with the distortions in the process of evaluation. He proposes an ultimate attribution error. Negative stereotypes of minorities are reinforced by attribution processes. When a minority person behaves in a manner perceived by a White person in a negative way it is attributed to innate characteristics of the individual, which are not subject to change. Situational determinants of the behavior are negated. When the minority person behaves in a manner perceived as positive it is often attributed to situational factors and a high level of system's supports. There also tend to be an exaggeration of the actual performance level, serving to reconfirm to the perceiver that the organization does not discriminate. In addition there is a general belief that the fine performance can only be transitory and can not be sustained.

The attributional error does not by any means only relate to intergroup relations. It is part of the way in which individuals generally tend to process information once a category has been established for an individual, such as introvert/extrovert. This is special concern as it is deeply rooted. Pettigrew discusses a number of research studies which show belief-inconsistent behaviors

are attributed to situational factors. Belief-consistent behaviors in turn are attributed to dispositional factors.

Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) highlight the categorical boundaries existing between Blacks and Whites which take on major roles in social perception. In order to reduce and eliminate prejudice it is considered necessary to reduce the saliency of categorical boundaries. Gaertner and Dovidio write that boundaries for social relations criss-cross several dimensions and include socioeconomic status, residential distribution, linguistic expression, and cultural values. These particular categorical boundaries, with their many levels and possibility for changing, are not, however, considered to have the same salience as race. Perceptual distinctive physical cues, with man's developed sense of vision, take on an immediacy and primacy in information processing which does not operate with other more complex social phenomena.

Colasanto and Williams (1987) in discussing findings from their national survey of Blacks and Whites report that both Blacks and Whites believed that their similarity as groups was increasing in terms of values and standard of living. Yet, only a small proportion of each group felt they shared many interests in common. The researchers report as "alarmingly strong" the belief of both lower class groups that they did not share any commonalities. Though Colasanto and Williams do not believe that class is

replacing race as the great social divider, they conclude that, "class is interacting with race to produce the social cleavages that are meaningful to American citizens" (p. 53).

Linguistic expression and cultural values are areas of differences for most Black and Hispanic elderly. From Dovidio's and Gaertner's cognitive perspective they are expected to serve as problematic categorical boundaries. Socioeconomic status and residential distribution, on the other hand, are not areas in general of differences so that these would not be anticipated to take on any salience. Colasanto and Williams, however, do see lower class status as a divider when interacting with race. Race, too, due to the differences in ethnic and color identifications, in combination with the above differences in boundaries and lower class status, may well take on significant categorical saliency for Black and Hispanic elderly.

Stephan (1985) stresses the role of expectancies in attention, encoding and retrieval as processes involved in categorizations. Expectancies, which include stereotypes, relate to intergroup attitudes and influence intergroup interactions. People will actively focus attention, selectively perceiving in line with their expectations or hypotheses. Research findings cited by Stephan confirm that people manifest a bias toward collecting, attending

to and retaining expectancy-confirming information. There is also a tendency to make inferences in line with expectancies. In addition, even non-presented information is at times presumed to have been presented. Furthermore, Hewstone and Brown (1986) note that individuals when hitting against information that does not fit their expectancies may sub-type the discrepant information. There is a tendency to perceive the individual who does not fit the stereotype as an exception to the rule.

According to Stephan a number of cognitive factors along with expectancies influence the selective attention process. These factors also include schemata and scripts. Schemata as cognitive structures consist of the representation of knowledge about a particular stimulus domain. With reference to socially defined social groups, in the schemata are contained hypotheses and expectations about its members. In the schemata there are in addition scripts for social situations which establish the episodic sequence for behavior. There are also causal schemata, rules for inferring causation in social situations. Stereotypes provide ready made answers as to causes. The expectancies in relation to social categories contain not only the schemata and scripts but also other sources of information, such as the influences of early socialization, mass media and peers.

Stephan in exploring the research in the area of

cognition reports on Duncan's (1976) study, replicated by Sager and Schofield (1980) which looks at the operations of stereotyping. In this laboratory experiment an encounter was staged, which was designed to be ambiguous. Both Black and White subjects perceived the perpetrator as more aggressive when the scene was performed by a Black in contrast to the White performer. From the many research findings it is concluded that expectancies have an impact on the nature and quality of intergroup relations. An understanding of the expectancies of Black and Hispanic elderly in relation to each other, therefore, appears to be essential information.

Stephan comments that the need to maintain a positive self image also influences the processing of social information. He specially cites the extensive cross-cultural research conducted by Brewer (1979). These findings and others show that members of the in-group select to compare themselves with others on social dimensions which would be favorable to their own group. It is known, too, that due to prejudicial attitudes certain categories also take on greater salience. An appreciation of what these categories are in terms of Black and Hispanic elderly intergroup relations would again be important knowledge.

Stephan in addition points out that the salience of particular characteristics are influenced by situational

factors and in interaction with the perceiver's personal characteristics. It has been noted in studies that ethnic identity becomes a self descriptor to the extent that one is a minority in a situation. It is believed that minority status in itself may serve as a stimulus for stereotyping, increasing its availability for utilization in encoding of information. For the Hispanic, for example, being one or few in numbers in attendance at a senior center is bound to be problematic in terms of both how the senior feels and is being perceived.

Pettigrew (1987) examined the manner in which stereotypes interact with the solo and token statuses often occupied by a minority person in industry. Such statuses set off the ultimate attribution error which was discussed earlier. This type of cognitive processing would seem to have implications for service delivery situations, for example where a senior is one, of a few, or of many.

In intergroup relations Stephan notes that whether people will individualize or see others basically in terms of their group membership appears to a great extent to be related to the individual's prior experience. Past experiences create strong associations giving rise to specific categories for attending to specific information. These are thus the categories that then become more readily available. If a person is initially perceived as part of a categorized group the subsequent processing of

social information will give salience to those characteristics that are considered distinctive to that group. An important question is whether Hispanic and Black seniors are tending to see and respond to each other as members of an out-group or as individuals.

Hewstone and Brown discuss the differences between interpersonal and intergroup behavior. They cite Sherif's (1966) definitions. Interpersonal behaviors are characterized by an interaction determined by personal attributes and the individualized relationships between the participants. In intergroup behaviors group identifications instead become central to the interaction.

In further commentary Hewstone and Brown look at the contrast between personal and social identity in terms of the work of Turner (1982). Individuals may define themselves in terms of their personal characteristics or their group categorizations. There is said to be greater uniformity in terms of in-group and out-group behaviors than individual behaviors. This is because the individual in group situations tends to reflect what are perceived as common group attributes in attitudes and behavior.

Hewstone and Brown point to the growing body of literature showing that an individual's behavior changes in group situations as related to group membership. Interpersonal relationships per se with individual members of out-group tend to lose their importance and the salient factors in

intergroup relations become status, power, material interdependence, etc. The perspectives of conflict theory and social identity theory take central stage. Functional and goal relations as well as intergroup comparisons and pressures for group distinctiveness take the forefront.

Hewstone and Brown also conclude that in situations in which there develops an interpersonal relationship with an out-group member there is no evidence to support that the intergroup situation will be altered. If there are to be changes the best hope appears to be when the out-group member is perceived as typical rather than the exception. They discuss the phenomenon of "My best friends are", which still maintains the exception to the rule thinking.

Jackman and Crane (1986) also examine this phenomenon in their analysis of the earlier noted 1975 University of Michigan study. The person is said to make a separation between the individual and his/her social group. Individuals, in addition, on the basis of interracial friendships consider themselves experts on the group and feel that they have proven themselves unbiased. On the basis of this same friendship they also consider themselves as having licenses to think as they would about the group as a whole, and they are able to maintain their stereotypic perceptions intact.

The Contact Hypothesis and Beyond

Jackman's and Crane's analysis of the University of Michigan study is framed in relation to a number of questions is framed by the contact hypothesis. Their concerns bear on the intergroup attitudes of Black and Hispanic elderly. Allport's contact hypothesis continues to be revisited by many theorists.

Allport in 1954 wrote, "Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere) and if it is of the sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between the members of the two groups" (p. 267). Jackman and Crane challenge the idea of achieving equal status between Blacks and Whites. The findings of the Michigan study showed that Whites held more positive racial attitudes when the Black friends were at a higher socioeconomic level, balancing the unequal social status.

Hewstone and Brown (1986) review some of the literature which examines equal status within and beyond the scene of contact. There is accord that status considerations in intergroup relations are critical. They

cite Riordan's (1978) view that equal status in an interracial contact, however, is non-existent in a racist society. The issue of status is of interest in Black and Hispanic elderly relations; there is a question of how do these two groups perceive each other status wise.

Jackman and Crane address the question of how proximity enters into interracial contact as well as the influence of relative socioeconomic status on attitudes. They look at whether Whites secure Black friends through choice or chance, say as related to proximity. Another issue looked at is the degree to which there is generalizing from individuals to the group. Explored also is the extent to which ties of close friendships or acquaintanceships influence attitudes.

In this University of Michigan study Jackman and Crane report that 1,914 respondents were interviewed nationally, with 1,648 being Whites. Complete data on people's friendship circles were gathered. In addition a series of questions were asked to tap into racial attitudes with reference to beliefs, feelings, social predispositions and policy orientation. These included comparative perceptions of Blacks and Whites with reference to dependability, intelligence and laziness. Comparisons were also drawn around feelings of closeness and warmth. The researchers noted the respondents' preferences in relation to Black or White group contacts

in workplace and neighborhoods. Also weighted was the degree to which they thought the government should be involved in integrating schools and housing in addition to insuring equal job opportunity.

Jackman and Crane take note that the findings of this Michigan study were similar to those reported on by Wilner et al. (1952). Sheer proximity of Blacks and Whites will not change attitudes unless proximity is accompanied by personal contact. The degree to which there is contact and proximity prove mutually reinforcing. The diversity of contacts is, however, of a more critical nature than the level of intimacy of the contact. In situations where both conditions existed, sustained residential proximity and Black friends and acquaintances, only a small proportion of people retained negative racial feelings, beliefs and social predispositions. With reference, however, to social policies, as many as half to two-thirds of this group showed resistance to policies supporting racial equality. The desire to maintain privilege was in evidence.

The fact that Black and Hispanic elderly live side by side does not insure that they will be relating personally to each other. An important theme in the book Contact and Conflict in Intergroup Encounters is that ethnic groups more frequently interact with their own groups rather than any cross-ethnic interaction. What is more there is often an avoidance of intergroup contact. (Hewstone and Brown,

1986)

Hallinan and Williams (1989) report on the High School and Beyond survey in which 59,000 students were interviewed and they had secured close to a million dyads which were available for purposes of analysis. Despite these huge numbers the researchers were only able to identify a few hundred interracial friendships. Their findings revealed that the students were five-sixth more likely to choose a same-race peer than cross-race peer as friend. Only one-third of the differential was accounted for by individual and school variables. The researchers explain the results on the bases of interpersonal attraction-proximity similarity, for both same and cross-race friendships. The researchers conclude that authorities have to find ways to promote equal status contact and reduce differences to allow for the opportunity to observe similarities and experience reciprocity in interracial friendships. Tracking of students, as one of the existing structural factors act as a barrier to the development of interracial friendships.

Structural factors, "institutional distance", obviously may serve in their effect to maintain social distance between groups and have to be eliminated or at least minimized. It would, therefore, be important in any examination of Black and Hispanic elderly intergroup relations to look at the organizational structure to see

if there are any policies or procedures that are working to foster unity or conflict.

Ehrlich (1973) distinguishes between two kinds of distance: social and personal. Social distance is governed by group norms and proscribes the degree of intimacy permitted of any two individuals. Differentiations may be made on the basis of a number of characteristics, including race, nationality, sex, age, etc. Personal distance is governed by the need to satisfy one's own wishes. The seeking of individual welfare and satisfaction determines the level of personal intimacy, that is in so far as individuals can remove themselves from the dictates of social norms. Research has shown that in the United States the most potent force in personal distance is assessed to be race and next in order are occupation, religion and nationality.

Farley (1985) defines the concept of social distance as referring to a preference to avoid certain kinds of contact with minority groups. Simpson and Yinger (1965) in their theoretical exploration of prejudice and discrimination examine as one aspect the American pattern of social distance and its relationship to culture. They contend that prejudices that exist, even at a verbal and skin deep level, take on a significance for social interaction. These become elements in the process through which prejudice is maintained and functions. In fact,

cultural forces are stated as instructing us to like and to dislike certain groups and to provide us with reasons for having these attitudes. They highlight the need for measuring the variations in both social distance and the nationally shared traditions in the context of particular time and place. They are aware of subcultural differences.

Farley along with Simpson and Yinger, among many others, stress the importance of an examination of social distance and the need for its measurement for furthering understanding of intergroup relations and tracking changes. They cite the Bogardus Scale as a commonly used instrument for measurement of social distance in relation to ethnicity. As a tool to tap into attitudes Dawes and Smith (1985) consider the Bogardus (1925) Scale to be a successful example of a Guttman scale. They state that it is possible to order feelings about social distance on a continuum from a desire to exclude a group from kinship to excluding from one's country.

Rose (1951) feels that the Bogardus scale has stood the test of time because of its concreteness and closeness to realistic social action. Importantly it is seen as taking into account the situational perspective. It also establishes in a reasonable way the outer limits of favorable and unfavorable attitudes to any particular group. Campbell (1970) states that the Bogardus Scale is probably the most widely used and cited test of social

attitudes with no sign of waning interest in its usage. It is readily adaptable and has been applied to other areas such as religion and professions. In terms of ethnic relations the repeated administrations of this scale have confirmed Bogardus' main conclusion with reference to the United States. There is assessed to be a hierarchy of preferences with reference to nationality and ethnic groupings. Minority groups are said to share in its general outline.

Hispanic and Black elderly generally live in close contact. Whether it can be considered an equal status contact or not is a question that has yet to be answered. The social norms that they perceive as governing their intergroup relations is another unknown. There is question then as to the degree of social and personal distance existing between these elderly cohorts which also requires exploration.

Multiple Factors And Theories

Williams (1977) sees ethnic problems as multivalued, in social work terminology over-determined. Williams attributes this to the fact that all societies and their subcollectivities are complex open systems in an ongoing interchange with their environment. To Williams it is evident that intergroup relations are "numerous, complex,

variable, interrelated, partly incompatible, and often ambiguous" (p. 52).

Simpson and Yinger (1965) cite Williams (1947) in support of their thesis that the state of intergroup relations are determined by the principle of multiple causation. They, too, postulate an interdependence of variables. When discussing prejudice they state, "In short, the most important question may concern not the influence of particular factors, but the way in which mutual reinforcement operates..." (p. 544). Causation is perceived as cumulative and interactive. Furthermore they believe that in the force of prejudice is such that one factor analysis would likely result in minimizing its impact.

Williams (1977), like Allport, proposes an extensive set of criteria for assessment of intergroup relationships and processes. These include:

1. Type of equal or unequal distribution and allocation of scarce values among social categories, statuses and collectivities such as wealth, power, prestige, respect, etc.
2. Personality or psychological characteristics of groups such as sense of control over destiny, self-image, anxiety, hostility, alienation, etc.
3. Internal social structures and relationships of ethnic collectivity, which include stability and

integration, cohesion or solidarity, degree of consensus, etc.

4. Main features of intergroup relations with reference to type and extent of: interaction, equality, affect, stereotypes, interdependence, group evaluations, sharing of belief systems, structural mediators, and collaboration. (p. 63)

Williams' taxonomy alerts us to the many factors that would need to be assessed in order to secure an in-depth understanding of Black and Hispanic elderly intergroup relations. As so little is presently known it would appear premature in any such preliminary research endeavor to select any one specific variable as the key to knowledge. In addition there is the interactive and cumulative perspective that would challenge the validity of any research strategy that does not recognize the complexity of intergroup relations. It would be important then to maintain the view that ethnic groups as open systems are in constant transactions with their environment.

At the present time with the current state of knowledge it appears just as premature to frame the study of intergroup relations in any one particular theoretical perspective. It is doubtful that any one particular focus would provide us with sufficient data to appreciate the complexities in what today exists as a major social problem. It would, therefore, be more important to see in

which ways the various perspectives can serve to inform about particular aspects.

Etzioni (1976) explores race relations as the critical social problem which it is and proposes a consensus approach to an understanding of race relations. In his discussion he focuses on the exchange between the subjective and objective elements. He proposes seeking to secure citizen participation and agreement in conflict situations. He examines the dynamics of the Forest Hills housing project controversy in the early 1970s.

Etzioni, importantly discusses the many different definitions that may be given to any particular social problem and the many different perspectives from which it can be studied. There are many classificatory schemes. Etzioni's broadly classifies these approaches to the study of social phenomena into four which include: the consensus and structural functional approaches; the conflict or alienation approaches; symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology; and neoconservatism. Etzioni points out that all theorists have to give consideration to: the nature of social reality; the basic qualities of human nature; and the levers that would serve to alter existing societal conditions. For studying intergroup relations these questions will be of greater relevance than looking oneself into looking at the problem of race relations through just the lens of any one particular theory.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Study Design

This study entails a systematic examination of Black and Hispanic elderly intergroup relations with samples of 20 Black elderly and 28 Hispanic elderly. An exploratory and descriptive study, using a "broad net" was judged to be the best research strategy at this early stage in the acquisition of both qualitative and quantitative data. There was little that was known in this area so that it was necessary to choose an approach that would permit an in-depth tapping into the attitudes of Black and Hispanic elderly as related to their belief systems, feelings, behaviors and experiences.

The rationale for using this study design was to secure in-depth information on a limited number of the Black and Hispanic elderly, rather than mere superficial information on greater numbers. Meaningful data might be lost that could prove helpful in decision making for policy makers and service providers.

Intergroup relations is recognized to be a sensitive and complex area for examination. Survey research methodology alone is not always sufficiently useful for gathering data about attitudes. As Babbie (1988) points out superficiality is an inherent problem for survey

research, which becomes especially significant when dealing with complex phenomena.

In-depth interviews were conducted. There was ethnic/racial matching of interviewer and interviewee in the belief that the seniors would find themselves freer to discuss the area of intergroup relations with a person that they would identify as coming from their own group. All interviews with the Hispanic seniors were conducted either totally in Spanish or in both Spanish and English.

All interviews except two were completed by three highly experienced masters level social workers. One of these two interviews was conducted by a mature Black second year social work student, and the other interview was conducted by a Puerto Rican law school graduate with experience in the human services field. Forty-four of the interviews, though, were conducted by just two of the interviewers.

A convenience sample of twenty-eight Hispanic elderly and twenty Black elderly volunteers were selected for interviews. Administrators of senior centers and out reach staff of IPR/HE, placed at centers and at a senior housing complex assisted with locating twenty-five seniors who agreed to participate. IPR/HE's information and referral workers referred ten Hispanic volunteers. Seniors who had been interviewed recommended eight others in a snowballing approach to sample selection. Five Hispanic seniors were

identified through the Hispanic Senior Action Council of IPR/HE. In this way it was possible to locate both seniors who attend centers and others who are not presently in attendance.

The interviewing of fourteen of the Black seniors took place in senior centers and six at a senior housing development. Nineteen of the Hispanic seniors were interviewed at the offices of the Institute. Nine others were interviewed at centers.

The sample drawn is not representative of Black and Puerto Rican elderly in that it was not randomly drawn from a known population. In addition it is a self selected sample by virtue of the fact that the seniors volunteered their involvement. This sampling bias was a tradeoff for having access to cooperative interviewees so that a more in-depth look at the Black and Hispanic seniors' attitudes could be elicited.

An attempt was made to secure senior center and non senior center participants as interviewees. If all interviewees had turned out to be center members this would have represented another bias. Center membership already indicates some willingness to involve oneself socially in an integrated setting, even though many Hispanic seniors only participate in bilingual programs at the centers. Such a sample outcome of only center participants, however, would not have been considered

problematic as the study makes no claim to be representative of the community population.

There clearly are legitimate challenges to the generalizability of the findings; nevertheless, the study places us in a better position to generate hypotheses for testing in quantitative studies with larger samples of elderly cohorts. Further research can be based on the findings of this study, rather than on theoretical speculations drawn from relevant, but insufficient and not directly targeted literature related to Black and Hispanic intergroup relations.

The conceptual framework used for this study is one which postulates the transactional nature of interrelationships between individuals, groups, institutions, and society. William's (1977) thesis that ethnic problems are multivalued or overdetermined is accepted. Society and its subcollectivities, ethnic groupings, are perceived as complex systems engaged in an ongoing interchange with the environment. Any appraisal of intergroup relations requires a recognition of the many complex and interrelated variables, which are often ambiguous and may seem inconsistent and on the surface incompatible.

The most consistent variable was the minority status of the elderly seniors under study. Interviewers were alert to any reference to minority status. To the Black

and Hispanic elderly the concept of discrimination is not a theoretical abstraction and is a fact of their every day life. The word discrimination is in common usage and, therefore, needed no interpretation from the interviewers. The questions have as a focus the elderly's experience of this multifaceted phenomena.

The major variable under examination in this study is intergroup relations. Intergroup relations, following Stephan (1985) refers to the, "systematic study of individuals as they are affected by group membership" (p. 599), and in relation to other people. Care was taken to note intervening process and societal variables in operation, which worked as mediating forces in intergroup relations. (See and Wilson, 1988) The exploration considered what meaning does being a Black or Hispanic older person have in influencing attitudes in intergroup relations.

Attitudes is another variable under examination. Attitudes for purposes of this study are defined and examined broadly. Attitude will refer to persistent and long standing patterns of beliefs, feeling about, and behaviors toward other people, objects, or situations. (Smith, Sarason, and Sarason, 1982)

To examine these attitudes a questionnaire with both closed and open ended questions was used by the interviewers. As this is an exploratory study open ended

questions were recognized to be particularly important. They serve to "minimize the imposition of predetermined responses when gathering data...and permit the respondents to respond in their own terms" (Patton, 1980, pp. 211-212). The interviewers encouraged the participants to give full responses to the open ended questions. Probes and follow up questions were used as described in Patton's Qualitative Evaluation Methods.

The questionnaire (See Appendix) contained sections on discrimination and related issues, social distance, friendships, language and cultural identity, and senior center participation. The questions on discrimination, social identity, conflict, and cognition reflected an eclectic theoretical perspective with reference to intergroup relations. Also a systems approach was employed in a broad sweep to obtain information.

The questionnaire as a whole was field tested, revised and then retested. No statistical procedures, however, were used for assessment of reliability and validity. There are also no plans for establishing reliability through "retesting" of the seniors. This seems an unwarranted intrusion on their lives as much of the interview content is of a sensitive nature. In addition the responses obtained, perhaps, would be less truthful on a second administration as the seniors would be prepared for the questions and would have had time to reflect on

their earlier responses and their implications. Also the time and money for such procedures would be prohibitive.

With further reference to reliability, it is increased by virtue of the manner in which the material is presented. The reader need not rely on the researcher for interpretations; readers can draw their own conclusions from the raw data.

It can, however, be stated that the questions asked do have face and content validity and respond to the many issues raised in the literature as well as practice concerns. The main concern of the study was never whether the questions addressed the domain of intergroup relations, but rather whether the questionnaire was sufficiently inclusive. As the study progressed, the interviewers were able to use their experience to obtain a certain amount of content refinement. This, however, always had to be within the reality constraints of the limits of attention and cooperation of the interviewees. There also was some opportunity for followup with the respondents when clarification proved necessary. In any future studies developing from this research and particularly those of a non exploratory nature, concerns with reference to reliability and validity would take on greater relevance.

The Bogardus scale, discussed in greater depth in the Literature Review section, has been widely used and has

been found to be reliable and valid. Dawes and Smith (1985) in an examination of measurement instruments laud the scale as a successful example of a Guttman scale useful for measuring and ordering social distance. This scale has been successfully modified in the past by other researchers. This scale was adapted to meet the study's requirements for exploring Black and Hispanic elderly intergroup relations.

Attention also was paid specifically to language as a variable entering into intergroup relations. Language is thought to organize perception, provide structure to reality, and lend shape to behavior. It is also recognized as having a social significance and as fostering a group identification and unity. (Mizio, 1981) Furthermore, it has been seen to contribute to intergroup conflict. (Farley, 1982) The type of feelings stimulated by language differences are explored.

Degree of participation in a center program and attitude toward participation are other variables examined. How individuals feel about participating in an integrated setting will be noted. Also, the types of experiences the interviewees report while participating in the program will be highlighted.

Data Collection Procedures

A structured interview was conducted with both specific and open ended questions. Interviewers attempted to take verbatim notes of the responses given to the questions. The interviewers made notes, too, of their own observations. Tape recorders were not used, as the interviewees tended to be fearful and suspicious of this type of device. Interviews generally lasted one session, from one hour to one and a half hours. When it was not possible to conclude the interview in one session a follow-up in person interview was arranged. When necessary for clarification of information people were also contacted by phone. Interviews were completed within a period of four months. Data analysis and writeup were completed within the following ten months.

Data Analysis Procedures

The program SPSS was relied upon for frequencies and distributions, for tabulation of the closed ended questions. Compilations by hand were also used to the extent they proved necessary in looking at distributions found in the qualitative data.

The open ended material was ordered into sections in two ways. Some open ended responses were used to

illustrate the seniors' quantitative answers. Other qualitative data were organized by content. The classification system of the data emerged from the data itself.

To have set up categories for analysis especially as they pertained to the open ended responses prior to the examination of the data would have been premature. As Patton states, "The truly open-ended question does not presuppose which dimensions of feeling, analysis, or thought will be salient for the interviewee" (p. 212). As intended, the analysis of the data relied on the inductive method as described by Patton (pp. 309-317) and as earlier employed by Mizio and Barksdale (1985) in an exploratory and descriptive research study on community based organizations conducted for Community Service Society. The examination of the data collected then and now revealed unanticipated themes.

This is not to negate the importance of theory which influenced the framework and interpretations the researcher brought to the data. As was to be expected, the broad categories such as the ones of language, social identity, intergroup relations, and senior center participation were employed. Other categories emerged from the data itself such as: upbringing; explanations for discrimination; and the degree of problems with intergroup relations, etc.

The comments made by the participants have been assessed as a transactional whole for the insights they can provide into intergroup relations and are presented selectively. It should be noted that the seniors' responses were often fragmented and are reported as stated by them. For reasons of confidentiality and practical purposes each senior can be identified by a number and any comment made by a particular senior bears that senior's number. The Hispanic seniors' numbers range from 1 through 28. The Black seniors' numbers range from 29 through 48. The seniors' comments should prove useful in generating hypotheses for future testing.

Terms

Attitude:

Attitude will refer to a relatively "long lasting organization of a person's beliefs, feelings about, and behaviors, toward other people, situations or objects. To put it another way, an attitude is a general tendency to respond consistently to another person with a pattern of thoughts, feelings and behavioral tendencies" (Smith, Sarason and Sarason, 1982, p.562).

Ethnicity:

Following See and Wilson (1988) ethnicity will refer

to "shared beliefs, values, preferences, in-group memories, loyalties, and consciousness of kind" (p. 224). Ethnicity in addition is not viewed as a static phenomenon. Traits are recognized to vary in salience, strength and importance and are related to time and place. Furthermore, ethnicity will be used as a generic term incorporating as well the terms race and racial group. The distinguishing characteristic of a racial ethnic group in comparison with a non racial ethnic group is the additional focus on the commonality of racial ancestry.

Intergroup relations:

Intergroup relations will refer to "the systematic study of relations between individuals as they are affected by group membership" (Stephan, 1985, p. 599), and with reference to relations with other people. It will be recognized to be a very complex phenomenon and multidetermined.

Language:

Language will refer to more than dictionary explanations of the use of vocal sounds in meaningful patterns. It will involve even more than the phrase "to speak the same language" which involves having similar backgrounds and experiences as others in a group. (Morris, 1975) In addition to placing language in a cultural

context it will be explored in relation to social identity. It will be viewed as a potentially explosive factor in intergroup relations. As Farley (1982) elaborates language differences can intensify ethnic conflicts. Mahard (1989) points out language questions are often core items in measures of accultuaration.

Minority:

Minority is acknowledged to be an imprecise term, particularly as it does not relate in any way to numbers in a population, but rather to the conditions under which a group exists. It is used in different ways to refer to various groups, which are considered to be disadvantaged in society. For purposes of this study Black and Hispanic elderly will be considered to be specially disadvantaged as minorites and jeopardized as elderly. Minority will not in the context of this study be employed to refer to women or homosexuals, unless otherwise specified.

In its simplest definition, "Minority is synonymous with an out-group whose worth, culture, values, and lifestyles are deprecated and stereotyped. Minority is synonymous with blocked access to the fraternity of the in-group and the full benefits of the American way of life" (Mizio, 1983, p. 223).

For greater precision on the term minority, the perspective and criteria proposed by Hopps (1987) citing

the work of ethicist, McGuire, will be utilized. The frame of reference for this perspective is the degree to which at-risk populations require remediation, with consideration to levels and types of oppression. Hopps following McGuire (1980) cites the following criteria for determination of the need of a group for societal preference: (1) Enforced preferences are the only options currently available. (2) Depersonalization is the level of prejudice existing against the group. (3) Bias against the group is embedded in the cultural fabric and societal institutions. (4) Disempowerment status is such that it is tied into the visibility of the victimized group members so that there is no escape route. By the above criteria Hopps places Blacks, Native Americans and Hispanics, more accurately Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, into the neediest and most oppressed at-risk populations.

With specific reference to minority elderly their subcultures may be interpreted to be a reaction to the experience of discrimination, and as a perpetuation of the old values and lifestyles from their culture of origin. (Markides and Mindel, 1987) These two aspects interact with each other; it was anticipated that this interaction would serve to influence the attitudes under study.

Race:

Race is acknowledged to be an imprecise term and, as

many have noted, is a social rather than biological phenomenon. In this study it is at times interchanged with the word ethnic. This follows Simpson's and Yinger's (1965) thesis, "that relations among races have a great deal in common with relations among groups that think of themselves as different on other grounds -- culture, nationality, religion, etc. Race differences are primarily important for what people believe them to be" (pp. 25-26). The distinguishing feature supposedly between race and ethnicity is the existence of physical or cultural boundaries. This distinction, however, can not hold up upon scientific examination. As Tumin (1969) notes the three major racial groupings do not appropriately correspond to any natural distinguishing lines for groupings and are artificial.

Social Distance and Personal Distance:

Social distance in its strictest sense will refer to the level of intimacy that group norms permit to exist between individuals of a group and another group. This may relate to ethnicity, race, nationality, age, sex, etc.

Personal distance in its strictest sense will refer to the level of intimacy sought by an individual in seeking the satisfaction of their inner needs and as separate from the dictates of social norms. (Ehrlich, 1973)

For purposes of this study it is expected that it will be difficult to maintain this distinction. The Bogardus Scale which will be used in a modified form in this study and which measures social distance in effect combines both dimensions.

Research Questions/Hypotheses

The many questions that were asked were for purposes of obtaining an in depth perspective on the attitudes of some Black and Hispanic elderly with reference to intergroup relations. It was deemed important to explore the nature of Black and Hispanic elderly intergroup relations, noting primarily the impact on the quality of life of these two populations and secondarily the manner in which this entered into service usage and service satisfaction. An in-depth examination was anticipated to provide clues as to what factors might be causing any difficulties that might be found and then, in turn, might offer some clues as to what areas should be addressed in interventive strategies to enhance Black and Hispanic elderly relations.

Furthermore, as the literature base with reference to Black and Hispanic elderly intergroup has been to date virtually non existent it would, therefore, be important to disseminate the study's findings with reference to the

questions that have been addressed in this exploratory study.

Questions Addressed

Observations from a number of practice sources and theoretical considerations, as related to acculturation differences, social identity, language factors, and competition for limited resources had suggested that there were in existence intergroup tensions between the Black and Hispanic elderly populations. The following questions were central to this study:

1. What is the nature of the existing problems in intergroup relations?
2. In what way does language serve as a barrier to communication at both of the verbal and symbolic levels?
3. In what ways are a cultural identification rather than a color identification problematic?
4. In what ways do Black and Hispanic elderly feel similar and dissimilar from each other?
5. What are their views of their social statuses as equal or unequal?
6. To what extent do the Black and Hispanic elderly feel that the other group is getting a greater share of limited resources?

7. To what extent do the Black and Hispanic elderly view social problems as attributable to the other community?
8. What is the nature of their perceptions of social norms in terms of proscriptions with reference to social distance in their intergroup relations?
9. What is the nature of their relationships in terms of the personal distance maintained from members of the other group?
10. What have been the experiences of the Black and Hispanic seniors with reference to discrimination in intergroup relations?
11. What is the range of perceptions with reference to prejudice in senior center programs?
12. What is the extent to which they would desire to be with their own ethnic group in programs such as senior centers?

CHAPTER FOUR: THE FINDINGS

This chapter presents the data obtained from the in-depth interviews conducted with forty-eight seniors, twenty-eight Hispanics and twenty Blacks. Questions were both closed and open ended so a wealth of information was collected. At times the data might appear contradictory. Quantitative and qualitative data do not always coincide. It is important to remember this is a study of attitudes. Attitudes are overdetermined and people are often inconsistent. That is why for a true appreciation of how people believe, feel and behave in relation to discrimination qualitative data are so important. and are reported on in great detail.

First the characteristics of the sample are described with comparisons made to the general Hispanic and Black elderly populations. Later the findings in relation to a number of areas are presented. The main categories are as follows: Identity; Discrimination; Experiences and Attitudes; Hispanic and Black Seniors' Upbringing; Black and Hispanic Intergroup Relations; Explanations for Discrimination; Language and Its Significance; Resources and Their control; and Senior Center Participation and Intergroup Relations.

THE SAMPLE AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

Forty-eight seniors participated in the study. More Hispanics than Black seniors were interviewed. There were 20 non Hispanic Black elders and 28 Hispanic elders. In total 30 (60.2 percent), all 28 Hispanics and only 2 Blacks, of the sample were not born in the mainland of the United States.

The ages of the seniors ranged from 55 to 92 years of age. There were only 6 (12.5 percent) who were under 65 years of age, with 2 (4.1 percent) in their mid fifties. The median age of the Hispanic seniors was in the 65-69 years old grouping. The median age of the Black seniors was slightly higher and fell into a combined grouping of 67-71 years of age.

The great preponderance, 37 (77.08 percent), of the seniors interviewed were females. The same number, 37 (77.08 percent) also had an 8th grade education or less. There were, however, 5 (10.1 percent) seniors with college degrees, including 1 individual who had as well a PhD.

Most of the Hispanic seniors were Catholics; while most of the Black seniors were Protestants. In all, more than half, 27 (56.22 percent) of all the seniors were Catholics and 18 (37.48 percent) were Protestants. There were only 10 (20.82 percent) seniors who stated they were currently employed and 7 (14.58 percent) seniors who were

currently married.

In examination of the Hispanic and Black study populations comparisons will be made to the general Hispanic and Black aged groups from data compiled by the New York State Office For The Aging (1989).

The Hispanic Sample

The majority, 21 (75 percent) of the Hispanics were born in Puerto Rico. Only 1 (3.6 percent) was born in the Dominican Republic. Another 2 (7.1 percent) were born in Columbia. Four (14.3 percent) fell in the "other" Hispanic category with 3 being born in Ecuador and 1 born in Peru. No Cubans or Mexicans were interviewed. The 1980 Census data report proportionately fewer Puerto Ricans in the New York City population than there had been in the past. They currently represent only 60.6 percent of the Hispanic population. Prior to 1965 most persons of Hispanic origin came from Puerto Rico. (Mann and Salvo, 1984) Because of the age of the respondents it can be assumed that the proportion of Puerto Ricans interviewed reflected the earlier demographic figures rather than being overrepresented in this group of seniors.

Most of the Hispanics in this study came to the United States mainland in their young adult or adult years. Only 6 (21.8 percent) were under twenty one when

they came. Ten (35.7 percent) seniors came at the ages of 21 to 30. Another 7 (25 percent) came when they were 31 to 45 years old. Five (17.9 percent) were 46 or older.

The study group came to the mainland at an earlier age than the general Hispanic aged population. According to the study sponsored by the Commonwealth Fund 40 percent of Hispanics did not come to the mainland until at least the age of 45.

The ages of the Hispanic seniors interviewed ranged from 55 to 83 years old. A great majority, 24 (85.7 percent) of the 28 individuals interviewed were 65 and over. Of these, 10 (35.7 percent) were 65 through 69 years of age. Another 9 (32.1 percent) were 70 through 74, and 3 (10.7 percent) were 75 to 79. Two elders (7.1 percent) were 80 plus. Of the four under 65, 1 (3.6 percent) was in the category of 55 to 59. The remaining 3 (10.7 percent) were in the 60 to 64 age group. In the general Hispanic population only 38 percent were 65 to 74 years of age, and 45 percent were 60 to 64 years of age. The population under study, therefore, was older and not representative of the age distribution of the Hispanic elderly.

Most of the elderly participating in the study were females. The females numbered 20 (71.4 percent) of the Hispanic group studied. The remaining 8 (28.6 percent) were males. Women are overrepresented in this sample, for in both the minority and non minority populations ages 65

to 74 the proportion of women to men is only three to two.

As would be expected the great majority of the Hispanic elderly respondents, 23 (82.1 percent) gave their religion as Catholic. Four (14.3 percent) of the seniors stated they were Protestants. The remaining individual (3.6 percent) fell into the "sect or other" category.

The educational levels of the group were varied, from those with an 8th grade education or less, and possibly no formal education, to a Ph.D. degree. Twelve (42.9 percent) of the seniors had an 8th grade education or less. Another 9 (32.1 percent) had some high school education. Of those never having gone to college only 1 (3.6 percent) had obtained a high school diploma. There were 2 (7.1 percent) who had some college, and 4 (14.3 percent) who had graduated. Of the 4 college graduates one had her PhD.

The population under study was somewhat more educated than the Hispanic aged in general. There was, however, a strong similarity in that 31 percent of the aged had some high school compared to 32.1 percent of the study group.

Six (21.8 percent) out of the 28 seniors were currently employed. Two (7.1 percent) of these reported no income other than wages. Along with their wages 3 (10.7 percent) received Social Security benefits, and another 1 (3.6 percent) person received Supplemental Security Income. There were 4 (14.3 percent) Individuals who

depended on Social Security plus Supplemental Security Income. The only source of monies for 3 (10.7 percent) seniors was Supplemental Security Income, and for another 8 (28.6 percent) it was Social Security benefits. There were in addition 7 (25 percent) who had managed along with their Social Security benefits to have some combination of pension and/or savings.

In the general Hispanic elderly population 25 percent were employed. Also in this category 28 percent had some income from property or savings. Nineteen percent received some pension monies. For 21 percent of the Hispanic aged population at large their only source of income was Social Security benefits. Though not identical the sample and the general Hispanic elderly population were somewhat similar in terms of income.

The marital status of the group was also a varied one. Ten (35.7 percent) of the seniors were widowed. Another 6 (21.4 percent) were divorced; while 3 (10.7 percent) were separated. Five (17.9 percent) were still married and 4 (14.3 percent) were single.

Of the general Hispanic elderly population 36 percent were widowed. Twenty percent were divorced and 38 percent were married. The largest differences in the study population from the general Hispanic elderly population appear to be in terms of the proportions that are currently married and the age distribution.

The Black Sample

Out of the 20 Black seniors interviewed only 2 (10 percent) were not born in the United States. Both were born in Jamaica and came to the United States when they were 46 or older. One of these seniors had been basically brought up in Panama and was fluent in Spanish.

Discrimination in immigration policies had made it difficult for Blacks to gain entrance to this country. Considering the age of this sample it is not surprising that the proportion of those seniors who were born in the United States is so large and is probably not an overrepresentation of this group.

The ages of the Black seniors ranged from 55 to 92 years of age. The greatest number of Black seniors, 8 (40 percent) of this group were from 65 to 69 years of age. The next highest grouping was the 70 to 74 years of age category in which 5 seniors (25 percent) fell. There were, in addition, another 4 (20 percent) who were from 75 to 79 years old. One senior (5 percent) placed into the 80 and over category. Only 2 (10 percent) of the Black study group were under 65 years of age, 1 in the age category 55 to 59 and the other 1 in the category of 60 to 64.

The Black study population was older than the aged in the general population of Black elderly. In the general Black aged population 50 percent of the seniors were 65 to

74 years of age; while in the study population 65 percent were in that category.

The great preponderance of Black seniors interviewed were females. In total, there were 17 (85 percent). Only 3 (15 percent) were, therefore, males. Women are overrepresented in this sample. As stated earlier, in the general Black elderly population the ratio is 3 to 2.

In terms of the religion of this group 14 (70 percent) stated they were Protestant. Another 4 (20 percent) cited their religion as Catholic. The remaining 2 (10 percent) seniors fell into the categories of sect and other.

The Black seniors' educational levels ranged from an 8th grade education or less to college graduation. Nine (45 percent) elders were in the 8th grade or less category. Four (20 percent) had some high school education, and another 2 (10 percent) had secured a high school diploma. One (5 percent) other person had earned a college diploma, and the other 4 (20 percent) people had attended college.

Forty-eight percent of the Black aged had an 8th grade education or less, close to the 45 percent in the study population. More people in the study group had attended college than in the general Black aged population, 25 percent to 13 percent.

Though 4 (20 percent) people stated they were

employed, only 1 (5 percent) claimed wages as a source of income. One other person was in receipt of Unemployment Insurance. A total of 8 (40 percent) individuals had earned a pension along with their Social Security benefits. Five (25 percent) of the Black seniors, existed solely on Social Security. Another individual (5 percent) received Supplemental Security Income along with Social Security benefits. The other 4 (20 percent) elders just lived on Supplemental Security Income.

In the general Black aged population 25 percent were employed. In the study group 25 percent were also in the labor market with 4 currently working and 1 receiving unemployment benefits. In the general Black aged population 24 percent existed solely on Social Security income, almost identical to the 25 percent in the study population. Proportionately more seniors had pension benefits in the study population than did the Black aged in general, 40 percent to 16 percent. Forty-two percent of the Black aged exist on Social Security income or SSI benefits alone or in combination; while 50 percent of the study population did. This sample was, therefore, both richer and poorer than the general Black aged population.

The marital status of the group was varied. there were 12 (60 percent) seniors who were widowed. There were 3 (15 percent) who were separated, and another 2 (10 percent) who were divorced. Only 2 (10 percent) were

currently married. There was only 1 (5 percent) individual who listed as single.

In the general Black aged population only 38 percent were widowed. Though 60 percent of the Blacks in the study population were widowed, it must be remembered that the study population was older than the general population. Forty-one percent of the general Black aged population in comparison to 10 percent of the study population were currently married. Again the age factor has to be considered.

IDENTITY

It is a truism that one can not study intergroup relations without there being individuals who identify themselves with particular groups. There would have to be some sense of kin and non kin. Questions were, therefore, asked to determine how identified the Hispanic and Black seniors were with their respective communities. Of interest also was the extent to which both groups felt socially distant from the other community. The findings are as follows:

The Hispanic Senior and Identity

Twenty one Hispanic seniors, a full 75 percent,

stated they felt themselves more Hispanic than American. Another 6 (21.4 percent) felt equally American and Hispanic. Only 1 (3.6 percent) individual responded that they felt "more American than Hispanic".

A modified version of the Bogardus scale which measures social distance between groups elicited the following responses:

There were 4 (14.3 percent) Hispanic seniors who were only willing to marry or have their grandchildren marry Hispanics. In addition there was 1 (3.6 percent) who would marry or have their grandchildren marry anyone from the specified groups other than a Black. Twenty (71.4 percent) Hispanic seniors, though, were willing to marry and/or have their grandchildren marry non Hispanic Blacks. There were, however, only 19 (67.9 percent) who indicated they would marry or have their grandchildren marry individuals from any group. In total, therefore, 9 (32.1 percent) people made exceptions with reference to which groups they would be willing to marry.

All 28 (100 percent) of the Hispanic sample, nevertheless, stated a willingness to have friendships from all groups. Thirteen (46.4 percent) people were in accord, however, that they preferred to socialize with their own ethnic/racial group. This was in contrast to the 15 (53.6 percent) who claimed that this was not their preference. It is interesting, though that 20 (71.4

percent) of the Hispanic seniors, nevertheless, when listing the names of their friends gave their friends' ethnicity as coming from some Hispanic country. Six (21.4 percent) others did cite friends from mixed backgrounds. Two (7.1percent) indicated though, that they had no friends.

The Black Senior and Identity

Out of the 20 Black seniors interviewed 13 (65 percent) stated that they felt equally American and Black. Four (20 percent) described themselves as more American than Black. Only 3 (15 percent) felt more Black than American.

The modified version of the Bogardus scale was also administered to the Black seniors. Sixteen (80 percent) of them stated their willingness to marry and/or have their grandchildren marry individuals from any of the specified groups. This contrasted with the full 100 percent who claimed both that they were willing to marry Hispanics, as well as to have friends from any group.

Only 1 (5 percent) person indicated a preference to socialize with Blacks. This compared with 19 individuals, a full 95 percent, who were in disagreement with this preference. It is again interesting, though, that only 4 (20 percent) people, nevertheless, reported having mixed

friendships. Fifteen (75 percent) cited their friends as being all Black. One (5 percent) individual told of not having any friends.

A Comparison

Hispanics especially were strongly identified with their community. A much greater proportion of Hispanics felt more Hispanic than American than there were Blacks, who felt more Black than American. This was 75 percent to 20 percent.

Proportionately fewer Hispanics than Blacks indicated a willingness to marry from the other group. This was 71.4 percent for the Hispanics to 100 percent for the Blacks. In line with Hispanics greater bias for their own group, proportionately more Hispanics than Blacks cited a preference for socializing with their own group. This was 46.4 percent for Hispanics to only 5 percent for the Blacks. Despite this both groups indicated few friends from other backgrounds, The proportion of Hispanics and Blacks indicating friendships from other groups was almost identical, 21.4 and 20 percent respectively.

COMMONALITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Seniors were asked to comment on what they perceived to be the commonalities and differences between Blacks and Hispanics. There are a broad range of perceptions. An attempt has been made to classify the seniors comments into those that feel: there are strong commonalities; the other group has more positive attributes; neutral; mixed perceptions; and negative. As to be expected there is overlap between sections.

An attempt was made to show a progression from a sense of commonality to a strong sense of difference between communities; the classification of specific comments is, however, recognized to be a matter of individual judgment. Comments are either reported in their entirety or excerpted, with the intention of portraying the seniors' statements both as accurately and economically as possible and within the context of the total interview. These perceptions are central to the study. How people perceive one another will be reflected in how people behave with one another. The Hispanic and Black seniors' comments were as follows:

Hispanic Seniors Perceptions

Hispanic seniors' (1 through 28) comments reflected

great differences amongst seniors as to their perceptions of the Black community. There were those who believed people shared a common humanity and that there were good and bad in all groups to those who saw Blacks as suffering from an abandonment of self and as criminals. Some elders lumped all Blacks into one group; while others were able to recognize the individuality of people. The comments tended as a whole to be weighted on the negative side. Almost the same numbers, though, were in the categories at each end of the continuum, with one less person believing in the idea of a strong commonality between the groups.

Strong Commonalities

Statements on strong commonalities were provided by nine seniors. For these seniors the sense of strong commonality arose out of the recognition that we are all human beings and for some this came out of a religious conviction. Others were able to see commonalities as well in terms of behaviors. There were those, too, without placing value judgments or believing that commonalities were being over-shadowed felt that there were some cultural and life style differences. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 02 believed, "...all people are the same under God. There are good and bad Hispanics and Blacks, and I'm afraid of the bad ones."

Senior 16 thought, "...no difference.... It is all in how each individual behaves and if the person respects, demands and commands respect."

Senior 21 considered, "...maybe differences in customs. Any differences are individual ones rather than group differences..."

Senior 22 stated, "Only difference is the color. We dress alike. Wear jewelry. Some difference in food. Children the same. Play the same games. Married life the same, fight and get along.... We live side by side."

Senior 28 explained, "...only difference is the skin color; otherwise we're all the same."

Senior 23 felt, "...language and foods are different. For me I don't see any differences."

Senior 24 recognized, "We're all the same. There are people in each group that act differently and same from each other and other groups...different customs, though can't say exactly..."

Senior 17 clarified, "In poverty cultures very similar. Affluent...no difference in behaviors...beautiful homes and gardens. There are, nevertheless, cultural differences in values taught at homes, Black and Hispanic dishes."

Senior 27 considered, "...all the same, a body and a soul. It is all in how the family brings you up. Customs, holidays, foods, and religion are different."

The sense of strong commonality also included for some a sense of difference. Amongst those who perceived differences there were two seniors who thought Blacks had some better attributes than Hispanics.

Black Community Better than Hispanics.

Statements reflecting that Blacks had better attributes than Hispanics were provided by the two Hispanic seniors. One thought dressing better was noteworthy; while the other senior focused on a stronger drive to achieve. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 06 stated, "Blacks and Hispanics are alike in that they are poor, They are different in that they dress better. That is the Blacks."

Senior 01 thought, "language different. Hispanics are just happy with rice and beans.... Hispanics are afraid to take risks. Blacks take risks to get ahead.... Push forward even in center. Blacks suffered a lot so push harder."

The way in which a group copes economically would seem far more important than the the manner of dress. Yet, this is of some significance to some Hispanics as well as others. People, however, may be neutral to this or to other aspects.

Neutral View of Black Community

Neutral views of the Black community were provided by three Hispanic seniors. One of the seniors claimed no knowledge of the Black community; while the other two the other seniors made observations about customs and lifestyles without placing judgments. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 25 concluded, "Have no confidence in Hispanic people.... They aren't people you can trust. Have more trust in Whites. Don't know Blacks and don't know if trustworthy."

Senior 07 thought, "Life styles...somewhat different. There is also a different way of being. Can't explain it. But here in the United States lifestyles for Hispanics are different. Here we celebrate birthdays on weekends rather than the actual day."

Senior 14 mentioned, "Customs are different. We talk differently."

These seniors had not yet formed opinions either positive or negative but there were seniors struggling with mixed perceptions.

Mixed Perceptions of Black Community

Statements reflecting mixed perceptions of the Black community were provided by four seniors. These seniors thought that there were many strengths found in the

Hispanic culture. These included comportment, strong family ties, care of the elderly, and control over children. Even though, some seniors claimed uncertainty. There were contrasts made, nevertheless, between Hispanics and Blacks. They included Whites in their statements. All tended to favor Hispanics. One senior did state that Blacks study harder and another made distinctions amongst the Black groups themselves. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 19 concluded, "Hard to say. Customs are different and language. Blacks...are not humble like us. Proud, not humble, and aggressive."

Senior 12 felt, "Our cultures are very different from the Anglo culture and probably the Blacks as well but not exactly sure. Hispanic groups may have differences, but yet strong similarities...closely knit families...take care of the elderly Adults and children are united...children are close.... Children are treated as children...supervised better.... Children will always be children. At the age of eighteen they just don't take off.... Amongst Blacks and Whites children have too much freedom...and need controls.

Senior 15 believed, "Blacks seem to study more despite persecution. Blacks conduct themselves very differently.... Language and customs are very different...not very friendly, very aggressive.... They

don't like our cooking..."

Senior 11 felt, "Caribbean Blacks are like us. Their education is strict like us. They are taught to act with self respect. Southerners are also shy at first; then want to take revenge. Northerners also have hate; then act like savages. It's their family life and education. You're raised with hate and you carry it with you."

The comments classified as mixed appear to be heavily weighted on the negative side.

Negative View of the Black Community

Statements reflecting a negative view of the Black community were provided by ten seniors. Many labels were placed by these seniors on Blacks. These included such adjectives as: materialistic, aggressive and violent way of talking, wild and rowdy, depressed, etc. They were believed to lack pride in self and thought not to be as cultured as Hispanics. They were seen as criminals. Perhaps, the worst comment was from the senior who saw Blacks as suffering from an abandonment of self. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 10 thought, "All groups are materialistic, but Blacks expect that they should get compensation for all they've gone through. We Hispanics are more emotional and sensitive. We use our hearts more than our heads and they don't. They charge for their good deeds; we don't."

Senior 18 concluded, "...different customs, the way they speak and the way they act. Blacks think they are better...put on airs. Blacks are much more aggressive in general and some even more so."

Senior 03 remarked, "We are different because we Hispanics know ourselves to be good people. We have pride in ourselves. We are more cultured. They are not as emotional as we are." "I would marry a person from any group but not marry a Black. I am willing to have them as friends."

Senior 08 believed, "There are always exceptions. Blacks are wild and rowdy in their ways, though, Hispanics are changing. Black children are given lots of freedom when small. We're more protective and responsible with our children."

Senior 05 felt that , "Different, their way of being, their use of language and manner of speaking, how they behave with us. Many Blacks feel inferior to us but that is not so. They are more aggressive than we are. We're more humble. They speak dirtily, not mannerly."

Senior 04 equivocated, "We're all men or women...from the human race. Different language of course as well as customs and dress. How we behave and our comportment is different. Aggressive and violent way of talking...not all. Others walk properly and are soft spoken. Hispanics though can be loud and aggressive too."

Senior 26 believed, "All people are the same under God. But Hispanics are ninety percent more cultured than Black people , no matter what their degree of education. They act rudely and say things like mind your own business and curse. They are different, a different culture."

Senior 09 concluded, "Blacks and Hispanics are completely different...a different color. They are in their own country. We come here to work and they think we come here to take something from them. A lot depends though on where the immigrant comes from and their education. Some immigrants come with a lower class culture and act more like the Blacks and worse. Blacks that are uneducated know that they are in their own country and the laws are too lenient. They know they'll get out of jail and get off easily."

Senior 20 stated, "Everything is different.... Hispanics don't generally eat in the street as Blacks do.... They throw things on the floor...fight for seats...heavy into the drug culture and that's how they entertain themselves. They seem depressed. Hispanics go to parties, clubs, concerts, etc.... Blacks always seem on guard...and as if they haven't arrived yet, because of their history with slavery."

Senior 13 remarked, "...same as human beings...a different race and color. Blacks suffer from an

abandonment of self and disorganization and a lack of cleanliness. Blacks don't take care of themselves for the most part. They destroy things. Hispanics like things in order. I know how to get along with them.... Treat everybody with respect and they protect my home. I give people money at times."

Amongst the Hispanic seniors there was a broad range as to the manner in which they perceived Hispanics and Blacks to be in relation to each other. Black seniors, too, presented some variation in their perceptions as to commonalities and differences between the groups.

Black Seniors' Perceptions

The Black seniors' [29 through 48] comments as a whole do not reflect a great deal of variation as do the Hispanics' statements when describing the commonalities and differences between the Hispanic and Black groups. The worst comment that was made by a Black senior was that Hispanics were more manipulative and knew how to get on welfare when not requiring it.

Most seniors appear to see a great deal of commonalities between Blacks and Hispanics. Customs and language even when seen as different did not appear to detract greatly from the sense of commonality. There is a sense of kinship stemming from heritage as well as

minority existence. The Black seniors' comments were as follows:

Strong Commonalities

Statements on strong commonalities were provided by seven Black seniors. Seniors reflected on the kinship of African background, hardships and aspirations. They even saw themselves as alike in negative traits. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 47 reflected, "More or less the same, to survive and send children to school. There are some customs that are different."

Senior 30 stated, "We all have basically the same habits and customs. Language is different but, otherwise, we're all alike."

Senior 35 noted, "Other than language there is little difference. Backgrounds are similar and African heritage makes us kin."

Senior 36 believed, "Alike in certain ways, crime, drugs, and all bad things. In many ways that are good. They are also good. Can live together. Can be friends."

Senior 37 felt, "They are much alike and have same struggles and strivings and same hopes. Only difference is color and languages." "This is the only other group I would marry from."

Senior 39 thought, "They are very much alike in that

they experience the same conditions of discrimination."

Senior 41 remarked, "Not too much different, except for language. They've had the same bad experiences of being treated badly."

Though there were strong feelings of similarities expressed by these Black elders there were a few other seniors who even felt certain preferences for Hispanics over Blacks.

Hispanic Community Better than Blacks

Statements that Hispanic community had better attributes were provided by three seniors. These seniors thought Hispanics had been able to achieve unity, had greater drive and more relatedness. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 34 thought, "...like I said Hispanics stick together; Blacks go their separate ways."

Senior 45 believed, "There are many similarities and some differences, for example language. But also for me easier to get along with."

Senior 46 remarked, "The Hispanics seem to have a bit more initiative and will take any job if they need work; whereas Blacks want [to receive]. Also some differences in culture, customs."

Not all people had reacted on differences or who perceived differences thought of these aspects as either

good or bad.

Neutral View

A neutral view of the Hispanic community was provided by six seniors. Seniors did not place much significance on whether they thought there were differences or similarities in evidence. They also did not feel these should be the cause of any difficulty between the groups. There was in addition a call for understanding between the groups. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 48 noted, "There are many ways in which they are alike but in some ways are different, language, way they treat each other."

Senior 40 stated, "I don't know and never thought about it. Here they all seem to be nice people and all the same."

Senior 38 remarked, "There is not too much difference except both follow their own culture and the way they were brought up."

Senior 31 believed, "The younger generation in both groups are very much alike. It's the older ones that seem to have the greatest amount of prejudice and hate."

Senior 42 reflected, "There is not much difference but they're not always able to understand this and then discrimination happens. We need to do more to bring the two groups together."

Senior 29 felt, "They are different cultures. There is a language barrier. We do not understand each other. Alike in that we are poor and minorities."

There was one individual who both saw differences and similarities and was both positive and negative about these attributes.

Mixed Perceptions

A statement reflecting a mixed view was provided by one senior.

Senior 33 responded, "A lot of differences. Hispanics are more energetic, aggressive. Also more manipulative in getting on welfare. More Hispanics on welfare than need it. I have never been on welfare but find it difficult to manage."

This was the most negative comment that was made.

Negative View of the Hispanic Community and No Responses

No Black senior provided a truly negative view of Hispanics. In addition seniors 32, 43, and 44 did not answer the inquiry on how alike or different did they consider the two groups to be.

A Comparison

Hispanic and Black seniors, both, commented on strong

commonalities based on a common humanity, relation to God, common heritage, and minority status. Some perceived certain similarities in customs and lifestyles. In both groups there were those that perceived differences but were not particularly bothered by them.

What is most striking is the quality of the responses given by those Hispanics who were disturbed by what they thought to be differences between the Black and Hispanic communities. A description like savage was even used by one Hispanic senior. The statements made by Hispanic seniors about Blacks were ever so much more negative than those made by the Black seniors about Hispanics.

The degree of difference in perceptions between Hispanic and Black seniors may reflect that 21 out of 28 Hispanic seniors thought of themselves as more Hispanic than American. Hispanic seniors often cling to their traditional culture. Important values in the Hispanic culture are personalismo, dignidad and respeto. Humbleness is greatly valued. Black seniors are Americanized. Hispanic seniors complaints about Blacks centered heavily on behaviors. Black seniors might be more accepting of Hispanic because they would not have any special objections to the more submissive type behaviors that Hispanic elderly may value.

DISCRIMINATION: EXPERIENCES AND ATTITUDES

Black and Hispanic seniors were questioned in a broad based exploration of their experiences with discrimination, their behaviors, and the attitudes that they presently hold. All these aspects serve to deepen the understanding of how these Hispanic and Black seniors relate to each other. The findings are as follows:

Hispanic Seniors and Discrimination.

Background

Seniors were asked about their backgrounds. With reference to their countries-of-origin there were 18 (64.3 percent) elders who believed there had been no racial/ethnic tensions in their birthplaces before the time of their migration/immigration. Eight (28.6 percent) felt there had been some problems and the remaining 2 (7.1 percent) thought there had actually been a lot of problems.

In response to questioning about their familial upbringing, 2 (7.1 percent) of the seniors reported being brought up in homes where they were taught to discriminate. The other 26 (92.9 percent), denied any element of this in their early lives.

Group Influence

There were 19 (67.8 percent) Hispanics who felt that in response to group pressure there was a greater tendency to discriminate in group situations than when one was alone. There were 7 (25 percent) don't know answers. There were only 2 (7.1 percent) who disagreed that people were influenced by group pressure. Yet, only 2 (7.1 percent) people admitted to responding to such group pressure. In contrast 26 (92.9 percent) were in disagreement that they responded to pressure to discriminate.

Intergroup Discrimination

Hispanics responded to inquiries on stateside relations between Hispanics, non Hispanic Blacks, and Anglos. Eleven seniors (39.3 percent) did not think that Hispanics discriminate against Blacks. One (3.6 percent) individual did not know. The majority of Hispanic seniors, 16 (57.1 percent) felt that they did discriminate. Of this group 10 (35.7 percent) believed they discriminated to some extent and the remaining 6 (21.4 percent) believed there was a lot of discrimination by Hispanics against Blacks.

In response to discrimination against Anglos the group was almost evenly divided. There were 13 (46.4) people who felt Hispanics did not discriminate against Anglos. Fourteen (50 percent), only 1 more individual, did

feel Hispanics discriminated. Of these there were 11 (39.3 percent) who did believe Hispanics discriminate some and the remaining 3 (10.7 percent) thought Hispanics discriminated a lot against Anglos. Again 1 (3.6 percent) gave a don't know answer.

Only 4 (14.3 percent) of the Hispanic seniors, did not think that Blacks discriminate against Hispanics. Once more, 1 (3.6 percent) person did not know. Twenty three people, a full 82.2 percent, believed that Blacks practice discrimination against Hispanics. Of these 12 (42.9 percent) thought they discriminated some and 11 (39.3 percent) thought there was a lot of discrimination coming from Blacks against Hispanics.

There were 4 (14.3 percent) Hispanic seniors as well, who did not see Blacks as discriminating against Anglos. One individual (3.6 percent) here also gave a don't know answer. There were 23 people, again a full 82.2 percent, who thought Blacks discriminate; this time it was believed to be against Anglos. There were fewer people, though, who assessed the discrimination to be some. Eight (28.6 percent) seniors responded "some" and 15 (53.6 percent) responded "a lot".

Six (21.4) Hispanic seniors did not believe that Anglos discriminate against Hispanics. There were, however, 22 (78.5 percent) who thought differently. Thirteen (46.4 percent) believed Anglos discriminate some

and 9 (32.1 percent) believed Anglos discriminate a lot against Hispanics. All seniors this time ventured an opinion.

A greater number of Hispanics thought that Anglos discriminated against Blacks than thought that they did against Hispanics. There were 9 (32.1 percent) who thought Anglos discriminate some and 15 (53.6 percent) who thought they discriminate a lot against Blacks. In total, therefore, 24 seniors (85.7 percent) perceived Anglos as discriminating against Blacks. Four (14.3 percent) people did not see Anglos as discriminating against Blacks.

Asked if they believed that discrimination in intergroup relations was basically about power and money 18 (64.3 percent) of the Hispanic elders were in accord. Of these 10 (35.7 percent) strongly agreed and 8 (28.6 percent) agreed. Nine (32.2 percent) were in disagreement. Of these 4 (14.3 percent) disagreed and 5 (17.9 percent) strongly disagreed. The remaining 1 (3.6 percent) individual did not know.

Fourteen (50 percent) of the Hispanics interviewed, saw the communications media as contributing to the problems in intergroup relations by their negative and inaccurate portrayal of Hispanics. Eight (28.6 percent) did not feel the press, television and radio were untruthful. Six (21.4 percent) did not know.

Thirteen (46.4 percent) seniors, 1 less than for

Hispanics, thought the media inaccurately depicted Blacks. There were, however, 10 (35.7 percent), 2 more than for Hispanics, who felt the media was truthful in its presentations of Blacks. The remaining 5 (17.9 percent) felt they did not know.

Direct Experiences and Expectations of Discrimination

Five (17.9 percent) Hispanic seniors reported having experienced discrimination at the hands of other Hispanics; while 23 (82.1 percent) had not. There were many seniors, though, who reported having been discriminated against by Blacks and Anglos. Half of the 28 seniors had experienced discrimination from Blacks and the other 50 percent had not. Almost as many, 12 (42.9 percent) had experienced discrimination from Anglos. Sixteen (57.1 percent) had not.

Seniors were asked if they expected to be discriminated against. Out of the 28 seniors 27 (96.4 percent) did not anticipate discrimination from other Hispanics. Only 1 (3.6 percent) individual did expect to be subjected to such.

Two (7.1 percent) seniors reported anticipating discrimination from Whites, one more than for Hispanics. There were 26 (92.9 percent) who did not have any such expectation. There is again an increase of 1 with 3 (10.3 percent) of the Hispanic seniors anticipating

discrimination from Blacks. The remaining 25 (89.3 percent) elders did not expect to be subjected to such.

Respondents were questioned on whether they found themselves discriminating. Twenty four (85.7 percent) claimed they did not discriminate against Anglos. Three (10.7 percent) recognized they did some and the other 1 (3.6 percent) discriminated a lot.

There was no one, though, who stated that they discriminated a lot against Hispanics or Blacks. Four (14.3 percent) of the Hispanic seniors stated they discriminated some against Hispanics; while 24 (85.7) percent didn't. Six (21.4 percent) Hispanics, felt they discriminated some against Blacks; while 22 (78.6 percent) claimed that they didn't.

Black Seniors and Discrimination

Background

Only 2 (10 percent) of the Black seniors interviewed, were not born in the United States. They had not seen any ethnic/racial problems in their countries-of-origin. As the others were all born in the United states this query was not applicable to 18 people (90 percent) of the Black study population.

Two (ten percent) elders reported having been taught to discriminate at home. The other 18 people (90 percent)

had not been brought up in this manner.

Group Influence

There were 14 (70 percent) who were in agreement that in group situations there is a greater tendency for people in general to discriminate in response to group pressure. Of these 4 (20 percent) strongly agreed and 10 (50 percent) agreed. Five (25 percent) others, however, disagreed. One (5 percent) person gave a don't know answer.

Seven (35 percent) of the Black seniors, admitted to being influenced by group pressure. Of these only 1 (5 percent) strongly agreed and 6 (30 percent) agreed. Another 11 (55 percent) disagreed and 2 (10 percent) strongly disagreed. In total, therefore, 13 (65 percent) Black seniors were in disagreement that they gave in to group influence.

Intergroup Relations

Seniors were asked whether certain groups discriminated against each other. Seventeen (85 percent) of the Black elders felt that Blacks discriminate against Hispanics. Of these 16 (80 percent) thought they did some and 1 (5 percent) person thought they did discriminate a lot against Hispanics. Only 3 (15 percent) did not feel that Blacks discriminated against Hispanics.

Twelve (60 percent) believed that Blacks discriminate some against Anglos. This was 5 (25 percent) less people than thought Blacks discriminated against Hispanics. Seven (35 percent), however, did not think that was the situation. One (5 percent) gave a don't know answers.

It was believed by 18 Black seniors, a full 90 percent that Hispanics discriminate against Blacks. Of these 17 (85 percent) thought they did some and 1 (5 percent) thought they did discriminate a lot. In contrast just 2 (10 percent) did not believe that Hispanics discriminate at all against Blacks.

A majority of 11 (55 percent) Black seniors assessed Hispanics as discriminating some against Anglos. This was 6 (30 percent) less than thought that they discriminated against Blacks. There were 3 (15 percent) who did not think so and 6 (30 percent) felt they did not know.

There was not one Black senior who did not believe that Anglos discriminated against Blacks. Fourteen (70 percent) elders thought Anglos discriminated a lot and 6 (30 percent) thought some.

Fewer people, 18, but a majority of 90 percent, thought Anglos discriminated against Hispanics. Of these 10 (50 percent) thought Anglos discriminated a lot and 8 (40 percent) thought some. The remaining 2 (10 percent), however, felt they did not know.

When asked if they believed that discrimination in

intergroup relations was basically about power and money 15 (75 percent) were in accord. Of these, 10 (50 percent) strongly agreed and 5 (25 percent) agreed. In contrast, 4 (20 percent) were in disagreement, with 2 disagreeing and 2 strongly disagreeing, 10 percent each. There was 1 (5 percent) no answer.

Eighteen (90 percent) of the Black seniors assessed the mainstream's communications media as contributing to the problems in intergroup relations by their negative and inaccurate portrayals of Blacks. Only 2 (10 percent) did not feel this was the case. One less, 17 (85 percent) thought they also depicted Hispanics inaccurately and 3 (15 percent) saw the media as truthful.

Direct Experiences and Expectations of Discrimination

Seven (35 percent) of the Black seniors reported having experienced discrimination at the hands of other Blacks; while 13 (65 percent) had not. Six people (30 percent) had been discriminated against by Hispanics and 14 (70 percent) had not been. Eighteen, a full 90 percent, however, had suffered discrimination from Anglos and only 2 (10 percent) had not.

Seniors were questioned about whether they expected to be discriminated against. Two (10 percent) expected discrimination from other Blacks and 18 (90 percent) others did not. This was identical to expectations of

discrimination from Hispanics. Two (10 percent) expected such and 18 others (90 percent) did not. With reference to Anglos, 15 (75 percent) seniors did not expect to be discriminated against by them; while 5 (25 percent) did hold such expectations.

When respondents were asked if they found themselves discriminating, 4 (20 percent) reported discriminating some against Hispanics. The remaining 16 (80 percent) did not. More Black respondents, 5 (25 percent) found themselves discriminating against Blacks than they did against Hispanics. The other 15 (75 percent) Black elders did not discriminate against their own group. More Blacks, though, discriminated against Anglos than they did against Blacks and Hispanics. There were 6 (30 percent) who discriminated some and 14 (70 percent) who stated they did not discriminate against Anglos.

HISPANIC AND BLACK SENIORS' UPBRINGING

It is thought that one's familial background as well as early experiences play a formative role in one's beliefs about discrimination. These factors are believed to shape perceptions about one's own and other groups, and to serve to influence feelings, attitudes and behavior patterns in relation to kin and non kin in later life. Hispanic and Black seniors were, therefore, asked if they

were brought up to discriminate against people of a different ethnic background.

All Hispanic seniors as well as the two Black seniors not born in the Continental United States were also questioned on whether there had been any racial problems in their countries-of-origin. Notice also was taken when American born Blacks made specific reference to race relations in the states. People were placed into categories as related to answering yes or no to the questions of whether they had been taught to discriminate, and if they thought that in their youth there had been ethnic/racial problems.

Hispanic Seniors' Upbringing

The Hispanic seniors' responses fell into the following categories: Taught to Discriminate/ No Problems in Country-of- Origin; Taught to Discriminate/Problems in Country-of-Origin; Not Taught to Discriminate/No Problems in Country-of-Origin; Not Taught to Discriminate/Some Problems-in-Country-of-Origin; and Not Taught to Discriminate/Lots of Problems in Country of Origin.

Hispanic seniors were far from being in agreement as to the state of race relations in Hispanic countries. The contrasts in statements about Puerto Rico are particularly noteworthy. In addition some seniors mentioned the

prevalence of classism, which was linked by some to color. It is interesting that none of the Hispanic seniors described themselves as having been the victims of discrimination in their early years. The Hispanic Seniors' comments were as follows:

Taught to Discriminate/No Problems in Country-of Origin

No Hispanic senior fell into this combined category. There were two Hispanic seniors who acknowledged that they were taught in their youth to discriminate. These seniors felt, however, that there were problems in their birthplace, Puerto Rico.

Taught to Discriminate/Problems in Country-of-Origin

In this category are two seniors. These seniors acknowledged having been taught to discriminate and recognized problems in race relations in Puerto Rico. One senior specified that there were some problems and the other answered a lot. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 01 said, "A lot of color problems in Puerto Rico. Tension obvious even in school. I was taught Blacks were inferior. My mother was from Spain. Blacks treated Whites as masters. Blacks and Whites didn't mix socially, not at school either. I didn't buy into my mother's teaching."

Senior 17 responded, "I was brought up to

discriminate and I was definitely taught to discriminate despite the fact my mother married a mulatto. My mother descended from the Canary Islands. I was taught by attitudes and statements that Blacks were lesser. Definite discrimination between lighter and darker Hispanics." Furthermore, "In Puerto Rico there were some problems...subtly and discretely, but I could feel it. This is conveyed in the phrase 'Where is your grandmother'."

These two seniors portrayed a much different view from many other Puerto Rican respondents who had not been taught to discriminate and who reported an idealistic picture of race relations.

Not taught to Discriminate/No Problems in Country-of-Origin

In this category are eighteen seniors who had answered that they were not taught to discriminate and in addition also had responded that there were no problems in race relations. In this category were Hispanics brought up in Puerto Rico as well as in Colombia, Peru, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic. One individual went so far as denying that thoughts of race problems even existed. There is, however, seen mention of classism and an association made to color as a factor in classism. The Hispanic seniors' comments were as follow:

Senior 04 answered, "In Ecuador there weren't any problems. I was brought up though in a sheltered environment, a convent. I was brought up to believe in God and the love of one's fellow men."

Senior 06 thought, "There were never any problems [in Puerto Rico].... Never even thought of."

Senior 07 stated, "In Peru there were no racial problems. I was brought up that everybody's the same. There were, however, class distinction, with the rich oppressing the poor. Class problems."

Senior 08 believed, "In Puerto Rico there were no problems ...In my town there were only a few Blacks. I was taught we were all the same, no matter where they came from."

Senior 11 thought, "In Puerto Rico what was valued was money and there was class discrimination."

Senior 12 stated, "I am Samba, [a mixture of] Black and White. Discrimination didn't exist in my country, Colombia. If you're humble you can get anywhere. If intelligent and with money can get anywhere. Blacks can mix with Whites and be on par, if one has the means to do so. Blacks did not hate people of different colors as they do here."

Senior 13 responded, "I was taught at home to respect all people and that we are all human. My whole family has been taught to respect and share. Not all the friction and

discrimination as we see now. In Puerto Rico there were no problems in race relations. Everybody went to church.... There was respect and it was all beautiful."

Senior 14 reported, "In Puerto Rico I was brought up in a religious way as a Catholic to help people. My grandmother would give away food. We were poor, but we would help others. I, too, will give away money in the street. I feel nothing bad will happen as God will help."

Senior 16 believed, "In Puerto Rico there was no racism. Blacks and Whites have the same self worth and that's what my parents taught me. I was brought up by a colored man, who was a humanitarian, who became poor by helping people. In Puerto Rico there is class discrimination and I had problems with Puerto Rican officers in the service. I saw how badly servants were treated. I was a construction worker and after saving the life of my employer's daughter I was treated badly.... I got angry and wouldn't put up with it and I quit. In the service I protested and brought charges against the officers."

Senior 18 observed, "Everybody got along well. People had more love for each other than here. Neighbors were friendly. Nobody cared about color. My brother married a Black and I love her."

Senior 19 felt, "It was delightful in Puerto Rico. Everybody was family. Everybody took care of everything

together...I never heard anything bad about other people.... There were never any problems."

Senior 20 claimed, "No racial problems in Santo Domingo. There was only one incident and that was with someone who was recognized to be crazy, who would not go anywhere where there were Blacks. I learned about discrimination in this country."

Senior 21 felt, "Discrimination didn't exist before in Puerto Rico. Never knew what it was. Everybody got along. Everybody was the same."

Senior 23 stated, "In Puerto Rico there were no problems in race relations. Everybody got along. I was brought up as a Catholic to get along with everyone."

Senior 24 observed, "No problems In Puerto Rico. Everybody got along.... The only thing people with money were apart from the others. Didn't matter whether Black or White. The difference was money. I was taught everybody is the same and to get along with everyone. Catholics believe in God and love one another."

Senior 25 remarked, "In Colombia everybody got along and there was no discrimination. I wasn't brought up to discriminate. I was brought up to believe Blacks and Whites were all the same."

Senior 26 thought "There were no problems in Puerto Rico. I lived where there were all Whites. At the age of eight I saw the first Black person. I thought he was a

bogy man. My father explained everybody was the same and it was like getting a sun tan..."

Senior 25 reported, "I was brought up in Puerto Rico in which there was no racial discrimination.... There was economic discrimination but Whites held all the better positions and separate clubs for the wealthy. In the University which was integrated there were less problems than exist here. My father was very social and taught us that we were all God's children and being good or bad had nothing to do with color. Our home was open to all.... No discrimination."

Other seniors had different experiences and they painted a somewhat different picture of what went on in their early years in their homeland. Yet one of these seniors, who had specified that there were no problems in race relations in Puerto Rico, in describing classism without any awareness was describing discrimination related to color as well. This association was also made by other seniors.

Not Taught to Discriminate/Some Problems in Country-of-Origin.

In this category are seven Hispanic seniors. They denied being taught to discriminate at home and specified that there were some problems in race relations in Puerto Rico and Ecuador. From their comments we see seniors

varied in the degree to which they felt race relations problems existed. Some people made a distinction, noting institutional racism but feeling at the same time that in every day relations people generally were able to get along. Some people classified discrimination as existing in approximately one-third of the situations but others felt it was even more prevalent than that. The seniors comments were as follows:

Senior 02 observed, "I wasn't brought up to be prejudiced. When I was growing up there were only a few Blacks in my town and they were nice people. It's not like the present time. The only racial incident I heard of in Puerto Rico was...in another town...a rape and a murder. Any problems were basically about the cock fights."

Senior 03 reported, "Some problems in race relations in Ecuador. Only one race basically, everybody 'triqueno'. There was one province where there were Blacks. They considered themselves as inferior; I don't know why. Yet there were some problems in terms of color discrimination. One educated friend married a Black. At first there was a lot of talk Then the person was accepted."

Senior 05 stated, "My mother was Catholic. We were told we were all human beings. Two-thirds [of the situations] there was no discrimination in Puerto Rico. People would treat domestics as family and still do, even go out with them. There are ignorant people though that

think people are born to be servants. Civilized people do not feel that way. Even in Puerto Rico they look at you badly."

Senior 09 responded, "I came from a middle class family and I was taught to respect others and taught not to discriminate against anyone. Racism, though, has always existed. There was some discrimination in Ecuador, thirty-five percent discrimination, Indian vs. Mestizo."

Senior 10 admitted, "There were some race problems in Puerto Rico, but I hadn't been aware of it. There was the Casino Espanol for the rich and aristocratic Europeans, who were members of society with prestige and lineage. They were the ones with more money. There was another Casino for Blacks and the poor. I was brought up that we're all brothers and sisters. I never knew about Blacks and Whites until I came here. I was going out to lunch with a Black girl. An Italian girl was horrified.... I didn't know what to make of such behavior."

Senior 15 reflected, "In Puerto Rico there were problems in race relations of which I hadn't been aware. In banks and newscasts there are only Whites. Blacks are eliminated from these positions."

Senior 28 stated, "My mother was a very warm person and would communicate well with everyone. She never pointed out any differences in people." "There were social distinctions made in Puerto Rico. There were

casinos for poor Blacks, This was the only time I saw any distinctions being made; no differences, for example, in schools."

Some of these seniors pointed out the existence of institutional discriminatory practices against Hispanic Blacks which has existed also in Hispanic countries. There was, nevertheless, only one senior who reported that there were a lot of problems in race relations.

Not Taught to Discriminate/A lot of Problems in
Country-of-Origin

Senior 22 was the only senior who answered directly that there were a lot of problems in race relations in Puerto Rico. The senior's comment was as follows:

Senior 22 stated, "My mother was a peasant and religious. We were taught to respect all groups and elders. We were all children of God, irrespective of color." "There were social distinctions made in Puerto Rico. Blacks and Whites kept their distance from each other. Whites didn't want their children marrying Blacks ; Blacks were honored and proud to have their children marry Whites."

Blacks presented as many different perspectives on race relations in their early youth as did the Hispanic seniors.

Black Seniors' Upbringing

The Black seniors' comments were placed into the following categories: Taught to discriminate/No Stated Problems in U.S. as Youths; Taught to Discriminate/Stated Problems in U.S. as Youths; Not taught to Discriminate/No Stated Problems in U.S. as Youths; Not Taught to Discriminate/Stated Problems in U.S. as Youths; and Not Taught to Discriminate/No Problems in Jamaica.

Again the placement into a particular combined category is strictly in terms of their early lives. The Black seniors presented different backgrounds with their Northern, Southern and Jamaican born histories. The Caribbean born Black experiences were especially different from those Blacks who had been actually taught to discriminate. It can not be assumed because some Black seniors born in the United States did not make any mention of the existence of problematic race relations in their youth that the seniors might not have been aware of such difficulties. Those who were born here were not specifically asked about race relations in the areas in which they were growing up. They only were asked about whether they had actually been taught to discriminate. The Black seniors comments were as follow:

Taught to Discriminate/No Stated Problems in U.S. as
Youths

No individual fell into this combined category. There were Black seniors, though, who told of having been taught to discriminate.

Taught to Discriminate/Stated Problems in U.S. as Youths

In this category there were two seniors who had been taught outright to discriminate at home. Both seniors had Southern backgrounds. The environmental context of segregation was specified by one of the seniors. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 29 reported, "I was brought up to discriminate against people of different ethnic backgrounds not color. There was segregation and had to stay in our place. There was a limit to how far we could go."

Senior 42 responded, "I was from the South and my father made me stay away from Whites."

These were the only two Black seniors who reported actually being taught to practice discrimination. As discussed earlier there were also two Hispanic seniors who were taught at home to discriminate. Other Black seniors presented a different picture of how they had been raised.

Not Taught to Discriminate/No Stated Problems in U.S. as
Youths

In this category are seven Black seniors. These seniors were not taught to discriminate. On the contrary some seniors stated specifically that they were brought up with the orientation that to practice discrimination is wrong. It is interesting too that there were seniors in this group as well as in the Hispanic sample who reported only becoming fully conscious of discrimination and its impact in the world of work. The Black seniors' comments were as follows:

Senior 30 stated, "I was brought up in an all White neighborhood by a religious family and we were trained to be fair and relate to everyone.... My sister and brother have a mixed marriage."

Senior 31 reported, "I was brought up in Jacksonville, Florida and my father demanded respect from others, Whites included, and thus taught us to respect others. I did not see much prejudices until I came to New York."

Senior 33 responded, "I was brought up around Philadelphia, where around Whites at a very early age [and without incident]."

Senior 35 claimed, "I wasn't brought up to have prejudices. I was brought up religiously and from my mother came my beliefs. I was raised in Maryland and came to New York City in 1943.... I married, had children and twenty five years working with the Transit Authority."

Senior 36 reflected, "I was born and raised in Harlem and prejudice was not part of my background. I began to recognize prejudice only when went to the world of work. I did experience...prejudice in job situations."

Senior 40 told, "I was brought up in a little farm in Georgia. When I worked I was taking care of babies. In New York City I was a housekeeper. I had no trouble in Georgia or New York City."

Senior 47 added, "I wasn't brought up to discriminate. But my father sometimes told us we were better than the poor or lower class. I was born in Richmond and I came here...I don't remember any real problems, though, I went mostly to White schools."

From their statements it would appear that these seniors were fortunate that in their early years they did not have to cope with direct experiences of discrimination as did many others as youths in the United States..

Not Taught to Discriminate/Stated Problems in U.S. as Youths

In this category are nine seniors. These seniors expressed a consciousness of discrimination in their early years in the states. They described patterns of discrimination that seriously affected their lives. Some handled problems through avoidance and never stepping out of line. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 32 noted, "I was born in New Jersey and there was a lot of discrimination against Blacks and those part Indian like myself. I tended to avoid situations or places where there was going to be a lot of open prejudice."

Senior 34 stated, "I was born in North Carolina but raised in Georgia. I didn't have too many problems because I grew up knowing my place. Very early I was a live-in domestic, but the family was good to me."

Senior 43 reported, "I was born in South Carolina and have been here since 1939. And, though, I didn't have trouble there was discrimination in terms of jobs, and, of course, you had to know your place. The worst was that jobs were hard to come by."

Senior 44 responded, "I was born and brought up in Philadelphia. Can't remember too much about Philadelphia except that there was much more prejudice than New York."

Senior 46 reflected, "I've always known there was discrimination and prejudice, but I didn't practice it, if I knew it. I was born in North Carolina. As I was growing up it was not too bad. And it was good for me because I had a job which was always in demand, culinary."

Senior 48 reported, "I was born in Newport, Virginia and of course there was considerable discrimination. I came to New York in 1928 and here had no unusual problems. Yet, I know there is discrimination in New York as there is in the South."

It is interesting that the individual who expressed the most difficulty was from New Jersey rather than the South. The seniors who were born in Jamaica had a different experience.

Not Taught to Discriminate/No Problems/Jamaica Born

In this category are two seniors, who were the only two non Hispanic Blacks of the twenty in the Black sample that were not born in the United States. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 39 stated, "I was born in Jamaica but brought up in Panama from the age of fourteen. I experienced no difference in either country. Race relations were okay.... I got along with everyone."

Senior 35 reported, "I was born and brought up in Jamaica and everyone treated everyone the same. There were no problems. It was good...but bad parts....Maybe differences due to class."

These two seniors comments were similar to some of the comments made by those elders from Hispanic countries. Importantly classism was mentioned here as well. Along with the commonalities there were differences as well.

A Comparison

Both Black and Hispanic seniors presented a variety

of life experiences with discrimination in their early youth. In each group there were two seniors who reported that they had been taught at home to discriminate. None of the seniors' statements reflected that they found it socially acceptable to practice racial discrimination or classism. Classism was noted by some seniors in both groups as a social pattern that had existed in their youth.

In both groups' presentations certain differences appear. In the comments made by Hispanics a stronger sense of community emerges than came through in the comments made by Black seniors about their backgrounds. Significantly none of the Hispanic seniors described themselves as victims of color discrimination in their youth; while some of the Black elders had grown up with the destructive sense of having to stay in their place.

BLACK AND HISPANIC INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Black and Hispanic seniors were directly asked to describe the manner in which they thought both communities got along with each other. In addition they were asked their observations on how seniors from these groups treat each other. The observations made by the seniors themselves is of paramount concern to this study. The seniors' views were placed into the following sections:

get along well; mixed relations; don't get along; differences between general relations/seniors still a problem; and minimal or no problems with seniors. The seniors' comments were as follows:

Hispanic Perspective

Hispanics presented many different viewpoints on how Hispanics and Blacks got along. The great majority of the seniors in their comments expressed their feelings that there were problems in existence, but others were positive about what they were experiencing. Their perceptions, therefore, ranged from seniors that believed Blacks and Hispanics were unified and helpful to each other -- to those that had mixed feelings that they both did and did not get along -- to others who thought there was a long history of problematic relations. In addition, there were many who perceived that relationships between elders were better than among other age groups. This was attributed both to greater maturity and a lessening of competitiveness. The Hispanic seniors' comments were as follows:

Get Along Well

In this category are nine seniors. These seniors were very positive about relations and reported living together

in harmony. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 02 remarked, "In the projects where I now live... everybody treats everyone well.... Always united.... We treat each other all alike. We all share.... Everybody's helpful..."

Senior 06 believed, "They get along well. I've never had any problems with Black seniors."

Senior 08 remarked, "I think they get along well.... Where I live we all share. Everybody gets along.... Seniors from what I see get along. We greet each other. If we need anything we help each other."

Senior 16 observed, "From my experiences and children's experiences I don't believe there are racial problems in this City. I worked in a government job for fourteen years.... I have never seen anyone discriminating. My children...have good jobs. I do read in the paper about racial incidents."

Senior 19 reported, "...here 30 years and never any problem ...Blacks and Hispanics generally get along. If a person is aggressive and the other person deals with it in a nice way the other person will change their attitude. In the centers...they are like family."

Senior 21 believed, "Blacks and Hispanics get along well in the City. Any problems that come up begin and end easily. In 1979 I moved out of Brooklyn as a gang of Black youth were beating up on my children.... That was the only

racial problem I ever had. At the Center there aren't any racial undercurrents as far as I can determine. There are fights but nothing to do with race."

Senior 23 thought, "Forty-four years here and never any problems. Everybody treats me well. No complaints. In my opinion seniors get along well. If you don't bother me I don't bother you."

Senior 26 felt, "Generally get along well.... There are those that don't. In one situation I was told that I don't belong here. I responded that when we die we'll both end up in the same place. I live in a retirement complex.... Blacks and Hispanics especially get along well. Blacks treat Whites badly.... There are drugs.... There is no discrimination around who get robbed or hurt.

Senior 28 reported, "I live in a development with professionals from all over the world and.... I own a flamenco studio and there have never been any problems.... Color doesn't indicate anything. A human being, like you and I. In the streets and restaurants have run into Black seniors and I converse nicely with them."

There were another group of Hispanic seniors who were not as positive about Black and Hispanic intergroup relations and thought that they got along in some ways but not in others.

Mixed Relationships

In this category are five seniors. These seniors were attempting to sort out their perceptions of differences in what they've heard, observed and directly experienced.

Their comments were as follows:

Senior 01 concluded, "From reading and from what my son says I believe there are problems especially in Brooklyn. My son was attacked and beat up.... When in the City I've been told to speak English, that I'm in this country. In my neighborhood people are very helpful to me. The Black teenagers carry my packages."

Senior 12 troubled, "Here there are only two colors, not like my country. Blacks hate people of different colors and stick together. They don't accept me as Black, though, I identify both as Black and White, being Samba. The hate maybe is inborn as see it in Black children here, but not in my Country. At the same time there is unity between Blacks and Hispanics in the lower classes. Some unite for bad purposes, others to live together in harmony."

Senior 18 noted, "Some get along well and some badly. It depends on the type of people.... Think it has to do with racism. People at the Center tell me not to speak Spanish. I have the right to speak Spanish and that's not right of them. Haitians speak their own language and nobody is complaining. They're not criticized. Lots of

arguments over this. Blacks here at Center aren't friendly.... I personally don't have any problems.... I help everyone, want to be friendly and not cold to anyone."

Senior 24 reported, "Thank God I've never had any problems. I know people have been discriminated against.... That's what I have heard and read. Seniors get along well in this Center. If there were more Hispanics attending I don't think it would make any difference in how people get along."

Senior 25 felt, "I feel that they get along well but hear that they don't. I've never actually been involved with Blacks. I treat people well and like them to treat me well. Blacks express themselves with ugly words...vulgarily. I've always worked with Hispanics and lived with Europeans."

These seniors presented mixed reactions, but there was a smaller group who felt Blacks and Hispanics did not get along at all.

Don't Get Along

In this category are four seniors. These seniors, except for one, reported from their own experiences that the groups got along poorly. There were complaints about government personnel, teenagers and other seniors. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 07 responded, "They don't get along. When I applied for Social Security...had lots of problems with Black employees.... Black and Hispanic seniors don't get along. There's always discrimination against the Hispanic. I don't live in a neighborhood with Blacks so can't talk about neighborhood relations."

Senior 14 remarked, "They don't get along that well. On both sides they don't treat each other that well. I've been treated alright thank God. Don't know about the elderly as I live in isolation. I came to the Institute to join HSAC in order to go on trips and not be alone."

Senior 15 reported, "Sometimes Black teenagers won't let me pass and say things like these people should already be dead.... Problems between Hispanics and Blacks have existed since I came here in 1924. In West Harlem there had been race wars at night.... There's a problem with seniors but I don't see it as discrimination per se. It's the language that bothers them."

Senior 27 thought, "...get along badly. They don't understand each other. We need to work at getting us integrated. Have to understand each other in order to love each other. In the Housing development where I live with many nationalities haven't seen seniors getting together. People there pay lip service..."

These seniors felt Blacks and Hispanics just didn't get along; however, there were those seniors that did make

some distinction between the Black and Hispanic general populations and its elderly.

Differences Between General Relations/Seniors Still A Problem

In this category are three seniors. These seniors looked for reasons for the tensions they were observing. They saw battles over power and the blaming of each other for their problems as well as language, culture, color and race differences causing difficulties. However they did get along better in social activities where they were increasingly more involved with each other and where age helped somewhat. Many difficulties still remained. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 05 reported, "I live in the Lower East Side and came in 1936.... Constant fighting in the East Side.... Unity for a while. Blacks taking over more and more.... Blacks have more and more power and knocking us. Even though we do have some politicians. Olga Mendes renounced the Black Caucus. There's a split.... We're alone basically.... Puerto Ricans are getting more and more behind..." "Blacks and Hispanic seniors get along somewhat better now though there is still tension. We're together at conferences and centers, but there are still only a few places to which we get invited.... More united. There has been a change."

Senior 11 felt, "Many don't get along. Blame each other for problems. People shouldn't be generalizing. I think the problem is lack of communication and that creates problems. Other groups find means of communication, even if it's non verbal. Leadership may be causing the problem. The War on Poverty started the problems. Before they got along better. Seniors do get along better though problems still. Black seniors will say 'Speak in Spanish.' It would be better if there were translations made and that would eliminate a lot of the difficulties. Language understanding would bring about greater participation. That's why Hispanics leave the centers."

Senior 22 stated, "Don't get along. Always fighting.... Culture and race are different. We have more than they do and they're always against us. It's hypocrisy to pretend we get along. We have no common basis upon which we can get along." "Hispanic and Black seniors some get along and some don't. In general we get along better. When older you tend to get along better, share and protect each other."

There were other Hispanics who did believe that the elderly had greatly improved relations in their maturity and as they passed their competitive years.

Minimal Or No Problem With Seniors

In this category are seven seniors. These seniors too did not believe Hispanics and Blacks got along well.

Again, we see many explanations given; these included behaviors, agendas and rivalry for resources. Seniors, however, were seen as being different from the young and able to work situations out. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 03 believed, "Always some degree of racism. The majority of the Blacks are into doing bad things. Twenty years ago Blacks were humble. Now they act high and mighty, give themselves importance. In work relations I have gotten along with the women; haven't been involved with the men. Older people are different. They all get along. It's...the Black youth.... But of course, there are bad Hispanics too."

Senior 04 reported, "According to what I hear, especially when listening to the news, Blacks and Hispanics don't get along.... I myself have seen people not getting along, but I'm not sure whether the issue is color, personalities, or behaviors. Treat others well and they'll treat you well..." "I think seniors get along. If honorable people can get along."

Senior 09 felt, "...a big division in this City. The subway is symbolic of it all and this is a daily occurrence.... Black people spread out all over and tell

you to go elsewhere for a seat. Then they give a seat to one of their own. With seniors different. More tolerance there. They treat each other differently ...demand...respect. Somehow their age and physical condition calls for respect and they do respect each other more."

Senior 10 thought, "I can't say they don't get along, but don't get along as they should. There's...antagonism, a rivalry, a discontent that doesn't allow them to truly get along. It should be better." "Seniors do get along better than the new generation. Older people have learned to work things out, to reason. Younger people rebel and protest."

Senior 13 believed, "There's racism and tension...with everybody having a different version of the problem. When working saw there were problems.... Some Whites try to get Blacks and Hispanics out of their jobs.... Blacks and Hispanics weren't able to unite. Generally Blacks and Whites don't get along with others. All groups are racists...different agendas. Immigrants change when they get here. Take on vices. I think older people though get along better as they have a sense of what other people are about."

Senior 17 observed, "Dichotomy -- both groups want to get ahead and feel that by eliminating the other will be able to get ahead. Blacks working in a place will try to

get rid of the Hispanics and vice versa. Black and Hispanic seniors respect each other. They have passed their competitive years. For them now it's a matter of survival and recognize they're in the same boat with each other."

Senior 20 remarked, "Blacks and Hispanics get along...half poorly and half well.... Hispanics are on the lowest level.... Blacks see themselves as better prepared than the Hispanics and as speaking better English no matter how educated and well spoken the Hispanic is. They also feel their culture is better and treat us badly when we apply to them for employment. Seniors treat each other better. It has to do with age and maturity and a different set of interests from the young.... All racial incidents had to do with the young. You can be sure their parents didn't tell the youth to act as they did..."

Not only did Hispanics hold different viewpoints but the Black seniors held varied perspectives as well.

Black Perspective

Black seniors expressed a variety of views with reference to Black and Hispanic intergroup relations. These perceptions ranged from they get along well because both have troubles in the City -- to don't get along well because both think they are better than the other. In

addition, there were some differences expressed in relation to seniors; for the most part it was felt they were able to get along better than the Black and Hispanic populations-at-large. The Black seniors' comments were as follows:

Get Along Well

In this category there is only one senior. The comment was as follows:

Senior 36 remarked, "We're equal. Get along well because we both have trouble in the City." "In center so far so good. Seniors treat each others as equal and they try to respect each other. Though, maybe could be a little better."

There were other seniors who were not quite as positive, seeing the relations as rather mixed.

Mixed Relationships

In this category are five seniors. The existence of a division between the groups was noted. Seniors were ambivalent over whether there might be some differences related to age but in general it was felt all relations needed improvement. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 29 felt, "The Hispanics that I have been associated with have been nice. As far as I'm concerned the Hispanics stay in their own group. Black and Hispanic

seniors it's a dividing line. They have their own group. We do greet each other. They are friendly. but they stay with their own group."

Senior 34 believed, "Blacks and Hispanics get along okay, but could do better. They both could treat each other better with more respect. Seniors seem to get along, but could be closer."

Senior 37 observed, "They could get along better; though, they mix they don't seem to be real friends to each other." "Seniors feel negative about their treatment of each other. The problem is language...no overt anger or hostility, but they do not communicate with each other."

Senior 41 complained, ".... There is a feeling of being better than American Blacks, but this seems to be the case with others also." "Seniors, some get along well. The others, there is a conflict because there is a feeling of being better. Also they don't try to speak English around those that do."

Senior 44 remarked, "Blacks and Hispanics get along well. I get along with them as well, if not better than Blacks." "With seniors the relationship depends on how they feel about the individual. If they like you okay; if not then don't get along too well. The relations could be improved though don't know how it could be done."

There were those seniors who had a much more negative perception about the state of intergroup relations.

Don't Get Along

In this category there are three seniors. These seniors expressed feelings that both groups looked down upon the other and noted their unfriendliness towards each other. There was a tendency to blame Hispanics for this state. Language was seen as a contributing factor in the difficulties. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 32 stated, "Hispanics and Blacks don't get along too good because both groups tend to think they're better than the other. Situation would be better if Hispanics would try to speak English when around others. With seniors in general there is a feeling of being better, on the part of each. They could get along much better if tried to understand each other."

Senior 38 felt, "The majority don't get along too well. The Hispanics don't seem to think the Blacks like them because they don't speak English. I get along because I lived with Hispanics for twenty nine years and my grandchildren are half Hispanic. Seniors, many here, don't get along too well. There's always complaints about language, speaking too loud."

Senior 42 remarked, "I don't get around the community too much, but they're not too friendly toward each other. Hispanics don't want to be friendly with Blacks." "The Hispanic seniors in this center they keep to themselves and may be it's because Blacks don't speak their

language."

From these elders' perspectives problems in intergroup relations included seniors. But there were others who felt the senior population was different from the population-at-large.

Differences Between General Relations/Seniors Still A Problem

In this category are five seniors. These seniors did not feel that Hispanics and Blacks got along; however, there was a considerable range in the degree to which they thought problems existed, from not that bad to a lot of animosity. Some reasons cited for the problems were battles over resources as well as language barriers. Though on the whole they thought seniors got along better, they still believed there to be tension. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 30 thought, "A lot of animosity. A feeling people took jobs, both Blacks and Hispanics. Blacks feel cheated by Hispanics moving into neighborhood. The Blacks, for example, with the Housing Authority are on waiting lists longer than the Hispanics." "With the seniors some don't get along well. On the other hand some tolerate each other. Some people don't make an effort to get along at all. From 1-10 seniors rated 7 in getting along."

Senior 31 observed, "It's a give and touch on both

sides in the sense that there are difficulties due to problems with each. They both need to understand and know each others better." "Seniors tolerate each other though there is a tendency for both groups to socialize with each other."

Senior 39 stated, "They don't get along too well. They tend to cling together rather than mixing. Would be better if they tended to mix more. Seniors are in between, meaning they don't mix enough; perhaps, because there is a language problem. Could do much better."

Senior 46 concluded, "Basically it's not that bad. There are some good and bad qualities in each. Both need to try harder." "Seniors do better than other ages although they don't see eye to eye. There needs to be more understanding amongst people."

Senior 47 believed, "Don't get along well as they could, both groups together. I, of course, was married to a Hispanic; his mother came from Cuba." "There are not too many Hispanics at this center, but in general they probably do better than the younger group.... Relations could be better. May be some day."

These seniors were asking for more understanding between Blacks and Hispanics. There were those Black elders, who felt seniors had already been able to achieve some accord.

Minimal Or No Problem With Seniors.

In this category are six Black seniors. These elders thought seniors were making an effort to communicate. The importance of learning each others language was underscored. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 33 stated, "Could be better but doesn't bother me. I try to keep to myself; don't go out much." "Seniors seem to try to treat each others okay. They both seem the same to me. They get along okay."

Senior 35 observed, "Not as close as we would like to see it. Language and customs keep them from intermingling." "In the Center seniors get along, exchange classes in English and Spanish. Efforts are made to communicate."

Senior 40 believed, "In my neighborhood they get along well, but it's not the same throughout the City. Would be better, perhaps, without the drug addicts, both Black and Hispanic." "Seniors seem to get along well. Been here three years and it seems as if things are okay."

Senior 41 thought, "On the whole it's not too bad, but am on the West side and it could be better. I've been here twenty years and experienced no problems. For seniors I don't think there are any real problems; not sure about the younger groups. Here on the East side the two groups could do better in getting along."

Senior 45 felt, "Not vey good. As a Jamaican I don't think the Blacks are trying to get along with any others, Hispanics, Koreans, etc. The seniors are okay. They do much better than some of the younger ones that don't care for anyone but themselves.... At Center no concern everyone gets along very good."

Senior 48 reported, "Most of the seniors get along well. There are quite a few here and we have a Hispanic teacher that teaches Spanish. In the City I guess things aren't as good as they could be with Hispanics, Blacks and Whites." "Seniors, I think they treat each other good. There are Hispanics here and we get along good."

Discussion

On the whole both Hispanic and Black seniors saw problems in intergroup relations, but within each group there were great differences of opinions. Proportionately a much larger number of Hispanics than Blacks thought that the groups got along well. At the same time the comments made by Hispanics about Blacks were as a whole, much more negative than the ones Blacks made about Hispanics. The sense of victimization by the other community came through much stronger in the statements made by the Hispanics than those of the Black seniors.

Black and Hispanic seniors voiced complaints about

the lack of understanding and communication, not only in terms of verbal understanding. Language barriers, though, were mentioned specifically by both groups. Customs was seen as another barrier. In addition, both groups mentioned competition for resources such as power, jobs and housing. Each complained too that the other group thought that it was better than its group.

The Black seniors were more inclined to feel that Blacks and Hispanics didn't get along at all. Close to the same proportions, however, in both groups characterized relations as mixed. Though both groups in general felt that seniors were able to get along better with each other than with the White population, the Black elders proportionately were more positive about this aspect.

Many of the Black seniors made a call for more understanding in these and other reported comments. This was not as strong a theme in the Hispanics' comments. It is not clear from the comments how many Hispanics would have preferred to just to be left to live comfortably alone or to integrate themselves with the American Black seniors. The former might seem to be the preference of many. With many Black seniors integration appeared more desirable.

EXPLANATIONS FOR DISCRIMINATION

During the course of the interviews both Hispanic and Black seniors were asked to give consideration to why they thought people discriminated against Blacks and also Hispanics. It was thought that this information would serve to deepen our understanding of their attitudes and experiences, on thus, how Blacks and Hispanics tended to relate to each other.

Most seniors cited multiple and overlapping factors in giving their reasons. These explanations fell into several areas, which were placed into the following categories: psychological; identity; race and color; language; behavior and personality; social conditions and societal values; resources of power and money; and other. The seniors' explanations are presented in detail. Where the explanations fit more than one category they are only cited once but counted as well in the other category. The seniors comments were as follows:

Hispanic Seniors' Perspectives

Hispanic seniors presented many and varied ideas to explain the existence of discrimination. Only one senior (Senior 06) felt he had no notion as to why people discriminated. [There were both differences and

similarities in the Hispanic seniors' explanations from each other and Black elders.] One commonly cited explanation amongst Hispanics was related to psychological factors. The comments were as follows:

Psychological Explanations

Psychological explanations were provided by fifteen Hispanic seniors. There were a number of psychological themes presented by these seniors. As examples, these included envy, inferiority and superiority complexes, insecurity, in-born hate, frustration, fears of the unknown and self protection. Hispanics were not only concerned with relations existing with Blacks and Whites. Puerto Ricans also expressed a lot of concern about relations with other Hispanics. The Hispanics' explanations were as follows:

Senior 01 believed, "They have an inferiority complex, feel inferior and take it out on others." "There is envy that others are doing better than they."

Senior 02 speculated, "It may stem from seeing others being treated better than they."

Senior 05 concluded, "Because Puerto Ricans are pure Americans and can go anywhere they want, other Hispanics are envious."

Senior 10 wondered, "I always try to understand why people try to treat each others badly. May be sick, a

complex or something. May be feel like putting others down to make themselves feel better."

Senior 11 explained, "...carry discrimination from birth. Puerto Ricans don't have that pattern..."

Senior 12 considered, "Hate may be in-born. See it in Black children here." "Discrimination is basically about envy. People don't work and want what others have. If you're working you don't concern yourself with what others have. Welfare is to blame."

Senior 13 thought, "May be egoism, thinking that they're better than others." "...they try to keep Blacks down and then Blacks rebel. They then take it out on Hispanics and all people."

Senior 15 stated, "Know Puerto Ricans are discriminated against by...immigrants because they don't need a Green Card. Cubans are envious."

Senior 17 responded, "Depends on the level of security whether the person will discriminate or not."

Senior 19 informed, "Some people are envious of Puerto Ricans because of our citizenship."

Senior 22 felt, "There is also envy about the Puerto Ricans ability to travel freely and not just other Hispanics [feel this way]."

Senior 23 believed, "Because of envy.... Puerto Ricans are lucky; we can come and go as we want." "They must think they are better than the Blacks."

Senior 25 concluded, "People discriminate against Hispanics for the same reason as any other, preferences and sentiments. It has to do with the self and their faith. Discrimination against Blacks exists but nobody knows why."

Senior 26 noted, "Some Blacks discriminate against Hispanics because they think Whites treat them better.... Some Hispanics out of frustration do bad things, like Congressman Garcia. All Hispanics are then lumped together.... Blacks take advantage of the situation to further themselves and are on the investigating committees to put Hispanics down.... Discrimination is about envy and selfishness; one group against the other. Not everybody has the same.... Try to bring people down to your level."

Senior 27 believed, "Discriminate against Blacks because don't know Blacks and get frightened so as to protect themselves. Its animal instinct to protect oneself."

Underlying the psychological themes presented by the Hispanic seniors was an assumption of a sense of group identity.

Identity, Race and Color Explanations

Identity, race and color explanations were provided by thirteen Hispanic seniors. Identification with a group on the basis of culture, color, race, physical appearance,

class and occupation were all reecognized as elements entering into discrimination. This was seen as evident even in the delivery of social and health services. The seniors' comments were as follows:

Senior 02 considered, "May be because from the same group staff gives preference to Black patients over Hispanics, whom tend to treat badly."

Senior 03 felt, "Blacks are Americans and are accepted."

Senior 04 thought, "Don't recognize we're all human beings even though different languages, customs and dress."

Senior 05 remarked, "Blacks think we're superior because of color. Whites don't like the Black heritage and the mixing of our races..."

Senior 07 believed, "Blacks discriminate because of language and color."

Senior 12 complained, "Blacks stick together. They don't accept me, though I identify both as Black and White."

Senior 14 considered, "May be because of color. A lot of American Whites don't like Black people."

Senior 15 thought, "Blacks themselves practice color discrimination. Black person or nigger designation depends on money."

Senior 18 felt, "Language and color make people treat

each other poorly."

Senior 19 wondered, "Some people discriminate because of color.... I don't really understand it; the blood is all the same."

Senior 22 concluded, "Americans discriminate because of color and appearance. They like blue eyes and blond hair. Whites treat Blacks poorly because of color and also see them as less intelligent than them."

Senior 26 noted, "Everybody basically favors one's own."

Senior 28 believed, "You identify with a particular group, social, economic and professional classes.

Identity is recognized as a factor in discrimination. Language, already mentioned above, is another source of self and other identification which requires greater attention.

Language Explanations

Language explanations were provided by thirteen Hispanic seniors. Language differences were believed to be a significant factor causing discrimination. They believed non Hispanics responded to hearing Spanish by discomfort, feelings of superiority, defensiveness, and abusive behaviors. The problem was thought to exist at the individual and institutional levels. The Hispanic seniors' comments were as follows:

Senior 01 believed, "People don't like Hispanics speaking Spanish."

Senior 03 noted, "They discriminate against those who speak Spanish and don't want to serve them like at Social Security."

Senior 5 thought, "language is a cause of discrimination, but there's more to it..."

Senior 09 believed, "Language is the basic problem...that makes people from one group treat others from another group badly."

Senior 10 felt, "People get upset when we speak Spanish and are afraid we're going to hurt them."

Senior 11 stated, "They think we're talking badly about them."

Senior 14 reported, "Hispanics don't always speak English...Americans get upset; think we're talking about them. Blacks get angry that we talk differently..."

Senior 15 concluded, "If you don't speak English you receive more abuse. You aren't able to rent an apartment.... You can't defend yourself."

Senior 19 thought, "Some people discriminate against Hispanics because of language."

Senior 24 believed, "Because some of us don't speak English they think we are inferior to them."

Language differences for seniors, however, did not only relate to the speaking of another language but also

to the way in which language itself was used. Language usage was seen as one type of behavioral problem amongst others which led to discrimination.

Behavior and Personality Explanations

Behavior and personality explanations were provided by sixteen Hispanic seniors. These seniors were convinced that individuals and groups brought discrimination upon themselves because of their behaviors and personalities. Sometimes, however, individuals were responsible for how their group was reacted to as a whole due to generalizations being made. The behaviors noted were many. These included: loudness, aggressiveness, criminality, lack of education, homelessness, etc. The seniors' comments were as follows:

Senior 01 noted, "Blacks think we're too loud. Yell and talk loudly with TV, Bingo and dances."

Senior 02 believed, "Treat Blacks badly because of a loose tongue. They speak badly and conduct themselves badly in the way they speak to each other. Their problems are with the way they treat each other."

Senior 03 felt, "When people treat Blacks badly it's because of their behavior, act badly, not as educated."

Senior 04 concluded, "By people's behaviors and personalities they do cause discrimination by providing the motive."

Senior 07 remarked, "Haven't actually seen discrimination against them, but see how Black youth act up, making noise, making scenes in trains. Not decent behavior."

Senior 08 claimed, "With Blacks because some are noisy and troublesome..."

Senior 09 stated, "Blacks get treated badly because of their comportment. It's because of their being, the way they are. They are very aggressive and poorly educated."

Senior 11 thought, "Blacks discriminate because of the oppression by Whites."

Senior 12 responded, "Whites in housing run away, fearful of us and of sharing because of the way we are in this country. Colombians...only the lowest come.... People come here who need a chance to make a decent living. If you're educated and have money wouldn't come here. The yelling, the garbage...can't hold their liquor. People discriminate also against Blacks because of their bad behavior and their bad habits."

Senior 14 stated, "Hispanics sometimes make noise."

Senior 16 thought, "...People who go into certain neighborhoods, where they don't belong bring problems unto themselves. If you behave and act right, people will respond and treat you right.... There is a tendency to confuse a tendency to bad behavior with discrimination. When I was a super many people didn't like Blacks or

Hispanics because frightened of the way some of us behave.... People react to the bad behavior. Wrong to generalize to the total group. Once people get to know who you are they stop making the association to others. Then you can get along.... Now that I'm retired they keep asking me to come back."

Senior 18 believed, "Blacks because of color and what they've done to New York with their crimes. People may be frightened of them."

Senior 21 remarked, "Individuals in the Hispanic and Black communities look for their own troubles and get themselves reputations as troublemakers."

Senior 24 complained, "Because some Blacks act badly they generalize to everyone and...everybody doesn't think or act the same..."

Senior 26 believed, "People react to Blacks poor treatment of others and their attempt to take over from Whites."

Senior 28 concluded, "Hispanics come to this country looking for better opportunities but don't have the preparation or education they need to achieve. They then behave badly and people in turn react badly to their ways." "When I first came to this country I saw very few Blacks around here. A big immigration and then problems...unemployment, homelessness...and health problems. Shouldn't bring in so many problems. Excess of

immigrants and Asians."

Some seniors in noting the behaviors of those whom they blamed for their own problems also at times placed these behaviors in a societal context. The context in which these behaviors took place were also highlighted by other seniors; and social conditions and societal values were also cited as explanations for discrimination.

Social Conditions and Social Values Explanations

Social conditions and societal values and explanations were provided by three Hispanic seniors. These seniors saw discrimination and the difficulties in our society as caused by drugs and noted the loss of respect. The meaning of respect is much broader in Hispanic society. The seniors' comments were as follows:

Senior 01 believed, "No respect in this country any more for other people. Drugs and TV causing the problems."

Senior 02 concluded, "This is all due to drugs when no drugs everything will be alright."

Senior 09 thought, "Discrimination is about the lack of education, drugs and armaments. It's the lack of respect for others."

Though there are not many seniors who stated as the primary reason for discrimination social conditions and societal factors these factors entered as well into other types of explanations given by the seniors, such as the

resources of power and money explanations.

Resources of Power and Money Explanations

Resources of power and money explanations as the basis causes for discrimination were agreed on by nineteen Hispanic seniors. [Four seniors though believing that these factors were critical did not comment with reference to them.] Seniors thought that there was investment in maintaining the status quo which went further than considerations simply of power and money. Also of significance was class and lineage. Self interest was central. People, if feeling threatened, discriminated. They also wanted to be in a position to obtain more; the job market was involved. The seniors' comments were as follows:

Senior 03, explained, "Hispanics treated badly because we're not from the same race and we're immigrants. There is selfishness. People want to hold on to their property and keep what they feel is theirs."

Senior 04 believed, "Color and race probably enters into it. People look down on others.... But mostly there seems to be an ulterior reason, discrimination with secondary intentions, serving as a motivator, a political reason, power. Want to make themselves count."

Senior 07 complained, "They think we've come here to take away their jobs. These are jobs they wouldn't want 95

percent of the time. Americans have all the good jobs bosses and foremen..."

Senior 08 speculated, "In general I think it's jealousy. It's about jobs, getting a better position.

Senior 10 concluded, "May be they're afraid of Blacks or something. Blacks went through Hell when they came here and they survived. They're intelligent people and they figure give them a chance and they'll overtake the Whites. The Whites feel the Blacks will run them out. Blacks are very strong people. Out of suffering you learn and know how to manipulate."

Senior 11 stated, "I don't know why Whites originally discriminated. May be to enslave the whole group. Discrimination is about controlling and wanting a bigger piece of the pie.... May be protecting themselves and their jobs.... People are seeing each other as a threat.... Like we're taking their job by accepting low wages. As if we don't want to be paid properly for what we do. Government is to blame for this situation. When I have experience then I can make demands. Also some Blacks think we're advancing more than they are. I think we Hispanics have helped them..."

Senior 15 noticed, "A lot of discrimination against Chinese and Koreans. People say they're taking the businesses away from them."

Senior 20 explained, "Extremely complex situation....

Self interest enters into it. Also oppresion to maintain separate social levels. They treat Hispanics as if we were retards and degenerates. People even discriminate against their own to maintain their positions and climb.... With the Blacks there are many historical factors with the institution of slavery. Racism is not only about power and money. In addition class and lineage are involved."

Senior 17 felt, "Hispancs are considered more like outsiders."

Senior 22 exclaimed, "Wanting to get more power creates discrimination. Blacks in better positions treat Hispanics badly and put them down."

Senior 25 concluded, "The emphasis is on power."

Resources of power and money explanations seem to be a key factor in the explanations of many Hispanic seniors. There were, nevertheless, many other sorts of explanations.

Other Explanations

Other explanations were provided by six Hispanic seniors. These included: communication, ignorance, upbringing, leadership, and God's plan. The seniors' comments were as follows:

Senior 11 told, "It's a question of a lack of communication and ignorance.... It's also a question of how we've been brought up. Puerto Ricans don't

discriminate because we don't have that pattern."

Senior 14 confessed, "I know this sounds crazy. But I feel it's because it has to happen. It's before God comes to earth. Things have to get very bad."

Senior 17 informed, "There is misinformation and lack of knowledge about the other culture and fear. Assumptions made about others and labeling. It's the manner too in which the person has been brought up. I know that if I had had their background I could be prejudiced too. I have had to analyze myself and that's why I'm religious..."

Senior 24 felt, "Leadership sometimes causes problems in Black and Hispanic relations. Pull in different directions and need unity."

Senior 27 believed, "Discriminate against Hispanics because don't know our history that Columbus discovered America and we had this land." "Stupidity, no religion and no principles."

Senior 28 explained "Because our culture is so different from theirs. They have no interest in learning about us and reject what they don't understand." "Blacks and Whites...don't recognize each others' humanity and don't understand each other and consequently attack."

Hispanic seniors provided many explanations for discrimination which ranged from tracing causation to the victims themselves to seeing discrimination as part of God's greater plan. Black seniors too had their own sets

of explanations which are to be presented.

Black Seniors' Perspectives

Black seniors as did Hispanic seniors attributed discrimination to many different causes and they often cited more than one reason for its existence. There were differences amongst the group and between the groups. At the same time there were many shared commonalities with other Black seniors as well as with Hispanics. The seniors explanations were as follows:

Psychological Explanations

Psychological explanations were provided by six Black seniors. Some of the themes presented were feelings of jealousy and superiority as well as fears of the unknown. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 31 thought, "Also a fear of new situations on the part of the older person."

Senior 32 explained, "Ignorance and feeling that they are better than others."

Senior 33 stated, "Think they're better than others."

Senior 35 responded, "They're jealous because Hispanics stick together." "Lack of knowledge and childhood fears."

Senior 36 believed, "Because these people think of themselves as superior."

Senior 44 theorized, "Perhaps because they think they're better than Hispanics."

In these explanations we take note of an underlying assumption being made of the existence of a group identity.

Identity, Race and Color Explanations

Identity, race and color explanations were provided by nine Black seniors. These seniors gave recognition to identity as an important reason for people discriminating. They took special notice of reactions to: difference in general; differences in culture and class; and physical attributes such as color. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 31 said, "People feel Blacks are not in the same class; don't know how to treat people who are different."

Senior 33 responded, "I don't know why people discriminate against Hispanics.... Discriminate against Blacks because of looks. They think others look bad."

Senior 35 felt, "Blacks have a stigma, because of color and background."

Senior 37 believed, "Discrimination against Blacks, again it's due to the lack of understanding and inability to accept differences."

Senior 39 thought, "Discrimination is worldwide but it's against Blacks because of their color."

Senior 40 answered, "Some people don't like people they don't think are from this country.... Some people don't understand people who are different.... Don't like the way they talk, dress.... Don't like their looks..."

Senior 41 stated, "Because they think the American Black doesn't have a country, a culture, and because they come from slavery."

Senior 42 concluded, "It's really a matter of color for many; even, some Hispanics who are Black can not see themselves as Black."

Senior 45 believed, "Because of skin color. The worst War, World War II, and other wars, is a War against other people by people who are different."

The Black seniors noted reaction to differences as an important factor in people discriminating. Language differences were seen as another cause for discrimination.

Language Explanations

Language explanations for discrimination were provided by five Black seniors. The inability to speak the others' language was seen by some as causing difficulties between Blacks and Hispanics. They thought, too, there was in evidence a lack of understanding and no effort being made to get to know each other. Their comments were as

follows:

Senior 29 thought, "Treat Hispanics badly because of language barrier, poverty, upbringing and culture."

Senior 35 believed, "Because they speak another language."

Senior 37 felt, "At the Center it is more likely due to language."

Senior 41 stated, "The language is a barrier and does cause seniors to keep away from each other...considerable distance between the two groups. I think it's because of not understanding and not taking time to know the person."

Senior 47 observed, "Whenever there's a language barrier there is some discrimination. They don't try to understand each other."

This same lack of understanding which was seen as entering into the problems caused by language were part of some behavior and personality explanations of discrimination.

Behavior and Personality Explanations

Behavior and personality explanations of discrimination were provided by three Black seniors. A few Black seniors thought that to some extent behaviors of Blacks themselves and the inability of others to individualize might be causing discriminatory behaviors. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 29 thought, "Treat Blacks badly because they think we're all criminals and can't be trusted. They don't want to get to know us."

Senior 38 felt, "May be because Hispanics stick together."

Senior 44 concluded, "They sometimes discriminate against Blacks because of ignorance but also because Blacks can sometimes be destructive."

Though only a few seniors' explanations were in this grouping, there were no elders that provided explanations specifying social conditions and societal values as explanations for discrimination. This was in sharp contrast to explanations with reference to resources.

Resources of Power and Money Explanations

Resources of power and money explanations were agreed upon by sixteen Black seniors. Though sixteen expressed accord when asked about whether they thought discrimination was about power and money these seniors did not tend to elaborate on their agreement, except for the three individuals who are quoted. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 32 thought, "It's as much power and money as it's ignorance."

Senior 42 concluded, "Because the Blacks think they should have as much as others and Hispanics think they

should have the major say. The Hispanics seem to want to discriminate just as if they are White."

Senior 43 remarked, "Some Blacks discriminate because are angry about how newcomers can succeed quickly while Blacks can't get anything."

Though few elaborated on power and money as the cause for discrimination they did, however, elaborate further on other aspects that they felt gave rise to discrimination.

Other Explanations

Other explanations were provided by nine Black seniors. These explanations included a heavy emphasis on a lack of understanding of other people, with people not making an effort to correct misinformation. The elders also referred to upbringing, level of education and sophistication and just plain stupidity. They felt also there was too much hate and not enough love. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 30 concluded, "Treat Hispanics and Blacks badly because don't understand them and people won't make an effort. Among seniors people are set in their ways."

Senior 31 believed, "People treat Hispanics poorly because a lack of understanding and having been told things that may not be true about the person and their group. Lack of education, upbringing and understanding."

Senior 32 thought, "I think its due to ignorance and

lack of understanding."

Senior 36 observed, "Because of the way they've been brought up in their family they discriminate against Hispanics.... Due to their backgrounds people discriminate against Blacks.... Many people discriminate against the West Indians, including Blacks."

Senior 37 stated, "Against Hispanics discrimination may be due to...the level of education and sophistication of the person."

Senior 38 felt, "It's a matter of a lack of understanding, not being able to accept others' opinions."

Senior 39 concluded, "Because they don't understand Hispanics as they should."

Senior 42 remarked, "People discriminate against Hispanics because of a lack of understanding, lack of knowledge about people."

Senior 43 thought, "People have a dislike against others because they can't understand their ways, their culture and don't really know them."

Senior 46 believed, "It's probably a lack of understanding, also love.... There's too much hate in this country and not enough love.... Some are just stupid."

Senior 47 responded, "There's a lot of discrimination in this world because there is a lack of understanding.... I find myself discriminating.... But it's because of my upbringing. I was brought up to think I was better than

others."

Senior 48 stated, "People discriminate against Hispanics because they just don't know any better. They are full of hate, maybe.... Against Blacks in many ways it comes from the days of slavery. My grandmother used to tell me about the many things that used to happen during slavery and discrimination is just a continuation of this treatment."

The explanations for the phenomenon of discrimination presented by the Black seniors were indeed varied. There was only one senior, 34, who could not provide any explanation. The lack of understanding and need for it appears as the major theme in the Black seniors' explanations for the causes of discrimination.

Comparison of Black and Hispanic Seniors' Explanations

Both groups provided a multitude of explanations for the poor treatment of others in intergroup relations. Though explanations for discrimination were often very similar there were in evidence differences in emphases evident between the Black and Hispanic groups.

Hispanic seniors were far readier than their Black counterparts to provide psychological explanations for the occurrence of discrimination. Proportionately there were many more Hispanics thinking in these terms. Explanations,

though, were quite similar. Both groups accounted for discrimination by such feelings as inferiority, superiority, and jealousy, etc.

Hispanic and Black seniors, both, took note of their special circumstances. Puerto Ricans felt that among other Hispanics there was envy because of their citizen status at birth. Black seniors placed discrimination within the context of the history of slavery. Hispanic seniors also made reference to that history and its impact on present times.

In the two groups one person less than half of each group made comments that dealt with identity, color and race as explanations for discrimination. Both Hispanics and Blacks were aware that people had difficulty dealing with differences. Color and the aspect of physical appearance were seen as very significant in how one was treated by other groups. In terms of color Hispanics were perceived to have an advantage generally over Blacks. Blacks were thought to have some advantage in being perceived by others as Americans.

As to be expected Hispanic seniors were much more conscious of the role of language in discrimination than Black seniors. Around 50 percent of Hispanic seniors linked discrimination to language in contrast to around 25 percent of Blacks.

It is interesting, too, that Hispanic seniors had a

much greater tendency than did the Black elders to blame individuals themselves for what befell them. Some Hispanics were especially critical of Blacks, whose behavior they questioned. There was also a feeling expressed that only the "lowest" Hispanics come to this country.

Some Hispanics, in addition, thought that societal conditions and values gave rise to discrimination; while no Black senior gave this as a reason per se for discrimination. Though greater numbers of Blacks than Hispanics were in accord that discrimination was basically about power and money Hispanics provided greater elaboration on this theme.

Black seniors provided the greatest number of comments in the category of "Other". For the Black senior this category could be easily changed to "Lack of Understanding". The major theme in the Black elders' comments as a whole was that discrimination was caused by the lack of understanding of others. There was no one particular theme which was outstanding for Hispanics. Qualitative differences do indeed appear to exist in the perceptions of Black and Hispanics as to the reasons for discrimination.

LANGUAGE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

Language is thought to have significance in intergroup relations beyond simply verbal communication. It is believed to be linked with identity and to have symbolic meanings. Hispanic and Black seniors were, therefore, asked a number of questions designed to obtain background data and also to explore their attitudes and perceptions on the importance of language in their own lives and in dealings with others. The findings are as follows:

Pertinent Background Data

1990 Census data has yet to be analyzed. 1980 Census data, upon which we must rely at this time, reveals that in New York City 30 percent of Puerto Ricans and 44 percent of other Hispanics, ages twenty five and over, did not speak English or spoke it poorly. Of these 8.7 percent of Puerto Ricans did not speak any English compared with 17.5 of other Hispanics. Whether able to speak English, over 90 percent of all Hispanic adults reported that they did not speak English at home (Mann and Salvo, (1984).

Hispanic Seniors and Language.

Hispanic seniors were asked questions on the usage of English and Spanish which were considered to be related to identity concerns and involvement in the culture of the wider American society. For this reason it seemed important to learn the kind of connection seniors had to the English and Spanish mass media. The media provides cultural input and access to different types of information as well as varied viewpoints, often representing special interest groups. It also serves to influence and shape opinions. Also how the Hispanics thought Black seniors reacted to their use of Spanish seemed highly pertinent to the examination of Black and Hispanic intergroup relations.

Hispanic Seniors and the English Language

Hispanic seniors were queried on their use of the English language. Questions were asked about their abilities to read, understand, and speak English. They were also asked about whether they read the English language newspapers, and listened or watched the English radio or television. Questions about the level of discomfort in being in an English speaking country were also explored. The majority of Hispanics had contact in some form with both the English and Spanish language

media. Most also claimed not to find it difficult being in an English speaking country. The findings of the study are as follows:

Fourteen (50 percent) of the 28 seniors interviewed had some difficulty with reading English. Of this group, 6 (21.4 percent) were not able to read English at all, while 8 (28.6 percent) were able to read just a little English. Another 3 (10.7 percent) were able to read almost everything and the other eleven (39.3 percent) claimed they were able to read English perfectly.

With difficulties or not, only 11 (39.3 percent) Hispanic elders never read any English language newspapers. Six (21.4) read them sometimes. Two (7.1) read them almost always; while 9 (32.1 percent) read them always.

Five (17.9 percent) out of these 28 Hispanic seniors, had no understanding of the spoken English language. Six (21.4 percent) understood a little. Seven (25 percent) others comprehended almost everything; while 10 (35.7 percent) of the study population understood everything. A little over 82 percent, therefore, had some comprehension of English.

Despite not always understanding English only 2 (7.1 percent) seniors did not watch English television or listen to the radio. Seventeen (60.7) watched or listened sometimes. Five (17.9) watched or listened almost always

and 4 (14.3) always did.

Six (21.4 percent) of the Hispanic respondents could not speak any English at all. Another 5 (17.9 percent) were only able to speak a little. Close to 40 percent, therefore, had difficulty communicating in English. A majority, however, "could defend" themselves in English, a Spanish expression frequently used by the seniors interviewed. Ten (35.7) elders considered themselves almost completely fluent and 7 (25 percent) thought they spoke perfect English.

Even though 11 (39.3 percent) of the Hispanics could not speak English or just spoke a little, there were only 8 (28.6 percent) seniors who stated that they felt uncomfortable when people were speaking English. Of these eight, half were sometimes uncomfortable and the other half were always uncomfortable, 14.3 percent each. The other group of 20 (71.4 percent) elders did not feel in the least uncomfortable when English was being spoken.

Even more seniors, 22 (78.6 percent) claimed it was not any problem being in an English speaking country. One (3.6 percent) found it difficult. Another 5 (17.9 percent) of the study population found it very difficult.

Hispanic Seniors and the Media: A Comparison

Seniors were asked about their purchasing of English and Spanish language newspapers as well as their listening

and viewing patterns. The majority of the seniors apparently were being influenced by both the English and Spanish language media. The findings are as follows:

Nine Hispanic (32.1 percent) seniors always purchased English language newspapers; this was 3 more than the 6 (21.4 percent) who always purchased Spanish language newspapers. Two (7.1 percent) seniors each time answered that they almost always bought Spanish and/or English language newspapers. The majority of the seniors bought at some time English and Spanish language newspapers, but fewer purchased the newspaper in English. Of this group 16 (57.1 percent) seniors purchased Spanish language newspapers, in contrast with 6 (21.4 percent) that bought English newspapers sometimes. Four (14.3 percent) never bought the Spanish press, 7 fewer than the 11 (39.3 percent) that never bought the English language newspapers.

An overwhelming majority of seniors watched some English and Spanish media programming. At one end of the spectrum, only 1 (3.6 percent) individual did not at any time listen or watch Spanish media programs at any time, in contrast with 2 (7.1 percent) people who never watched English language programs. Seventeen (60.7 percent) people sometimes watched Spanish language television; the same number that sometimes watched English language programs. There were 4 (14.3 percent) who almost always watched

Spanish programs; this is one person less than the the 5 (17.9 percent) that almost always watched English language television. The remaining, 6 (21.4 percent) always watched programs in Spanish, 2 persons more than the 4 (14.3 percent) Hispanics that always watched television in English.

Hispanic Seniors and the Spanish language

Seniors were asked the degree to which they spoke Spanish at home. Though it is true that at home one generally speaks the language of one's preference this is not always posible in intergenerational households. The findings must be viewed within this context. The findings are as follows:

All Hispanic seniors spoke Spanish in their home at some time. Sixteen (57.2 percent) always spoke Spanish while at home. Another 7 (25 percent) people, spoke mostly Spanish; while the rest, 5 (17.9 percent) "en la casa" only sometimes talked in Spanish.

Hispanic Seniors' Perception of Black Seniors' Responses

Seniors were asked about their perception of the manner in which Black seniors reacted to the speaking of Spanish as it would be expected to play a role in how Black and Hispanic seniors were able to get along. The feeling of the most seniors was that there was a negative

reaction to hearing Spanish spoken. The findings are as follows:

A large majority of the seniors, 19 (67.9 percent) felt Black seniors (and other Black individuals) reacted badly to their speaking Spanish. Out of this group 4 (14.3 percent) Hispanics thought Blacks sometimes reacted and 7 (25 percent) thought they almost always did react. There were 8 (28.6 percent) who thought they always did. An additional 3 (10.7 percent) felt they did not know whether the Black seniors reacted to the speaking of Spanish as they commented that they always spoke in English to them. There were 6 (21.4 percent) however, who did not feel that Black seniors reacted badly at all to the speaking of Spanish.

Black Seniors and the Spanish Language

Black seniors were queried as to their attitudes with reference to the requirements for service providers to be bilingual and printed information on benefits and services to be available in Spanish. They also were asked about their reaction to the speaking of Spanish in social situations as well as the work place. Seniors felt very differently about the use of Spanish in different settings. Almost half of the seniors favored English Only Laws in the work place; while there was 100 percent

agreement that Spanish should be used in medical settings. The majority of Black seniors also reported discomfort when Spanish was being spoken in their presence. The findings of the study are as follows:

Spanish Language: Service Delivery and Benefits

Fifteen (75 percent) seniors were accepting of the government translating and printing materials on benefits into Spanish. In contrast 5 (25 percent) felt this should not be done.

In response to whether they thought there should be bilingual workers dealing with Income Maintenance and Supplemental Security Income benefits a full 95 percent, 19 people, were accepting of this type of staffing pattern. There was only 1 (5 percent) who disagreed.

Again 19 (95 percent) elders thought there should be bilingual staff at Social Security offices. One (5 percent) person also was in disagreement with this.

There was not, however, even one individual who objected to bilingual workers in medical settings such as hospitals or clinics. All Black seniors recognized this staffing pattern to be necessary in a medical environment.

Spanish in the Environmental Context

When asked if the Spanish should only be spoken at home 16 (80 percent) of the Black seniors responded that

they did not feel that Spanish usage needed to be limited to the home. There were 4 (20 percent) of the seniors, however, who did believe this should be the case.

Eleven (55 percent) of the Black seniors felt some degree of discomfort when they heard Hispanic seniors speaking Spanish. Six (30 percent) felt a little uncomfortable. One (5 percent) felt somewhat uncomfortable and 4 (20 percent) people felt very uncomfortable. Nine (45 percent) elders however, did not in any way feel uncomfortable when Spanish was being spoken around them. One of these seniors raised in Panama, though born in Jamaica, could speak Spanish as well. Another person who was not bothered by hearing Spanish spoken pointed out that every Hispanic at their Center spoke English.

A majority (60 percent) of the seniors thought Hispanics could easily learn English. Four (20 percent) Black respondents strongly agreed that Hispanics if they wished to learn English could easily do so, with another 8 (40 percent) in agreement that this was the case. Out of the remaining 8 (40 percent) there were 7 (35 percent) who disagreed, and the other 1 (5 percent) individual strongly disagreed that it was easy to learn English.

Eight (40 percent) persons in fact thought there was no excuse for an adult not learning English. Eleven (55 percent), however, were in disagreement. One (5 percent) gave a "don't know" answer.

There was strong sentiment expressed for English Only Laws enforcement at the workplace, where there would be a legal prohibition against the speaking of Spanish. Nine (45 percent) Black seniors thought such laws desirable. One (5 percent) person again held no opinion. The other, 10 (50 percent) disagreed with the passage of such legislation.

Black Seniors and the Spanish and Black Media.

Reading newspapers and watching community programming is reflective of some level of identification with a particular community. Seniors were asked if they could understand the interest of Hispanics in the Hispanic mass media. Inquiry was also made of their own level of contact with the Black media. The findings are as follows:

A full 95 percent of the seniors, 19 in all, were able to accept at some level the interest of Hispanics in reading Spanish newspapers, and listening and watching Hispanic radio and television programs. Sixteen (80 percent) could understand this preference "a lot" and 3 (15 percent) understood it "some". Only 1 (5 percent) could "not at all" understand this preference.

There was only 1 (5 percent) Black senior who claimed never to read Black community papers. Two (10 percent) stated they read them rarely; while another 13 (65 percent) read them some. The remaining 4 (20 percent) read

them a lot. This was quite different from listening or watching Black programming where there was 100 percent participation. Ten (50 percent) gave their answers as a lot; ten (50 percent) watched Black programming some.

Hispanic Seniors Comments on language

Hispanic seniors were asked a number of questions related to language which have already been reported on in "Language and It's Significance". They were also asked to comment on their feelings and experiences when speaking Spanish or being required to communicate in English in the United States. Furthermore, during the course of the interview they often brought up their concerns in this area.

Their comments were placed into a number of categories determined by their answers to the following two questions. They were asked specifically to assess if Black seniors reacted badly to their speaking in Spanish. They also were asked how difficult it was for them to be in an English speaking country. Importantly their answers to the above two questions and their comments often seem at variance with one another.

There was a broad range of responses, from feelings of inadequacy to anger over rights' violations. Seniors often went beyond themselves, noting the difficulties for

others when not speaking English well. Seniors' statements dealt with both social situations and institutional settings. They also attempted to find reasons for why Blacks reacted badly to the speaking of Spanish. Their explanations again reflected a broad range, from Hispanics' rapid speech to only one's own language being worthwhile.

The seniors' responses and their comments around language were as follows:

Blacks Always React/English Country Not At All A Problem

In this category are seven seniors. Even while describing problems or distress these seniors had answered in the quantitative part of the questionnaire that it was not a problem for them being in an English speaking country. Their degree of command over English, however, did not appear to determine the degree of difficulty they experienced. Neither did it determine how great a problem they saw language as being in relations between Hispanics and Blacks. These seniors were also conscious of the impact of language on other Hispanics. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 09 responded, "Language is the basic problem. I say it...makes people from one group treat others from another group badly. The other group doesn't understand or doesn't speak...the language. Person who doesn't speak

English well gets treated badly and interpreter makes situation worst. The interpreter doesn't present the right view or provide the right information.... But even if the person spoke English he'd get treated poorly." "I have found a solution for myself and family, for hospitals, credit, school and work. When situation is easy no problem. When the situation is complex calling for a mastery of English beyond my capacity I feel frustrated, small, and not adequate."

Senior 15 believed, "The Black seniors are bothered by the language. See this all the time at centers. They may think it has to do with them. They say 'speak English' and I answer that it's a free country. I have a right to talk, just as others do. It's not a problem because I speak English. I get angry because I don't want to be told not to speak Spanish.... If you don't speak English you get more abuse. Won't rent to you." "When Black seniors see materials in Spanish get even angrier." "I feel that people should go to school to learn to speak English for hospitals, and places like that."

Senior 18 reported, "People at Center say 'Don't speak Spanish.' I feel badly as that's my language. They think we're talking about them. I get angry." "In terms of handling my life language isn't any problem."

Senior 22 remarked, "I don't have any preconceived notions. Just wait to see what happens." "I'm not

uncomfortable when people are talking. I listen and if I don't know a word I like to learn." "Being brought up here and then going back to care for my mother got me all mixed up with speaking English. I get along. I just take it easy to express myself."

Senior 23 wondered, "Not certain if its the language or the rapid pattern of speech which upsets the Blacks. They want to know what we're talking about. I tell them and then there's no problem." "...in Catholic school taught English and taught in English so no problem when I came. I'm able to handle situations easily."

Senior 26 stated, "Blacks and Whites always get angry when you speak in Spanish even at a time when you're trying to do them a favor. They yell 'Speak English. Speak English'..."

Senior 27 observed, "People who don't know a language always have a bad reaction and think that only their own language is worthwhile. People want to know and understand. It's the lack of understanding that's the problem."

The responses of other seniors, all of whom spoke English, who felt that Blacks almost always, rather than always react were quite similar to those already quoted. There were also additional dimensions.

Blacks Almost Always React/English Country Not At All A Problem

In this category are five seniors. Here again we find seniors speaking about feeling abused as well as having rights which are being denied. Feelings were expressed that Blacks should be learning Spanish. One senior, though, felt guilty for speaking Spanish. Explanations again for reactions to Spanish were both placed on the Hispanic and on the Black. One senior even thought Hispanics and Blacks acted crazily. One senior, however, described it as a privilege being required to speak in English. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 01 replied, "I understand everything and they know it so they wouldn't speak about me. At Center Blacks get annoyed at those that can't speak English and get abusive...tell Hispanics that they should learn English. Blacks should learn Spanish too. Everybody has the same rights as well and should be allowed to enjoy them. We're in the majority at the Center. Should also be allowed to enjoy Spanish programs. Language causes lots of tension and no communication."

Senior 10 believed, "In centers seniors are now more accepting and understanding of Hispanics speaking Spanish because we're friendly and know we're not going to hurt them. They keep saying 'In English. In English.' They make me feel guilty for speaking my Language.... I try to

explain that I have to speak Spanish to those that don't speak English." "Know English isn't my language so I just tried to do my best. I went to school here and when I couldn't express myself perfectly would make like a joke out of it."

Senior 11 observed, "At Bingo games the Blacks will say 'speak in English'. Language understanding would bring better participation. That's why Hispanics leave the Center." "I feel terrible about being required to communicate in English. Feel everybody should be able to speak in their own language. I am a citizen because it was imposed on me not by choice."

Senior 13 thought, "Hispanics in group speaking Spanish bother people. Sometimes we look crazy the way we act. Also the way Blacks act..." "I was able to integrate myself immediately. Second day in the states was working with Italians. I came knowing some English. I have no trouble making myself understood and will in fact translate for others.... Other people, however, can't understand us. It's the way we express ourselves."

Senior 17 believed, "There's an advantage with language. Blacks are seen as better equipped to work in the United States, no matter how well the Hispanic speaks." "When being required to communicate in English I feel privileged to have another language in which to express myself. With non-intelligent people am alert to

how they'll feel but I'm not inhibited."

Seniors continue to describe how badly others react to their speaking of Spanish, even when themselves speaking English. The problems remain in evidence in the next grouping of elders.

Blacks Sometimes React/English Country Not At All A Problem

In this category are five seniors. These seniors who again claim in the quantitative section of the questionnaire that being in an English speaking country poses no difficulty for them describe very clearly their observations of how Hispanics get responded to when speaking Spanish not only in social type situations but also how it has been used as an excuse to deny them access to employment. Seniors describe, too, very vividly their own pain. Language is perceived as being at the center of one's identity. The seniors comments were as follows:

Senior 05 described, "Sometimes I will find myself speaking in English and have to find the right words. I feel frustrated and have to calm myself down." "It's not a problem for me because I can understand English and can speak it."

Senior 06 lamented, "I feel badly when required to communicate in English. I can't express how badly I feel."

Senior 14 reported, "I feel badly when can't make--

myself understood, but people don't treat me badly and eventually I make myself understood. Many Blacks, though, get upset when they can't understand me. They get angry that we talk differently. They say 'speak English or shut up'."

Senior 20 stated, "The problem is not the language but the system. This country doesn't practice the democracy it preaches, which it really isn't. A number of times I had gone for work and without my having said a word I was immediately disqualified and told I couldn't speak English, which I do." "Black and especially White seniors react to me and others speaking Spanish." "At the center of one's identity is language. Those though bilingual and claiming not to speak Spanish have lost their soul, have no identity and thereby, really speak no language. Who you are is tied up with your language, in which you express your being."

Senior 24 concluded, "Blacks discriminate against Hispanics because of language. Because of this I know there is discrimination. They say 'Speak English'. I can defend myself in English so therefore, they don't discriminate against me." "I am proud of speaking Spanish and of my language. Everyone should speak both languages. I feel good when I speak Spanish but I have no problem speaking English."

Again we take note that the seniors though claiming

that there is no difficulty for them being in an English speaking country describe difficulties. There were, however, a group of seniors in the following category, whose comments showed no difficulty or less difficulty in terms of the experience of being in an English speaking country.

Blacks React Not At All/English Country Not At All A Problem

In this category are four seniors. Not all these seniors speak English, but all appear to have managed to adjust to being in an English speaking country. One used the mechanism of avoidance. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 02 told, "Doctors...question me as to why I never learned English and I tell them that I just haven't been able to learn it. The doctors speak Spanish but not well. Between that and interpreters not a problem.... Neighbors are always available to help in situations where I need English." "I want to be with people who understand me in my own language..."

Senior 04 remarked, "In government offices...used to get me upset. No more as avoid the problem. My children act as interpreters. Practical approach I bring an interpreter." "I'm not bothered when others speak English as that's how I can learn."

Senior 08 believed, "If you come to this country you have to realize the language is English and try to learn it." "There's no problem in speaking English. It's just easier to express myself in Spanish."

Senior 16 reported, "With teachers, hospitals, etc. I've always spoken English. I also interpret for those needing help."

There are others, though, who gave different responses to how they found being in an English speaking country and answered that it was difficult for them to be in an English speaking country.

Blacks Always React/English Country Very Difficult

There were no seniors in this category. There were, however, seniors in each of the other English Country Very Difficult designations.

Blacks Almost Always React/English Country Very Difficult

In this category are two seniors. They admitted very directly how very difficult it had been for them. One senior even described the situation as traumatic. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 03 admitted, "Language is what makes people basically treat each other badly." "I came here to work.... Worked during the day and afraid to go out at night to study.... Excuses to myself. I feel very badly

and low for not speaking English. There was always somebody on the job who spoke Spanish.... Came here because there were no possibilities in my country. Too tired to study. Wanted to educate my kids."

Senior 12 described, "I always feel badly when people are talking English. It feels like they're hitting me. Trumatic not to speak so not a problem in living but rather in how I feel."

The pain of these seniors is evident from their comments. The difficulty is further expressed by senior 19.

Blacks Sometimes React/English Country Very Difficult

In this category there is only Senior 19 who describes the struggle, which may culminate in leaving the situation. The comment was as follows:

Senior 19 felt, "They sometimes react because they don't know what is being said and feel badly so react badly." "The first thing I do is ask if they speak Spanish. If they say no then I try to speak English so they'll understand. If they don't understand then I feel badly but they usually understand. If they don't understand it's alright I just leave."

This senior, then, is like the one in the next category who just pulls away in an avoidance reaction.

Blacks Not At All React/English Country Very Difficult

In this category there is again only one senior. The senior feels dependent.

Senior 07 admitted, "Very difficult not speaking English. I always have to look for someone to help me. I feel badly that I didn't study so I could understand English. I feel badly in social situations that I can't converse so I just pull away."

This senior does not speak English as does senior 28.

Blacks Don't Know If React/English Country Not At All A Problem

In this category is senior 28 who did not feel he was in a position to know how Blacks respond to Spanish because his interactions were in English. There was a preference, however, for being with Spanish speaking individuals. The comment was as follows:

Senior 28 responded, "I always speak English so don't know how they react. I will unite with them and speak to them. I like best to speak in my own tongue so I prefer to be with my own." "I love English. Never any problems. If something I don't know, I just ask. In business situations my first response is to speak English and then if possible shift to Spanish."

This senior though not requiring an interpreter as does senior 21 feels most comfortable when speaking

Spanish.

Blacks Don't Know If React/English Country Difficult

In this category is senior 21 who though claiming not knowing how Blacks react to Spanish reports on what occurs at the Center when Spanish is used. The comment was as follows:

Senior 21 stated, "I always have to wait for an interpreter and feel badly about it." "Dont know if Blacks react to the speaking of Spanish but both Blacks and Whites won't allow any watching of Spanish programs. Americans take over the TV and fights at Bingo when numbers are called out in Spanish as well as English."

This senior as does senior 25 feels badly about having to rely on an interpreter

Blacks Don't Know If React/English Country Very Difficult

In this category is senior 25. The comment was as follows:

Senior 25 reported, "I always feel uncomfortable when people are speaking English because I don't know it and would feel proud to speak it. Have to walk with an interpreter in order to defend myself. My wife spoke English, Spanish and French. I had a built-in interpreter before she died. Have to always be waiting for an interpreter or bilingual worker. The problem is the time

it takes."

Summary and Discussion

It is interesting that only 8 (28.6 percent) of the 28 seniors had claimed to feel uncomfortable when English was being spoken. Furthermore, 22 (78.6 percent) of them claimed there was no problem for them being in an English speaking country. A different picture, however, emerges with the comments. The problems are not simply limited to those who can not speak English, for seniors are pained by the treatment of others and see patterns of abuse extending to all aspects of living from recreational settings, government offices to employment situations.

They were distressed as well by the reaction to the Spanish language per se. Seniors tried to understand what makes others react negatively to the speaking of Spanish. Many explanations were provided, which ranged from the rapid pattern of speech, to not understanding and only one's own language being perceived as worthwhile. In addition their own preference was to speak Spanish. This need was dramatically stated by senior 20 in the identification of language with identity. "Who you are is tied up with your language, in which you express your being."

Black Seniors' Responses to Language Queries

The exploration around language issues was broad based. Black seniors were questioned as to their views on Spanish usage by and for Hispanics. They were asked if they agreed with having monies spent by government on translations and printing materials on benefits and services into Spanish. They were also queried on how they felt about bilingual staffing patterns at Income Maintenance, Supplemental Social Security, Social Security, hospitals and clinics.

Questions were asked as well about whether they thought there was any excuse for a person not speaking English, and whether they believed that it was easy for anyone who wanted to learn English to do so. They were also asked about their feeling on English Only Laws in the workplace, and whether they believed Spanish should be limited to the home. Inquiry was also made as to whether they felt uncomfortable when people were speaking Spanish, and if they felt as if they were being talked about. They were also questioned on whether they could understand the preference for the Spanish language communications media and their own level of involvement with reading Black community papers and listening and watching Black community programs.

Ten seniors' responses to questions around language

usage are being presented in total in language profiles. In this way it will be possible to portray and convey more accurately their feelings. In addition, the inconsistencies and ambivalences as well as any underlying themes in a senior's presentation would not otherwise be evident. Highlights of the comments made by the other ten Black seniors will be also reported.

There is a great deal of difference in how seniors respond to the use of Spanish as well as the basis for their responses. Responses differ sometimes as related to the senior being threatened in some way. It sometimes depends on whether there is some basis for the Black senior being able to make an identification with Hispanic seniors. The basis may be humanity, experience or minority status. Constitutional issues are also noted to be of significance. There is general agreement, however, that language is impacting the intergroup relations of Black and Hispanics, but whether it is strictly up to the Hispanics to make changes is a matter of some limited controversy amongst seniors. The area of language does indeed generate strong feelings. The findings are as follows:

Senior Language Profiles

Senior 29:

This senior generally does not accept Hispanics use of Spanish, but is not punitive about their obtaining entitlements. She herself, though, enjoying the Black media can not even understand Hispanics having this same type of preference. The basis for not limiting Spanish to the home is an interesting one, constitutional issues rather than Hispanic needs. The senior's answers are as follows:

Agrees with translations of printed materials on benefits into Spanish and bilingual staffing patterns at government offices and medical settings. The translations are necessary as, "They don't understand English so it would be easier for them." "You won't know what is happening if you don't understand."

Disagrees that there is no excuse for not speaking English. Agrees though that anyone can learn English who wants to learn.

Does not at all understand many Hispanics preference for Spanish language newspapers and Spanish programming. She some times reads Black community papers and listens and watches a lot Black programs.

Agrees with the idea of English Only Laws. "If you want to work you have to know your way around." Disagrees though that the speaking of Spanish should be limited to the home. "Freedom of speech. We are not a communist country."

Feels a little uncomfortable when people are speaking Spanish. Feels a little that may be speaking about her. "There is a language barrier. We do not understand each other."

Senior 30:

This senior is quite responsive to Hispanic concerns and sees a responsibility on the part of both groups to work at communication. The senior's answers are as follows:

Agrees with translations of printed materials into Spanish and bilingual staffing patterns. "If they can't read the information they would be without benefits. There are people who can not function fully in English."

Disagrees that there is no excuse for not speaking English or that all seniors could easily learn same. "If you're not fluent it keeps you from fully enjoying yourself."

Understands a lot the preference of many Hispanics for the Spanish media. Rarely buys Black community papers, but listens and watches some Black programming.

Disagrees with English Only Laws. "This is discriminatory..." Disagrees too with the idea of the speaking of Spanish being limited to the home.

Feels a little uncomfortable when people are speaking Spanish and feels some that is being talked about. "Some

Blacks are offended because they do not understand the language. It would make things easier if each took classes in the other language."

Senior 31:

This senior, who on the whole is quite accepting of Hispanic's use of Spanish, is conflicted over English Only Laws, where competition for resources and control enter the picture. The senior's answers are as follows:

Strongly agrees with translations of printed materials and bilingual staffing patterns. "It's necessary for people to know what their rights are, but some need to try and learn English."

Strongly disagrees that there is no excuse for someone not learning English. "...though if one is going to live in another country one should learn the language. "Strongly disagrees that it is easy to learn English. "It's not easy for me to learn Spanish, which I'm trying to do."

Understands a lot the preference of many Hispanics for the Spanish media. Listens and watches a lot Black programs but rarely reads Black community papers.

Agrees in a way with English Only Laws because "This is an English speaking country, but it shouldn't exclude people from working and getting a job." Strongly disagrees that Spanish should only be limited to the home.

"...only if it interferes with their job or other demands of life."

Not at all uncomfortable when people are speaking Spanish. "...only because I can't respond." Does not at all feel that people are talking about her. "Not that it would matter."

"Language in many instances it's a conflict because it does interfere with the ability to understand, communicate, with each other. It interferes with the opportunity to be friends."

Senior 32:

This respondent accepts that in a medical situation bilingual personnel are necessary; otherwise the elder is quite jingoistic. Apparently it is only at the point when the senior can experience empathy that she can become responsive to the difficulties her peers face. The senior's answers are as follows:

Disagrees with having material translated and printed in Spanish. Disagrees also with bilingual staffing except in medical situations. "No, because if you're in a Spanish speaking country these documents aren't in English. Why should they be in Spanish where English is the language? People should try to learn the language. When it comes down to illness people need to be taken care of quickly."

Disagrees that there is no excuse for not being able

to speak English. Disagrees also that everyone can learn English. "Some may only be able to speak Spanish and may not be able to learn English." "I have tried to learn Spanish and am having a difficult time."

Able to understand a lot the preference of many Hispanics for the Spanish media. She reads Black community papers alot as well as listens and watches a lot of Black programs.

Agrees with English Only Language Laws. "If the majority speak English then everyone should speak English." Disagrees that people should only speak Spanish at home. "Okay in a group where most speak Spanish. Where most speak English then should speak English."

Somewhat uncomfortable when people are speaking Spanish. "I walk away". Not at all that are speaking about her. "I guess we must begin to understand that some can't speak English and, therefore, that some people here will always speak Spanish."

Senior 33:

This senior's reactions to Spanish would appear to be mixed but in reality they are quite negative to the use of Spanish in public situations. The acceptance of translations and bilingual staffs may be in response to all having equal access to benefits and services rather than to humanitarian feelings. The senior's answers are as

follows:

Strongly agrees with having printed material in Spanish. "Because certain people can't read English." Agrees with bilingual staffing patterns. "But everybody should learn English."

Strongly agrees there is no excuse not to learn English. "We can all learn more." Agrees that anyone can learn to speak English.

Understands a little the preference of many Hispanics for the Spanish media. She reads sometimes Black community papers and listens and watches a lot Black programs.

Agrees with English Only Laws. "If in this country should speak English." Also agrees that Spanish should be limited to the home. "Because we don't know what the person is thinking and talking about."

A lot uncomfortable when people are speaking Spanish. Feels a little that they are speaking about her. "There is some tenseness because the Hispanics tend to speak Spanish. There would be more intermingling if Hispanics did not speak Spanish. Others tend to leave when this happens."

Senior 34:

This senior is quite accepting. She does point out, however, that she is not in a situation where language poses any sort of difficulty. The senior's answers are as

follows:

Agrees with translations and printing of materials into Spanish and bilingual staffing patterns. "Should not be for one group. Need to be helpful to all. Because some Hispanics can't speak English."

Doesn't know if there is no excuse for someone not speaking English. Strongly agrees that Hispanics could easily learn English. She can understand a lot the Spanish media preference of many Hispanics. She reads sometimes Black community papers and listens and watches sometimes Black programming for Gospel programs.

Did not know anything about English Language Laws. Disagrees that the speaking of Spanish should be limited to the home.

Not at all uncomfortable when people are speaking Spanish. She does not at all feel that people are speaking about her. "They all get along here and also most speak English so language doesn't make a difference."

Senior 35:

This senior is quite supportive of Hispanics. A minority identification is in evidence. The senior's answers are as follows:

Agrees that benefit information should be printed in Spanish. Agrees with bilingual staffing patterns. "People with language problems should have assistance. Younger

Hispanics not necessarily so."

Disagrees that there is no excuse for not knowing English and disagrees that Hispanics could easily learn same.

She understands a lot the preference for the Spanish media. She reads a lot Black community papers and listens and watches alot Black programming.

Disagrees with English Only Laws. "People should be able to communicate in a language as much as possible. White foreigners were protected when the large migration came." Disagrees with limiting Spanish to the home. "The center is their second home and they should be comfortable."

A little uncomfortable when people are speaking Spanish but does not at all feel that they're talking about her.

Senior 36:

This senior reacts strongly to the speaking of Spanish in any public places. She can accept bilingual staff because it gets the tasks accomplished and no extra monies are involved, rather than any genuine concern for the Hispanic. The senior's answers are as follows:

Strongly disagrees with the spending of money to print materials in Spanish. "People coming here should learn English after a short period of time." Strongly

agrees with bilingual staffing patterns. "Only because it's easier; though, in the long run people should learn English."

Strongly agrees there is no excuse not to speak English. Strongly agrees that Hispanics could easily learn English.

Can understand a lot a Spanish media preference. Reads Black community papers sometimes and listens and watches sometimes Black programming.

Agrees with English Only Laws. "These laws are good because it makes people learn English." Strongly disagrees with limiting Spanish to the home. "But only if the person doesn't speak English at all. I dislike people speaking Spanish in an English speaking country."

She is a lot uncomfortable when people are speaking Spanish but does not at all feel that they are talking about her.

Believes that the speaking of Spanish is affecting how Blacks and Hispanics are getting along. "It does present a problem because we have to speak Spanish in this country."

Senior 37:

This senior is very much concerned with Constitutional issues and at that point can become responsive to Hispanic issues, despite her dislike of the

use of Spanish in public situations. Equality is also to exist, even if equal in difficulties; if not printing in languages other than Spanish, then shouldn't print in Spanish. She is not bothered by Hispanics enjoyment of the Hispanic communications media as it does not impact upon her and she can identify with this preference. The senior's answers are as follows:

Disagrees with the translations and printing of materials in Spanish. "Because these things are not printed in other languages. I know this is where my prejudice shows. But if one is here they should learn to speak the language, same with the Haitians and their French." Agrees with bilingual staffing. "Well there is a need for people to know what they're entitled to."

Agrees that there is no excuse not to speak English. Agrees that they could easily learn. "Yes, but perhaps not so easily."

Understands some Spanish media preference. "There is something available to them that is familiar to them." She reads a lot Black community papers and listen and watches Black programming.

Disagrees with English Only Laws. "I think this is a violation of the Constitution. It's also discrimination. Do not agree with this law." Agrees that Spanish should only be spoken at home. "But this depends where you are. In a professional situation only English should be used."

Language affects intergroup relations. "The problem is language and it brings about isolation. They may play some games together but Hispanics tend not to mix. There is no overt anger or hostility but do not communicate with each other."

Senior 38:

This senior is supportive of help being provided to the Hispanic and is permissive of the use of Spanish. She, however, recognizes a mutual responsibility for people to speak more than one language. The senior's answers are as follows:

Strongly agrees that materials should be printed in Spanish and that there should be bilingual workers.

"It's...a matter of people not speaking English."

Disagrees that there is no excuse not to speak English. "Should want to learn English. Agree that could easily learn English. "Should learn English."

A lot can understand Spanish media preference. She sometimes reads Black community papers and listens and watches a lot Black programs.

Disagrees with English Only Laws. "Again people need to understand what the service is all about. But we should all know more than one language." Strongly Disagrees that Spanish should be limited to the home. "That is not always possible."

Not at all uncomfortable when people are talking or that people are talking about her.

Spanish does affect intergroup relations, "because there is concern on the part of Blacks that Hispanics speak Spanish but Blacks don't try to understand the Hispanics. The Hispanics tend to keep to themselves."

Black Seniors' Additional Comments to Language Queries

These seniors views are similar to the ones presented in the language profiles and are also quite varied. Language is seen as a barrier to intermingling and also as impacting the level of trust between Black and Hispanic groups. A complaint was voiced about service providers not attempting to bring them together. Many felt it was totally up to the Hispanic to learn English and did not recognize this as sometimes difficult to do. Others saw a mutual responsibility in trying to learn each other's language and acknowledged difficulties in learning. The seniors' responses are as follows:

Senior 39:

"At a certain age certain people can't learn English..." Language affects intergroup relations, "though they tend to separate into groups there is some attempt by each to try to understand the other. It would be better if

there were a greater attempt to speak English; however, don't think this center is bad in terms of differences."

Senior 40:

"It's hard to get into a class or school to learn English." "When others speak Spanish to me I listen to see if I can learn the language." "Don't think it [language] makes much difference here.... It doesn't bother me and I don't hear others complain."

Senior 41:

"Well there are schools...,night classes where people can learn English." "Sometimes it's hard to learn another language. I tried Spanish but no luck." "If they are with others who speak Spanish they should be allowed to speak Spanish." "...at a workplace the other language can be confusing." "Blacks and Hispanics can't communicate if they don't speak the same language."

Senior 42:

"If one can't speak English in an English speaking country they should learn it." "Should be able to be helped when go for service." Spanish should only be spoken, "...in their homes because then...doesn't make those around them feel uncomfortable." The Spanish media, "it helps them to understand what's going on in the

world." The Black media, "get to know what's going on."
"The speaking of Spanish...really affects how they get
along because they don't understand each other and no one
has really tried to get us together."

Senior 43:

"Because the government doesn't provide the
opportunity to learn English" "They may not have gotten
English in school and their age works against them." "If
they're with others who speak Spanish then it's okay to
speak Spanish. But should try to encourage children to
speak English...outside." "If one is able to speak
English as many do, why should they continue speaking
Spanish." "We Blacks don't understand them when trying to
communicate so there is no real discussion or
intermingling. We don't trust each other. Hope the younger
group will learn English."

Senior 44:

"If people go to these places should have the
opportunity to be serviced." "...many people have been
here a long time and don't want to learn English." Wants
English Only Laws, "because when someone is speaking
Spanish don't know what they're talking about." Spanish,
"should be left at home because people who don't
understand feel very uncomfortable. Especially the young

should speak Spanish only at home. Older ones may not be able to speak English." "It would help communication and getting along better if they would speak English."

Senior 45:

"It's good to help those who need help." "There's a course given at this Center. It means Spanish is the language of many people. Maybe it's the second language of this country." "People who speak Spanish should be able to speak it whenever they want." "There aren't that many at the Center who could get together and speak Spanish."

Senior 46:

"People need to be serviced regardless of what they speak", though there's no excuse not to speak English, "Anyone who wants to can learn to speak English. When I worked with Spanish I learned to speak Spanish." "One needs to have time to learn to speak English." "Whatever people speak they can speak it anywhere, unless it's a problem if around others who can't speak Spanish." The effect of language, "That's hard to say because the Hispanics here all speak English."

Senior 47:

Strongly disagrees as, "only translate and print in Spanish. Printing in other languages should be made

available to others as well." "There is a greater need for being understood when one is in a situation where they can't help themselves." "If one has been in this country for a few years should have learned to speak English." "It's alright to hold on to your Spanish but not where you work. Because otherwise, we'd all have to learn to speak Spanish." "Speak it anywhere but know you have to speak English also." "Whenever there's a language barrier there is some discrimination." "No problem, all speak English", at the Center.

Senior 48:

Printing in Spanish and bilingual staffs, "It helps people get what is coming to them" "If you can't speak English you'd have to be completely mute." Language not a problem at the Center, "because the Hispanics always speak English...have a Spanish class here."

Discussion

The Black seniors' comments were on the whole consistent with their responses to the closed ended questions with reference to the use of Spanish in different setting. What is interesting, though, is that seniors gave the same answers to particular questions as did other seniors, but for different reasons. We must take

care then with making interpretations strictly on the basis of quantitative data.

Not one person, for example, had any disagreement with bilingual staffing patterns in medical settings. Nineteen of the twenty Black seniors had accepted bilingual workers at Income Maintenance. In support of bilingual workers one senior gave a humanitarian reason for this choice. "It's good to help those who need help." Another senior had an entirely different rationale for the choice. The senior was in general concerned about Constitutional issues and entitlements. This senior, consequently, responded, "Well there is a need for people to know what they're entitled to."

We take note again of the strong agreement with English Only Laws in the workplace. Nine of the seniors supported such legislation. One senior believed that, "If you want to work you should know your way around." Another person agreed, but with a different twist. "...But it shouldn't exclude people from working and getting a job."

As another illustration, eleven seniors had reported being uncomfortable when Spanish was spoken around them; while nine had not reported any such problems. Two, not reporting any difficulty, nevertheless, were quite different in their reactions. One senior responded by, "When others speak Spanish to me I listen to see if I can

learn the language." Another senior instead reacted with, "I walk away."

Whatever the type of response, perhaps what senior 47 stated is true. "Whenever there is a language barrier there is some discrimination."

RESOURCES AND THEIR CONTROL

Hispanic and Black seniors were queried as to their attitudes, perceptions and ideas with reference to resources and their control. Competition for the resources of power and money is assessed to be a key factor in how groups get along with each other. Furthermore, the seniors were asked whether they lived in neighborhoods where both groups resided. The spatial proximity of groups is also believed to influence attitudes toward each others. The findings are as follows:

Hispanic Seniors and Resources

The majority of the Hispanic seniors lived in neighborhoods with Blacks. In fact, 19 (67.9 percent) Hispanic seniors out of the 28 interviewed reported that they lived in neighborhoods where both Blacks and Hispanics resided. Nine (32.1 percent) stated that this was not the case in their communities.

Seven (25 percent) individuals considered that both Blacks and Hispanics were in similar socioeconomic circumstances in their neighborhoods and, therefore, about equal in terms of power in their communities. There were others who thought differently, but only 5 (17.9 percent) who assessed Blacks to be in control in their neighborhood. There were another 3 (10.7 percent) who considered Hispanics to be the ones in power. In addition, 9 (32.1 percent) seniors assessed the neighborhood resources to be in other groups' hands. Four (14.3 percent) stated that they did not know who controlled their neighborhood's resources.

In comparing the socioeconomic situation in general in this country 23 (82.1 percent) of the Hispanics thought Whites had more than others socioeconomically and held the power. One (3.6 percent) individual, however, thought Whites and Hispanics to be equal. Three (10.7 percent) others thought all groups had about the same. One (3.6 percent) person gave a "don't know" answer.

When asked specifically about whether, in general, Blacks and Hispanics were equal 6 (21.4 percent) of the elders thought so and 20 (71.4 percent) did not. The remaining 2 (7.2 percent) did not know. In total, 18 (64.2 percent) of the Hispanic seniors responded that Blacks had more than Hispanics and only 2 (7.1 percent) Hispanics thought Hispanics had more than Blacks.

There were 6 (21.4 percent) Hispanics who felt that Hispanics would have more if Blacks were not getting so much. Out of these 6, 2 thought at the same time that it was also true that Blacks would have more if Hispanics weren't getting so much. A large majority, 22 (78.5 percent), however, disagreed that Blacks were taking resources away from the Hispanic community.

In contrast 4 (14.3 percent) of the Hispanics believed that if it weren't for the Hispanics getting so much Blacks could have more. Again, though, two of these believed that Blacks were also taking from the Hispanics. There were, however, 24 (85.7 percent), the overwhelming majority in disagreement that Hispanics took resources away from the Black community.

Black Seniors and Resources

Out of the 20 Black seniors interviewed 17 (85 percent) informed that they lived in neighborhoods where there were both Blacks and Hispanics. Two (10 percent) lived where there were no Hispanics. One other person (5 percent) did not know the neighborhood's composition.

Nine (45 percent) of the people assessed Hispanics to be in control of neighborhood resources and in better socioeconomic situations than were the Blacks in their neighborhood. Not one person thought Blacks were in

control in their neighborhood. Six (30 percent) people thought both groups had about the same and, therefore, about equal in their neighborhood. Three (15 percent) others considered that neighborhood resources were controlled by groups other than Blacks and Hispanics. Two (10 percent) gave a "don't know" answer.

There was, however, 100 percent accord on the fact that, in general, the White population had more than both Hispanics and Blacks. There was an even split when it came to deciding whether in general Blacks and Hispanics had equal or unequal socioeconomic status. Ten (fifty percent) seniors thought Hispanics and Blacks in general had about the same. Out of the ten seniors that thought there was an inequality 7 (35 percent) were convinced that Hispanics had more than Blacks. The other 3 (15 percent) thought Blacks had more.

There were 7 seniors (35 percent) who agreed with the statement that Blacks would have more if Hispanics weren't getting so much. Thirteen people (65 percent) in total were in disagreement with this idea.

Four (20 percent) of the Black seniors did feel that Hispanics could have more if Blacks weren't get so much. Two (10 percent) persons held no opinion on this matter. There were, however, 14 (70 percent) people who were in disagreement with this notion.

A Comparison

A greater proportion of Blacks than Hispanics resided in Black/Hispanic neighborhoods. (85 percent to 67.9 percent) Proportionately fewer Hispanics than Blacks believed that the other group controlled their neighborhood's resources. (17.9 percent to 45 percent)

A much smaller proportion of Blacks than Hispanics thought that the other group in general had more power and money. (35 percent to 71.4 percent) Proportionately more Blacks, though, than Hispanics thought the Whites were better off than other groups in this country. (100 percent to 82.1 percent)

There were more Blacks than Hispanics proportionately who believed if it weren't for the other group their own group could have more. (35 percent to 21.4 percent) Proportionately there were also more Blacks than Hispanics who felt that their own group was taking resources that could very well go to the other group. (20 percent to 14.3 percent)

Comments On Resources And Their Control

Seniors were asked to specifically answer whether they thought Blacks could have more if Hispanics weren't getting so much, and also if Hispanics could have more if

Blacks weren't getting so much. Their comments were placed into several categories according to their answers to these questions. The first category for Hispanics is Blacks Take Away From Hispanics and vice versa for Blacks. The second category for Hispanics is Hispanics Take Away From Blacks and vice versa for Blacks. The last two categories for both groups are Both Groups Take Away From Each Other, and Neither Group Takes Away From the Other. Their answers to the question of whether the status of Hispanics and Blacks was equal or unequal are reported.

At times there is an inconsistency between the quantitative and qualitative data. During the course of the interviews the seniors made their perceptions and attitudes known with reference to the socioeconomic status of both Hispanic and Black communities. The quality of life of both communities was attributed to various causes. The elders' answers to whether the status of the Black and Hispanic communities in relation to one another is equal or unequal and highlights of their comments were as follows:

Hispanic Perspective

The seniors presented many different viewpoints on the socioeconomic condition of the Hispanic community. These went from the belief that Hispanics were outsiders

without the same rights as Blacks and other Americans -- to shared minority status with Blacks -- to equality of all in benefits or opportunities. The Hispanics seniors' answers and comments were as follows:

Blacks Take Away From Hispanics

In this category are found four seniors. [Two other seniors who feel in addition that both groups take away from each other are placed into another category.] These seniors thought Hispanics could be in a better position if it weren't for the Black community. These Hispanic seniors made reference to the language barrier, being outsiders, White guilt, Black's inability to share, and Blacks trying harder. Their answers and comments were as follows:

Senior 03 thought that Blacks have more resources. "There's a language problem and prefer to hire Blacks."

Senior 11 felt that Blacks have more. "Blacks have the advantage because of language and White guilt. Blacks gained a lot as a result of the Poverty Programs. Hispanics have proved they can perform but have been taken advantage of by Blacks. We've helped Blacks through our struggle in the Civil Rights movement.... Blacks haven't learned to share. They give Hispanics crumbs."

Senior 17 answered that Hispanics have more. "A complex situation. Hispanics are considered more like outsiders. If equality existed Hispanics would be getting

more and better jobs. That's the advantage, language. Blacks are seen as better equipped to work in the United States no matter how well the Hispanic speaks.

Senior 22 considered that Blacks have more. "Immigrants do not have the same rights as Americans. There's the difference in background, position and language." "Blacks take from Hispanics but think we're taking from them. Blacks remember Martin Luther King and try to progress. We don't try as hard as Blacks...Blacks do better in school and in getting important jobs...in projects Blacks are better off. Blacks treat us poorly and put us down..."

There were those who held an opposite viewpoint. They thought that instead of Blacks taking away from Hispanics, Hispanics actually took from Blacks. These too thought, nevertheless, that Blacks had a better socioeconomic status.

Hispanics Take Away From Blacks

In this category are two seniors. These Hispanic seniors thought that Hispanics were not carrying their load and that their level of government benefits were quite costly. Their answers and comments were as follows:

Senior 05 believed Blacks have more resources. "Hispanics don't carry their load. They don't behave in accordance with their education. Don't try to help

Hispanics or others." "Puerto Ricans are being pushed out of businesses by other groups as they follow laws and take out licenses as should."

Senior 18 thought Blacks have more. "Hispanics have lots of benefits and that takes money. I don't know if Blacks get the same benefits when they come here from another country."

There were other seniors who felt that both groups, rather than just one group, took away from each other.

Both Groups Take Away From Each Other

In this category are two Hispanic seniors. They considered the problem to be that the pie had to be divided. Their comments were as follows:

Senior 13 stated that Blacks have more resources. "Hispanics are in the minority with few privileges. We are not granted our worth. See in the government Blacks have all the positions with only a few Hispanics. There's discrimination in government. Blacks have more preference. Hispanics have to be highly educated to get anywhere. Everything has to be divided. Blacks could probably be getting more from the government. Blacks feel we are taking from them and don't listen to our claim to rights. Hispanics would be able to reach higher and achieve higher levels but everything has to be divided."

Senior 20 thought Blacks have more. "There are

limited government resources. In government offices each group takes care of its own, like in the Welfare office. Also different rackets protect each group." "In Hispanic neighborhoods businesses are owned by Europeans and Jews."

There are differences of opinions but the great majority felt that neither Hispanics or Blacks took anything away from the other.

Neither Group Takes Away From the Other

In this category are twenty seniors. The great majority of the Hispanic seniors did not feel that Blacks or Hispanics were taking any resources away from the other group.

There were differences in how seniors perceived each group's status. Most of these Hispanic elders felt that Blacks had more power and money than Hispanics. There were those, though, that felt Hispanics were equal in status to Blacks and one individual that thought Hispanics had more resources. The manner in which the seniors accounted for status differentials varied. Blacks were seen, for examples, as being smarter politically and having the advantage too of being American born. Others saw Whites and Asians as getting more than their equal share. Some seniors felt all groups shared equally and with preparation all groups could achieve. The seniors' comments were as follows:

Senior 01 felt Blacks have more resources. "Both groups have the same rights and rights for which they can fight. Blacks more predisposed to do things."

Senior 02 thought Blacks and Hispanics are equal. "I live off the government. Of course people who work have more. All people, groups are equal..."

Senior 04 saw Blacks and Hispanics as equal. "With preparation each group can get ahead.... All over Queens Orientals have more. This is due to their dedication to work.... During the summer they're not out in the street as Hispanics are dedicating themselves to music and dance whether working or not."

Senior 06 believed Blacks have more, but did not comment.

Senior 07 thought Hispanics have more. "Many Blacks and Hispanics don't have much. The only thing, [is that they are] just able to get some better jobs."

Senior 08 saw groups as equal. "My reading indicates Blacks are better off but know some companies prefer to hire Hispanics."

Senior 09 felt Blacks have more. "In this country everything is politics. Everyone who is aggressive can get ahead and get what wants.... Politicians fill their own pocket. A smart politician will work for both groups."

Senior 10 responded that Blacks have more. "Whites taking from us as minorities. Whites have more in the

neighborhood. It makes me angry, and I have to keep fighting for equality."

Senior 12 believed that Blacks have more. "Blacks have been here a long time and are part of the Big Apple.... It's not our home yet. This is the home of the Blacks. Hispanics only take the little they can get."

Senior 14 thought Blacks have more. "In neighborhood everybody treats everyone well."

Senior 15 said that Blacks have more. "Blacks have it better because they were born here and people look at them better. Dinkins is now doing something for Hispanics.... He has to be given a chance. Benefits are the same for everybody..."

Senior 16 saw all groups as equal. "It's the way people behave that keep them where they are. If Hispanics are to get somewhere people must...get an education. Everybody can study here. It's the land of opportunity. My wife is going to school. I've always tried to educate myself by reading a lot."

Senior 19 believed Blacks have more. "Blacks have more because Hispanics are in the minority, being fewer in numbers. Hispanics don't have rights because we lose them by not voting.... We've been asleep. This is the only election where we showed up."

Senior 21 thought all groups were equal. Some people have money and some don't."

Senior 23 didn't know if equal or unequal status. "We all get the same benefits. Money talks and counts for prestige."

Senior 24 thought Blacks and Hispanics had equal status. Senior 24 had no comment.

Senior 25 believed Blacks have more. "Hispanics have nothing. Blacks need Hispanics to help in order to achieve and vice versa.... Hispanics and Blacks have to unite. Look at Dinkins; he needed the Hispanics to help. Without getting along no one would have anything."

Senior 26 considered that Blacks have more. Senior 26 had no comment.

Senior 27 didn't know if equal or unequal. "It's a smart government giving each group it's share. Americans though keep each group down. Prestige for the American is bought with money. Prestige for the Hispanic is one's family background."

Senior 28 thought Blacks have more resources. "Asians are the ones that are getting more."

Hispanic seniors were far from monolithic in their views on resource acquisition. The Black seniors also presented their own varied perspectives on the socioeconomic status of the Black and Hispanic communities.

Black Perspective

The Black seniors held varied opinions as to the socioeconomic status of the Black community in relation to the Hispanic one. Most Black seniors thought the life conditions of both communities were poor. There were some, however, who attributed blame to Hispanics for Black conditions, feeling Hispanics were taking more than their share. Blame was also placed on Whites and Asians for being in control of resources. In addition there were some who also placed blame on Blacks themselves for not being sufficiently aggressive, not working together, and not being sufficiently prepared.

Since the quantitative and qualitative data at times do not appear to coincide, it seems advisable to remind the reader that the Black seniors' answers to whether Hispanics and/or Blacks take resources from the other group and each other determines the category into which the senior is placed. The elders' answers to whether the status of the Hispanic and Black communities in relation to one another is equal or unequal and highlights of their comments with reference to resources were as follows:

Hispanics Take Away From Blacks

In this category are five Black seniors. [There are another three who in addition felt that Blacks take away

from Hispanics and are, therefore, placed into another category.] The five seniors felt that Hispanics had some resources, which Blacks should be getting, but the reasons which they gave for this state varied. Some held Blacks directly responsible for the conditions in their community; while others thought they were being denied their fair share. Their answers and comments were as follows:

Senior 34 thought that Hispanics have more resources. "The Blacks never have anything to fall back on. Hispanics have more in the neighborhood because will stick together; whereas, Blacks will pull apart. Hispanics can depend more on their friends."

Senior 35 answered that the groups have equal status. "Blacks need to stay away from drugs and activities that keep them down. Need to be in business more.... Hispanic and Blacks need to work together more."

Senior 41 considered that Hispanics have more. "Every business and stores are operated by Hispanics." "Hispanics take from Blacks. Often depends on the neighborhood one is in."

Senior 42 believed that Hispanics have more. "It seems that Hispanics do get more than Blacks in this area. It's due to the fact that they help each other."

Senior 43 was convinced that Hispanics have more. "The Hispanics have more power because they have

businesses and stores and more Puerto Rican politicians."

"Blacks would have more if Hispanics, who came after Blacks weren't getting so much. Blacks do not get enough of anything." "There needs to be more concern in centers with getting information about services and each group thinks the other is getting more because they know how to get it."

These seniors thought Hispanics were taking what could be theirs. There were individuals who thought in addition that both communities took away from the other. There was no individual, however, that thought the Black community took anything from the Hispanic community without thinking at the same time that both groups took from each other.

Blacks Take Away From Hispanics

No person fit into this category per se as distinct from the category Both Groups Take Away From Each Other. Three individuals, therefore, did believe Blacks took resources away from Hispanics as well as vice versa.

Both Groups Take Away From Each Other

In this category are three seniors. Each of these elders thought that Hispanics had greater power and money than Blacks. This was seen as a result of Hispanics working together as a community. The elders' answers and

comments were as follows:

Senior 33 thought Hispanics have more. "Because Hispanics tend to pull together. Go into businesses; whereas, Blacks don't."

Senior 40 believed that Hispanics have more. "Everyone wants to be on top, but the Blacks come out on the bottom." "...am going on what I hear from the radio, WINS."

Senior 44 felt that Hispanics have more. "The Hispanics stick together more and in sticking together they can have more. Hispanics are more aggressive about getting a job, saving sticking together."

The majority of Black seniors held the opposite viewpoint, believing that neither group took anything away from the other.

Neither Group Takes Away From The Other

In this category are eleven Black seniors. On the whole, they did not think that either the Black or Hispanic community was in a favorable socioeconomic situation. In general they experienced the White community as being in power and in a position to decide what each group could have. They saw a need for better preparation and for the communities working together to achieve. These Black elders were not blaming Hispanics for the quality of their lives. Their answers and comments were as follows:

Senior 29 considered that Blacks have more resources. "We are almost half and half. In the neighborhood Hispanics have more. If there's an empty apartment Hispanics get preference."

Senior 30 thought the groups had equal status. "The pie should be larger so everyone is served."

Senior 31 stated that Hispanics have more. "It's a toss up between the two. I would say they're both in the same rut.... Both need more of what there is to get.... I think Blacks have been going down over the past few years. Each group is in a hard way. They could have more if working together."

Senior 32 thought that Blacks have more. "Whites seem more responsive to Black demands. Both groups are about even. Whites tend to keep both groups in their place." "Blacks need to have more get-up and go, be more aggressive in getting things. There is some hope because younger set seems to be doing more.... One gets further if they are prepared, educated and more aggressive and understanding."

Senior 35 felt Blacks have more. "Hispanics have made great gains in our society. They are willing to help each other. They are setting higher and higher standards."

Senior 37 thought the groups had equal status "They are not able to compete against each other. Both are at the lower end."

Senior 38 believed groups had equal status "But Hispanics will work for what want more than Blacks. Hispanics will pull together." "Blacks don't have too much and when one says Hispanics are getting more, I don't see it.... In neighborhood mostly an Hispanic area and, therefore, they control it..."

Senior 39 stated that groups held equal status. "Both groups have about the same power and prestige and it's very low. No group has more in the neighborhood.... Not much power for either."

Senior 45 considered the groups to have equal status. "The problem is that we're fighting against each other. Neither is getting what they need to live." "The Whites control all the areas in New York regardless of what is the number of people who live there."

Senior 46 felt the groups had equal status. "They both could have more if others, maybe, wasn't getting most of it." "Again they both need to be in a position to get more."

Senior 47 believed Blacks have more. "...more if they would stay in school...Both need to get more education." "Asians have begun to move in and take over bussinesses. Black stores were not of high quality."

Senior 48 believed the groups held equal status. "They both have the same which is not enough."

There were both commonalities and differences in the

views of Black and Hispanic seniors themselves and between both groups in how they perceived the socioeconomic status of the Black and Hispanic communities in relation to each other. There were also commonalities and differences in how they accounted for these conditions.

A Comparison

The comments made by both Hispanic and Black seniors in accounting for the socioeconomic status of these two communities had many similar elements. Even when a Hispanic mentioned "White guilt" in relation to Blacks obtaining more than Hispanics a Black senior spoke of preferential treatment of Whites for Blacks.

There was talk in both groups about the importance of political power, which somehow both groups attributed to the other. There were also feeling expressed that they can gain from their own group and both groups pulling together.

Each group placed some blame on itself as well as on the other for its plight, which was recognized by the great majority to be poor for both. There were, though, no Black seniors who thought Blacks took away from Hispanics without thinking at the same time that Hispanics took away from Blacks. There were Hispanics, however, who felt that Hispanics did take away from Blacks without feeling that

Blacks also took away from Hispanics. In both groups there were some complaints about Asians and feelings that there was White exploitation. There also was some feeling expressed in each group that the other group received preferential treatment according to whether they were American born or not; the perspective was, however, different.

There were Hispanic seniors, however, who thought equality had been achieved; whereas, there were no Black elders who so thought.

In each group the majority did not blame the other group for the quality of their lives and there was an awareness of similar circumstances. Explanations for any antagonisms do not appear from these comments to relate as heavily to struggles for resource acquisitions as might have been expected from the literature, at least not in the abstract. In concrete situations the feelings of these seniors are much more heated. Who will control the use of the television set or the language(s) to be used in the Bingo games at centers sets off problems. Feelings are also stirred up when it comes to which groups will be served first at Social Security offices or clinics.

SENIOR CENTER PARTICIPATION AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Seniors were queried as to their involvement in senior centers. Attention was given to the issue of discrimination in order to determine if seniors felt this entered into the picture at centers with self, participants, staff, and program. The findings are as follows:

Hispanic Seniors and Senior Centers.

In response to whether the person preferred to socialize on his/her own without any involvement in an organization, a great majority disagreed, in fact 20 (71.4 percent). Of these, 14 people, a full 50 percent of the Hispanic seniors interviewed, strongly disagreed. Acknowledging that this sample is not a random one, it would appear that any center underutilization by Hispanics does not come strictly from any such a preference. In contrast, 8 (28.6 percent) people were in accord that their preference was to socialize on their own. From this number, 4 (14.3 percent) people strongly agreed.

The frequencies with which this sample of Hispanic seniors attend centers is as follows: 8 (28.6 percent) never attend; 6 (21.4 percent) rarely attend; 3 (10.7 percent) often attend; and 11 (39.3 percent) always

attend.

The seniors were asked if they thought there was discrimination at the center they attended or at senior centers in general. Three (10.7 percent) felt they did not know. Eleven (39.3 percent) thought there was discrimination taking place. Fourteen (50 percent) of the Hispanic seniors, however, were in disagreement that there was discrimination taking place at senior centers.

There were fewer seniors, 8 (28.6 percent), who thought that the centers' programs and the type of activities reflected discriminatory practices. Sixteen (57.2 percent) elders were in disagreement. Four (14.3 percent) gave "don't know" answers.

In response to questions about whether they thought staff discriminated at the centers the number of responses in each category were exactly the same for White and Hispanic staffs. In each situation, six (21.4 percent) seniors believed the staffs did discriminate and 6 (21.4 percent) answered that they didn't know. The majority, 16 (57.1 percent) seniors did not believe that Hispanic or White staffs practiced discrimination.

However, 9 (32.1 percent) of the Hispanic seniors thought that Black staff did discriminate. Six (21.4 percent) did not feel that they knew if they did. Nearly half, 13 (46.4 percent) seniors did not feel Black staff discriminated.

A majority of 15 (53.6 percent) of the Hispanic seniors did not feel that the Hispanic participants discriminated. Seven (25 percent) thought that they did. Six (21.4 percent) others gave "don't know" answers.

Almost half, 13 (46.4 percent) did not think that White participants discriminated. Nine (32.1 percent) seniors did feel that they did. Six (21.4 percent) did not know.

Thirteen out of the 28 (46.4 percent) Hispanic respondents thought that the Black participants did practice discrimination. Ten (35.7 percent) did not agree and 5 (17.9 percent) did not know.

Four (14.3 percent) Hispanic seniors reported that they had directly experienced discrimination from Hispanics at centers. This contrasted with 18 (64.3 percent) who had not had such experiences. For 6 (21.4 percent) elders this question was not applicable as they had never participated in centers.

Three (10.7 percent) seniors complained that they had experienced discrimination from Whites at centers. Nineteen (67.9 percent) had not experienced such. For 6 (21.4 percent), again, this question was not applicable.

Six (21.4 percent) Hispanics reported that they had been discriminated against by Blacks at centers. Sixteen (57.1 percent) had not suffered discrimination. For 6 (21.4 percent), once more, this question was not

applicable.

Respondents were asked if they themselves found themselves discriminating while in at centers. Twenty (71.4 percent) claimed they never did. Two (7.1 percent) admitted to doing so "rarely". For six (21.4 percent) this was not applicable.

In characterizing ethnic relations at centers 2 (7.1 percent) thought they were "okay". For 11 (39.3 percent) others relations were seen as pleasant. Another 7 (25 percent) experienced them as very pleasant. Three (10.7 percent) considered them to be tense. Five (17.9 percent) felt they didn't know.

Questions were asked as to whether there was a need for changes at the centers in various areas. Six (21.4 percent) seniors each time responded that they thought there was need for having a better mix in the ethnic/racial staffing pattern and ethnic/racial composition of participants. This held for food as well where 6 (21.4 percent) thought it desirable that there be improvements in the food being served. Eleven (39.3 percent) wanted to see better activities. A majority of 16 (57.1 percent) wanted to see "other" aspects improved. Overall 13 (46.4 percent) Hispanic seniors thought that with changes they might want to attend more often.

Black Seniors and Senior Centers.

Seniors responded to the question of whether they preferred to socialize on their own without organizational involvement. Twelve (sixty percent) of the Black seniors were in disagreement that socializing on their own was preferred. In contrast, 8 seniors (40 percent) did cite as their choice to socialize on their own.

The frequency with which this sample of Black seniors attend centers is as follows: 1 (5 percent) rarely attends; 12 (60 percent) often attend; and 7 (35 percent) always attend.

When asked if they thought there was discrimination at the center they attended or in centers in general 6 (30 percent) agreed that there was such. Fourteen, a full 70 percent were, however, in disagreement.

To the question of whether they thought the program activities reflected discrimination the results given were identical to the question on center discrimination. Again we found 6 (30 percent) Black seniors in agreement that there was program discrimination. Fourteen (70 percent) others were in disagreement.

Seniors in responding to whether they thought White, Hispanic or Black staffs at the centers discriminated gave identical responses for each of the three groups. By an overwhelming majority they thought not, 19 (95 percent)

each time out of the 20 in the Black study population. Only 1 person (5 percent) thought that all three groups did discriminate.

It was felt by 5 (25 percent) Black seniors that Hispanic participants discriminated; whereas 15 (75 percent) thought not. Fewer people, 4 (20 percent) in number saw their Black peers as discriminating, but 16 (80 percent) did not think they did. Only 2 (10 percent) people, however, thought that White seniors discriminated at the centers and the other 18 (90 percent) elders did not think that they did.

Seniors were asked if they actually had experienced discrimination at the centers. Thirteen (65 percent) responded that they never had. Five (20 percent) felt that they had rarely experienced discrimination and only 1 (5 percent) person complained of having suffered often from discrimination. Another 1 (5 percent) person gave no response.

Four (20 percent) seniors reported on having been discriminated against by Hispanic participants. Another 12 (60 percent) never had been. There were 4 (20 percent) who did not answer.

In terms of the White participants the responses were identical to the figures given for the Hispanic participants by the Black respondents. Four (20 percent) charged discrimination. Twelve (60 percent) hadn't been

discriminated against and 4 (20 percent) did not answer.

Three (15 percent) Black seniors reported being discriminated against by Black participants at centers. Thirteen (65 percent) never had encountered this. Again there were no answers given by 4 (20 percent) participants.

In response to the question of whether they found themselves discriminating at the center four (20 percent) Black elders percent admitted to practicing discrimination. They described their actions, though, in terms of "rarely". Sixteen (80 percent) claimed never to discriminate.

In describing ethnic relations at the center 3 (15 percent) described them as okay. Seven (35 percent) considered them pleasant. Another 6 (30 percent) assessed them as very pleasant; while 4 (20 percent) thought them tense.

Respondents were asked to consider the various areas in which they would like to see improvements at the centers. In terms of ethnic/racial staffing, 3 (15 percent) seniors expressed a need for changes. Another 1 (5 percent) person saw a need for a better ethnic mix of participants. Three (15 percent) elders complained about the food. Nine (45 percent) of the seniors wanted to see more variety in program activities; this was the area of greatest complaint. Two (10 percent) of the seniors also

called for other changes. Nine (45 percent) Black seniors felt overall that if changes were made they might want to attend more often.

Centers: Some Comparisons Between Hispanic and Black Views

Over 39 percent of the Hispanic seniors thought there was discrimination taking place in centers; while, only 30 percent of Black elders thought so. There were almost an identical percentage of Black and Hispanic seniors that believed that some of the centers' activities reflected discrimination. Close to 29 percent of the Hispanics and 30 percent of the Blacks believed this. In terms of staff over 32 percent of Hispanics felt Black staff discriminated, but just 5 percent of Blacks thought Hispanic staff to practice discrimination.

As illustration of the reasons for the seniors answers Hispanic Senior 05 complained about the treatment of Hispanics. "People aren't selected for activities and to go on special trips and are locked out. Only certain numbers and people are called. Don't share properly. They give lots of excuses to people coming into a program or trying to register. The next day will accept someone else [who is allowed to register, while he/she wasn't]. Then the person will complain about what has seen. Then will gain entrance and have to fight for it. Centers need to

change directorships and the ways activities are carried out. Also diet has to change."

Hispanic Senior 10 in a similar vein stated, "If there is to be a trip Hispanics aren't the first to be told. Information on the trip or activities are not translated into Spanish. If Hispanics can't deal with the type of activities they have no other options. Hispanics aren't chosen for the activities."

Black seniors also expressed dissatisfaction. Senior 38 stated, "There is some concern because all the social activities are all of a Spanish nature, dances, celebrations." Hispanic Senior 06 in contrast would wish to attend the Center more frequently with a change in food and music but recognized that, "If Spanish music were played often, members wouldn't like it..."

Over 46 percent of Hispanics thought Black participants discriminated, but just 25 percent of Blacks thought this about Hispanic participants. Almost identical again were the responses in terms of the actual experience of discrimination. Just over 21 percent of Hispanics complained of having been discriminated against by Black participants. Twenty percent of Black seniors made similar charges against Hispanics.

Black Senior 41 complained about the behavior of Hispanics. "I would like it if all would accept me, but often get a cold shoulder from Hispanics, so I don't

socialize with them."

Black Senior 42 brought out an additional concern. "In here the Hispanics think they control the center. On Hispanics' part too much discrimination."

Black Senior 43 added another dimension. "Perhaps it's more of a language barrier."

On the other side Hispanic Senior 09 thought there was a pattern of discrimination against Hispanics by the Black seniors. "People make their own groups, set themselves apart from the Hispanics and don't pay any attention to them." But Black Senior 31 thought that "Blacks and Hispanics separate into groups."

All-in-all almost 11 percent of the Hispanic seniors characterized center relations as tense and just over 7 percent thought of them as only okay. There were more Black seniors 20 percent who described center relations as tense and 15 percent thought them simply okay.

In terms of trying to improve the centers over 21 percent of Hispanics thought there was a need for changing the ethnic/racial staffing pattern and 15 percent of Blacks agreed with this. The same number of Hispanics again, over 21 percent, called for a change in the ethnic/racial mix of the participants; while, only 5 percent of the Black participants felt this way.

There are evidently problems in intergroup relations at the centers as perceived by both Hispanic and Black

seniors. From Black Senior 37's perspective, "The Hispanics keep to themselves and the Blacks tend to isolate them. However, the leaders here tend not to do anything to bring them together. Could have more discussion and topics that talk about the isolation; however, the schism is ignored."

Hispanic Senior 22 also talked about the need for opening up this area with center participants. "Need an intercultural program and exchange in Center and centers. Monthly meetings to discuss relations, to develop unity and treat each other better. Could sit and knit while discussing."

These were not the only seniors who felt that not enough attention was being paid to intergroup relations, an area which requires both thought and action on the part of service providers.

CHAPTER FIVE: HIGHLIGHTS OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The conceptual framework used in this study has been one which postulates the transactional interrelationships between individuals, group, groups, and society with its institutions. Williams' (1977) thesis that ethnic problems are multivalued is appears to be borne out by this study. Society and its subcollectivities, ethnic groupings, are perceived as complex systems engaged in an ongoing interchange with the environment. The appraisal of intergroup relations requires a recognition of the many complex and interrelated variables, which are partially incompatible as well as often ambiguous.

How very complex and multi-faceted the subject matter of intergroup relations is becomes readily discernible in examining all the quantitative and qualitative data of this study. One is also struck by the contradictions found when comparing the quantitative and qualitative data in its anecdotal form. These very contradictions can sometimes become confusing to the reader.

In this chapter the data will be drawn together for discussion and conclusions. The in-depth exploration in interviews with cooperative Hispanic and Black respondents provided the opportunity to gain deep insight into the Black and Hispanic intergroup experience. Though the sample is small and not randomly drawn from any known

population it represents, at the least, the attitudes and opinions of many Black and Hispanic elderly and portrays accurately their attitudes in their many variations and commonalities. What can not be known is the proportions in the general Black and Hispanic elderly populations that may feel, believe and behave in the ways portrayed in this study.

Identity

The Hispanic seniors had a stronger identification with the Hispanic community than the Black seniors had with the Black community. Seventy-five percent of Hispanics had indicated that they felt more Hispanic than American; while only 15 percent of the Blacks felt more Black than American. Sixty-five percent of the Blacks had a dual identification and felt equally American and Black, while only 21.4 percent of the Hispanics had such a dual identification. Fifteen percent of the Blacks felt more American than Black and only 3.6 percent (one individual) of the Hispanics also felt this type of identification.

In examination of the statements made by the seniors in being asked to comment on how alike or different they were from the other group one can not help but be struck by the more negative tone of the Hispanics' responses to this query. This is true as well in their other comments

about the Black community. How does one account for such variance?

It is important to point out that Hispanics may have felt somewhat more comfortable allowing the strength of their feelings to show. All Hispanic seniors knew of the Institute for the Puerto Rican/Hispanic Elderly and the connection of the interviewers to this organization. The trust factor might have been higher with the Hispanic seniors.

It is also possible to speculate that as 85 percent of the Black seniors felt equally or more American their preference is to find acceptance and a place within the context of the wider American society. The Black elderly have lived through the period prior to the Civil Rights movement. They had to fight hard to secure acceptance and to be perceived simply as sharing a common humanity and a sameness with fellow Americans. There now, perhaps, is little to be gained psychologically by believing that they are different from any others, a stigma that they fought so hard to dispel. This is in line with the thinking that stresses the motivational aspects of discrimination as being in the service of intrapsychic needs. (Williams, 1977; Hamilton and Trolie, 1986)

What is more the Black seniors having been victims of racism their whole lives, perhaps, are more conscious of the damage done by the negative categorization of others,

particularly of those whom many of them recognize as sharing the Minority Experience and an African heritage. The issue of color, though brought up, did not appear to be a major source of difficulty between the two elderly groups as it may be with the younger generations.

Hispanic elderly are comparatively new to the American minority experience. All of the Hispanics were born in Hispanic countries. Only two of the twenty Black elderly were born outside of the United States. Twenty-two out of the the twenty-eight Hispanics were over twenty-one when they arrived to the United States mainland. They were thrust into the experience of coping with being a minority after having spent all of their formative and early years as part of the majority. The preference of these elderly to cling to the early and positive identification as Hispanic should not be surprising as it would serve to provide a more satisfying reference point and emotional comfort.

In their present lives the Hispanic elderly must deal with being treated badly by the greater American society because of being Hispanic. Almost 79 percent of Hispanic seniors believed that Anglos discriminated against Hispanics. Approximately 43 percent reported direct experiences of discrimination from Anglos. It is not surprising then that they would reject an identification as American.

In addition these Hispanic seniors were not as removed from the American mass media as initially might have been expected. Here again they must contend with the realities of the Minority Experience in this country. There were only eleven who never read American newspapers and two who never listened to the radio or watched American television. There were also only five who did not understand English at all. Most Hispanics, therefore, had some understanding of English. Fourteen out of the twenty-two who held an opinion felt that the mass media distorted the truth about Hispanics. This is interesting in that those who did not see the media as misrepresenting at any level may well be buying into all the negatives portrayed with reference to the Hispanic community.

Thirteen, over half, out of the twenty-three Hispanic elderly, who held an opinion felt the mass media also distorted the truth about Blacks as well. From their observations in their daily lives there would have to be an awareness, too, of how Blacks as minority group members are treated. Almost 86 percent of Hispanics felt Anglos discriminated against Blacks. Hispanic elderly as a whole then were quite aware of the American prejudice against the Black community. Some Hispanic elderly might feel that it is to their advantage to disassociate themselves from the Black community, even though they share in the Minority Experience with them. There are those who appear

to be attempting to ward off the forced identification with the Black community, in the designation as a minority person with all it connotes in this country.

The section "Ethnicity: A Perspective" in the Literature Review deals with in-group/out-group categorizations. See and Wilson (1988) discuss the proclivity to invidious out-group intergroup comparison, which go beyond materialistic factors. In the same vein Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) highlight research findings that show how an individual's need for positive distinctiveness in self and group identities relates to the social categorization of others. Hence the many negative descriptions of Blacks and the unwillingness of some Hispanics to perceive any commonalities or to individualize the members of the Black community. Even when a senior made distinctions amongst the Black groups, lumping of the groups into categories still took place.

Hewstone and Brown (1986) discuss how lumping has had a debilitating effect on minority groups, by affecting the group's sense of distinctiveness. Some seniors' attempt to lump the other group appears to be in an effort to defend and maintain their own sense of distinctiveness.

Language

There can not be any disagreement that language is

one very real difference between Black and Hispanic elderly. The Review of the Related Literature explored the significance of language. All twenty-eight Hispanic seniors, including the seven who spoke perfect English, preferred to speak in Spanish. By no means, then, was there a one to one correlation between this preference and the level of their command of the English language. One senior who spoke English well remarked, "I like best to speak in my own tongue so I prefer to be with my own." As discussed in the review language, identity and cultural identity are closely equated.

One senior expressed his feelings about language very eloquently. "At the center of one's identity is language. Those though bilingual and claiming not to speak Spanish have lost their soul, have no identity and, thereby, really speak no language. Who you are is tied up with your language, in which you express your being."

There were only 29 percent of the Hispanic seniors who reported feeling uncomfortable when English was being spoken, despite close to 40 percent reporting difficulty with understanding English. About 22 percent claimed it was no problem for them being in an English speaking country. Their comments, nevertheless, reflected many more difficulties than the quantitative data by itself would indicate. One senior who claimed it was not a problem being in an English speaking country remarked, "I

feel badly when being required to communicate in English. I can't express how badly I feel." Another senior who did admit it was a problem stated, "I always feel badly when people are speaking English. It feels like they're hitting me. Traumatic not to speak..."

Theorists such as Farley (1982) had projected that language was potentially an explosive factor in group relations. In this study it has been shown to be a key factor in how Black and Hispanic elderly are interacting. Sixty-eight percent of the Hispanic seniors perceived Blacks to react negatively to their speaking of Spanish. Fifty-five percent of the Black seniors admitted to discomfort when Spanish was being spoken around them.

How negatively some Black seniors felt about the speaking of Spanish is clear when we take note of the fact that 20 percent felt that Spanish should only be permitted to be spoken at home. What is more 45 percent supported the passage of English Only Laws in the workplace.

Language figured prominently in explanation of the causes of discrimination. Language was cited by thirteen Hispanic and five Black seniors. Language barriers also were cited specifically by both Black and Hispanic seniors in accounting for problems in relations between Hispanic and Blacks. As one Black senior expressed the situation with reference to language, "Language in many instances it's a conflict because it does interfere with the ability

to understand, communicate with each other. It interferes with the ability to be friends."

Intergroup Relations

It is not surprising that Black and Hispanic seniors would believe there to be problems in existence between their groups; while at the same time feeling that generally speaking they got along better with each other than with the White population. Simpson and Yinger (1965) had described how minorities are manipulated by the White power structure into fighting each other. Whether one believes or not that the cause of difficulties stems from such a root it is clear that there are problems. Seniors were very much concerned with trying to figure out which of the groups had more and whether their group was getting an equal and fair share.

As Hewstone and Brown (1986) stress status considerations in intergroup relations are critical. Though conscious of sharing the Minority Experience with one another, it was evident that seniors were struggling over which one of the two groups was more or less a minority or a majority. Markides and Mindel (1987) had noted that the perception of minority/majority varies with the group and its experience. Williams (1977) brought in the perspective of time and situation. From the comments

made by the seniors there appeared to be fluctuations in the perceptions each group had of the other group and of the nature of the relationship between the groups.

Eighty-two percent of the Hispanic seniors felt that Blacks discriminated against Hispanics. Eighty-five percent of the Black elders agreed with this believing that Blacks did discriminate against Hispanics.

Fifty-seven percent of the Hispanics also felt that Hispanics in turn discriminate against Blacks. A much greater number, 90 percent of the Blacks thought that Hispanics discriminated against Blacks.

Fifty percent of the Hispanics reported that they had experienced discrimination by Blacks. This was more than the 30 percent of Blacks who reported having been discriminated against by Hispanics. Twenty-one percent of the Hispanic seniors admitted to discriminating sometimes against Blacks. Almost the same proportion of Black seniors, 20 percent reported discriminating sometimes against Hispanics. From these seniors' perspectives there does appear to be a problem in Black and Hispanic intergroup relations.

Seniors' perceptions on the manner in which Black and Hispanic communities got along were very mixed. There were great differences of opinion within each group, but much greater variations amongst the Hispanics. The Hispanic seniors' perceptions ranged from those that believed the

groups were unified and helpful to each other -- to those who saw relations as mixed -- to those who traced a long history of problematic relations

Seniors from both groups voiced complaints about the lack of understanding and communication between them. Language barriers were mentioned heavily by both. Customs were seen as another barrier. We know that people want to be distinctive in a positive manner and that differences such as in language and customs may be used to support a more positive concept of their own group. Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) establish that language and cultural values are two categorical boundaries that take on major roles in social perception. For prejudice to be reduced, then, their salience must be minimized.

There will be difficulty in reducing the salience of language and customs. See and Wilson (1988) point out that as long as our society is not an open one allowing access to the prerequisites for assimilation [and biculturalism] there will be social stratification, segregation and competition amongst groups for resources. Black and Hispanic seniors mentioned frequently competition for resources, such as power, jobs and housing. Each complained, too, that the other group thought it was better than the other. Each felt victimized by the other, but the sense of victimization came through more in the Hispanics' comments than in the Blacks'. Seniors generally

perceived that they got along better than the Black and Hispanic populations-at-large.

In general seniors thought Blacks and Hispanics got along together better than they did with the White population. In fact, both Hispanics and Blacks had indicated greater willingness to marry or have their grandchildren marry each other than any other specified group in the modified Bogardus scale.

Proportionately a much larger number of Hispanics than Blacks thought that the groups got along. Blacks were more inclined to think that the groups didn't get along at all. Yet, the comments made by the Hispanics about intergroup relations were ever so much more negative than those made by the Black seniors.

One of the most negative comments made by a Hispanic senior when discussing the state of Black and Hispanic intergroup relations was the rather inclusive statement made by Senior 22. "Don't get along. Always fighting.... Culture and race are different. We have more than they do and they're against us. It's hypocrisy to pretend we get along. We have no common basis upon which we can get along." Perhaps the most negative comment made by a Black senior about the state of Black and Hispanic intergroup relations was made by Senior 30, who mentioned as well the competition for resources. "A lot of animosity. A feeling people took jobs, both Blacks and Hispanics. Blacks feel

cheated by Hispanics moving into the neighborhood. The Blacks, for example, with the Housing Authority are on waiting lists longer than the Hispanics."

Senior 30's statement did not as did Senior 22's focus on any intrinsic group characteristics, which were deemed to damn the capability of Blacks and Hispanics to ever get along. Senior 30 also gave some recognition to the Hispanic's perspective, being able to see both sides of the picture. In discussing intergroup relations, Blacks in general had more of a tendency to reflect on how both groups felt than did the Hispanics. Both these seniors along with many others in the study centered on the competition for resources as an explanation for discrimination.

Resources

Many seniors in both the Black and Hispanic communities were in agreement that discrimination was basically about power and money. About 64 percent of the Hispanics and 75 percent of the Black seniors thought this was the case. They are in the company of many theorists who believe that competition for resources is a primary motivator for discrimination. See and Wilson (1988) highlighted that ethnic political activism and competition for resources are results of a closed society.

A little over 64 percent of the Hispanics thought that, generally speaking, Blacks had more than Hispanics; while 35 percent of the Black seniors thought Hispanics had more. A little over 21 percent of Hispanics and 50 percent of the Blacks thought Hispanics and Blacks were equal socioeconomically.

The majority of the seniors in both groups did not blame each other for the poor life conditions of their communities. There were, nevertheless, those Hispanics who felt that if it weren't for Blacks, Hispanics could be better off. There were also those Blacks who felt Hispanics took away resources from Black communities. This was felt by 21.4 percent of the Hispanics and 35 percent of the Blacks. Both Black and Hispanic seniors, in addition felt that their own group was taking from the other; this was just over 14 percent for Hispanics and 20 percent for Blacks.

Fifty-five percent of the Black seniors did not feel that either group took anything away from the other. On the whole these Black elders experienced the White community as being in power and in position to decide what each group was permitted to have. They also saw a need for better educational preparation and for Blacks and Hispanics to work together. More Hispanics than Blacks, just over 71 percent did not feel either group took anything away from the other. Any differences in status

between the groups these Hispanic seniors attributed to factors such as: Whites and Asians having more than their shares; Blacks being smarter politically; and Blacks having the advantage also of being American born. Feelings were also expressed that with preparation all groups could achieve and there was also a call for unity.

Multiple Factors as Explanations for Discrimination

The seniors' explanations for the existence of discrimination and the poor treatment of others in intergroup relations were many, reflecting the views of the theorists discussed in the Literature Review. Seniors often did not attribute discrimination to simply one factor and would cite multiple and overlapping factors as was postulated by Williams (1977). There were many sorts of reasons provided other than the competition for resources of power and money. Seniors talked about such causative factors as: psychological; identity; race and color; language; behavior and personality; social conditions and societal values; and other. The Hispanic seniors' reasons for discrimination ranged from blaming the individual for bringing discrimination upon themselves -- to this phenomenon being a part of God's greater plan. The Black seniors' explanations though also varied were not as broad ranged.

Hispanic seniors were far readier than their Black counterparts to attribute discrimination to psychological causation. Their explanations, nevertheless, were similar. Both groups accounted for it in terms of such feelings as inferiority, superiority, jealousy, etc. Individuals in both groups also were cognizant of their special circumstances. Puerto Ricans felt that other Hispanics envied their citizenship. Blacks were aware of the impact of slavery, brought up as well by some Hispanics.

Almost half of the seniors in each group provided explanations dealing with identity, color and race. Hispanics and Blacks were aware that people had difficulty dealing with differences. Color and physical appearance were seen as very significant in how one was treated by others. In terms of color Hispanics were perceived in general to have the advantage. Blacks, however, were thought to have the advantage in being perceived by others as American. Though of some concern, for the great majority, color did not seem to be at issue in how they explained discrimination between Blacks and Hispanics.

As one would anticipate Hispanics were more concerned about language as a factor in discrimination than were the Black respondents. About 50 percent of the Hispanic seniors cited language as a factor in discrimination; while around 25 percent of Blacks did.

Hispanic seniors, too, had a greater tendency to

blame people themselves for what befell them. Some Hispanics were especially critical of Blacks, whose behavior they found problematic. Mizio (1981) had described the type of behaviors that Hispanics steeped in traditions would find acceptable, which had led to the projection that Hispanic seniors might find objectionable more aggressive type behaviors, which they might perceive in the more Americanized Black community. A number of seniors complained about this aspect. Some seniors made distinctions amongst Caribbean, Southern and Northern Blacks. A feeling was also expressed by Hispanics that only the "lowest" class Hispanics came to this country, thereby implying blame for behavior and wanting distinctions to be made between classes. Hispanics also noted societal conditions and values as causative; while Blacks did not.

A major theme for the Black seniors was the belief that discrimination was based on a lack of understanding of the other. This was not as significant a part of the Hispanics' explanations for the causes of discrimination. There are clearly in evidence qualitative differences between Hispanics and Blacks in their perceptions of causation.

We take note that Blacks and Hispanics have different histories in relation to discrimination that are bound to influence their current perceptions. The Hispanic elderly

were brought up in countries where discrimination, though existing, was not deeply embedded into the fabric of their societies as it has been in the United States. As a consequence the Hispanics are much more likely to look for psychological explanations than their Black counterparts. Much as they might have reasoned in their birthplaces, they tended to explain discrimination as particular individuals' responses, as something being wrong in the individuals themselves, such as feelings of jealousy, envy, inferiority, etc. Hispanics were also readier than Blacks to blame individuals for bringing discrimination upon themselves by their behaviors and personalities.

The Black seniors' orientation tended to be more philosophical and abstract than the Hispanics in general. They have been subjected to discrimination all their lives. Many of these seniors probably have relied heavily on the Black Church as a source of strength. Taylor and Chatters discuss the important role of the church in the lives of the Black elderly. (1986) These respondents call for understanding in their cherished belief that this approach could bring about an end to discrimination. Any discrimination taking place in senior centers is, however, far from abstract.

Senior Centers

It is important to take note that over 71 percent of Hispanic seniors preferred to socialize in an organizational setting rather than on their own. This was more than the 60 percent of Black seniors who held this preference. This would not then seem to be an explanation for center underutilization by Hispanics.

It is of concern that close to 40 percent of the Hispanics and 30 percent of the Blacks interviewed thought there was discrimination at centers. Almost identical percentages of Blacks and Hispanics thought the programs themselves reflected discrimination, (30 and almost 29 percents). Over 32 percent of Hispanics thought Black staff discriminated against Hispanics; while just 5 percent of Black seniors thought Hispanic staff discriminated.

What is worse is the belief of over 46 percent of Hispanic respondents, close to half, that Black participants discriminated against Hispanics. Fewer, but still problematic is the fact that 25 percent of the Black respondents thought Hispanic participants discriminated against Blacks. In terms of their actual experiences around 21 percent of Hispanics and 20 percent of the Blacks had suffered at the hands of the other group.

Around 21 percent of the Hispanics thought the

centers could be improved by changing ethnic/racial staffing patterns and the composition of participants. Fifteen percent of the Black seniors wanted staff changes, but only 5 percent wanted the ethnic/racial composition of participants to change.

In general Hispanics had greater complaints about the centers than did the Black seniors. At the same time 20 percent of the Black seniors characterized the centers in terms of intergroup relations as tense and another 15 as just okay. Fewer Hispanics, around 11 percent, characterized the centers as tense and only 7 percent thought they were okay. All in all it could be said there are problems in intergroup relations at the centers, which must be addressed.

Some Concluding Thoughts

In studying a draft of this study a reader commented that it was a question of, "whether the glass was half full or half empty." In answer, there is no doubt that many seniors perceive commonalities in both groups as related to Hispanics and Blacks all being human beings, certain similarities in customs and lifestyles, as well as in the bonding of the Minority Experience. In addition, to some readers the statements made by the seniors about the other group might not seem, "all that negative." The

issue, however, is not whether Black and Hispanic elderly accept or are resigned to the state of their intergroup relations but, rather the concern should be the quality of their current relations.

To this writer intergroup relations must be perceived in terms of the quality of the groups' interactions. It is not necessary for relations to be overtly hostile for problems to be recognized as existing. The fact that in both Black and Hispanic groups at least 80 percent of the seniors interviewed only had friends from their own ethnic group must give us pause. Furthermore, the two primary interviewers for this study also observed in their visits to centers a noticeable lack of interaction between the groups, in effect a maintenance of social distance between Blacks and Hispanics. Clearly, the level and type of interaction in the centers is an important area for further study.

Hispanic and Black respondents on the whole perceive problems in intergroup relations. They are not comfortable with the state of affairs. This must be difficult for them when we consider that 85 percent of the Black seniors and almost 68 percent of Hispanics interviewed lived in neighborhoods with each other. It is not known how different is this proportion from the general Black and Hispanic elderly population as such an analysis is not currently available. Furthermore, the data on housing with

reference to the Hispanic elderly is subject to challenge. It is noted that the sample size for the Hispanic aged in New York State used for the 1985 Current Population Survey on housing tenure was under 200,000. (New York State Office for the Aging)

The exact proportions may not be known, but it is evident that many Hispanic and Black elderly do live side by side in New York City. Apart from any discrimination which exists their access to housing is limited by their low income to the same housing accommodations and areas. Minorities tend to live in rentals rather than in their own homes. Most often they live in multi-unit buildings, which include public housing or the inner city's dilapidated housing. (New York State Office For The Aging)

There can not be any question either that intergroup relations enters into service delivery. Not only does it become an issue in whether seniors will seek services in general or attend centers, but it is clearly entering into the level of satisfaction derived by those attending centers. Many seniors expressed concern about how Blacks and Hispanics related to each other. They felt that the manner in which their two communities got along was being ignored by staff at the centers.

Seniors proposed that center administrators and staff address the state of intergroup relations. They called for discussions and intercultural exchanges. Importantly, too,

seniors noted the importance of both English and Spanish classes in an effort to bridge the communications gap. They also proposed translators, who could serve to facilitate communication. Seniors were also aware that the use of center resources in Bingo games, television sets, trips, etc. become areas for hurt feeling and necessitate sensitive handling by staff.

The suggestions made by seniors are all valuable and necessary to bring about changes in intergroup relations. First the level of awareness of the existence of discrimination in services must be heightened amongst providers. It would be critically important for them to undergo cultural awareness training. It is the writer's experience that too often providers are not fully cognizant of the significance of culture in their own lives and in the lives of those whom they serve.

The anecdotal data from this study could be incorporated into any training programs to be developed or used to enrich programs already in existence. This writer has found it useful to present to the trainees statements made by the seniors, bringing issues down to the human level.

Skill workshops for providers are also necessary to explore ways in which to attract and maintain seniors at centers in order to insure program integration. The anecdotal material is again helpful in this regard.

It is not clear whether the centers' activities themselves can always be successfully integrated and even if they necessarily should always be. We are aware that over 46 percent of the Hispanics but only 5 percent of the Black seniors indicated a preference to socialize with their own group. Yet, we know that only about twenty percent from both groups had friends from other groups. The questionnaire related to friendships in general, not just the center environment. The Black seniors all speak English so one can not attribute this fact to language barriers.

What is clear is that it is the responsibility of the provider to, at minimum, work at reducing tensions. A simple act like having two television sets might go a long way to cutting down friction. Language classes in English as well as in Spanish are more expensive than another television set, but will probably pay even greater dividends. One might, want to experiment with a combined English and Spanish class. Seniors seeing each others working at trying to communicate with each other should go a long way in establishing good will. Seniors could also be trained to serve as translators in the center, helping participants to communicate with each other and thus reduce the "paranoia" that can set in from not knowing what is being said.

Providers must commit to working at improving

relations. Language classes and translators are important but not sufficient. Frank discussions must take place around language not only as a means of communication but in terms also of its symbolic meanings. Hispanic Seniors need help in understanding that people tend to get upset when not understanding what others are saying and it may be helpful for them to allow a translator to give the Black seniors a general idea of what is being discussed. Black seniors in turn require assistance in acknowledging that people find comfort in speaking in their native tongue, mean no offense, and may not be able to learn English. In addition, both groups have to be helped to see communication as a shared responsibility.

Providers must deal with intergroup tensions as they occur and anticipate problems before they arise. It would be important to find ways to increase the acceptance of differences. This can often be done by the paradox of helping people to see their commonalities. This could be done both through discussion and the celebration of each other's culture.

Once service providers have faced honestly what is actually taking place then one would be in a better position to see in which ways programs should become integrated or remain segregated, but always keeping the comfort level of all seniors and the age of the seniors in mind which sets reality limits. Not every senior can or is

motivated to learn another language, or is able to accept deep friendships with people from different backgrounds, but the groups can learn to treat each other as a whole with greater respect.

All-in-all we have demonstrated through this study that there are problems in intergroup relations existing between the Black and Hispanic elderly. It is a given that people want to feel that they are considered to be worthwhile and respected as individuals and as an ethnic/racial group. People have a need for a positive identity and to be regarded positively .

In sum there are two major concerns that emerged when studying these two groups and their interaction in the senior center settings. One major aspect just discussed is language, or for that matter any other strong distinctive feature, which can take on increasing salience in a group's identity and thereby create greater and greater social distance between groups. The provider would have to give consideration to minimizing the salience of language by finding ways to lessen its importance not only in terms of the spoken word but in terms of its symbolic aspects as well.

Competition for resources also has been established as another factor which is known to cause problems in how people will get along as groups. Service providers wishing to insure service utilization and satisfaction will have to

find ways to minimize competition amongst groups. It is important to see that each group feels that it is getting a fair share and that each group perceive the distribution to the other group as being equitable. This is by no means a simple task. Promoting positive intergroup relations is a challenge which the social work profession faces in the 90's!

Research Assessment

This study examined the attitudes, broadly defined, of a select group of Black and Hispanic seniors towards each other, how they perceived the quality of their intergroup relations in the City as well as the centers. We did not examine per se how the center environment helped to shape the Black/Hispanic elderly encounter.

All the questions found in the section on Research Questions/Hypotheses have been addressed in this study at some level. The seniors' attitudes have been explored in great depth. In future research it would be important to explore the many issues and concerns the seniors expressed with greater numbers and random samples so as to be able to measure the extent and degree to which the many variables examined exist more generally as problems in the intergroup relations of Black and Hispanic seniors.

What becomes clear from this exploratory study is the

necessity of exploring in much greater depth the environmental context, the centers themselves in their impact on intergroup relations. An exploratory and descriptive study, both quantitative and qualitative might be the best initial research strategy for examining the environmental context.

The researcher might wish to look at the following:

1. What is the impact of bilingual staffing patterns?
2. What is the impact of bilingual programming in general and on specific type of programs?
3. What policies, written and unwritten, exist in relation to language and what affect do these policies have on participants and staff?
4. What ethnic/racial proportions will promote better relations?
5. How do participants respond to ethnic foods, music, celebrations, etc?
6. When are programs best integrated or segregated and under what conditions would changes be possible and/or desirable?
7. What do seniors themselves state as their preferences in terms of center and program integration and segregation?
8. What do seniors cite as reasons for their choices?
9. What type and quality of ethnic/racial interactions does an observer note during a protracted period of

observation?

The above is not by any means an exhaustive listing, but they are important areas which need to be addressed in research endeavors. It is essential that service providers, themselves, not be contributing to the development and furthering of intergroup tensions.

Another issue that became clear in this study is the tremendous importance of examining the treatment received by Hispanic seniors when they apply for services and benefits. Discrimination has no place in service provision where the professional use of self is demanded at all times. The study suggested that many Hispanics may feel discrimination at the hands of personnel from government agencies. Documentation is required for advocacy purposes to bring about changes in the way health and human services staff deal with different groups. From the Hispanic seniors' comments during the course of this study and from other sources this is known to be highly problematic. Some data emerged but was not analyzed as it was not the focus of this study, but would serve as a good beginning point for another research endeavor.

From other sources as well such as comments made to this researcher in training programs with staffs from Medicaid and Income Maintenance problems in race relations are evident. Staff at the Institute cite problem after problem where they feel access is being made difficult or

being denied.

It will not be sufficient to query Hispanic seniors in terms of their experiences with staff and institutions. It will be necessary as well to learn what the personnel who service Hispanic clients feel about these clients. Again we take note of the environmental context in which the service encounter takes place. It may be that there are particular policies that are creating difficulties for staff, which then the worker brings into the interview situation. One such policy might be the time allocated by administrative edict for the completing of a particular process, which might be difficult to accomplish if the worker and/or client are not bilingual. This is but another illustration of the research that is necessary if the field is to address responsibly the concerns of vulnerable clients.

This research study on intergroup relations is a beginning effort to explore an area, which requires greater scrutiny. As a profession we should be able to understand what causes tension between groups and be able to commit to remedies. As providers we would not want to be found guilty of ourselves contributing to the friction either by policies or behaviors. Only by disciplined study will we truly know how to promote harmony amongst groups.

Major Recommendations

1. Conduct action research that examines how discrimination enters into access to services and benefits in agencies such as Social Security, Income Maintenance and Medicaid, which are critical in meeting survival needs. Exploration should include worker/client encounter, organizational environment, policies with their differential impact, etc.

Rationale: Discrimination exists; it is necessary to document how it manifests itself, and to understand what factors exacerbate the problems so as to locate and implement strategies to minimize the phenomenon.

2. Conduct research that studies what organizational factors serve to create intergroup tensions amongst consumers of service in senior centers. Attention would be paid to staffing patterns, staff behaviors, programming, resource utilization, etc.

Rationale: Intergroup relations enter into the quality of the center experience for the senior and service providers must take responsibility for promoting a positive environment.

3. Expand and enrich cultural awareness training programs for all levels of staff in all human service environments.

Rationale: The total system in each organization must

support the professional use of self and promote a bias free environment. It can not be achieved by direct service staff alone.

4. Establish as a priority the maintenance of positive intergroup relations and utilize multiple and redundant strategies to insure in so far as possible a bias free environment.

Rationale: In a democratic society and in the social work profession there is an obligation to serve all people and groups. Positive ethnic/racial intergroups relations must not be left to happenstance.

APPENDIX

INTERGROUP RELATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is _____ INTERVIEWER'S NAME.

Thank you for consenting to speak to me. You understand that your participation in this study is purely voluntary. Please be assured that whether you agree to be interviewed or not will in no way affect the type of services you receive.

First let me see if I have your name right. Your name is _____. I will later be asking you for more details, such as your address and phone number.

Let me now begin by telling you a little about the study. You know that New York City is made up of many different ethnic and racial groups. We are trying to understand how the senior citizen sees and experiences the relations between groups in this city. We are especially interested in your views on how Blacks and Hispanics get along.

How would you describe the way in which Black and Hispanics get along in this city?

From your own experiences what have you observed about the way in which Black and Hispanic seniors treat each other?

Were you brought up to have prejudice and discriminate
against people of: A DIFFERENT COLOR FROM YOU?

____YES ____SOME ____NO

A DIFFERENT ETHNIC BACKGROUND? ____YES ____SOME ____NO

Please tell me a little about the way you were brought up?

If you were not born in the Continental United States, in
your COUNTRY OF BIRTH WERE THERE PROBLEMS IN RACE

RELATIONS? ____NONE ____SOME ____MANY

Please tell me a little more.

DO HISPANICS DISCRIMINATE AGAINST:

AMERICAN BLACKS? ____NO ____SOME ____A LOT

ANGLOS? ____NO ____SOME ____A LOT

DO AMERICAN BLACKS DISCRIMINATE AGAINST:

HISPANICS? ____NO ____SOME ____A LOT

ANGLOS? ____NO ____SOME ____A LOT

DO ANGLOS DISCRIMINATE AGAINST:

AMERICAN BLACKS? ____NO ____SOME ____A LOT

HISPANICS? ____NO ____SOME ____A LOT

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN PERSONALLY DISCRIMINATED AGAINST BY:

HISPANICS? ____YES____NO

BLACKS? ____YES____NO

ANGLOS? ____YES____NO

If yes, please tell a little about the incident(s) and how it made you feel about that person and that person's group.

DO YOU FIND YOURSELF DISCRIMINATING AGAINST:

HISPANICS? ____NO ____SOMETIMES ____A LOT

BLACKS? ____NO ____SOMETIMES ____A LOT

ANGLOS? ____NO ____SOMETIMES ____ALOT

DO YOU IMMEDIATELY EXPECT TO BE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST BY:

HISPANICS? ____NO____YES ANGLOS? ____NO____YES

BLACKS? ____NO____YES

Do you think that people including yourself, TEND TO DISCRIMINATE MORE AGAINST OTHER PEOPLE WHEN THEY ARE IN A GROUP WITH MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN KIND THAN THEY WOULD IF THEY WERE ALONE IN A ONE TO ONE SITUATION WITH A PERSON FROM THAT OTHER GROUP?

____STRONGLY AGREE____AGREE ____DISAGREE____S. DISAGREE

IN GROUP SITUATIONS DO YOU FEEL PRESSURED TO DISCRIMINATE.

____STRONGLY AGREE____AGREE ____DISAGREE____S. DISAGREE

Please tell me a little about what you think happens in group situations.

We know that certain people discriminate against Hispanics and treat them badly. What do you think this is due to?

We know that certain people discriminate against Blacks and treat them badly. What do you think this is due to?

IN THE UNITED STATES WHITES HAVE HIGHER SOCIAL STATUS, PRESTIGE AND POWER THAN BLACKS.

____STRONGLY AGREE____AGREE ____DISAGREE____S. DISAGREE

IN THE UNITED STATES WHITES HAVE HIGHER SOCIAL STATUS, MORE PRESTIGE, MONEY AND POWER THAN HISPANICS.

____STRONGLY AGREE____AGREE ____DISAGREE____S. DISAGREE

IN THE UNITED STATES BLACKS HAVE HIGHER SOCIAL STATUS, MORE PRESTIGE, MONEY AND POWER THAN HISPANICS.

____STRONGLY AGREE____AGREE ____DISAGREE____S. DISAGREE

IN THE UNITED STATES HISPANICS HAVE HIGHER SOCIAL STATUS, MORE PRESTIGE, MONEY AND POWER THAN BLACKS.

____STRONGLY AGREE____AGREE ____DISAGREE____S. DISAGREE

IN THE UNITED STATES BLACKS AND HISPANICS HAVE THE SAME LOW SOCIAL STATUS, LACK OF PRESTIGE, MONEY, AND POWER.

____STRONGLY AGREE____AGREE ____DISAGREE____S. DISAGREE

BLACKS WOULD HAVE MORE IF HISPANICS WEREN'T GETTING SO MUCH.

____STRONGLY AGREE____AGREE ____DISAGREE____S. DISAGREE

Please comment

HISPANICS WOULD HAVE MORE IF BLACKS WEREN'T GETTING SO MUCH.

____STRONGLY AGREE____AGREE ____DISAGREE____S. DISAGREE

Please comment

IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD DOES ANY GROUP HAVE A GREATER CONTROL OVER NEIGHBORHOOD RESOURCES? ____NO ____YES

IF YES? ____HISPANICS ____BLACKS ____OTHER(SPECIFY) AND COMMENT

ALL IN ALL WOULD YOU SAY BLACKS AND HISPANICS HAVE EQUAL OR UNEQUAL SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS? ____EQUAL ____UNEQUAL
IF UNEQUAL WHICH GROUP IS IN A BETTER POSITION?

____BLACK____HISPANIC

DISCRIMINATION IS BASICALLY ABOUT POWER AND MONEY.

____STRONGLY AGREE____AGREE ____DISAGREE____S. DISAGREE

Any further comments about Black and Hispanic intergroup relations?

SPANISH UTILIZATION QUESTIONS (FOR HISPANIC SENIORS)

Now we'd like to ask some questions about your speaking of Spanish and English as well as some other questions related to language.

How much do you speak Spanish at home?

____Not at all____Sometimes____Most of the time____Always

How well do you understand English?

____Not at all____A little____Almost everything____Perfectly

How well can you read Spanish?

____Not at all____A little____Almost everything____Perfectly

How well can you read English?

____Not at all____A little____Almost everything____Perfectly

How well can you speak English?

____Not at all____A little____Almost completely____Perfectly

Do you feel uncomfortable when people are speaking English?

____Not at all____Sometimes____Most of the time____Always

Is it a problem for you being in a country where the "official" language of the country is English?

____Not at all____A little____Difficult____Very difficult

Won't you tell me a little more about this.

Do you read Spanish newspapers?

____Yes ____No ____Sometimes ____Almost always ____Always

Do you listen to Spanish radio or watch Spanish TV
programs?

____Yes ____No ____Sometimes ____Almost always ____Always

Do you read English language newspapers?

____Yes ____No ____Sometimes ____Almost always ____Always

Do you agree that American radio, TV, and newspapers tend
to be untruthful so as to present in a bad light:

Hispanics?

____Strongly Agree ____Agree ____Disagree ____S. Disagree

Blacks?

____Strongly Agree ____Agree ____Disagree ____S. Disagree

Do you listen to English language radio or watch English
language TV

____Yes ____No ____Sometimes ____Almost always ____Always

Do you feel that Black people your age react badly to your
speaking in Spanish?

____Yes ____No ____Sometimes ____Almost always ____Always

When you see Black people in your age group speaking
together do you feel that they may be talking badly about
you?

____Not at all ____A little ____Almost always ____Always

COMMENTS: Please tell me some more about your feelings and
experiences with speaking Spanish or being required to
communicate in English in the states.

How much alike and/or different do you think Black and Hispanic people are from each other? Please explain your thinking and give consideration as well to the differences and/or similarities between Black and Hispanic elderly.

How would you characterize yourself?

____More Hispanic than American.

____More American than Hispanic.

____Equally American and Hispanic.

Language Questionnaire for Black Seniors

Now we would like to talk to you about a number of concerns and issues related to language and culture.

Do you agree that the government should be spending money translating information into Spanish and printing materials such as brochures and pamphlets on Medicare, SSI, and Social Security for Hispanic seniors?

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Disagree ___S. Disagree

Will you please explain a little about why you feel this way.

Do you agree that the government should make special provisions to have Spanish speaking interviewers available for the Hispanic seniors at the office of:

Income Maintenance or SSI?

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Disagree ___S. Disagree

Social Security?

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Disagree ___S. Disagree

Any hospital or clinic?

___Strongly Agree ___Agree ___Disagree ___S. Disagree

Please explain a little about why you feel this way.

Many people only speak Spanish. Do you agree that there is no excuse for an adult not being able to speak English?

____Strongly Agree ____Agree ____Disagree ____S. Disagree

Some laws have been passed forbidding the speaking of other than English at work. Do you agree with this idea and tell me what you think about such laws.

Do you agree that anyone who wanted to learn English could easily do so?

____Strongly Agree ____Agree ____Disagree ____S. Disagree

Do you feel uncomfortable when people are speaking Spanish around you?

____Not at all ____A little ____Some ____A lot

Do you agree that people should limit their speaking Spanish only to their home?

____Strongly Agree ____Agree ____Disagree ____S. Disagree

Please tell me a little about why you feel this way.

When you see Hispanic people of your own age group speaking together do you feel that they may be talking badly about you?

____Not at all ____A little ____Some ____A lot

Can you understand many Hispanic seniors
preference for the Spanish language communications media
-- radio, TV, newspapers?

____Not at all ____A little ____Some ____A lot.

How often do you buy Black community newspapers?

____Never ____Rarely ____Some ____A lot

How often do you watch or listen to Black programming on
TV or radio?

____Never ____Rarely ____Some ____A lot

Do you agree that American radio, TV, and newspapers tend
to be untruthful so as to present in a bad light:

Hispanics?

____Strongly Agree____Agree ____Disagree____S. Disagree
Blacks?

____Strongly Agree____Agree ____Disagree____S. Disagree

How much alike and/or different do you feel Black and
Hispanic people are from each other? Please explain your
thinking and give consideration as well to differences
and/or similarities between Black and Hispanic elderly.

How would you describe yourself?

____More Black than American.

____More American than Black.

____Equally American and Black.

All in all how do you feel the speaking of Spanish by
Hispanics is affecting how Hispanic and Black seniors get
along?

SENIOR CENTER PARTICIPATION QUESTIONNAIRE

We would like to find out about your senior center participation and your preferences.

DO YOU PREFER TO SOCIALIZE ON YOUR OWN WITHOUT ANY INVOLVEMENT IN ANY ORGANIZATION?

____STRONGLY AGREE ____AGREE ____DISAGREE ____S. DISAGREE

DO YOU PREFER TO SOCIALIZE WITH PEOPLE OF YOUR OWN ETHNIC/RACIAL BACKGROUND?

____STRONGLY AGREE ____AGREE ____DISAGREE ____S. DISAGREE

Please tell me a little about why you feel that way.

We would now like to learn something about your friends.

Please tell me the first names of your best friends.

Please tell me the ethnic/racial background of these people.

HAVE YOU EVER ATTENDED SOCIAL/RECREATIONAL PROGRAMS IN A SENIOR CENTER? ____YES ____NO

PRESENT LEVEL OF SENIOR CENTER ATTENDANCE?

____NEVER ____RARELY ____OFTEN ____ALWAYS

FROM WHAT YOU HAVE HEARD OR SEEN DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THERE IS DISCRIMINATION AT SENIOR CENTERS?

____STRONGLY AGREE ____AGREE ____DISAGREE ____S. DISAGREE

DO YOU THINK THE TYPES OF PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES SHOW
THAT THERE IS DISCRIMINATION TAKING PLACE?

____STRONGLY AGREE ____AGREE ____DISAGREE ____S. DISAGREE

Please tell me a little about what makes you think this.

DO YOU THINK STAFF DISCRIMINATES? ____NO ____IF YES,

WHICH STAFF? ____HISPANIC ____BLACK ____WHITE

____ORIENTAL ____OTHER(SPECIFY)_____

DO YOU THINK PARTICIPANTS DISCRIMINATE? ____NO ____IF YES,

WHICH SENIORS? ____HISPANIC ____BLACK ____WHITE

____ORIENTAL ____OTHER(SPECIFY)_____

DO YOU THINK THAT IT'S PARTICULAR INDIVIDUALS
DISCRIMINATING OR THE WHOLE GROUP(S) BASICALLY?

____INDIVIDUALS ____GROUP(S)

HAVE YOU EVER PERSONALLY EXPERIENCED DISCRIMINATION AT A
SENIOR CENTER? ____NEVER ____RARELY ____OFTEN ____ALWAYS.

BY WHOM? ____HISPANIC ____BLACK ____WHITE

____ORIENTAL ____OTHER (SPECIFY)

DO YOU FIND YOURSELF DISCRIMINATING WHEN IN ATTENDANCE AT
A CENTER?

____NEVER ____RARELY ____OFTEN ____ALWAYS

Please tell me what you think is making people from
different groups treat each other badly.

HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE ETHNIC/RACE RELATIONS AT YOUR
CENTER: ____OKAY____PLEASANT____VERY PLEASANT ____TENSE
____CONFLICT RIDDEN

THE CENTER COULD BE IMPROVED BY CHANGING:

____TYPE OF ACTIVITIES ____ETHNIC STAFF COMPOSITION
____ETHNIC PARTICIPANTS COMPOSITION ____FOOD
____OTHER(EXPLAIN)

DO YOU THINK IF THE CHANGES YOU INDICATED WERE MADE THAT
YOU WOULD WANT TO ATTEND MORE
OFTEN?____MAYBE____PROBABLY____YES____NO

Any further comments about senior centers and intergroup
relations?

SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE: MODIFIED BOGARDUS(non copywrited)

Please tell me if you: Would MARRY or want a grandchild to
MARRY a:

Black	___Yes___No	Hispanic	___Yes___No
Irish	___Yes___No	Jewish	___Yes___No
Italian	___Yes___No	Chinese	___Yes___No
East Indian	___Yes___No	Korean	___Yes___No

Would want as regular FRIENDS:

Black	___Yes___No	Hispanic	___Yes___No
Irish	___Yes___No	Jewish	___Yes___No
Italian	___Yes___No	Chinese	___Yes___No
East Indian	___Yes___No	Korean	___Yes___No

Would want to Dance with at a senior center dance:

Black	___Yes___No	Hispanic	___Yes___No
Irish	___Yes___No	Jewish	___Yes___No
Italian	___Yes___No	Chinese	___Yes___No
East Indian	___Yes___No	Korean	___Yes___No

Would want to Work with on a job/Participate with in

Center project: Black ___Yes___No Hispanic___Yes___No

Irish	___Yes___No	Jewish	___Yes___No
Italian	___Yes___No	Chinese	___Yes___No
East Indian	___Yes___No	Korean	___Yes___No

Wouldn't mind having just a few families in my

Neighborhood:

Black	___Yes___No	Hispanic	___Yes___No
Irish	___Yes___No	Jewish	___Yes___No
Italian	___Yes___No	Chinese	___Yes___No
East Indian	___Yes___No	Korean	___Yes___No

Would have merely as speaking Acquaintances:

Black	___Yes___No	Hispanic	___Yes___No
Irish	___Yes___No	Jewish	___Yes___No
Italian	___Yes___No	Chinese	___Yes___No
East Indian	___Yes___No	Korean	___Yes___No

Would have live outside my neighborhood:

Black	___Yes___No	Hispanic	___Yes___No
Irish	___Yes___No	Jewish	___Yes___No
Italian	___Yes___No	Chinese	___Yes___No
East Indian	___Yes___No	Korean	___Yes___No

Would have live outside my country:

Black	___Yes___No	Hispanic	___Yes___No
Irish	___Yes___No	Jewish	___Yes___No
Italian	___Yes___No	Chinese	___Yes___No
East Indian	___Yes___No	Korean	___Yes___No

I need now to secure some identifying data.

IDENTIFYING DATA

Code No.

NAME:

ADDRESS:

TELEPHONE NUMBER:

BIRTHDATE:

AGE:

AGE CATEGORY: ___50-54 ___55-59 ___60-64 ___65-69

___70-75 ___75-80 ___80 and OVER

SEX: ___MALE ___FEMALE

MARITAL STATUS: ___MARRIED ___WIDOWED ___DIVORCED ___SINGLE

FORMAL EDUCATION: ___8th GRADE or LESS ___SOME HIGH SCHOOL

___H. S. GRAD. (GED) ___SOME COLLEGE ___COLLEGE GRADUATE

___MASTERS or ABOVE (SPECIFY) _____

CURRENT EMPLOYMENT: ___NONE ___P.T. ___F.T. ___VOL.

___OTHER (EXPLAIN) _____

SENIOR CENTER ATTEND: ___NEVER ___RARELY ___OFTEN ___ALWAYS

INC. SOURCE(S): ___SOC. SEC. ___SSI ___PENSION ___SAVINGS

_____ OTHER (EXPLAIN)

REL.: ___CATH. ___PROTEST. _____SECT/OTHER _____NONE

PLACE OF BIRTH: _____Specify

AGE AT WHICH CAME TO UNITED STATES: _____

ETHNIC/RACIAL BACKGROUND: ___HISPANIC ___(NON HISP.) BLACK

NEIGHBORHOOD ETHNIC COMPOSITION PERCENT:

___BLACK ___HISPANIC ___WHITE _____SPECIFY)

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