SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS

Focus on the Southwest

Howard C. Daudistel
Cheryl A. Howard

SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS

Focus on the Southwest

Edited by

Howard C. Daudistel

Cheryl A. Howard

University of Texas at El Paso

West Publishing Company

Minneapolis/St. Paul New York Los Angeles San Francisco

WEST'S COMMITMENT TO THE ENVIRONMENT

In 1906, West Publishing Company began recycling materials left over from the production of books. This began a tradition of efficient and responsible use of resources. Today, up to 95% of our legal books and 70% of our college texts are printed on recycled, acid-free stock. West also recycles nearly 22 million pounds of scrap paper annually—the equivalent of 181,717 trees. Since the 1960s, West has devised ways to capture and recycle waste inks, solvents, oils, and vapors created in the printing process. We also recycle plastics of all kinds, wood, glass, corrugated cardboard, and batteries, and have eliminated the use of styrofoam book packaging. We at West are proud of the longevity and the scope of our commitment to the environment.

Production, Prepress, Printing and Binding by West Publishing Company.

A West Custom Publication

610 Opperman Drive
P.O. Box 64526
St. Paul, MN 55164-0526

Printed in the United States of America

00 99 98 97 96 95 94 93 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0

ISBN 0-314-02064-0

PREFACE

Institutions of higher education, especially public colleges and universities, have been forced to operate their educational programs with limited budgets. Our troubled economy has made it increasingly difficult for schools to meet the needs of their students. Small classes and personalized student instruction is the exception rather than the rule in undergraduate sociology programs. No one, however, is happy with this trend which forces so many students into huge lecture halls where it is difficult to maintain contact with the instructor. It is especially distressing that so many students are introduced to sociology in an environment where we have become increasingly dependent on textbooks, and fixed choice examinations. While these books are thorough, attractive and full of important sociological concepts, they do not cover many specific topics that are of regional interest. Nor do they force students to think sociologically and write about issues that relate to their immediate social cultural world.

This book represents our attempt to address some the limitations characteristic of introductory sociology courses in the Southwest, especially our own classes at The University of Texas at El Paso. Each chapter is written by a member of our University faculty, many of whom regularly teach our beginning sociology course. Therefore, this collection of essays introduces students to some of our faculty. It showcases faculty talents and interests, and it gives students a chance to read material that focuses on regional topics. Moreover, this book includes simple questions and writing exercises that we hope will be used to stimulate the minds of students. They are not difficult problems, but most of them require written essay responses which we hope will facilitate student participation in their introductory class. We recognize that writing exercises are not much fun, and it is difficult to write essays on sociological topics. Nevertheless, we believe that students who practice their writing skills as they learn to think sociologically will greatly benefit from the experience. Additionally, we feel

that students who are asked to read and write about regionally relevant topics will become engaged in their own educations rather than being passive recipients of information provided by their instructors.

The chapters in the book are organized to follow the general pattern of topics in most standard introductory sociology textbooks. They can, however, be read in any order depending on the interest of students and the needs of the instructor.

Most of us know very little about the cultural history of the El Paso region. Therefore our first chapter by Peterson, Earls, Myers and Morrow provides a complete, yet relatively brief, cultural history of the area, with a focus on the Rio Grande River (Lower Valley) region of El Paso, Texas. Beginning with the early occupants who inhabited the region between 10,000 and 6,000 B.C., this chapter brings us up-to-date by ending with views on the more contemporary scene. Chapter 1 not only details a remarkable past, but it helps to provide an important cultural context to El Paso-Juarez region. Furthermore, by reading this chapter, even those living outside of this area can learn to appreciate the complexity and diversity of indigenous populations that were the first to inhabit what has become U.S. soil. Events in history contribute to our current social-cultural environment. While sociologists do not focus on history, they cannot forget it.

Chapter 2 by Stoddard introduces students to the unique perspective and method of science. Most importantly this chapter introduces the scientific method by outlining the techniques that are characteristic of sociological research, but it emphasizes the difference between scientific and non-scientific thinking. It is especially difficult for students to think objectively about their own behavior. Yet Stoddard provides insights into thinking scientifically about our own world by contrasting the scientific method to the normative one that characterizes the thinking of most people, including sociologists. Chapter two also helps us to understand the limitations of scientific thinking. Science is not a quick cure for all of our suffering.

Chapter 3 by Howard gives us a chance to explore the conflicts between scientists, politicians and the general public. Focusing on the disposal of radioactive waste, Howard teaches us much about science, especially its limitations. Therefore, we elected to include this piece early in this volume. Its relevance, however, extends beyond this topic. Chapter 3 also tells us much about the intersection of the social and physical worlds. Although we talk about our physical and cultural worlds as separate entities, Professor Howard demonstrates that our cultural practices and the development of technology in support of our contemporary lifestyles has serious consequences and impacts our physical ecology, which (in turn) strongly influences our well being and the way we live our lives.

Chapter 4 by Campbell leads us away from our general concern with science and scientific thinking, to our specific (and uniquely social scientific) interest in culture and cultural diversity. By telling us about cantinas and the Zapotec men who meet there, Campbell teaches us that culture is not confined to art museums or concert halls. Culture is all around us. It includes the activities of people in cantinas, which probably deviates from the activities that

are typical in our own immediate surroundings. Nevertheless, the bohemian drinking crowd at a drinking establishment in Oaxaca Mexico are "doing culture." They behave in ways they have learned from others, and they participate in events that create and sustain culture. It is important to note that the ordinary events of our lives are also cultural. Different from the Zapotec culture, but still culture and of interest to sociologists.

Carmichael's work on Native Americans is yet another example of the significance of culture. Again Chapter 5 illustrates that culture may not include beliefs with which we are familiar. Moreover, it clearly demonstrates that people in the United States represent diverse cultures, and that respect for this diversity has not always been forthcoming from others—including those who represent the social scientific community. Sacred sites are found in all societies and cultures. In the case of Native Americans, it is unfortunate that protection of these sites depends on the enforcement of criminal statutes rather than widespread respect for the cultural traditions and history of others.

Chapter 6 presents us with an interesting opportunity to think about human interaction and the characteristics of interchanges between people. Here Sanders teaches us something about micro analysis in sociology while using interactions between gang members to illustrate an important dynamic in interpersonal relations. Chapter 6 is interesting, not only because it tells us something about juvenile gang members, but also it tells us something about ourselves. When people interact with each other they often avoid conflict by compromising their desires and needs. People apologize to others when they feel they have behaved in ways that are perceived as inappropriate. We even overlook minor insults for the sake of maintaining smooth relationships. The significance of these interactional practices is illustrated by the violence and conflict generated by gang interactions. Gangs do not engage in what Sanders' has called: *remedial interchanges.*

Rodriguez shifts our attention to a more traditional concern with deviant behavior. While most human behavior demonstrates our remarkable consistency and willingness to follow the "rules", sociologists know that sometimes people behave in ways that run contrary to normal expectations. But Chapter 7 is not only about murder. It is about the way in which our society is organized. Men and women occupy different positions in the society and there are different expectations associated with the roles that they play. Likewise, regardless of civil rights legislation, minority populations tend to dominate the ranks of the poor and dispossessed. Hence, their criminality is characterized by violence and attacks related to their position in the society.

In Chapter 8 Sanders helps us to understand that ethnic diversity includes groups that are not normally considered when we talk about ethnic relations in the Southwest. Southeast Asian gangs are a significant part of our western landscape. Interestingly, prejudicial thinking is not limited to those in the dominate culture. Even minority gang members tend to adopt strange images of those from the Far East. Prejudice is not confined to Anglo American populations. In any case, Chapter 8 offers us insight into the world of gangs that is rarely presented by the popular press.

When sociologists talk about social institutions they typically include some discussion of the economy. Indeed an introductory sociology course would not be complete without at least a few comments on the economy. Often, however, it is difficult for students to see that the institution of the economy includes things that are of immediate consequence to them. Moreover, they are unlikely to see that activities in the economic realm are often misunderstood when they are not viewed from a social scientific perspective. In Chapter 9, Stoddard talks about the maquiladora (or twin plant) environment. Here we see that our ethnocentric views may color our perspective of life in a Mexican factory along the border with the United States. While suffering from some problems, the maquiladora system may not be as terrible as it has been characterized. However one feels about the twin plant system, we should recognize that many negative stereotypes of working conditions are not typical of the actual working conditions that exist in maquiladoras.

Our consideration of social institutions continues in Chapter 9. Here Daudistel and Hosch look at college and university faculty. While introductions to sociology do not generally include very much about higher education, Daudistel and Hosch give us a chance to consider how faculty adapt to change. As with all social institutions, education is affected by change in the larger society. As we will see in later chapters, demographic changes can have a dramatic impact on our lives. In Chapter nine we see that college and university faculty are not immune to the consequences of change, especially demographic change. As colleges and universities adjust to the changing composition of student populations, and adopt new expectations of faculty, those who teach in our schools are expected to change also. Daudistel and Hosch studied the coping strategies of faculty and examined the consequences of changing faculty role expectations on the relationships between faculty and students.

Changes in our population are powerful forces of change in our society. In Chapter 11, Howard provides an interesting introduction to demography which emphasizes conditions in the El Paso-Juarez region. Here we find that the border environment is a rapidly changing region. Indeed, if we wish to understand the nature of this increasingly important area we must consider the dynamics of changing populations. As the United States and Mexico continue their intensified program of economic development (which will continue regardless of the fate of the"free trade" agreement), decision makers will be forced to pay greater attention to the demographics of the region.

Finally, Chapter 12 provides another example of the intersection of several factors that influence the well being of populations. Along the U.S.- Mexico border, the health of the people is threatened by conditions that are particularly unique to the region. Everywhere those who live in poverty suffer from greater health problems and a poorer quality of life. Along the border with Mexico, however, these problems are intensified by rapid population growth and the difficulties associated with the political problems of coordinating the activities of governments from the United States and Mexico.

Whatever your motivation for taking a course in sociology, we hope that this book provides the opportunity for you to discover the relevance of sociology and social scientific thinking

to your life. We believe that sociological knowledge can contribute to a better understanding of the world around us. It can help students think more clearly about their own lives and the problems they or others experience.

Several people deserve recognition for their assistance in the production of this book. Most importantly, we wish to acknowledge the contributions of our colleagues at the University of Texas at El Paso. Obviously, without their efforts this book would never have been produced. We are especially grateful to William B. Sanders for his assistance in the production of this book. Bill's computer expertise and book experience was invaluable. We could not have done this without him. We would also like to thank Tom LaMarre at West Publishing for his encouragement to begin this project. He kept us on track and was more than willing to commit his resources to the project. Bernice Carlin, also at West, has been wonderful. Finally special thanks go to Marcia Daudistel at Texas Western Press for her help with copyrighted material.

Howard C. Daudistel

Cheryl A. Howard

Contents

Chapter 1

El Valle Bajo: A Cultural Perspective on the Lower Valley of El Paso

John A. Peterson

with contributions by

Amy C. Earls, Terri Myers, and Herbert C. Morrow

Introduction

Visitors in the Lower Valley of El Paso today see an urban sprawl quickly consuming the rural landscape. The Spanish colonial village of Ysleta is now incorporated into the city of El Paso; Socorro has incorporated the old original colonial grant into a distinct city; and San Elizario is victim to rapid development of unplanned and unrestricted colonies. The regular and restrained flow of the Rio Grande has been channelized and regularized since the early part of the century. Canal and drain projects along with the impoundment of the river at Elephant Butte Dam upstream have created the conditions for a stable and safe floodplain development, where urbanization competes for dominance in the landscape.

The overall cultural region was originally defined by Lehmer (1948) in his study of the Jornada Branch of the Mogollon. This chapter presents a summary of previous archeological and historical investigations in the Jornada and adjacent regions with a specific focus on the Lower Valley of El Paso.

Paleoindian Period

Lithic artifacts found in the area suggest that early occupations in the El Paso area date to the late Pleistocene/early Holocene between approximately 10,000 and 6,000 B.C. MacNeish's (1991) recent work at Pendejo Cave on the Otero Mesa north of El Paso indicates that there may be considerably earlier occupation of the region, but this data has not been completely analyzed and is still very controversial. Diagnostic point types of later and better documented periods found within the El Paso area, such as Clovis, Folsom, Scottsbluff, and Plainview, all

Adapted from El Paso County Lower Valley Water District Archeological Project Report: *El Valle Bajo: The Cultural History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley of El Paso*, 1992, pp 62-102 by John Peterson *et al.*

firmly dated from other regional contexts, provide strong support for late Pleistocene occupations (Whalen 1977, 1978). Unfortunately, environmental processes have either buried or destroyed most archaeological evidence from this time period and, therefore, relatively little is known about late Pleistocene lifeways in the El Paso area. Based on comparative archaeological evidence from archaeological sites from the same period in other areas, the general social and economic organization of Late Pleistocene populations appears to be characterized by small, mobile bands subsisting predominantly on large game supplemented with the utilization of wild plant resources(Cordell 1984; Carmichael 1986).

Archaic Period

Evidence of increasing cultural complexity among the prehistoric inhabitants of the El Paso area is based on the excavations of relatively well-preserved, Archaic period cave sites dating 6,000 to 2,300 B.C. in the mountain region (MacNeish 1989, 1991; Phillips 1989). Archaeologists have found evidence of basketry, bone and wood working, including the introduction of the atlatl, which demonstrates an increase in technological complexity. In addition, the recovery of possible digging sticks as well as ground stone, important in plant processing, combined with palynological evidence for increased reliance on plant products suggest that people in the area experimented with horticulture and plant domestication by the first or second millennium B.C.

MacNeish (1989a, 1989b, 1991) and MacNeish and Beckett (1987) propose that the Archaic period should be subdivided into four separate phases. The Gardner Springs phase (ca. 6000±500 to 4300±300 B.C.) is characterized as a "simple scheduled seasonal-round settlement pattern organized around a few very small groups. In essence, these Archaic people were probably foragers engaged in hunting, animal collecting or trapping, and plant collecting" (MacNeish 1991:685). People lived mainly in small ephemeral camps on the desert floor or around the playas there, with a few living in mountain shelters such as Fresnal shelter.

The Keystone phase (ca. 4300±300 to 2500±200 B.C.) is proposed as an outgrowth of the Gardner Springs phase, with a continuation of small, microband camps and task force sites, but with the notable addition of large pithouse sites such as the Keystone Dam Site (O'Laughlin 1980; Carmichael 1983) along the Rio Grande. These sites appear to have been occupied during winter but they may also have been a base for excursions into other microenvironments during the spring, summer,and fall. MacNeish notes that this period "reveals a subtle shift toward a more efficient desert foraging subsistence system as well as a possible exploitation of more desert plants from more ecozones" (MacNeish 1989:689).

The Fresnal phase (ca. 2500±200 to 900±150 B.C.) is coeval with the introduction of early maize domesticates into the Southwest, and is subsequently accompanied by some fundamental changes in lifeways. A substantial increase in numbers of sites includes significantly more and larger sites in the Rio Grande and desert floor/playa areas and the phase is characterized

by MacNeish (1991:691) as possibly year-round occupations where the sites served as base camps for a radial rather than calendar-round system. The early evidence for maize and squash does not include beans, which is known to be essential for its complementary amino acids; however, in this low desert region along the Rio Grande, tornillo or mesquite beans may have satisfied this need (Schroeder 1974).

During the Hueco phase (ca. 900±150 B.C. to A.D. 200±100) people lived in seasonal microband or task-force occupations, but with larger and probably more numerous pithouse sites. The ephemeral sites include new site types such as rockroasting sites which indicated harvest and preparation of desert succulents (Carmichael 1986; O'Laughlin 1979; O'Laughlin et al. 1990). Faunal remains from sites indicate an increase in rabbit bones over large game,and include fish and turtle for the first time. MacNeish (1991:695, 697) characterizes this phase as a trend toward larger and more numerous base camps occurring in a broader area. The apotheosis of village settlement in the Mesilla and El Paso phases apparently developed out of this shift toward sedentism.

MacNeish's four Archaic period phases provide a compelling interpretive model for cultural evolution in the region, and his arguments are well-documented and supported by much recent work. However, problems with site discovery in riverine terrain, as noted by MacNeish, contribute as a bias against the discovery of Rio Grande riverine sites from early periods.

Mesilla Phase

The introduction of ceramic production around the first century A.D. denotes the beginning of the Mesilla Phase, first defined by Lehmer (1948). Characteristics of the Mesilla phase include the production of El Paso Brownware, a plain earthenware ceramic type. This development is accompanied by more pithouse architecture and the beginnings of clustered settlements (MacNeish 1989a, 1989b; O'Laughlin 1980; Whalen 1977). Until near the end of the Mesilla Phase (about A.D. 1050), people lived in clusters of pithouse structures, ranging from 15 to 50 or more pithouses. Although population density remains low, a significant change in social structure appears to have occurred, with small, mobile bands gradually adapting to a more sedentary lifestyle. Evidence from neighboring areas suggests that the emphasis on horticulture continued to grow throughout this time period. The presence of pottery types from the Mimbres Valley of Southwestern New Mexico in the El Paso area indicates that long-distance material and information exchanges were occurring between the prehistoric inhabitants of these two regions by approximately A.D. 750 to 950. Intrusive, nonlocal shell supplements the evidence for external influences. The proliferation of trade and shifts in settlement patterns may indicate increasingly sedentary populations with a growing dependence on horticulture (Cordell 1984).

Dona Ana Phase

Lehmer (1948) proposed a transitional Doña Ana phase to describe the period of adjustment from pithouse to pueblo settlement in the Jornada Mogollon region. Carmichael (1986) presented evidence for the phase based on a survey of the Doña Ana Range on the Tularosa Basin, in which both decorated and undecorated El Paso Brownwares were found along with intrusive decorated ceramics dating to the midFormative period, but there are insufficient fine-grained chronometric data from good contexts to define the period. The phase is analogous to similar transitional phases proposed for the Mimbres region to the west and the ReserveTularosa region to the north. There is clearly a florescence of population and of settlement systems in the El Paso area from the end of the Mesilla phase through the El Paso phase which appear to have corresponding developments in the Mimbres and the Casas Grandes regions.

El Paso Phase

The elaboration of ceramic technology, as indicated by the introduction of new, locally produced ceramic types such as El Paso Bichrome and El Paso Polychrome (Hill 1990a, 1990b), as well as the appearance of new architectural forms marks the beginning of the El Paso Phase, dating approximately A.D. 1050 to 1375 (Lehmer 1948). Large, 100-200 room pueblos such as Hot Wells, Escondido,Worley, and Cottonwood Springs pueblos, Alamogordo Site 1 (House 2), and Indian Tank occur in alluvial fan and riverine settings. The architecture of the largest villages consists of surface or semi-subterranean linear roomblocks, multiple rows of parallel roomblocks, or U-shaped or enclosed plazastructures of adobe or masonry construction. The introduction of this pueblo-style architecture is accompanied by further evidence for significant increases in population density, intraregional and interregional exchange, and sociopolitical complexity (Lehmer 1948). Concomitant increases in the sociopolitical complexity of other regional communities in the Mimbres Valley to the north and at Casas Grandes to the south may indicate that these areas were playing a role in these cultural changes (Di Peso 1974).

While there are clearly stylistic and settlement similarities with Pueblo groups to the north in New Mexico, the pueblo occupation of the El Paso area shares at least as much affinity with systems described from Northern Chihuahua and west Texas as documented in the La Junta and Guadalupe Mountains areas (Kelley 1949, 1952, 1953; Mallouf and Tunnell 1977; Phillips 1990; Sebastian and Larralde 1989). And, as several investigators have proposed, the pueblo settlements of El Paso do not appear to have been fully dependent on agricultural subsistence. Rather, they apparently practiced a wide range of subsistence activities (MacNeish 1989a, 1989b; Carmichael 1986b; O'Laughlin 1990; Whalen 1977, 1978). In this regard they may have taken a different trajectory toward sedentary village life than elsewhere in the Southwest (MacNeish 1989a:695).

In contrast to the pueblos of the Northern Rio Grande, rancherías appear to have been the settlement of choice in the Lower Valley and south along the Rio Grande from El Paso. These were smaller, probably seasonal, settlements documented along the river by Spanish accounts, have been found "on the banks of the river" as "distinct groups of jacales" (1952:273). Other accounts appear to have distinguished rancherías from the more permanent pueblos situated on the mesas at La Junta and record settlements at arroyo mouths and springs along stretches of the river which would not otherwise have provided floodplain settlement opportunities.

Scatter sites, while clearly contemporaneous with pueblo sites, are not easily assigned cultural affiliation. Were they Plains Indians who possessed puebloan ceramics from trade, as has been documented in the Pecos area by Spielmann (1982)? Were they Pueblos visiting the areas seasonally from bases elsewhere? Or were they an ethnically distinct group of hunter-gatherers who might be characterized as "neoarchaic" to emphasize the continuity with previous Archaic lifeways? A model of ceramic period occupation in the Roswell District of New Mexico that may be applicable to the El Paso area would be that populations of both agriculturalists and hunters and gatherers were present. The presence of ceramics on sites created by groups of both types could have caused the remains of two very different settlement and subsistence systems to be lumped together into an apparently anomalous pattern. A second possibility is that the same group lived in pueblos for part of the year and in temporary housing during other seasons.

By A.D. 1375, the populations of the Hueco Bolson and El Paso area exhibit an abrupt shift in socioeconomic strategies, with a dispersed, hunting and gathering lifestyle replacing the previous agriculturally oriented, aggregated village (Brethauer 1977; Whalen 1977, 1978; O'Laughlin 1990). Although the cause for this subsistence shift is poorly understood, an extended period of drought during this time period or a shift in relationship between hunter-gatherer and agricultural populations could be involved. Whatever the cause, a relatively dispersed hunting and gathering lifestyle prevailed in the desert regions of far west Texas until historic times, although some pueblos were present in the Rio Grande Valley.

The normative cultural chronology for the region, embodied particularly in Lehmer's Jornada Mogollon Branch, was originally based on the distribution of El Paso Polychrome, Lincoln Black-on-red, and Three Rivers Red-on-terracotta (Lehmer 1948:71). The boundaries of these distributions have since been found to be much more extensive, especially to the east and south. Furthermore, the range of settlement types by period of occupation also appears to be much broader than originally proposed. With the wealth of recent and finer-grained data, the Jornada Mogollon Branch, like its precursor as proposed by Haury for western New Mexico and eastern Arizona (1936), may be ripe for a heuristic overhaul.