

MEXICAN AMERICANS: A SOCIOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION



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Mexican Americans: A Sociological Introduction

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MEXICAN AMERICANS: A SOCIOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

Preface

This book is designed to introduce the readers to the largest and oldest segment of one of the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States. Hispanics are the largest and youngest ethnic minority in the nation. As such, their importance for the future of the country cannot be ignored. Mexican Americans are the largest segment of Hispanics and are the focus of this text.

For years I have been unable to find a text to use in my sociology class on Hispanics in the United States. I did not want to use a history book, although it is important to know something of the history of Mexicans, immigrant and native-born Americans, in order to understand their current situation. Therefore, I have endeavored to use sociological concepts and selected important events and people to present a basis for studying Mexican Americans. Many knowledgeable people may be unhappy with my selection of names of people and events, not so much those which have been included but those which have been excluded. I am merely attempting to present a manageable number of some commonly recognized people and events.

Although there is an important distinction between Mexicans and Mexican Americans, at times the distinction will be made but at other times it will not. The term Mexicans may be used to include both immigrant and native-born Americans, if, as often happens, the event applied equally to both and the perpetrators of the action did not make the distinction.

There are many good history books, some I have cited, which the reader may wish to consult regarding each of the brief references made concerning particular events. Some reference books will be indicated which can be used, as well as some excellent documentary films and/or movies which students have found helpful because they illustrate events presented in this text. It is hoped that this introductory text will provide you with a basic knowledge and appreciation of the hardships and contributions of Mexican Americans and will arouse your curiosity to learn even more.

This text begins with an introduction which examines the concept Hispanic, and presents brief summaries of information regarding Puerto Ricans and Cuban Americans, the second and third largest sub-groups. Following this is Names to Remember, which is a list of names of people and events mentioned in the Introduction which are worth remembering. This is followed by a Sociological Glossary, which contains the definitions of the terms used in the Introduction, and Works Cited. There are seven chapters, each dealing with a specific time period. Following each chapter is a Chronology of Period

Events which gives the dates of important events occurring during that time period. Then, in order, are: the Names to Remember, Sociological Glossary and Works Cited. These will be followed by Related Readings, which deal with conditions or events related to the chapter, and Discussion Questions. After the last chapter which deals with the future, there will be no Chronology for obvious reasons, nor a list of Names to Remember. There is, however, a Sociological Glossary, Works Cited and Discussion Questions. There is also a list of Useful Spanish Terms as well as a list of Recommended Documentaries/Movies. As always there is an author index.

Sociological terms used in a chapter are in bold print, the meaning of which can be found in the Sociological Glossary at the end of each chapter. Spanish words are italicized and the meanings are given at the time they are first used. These words are not included in the list of Useful Spanish Terms found at the end of the text.

It is hoped that you will find this format beneficial.

Introduction

What is Hispanic? It is a term instituted by the federal government in the 1970s to refer to a diverse category of people. There are 23 Hispanic nations/groups with origins from Argentina to Venezuela. It is not a single nationality, race or ethnic group. Hispanic is not a racial category but can be found in all races. There are Hispanic Negroids, Hispanic Mongoloids and Hispanic Caucasoids. Hispanics have often been categorized as non-white (together with Negroids and Mongoloids), however, many are white (Caucasoids) and have officially been classified as such on the Government Census. Therefore, the often used contrasting dichotomy of individuals as Hispanic or white is inappropriate. If we accept the definition of an **ethnic group** as proposed by Milton Gordon (1964), as one which shares a common history, a common identity or sense of “weness,” and a common culture or subculture, Hispanics obviously do not constitute a single ethnic group but represent many different ethnic groups. Hispanics from different countries have their own particular histories and identities. It is not necessary that individuals know their group’s history nor even personally identify with their ethnic group for them to be members. The group will still exist and the individual will be identified with it by others.

Regarding identity, there have been many variations and changes in the terminology used by and/or applied to Hispanics in the United States. Hispanics as a whole have been identified at different times and places as Latino, Latin American, Spanish, Spanish American, Spanish-speaking and Spanish-surname. Specific groups have been known as Californios (Old Mexican families living in California since it became part of the United States), Chicanos (Mexican Americans after 1960), and Neoricanos (Puerto Ricans living in New York and sometimes others living on the mainland). However, the way most Hispanics appear to identify themselves ethnically is by including their ancestral homeland as part of the identity, such as Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban American, etc., rather than using an all-inclusive generic term. However, when speaking more inclusively, the term Latino is most often used.

There is no single Hispanic **culture** or **subculture**. Although there are some common elements, there are many cultural differences as well. Differences in dress, food, celebrations and customs exist. The most commonly shared cultural elements are the Spanish language, although there are some variations in terminology and pronunciation, the importance of family, and religion. Most, but not all, Hispanics are Catholic, from the Spanish tradition. However, there are national and even regional differences in devotion to particular saints, including the Virgin Mary.

Family is very important to Hispanics. The more traditional families are **patriarchal** with a clear distinction and division of labor between husbands and wives as well as between sons and daughters. The **extended family** is also more extensive and important than is the case for most Americans. As succeeding generations of Hispanics become more Americanized, the families typically become less traditional. Young second and third

generation Hispanics tend to be more **egalitarian**, the division of labor is less rigid and obligations are more focused on the **nuclear family** than on the extended family. Consequently, primary family obligations appear to be more **conjugal** and less **consanguineal** than before. As should be expected, there are differences in the stability of the nuclear family. In 1994 over 60 percent of *Mexicano* households had both husband and wife present, compared to just over 54 percent of Cuban Americans and 38 percent of Puerto Ricans (Castro, 1995).

Religion

Although Catholicism is the most common religion, in recent decades in the United States there have been many converts to other, mostly Christian, religions particularly Pentecostals and Baptists. However, since the attack on the Twin Towers in New York on 9-11 it appears that the focus on Muslims has resulted in a number of Hispanics, especially women, turning to Islam. Some of them refer to this conversion as a reversion, pointing out that Spain was a Muslim country for centuries and thus becoming Muslim is just reverting back to their religious roots. The exact number of Latino Muslims in the United States is unknown but it is generally believed to be around 40,000 (Rozemberg, 2005). The percent of converts from Catholicism to some other religion increases somewhat with each succeeding generation and a growing number of those who leave fail to join another denomination, preferring to remain **unchurched**.

Approximately 68 percent of U.S. Hispanics say they are Catholics. Of these, 62 percent indicate that they attend Mass, at least occasionally, where they can display more excitement and emotion, such as raising their hands, clapping, shouting or jumping. Thirteen percent of those questioned were former Catholics. Those who had converted to another religion frequently chose a more charismatic or pentecostal faith. Reasons given for changing religions were less theological and more personal. They include a desire for a more personal experience with God, inspiration from a certain pastor, a deep personal crisis, or marriage to someone of another denomination (Zapor, 2007).

Hispanic Catholics can be divided into four religious categories: nominal, cultural, folk and formal (Spitzer, 1960: 54-58). **Nominal Catholics** are those who were baptized and may refer to themselves as Catholic, but do not know and/or practice their religion. They are Catholic in name only. **Cultural Catholics** are those who are baptized and celebrate the major religious events which are widely practiced as part of their culture, such as baptisms, weddings, funerals and *quinceaneras* (a public celebration of a girl's fifteenth birthday often beginning with a church ceremony), *padrinos* (a godparent or sponsor of another, usually younger, individual in a religious ceremony, such as in baptisms and confirmations), celebration of one's *Santo* (saint after whom a person is named, and is remembered on the feastday of the saint), *posadas* (the word for an inn, and at Christmas time people get together with prayers, songs re-enacting the search for lodging by Sts. Joseph and Mary. Within a house the group may go from room to room or, outside from house to house. After several rejections the couple is finally welcomed and a party ensues).

Folk Catholics are those who practice a variation of Catholic and primitive non-Catholic rituals and beliefs, with women playing a much more important role. The home rather than a church becomes the center for the practice of religion. Home altars may be found on which are placed a variety of articles including a crucifix, pictures of Jesus, Mary and some saints, together with tall painted glass *veladoras* (candles), and flowers, real or artificial. **Formal Catholics** are individuals who are informed in their faith, fulfill their religious duties to the best of their ability, and look to the Church hierarchy for religious guidance.

Devotion to Mary and the saints is a recognized practice among Catholics. However, there are national and even regional differences. Mary is honored throughout the world under a variety of titles. In Mexico she is most commonly identified under the title *La Virgen de Guadalupe*, in Puerto Rico as *La Virgen de la Divina Providencia* and in Cuba as *La Virgen de Caridad del Cobre*. She is known under many other titles as well.

Terms Hispanic/Latino

The term Hispanic (or *Latino*) is an umbrella category of many distinct ethnic groups, i.e. Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban American as well as many others each with their own history, identity and culture. As such, Hispanic, much like the term Indian, can be seen as a **pan-ethnic group** rather than a single ethnic group. Finally, Hispanic is not a nationality. Hispanics can be found throughout the world and are citizens of many nations. There are approximately 23 Hispanic countries in the world with most of them located in the Americas. While the United States is not a Hispanic country, it has the second largest number of Hispanics. Only Mexico, has a larger Hispanic population.

One writer believes there is a distinction between the pan-ethnic terms Hispanic and Latino. He states that although the denotation of the two terms is similar, there is a difference in the connotations of each. The term Latino suggests pluralism while the term Hispanic suggests integration (Murguía, 1991). This possible distinction should be kept in mind and may affect the meaning given to the specific term used by some writers or speakers.

Minorities and Prejudice/discrimination

Although there have been great changes, Hispanics have been a **minority group** for as long as they have been in the United States. A group can be a minority in two ways, socially and numerically. Socially a group is a minority if it is considered to be inferior and if it has less than its share of power. The opposite of a social minority group, therefore, is **dominant group**, referring to the group which is considered superior and is in control. In the United States Hispanics have been a minority group while Anglos have been the dominant group. Numerically, a group is a minority if it is smaller in number. In which case the opposite of minority group is **majority group**. Throughout the 20th century Blacks had officially been the largest ethnic minority, however things changed with the start of the 21st century when Hispanics officially became the largest ethnic minority. Projections are that by the year 2050 Hispanics will constitute almost one-fourth of the

population of the United States, and Anglos will no longer be a numerical majority (U.S. Census Bureau News, 2004).

Although Anglos are expected to become a numerical minority they are not expected to be a social minority. Social minorities are subject to prejudice and discrimination. **Prejudice** is an irrational generalization involving a category of people, and it may be positive (in favor of) or negative (against). Either way it involves three aspects: **cognitive** (beliefs or way of thinking about a people), **affective** (feelings that one has toward a people), and **behavioral tendency** (inclination to act in a positive or negative manner towards, or in reference to, a particular people). **Discrimination** is treating people differently based on irrelevant criteria. It, too, can be for or against. Although there is a relationship between prejudice and discrimination it is not as simple as many believe. And, contrary to what many people believe, it is not possible to know whether or not a person is prejudiced by seeing how they behave. As Robert Merton (1949) has pointed out, the relationship can take four different forms depending on circumstances. A person can be prejudiced and discriminate (prejudiced discriminator), prejudiced but not discriminate (prejudiced non-discriminator), not prejudiced but discriminate (non-prejudiced discriminator), or not prejudiced and not discriminate (non-prejudiced non-discriminator). Situations often dictate what a person does as to whether he/she acts on his/her beliefs and feelings. Since prejudices are difficult if not impossible to control, it is discrimination which society attempts to control. Individuals do not always show or act on their feelings. It is possible that a person may not even know they are prejudiced.

Inequality is a fact of life. There has always been a type of inequality in every society which is called **social differentiation**. This is based on certain important status distinctions which each society makes resulting in unequal expectations and treatment. Two universal examples are age and sex. Children and females have commonly been subject to different rights and privileges from adults and males. Such inequalities are not transferrable or hereditary since people grow older and females give birth to males as well as females. A more arbitrary and transferrable inequality is called **social stratification**. In addition to social differentiation, social stratification is a more modern source of inequality which consists of levels of privilege built into the social system. Three types of social stratification systems are **caste**, which is based on biological heredity and different castes are governed by different laws and **social norms**. A caste system existed in the South for African Americans and in the Southwest for Mexicans and Mexican Americans. **Estate**, which is based on ownership or control of land, with different laws for different estates, such as nobility and serfs. Elements of an estate system could be found with land owners and sharecroppers in the South and migrant farm workers in the Southwest. Finally, **class** which is based on socioeconomic criteria, and all classes are subject to the same laws although the enforcement of the laws may differ. Today the class system is the most widely practiced throughout the country.

Social mobility refers to movement within or between social levels. A caste system is termed a **closed system** because, based on heredity which cannot be changed, social

mobility or a change of level is not possible. Castes existed in New Spain and the United States. In parts of the United States racial-based laws existed, termed “Jim Crow” laws until the second half of the 20th century. An estate system also existed in New Spain under the *encomiendas*, and in the South and parts of the Southwestern United States on plantations. The more common and current system in Latin America and the United States is the class system which is based on **socioeconomic status (SES)**. Since SES can change, the system is termed an **open system** and **vertical social mobility**, which involves a change of levels, is possible. Regardless of the system, Hispanics in the United States have been at or near the bottom of the stratification system.

According to Max Weber (1947) there are three different dimensions which affect a person’s overall status: wealth (class), prestige (status), and power (party). If a person is high in one but low in another it is referred to as **status inconsistency**. Such a situation can be problematic in social relations because others may relate to you depending on whether they are focusing on your low or high dimension. For example, a member of the dominant group interacting with a minority group Congressman may relate to him as office holder (deserving of respect) or as member of minority group (object of disdain). In order to avoid such possible difficulties a person may attempt to use what they are high in, i.e. prestige, to raise what they are low in (power). For example, an Olympic champion may use his/her newly acquired prestige to run for political office (power) and/or seek product endorsements (wealth). If successful it is referred to as **status crystallization**, which results in greater **status consistency**. As Hispanics have accumulated wealth and achieved positions of power, they have improved their status.

Throughout the 20th century social minorities, such as women, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, Gays and others, have attempted to bring about change that would improve their situation. If these attempts are ongoing organized efforts to bring change they are called **social movements**. There are at least four types of social movements, depending on who is changed and how much is changed. The effort may be an **Alternative social movement**, which is the least threatening to the status quo, or a **Redemptive social movement**, which is limited to a specific group, or a **Reformative social movement**, which affects everyone but in a limited way, or a **Revolutionary social movement**, which is the most threatening to the status quo because it affects everyone in some way (MacLionis, 2002: 439). The Civil Rights and Chicano Movements were Revolutionary. Often a social movement spawns a **countermovement** which attempts to prevent change.

Composition and Distribution of Hispanic Population

Hispanics are now the largest ethnic minority, and one of the fastest growing segments of the population in the United States. In the first decade of the 21st century Hispanics constituted 14 percent of the population, and it is estimated that by the middle of the century they will make up 29 percent (Rozemberg, 2008). In addition, at the beginning of the century Hispanics comprised one of every three American Catholics. By the middle of this

century it is estimated that they will constitute approximately one of every two American Catholics. However, some estimates indicate that Hispanics already constitute 40-50 percent of all Catholics in the United States (Garcia, 2008: 15). It is also estimated that by the beginning of the 22nd century Hispanics could make up half of the population of the United States (Gonzalez, 2000: 270). Their growth is due to both fertility and immigration. In the United States over 60 percent of Hispanics are of Mexican descent, followed by Puerto Ricans and Cubans. Recently there are growing numbers of Hispanics from Central and South America. More than 6 million Hispanics are from Central or South America. The largest of these sub-groups, approximately 803,000, are Salvadorans, 584,000 Colombians, 464,000 Guatemalans, 323,000 Ecuadorans, 293,000 Peruvians, 267,000 Hondurans, and 230,000 Nicaraguans. Since 1980 many immigrants are coming from the Dominican Republic (Parrillo, 2009, 128).

In the southwest border states Mexican-origin Hispanics predominate, in New York and New Jersey it is Puerto Ricans and Dominicans, in Florida it is Cubans and in Washington, D.C. it is Salvadorians. More than half of U.S. Hispanics are found in the states of California, Texas, and Florida. Three-fourths live in just eight states: California, Texas, Florida, New York, Illinois, Arizona, New Jersey and New Mexico. California has the largest number followed by Texas. Overall, the United States has 54 million Hispanics which constitutes the second largest Hispanic population in the world. Only Mexico has a larger Hispanic population with 120 million (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015).

Most Hispanics live in large cities. Ethnic minorities now constitute a majority of the populations of nine of the ten largest cities in the United States. In seven of these cities, Hispanics are the largest ethnic minority. Overall, between 1990 and 2000, Hispanics accounted for 62 percent of the population increase in the nation's largest cities (U.S. Census, January 13, 2001). Hispanics have a higher **birth rate** than non-Hispanics.

In 1996 the **fertility rate** for Hispanics was 3.0 while that of the general population was 2.03 (McFalls, 1998). There is a high rate of births to unmarried women. According to the National Center for Health Statistics, 51 percent of Hispanic children were born to unwed women in 2007 (www.cnn.com). Over 50 percent of Hispanic households have one or more children under 18 years of age living at home. Hispanics, in general, are younger than non-Hispanics. Forty-one percent of Hispanic adults are less than 35 years of age, 30 percent are between the ages thirty-five and forty, and 29 percent are fifty and over. The younger age of the Hispanic population is due, in part, to the high number of births and the large number of young immigrants.(Davis et al, 2002: 38).

Chain migration from various nations has resulted in certain parts of the country containing **ghettos** (where virtually all of the inhabitants are the same) or **enclaves** (where most of the inhabitants are the same) of a particular Hispanic ethnic group. Thus, the southwestern states of California, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado, which originally were part of Mexico, have been the home for the largest number of Mexican Americans, while New York and New Jersey have been home for numerous Puerto Ricans

in the United States and Florida has been home for most Cuban Americans. These and other Hispanics are now spread throughout the country. Hispanics from other countries who are living in these states which are commonly identified with a particular ethnic group are usually not distinguishable and are commonly identified with the dominant Hispanic group.

Hispanics from different countries often live in ghettos or enclaves, sometimes separate and sometimes common, referred to as *barrios*. Living in such segregated areas has not always been voluntary. Since many of the residents are poor, often newly arrived immigrants, these *barrios* are usually characterized by substandard housing, schools with high dropout rates and poor academic achievement, absence of medical facilities, few job opportunities, stores that lack variety but charge higher prices, and have high crime rates. Streets are often in disrepair and city services are often inadequate.

There are differences in where Hispanics live not only based on ethnicity, but also on religion. Studies have found that Hispanic Catholics are more likely to live in segregated neighborhoods and are less likely to be employed full or part-time than Hispanic non-Catholics. Related to these findings is the fact that Hispanic Catholics are more likely to speak only Spanish.. All of these differences can be explained, in part, by the fact that most Hispanic Catholics are foreign born while most Hispanic Protestants are born in the United States and are, therefore, generally more assimilated (Davis et al, 2002: 40-43).

To answer the question, what is Hispanic, the answer seems to be having a link to Spain. Hispanic peoples can trace their ancestry, directly or indirectly, back to Spain. Besides genetics, the most commonly shared cultural elements deriving from that link are language, religion and surnames. There is much variation found among the Hispanic nations, their histories, cultures and identities. Wars have played an important role in the relationship between the United States and Hispanics. For example, Puerto Ricans are United States citizens as a result of the 1898 Spanish American War, which started as a result of the mysterious sinking of the U.S. ship Maine as it was harbored in Cuba, the Treaty of Paris ending the brief war gave the United States the Spanish territories of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Philippines and Guam. It also enabled Cuba to gain independence. Later, Hawaii became the 50th state in 1959, and at the end of World War II the Philippines were given their independence by the United States.

Puerto Ricans

Puerto Ricans are the second largest segment of U.S. Hispanics at 9 percent (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011) Puerto Rico is located in the northern Caribbean 1,050 miles southeast of Miami. It became an American possession as a result of the Treaty of Paris at the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898. At first it was ruled by a U.S. military government until 1900 when it was placed under a civil government. Two years later English became an official language along with Spanish. Puerto Ricans were granted U.S. citizenship in 1917 and as such were allowed to migrate to the U.S. mainland without special papers or permission as often as they pleased. Meanwhile, Puerto Rico, which had

been a protectorate under the terms of the Treaty of Paris, was made a commonwealth. However, some on the island desired independence and demonstrated to influence the U.S. government to grant their wish. In 1952 a few supporters attempted to assassinate President Harry S. Truman. Later, in 1954 others made an attack on Congress firing several shots from the spectators' balcony.

However, the desire for independence was not shared by most Puerto Ricans. During the period from the mid- 1940s to 1970 as many as one-third of the island's population had moved to the mainland. The migration pattern was reversed in the 1970s when many returned to their homeland resulting in the decade being referred to as the period of the "Revolving Door." Over the years they have been given the options in five non-binding referendums of remaining a commonwealth/territory, becoming an independent nation, or becoming a state. The decision in the last two referendums (2012 and 2017) was to become a state. However, any change in the status of Puerto Rico depends on the U.S. Congress which has been reluctant to act. The 2017 Republican-controlled Congress is considered unlikely to act because of the island's \$120 billion debt and the belief that politically it is Democratic-leaning. In their current status they receive government support and pay no federal income tax but, while on the island, they cannot vote in Presidential elections. However, they can vote in the primaries and for their own government officials on the island. Those living on the mainland have all the rights and duties of any other American citizen. Although Puerto Ricans are natural-born U.S. citizens, they, like other Hispanic Americans, are often considered foreigners, especially if they speak English with an accent.

Since Puerto Rico became a U.S. possession at the end of the 19th century, it has had a longer, closer, more sustained relationship with the United States than has any other Hispanic country. Consequently, its people have been more exposed to American culture than any other Hispanics not born and raised in the continental United States. The island was immediately placed under U.S. governmental control, and over a period of time English became an official language along with Spanish. This provided an opportunity for Protestant missionaries to work with the people to provide an alternative to Catholicism and for American businesses to move there under the favorable provisions of "Operation Bootstrap" which provided tax incentives for the businesses and jobs for the people.

Puerto Ricans are the largest Hispanic origin group in Hawaii and in six of the nine states in the Northeast (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011)

Cuban Americans

Cuban Americans are the third largest segment of U.S. Hispanics at 4 percent and are the largest Hispanic origin group in Florida (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). The history of Cuban Americans is very different. Since Cuba is only about 100 miles from the United States, it provides a pull factor for those who may wish to emigrate. However, unlike Mexico or Puerto Rico, in the latter half of the 20th century the U.S. government actively encouraged **immigration** of Cubans while the Cuban government was actively engaged

in the prevention of such **emigration**. This tug-of-war was the result of the propaganda battle which was part of the Cold War.

There have been three waves of immigration over the years. The first was around 1868 for economic reasons. Most immigrants in this wave were poor people looking for a better life. The second was around 1959 for political reasons. This was in response to Fidel Castro's successful Communist Revolution. Many of these immigrants, known as the "Golden Exiles," were well-to-do, educated professionals resulting in what is referred to as a "Brain Drain" for Cuba. During this time there was another type of drain, or at least a leak, concerning the youth. In the 1960s there was a program involving the **migration** of unaccompanied children referred to as "Operation Peter Pan" (Pedro Pan) in which Cuban parents sent their children from Cuba to the United States. Between December 1960 and October 1962 more than 14,000 youths were sent by their parents who feared they would be indoctrinated by the communist Cuban government. Many went to live with relatives or family friends, others were cared for by the Catholic Welfare Bureau until they could be relocated in thirty different states (pedropan.org). The third wave was in 1980 for humanitarian reasons. President Jimmy Carter invited Cubans who had family members living in the United States to come and be reunited. In response, Castro allowed some Cubans to accept the invitation, but also used the occasion to rid Cuba of many undesirable members of society from prisons and insane asylums. These immigrants have been referred to as "*Marielitos*" in reference to the port in Cuba from whence they came and the connotation is very negative. Many of them were immediately incarcerated or institutionalized as soon as they arrived.

Unlike other Hispanics, those from Cuba have been treated as refugees from a hostile country and have been allowed to stay and receive government aid. Upon arrival in the United States Cubans received job training as well as assistance in finding a job, small-business loans, mortgage assistance to purchase a house, aid to school districts educating them and bilingual instruction (Rogg, 1974). They have not had to prove they were fleeing to the United States because of a well-founded fear of politically motivated imprisonment or execution as have those from non-Communist countries. This apparent preferential treatment is a consequence of the cold war with Russia and a fear of the spread of communism. Cuban emigration has been used as anti-communist propaganda showing how people wanted to flee from such countries and seek freedom in the United States.

Cuban Americans are different from other Hispanics in other ways as well. They tend to be more prosperous economically, in large part due to the "golden exiles," and the special government assistance they received upon their arrival. While most Hispanics are Democrats, Cubans tend to be Republicans. The preference for the Republican Party is in part influenced by their failed attempt at the Bay of Pigs, Cuba, to overthrow Fidel Castro in 1961. They blamed President John F. Kennedy, a Democrat, for his failure to provide the anticipated military support that was needed for a successful outcome. Another difference from other Hispanics was their inability to visit their homeland or receive visits from relatives or friends. Until President Barak Obama changed the restrictions in 2009,

Cuban Americans were not free to visit relatives in Cuba as they pleased, nor would the Cuban government allow their relatives to visit them in the United States whenever they so desired.

After announcing in December 2014 that there would be a new course in relations between the two countries, President Obama made a series of changes in the United States – Cuba relationship. All of these changes were controversial. In general, reactions in the United States were affected by political party. Among Cuban Americans generation was an important consideration, with most older Cubans, remembering the reasons why they fled their homeland, being opposed while young Cubans, with no such memories, were more open to such changes. The series of changes occurred in 2015 including four that were key to a closer relationship. In March, the first planning session for a Human Rights Dialogue was held. In May, Cuba was removed from the State Sponsored Terrorism List, in July Embassies of both countries were reopened and in November talks were begun on migration (<https://www.whitehouse.gov/issues/foreign-policy/cuba>). As a consequence of the improvement in relations between the two countries there was an increase in immigration of Cubans who were worried that the existing favorable policy, which came to be known as the “wet foot, dry foot” policy, would be changed. Another consideration was the uncertainty of what President Trump may do.

The concern regarding the possible termination of the “wet foot, dry foot” policy was well placed. On January 12, 2017, without warning but with the prior knowledge of the Cuban government, President Obama ended the controversial policy. This was done in order to avoid a possible surge of immigrants hoping to enter the United States before any policy change.

Mexican Americans

The focus of this book will be on the oldest and largest group of Hispanics living in the United States, namely those from Mexico. In 2009 they comprised approximately 12.5 percent of the U.S population and 64 percent of the Hispanic population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). This group is composed of three distinct subgroups or categories of individuals: Mexicans, American Mexicans and Mexican Americans (Lampe, 1984). These three subgroups are generally lumped together and are rarely differentiated although there are important differences. **Mexicans** are those born and raised in Mexico who come to the United States to live and work for a period of time. However, they continue to be oriented to Mexico all the while they are living in the United States. They think of themselves as Mexicans and plan to return to their homeland someday. **American Mexicans** are those who are born and, at least for some years, were raised in Mexico. They come to the United States and generally plan to remain here whether they wish to become citizens or not. They are first-generation immigrants. There may be some ambivalence as to whether their loyalty and identity is to the United States or Mexico. Mexicans and American Mexicans will retain close ties to Mexico both by visiting their homeland and receiving visitors from there. Consequently both will be less assimilated than Mexican

Americans. However, if they bring very young children with them who have not yet formed a bond with nor personal identity to Mexico, the children will be more like Mexican Americans. Although they are officially 1st generation, due to the fact that they came in their formative years, they are more like those of the 2nd generation. Therefore, these children have been referred to as the 1.5 generation. **Mexican Americans** are those who are born and raised in the United States. They are U.S. citizens by birth but their ancestry is Mexican. Their point of reference is American rather than Mexican. They think of themselves as Americans, are the most assimilated of the three subgroups and have the least connection to Mexico. It is not uncommon for them to lack a conversational knowledge of Spanish or know much of Mexican history. The term *Mexicano* can refer to anyone of Mexican ancestry, including Mexicans, American Mexicans and Mexican Americans. When used in this text it will refer to all three subgroups together.

Regarding the United States, Mexican migration has been affected by different events, causing increases or decreases in migration between the two countries. The Mexican Revolution (1910) resulted in an increase of people fleeing the violence, Mexican industrialization (early 1900s) an increase of displaced people, Passage of National Origins Act (1924) an increase, Great Depression (1930s) a decrease, World War II (1940s) an increase, Operation Wetback (1954) a decrease, Repeal of National Origins Act (1965) an increase, NAFTA (1994) an increase, U.S. recession (2007) a decrease (Healey and Stepnick, 2017: 293).

During the years 1820-1996, 5,542,625 Mexicans entered the United States legally; only Germany sent more legal immigrants (Gonzalez, 2000: 97), In addition, an estimated 6,570,000 illegal Mexican immigrants were in the United States in 2006 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). There are now approximately 30 million Mexican Americans, most of whom are found in the Southwest, especially in the states of California, Texas and Arizona. Outside of the Southwest, Illinois has the largest number of *Mexicanos* Throughout the country they are overwhelmingly urban dwellers. Nine out of ten live in **metropolitan areas**, and almost half reside in **central cities** (Parrillo, 2009: 129). Three important Mexican celebrations which are often celebrated by *Mexicanos* in the United States are Independence day (September 16), victory over the French at Puebla (May 5), and Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe (December 12).

There are important differences between Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Cuban Americans. Mexican Americans have been citizens of the United States much longer than either Puerto Ricans or Cuban Americans, and a higher percentage of those from Mexico are born on the U.S. mainland (62 percent) than Puerto Ricans (56 percent) or Cuban Americans (27 percent). Mexican Americans have had a higher school dropout rate, in some areas as high as 50 percent, and a lower overall level of education than either of the other two groups. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (1998) only 8 percent of Mexican Americans had received a college degree compared to 20 percent of Cuban Americans and 11 percent of Puerto Ricans. This is in contrast to 27 percent of non-Hispanics. Mexican American's income level is much lower than that of Cuban Americans but somewhat

higher than that of Puerto Ricans. Finally, Mexican American households are more likely to contain both husband and wife (60 percent) than are Cuban Americans (54 percent) or Puerto Ricans (38 percent) (Castro, 1995, 26-28).

There is also a difference in poverty rates, with 17.3 percent of Cuban Americans officially in poverty compared to 25.8 percent of Puerto Ricans, and 24.1 percent of Mexican Americans. Only 7.7 percent of non-Hispanics are in poverty. Cuban Americans are also more likely to be professionals or managers, 23.5 percent compared to 17.1 percent of Puerto Ricans and 11.9 percent of Mexican Americans. Conversely, 17.9 percent of Cuban Americans are farmers or laborers compared to 19.8 percent of Puerto Ricans and 30.9 percent of Mexican Americans. In general, female Hispanics fare better in comparison to non-Hispanic females in terms of wages, 0.73 cents to a dollar, than male Hispanics compared to non-Hispanic males, 0.62 cents to a dollar.

The number of Hispanic-owned businesses is increasing. Between 1987 and 1992 there was an increase of 76 percent and receipts increased by 134 percent during that same period. The top five Hispanic markets in the United States are Los Angeles, New York, Miami, Chicago and San Antonio (Aguirre and Turner, 2004: 145-150).

Mexican origin Hispanics comprise the largest segment of the Hispanic population in forty states. The majority of these states are located in the South and West regions of the United States as well as all twelve states in the Midwest and two states in the Northeast (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011).

In order to study Mexican Americans the book will focus on some of the events and socio-cultural developments which occurred within the following seven historical periods:

The period of Ancestral Development (1519 – 1848)

The period of Nascent Ethnic Development (1848 – 1929)

The period of Growth and Accommodation (1929 – 1946)

The period of Ethnic Discontent and Organization (1946 – 1962)

The period of Ethnic Reaffirmation and Protest (1962 – 1980)

The period of Ethnic Inclusion (1980 – 2012) (Lampe, 2000: 30-48).

The Future: Majority Minority (2012 – present)

Each period has its own particular myths which are identified. Myths are important because they reflect the wishes and aspirations of the period as well as provide a ready explanation of events and a justification for actions. In addition to myths, questions of **social justice** are also raised. The history of Mexican Americans in the United States is replete with violations of social justice, many of which are also violations of the American ideals and of constitutional guarantees. Some of these violations will be identified.

Names to Remember

American Mexicans
Bay of Pigs
Brain Drain
Californios
Caucasoid
Chicano
Commonwealth
Fidel Castro
Golden Exiles
Hispanic
Latin American
Latino
Marielitos
Mexicans
Mexican Americans

Mongoloid
Negroid
Neorican
Operation Bootstrap
Operation Peter Pan
President Barack Obama
President Harry Truman
President Jimmy Carter
President John F. Kennedy
Revolving Door
Spanish American
Spanish Speaking
Spanish Surname
Treaty of Paris
USS Maine
“wet foot, dry foot”

Sociological Glossary

Affective aspect - refers to the feelings, such as fear or trust, which are part of prejudice

Alternative movement - change some aspect of a specific part of the population

Behavioral tendency aspect - refers to the inclination to act a certain way based on prejudice

Birth rate - (crude) number of births per 1000 people

Caste system - a person's place in society is based on physical heredity and is unchangeable

Central city - the core, defined by legal boundaries, of a metropolitan area

Class system - a person's place in society is based on socioeconomic factors and is changeable

Cognitive aspect - refers to beliefs which are used to justify and reinforce prejudice

Chain migration - People emigrating from the same place and immigrating to the same location

Closed system - a stratification system which allows no social mobility, e.g. a caste system

Conjugal obligations - primary obligations are owed to the spouse, family of procreation which one starts through marriage

Consanguineal obligations - primary obligations are owed to blood relations, family of orientation to which one belongs by birth

Countermovement - a social movement which forms to oppose a social movement. Stop change

Culture - a learned, shared way of life which includes material and nonmaterial aspects

Discrimination - treating people differently based on irrelevant criteria

Dominant group - a group over a minority group, and is considered superior and is dominant

Egalitarian - relative equality of husband and wife in making decisions

Emigration - migration or movement out of a country or area

Enclave - an area or community where most of the residents are of the same race, ethnicity or class

Estate system - a stratification system which is based on ownership or control of land

Ethnic group - a group which has a common history, identity and culture or subculture

Extended family - consists of a nuclear family plus relatives living together

Fertility rate - average number of children a group or category of people have

Folk Catholic - religious beliefs and practices are a mixture of Catholicism and primitive religion

Formal Catholic - religious beliefs and practices are orthodox

Ghetto - an area which is composed of a single race or ethnicity, often refers to a poor area

Horizontal social mobility - movement within the same level or class, e.g. change locations or occupation but maintain same SES

Immigration - migration or movement into a country or area

Majority group - a numerical majority, more than half

Metropolitan area an urban area consisting of a large central city and immediately adjacent densely populated areas-

Migration - movement from one country or place to another

Minority group - a group considered to be inferior and has less than its share of power

Nominal Catholic - a person who was baptized Catholic but does not know or practice his faith

Nuclear family - consists of husband, wife and dependent children

Open system - a stratification system that allows social mobility, a change of levels

Pan ethnic - a group of various different but related ethnic groups, e.g. Indians or Hispanics

Patriarchal - father or husband makes important decisions

Prejudice - positive or negative feeling or attitude towards a person or group

Redemptive movement - seeks radical change in some individuals for their betterment

Reformative movement - modify some aspect of social order without destroying it

Revolutionary movement - overthrow existing social order to establish a new one

Social differentiation - different statuses which result in inequality, e.g, age and sex

Social justice - deals with fairness and ethical behavior between people, a basic belief is the dignity of human life

Social mobility - the movement within (horizontal) or between (vertical) social levels

Social movement - an ongoing, organized effort to bring about social change

Social norm - a social expectation, specific rules about acceptable behavior

Social stratification - Inequality which is built into the system and is transferable to offspring

Status consistency ranking high or low on all three dimensions of social class

Status crystallization bringing all three dimensions in line

Status inconsistency being high in one or two dimensions but low in another

Subculture - a recognizable variation of a culture, e.g, Mexican American or African American

Unchurched - not a member of any organized religion

Vertical social mobility - change of level or social class, can be up or down

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CHAPTER ONE

Ancestral Development (1519 – 1648)

The arrival of Spanish conquistadores in 1519 marked the beginning of this period which saw the evolution of Mexican Americans. During this time there was a change from Indios to mestizos, from colonized Spanish subjects to independent Mexicanos and finally, from Mexicanos to Mexican Americans.

A myth which pervaded Europe at this time was the belief in the natural superiority of the white race and the inferiority of non-white races. In addition, some people were believed to be sub-human. These latter included Africans and indigenous peoples in the New World. Europeans' relationship with these people was ambivalent and self-serving. Native people were considered human enough to be used in sexual relations, but not human enough to be treated humanely or merit the right to life or liberty. This myth, therefore, had a profound effect on the development and history of the New World.

The conquistadores' and later colonizers' use of indigenous people as sexual partners applied only to women. This was justified on the basis of the **sex ratio** which indicated a much greater number of European men than European women. Sexual relations between an indigenous man and European woman was completely prohibited. Thus, there was a **double standard** which persisted until the end of the 20th century.

During Pre-Columbian times the New World contained thousands of indigenous tribes and communities. There was a lack of common identity. Individuals identified with the particular tribe and/or community to which he or she belonged. Each community developed what the French social scientist Emile Durkheim (1964) described as "a **collective conscience**" which served to unite them on the basis of **mechanical solidarity**. Such solidarity is common to small homogeneous communities with members who share values, beliefs and behavior resulting in a loyalty to kinship and tradition. This differed from larger European communities which tended to be more heterogeneous and had a diversity of interdependent **roles**, resulting in **organic solidarity**.

Prior to the arrival of Hernan Cortez in 1519 two indigenous empires developed, one in South America and one in North America. The Inca empire was located in what is now the mountains of Peru while the Aztec empire was located in what is now the valley of Mexico. It is this latter empire which is of importance in understanding the development of Mexican Americans.

There is a common misperception that Europeans brought civilization to the New World which was populated with ignorant savages. The truth is that the indigenous people had invented the wheel, although due to the absence of draft animals it was only used on toys, built suspension bridges, and developed a calendar more accurate than that used in Europe at the time. They also had agriculture, irrigation, astronomy, and carved stones for building, constructed large pyramids, fashioned jewelry, painted murals, carved

monuments, kept records, and produced books (scrolls). The Spaniards expressed wonder at what they saw for in many cases it rivaled or surpassed what they had in their homeland.

A fierce nomadic people known as the Chichimec came from the north, a region generally referred to as Aztlan which is now identified with the American Southwest, to the middle of Mexico where they conquered the existing peoples. They gave rise to the Totonac people who became an important influence in the region. A ruler emerged named Topiltzin who founded the city of Tula which became an important center of knowledge and advancement. Under his rule the people prospered. He was also the high priest of the feathered serpent god Quetzalcoatl, and as such he adopted his deity's name. Over time he became identified with the god in the minds of the people. According to legend, after many years of successful rule, Topiltzin-Quetzalcoatl sailed away to the east, but promised to return. The promised date of his return, 1519, coincided with the arrival of Hernan Cortez.

The Chichimec were also ancestors of another powerful people, the Aztec who worshiped the blood-thirsty god Huitzilopochtli. Human sacrifices offered to placate this god at the expense of their neighbors caused them to be driven out of the region. While in hiding they received divine instruction that a sign would be given to indicate where they should settle. The sign was an eagle sitting on a cactus eating a snake. Around the year 1325 they found the promised site on a small rocky piece of land in lake Texcoco. Following the heavenly instructions they set about to construct Tenochtitlan, later to become Mexico City (Leonard, 1967: 57-68).

When Cortez and his conquistadors arrived, Moctezuma II, who was ruler of the Aztec at that time, hesitated to react to what some of his people perceived as a threat. Many of the indigenous people knew of the legend of Quetzalcoatl, whom the Maya called Kukulcan, and were anticipating his return. Thus, the arrival of these strangers who came from the east in large ships with tall white sails and were adorned in their shiny armor caused the ruler to believe this may be the fulfillment of the legend. He did not want to risk starting a battle against the gods. Instead, Moctezuma welcomed the Spaniards and gave them gifts, which only served to increase their dreams of finding great wealth in the New World. Their dreams were heightened when they saw Tenochtitlan. It was a magnificent city of possibly as many as 300,000 people with tall stone pyramids, floating gardens, market places, and causeways connecting the island to the shore.

While the Aztecs, under the influence of their ruler, were intent on peaceful relations with the newcomers, the Spanish were intent on the conquest and domination of their hosts. Although they enjoyed an obvious technological advantage, the conquistadors were hesitant to begin the conquest because of their great numerical disadvantage. However, Cortez had an invaluable secret weapon, an Indian mistress who was able to act as interpreter and advisor in recruiting surrounding indigenous people who were under the domination of the Aztec.

The battle began when, in the absence of Cortez, one of his officers invited hundreds of the leading figures of the Aztec empire to a celebration in the city and when the guests

were distracted by the festivities, the Spanish soldiers murdered them and took their possessions. Led by Moctezuma's warrior brother, the Aztecs attacked and drove the Spaniards from the city. The battle lasted many days with great losses on both sides, Cortez had ordered his ships to be burned so that none of his men would consider retreating. Other Spaniards later arrived and joined the fight. Ultimately, Moctezuma, who had been captured and held hostage was killed as he attempted to end the hostilities. This signaled the end of the fight. The final conquest of what was to be New Spain was completed by 1521. As it turned out, the Indian allies of the Spanish discovered that the only thing their service had accomplished was to trade one set of overlords for another. Under the *encomienda* system which was later established, the indigenous people were required to work for and pay tribute to the Spanish who were given their land by the King of Spain.

The Indian mistress of Cortez, referred to by the Spanish as Dona Marina, was key to the conquest of the Aztec. She may have been considered a heroine to the Spanish but she has been known as *la Malinche* and viewed as a traitor to her people in Mexico. Even today a person who betrays his or her people is often referred to as a *malinchista*. Whatever a person's view is regarding what she did, it is obvious that she helped shape the history of Mexico.

A Uniting Vision

In 1531 another woman played a significant role in the shaping of Mexico, the Virgin of Guadalupe.* Over a period of several days in December a heavenly figure who identified herself as the "Ever Virgin Saint Mary Mother of God," appeared to Juan Diego, a humble Indian and recent convert to Catholicism. The apparition occurred at Tepeyac hill outside of what is now Mexico City as he was on his way to Mass and/or religious instructions. The place where she appeared had long been identified with Tonantzin, the Aztec Mother goddess. After Mary revealed who she was, she instructed him to tell the bishop, Don Fray Juan de Zumarraga, that she desired a temple be built on that spot in her honor. Although nervous, Juan Diego proceeded to carry out his commission. Unsurprisingly, the bishop did not believe that the Mother of God had appeared to this humble Indian. Therefore he did not want to waste any more time listening and told Juan that he should return another day when there was more opportunity to talk. After returning to the hill and recounting the bishop's response, the heavenly maiden again commissioned him to return the following day and repeat the request. Juan Diego responded that she should select another messenger, one who was a more important person that may be listened to and believed. He said that he himself was but a lowly packcarrier. However,

* To get different assessments of the importance of the apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe for the unification of New Spain/Mexico see David Brading (2001), *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe Image and Tradition*, New York: Cambridge University Press; also see Eric Wolf, (1958) *The Virgin of Guadalupe: a Mexican national symbol*, *Journal of American Folklore*, 71, 34, found at the end of this chapter.

the Virgin, who later called herself Guadalupe, said that she had chosen him as her messenger and repeated her request that he should speak to the bishop again on her behalf.

The following day after a long wait in obtaining an audience, the bishop once again rejected the request and said that he should bring a sign that the story he told was true. When Juan Diego left his presence, Zumaraga instructed two of his attendants to follow him to see where he went. However, the attendants soon lost sight of him and quickly returned and reported this to the bishop along with the belief that Juan was up to no good. Juan was unable to return the next day because he had to find a physician to attend to his uncle Juan Bernardino who was gravely ill. At his uncle's request on the next day Juan Diego set out to find a priest who would administer the last sacraments to his dying uncle. However, although he attempted to avoid contact with the Lady this day, he was intercepted by the Virgin who told him that she would take care of the uncle. She directed Juan to climb to the top of the hill and gather the flowers which had miraculously appeared there and present them as a sign to the bishop.

Since it was winter and flowers did not grow there at that time of the year, Juan believed that this was the sign which had been requested. After much trouble he was able to see the bishop in order to present him the proof that the heavenly maiden had provided. When Juan opened his mantle to show the proof, instead of the flowers which had been placed there, an image of the Virgin Mary appearing as an Indian maiden was found. The bishop was convinced, the temple was built and the image which was placed in the temple for all to see was called Guadalupe as she had indicated to Juan Bernardino when she appeared to him at the time of his cure.

The preceding account was written between 1540 and 1548 in the Aztec language Nahuatl and was attributed to an Indian scribe named Antonio Valeriano. It was originally published in 1649 by Luis Lasso de la Vega under the title *Nvei Tlamahvicoltia*, but has since been called *Nican Mopohua* which are the first words of the text (Guadalupe Abby, 1983). Some have referred to this account as the "Gospel of Guadalupe." Since the event occurred, the Catholic Church has established December 12 as the feast day of the Virgin of Guadalupe (affectionately referred to in Mexico as *la Morenita*) and has declared her to be the Patroness of the Americas.

The acceptance of the apparition and miraculous image of the Virgin of Guadalupe by the Catholic Church had profound consequences. Since the Mother of God, whom the Spanish had been extolling to the native people, had appeared to Juan Diego as an Indian, it elevated their status in both their own mind and that of the Church. This was evident by the recognition of the Church in 1537 that native people were human and the 1551 decision that they should no longer be subjected to slavery. It also facilitated the conversion of the indigenous people, which was one of the stated goals of the conquistadors and their leaders. While the apparition played a significant role in the acceptance of Catholicism, it was not the only thing. **Syncretism**, which refers to the fusion of two distinct belief systems or practices, occurs when two peoples with different religions come together. This was also an important factor in the acceptance of the new religion.

This was facilitated by the fact that there were many similarities between the new religion and the old. Catholicism is monotheistic but speaks of the Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the Mother of God, and the saints. This could be seen by the polytheistic Indians as consistent with their beliefs which included major and minor gods. The sacrifice of Jesus could be easily accepted as an example of human sacrifice which had been widely practiced, as could the eating and drinking of the body and blood of Jesus. Even the concepts of heaven, hell and purgatory were not completely foreign to the old beliefs. Nor were the ideas of baptism, confession, penance, fasting, religious ceremonies and prayer (Madsen, 1967: 370). Another factor which aided the acceptance of the new religion was its communal nature. This was consistent with the communal nature of the indigenous people's way of life. The similarities not only facilitated the acceptance of the Catholic religion, which was important to the new masters, but made it easy to blend the new religion with the old, thus resulting in Folk Catholics.

The discovery of the New World and the subsequent encounters with the indigenous peoples caused some Europeans to consider the nature and proper status of those people. To this end, King Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and King of Spain, called a pause in the conquest of the Indians until the issue had been discussed. In 1550 a commission of theologians, jurists and government officials was convened in the royal capital of Valladolid, Spain, to discuss the issue.

The debate which ensued featured the Dominican friar Bartolome de Las Casas, who has been referred to as the "Apostle of the Indians" and the then-popular Spanish writer Juan Gines de Sepulveda. De Las Casas, who had worked in the New World among the indigenous people for a number of years, espoused the position that Indians were, as sometimes termed, "noble savages." He expressed the opinion that they were basically friendly, docile and receptive to conversion to Catholicism, which was one of the stated objectives of conquest. In contrast, de Sepulveda viewed them merely as savages inclined to barbarity and questioned their intelligence. His arguments incorporated the views of Aristotle that some people were natural born slaves and that they benefited from living under the rule of a civilized master (Banton, 1967: 12). Whether any minds were changed as a result of the debate is unknown; what is known is that conquest, subjugation and exploitation of the native peoples continued. However, Pope Paul III declared the indigenous people to be human, thus ending the debate in the Church. Then in 1551 the Pope, undoubtedly influenced to some degree by the apparition of Guadalupe, called for an end to slavery of native people in the New World (Hanke, 1965: 72-73).

While de Las Casas was undoubtedly pleased with the Pope's decisions he was not happy with Spain's treatment of the indigenous people in the New World, as he clearly indicated in the following.

Everything that has been done in the Indies from the entry of the Spaniards into each of their provinces to the subjection and servitude imposed on the people. . . . has been against every natural right, all international laws and against divine law as well. Thus, every such action is totally unjust, evil,

tyrannical and worthy of hell fire and consequently, also null, invalid and without any value or legal effect (Rivera Pagan, 1994: 104)

Racism became an integral part of the newly developed social system in the Spanish dominated New World. A caste system, based on **pigmentocracy**, existed with the following hierarchy: *Peninsulares*, those who were born in Spain; *Criollos*, Spanish born in the New World; *Mestizos*, mix of Spanish and Indian; *Indios*, indigenous people; *Mulatos*, mix of Spanish and Negro; *Zambos*, mix of Indian and Negro; *Negros*, from Africa. As may be expected, the system bred a great deal of discontentment and hostility. As the population of *Criollos* and *Mestizos* increased and proportionally the size of the favored *Peninsulares* decreased, the unhappiness grew. By 1819 approximately one-third of the population was mestizo while no more than ten percent was Spanish. Unhappy with their relatively low position in society, mestizos initiated a revolt from Spain.

Mexican Independence

A desire for a change in the caste system led to a desire for a change in the existing relationship between Spain and the New World. Desire for independence was nurtured by the recent successful revolutions by the United States in 1776 and by the French in 1789. While both gave hope of success, the latter provided an ideal as well as a slogan, “liberty, equality and fraternity.” The possibility for a successful revolution was enhanced by the invasion of Spain by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1808.

Those who wanted independence were divided into two ideological camps, conservatives and liberals. Conservatives were mainly upper class, urban *Criollos* who desired an independent monarchy on the order of most contemporary European nations. These were supported by most of the Church hierarchy. Liberals were composed primarily of middle class *Criollos* and *Mestizos* who desired an independent federalist form of government. As most liberals at the time, they tended to be anticlerical. Neither group desired a truly egalitarian or democratic nation. The overthrow of the rule of Spain and the *peninsulares*, also known as *gachupines*, was initiated by an unexpected source, a Catholic Jesuit priest named Miguel Hidalgo. Although he was a fairly well-to-do *criollo*, he worked with the poor and believed the current system to be unjust and contrary to the teachings of Jesus.

Consequently, early in the morning of September 16, 1810 Father Hidalgo gave a call for independence in the town of Dolores. After gathering the people, he shouted “Long live Our Lady of Guadalupe. Death to bad government. Death to the gachupines” (Gonzales, 1999: 63) This call for freedom has become known as “*el Grito de Dolores*” which can be understood as “the cry of Dolores” (the town) or “the cry of pains” since *dolores* is the Spanish word for pains. Either translation is appropriate. Mexican Independence is celebrated on September 16 each year with the Mexican President and the governors of each state giving “*el grito*” on the evening of September 15.

Father Hidalgo led the battle until he was captured and executed in 1811. He was succeeded by another priest, Jose Maria Morelos, a *mestizo*, who also believed he was

doing God's will in attempting to overthrow the current unjust system. Later, he too was killed. The conflict lasted for many years and everyone was anxious for an end of the hostilities. Thus, in 1820 a compromise was reached, called the "Plan of Iguala." Under this plan the country was to be independent and a monarch from Europe would be installed. There were to be the three guarantees of an independent monarchy, protection of the Catholic Church's privileges, and equality of *peninsulares* and *criollos*. These are symbolized in the colors of the Mexican flag: green for independence, white for Church, and red for equality. In the middle of the flag is the symbol given to the Aztecs of an eagle sitting on a cactus eating a snake.

Independence from Spain was finally achieved in 1821 and the caste system, with *Peninsulares* at the top, was ended. After an unsuccessful attempt as a monarchy, Mexico became a Republic in 1824. The new country was vast and the northern region was sparsely populated. Consequently, the government was open to immigration in order to populate the region and hopefully reduce Indian hostilities. Americans from various parts of the United States migrated there and some, including Moses Austin, father of Stephen, were granted permission to establish settlements. There was a general understanding that the foreigners would become Catholics and be loyal Mexicans. This trust in the newcomers turned out to be a mistake for the Mexican government. After many bloody battles, most notably at the Alamo, a large part of the northern territory declared its independence and became the Republic of Texas in 1836.

Part of the problem which caused the American settlers to separate themselves from Mexico at that time was the issue of slavery. Thousands of Africans had been brought to New Spain to serve as slaves during the colonial period, but those who were free were able to be absorbed into society without too much trouble. Racism was not as virulent as in the United States. In addition to race, a person's demeanor, culture and economic success were important to his or her social status. After the success of the revolution from Spain, Mexican President Vicente Guerrero emancipated all slaves in 1829 (Rodriguez, 2007: 80-85). However, many of the Americans who immigrated to the Texas region of Mexico were slave owners. In addition to causing animosity with these Americans, it also resulted in tensions with the slave owners in the United States because runaway slaves who were able to reach Mexico were considered free and could be granted citizenship. When the Republic of Texas entered the Union in 1845, it was admitted as a slave state.

The Expansion of the United States

A second myth which was believed to have existed during this time was "Manifest Destiny." Supposedly, it was this belief in the true destiny of the United States, the new Promised Land, which spurred the country to pursue its hemispheric expansionist policy. However, the real myth of Manifest Destiny may be that such a myth actually existed which fostered the expansionism. It is equally likely that the motivation for the United States was the same as that of other countries throughout history, namely the desire for more land and the belief that it could successfully be obtained through military means. According to the historian Gonzales (1999: 81) it was not until hostilities with Mexico had already begun that the American journalist John O'Sullivan coined the term "Manifest Destiny." Later

it was the writer Walt Whitman who defined it as “the great mission of peopling the New World with a noble race.”

A decade after Texas declared its independence, Mexico lost the rest of their northern territory to the United States as a result of the Mexican – American War of 1846 and the Gadsden Treaty of 1853. The war was the culmination of a number of issues, including cross-border raids and harassments on the part of both Mexicans and Americans, and a dispute over the international boundary between Mexico and Texas. President James Polk wanted to annex Texas but Mexico objected because it had never officially granted independence to the breakaway Republic. Not surprisingly, Polk supported the claim of Texas that the boundary with Mexico was the Rio Grande which favored Texas, rather than the Sabine river, which had been established by a treaty with Spain in 1819, or the traditionally recognized Nueces river both of which favored Mexico. The dispute was intensified by the fact that some Americans, including President Polk, believed in the myth of Manifest Destiny (Vigil, 1980: 119-120).

A brief battle took place between Mexicans and Americans in the disputed area between rivers. This allowed President Polk the opportunity to declare war and thus acquire by conquest the territory of present day California and Arizona which he had previously made an unsuccessful attempt to purchase. The war which ensued lasted from 1846 until the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The Treaty, together with the Gadsden Purchase (1854), provided for the purchase by the United States of the northern half of Mexico. The agreements resulted in the acquisition of what are now the states of New Mexico, Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada and Utah. Texas had previously been annexed the year before the war began by outgoing President John Tyler.

Under the terms of the Treaty, Mexicans living in the newly acquired territory could either return to what remained of Mexico or stay where they were and be U.S. citizens with all corresponding rights and privileges, including ownership of their current property (Moquin et al., 1971: 185). It appears that approximately 77,000 Mexicans decided to stay on their land throughout the Southwest and be part of this new country (LULAC web, 2009). At this time there were more African Americans, most of whom were either slaves or former slaves, living in Texas than Mexicans (Barr, 1996). The 1948 Treaty marked the end of this period.

Conclusion

In the fight for freedom from Mexican rule, many Mexicans had fought and died alongside of Anglos both at the Alamo and in subsequent battles. When Texas won its independence and became a Republic and later a state, rather than recognize and reward their Mexican allies, Anglo Americans followed the earlier example of the Spanish towards their Indian allies in the victory over the Aztecs. The freedom for which both Indian and Mexican allies had fought was not extended to them or their descendants. In both cases the result of their efforts merely resulted in substituting one group of oppressors for another.

This period saw the conquest of the New World resulting in the physical and cultural amalgamation of native Americans and Spaniards, revolution and the birth of a new nation – Mexico—and a new people – Mexicans. And finally, as a result of war with the United States and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexicans who opted to stay on their land, which was now part of the United States, became American citizens and, thus, Mexican Americans. Each of these transitions were essential ingredients for the genesis of Mexican Americans and each played a part in their development.

Native women were extremely important to this period. Not only Dona Marina, “*la Malinche*,” who aided Cortez, in the conquest of the Aztecs and the Virgin of Guadalupe, “*la Morenita*,” who helped elevate the status of the indigenous people and unite Mexico under a common symbol, but all indigenous women. Due to the absence of Spanish women, it was they who brought the New World and Old World together to give birth to a new people—*Mestizos*.

This period ended and the next period began with the end of the Mexican – American War and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Chronology of Period Events

Ancestral Development

- 1519 Arrival of Hernan Cortez and conquistadores
- 1521 Conquest of the Aztec Empire
- 1531 Apparition of the Virgin of Guadalupe to Juan Diego
- 1537 Catholic Church recognized indigenous Americans as human
- 1551 End of Indian slavery in New Spain
- 1667 Pope Clement IX declared December 12 the Feastday of Guadalupe
- 1790 The United States passed the Naturalization Act which favored “free white persons”
- 1810 Father Hidalgo gives “*El Grito de Dolores*” beginning the revolution from Spain
- 1821 Mexico gains Independence from Spain
- 1822 End of caste system in Mexico
- 1835 Creation of the Texas Rangers
- 1836 Republic of Texas declares independence from Mexico
- 1845 Texas becomes part of the United States and the 28th state
- 1846 Beginning of the Mexican-American War
- 1848 End of the Mexican-American War with signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

Names to Remember

Antonio Valeriano
Aztec
Aztlán
Chichimec
Criollos
Don Fray Juan de Zumaraga
Dona Marina (*la Malinche*)
El Grito
Emile Durkheim

Encomienda system
Father Jose Maria Morelos
Father Miguel Hidalgo
Fray Bartolome de las Casas
Hernan Cortez
Indios
Juan Bernardino
Juan Diego
King Charles V
Kukulcan
Manifest Destiny
Maya

Mestizos
Moctezuma II
Moses Austin
Mulatos
Napoleon Bonaparte
Negros
Nican Mopohua
Peninsulares (Gachupines)

Plan de Iguala
President James Polk
President John Tyler
Quetzalcoatl
Stephen F. Austin
Tepeyac Hill
Tonantzin
Topiltzin-Quetzalcoatl
Totonac
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
Virgin de Guadalupe (*La Morenita*)
Zambos

Sociological Glossary

Collective conscience - widely shared values and beliefs of right and wrong

Commutative justice - fairness in compliance with the terms of treaties, agreements and contracts

Double standard - two different sets of socially acceptable behavior depending on a person's sex

Mechanical solidarity - unity based on commonalities and a shared collective conscience

Organic solidarity - unity based on necessity and interdependency, a symbiotic relationship

Role - socially prescribed knowledge, feelings and behavior corresponding to a particular status

Status - a socially recognized position a person has, i.e. parent, student, female, which dictates a role

Syncretism - amalgamation of previously different religious elements, giving old meanings to new beliefs or new meanings to old beliefs and practices

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Related Reading

The following article first appeared in 1958 in the *American Journal of Folklore* which is a publication of the American Folklore Society, Inc. This article deals with the importance and consequences of a widely accepted myth for society and sets the background for the importance of myths identified for the various periods identified in the text. .

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The Virgin of Guadalupe: A Mexican National Symbol

Eric R. Wolf

Occasionally, we encounter a symbol which seems to enshrine the major hopes and aspirations of an entire society.¹ Such a master symbol is represented by the Virgin of Guadalupe, Mexico's patron saint. During the Mexican War of Independence against Spain, her image preceded the insurgents into battle.² Emiliano Zapata and his agrarian rebels fought under her emblem in the Great Revolution of 1910.³ Today, her image adorns house fronts and interiors, churches and home altars, bull rings and gambling dens, taxis and buses, restaurants and houses of ill repute. She is celebrated in popular song and verse. Her shrine at Tepeyac, immediately north of Mexico City, is visited each year by hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, ranging from the inhabitants of far-off Indian villages to the members of socialist trade union locals. "Nothing to be seen in Canada or Europe," says F. S. C. Northrop, "equals it in the volume or the vitality of its moving quality or in the depth of its spirit of religious devotion."⁴

In this paper, I should like to discuss this Mexican master symbol, and the ideology which surrounds it. In making use of the term "master symbol," I do not wish to imply that belief in the symbol is common to all Mexicans. We are not dealing here with an element of a putative national character, defined as a common denominator of all Mexican nationals. It is no longer legitimate to assume "that any member of the [national] group will exhibit certain regularities of behavior which are common in high degree among the other member of the society."⁵ Nations, like other complex societies, must, however, "possess cultural forms or mechanisms which groups involved in the same over-all web of

relationships can use in their formal and informal dealings with each other.”⁶ Such forms develop historically, hand in hand with other processes which lead to the formation of nations, and social groups which are caught up in these processes must become “acculturated” to their usage.⁷ Only where such forms exist, can communication and coordinated behavior be established among the constituent groups of such a society. They provide the cultural idiom of behavior and ideal representations through which different groups of the same society can pursue and manipulate their different fates within a coordinated framework. This paper, then, deals with one such cultural form, operating on the symbolic level. The study of this symbol seems particularly rewarding, since it is not restricted to one set of social ties, but refers to a very wide range of social relationships.

The image of the Guadalupe and her shrine at Tepeyac are surrounded by an origin myth.⁸ According to this myth, the Virgin Mary appeared to Juan Diego, a Christianized Indian of commoner status, and addressed him in Nahuatl. The encounter took place on the Hill of Tepeyac in the year 1531, ten years after the Spanish Conquest of Tenochtitlan. The Virgin commanded Juan Diego to seek out the archbishop of Mexico and to inform him of her desire to see a church built in her honor on Tepeyac Hill. After Juan Diego was twice unsuccessful in his efforts to carry out her order, the Virgin wrought a miracle. She bade Juan Diego pick roses in a sterile spot where normally only desert plants could grow, gathered the roses into the Indian’s cloak, and told him to present cloak and roses to the incredulous archbishop. When Juan Diego unfolded his cloak before the bishop, the image of the Virgin was miraculously stamped upon it. The bishop acknowledged the miracle, and ordered a shrine built where Mary had appeared to her humble servant.

The shrine, rebuilt several times in centuries to follow, is today a basilica, the third highest kind of church in Western Christendom. Above the central altar hangs Juan Diego’s cloak with the miraculous image. It shows a young woman without child, her head lowered demurely in her shawl. She wears an open crown and flowing gown, and stands upon a half moon symbolizing the Immaculate Conception.

The shrine of Guadalupe was, however, not the first religious structure built on Tepeyac; nor was Guadalupe the first female supernatural associated with the hill. In pre-Hispanic times, Tepeyac had housed a temple to the earth and fertility goddess Tonantzin, Our Lady Mother, who—like the Guadalupe—was associated with the moon. Temple, like basilica, was the center of large scale pilgrimages. That the veneration accorded the Guadalupe drew inspiration from the earlier worship of Tonantzin is attested by several Spanish friars. F. Bernardino de Sahagun, writing fifty years after the Conquest, says: “Now that the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe had been built there, they call her Tonantzin too.... The term refers ... to that ancient Tonantzin and this state of affairs should be remedied, because

the proper name of the Mother of God is not Tonantzin, but Dios and Nantzin. It seems to be a satanic device to mask idolatry ... and they come from far away to visit that Tonantzin, as much as before; a devotion which is also suspect because there are many churches of Our Lady everywhere and they do not go to them; and they come from faraway lands to this Tonantzin as of old.”⁹ F. Martin de Leon wrote in a similar vein: “ On the hill where Our Lady of Guadalupe is they adored the idol of a goddess they called Tonantzin, which means Our Mother, and this is also the name they give Our Lady and they always say they are going to Tonantzin or they are celebrating Tonantzin and many of them understand this in the old way and not in the modern way....”¹⁰ The syncretism was still alive in the seventeenth century. F. Jacinto de la Serna, in discussing the pilgrimages to the Guadalupe at Tepeyac, noted: “...it is the purpose of the wicked to [worship] the goddess and not the Most Holy Virgin, or both together.”¹¹

Increasingly popular during the sixteenth century, the Guadalupe cult gathered emotional impetus during the seventeenth. During this century appear the first known pictorial representations of the Guadalupe, apart from the miraculous original; the first poems are written in her honor; and the first sermons announce the transcendental implications of her supernatural appearance in Mexico and among Mexicans.¹² Historians have long tended to neglect the seventeenth century which seemed “a kind of Dark Age in Mexico.” Yet “this quiet time was of the utmost importance in the development of Mexican Society.”¹³ During this century, the institution of the hacienda comes to dominate Mexican life.¹⁴ During this century, also, “New Spain is ceasing to be ‘new’ and to be ‘Spain.’”¹⁵ These new experiences require a new cultural idiom, and in the Guadalupe cult, the component segments of Mexican colonial society encounter cultural forms in which they could express their parallel interests and longings.

The primary purpose of this paper is not, however, to trace the history of the Guadalupe symbol. It is concerned rather with its functional aspects, its roots and reference to the major social relationships of Mexican society.

The first set of relationships which I would like to single out for consideration are the ties of kinship, and the emotions generated in the play of relationships within families. I want to suggest that some of the meanings of the Virgin symbol in general, and of the Guadalupe symbol in particular, derive from these emotions. I say “some meanings” and I use the term “derive” rather than “originate,” because the form and function of the family in any given society are themselves determined by other social factors: technology, economy, residence, political power. The family is but one relay in the circuit within which symbols are generated in complex societies. Also, I used the plural “families” rather than “family,” because there are demonstrably more than one kind of family in Mexico.¹⁶ I shall

simplify the available information on Mexican family life, and discuss the material in terms of two major types of families.¹⁷ The first kind of family is congruent with the closed and static life of the Indian village. It may be called the Indian family. In this kind of family, the husband is ideally dominant, but in reality labor and authority are shared equally among both marriage partners. Exploitation of one sex by the other is atypical; sexual feats do not add to a person's status in the eyes of others. Physical punishment and authoritarian treatment of children are rare. The second kind of family is congruent with the much more open, mobile, manipulative life in communities which are actively geared to the life of the nation, a life in which power relationships between individuals and groups are of great moment. This kind of family may be called the Mexican family. Here, the father's authority is unquestioned on both the real and the ideal plane. Double sex standards prevail, and male sexuality is charged with a desire to exercise domination. Children are ruled with a heavy hand; physical punishment is frequent.

The Indian family pattern is consistent with the behavior towards the Guadalupe noted by John Bushnell in the Matazinca speaking community of San Juan Atzingo in the Valley of Toluca.¹⁸ There, the image of the Virgin is addressed in passionate terms as a source of warmth and love, and the *pulque* or century plant beer drunk on ceremonial occasions is identified with her milk. Bushnell postulates that here the Guadalupe is identified with the mother as a source of early satisfactions, never again experienced after separation from the mother and emergence into social adulthood. As such, the Guadalupe embodies a longing to return to the pristine state in which hunger and unsatisfactory social relations are minimized. The second family pattern is also consistent with a symbolic identification of Virgin and mother, yet this time within a context of adult male dominance and sexual assertion, discharged against submissive females and children. In this second context, the Guadalupe symbol is charged with the energy of rebellion against the father. Her image is the embodiment of hope in a victorious outcome of the struggle between generations.

This struggle leads to a further extension of the symbolism. Successful rebellion against power figures is equated with the promise of life; defeat with the promise of death. As John A. Mackay has suggested, there thus takes place a further symbolic identification of the Virgin with life; of defeat and death with the crucified Christ. In Mexican artistic tradition, as in Hispanic artistic tradition in general,¹⁹ Christ is never depicted as an adult man, but always either as a helpless child, or more often as a figure beaten, tortured, defeated and killed. In this symbolic equation we are touching upon some of the roots of the passionate affirmation of faith in the Virgin, and of the fascination with death which characterizes Baroque Christianity in general, and Mexican Catholicism in particular. The Guadalupe stands for life, for hope, for health; Christ on the cross, for despair and for death.

Supernatural mother and natural mother are thus equated symbolically, as are earthly and otherworldly hopes and desires. These hopes center on the provision of food and emotional warmth in the first case, in the successful waging of the Oedipal struggle in the other

Family relations are, however, only one element in the formation of the Guadalupe symbol. Their analysis does little to explain the Guadalupe as such. They merely illuminate the female and maternal attributes of the more widespread Virgin symbol. The Guadalupe is important to Mexicans not only because she is a supernatural mother, but also because she embodies their major political and religious aspirations.

To the Indian groups, the symbol is more than an embodiment of life and hope; it restores to them the hopes of salvation. We must not forget that the Spanish Conquest signified not only military defeat, but the defeat also of the old gods and the decline of the old ritual. The apparition of the Guadalupe to an Indian commoner thus represents on one level the return of Tonantzin. As Tannenbaum has well said, "The Church ... gave the Indian an opportunity not merely to save his life, but also to save his faith in his own gods."²⁰ On another level, the myth of the apparition served as a symbolic testimony that the Indian, as much as the Spaniard, was capable of being saved, capable of receiving Christianity. This must be understood against the background of the bitter theological and political argument which followed the Conquest and divided churchmen, officials, and conquerors into those who held that the Indian was incapable of conversion, thus inhuman, and therefore a fit subject of political and economic exploitation; and those who held that the Indian was human, capable of conversion and that this exploitation had to be tempered by the demands of the Catholic faith and of orderly civil processes of government.²¹ The myth of the Guadalupe thus validates the Indian's right to legal defense, orderly government, to citizenship; to supernatural salvation, but also to salvation from random oppression.

But if the Guadalupe guaranteed a rightful place to the Indians in the new social system of New Spain, the myth also held appeal to the large group of disinherited who arose in New Spain as illegitimate offspring of Spanish fathers and Indian mothers, or through impoverishment, acculturation or loss of status within the Indian or Spanish group.²² For such people, there was for a long time no proper place in the social order. Their very right to exist was questioned in their inability to command the full rights of citizenship and legal protection. These groups acquired influence and wealth in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but were yet barred from social recognition and power by the prevailing economic, social and political order.²³ To them, the Guadalupe myth came to represent not merely the guarantee of their assured place in heaven, but the guarantee of their place in

society here and now. On the political plane, the wish for a return to a paradise of early satisfactions of food and warmth, a life without defeat, sickness or death, gave rise to a political wish for a Mexican paradise, in which the illegitimate sons would possess the country, and the irresponsible Spanish overlords, who never acknowledged the social responsibilities of their paternity, would be driven for the land.

In the writings of seventeenth century ecclesiastics, the Guadalupe becomes the harbinger of this new order. In the book by Miguel Sanchez, published in 1648, the Spanish Conquest of New Spain is justified solely on the grounds that it allowed the Virgin to become manifest in her chosen country, and to found in Mexico a new paradise. Just as Israel had been chosen to produce Christ, so Mexico had been chosen to produce Guadalupe. Sanchez equates her with the apocalyptic women of the Revelation of John (12:1), “arrayed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars” who is to realize the prophecy of Deuteronomy 8: 7-10 and lead the Mexicans into the Promised Land. Colonial Mexico thus becomes the desert of Sinai; Independent Mexico the land of milk and honey. F. Francisco de Florencia, writing in 1688, coined the slogan which made Mexico not merely another chosen nation, but the Chosen Nation: *non fecit taliter omni nationi*,²⁴ words which still adorn the portals of the basilica, and shine forth in electric light bulbs at night. And on the eve of Mexican independence, Servando Teresa de Mier elaborates still further the Guadalupan myth by claiming that Mexico had been converted to Christianity long before the Spanish Conquest. The apostle Saint Thomas had brought the image of Guadalupe-Tonantzin to the New World as a symbol of his mission, just as Saint James had converted Spain with the image of the Virgin of the Pillar. The Spanish Conquest was therefore historically unnecessary, and should be erased from the annals of history.²⁵ In this perspective, the Mexican War of Independence marks the final realization of the apocalyptic promise. The banner of the Guadalupe leads the insurgents; and their cause is referred to as “her law.”²⁶ In this ultimate extension of the symbol, the promise of life held out by the supernatural mother has become the promise of an independent Mexico, liberated from the irrational authority of the Spanish father-oppressors and restored to the Chosen Nation whose election had been manifest in the apparition of the Virgin on Tepeyac. The land of the supernatural mother is finally possessed by her rightful heirs. The symbolic circuit is closed. Mother; food, hope, health, life; supernatural salvation and salvation from oppression; Chosen People and national independence—all find expression in a single master symbol.

The Guadalupe symbol thus links together family, politics and religion; colonial past and independent present; Indian and Mexican. It reflects the salient social relationships of Mexican life, and embodies the emotions which they generate. It provides a cultural idiom through which the tenor and emotions of these relationships can be expressed. It is,

ultimately, a way of talking about Mexico: a “collective representation” of Mexican society.

NOTES

¹ Parts of this paper were presented to the Symposium on Ethnic and National Ideologies, Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society in conjunction with the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, on 12 May 1956.

²Niceto de Zamacois, *Historia de Mexico* (Barcelona-Mexico, 1878-82), VI, 253.

³Antonio Pompa y Pompa, *Album del IV centenario guadalupano* (Mexico, 1938), p. 173.

⁴F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West* (New York, 1946), p. 25.

⁵David G. Mandelbaum, “On the Study of National Character,” *American Anthropologist*, LV (1953), p. 185.

⁶Eric R. Wolf, “Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society: Mexico,” *American Anthropologist*, LVII (1956), 1065-1078.

⁷Eric R. Wolf, “La formacion de la nacion,” *Ciencias Soicales*, IV, 50-51.

⁸Ernest Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage* (New York, 1928), p. 235.

⁹Bernardino de Sahagun, *Historia general de las cosas de nueva espana* (Mexico, 1938), I, lib, 6.

¹⁰Quoted in Carlos, A. Echanove Trujillo, *Sociologia mexicana* (Mexico, 1948), p. 105.

¹¹Quoted in Jesus Amaya, *La madre de Dios: genesis e historia de nuestra senora de Guadalupe* (Mexico, 1931), p. 230.

¹²Francisco de la Maza, *El guadalupismo mexicano* (Mexico, 1953), pp. 12-14, 143, 30, 33, 82.

¹³Lesley B. Simpson, "Mexico's Forgotten Century," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXII (1953), 115, 114.

¹⁴Francois Chevalier, *La formation des grands domaines au Mexique* (Paris, 1952), p. xii.

¹⁵de la Maza, p. 41.

¹⁶Maria Elvira Bermudez, *La vida familiar del mexicano* (Mexico, 1955), chapters 2 and 3.

¹⁷For relevant material, see: Bermudez; John Gillin, "Ethos and Cultural Aspects of Personality," and Robert Redfield and Sol Tax, "General Characteristics of Present-Day Mesoamerican Indian Society," in Sol Tax, ed., *Heritage of Conquest* (Glencoe, 1952), pp. 193-212, 31-39; Gordon W. Hewes, "Mexicans in Search of the 'Mexican'," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, XIII (1954), 209-223; Octavio Paz, *El laberinto de la soledad* (Mexico, 1947), pp. 71-89.

¹⁸John Bushnell, "La Virgen de Guadalupe as Surrogate Mother in San Juan Atzingo," paper read before the 54th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, 18 November 1955.

¹⁹John A. Mackay, *The Other Spanish Christ* (New York, 1933), pp. 110-117.

²⁰Frank Tannenbaum, *Peace by Revolution* (New York, 1933), p. 39.

²¹Silvio Zavala, *La filosofia en la conquista de America* (Mexico, 1947).

²²Nicolas Leon, *Las castas del Mexico colonial o Nueva Espana* (Mexico, 1924); C. E. Marshall, "The Birth of the Mestizo in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX (1939), 161-184; Wolf, "La formacion de la nacion," pp. 103-106.

²³Gregorio Torres Quintero, *Mexico hacia el fin del virreinato espanol* (Mexico, 1921); Eric R. Wolf, "The Mexican Bajio in the Eighteenth Century," *Middle American Research Institute Publication XVII* (1955), 180-199; Wolf, "Aspects of Group Relations in a Complex Society: Mexico."

²⁴de la Maza, pp. 39-40, 43-49, 64.

²⁵Luis Villoro, *Los grandes momentos del indigenismo en Mexico* (Mexico, 1950), pp. 131-138.

²⁶Luis Gonzalez y Gonzalez, "El optimismo nacionalista como factor en la independencia de Mexico," *Estudios de historiografia americana* (Mexico, 1948), p. 194.

Discussion Questions

1. What was the prevailing myth during this period and how was it reflected in actions taken? What were the long-term consequences? Were there other myths which had an effect on the course of history in the region?
2. What role(s) did religion play in the conquest and pacification of the indigenous people? Were these roles functional or dysfunctional? Explain.
3. What allowed the Spanish to conquer the war-like Aztecs who were much more numerous. What advantages did the Aztecs have? What advantages did the Spanish have?
4. Was Dona Marina a heroine or a villain? Did her actions ultimately help or hurt her people? Did her actions change the course of history? Explain.
5. What were relevant social justice issues regarding Spanish-Indigenous relations? How did these issues affect the *mestizaje* of the people?
6. What do you think were the most important events, or those which had the greatest impact on the lives of Mexican Americans, from the chapter's Chronology of Period Events? Why?

CHAPTER TWO

Nascent Ethnic Development (1848 – 1929)

The end of one period ushered in the beginning of another. Americans had reason to rejoice. The war had ended in victory and the United States had added more than half a million square miles of new land (Whitney, 1969: 105). However, the Treaty was not popular with all Americans. President Polk, for example, was disappointed that the United States did not receive more than the northern half of Mexico for which 15 million dollars were paid, and some Americans had been expecting the United States to take over all of Mexico (Fuller, 1969).

From the beginning, the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo were not adhered to, and Mexican Americans were looked upon and treated as undesirable foreigners. An important myth existing at this time was that the Constitution of the United States which declares that all men are created equal and enjoy the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness was actually true. The fact that large categories of people, such as women, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Native Americans and Asian Americans, were not given these guaranteed rights, did not affect the myth. Since non-whites apparently did not qualify as “all men” (this was a continuation of the prior myth), treaties and agreements made with them could be disregarded. Such was the case with the guarantees of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Violations of this and other agreements and treaties constitute violations of **commutative justice**. Treaties with non-whites were based on fraud and deception and adhered to only as long as they were convenient. .

It was not long before the former Mexicans, now U.S. citizens, had lost their land. Since many did not have acceptable legal documents to prove ownership, the land was bought or stolen by Anglo Americans who moved into the newly acquired territories. Anglos did not distinguish between Mexicans and Mexican Americans, both were viewed as inferior foreigners standing in the way of progress. Many historians writing about this period are also guilty of this lack of distinction and commonly refer to all as Mexicans, regardless of their legal status. One of the factors which made the distinction problematic is that for most of the period the border between Mexico and the United States was basically open and migration was unimpeded. Consequently, many people traveled back and forth between the two countries making it difficult, if not impossible, to know who was an American and who was not..

An event occurred in 1835 which had an impact on Mexicans and Mexican Americans during this period. The Texas Rangers were formed to protect the Anglos around the border from Indians and Mexican bandits. As it turned out, the Rangers did not distinguish between Mexicans and Mexican Americans, nor between bandits and law abiding people. They became a law unto themselves and were able to freely exercise their personal prejudices. Mexicans and Mexican Americans learned to fear and hate these bigoted protectors of the border who left a trail of shootings and hangings of non-Anglos. Texas

earned the reputation of being the worst state in the union for Hispanics, a reputation which carried on throughout most of the 20th century.

The Texas Rangers were involved in many conflicts between Anglos, some of whom were recent immigrants from Europe, and Mexicans or Mexican Americans. Invariably they sided with the Anglos. They aided them through action or inaction in acquiring property, including land and livestock, from unwilling *Mexicanos*. It is believed that it was through the help of Rangers that Richard King was able to accumulate over 600,000 acres before he died. His widow was later able to expand the King Ranch to 1,000,000 acres. Rangers were said to have received gifts for their service (Lea, 1957).

Mexicanos are not Americans

Things were not much better in most of the Southwest. Prejudice and discrimination were commonplace. Both prejudice and discrimination can be for or against. In either case the result is a violation of social justice. Some individuals and/or social systems may discriminate against certain minorities, such as the Texas Rangers treatment of Mexicans. Others may discriminate in favor of certain dominant groups or individuals, such as wealthy Anglos, by giving them specific advantages or preferential treatment. The result is the same for the minority group, victimization and injustice. For Hispanics there have been three causes or justifications for their victimization: race, religion and economics.

Racism played a major role in their treatment. Social and legal definitions of race typically divided the population into two general categories, white and nonwhite. Nonwhites were widely considered to be inferior and lower on the evolutionary scale, incapable of real progress. Special dislike and criticism were reserved for what was often termed “half-breeds” or “mixed-bloods.” Religion was another emotional issue and motivation for ill-treatment. Anti-Catholicism had been brought to the New World from England and other European Protestant countries. This dislike did not distinguish between whites and non-whites, all were equally unacceptable. Irish Catholics were also victims of this fear and hatred of Catholics. Later this anti-Catholicism was an important factor in the founding of what is commonly known as the “Know Nothing” political party.

Finally, economics were also a source of prejudice and discrimination. People at the bottom of the socio-economic scale, the poor, regardless of race have from biblical times been seen as responsible for their plight. They were believed to be immoral (the reason God was punishing them with poverty), inferior and unable or unwilling to successfully compete. Many of the non-poor believed that the laws of nature favored the strong and powerful for the good of the species, as stated in the Darwinian concept of “survival of the fittest.” Therefore, to help the poor and weak individuals in society would thwart nature and result in “survival of the unfit.” This idea has been referred to as “Social Darwinism,” the consequences of which would be detrimental to society...

Hostility, resulting in prejudice and discrimination, for working class Anglos was also derived from **economic competition**. This is based on the fact that most Hispanics were poor and consequently frequent competitors for the same jobs. For upper class Anglos the

motivation was **economic exploitation**. That is, upper class individuals would not be in competition with poor Hispanics but would be in a position to take advantage of them, if they were deemed inferior or unworthy, by paying them lower wages than was paid to Anglos. This difference in pay and respect was a violation of **distributive justice**

Scapegoating, or blaming others, was used by all classes to help explain many social or personal problems. Ethnic minorities make easy targets, A successful **scapegoat** must already be disliked, be present in sufficient numbers to constitute a plausible cause, and be relatively powerless. Mexicans' willingness to accept virtually any type of work makes them an easy target for people who are looking for something or someone to blame for low wages, the lack of jobs and for regional or national depressions.

Since all three, race, religion and economics, are sources of animosity applied to Mexicans and Mexican Americans, they were subjected to negative **stereotypes** from all three. Thus, they were characterized as 'lazy, ignorant, bigoted, superstitious, cheating, thieving, gambling, cruel, sinister, cowardly, half-breeds, incapable of self-government or material progress" (Weber, 1974: 21) That these negative stereotypes were based on what sociologists refer to as **cultural transmission**, cultural elements learned through socialization, can be seen in the fact that these were also held by northerners who had no personal contact with Mexicans. Some of the antipathy and stereotypes derived in part from defamatory attacks on Spain by the English in what has been labeled the "Black Legend" (Weber, 1974, 22).

Psychologists sometimes point to an individual's **authoritarian personality** which is characterized by extreme conformity, lack of empathy, submissiveness to authority and distain for those considered different or inferior. There are also **symbolic** reasons for prejudice and discrimination. For example, a people's skin color or amount of pigmentation may consciously or unconsciously be a cause. White is generally used to symbolize goodness, purity, cleanliness, and in the tradition of Hollywood, heroes often wear white. On the other hand black generally symbolizes evil, immorality, uncleanness, and the villain often wears black or dark colors. Perhaps not so coincidental, stereotypes of Mexicans, who are considered to be non-white, have commonly included the charges of being immoral, dirty, evil or violent. A more simple explanation which may appeal to most people is **consciousness of kind**, or a natural knowledge of and preference for those that are like us. Prejudice and discrimination also resulted from **nativism** and **xenophobia** which have been part of the history of immigration to the United States.

Reactions to Racism

Responses to prolonged prejudice and discrimination by the victims often result in six possible actions: acceptance, assimilation, avoidance, accommodation, aggression and organized protest. Each of these responses can be found in this and every period. **Acceptance** can be one of the most debilitating of the many possible responses. Some individuals accepted the negative stereotypes and demeaning treatment and developed low self esteem and, on occasion, **self-hatred**. Another related consequence which resulted in some cases was the belief that they were doomed to failure and that everything that went

wrong was a consequence of racism. This is termed **oppression psychosis**, or more popularly a persecution complex. For those who develop this there is no incentive to try to do something to better themselves for it is sure to fail because of racism,

Assimilation also occurred. This response, which requires acceptance by the dominant group, was not possible for all Mexicans. It was a possibility, however, for educated, well-to-do individuals (*gente de razon*), especially females who had light skin to be accepted and to marry an Anglo. If these individuals adopted the Anglo way of life, they became accepted members of society. It was not uncommon for these individuals to act against their own people who were dark-skin *mestizos* (Vigil, 1980, 129).

There are several factors unique to *Mexicanos* which retarded their assimilation. First, those living in the Southwest considered the land to be, or should be, part of Mexico as it was before the Mexican- American War. Second, they were resentful because their rights as citizens, which had been guaranteed by the Treaty at the end of the war, had not been respected. They were treated as foreigners or second-class citizens. Third, they lived close to their motherland which facilitated frequent visits both to and from Mexico, thus keeping the connection strong. Fourth, many came with the intention of returning to Mexico when they had earned enough money. This mindset kept them from becoming involved in the larger society and encouraged them to remain in the barrio. Finally, Spanish language radio, television, newspapers and magazines are readily available throughout the United States which keep the culture and interest in Mexico alive.

Avoidance is the opposite of assimilation. Rather than become an accepted member of Anglo society, Mexicans who responded in this way separated themselves, as much as possible, from that society. This was undoubtedly a more common response because it was available to all individuals. Many Mexicans left the areas where the abuses against them were occurring. In some cases this meant limiting their activities to the Mexican part of town, called a *barrio* (ethnic ghetto or enclave), or moving to a Mexican settlement. These segregated areas provided safe and comfortable space to immigrants who could adjust to the new culture at their own pace. Ethnic neighborhoods tend to be more personal **gemeinschaft** areas, which are typically small homogeneous groups who are emotionally interrelated, than the larger impersonal **gesellschaft** society which is more legally and rationally interrelated (Tonnies, 1963). As such, they served as **functional equivalents** of the towns or *ranchos* they left behind. As a last resort many moved back to Mexico. An example of this occurred during the Salt War and other violent conflicts.

There are three types of communities identified by Tonnies, place, mind and kinship, which can be applied to ethnic neighborhoods. Such neighborhoods, or ghettos, were often areas where *Mexicanos* were required to live either by law or by social convention. These areas, whether inhabited voluntarily or involuntarily, constitute a **place community**, based on a common habitat with use of common facilities and space. A barrio can also be part of a larger **mind community** where people, regardless of where they live, share common beliefs, attitudes and aspirations. This was important for the Chicano Movement. In this sense, reference is often made to the Hispanic community. Finally, a barrio can form a

kinship community where individuals are united by blood, marriage or friendship. Living in a segregated place community facilitates the development of the other two.

Thus, barrios can often serve as safe havens where the inhabitants can escape the hostility and possible violence to which they are often subjected in the larger society. Individuals living in ethnic neighborhoods which embody common ties of place, mind and kinship are said to experience **multi-bonding**, which is typical of *gemeinschaft*. The many ties which unite them result in relationships that are more emotional, trusting and lasting. This is different from the more common **uni-bonding** found in *gesellschaft* society where most members are united by only one commonality—citizenship. The results of *gesellschaft* are relationships that are more rational, utilitarian and transitory.

Aggression was a dangerous reaction which resulted in a violent response on the part of Anglo society. A celebrated example of this occurred in the Brownsville, Texas, region when a naturalized U.S. citizen, Juan “Cheno” Cortina, attempted to help a fellow Mexican who was being beaten by an Anglo sheriff. The sheriff was wounded when he distained the intervention and he expressed contempt for Cortina. As a result of the confrontation, Cortina became a fugitive. He subsequently made raids throughout the 1860s on Anglos along the border who had abused Mexicans. Cortina became a folk hero and his exploits were immortalized in Mexican *corridos* (ballads). He was considered an heroic avenger to Mexicans but a bandit to Anglos. Ultimately he fled the United States to live in Mexico (Acuna, 1981:33-35) During the 1870s Mexican banditry increased along the border, much of it due to real or perceived abuses by Anglos.

Not all aggression is physical, it can also be psychological and/or verbal. A commonly used form of verbal aggression was the use of **ethnophaulisms**, or ethnic slurs. These went both ways. Mexicans referred to Anglos as *gringos* or *gabachos* According to McWilliams (1968: 115) the term gringo was derived from the Spanish word *griego*, which refers to those who speak Greek (gibberish). For their part, Anglos referred to Mexicans as spics or greasers. The latter was a probable reference to the food they eat and their supposed lack of cleanliness. The term wetback was also used, obviously referring to swimming across the river to illegally enter the United States. Whatever the sources, the epithets were clearly meant to offend.

Accommodation was a safer and much more common reaction. Many Mexicans did not accept the stereotypes nor did they react with aggression, but rather they made a living among the Anglos the best they could under the circumstances. This generally entailed adopting a synthesis of Anglo and Mexican cultures. At times this could result in **marginality** wherein an individual may not be completely accepted by either Anglos or Mexicans. In Mexico, Mexican Americans have sometimes been referred to as *pochos* because of this cultural amalgamation.

A collective response which occurred was **organized protest**. Strikes, which Mexican workers staged to protest discriminatory practices, were one type of this collective behavior. An example of this occurred in Arizona in the copper mines of Phelps-Dodge Corporation. Mexican workers were required to teach newly hired Anglos the necessary

skills, and to accept the most difficult and dangerous jobs while receiving half of the wages paid to Anglos. A 1903 strike by the Mexican miners in which some people were killed, resulted in ten workers being arrested and sent to prison for three years. One of those imprisoned was Juan Saucido who was identified as a leader of the strike. Another strike occurred in 1917 at the copper mines protesting the same grievances which had been ignored in the prior strike. Arizona Rangers and government troops were called in to end the uprising. The strike ended with 1200 workers being taken by a company owned train to the desert in New Mexico where they were left without food or water. The strikers were prohibited from returning to the area of the mines under threat of death. The Mexican strikers had even been branded as unpatriotic by the media because the United States was involved in World War I at the time (Acuna, 1981: 87-92). This is sometimes referred to as the Bisbee Deportation.

Another type of organized protest occurred in New Mexico with the formation of a secret organization called *Las Gorras Blancas* (the White Caps) by Mexicans living in the region. Members of the *Gorras Blancas* were protesting what they considered the illegal confiscation by Anglos of Mexican and community land which they fenced, thus disrupting the traditional way of life of the long-time residents. Members of the *Gorras Blancas* began cutting the barbed wire fences, cutting railroad ties and destroying crops, houses and bridges. Ranchers retaliated and violence was used on both sides. After unsuccessful attempts to stop the use of barbed wire fences which divided the land, they turned to a political solution. *El Partido del Pueblo* (The Peoples Party) was formed, but like the attempts of *Las Gorras Blancas*, it was unable to stop the advance of Anglos (Schlesinger, 1971). Thus, this example was a combination of the organized protest and aggression responses. In the 1960s organized protest would take the form of a social movement which would be felt throughout the entire Southwest.

Violations of the Treaty

During this period a number of events occurred throughout the Southwest which resulted in clear violations of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and its Statement of Protocol which gave specific guarantees to Mexicans remaining in what became the United States. The following are but a few of these events which indicate the widespread nature of these violations.

In California the Gold Rush, 1849-1851, resulted in hostilities against Mexicans who were seen as unwelcome competitors. This occurred against a background of longstanding hostility fueled by racism and anti-Catholic sentiments. Newcomers to the state were envious of the land owned by the Mexicans-turned-Americans, and the fact that Mexicans were among the first to arrive in the mine fields. Thousands of Anglos streamed into the gold fields looking to make their fortunes, but many of the good locations were already taken. Some of the Anglo miners burned the Mexicans' camp and lynched dozens of them. They also hanged a respectable Mexican woman who killed an Anglo miner who had harassed her and went into her home. She was tried and hanged two hours later that same day (Secret, 1967)

In 1850 California was admitted to the Union and the legislature quickly passed a Foreigner Miner's Tax of twenty dollars a month which was placed on all foreign miners, including Mexicans and Asians who were already living and working in the country. However, Europeans were exempt. Obviously, the **manifest function** (intended consequences) of this action was the elimination of Mexicans and Asians from the area. The tax was successful in driving off approximately two-thirds of the Mexican miners. However, a **latent function** (unintended consequence) of reducing such a large number of miners was the eventual decline and demise of many of the mining communities which had previously prospered.

Discouraged by the hard work and the lack of success, many non-Hispanic miners also left the gold fields, particularly with the decline of the nearby mining communities. However, they did not leave the state which had such rich and beautiful land. Unfortunately for them, much of the best land was already owned by the Mexicans who stayed after the Treaty transferred the country to the United States. Fortunately for them, there was a scarcity of law officers which allowed vigilante law to prevail. As had occurred in the gold fields in similar situations, some Mexican landowners were driven off their land or were killed (Gonzales, 1999: 83).

A Land Act was passed into law in 1851 which resulted in many Mexicans losing their land and leaving the area. The law required *Californios*, Mexicans who had lived on the land prior to annexation, to prove their ownership. One of the biggest problems for the owners was the lack of specific boundaries noted on the original deeds. Until the ownership was legally established through often expensive court proceedings, Anglos were encouraged to settle on the contested land as squatters. Many Mexican landowners were unable to prove ownership to the satisfaction of Anglo courts or found it too expensive to continue the proceedings. Later, the sponsor of the bill admitted that his goal had been to replace Mexicans with Anglos as landowners (Acuna, 1981: 101-102).

In Lincoln County, New Mexico a fight broke out between Anglo cattlemen and Mexican sheepmen in 1876 which lasted for two years. In the end the cattlemen were successful in driving the sheepmen out. However, when market prices for sheep increased, Anglos took over the sheep industry with the help of Mexicans whom they now employed. This and other injustices, such as widespread Anglo encroachment and a dual wage system, gave birth to the *Gorras Blancas* (Acuna, 1981: 66-67).

In the 1870s a salt war broke out around El Paso, Texas. Under Spanish rule, salt pits were always accessible to all people. Trouble erupted when Anglos saw the possibility of making a profit and bought what had been considered public land which contained the salt pits. There was competition and conflict between various Anglos over ownership. For Mexicans, it made little difference which Anglos owned the land. The new owners quickly imposed a tariff on anyone desiring to obtain salt from the pits. Mexicans, believing their rights had been violated, protested and attempted to continue taking salt as needed. The owners moved to stop this now-illegal behavior. An Italian priest, whom the Mexicans trusted and the bishop had reprimanded, was duplicitous in the affair. At first he encouraged his followers to take action but later sided with the Anglo owners. Some

deaths occurred on both sides. Rangers and some troops were called in to end the resulting trouble. This was considered by Mexicans to be yet another violation of their guaranteed rights (Acuna, 1981: 36-39) .

Anti-Mexican feelings were always close to the surface and infected much of Texas society. When Texas was admitted into the Union, it was a slave state. Many of the slaves escaped to Mexico and were allowed to safely remain there over the objections of the Texans. Apparently as a result of the long standing hostilities between Texas and Mexico, the Texas Constitution excluded all people from citizenship and the right of ownership if they had refused to participate in the battle for independence against Mexico. It was arbitrarily assumed that this applied to all Mexicans. The fact that many of those who had fought and died at the Alamo were Mexicans was either forgotten or ignored.

Another attempt to negatively affect every Mexican in the state occurred in the late 1880s. This was an unsuccessful attempt to disenfranchise them. After this attempt failed, there was a successful effort to establish a poll tax in 1902 in order to deter poor Mexicans from voting. Meanwhile, for the first two decades of the 20th century some rich Anglos paid Mexicans to temporarily enter Texas and cast votes as directed (Acuna, 1981: 42-45). Thus, illegal rather than legal *Mexicanos* voted.

In Texas a movement developed in Wilson, Gonzales and DeWitt counties in the 1890s called the White Caps, not to be confused with the earlier *Gorras Blancas* of New Mexico. White Caps was an Anglo organization devoted to eliminating Mexicans and Blacks from their areas. In order to accomplish this they attempted to persuade Anglo land owners to refuse to rent land to non-whites and to refuse to employ them. They hoped to achieve their goal by depriving the targeted groups from earning a living (Acuna, 1981: 45). This attempt at ethnic cleansing was unsuccessful.

During the end of the 19th century some Texas growers pitted Black and Mexican laborers against each other in order to reduce wages. Consequently hostilities between the two groups ensued in 1894. To make the situation worse, Black soldiers were dispatched to Mexican areas to supposedly control matters and keep the peace. In addition to the brief conflict between these two ethnic minorities, the more serious conflicts between Mexicans and Anglos continued. As a result of these ongoing conflicts, lynchings of Mexicans and Mexican Americans were common in Texas during the 1880s and 1890s. Neither the government nor the Texas Rangers made a great effort to control the situation and on occasion they were part of the problem. Over the years both had shown a decided bias in all conflicts between Anglos and Mexicans. All of these violent events were violations of respect for the sanctity of human life and the common good.

Additional Hardships

In addition to loss of lives and property, Mexicans and Mexican Americans in some areas of the Southwest also suffered a loss of aid and comfort from the local Catholic churches. The Catholic Church had always played an important role in the lives of the people. While the territory was part of Mexico, the Mexican clergy ministered to the

physical and emotional as well as the spiritual needs of the people. When the region became part of the United States, the native Mexican clergy was largely replaced by an Anglo clergy who were not as attuned to the lives of the people. As a result, many of the clergy focused almost exclusively on the spiritual needs (Acuna, 1981: 55).

There were rural areas where there had not been a permanent clerical presence for long periods of time. In these areas itinerant priests would visit for short stays in order to celebrate Mass, validate marriages and baptize children. In northern New Mexico and southern Colorado Catholicism was kept alive through the efforts of the laity, especially women. This resulted in the formation of folk Catholics who combined formal and informal beliefs and practices. One religious brotherhood which formed was the Brothers of Our Father Jesus Nazarite, also known as *los Penitentes*. Members of this brotherhood practiced an extreme form of self-mortification, including self-flagellation and, during Lent, carrying the cross and in some cases crucifixion with real nails. The Church later banned these practices.

In addition to a lack of priests in rural areas throughout the Southwest, there was a general scarcity of doctors. To fill the void there were *curanderos* who used a combination of psychology, folk medicine and religion to treat patients. Herbs and prayers were commonly used, along with eggs and holy water. In many cases *curanderos* could help their patients better than medical doctors. This is because there were many maladies for which the people sought relief that Western medicine did not recognize or believe existed. Examples of these are *mal ojo* (evil eye),* *caida de la mollera* (fallen fontanel), *susto* (fright), *bilis* (extreme agitation).

It is believed that some people, both males and females, are given the gift or charism of healing. In south Texas one such famous *curandero* was Mexican-born Don Pedrito Jaramillo to whom people from Mexico and the Southwest United States turned for help. His reputation was such that after he died his grave in Falfurrias, Texas became a shrine for many adherents of *curanderismo*, and his picture sometimes finds a place on home altars.

Mexican Immigration and Economic Development

Before 1875, immigration laws were largely dependent on state governments which determined who could and who could not immigrate. However, it was the federal government who controlled naturalization. The Naturalization Act of 1790 was the

* *Mal ojo* can result unknowingly and quite innocently. It is believed to result from expressions of admiration, but can be neutralized by the touching of the object admired. Thus, a person who expresses admiration for a child's hair or eyes may be asked by the mother to touch the child. Such a request should not be criticized or ignored.

United States' first naturalization statute. It specified that "free white persons" who had lived in this country for two years could be naturalized in any U.S. court. Non-whites were excluded due to the specific wording "free white persons." This preference for white Europeans continued well into the mid-twentieth century (Lee, 1999, 87).

There was a love-hate relationship with Mexicans in the Southwest. Although many Anglos never really liked or completely accepted Mexicans, whom they considered to be non-white, they did recognize a need for Mexican labor. After the end of slavery, and, later, the exclusion of Chinese workers with the Gentleman's Agreement in 1907, Mexicans became even more important to the U.S. economy, particularly in the Southwest. They had long been a source of cheap labor in agriculture and other undesirable occupations. An advantage to employing Mexicans, in addition to the low wages and harsh working conditions which they accepted, was the fact that they could be terminated at any time and for any reason. In 1880 Southern Pacific and Santa Fe railroads actively recruited Mexicans to lay tracks throughout the Southwest. Recruitment reached its peak in 1910-1912 and the use of Mexican workers spread to Wyoming, Utah, Montana, Idaho, Oregon and Washington (Kirstein, 1977: 2-3).

Immigration from Mexico greatly increased between 1900 – 1920 spurred on by conditions in both Mexico and the United States. In 1900 Mexican immigration into the United States was recorded to be 103,393. By 1920 the number of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the United States was 486,418, with most living in Texas, New Mexico and California (Quinones, 1974: 83). Part of this increase was due to the need for Mexican labor during World War I. There had always been movement between the two countries depending on social and economic conditions in each. Under the control of Mexican President Porfirio Diaz, Mexicans often felt like second-class citizens in their own country. He actively encouraged foreign investment and ownership of businesses and even some of the country's natural resources. A copper mine south of the border which was owned by Americans was allowed to use a dual wage system wherein Mexican workers were paid less than their Anglo counterparts.

By 1910 the unrest among much of the population had reached the boiling point and a revolution against the Diaz government erupted. The ensuing hostilities, together with the poor economic conditions which pervaded most of the country acted as **push factors** providing an impetus for many people to leave the country. Meanwhile, **pull factors**, which serve to attract people, existed north of the border. The proximity of the United States, together with the many available job opportunities in agriculture, mining, oil, cotton and railroads made it a frequent destination for those seeking safety and/or hoping for a better life. Since only a narrow river separated the two countries, any able-bodied person had the hope of success. There were a variety of **channels** available (means of movement). Once across the river migrants could use horses, wagons or simply walk. At this time the border was not protected and cheap labor was always welcomed by some.

Near the end of this period the Migrant Ministry was established to work with the migrant workers, many of whom were illegal, or undocumented, immigrants from Mexico. Migrant workers eked out a living by traveling from farm to farm and state to state during the harvest season. Rather than be paid for the hours worked, they were paid by the crops gathered. In order to maximize their income, children were expected to help. This meant that they could not receive an adequate education that one day would allow them to leave the fields. The ministry was an interdenominational group of Protestant ministers who were supported by the National Council of Churches. Their mission was to help alleviate the problems which were endemic to the workers of the time, including poor housing, inadequate sanitation, illiteracy, and moral laxity. Later, the Ministry began organizing unions, and supported the workers in their Delano grape strike during the Chicano Movement of the 1960s.

The involvement of Protestants in the lives of poor *Mexicanos* and their invitations to join their faith communities has led to the conversion of many. In Hispanic Protestant churches the services were more likely to be in Spanish than was true in Catholic churches, and there was more freedom to express one's emotions and personal beliefs. It is probable that those *Mexicanos* who changed religions were more likely to be nominal or cultural Catholics who knew or practiced their Catholic faith very little. In addition, some converts appeared to believe that conversion was a step in the assimilation process and/or an aid to social mobility (Hinojosa, 1994: 94-96).

Mexican Catholicism

Mexicanos brought their religious beliefs and practices with them, including elements of folk religion. Among these are the use of home altars, painted *veladores* (tall glass containers with a candle inside) which are used to request specific favors or miracles, and *milagros* (small metal replicas of body parts) pinned to the clothing of a saint to whom one prayed if the prayer was believed to have been answered. Popular *Mexicano* Catholicism tends to emphasize sacramentals such as holy water, ashes, candles and lesser religious celebrations such as *Dia de los Muertos* (Day of the Dead celebrated on All Souls Day) and Ash Wednesday. Also valued are *rosarios*, *velorios*, *posadas*, *peregrinaciones*, and *via-cruces*. In general, ritual, mystery and image are more important than dogma and doctrine (Elizondo, 1994).

Also associated with Mexican Catholicism are practices such as *posadas*, celebrated before Christmas which reenact Joseph and Mary's search for a place to give birth to their child, Jesus, *quinceaneras* which celebrate the young girl's coming out party which usually starts with a Mass, celebration of one's *santo* celebrated on the feastday of his or her namesake, and the extension of the family with the inclusion of *padrinos*, those who served as sponsors in religious ceremonies such as baptisms. Home altars upon which candles, breads in the shape of skulls and/or skeletons, flowers and pictures of the deceased are frequently set up for *el Dia de los Muertos*. This is a three-day celebration and may include a visit to the cemetery. These practices are a part of the Mexican culture, and as such, are widely practiced even by those Catholics who may not observe other more important aspects of their religion such as Mass, Eucharist, Reconciliation, etc..

Conclusion

This period ended with the Great Depression and the establishment of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in 1929. As can be seen, life for Mexicans during this period was tenuous on both sides of the border. Depending on their circumstances, some individuals had to make life-changing choices. It appears that for many *Mexicanos* it was often a choice between economic hardship in their own country or the possibility of greater economic opportunity in another, less friendly, country. For Mexican Americans it was a choice between staying in their own hostile country or moving to a more friendly foreign country.

It was during this period that Mexican Americans became distinct from Mexicans. Those Mexicans who were born and raised in the United States developed their own history and traditions, an identity as Mexicans who were U.S citizens and a way of life which included both Mexican and Anglo elements. Generally, with each succeeding generation, the proportion of Anglo culture increased as did their identity as Americans. The result was a people who were no longer Mexicans, but a separate ethnic group—Mexican Americans. However, their assimilation was much less than that experienced by many European immigrants, even though Mexican Americans had been in the United States for a much longer time. One of the reasons for this was racism and the persistent opinion that they were somehow foreigners.

Mexican Americans took the opportunity to show themselves to be good American citizens when America entered WW I in 1917. Many entered the armed forces and fought in Europe alongside other Americans. Nevertheless, when the war had ended and the troops returned home, Mexican Americans found that they were often still looked upon as foreigners. The experience did, however, heighten their hope of eventual acceptance and integration in U.S. society (Rodriguez, 2007: 154-156).

Chronology of Period Events

Nascent Ethnic Development

1853 Mexican President Santa Ana sells the United States more land under the Gadsden Treaty

1875 The first federal immigration laws regulating the admission of foreigners

1880s U. S. railroads encourage immigration of Mexican workers to provide cheap labor

1907-8 U.S. recession results in the repatriation of Mexican workers

1910 Mexicans revolt against Presidency of Porfirio Diaz, many flee to United States

1917 U.S. Immigration Act makes literacy a condition of legal immigration

1921 - Beginning of the National Origin System

1921 U.S. recession results in repatriation of Mexicans

1925 Creation of U.S. Border Patrol

1929 LULAC is founded in Texas

1929 Stock Market crashes beginning the Great Depression

Names to Remember

Bilis
Black Legend
Caida de la Mollera
Corridos
Curanderismo
Curandero
Don Pedro Jaramillo
Gentleman's Agreement
Greaser
Gringo
Juan "Cheno" Cortina

Las Gorras Blancas
Los Penitentes
Mal ojo
Migrant Ministry
National Council of Churches
Phelps Dodge Corporation
President Porfirio Diaz
Richard King
Susto
White Caps

Sociological Glossary

Acceptance reaction - accept one's lowly status and discriminatory treatment as deserved

Accommodation reaction - attempt to avoid problems by going along as situation requires

Aggression reaction - respond to dominant group with hostility or violence

Assimilation reaction - attempt to become one with the dominant group

Avoidance reaction - attempt to limit or avoid interaction with dominant group

Authoritarian personality - characteristics which include dominance and intolerance of ambiguity

Channels - means of movement, makes migration possible

Consciousness of kind - a natural awareness of those who are like us which results in an attraction and preference

Cultural transmission - learning attitudes, beliefs and behavior through socialization process

Distributive justice - fairness in the distribution of society's necessities and rewards

Economic competition - continually competing for jobs or scarce resources causes negative feelings

Economic exploitation - taking advantage of a group's lowly status for personal gain

Emigration - leaving a place, consequence of push

Ethnophaulism - ethnic slur, insulting term specific to a particular group

Function - what something does

Functional equivalent - two or more things that do the same thing but in different ways

Gemeinschaft - small homogeneous community usually united by mechanical solidarity

Gesellschaft - large heterogeneous society usually united by organic solidarity

Immigration - moving into a place, consequence of pull

Kinship community = based on a real or imagined ancestry or family-like relationship

Latent function - unforeseen or unrecognized function, e.g. side effect

Manifest function - foreseen and recognized function, may be a purpose

Marginality - the state of being marginal or between two groups

Mind community - a category of people who share common beliefs, attitudes or mind-set, e.g. Hispanic community or business community

Multi-bonding - unity of individuals based on many ties or similarities

Nativism - a policy of favoring native-born over foreign-born people

Organized protest reaction - people band together for public demonstration against something

Place community - people living in a specific common area, e.g. city or town

Pull - positive factor which encourages immigration, good jobs or family and friends

Push - negative factor which encourages emigration, e.g. war or poor economy

Racism - an ideology of superiority-inferiority based on race

Scapegoat - someone who is unjustly blamed for another person's problems

Self hatred - dislike for oneself due to negative evaluations, result of prejudice and discrimination

Stereotype - positive or negative generalization of particular groups applicable to all members

Symbolic - an arbitrary meaning, e.g. a heart pierced by an arrow signifies love

Uni-bonding - unity of individuals based on a single tie or similarity

Xenophobia - fear and/or hatred of foreigners or strangers

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Related Readings

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the Mexican – American War and resulted in the United States receiving roughly the northern half of Mexico, including the United States’ claim to Texas with the Rio Grande as its southern boundary. The Treaty was signed on February 2, 1848 by Nicholas P. Trist for the United States and by a special commission representing the Mexican government. Trist had negotiated the treaty against his instructions. Originally, the Treaty consisted of twenty-three articles. However, the United States Senate amended parts of the Treaty before it was finally ratified on March 10, 1848 by a vote of 38 to 14. The Mexican government ratified the revised Treaty on May 19, 1848 by a legislative vote of 33 to 4.

The U.S. Senate had eliminated article X, which stated that the United States government would honor and guarantee all land grants in lands ceded to the United States to citizens of Spain and Mexico by those respective governments. Article VIII guaranteed that Mexicans who remained more than one year in the ceded lands would automatically become full-fledged American citizens. They also had the option of declaring their intention of remaining Mexican citizens. However, the Senate modified Article IX by changing the first paragraph and eliminating the last two. Among the changes was the statement that Mexican citizens would “be admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States).” This was different from the original wording “admitted as soon as possible” which was negotiated between Trist and the Mexican delegation.

On May 30, after the Treaty had been ratified by both countries, a three-article protocol to explain the amendments was negotiated between the Mexico and the United States. This was referred to as the Protocol of Queretaro. The first article explained that the original Article IX of the Treaty, although replaced by Article III of the Treaty of Louisiana, would still confer the rights delineated in Article IX. The second article confirmed the legitimacy of the land grants pursuant to Mexican law in New Mexico and California up to May 13, 1846 and in Texas up to March 2, 1836. The third article states that the Mexican government has the right to do whatever it wants with the twelve million dollars the United States government has agreed to pay.

TREATY OF GUADALUPE HIDALGO

TREATY OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP, LIMITS, AND SETTLEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES CONCLUDED AT GUADALUPE HIDALGO, FEBRUARY 2, 1848; RATIFICATION ADVISED BY SENATE, WITH AMENDMENTS, MARCH 10, 1848; RATIFIED BY PRESIDENT, MARCH 16, 1848; RATIFICATIONS EXCHANGED AT QUERETARO, MAY 30, 1848; PROCLAIMED, JULY 4, 1848.

IN THE NAME OF ALMIGHTY GOD

The United States of America and the United Mexican States animated by a sincere desire to put an end to the calamities of the war which unhappily exists between the two Republics and to establish Upon a solid basis relations of peace and friendship, which shall confer reciprocal benefits upon the citizens of both, and assure the concord, harmony, and mutual confidence wherein the two people should live, as good neighbors have for that purpose appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, that is to say: The President of the United States has appointed Nicholas P. Trist, a citizen of the United States, and the President of the Mexican Republic has appointed Don Luis Gonzaga Cuevas, Don Bernardo Couto, and Don Miguel Atristain, citizens of the said Republic; Who, after a reciprocal communication of their respective full powers, have, under the protection of Almighty God, the author of peace, arranged, agreed upon, and signed the following:

Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits, and Settlement between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic.

ARTICLE I

There shall be firm and universal peace between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, without exceptions of places and persons.

ARTICLE II

Immediately upon the signature of this treaty, a convention shall be entered into between a commissioner or commissioners appointed by the General-in-chief of the forces of the United States, and such as may be appointed by the Mexican Government, to the end that a provisional suspension of hostilities shall take place, and that, in the places occupied by the said forces, constitutional order may be reestablished, as regards the political, administrative, and judicial branches, so far as this shall be permitted by the circumstances of military occupation.

ARTICLE III

Immediately upon the ratification of the present treaty by the Government of the United States, orders shall be transmitted to the commanders of their land and naval forces, requiring the latter (provided this treaty shall then have been ratified by the Government of the Mexican Republic, and the ratifications exchanged) immediately to desist from blockading any Mexican ports and requiring the former (under the same condition) to commence, at the earliest moment practicable, withdrawing all troops of the United State then in the interior of the Mexican Republic, to points that shall be selected by common agreement, at a distance from the seaports not exceeding thirty leagues; and such evacuation of the interior of the Republic shall be completed with the least possible delay; the Mexican Government hereby binding itself to afford every facility in it's power for rendering the same convenient to the troops, on their march and in their new positions, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants. In like manner orders shall be dispatched to the persons in charge of the custom houses at all ports occupied by the forces of the United States, requiring them (under the same condition) immediately to deliver possession of the same to the persons authorized by the Mexican Government to receive it, together with all bonds and evidences of debt for duties on importations and on exportations, not yet fallen due. Moreover, a faithful and exact account shall be made out, showing the entire amount of all duties on imports and on exports, collected at such custom-houses, or elsewhere in Mexico, by authority of the United States, from and after the day of ratification of this treaty by the Government of the Mexican Republic; and also an account of the cost of collection; and such entire amount, deducting only the cost of collection, shall be delivered to the Mexican Government, at the city of Mexico, within three months after the exchange of ratifications.

The evacuation of the capital of the Mexican Republic by the troops of the United States, in virtue of the above stipulation, shall be completed in one month after the orders there stipulated for shall have been received by the commander of said troops, or sooner if possible.

ARTICLE IV

Immediately after the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty all castles, forts, territories, places, and possessions, which have been taken or occupied by the forces of the United States during the present war, within the limits of the Mexican Republic, as about to be established by the following article, shall be definitely restored to the said Republic, together with all the artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions, and other public property, which were in the said castles and forts when captured, and which shall remain there at the time when this treaty shall be duly ratified by the Government of the Mexican Republic. To this end, immediately upon the signature of this treaty, orders shall be dispatched to the American officers commanding such castles and forts, securing against the removal or destruction of any such artillery, arms, apparatus of war, munitions, or other public property. The city of Mexico, within the inner line of entrenchments surrounding the said

city, is comprehended in the above stipulation, as regards the restoration of artillery, apparatus of war, & c.

The final evacuation of the territory of the Mexican Republic, by the forces of the United States, shall be completed in three months -from the said exchange of ratifications, or sooner if possible; the Mexican Government hereby engaging, as in the foregoing article to use all means in its power for facilitating such evacuation, and rendering it convenient to the troops, and for promoting a good understanding between them and the inhabitants.

If, however, the ratification of this treaty by both parties should not take place in time to allow the embarkation of the troops of the United States to be completed before the commencement of the sickly season, at the Mexican ports on the Gulf of Mexico, in such case a friendly arrangement shall be entered into between the General-in-Chief of the said troops and the Mexican Government, whereby healthy and otherwise suitable places, at a distance from the ports not exceeding thirty leagues, shall be designated for the residence of such troops as may not yet have embarked, until the return of the healthy season. And the space of time here referred to as, comprehending the sickly season shall be understood to extend from the first day of May to the first day of November.

All prisoners of war taken on either side, on land or on sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the exchange of ratifications of this treaty. It is also agreed that if any Mexicans should now be held as captives by any savage tribe within the limits of the United States, as about to be established by the following article, the Government of the said United States will exact the release of such captives and cause them to be restored to their country.

ARTICLE V

The boundary line between the two Republics shall commence in the Gulf of Mexico, three leagues from land, opposite the mouth of the Rio Grande, otherwise called Rio Bravo del Norte, or Opposite the mouth of its deepest branch, if it should have more than one branch emptying directly into the sea; from thence up the middle of that river, following the deepest channel, where it has more than one, to the point where it strikes the southern boundary of New Mexico; thence, westwardly, along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called Paso) to its western termination; thence, northward, along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila; (or if it should not intersect any branch of that river, then to the point on the said line nearest to such branch, and thence in a direct line to the same); thence down the middle of the said branch and of the said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado; thence across the Rio Colorado, following the division line between Upper and Lower California, to the Pacific Ocean.

The southern and western limits of New Mexico, mentioned in the article, are those laid down in the map entitled "Map of the United Mexican States, as organized and defined by various acts of the Congress of said republic, and constructed according to the best

authorities. Revised edition. Published at New York, in 1847, by J. Disturnell," of which map a copy is added to this treaty, bearing the signatures and seals of the undersigned Plenipotentiaries. And, in order to preclude all difficulty in tracing upon the ground the limit separating Upper from Lower California, it is agreed that the said limit shall consist of a straight line drawn from the middle of the Rio Gila, where it unites with the Colorado, to a point on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, distant one marine league due south of the southernmost point of the port of San Diego, according to the plan of said port made in the year 1782 by Don Juan Pantoja, second sailing-master of the Spanish fleet, and published at Madrid in the year 1802, in the atlas to the voyage of the schooners Sutil and Mexicana; of which plan a copy is hereunto added, signed and sealed by the respective Plenipotentiaries.

In order to designate the boundary line with due precision, upon authoritative maps, and to establish upon the ground land-marks which shall show the limits of both republics, as described in the present article, the two Governments shall each appoint a commissioner and a surveyor, who, before the expiration of one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, shall meet at the port of San Diego, and proceed to run and mark the said boundary in its whole course to the mouth of the Rio Bravo del Norte. They shall keep journals and make out plans of their operations; and the result agreed upon by them shall be deemed a part of this treaty, and shall have the same force as if it were inserted therein. The two Governments will amicably agree regarding what may be necessary to these persons, and also as to their respective escorts, should such be necessary.

The boundary line established by this article shall be religiously respected by each of the two republics, and no change shall ever be made therein, except by the express and free consent of both nations, lawfully given by the General Government of each, in conformity with its own constitution.

ARTICLE VI

The vessels and citizens of the United States shall, in all time, have a free and uninterrupted passage by the Gulf of California, and by the river Colorado below its confluence with the Gila, to and from their possessions situated north of the boundary line defined in the preceding article; it being understood that this passage is to be by navigating the Gulf of California and the river Colorado, and not by land, without the express consent of the Mexican Government.

If, by the examinations which may be made, it should be ascertained to be practicable and advantageous to construct a road, canal, or railway, which should in whole or in part run upon the river Gila, or upon its right or its left bank, within the space of one marine league from either margin of the river, the Governments of both republics will form an agreement regarding its construction, in order that it may serve equally for the use and advantage of both countries.

ARTICLE VII

The river Gila, and the part of the Rio Bravo del Norte lying below the southern boundary of New Mexico, being, agreeably to the fifth article, divided in the middle between the two republics, the navigation of the Gila and of the Bravo below said boundary shall be free and common to the vessels and citizens of both countries; and neither shall, without the consent of the other, construct any work that may impede or interrupt, in whole or in part, the exercise of this right; not even for the purpose of favoring new methods of navigation. Nor shall any tax or contribution, under any denomination or title, be levied upon vessels or persons navigating the same or upon merchandise or effects transported thereon, except in the case of landing upon one of their shores. If, for the purpose of making the said rivers navigable, or for maintaining them in such state, it should be necessary or advantageous to establish any tax or contribution, this shall not be done without the consent of both Governments.

The stipulations contained in the present article shall not impair the territorial rights of either republic within its established limits.

ARTICLE VIII

Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax, or charge whatever.

Those who shall prefer to remain in the said territories may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their election within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; and those who shall remain in the said territories after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexicans, shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States.

In the said territories, property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it guarantees equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE IX

The Mexicans who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States. and be admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of

citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the meantime, shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without; restriction.

ARTICLE X

[Stricken out by the United States Amendments]

Article XI

Considering that a great part of the territories, which, by the present treaty, are to be comprehended for the future within the limits of the United States, is now occupied by savage tribes, who will hereafter be under the exclusive control of the Government of the United States, and whose incursions within the territory of Mexico would be prejudicial in the extreme, it is solemnly agreed that all such incursions shall be forcibly restrained by the Government of the United States whensoever this may be necessary; and that when they cannot be prevented, they shall be punished by the said Government, and satisfaction for the same shall be exacted all in the same way, and with equal diligence and energy, as if the same incursions were meditated or committed within its own territory, against its own citizens.

It shall not be lawful, under any pretext whatever, for any inhabitant of the United States to purchase or acquire any Mexican, or any foreigner residing in Mexico, who may have been captured by Indians inhabiting the territory of either of the two republics; nor to purchase or acquire horses, mules, cattle, or property of any kind, stolen within Mexican territory by such Indians.

And in the event of any person or persons, captured within Mexican territory by Indians, being carried into the territory of the United States, the Government of the latter engages and binds itself, in the most solemn manner, so soon as it shall know of such captives being within its territory, and shall be able so to do, through the faithful exercise of its influence and power, to rescue them and return them to their country. or deliver them to the agent or representative of the Mexican Government. The Mexican authorities will, as far as practicable, give to the Government of the United States notice of such captures; and its agents shall pay the expenses incurred in the maintenance and transmission of the rescued captives; who, in the meantime, shall be treated with the utmost hospitality by the American authorities at the place where they may be. But if the Government of the United States, before receiving such notice from Mexico, should obtain intelligence, through any other channel, of the existence of Mexican captives within its territory, it will proceed forthwith to effect their release and delivery to the Mexican agent, as above stipulated.

For the purpose of giving to these stipulations the fullest possible efficacy, thereby affording the security and redress demanded by their true spirit and intent, the Government of the United States will now and hereafter pass, without unnecessary delay, and always vigilantly enforce, such laws as the nature of the subject may require. And, finally, the

sacredness of this obligation shall never be lost sight of by the said Government, when providing for the removal of the Indians from any portion of the said territories, or for its being settled by citizens of the United States; but, on the contrary, special care shall then be taken not to place its Indian occupants under the necessity of seeking new homes, by committing those invasions which the United States have solemnly obliged themselves to restrain.

ARTICLE XII

In consideration of the extension acquired by the boundaries of the United States, as defined in the fifth article of the present treaty, the Government of the United States engages to pay to that of the Mexican Republic the sum of fifteen millions of dollars.

Immediately after the treaty shall have been duly ratified by the Government of the Mexican Republic, the sum of three millions of dollars shall be paid to the said Government by that of the United States, at the city of Mexico, in the gold or silver coin of Mexico. The remaining twelve millions of dollars shall be paid at the same place, and in the same coin, in annual installments of three millions of dollars each, together with interest on the same at the rate of six per centum per annum. This interest shall begin to run upon the whole sum of twelve millions from the day of the ratification of the present treaty by--the Mexican Government, and the first of the installments shall be paid--at the expiration of one year from the same day. Together with each annual installment, as it falls due, the whole interest accruing on such installment from the beginning shall also be paid.

ARTICLE XIII

The United States engage, moreover, to assume and pay to the claimants all the amounts now due them, and those hereafter to become due, by reason of the claims already liquidated and decided against the Mexican Republic, under the conventions between the two republics severally concluded on the eleventh day of April, eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, and on the thirtieth day of January, eighteen hundred and forty-three; so that the Mexican Republic shall be absolutely exempt, for the future, from all expense whatever on account of the said claims.

ARTICLE XIV

The United States do furthermore discharge the Mexican Republic from all claims of citizens of the United States, not heretofore decided against the Mexican Government, which may have arisen previously to the date of the signature of this treaty; which discharge shall be final and perpetual, whether the said claims be rejected or be allowed by the board of commissioners provided for in the following article, and whatever shall be the total amount of those allowed.

ARTICLE XV

The United States, exonerating Mexico from all demands on account of the claims of their citizens mentioned in the preceding article, and considering them entirely and forever canceled, whatever their amount may be, undertake to make satisfaction for the same, to an amount not exceeding three and one-quarter millions of dollars. To ascertain the validity and amount of those claims, a . board of commissioners shall be established by the Government of the United States, whose awards shall be final and conclusive; provided that, in deciding upon the validity of each claim, the boa shall be guided and governed by the principles and rules of decision prescribed by the first and fifth articles of the unratified convention, concluded at the city of Mexico on the twentieth day of November, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three; and in no case shall an award be made in favour of any claim not embraced by these principles and rules.

If, in the opinion of the said board of commissioners or of the claimants, any books, records, or documents, in the possession or power of the Government of the Mexican Republic, shall be deemed necessary to the just decision of any claim, the commissioners, or the claimants through them, shall, within such period as Congress may designate, make an application in writing for the same, addressed to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, to be transmitted by the Secretary of State of the United States; and the Mexican Government engages, at the earliest possible moment after the receipt of such demand, to cause any of the books, records, or documents so specified, which shall be in their possession or power (or authenticated copies or extracts of the same), to be transmitted to the said Secretary of State, who shall immediately deliver them over to the said board of commissioners; provided that no such application shall be made by or at the instance of any claimant, until the facts which it is expected to prove by such books, records, or documents, shall have been stated under oath or affirmation.

ARTICLE XVI

Each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the entire right to fortify whatever point within its territory it may judge proper so to fortify for its security.

ARTICLE XVII

The treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded at the city of Mexico, on the fifth day of April, A. D. 1831, between the United States of America and the United Mexican States, except the additional article, and except so far as the stipulations of the said treaty may be incompatible with any stipulation contained in the present treaty, is hereby revived for the period of eight years from the day of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, with the same force and virtue as if incorporated therein; it being understood that each of the contracting parties reserves to itself the right, at any time after the said period of eight years shall have expired, to terminate the same by giving one year's notice of such intention to the other party.

ARTICLE XVIII

All supplies whatever for troops of the United States in Mexico, arriving at ports in the occupation of such troops previous to the final evacuation thereof, although subsequently to the restoration of the custom-houses at such ports, shall be entirely exempt from duties and charges of any kind; the Government of the United States hereby engaging and pledging its faith to establish and vigilantly to enforce, all possible guards for securing the revenue of Mexico, by preventing the importation, under cover of this stipulation, of any articles other than such, both in kind and in quantity, as shall really be wanted for the use and consumption of the forces of the United States during the time they may remain in Mexico. To this end it shall be the duty of all officers and agents of the United States to denounce to the Mexican authorities at the respective ports any attempts at a fraudulent abuse of this stipulation, which they may know of, or may have reason to suspect, and to give to such authorities all the aid in their power with regard thereto; and every such attempt, when duly proved and established by sentence of a competent tribunal, they shall be punished by the confiscation of the property so attempted to be fraudulently introduced.

ARTICLE XIX

With respect to all merchandise, effects, and property whatsoever, imported into ports of Mexico, whilst in the occupation of the forces of the United States, whether by citizens of either republic, or by citizens or subjects of any neutral nation, the following rules shall be observed:

(1) All such merchandise, effects, and property, if imported previously to the restoration of the custom-houses to the Mexican authorities, as stipulated for in the third article of this treaty, shall be exempt from confiscation, although the importation of the same be prohibited by the Mexican tariff.

(2) The same perfect exemption shall be enjoyed by all such merchandise, effects, and property, imported subsequently to the restoration of the custom-houses, and previously to the sixty days fixed in the following article for the coming into force of the Mexican tariff at such ports respectively; the said merchandise, effects, and property being, however, at the time of their importation, subject to the payment of duties, as provided for in the said following article.

(3) All merchandise, effects, and property described in the two rules foregoing shall, during their continuance at the place of importation, and upon their leaving such place for the interior, be exempt from all duty, tax, or imposts of every kind, under whatsoever title or denomination. Nor shall they be there subject to any charge whatsoever upon the sale thereof.

(4) All merchandise, effects, and property, described in the first and second rules, which shall have been removed to any place in the interior, whilst such place was in the occupation of the forces of the United States, shall, during their continuance therein, be

exempt from all tax upon the sale or consumption thereof, and from every kind of impost or contribution, under whatsoever title or denomination.

(5) But if any merchandise, effects, or property, described in the first and second rules, shall be removed to any place not occupied at the time by the forces of the United States, they shall, upon their introduction into such place, or upon their sale or consumption there, be subject to the same duties which, under the Mexican laws, they would be required to pay in such cases if they had been imported in time of peace, through the maritime custom-houses, and had there paid the duties conformably with the Mexican tariff.

(6) The owners of all merchandise, effects, or property, described in the first and second rules, and existing in any port of Mexico, shall have the right to reship the same, exempt from all tax, impost, or contribution whatever.

With respect to the metals, or other property, exported from any Mexican port whilst in the occupation of the forces of the United States, and previously to the restoration of the custom-house at such port, no person shall be required by the Mexican authorities, whether general or state, to pay any tax, duty, or contribution upon any such exportation, or in any manner to account for the same to the said authorities.

ARTICLE XX

Through consideration for the interests of commerce generally, it is agreed, that if less than sixty days should elapse between the date of the signature of this treaty and the restoration of the custom houses, conformably with the stipulation in the third article, in such case all merchandise, effects and property whatsoever, arriving at the Mexican ports after the restoration of the said custom-houses, and previously to the expiration of sixty days after the day of signature of this treaty, shall be admitted to entry; and no other duties shall be levied thereon than the duties established by the tariff found in force at such custom-houses at the time of the restoration of the same. And to all such merchandise, effects, and property, the rules established by the preceding article shall apply.

ARTICLE XXI

If unhappily any disagreement should hereafter arise between the Governments of the two republics, whether with respect to the interpretation of any stipulation in this treaty, or with respect to any other particular concerning the political or commercial relations of the two nations, the said Governments, in the name of those nations, do promise to each other that they will endeavour, in the most sincere and earnest manner, to settle the differences so arising, and to preserve the state of peace and friendship in which the two countries are now placing themselves, using, for this end, mutual representations and pacific negotiations. And if, by these means, they should not be enabled to come to an agreement, a resort shall not, on this account, be had to reprisals, aggression, or hostility of any kind, by the one republic against the other, until the Government of that which deems itself aggrieved shall have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighbourship,

whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of commissioners appointed on each side, or by that of a friendly nation. And should such course be proposed by either party, it shall be acceded to by the other, unless deemed by it altogether incompatible with the nature of the difference, or the circumstances of the case.

ARTICLE XXII

If (which is not to be expected, and which God forbid) war should unhappily break out between the two republics, they do now, with a view to such calamity, solemnly pledge themselves to each other and to the world to observe the following rules; absolutely where the nature of the subject permits, and as closely as possible in all cases where such absolute observance shall be impossible:

(1) The merchants of either republic then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain twelve months (for those dwelling in the interior), and six months (for those dwelling at the seaports) to collect their debts and settle their affairs; during which periods they shall enjoy the same protection, and be on the same footing, in all respects, as the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations; and, at the expiration thereof, or at any time before, they shall have full liberty to depart, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance, conforming therein to the same laws which the citizens or subjects of the most friendly nations are required to conform to. Upon the entrance of the armies of either nation into the territories of the other, women and children, ecclesiastics, scholars of every faculty, cultivators of the earth, merchants, artisans, manufacturers, and fishermen, unarmed and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, and in general all persons whose occupations are for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, shall be allowed to continue their respective employments, unmolested in their persons. Nor shall their houses or goods be burnt or otherwise destroyed, nor their cattle taken, nor their fields wasted, by the armed force into whose power, by the events of war, they may happen to fall; but if the necessity arise to take anything from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at an equitable price. All churches, hospitals, schools, colleges, libraries, and other establishments for charitable and beneficent purposes, shall be respected, and all persons connected with the same protected in the discharge of their duties, and the pursuit of their vocations.

(2). In order that the fate of prisoners of war may be alleviated all such practices as those of sending them into distant, inclement or unwholesome districts, or crowding them into close and noxious places, shall be studiously avoided. They shall not be confined in dungeons, prison ships, or prisons; nor be put in irons, or bound or otherwise restrained in the use of their limbs. The officers shall enjoy liberty on their paroles, within convenient districts, and have comfortable quarters; and the common soldiers shall be disposed in cantonments, open and extensive enough for air and exercise and lodged in barracks as roomy and good as are provided by the party in whose power they are for its own troops. But if any officer shall break his parole by leaving the district so assigned him, or any other prisoner shall escape from the limits of his cantonment after they shall have been designated to him, such individual, officer, or other prisoner, shall forfeit so much of the

benefit of this article as provides for his liberty on parole or in cantonment. And if any officer so breaking his parole or any common soldier so escaping from the limits assigned him, shall afterwards be found in arms previously to his being regularly exchanged, the person so offending shall be dealt with according to the established laws of war. The officers shall be daily furnished, by the party in whose power they are, with as many rations, and of the same articles, as are allowed either in kind or by commutation, to officers of equal rank in its own army; and all others shall be daily furnished with such ration as is allowed to a common soldier in its own service; the value of all which supplies shall, at the close of the war, or at periods to be agreed upon between the respective commanders, be paid by the other party, on a mutual adjustment of accounts for the subsistence of prisoners; and such accounts shall not be mingled with or set off against any others, nor the balance due on them withheld, as a compensation or reprisal for any cause whatever, real or pretended Each party shall be allowed to keep a commissary of prisoners, appointed by itself, with every cantonment of prisoners, in possession of the other; which commissary shall see the prisoners as often as he pleases; shall be allowed to receive, exempt from all duties a taxes, and to distribute, whatever comforts may be sent to them by their friends; and shall be free to transmit his reports in open letters to the party by whom he is employed.

And it is declared that neither the pretense that war dissolves all treaties, nor any other whatever, shall be considered as annulling or suspending the solemn covenant contained in this article. On the contrary, the state of war is precisely that for which it is provided; and, during which, its stipulations are to be as sacredly observed as the most acknowledged obligations under the law of nature or nations.

ARTICLE XXIII

This treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof; and by the President of the Mexican Republic, with the previous approbation of its general Congress; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the City of Washington, or at the seat of Government of Mexico, in four months from the date of the signature hereof, or sooner if practicable.

In faith whereof we, the respective Plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty of peace, friendship, limits, and settlement, and have hereunto affixed our seals respectively. Done in quintuplicate, at the city of Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

N. P. TRIST
LUIS P. CUEVAS
BERNARDO COUTO
MIGL. ATRISTAIN

ADDENDUM:

The text of Article IX was modified by the U.S. Senate, and Article X was deleted in its entirety. The treaty, as it was ratified, is presented above. The original text of Articles IX and Article X appear below. The **Protocol of Queretaro**, also included below, clarified what was meant by the U.S. Senate modifications of the original treaty.

ARTICLE IX

The Mexicans, who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding Article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States. In the mea time, they shall be maintained and protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, their property, and the civil rights now vested in them according to the Mexican laws. With respect to political rights, their condition shall be on an equality with that of the inhabitants of the other territories of the United States; and at least equally good as that of the inhabitants of Louisiana and the Floridas, when these provinces, by transfer from the French Republic and the Crown of Spain, became territories of the United States.

The same most ample guaranty shall be enjoyed by all ecclesiastics and religions corporations or communities, as well in the discharge of the offices of their ministry, as in the enjoyment of their property of every kind, whether individual or corporate. This guaranty shall embrace all temples, houses and edifices dedicated to the Roman Catholic worship; as well as all property destined to it's [*sic*] support, or to that of schools, hospitals and other foundations for charitable or beneficent purposes. No property of this nature shall be considered as having become the property of the American Government, or as subject to be, by it, disposed of or diverted to other uses.

Finally, the relations and communication between the Catholics living in the territories aforesaid, and their respective ecclesiastical authorities, shall be open, free and exempt from all hindrance whatever, even although such authorities should reside within the limits of the Mexican Republic, as defined by this treaty; and this freedom shall continue, so long as a new demarcation of ecclesiastical districts shall not have been made, conformably with the laws of the Roman Catholic Church.

ARTICLE X

All grants of land made by the Mexican Government or by the component authorities, in territories previously appertaining to Mexico, and remaining for the future within the limits of the United States, shall be respected as valid, to the same extent that the same grants would be valid, if the said territories had remained within the limits of Mexico. But the

grantees of lands in Texas, put in possession thereof, who, by reason of the circumstances of the country since the beginning of the troubles between Texas and the Mexican Government, may have been prevented from fulfilling all the conditions of their grants, shall be under the obligation to fulfill said conditions within the periods limited in the same respectively; such periods to be now counted from the date of exchange of ratifications of this treaty: in default of which the said grants shall not be obligatory upon the State of Texas, in virtue of the stipulations contained in this Article.

The foregoing stipulation in regard to grantees of land in Texas, is extended to all grantees of land in the territories aforesaid, elsewhere than Texas, put in possession under such grants; and, in default of the fulfillment of the conditions of any such grant, within the new period, which, as is above stipulated, begins with the day of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty, the same shall be null and void.

PROTOCOL OF QUERETARO

In the city of Queretaro on the twenty sixth of the month of May eighteen hundred and forty-eight at a conference between Their Excellencies Nathan Clifford and Ambrose H. Sevier Commissioners of the United States of America, with full powers from their Government to make to the Mexican Republic suitable explanations in regard to the amendments which the Senate and Government of the said United States have made in the treaty of peace, friendship, limits and definitive settlement between the two Republics, signed in Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the second day of February of the present year, and His Excellency Don Luis de la Rosa, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Mexico, it was agreed, after adequate conversation respecting the changes alluded to, to record in the present protocol the following explanations which Their aforesaid Excellencies the Commissioners gave in the name of their Government and in fulfillment of the Commission conferred upon them near the Mexican Republic.

First.

The American Government by suppressing the IXth article of the Treaty of Guadalupe and substituting the III article of the Treaty of Louisiana did not intend to diminish in any way what was agreed upon by the aforesaid article IXth in favor of the inhabitants of the territories ceded by Mexico. Its understanding that all of that agreement is contained in the IIIrd article of the Treaty of Louisiana. In consequence, all the privileges and guarantees, civil, political and religious, which would have been possessed by the inhabitants of the ceded territories, if the IXth article of the Treaty had been retained, will be enjoyed by them without any difference under the article which has been substituted.

Second.

The American Government, by suppressing the Xth article of the Treaty of Guadalupe did not in any way intend to annul the grants of lands made by Mexico in the ceded territories. These grants, notwithstanding the suppression of the article of the Treaty, preserve the legal value which they may possess; and the grantees may cause their legitimate titles to be acknowledged before the American tribunals.

Conformably to the law of the United States, legitimate titles to every description of property personal and real, existing in the ceded territories, are those which were legitimate titles under the American law in California and New Mexico up to the 13th of May 1846, and in Texas up to the 2d March 1836.

Third.

The Government of the United States by suppressing the concluding paragraph of article XIIth of the Treaty, did not intend to deprive the Mexican Republic of the free and unrestrained faculty of ceding, conveying or transferring at any time (as it may judge best) the sum of the twelve [*sic*] millions of dollars which the same Government of the United States is to deliver in the places designated by the amended article.

And these explanations having been accepted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Mexican Republic, he declared in name of his Government that with the understanding conveyed by them, the same Government would proceed to ratify the Treaty of Guadalupe as modified by the Senate and Government of the United States. In testimony of which their Excellencies the aforesaid Commissioners and the Minister have signed and sealed in quintuplicate the present protocol.

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Discussion Questions

1. What was the myth of the period and what affect, if any, did it have? Were there any other myths which played a role? What?
2. Who do you think was responsible for starting the war? Was it justified? What is your opinion of the Treaty? Did the Treaty give the United States too much, too little or about right? Why did Mexico agree to the Treaty if it was not satisfied with the terms?
3. What were some of the social justice issues involved in the period? Was it a just treaty? Why? Were there violations of the agreement which violated commutative justice?
4. Because of the questionable nature of the war and the treaty, should Mexicans be given any special considerations? If so, what? If not, why?
5. Native Americans have on occasion been granted compensation for land taken from them in violation of treaties or agreements. Should the same be done to at least some *Mexicanos*? Why or why not? If so, on what basis?
6. What do you think were the most important events, or those which had the greatest impact on the lives of Mexican Americans, from the chapter's Chronology of Period Events? Why?

CHAPTER THREE

Growth and Accommodation (1929 – 1946)

The important events which signaled the beginning of this period were the Great Depression and the founding of LULAC in 1929. This was a period of population growth among *Mexicanos* living in the United States and a time for them to further their attempts at accommodation and social acceptance. A popular myth at this time was that the United States was a great **Melting Pot**. It is ironic that the term originated with a man named Israel Zangwill in 1908 because Jews were not a socially accepted ethnic group at the time. Like other minorities, they often lived in ghettos and were victims of prejudice and discrimination. Later, this concept which implied an acceptance and amalgamation of the various immigrant groups was refined by the social scientist Ruby Jo Kennedy in 1944 to be a triple melting pot, in recognition of the widespread separation of Protestants, Catholics and Jews. Although the concept was refined, it, too, was obviously incorrect since, in addition to religious divisions, there were even deeper divisions along racial lines. **Jim Crow laws** existed in many parts of the country, including a prohibition against interracial marriages. Although Americans knew it was not true, the concept was probably embraced because it was consistent with the image Americans liked to portray themselves as, namely members of a democratic and Christian nation where “all men are created equal.” The reality was that **Anglo Conformity** was expected. That is, immigrants should give up their inferior foreign ways and become good **WASPs**. However, even this did not guaranty acceptance.

In 1929 two events occurred which had an effect on Mexican Americans. One event was the founding of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the other was the beginning of the Great Depression. LULAC was different from other organizations Mexican Americans had previously formed which were composed of members of a particular class or occupation. One such type of organization was the *Mutualistas* which were mutual-aid societies formed to meet the periodic financial needs of the poor. Funds were provided for such necessities as funerals, health care, and low-interest loans. They also provided useful information and sponsored some social events for their members.

In 1927 an attempt had been made, spearheaded by the Order of the Sons of America, to unite Mexican American organizations in the state of Texas. A convention was held in Harlingen, Texas and the idea was approved by The League of Latin American Citizens. However, not all organizations were involved and internal problems persisted among those that were. It was not until 1929 that the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) finally became a reality. They adopted the slogan “All for one and one for all,” and, in order to avoid the suspicions of Anglos that LULAC was an anti-American or communist organization, it maintained its name in English, adopted the American flag as its official banner,” America the Beautiful” as its official song, and the prayer of George Washington as its official prayer. Over the years it became a truly national organization

with international branches (LULAC website, 2009). Since its inception it has been instrumental in advancing the cause of Mexican Americans nationwide.

This organization has been an active participant in improving the lives of Hispanics in the United States since its founding. Its many accomplishments are generally unknown to most people. During the period 1929-1946, LULAC engaged in many causes. In 1930 it led the fight to desegregate public places in Texas, such as barber shops, beauty shops, swimming pools, restaurants, hotels, restrooms and drinking fountains. A year later it aided the complainants in the case *Salvatierra v. Del Rio Independent School District* which was the first class-action lawsuit against segregated schools in Texas. The following year it helped in the formation of the *Liga Defensa Pro-Escolar* which later became the School Improvement League. In 1936 LULAC successfully pressured the U.S. Census Bureau to change the classification of Mexican Americans from "Mexican" to "white." The change appeared in the 1940 census. That same year it filed cases of discrimination with the Federal Employment Practices Commission. Five years later it was successful in its lawsuit to integrate the school system of Orange County, California (LULAC website, 2009).

Repatriation and Illegal Deportation

The second, and more important national and international event, was the crash of Wall Street and the beginning of the Great Depression. Quota Acts of 1921 and 1924 had been enacted to limit immigration. However, the Acts did not restrict immigration from Mexico. Businessmen and farmers from the Southwest considered Mexican workers to be an important source of cheap labor. During the years 1929-1935 the number of immigrants from Mexico was all but eliminated because of the lack of jobs. As many as 400,000 Mexicans left the United States either voluntarily or involuntarily. Jobs held by Mexicans which had been considered undesirable by most Americans now became highly desirable. Consequently, the U.S. government engaged in actions termed "Repatriation." Mexicans, and all those considered to be Mexicans including some Mexican Americans, were gathered up, put on buses and trains and sent to Mexico. In many cases families were unaware that a family member had been apprehended and deported, so in vain they waited for them at home (Gonzales, 1999: 147-149).

This deportation of a family member caused major life-changing decisions to be made. Should the family remain divided or should the rest of the family leave their home and lives in the United States to reunite in Mexico? What would happen to the property left behind, furniture, house, land, small business? Would there be an opportunity for employment in Mexico? Should the dependable support network of the **extended family**, aging parents, married siblings, other relatives, be left behind? Depending on who was deported, would it be better for some to go to Mexico and others to stay? What will happen to the children's education if they leave their school for one in Mexico when they do not speak Spanish fluently? If they leave, will there be an opportunity to return at a future time? Will this affect their citizenship?

These and other questions haunted not only those whose family members had been taken by government officials, but all who were in danger of being taken. This action on the part of the U.S. Government was a violation of the rights of its Mexican American citizens whose lives and welfare it was supposed to protect.

Mexicans and American Mexicans may have been repatriated, although in many cases illegally since they may have had legal status as tourists. However, Mexican Americans were illegally deported. It was not possible to take a native-born U.S. citizen from his or her homeland and “repatriate” him or her to a foreign country--Mexico. This was a racist act which violated both the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the U.S. Constitution.

What to do with *Mexicanos*

A myth which existed at this time and impeded assimilation was that Mexicans constituted an inferior race and that many of the negative stereotypes attributed to them were genetically determined. This provided the foundation for much of the discriminatory treatment suffered by Mexicans and Mexican Americans. In the eyes of most Anglos there was no difference between Mexican Americans and Mexicans. Under the influence of fellow countrymen Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, educated Englishmen applied the theory of evolution to all aspects of life. With this perception, they believed it was apparent that there was a natural hierarchy of people and of countries. Natural forces moved from the simple to the complex and from lower to higher forms. From this they deduced that whites were superior to non-whites and urban industrialized nations were superior to rural agrarian nations. These feelings and beliefs were carried over into the New World. Territories which were inhabited or controlled by Spanish tended to be rural and agrarian, while those inhabited or dominated by English tended to be more urban and industrialized. These beliefs and evaluations helped account for the inferior status assigned to Mexico and Latin American nations by Anglos. Hispanics were considered to be non-white and were typically rural and agrarian.

Barring assimilation, it appeared the best that could be accomplished was accommodation. This entailed learning English and enough of the Anglo culture to be able to coexist and earn a living. Individuals often had to act Anglo outside the home or *barrio*, but *Mexicanos* inside the home or *barrio* were able to retain their traditional way of life. However pragmatic this may be, it could result in marginality wherein an individual was not fully accepted by either Mexicans or Anglos. This could also result in confusion and/or an identity crisis especially for young children.

Since there are two main obstacles to social acceptance, physical and cultural differences, some **marginal** individuals may have an opportunity to be accepted by one or the other group. They have a choice. Mexican Americans who have light-skin and Anglo features have the possibility of eschewing their Mexican heritage and culture to **pass** for Anglos, or as Spanish, making themselves white western Europeans, and therefore more acceptable. This often entails a change of first and/or last name, rejection of family and friends who may be identified as Mexican and hence non-white, and a change of life style,

avoiding those things which are commonly identified as foreign. For success in the United States it was important to avoid being perceived as Mexican.

A study was conducted during this time period which revealed the practical effects cultural beliefs and stereotypes can have on people's perceptions and evaluations. Photographs of thirty young women were shown to one hundred college students and fifty non-student males and were asked to give their first impressions of each girl in terms of intelligence, beauty, friendliness, ambition and character. Two months later the two groups of respondents were shown the same photographs but this time the girl's name was given. The names used clearly identified the girl's nationality or ethnicity. As a consequence, the contestants "saw" what they were socialized to see and their evaluations changed dramatically. Jewish girls were not as pretty as first indicated, but they became more intelligent and ambitious. Italian girls were also seen as less pretty than first thought, but Irish girls were prettier than previously indicated (Razran, 1950). Although Mexican Americans were not included in the study, it is very likely that the negative beliefs and stereotypes regarding them has played a role in their treatment.

One of the many concerns regarding *Mexicanos* was their poor performance in school. Poor grades were taken as a sign of inferiority. The question, in the minds of many people, was whether this was due to genetics or culture. Many people were convinced that it was due to genetics, *Mexicanos* were just naturally inferior and there was little or nothing that could be done. A number of studies were conducted by social scientists to try to find the answer. In the 1920s and 1930s, the dominant theory was one of biological determinism. After 1935 social scientists turned to two different theories: structural-environmental determinism and cultural determinism. The first theory, favored by some Hispanic social scientists, attempts to explain the poor performance on the basis of the nature of the tests themselves, questionable school policies and the school environment which can retard learning and negatively impact a *Mexicano* child's I.Q.

The second theory favored by many other social scientists placed the cause for poor performance on the Mexican culture. Differences in Mexican and American values were said to be great enough that *Mexicanos* were ill prepared and, therefore had a hard time competing in Anglo schools. Some of the differences identified were that the Mexican value system included subjugation to nature, a present time orientation, dependency, immediate gratification, complacency, machismo, non-intellectual, fatalism, superstition, non-goal oriented, non-success oriented, emotionalism, and traditionalism. The corresponding but opposite Anglo value system was mastery over nature, future orientation, deferred gratification, aggressive, intellectual, non-fatalistic, goal oriented, success oriented, rational, individualistic, effeminency, non-superstitious, and progressive. The author speculates that the reason biological determinism and cultural determinism were so readily and widely embraced by non-Hispanics was that, rather than blame a racist society, they were able to blame the victims (Vaca, 1970)

In regards to the aforementioned value systems attributed to Mexican Americans and Anglo Americans it should be said that many characteristics attributed to Mexican Americans had nothing to do with ethnicity but had everything to do with socioeconomic

status or some other group subculture that has a value system different from the dominant society. For example, subjugation to nature is common to rural people who depend on low tech agriculture. This does not apply to most Mexican Americans per se as they are neither rural nor agrarian. A present time orientation, immediate gratification and fatalism are common characteristics of the culture of poverty, regardless of ethnicity. Machismo, or manliness, is an Anglo concern as much as it is a Mexican concern, it is just not referred to as much. Some of these other values may be questionable, especially post World War II.

Mexican Contributions in the United States

There has been a **symbiotic** relationship between Mexico and the United States since the beginning. Thanks in large part to Mexican labor during the early decades of the 20th century the Southwest enjoyed great economic success. By 1930 the region provided 40 percent of the nation's vegetables, fruit and truck crops (Kirstein, 1977: 8). Large numbers of Mexicans also worked in cotton, in mines and for the railroads. Their willingness to do hard work for low wages provided a boost for the American economy. They helped keep prices down and profits high. Mexico was also benefiting from this source of work for its people, no matter how temporary and undesirable it may have been. It provided much needed financial resources both for workers and their country, while it acted as a safety valve for social unrest due to poverty and the lack of jobs at home.

While jobs in the United States were helpful, the workers were aware that they were being abused and treated unfairly. Therefore, during the 1930s Mexicans were involved in a number of strikes, many of which were union related. In the Southwest Mexicans, men and women, were usually involved. Mexican women, *Mexicanas*, were active in the labor movement both as members and as union organizers. Important women leaders during the 1930s and 1940s were Lucy Gonzales Parsons, who had helped found the International Workers of the World (IWW), Luisa Moreno, a Guatemalan who worked closely with *Mexicanas* in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Later she established *el Congreso del Pueblo de Habla Espanola* (The Spanish-Speaking Congress). Another young *Mexicana* leader in south Texas was Emma Tenayuca, a young lady who led the pecan-shelling strike in San Antonio (Gonzales, 1999: 158-160), San Antonio was the site of another strike led by a Mexicana, Mrs. Refugio Ernst. She was the leader in the strike against the Finck Cigar Company (San Antonio Light, 1933).

Mexicans, immigrant and native-born Americans, living in the United States were not only subject to social, economic, political and legal discrimination but educational as well. At that time in the Southwest some public schools had Mexican and Anglo students together, while other schools had them segregated. In the town of Lemon Grove, California, the Anglo school board after years of having only one school for all children, decided to segregate the *Mexicano* children whom they considered mentally inferior, dirty and immoral. They decided to build a separate school for them, but not to notify the parents until the project was completed and the new school year was set to begin. Plans were to have two large classes of four grades each with only one teacher for each class. The focus

of the education was to be on teaching English and Americanizing the children, whether they needed it or not.

When Mexican parents were informed of the new arrangement they objected, saying the instruction their children received would be inferior to that of Anglo children. The resulting case, *Alvarez v. Lemon Grove School Board*, contesting the move to separate the children along ethnic lines, was brought to court in 1931. School board members testified it was for the good of the Mexican children because it would be closer to their neighborhood and be free of competition with Anglo children. The presiding judge rejected the arguments and ruled in favor of Alvarez. The ruling did not affect other schools in the state which were already segregated. Later the Bliss Bill was introduced which would have defined Mexicans as Indians, and could, therefore, be legally segregated. The Bill failed (see *The Lemon Grove Incident*, 1985). As previously mentioned, in 1945 the entire Orange County School system was desegregated thanks to the efforts of LULAC.

America entered World War II after the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Along with other Americans, many Mexican Americans were drafted or joined the military. Many of those who remained in civilian life served the war effort in a number of ways, including working in defense industries. Women were especially likely to work in factories producing the needed war materials ala “Rosie the Riveter.” This participation with other U.S. citizens to win the war did not translate into general acceptance by most Americans. In fact, many viewed this as unwelcomed competition for good jobs and saw Mexican’s participation as *braceros* as a way to infiltrate the country. As such, it tended to increase the tensions which had been present since the beginning of the Southwest’s inclusion into the Union.

Racism and Racial Conflicts

Against this backdrop of racial tension, Important well-publicized events occurred in 1942 and 1943 which caused an increase in tensions between Anglos and Mexican Americans in California. The first was the murder of a young Hispanic teenager near a gravel pit known as “Sleepy Lagoon.” The pit, which contained water, was used as a swimming hole by local Mexican youth, known as *pachucos* (a term often used to refer to members of Hispanic gangs), who were not allowed to use the public swimming pool. After a clash with a rival gang, the youths crashed a nearby party and caused a fight. Later, the body of one of the guests at the party was discovered. All of the party-crashers were arrested and charged with murder.

The event was picked up by the news media as an example of the criminal nature of young Mexicans and the case was used to stereotype Mexicans in general as a criminal element. Increases in crime were blamed on them and *Mexicano* gang fights were highly publicized. The charges against the 24 youths arrested for the murder at Sleepy Lagoon were presented to an Anglo grand jury. Testifying before the grand jury, a police lieutenant stated that Mexicans were a violent and blood-thirsty race who had inherited these traits from their Aztec ancestors, and that as Mongoloids they had a disregard for human life. He further said that while Anglo youths fight, they use their fists whereas Mexicans want

to use knives. The grand jury indicted nineteen of the youths, seventeen of whom stood trial as a group. Two of the defendants requested separate trials.

During the court case against the seventeen, the presiding judge refused to allow the defendants, who had been held in jail, to change their clothes or cut their hair before they entered the courtroom. Consequently, their appearance seemed to support the negative stereotypes that were commonly circulated. In addition, no Mexican Americans were on the jury. Although all the evidence was circumstantial, they were convicted. Twelve were found guilty of first or second degree murder and the other five were convicted of other related crimes. Some people, including Anglos, supported the youths. Chief among these supporters was the magazine editor and writer Carey McWilliams, who saw this as a travesty of justice and fought to have the verdict overturned. McWilliams aided by raising funds and writing articles. Consequently, he was criticized for being a Mexican sympathizer. This accusation, together with rumors that Mexican sympathizers and members of the communist party favored miscegenation, was meant to discredit what he and others said. However, the convictions were finally overturned on appeal in 1944 because of obvious racism and judicial misconduct (Gonzales, 1999: 167-169)

In 1943 an event occurred, possibly influenced by the hostility generated by the reporting of Sleepy Lagoon and a government investigation of *sinarchistas* who were members of a separatist movement, which indicated the degree of anti-*Mexicano* feelings. It was believed that these were anti-American sympathizers who favored an Axis victory with the hope that with a loss by the United States the Southwest could be reclaimed (McWilliams, 1968: 264). The event has been known as the "Zoot Suit Riots." The term derived from a style of clothing which was popular with young people during the 1940s. *Pachucos* adopted this style as a sort of uniform. Like other young people they were trying to assert their own identity and independence. In this regard they did not want to be completely part of either the Mexican or American (Anglo) cultures. Thus, they dressed differently and spoke a combination of Spanish and English.

The riots appear to have been precipitated when a group of off-duty policemen entered a *barrio* looking for a gang of *pachucos* who reportedly had attacked eleven sailors. The attack was a jealous *macho* reaction against Anglos servicemen who had been flirting with *pachuquitas* (female *pachucas* who often dressed in tight skirts and sheer blouses). No gang members were found by the police, but the next night, June 4, approximately 200 off-duty sailors invaded the *barrio* looking for any *pachucos* whom they beat and stripped of their clothing. The searching and beatings continued for several days with marines and civilians taking part. This provided the Anglos who had strong negative feelings toward Mexicans to safely use violence against them. Neither law officers nor government officials intervened, except for some arrests of the victims by the police. Meanwhile, the City Council passed an ordinance which banned the wearing of zoot suits and made it a misdemeanor to do so (Adler, 1974: 150-152).

Ironically, it took the actions of the Mexican government to end the riots which were spreading in the United States. As has commonly occurred in the United States, no distinction was made by the marauding servicemen between Mexican Americans and

Mexicans Consequently Mexican citizens who were in the United States for whatever reason were also subjected to being beaten and sometimes jailed. President Roosevelt heeding the protest of the Mexican government, which had an agreement to provide temporary workers to the United States, ordered a halt to the violence. Military officials placed downtown Los Angeles off-limits, cancelled leaves and ordered the servicemen to return to their bases (Gonzales, 1999: 168-170). After the riots were ended, the Tenney Committee looked for reasons to explain what had just happened. They reached the conclusion that it was the *sinarquistas* and possibly the communists who were responsible for the riots (Adler, 1974: 150-151).

The *Bracero* Program

A year after America's entry into the war, the U.S. government reached an agreement with Mexico to provide temporary workers to replace the domestic members of the workforce who were in the military. This agreement, which was reached on August 4, 1942, became known as the *Bracero* Program (*brazo* means arm in Spanish, therefore the term refers to manual labor). Most of the workers who participated in the Program were used in agriculture, but many worked for the railroads and in factories. When first presented with the request by the United States, the Mexican government was hesitant. Not only had there been a long history of antagonism and conflict between the two countries, but Mexico was attempting to modernize its economy and workers would be needed at home. However, poverty was common and there was unrest because of a lack of job opportunities, Mexico needed money and it was eager to show its support for the allies in the war. Nevertheless, the Mexican government wanted to ensure that this agreement would guarantee that its workers were treated more fairly than previously. To this end, the Mexican government rather than U.S, employers would recruit workers and contracts were with the U.S. government rather than individual employers.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt stressed the military nature of the Program and praised Mexico for playing an important role in the war. Those who entered the United States as part of the Program were considered guest workers and were to have certain guarantees, Provisions of the agreement were as follows: Mexican workers would be employed only in areas with a certified labor shortage and could not be used to lower wages for domestic workers; there would be no set number of workers who could enter the country but the U.S. government could periodically request the number of workers needed; Mexican workers were guaranteed a minimum hourly wage of 30 cents but could rise if the rate increased for domestic workers doing the same work in the same area; Mexicans could only work in agriculture unless the worker and the Mexican government agreed otherwise; Mexicans would receive housing, medical services and sanitary conditions equal to those of domestic workers; workers were guaranteed employment up to 75 percent of his time in the United States and if prevented from completing those hours, was to be paid 3 dollars a day for living expenses; ten percent of a worker's income was to be withheld until he returned home, at which time the money would be returned to him so he could buy U.S. agricultural implements; contracts had to be printed in both English and Spanish, and workers were to

receive their own copies; roundtrip transportation was to be paid by the United States (Kirstein, 1977: 12-16).

There was a difference between *braceros* who worked in agriculture and those who worked on the railroads. Both the agricultural and non-agricultural aspects of the agreement had their own separate recruitment programs and were overseen by different U.S. agencies. The former was under the auspices of the Farm Security Administration and the latter was overseen by the War Manpower Commission. The railroad workers received higher wages, but the program was of shorter duration, lasting only until the end of the war. Meanwhile, the agricultural program, which was renewed in 1948, lasted until it was officially terminated in 1965 (Kirstein, 1977: 23-27). The renewal changed the responsible party from the U.S. government to the employer.

Because of its past history of prejudice and discrimination against Mexicans, Texas was originally excluded by the Mexican government from receiving *braceros*. In retaliation, Texas violated the international agreement by illegally opening its borders on at least two occasions to all Mexicans willing to work. Meanwhile, Texas governor Coke Stevenson attempted to placate the Mexican government by persuading the legislature to pass a Caucasian Race Resolution which affirmed the right of all Caucasians to equal treatment in Texas. However, many Texans refused to believe that *Mexicanos* were Caucasian. In September 1943 Governor Stevenson established the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas to foster better understanding and end discrimination (Acuna, 1981: 145).

The Mexican government finally relented, and after receiving assurances of better treatment of its workers, extended the program to include Texas. The *Bracero* Program, which at its peak included nearly 500,000 workers, was a continual concern for Congress which had to pass much legislation in its regards, including eight extensions or renewals. The Program was consistently opposed by American Labor unions which feared it took jobs away from domestic workers and depressed wages. Many domestic workers were opposed because Mexican workers were given certain guarantees which they did not have (Kirstein, 1977: 49). The program lasted for 22 years and provided workers for thirty states.

The concerns over the guarantees provided to Mexican workers were unnecessary. Consistent with the past history of agreements with Mexicans, the guarantees of the Program were violated. Not only did states violate the agreement by illegally recruiting workers and allowing them to enter the country, but employers frequently charged their workers for food and lodging which were supposed to be provided. There were even reported cases where workers were charged to use tools and blankets. One of the more serious violations was the failure to return the ten percent of their income which had been withheld during their stay in the United States. No one seemed to know what had happened to the money which was to have helped the workers after they returned home. Over the years the workers continued to seek compensation for the money which was promised them. However, their efforts were unsuccessful because it was unknown whether the money was lost or stolen in Mexico or the United States.

Violations of the guarantees given to *braceros* were found among non-agricultural workers as well as agricultural workers. In 1943 Mexican railroad workers had gone on strike against Southern Pacific in Live Oak, California because of inadequate sanitation as well as bad food and housing. They also protested the firing of two of their fellow workers (Kirstein, 1977: 38). Due to the many complaints, President Harry Truman established a five member President's Commission on Migratory Labor in 1950. Its task was to study three areas of concern. First, the social, economic health and educational conditions of the workers and the corresponding responsibilities and oversight of all levels of government. Second, problems created by the temporary employment of foreign workers and the extent to which they are required to supplement the labor force. Third, the extent of illegal immigration and what, if anything, law enforcement can do to control it. The recommendations of the Commission were largely ignored (Kirstein, 1977: 84). Later, President John F. Kennedy attempted to terminate the problem-plagued *Bracero* Program, but Congress extended the program in 1963 for one more year (Kirstein, 1977: 104). Although the Program was replete with violations of social justice it did benefit both Mexico and the United States.

It was the promise of a job, no matter how undesirable it may appear to Americans, that attracted many undocumented workers. These "wetbacks" were encouraged to come by many growers who paid them even less than legal *braceros*. Unlike the *Bracero* Program which only employed males, growers who employed *indocumentados* (undocumented) made no distinction between men, women or children. One difficulty with using them was that without legal status or contracts, they were often unreliable because they could leave for better pay elsewhere or be deported by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). For a period of five years, beginning in 1954, the INS carried on "Operation Wetback" which was an effort to catch and deport illegal workers. It was reported that nearly four million illegal aliens were deported during this period of time (Maldonado, 1976: 175-176)).

In many ways the *Bracero* Program was a success. Both the United States and Mexico benefited. Mexicans replaced Americans entering the armed services or the defense industries who had worked in agriculture and on railroads, thereby aiding the United States. Unemployed Mexicans were able to be employed and support their families in Mexico. This took pressure off the Mexican government and also allowed them to declare they had participated in the war effort. It was a win-win situation for the two countries. Overall, the Program lasted 22 years and was extended or renewed eight times. During that period *braceros* labored in approximately 30 states with most working in California, Texas and Arizona.

The *Bracero* Program began with the beginning of World War II and, although it continued well beyond the end of the War, the period did not. This period ended with the end of the War and the return of the service men and women in 1946.

Conclusion

At this time, pride in America, the Great Melting Pot and champion of democracy, was widespread.. However, the concept of the United States as a Melting Pot was clearly incorrect, as Mexican Americans, African Americans and Asian Americans, in addition to immigrants from other countries, were held to the standard of Anglo Conformity. This precluded many people, including some U,S, citizens, from being accepted, not only due to cultural differences, but because of physical differences which were beyond their control. Mexican Americans became well aware of this fact, as did other minorities. Two historic events occurred during this period which had profound effects on Mexican Americans. The first was the Depression which resulted in illegal deportation for many Mexican Americans and served as a reminder that they were still considered to be Mexicans and foreigners, Later, World War II provided the opportunity for them to prove that despite the fact that they were not considered to be real Americans, they considered themselves to be Americans capable of being productive members of society. They not only joined the military, but they excelled in their service. By the end of the war Mexican Americans had become the most decorated ethnic minority that served in the armed forces (Morin, 1966: 61). Their military experience provided them with skills and, through the G. I. Bill, with resources which proved to be invaluable in their quest for equal rights in the following years.

In addition to Mexican Americans serving in the military, hundreds of thousands of Mexicans served the war effort by providing their labor which was essential to produce food and keep the railroads running in the United States. President Roosevelt acknowledged Mexico's cooperation and contributions and thanked Mexico and its citizens for their part in World War II.

The United States has a history of, at times, imposing its will and exerting a strong influence over Mexico and its people. Nevertheless, the U.S. government has not practiced **colonialism** in regards to Mexico and its people. The same cannot be said of all Americans. Throughout their time in the United States, *Mexicanos* in the Southwest have been subjected to **internal colonialism**. That is, they have been dominated and exploited by their fellow countrymen. Many Anglos took possession of their property, including land, and livestock, and used them for their own benefit. In the process, the rightful owners were deprived of their livelihood. Then there were those members of the dominant group who would never even think of stealing the property of *Mexicanos*, but who would think nothing of breaking their agreements with *braceros* and other migrant workers, which is a violation of **commutative justice**.. In some cases a dual wage system was used wherein employers paid Hispanics less than Anglos for doing the same work, or paying them unjust substandard wages for working in their fields, cutting their grass, or cleaning their houses. which is a violation of **distributive justice**. .

These practices are all clear violations of social justice There was also a long-standing expectation which had to be addressed, namely that when not serving in some useful capacity, *Mexicanos* should stay in their own part of town and in their proper place as defined by society. With the end of the war, Mexican Americans were determined to bring

about change. Their experience during the war had raised their expectations and this resulted in a greater, more sustained effort to achieve social justice. They were determined to be recognized and treated as American citizens with all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Chronology of Period Events

Growth and Accommodation

- 1930-2 Repatriation of Mexicans and illegal deportation of Mexican Americans
- 1931 Lawsuit Alvarez v Lemon Grove School Board, California
- 1936 LULAC was successful in designating Mexicans as white in the 1940 census
- 1941 Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor and the United States enters WW II
- 1942 U.S. signs agreement with Mexico beginning the *Bracero* Program
- 1942 Sleepy Lagoon murder and subsequent trial
- 1943 Zoot Suit Riot begins in Los Angeles and spreads to Southern California
- 1943 The Good Neighbor Commission of Texas was established
- 1944 White primaries which excluded Mexicanos and Blacks were declared illegal
- 1945 End of WW II
- 1945 LULAC sued to integrate Orange County, California schools
- 1946 Large numbers of American troops return home
- 1946 LULAC files Mendez v Westminster lawsuit in California

Names to Remember

AFL-CIO

Alvarez v Lemon Grove School Board

Bracero Program

Carey McWilliams

Emma Tenayuca

Governor Coke Stevenson

Great Depression

Indocumentados

IWW

Jim Crow laws

LULAC

Lucy Gonzales Parsons

Luisa Moreno

Mutualistas

Operation Wetback

Pachuco/a

Pearl Harbor

President Franklin D. Roosevelt

President Harry Truman

President John F. Kennedy

Repatriation

Refugio Ernst

Salvatierra v Del Rio ISD

Sinarchistas

Sleepy Lagoon

Wetbacks

Zoot Suit Riot

Sociological Glossary

Anglo conformity - to be an acceptable American people must accept Anglos as models

Colonialism - a foreign power takes control of a weaker country to exploit the country and its people

Cultural pluralism - people can be acceptable Americans and retain cultural differences

Internal colonialism - within a country one ethnic or racial group dominates and exploits another ethnic group

Marginal - part of two groups but accepted by neither, e.g. "halfbreeds."

Matrilocal - living with the wife's parents

Melting pot - American is a product of all the different cultures existing in the United States

Pass - being able to be accepted as something you are not, e.g. undercover cop as drug dealer

Segregation - physical separation of two or more groups

Symbiotic - a relationship that is mutually beneficial for two different races or ethnic groups

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Related Reading

THE BRACERO PROGRAM

*The most popular use of the term **bracero** (from the Spanish **brazo**, which translates as "arm") applies to the temporary agricultural and railroad workers brought into the United States as an emergency measure to meet the labor shortage of World War II. The Bracero Program, also referred to as the Mexican Farm Labor Supply Program and the Mexican Labor Agreement, was sanctioned by Congress through Public Law 45 of 1943.*

PUBLIC LAW 45, 1943

JOINT RESOLUTION

April 29, 1943 [H.J. Res. 96]

[Public Law 45]

Making an appropriation to assist in providing a supply and distribution of farm labor for the calendar year of 1943.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$26,100,000, to remain available until December 31, 1943, to be expended by the Administrator of Food Production and Distribution (hereinafter referred to as the "Administrator"), appointed pursuant to Executive Order Numbered 9322, dated March 26, 1943, for assisting in providing an adequate supply of workers for the production and harvesting of agricultural commodities essential to the prosecution of the war, as follows.

PAYMENTS TO STATES

Sec. 2. (a) For the purpose of assisting in providing an adequate supply of workers for the production and harvesting of agricultural commodities within the several States, the Administrator shall apportion among the several States, on the basis of need, not less than \$9,000,000 and not more than \$13,050,000 of the sum appropriated by section 1 and the sums so apportioned shall be available for payment to such States for expenditure by the agricultural extension services of the land-grant colleges in such States in accordance with such agreements as may be entered into by the Administrator and such extension services and subject to the supervision of the Administrator. The purposes for which such funds may be expended by such extension services shall include, among other things, (1) the recruiting, placement (including the placement of workers as tenants or share-croppers), and training of such workers; (2) transportation, supervision, subsistence, protection, health and medical and burial services, and shelter for such workers and their families

and necessary personal property; (3) lease, repair, alteration, and operation of labor supply centers and other necessary facilities and services, including former Civilian Conservation Corps camps; (4) advancing to workers of sums due from employers within the United States who are under contractual obligation to reimburse such extension services for such advances; (5) employment of personnel and other administrative expenses; and (6) payment to or reimbursement of other public or private agencies or individuals for furnishing services or facilities for such purposes. Such extension services may enter into agreements with other public and private agencies and individuals and utilize the facilities and services of such agencies and individuals in carrying out the purposes of this section.

(b) The Administrator shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury, from time to time, the amounts to be paid to each State under this section and the time or times such amounts are to be paid; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay to the State, at the time or times fixed by the Administrator, the amounts so certified.

EXPENDITURE OF OTHER FUNDS

SEC.3. (a) Not more than \$13,050,000 of the funds appropriated by section 1 and not apportioned by the Administrator among the several States pursuant to section 2 shall be available for expenditure by the Administrator. The purposes for which such funds may be expended shall include, among other things, (1) the recruiting and transportation of workers and their families and necessary personal property, within the United States and elsewhere; (2) furnishing, by loans or otherwise, of health and medical and burial services, training, subsistence, allowance, protection, and shelter for such workers and their families; (3) advancing to workers of sums due from employers within the United States who are under contractual obligation to reimburse the United States for such advances; (4) other necessary facilities and services; and (5) operating personnel and expenses to carry out the above purposes.

(b) Not more than 2 per centum of the funds appropriated by section 1 hereof shall be available for administrative expenses of the Administrator, including (1) the employment of persons and organizations, by contract or otherwise, at the seat of government and elsewhere; (2) purchase, exchange, operation, and maintenance of passenger-carrying vehicles; (3) printing and binding; (4) travel expenses of persons employed in administrative, supervisory, or facilitating capacities within a foreign country or from a foreign country to the United States and return, including such expenses to first-duty stations; and (5) payment to or reimbursement of other agencies or individuals for administrative expenses incurred by them.

(c) For the purpose of this joint resolution, the Administrator is authorized--

(1) to utilize the facilities, services, and personnel of units and agencies within the Department of Agriculture; to enter into agreements with other public or private agencies or individuals; to utilize (pursuant to such agreements) the facilities and services of such agencies and individuals and to delegate to them funds to (in addition to the transfers authorized by the Department of Agriculture Appropriation Acts for the fiscal years 1943 and 1944), or otherwise to pay or reimburse such units, agencies, and individuals for expenses in connection therewith;

(2) to accept and utilize voluntary and uncompensated services and

(3) to cooperate with the Secretary of State in the negotiation of renegotiation of agreements with foreign governments relating to the importation of workers into the United States.

LIMITATIONS

SEC. 4. (a) No part of the funds herein appropriated shall be expended for the transportation of any worker from the county where he resides or is working to a place of employment outside of such county without the prior consent in writing of the county extension agent of such county, if such worker has resided in such county for a period of one year or more immediately prior thereto and has been engaged in agricultural labor as his principal occupation during such period.

(b) No part of the funds herein appropriated, or heretofore appropriated or made available to any department or agency of the Government for the recruiting, transportation, or placement of agricultural workers, shall be used directly or indirectly to fix, regulate, or impose minimum wages or housing standards, to regulate hours of work, or to impose or enforce collective-bargaining requirements or union membership, with respect to any agricultural labor, except with respect to workers imported into the United States from a foreign country and then only to the extent required to comply with agreements with the government of such foreign country: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall prevent the expenditure of such funds in connection with the negotiation of agreements with employers of agricultural workers which may provide that prevailing wage rates shall be paid for particular crops and areas involved and that shelter shall be provided for such workers.

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SEC. 5. (a) Funds appropriated by this joint resolution may be expended without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes.

(b) Any payments made by the United States or other public or private agencies or employers to aliens brought into the United States under this joint resolution shall not be subject to deduction or with-holding under section 143 (b) of the Internal Revenue Code.

(c) For the purpose of this joint resolution--

(1) the term "State" includes Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico;

(2) the term "worker" includes nationals of the United States and aliens;

(3) the term "agricultural labor" includes any services or activities included within the provisions of section 3 (f) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 or section 1426 (h) of the Internal Revenue Code.

(d) Effective July 1, 1943, notwithstanding section 3 of the Act of June 29, 1936 (U.S.C., title 40, sec. 433), receipts derived for the account of the United States from the use and occupancy of agricultural labor supply centers, including camps and facilities heretofore used by or under the control of the Farm Security Administration, shall be deposited in the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

(e) The former civilian Conservation Corps camps shall be transferred without charge to the Administrator, to the extent that he deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this joint resolution: *Provided*, That no such camp which is being utilized by any other agency of the Government, or which has been transferred to any State, county, municipality, or nonprofit organization, shall be transferred to the Administrator under this subsection without the consent of such agency, State, county, municipality, or organization.

(f) Notwithstanding provisions of title I of the Social Security Act, as amended (relating to grants to States for old-age assistance), and of appropriations for payments thereunder, in any case in which any State pays old-age assistance to any individual at a rate not in excess of the rate of old-age assistance paid to such individual during the month of April 1943, any failure to take into consideration any income and resources of such individual arising from agricultural labor performed by him as an employee, or from labor otherwise performed by him in connection with the raising or harvesting of agricultural commodities, after the date of enactment of this joint resolution and prior to the seventh calendar month occurring after the termination of hostilities in the present war, as proclaimed by the President, shall not be a basis of excluding payments made to such individuals in computing payments made to States under section 3 of such title, of refusing to approve a State plan under section 2 of such title, or of withholding certification pursuant to section 4 of such title.

(g) In order to facilitate the employment by agricultural employers in the United States of native-born residents of North America, South America, and Central America, and the islands adjacent thereto, desiring to perform agricultural labor in the United States during continuation of hostilities in the present war, any such resident desiring to enter the United States for that purpose shall be exempt from the payment of head tax required by Section 2 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, and from other admission charges, and shall be exempt from those excluding provisions of Section 3 of such Act which relate to contract laborers, the requirements of literacy, and the payment of passage by corporations, foreign governments, or others; and any such residents shall be admitted to perform agricultural labor in the United States for such time and under such conditions (but not including the exaction of bond to insure ultimate departure from the United States) as may be required by regulations prescribed by the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization with the approval of the Attorney General; and in the event such regulations require documentary evidence of the country of birth of any such resident which he is unable to furnish, such requirement may be waived by the admitting officer of the United States if such official has other proof satisfactory to him that such resident is a native of the country claimed as his birthplace. Each such resident shall be provided with an identification card (with his photograph and fingerprints) to be prescribed under such regulations which shall be in lieu of all other documentary requirements, including the registration at time of entry or after entry required by the Alien Registration Act of 1940. Any such resident admitted under the foregoing provisions who fails to maintain the status for which he was admitted or to depart from the United States in accordance with the terms of his admission shall be taken into custody under a warrant issued by the Attorney General at any time after entry and deported in accordance with Section 20 of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917. Sections 5 and 6 of such Act shall not apply to the importation of aliens under this joint resolution. No provisions of this joint resolution shall authorize the admission into the United States of any enemy alien.

Approved April 29, 1943

Discussion Questions

1. What was the prevailing myth of the time? What, if any, effect did it have? Were there any other myths during this period which played a role?
2. Was WW II functional or dysfunctional for Mexican Americans? How? Why did their participation in the war not help dispel their image as foreigners?
3. Was the Bracero Program good or bad for the United States? For Mexico? Was Mexico justified in excluding Texas from receiving braceros?
4. Why did Mexico have to intervene to stop the Zoot Suit Riots? Was this a violation of the national sovereignty of the United States? Why did the U.S. government or the military not intervene when it started?
5. What were issues of social justice during this time? What, if anything, should be done to rectify the injustices?
6. What do you think were the most important events, or those which had the greatest impact on the lives of Mexican Americans, from the chapter's Chronology of Period Events? Why?

CHAPTER FOUR

Ethnic Discontent and Organization (1946 – 1962)

The defining event of this period was the return of the members of the military. Members of the armed forces were told they had fought, and many had died, to preserve freedom, and to disprove the Nazi belief in a “master race.” In Europe, American soldiers, regardless of race or ethnicity, were viewed and treated as heroes. However, on returning home Mexican American soldiers found that they were still second-class citizens and were denied the same freedoms that they had won for strangers in other parts of the world. The belief in a master race still existed in their own country, and that race was “white.” The prevailing myth was that the war had made the world a safer and more egalitarian place to live, and that the United States was a champion of democracy.

This period was a time of discontent for ethnic minorities who had fought in the war. They felt that they had all the responsibilities of citizenship, paying taxes, obeying the laws, serving in the military, but not all of the privileges. Minorities were excluded from many places and events which were paid for by their taxes, such as parks, pools, schools, and they were often deprived of the right to vote for those who made the laws which affected their lives. This **asymmetrical** situation in which they had the obligations of citizenship but not the privileges has been referred to by them as “the system.” However, their military experience had proven to them, and should have proven to others, that they were capable of keeping up with their Anglo counterparts if given the opportunity. Their war record proved that they were not stupid, lazy or cowardly as the stereotypes would have people believe.

Minorities had also learned that organized efforts are often needed to accomplish large and difficult goals. The goals of equality and empowerment which they sought were just such goals. Consequently, *Mexicanos* turned to organizing multiple **voluntary associations** to achieve multiple purposes. Unfortunately, the various ethnic minorities did not join together for their common goals, in part because they each had learned the negative stereotypes of the others, and in part because they each viewed the others as rivals or competitors in the zero sum games of economics and politics. Nevertheless, there were some areas where a victory for one was a victory for all.

The Forming of Organizations

An early organization which worked to bring about much needed changes was the *Alianza Hispano-Americana*, a fraternal insurance society which was organized in 1894 in Tucson, Arizona. In the 1920s it became involved in social issues on the part of Hispanics. First, the *Alianza* issued a complaint against Hollywood for its negative portrayal of Hispanics in movies. Later it petitioned the governor of California to commute the death sentence against Aurelio Pompa, who had been convicted of murder. The general feeling

among Hispanics was that they did not always receive fair treatment from the legal system. This distrust of the legal system would continue throughout the next quarter century.

During the 1930s and 1940s the *Alianza* was headed by a more conservative leadership which avoided social issues in favor of concentrating on internal problems and business issues. In the 1950s the *Alianza* once again turned its attention to social matters which affected Hispanics. A lawsuit was filed against the segregated school system in Tolleson, Arizona. After hearing the arguments, the court ruled the school system was in violation of the 1896 Supreme Court decision regarding the constitutionality of “separate but equal.” In the present case the court ruled that the Mexican school was separate but was not equal. Therefore the school system must be desegregated.

In 1954, the *Alianza* brought a suit to desegregate a swimming pool in Winslow, Arizona. Mexican Americans were allowed to use the pool only one day a week, and that was the day before it was drained and cleaned. Rather than go to court, city officials decided to desegregate the pool and allow Mexican Americans to use it every day along with the rest of the citizens. A year later, the *Alianza* established the Alianza Civil Rights Department which worked with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) on issues of mutual benefit.

The Alianza Civil Rights Department, in addition to working on cases involving discrimination, law enforcement and school segregation, also worked with people who had become naturalized citizens but were in danger of losing their citizenship. Under provisions of the McCarren-Walters Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952, individuals later deemed undesirable could be denaturalized and ejected from the country. It appeared that this was occurring whenever there was an economic downturn. Gradually interest waned and the Civil Rights Department was forgotten in the 1960s (Briegel, 1974: 174-187).

Ignacio Lopez, the editor of *El Espectador* a San Bernardino, California, newspaper, organized Mexican Americans into Unity Leagues which were to support them against discrimination and to encourage political participation. *Mexicanos* were urged to register, vote, and support Hispanic candidates, and those who were eligible but not yet citizens were encouraged to seek citizenship. In dealing with discrimination, a lawsuit was filed in 1944 which ended segregation in public swimming pools.

An organization was formed in the 1940s to help elect Edward Roybal to the Los Angeles City Council. After Roybal was elected in 1949, the organization called the Community Service Organization (CSO) turned its attention to law enforcement and the treatment of Mexican Americans. The Organization pursued a number of cases involving police brutality. Perhaps the most publicized was the incident referred to as “Bloody Christmas,” when eight Los Angeles police officers were indicted for the beating of seven young Mexican Americans in the Lincoln Heights police station on Christmas Eve in 1951. The battle against discrimination had to be fought on many fronts.

In 1946, LULAC successfully filed a case, *Mendez v. Westminster*, which ended 100 years of segregated schools in California. Two years later, LULAC filed the case *Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District* which ended segregated schools for Mexican American students in Texas public schools. These two cases were precedents for the 1954 case, *Brown v. School Board of Topeka* which ended **segregation** in public schools for all minorities throughout the United States.

LULAC also filed an important case which had a profound effect on the legal system and the ability of Mexican Americans to get greater justice in the courts. The 1954 case *Hernandez v. the State of Texas* won the right of Mexican Americans to serve on juries. This was an important victory for the Hispanic community for it allowed them an opportunity to be tried by a jury of their peers, as was guaranteed by the Constitution. The absence of Hispanics on the jury in the *Sleepy Lagoon* trial was a factor which led to a decision based on racism and, ultimately, a mistrial. The systematic exclusion of Mexican Americans from juries had been a common practice, particularly in Texas.

An organization called the American Council of Spanish-Speaking People was founded in 1950. A member of the Council argued a case before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954 to overturn the conviction of a *Mexicano* who had been tried for murder. Upon hearing the facts, the conviction was overturned on the grounds that the trial was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment which guarantees equal protection. This case had been tried in Texas where Mexican Americans were excluded from juries, thus depriving them of their right to be judged by their peers.

The Problem

During this time there was widespread agreement that there was a problem which needed to be addressed. However, there was no agreement as to what the problem was. In the South they spoke of the “Negro problem,” while in the Southwest it was the “Mexican problem.” In fact, there was neither a “Negro problem” nor a “Mexican problem” but a problem of racism. Both minorities were blamed for a myriad of social problems, including unemployment, low wages, diseases, crime, and a decrease in morality. While some people would have been happy to see these minorities removed from society altogether, there were others who wanted to see them stay because they provided cheap labor. Of course, outside of work they should stay in their place.

The issue of the “Mexican problem” was not new to the Southwest. It had existed ever since Mexicans have lived in the United States. Some people saw the problem as one of assimilation. They believed that there were significant physical or genetic differences as well as cultural differences which made it difficult, if not impossible, for Mexicans to assimilate into American society. Others saw it as a matter of an inferior race which threatened to mongrelize the American population, undermine the American culture and reduce the vitality of the nation. The discussions and concerns were most intense in the Southwest, particularly in Texas, which had a large Mexican population.

Large-scale integration had occurred in the military during the war causing concerns for some people because it had provided a crack in the separation which had existed in virtually all areas of society. The war experience had also emboldened many Mexican Americans to seek greater equality with Anglos. This was aided by the benefits provided by the G.I. Bill and recent court decisions. School segregation ended during this period with decisions in California and Texas, followed by *Brown v Topeka* in 1954. Some Anglo parents feared that desegregation would result in the dumbing-down of public education. There was also the concern that if Mexican Americans received more and better educations they would be unwilling to continue working in low-wage dead-end jobs and would start competing for more desirable ones. In Texas a segregationist referenda was placed on the ballots to preserve school segregation, to strengthen laws against intermarriage and to support local rule over federal “intrusions.” These passed in the state as a whole, but failed in some areas with high percentages of Hispanics. Several counties with large numbers of Hispanics refused to put the issues on their ballots. .

Segregated neighborhoods were also getting more difficult to maintain. All of these changes brought Mexican American and Anglo children together. Parents believed that this could make their worst fears come true. As the likelihood of interaction increased, concerns grew. Not just over the possibility of romantic involvement but also over the possibility of physical violence. The public had been warned by the media time and time again of the dangers *Mexicanos* posed to law-abiding citizens. Recent riots in California, including the widely publicized Zoot Suit riot, and gang violence, including the Sleepy Lagoon murder, were cited as proof of the danger. It was pointed out that they were descendants of Aztecs who were a violent and blood-thirsty people. At the same time, *Mexicanos* were believed to be a cowardly people who could not prevail in a fair fight. In Texas it was common to hear the refrain “Remember the Alamo.”

The “Mexican problem” was most intense in small towns and rural areas, which are invariably more conservative and resistant to change than large urban areas. In rural parts of Texas it was not uncommon to find segregated towns or sections of towns, schools, churches, cemeteries and some businesses. The segregation could be both **de jure**, based on local or town ordinances or administrative policies, and **de facto** based on custom. Whatever the basis, it was rather strictly enforced and violations on the part of *Mexicanos* or Anglos could be subject to **social sanctions**.

The “problem” was greatly reduced as a result of four factors. One was WW II which gave Mexican Americans the opportunity to interact with Anglos on an equal basis, and provide them with new experiences and skills. After the war they were able to use money provided by the G.I. Bill to get a better education, buy a home and start a business. A second factor was a decrease in the economic and political power of local growers. Corporate owned agribusiness and the mechanization of agriculture changed the relationship between owner and worker. Fewer workers were needed and the government passed a minimum wage of one dollar an hour for farm workers. Third was the increasing power of urban-based politics. Urban politicians have different concerns than rural people and keeping Mexican Americans and Anglos separated was not a major concern. With the

changes which were taking place many *Mexicanos* moved from rural areas into the cities. The fourth event which greatly affected Mexican American-Anglo relations were the efforts of the Civil Rights Movement. The various actions taken not only focused attention on the injustices of the situation of minorities, but also won important victories (Montejano, 1987: 262-287). As a result of these factors the “Mexican Problem” was greatly improved, but the real problem of racism was not.

After the war Mexican American veterans in Texas, with the support of LULAC, formed the American G.I. Forum (AGIF), which was loosely modeled after the American Legion. It spread throughout the Southwest, and later was found nationwide. Its primary purpose was to engage in legal and political action which would benefit Hispanics. The efforts of AGIF, LULAC and other such organizations in bringing about much needed changes were helpful, but they did not eliminate racism among law enforcement officials. Abuses of their power were common occurrences throughout the Southwest. In 1951 an event occurred referred to as “Bloody Sunday” in which seven young Mexican Americans were beaten by police officers while in the Lincoln Heights jail in Los Angeles (Adler, 1974:157). Young *Mexicanos* were typically viewed as gang members who were capable of violence at any time. Such beliefs appear to have justified harsh treatment against them in the minds of the police and served to blunt any criticism of police actions which the public may have had.

In 1958 a Catholic priest named Thomas McCullough became an organizer of the Agricultural Workers Association (AWA) an organization of *Mexicano* farm workers with whom he had been working throughout the 1950s. He had always been a strong supporter of organized labor unions and believed the only way to improve the lives of the farm workers was to organize them. Father McCullough and his colleague Father Donald McDonnell were known as the “*Bracero* Priests.” Together the two priests had formed an apostolate called the Spanish Mission Band to work with *braceros*. One of those with whom he worked was Dolores Huerta who, together with Cesar Chavez, was to become an important union leader of farm workers in the 1960s (London and Anderson, 1971: 83-93). Concerned individuals, Hispanic and nonHispanic, banded together for justice.

Another organization which formed in the late 1950s was the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA). This California organization, as its name indicates, was focused on politics. It was highly partisan, invariably favoring Democrats. Although it supported Democratic candidates in general, it was particularly interested in helping Hispanic candidates and others who favored Hispanic issues. One of its primary means of support was to help get out the vote. In an attempt to bring to the attention of members of Congress the serious problems facing Hispanics, and to provide the needed government assistance, Senator Joseph Montoya (D. NM) introduced a bill in 1960 entitled “Establish an Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs.” It eventually found its way to the Foreign Affairs Committee, which indicated that Mexican Americans were still considered foreigners. The bill languished there for years.

Prior to the 1960 Presidential election, Dr. Hector Garcia helped establish Viva Kennedy clubs with the goal of encouraging Hispanics to vote for John F. Kennedy who

was believed to be sympathetic to the political and economic aspirations of Hispanics. The successful election of Kennedy inspired Dr. Garcia to organize the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASO) which was an umbrella organization for the multiple Hispanic organizations in Texas. Kennedy's election gave hope to Hispanics that they could make a difference, and that by banding together they could achieve their goals. PASO sought to use political means to solve economic and social problems which they faced.

Other attempts to seek government aid in order to improve the economic situation of Mexican Americans also met difficulties in the Labor Department's Manpower Administration. Eventually the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs was established in 1967 by President Johnson. It appears that this was in response to the Chicano Movement and in gratitude for their "Viva Johnson" support which was given in the 1964 presidential election. The purpose of the Committee was threefold. First, help solve problems. Second, ensure that federal programs reach Mexican Americans and provide assistance. Third, establish new programs, as needed (Rankin, 1973: 146).

Postwar Progress

Although the war had been deadly and destructive, it does appear that for minorities military service was an aid in their struggle for social justice and civil rights. Not only did it serve to awaken what one author called "The Sleeping Giant," which was included in the title of her report on Hispanics (Denlinger, 1985), but it gave them the resources necessary to advance their cause. The resources came in the form of the G.I. Bill. This provided veterans the opportunity to receive help in buying a home, a loan for starting a business, and, something extremely important for success in the modern world, money for education. At that time Mexican Americans, but particularly Mexicans and American Mexicans who often had no more than a rudimentary education, were among the least educated ethnic groups in the United States. This lack of education had social and economic consequences.

Educational attainment of Mexican Americans has improved, nevertheless it still lags behind that of Asians, Anglos, and Blacks. At times the dropout, or as some would say "pushout," rate for Mexican Americans has been as high as 50 percent. Language problems, together with the low level of educational success which results from language deficiencies, can cause some students to feel they are wasting their time going to school. Therefore, they may leave school to earn money. The result is often a cycle of poverty. The social scientist John Burma (1970) compared the Mexican American subculture at that time to Oscar Lewis' (1966) "**culture of poverty**." In the comparison Burma notes that there are many similarities including a pragmatic view of education which limits educational aspirations, a communication system with differences from the dominant culture, a **matrifocal** family which is centered around the mother and often exhibits the absent father syndrome, a present-time orientation and a general lack of planning for the future, an attitude of fatalism which accepts and views much of life as beyond personal control, an exaggerated concern for *machismo* which includes sexual exploitation, social relationships which are comparatively few but are deep and possibly quite emotional, and a tendency for relatively few memberships or formal organized social relationships.

The education of individual Mexican Americans was important to progress, but so too was the education of the general public regarding the plight of many of their fellow citizens. One step in this direction was the documentary *Harvest of Shame* which was shown on television in 1960 to a national audience at Thanksgiving. It was meant to make people aware of the high cost to migrant workers and their families of keeping food prices low for the general public. Interviews with some of the workers revealed that if the crops were not abundant it was often necessary to work more than 10-12 hours in order to make enough money just to feed the family for that day. In addition to low wages, unsanitary conditions and substandard housing, workers frequently had to endure exposure to pesticides which were sometimes applied by crop-dusting airplanes while they were in the fields. Growers who were interviewed admitted when questioned that they would not be willing or able to do this work, but that migrant workers were “different.”

There was a general belief among Anglos that Mexican Americans were also different. Although they were American citizens and were legally “white,” they were not considered or treated as such. In Texas they were often excluded from public parks, swimming pools, public schools with Anglos, restaurants, sections of the city, and even cemeteries. Some funeral homes would not receive them and some restaurants or other businesses had signs which read “we serve whites only, no Spanish or Mexicans,” and “No dogs, Negroes or Mexicans.” There were some towns which were referred to as “sundown towns.” This was because they did not allow Negroes or Mexicans to be in town after dark. This large scale discrimination against Mexican Americans was not de jure but de facto, based on strict social codes.

Mexican Americans were looking for a chance to challenge this discrimination in court, but they needed the right case. The opportunity came in a murder case in which the defendant was convicted by a jury of Anglos. There is a constitutional guaranty that a person will be judged by his peers. In the case of Pete Hernandez this did not happen. When this issue was presented to the Texas courts they ruled that since Mexican Americans are officially classified as “white,” a jury of Anglos are their peers since they are also “white.” However, the case was taken to the U.S. Supreme Court. This was the first case involving Mexican Americans to ever appear before the Nation’s highest court and the first time Mexican American lawyers ever argued a case there. In the case *Hernandez v State of Texas*, the Court ruled in favor of Hernandez, thus allowing Mexican Americans to serve on juries in Texas for the first time.

Due in large part to the benefits of the G.I. Bill and efforts of various organizations, things slowly improved for Mexican Americans. Ironically, however, their discontent appeared to increase during this period. As improvement occurs, hope increases together with impatience for further and faster improvement which leads to a greater feeling of **relative deprivation**. The focus of this feeling is on the present and future rather than on the past. The past only serves as a reminder of how long they had been waiting.

Mexican Americans’ ancestors had been victims of Spanish colonialism for hundreds of years. As such, they, like all colonized people, were exploited for the benefit of their colonizers. Finally in response to “el Grito de Dolores,” they revolted to gain control over

their own lives and benefit from their own labor. They knew it would not be easy, for their exploiters would not give up their advantages without a struggle. This time it was the Mexican Americans themselves who were victims, not of some foreign country but of members of their own country. They were subjected to internal colonialism, with Anglos exploiting them for their own benefit. The time had come for Mexican Americans to follow the example of their Mexican ancestors and the early Americans who refused to continue to be victims in their own countries. In the following period the revolt began in earnest, commonly referred to as the Civil Rights Movement. This event marked the end of the period and the beginning of the next period.

Conclusion

In the middle of this period there was a rerun of the 1930s illegal action on the part of the U.S. government when it deported Mexican Americans along with Mexicans in what was referred to as “Repatriation.” During the 1950s Mexicans, as well as Mexican Americans, were once again deported in what was called “Operation Wetback” which had the stated objective of reducing the number of undocumented Mexican immigrants. In 1954 alone over one million people of Mexican descent were deported, often without the benefit of court hearings, thus violating the rights of some American citizens of Mexican descent (Kromkowski, 2013, 47),

However, this period was distinguished by the many Mexican American veterans who, upon returning from the war, formed or joined organizations in order to improve their lives as they had helped improve the lives of others in various parts of the world. This was not the first time they had attempted this. From the first decades of the 20th century they had joined unions such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). They had also led and participated in strikes, and often suffered for their actions.

This was also a time when organizations were formed to change the unjust situation which had prevailed since the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. However, as a situation improves and members of a minority gain more equality with the dominant group, they often become even more frustrated and unhappy. This is because with improvement, they are inclined to evaluate their current situation by comparing themselves to the dominant group and focus more on the inequalities which still remain than on the gains which have been made. The result of this comparison is a feeling of relative deprivation. Thus, ironically, increases in equality can often result in greater expectations and greater dissatisfaction with their current situation. However, dissatisfaction and greater expectations are not enough, these must result in constructive action.

Many Hispanic organizations which were formed shared a common goal—social justice. Through their collective action successes were achieved which included the desegregation of schools and public swimming pools, protection of citizenship of naturalized immigrants, and the integration of juries in Texas. They were also able to focus attention on the long-standing issue of police brutality, which in Texas dated back to the days of the Texas Rangers. Throughout the Southwest the legal system failed Mexican

Americans, as was well documented in an investigation carried out in the next period by the United States Commission on Civil Rights. These successes achieved through organized efforts paved the way for the Chicano Movement of the next period.

This period ended with the determination of ethnic minorities that they were no longer going to continue waiting for the government and the rest of society to finally recognize their rights as American citizens. They had fulfilled their obligations, having fought and died for their country. Now it was time to enjoy their rights. A civil rights movement was underway. There was no particular date or event which marked its beginning but, in general, it appears that the Black participation preceded the Chicano participation in what has become known as The Civil Rights Movement.. However, both were active during the 1960s, a decade identified with the Movement..

Chronology of Period Events

Ethnic Discontent and Organization

- 1947 Organization of G.I. Forum for veterans
- 1948 LULAC files Delgado v Bastrop I.S.D. lawsuit in Texas
- 1950s Increase in number of Mexicans seeking jobs in the United States
- 1954 Brown v Topeka Board of Education ending school segregation
- 1954 LULAC takes Hernandez v State of Texas to Supreme Court to let Mexican Americans serve on juries
- 1954-8 Operation Wetback was designed to catch and return illegal Mexicans to their home country
- 1957 Mexican Mafia was created in a juvenile detention facility in California
- 1960s A series of events occurred involving Mexican Americans' struggle for civil rights which is referred to as the Chicano Movement

Names to Remember

Alianza Civil Rights Department
Alianza Hispano-Americana
Brown v Topeka Board of Education
Community Service Organization
Delgado v Bastrop ISD
Dr. Hector Garcia
G. I. Bill
G.I. Forum

Hernandez v State of Texas
MAPA
Mendez v Westminster
PASO
Sleeping Giant
The System
Viva Kennedy Clubs
Viva Johnson

Sociological Glossary

Culture of Poverty - idea that poverty is in a person due to socialization, not based on economics

De Facto - segregation or discrimination which is practiced but is not required by law

De Jure - segregation which is required by law, legal discrimination (e.g. Jim Crow laws)

Neolocal - a couple lives in a home of their own away from parents

Matrifocal - the mother is the stable parent who is the driving force, often absent father

Relative deprivation - the negative feelings of lacking what others have, result of comparison

Social sanctions - society's reaction to deviant or conforming behavior (e.g. punishment or rewards)

Voluntary association - a group deliberately and freely formed to achieve a certain goal

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Related Reading

During this period, as well as all previous periods, there had been numerous complaints of discrimination against the legal system in the Southwest, a situation which existed ever since Mexican Americans had become United States citizens. The United States Commission on Civil Rights finally launched an investigation into the continuous complaints and allegations against the law enforcement agencies and the process of the administration of justice. The Commission's staff attorneys conducted field investigations in 1967-68 during which time they interviewed 450 people. In addition, questionnaires were sent to law enforcement agencies in five states and California Legal Assistance, Inc. was contracted to study service by Mexican Americans on grand juries.

The Commission found there was widespread evidence that equal protection under the law was being withheld in the case of Mexican Americans. They were subjected to unduly harsh treatment by law enforcement officers, often arrested on insufficient grounds, received physical and verbal abuse, and assessed penalties which were considered to be disproportionately severe. The Commission also found that Mexican Americans were deprived of the proper use of bail and adequate legal counsel. On juries, both petit and grand, they were underrepresented and were also excluded from full participation in law enforcement agencies. Finally, the problem of language was believed to have been a contributing factor in the inequitable administration of justice.

The following is taken from the Commission's report titled: Mexican Americans and the Administration of Justice in the Southwest, which was issued March 1970. There were four main parts to the investigation: Law Enforcement, The Judicial Process, Language, and Participation by Mexican Americans in Agencies of Law Enforcement and Justice. After 86 pages of findings there is a three- page conclusion followed by nine pages of recommendations. The entire report, including appendices, contains 135 pages.

Chapter 1

The Treatment of Mexican Americans

Complaints of excessive and discriminatory use of force

“A peace officer in making an arrest has the right only to use that amount of force reasonably necessary to effect the arrest and to detain the prisoner. . . . All peace officers should that generally the sole purpose of an arrest is to bring the alleged culprit before a court of law and not for the purpose of giving any peace officer the opportunity of wreaking the public's or his personal vengeance upon the prisoner.”

This rule from the Texas Law Enforcement Officers' "Handbook", reflects the law of most American jurisdictions, including Arizona, California, Colorado and New Mexico the other Southwestern States included in the study. Despite these official State policies, the Commission and its staff during the course of the present study received numerous complaints of excessive force by law enforcement officers against Mexican Americans. Many of the complainants believed that they would not have been subjected to such treatment had they been Anglos.

The most extreme allegations were made by resident of small towns where according to many Mexican Americans, such incidents are not unusual. Matt Garcia, a Mexican American lawyer who has practiced for many years in San Antonio, Texas and other cities in south and west Texas, testified at the Commission's San Antonio hearing in December 1968. He related the following incident involving a Mexican American in south Texas which he alleged occurred in that area in 1965.

. . . . a man went to the courthouse to inquire as to his father's case. He was told that he was going to be tried at 7 So he went to find out whether or not the man was going to be tried at 7 am or 7 pm. And this inquiry was made of the Justice of the peace.

When this inquiry was made, the sheriff walked in and said: "What do you want, Mexican? . . . they call you "Meskin" and the man said: "Well, this is none of your concern," and they proceed to pistol-whip him. Both the sheriff and the judge. The man had a very severe gash across his scalp. He was beaten about the face and he was dragged from the court. . . .And he kept yelling that he was going to die, that he was bleeding to death.

Garcia testified that the victim s hospitalized because of the injuries resulting from the beating and that no criminal charges were filed against him.

Another Mexican American lawyer testifying at the hearing stated that conditions in south Texas have not changed during the past few years and that law enforcement officials are determined to suppress any attempts by Mexican Americans to challenge abuses of their authority:

And they think that they have a right to. They think that laws are made for them to use as they like. And I honestly think that these people believe that they have a right to expect the Mexican American to take everything that they dish out.

And when you stand up and speak for your rights . . . they think that you're infringing on their rights.

Alfred Figueroa, a businessman and a life-long resident of Blythe, California (population about 20 percent Mexican American) told the Commission's California State Advisory Committee of being beaten by the local police in 1963. According to Figueroa, he was having a soft drink in a bar when three police officers told him to come outside to talk to them. At that time, Figueroa said, there were many migrant farm workers in town. Believing he was being mistaken for one of them, he told the policemen that "they were

barding up the wrong tree.” When Figueroa refused to leave the bar, he stated, one of the policemen said that he was “just another smart Mexican,” threw him on the floor, kicked him and handcuffed him. Figueroa claimed that he made no move to resist the arrest, yet the officers threw him in a car and when he could not get in because of the narrowness of the door, slugged him and kinked him inside. By this time, according to Figueroa, a great crowd had gathered because he was well known in town.

He gave the following account of this incident to the Committee:

In the process of trying to get me in they kicked me and kicked me and kicked me and I would get up and I said why are you doing this to me . . . and they would say: “Get in there, you damn Mexican.”

Figueroa was taken to jail and charged with drunkenness. He was acquitted of this charge. With great difficulty, he found a lawyer who was willing to bring a civil action against the police officers and obtained recovery against one of the officers.

Figueroa stated that he and his brothers have been subjected to constant harassment at the hands of the local police. According to a complaint filed in April 1968 by his brother, Gilbert, against law enforcement officials of the city of Blyth and the county of Riverside, such an incident occurred in October 1967 in Riverside County. The complaint alleges that two off-duty Blythe plainclothesmen assaulted Gilbert Figueroa and falsely arrested him “because he is a Mexican American and . . . one of the Figueroa brothers whose opposition to police malpractice and . . . activities in urging and aiding Mexican Americans and other minority persons to assert their rights are well known in the Blythe area.” The complaint further alleges that two Riverside County Sheriff’s officers, who were on duty, refused to protect the plaintiff from the Blythe plainclothesmen when he asked them to do so and that the Blythe Chief of Police refused to let the plaintiff lodge a complaint against these men.

At the Commission’s San Antonio hearing, Mrs. Frances Alvarez and Mrs. Margarita Contreras testified that on the evening of June 9, 1968, at the Pecos Memorial Hospital in Pecos, Texas, Officer Floyd South of the Texas State Highway Patrol struck both of them, causing serious head injury to s. Alvarez. The alleged assault arose out of an argument with Officer South, after he had accused Mrs. Contreras’ 16 year-old son, who had been in an automobile accident, of smoking marijuana. According to Mrs. Alvarez, (the young man’s aunt) she and her husband and the boy’s parents became very upset, at this allegation and challenged Officer South to prove that the boy was an addict. Officer South denied that he had made the accusation and when the boy’s mother insisted, he allegedly slapped her, hit Mr. Contreras, and struck Mrs. Alvarez with his fists. Mrs. Joan Kerr, a nurse who was on duty at the hospital at the time of this incident, testified at the hearing that she heard a woman scream outside the hospital and ran out to investigate:

I saw (Officer South) hit Mrs. Contreras. And Mrs. Alvarez was bleeding profusely from her forehead . . . the four of them were huddled together and Mr. South . . . kept motioning his hands and telling them: “Come on, come on, who wants to be next?”

Officer South, who testified at the hearing, denied that he struck Mrs. Alvarez or Mrs. Contreras. He claimed that Mrs. Contreras, Mr. Contreras, and Mr. Alvarez “jumped on him” outside the hospital and that he hit Mr. Contreras once in self defense. When asked how Mrs. Alvarez received her wound, he replied he had “no idea.”

Allegations of unjust use of force by police against Mexican Americans also were voiced in interviews in major southwestern cities. Howard Rosenberg, general counsel of the legal Aid Society of Denver, Colorado, said that some Denver policemen abuse Mexican Americans and treat them with contempt. As an example, he gave the following account of the experience of an elderly Mexican American client: When the client’s automobile steering wheel became loose one evening he stopped and requested the assistance of a policeman. The policeman pulled alongside but instead of coming over to the client’s car, told him to come into the police car. When the client explained what had happened, the officer said that there was nothing wrong with the car, that the man was just drunk. The client denied this. During the discussion, the officer lit a cigarette and the client asked if he could have one. “There are no cigarettes for you, Mexican,” the officer allegedly replied. When the client, who was offended, tried to walk away, he was arrested and jailed. At the station, Rosenberg stated, the client was insulted. In the jail he reportedly was put into the “drunk tank” and received a broken jaw from a beating administered by a deputy sheriff.

The client was tried and convicted of drunkenness. His testimony and that of the arresting officer conflicted and the judge chose to believe the latter. Rosenberg believes the client was not drunk and had a good case against the Denver police, but the client became so discouraged by his conviction, which he appealed unsuccessfully, that he was unwilling to bring a civil action based on his arrest and mistreatment.

Jesus Dominguez, a resident of Los Angeles, told a meeting of three Commissioners held during the week of the Commission’s San Antonio hearing of being beaten by Los Angeles police officers in September 1968. Dominguez said he went to a dance in response to a callo from his children, who had been at the dance and had been arrested. When he asked one of the officers present how he could find his children, the officer answered, according to Dominguez, “We don’t have any time for you, Mexican.” Dominguez then told the Commissioners:

So I got little excited and said, “Why you dirty no-good cops”. . . .And the policeman on the righthand side, he immediately got out and opened the door and said, “Get in.”

I said, “For what?” And he said “Get in.” And I said, “For what?” And he said, “You better get in or I’ll crack your skull.”

Dominguez said he made attempts to resist arrest with a small iron bar he carried for protection, but was soon overpowered by several officers, taken to a park and so severely beaten by the officers as to require several successive hospitalizations for his injuries.

The Department of Justice investigated this case on the basis of the Commission’s complaint and determined that it did not warrant Federal prosecution. According to the

FBI reports on the investigation, the five officers who arrested Mr. Dominguez claimed that his injuries were the result of the force the officers had to use to arrest him. Mr. Dominguez was charged with assaulting an officer; his two trials, in June and October 1969 resulted in a hung jury.

Other allegations that law enforcement officers used excessive force in arresting Mexican Americans were made by the Commission. Although the law enforcement officers involved in these alleged incidents did not show overt bias, Mexican Americans described the incidents as examples of what they alleged to be the common use of excessive force by officers in making arrests of Mexican Americans.

At the previously mentioned special meeting of the Commissioners in San Antonio, for example, Mrs. Socorro Barba, who lives in a predominantly Mexican American neighborhood in Los Angeles, alleged that her 13 year-old son Salvador was severely beaten by three Los Angeles policemen in connection with an arrest for attempted burglary on November 9, 1968.

According to Mrs. Barba, the incident occurred as follows: At about 1:30 in the morning of November 9, an officer called to tell her that her son had been arrested at 10:20 the preceding evening and had fallen and hurt his head. Mrs. Barba went to pick up the boy who said he had been beaten. The officers, Mrs. Barba said, told her that Salvador had a small cut and not to worry. As a result, she did not believe her son at first. On the morning after the arrest, however, the boy had to be taken to the hospital because he was bleeding profusely from his head. At the hospital it was discovered that the boy already had 40 stitches in his head which were put in the previous night at the same hospital, where the officers had taken the boy between his arrest and their call to Mrs. Barba. According to her son and several other witnesses, the stitches were required because of the beating he received from the officers. Salvador Barba has been charged with burglary.

Mrs. Barba's complaint, like Mr. Dominguez' was referred to the Department of Justice. The Department determined that Federal prosecution was not warranted by the evidence uncovered by the investigation. (However in neither case did the Department specify the grounds on which this decision was based). The Federal Bureau of Investigation's reports on the Barba case were based largely on the Los Angeles Police Department's (L.A.P.D.) own investigation of Mrs. Barba's complaint. This investigative report contained the statements of several doctors who treated Salvador Barba and were of the opinion that his injuries were not inflicted by beatings. The L.A.P.D. investigation also contained the statements of several witnesses named by Mrs. Barba, who told the local police investigators (contrary to what they reportedly told Mrs. Barba) that they did not see or hear the incident.

Paul Phillips, an attorney in Albuquerque, stated that in March of 1967 he saw from his office window a policeman and a man in civilian clothes chasing a young boy whom they had caught in a parking lot. Phillips said that the man in civilian clothes "dragged the kid down and the cop jumped on his back and started riding piggy-back on him and started to push his head against the pavement. Phillips reported that he was so outraged by what

seemed to be the use of excessive force that he ran down to the street to investigate the incident. He said he followed the arresting officer to the precinct and complained about the officer's treatment of the youth. According to Phillips, the victim, a 16 year-old Mexican American accused of shop-lifting who had tried to run away from the officers, claimed that his head had been smashed against the pavement seven times. Phillips stated that the youth's family did not wish to pursue the matter and that the police said that Phillips could not have seen what had happened from a fifth floor office window. Police investigation of Phillips' complaint exonerated the officer involved.

Some of the incidents reported to the Commission had resulted in death. These generally involved resistance to arrest or an attempt to escape from police custody. Mexican Americans have asserted that the police officers would not have used deadly force against an Anglo under similar circumstances.

One such incident occurred in Alpine, Texas in June 1968. According to reports of local residents, a police officer was chasing Henry Ramos, a 16 year-old Mexican American driving a car, in order to get information about his brother. The officer, it was reported, had a reputation for being rough and abusive and had been accused in the past of harassing Ramos, his brother, and other Mexican Americans. The chase ended when the boy stopped his car and fled on foot and the pursuing officer shot him once—fatally. A police investigation resulted in the filing of a charge of murder without malice against the officer and an indictment by the local grand jury.

The Commission heard many other allegations that law enforcement officers in the Southwest use excessive force against Mexican Americans. There were other allegations of brutality in the cities previously mentioned—Los Angeles, Denver, and Albuquerque—as well as in other major cities—including Tucson, Arizona, San Antonio, Texas, El Paso, Texas, Austin, Texas, and small towns visited in the Southwest.

Although the Commission cannot establish the validity of each of these complaints—this is the function of a court—their prevalence suggests the existence of a serious problem. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that between January 1, 1965 and March 3, 1969 the Department of Justice received 256 complaints of police abuse, mostly of a serious nature, from Spanish surname persons in the five Southwestern States. The conclusion also is supported by the receipt of 174 complaints of serious police brutality against Mexican Americans by the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California during the past 2 years.

Unequal treatment of juveniles

For example, a counselor for the State employment office in Roswell, New Mexico, told the Commission's New Mexico State Advisory Committee:

I know that when we were brought up, there were young people in Roswell who were friends of ours and the boys would get into minor skirmishes, breaking up signs or something like this. They would be taken to the police department, picked up, but they would be released to the custody of their parents. As far as we know, no charges were ever

made against these people. This is why, I think, I was very shocked when I became involved in working with these (Mexican American) young people, especially with my young friends, and found that charges were made against them, such as stealing cantaloupes out of a farmer's field, curfew violations, being truant from school and things like this. These would all be on record and they all have quite extensive juvenile records.

Among the Anglo people I work with, these just aren't done. I don't think Anglo children are this much better. I think this just happens, and this is the way it is.

Arthur Esquibel, the former chief of police of Las Vegas, New Mexico told the Committee that when he was chief between 1962 and 1966, local officials proposed to give two trouble making young gangs in his community—one Mexican American and one Anglo—widely differing types of punishment. The community was concerned by acts of vandalism, believed to be the work of the Mexican American gang. Asked to investigate, the police found that both gangs were involved, apparently competing to see which gang could be the most destructive. At first Esquibel had difficulty persuading the community that there actually was an Anglo gang in addition to the Mexican American gang. Subsequently, local public officials called a meeting of the parents and members of both gangs and proposed that since most of the Mexican American boys had arrest records, charges should be filed against them. The punishment proposed for the Anglo boys was that they be disciplined in school by being forbidden to play basketball for 3 weeks.

Esquibel, as chief of police, insisted that, since all of the boys had committed the same offenses, all or none should be charged. As a result, no charges were brought against any of the gang members.

Mrs. Jesusita Vigil of Silver City, New Mexico stated that in February 1968, her 16 year-old son was arrested for truancy and placed in jail. The school principal and the probation officer reportedly offered the boy his choice of going to the State reformatory, joining the Job Corps, or leaving the State. Willie T. Gonzales, a resident of Silver City, commented on this incident:

They do this for Spanish-speaking people, they give them this kind of choice. To Anglos, it is just a matter of going to their parents and solving this between them. That is the way it's done for one group and done differently for another.

It was alleged that Mexican American parents often are not notified when their children are arrested. Mrs. Vigil said that after her son had been arrested for truancy and jailed, 2 days elapsed before she could find out where he was. Mrs. Amalia Zamora, a resident of Portales, New Mexico, claimed she was never notified when her son was arrested and jailed for truancy. Carleton Crane, a former policeman, said that in Portales, parents of Mexican American children are seldom informed that their children have been arrested. A young Mexican American from Portales reportedly was going to the movies with his mother when he heard his brother yell down from the city jail that he had been arrested. This was the first notification the family had of the arrest which apparently had occurred a day earlier.

Discriminatory treatment of young Mexican Americans was alleged in other areas of the Southwest. Mose Trujillo, under-sheriff of Denver County cited the case of a young Mexican American who had just bought a BB gun and was arrested upon leaving the store for illegal possession of a weapon. He contrasted this incident with another in which a young Anglo who had been shooting at windows with his BB gun, was sent home by the police. Minoi Yasuf, director of the Denver Commission on community Relations, said that different treatment of Anglo and Mexican American youths is common in Denver. Yasuf was concerned that, as a result of unwarranted police action against them, many Mexican American juveniles build up arrest records which jeopardize their employment prospects.

Mike Gonzalez, an attorney in Del Rio, Texas, stated that there was unequal treatment of Mexican American and Anglo youths in south Texas. According to Gonzalez, some young Mexican Americans, recently caught breaking into a beer distributor's store in a small town in Texas, were arrested and charged with burglary. At about the same time some Anglo youths, according to Gonzalez, also broke into a store, stole some beer, and held a drunken orgy which resulted in their arrest. According to Gonzalez, because they were the sons and daughters of prominent Anglo members of the community, the incidents were not reported in the local newspapers and the young people were not charged.

Other forms of discriminatory treatment

A common complaint was that Mexican Americans are treated with less respect and less regard for their rights than Anglos. These allegations related largely to the manner and tone of voice used by law enforcement officers in approaching Mexican Americans, the treatment by law enforcement officers of Mexican American traffic offenders and the frequent stopping of Mexican Americans on suspicion.

Lack of courtesy—A national survey of police-community relations prepared by Michigan State University for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement uncovered widespread complaints by both Spanish and black Americans in every city surveyed concerning verbal abuse, discourtesy, and the use of "trigger words." In the course of this study, the Commission also heard many reports that police treat Mexican Americans rudely and disrespectfully.

Participants in a meeting at the North Side Action Center in Denver at which a Commission staff member was present, stated that law enforcement officers commonly indulged in verbal abuse of Mexican Americans by insult and threats. Such treatment often has the effect of escalating a minor incident into an argument between a policeman and Mexican American, resulting in an arrest, a proliferation of charges, and, at times, violence.

Rev. Charles R. White, program director of a settlement house in a Mexican American neighborhood in Los Angeles, compared police enforcement of the curfew around the settlement house and his recollection of police action at curfew hour in his own (Anglo) community. According to Reverend White, if Mexican American youths are standing on the sidewalks near the settlement house at 9:30 to 10:00 o'clock, the police stop, tell them

in forceful terms to leave, and threaten them with arrest if they do not clear the street by 11 o'clock. Reverend White's own recollection of police enforcement of the curfew in his youth was quite different.

Now, my experience growing up in an Anglo community is that when it got close to curfew hour, they would come by and they would kind of motion out of their windshield, you know, and you know what that small motion meant.

He added that young people in East Los Angeles were afraid to hold a dance at his settlement house for fear the police would break it up and arrest them.

Mexican Americans also suffer disproportionately from the tendency of police to be less courteous to poor people than to those in higher economic brackets. Ray Anaya, sheriff of Carlsbad, New Mexico, told the New Mexico State Advisory Committee that double standard exists in his jurisdiction:

For instance, an officer goes (to) a house of a man who has a long police record, knocks on the door, the wife opens the door, and he goes in the house. If that were in another place in town, Riverside Drive, I am sure it would not happen because Riverside Drive in Carlsbad is considered the higher class section. This happens in the south part of town, where the Spanish American and colored people live and some Anglos.

A report on San Diego's police-community relations, prepared by the University of California, quotes a resident of San Diego as saying that in the predominantly Negro and Spanish African areas of town:

If a policeman knocks on a door and receives no immediate response, even though he may hear someone inside, he would kick the door down and enter. Yet police officers in La Jolla (predominantly Anglo community in San Diego county) go to the back door when they are on official business.

In San Antonio, Mexican American youths complained that some officers address them as "Pachuco" or say "Hey, punk, come here", and that they are arrested if they protest. One young man said, "There is always something they can stick you with if they want." Some Mexican American high school students in San Antonio alleged that while they are on their way home from school, officers tell them to tuck in their shirt tails and to stop wearing pointed shoes.

Mr. Rosenberg, of the Denver Legal Aid Society, reported that a young Mexican American was stopped by a Denver policeman as he was escorting a blonde Anglo girl home from a party. The girl was driving, Mr. Rosenberg stated, and the officer told her she was speeding. The policeman then asked her escort: "Mexican, what are you doing with a white woman?" and arrested him. The young man was charged with four traffic violations which were dismissed in court since he was not driving the car. According to Mr. Rosenberg, the officer called the girl's mother to tell her that her daughter was out with a "Mexican."

Inequalities in treatment of traffic violations—Several persons, including some law enforcement officials, charged that Mexican Americans are treated more severely than Anglos for traffic violations. Such allegations were received from residents of Arizona, New Mexico, California, and Colorado.

The chief of police of Tucson, Arizona reported that Anglo police recruits who had just completed training duty with regular officers observed that “a Mexican American was much more likely to be ticketed for traffic violation than an Anglo” The chief stated that he believed these observations to be accurate and was endeavored to correct the situation. As of March 1968, traffic tickets in Tucson allegedly carried racial designations. These included “M” for Mexican until a protest was made by a Mexican American city councilman, resulting in the inclusion of Mexican Americans in the group labeled “Caucasian.”

Other such observations came from Philip Flores a high school student in Las Cruces, New Mexico who said that many Mexican American youths believe the police are more severe with them than with others in connection with motor vehicle offences and from Don Sosa, Jr., a lawyer in Las Cruces, who agreed.

Several persons reported harassment of Mexican Americans by the police under the pretext of automobile safety checks. The Lohman report gives a first-hand account of an incident in San Diego in which a young Mexican American was stopped and questioned at length for having a loose tail-light connection on his automobile. The person who saw this concluded that “the cop was just looking for the boy to do something or say something so he could lay him out”. A resident of Albuquerque said that in 1967 his 18 year-old son was stopped by the police, searched, and checked for needle marks without any apparent reason. When the young man asked the officers why he was being stopped, they reportedly said that he had a defective plastic cover on his automobile license plate.

A resident of Albuquerque reported that the police, after arresting a drunk who had injured a policeman in a Mexican American area, set up a retaliatory roadblock and proceeded to give out tickets for the slightest infraction. A law student in Denver said in a hall (where fights occasionally had erupted) and the police ticketed all cars leaving the area for the most minor violations.

Frequency of arrests for “investigation” and “stop and frisk” practices in Mexican American neighborhoods—Many complaints were heard—some from law enforcement officials—concerning the frequency of arrest on “suspicion” or “for investigation” and of dragnet “stop and frisk” practices in Mexican American neighborhoods.

According to Jess Cuellar, a probation officer in Phoenix, Arizona and a former policeman in that city, Mexican Americans living in South Phoenix, a predominantly Mexican American area, will be picked up for questioning by the police, sooner or later, even though they may have no police record. Henry Trujillo of Alamosa, Colorado reported that until he complained about the practice, the State highway patrol would stop all Mexican Americans leaving Lariat, Colorado (a predominantly Mexican American

town adjoining Alamosa) on the way to work and search many of their cars. Trujillo, an investigator for the district attorney's office, reported that he discovered the practice because his wife was stopped by a highway patrol officer. Trujillo said that when his wife asked the patrolman what he was doing, he replied: "Just checking cars".

Such police practices particularly affect youths. In a study based on interviews with youths in Los Angeles in 1966, one author said:

... whether engaged in (delinquent) activities or not, whether members of delinquent gangs or not, Mexican American boys in general perceive getting into trouble with the police as a natural state of affairs and staying out of trouble as a stroke of fortune.

One of the most ambitious young men interviewed for the study, the president of his high school graduating class, said:

Mostly everybody gets in conflict with the police once in a while, whether it is a parking ticket, whether it is being arrested for drunk driving, for narcotics, or something else. . . .I got into trouble once. It was going home and I think it was about four blocks from the dance that they pulled me over, a police car pulled us over and pulled guns on us. They opened my eyes and wanted to know whether I was on dope. I wanted to know what I did. They just said that there was a report of some activity, that some Mexican boys were taking dope, that there was a *cholo* party. So they opened my eyes and everything, rolled up my sleeve, whether I was taking dope. Then they said that I was OK and let me go. But they had no reason for stopping me.

Many Mexican American juveniles complained that law enforcement officials frequently stop, question, and frisk them regardless of whether there are grounds to suspect them of having committed an offense. Young people in San Antonio claim they are often stopped and questioned by police officers, particularly at night.

Harassment of narcotics addicts in Mexican American communities—The Commission heard charges that police in Denver and Albuquerque harassed narcotics addicts in Mexican American neighborhoods. Although it is not clear that ethnic discrimination is involved, this appears to be a situation which affects Mexican Americans to a greater extent than others in these cities since Mexican Americans constitute a disproportionately high percentage of the addicts.

Marshall Quiat, a Denver attorney, claimed that the police hold persons suspected of using or possessing narcotics for up to 5 days without bringing any charges in the hope of getting confessions from them. Quiat said that there is no law authorizing such arrests in Denver. He thought that the police generally treated Mexican Americans worse than they treated Anglos.

A former narcotics addict stated that it is common for policemen in Albuquerque to arrest persons for "investigation" without bringing any charges against them. He has been held several times for investigation, "sometimes 2 or 3 days". A probation officer in

Albuquerque said that former addicts are picked up at random just because they are recognized by an officer and in most cases are released without charge.

On April 24, 1968, a Mexican American resident of Albuquerque with a long record of narcotics arrests was driving his car en route to an interview with a Commission staff member and allegedly was stopped by a sheriff's deputy who began to search his car. According to the man, when he asked whether the officer had a search warrant, the officer pointed his pistol at his temple and said: "This is all the warrant I need." At the interview the man stated that when his 4-year-old son, who was in the car, began to cry, the officer put his pistol away.

At the Albuquerque meeting of the New Mexico State Advisory Committee it was alleged that police treatment of narcotics addicts was a factor in their inability to escape from a pattern of unemployment and criminality. A Federal probation officer in Albuquerque, stated:

This is an everyday occurrence to be stopped and booked It is a continued cycle. . . .

If an addict on his caseload is unemployed, he said, the police will assume that he is stealing to provide for the cost of his addiction and will stop him when they see him and try to get information about his activities; if he refuses to cooperate, they charge him with vagrancy

. . . . This would involve the calling of a wrecker for his car, and then it would always cost him \$10, \$15 or \$20 to redeem the car. They would book him for matter of a day or two or three, and he would have to post a bond. Meantime, he has to borrow money from another addict or a relative, borrow enough for the bond and the car, not being employed. That night he goes out and steals and robs a couple of color TV sets or something to sell so he can pay off the bondsman and the car. This happens in a matter of a month, two or three times to this addict. . . . Of course, they don't feel they are getting a fair shake. . . . They can't keep up so they continually steal and they are pressured to steal even more by the way they are treated by the police.

Several Federal probation officers in Albuquerque complained that the local police make it very difficult for addicts on probation or parole to find and keep job. Often, the probation officers stated, when an addict does find a job the police contact the employer and tell him about the addict's criminal record. Alternatively they arrest the parolee for investigation and detain him for a few days, causing the parolee to miss several days of work and his employer to fire him.

One of the probation officers stated that while on parole a Mexican American addict under his supervision got a job on a ranch in the northeastern part of Mexico. Upon learning of this, an officer in the Bernalillo County Sheriff's Office on his own initiative wrote to the parolee's employer stating that the parolee was a notorious addict and thief and should not be trusted with the employer's property. The employer contacted the probation officer, who persuaded him not to fire the parolee.

Inadequate police protection

In rural areas, Commission staff members were told, Mexican Americans, especially migrant workers, found it difficult to obtain police protection when they needed it. In urban areas, Mexican Americans complained about the attitude of officers assigned to protect them rather than about the number of officers available in Mexican American neighborhoods.

In connection with study of sentencing done under contract to the Commission, the Western Center on Law and Poverty at the School of Law of the University of Southern California conducted interviews with Mexican Americans with respect to the administration of justice in California. Those interviewed were asked whether the police tended to “ignore the safety” of Mexican Americans. Of those who had an opinion on this subject, 44 replied that the police were not concerned with providing Mexican Americans adequate protection, while five saw no difference in their treatment of Mexican Americans and others. One person said “They’re only there to protect the property owned by other non-Mexican Americans.” Another added: “Their natural process of animal treatment toward Mexican Americans is such that if he staggers on the street it is because of narcotics, but when an Anglo staggers, they call a doctor. . . .

A poverty program administrator in San Jose said:

On the West Side in San Jose, the police say: ‘We are here to protect the rights of the individual,’ On the East Side, however, they say: ‘We’re here to enforce the law.’ They have a double standard: to them, it’s us versus them.

There is evidence that this double standard has significant impact in alienating Mexican Americans from the police. A Mexican American resident of Los Angeles said:

People do not see the police as protectors. They prefer to seek a relative’s help rather than risk an officer’s suspicions.

A national survey of police-community relations prepared for a task force of the President’s Commission of Justice found that “Latin Americans also tend to look upon the police as enemies who protect only the white power structure.

Carleton Crane, teacher of anthropology in eastern New Mexico and a former law enforcement officer, studied Mexican American attitudes toward the police in Portales, New Mexico and in Los Angeles, as a part of his doctoral dissertation in anthropology. When the windshield and headlights on Crane’s car were smashed while he was attending a Mexican American dance in Portales, his friends in the Mexican American community punished the offenders by ostracizing them from the community for a period of time. There was no thought of calling the local police. Mr. Crane remarked that this was typical:

This is more the way things are handled, rather than through the legal structure of the community. They feel the legal structure is an Anglo structure, not a Spanish American structure. There is a lack of confidence in the laws.

Summary

In the five Southwestern States which were the subject of this study, the Commission heard frequent allegations that law enforcement officials discriminated against Mexican Americans. Such discrimination includes more frequent use of excessive force against Mexican Americans than against Anglos, discriminatory treatment of juveniles, and harassment and discourteous treatment toward Mexican Americans in general. Complaints also were heard that police protection in Mexican American neighborhoods was less adequate than in other areas. The Commission's investigations showed that belief in law enforcement prejudice is widespread and is indicative of a serious problem of police-community relations between the police and Mexican Americans in the Southwest.

(The following are the conclusions reached by the Commission based on their findings)

Conclusion

This report paints a bleak picture of the relationship between Mexican Americans in the Southwest and the agencies which administer justice in the United States. The attitude of Mexican Americans towards the institutions responsible for the administration of justice—the police, the courts, and related agencies—is distrustful, fearful and hostile. Police departments, courts, the law itself are viewed as Anglo institutions in which Mexican Americans have no stake and from which they do not expect fair treatment.

The Commission found that the attitudes of Mexican Americans are based, at least in part, on the actual experience of injustice. Contacts with police represent the most common encounters with the law for the average citizen. There is evidence of police misconduct against Mexican Americans. In the Southwest, as throughout the Nation, remedies for police misconduct are inadequate.

Acts of police misconduct result in mounting suspicion and incite incidents of resistance to officers. These are followed by police retaliation, which results in escalating hostilities.

The jury system is also not free from bias against Mexican Americans. At times, bail is set discriminatorily and inequalities in the availability of counsel lead to other injustices in trial and sentencing. Skilled interpreters, sensitive to the culture and background of Mexican Americans, are rare in areas of the Southwest where Mexican Americans predominate. Finally, Mexican Americans have been excluded from full participation in many of the institutions which administer justice in the Southwest. Mexican Americans are underrepresented in employment in police departments, State prosecutor's offices, courts, and other official agencies. Consequently, these agencies tend to show a lack of knowledge about and understanding of the cultural background of Mexican Americans.

The Commission recognizes that individual law enforcement officers and court officers have made positive efforts to improve the administration of justice in their communities. The fact, however, that Mexican Americans see justice being administered unevenly throughout the Southwest tends to weaken their confidence in an otherwise fair system. In addition, the absence of impartial tribunals in which claims of mistreatment can be litigated to a conclusion accepted by all sides tends to breed further distrust and cynicism.

This report is not intended to burden the agencies of justice with responsibilities which lie with society as a whole. The police and the courts cannot resolve the problems of poverty and of alienation which play a large part in the incidence of crime which they attempt to control; and the police and the courts often treat legitimate demands for reform with hostility because society as a whole refuses to see them as justified. The Commission recognizes that the job of law enforcement is extremely difficult. Nevertheless, it finds no justification for illegal or unconstitutional action by the very persons who are responsible for the enforcement of the law.

This report shows that Mexican Americans believe that they are subjected to such treatment again and again because of their ethnic background. Moreover, their complaints bear striking similarities to those of other minority groups which have been documented in earlier Commission studies of the administration of justice. The inequalities suffered by black Americans and Indians described in the Commission's 1961 "Justice" report and the 1965 "Law Enforcement" report, are of a similar nature. Consequently, the Commission's recommendations in this report are designed to be sufficiently broad to be applicable to all minority groups.

The essence of this situation is summed up in the words of a Mexican American participant in the California State Advisory Committee meeting, who said: "I think that my race has contributed to this country with pride, honor, dignity, and we deserve to be treated as citizens today, tomorrow, and every day of our lives. I think it is the duty of our Government to guarantee the equality that we have earned."

Findings

1. Police misconduct

There is evidence of widespread patterns of police misconduct against Mexican Americans in the Southwest. Such patterns include:

- (a) Incidents of excessive police violence against Mexican Americans;
- (b) discriminatory treatment of juveniles by law enforcement officers;
- (c) discourtesy toward Mexican Americans;
- (d) discriminatory enforcement of motor vehicle ordinances;
- (e) excessive use of arrests for "investigations" and of "stop and frisk";
- (f) interference with attempts to rehabilitate narcotics addicts.

2 Inadequate protection

Complaints also were heard that police protection in Mexican American neighborhoods was inadequate in comparison to that in other neighborhoods.

3. Interference with Mexican American organizational efforts

In several instances law enforcement officers interfered with Mexican American organizational efforts aimed at improving the conditions of Mexican Americans in the Southwest.

4. Inadequacy of local remedies for police malpractice

Remedies for police malpractice in the Southwest were inadequate:

- (a) in most Southwestern cities the only place where individuals can file complaints against the police are the police departments themselves. N Internal grievance procedures did not result in adequate remedies for police malpractice;

- (b) some cities in the Southwest have established independent or quasi-independent police review boards but these have not provided effective relief to complainants
- (c) civil litigation by Mexican Americans against police officers accused of civil rights violations is infrequent;
- (d) there are few instances of successful local prosecutions of police officers for unlawful acts toward Mexican Americans;
- (e) there have been instances of retaliation against Mexican Americans who complained about law enforcement officers to the local police department or to the FBI.

5. Federal remedies

(a) Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation have often failed to interview important witnesses in cases of alleged violation of 18 U.S.C. 242 or interviewed such witnesses in a perfunctory and hostile manner;

(b) More aggressive efforts to implement 18 U.S.C. 242 by the Department of Justice are needed.

6. Underrepresentation of Mexican Americans on juries

There is serious and widespread underrepresentation of Mexican Americans on grand and petit State juries in the Southwest;

- (a) neither lack of knowledge of the English language nor low-incomes of Mexican Americans can explain the wide disparities between the Mexican American percentage of the population and their representation on juries;
 - (b) judges or jury commissioners frequently do not make affirmative efforts to obtain a representative cross section of the community for jury services;
 - (c) the peremptory challenges used frequently both by prosecutors and defendants' lawyers to remove Mexican Americans from petit jury venires;
- The underrepresentation of Mexican Americans on grand and petit juries results in distrust by Mexican Americans of the impartiality of verdicts.

7. Bail

Local officials in the Southwest abuse their discretion:

- (a) in setting excessive bail to punish Mexican Americans rather than to guarantee their appearance for trial;
- (b) in failing to give Mexican American defendants an opportunity to be released until long after they were taken into custody;
- (c) by applying unduly rigid standards for release of Mexican Americans on their own recognizance where such release is authorized.

In many parts of the Southwest, Mexican American defendants are hindered in their attempts to gain release from custody before trial because they cannot afford the cost of bail under the traditional bail system.

8. Counsel

There are serious gaps in legal representation for Mexican Americans in the Southwest;

- (a) the lack of appointed counsel in misdemeanor cases results in serious injustices to indigent Mexican American defendants;
- (b) even in felony cases, where counsel must be provided for indigent defendants, there were many complaints that appointed counsel often was inadequate;
- (c) where public defender's offices are available to indigent criminal defendants, they frequently did not have enough lawyers or other staff members to adequately represent all their clients, many of whom are Mexican Americans;
- (d) in parts of the Southwest there are not enough attorneys to provide legal assistance to indigent Mexican Americans involved in civil matters;
- (e) many lawyers in the Southwest will not handle cases for Mexican American plaintiffs or defendants because they are "controversial" or not sufficiently rewarding financially;
- (f) despite the enormous need for lawyers fluent in Spanish and willing to handle cases for Mexican American clients, there are very few Mexican American lawyers in the Southwest.

Mexican Americans in the Southwest distrust the courts and think they are insensitive to their background, culture, and language. The alienation of Mexican Americans from the courts and the traditional Anglo-American legal system is particularly pronounced in northern New Mexico.

10. Language disability

Many Mexican Americans in the Southwest have a language disability that seriously interferes with their relations with agencies and individuals responsible for the administration of justice;

- (a) there are instances where the inability to communicate with police officers has resulted in the unnecessary aggravation of routine situations and has created serious law enforcement problems;
- (b) Mexican Americans are disadvantaged in criminal cases because they cannot understand the charges against them nor the proceedings in the courtroom;
- (c) in many cases Mexican American plaintiffs or defendants have difficulty communicating with their lawyers, which hampers preparation of their cases;
- (d) language disability also adversely affects the relations of some Mexican Americans with probation and parole officers.

11. Interpreters

Interpreters are not readily available in many Southwestern courtrooms;

- (a) in the lower courts, when interpreters were made available, they are often untrained and unqualified;
- (b) In the higher courts, where qualified interpreters were more readily available, there has been criticism of the standards of their selection and training and skills.

12. Employment by the law enforcement agencies

Employment of Mexican Americans by law enforcement agencies throughout the five Southwestern States does not reflect the population patterns of these areas;

- (a) neither police departments, sheriffs' offices, nor State law enforcement agencies employ Mexican Americans in significant numbers;
- (b) State and local law enforcement agencies in the Southwest do not have programs of affirmative recruitment which would attract more Mexican American employees;
- (c) failure to employ more Mexican Americans creates problems in law enforcement, including problems in police-community relations.

13. Courts and prosecutors

Other agencies in charge of the administration of justice—county, district attorneys' offices, and the Department of Justice—also have significantly fewer Mexican American employees than the proportion of Mexican Americans in the general population.

Discussion Questions

1. What was the prevailing myth of this period? Do you see it reflected in any actions taken by either Mexican Americans or Anglos? Were there any other myths that were discernable?
2. How important to the advancement of Mexican Americans were the organizations which were formed during this time? What role did they play in initiating the activism and protests of the 1960s?
3. Why was Texas the harshest state in dealing with Mexican Americans? How important was the case *Hernandez v State of Texas*?
4. What were some of the violations of social justice which sparked the protests? Had any of the earlier violations been addressed? Do you note any improvements over the previous periods?
5. Have the problems of discrimination with law enforcement and the legal system been eliminated now that Hispanics are part of the legal system as police officers, judges and lawyers?
6. What do you think were the most important events, or those which had the greatest impact on the lives of Mexican Americans, from the chapter's Chronology of period Events? Why?

CHAPTER FIVE

Ethnic Reaffirmation and Protest (1962 – 1980)

The discontentment and impatience fostered by feelings of relative deprivation resulted in a widespread social movement in the 1960s which is known as the Civil Rights Movement. Thus began this period. Most people identify the Movement with African Americans, especially in the South. However, such an understanding of the Movement is incomplete. Mexican Americans were engaged in the struggle for equal rights during this same time, especially in the Southwest. This part of the Civil Rights Movement is commonly referred to as the Chicano Movement. The Civil Rights/Chicano Movement has been an ongoing attempt by various minority groups to achieve social justice. Both the African American and the Mexican American struggles shared many similarities, including strikes, demonstrations, sit-ins, jailings, police brutality, threats and killings.. The FBI, under J. Edgar Hoover, monitored their actions and infiltrated their organizations. They also shared an important common ally – Senator Robert Kennedy.

There were also two important differences which existed, One was the amount of national and international media coverage, especially television, each received. African Americans received greater coverage, in part because of the more violent nature of the Black movement including the dramatic scenes of the march in Jacksonville and the march on Washington. The other was the fact that the Black portion of the Movement developed a generally recognized leader and spokesman—Dr. Martin Luther King. Some of his words, such as the “Letter from a Birmingham Jail” and “I have a Dream” have been immortalized in the minds and hearts of many Americans. In contrast, the Mexican American, Chicano Movement, was much less violent and had many different regional leaders but no one charismatic spokesperson. These differences are among the reasons why the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s is identified with African Americans.

The prevailing myth of this period was that communists or other outside agitators were responsible for minority unrest and demonstrations. The truth is that there was no one cause. Just as the *mestizos* and *indios* revolt against the Spanish began with “*El Grito*” which resonated with them, so the revolt of the two largest ethnic minorities could have begun with the feeling of “*Ya Basta*” (I have had enough). Mexican Americans were tired of a century and a half of broken promises and treaties, racism, prejudice and discrimination resulting in poverty, low-paying dead-end jobs, segregation, and second-class citizenship which requires obligations but denies rights.

Events were occurring in Latin America which may have influenced some *Mexicanos* to act when they did. These events were inspired by a call to action in the Latin American Catholic Church.. This call to action was the result of what is known as Liberation Theology, which focuses on the “preferential option for the poor.” Rather than a focus on orthodoxy of faith, the focus is on orthopraxy of action. This was important because it shifted attention from the individual and the hereafter to the community in the here-and-

now. It focused on the life and example of Jesus, and his concern for the poor and oppressed at the hands of the people and institutions of power. A central concern was to combat what was recognized as social or structural sin. This referred to those social beliefs and structural practices which violated social justice and failed to recognize the sanctity of life and human dignity. It was one's Christian duty to bring about changes which would liberate and empower the poor and exploited.*

Unacceptable Americans

A longitudinal study measuring social distance was published during this period which indicated the degree of acceptance accorded to thirty different nationalities and ethnic groups in the United States. The study covers the years 1926, 1946, 1956 and 1966 and involved over 8300 respondents who were asked to indicate the degree to which he/she would be willing to allow members of each of the thirty groups to enter the United States as visitors, to become citizens, to be employed as fellow workers, to become their neighbors, to become members of their clubs and cliques, and finally, to marry them or would exclude them entirely from all of the above. The results showed that there existed a stratification system based on ethnicity composed of three levels. At the top were white western Europeans, in the middle were mostly white southern and eastern Europeans, including Spanish, and at the bottom were nonwhite, non-Europeans, including Mexican Americans and Mexicans (Bogardus, 1968: 152). Over the course of the study there were some slight changes, but usually within the same general level. For example, while Spanish remained in the middle level, they became a little less acceptable over the years, as did Mexican Americans and Mexicans who remained in the bottom level along with African Americans, Native Americans and Asian Americans.

It is interesting to note that Mexican Americans and Mexicans were both more acceptable in 1926 than in 1966. This may be due to at least two factors. One is that Mexican Americans and Mexicans were less dispersed nationwide in the 1920s than they were in the 1960s so that respondents outside of the Southwest were less likely to have had much contact with them or to have heard much about them. The focus on minorities in the north would have been on Blacks and Italians rather than on Hispanics. However, by the 1960s both Mexican Americans and Mexicans were found throughout the country and the national media had spread negative stereotypes while publicizing their ongoing efforts to change the status quo by means of the Chicano Movement.

Members of the dominant group always feel threatened by efforts of the minority to bring about change. Changes resulting in a gain for the minority group are seen as coming at the expense of the dominant group. The second factor was the disruptive

* In order to learn more about Liberation Theology and the Latin American Church, read about the Conference of Latin American Bishops (CELAM) which was held in Medellin, Colombia in 1968. Also read Gustavo Gutierrez (1971) *A Theology of Liberation*, New York: Orbis.

activities in which they were engaged, including strikes, demonstrations and riots which were occurring during the Civil Rights Movement/Chicano Movement of the 1960s. These activities focused attention on the inequalities which existed but which were not usually thought about by those not negatively affected by them. Forcing people to confront these inequalities made them feel uncomfortable and was not appreciated.

The level of acceptance a nationality or ethnic group receives and its place in the social hierarchy appears to be a function of five **variables**: how long the group has been here; how the group got here (voluntarily, involuntarily, conquerors, conquered); visibility (ability to identify them); stereotypes regarding them (positive or negative); and success of individual members of the group. Applying these variables to Mexican Americans we find that they have been settled in the Americas longer than any Europeans, except the Spanish who were their ancestors, but they were in the United States long before many Europeans had arrived. Regarding how they arrived, they were originally in the United States as victims and losers of the Mexican-American War. Losers, as was also the case with Indians, were viewed as inferior. Mexican Americans can usually be identified, as can the other groups which were the least acceptable. The visibility of a group does not rely solely on their physical appearance but anything, often cultural, which can be the basis for their identification as members of a specific group. If a group is indistinguishable from the general population and cannot be identified as different, it cannot be successfully discriminated against. Thus, those who have more European features are often able to pass as Anglo. Stereotypes regarding *Mexicanos* have been predominately negative, as discussed earlier. During this time there were not many successful individuals who achieved widespread prominence and those who did were often considered to be Spanish rather than Mexican or Mexican American.

As has already been shown, there were many widely accepted negative stereotypes regarding Mexicans and Mexican Americans. These served as justifications for the unequal treatment they received and placed the blame for it on them, the victims. This is a common strategy used by perpetrators of injustice. Finally, during this period there were relatively few Mexican Americans who were publicly successful, and those that were could be seen as the exceptions which proved the rule.

The Struggle for Acceptance

The organized efforts to achieve long-denied civil rights were combined and given the name Chicano Movement. It was a common goal rather than an integrated plan of action which allowed the decade of the '60s to be designated a single movement rather than a series of distinct movements. Students in California used the term Chicano to show their independence and defiance of the existing society. A book was written titled *Chicano Manifesto* (Rendon, 1971), and had the inscription *Hijos de Aztlan, California Ocupado* (Children of Aztlan, occupied California). The psychologist Anselm Strauss (1950) wrote that names that are voluntarily adopted reveal something of the individual's self-image. Selecting the term Chicano to identify oneself and others in the Movement who adopted this designation revealed a personal rejection of the WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) society and an identification with their Native American ancestors.

Studies have found that those who self-identify as Chicano, rather than Mexican American or some other ethnic appellation exhibit some distinct characteristics. The following differences have been reported: self-image, orientation and reference group with Chicanos appearing to have a non-Anglo self-image and a greater concern for the ethnic group than for the self (Salazar, 1970; Murrillo, 1971); political involvement, with Chicanos exhibiting greater readiness to engage in militant forms of political action (Gutierrez and Hirsch, 1979); ethnic prejudice, with Chicanos expressing greater **ethnocentrism**, greater prejudice against Anglos and greater acceptance of Blacks (Lampe, 1975). Other differences include degree of assimilation, with Chicanos being significantly less assimilated, using the subtypes of assimilation distinguished by Milton Gordon (1964), in identificational, behavior receptional, structural, and overall assimilation (Lampe, 1975). Finally, Chicanos expressed a greater sense of ethnic pride in their Indian and Spanish heritages, greater ethnocentrism, more anger and hostility, more anti-assimilationist sentiments, more anti-Anglo and anti-establishment feelings, and greater alienation in all five subtypes identified by Melvin Seeman (1959), e.g. normlessness, hopelessness, meaninglessness, self-estrangement and social isolation (Lampe, 1980).

Many *Mexicanos* suffer from alienation which stems from an uncertainty of how they are expected to act. At times they are expected to act as Mexicans while at other times the expectation is that they act as Americans. This can be especially confusing for the young who are taught to act Anglo in school but Hispanic at home. The result can be a sense of **normlessness** stemming from a lack of a clear set of expectations. More widespread may be the sense of **hopelessness**. This occurs when there is an intolerable situation, such as exists when there is widespread social or **institutional racism**, and there appears to be little or no hope of improvement. An often accompanying feeling is despair. **Meaninglessness** is a consequence of constantly being in situations where orders are given to engage in certain actions without explanations of their purpose. Workers of menial jobs often find themselves in this situation and they are discouraged from asking questions. Another type of alienation is **self-estrangement**. This can occur when a person goes against what they truly believe or know is right. It can occur when one is not true to oneself or is “selling out.” Finally, there is **social isolation** which can result from being in a social setting but no one acknowledges their presence. It is as though they did not exist, they are socially invisible. This can lead to a feeling of isolation greater than that experienced when one is actually alone.

Many young Chicanos exhibited a **secondary ethnic identity** in which ethnicity becomes central to their self-identity and influences their social relations and cultural behavior. It is an achieved identity which develops in response to prejudice and discrimination based on racism which emphasized one’s ethnicity. A **we-they** mentality results. Most Mexican Americans have a **primary ethnic identity** in which they are aware of their ethnicity but it is not central to their self-identity nor is it of great importance to their social relations or cultural behavior. It is an ascribed identity (Lampe, 1992).

The possible practical effects of having a primary versus a secondary ethnic identity can be seen if it is applied to the concept of **ethclass** which is sometimes used in sociology

(Gordon, 1964: 51). This is a recognition that a person is a member of an ethnic group as well as a social class, both of which exert an influence on the person's identity, social participation and social behavior. For individuals with a primary ethnic identity, social class rather than ethnicity will be more important for their social identity. However, for those with a secondary ethnic identity, ethnicity will be more important. Historical identity for both will be based on their ethnicity as *Mexicanos*. Social participation for those with a primary ethnic identity will be largely limited to people of their own social class. For those with a secondary ethnic identity, ethnicity will be more important in determining friends and acquaintances. Therefore, inter-class friendships will be more common. Finally, those with a primary ethnic identity will exhibit class-based behavior, However, for those with a secondary ethnic identity, conscious behavior will be more reflective of their ethnicity.

The Term *Chicano*

Contrary to what many people may think, the term Chicano was not new when it was used to identify the Movement and its members. Although its popularity can be traced to the 1960s, it had been used by Mexicans for decades. What was new was the acceptance and meaning attached to it. Originally, it was used as an insult, indicating the person to whom it referred was poor, dirty, dark-skinned, uneducated and possibly illegal (Duran and Bernard, 1973: 6; McWilliams, 1968). At times it was also used by Anglos as a term of derision to apply to all *Mexicanos*. Its history appears to have been a factor in its adoption by young militant Mexican Americans in the *barrios*. The selection was in a sense an act of defiance (Stoddard, 1973: 64). This was similar to African Americans rejection of the more common terms Colored and Negro in favor of the term Black.

There is disagreement as to the origin of the term Chicano. The exact origin of the term is unknown, however there are many opinions as to its possible beginnings. Among them is the belief that it is derived from the word *Mexicano*, which is the Spanish word for Mexican. Some explain the derivation by pointing out that the letter x was originally pronounced as "sh" (Duran and Bernard, 1973: 5). This would result in the pronunciation May-shi-cano, which when shortened would be shi-cano which could easily become Chicano.. Others attribute it to English-speaking Anglos who were unable to pronounce the term *Mejicano* as Mexicans did, and instead of using the soft "j" sound (pronounced as "h") they said May-chi-cano (Fellows, 1972: 58). Still others say that it is a diminutive form of *Mexicano* (Grebler et al.,1970: 387). An alternative explanation is that the term Chicano is a combination of the words Chihuahua, a state in northern Mexico, and the last part of the word *Mexicano* (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1974: vol III, 827) or the last part of the word *Tejano* which is Spanish for Texan (Salazar, 1975). It is also said to have come from the name of an early indigenous people. Many other possible explanations have been offered. The fact is, no one knows.

Many of those within the Movement believed the term originated among pre-conquest indigenous people in what is now Mexico who referred to themselves as Meshicas. Some time after the Spanish arrived, they called themselves Meshicanos and finally Shicanos which is the basis for the term Chicano (Villanueva, 1978). An alternative possibility

proposed by Villanueva is that the word Chicano is the product of a phase of child-language development used by adults as an expressive naming practice. Whatever the origin, its use as a self-designation is common only among some Mexican Americans.

The *Chicano* Movement

At the beginning of the 1960s the Mexican population in the United States was approximately 3,840,000 with 87 percent living in the Southwest. Texas and California were home to almost 80 percent of these. Over 30 percent of all Mexicans lived in the four cities of Los Angeles, San Antonio, San Francisco and El Paso (Gonzales, 1999: 192). Less than half of the Mexican population had completed an eighth grade education, and one-third lived in poverty. As a result of these conditions, Mexican Americans had a more negative attitude towards Anglos and a lower self-image than did American Mexicans. This was probably due to the fact that, being Americans, they used Anglos as their **reference group** while American Mexicans used their peers in Mexico (Dworkin, 1965). This provided an impetus for the struggles which were to occur.

The 1960s were a time of minority activity which took many forms. The Civil Rights Movement, which, like all social movements, was an ongoing organized effort to bring about change, gathered momentum among both Mexican Americans and African Americans, although not in unison. This was not the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement but, rather a continuation of the one carried on decades earlier by the Women's Suffrage Movement. The movement for Civil Rights, unlike movements to bring about **enacted changes** which are rather abrupt and can go in any direction such as the Temperance Movement which reversed itself, is a movement to bring about **creative changes** which are slow changes or adjustments in a single direction. Women's Lib and Gay Rights were later additions to the Civil Rights Movement of the 20th century. Taking an overview, the Civil Rights Movement is dealing with incremental changes to accomplish a common goal—equality through empowerment of minority groups.

A degree of empowerment came with the election of Mexican American Henry B. Gonzalez. In 1956, Gonzalez, a lawyer, became the first Mexican American elected to the Texas State Senate in 110 years. Five years later, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, thus becoming the first Mexican American from Texas to be a congressman in Washington, D.C. In Congress, Gonzalez was a leading proponent for minority civil rights. He was a strong supporter of John F. Kennedy and the Democratic Party. In 1964 he opposed a continuation of the government subsidies and protections of temporary workers in the Bracero Program. While Gonzalez supported the objectives of the Chicano Movement, he did not agree with all of the actions taken by the various segments to achieve their goals (Rodriguez, 1976)

Organizing for a Fight

During this decade numerous organizations for change were formed. One of the **functions** of organizations is to unite many individuals in a continuous concerted action.

The following are but some of these organizations which contributed to the success of the Movement.

Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) which was founded in San Antonio, Texas in 1967 by Jose Angel Gutierrez a student at St. Mary's University who was soon to become one of the leading figures in the Chicano Movement. The goal of the organization was to increase awareness of civil rights issues and become more actively involved in bringing about change. Members were primarily high school and college students.

LULAC created the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) in Texas in 1968 to protect the legal rights of Mexican Americans. In order to facilitate this they assisted in the education of those who wanted to become lawyers. MALDEF was also active in matters regarding civil rights, including school segregation, job discrimination, exclusion from juries, as well as denial of welfare and social security benefits .

In 1969 the Mexican American Student Association (MASA) was formed in El Paso, Texas. This later became part of the United Mexican American Students (UMAS) whose goal was to aid students succeed in school and ensure Chicano progress through higher education.

Another organization founded the same year was *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan* (MECHA). This was a reorganization of various student groups in California. Its members were students who worked on and off campus to gain civil rights for Mexican Americans.

Although there was a general agreement by all the participants regarding the need to improve the long-standing situation of second-class citizenship wherein Chicanos were routinely denied their rights, there was no agreement on how this may best be accomplished or what the final relationship between Chicanos and Anglos should be. Some were in favor of their inclusion into Anglo society while some were in favor of rejection of Anglo society. The former empathized the idea of what may be seen as a cultural *mestizaje*, or blending of the two cultures, which would parallel the racial *mestizaje* which had occurred many centuries before. The latter empathized the idea of separation and continuation of their traditional culture to the extent possible. They were opposed to diluting or blending their culture with that of their oppressors.

Primary Leaders of the Movement

Two of the early precursors of the Movement were Ernesto Galarza and Father Thomas McCullough.. They both labored in California in the 1940s and 1950s and dedicated themselves to improve the lives of farm workers through organization. Ernesto Galarza was an American Mexican who studied at Stanford University. Because of the need to support his family he left school with an ABD (all but dissertation). He went to work with the Pan American Union where he became Director of the Division of Labor and Social Information. In that capacity he studied the *Bracero* Program and concluded that Mexican *braceros* were being mistreated and exploited. Later he worked with the National Farm

Labor Union (NFLU) where he tried to recruit and organize farm workers. In his efforts to aid union members, he attempted to stop the importation by growers of illegal workers and the use of *braceros* to replace American farm workers. The NFLU became the National Farm Workers Union (NFWU) and later ceased to exist under pressure of the AFL-CIO. Galarza worked tirelessly to help farm workers and in the process he became a well-known and respected Hispanic leader (London and Anderson, 1971: 115-140)

During this same period Father McCullough worked with *braceros* and other *Mexicano* farm workers. Together with three others, he was given permission to start the Spanish Mission Band, later known as the Missionary Apostolate, which worked with the generally neglected rural poor. In order to better serve the people he lived in a *colonia* (Hispanic area) with them. As a tireless worker among *braceros* and *indocumentados* he became known as the “*bracero* priest.” While working with the farm laborers he met Ernesto Galarza who was organizing tomato pickers for the NFLU. Later, Father McCullough was appointed to a Community Welfare Council. He traveled around the country speaking with labor leaders as well as government officials in an attempt to improve the lives of farm workers. Finally, in 1958 Father McCullough began to organize the workers himself. He worked with the Community Service Organization (CSO) and introduced them to one of his parishioners, Dolores Huerta, who was later to become an important leader in the Delano Grape Strike. One of his efforts was to organize the Agricultural Workers Association (AWA). The Association attracted many workers who attended meetings where Father McCullough instructed them about unions and social justice. In 1965 he attended a rally for Cesar Chavez but none of the young Chicanos recognized him or knew of his work (London and Anderson, 1971: 83-98).

Many of the organizations which were formed during the 1950s and 1960s were inspired by the events which were taking place in various parts of the Southwest. One of the earlier events of the 1960s was the formation of *Los Voluntarios* (The Volunteers) in 1963. Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales, a world-ranked ex-professional boxer, ex-businessman, poet, political activist and community organizer, who was to become one of the most important leaders of the Chicano Movement, recruited volunteers to monitor the situation for Mexican Americans in Denver, Colorado. The primary objective of the informal organization was the unofficial oversight of police activities as they related to minorities. Cases of abuse were reported, protested and brought to the attention of the people. Gonzales was different from two other important Chicano leaders at the time, Reies Lopez Tijerina and Cesar Chavez. He was not so focused on a single issue as they were, and whereas they worked mainly with the rural poor, Gonzales focused more on urban youth which he saw as the future of his people.

As a political activist Gonzales was an active supporter of John F. Kennedy whom he expected to bring about important changes for Hispanics. He was also a member of the Committee on Mexican Affairs which was created by President Lyndon B. Johnson. However, he became disappointed with Kennedy and the Democratic party for their apparent lack of interest in the concerns of Hispanics. In 1966 Gonzales extended the objectives of the *Voluntarios* organization and merged it into a larger part of the movement

called The Crusade For Justice. The Crusade soon published *el Gallo* which was one of the first Chicano newspapers. A year later, Gonzales wrote an epic poem entitled *Yo Soy Juan* (I am Juan). It was immediately accepted by Chicanos because it depicts the historical search for and an affirmation of the Chicano identity as *mestizo*.

One of the most controversial leaders of the Movement was an ex-Pentecostal preacher named Reies Lopez Tijerina. Many people found him to be **charismatic** when he talked to them about the theft of their land and the violations of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. He studied treaty law on his own and became very conversant on the subject. Although he was born in Texas, he became obsessed with the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant in New Mexico. He formed the *Alianza Federal de Mercedes* (Federal Alliance of Grants). In 1966 he and a group of his followers took control of a part of the Kit Carson National Forest and declared it to be the Republic of Rio Chama. For this he was arraigned on federal charges. The following year Tijerina instructed his followers to make a citizen's arrest of certain officials at the Tierra Amarilla Courthouse who had been opposing him in his efforts to recover the land. A battle ensued during which two people were shot by his followers. The national guard was called to end the turmoil, and arrests were made. In 1967 Tijerina disbanded the Federal Alliance of Grants, but immediately established a new organization, the *Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres* (Federal Alliance of Free People) which had similar goals (Blawis, 1971).

In 1968, in an effort to unite victims of poverty regardless of race or ethnicity, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. invited Tijerina and Corky Gonzales to meet and join him in the Poor People's March on Washington, D.C. Unfortunately, King was assassinated shortly before the march was to take place. The march occurred, but without the leadership of King, divisions soon appeared and no lasting alliance between Blacks and Hispanics was formed. Although both groups were fighting for social justice, there were specific issues and regional differences which divided them, just as they divided *Mexicanos* themselves.

Tijerina was incarcerated in 1969 for the earlier occupation of the amphitheater then paroled in 1971 on the condition that he no longer served as a leader of the *Alliance*. He expressed interest in becoming governor of New Mexico but his felony conviction disqualified him. Because of his challenges to the system, which he claimed was abusing the rights of the Mexican people, he was considered a hero by some but a troublemaker by others. He had lost much of his power and ultimately went to live in Mexico..

Perhaps the most widely publicized and longest-lasting aspect of the Chicano Movement was the California grape strike under the leadership of Cesar Chavez. In 1965 the Filipino farm workers in California requested that Cesar Chavez, leader of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), join them in a strike against grape growers in Delano, California. A year earlier the Bracero Program had ended and farm workers felt that this may be the time to improve their situation. After considering the request Chavez, who was to become one of the best-known and leading figures of the Chicano Movement, decided to participate and declared a *huelga* (strike). He believed a successful strike would benefit all farm workers and the time for waiting for greater justice was past. Because of the nature of their work, farm workers and their families were at the mercy of the growers. Because

of the extremely hard work and the need to be constantly moving to follow the harvest, the average worker had less than a grade school education, received low wages, lived in sub-standard conditions and had an average life expectancy of less than fifty years.

In order to improve their situation, the main demand was recognition of a union which would negotiate contracts. A major concern seemed to be an increase in wages, although there were other concerns including better working conditions. Growers were adamant in rejecting their demands and brought in both law enforcement to control the picketers and strike breakers, called “scabs,” to continue picking the grapes. Some peaceful strikers were arrested while picketing the fields in which they had worked. The sheriff justified the arrests stating the growers feared that a riot might occur. Senator Bobby Kennedy appeared at a hearing to give support to the strikers and told the sheriff that arresting people who were engaged in lawful activity just because they might do something illegal was unconstitutional.

In 1966, The Plan of Delano was published in the union’s newspaper *El Malcriado*. The Plan contained the following six propositions to present and clarify the workers’ position regarding the strike and the pilgrimage (march) to Sacramento.

First, this is the beginning of a movement to seek their God-given rights as human beings. They have suffered and are not afraid to continue suffering to achieve social justice, but they will not use violence in their struggle. Those who oppose them should remember the words of Benito Juarez, “*El respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz.*” (Respect for the rights of others is peace).

Second, they seek the support of the government. The government, which is also theirs, has so far failed to protect them from the caprice of the ranchers. A list of abuses is presented with the statement that the farm workers will no longer remain silent. Leaders will emerge who will support them and be supported by them. The proposition ends with the statement “We shall be heard.”

Third, they declare that they seek and have the support of the Church, and that they march under the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe, who is theirs. They also carry the Sacred Cross and the Star of David for they are not sectarian, but seek the support of all religions. All people are sons of God. They quote the words of Pope Leo XIII, “Everyone’s first duty is to protect the workers from the greed of speculators who use human beings as instruments to provide themselves with money. It is neither just nor human to oppress men with excessive work to the point where their minds become enfeebled and their bodies worn out.” The proposition ends with the statement “God shall not abandon us.”

Fourth, once again they refer to their suffering and their willingness to continue to suffer from ill treatment and crimes. Men, women and children have suffered from the greed of callous people. The purpose of their actions is to end the poverty, misery, and injustice so their children will not be exploited as they have been. The proposition ends with the statement “We shall endure.”

Fifth, they state that they have learned to unite in order to succeed. The oppressed workers of all races and all peoples suffer together. The strength of poor workers is in union. Although most of the marchers are *Mexicanos*, success depends on all farm workers, for the ranchers want to divide us to keep us weak. Contracts which some have signed are a farce. Workers must bargain collectively. Ranchers are few but the workers are many. The proposition ends with the statement “United we shall stand.”

Sixth, they declare they will strike, it is a revolution they propose. They are children of the Mexican revolution. This will not be an armed revolution, but is one seeking justice based on a new social order. They will strike against the places where the owners do not treat them with respect they deserve as working men and where their rights are not recognized. They do not want paternalism or charity, they want equality with all workers, a just wage, better working conditions and a decent future for their children. They will fight against all who oppose them, whether ranchers, police, politicians or speculators. The proposition ends with the statement “We shall overcome.”

After a brief statement about the strike spreading and benefiting all farm workers, and the march serving as a light to all, the Plan ends with the words “The time has come for the liberation of the poor farm workers. History is on our side. May the strike go on! *Viva la causa!*” (Jensen and Hammerback, 2002: 16-18).

To rally the strikers, who were largely uneducated and unaccustomed to drawing attention to themselves, and to prepare them to take part in demonstrations, *actos* (plays) referred to as *teatro campesino* (farm workers theatre) were utilized. These informal, largely spontaneous productions featured the farm workers themselves playing the roles of both workers and Anglo bosses. In the spirit of early melodramas, the audience cheered the heroes, the workers, and booed the villains, the growers and their foremen. Luis Valdez founded the more professional *Teatro Campesino* at the time of the strike. It was very successful and over time became a formal theatre group which gained national recognition and respect. Its play *Zoot Suit* appeared on Broadway in 1979 and dealt with the Sleepy Lagoon murder and the *Zoot Suit* riot.

One of the principal union organizers and leaders of the strike was Dolores Huerta who had previously worked with Father Thomas McCullough to organize farm workers. While working with Chavez she was referred to as the “Dragon Lady” by the growers because of her steely resolve. Another woman leader in the fight for a union was Jessi Lopez de la Cruz who was a field worker, recruiter, teacher of English to the field workers and leader of strikes and boycotts. The strikers and their families endured hardships and made great sacrifices to continue the strike which wound up lasting five years. During those years there were marches led by Chavez under the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe, boycotts of grocery store chains which sold the Delano grapes, appeals for the public to refrain from buying the grapes and finally a hunger strike by Chavez. The hunger strike was criticized by many, including some of his own supporters. Senator Robert Kennedy, a presidential-hopeful at the time, was on hand when Chavez ended the hunger strike.

Like Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Chavez was opposed to any form of violence and used whatever peaceful means possible to call attention to the situation and rally support from the general public. The efforts he advocated were meant to persuade the growers to recognize the United Farm Workers union (UFW), which replaced the NFWA, and to negotiate contracts which guaranteed workers better and more just wages as well as "better working conditions. At this time facilities for workers and their families were woefully inadequate, and pesticides were sometimes used while workers were in the fields. Success was finally achieved after the boycott, which had spread nationwide, also moved overseas. Grapes which had the union label, a black stylized eagle, were accepted in stores which had previously refused to sell nonunion grapes. Delano and other growers in California finally signed contracts with the UFW, not out of a sense of social justice, but in order to obtain the union label.

The Brown Berets were formed in Los Angeles, California in 1967 by three young Chicanos. David Sanchez was one of the three and was generally considered to be the spokesman for the group which appeared to be a counterpart to the Black Panthers. Its paramilitary aspect appealed to many young militants and it quickly spread throughout parts of the Southwest, but was particularly active in California and Texas. Like the Black Panthers, the Brown Berets aroused fear and anxiety in some Anglos. In 1972 a contingent of 26 members occupied Santa Catalina Island which is located off the coast of California. The purpose of the occupation was to protest what they considered to be the illegal occupation by Anglos of land which rightfully belonged to Mexicans. To dramatize this, they renamed the island *Aztlan Libre* (Free Aztlan). The occupation of the island was short-lived, lasting only 24 hours. It was basically a non-event in terms of its effect, but it did serve as an expression of defiance. Shortly after the event Sanchez disbanded the organization.

An ongoing area of concern for Mexican Americans was education. They had problems common to other minorities such as frequent segregation, inferior schools, pressure to drop out to earn money, classes that seemed irrelevant, lack of role models in administration or on the faculty, and low expectations. This last problem often led to a **self-fulfilling prophecy**. It was expected that many would not complete high school, that few would go to college and if they enrolled they would not succeed. Ultimately, most did work as manual laborers and few did earn college degrees. Therefore, Mexican American and African American students were commonly **tracked** into low level, remedial-type classes and vocational training courses. It was, the administration claimed, for the minority student's own good. The problem with this reasoning is that it fails to realize that without being encouraged to continue their education and be placed in college preparatory classes along with other students rather than being tracked into a vocational training program, the chances of them entering college was greatly reduced. Furthermore, if they did enter college they would find they were not prepared. In effect, schools were preparing them to fail in higher education which would make their prediction come true and appear to justify their actions.

One aspect of the education of Hispanics receiving widespread attention because of its national implications is their assimilation. The assimilation, or Americanization, of immigrants has been a goal of the public school system since its inception. It has generally been believed that a public school is a better agent of socialization and assimilation than a Catholic parochial school, to which many Mexican American children are sent for religious reasons. Some social scientists have even stated that the Catholic Church is a retarding force in the assimilation process (Broom and Shevky, 1952; Heller, 1966; Moore, 1970). In commenting on the Church's school system, Moore (1970: 87) wrote:

It may have been equally true that this very expensive system of parochial schools served not only to defend the faith but to maintain the cultural and social distinctiveness of Mexicans although no special effort to this end appears to have been made. In any case the hierarchy could keep Mexican children away from the assimilating influence of the public schools and simultaneously claim credit for effective Americanization.

However, not everyone agreed with this assessment of the effects of a Catholic school education nor did they believe there was proof that a public school education was superior in this regard (Madaus and Linnan, 1973). There are many indicators of assimilation which have been proposed, Perhaps the most complete is one proposed by Milton Gordon (1964) which is composed of seven subtypes: **cultural**, accepting the language, clothing, beliefs, etc of the host country, **structural**, living in the same neighborhood, attending the same schools and churches, **identificational**, identifying oneself not as a hyphenated American, but simply as an American, **amalgamation**, dating and marrying outside of one's ethnic group, **attitude receptional**, there is an absence of prejudice, **behavior receptional**, there is an absence of discrimination, and **civic**, all civic rights and duties are accepted. Thus, there is no one variable which determines degree of assimilation, rather it is the total degree of assimilation in each of these subtypes. Each of these depend not only on the individual who is attempting to assimilate but also on the members of the host country—will they allow him or her to assimilate. According to Gordon, structural assimilation is the key to other subtypes. That is the reason racists were so intent to keep minorities out of schools, clubs and neighborhoods. This, they argued, could lead to inter-ethnic dating and marriage.

When the assimilative effects of a public versus parochial school education were tested using these subtypes, it was found that, overall, Mexican American students in parochial schools were significantly more assimilated in five of the seven subtypes. There was no significant difference on behavior receptional assimilation, and Mexican Americans in public schools were found to be significantly more assimilated in identificational assimilation. However, Mexican American students who had one Anglo parent were more assimilated in public schools (Lampe, 1976).

The protests, which were taking place throughout the Southwest to change the racist status quo, were animating others with what they considered to be valid complaints to do the same. In large cities white-flight was resulting in de facto segregated schools. As a result, the quality of education minorities in these schools received was declining. Even in the integrated schools minority students felt that they were not being treated the same as

Anglo students. They complained about racist policies and racist teachers. These complaints led to student protests and walkouts in various places.

Mexican American students in East Los Angeles staged a massive walkout, or blowout, in 1968. They demanded bilingual education, more Hispanic teachers and administrators, elimination of racism and a better overall education. An example of racism was the practice of allowing only one Mexican American cheerleader on the squad of girls. Sal Castro, a teacher, supported the students' demands and became the symbolic leader. As a result, he was criticized and suspended. This brought about further demonstrations, including sit-ins at the school board meeting area, which were supported by parents. The FBI got involved claiming a Communist conspiracy was causing the problem. Later, there were charges made that the FBI infiltrated student meetings and made proposals that the demonstrations should become violent. Surveillance and arrests of suspected leaders took place. In response, the Brown Berets made their presence felt in the hope, they said, of avoiding violence. Again, Senator Bobby Kennedy intervened. The strikers won many of their demands and, much later, Castro was reinstated with the help of students, parents and the Chicano community.

The *Raza Unida* Party

In 1969 a National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference hosted by the Crusade for Justice met in Denver, Colorado and as a result of discussions regarding needs, aspirations and courses of action, it was decided that an independent political party was needed. *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* (The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán) was adopted which called for civil rights, social and economic justice and self-determination. Two months later, members of MAYO decided to start implementing the Plan by challenging the Anglo-dominated school board in a small city with a Mexican American majority of residents. The next year several hundred Chicanos met in Crystal City, Texas to discuss strategies. Under the leadership of Jose Angel Gutierrez, a member of MAYO and a native son of Crystal City, a Chicano political party was formed called *La Raza Unida* (The United People, or the People's Party), a name which was favored by MAYO. Following the struggle for control of the school board an anti-Anglo feeling was expressed by Gutierrez when he stated "We sought to expose, confront and eliminate the gringo. We felt it was necessary to polarize the community over issues into Chicano versus gringo" (Munoz, 1989: 125). Thus, a "**we-they**" mentality was intensified and used to unite and mobilize the minority, ala community organizer Saul Alinsky.

It was noteworthy that this should take place in Crystal City because political history was made there in 1963 when five working-class Mexican Americans won elections and control of the city government, They are often referred to as *Los Cinco* (the five). They were subjected to much hostility from the Anglo community who were a numerical minority but had always been in control. After being in office for two years, the five were defeated in the next election. After the formation of *La Raza Unida* Party (RUP), candidates ran in several Texas towns where there were large numbers of Mexican Americans. Some elections were won in San Juan, Carrizo Springs and Cotulla. In Crystal City Mexican Americans won elections on both the City Council and the School Board

much to the dismay of the Anglo minority. Encouraged by the successes, by 1972 the RUP had spread to seventeen states and the District of Columbia (Ring, 1974).

La Raza Unida Party held its first national convention in El Paso, Texas in 1972. Delegates from the various regions met to discuss issues and select a president for the Party. The final vote was between Jose Angel Gutierrez, one of the Party's organizers, and Corky Gonzales, founder of Crusade for Justice. In a close election, Gutierrez was elected the first Party President and quickly established the national committee *El Congreso de Aztlan* (the Congress of Aztlan) which was composed of representatives from each region. Convention delegates allowed representatives from the Indian and Black civil rights movement to speak, as well as Bishop Patricio Flores who had a long history of working for the betterment of Mexican Americans. Many motions were passed during the convention which, while expressing the frustrations and dreams of the participants, were completely impractical. Examples included the redistribution of wealth, elimination of real estate taxes, return of land in the Southwest guaranteed by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the teaching of all courses in Spanish throughout the entire nation (Waldron, 1972)

Throughout the early 1970s, *La Raza Unida* Party was active not only in the United States where it addressed Hispanic issues, including Immigration, but it also established contact with Cuba and Mexico. By 1973 there was the beginning of a decline which was due to a division which occurred after the election which pitted Gonzales against Gutierrez, a series of defeats in local elections, the inability to receive sufficient signatures in California to have official ballot status, and the co-optation of issues by Democratic and Republican politicians. Over the next few years the party effectively ceased to exist and most Mexican Americans that continued to participate in local, state and national elections did so as Democrats. Thus, *La Raza Unida* Party went the way of other third parties in the United States (Munoz, 1989: 123-150).

An important leader, Willie Velasquez, taught at Harvard University and was a political activist. He was also a friend and classmate of Jose Angel Gutierrez. Velasquez has been called the single most important Hispanic political figure since Chavez, and the most important figure in representational politics ever. He spent time assisting Chavez in the farmworkers strike in 1968, and later was a leading figure in *La Raza Unida* Party. Politics were his main concern. In 1974 he founded the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project (SVREP) which was the nation's largest organization of its kind aimed at Hispanics. The Project went to various states registering and educating voters. It also filed law suits against gerrymandering which diluted Hispanic voting power in Southwestern states. With his help, the number of Hispanic office holders increased dramatically. His focus was on local rather than national politics because it was local government that could pave streets. As a result of his efforts and those of the organization he started, many Hispanic politicians owe him a debt of gratitude (Pedersen, 1987).

Riots in California

During the year 1970 there were three riots involving *Mexicanos* which took place in East Los Angeles, California. The first one occurred on New Year's Day. Several

thousand people had been partying, when an estimated one hundred individuals began breaking store windows of largely Anglo-owned businesses. Some looting also occurred. It took law enforcement officers about two hours to get the situation under control. They arrested eleven persons for looting and resisting arrest. The incident was classified a major disturbance (Morales, 1971: 190). The real importance of this incident was the repercussion it may have had eight months later when 15,000 to 20,000 people were demonstrating against United States involvement in a war in Southeast Asia. This riot was recent enough to be on the minds of law enforcement officials causing them to react more quickly and forcefully than was warranted.

As part of the *movimiento*, a Chicano Moratorium was held on August 29, 1970, to protest the Vietnam War. This unpopular war was taking a disproportionately high percentage of young Hispanic lives. At the end of 1969 the first moratorium rally was held and drew an estimated 2000 people. It was so successful that a second and larger rally was planned for the coming year. The 1970 moratorium, which started in Belvedere Park with a small march, saw the gathering grow to an estimated 20,000 people at the end of the march in Laguna Park. All of the proper permits had been obtained for what was supposed to be a peaceful demonstration. However, some of the marchers were said to have thrown rocks at police, and later caused trouble in a nearby liquor store. This caused the police to suspect that more trouble may occur with so many people, some of whom had been drinking. Consequently, they appeared at the park and began disbursing the crowd who believed they were taking part in a peaceful demonstration.

When some of the crowd resisted, teargas was used and some individuals were injured as the police used physical means to force the people to leave the area. Individuals scattered and some entered nearby buildings to escape. A deputy sheriff fired a teargas canister into the Silver Dollar bar which was near the park intending to flush the people outside. Unfortunately, the canister hit Ruben Salazar, a popular newspaper writer, in the head killing him. Salazar's death was a real loss to the *movimiento* and the Hispanic community at large. He was very popular and had dedicated himself to investigating and reporting important but little-known situations which affected Mexican Americans, first in El Paso then in Los Angeles. Some considered Salazar to be a martyr.

Following his death, hundreds of people complained of police over-reaction and the gratuitous use of violence in breaking up a legal and basically peaceful demonstration (Rosales, 1996: 198-205). As a result of police action, demonstrators were gassed, beaten, nearly 400 were arrested, and an unknown number of civilians were injured. However, the violence was not all one-sided. Forty officers were reported injured, 25 radio cars were damaged, and multiple fires were set (Morales, 1971:190-194).

The following month a third riot took place. Traditionally, September 16, Mexican Independence Day, was celebrated with a big parade, followed by invited speakers. The parade that year planned to end at a community college stadium where the speeches would be given, however. college officials refused to give permission for the stadium to be used for the event. An attempt was made to have this refusal overturned by the court, but the judge upheld the decision of the school administrators. The revised plan was to end the

parade at Belvedere Park. Over 100,000 people were present as onlookers or participants of the event. When the parade reached the park some continued to move towards the college. Among those who proceeded to the college were many young militants, some of whom carried a large picture of Ruben Salazar which they placed on the roof of the college. A riot ensued with rocks, tear gas, and finally, shots. As was the case the previous month, injuries occurred on both sides, and fires were set, business windows were broken and looting followed (Morales, 1971: 194-198). Obviously, there was a psychological effect from these three closely spaced riots which affected the level of distrust and hostility felt by *Mexicanos* and law enforcement officers, as well as the general public who witnessed or read about these occurrences.

In 1971 a book was published titled *Chicano Manifesto*. It presents a Chicano-centric history of *Mexicanos* in the United States beginning with references to Aztlan. Some sources of problems are identified, including the mistaken perception that their difficulties are only regional, that common stereotypes are accurate, that whites are superior to non-whites, that it can be difficult to know who the enemy is for sometimes the enemy is two-faced, and that there is often a lack of understanding between Anglos and *Mexicanos*.

The *Manifesto* also speaks of hope and recounts how the Crusade for Justice taught some classes in Chicano history and culture to give young students a knowledge and sense of pride in their heritage. One young twelve year old girl wrote the following poem showing that the class had a positive effect.

“Poesia Aztlan”

Viva la raza

Don't let them down

Be proud of their color

Brown, brown, brown

An appendix appears at the end of the book which contains what are referred to as four declarations of independence: El Plan del Delano, El Plan de la Raza Unida, The Del Rio Mexican American Manifesto to the Nation, and The Spiritual Plan of Aztlan. These had all been written in response to events during the previous five years.

During this time several things occurred which were not part of the Movement but which were clearly consequences of and contributors to the success of the Movement's fight for greater civil rights. The most important of these events were the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voters' Right Act which were signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson, who had received strong support from minorities, including Mexican Americans, in the 1964 election. Another event which appears to have been influenced by the fight for social justice was the elevation of Reverend Patricio Flores to become the first Mexican American Catholic bishop in the history of the United States. This paved the way for other Mexican American bishops.

Catholicism and the Chicano Movement

Although Spain brought Catholicism to the Americas, and Mexican Americans have been active in the Church since they have been citizens, they had never before had one of their own as bishop. This situation changed in 1970 when Reverend Flores, the son of uneducated migrant workers who himself worked in the fields alongside his parents and siblings, was made Auxiliary Bishop of San Antonio, Texas. The elevation of Reverend Flores to bishop not only signaled a dramatic change in Texas and the United States, but in the Catholic Church. It also addressed one of the concerns of some Chicano activists, namely that the Church was ignoring *Latinos* and supported the status quo.

There was reason to be concerned. As a young priest in Houston, Father Flores was forbidden to speak Spanish to his parishioners even though they addressed him in Spanish. This was a reflection of what was expected in other parts of society in Texas. For example, public schools did not allow Spanish to be spoken by teachers or students on school grounds. Reverend Flores was the first priest to make Latinos feel more accepted by celebrating mariachi Masses in Houston, and this earned him the nickname “mariachi priest.” He was a friend and active supporter of Cesar Chavez and the migrant workers, with whom he could readily identify. The same year he became bishop, he also was made National Chaplain of LULAC. In 1974 Bishop Flores recorded an album of religious songs under the title “The Singing Bishop.” The proceeds from the sale of the album were used to support the Mexican American Cultural Center (MACC) in San Antonio which he helped found two years earlier to increase the understanding of the Catholic Mexican apostolate (Lampe, 1994: 121-122).

In 1969 Hispanic priests in the Catholic Church organized themselves into an organization called *Padres Asociados para los Derechos Religiosos, Educativos y Sociales* (PADRES). Reverend Flores, along with other members of the clergy met to form this organization to discuss issues important to Hispanics in and outside the Church. It also acted as a support group during a time when many priests were leaving the priesthood. Latin American bishops had just met in Medellin, Columbia to discuss the recommendations and practical implications of the recently held Second Vatican Council. The Latin American bishops decided to pursue the concepts of *concientizacion* (consciousness raising), *comunidades de base* (base communities), and *teologia de liberacion* (liberation theology which focused on the poor and empowerment). These and other relevant issues, as well as personal issues, were discussed.

The organization which started in Texas spread to other parts of the United States with sizeable Hispanic communities. Non-Hispanic priests who worked with Hispanic parishioners were also included, but as associate members. A Protestant minister was put on the staff as National Protestant Coordinator in order to facilitate Catholic-Protestant relations. PADRES wanted to reaffirm Hispanic identity and cultural traditions. To accomplish this it established relations with Latin American countries and endorsed the Charismatic Movement which encouraged greater emotional participation by the faithful, and the *Cursillo* Movement which was a Spanish movement meant to increase the members’ religious commitment through periodic retreats. PADRES also supported the

UFW strike and grape boycott. Some of its actions were seen as challenging the Church on behalf of Hispanics (Romero, 1994).

In 1971 *LAS HERMANAS* (The Sisters) was formed when 50 Mexican American religious from eight different states met in Houston, Texas . They were concerned over the low status of women in American society, in the Catholic Church, and in Mexican culture. Many complained that they were being used as housekeepers or servants rather than as workers in spreading the good news of the gospel which is why they entered the convent. The name *LAS HERMANAS* was adopted along with the motto *Unidas en Accion y Oracion* (United in Action and Prayer). The purpose of the organization was to meet the needs of the Spanish-Speaking People of God, and four projects were proposed: develop a team ministry, provide training for teams for religious congregations, establish a central religious formation center, and create an information clearinghouse.

Membership was originally limited to Mexican American sisters, but later it was expanded to include other Hispanic sisters. Finally, the organization accepted Hispanic lay women. Thus, it became the first national organization of Hispanic Catholic women in the United States Alliances were formed with other women's organizations and was mentioned by the U.S. Bishops in their 1983 Pastoral Letter, *The Hispanic Presence: Challenges and Commitment*. The Hispanic organizations of priests and sisters, *PADRES* and *LAS HERMANAS*, lobbied for more Hispanics in leadership positions in the Church, especially where there were significant numbers of Hispanics. These two organizations have been vocal advocates for the migrant workers and illegal immigrants (Tarango and Matovina, 1994).

A Movement within the Movement

The Mexican American sisters were not the only *Chicanas* to establish their own identity and seek greater equality both from society (including the Church) in general and other *Chicanos* in particular. This *Chicana* Movement was inspired by, and was a part of, both the *Chicano* Movement and the Feminist Movement, both of which were occurring at the same time in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In every period of Mexican American history there have been strong, capable women such as Dona Marina, La Virgin de Guadalupe, Emma Tenayuca, Lucy Gonzales Parsons, Luisa Moreno and Dolores Huerta who have earned the right to be remembered for their contributions to the advancement of *Mexicanos*. These women became leaders in a patriarchal culture which believed the proper place of women was to be in the home as wives, mothers and homemakers subject to their fathers and husbands. Men were the providers and decision-makers which, de facto, made them the **instrumental leaders** Women were expected to be satisfied supporting their men and being the **expressive leaders** exercising their influence inside the home.

It is somewhat ironic that while *Chicano* males were striving for greater respect and equality in society, they failed to recognize the inequality between themselves and their female counterparts. This irony did not escape many *Chicanas*, who criticized the male-

oriented concerns and the sexism of some of the leaders. Men saw feminism as a white, middle-class concept and dismissed the idea as well as those who supported it as “cultural betrayers,” “white-identified,” “man-haters,” and “lesbians” (Zavella, 2006: 189).

The feminist principles that were embraced by some *Chicanas* included the beliefs that decision-making and the division of labor within the home should be shared more equally between men and women, and that women should feel good about their participation in the labor force and their contributions to the family income. Also, there was the belief that women should be included in labor organizing along with the men (Zavella, 2006: 189-190). In many of the meetings and planning sessions held during the Chicano Movement women were expected to serve the needs of the men who were making important decisions regarding goals and strategies. Women were expected to prepare the meals, run errands, take notes, make copies and do those tasks which were required by the decisions made by the men--in other words, do women’s work.

However, in Crystal City the planning session of *La Raza Unida* was interrupted by a large number of women who demanded that they be included in the planning. As a result, a division developed as a number of men objected and left the meeting. The women stayed and not only participated in the planning but also in the organizing. They were instrumental in recruiting and registering women. Their efforts helped the party win seventeen elections. Then two years later at the first national convention at which Jose Angel Gutierrez and Corky Gonzales vied for leadership of the party, women played a more equal role in the selection of the leader. It was not long before *Chicanas* began to be more involved in other aspects of the movement, including the establishment of their own organizations.

In the following decades, Mexican American and other Hispanic women have created organizations and businesses for themselves and others. Such organizations are diverse in their functions and missions. Organizations such as MANA and The National Association of Hispanic Nurses (NAHN) were started within the next few years. MANA, which is a national non-profit organization established to improve Latinas through leadership development, community services and advocacy, was founded in 1974. The NAHN was founded in 1975 to improve the quality of health and nursing care of Hispanic consumers and provide equal access to educational, professional and economic opportunities for Hispanic nurses. Since then, other organizations have been added to the growing list of *Chicana/Latina* organizational accomplishments such as the Hispanic Women’s Corporation (HWC) which was founded in 1981 to provide current information on issues and events within the Latina communities throughout the nation.

Conclusion

The Chicano Movement, as a phase of the larger more general Civil Rights Movement, went through the four stages which are common to social movements. First, there was the **Emergence** of common concerns by a number of people. Second, there was a **Coalescence** of various groups of individuals who focused on more specific concerns and ways to deal with the issues. Third, **Bureaucratization** occurred when the movement became established and was controlled less by enthusiastic but untrained individuals and more by

competent and/or professional leaders. Finally, after the movement had experienced successes, some members became satisfied or lost interest, especially if their particular concern was met. The members may also have lost focus and divisions occurred which led to the **demise** of the movement (Macionis, 2002: 440).

By the end of this period, marked by the 1980 census, many of the groups and organizations which were important elements in the Chicano Movement either ceased to exist or were in decline. Among these was *La Raza Unida* Party. The LRU can be considered both a success and a failure. It was a success in that it united and motivated many Hispanics to become more involved in politics, it supported Hispanic candidates and in some cases helped them get elected, it registered many voters who previously were apathetic and, perhaps more importantly, it caused both the Democratic and Republican Parties to pay more attention to Hispanics. The Democratic Party had been accustomed to take their vote for granted, so it had not been necessary to reward them for their support or deal with their issues. However, *La Raza Unida* candidates took many votes away from Democratic candidates and allowed Republicans to win some elections which they would have ordinarily lost. This caught the attention of both parties which began to pay more attention to Hispanic concerns. Consequently, both parties began supporting their Mexican American candidates and during the 1968 and 1972 presidential campaigns both Democratic and Republican candidates addressed issues which were directly related to Mexican Americans.

The LRU, however, was a failure if measured by the number of elections won by their candidates. What limited success they enjoyed was in local Hispanic-dominated places. Major reasons for the general lack of success were the name of the party, which was in Spanish and referred to a united (Hispanic) people, together with the fact that all the candidates were Hispanics. In addition, it was founded during the Civil Rights Movement which was marked by protests, boycotts and violence. Thus, in the minds of many non-Hispanics it was identified with the turmoil and considered a threat. This combination did not attract many non-Hispanics to vote for LRU candidates. Supporting the party was even problematic for many Hispanic voters. It was competing against the well-established Democratic Party which had always been the party of choice. Some of the Chicano leaders, such as Cesar Chavez and H. B. Gonzalez were committed Democrats, and Senator Robert Kennedy, a leading Democrat, had intervened on behalf of the UFW strike and student walkouts. In large elections, some people would have considered a vote for *La Raza* candidate, who could not realistically win, as a lost vote. This has always been a problem for third parties in the United States.

Overall, the Chicano Movement succeeded in achieving many of its goals. It made education more Latino-friendly through bilingual education, the employment of more Latino teachers, administrators and school board members, more cultural-sensitive counseling and the creation of Chicano Studies courses. In politics, more Latinos were made aware of the importance of getting involved, being registered, voting in various elections, and running for office. The Civil Rights/Chicano Movement also succeeded in

raising public awareness to the injustices in the political and legal systems, and helped increase job opportunities in the economic system.

The ongoing Civil Rights Movement of the 20th century may be considered a Reformatory movement, however the Black/Chicano phase of the Movement in the 1960s may be better considered a Revolutionary movement. Reform movements, such as Women's Suffrage, Women's Liberation and Gay Rights, are generally more peaceful than revolutionary movements which typically involve violence. Usually, violence is part of the strategy employed by those attempting to bring about a system-altering change. However, in this case the violence and intimidation was used most extensively by the countermovement in an unsuccessful attempt to stop the change and preserve the status quo.

There is little doubt that the Civil Rights Movement of African Americans aided the Chicano Movement. The violence which was sparked by the former drew national as well as international attention to the inequalities and lack of constitutionally guaranteed rights for large numbers of American citizens. Together both groups focused attention on the structural and institutional nature of racism. Institutional racism can only be eliminated by changing the institutions. Thus, it was obvious that it was not enough for individuals to change and become more egalitarian, government and society must also change. The changes sought by these two ethnic minorities was perceived as a threat to the social, political and economic privileges which had been taken for granted and enjoyed since the beginning of the country by white western European Americans.

During this time race and ethnicity became focal points for the Civil Rights/Chicano Movement. This focus caused some people to reassess their desire to assimilate into what was basically considered a WASP society. The reassessment often led to a desire to identify more closely with their cultural heritage, which was seen as in danger of being lost along with an important part of their own identity. Among African Americans, this desire to preserve their heritage resulted in slogans such as "Black is beautiful" and "Black power," as well as the widespread fad for Afro-style hairdos and the use of African clothing. In some cases, African names were adopted and/or given to their children.

Among Mexican Americans, the Mexican flag and the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe were frequently displayed. In addition, slogans such as "*Viva la raza*" and the concept of "*carnalismo*" became commonplace. Those who had always identified themselves as Mexican American or Spanish American were encouraged to refer to themselves and others as Chicanos. The use of Spanish also became more common when interacting with other *Mexicanos*, and many switched their English name to Spanish; thus, John became Juan.

There were two problems for those who were inspired to preserve and amplify their *Mexicanidad*. First, for those who were aware of the concept of ethclass, there was the need to distinguish between those cultural traits or elements which derived from social class (poverty) and those derived from ethnicity. Over time, these two sets of elements merged to form a unique subculture which was shared by many Mexican Americans.

Second, once those elements related to ethnicity were identified, there was a further need to separate what Gordon (1964) called the **intrinsic** from the **extrinsic** cultural traits, i.e., the essential from the nonessential. A failure to recognize the differences and make the distinctions sometimes led to accusations that individuals who moved out of the barrio and/or spoke English without a Spanish accent were somehow turning their backs on their Mexican heritage. Thus, a rejection of the heritage of poverty was confused with a rejection of ethnic heritage.

One of the goals of the Movement, expressed in the frequent use of the term “*la raza*,” was to promote a sense of peoplehood separate from Euro-Americans (Anglos). The effects of the Movement in this regard were apparent when only 56 percent of the Mexican American respondents indicated they were white (a term commonly used by them to indicate Anglo) on the 1980 census. On the previous census slightly more than 93 percent had identified themselves as white, which was the designation formerly used by the government. This period, as well as all previous ones, was replete with violations of social justice, the most basic principles of which are the sanctity of life and respect for human beings.

Chronology of Period Events

Ethnic Reaffirmation and Protest

- 1963 Election of “*Los Cinco*” Mexican Americans in Crystal City, Texas
- 1964 End of the *Bracero* Program
- 1964 Civil Rights Act is signed by President Johnson
- 1965 Voting Rights Act is signed by President Johnson
- 1965 Corky Gonzales is appointed Director of War on Poverty Program
- 1965 LULAC joins G.I. Forum to organize SER – Jobs for Progress
- 1965 Passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act.
- 1966 Chavez and NFWA members make 25 day march from Delano to Sacraments
- 1966 LULAC gives financial support to striking farm workers
- 1967 President Johnson created the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs (IACMAA)
- 1967 National convention of the *Alianza de Pueblos Libres* in Albuquerque, Hew Mexico
- 1967 MAYO organizes La Raza Unida conference in El Paso, Texas
- 1968 LULAC creates Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF)
- 1968 Public funds are authorized to be used for bilingual education programs
- 1969 National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference calls for creation of a Political party
- 1969 Formation of PADRES
- 1970 The UFW strike ends
- 1970 National Moratorium holds two marches in Houston, Texas
- 1970 Three riots occur in East Los Angeles, one involving the Moratorium

- 1970 *La Raza Unida* Party wins four of seven seats on Crystal City school board
- 1970 Six hundred Chicano students walk out of school in Chicago, Illinois
- 1970 Reverend Patricio Flores became first U.S. Mexican American Catholic bishop
- 1971 Formation of LAS HERMANAS
- 1971 Chicanos from 23 states attend the Houston Chicana Conference
- 1972 The Brown Berets occupy Santa Catalina Island and rename it *Aztlan Libre*
- 1972 LRUP holds national convention in El Paso and elects Gutierrez as first president
- 1973 LULAC forms LULAC National Educational Service Centers, Inc. (LNESEC)
- 1974 The Southwest Voter Registration Education Project is established with Velasquez as director
- 1974 Raul Castro becomes the first Chicano Governor of Arizona
- 1974 The Bilingual Education Act supersedes the 1968 Act and extends and defines bilingualism
- 1975 LULAC forms LULAC National Scholarship Fund
- 1975 The Voting Rights Act is extended to include Mexican Americans
- 1980 LULAC, MALDEF and Southwest Voter Education Project file lawsuits for single member districts

Names to Remember

Actos	MALDEF
Aztlan Libre	MANA
Blowout	MASA
Brown Berets	MAYO
Campesinos	MECHA
Cesar Chavez	NAHN
Chicano Moritorium	NFWA
Chicano Movement	PADRES
Civil Rights Movement	Poor People's March
Crusade for Justice	President Lyndon B. Johnson
Crystal City	Reies Lopez Tijerina
David Sanchez	Reverend Patricio Flores
Dolores Huerta	Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales
Dr. Martin Luther King	Ruben Salazar
Dragon Lady	Sal Castro
El Movimiento	Senator Robert Kennedy
Ernesto Galarza	Scabs
Federal Alliance of Grants	SVREP
Henry B. Gonzalez	Teatro Campesino
J. Edger Hoover	Thomas McCullough
Jose Angel Gutierrez	Tierra Amarilla
La Raza Unida	UFW
LAS HERMANAS	UMAS
Liberation Theology	Willie Velasquez
Luis Valdez	Yo Soy Juquin

Sociological Glossary

Acculturation - learning and accepting host country's culture

Achieved status - what has been earned, or result of action taken e.g. student

Amalgamation - intermarriage, exogamous marriage

Ascribed status - what has been given or assigned, e.g. male or female

Attitude receptional assimilation - complete absence of prejudice

Behavior receptional assimilation - complete absence of discrimination

Charismatic - a personal quality of leadership arousing enthusiasm and loyalty

Civic assimilation - exercising all civil rights and duties

Ethnocentrism - the belief that one's own group is superior to all others and is the standard for all comparisons.

Expressive leader - a leader focused on the emotional well-being of others

Extrinsic trait - cultural elements which are not essential to the integrity of the culture

Ethclass - combination of social class and ethnicity as they influence an individual

Hopelessness - lack of hope for successful outcome or improvement, despair of future

Identificational assimilation - identifying and being identified as one, no hyphenated identity

Institutional racism - racism built into the system, i.e. the grandfather clause in voting

Instrumental leader - a goal-oriented leader focused on completing a task

Intrinsic trait - cultural elements which are essential to the integrity of the culture

Longitudinal study - repeating the same study over a period of time to see trends

Meaninglessness - lack of understanding reason for our actions, just following expectations

Normlessness - norms, social expectations, are weak, inoperative or lacking; state of anomie

Primary ethnic identity - knowledge of your ethnicity but is not central to self-identity, an ascribed status

Secondary ethnic identity - result of society making ethnicity important, central to self-identity, an achieved status

Self-estrangement - alienation from, or dissatisfaction with, one's own actions or choices

Self-fulfilling prophecy - foretelling an event and acting on the belief makes it happen

Situational ethnic identity – depends on the particular situation and people involved

Social isolation - feeling of being isolated or alone even with other people

Structural assimilation - acceptance of other groups in clubs, work place and neighborhood

Tracking - in schools students are placed in classes supposedly based on ability

Variable _ factors that vary or change from person to person or situation to situation

Visibility - anything, sight, sound, smell, that can be used to identify a member of a group

WASP - white Anglo-Saxon Protestant

We-They groups - same as **In-Out groups**, distinguishes between groups we belong to and those we do not, affects feelings of loyalty and understanding

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Related Readings

The following is the epic poem of Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales which first appeared in 1967. It was quickly adopted by the *Chicano* Movement because it embodied the history, aspirations and travails of their people. Since it first appeared, it has been read and recited thousands of times. Here it is presented in both English and Spanish.

I Am Joaquin

by Rodolfo Corky Gonzales

Yo soy Joaquín,
perdido en un mundo de confusión:
I am Joaquín, lost in a world of confusion,
caught up in the whirl of a gringo society,
confused by the rules, scorned by attitudes,
suppressed by manipulation, and destroyed by modern society.
My fathers have lost the economic battle
and won the struggle of cultural survival.
And now! I must choose between the paradox of
victory of the spirit, despite physical hunger,
or to exist in the grasp of American social neurosis,
sterilization of the soul and a full stomach.
Yes, I have come a long way to nowhere,
unwillingly dragged by that monstrous, technical,
industrial giant called Progress and Anglo success....
I look at myself.
I watch my brothers.
I shed tears of sorrow. I sow seeds of hate.
I withdraw to the safety within the circle of life --
MY OWN PEOPLE
I am Cuauhtémoc, proud and noble,
leader of men, king of an empire civilized
beyond the dreams of the gachupín Cortés,
who also is the blood, the image of myself.
I am the Maya prince.
I am Nezahualcóyotl, great leader of the Chichimecas.
I am the sword and flame of Cortes the despot

And I am the eagle and serpent of the Aztec civilization.
 I owned the land as far as the eye
 could see under the Crown of Spain,
 and I toiled on my Earth and gave my Indian sweat and blood
 for the Spanish master who ruled with tyranny over man and
 beast and all that he could trample
 But...THE GROUND WAS MINE.
 I was both tyrant and slave.
 As the Christian church took its place in God's name,
 to take and use my virgin strength and trusting faith,
 the priests, both good and bad, took--
 but gave a lasting truth that Spaniard Indian Mestizo
 were all God's children.
 And from these words grew men who prayed and fought
 for their own worth as human beings, for that
 GOLDEN MOMENT of FREEDOM.
 I was part in blood and spirit of that courageous village priest
 Hidalgo who in the year eighteen hundred and ten
 rang the bell of independence and gave out that lasting cry--
 El Grito de Dolores
 "Que mueran los gachupines y que viva la Virgen de Guadalupe..."
 I sentenced him who was me I excommunicated him, my blood.
 I drove him from the pulpit to lead a bloody revolution for him and me....
 I killed him.
 His head, which is mine and of all those
 who have come this way,
 I placed on that fortress wall
 to wait for independence. Morelos! Matamoros! Guerrero!
 all companeros in the act, STOOD AGAINST THAT WALL OF INFAMY
 to feel the hot gouge of lead which my hands made.
 I died with them ... I lived with them I lived to see our country free.
 Free from Spanish rule in eighteen-hundred-twenty-one.
 Mexico was free??
 The crown was gone but all its parasites remained,
 and ruled, and taught, with gun and flame and mystic power.
 I worked, I sweated, I bled, I prayed,
 and waited silently for life to begin again.
 I fought and died for Don Benito Juarez, guardian of the Constitution.
 I was he on dusty roads on barren land as he protected his archives
 as Moses did his sacraments.
 He held his Mexico in his hand on
 the most desolate and remote ground which was his country.
 And this giant little Zapotec gave not one palm's breadth
 of his country's land to kings or monarchs or presidents of foriegn powers.

I am Joaquin.
 I rode with Pancho Villa,
 crude and warm, a tornado at full strength,
 nourished and inspired by the passion and the fire of all his earthy people.
 I am Emiliano Zapata.
 "This land, this earth is OURS."
 The villages, the mountains, the streams
 belong to Zapatistas.
 Our life or yours is the only trade for soft brown earth and maize.
 All of which is our reward,
 a creed that formed a constitution
 for all who dare live free!
 "This land is ours . . .
 Father, I give it back to you.
 Mexico must be free. . . ."
 I ride with revolutionists
 against myself.
 I am the Rurales,
 coarse and brutal,
 I am the mountian Indian,
 superior over all.
 The thundering hoof beats are my horses. The chattering machine guns
 are death to all of me:
 Yaqui
 Tarahumara
 Chamala
 Zapotec
 Mestizo
 Español.
 I have been the bloody revolution,
 The victor,
 The vanquished.
 I have killed
 And been killed.
 I am the despots Díaz
 And Huerta
 And the apostle of democracy,
 Francisco Madero.
 I am
 The black-shawled
 Faithfulwomen
 Who die with me
 Or live
 Depending on the time and place.

I am faithful, humble Juan Diego,
The Virgin of Guadalupe,
Tonantzín, Aztec goddess, too.
I rode the mountains of San Joaquín.
I rode east and north
As far as the Rocky Mountains,
And
All men feared the guns of
Joaquín Murrieta.
I killed those men who dared
To steal my mine,
Who raped and killed my love
My wife.
Then I killed to stay alive.
I was Elfego Baca,
living my nine lives fully.
I was the Espinoza brothers
of the Valle de San Luis.

All were added to the number of heads that in the name of civilization
were placed on the wall of independence, heads of brave men
who died for cause or principle, good or bad.

Hidalgo! Zapata!
Murrieta! Espinozas!
Are but a few.
They dared to face
The force of tyranny
Of men who rule by deception and hypocrisy.

I stand here looking back,
And now I see the present,
And still I am a campesino,
I am the fat political coyote—

I,
Of the same name,
Joaquín,
In a country that has wiped out
All my history,
Stifled all my pride,
In a country that has placed a
Different weight of indignity upon my age-old burdened back.
Inferiority is the new load
The Indian has endured and still
Emerged the winner,
The Mestizo must yet overcome,
And the gachupín will just ignore.

I look at myself
 And see part of me
 Who rejects my father and my mother
 And dissolves into the melting pot
 To disappear in shame.
 I sometimes
 Sell my brother out
 And reclaim him
 For my own when society gives me
 Token leadership
 In society's own name.
 I am Joaquín,
 Who bleeds in many ways.
 The altars of Moctezuma
 I stained a bloody red.
 My back of Indian slavery
 Was stripped crimson
 From the whips of masters
 Who would lose their blood so pure
 When revolution made them pay,
 Standing against the walls of retribution.
 Blood has flowed from me on every battlefield between
 campesino, hacendado,
 slave and master and revolution.
 I jumped from the tower of Chapultepec
 into the sea of fame—
 my country's flag
 my burial shroud—
 with Los Niños,
 whose pride and courage
 could not surrender
 with indignity
 their country's flag
 to strangers . . . in their land.
 Now I bleed in some smelly cell from club or gun or tyranny.
 I bleed as the vicious gloves of hunger
 Cut my face and eyes,
 As I fight my way from stinking barrios
 To the glamour of the ring
 And lights of fame
 Or mutilated sorrow.
 My blood runs pure on the ice-caked
 Hills of the Alaskan isles,
 On the corpse-strewn beach of Normandy,

The foreign land of Korea
And now Vietnam.
Here I stand
Before the court of justice,
Guilty
For all the glory of my Raza
To be sentenced to despair.
Here I stand,
Poor in money,
Arrogant with pride,
Bold with machismo,
Rich in courage
And
Wealthy in spirit and faith.
My knees are caked with mud.
My hands calloused from the hoe. I have made the Anglo rich,
Yet
Equality is but a word—
The Treaty of Hidalgo has been broken
And is but another threacherous promise.
My land is lost
And stolen,
My culture has been raped.
I lengthen the line at the welfare door
And fill the jails with crime.
These then are the rewards
This society has
For sons of chiefs
And kings
And bloody revolutionists,
Who gave a foreign people
All their skills and ingenuity
To pave the way with brains and blood
For those hordes of gold-starved strangers,
Who
Changed our language
And plagiarized our deeds
As feats of valor
Of their own.
They frowned upon our way of life
and took what they could use.
Our art, our literature, our music, they ignored—
so they left the real things of value
and grabbed at their own destruction

by their greed and avarice.
They overlooked that cleansing fountain of
nature and brotherhood
which is Joaquín.
The art of our great señores,
Diego Rivera,
Siqueiros,
Orozco, is but another act of revolution for
the salvation of mankind.
Mariachi music, the heart and soul
of the people of the earth,
the life of the child,
and the happiness of love.
The corridos tell the tales
of life and death,
of tradition,
legends old and new, of joy
of passion and sorrow
of the people—who I am.
I am in the eyes of woman,
sheltered beneath
her shawl of black,
deep and sorrowful eyes
that bear the pain of sons long buried or dying,
dead on the battlefield or on the barbed wire of social strife.
Her rosary she prays and fingers endlessly
like the family working down a row of beets
to turn around and work and work.
There is no end.
Her eyes a mirror of all the warmth
and all the love for me,
and I am her
and she is me.
We face life together in sorrow,
anger, joy, faith and wishful
thoughts.
I shed the tears of anguish
as I see my children disappear
behind the shroud of mediocrity,
never to look back to remember me.
I am Joaquín.
I must fight
and win this struggle
for my sons, and they

must know from me
who I am.

Part of the blood that runs deep in me
could not be vanquished by the Moors.
I defeated them after five hundred years,
and I have endured.

Part of the blood that is mine
has labored endlessly four hundred
years under the heel of lustful
Europeans.
I am still here!

I have endured in the rugged mountains
Of our country
I have survived the toils and slavery of the fields.

I have existed
In the barrios of the city
In the suburbs of bigotry
In the mines of social snobbery
In the prisons of dejection
In the muck of exploitation

And
In the fierce heat of racial hatred.
And now the trumpet sounds,
The music of the people stirs the
Revolution.

Like a sleeping giant it slowly
Rears its head
To the sound of
Tramping feet
Clamoring voices
Mariachi strains
Fiery tequila explosions
The smell of chile verde and
Soft brown eyes of expectation for a
Better life.

And in all the fertile farmlands,
the barren plains,
the mountain villages,
smoke-smearred cities,
we start to MOVE.

La raza!
Méjicano!
Español!

Latino!
Chicano!
Or whatever I call myself,
I look the same
I feel the same
I cry
And
Sing the same.
I am the masses of my people and
I refuse to be absorbed.
I am Joaquín.
The odds are great
But my spirit is strong,
My faith unbreakable,
My blood is pure.
I am Aztec prince and Christian Christ.
I SHALL ENDURE!
I WILL ENDURE!

<http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/latinos/joaquin.htm>

El poema "Yo soy Joaquín"

de Rodolfo Gonzáles
(Publicación privada, 1967)

Yo soy Joaquín,
Perdido en un mundo de confusión,
Enganchado en el remolino de una
sociedad gringa,
Confundido por las reglas,
Despreciado por las actitudes,
Sofocado por manipulaciones,
Y destrozado por la sociedad moderna.
Mis padres
perdieron la batalla económica
Y conquistaron
La lucha de supervivencia cultural.
Y ¡ahora!
Yo tengo que escoger
Entremedias
De la paradoja de
Triunfo del espíritu,
A despecho de hambre física,
O
Existir en la empuñada
Del neurosis social americano,
Esterilización del alma
Y una panza llena.
Sí,
Vine de muy, lejos a ninguna parte,
desinclinadamente arrastrado por ese
gigante, monstruo, técnico,
industrial llamado
Progreso
Y éxito angloamericano ...
Me miro yo mismo.
Observo a ms hermanos.
Lloro lágrimas de desgacia.
Siembro semillas de odio.
Me retiro a la seguridad dentro de el
Círculo de vida...
MI GENTE.

Yo soy Cuauhtémoc,
Majestuoso y Noble
Guía de hombres
Rey de un imperio, civilizado
incomparablemente a los sueños
del Gauchupin Cortés,
Quien igualmente es la sangre,
el imagen de yo mismo
Yo soy el príncipe de los Mayas
Yo soy Nezahualcoyotl,
Líder famoso de los Chichimecas
Yo soy la espada y la llama de Cortés
el déspota
Y
Yo soy la Águila y la serpiente
de la civilización Azteca.

Fui dueño del terreno hasta donde vían
los ojos debajo la corona de España,
Y yo trabajé en mi tierra
Y di mi sudor y sangre india
Por el maestrao español
que gobernó con tiranía sobre hombre y
bestia y todos los que él podía pisotear
Pero...
EL TERRENO ERA MÍO
Yo era ambos tirano y esclavo.

Cuando iglesia Cristiana tomó su lugar
en el buen nombre de Dios
para tomar Y usar mi fuerza vigen Y
fe confiada
Los sacerdotes
ambos buenos y malos,
cogieron
Pero
dieron una verdad perdurable que
español,
indio,
mestizo
Todos eran hijos de Dios
Y

de estas palabras originaron hombres
que rezaron y pelearon
por
su mismo mérito como seres humanos,
para
ese
MOMENTO DORADO
de
LIBERTAD.

Yo fui parte en sangre y espíritu
de aquel
padre aldeano y valiente
Hidaogo
que en el año mil ochocientos diez
repicó la campana de independencia

Y dio el constante:

"Grito de Dolores, que meuran
los Gauchupines y que viva
la Virgen de Guadalupe" . . .

Yo lo condené a él
que era yo.

Yo lo doscomulgué a él mi sangre.
Lo desterré del púlpito para encabezar
una revolución sangrienta para él y yo...

Yo lo maté.

Su cabeza,
que es mía y de todos los que
pasaron por aquí,

La puse en la pared del fuerte
para esperar la Independencia.

Morelos!

Matamoros!

Guerrero!

Todos compañeros en el acto, se pararon
ENFRENTA DE AQUELLA PARED DE INFAMIA
a sentir el arrancón caliente de plomo
que mis manos produjeron.

Yo murí con ellos . . .

Viví con ellos . . .

Viví a ver mi patria labire.

Libre

de regla Hispana, en

mil cocho-cientos-veinte y un
México estaba Libre ??

Ya no estaba la soberanía
pero
quedaban, todos sus parásitos
y regimentaban
y enseñaban
con fusil y llama y poder místico.
Yo trabajé,
Yo sudé
Yo derramé sangre
Yo recé
Y
esperé silenciosamente, que la vida
comenzara de nuevo.

Yo batallé y murí
por
Don Benito Juárez
Guardián de la Constitución
Yo fui el
en caminos empolvados
en terrenos estériles
cuando él progegía sus archivos
como protegió Moisés sus sacramento.
Él detuvo su México
en sus manos
en
los terrenos más desolados
y remotos
cual era su patria
Y este gigante
Zapotec pequeño
no dio
ni una palma de mano
de la tierra de su patria a
Reyes o Monarcas o Presidentes
de poderes extranjeros.

Yo soy Joaquín.
Cabalgué con Pancho Villa,
tosco y simpático,
Un tornado a toda fuerza,
alimentado e inspirado
por la pasión y la lumbre
de su gente mundana.
Soy Emmiliano Zapata
"Este terreno
Esta tierra
es
NUESTRA"

Los Pueblos
Las Montañas
Los arroyos
pertenecen a los Zapatistas.
Nuestra vida
O las tuyas
es el único cambio por tierra blanda,
morena y por maíz. Todo lo que fue nuestro regalo,
Un credo que formó una constitución
para los que atreven vivir libre!
"Esta tierra es nuestra . . .
Padre, Yo te la doy de vuelta.
México debe ser libre . . ."
Peleo con revolucionarios
encontra de yo mismo.
Yo soy Rural
Ordinario y bruto,
Yo soy el indio montañero,
superior sobre todos.
El galope truenoroso son mis caballos.
El chirrido de ametrilladoras
es muerte para los que son yo:
Yaqui
Tarahumara
Chamula
Zapotec
Mestizo
Español

Yo he sido la Revolución Sanguinosa,
El Vencedor,
El Vencido,
Yo he matado
y he sido matado.
Yo soy los déspotas Díaz
y Huerta
y el apóstol de democracia
Francisco Madero
Yo soy
las mujeres fieles
con sus rebozos negros
que mueren conmigo
o viven
pendiente al lugar y el tiempo.
Yo soy
leal,
humilde,
Juan Diego
la Virgen de Guadalupe,
también Tonatzín, la diosa azteca.

Cabalgué las montañas de San Joaquín
Cabalgué al este y al norte
hasta las Montañas Roquenas
y
todos los hombres temían las pistolas
de Joaquín Murieta
Maté a esos hombres que atrevieron
a robar mi mina
que violaron y mataron a
mi Amor
mi Esposa

Luego
Yo maté para vivir.
Yo fui Alfego Baca,
Viviendo mis nueve vidas completamente,
Yo fui los hermanos Espinoza
Del Valle de San Luis.
Todos,
Fueron añadidos al número de cabezas

Que
En el nombre de civilización
Pusieron en la pared de independencia.
Cabezas de hombres valientes
Que murieron por causa o motivo
Bueno o Malo
Hidalgo! Zapata!
Murieta! Espinozas!
Son solamente pocos.
Ellos
Se arriesgaron afrontar
La fuerza de tiranía
De hombres
que gobiernan
con enredos e hipocresía
Aquí estoy mirando hacia el pasado
Y ahora veo
El presente
Y todavía
Yo soy el campesino
Soy el político, gordo y traicionero
Yo,
Del mismo nombre,
Joaquín.
En un país que ha derrotado
Toda mi historia,
Sofocado todo mi orgullo.
En un país que ha puesto un peso
De indignidad diferente
en
mi
espalda
centenaria.
Inferioridad
es la nueva carga . . .
El indio ha sobrellevado y todavía
Emergió el vencedor,
El mestizo debe todavía vencer,
Y el Gauchupín solamente ignorará.
Me miro yo mismo
Veo parte de mí.
que renuncia mi padre y mi madre y se
derrita en la mezcla de esta sociedad
para desaparecerme en verguenza.

A veces
vendo a mi hermano
y lo reclamo
Como vío cuando la sociedad me da
liderato teresro
en el mismo nombre de la sociedad.

Yo soy Joaquín,
Que se sangra en muchos modos.
Los Itares de Montezuma
Yo manché saingúneo
Mi espalda de esclavitud india
fue despojada color encarnado
de los azotes de patronos
que perderían su sangre tan pura
Cuando Revolución los hizo pagar
Parados en frente de las paredes de
Retribución,
Sangre . . .
Ha derramado de
m
en cada campo de batalla
entre
Campesino, hacendado
Esclavo y dueño
y
Revolución.
Yo brinqué de la torre de Chapultepec
dentro del mar de fama;
La bandera de mi patria
mi sudario;
Con Los Ninos,
cuyo orgullo y valor
no pudieron entregar
con indignidad
la bandera de su patria
A extranjeros ... en su tierra.
Ahora
me sangro en una celda hedionda
de garrote.
o pistola
o tiranía.
Sangro mientras los guantes viciiosos de

hambre parten i cara, mis ojos,
Mientras peleo desde Barrios corrompidos
al encanto del cuadrilatllo
y luces de fama
o pesar múmero.
Mi sangre cursa pura en los cerros
escarchados de las Isletas de Alaska
en la plaua derramada de cuerpos en
Normandía la tierra ajena de Corea
y ahora
Viet Nam.

Aquí estoy parado
enfrente la corte de Justicia
Culpable
por toda la gloria de mi Raza
a ser sentenciado a desesperación.
Aquí estoy parado
pobre en dinero
arrogante con orgullo
valiente con machismo
rico en valor
y
adinerado de espíritu y fe.
Mis rodillas están costrados con barro.
Mis manos ampolladas del azadón.
Yo he hecho al angloamericano rico
aun
Igualdad es solamente una palabra,
El Tratado de Hidalgo se ha rompido
Y es solamente otra promesa traicionera.
Mi tierra está perdida
y robada,
Mi cultura ha sido desflorada,
Alargo
la línea en la puerta del beneficio
y lleno las cárceles con crimen.
Estos entonces
son los regalos
que esta sociedad tiene
Para hijos de Jefes
y Reyes
y Revolucionarios sanguinosos.

Quienes
dieron a la gente ajena
todas sus habilidades e ingeniosidad
para adoquianr la vía con Sesos y Sangre
para
esas hordas de Extranjeros hambrientos
por Oro
Quienes
cambiaron nuestro idioma
y plagiaron nuestros hechos
como acciones de valor
de ellos mismos.
Desaprobaron de nuestro modo de vivir
y tomaron lo que podían usar.
Nuestro Arte
Nuestra Literatura
Nuestra música ignoraron
así dejaron las cosas de valor verdadero
y arrebataron a su misma destrucción
con su gula y avaricia.

Disimularon aquella fontana prificadora
de naturaleza y hermandad
Cual es Joaquín.
El arte de nuestros señores excelentes
Diego Rivera
Siqueiros
Orozco es solamente
otro acto de revolución para
la salvación del género humano.
Música de mariachi, el
corazón y el alma
de la gente de la tierra,
la vida del niño
y la laegría del amor.
Los Corridos dicen los cuentos
de vida y muerte,
de tradición,
Leyendas viejas y nuevas,
de Gusto
de pasión y pesar
de la gente: que yo soy.
Yo estoy en los ojos de la mujer,

amparados debajo
su rebozo negro
ojos hondos y
dolorosos,
Que llevan el pesar de hijos enterrados
o agonizantes,
Muertos
en batalla o en el alambre de púas
de la lucha social.
Su rosario lo reza y lo pulsa
infinitamente
como la familia
tragajando una hilera de betabel
a dar vuelta
y trabajar
y trabajar
No hay ningún fin.
Sus ojos un espejo de todo el calor
y todo el amor para mí,
Y yo soy ella
Y ella es yo.
Juntos afrontamos la vida con
pesar, coraje, alegría, fe y
pensamientos deseosos.

Lloro lágrimas de angustia
Cuando veo a mis hijos desaparecer
Detrás de la mortaja de mediocridad,
Para jamás reflexionar o acordarse de mí.
Yo soy Joaquín.
Debo pelear
Y ganar la lucha
Para mis hijos, y ellos
Deben saber de mí,
Quien soy yo.
Parte de la sangre que corre hondo en mí
No pudo ser vencida por los moros.
Los derroté después de quinientos años,
Y yo perduré.
La parte de sangre que es mía
Ha obrado infinitamente cuatrocientos
Años debajo el talón de europeos lujuriosos.
¡Yo todavía estoy aquí!

He perdurado en las montañas escarpadas
De nuestro país.
He sobrevivido los trabajos y esclavitud de los campos.
Yo he existido en los barrios de la ciudad
En los suburbios de intolerancia
En las minas de snobismo social
En las prisiones de desaliento
En la porquería de explotación y
En el calor feroz de odio racial.
Y ahora suena la trompeta,
La música de la gente incita la revolución.
Como un gigantón soñoliento lentamente
Alza su cabeza
Al sonida de
Patulladas
Voces clamorosas
Tañido de mariachis
Explosiones ardientes de tequila
El aroma de chile verde y
Ojos morenos, esperanzosos de una
Vida mejor.
Y en todos los terrenos fértiles,
Los llanos áridos,
Los pueblos montañosos,
Ciudades ahumadas,
Empezamos a AVANZAR.
¡La Raza!
¡México!
¡Español!
¡Latino!
¡Hispano!
¡Chicano!
O lo que me llame yo,
Yo parezco lo mismo
Yo siento lo mismo
Yo lloro
Y
Canto lo mismo.
Yo soy el bulto de mi gente y
Yo renuncio ser absorbido.
Yo soy Joaquín.
Las desigualdades son grandes
Pero mi espíritu es firme,
Mi fe impenetrable,

Mi sangre pura.
Soy príncipe azteca y Cristo cristiano.
¡YO PERDURARÉ!
¡YO PERDURARÉ!

<http://cfbstaff.cfbsd.edu/stacyc/Yo%20soy%20Joaquin.htm>

Discussion Questions

1. What was the myth identified during this period? Do you see any examples or consequences? Were there any other myths at this time which effected the period?
2. What part, if any, did the Chicano Movement play in the Civil Rights Movement? Do you see any influence that one had on the other?
3. Were there any notable differences between the organizations of this period and those of the previous periods? Which was the most effective? Why?
4. Why did the Chicano Movement not develop a recognized leader such as did the Black portion of the Civil Rights Movement? Who so you believe was the closest to a recognized leader? Why?
5. What were some of the social justice issues both parts of the Civil Rights Movement focused on? What were different issues each focused on? Why?
6. What were specific *Chicana* issues or concerns. How did these differ from overall Chicano concerns? What part did the Feminist Movement play?
7. What is meant by the phrase “preferential option for the poor?” Does this indicate a communist influence?
8. What do you think were the most important events, or those which had the greatest impact on the lives of Mexican Americans, from the chapter’s Chronology of Period Events? Why?

CHAPTER SIX

Ethnic Inclusion (1980 – 2012)

Based on the activism of the Chicano Movement and successes it achieved, the 1980s had been proclaimed by some to be the “Decade of the Hispanic” (Reyes and Valencia, 1993: 269). Related to this prediction, the principal myth of this period is that the struggle has ended and civil rights have been achieved. Therefore there is no longer a need for **affirmative action** which has been an attempt to make amends for past inequities resulting from racism and sexism. Any further help for minorities is **reverse discrimination**, or so the opponents claim. Although it did not occur until the beginning of the 21st century, the election of President Barack Obama was considered by some to be the ultimate proof of this belief.

The event which marked the beginning of this final period was the 1980 U.S. census. Results revealed two important changes had taken place. One was the increase in the number of Hispanics in the population. Since 1980, census figures have shown that of the U.S. resident population, more people have been born in Mexico than in any other country. Each succeeding census has indicated that the number of Mexican-born residents has nearly doubled (U.S. Census Bureau Report, 2001). The other, and possibly more dramatic change, was the change in attitude of Mexican Americans regarding their official racial classification. Prior to 1930 Mexican Americans were generally classified as white, but in the 1930 census they were classified as “other races” and listed as Mexican. This designation was shortlived, and in the 1940 census they were once again classified as white. They continued to be classified as white in 1950 unless they clearly appeared to be non-white. An important change was made for the 1960 census. If a respondent did not indicate race but did select Mexican, they were counted as white in the editing process.

Whereas previously the census taker determined the racial classification of the respondent based on personal observation, in the new census it was the respondent who informed the census taker of the appropriate racial classification. In 1970 the self-classification continued but Mexican Americans were designated as Spanish-surname or Spanish-heritage, and 93.3 percent indicated they were white. In 1980 Mexican Americans were classified as of Spanish origin and only 56 percent indicated they were white, 2.7 percent said they were Black, 1.3 percent listed Indian, Eskimo, Asian or Pacific Islander and the remaining 40 percent indicated “other.” It appears that many no longer wanted to be identified with Anglos.

This self-identity as non-white may be a consequence of the Chicano Movement which was focused on promoting unity and pride in a unique identity which is separate from Anglos. The distinction is reflected in the common reference to Anglos as whites, a term Mexican Americans do not use for another Hispanic even though they may be Caucasian. This also represents a break from Mexican culture where color is commonly referred to and is sometimes used as a nickname. The terms *guero* (light skin), *moreno* (tan skin) and

prieto (dark skin) are commonly used to refer to individuals. There is a decided preference for *gueros*, which appears to be a vestige of the caste system based on **pigmentocracy** found in New Spain. This apparent preference may have a pragmatic basis. Among Mexican Americans skin color, together with physical characteristics, appears to be important for success in the United States.

A study found that those who were lighter-skinned and had European-type physical characteristics, in general, had a higher socioeconomic status than those with darker skin and a more indigenous Native American physical appearance. This was interpreted by the researchers as an indication that phenotype is still important for social acceptance and economic success in the United States (Arce and Murguia, 1987). The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (April 1971: 11) stated that a caste-like system had existed in the Southwest with Anglos at the top and Mexican Americans on the bottom. In Texas, restrictive covenants in property deeds frequently prohibited the sale of property to Mexican Americans in Anglo neighborhoods. These covenants are now illegal.

The elimination of the caste system, to the extent one existed, and the general reduction of prejudice and discrimination toward Mexican Americans may be attributed to four factors in minority-dominant group interactions: common goals, interdependency, equal status, and authority approval (Allport, 1954). The success of the Civil Rights/Chicano Movement together with affirmative action legislation in eliminating discriminatory laws and practices allowed Mexican Americans to integrate social institutions at all levels. For example, as students, teachers, administrators and members of school board, Mexican Americans share the same goals as other Americans. To successfully accomplish their common goals there must be a spirit of cooperation and interdependency. This mutual spirit of participation must be accepted and encouraged by authority figures for the success of the institution. Finally, if leadership is shared and all are empowered, in a spirit of respect and equality, prejudice and discrimination are reduced and ethnic inclusion results.

Although prejudice and discrimination have not disappeared, there has been a noticeable reduction in their public expressions. Previously, there had been many cases of **stigmatization** of *Mexicanos*. This refers to the process of attaching visible signs of social or moral inferiority to individuals or groups of individuals. **Signs** can take many forms, including labels, marks, ethnophaulisms, negative stereotypes or demeaning behavior. Degradation rituals, such as the enforcement of segregated schools, neighborhoods, swimming pools, churches or cemeteries, were found in many areas of the country, especially in the Southwest. The “repatriation” of Mexican Americans during the Great Depression and the public beatings of *Mexicanos* and stripping of their clothing during the Zoot Suit Riots were also examples.

The **stigma** of the entire ethnic group is referred to as the “tribal stigma of a race,” as well as that of the “blemish of character” (Goffman, 1963). The former applies to all the members of a pariah people believed to be racially distinct.* Although earlier in the 20th century *Mexicanos* were stigmatized on the basis of race, this decreased in the latter part of the century following the Civil Rights/Chicano Movement. The latter stigma is applied

to members of certain groups thought to possess character defects, such as laziness, immorality, ignorance, criminality or uncleanness, all of which have been attributed to *Mexicanos*. Examples of this have been found in television commercials, such as an Arid deodorant commercial which featured a *Mexicano* character, and stated “if it works for him, it will work for you.” Another commercial, advertizing the corn chip Frito-Lay, featured a sneaky-looking *Mexicano* character named Paco who was so lazy “he never ‘feenishes’ anything, not even a revolution.” (Martinez, 1969).

In the 21st century such commercials are considered politically incorrect and possibly grounds for a law suit. At the very least they can result in boycotts of products and advertisers. Hispanic images have still been used on occasion in the 21st century but not what most would consider in a racist way. An example of this is the Mexican Chihuahua used to promote Taco Bell. While some people find Dinky cute or endearing, others find him offensive as he says “*yo quiero Taco Bell.*”(I want/loveTaco Bell).

Catholic Response to Hispanic Concerns

One area of protest during the Chicano Movement was what Chicanos considered to be the neglect of Hispanics in the Catholic Church. In 1969 a group which called itself *Catolicos por la Raza* held a demonstration in front of St. Basil’s Cathedral in Los Angeles. The demonstrators came into conflict with the police as they demanded programs for Hispanics. A response to this demand finally took place in 1983 with the National Conference of Catholic Bishops’ Pastoral Letter, *The Hispanic Presence: Challenge and Commitment*. which focused attention on this long-neglected portion of the Church’s laity and made recommendations to better serve the Hispanic faithful,

A followup of the Pastoral Letter was the *III Encuentro Nacional Hispano de Pastoral* which was convoked in 1985 in Washington, D. C. to identify the needs and their solutions. In 1986 a publication titled *Prophetic Voices* outlined the conclusions of the *Encuentro*, including a focus on five areas of concern: evangelization, integral education, social justice, youth, and leadership.

. An eventual outcome of the *Encuentro* was *The National Pastoral Plan for Hispanic Ministry* which was published in 1988. The hierarchy of the United States Catholic Church was finally attempting to identify and meet the specific needs of Hispanics. This was important not only for the Hispanic faithful but ultimately for the future of the U. S.

- * An apparent victim of this stigma is the Virgin of Guadalupe. Although she appeared in America leaving an image of herself and is the patron saint of the Americas, over the years there have been fewer churches dedicated to her than to other ethnic-identified madonnas, such as Our Lady of Lourdes (French), Most of the churches dedicated to her have been located in the Southwest and are churches which serve predominantly Mexican parishioners. In general, she has not been popular among Anglo Catholics (Lampe, 1986)

Catholic Church since Hispanics are expected to comprise half of all Catholics in the United States by the latter half of the 21st century. As a result of focusing on Hispanic needs, every diocese is supposed to have at least one Sunday Mass celebrated in Spanish, and many Spanish-speaking laymen have been ordained as permanent deacons to help in the parishes and serve the needs of their fellow parishioners.

Educational Concerns and Consequences

As in every previous period, education is important to an understanding of Mexican American progress or lack thereof. Mexicans and Mexican Americans value education and view it as a stepping stone for a better life for their children. However, there is a difference in what the parents focus on, and related to this, how they evaluate the performance of the teachers and school system. Mexican parents in the United States focus on their children's English proficiency and ability to read and write, something which they, the parents, are often unable to do. Based on this, Mexican parents indicate a greater degree of satisfaction with both teachers and school system. In contrast, Mexican American parents do not focus on their children's ability to read, write and speak English, but on greater overall educational achievement. Based on the different concerns, they were generally not satisfied with teachers and the school system (Romo, 1986). Satisfaction depends on expectation.

Mexican American parents had good reason to be dissatisfied with their children's education. Institutional racism existed in some schools. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (October 1971: 41-43) reported that Mexican Americans, as well as Blacks and American Indians, in the Southwest do not receive the benefits of public education equal to that of Anglo students. Mexican American students have higher dropout rates (sometimes referred to as pushout rates), lower reading levels, repeat the same grade more often, more likely to be older than normal, and participate less in extracurricular activities. Only 60 of 100 Mexican American children who enter grade school eventually graduate from high school. Texas was the worst state for all of these inequalities.

In this as in every previous period, Hispanics and especially *Mexicanos* have less education than the general population. Almost 26 percent of *Mexicanos* 16-19 years of age have not finished high school and are not enrolled in school (PEW Hispanic Center, 2004). Although there has been improvement, Anglos, Asian Americans, and now African Americans all receive more education than Hispanics. Hispanic children attend preschool at only half the rate as Anglo children. This can put a child at a disadvantage since preschool can accustom the child to a school environment and begin learning some basics such as colors, numbers and letters. It may also help the child to experience early success and develop a positive self-image regarding his or her ability to learn. A failure to develop a joy for learning and a positive self-image regarding learning ability, may be a factor in explaining the fact that in 1993, 30 percent of Hispanics between the ages of 16 and 24 dropped out of school before graduating from high school. In some states the dropout rate was 45 percent (Bader, 1995: 16). Overall, in the first decade of the 21st century Latinos had the lowest high school graduation rates, the lowest level of educational attainment and the highest dropout rate of any major ethnic or racial group (Navarro, 2005: 585). There

is a significant difference between Mexican Americans, American Mexicans and Mexicans. Mexican Americans who completed all of their education in U.S. schools, have a lower dropout rate than American Mexicans who started school in Mexico but continued in U.S. schools or Mexicans who completed most of their education in Mexico (Fry, 2003).

Directly related to educational attainment and English language proficiency is success in the labor market. Mexican immigrants are much more likely to work in agriculture than second or third generation *Mexicanos*. This is true for both men and women. Low levels of education and language deficiencies appear to be major causes of the differences. As these are improved, men and women tend to move out of farm work, personal service, and operative jobs into white-collar, managerial and professional occupations (Blau and Kahn, 2007, 85-87). The primary reason why Mexican Americans earn low wages is not because they receive lower wages than others in the same occupations, but because they have lower levels of education (Dougherty and Kurosaka, 1996). This hinders them from competing for the more rewarding well-paying jobs. The greatest improvement in education and occupation is between the first and second generations. There is little difference between the second and third generations (Economic Progress, 2002: 2).

The high dropout rate, according to some, is a function of a school system which views all students as a homogeneous category of individuals, and in order to improve student performance has opted to increase overall standards. School reforms have often been what can be called “school intensification” reforms which are designed to serve the needs of the college-bound students while paying little attention to the needs of the “at risk” students. There are certain characteristics associated with dropping out of school. These include students living with a single parent, coming from a disadvantaged socioeconomic status (SES) background, having limited English proficiency, repeating one or more grades, having disciplinary problems and low levels of academic performance. Mexican Americans and other minority students are more likely to have one or more of these predictors than are Anglo students (Reyes and Valencia, 1993: 267-270).

In order to aid and encourage Hispanic students to achieve college degrees an organization named the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU) was established in 1986. It started with a membership of eighteen institutions but the Association grew rapidly and a little over twenty years later it represented almost 450 colleges and universities in the United States, Puerto Rico, Latin America, Spain and Portugal. In the United States HACU represents less than 10 percent of all colleges and universities, however these schools educate more than two-thirds of all Hispanic college students.

HACU was instrumental in convincing Congress to formally recognize institutions with high numbers of Hispanic students. Such schools have been designated Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI), and they are eligible for special grants. An HSI is a school that has an enrollment that is at least 25 percent Hispanic. These institutions have been under-funded. In 2002 they reported annual revenues of approximately \$8,596 per student compared to \$19,674 per student of all other institutions, and the average HSI endowment per student

was \$40 compared to \$331 per student in non-HSI institutions, HACU is the only national educational association in the country that represents HSIs (HACU website, 2009).

There is still much to do in order to improve the educational attainment of Mexican Americans and other Hispanics. In the first decade of the 21st century 80 percent of Hispanics received their education in only seven states: California, Texas, Florida, New York, Arizona, Illinois and New Jersey. One problem found throughout the country is that of graduation from school. This is not only a problem in high schools, but also in colleges, particularly two-year institutions. Only 18 percent of Hispanics who begin their advanced education in a junior college compared to 47 percent who begin in a four-year institution, eventually earn their bachelor's degree (Martinez, 2005). In Texas Hispanic enrollment is lagging behind that of Anglos and Blacks, and in south Texas it has actually declined. Consequently, in terms of adults with a college degree, Texas has fallen from 23rd to 35th among the states (Ludwig, 2005).

Mexican Americans and Politics

Education has an effect on political participation. There has been notable improvement in the political fortunes of Hispanics and Mexican Americans. According to the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO), in 1985 there were 3,147 Hispanics elected to public offices. By 1994 the number of Hispanic officials was 4,625 which represents an increase of 47 percent. New Mexico has been the state with the highest proportional representation of Hispanics in government. This is attributed to the fact that Mexicans were in government when New Mexico became a state and they have worked to insure their continued representation.

For Hispanics to be represented in government two things are necessary, First, institutions and electoral structures must be fair. This requires aggressive advocacy during the reapportionment and redistricting processes which occur periodically. Litigation under the provisions of the Voting Rights Act may be necessary. After 1975 protection under the Voting Rights Act was extended to include language minorities. This allowed Mexican Americans in Texas and other states to challenge at-large elections where an Anglo majority could elect all of their own candidates even as representatives of Hispanic districts. Mexican Americans were successful in overturning at-large elections in favor of single-member districts where each district elected their own representative.

Second, once Hispanic candidates have a fair opportunity, it is necessary to get voters to support them in the elections. This involves encouraging those eligible to become citizens, holding voter registration drives so citizens are able to vote, and mobilizing the voters on election day. In this regard, MALDEF and the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project have been very helpful in the Hispanic communities (Vargas, 1995: 28). Because of their ever-growing numbers, Hispanics are a more important and influential part of the political system. They not only provide more candidates for various public offices, but have a greater voice in the election of candidates. A study has revealed the characteristics which Mexican Americans look for in a leader. There were four main concerns. Over half indicated a person's character, including honesty and trustworthiness,

is the most important. This was followed by competence, including intelligence, education and experience. Next was compassion, including respect for others. Finally, there was community service, including compassion and concern for the poor (Hernandez and Ramirez, 2001) Interestingly, some Chicanos, who during the 1960s and 1970s, had fought for bilingual education and later became politicians, have regretted the success of their fight for bilingualism. They now believe that it may discourage assimilation (Tumulty, 2001: 74).

Since its formation in 1929 LULAC has been an active and positive force for change in the lives of Mexican Americans. This period is no different. LULAC presented the Mexican American position on the Immigration and Reform Act of 1986, and lobbied against an English Only Education bill on which the Texas Senate subcommittee was holding hearings.. Their effort was successful in stopping the resolution from leaving the committee. In 1987 LULAC filed a class action lawsuit against the INS in order to process eligible amnesty applications. This lawsuit was settled in 2003 allowing 100,000 immigrants to become permanent legal residents. Another lawsuit (LULAC v Mattox) was filed in 1989 which challenged the selection of judges in urban areas of Texas. The following year LULAC v Clements lawsuit was filed challenging the allocation of funds to Texas universities. It was also involved in issues regarding media coverage of Hispanics, sampling techniques for the 2000 census, and the revitalization of Hispanic neighborhoods (LULAC website).

Immigration and Assimilation

Assimilation of Mexicans and Mexican Americans is probably the most complete along the United States-Mexican border. This is due, not just because they have become Anglicized to the point that they fit into the general Anglo society, but because while they have been adapting to American culture, Anglos have also been adapting to Mexican culture. Assimilation has gone both ways in the spirit of the “melting pot.” In recognition of this fact, in June 2001 Time Magazine’s feature story focused on life along the border referring to the region as “Amexica.” In the rest of the United States the assimilation of Mexican Americans and American Mexicans is not nearly as complete due in large part to the continuing migration between the two countries and the fact that many continue to live in ethnic enclaves and ghettos.

Immigrants, both legal and illegal, who hope to make a home in the United States must be **resocialized**. And, if they live and work outside of the barrio, will have to develop a mental cultural role model, what George Mead (1934) called a “**generalized other**,” which is appropriate to the new sociocultural setting in which they will operate. The generalized other is the internalized abstraction of people in general, including their values, attitudes, beliefs, actions and reactions. It serves as a guide to interacting with new and unfamiliar people and is derived from experience. Since an immigrant’s original generalized other which was developed in Mexico will not be helpful in their new sociocultural setting, a new one appropriate to the United States must be developed to aid in their assimilation or accommodation. These processes are not easy, and many will experience some degree of **culture shock**. There are four common phases which individuals experience when

immigrating to a new and culturally different society. The first is a relatively short period characterized by excitement and anticipation. This is followed by the second reaction which is frustration and stress due to the inadequacies of their knowledge and past experience in dealing with the many differences encountered. It is during this time that some individuals decide to leave and return to the security of their homeland. For those who stay, the third phase is one of adjustment and reorientation. They begin to understand some of the differences and develop a more positive attitude. Finally, those who remain reach the acculturation stage. Important aspects of this adjustment are effective communication and openness to change.

An individual's reaction and adjustment to culture shock depends on three factors. First, is the degree of similarity between the native and new cultures. The more similar the two cultures are the more easily is the adjustment. Second is the degree and quality of prior knowledge of the new environment and culture. A person will know what to expect and be better prepared. Third is the host country's attitude and policy regarding immigration. If a country welcomes immigrants and tries to help them, the adjustment is much easier and there is less of a shock (Churchman and Mitrani, 1997).

Illegal immigration continues to be a major problem and both Mexican and American government officials have expressed concern over the ongoing situation, but often for different reasons Mexico is concerned over racism towards its citizens, and the exploitation and deaths of many of those who attempt to enter the United States illegally. Mexican officials are also concerned with the corruption which this practice breeds. In order to stay in business the smugglers must pay a *mordida* (bribe) of ten percent to the local police and military who patrol the Mexican side of the border. Desperate individuals who hope to find jobs in the United States congregate in staging areas near the border and pay hundreds of dollars to *coyotes* (smugglers of illegal immigrants) to take them safely across the border and past the Border Patrol. However, when in danger of being caught *coyotes* often abandon their charges and leave them to their fate. If the "wetbacks" stay together they are likely to get caught and returned to Mexico. Between October 2000 and March 2001, in just one area along the border, the Border Patrol caught and returned 56,819 illegal aliens. However, if they "go quail" (scatter in all directions) some are able to escape but others often die in the desert without food or water. In the year 2000, 383 illegals died attempting to enter the United States (McCarthy, 2001: 56-60).

Concerns of the United States deal with a number of issues including possible depressed wages, increased crime, and destruction of property from illegals fleeing from border patrol agents. A more recent concern is protection of borders, not just from illegal aliens but also from drug smugglers and terrorists. To this end, surveillance, including the use of electronic devices, was increased and a 700 mile long fence along the Mexican border was authorized in 2006. Although there was opposition to the fence from both Americans and Mexicans, construction began. However, the opposition by property owners along the border, environmentalists who fear it will adversely affect animal migration and some people who believe it is wrong to separate Mexico from the United States in such a physical and symbolic manner caused the project to be halted. This is similar to a proposal at the

end of the 1970s to build a fence along the border. At that time a fence topped with razor wire was erected in El Paso, Texas and in San Ysidro, California. Mexican officials complained that such a fence could cause extreme danger to anyone attempting to climb it. That fence also met opposition from other sources besides the Mexican government and was derisively referred to as the “tortilla curtain.” This was a tongue-in-cheek reference to the “iron curtain” in the cold war era which ideologically divided communist eastern European countries from western European countries. There was also the physical wall in Berlin which served to divide the country.

A more general reoccurring concern shared by many Americans was that with the recession and consequent unemployment of 2008-2009, Immigrants were taking jobs and depleting scarce financial resources in education and health care. Towns along the border were especially hard hit from the added expenses of caring for the needs of Mexican citizens who often crossed the border to receive health care in the emergency rooms of U.S. hospitals. In a study conducted in the first decade of the 21st century, it was found that support for immigration declined in 2006 and 2007 (Klineberg, 2007). And although there are fluctuations in immigration depending on current circumstances in both countries, at least 50 percent of U.S. respondents indicated support for some type of physical barrier along the border (Rasmussen Reports, 2008).

In 2010 a report by the Pew Hispanic Center was released which indicated that the number of illegal immigrants entering the United States had declined dramatically after 2005. Between 2000 and 2005 an average of 850,000 people a year had entered the country illegally, then, as the economy became worse and pressure to control illegal immigration increased, the number of illegals entering fell to an average of 300,000 a year between 2007 and 2009. This decline contributed to an estimated 8 percent decrease in the number of people living in the United States without government authorization. Of those who continued to live in the United States, approximately 80 percent came from Mexico and other parts of Latin America (Bahrapour, 2010).

Border States Seek a Solution

Events occurred in 2010 which focused national attention on the issue of immigration at a time when the administration was dealing with other serious matters such as the poor economy, wars in the Middle East, and a massive oil spill which was wreaking havoc in the Gulf of Mexico. One such event was a series of demonstrations demanding government action to deal with the “immigration problem.” Hispanics and others were upset because candidate Obama had promised he would pass immigration legislation if he was elected president. Not everyone who made these demands were in agreement as to the nature of the problem or the solutions required. Some saw the problem as too many immigrants and a border which was in need of greater security. Solutions would include arrest and deportation of illegal aliens together with construction of a border fence and/or troops to provide greater border security. Others saw the problem as a lack of concern for those undocumented individuals who have been living and working in the United States for years but are in constant fear of arrest and deportation. Solutions would include some

means by which such undocumented individuals could remain in the country legally and/or become U.S. citizens.

Another related event which received national attention occurred in the Spring of 2010, when Governor Jan Brewer (R) of Arizona signed into law a divisive immigration policy which was said to be the result of the Federal Government's lack of action in addressing the long-promised immigration reform. It appears that this action was precipitated by the convergence of three factors: anti-immigration sentiments, the poor economy with high unemployment, and the murder of a rancher who lived along the border by suspected *narcotraficantes*. The most controversial part of this new state law required police officers who detain an individual for some illegal act to request proof of citizenship or other legal documentation if the individual is also suspected of being in the state illegally. Within a year, Utah passed similar legislation.

Over 60 percent of Americans reportedly agreed with the law, whereas over 70 percent of Hispanics in the United States disagreed. Several other states said they may enact similar legislation. Meanwhile, in order to demonstrate their disagreement with the law, several cities, including Austin, Texas, and states, including California, said they would suspend all business with Arizona as a form of protest, and the Mexican government urged its citizens to boycott the state of Arizona.

The key issue was the probability of racial profiling against *Mexicanos*; who comprised approximately one-third of the state's population. Assurances by the governor that this would not be allowed did little to placate the opponents of the law. Also at issue was the constitutionality of states establishing their own immigration policies. On July 28, the day the new law was to be enforced, a U.S. District judge put on hold the most controversial parts of the new law. This included the requirements that the police verify the legal status of a person detained for a violation and suspected of being in the country illegally and the related requirement that legal immigrants as well as some U.S. citizens carry proof of their status. The temporary stay also blocked sections of the law that prohibit illegal immigrants from seeking work. The stay did not affect the provision which makes it a state crime to transport or harbor illegal immigrants (Gannet News Service, 2010).

The police, whose job it would be to enforce the law, generally opposed it stating that enforcement would have a negative impact on their relations with the Hispanic community. Due to the history of law enforcement's treatment of *Mexicanos* along the border, relations have never been very good. Asking *Mexicanos* to prove they are in this country legally would be seen as just another form of harassment. In addition, the police complained that this new responsibility would occupy too much of their time and make it even more difficult to accomplish their primary responsibility which is to prevent and solve crimes.

In the absence of immigration legislation and in response to the pressure from Hispanics, among others, to do something, in August of 2011 President Obama announced a new policy which affected the deportation of Illegal aliens. This policy effectively achieves the primary goal of the DREAM Act which had first been proposed in 2001, then in 2007 and again in 2010. Each time Congress failed to act on it. Under the new policy

individuals who were illegally brought to the United States when they were very young, then completed high school and went to college or entered the military, would not be summarily deported but would have their fate decided on a case-by-case basis. The government's main concern is now the deportation of criminals (excluding those whose only offense was entering illegally), and those who pose a threat to national security or public safety. Some people who opposed the DREAM Act say this is just a form of amnesty and criticize the President for bypassing Congress (Pear, 2011).

At the same time that this was going on a new controversy occurred in Texas. Results of the 2010 census were released which revealed that Hispanics represented approximately half of the population growth in the entire United States. In Texas Hispanics accounted for two-thirds of the state's growth. Due to the size of the increase in population, the Lone Star state was awarded four new congressional districts. Hispanics were of the opinion that since most of the growth was the result of an increase in their numbers, they should have at least two new Hispanic districts which would provide them with more representation consistent with their numbers. This is related to the social justice principle which states that all people have the right to participate in the political, economic and cultural life of society.

The problem with this seemingly valid request was that any such districts would favor Democrats and the new districts were drawn by the existing Republican controlled State Congress which was composed of 23 Republicans and 9 Democrats. The proposed GOP redistricting plan was designed to elect 26 Republicans and 10 Democrats. This proposal was met with opposition by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, as well as three Democratic congressmen who filed law suits with the U.S. Justice Department and Texas state courts claiming that it violated the 1965 Voting Rights Act which protected the voting rights of minorities (Holley and Dunham, 2011). Thus, as has often been the case, political considerations took precedence over social justice.

Mexicanos and the Law

A separate but related issue is the treatment of Mexicans and Mexican Americans by law officers and the legal system. Throughout history their treatment by the various parts of the legal system has shown signs of racism and racial profiling. Agents of the legal system, rangers, police and sheriffs, have not always treated them fairly or with the same respect given to members of the dominant group. Crimes against Mexican Americans have often been ignored, e.g. theft of property in violation of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and California gold rush claims, they have been arrested even when they were the victims, e.g. Zoot Suit Riots, denied legal proceedings, e.g. hangings by Texas Rangers, and "Repatriation" during the Great Depression, refused a place on juries and, therefore, the right of a Mexican American defendant to a jury of peers. There is also a question of a competent investigation of a crime by a mono-lingual English-speaking police officer interviewing witnesses and/or interrogating suspects who are not fluent in English. This problem also extends to court proceedings and the possibility of a defendant receiving competent legal representation by a public defender, especially when dealing with a monolingual Spanish speaker. There is also the question of judge and/or jury prejudice,

e.g. Sleepy Lagoon, and finally, equity in sentencing. All this is important because Hispanics are victims of crimes more often than non-Hispanics, and they are also, according to a report of the Bureau of Justice Statistics, the fastest growing minority group being imprisoned (Reynoso, 2002: 293).

Progress was made at the end of the 20th century. Mexican Americans are now on juries, interpreters can be provided, there are now Hispanics on police forces, practicing law as lawyers, serving as judges, and, very importantly, members of legislative bodies enacting laws. Although Mexican Americans are part of the legal system, they are still underrepresented, especially at the state and national levels. Studies have found that there is a real difference between the perceptions Anglos, Hispanics and Blacks have regarding police and courts. Minorities believe they are more often treated differently because of racism and, consequently, are victims of police brutality. In a California study, 27 percent of all ethnic groups stated they believed that police were unfairly tough on Hispanics, and 46 percent of Hispanics felt they were treated more harshly than any other ethnic groups (Reynoso, 2002: 279). This has led some members of minority groups to refer to the Legal System as the Criminal “Just us” System.

This problem of possible racism surfaced in Dallas, Texas in 2008-2009 when it was found that a law requiring commercial truck drivers to be able to speak English was inappropriately being applied to *Mexicanos* driving their own personal vehicles. Over 30 traffic tickets had been given to drivers who could not speak English. When this was finally reported it was rectified and officers were told the law did not apply to individuals driving passenger cars.

One thing which has alarmed many Americans is the apparent increase in drug violence, especially along the border. There have been thousands of drug related murders, some in broad daylight in the middle of cities, since the beginning of the year 2000. Most of the violence appears to be between rival drug cartels or drug cartels and police. By 2008 some of this violence had crossed into the United States. Mexican *narcotraficantes* (drug traffickers) have been recruiting young Mexicans and Mexican Americans to act as mules (carriers of drugs), as pushers (drug dealers) and enforcers (hitmen). The lure of excitement and big money is very tempting, especially for those who have little education and, therefore, little chance of obtaining a good job.

The growth of gangs in the United States may be even more threatening for most Americans. One of the most violent gangs is the Mexican Mafia, which has spread throughout the United States. It appears that the Mexican Mafia began in the late 1950s in the Deuel Vocational Institution in California. This was a facility which housed the most uncontrollable and violent juvenile offenders. Conflict between inmates was a common occurrence, often based on gang affiliation. Finally, it was proposed that instead of fighting among themselves, *Mexicanos* from all the various gangs should unite to form a gang of gangs or super gang. The gang and its members were referred to as Eme. Members, referred to as *soldados* (soldiers), adopted nicknames, often selected to instill fear and/or respect. Much of their illegal activities occur in or from prisons.

A rival Mexican gang, *Nuestra Familia* (our family), formed in prison for protection against the *Eme*. However, the new gang was not taken seriously by the *Eme*, and to show their disdain they stole a pair of shoes from a member of the new gang. This was a serious miscalculation. Members of *Nuestra Familia* took revenge against the *Eme*, resulting in a bloody “shoe war” as it came to be known

In the 1970s many members of the Mexican Mafia were paroled and took their criminal activities and recruitment to cities outside of California (Blatchford, 2008: 4-11). Meanwhile, *Nuestra Familia*, sometimes referred to as *La Familia*, continued to grow and has established itself in both the United States and Mexico. It has become one of the most violent gangs and has become a leading player in the distribution of drugs.

In the Texas prison system, which is the second largest in the United States, the Mexican Mafia, which the members refer to as MEXIKANEMI (soldiers of Aztlan), has been engaged in a power struggle with the oldest but somewhat smaller gang, the Texas Syndicate. This life and death rivalry has taken many lives both inside and outside of prison (Fong, 1990). Violence between these and other gangs has increased.

Gangs appear to be common in barrios, but all gangs are not equally criminal or violent.. According to some criminologists, gang formation and behavior can be explained by the **Differential Opportunity** theory (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). Culture presents certain goals which are believed to provide happiness and form the basis for social recognition of an individual as a success or failure. Attainment of these goals depends in large part on access to legitimate or illegitimate means. **Role models** and opportunity structure are important components of goal attainment. Individuals living in ghettos are less likely to have access to good role models or legitimate means than those living in good neighborhoods. However, they may have better access to illegitimate role models and means. Whether they become a member of a gang and the type of gang they may join depends on their ability to learn the appropriate values and skills, and obtain acceptance by members.

Children from broken homes or dysfunctional families are often vulnerable to gang recruitment. Being a member of a gang can provide protection in dangerous neighborhoods, as well as a feeling of acceptance and self-worth. Young people are usually focused on the present rather than the future, particularly if they come from a poor, undereducated family. This makes it extremely difficult to remove members from gangs. In addition to the fear of violence and rejection if they attempt to leave, the life of gang members is often **countercultural**, so that as they gain status and acceptance within the gang they are losing status and acceptance in society. Conformity to gang norms results in deviance from society’s norms. Thus, to leave the gang a member must be ready to substitute status and acceptance for possible suspicion and rejection. Leaving a gang may also mean leaving the barrio, and possibly the city in order to start anew.

A curious phenomenon is occurring in high crime areas in some large U.S. cities which have growing numbers of Mexican immigrants. Some individuals are embracing a new deity referred to as *Santa Muerte* (Saint Death) a practice which was brought from Mexico.

The origins of this “saint” are uncertain, but Mexican authorities have linked the devotees to drugs, prostitution, kidnapping and homicide. Stores which specialize in potions, charms and religious items sell *veladoras* painted with *Santa Muerte’s* image on the glass container. The worship of this image, which is sometimes depicted as a male, sometimes as a female skeleton wearing a red, white or black cape and carrying a scythe, is looked on by the Catholic Church as devil worship (Gravichicago, 2007).

Conclusion

Many improvements in the lives of Mexican Americans have been experienced since 1980. Although still lagging behind other ethnic groups, they have increased their formal education. This has opened the doors to more varied and lucrative job opportunities. As a consequence of educational and economic improvements, Mexican Americans have successfully participated more in politics. These changes are a hopeful sign that they will finally be accepted as Americans and not viewed as foreigners or Mexicans. However, some of the remaining resistance to differentiating Mexican Americans from Mexicans is of their own making. Demonstrations in the United States in favor of immigration reform proposed in 2007-2008 saw many Mexican American supporters marching while carrying Mexican flags and shouting slogans in Spanish. This same thing occurred when marchers demonstrated in favor of the Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act in 2011. Such behavior was probably counterproductive for it seemed to emphasize their loyalty to, and identification with, Mexico rather than the United States.

The concern over illegal immigration was dramatized when governors of several states passed legislation which made it a state crime. These laws were opposed by President Obama and others as unconstitutional stating that the regulation of immigration was a federal matter. The issue of immigration is exacerbated by the fact that many people fail to distinguish between legal and illegal immigrants, and between foreign-born and native-born Mexican Americans. In an attempt to control illegal immigration, State immigration legislation runs the risk of negatively impacting all of the above.

Related to the question of immigration was the counterintuitive finding that first generation Hispanic immigrants reported they had experienced less discrimination than did second or third generation Hispanics, including Mexican American citizens. This may be explained by the additional finding that those who spoke more English had also experienced more discrimination. Thus, it may be that those who were more fluent in English, typically those who were born in the United States, are better able to understand subtle insults or discriminatory remarks (Armas, 2002). It is also likely that first generation spend more time in barrios and less time with non-Hispanics.

An additional concern involved with the issue of immigration is the ethnic separation and isolation which is common in many parts of the country. Large numbers of *Mexicanos*, both native-born and foreign born, still live in *barrios* throughout the United States. Residence in such segregated neighborhoods can be **functional**, serving as a safe haven for recently arrived immigrants or those who are unable or unwilling to **acculturate** and integrate. However, *barrios* keep the residents isolated from the larger community which

can result in distrust and fear. Therefore, they are also **dysfunctional**, and can retard or otherwise delay the acculturation which is necessary for acceptance.

Although progress has undoubtedly been made and Mexican Americans are now found throughout society and its institutions, there is the question as to whether there has been a real general inclusion or merely an illusion of inclusion (Rosales, 2000). It is undoubtedly true that while inclusion has become much more wide spread, there is still a long way to go before it has been fully achieved. A lack of full inclusion is a violation of **contributive justice** which requires that individuals use, and be allowed to use, their talents for the common good. While the inclusion of Mexican Americans is achievable, due to the constant flow of immigrants, the general inclusion of all *Mexicanos* is not.

This period ended in 2012 with the widespread coverage given to the growth of the ethnic minority population which is well on its way to replace non-Hispanic whites as the majority population in the United States. Demographic changer together with action taken by President Obama and an important Supreme Court decision limiting Arizona's right to make immigration laws signaled the beginning of a new period in the history of Mexican Americans.

Chronology of Period Events

Ethnic Inclusion

- 1983 Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter, The Hispanic Presence: Challenge and Commitment
- 1986 LULAC Lobbies to stop English Only legislation in Texas
- 1986 HACU was established
- 1986 Passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act
- 1987 Class action suit LULAC v INS to process eligible amnesty applicants
- 1990 LULAC v Clements challenging allocation of funds to Texas universities
- 1996 Passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Responsibility Act
- 2001 Census Bureau reported that over 33 percent of Latinos did not have medical insurance
- 2001-2 Increase in concern for more secure borders after 9/11
- 2002 – Juan Diego canonized becoming first indigenous American saint
- 2002 Census Bureau reported twice as many Anglos as Latinos earned 35,000 dollars or more among full time workers
- 1992 HACU encouraged Congress to officially recognize and support HSIs
- 2003 LULAC v INS lawsuit filed in 1987 is finally settled allowing way for 100,000 immigrants to become permanent legal residents
- 2006 Congress approves 700 miles of fence along Mexican border
- 2008 Construction of physical and virtual fences along U.S.-Mexico border
- 2008 Barack Obama is elected president of the United States, the first ethnic minority member to hold the highest office
- 2009 Passports required for U.S. citizens who visit Mexico or Canada on reentry

Names to Remember

Amexica

Coyotes

DREAM Act

Eme

Guero

Immigration and Reform Act

La Familia

LULAC v Mattox

Mexican Mafia

Mexikanemi

Minutemen

Mordida

Moreno

NALEO

Narcotraficantes

Nuestra Familia

Shoe War

Tercer Encuentro Nacional Hispano de

Pastoral

Tortilla Curtain

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Sociological Glossary

Affirmative Action - special consideration for competent members of groups that have been excluded

Contributive justice - based on the recognition that no one has all necessary talents, it follows that everyone has the duty to contribute their particular talents for the common good

Counterculture - subculture with values, beliefs and related behavior in opposition to those of society

Culture shock - discomfort or confusion when in a strange culture, trouble adjusting

Differential Association - theory which explains gang formation and gang behavior in terms of legitimate and illegitimate access to means to reach culturally prescribed goals

Dysfunctional - harmful, does not fulfill its intended purpose

Functional - helpful, fulfills its intended purpose

Generalized other - a mental cultural role model used to guide one's actions

Institutional racism - racism built into the institution and its practices

Pigmentocracy - social hierarchy based on skin color

Racial profiling - using race or ethnicity to decide if a person may be guilty of something

Racism - an ideology of superiority-inferiority based on race or ethnicity

Reverse discrimination - treating dominant members of society unfairly in favor of minorities

Role Model - a person who is used as an example

SES - socioeconomic status, or commonly referred to as social class

Stigma - a mark or sign of disgrace or discredit

Stigmatization - the act of applying a stigma, or publicly denigrating someone

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Related Readings

Two government reports will be used to illustrate degree of advancement made by Mexican Americans/Hispanics during this period in two important areas of society, economy and education.

This is taken from a longer report of the National Commission for Employment Policy (NCEP) which was issued in September 1982. The report, No. 14, was entitled *Hispanics and Jobs: Barriers to Progress*. The first two chapters of the report, Hispanic-Americans: How They differ From Other Groups, and Hispanic-Americans: Problems in the Job Market, were not included because much of the information is covered in the text. Reprinted with permission.

Chapter 3

Sources of Hispanic's Problems in the Job Market

Lack of proficiency in English, low levels of education, and discrimination are the three major reasons why Hispanic-Americans have problems in the job market. Of these, a lack of proficiency in English is the most important. Language problems reduce Hispanics' access to well-paying jobs, impede their education, and are used as a vehicle for discrimination.

Analysts have investigated the effects of age, work experience, concentrations of Hispanics, and recentness of immigration on their position in the labor market. Results suggest that these factors are not as critical as language, education, and discrimination.

One important theme in the research is that the several Hispanic groups are rewarded differently in the job market for such factors as education and experience. There are two possible reasons for this: (1) States and local areas differ in their industrial and occupational mixes as well as in rates of economic growth, or (2) different groups receive different treatment in the job market. It is not possible to determine beyond doubt the exact reason for the observed variations among Hispanics because the groups are largely located in separate geographic areas. Also, in places where several Hispanic groups live, the data necessary for analysis are not available.

It does appear that Puerto Ricans' relatively low labor force participation rate and high rate of unemployment are partially caused by the low rates of economic growth in both Puerto Rico and the northeastern United States.¹ Similarly, the relatively low rates of unemployment of Mexican - and Cuban - American men may be partly due to their location in the "Sunbelt," a more prosperous region.

This chapter reviews the research on the reasons for Hispanic difficulties in the job market. The findings are based on statistical techniques - correlation and regression analysis. The goal of these techniques is to sort out the effects on, for example, wages, of various characteristics, such as geographic location, immigrant status, age, education, and

proficiency in English. While the correlation between characteristics and experiences can be established by regression analysis, in some cases the reasons for the results are not clear. In these situations, it is useful to look to sociological studies and to the experiences of practitioners and experts in the field for a better understanding of the findings.

The chapter looks first at research results on the three major barriers Hispanics face in the job market: language, education, and discrimination. Because the adverse impact of English-language difficulties could be offset by the presence of large Spanish-speaking communities, findings on the way in which concentrations of Hispanic-Americans influence their position are also presented early in the chapter. The discussion then turns to a review of other factors that affect Hispanics; age, work experience, and immigration.

Language

The relationship between proficiency in English and Hispanics experience in the job market is a new area of research. Most work has been undertaken in the past 2 years and has been sponsored by the National Commission for Employment Policy and the U.S. Department of Labor. It has dealt with language's effect on Hispanics' participation in the work force, their occupations, and their earnings.

Several different measures of language proficiency exist and different approaches have been taken to investigate its impact. "Proficiency in English," as used here, means that a person understands and speaks English, and also has a certain degree of fluency, estimated by the extent to which he (or she) interacts in English with family, friends, and others.

One of the first studies in this area compared the wages of Hispanic men who both know and use English with the wages of otherwise similar Hispanic men who either do not know English, or do not usually communicate in it. ² This work found that men who lack proficiency in English - or do not use it - earn almost 20 percent less per hour than those who both know and use English.

A lack of proficiency in English also affects the financial rewards Hispanic men receive for their schooling and past work experience. A study for the NCEP indicates that the economic disadvantages associated with language problems are greater the more years of schooling and experience a man has. ³ For example, a Hispanic man with 9 years of education who does not speak English earns about 13 percent less per week than his counterpart who is fluent in the language, while a Hispanic man with 12 years of schooling who does not speak English earns about 20 percent less per week than his counterpart who speaks English well.

Difficulties with English have a somewhat different effect on the experiences of Hispanic women. Research suggests that those who are not fluent in English are less likely to be in the labor force. This is particularly true among those who were born outside the United States. ⁴ The reasons for this relationship are not well understood, but two explanations seem plausible. Hispanic women may be reluctant to look for work if they are not fluent

in English; alternatively, a lack of proficiency in English may represent a cultural orientation that is not conducive to women working outside the home.

Like their male counterparts, women with 12 or more years of education who have problems with English earn less per week than their counterparts who are proficient in English.⁵ However, women with fewer than 12 years of schooling who are not proficient in English earn more than those who are fluent. It is not completely clear why women dropouts who do not speak English earn more than those who quit school and do speak the language. One possible explanation is that the two groups are very different. The one may have left school due more to language problems than a lack of motivation; once in the workplace, their motivation has an economic payoff. By comparison, the other group, fluent in English, may have been less motivated in school and this same relative lack of motivation is showing up in their jobs. An alternative explanation is that the two groups are in different types of jobs. Those who speak English may be in jobs typically held by women, such as clerical work. The others may be in jobs that are less typical for women, where fluency in English is not necessary, but which are higher paying (such as machine operator). In general, Hispanic women who are operatives and laborers are much less proficient in English than those who are in clerical and sales work.⁶

Geographic Concentration of Hispanics

The negative impact on earnings of English-language difficulties might be assumed to be smaller in areas with concentrations of Hispanic families and workers. Large Spanish-speaking communities might counterbalance the importance of communicating in English on the job. However, research on the role of language in the job market has not shown this to be the case; rather, the evidence is mixed. One study, looking at data for the Hispanic population as a whole, found that the wages of Hispanic men are not affected by concentrations of Hispanics.⁷ Another study, analyzing the separate Hispanic groups, found that the wages of Mexican-American men are lower if they live in areas with large numbers of Hispanics, but the wages of non-Mexican, Hispanic men are not affected by concentrations of Hispanics.⁸ A third study, examining data on Hispanics in individual States, showed that, except for those in Florida, Hispanic men who have language difficulties are in lower paying occupations than their counterparts without such language problems.⁹ At this point, it is not possible to sort out the reasons for the differences in these studies' findings. However, there is some evidence to explain the particular result for Florida.

Specifically, many Cuban-Americans have circumvented the language barrier by establishing their own economic community in Miami, Florida. Some 20 percent of the men run their own businesses and about 50 percent in the area work for a firm that is owned or managed by Cubans, according to one survey.¹⁰ The group that immigrated to the U.S. in the early 1960's is largely responsible for the emergence of this economic community. Unlike most other Spanish-origin immigrants (and later groups of Cubans), this particular group had a sizeable number (almost 50 percent) who had been professionals or managers in Cuba.¹¹

Education

The weak educational background of Hispanics is the second important cause of their relatively poor position in the labor market.¹² Each additional year of schooling has a significant impact on their earnings. Overall, Hispanic men with 11 years of education earn about 10 percent more per week than an otherwise comparable Hispanic man with 10 years of education. This difference in women's education is associated with 6 percent higher weekly earnings.¹³

The payoff to an additional year of schooling varies among whites, blacks, and the several Hispanic groups. Studies show that all Hispanic groups and blacks receive a lower payoff than whites; findings on the differences among blacks and the Hispanic groups are not so clear-cut.¹⁴ The payoff to education for Hispanics is sometimes higher, and sometimes lower, than that for blacks. There are similar variations in findings on the payoff to education for the several Hispanic groups.

The effect of education on Hispanics' position in the job market also varies across States.¹⁵ Hispanic men in California (mostly Mexican-Americans) are in lower paying occupations than otherwise similar non-Hispanic men with the same level of education. However, in the other States, where they are concentrated, Hispanics and non-Hispanics with the same amount of schooling are in similar paying occupations, again after taking other factors into account.

Even though Hispanics receive a lower payoff than whites to an additional year of schooling, increases in their educational attainment would reduce the wage gap between them and whites. This is particularly true for Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans, the groups with the lowest levels of education of any race or Hispanic group. The difference in the number of years of schooling completed by Mexican-American and white men accounts for about 50 percent of the difference in their hourly wages, one study estimates.¹⁶ Also, differences in the amount of schooling account for almost one-third of the difference in wages between Puerto Rican men and white non-Hispanic men. Education may account for about 15 percent of the difference between the wages of both Mexican-American and Puerto Rican women and those of white' non-Hispanic women.¹⁷

One NCEP study looked at the effect on subsequent wages and employment stability of one specific type of education-vocational education courses taken in high school.¹⁸ It found that vocational education had different effects on Hispanic men and women. The programs did not systematically lead to either higher wages or more weeks worked in a year for Hispanic, black, or white men. The effect of vocational education on Hispanic women's subsequent experiences in the job market depended upon the particular courses taken. On the one hand, those who took commercial courses in high school had higher weekly earnings, and worked more weeks in a year than those without these courses. Further, the positive effect of commercial courses appeared to be greater for Hispanic, than black or white, women. On the other hand, Hispanic women who took home

economics courses had lower earnings than women not in vocational education programs. While this negative effect occurred among all women, it was greater among Hispanics and blacks than whites.

Discrimination

In statistical research, the possible existence of discrimination in the labor market can only be inferred; it cannot be measured directly. Both the precise nature and form of discrimination are highly sensitive to differences in the way in which statistical models are specified.

The typical procedure is to ask whether there is some difference between two groups (in wages, for example) that cannot be explained by the groups' education, experience, or some other characteristic. For example, one can ask whether, after taking into account other characteristics; Hispanics are penalized in the labor market to a greater or lesser extent than non-Hispanics for any lack of English proficiency.

Interpreting statistical results on discrimination requires caution. It is possible that systematic errors (biases) in the data could show up as "discrimination." For instance, analyses show that completing an additional year of school has a lower payoff for Hispanics than for whites. This finding may reflect discriminatory behavior on the part of employers. Alternatively, it may indicate that Hispanics receive a lower quality education. These alternatives are possible because the data measure only the amount of schooling received, not the quality of that education. Because of these kinds of measurement problems, statistical techniques suggest discrimination, but they cannot be used to attach precise figures to it.

Employment discrimination against Hispanics manifests itself in two ways, research indicates. First, they are penalized more in the work force because of their lack of fluent English than are non-Hispanics with an equivalent lack of fluency.¹⁹ For example, Hispanic men who speak English, but not well, are in occupations with 6 percent lower annual earnings than otherwise-comparable Hispanics who do speak English well. In comparison, non-Hispanic whites who do not speak English well are in occupations with only about 2 percent lower annual earnings than otherwise comparable non-Hispanics who speak English well.

Second, Hispanics are treated differently than non-Hispanics after taking into account their language problem.²⁰ However, this differential treatment varies among States and among Hispanic groups. In some States, Hispanic men are in lower paying occupations than white non-Hispanics, after taking language proficiency and other factors into account. In New York, for example, Hispanics (Puerto Ricans and other groups, such as Central and South Americans) are in occupations with almost 7 percent lower earnings than non-Hispanics. In California, they are in occupations with almost 6 percent lower earnings than non-Hispanics. However, in Florida, New Mexico, and Arizona, no difference existed once other factors, including the men's proficiency in English, had been taken into account.

The results for New York, compared to New Mexico and Arizona, may reflect differences in Hispanics' incorporation into the local area's mainstream. The Hispanic (Mexican-American) population in the two southwestern States is well established and has had a strong influence on the culture of the area. Although Mexican-Americans have had a strong heritage in California, they may today be less incorporated into the local mainstream. In comparison to those in the southwest, Hispanics in New York are recent immigrants (and migrants from Puerto Rico) and it is likely that they have not gained a similar degree of social acceptance. This result is likely due as much to the economic power they have gained by establishing their own community as to their acceptance and incorporation into the non-Hispanic society.

Research that looked directly at the different Hispanic groups confirms that the extent of differential treatment in the labor market varies among them.²¹ About 86 percent of the wage difference between non-Hispanic whites' and Central/South American men could be attributed to discrimination. By comparison, about 18 percent of the wage difference between, white and Mexican-American men could potentially be due to discrimination. None.. of the differences in wages between white non-Hispanic women and the several groups of Hispanic women were associated with discrimination against Hispanics.

Age and Experience

The youthfulness of the Hispanic population might be expected to affect its labor market position. Because the group is younger than the non-Hispanic population, its unemployment rate would be somewhat higher, and its participation rate and earnings somewhat lower, than non-Hispanics. Younger people have higher unemployment rates because they change jobs and actively look for new work more often than adults; they have lower participation rates because they are in and out of the labor force more frequently than older workers. Finally, young people have lower earnings because they have less experience in the job market than older workers, and people with more experience earn more.²²

The young age of the Hispanic population, however, does not fully explain their position in the job market. For example, in 1981 Hispanics and whites had the same labor force participation rate (64 percent). If the proportion of 16 to 19 year-olds in the Hispanic population had been the same as in the white population, the Hispanic labor force participation rate would have been only about 1 percentage point higher than it was. Also, if the proportion of 16 to 19 year-olds in the Hispanic labor force had been the same as in the white population, the Hispanic unemployment rate would have been 10.4 rather than 10.5 percent, while it was 7.5 percent among whites.

Differences between the earnings of Hispanics and whites are partly due to the youthfulness of the Hispanic population. As important, however, for some groups-- Mexican-American men and all Hispanic groups of women--the payoff to past experience is less than that for white men, after accounting for other factors. The lower payoff to experience for these Hispanics may reflect their relative concentration in low-skill jobs that offer few rewards for past work experience. Further, the payoff to experience gained

outside the U.S. (off the mainland for Puerto Ricans) is less than that gained on the U.S. mainland for all Hispanic groups.²³

Immigrant Status

People immigrate to the United States for several reasons. Some persons are motivated to immigrate for economic reasons, such as the opportunity for better paying jobs than are available in their home countries. Others come to the U.S. to join families already living here. Still others leave their home countries for political reasons.

The number and characteristics of immigrants from Spanish-speaking (and other) countries are set by American laws and regulations concerning immigration. Because these laws and regulations have changed several times since World War II, the number and characteristics of Hispanic immigrants have changed as well.²⁴

From the perspective of the United States, there are two questions regarding immigrants' labor market position. The first concerns their economic position at the time of arrival compared to persons already established. New immigrants are unlikely to be proficient in English or to understand the workings of the American labor market. Language and other social problems may make adjustment to this country and its labor market difficult.²⁵ The second question concerns the progress of immigrants over time, as well as advances made by their children and subsequent, American-born, generations.

Immigrants, regardless of country of origin, fare worse in the labor market during the first few years after their arrival than those persons who have been in the U.S. for many years or who are native-born Americans.²⁶ For example, Cubans who moved to the U.S. the first few years after the Castro government came to power found themselves in lower paying, lower status jobs.²⁷

Findings on the progress of immigrant men over time are not clear-cut. Research indicates that different immigrant groups improve their positions at different rates.²⁸ The Cuban men who arrived in the U.S. shortly after the Cuban revolution are the only group of immigrant Hispanic men who have reached earnings parity with non-Hispanic, native-born white men. Mexican-American immigrant men take approximately 20 years to reach earnings parity with American-born Mexican men with similar characteristics. Island-born Puerto Rican men never reach parity with their mainland-born counterparts, and Cuban men who immigrated before Castro came to power or after the early sixties also have not caught up with their U.S.-born counterparts. There is some evidence that progress in the job market among immigrant men is linked to their acquisition of English and that being foreign born, by itself, does not affect a man's wages.²⁹

Cuban women reach earnings parity with their native-born counterparts faster than any other female Hispanic immigrant group.³⁰ Island-born Puerto Rican women take about 10 years, and immigrants from Mexico take over a decade to earn as much as those Mexican-Americans born in the U.S. However, there is an important caveat to these results. "The different groups of Hispanic immigrant women have different subsequent

earnings' positions depending upon their year of arrival in the U.S. and, to date, no systematic relationship between arrival date and later earnings has been determined.

Summary

Limited proficiency in English, few years of formal schooling, and discrimination by employers are the major reasons for the problems Hispanics experience in the job market. Most critical is a lack of proficiency in English. Hispanic-Americans' problems with the language reduce their prospects for good-paying jobs, impede their educational attainment, and are used as a vehicle for discrimination in the job market.

Men who are not proficient in English earn less than those who are proficient, and the economic disadvantages associated with not knowing the language are greater the more education and experience they have. Hispanic women who are not proficient in English are less likely to be in the labor force, and those with 12 or more years of schooling are also at an earnings disadvantage compared to those who do know English. Further, living in areas with large Hispanic communities does not generally appear to alleviate the earnings losses associated with a lack of proficiency in English. Cubans in Florida seem to have circumvented many of the difficulties associated with lack of proficiency in English by establishing their own economic community, largely, it appears, because many are better educated.

A low level of schooling is another major reason for Hispanics' problems in the job market. A lack of education is especially important to explanations of the low wages that Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans earn.

Discrimination in the labor market, the third reason for Hispanics' difficulties, manifests itself in two ways. Hispanic-Americans are penalized more for their lack of fluency in English than other groups with an equivalent lack of fluency. Also, after taking into account language problems, Hispanics are still in lower paying jobs than non-Hispanics.

While language, education, and discrimination explain the shared experiences of Hispanics, the several Spanish-origin groups are affected by these factors in different degrees, research indicates. For example, a lack of proficiency in English affects Hispanics living in Florida less than those living in other parts of the country. Also, problems of discrimination appear to affect Hispanics more in New York and California than in New Mexico, for instance.

Variations in the experiences of the Hispanic groups are partly due to their geographic concentration in widely separated areas, each with its own particular mix of industries and occupations. Puerto Ricans' high rate of joblessness, for example, is partly due to the slow growth of the economies where they live. Variations in the degree, and the manner, of the Hispanic group's incorporation into the American mainstream also account for some of the differences that are seen. In large measure, Cubans have established their own community; the extent to which Mexican-Americans have been incorporated into society varies among States; and Puerto Ricans continue to have difficulties.

Notes

1. For example, see Rosemary Santana-Cooney, "Intercity Variations in Puerto Rican Female Participation," *Journal of Human Resources*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Spring 1979), pp. 222-235.
 2. Gilles Grenier, "An Analysis of the Effect of Language Characteristics on the Wages of Hispanic-American Males," paper presented at the meetings of Societe Canadienne de Science economique, Sherbrooke, Quebec, May 13-14, 1981. See also, Calvin Veltman, *The Role of Language Characteristics in the Socioeconomic Attainment Process of Hispanic Origin Men and Women* (Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, June 1980); and Marta Tienda, editor, *Hispanic Origin Workers In The U.S. Labor Market; Comparative Analyses of Employment and Earnings*, Report to the U.S. Department of Labor, October 1981, Chapter 5, "Market Structure and Earnings Determination of Native and Immigrant Hispanics in the United States."
 3. William Gould, Walter McManun, and Finis Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials: The Role of English Language Proficiency," NCEP-sponsored research, Spring 1982.
 4. Gould, McManus, and Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials," and Tienda, *Hispanic Origin Workers*, Chapter 10, "Hispanic Female Participation in the Labor Force: A Comparative Analysis of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and Cubans."
 5. Gould, McManus, and Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials." See also, Tienda, *Hispanic Origin Workers*, chapter 11, "The Occupational Position of Employed Hispanic Females."
 6. Gould, McManus, and Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials."
 7. Gould, McManus, and Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials."
 8. These results take into account differences in the cost of living across regions of the country. Reimers, "A Comparative Analysis."
 9. Ross Stolzenberg, "Occupational Differences Between Hispanics and Non-Hispanics," NCEP-sponsored research, Spring 1982.
- Similarly ambiguous results on the relationship between concentrations of Hispanics and the occupational status of Hispanic men are reported in Marta Tienda, editor, *Hispanic Origin Workers in the U.S. Labor Market*, Chapter 8, "Language, Education and the Socioeconomic Achievement of Hispanic Origin Men."
10. Alejandro Fortes, Juan Clark, and Manuel Lopez, "Six Years Later, The Process of Incorporation of Cuban Exiles in the United States: 1973-1979," *Cuban Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2 (July 1981) and vol. 12, no. 1 (January 1982), pp. 1-24. See also, Kenneth Wilson

and Alejandro Fortes, "Immigrant Enclaves: An Analysis of the Labor Market Experiences of Cubans," in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 86, no. 2, pp. 295-319.

11. Antonio Jorge and Haul Moncarz, "Cubans in South Florida: A Social Science Approach," *Metas*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Fall 1980), pp. 37-87. See also, Massey, "Patterns and Effects."

12. Their relative lack of education seems to result from a poor economic background, a lack of proficiency in English, and birth outside the English-speaking U.S. (which denotes some unfamiliarity with the American culture). Since low levels of formal schooling result in low earnings after leaving school, many Hispanic-Americans are in a "vicious circle." Dropping out of school is associated with a poor economic background and also leads to few prospects for improvement in the future. Fligstein and Fernandez, "The Causes of Hispanic Educational Attainment."

13. Gould, McManus, and Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials."

14. Cordelia Reimers, "The Wage Structure of Hispanic Men: Implications for Policy," paper presented at the meetings of the American Economic Association, Washington, D.C., December 28-30, 1981; and Reimers, "Wage Differences." See also, Geoffrey Carliner, "Returns to Education for Blacks, Anglos and Five Spanish Groups," *The Journal of Human Resources*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1976, pp. 172-184.

15. Stolzenberg, "Occupational Differences."

16. Reimers, "A Comparative Analysis."

17. Reimers, "Wage Differences."

18. Robert Meyer, chapter 4 of "An Economic Analysis of High School Education," *The Federal Role in Vocational Education; Sponsored Research*, NCEP Special Report No.39, November 19&1.

19. Stolzenberg, "Occupational Differences."

20. Stolzenberg, "Occupational Differences."

21. Reimers, "A Comparative Analysis;" Reimers, "Wage Differences."

22. For a -more detailed discussion of the relationship between age and experiences in the job market, see National Commission for Employment Policy, *Fifth Annual Report, Expanding Job Opportunities for Disadvantaged Youth* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, December 1979).

23. Reimers, "A Comparative Analysis;" Reimers, "Wage Differences."

24. For a brief description of the immigration laws of the United States, see Massey, "Patterns and Effects." See also, *U.S. Immigration Policy and the National Interest*; Staff

Report of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy (Washington, D.C.: April 30, 1981).

25. Spanish-speaking communities may serve an important social function for immigrants. They can ease peoples' transition into the American culture and labor market. Saskia Sassen-Koob, "Getting Jobs: The Role of the Community," NCEP-sponsored conference, March 1982.

26. Barry Chiswick, "The Effect of Americanization on the Earnings of Foreign-born Men," *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 86, no. 51 (October 1978), pp. 897-921.

27. See Jorge and Moncarz, "Cubans in South Florida."

28. Chiswick, "The Effect of Americanization;" Reimers, "The Wage Structure of Hispanic Men;" Barry Chiswick, "Immigrant Earnings Patterns by Sex, Race and Ethnic Groupings," *Monthly Labor Review* (October 1980), pp. 22-25; and George Borjas, "The Earnings of Male Hispanic Immigrants in the United States," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, vol. 35, no. 3 (April 1972), pp. 343-353.

29. Gould, McManus, and Welch, "Hispanics' Earnings Differentials."

30. Reimers, "Wage Differences."

Chapter 4

Government Actions to Reduce Labor Market Barriers

The previous chapter showed that problems with English, low levels of schooling, and discrimination in the labor market are the three major reasons for Hispanics' difficulties in the job market. There are several federally assisted strategies that may help Hispanics overcome these difficulties: title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, vocational education, assistance for higher education, adult education, bilingual education, and training programs funded under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. In addition, title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, and national origin, which is defined as:

The denial of equal employment opportunity because of an individual's or his or her ancestor's place of origin; or because an individual has the physical, cultural or linguistic characteristics of a national origin group. ¹

This chapter examines bilingual education programs and training programs funded under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. The focus is on bilingual education. These educational programs have been a major instrument of the Federal Government to help Hispanics, as well as other language minorities, enter the American mainstream. Also, the Hispanic community considers them to be a critically important way of improving the educational attainment of their young people.

Bilingual Education Programs

This section describes bilingual education programs in the U.S. and explains the controversies surrounding them. It also evaluates the literature on their performance. ²

The Federal Government's interest in bilingual education began with a concern over the civil rights of young people who were being taught in a language, English, that they did not understand. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination based on race, color, or national origin in any program or activity that receives Federal assistance, was the starting point for equal education opportunities for language minorities. The Government's involvement subsequently broadened when the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) was amended in 1968 to include title VII - also known as the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. Under this legislation the

Government began to provide financial assistance for developing, implementing, and evaluating educational programs for language minorities. In 1974 the Supreme Court ruled in *Lau v Nichols* that the language needs of students could not be ignored in the classroom. ³

Today, several bilingual education programs are being implemented. At the same time, these programs and research on their effectiveness are controversial. There is discussion over both the choice of teaching approach and the criteria for judging effectiveness.

There are several approaches for teaching language minority students.

- Transitional bilingual uses the students' language and culture to teach subject matter until the students are proficient enough in English to be able to follow courses taught for the English-speaking students.
- Bilingual-bicultural uses methods similar to those of the transitional bilingual program to teach the subject matter. However, it simultaneously emphasizes the need to continue to teach the students' native language and culture even after the students are able to continue their education in English.
- Structured immersion teaches subject matter and language simultaneously. Non-English-speaking Hispanic students would be taught in English, and the necessary vocabulary in English would be introduced as the subject matter required.
- English as a second language teaches the English language to speakers of other languages. It is perceived to be necessary in both transitional bilingual and bilingual-bicultural programs.

Bilingual education is a generic term, covering several of these approaches. Transitional bilingual and bilingual-bicultural are generally acknowledged as "bilingual programs. Structured immersion, often presented as an alternative to bilingual programs, is basically another approach to bilingual education.

These programs have the same goal: to facilitate the acquisition of English by children of limited English proficiency to allow them access to an educational system generally geared to English-speaking students. Bilingual-bicultural programs have an additional goal: the parallel development of students' native language and culture.

Sources of Controversy

Most of the discussion over these alternative bilingual education programs centers on two issues: (1) whether primary, or even exclusive, emphasis should be on the assimilation of minority students into the English-speaking society or on the parallel development of both the students' use of English and their original language and culture, and (2) how best to help them achieve proficiency in English with the least impairment of their chance to learn. These issues cannot be neatly separated. For example, some people argue that language-minority students learn English better in a program (such as bilingual/bicultural) that gives full recognition to their native language and culture.⁴ Also, Puerto Rican children, who migrate between the island and the mainland, need to be fluent in both English and Spanish.⁵ The focus here, however, is on the second issue--whether any one program is more effective than the others in teaching English to non-English-speaking students.

Recently, structured immersion has been singled out as one of the most effective ways of teaching language-minority students.⁶ It is contrasted with both transitional bilingual and bilingual-bicultural programs. Together these two approaches are subsumed under the common heading "bilingual education," and structured immersion is offered as an alternative to "bilingual education."

Immersion programs have been found to be effective in Canada where English-speaking children were successfully taught subject matter in French. The high socioeconomic position of the students is emphasized by Canadian proponents of immersion programs as a major determining factor of the success of these programs.⁷ The approach has not been used widely in the United States. Its success in Canada is used to argue that various linguistic-minority students in the United States, such as Hispanics, could be taught directly in English. Some proponents of structured immersion also argue that the evaluation literature indicates that bilingual education programs have not improved the educational attainment of language-minority students in the United States.⁸

On the other hand, it is argued that such an approach is unlikely to be successful with most Hispanic-American students. These young people may need culturally and linguistically sensitive programs, not only because of their national origin, but also because, unlike the English-speaking Canadian students, many come from low-income families.⁹ Further, supporters of existing title VII programs point out flaws in the past evaluations of bilingual education programs that make the results of the evaluations suspect. They also offer examples of effective bilingual programs and emphasize the need to improve the overall quality of the programs themselves and the evaluations of them.¹⁰

Measuring the Effectiveness of the Programs

The effectiveness of the several bilingual educational programs should be measured by the extent to which they narrow the gap in schooling between the students who need the programs and other students of comparable socioeconomic status. Currently, it is difficult to measure the effectiveness of alternative approaches.

First, there are empirical problems. It is difficult to ascertain which bilingual programs are being implemented and whether a program's reported results are due to the approach, its implementation, or the evaluation method. Second, there is a conceptual problem: the evaluations do not have a consistent set of determinants of success or failure. Researchers have not systematically chosen the same criteria for evaluation nor have they been consistent in the type of projects selected for evaluation. Because of both the empirical and conceptual problems, no single evaluation is a reliable source of information.

These types of problems are typical of the early stages of any program and the U.S. Department of Education recognizes their existence. It was not until 1980, however, that the Department funded a project to organize the available information on the bilingual education programs funded under title VII of ESEA.¹¹

One earlier, major effort to evaluate the effectiveness of the title VII programs was conducted by the American Institutes for Research (AIR) under contract to the Office of Bilingual Education, U.S. Department of Education.¹² The results of the study (based on data from the fall of 1975 to the spring of 1976) revealed that participation in the average Spanish/English bilingual education project funded under title VII did not appear to improve the students' achievement in English. Experimental and control groups performed approximately equally in mathematics. Participation in the projects was not found to affect attitudes of students toward school-related activities.

Another evaluation (for the school year 1973-74) was done by the General Accounting Office (GAO).¹³ They reviewed the progress of the title VII program in (1) achieving its goal of identifying effective bilingual approaches, (2) adequately training bilingual education personnel, and (3) developing suitable instructional materials.

The GAO study found the program to be troubled with implementation problems. Qualified and suitably trained bilingual education teachers were not widely available; the local schools had difficulty accurately assessing the English language proficiency of students of limited English ability; and the Office of Education could not determine whether the bilingual program was meeting the educational needs of the limited English speaking participants. The GAO report also found that the bilingual program had evolved into a service program; it was not a demonstration program intended to develop effective approaches to bilingual education.

The problems uncovered by the GAO suggest that the AIR results should be viewed as an indication of the actual state of bilingual education programs at the time. The AIR results may not be an accurate assessment of the potential effectiveness of the approach itself.

The results of the AIR study stimulated several surveys of individual bilingual education projects.¹⁴ These surveys, generally favorable to bilingual education, pointed out many shortcomings of the AIR study. They, in turn, were criticized for their shortcomings. Because of this focus on the results of the AIR study, the problems of implementation, documented in the GAO report, were overlooked. However, these problems need resolution before firm conclusions can be reached on the effectiveness of bilingual programs in improving the educational attainment of students.

The most recent and comprehensive assessment of bilingual education programs is the review of the literature by K. A. Baker and A. A. de Kanter.¹⁵ This report concludes: (1) schools can improve the achievement level of language-minority children through special programs; (2) the title VII program for bilingual education must take steps to improve the quality of its evaluations; (3) the case for the effectiveness of transitional bilingual education is so weak that exclusive reliance on this instruction method is not justified; (4) there is no justification for assuming that it is necessary to teach non-language subjects in the child's native tongue in order for the child to make satisfactory progress in school; and (5) immersion programs show promising results and should be given more attention in program development.

While the conclusions of Baker and de Kanter, taken as a whole, seem reasonable, their review, as well as the individual evaluations of the bilingual projects that were surveyed, lack a unifying theoretical base. In addition, the 28 program evaluations (out of over 300) that Baker and de Kanter found acceptable contain enough flaws to make their Conclusions tentative. Finally, the study combined several different bilingual programs and treated them as if they were "transitional bilingual." This makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the relative effectiveness of the various approaches.

It seems inappropriate to conclude from the available information that either transitional bilingual or bilingual-bicultural education has been proven ineffective (or effective). There are two reasons why they may have failed. First, the approach itself may not work. Alternatively, the programs may not have been implemented properly.¹⁶ It also seems inappropriate to dismiss structured immersion without a trial period. The literature suggests a need for improving the quality of both existing programs and evaluations of them as well as for testing and evaluating the effectiveness of new approaches.

Federal Training Programs

One way that economically disadvantaged adults may improve their skills is through participation in training programs, such as those authorized by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 (CETA). Under this Act, State and local jurisdictions (prime sponsors) have funded several different programs, including classroom training, on-the-job training, work experience, and, prior to 1982, public service employment.

There are two questions that need to be addressed in order to assess how Hispanics have fared under CETA. First, has the participation of Hispanics reflected their share of the

population eligible for the programs, compared to blacks and whites? Second, has participation in the training programs improved Hispanics' subsequent employment prospects and wages?

An NCEP-sponsored study ¹⁷ suggests that, in broad terms, more Hispanics participated in federally funded training programs than would be expected given their proportion of the eligible population nationally. Hispanics were more likely to be in CETA training programs rather than public service employment programs, compared to blacks and whites. Hispanics were also more likely than blacks and whites to be in classroom training than in on-the-job training. ¹⁸

There was little difference in the proportion of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban-origin men who took classroom training: 34 percent of Mexican-Americans and 36 percent of the two other Hispanic groups. The range was somewhat greater for Hispanic women: from a low of 42 percent of Mexican-Americans to a high of 48 percent of Cuban-Americans. The real difference in participation was between Hispanic men and women; women were much more likely to be in classroom training and much less likely to be in on-the-job training.

Statistical analyses of participation in these training programs indicated no differences, or only very minor ones, in the treatment of white, black, and Hispanic men and women after program-relevant characteristics of the enrollees (such as age and education) have been taken into account. No racial or ethnic group differed in its chances of participating in a particular program by more than 6 percentage points, after controlling for the other characteristics. Also, no evidence surfaced of differential treatment among the racial/ethnic groups in either the wage rate or the type of job for which they were being trained (or in which they were employed).

Hispanic men and women, were, however, treated differently. The analyses found that women were more likely to be trained for (or working in) low-paying jobs. These results are similar to those found for blacks and whites: men and women of the same racial or ethnic group did not receive similar assistance from federally funded, and locally operated, training programs authorized by CETA. ¹⁹

Findings on the outcome of participation in CETA training programs indicate that, for all racial/ethnic groups combined, CETA training increased women's yearly earnings compared to otherwise similar women without the training. This increase was primarily due to greater employment--higher participation, lower unemployment, and more hours of work--rather than higher hourly wages. ²⁰ Participation did not improve the subsequent yearly earnings of men relative to those men who did not participate.

There were too few Hispanics in the national data available on outcomes of CETA participants to per separate analyses of this group. If more data become available in the future, such examinations may be possible.

Summary

This chapter reviewed bilingual education programs and training programs funded under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Both are designed to assist people in overcoming barriers to success in the job market. The focus was on bilingual education since these programs have been an important instrument of the Federal Government to help Hispanic-Americans, especially youth, enter the American mainstream and since Hispanics themselves believe these to be critical programs. .

Bilingual education is a generic term that includes several approaches to teaching language-minority students. All have the goal of teaching English and subject matter. One, bilingual bicultural, gives equal emphasis to the parallel development of the students own languages and cultures. There is no consensus in the literature on the effectiveness of the various approaches. There is, however, agreement that such educational programs are needed. Implementation and evaluation are issues of continuing concern.

Data limitations precluded analyses of Hispanics' earnings after completing, the training programs. However, participation in the programs did not improve men's yearly earnings, compared to men who did not participate. The relative yearly earnings' position of women did .improve, primarily because of greater employment rather than higher wages.

In general, more Hispanics have participated in CETA training programs than would be expected on the basis of their proportion of the eligible national population. The services and treatment they received did not differ from that of blacks or whites once differences in program-relevant characteristics, such as education and age, had been taken into account. Like blacks and whites, Hispanic women were more likely than men to be training for (or, working in) low-paying jobs.

Notes

1. The Federal Register, Part VI, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, "Guidelines on Discrimination Because of National Origin" (Monday, December 29, 1980), p. 85636.
2. This section of the paper is based largely on NCEP-sponsored research by Neil Fligstein and Roberto Fernandez, "Hispanic Educational Attainment," Spring 1982, and on an expanded version of this section by staff member V.L. Duarte, "Bilingual Education: Its Role and Effectiveness in the Education of Hispanic-Americans," presented at the NCEP-sponsored "Hispanic Labor Conference," University of California at Santa Barbara, February 4-5, 1982.
3. See appendix F for a brief overview of the history of bilingual education in the United States.

4. See, for example, *A Better Chance to Learn: Bilingual-Bicultural Education*, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, May 1975, Chapter II.
5. Diana Schacht, "The Puerto Rican Experience," NCEP-sponsored conference "Improving the Labor Market Position of Hispanic-Americans," March 1982.
6. See, for example, *Congressional Record*, October 6, 1981, pp. H7089-7092. See also, Keith Baker and Adrian de Kanter, *Effectiveness of Bilingual Education: A Review of the Literature*, Final Draft Report to the U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C., September 1981. •
7. See, for example, Wallace E. Lambert, "The Two Faces of Bilingual Education," *Focus*, no. 3, National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, August 1980, and Alejandro Portes, "Comments on Fligstein and Fernandez, and Duarte," NCEP-sponsored "Hispanic Labor Conference."
8. Baker and de Kanter, *Effectiveness of Bilingual Education*.
9. Portes, "Comments."
10. See, for example: Heidi Dulay et al., "Bilingual Education: A Close Look at Its Effects," *Focus*, no. 1, NCBE, Fall 1979; Rudolph C. Troike, "Synthesis of Research Evidence on Bilingual Education," *Educational Leadership*, 1981, pp. 498-504.
11. K. Balasubramonian, *ESEA Title VII Bilingual Evaluation Models Project* (Rosslyn, Va.: Inter-American Research Associates, Inc., forthcoming 1982).
12. Malcolm N. Danoff, *Evaluation of the Impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English Bilingual Education Program; Overview of Study and Findings* (Palo Alto, Ca.: American Institutes for Research, March 1978).
13. General Accounting Office, *Comptroller General's Report to the Congress - Bilingual Education; An Unmet Need* (Washington, D.C. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, May 1976).
14. See, for example: Jose Cardenas, "IDRA Response to the AIR Evaluation of the Impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English Bilingual Education Program (Preliminary Report)," San Antonio, 1977; J. Michael O'Malley, "Review of the Evaluation of the Impact of ESEA Title VII Spanish/English Bilingual Education Program," *Bilingual Resources* (1978); L. Vorih and P. Rosier, "Rock Point Community School: An Example of a Navajo-English Bilingual Elementary School Program," *TESOL Quarterly* 12, 1978, pp. 263-271.
15. Baker and de Kanter, *Effectiveness of Bilingual Education*, Chapter 3.
16. For examples of successful bilingual education projects, see note 14 above and Baker and de Kanter's chapter 2. Also, for examples of successful bilingual vocational education programs, see Rudolph Troike, Lester S. Golub, and Ismael Lugo, *Assessing Successful Strategies in Bilingual Vocational Training Programs* Rosslyn, Va.: Inter-American Research Associates, Inc., 1981).

17. Sue Berryman and Linda Waite, "Hispanics and CETA: Issues of Access, Distribution, and Equity," NCEP-sponsored research, Spring 1982. The data used to analyze participation in CETA come from the Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Surveys. Since these data do not allow us to identify where persons live, there are limitations in interpreting the results for Hispanics. Specifically, this group has a very different geographic distribution from the rest of the population and CETA programs reflect the particular training and job opportunities available in individual State and local areas.

18. Fifty-four percent of the participants in the Federal training programs serving migrant and seasonal farm workers between 1979 and 1981 were of Spanish origin. One quarter was black and 17 percent were white. (Special tabulations of participants in programs funded under title III, section 303 of CETA, collected by L. Diane Mull, Association of Farmworker Opportunity Programs and Pamela Somers, National Farmworker Policy Project, April 20, 1982.)

19. Sue Berryman and Winston Chow; "CETA: Is It Equitable for Women?" NCEP-sponsored research, 1980.

20. Howard Bloom and Maureen McLaughlin, "CETA Training Programs--Do They Work for Adults?" joint Congressional Budget Office, NCEP study, July 1982.

This is taken from a longer government report of the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education Institute of Education Sciences. The title of this report, which was issued in April 2003, is *Status and Trends in the Education of Hispanics*. The authors were Charmaine Llagas and Thomas Snyder.

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Outcomes of Education

Adult literacy and reading habits

Hispanic adults have lower average reading literacy scores and also are less likely to report reading regularly than their White and Black peers.

Literacy proficiency is strongly related to levels of formal schooling. Successive levels of formal education are accompanied by rises in average literacy proficiencies, suggesting that high literacy abilities and high levels of education strongly reinforce one another.⁶⁶ As shown in Indicator 7.6, Hispanics are less likely than both Whites and Blacks to complete college. The National

Adult Literacy Survey (NALS) defines literacy as "using printed and written information to function in society, to achieve one's goals, and to develop one's knowledge and potential." The NALS reported on three scales of literacy (prose, document, and quantitative) and the scores have been divided into five ranges, each range representing a level of proficiency.⁶⁷ The average proficiencies of Hispanics in prose, document, and quantitative literacy are lower than those of Whites and Blacks, and the average proficiencies of Whites exceed both those of Hispanics and Blacks (supplemental table 8.4a).

In 1999, 29 percent of all Hispanics ages 25 and over read regularly, while about one-half of White and Black adults (53 and 47 percent, respectively) read regularly.⁶⁸ Hispanic adults also differed from White and Black adults in their particular reading habits: they were less likely to read the newspaper daily or to have read a book in the past 6 months than Whites and Blacks.

Postsecondary Education

This section contains indicators that examine the access of Hispanic students to postsecondary education. Access is measured by indicators on enrollment in 2- and 4-year colleges, as well as attendance at Hispanic-serving institutions. College completion is measured by degrees earned at all levels from associate degrees to doctor's degrees. Comparative information is also presented on the fields of study in which students earn degrees. This section also examines the issue of lifelong education through an indicator on adult education. Data on the distribution of faculty by race/ethnicity provide some additional context about the college environment.

Enrollment in colleges and universities

Hispanic enrollments in colleges and universities increased between 1980 and 2000

A larger proportion of Hispanics attends college than 20 years ago: in 2000, 22 percent of 18- to 24-year-old Hispanics were enrolled in colleges and universities, up from 16 percent in 1980. There was a similar increase in the proportion of Hispanic high school completers going on to college. In 2000, 36 percent of Hispanic high school completers ages 18 to 24 enrolled in colleges and universities, higher than the 27 percent of Hispanic high school completers who enrolled in 1985. Despite the rise in the percentage of Hispanics enrolling in college, their enrollment rates remain lower than those of their White peers. The relatively low Hispanic high school completion rate (see Indicator 3.4), particularly among immigrants, is an important factor in the difference between the White and Hispanic proportions of the population attending college because persons who do not complete high school are generally ineligible for college or university enrollment.

Hispanic young adults who are U.S. citizens are more likely than the general Hispanic young adult population to enroll in colleges and universities. In 2000, Hispanic U.S. citizens ages 18 to 24 had a higher enrollment rate compared with the general Hispanic population in this age group. The enrollment rate based on 18- to 24-year-old high school completers was also higher for Hispanics who were U.S. citizens than for the general Hispanic population. Hispanic U.S. citizens 18 to 24 years old who were high school completers had a similar enrollment rate to White 18- to 24-year-old high school completers.

Participation and Context

Enrollment rates of 18- to 24-year-olds in colleges and universities: Selected years 1980 to 2000

Year	Enrollment as a percent of all 18- to 24-year-olds					Enrollment as a percent of all 18- to 24-year-old high school completers				
	Total	White, non-Hispanic	Black, non-Hispanic	Hispanic Total	U.S. citizens*	Total	White, non-Hispanic	Black, non-Hispanic	Hispanic Total	U.S. citizens*
1980	26	27	19	16	—	32	32	28	30	—
1985	28	30	20	17	—	34	35	26	27	—
1990	32	35	25	16	—	39	40	33	29	—
1995	34	38	27	21	26	42	44	35	35	36
1996	36	39	27	20	26	43	45	36	34	38
1997	37	41	30	22	28	45	47	39	36	40
1998	37	41	30	20	26	45	47	40	34	36
1999	36	39	30	19	24	44	45	39	32	34
2000	36	39	31	22	31	43	44	39	36	43

* Includes born and naturalized U.S. citizens.

— Data not available.

NOTE: Includes both 2- and 4-year degree-granting postsecondary institutions. All data are based upon sample surveys of the civilian non-institutional population. Percents based on 18-to 24-year-old high school graduates for 1992 and later years use a slightly different definition of graduation and may not be directly comparable with figures for other years.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics*. 2001. Based on U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, unpublished data from the Current Population Surveys, various years.

The increase in Hispanic enrollment is being driven by both population growth and by increasing proportions of the population enrolling in colleges and universities.⁵⁷ In 1980, Hispanics represented 4 percent of students enrolled in colleges and universities. Two decades later (in 2000), Hispanics comprised 10 percent of the total enrollment.

Although there has been an increase in the percentage of Hispanic students enrolling in college, they are disproportionately enrolled in 2-year colleges. This pattern is typical for first-generation students in general.⁵⁸ In 2000, Hispanic students accounted for 14 percent of the students enrolled in 2-year colleges and 7 percent of these in 4-year institutions. (White students made up a larger percentage of the student body in 4-year institutions than they did in 2-year institutions; students from other racial/ethnic groups constituted roughly the same percentage at both 2- and 4-year institutions.)

Hispanic-serving institutions (HSIs) are degree-granting public or private institutions of higher education eligible for Title IV funding in the United States and Puerto Rico in which Hispanics comprise 25 percent or more of the undergraduate full-time-equivalent enrollment.⁵⁹ In 1999, Hispanic enrollment in HSIs accounted for nearly one-half (45 percent) of the total Hispanic undergraduate enrollment in colleges and universities, nearly the same proportion they accounted for in 1990 (46 percent). Hispanic enrollment in HSIs accounted for 42 percent of the total enrollment in HSIs, up from 29 percent in 1990 (supplemental table 7.1 b).⁶⁰

Participation and Context

Percentage distribution of enrollment in colleges and universities, by race/ ethnicity: 1980 and 2000

Race/ethnicity	1980			2000		
	Total	2-year	4-year	Total	2-year	4-year
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
White, non-Hispanic	81	79	83	68	64	71
Black, non-Hispanic	9	10	8	11	12	11
Hispanic	4	6	3	10	14	7
Asian/Pacific Islander	2	3	2	6	7	6
American Indian/Alaska Native	1	1	0	1	1	1
Nonresident alien	3	1	3	3	1	5

NOTE: Includes 2-year and 4-year degree-granting institutions that were participating in Title IV federal financial aid programs. Detail may not add to 100 due to rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics. 2002, based on Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS), "Fall Enrollment in Colleges and Universities" survey, 1980-81, and Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Fall Enrollment" survey, 2000-01.

Degrees conferred by colleges and universities

Hispanic; earn a greater percentage of associate degrees than bachelor's degrees.

The relatively high enrollment rate of Hispanic students at 2-year colleges is reflected in their proportion of associate degrees. In the 1999-2000 academic year, Hispanics earned 9 percent of all associate degrees, 6 percent of bachelor's degrees, 4 percent of master's degrees, 3 percent of doctor's degrees, and 5 percent of first-professional degrees.

The number of Hispanic students graduating from college has been increasing rapidly for many years, for all levels of degrees from associate through doctorate. The pace of these increases has accelerated during the 1990s. Between 1980-81 and 1990-91, the number of bachelor's degrees awarded to Hispanics rose by 68 percent. During the 1990s (1990-91 to 1999-2000), the number of bachelor's degrees awarded to Hispanics rose by 105 percent, faster than any other racial/ethnic group. Similar large increases occurred at higher degree levels during the 1990s, with a 128 percent increase in master's degrees, and a 76 percent increase in doctor's degrees (supplemental table 7.2).

Number and percentage distribution of degrees conferred by colleges and universities, by race/ethnicity and degree level: 1999-2000

Degree level	Total	White, non-Hispanic	Black, non-Hispanic	Asian/Pacific Islander	Hispanic	American Indian/Alaska Native	Non-resident alien
Number of degrees conferred							
Associate degree	564,933	408,508	60,181	51,541	51,764	6,494	10,445
Bachelor's degree	1,237,875	928,013	107,891	74,963	77,793	8,711	40,504
Master's degree	457,056	317,999	35,625	19,093	22,899	2,232	59,208
Doctor's degree	44,780	27,492	2,220	1,291	2,380	159	11,238
First professional	80,057	59,601	5,552	3,868	8,576	564	1,899
Percentage distribution of degrees conferred							
Associate degree	100.	72.3	10.7	9.1	4.9	1.1	1.8
Bachelor's degree	100.0	75.0	8.7	6.1	6.3	0.7	3.3
Master's degree	100.0	69.6	7.8	4.2	5.0	0.5	13.0
Doctor's degree	100.0	61.4	5.0	2.9	5.3	0.4	25.1
First professional	100.0	74.4	6.9	4.8	10.7	0.7	2.4

NOTE: Includes 2- and 4-year degree-granting institutions that were participating in Title IV federal financial aid programs. Detail may not add to totals due to rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics. 2001, based on Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Completion" survey, 1999-2000.

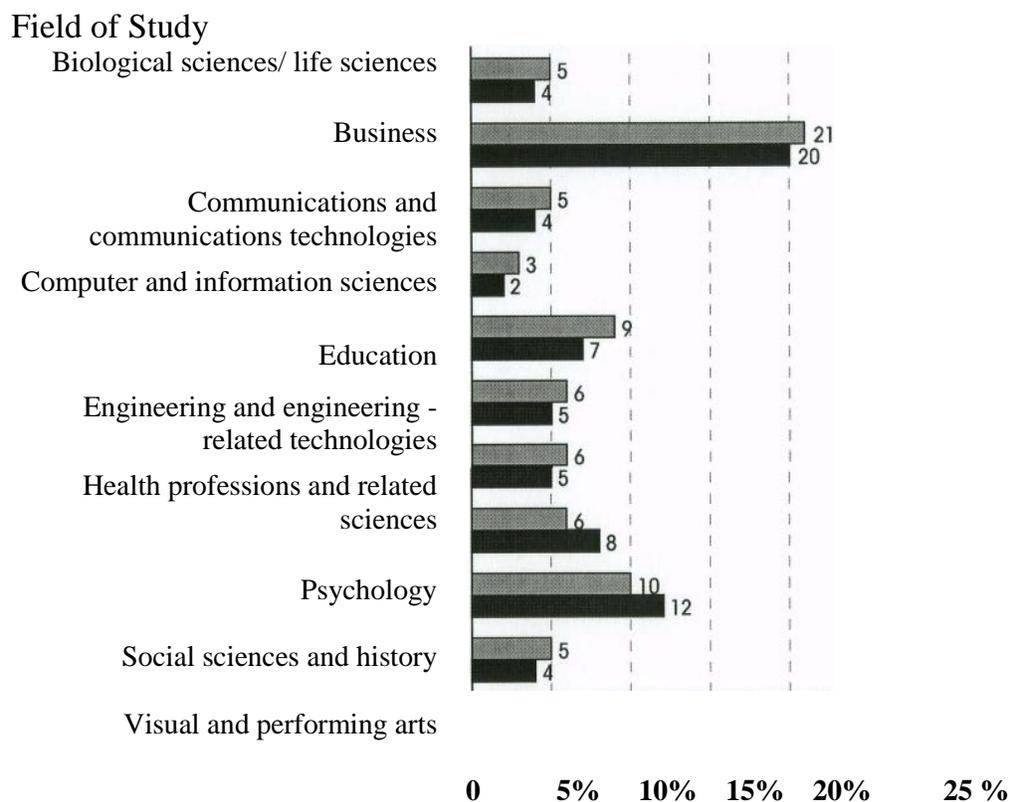
Types of bachelor's degrees conferred

The distribution of fields in which Hispanic students completed their similar to other students.

In the 1999-2000 school year, the most popular fields of study in which Hispanics earned bachelor's degrees were business, social sciences/history, psychology, and education. Compared to the national average of degrees earned, Hispanics were less likely to earn degrees in 8 of the top 10 most popular fields of study. For example, Hispanics were less likely to earn bachelor's degrees in education (7 versus 9 percent), computer and information sciences (2 versus 3 percent), and health professions (5 versus 6 percent). However, they were more likely to earn degrees in psychology (8 versus 6 percent) and social sciences/history (12 versus 10 percent).

Participation and Context

Percent of bachelor's degrees conferred in total and to Hispanics by colleges and universities in the top 10 most popular fields of study, by field of study: 1999-2000



■ Total

■ Hispanic

NOTE: Includes 2- and 4-year degree-granting institutions that were participating in Title IV federal financial aid programs.

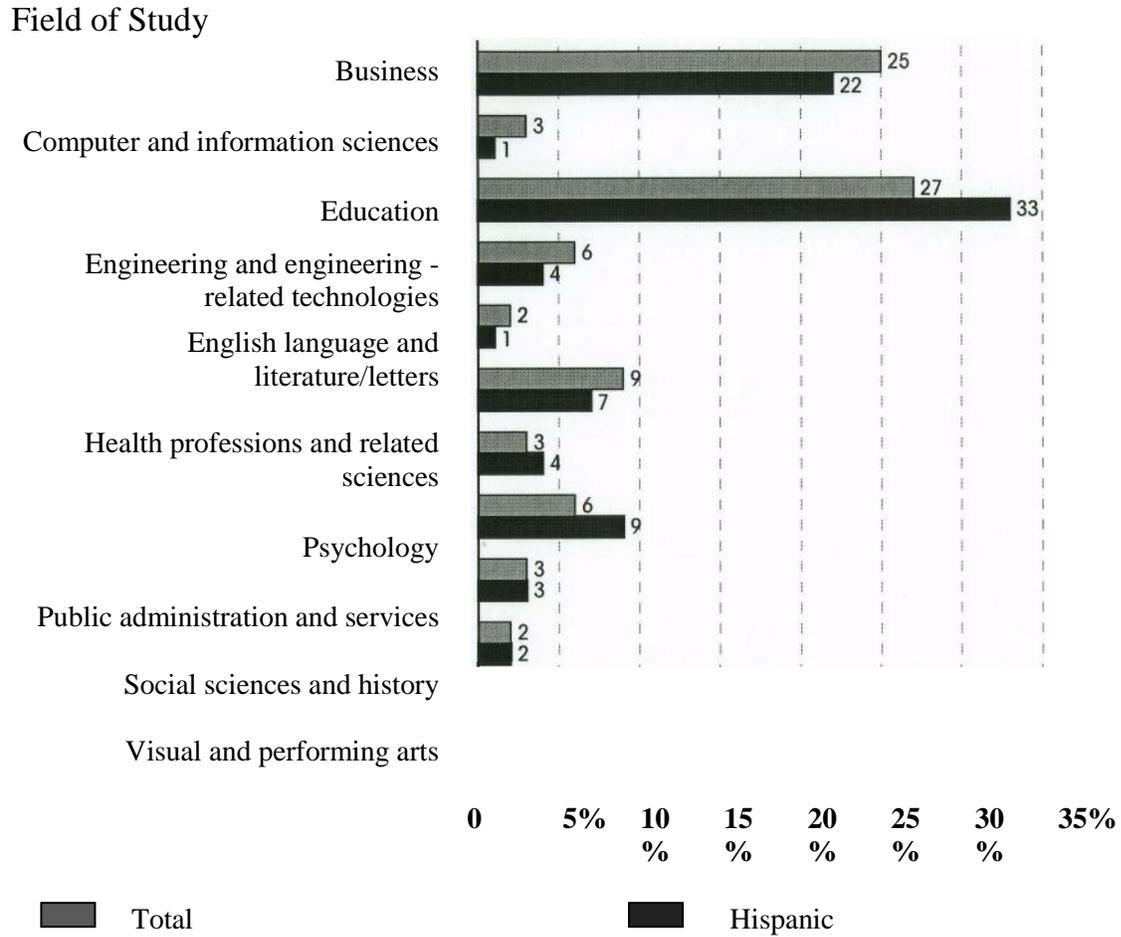
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics, 2001*. Based on Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Completion" survey, 1999-2000.

Types of master's degrees conferred

Hispanic master's degree recipients are more likely to have majored in education and public administration/services than other students.

In the 1999-2000 school year, the percentage of master's degrees that Hispanics earned in education and business was more than one-half the total number of master's degrees earned by Hispanics. This finding was also true for master's degree recipients overall. Compared to the national average, Hispanics were more likely to receive degrees in education (33 versus 27 percent) and public administration/services (9 versus 6 percent). Compared to the national average, Hispanics were less likely to earn master's degrees in business (22 versus 25 percent), computer/information sciences (1 versus 3 percent), engineering/engineering-related technologies (4 versus 6 percent), and health professions/related sciences (7 versus 9 percent).

Percent of master's degrees conferred in total and to Hispanics by colleges and universities in the top 10 most popular fields of study, by field of study: 1999-2000



NOTE: Includes 2-and 4-year degree-granting institutions that were participating in Title IV federal financial aid programs.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics, 2001. Based on Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Completion" survey, 1999-2000.

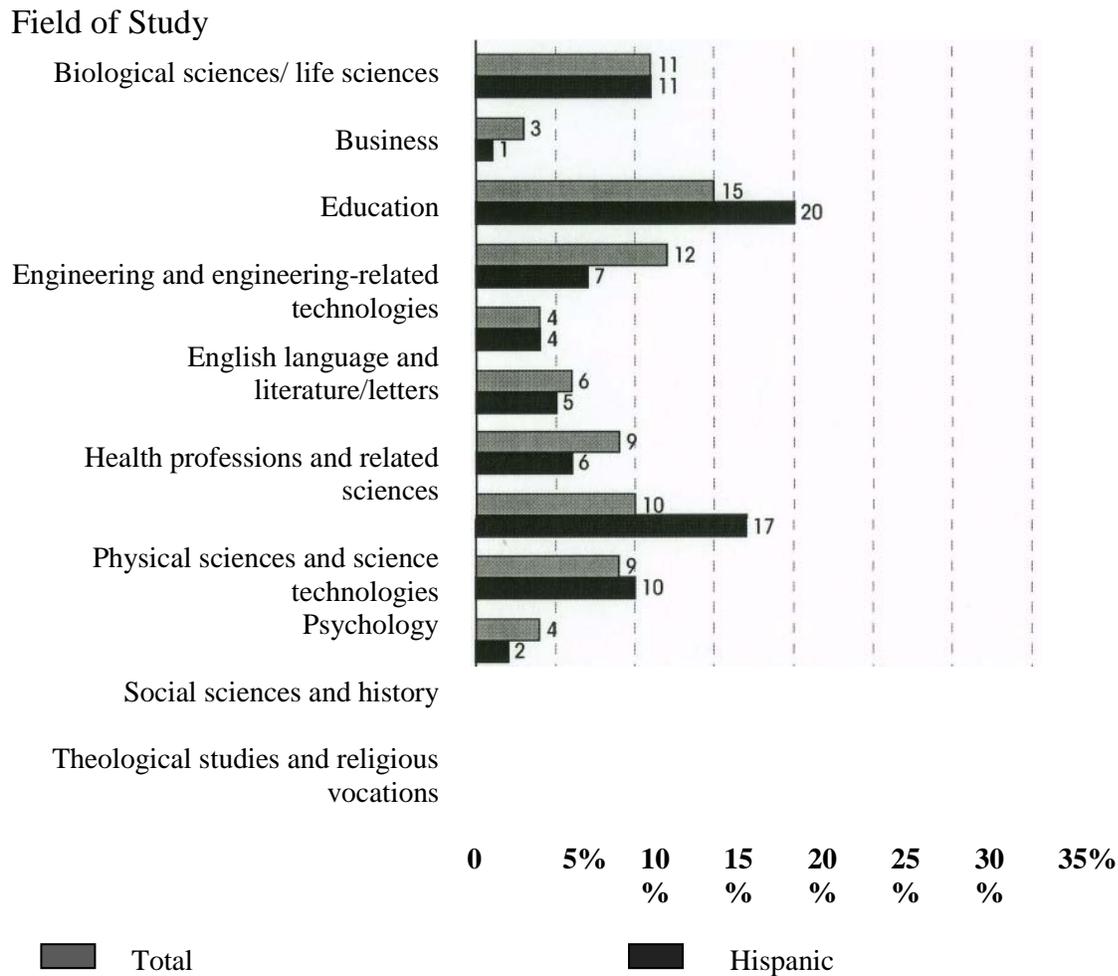
Types of doctor's degrees conferred

Hispanic doctor's degree recipients are more likely to have majored in education and psychology than are other students.

The most popular fields of study in which Hispanics earned doctor's degrees in the 1999-2000 school year were education and psychology (20 and 17 percent, respectively).

Hispanics were more likely (compared to the national average) to earn their doctor's degrees in education and in psychology. Compared to the national average, they were less likely to earn their doctor's degrees in engineering/engineering-related technologies (7 versus 12 percent) and physical sciences/science technologies (6 versus 9 percent).

Percent of doctor's degrees conferred in total and to Hispanics by colleges and universities in the top 10 most popular fields of study, by field of study: 1999-2000



NOTE: Includes 2- and 4-year degree-granting institutions that were participating in Title IV federal financial aid programs.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics, 2001, based on Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Completion" survey, 1999-2000.

College completion rates

A smaller proportion of Hispanics complete college compared to Whites and Blacks.

In 2000, 10 percent of Hispanics ages 25 to 29 had completed a bachelor's degree or higher. In comparison, 34 percent of Whites and 18 percent of Blacks in this young adult age group had completed a bachelor's degree. The proportion of Hispanic young adults completing college has not increased since 1990, though the proportions of young Whites and Blacks did increase. Compared to Whites and Blacks ages 25 and over, smaller proportions of Hispanics 25 years old and over have earned an associate, bachelor's, or master's degree. However, similar proportions of Hispanics and Blacks ages 25 and over have earned a first professional degree and more Hispanics have earned doctorate degrees than Blacks. Over 1 in 4 Whites over 25 (28 percent) have at least a bachelors degree, while about 1 in 10 Hispanics (11 percent) and 1 in 6 Blacks (17 percent) do.

Percent of 25- to 29-year-olds who have completed college (bachelor's degree or higher), by race/ethnicity: Selected years 1975 to 2000

Race/ethnicity	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Total	22	23	22	23	25	27	28	27	28	29
White, non-Hispanic	24	25	24	26	29	32	33	32	34	34
Black, non-Hispanic	11	12	12	13	15	15	14	16	15	18
Hispanic	9	8	11	8	9	10	11	10	9	10

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics, 2001. Based on U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, March Current Population Surveys, various years.

Percent of persons 25 years old and over according to highest degree attained, by race/ethnicity: 2000

Race/ethnicity	Degree Level					
	Associate	Bachelor's or higher	Bachelor's	Master's	First professional	Doctorate
Total	7.8	25.7	17.0	6.0	1.5	1.2
White, non-Hispanic	8.4	28.1	18.6	6.5	1.7	1.3
Black, non-Hispanic	6.8	16.6	11.5	4.2	0.6	0.3
Hispanic	5.0	10.6	7.3	2.2	0.7	0.5

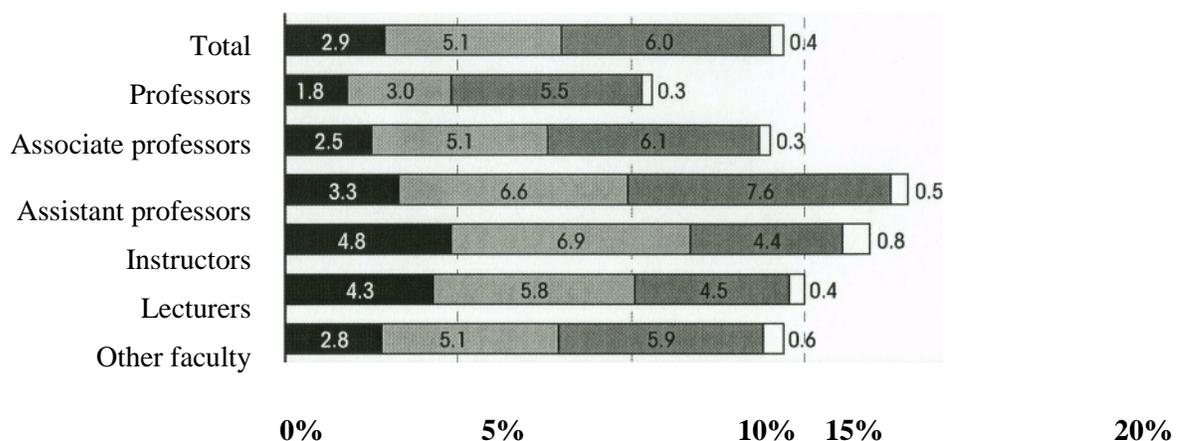
SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics, 2001, based on U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, March Current Population Survey, 2000.

Faculty in colleges and universities

Hispanics comprise 3 percent of instructional faculty in colleges and universities.

In 1999, Hispanics comprised 3 percent of all full-time instructional faculty in degree-granting institutions.⁶¹ A larger percentage of Hispanic faculty members were instructors and lecturers (5 and 4 percent of these populations, respectively) than were assistant or associate professors (3 percent each) or full professors (2 percent).

Percent of full-time instructional faculty in colleges and universities, by minority race/ethnicity and academic rank: 1999



Black, non-Hispanic
 Hispanic
 Asian/Pacific Islander
 American Indian/Alaska Native

NOTE: Includes U.S. citizens and resident aliens identified by race. Excludes nonresident aliens and persons not identified by race. Includes 2- and 4-year degree-granting institutions that were participating in Title IV federal financial aid programs.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Digest of Education Statistics, 2001. Based on Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), "Fall Staff" survey, 1999-2000.

Adult education

About forty percent of Hispanics 17 years old and over participate in adult education.

In 1999, 41 percent of Hispanics 17 years old and over participated in adult education in the previous 12 months. Among employed Hispanics in this age group, this percentage was 44 percent, which was lower than the percentage for Whites (53 percent). Hispanics 17 years old and over, both employed and overall, were less likely than Whites, Blacks, and Asians/Pacific Islanders to have taken career or job-related courses. Hispanics were less likely than Whites to enroll in personal development courses, and employed Hispanics were also less likely than Blacks to do so. Overall, Hispanics were more likely than Whites and American Indians/Alaska Natives to have been in basic education. Also, Hispanics were more likely than the other racial/ethnic groups, with the exception of Asians/Pacific Islanders, to have taken English-as-a-second-language courses. Apparent differences in the other adult education activities between Hispanics and other racial/ethnic groups were not statistically significant.⁶²

The fact that there is no statistical difference between Hispanics and Asians/Pacific Islanders or between Hispanics and American Indians/Alaska Natives may be due to large standard errors.

Percent of persons 17 years old and over enrolled in adult education during the previous 12 months, by type of program, employment status, and race/ ethnicity: 1999

Type of program							
Race/ethnicity	Any program	Part-time higher education	Career or job-related courses	Apprenticeship programs	Personal development courses	Basic education	English as a second language
Total persons							
Total	45	9	22	2	22	1	1
White, non-Hispanic	44	9	24	1	23	1	0
Black, non-Hispanic	46	11	20	3	24	3	0
Hispanic	41	9	13	4	16	2	7
Asian/Pacific Islander	51	17	27	1	23	2	6
American Indian/Alaska Native	36	13	19	4	11	0	0
Employed persons							
Total	53	12	31	2	23	—	—
White, non-Hispanic	53	12	33	2	24	—	—
Black, non-Hispanic	54	13	28	4	26	—	—
Hispanic	44	11	16	4	16	—	—
Asian/Pacific Islander	53	20	33	0	21	—	—
American Indian/Alaska Native	53	21	30	7	10	—	—

— Data not available.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics. 2001. Based on National Household Education Survey (NHES), 1999 (Adult Education Component), unpublished data.

Outcomes of Education

In addition to academic achievement, an important outcome of education is an educated, productive, and engaged citizenry. This section contains indicators on the social and economic outcomes of education, measured by occupational status, worker satisfaction, and voter participation. Traditional outcome measures are also presented on income and unemployment rates by levels of education completed. Because income and employment are associated with educational attainment, outcome data for different racial/ethnic groups are broken out by levels of educational attainment. An additional indicator on adult literacy and reading habits shows differences in patterns of education-related activities among adults.

Unemployment rates

Among Hispanics, as well as among individuals from other racial/ethnic groups, unemployment rates are generally lower for older age groups and people with more education. Unemployment rates for Hispanics are higher on average than for Whites, but are lower than those for Blacks.

In 2000, the unemployment rate for Hispanics ages 25 and older was 4.4 percent—between the rate for White individuals (2.4 percent) and for Black individuals (5.4 percent). Among younger Hispanics, the unemployment rate was higher: for ages 16 to 19, the unemployment rate was 16.7 percent and for ages 20 to 24, it was 7.5 percent. This same pattern is evident for the White and Black populations as well, and presumably relates to the fact that younger people generally have fewer skills and less experience compared to the population over 24 years old. As the unemployment rate decreases with age, it also generally decreases with increased education for all age and racial/ethnic groups. For example, in 2000, the unemployment rate of Hispanics ages 20 to 24 years with a high school education was 7.8 percent, compared to 4.3 percent for Hispanics ages 20 to 24 with a bachelor's degree or higher. The one notable exception is that recipients of associate degrees tend to be employed more than recipients of bachelor's degrees or higher. Chapter 8 — Labor Market and Social Outcomes

Unemployment rates of persons 16 years old and over, by age, race/ethnicity, and highest degree attained: 2000

Race/ethnicity and highest degree attained	Ages 16-24*			25 years and over
	Total	16-19*	20-24*	
All persons				
All education levels	9.3	13.1	7.2	3.0
Less than high school	15.3	15.6	14.4	6.4
High school completer, no	9.3	11.6	8.4	3.5
Some college, no degree	5.5	6.7	5.1	2.9
Associate degree	3.3	4.6	3.2	2.3
Bachelor's degree or higher	4.3	#	4.3	1.7
White, non-Hispanic				
All education levels	7.4	10.4	5.5	2.4
Less than high school	12.7	12.7	13.1	5.2
High school completer, no	7.2	9.0	6.4	2.8
Some college, no degree	4.5	5.3	4.3	2.5
Associate degree	3.0	5.7	2.9	2.0
Bachelor's degree or higher	4.0	#	4.0	1.6
Black, non-Hispanic				
All education levels	18.5	25.1	15.3	5.4
Less than high school	29.8	28.7	32.2	10.5
High school completer, no	18.6	24.1	16.7	6.6
Some college, no degree	9.9	11.8	9.6	4.2
Associate degree	6.3	7.5	6.3	3.5
Bachelor's degree or higher	5.9	#	6.1	2.5
Hispanic				
All education levels	10.5	16.7	7.5	4.4
Less than high school	14.4	20.0	9.6	6.3
High school completer, no	9.0	12.5	7.8	3.9
Some college, no degree	6.3	10.5	5.0	3.2
Associate degree	1.9	#	2.0	2.8
Bachelor's degree or higher	4.2	#	4.3	2.2

* Estimates exclude persons enrolled in school.

Rounds to zero.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished data from the Current Population Survey, 2000.

Income

There is a positive relationship between education and salary for all racial/ethnic groups, but the incomes of Hispanic men are lower than those of White men at most educational levels

In 2000, the median earnings of Hispanic men age 25 and older were about \$13,000 less than that of White men.⁶³ Male Hispanic earnings were lower than male White earnings at most education levels, except at the associate and master's degree levels, where apparent differences were not statistically significant. In fact, the earnings gap between Hispanic and White men increased as education levels increased. There was about a \$6,300 difference at the high school completer, no college level, and about a \$13,400 difference at the bachelors degree or higher level. The average median earnings of Hispanic women age 25 and older were about \$6,500 less than that of White women. Among women who had completed high school without completing college credits, Hispanic women earned less than White women. Hispanic women with a bachelors degree or higher earned less than their White and Black counterparts. Other apparent differences in the earnings of Hispanic, White, and Black women were not statistically significant, except between Hispanic and Black and between White and Black women whose highest level of educational attainment was a bachelor's degree.⁶⁴

¹³ Unlike most instances, White and Black categories include those of Hispanic origin.

⁶⁴ The fact that there is no statistical difference between Hispanics, Whites, and Blacks may be due to large standard errors.

Median earnings (in current dollars) for persons 25 years old and over, by sex, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment: 2000

	Male				Female			
Highest degree	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Total	White	Black	Hispanic
All education levels	\$35,842	\$36,668	\$28,167	\$23,425	\$22,887	\$23,078	\$22,028	\$16,601
9 th to 12 th grade, no diploma	21,365	21,837	19,072	20,459	12,736	12,753	12,677	11,973
High school completer, no college	30,665	31,295	25,466	24,973	18,393	18,627	17,822	16,757
Some college, no degree	35,463	36,051	30,915	30,591	22,308	22,242	22,960	21,860
Associate degree or higher	38,472	40,270	30,583	35,100	25,398	25,480	25,411	22,347
Bachelor's degree	55,059	55,906	42,591	42,518	35,691	35,472	37,898	32,035
Bachelor's degree	50,441	51,099	40,360	41,244	32,163	31,892	35,788	28,531
Master's degree	60,320	60,450	47,170	47,946	41,048	40,844	41,980	42,269

NOTE: White and Black categories include those of Hispanic origin.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census, Educational Attainment - People 25 Years Old and Over, by Total Money Earnings in 2000, Work Experience in 2000, Age, Race, Hispanic Origin, and Sex. Table PINC-03, based on March Current Population Survey, 2000.

Type of occupation and worker satisfaction

Fewer Hispanic and Black men and women hold managerial or professional positions than White men and women. No differences were detected between the percentages of Hispanic and White recipients of bachelor's degrees reporting satisfaction with co-workers or with working conditions.

In 2000, a smaller proportion of Hispanic and Black men were employed in managerial and professional occupations than White men.⁶⁵ The same held true for Hispanic and Black women compared to White women. Among all racial/ethnic groups, women were more likely than men to be employed in technical, sales, and administrative support occupations, and they also were more likely (among all racial/ethnic groups) to be employed in managerial and professional positions.

Unlike most instances, White and Black categories include those of Hispanic origin.

Percentage distribution of employed persons according to occupation, by sex and race/ethnicity: 2000

Occupation	Male				Female			
	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Total	White	Black	Hispanic
Managerial & professional specialty (includes teachers)	28.4	29.2	18.5	11.4	32.3	33.4	24.8	17.8
Technical, sales, and administrative support	19.8	19.7	18.8	14.9	40.	40.5	38.6	37.2
Service occupations	10	9.1	17.4	15.2	17.5	16.4	25.2	26.2
Precision production, craft, and repair	18.7	18.5	14.2	22.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	3.3
Operators, fabricators, and laborers	19.3	18.4	29.0	28.1	6.9	6.4	9.1	13.6
Farming, forestry, and fishing	3.7	4.0	2.1	8.2	1.1	1.3	0.2	1.8

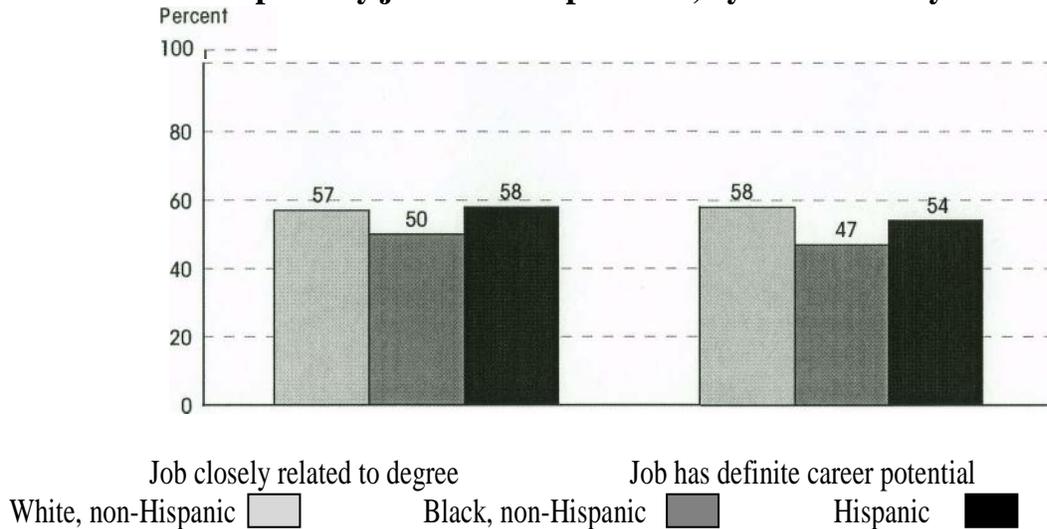
NOTE: White and Black categories include those of Hispanic origin. Detail may not add to 100.0 due to rounding. .

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, unpublished data from the Current Population Survey, 2000.

In 1997, over one-half of all Hispanic recipients of 1992-93 bachelor's degrees reported that their jobs were closely related to their degrees and had definite career potential (58 and 54 percent, respectively).

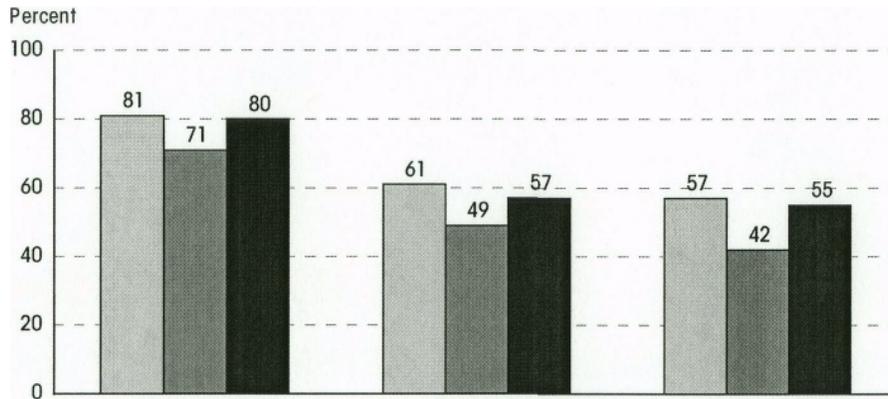
In terms of their evaluation of their working environments, 80 percent of Hispanic bachelor's degree recipients said they were very satisfied with their co-workers, 57 percent with their supervisors, and 55 percent with their working conditions. Except for satisfaction with working conditions (where more Hispanics reported being very satisfied than Blacks), no differences were detected between the percentages of Hispanics and those of Whites and Blacks.

Percent of employed 1992-93 bachelor's degree recipients who reported various job characteristics for primary job held in April 1997, by race/ethnicity



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study, Second Follow-up (B&B:93/97), restricted-use data.

Percent of 1992-93 bachelor's degree recipients employed in April 1997 who were very satisfied with various aspects of their work environment, by race/ ethnicity



Co-worker
White, non-Hispanic Supervisor
Black, non-Hispanic Working conditions
Hispanic

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993 Baccalaureate and Beyond Longitudinal Study, Second Follow-up (B&B:93/97), restricted-used data.

Reference Information

C. E. Kaestle, A. Campbell, J.D. Finn, S.T. Johnson, and L. J. Mikulecky, *Adult Literacy and Education in America: Four Studies Based on the National Adult Literacy Survey* (NCES 2001-534).

Prose literacy encompasses the knowledge and skills needed to understand and use information from texts that include editorials, news stories, poems, and fiction. Document literacy encompasses the knowledge and skills required to locate and use information contained in materials that include job applications, payroll forms, transportation schedules, maps, tables, and graphs. Quantitative literacy encompasses the knowledge and skills required to apply arithmetic operations, either alone or sequentially, using numbers embedded in printed materials.

Reading regularly is defined as reading a newspaper once a week, at least one magazine regularly, and a book in the past 6 months.

U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *Hispanic Serving Institutions: Statistical Trends from 1990-1999* (NCES 2002-051).

E.G. Warburton, R. Bugarin, A. Nunez, and C.D. Carroll, *Bridging the Gap: Academic Preparation and Postsecondary Success of First-Generation Students* (NCES 2001-153).

Title IV of the Higher Education Act (HEA) governs the federal student financial aid programs.

The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) is responsible for and maintains the U.S. Department of Education Minority Postsecondary Institution Listing, which includes a listing of Hispanic-serving postsecondary institutions. For more information, see <http://www.ed.gov/offices/OCR/minorityinst.html>

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Discussion Questions

1. What was the prevailing myth of the period? What effect, if any, did this have on the period? Can you identify any other relevant myth?
2. In what areas of society are Mexican Americans most integrated or included? In which are they least integrated or included? Why? How has their inclusion, to the degree to which it has occurred, affected the United States?
3. Why has Texas always been the harshest in the treatment of Mexican Americans? Are they still the harshest? Why or why not? Which state has been the most lenient? Why?
4. What violations of social justice have been addressed? What violations remain to be addressed? Are they different from those found regarding other minority groups?
5. Have Mexican Americans finally been included in society as full members? If not, what remains to be done? If not, what is the primary obstacle?
6. What do you think were the most important events, or those which had the greatest impact on the lives of Mexican Americans, from the chapter's Chronology of Period Events? Why?

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Future: Majority Minority (2012 – present)

Rather than a myth, this period is characterized by a general fear which has permeated and animated it. Chief among these fears are economic concerns, terrorism, crime, health care, loss of privilege and/or status, immigration and governmental gridlock. Different segments of the population are affected by one or more of these specific fears.

This period began with a number of demographic events which presage important changes in U.S. society in the coming decades. Although they occurred at the end of the previous period they were not highly publicized until 2012. One event was the growth in the Hispanic population which accounted for approximately half the entire U.S. population growth. The other was the fact that in 2011 over half (50.4 percent) of all children less than one year of age born in the United States were ethnic minorities. These facts, coupled with the discrepancy between the median age of Anglos and minorities (Anglos over 42, Hispanics less than 28, Blacks and Asians early 30s), indicate the difference in birth rates will most likely continue to increase. Demographers now estimate that by 2042 non-Hispanic whites will be a numerical minority (Washington Post, 2012)

Based on these facts it is logical to expect a number of corresponding changes including a change in identity. The United States will no longer be able to be identified as a WASP, or even a predominately white, society. Consequently, Anglo Conformity, to the extent it still exists, will no longer be expected of immigrants as the basis for assimilation but Cultural Pluralism will be the norm. As a result, the nation will be less monolingual and less Eurocentric. Therefore there will be pressure for the education system to be modified in terms of what it teaches as well as how it teaches. A more immediate effect of the changing demographics is on politics. As minorities grow in numbers they also grow, at least potentially, in power and importance. However, while their numbers have been growing, the number of registered Hispanic voters actually declined between 2008 and 2010 (Holley, 2012). Lack of anticipated legislation on immigration may be a contributing factor, as well as a belief that no matter which party is in office, for them, things remain the same.

In some cases the nation's population increases resulted in corresponding increases in the number of U.S. Congressional Representatives some states received. This has led to the corresponding need for redistricting. One such state was Texas which was awarded four new Representatives based on the increase in population. However, this resulted in a conflict between the state's Republican Congress, which recommended the boundaries of the four new districts, and the state's Hispanic groups who rejected their proposal pointing out that Hispanics accounted for two-thirds of the entire increase. Therefore, they argued, since Hispanics comprised the majority of the increase, at least half of the new districts should be composed of Hispanics so they could choose their own representatives.

Consequently, they had their own proposals for the new districts. The unaccepted new districts which had been proposed by the Republican Texas Congress had been gerrymandered to dilute the Hispanic vote and ensure Republican victories in at least three districts. The new districts proposed by Hispanics were similarly rejected by Texas Republicans, because they believed it would ensure Democratic victories. The dispute delayed the state's primary elections and had to be resolved by the courts.

Both political parties recognize the importance of the changing demographics. The needs of the growing minority population, of which Hispanics are the single largest segment, are not only important to political parties but to all Americans. Since the dominant Anglo population is ageing with a declining birth rate, it must look to the soon-to-be majority-minority population to provide more of the workers and leadership necessary for the country to prosper. They will also be important in providing the necessary funds to sustain programs such as Social Security, Medicaid and Medicare as well as "Obamacare" which are of concern for most Americans. Their educational and economic success, therefore, is not only important to them but to America as well.

The change from being an Anglo majority to a numerical minority occurred in Texas much sooner than 2011. As of 2003 Anglos were no longer a majority of the population in that state. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Anglos constitute just 49.5 percent of the state's population. Although expected, this demographic change occurred somewhat earlier than predicted. The main reason for this was the increase in the Hispanic (predominately *Mexicano*) population which went from 32.2 percent in 2000 to 35.3 percent in 2003 (Gomez. 2004). Although ethnic minorities, when taken together, will soon constitute a numerical majority, they will probably remain, for the foreseeable future, social minorities while Anglos remain the dominant group in the state and nation.

As a social minority, Mexican Americans are still victims of prejudice and discrimination. This was acknowledged by both Hispanics and non-Hispanics in polls taken in 2010. In answer to the question regarding whether there was discrimination against Hispanics which limited their chances to get ahead, 81 percent of Hispanics said there was, as did 59 percent of non-Hispanics. Thus, overall, 61 percent of respondents recognized that Hispanics are still a social minority, with all the negative consequences which this implies. In fact, a larger percentage of respondents, Hispanic and non-Hispanic, believe there is now more discrimination against Hispanics than there is against women or African Americans (Fram, 2010: 4A)..

Of course, this could all change. The more assimilation takes place, the less **social distance** there will be and the less they will be subject to prejudice and discrimination. Increases in the number and the geographical and occupational distribution of Mexican Americans may prove to be the catalysts for increased assimilation along the lines of the Melting Pot, with the United States-Mexican border as the model. A study of dating practices revealed that Mexican Americans engaged in more ethnically **exogamous** dating than either Anglos or Blacks. In fact, over 90 percent of Mexican American males had

dated Anglos and/or Blacks. Although Mexican Americans lead the way in interethnic dating, they are not alone. Most Black and Anglo males have also dated females of the other ethnic groups. (Lampe, 1981). A more recent study also found that over half of Hispanic, Black and Asian American adults have dated someone outside their own race or ethnicity (Yancey, 2002). This appears to lead to increased amalgamation or marital assimilation as approximately 40 percent of American-born Hispanics have married a non-Hispanic. As noted in the colonial Southwest, those with lighter complexions are most likely to marry a non-Hispanic (Qian, 2005). The more marital assimilation occurs, the more other aspects of assimilation, including attitude receptional (absence of prejudice) and behavior receptional (absence of discrimination), will follow.

Another factor which could have an effect on the assimilation of Mexican Americans occurred in 2009. New legislation made it necessary for U.S. citizens traveling to Mexico to have a passport. This was an important change from the long-standing practice of easy access for tourism between the two countries. It is unlikely that families divided by the border will continue to visit each other as frequently as they did in the past. The new requirement will have its greatest impact on undocumented Mexicans who have to worry about their ability to reenter the United States after a visit to Mexico. Decreased visits between the two countries can have an impact on the retention of Mexican culture by Mexican American children. Of course, some of this impact will be offset by the ubiquitous availability of Mexican radio and television programs. *Novelas* (soap operas) are popular among many young and old Spanish-speakers and these, together with sports telecasts, especially soccer and boxing, serve to preserve the language and interest in the homeland.

One of the concerns over the supposed lack of assimilation of Mexican Americans may be due to the lack of understanding of **symbolic ethnicity**. This refers to members of an ethnic group continuing to retain certain elements of their ancestral culture, such as eating ethnic food and celebrating certain ceremonial holidays. This same behavior is not limited to Mexican Americans but can be found among Irish Americans, Afro Americans, Jewish Americans and others. This, in and of itself, does not indicate a lack of assimilation. Another thing may occur which could be interpreted as a rejection of assimilation. According to Marcus Hansen's (1952) **third generation principle**, the grandchildren of Mexicans who immigrated to the United States may seek to recover elements of their ancestral cultural heritage which were abandoned by prior generations in order to be accepted in the new cultural setting.. This frequently results in an interest in learning Spanish and more about Mexico and its people. Symbolic ethnicity can be a consequence of this renewed interest. All of this is consistent with Cultural Pluralism.

The Changing Face of the United States

In 2011 Texas Governor Rick Perry (R) urged that a law be passed by the state legislature which would outlaw what he called Sanctuary cities. This term referred to cities that neglected or refused to enforce immigration laws. The concept of Sanctuary cities

harkened back to the 1980s when the so-called Sanctuary Movement was receiving both praise and criticism for its attempts to shelter illegal immigrants from El Salvador who were able to escape the violence in their country. These people asked for asylum which is given to refugees who have a legitimate fear that in their own country they will be imprisoned or killed. The U.S. government had routinely granted asylum to Cubans who came to this country but routinely denied those who came from El Salvador where the communist *contras* were trying to overthrow the government. The difference in treatment was due to the difference in relations between the U.S. government and the governments of communist Cuba and anti-communist El Salvador. Granting asylum to people fleeing a communist country had propaganda value while the other did not. During the period of the cold war it served as proof that communism was an undesirable and oppressive form of government from which people were eager to escape..

The proposed Texas law, which would have prevented individuals or groups from aiding illegal immigrants, was to be similar to that passed in Arizona requiring police officers to check credentials of suspected law violators to make sure they were not in the country illegally. As was the case in Arizona, Mexican American response was generally negative as was that of law enforcement officials who believed enforcing such a law would strain their resources and interfere with their traditional duties serving the community. Ultimately, the proposed legislation failed.

Late in August 2011, over ten years since the DREAM Act was first introduced and three months since it was last rejected by Congress, President Obama announced a new policy which would accomplish the main objective of the Act. The DREAM Act (acronym for Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors) was designed to provide the 1.5 generation with the possibility of permanent residency. Under the new policy, individuals who illegally came to the United States at a very young age, graduate from high school and enter college or the military will not be summarily deported, but will have their status decided on a case-by-case basis. The government's main concern will be on dealing with those individuals who are criminals and who are deemed to be a threat to national security or public safety. Some who opposed the DREAM Act see this as a modified version intended to grant amnesty to young illegal immigrants (Pear, 2011)

In June of 2012, President Obama again bypassed Congress in favor of those who are known as "Dreamers." He used his executive authority to stop deportations of some immigrants who were brought to this country illegally as children. This action, referred to as the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), was taken just days before the Supreme Court was expected to decide the constitutionality of Arizona's law requiring law enforcement officers to verify the legal status of anyone suspected of being in the country illegally. This action by the President builds on that taken the previous year. It allows those who are no older than 30 years of age who had been brought here before they were 16 years old and have lived in the United States for the past five years, are enrolled in or have completed high school, received a GED or served in the military and have not been convicted of a felony or misdemeanor, to request two-year work permits (Dunham and

Martin, 2012, A1). Reaction to this was mixed. In general, the Hispanic community was pleased but disappointed it was not part of a more comprehensive immigration plan. Others, especially Republicans, criticized the action as being for political gain since it was taken just months before a close Presidential election.

On June 25, the Supreme Court issued its highly anticipated decision on the constitutionality of Arizona's strict immigration law which inspired similar laws in Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, South Carolina and Utah.. The Court struck down most of the law, known as Senate Bill 1070, but left intact the main provision. In a split decision three provisions were ruled unconstitutional. These were the provisions that required all immigrants to obtain or carry immigration registration papers, that made it a criminal offense for an illegal immigrant to seek work or hold a job, and that allowed police to arrest a suspected illegal immigrant without a warrant. The Court unanimously upheld the provision that police, while enforcing other laws, could question individuals regarding their immigration status if the officers have a reasonable suspicion that they are in the country illegally. However, it was made clear that this ruling could be reviewed if it is believed to be enforced in a discriminatory manner (Dunham and Martin, 2012). The divided nature of this ruling allowed both President Obama and Arizona Governor Brewer to claim victory.

Whatever the motivation, action taken on immigration was a long time in coming. Immigration from Mexico is a major contributor in the biological and cultural changes which have been occurring. During the first decade of the 21st century, approximately 57 percent of all undocumented immigrants to the United States were Mexicans. This led border patrol agents to coin the term OTM (other than Mexican) to refer to illegal aliens from all other countries. Although immigration will undoubtedly remain a controversial issue, there are indications that natural causes rather than government actions may reduce the problem. The populations of both Mexico and the United States are aging and growing more slowly, which should result in fewer undocumented immigrants. According to United Nations' projections, after 2010 the population increase in Mexico is expected to be less than one percent per year, and by 2045 there will be a loss of population (Fullerton and Barraza de Anda, 2009: 9-10).

Regardless of the number of illegal immigrants, the Mexican American and other Hispanic populations will continue to grow through legal migration and reproduction. As it does so, their political and economic power and importance will increase. Over the years there has been an increase in the number of Hispanics in public office (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009) as well as an increase in the percent of the Hispanic electorate and their support for the Democratic Party (Pew Hispanic Center, 2008). There has also been a significant increase in their purchasing power. Spanish radio, television, magazines and newspapers already depend on Hispanic audiences and the revenue they generate. Many national, as well as regional, companies use these media sources to appeal to Hispanic consumers. In 1997 Hispanics spent over \$350 billion, which was an increase of 66 percent

from 1990 (Sculz, 1999). Ultimately, the economic success of Hispanics will be increasingly important to the economic health of both the United States and Mexico..

Besides government and economy, another major social institution which is greatly impacted by *Mexicanos* is religion. In August 2011 while addressing the sixth annual conference of the Catholic Association of Latino Leaders (CALL), which is the only national Catholic lay leadership organization in the country, Archbishop Jose Gomez of San Antonio, said “I think we all know that we are living in a period of change in which we face some big questions about our nation’s direction and future. I believe those questions must form the context for our mission as Hispanic Catholics and faithful citizens.” He also stated that the country and Church “are becoming more and more Latino and Hispanic. What we do with that reality---is up to us” (Today’s Catholic. 2011, 3).. The Catholic Church’s position on immigration is at odds with that of many Americans, particularly conservative Americans, as well as that of the Government. The Church believes that people have the right to provide the basic necessities for their families in their own countries, but if this is not possible for whatever reason, they have the right to migrate to a region or country where these necessary human resources are available.

Something which may occur in the future that could have important consequences for the United States is the unification of U.S. Hispanics. They have typically been divided along ethnic/nationality and class lines. This division has diminished their potential social and economic influence as well as political power. According to one author, there is a growing sense of unity based on two things: social conditions and cultural conditions. There are social similarities between Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Central Americans in terms of unemployment, income, occupations, and education which are making them more aware of the fact that they are not taking advantage of their potential strength should they speak with one voice and present a united front on issues which are of common interest to them. These same social conditions could serve as a basis for a more inclusive solidarity with other minorities who in the past were often played against each other to their mutual detriment.

There are also obvious cultural similarities among Hispanics which can serve as a basis for greater unity, or mechanical solidarity. The Spanish language and related elements, including religion, serve as a magnet around which Hispanics can come together. These commonalities can form the basis of a “we-they” mentality, where Hispanics are the insiders and non-Hispanics are the outsiders. Whereas social conditions allow a coalescence to include non-Hispanics, the cultural conditions do not (Gonzalez, 1990: 34-37). However, in much of the southwest and other states with a large Hispanic population, elements of Hispanic culture, such as food, words, music, are being incorporated into the regional culture thus reducing the cultural differences.

However, there is a likelihood that old hostilities between Anglos and Hispanics will reemerge in some instances. As the number of Hispanics increases and they become a greater and more visible and influential proportion of the population, many Anglos may

feel threatened that they themselves are becoming a numerical minority, losing power, having to compete for fewer jobs and fearing that the traditional American culture will be changed to a degree never before seen. Thus, non-Hispanics may become even more resentful of the increase in the amount of money the local, state and federal governments are spending on education, health care and other social services, especially for undocumented Hispanics. This concern was expressed by many individuals in both parties during the debates before the passage of President Obama's health care legislation. Another possible consequence is an increase in recruitment of members into white-supremacy hate groups and/or a corresponding increase in the incidence of violence, such as occurred in the Sikh temple in Wisconsin in the summer of 2012 and the shooting in the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Carolina in June 2015.

Meanwhile, because of the constant movement back and forth between Mexico and the United States, *Mexicanos* will maintain their cultural differences, and the overall level of education will be lower and the level of poverty will continue to be higher for them than the national averages. However, there are mitigating factors which can ameliorate the situation and keep Anglo – Hispanic hostilities to a minimum. First, most Hispanics are less physically identifiable than Blacks or Asians. Second, they are likely to intermarry with other ethnic groups in relatively large numbers. Third, they will continue to concentrate in the Southwest and gain greater political power. Fourth, they will continue to improve both academically and economically thereby improving their status (Aguirre and Turner, 2004: 258-259).

Greater Focus on Immigration

This period is witnessing important and dramatic demographic changes which promise to usher in a myriad of corresponding changes that will be welcomed by many, particularly ethnic minorities, and demonized by others, particularly members of the dominant group who have been enjoying special privileges. These anticipated changes will be triggered by the continuing growth in the ethnic minority population which is based on both the birth rate and immigration. While there is little the government can do to directly affect the birth rate, there is much which can be done to affect immigration. Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama both attempted to pass comprehensive immigration legislation, but were thwarted by Congress. The main stumbling block is what to do with illegal individuals who have been in this country for many years.

Immigration remains a controversial issue which divides Americans. Some who favor a more moderate immigration policy argue that rich countries have a moral responsibility to aid poor countries, including allowing immigration for economic opportunities when none exist in their own country. Those who favor a more open policy say that these immigrants, legal as well as illegal, actually help the United States by doing jobs which Americans are unwilling to do, and that they pay taxes but often the illegal immigrants do not use the services their taxes have paid for because of fear of deportation. Still other supporters point out that they pick the crops for low wages, thereby keeping food prices

low which benefits everyone. At the same time, they are paying for goods and services which provides jobs for others, thus helping the economy overall. Those opposed to a moderate immigration policy argue that immigrants from poor countries take jobs away from citizens and also lower wages by working for less money. In addition, they say, illegal aliens often work “off the books” and do not pay taxes but use social services, including schools and hospitals, for which others have to pay. This financial burden falls on local and state governments which can least afford it.

One point on which both sides agree is that the United States must be able to protect and control its borders, especially at a time when there is a justifiable fear of terrorists and drug traffickers. There is also general agreement that laws should be enforced. These areas of agreement raise the question of what to do with illegal aliens already in the country. Two opposing positions regarding those already in the United States are amnesty and repatriation. The Bush and Obama administrations both appeared to favor some combination but Congress has been unwilling to act on an overall plan. Instead, there has been a piecemeal attempt to deal with the situation.. Many believe the first step must be securing the border.

New Prospects for Immigration Reform

The results of the Presidential election of 2012 appears to have served as a wakeup call to the Republican Party. They have opposed comprehensive immigration reform even when it was proposed by their own party’s President, George W. Bush. Whenever the issue was raised their answer was tighter border security and restrictions on the estimated 11 million illegal immigrants already in the United States. Some Republican governors, with the support of many in Congress, proposed and/or implemented laws to deny illegal aliens jobs, driver’s licenses. free public education and the opportunity to gain citizenship while remaining in this country. Such measures would help resolve the problem through self-deportation according to party leaders, including their 2012 Presidential candidate Mitt Romney. It was widely believed that President Obama was vulnerable due to the weak economy and rising federal deficit. Many pundits were predicting Republican victories not only for the Presidency but also in Congress. Confidence in a victory was so great that candidate Romney only prepared an acceptance speech which would be given when the results of the election were announced. However, the results were not as expected and a shorter congratulatory speech had to be quickly prepared.

The reelection of President Obama together with Democratic gains in Congress, although modest, indicated that most Americans, particularly ethnic minorities, were not in agreement with Republican leadership. Some who oppose immigration reform suspect that one of the reasons Congressional Democrats support immigration is that most new citizens are believed to be more likely to vote Democrat. This belief goes back at least to 1996 when Congress held hearings to determine if then-Vice President Al Gore had attempted to pressure the INS to expedite the naturalization of immigrants in order to create more Democratic voters (Clark, 2002: 56). After President Obama’s re-election many

governors of red (Republican) states enacted laws which made it harder for some groups of people, mainly elderly and minorities, to vote. The reason given was to prevent voter fraud, although Democrats were quick to point out that actual cases of such fraud are virtually non-existent. .

Large majorities of Asian, Black and Hispanic voters, who together are projected to constitute a majority of the population by mid-century, have shown a preference for Democratic policies. This was particularly true for Hispanics, the largest and one of the fastest growing ethnic minorities. Non-white voters constituted 28 percent of the electorate which was an increase from 26 percent in 2008. Hispanics voters selected President Obama over former Governor Romney 71 percent to 27 percent. This represented a 4 percent increase in support for President Obama over the 67 percent he received in the 2008 election. Since the 1980 Presidential election, Democratic candidates have received between 21 and 51 percent more votes from Hispanics than Republican candidates. The smallest advantage was 21 percent in the election won by former Governor Ronald Reagan against President Jimmie Carter, while the largest advantage was 51 percent in the re-election of President Bill Clinton when he ran against Senator Bob Dole. In the 1996 election President Clinton received 71 percent of the Hispanic votes which was the largest margin during this period. The Republican candidate who received the largest percent of Hispanic votes (40 percent), although less than the Democratic candidate, was President George Bush in his successful re-election bid against Senator John Kerry (58 percent). The 18 percent difference was the lowest margin of any previous presidential election (Lopez and Taylor, 2012).

As a result of the lack of support by ethnic minorities, especially the growing Hispanic population, some Republican leaders have expressed a concern that their party must rethink their position on some issues that are important to Hispanics. One such issue is immigration reform. Some Republicans believed that their rhetoric regarding immigration and their objection to the DREAM Act needs to be modified and a more humane solution to the ongoing problem must be addressed if they are going to be able to attract more support for their candidates. This rethinking applies to state and local government as well as federal government. Some Republican governors, such as those in Arizona and Texas have enacted, or have proposed, discriminatory laws that Hispanics believed were purposely aimed at them, such as the “papers please” requirement (proof of legality).

Apparently frustrated by the lack of cooperation to pass a comprehensive immigration policy, which had been a campaign promise, President Obama bypassed Congress and took executive action to issue new policies in deciding deportation cases. The new policies eliminated one of the most problematic issues for those who favor the repatriation of all undocumented individuals. It is not now necessary for authorities to decide what to do with those of the 1.5 generation who were brought illegally when they were very young and have lived and been educated in the United States for virtually all their lives. On June 15, 2012 President Obama created DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) which allowed certain undocumented individuals who entered the United States before their 16th

birthday and before June 2007 to receive a renewable two-year work permit and exemption from deportation. The DREAM Act which would have exempted these young people from deportation and provided an opportunity for citizenship had been previously rejected on at least three occasions. In general, there has been a split along party lines with Democrats generally supporting the legislation and Republicans opposing it.

It is interesting to compare the **1.5** generation, commonly referred to as DREAMERS, to what may be called the **.5** generation. This latter generation consists of those children born outside the United States but who are U.S. citizens by virtue of the citizenship of one or both of their parents (*jus sanguinis*). These children are born and brought up in a foreign country, speaking a foreign language, who may experience culture shock when, and if, they move to the United States. Meanwhile, many of the 1.5 generation will experience culture shock if and when they are forced to leave the United States and live in another country.

Another immigration problem dealing with children of illegal aliens is what has been referred to as “anchor babies.” This term refers to babies born in the United States to immigrant parents, especially illegal immigrants. The 14th amendment grants citizenship to those born in the United States (*jus soli*) regardless of the citizenship of the parents. These children are, by birth, U.S. citizens. The child typically stays with the mother. If she returns to her homeland the child goes with her. However, the child has all of the benefits of citizenship, including education which is highly prized, and when he or she becomes 21 years old, can petition for the parents to come to the United States as permanent residents under family reunification. This has led to a thriving business referred to as “birth tourism” wherein pregnant women enter the country as tourists, pay large sums of money to people who care for them until they give birth, then often help them get citizenship papers and a passport for the child.

The inaction and consequent frustration of those on both sides of the immigration issue may be a contributing factor in the apparent increase in conflict and violence which many detainees along the border have reported. A study entitled “Documented Failures: the Consequences of the Immigration Policy on the U.S.-Mexico Border” was released in 2013 by the Jesuit Conference, the Kino Border Institute (KBI) which is a bi-national Jesuit ministry, and the Jesuit Refugee Service/USA. The study was based on reports by Mexican immigrants on both sides of the border of incidents of abuse and excessive force by U.S. Border Patrol agents. Included in the study are reports of sexual assaults by criminals, of being abandoned in the desert and of being denied medical treatment by agents of the Border Patrol (www.jesuit.org).

Furthermore, there are rumors that agents of ICE (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, previously known as the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, which is part of the Department of Homeland Security) have a quota they are expected to meet for detaining undocumented immigrants that will be deported (Zwick and Zwick, 2013: 9). The President, however, has indicated that, apart from returning those caught at the border, the emphasis should be on the deportation of individuals who have violated the

law while in this country. DREAMERS and other law-abiding undocumented aliens who have been in this country for some time should not be targeted. Their fate should be decided on an individual basis. The action taken by President Obama to effectively implement much of the DREAM Act, thereby eliminating one of the more controversial issues, may provide the impetus for some legislative action regarding other immigration issues. Although the President's actions pleased many Hispanics because it stayed the deportation of numerous immigrants, some Hispanics criticized him because overall the number of deportations increased. In fact, the Obama administration has deported more illegal immigrants than any previous administration..

There was strong opposition to any immigration plan that appeared to aid or encourage those who entered the United States illegally, regardless of age. They argued that the DREAM Act is nothing more than amnesty and is rewarding an illegal act (entering the country illegally), while those in favor argue that these children are not responsible for the actions of their parents and granting citizenship to those who receive a college education and/or serve in the military is good for the United States. However, an issue came to light in 2014 which appeared to undermine the argument of innocence on the part of the children. There was a dramatic increase in the number of young children, mainly from Central America, who came unaccompanied by an adult. Republicans were quick to blame President Obama's plan for the dramatic increase, stating that the proposed DREAM Act gave the hope of amnesty for those children who could make it to the United States (Stoeltje, 2014, A i-A10). Some commentators were quick to point out that, rather than viewing these children as illegal immigrants, they should be seen as refugees seeking asylum from violence in their own countries. This would be consistent with the treatment afforded to Cubans who fled communism during the cold war years.

The increase in unaccompanied children was constantly being reported by the various forms of media, identifying this as an invasion which threatened the country. This interpretation of events appears to have had an effect on Congress. A related event occurred at the same time that stopped the momentum which had been building among Congressional Republicans to support immigration legislation. Republican Congressman Eric Cantor, Majority Leader in the House of Representatives, unexpectedly lost his bid to be his party's candidate in the upcoming elections. He lost to an unknown candidate who was supported by the ultraconservative Tea Party. A main reason for the defeat was generally believed to be Cantor's support for immigration reform, including some support for DREAMERS. As a result of these two apparently related events, Republican support for immigration reform which had been gaining momentum suddenly waned.

President Obama appears to have decided that immigration reform was not a top priority for Republicans and that he would have to use executive actions to move closer to his earlier promise of immigration reform. After the November 2014 elections, which gave Republicans control of both the House of Representatives and the Senate, any hope of a comprehensive immigration program in the near future was deemed unrealistic. As a result, on November 20, 2014 the President announced an extension of the time a person

was protected from deportation under DACA. The extension was scheduled to take effect on February 18, 2015. The change would give undocumented immigrants three years, instead of two, of deferment and an additional year before they would have to apply for an extension. DACA could make the recipient eligible for work authorization but not provide lawful immigration status. In addition to extending DACA, President Obama also announced a new program called the Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) which protected a new category of individuals. In both of these programs deferment from deportation is to be granted on a case by case basis.

Two days before the extension was to take effect, a federal court issued a temporary injunction which blocked the President's action until the constitutionality of the executive order could be decided by the Supreme Court. Over 35 states had opposed the executive action on the grounds that it was unconstitutional and must be approved by Congress. This injunction did not affect the original DACA program which was still in effect. When it had first been announced in 2012, it was estimated that as many as 1.7 million people might be eligible (Passel and Lopez, 2012). However, as of June 2014 the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) had granted approximately 581,000 immigrants DACA status and had denied such status to 24,000 (Krogstad and Passel, 2014). The addition of DAPA to DACA resulted in an estimation by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) that 4.4 million people would be eligible for deferment.

Conclusion

This period witnessed the most serious economic downturn since the Great Depression of 1929, the longest war in the history of the United States and the most serious threats ever of terrorist attacks on American soil, such as those which occurred in New York and Boston. Against this backdrop of social and governmental concerns the issue of immigration has received only occasional attention by Congress. Unlike past immigration concerns which focused on numbers of people entering the country and the racial, ethnic and national makeup of migrants, since the beginning of the 21st century concerns have not only been focused on numbers, but also on stopping drug traffickers and international terrorists. To further complicate matters Congress has been as divided along party lines as it has ever been. Democrat and Republican lawmakers cannot agree on a comprehensive immigration plan except to say the borders with Mexico and Canada must be more secure and that no attempt will be made to deport the estimated 11 million undocumented aliens who have been living and working in the country for years.

It is not possible to know at this time what event or series of events will signal the end of the present period and the beginning of a new period in the history of Mexican Americans, or what the nature of the period will be. As can be seen, some periods last centuries while others last only decades. One thing that is known is that in the future Mexican Americans, as well as other Hispanics, will play a much more important role in the United States and in all its **basic social institutions**. Two issues which could have significant consequences for Mexican Americans depending on the government's actions

are the specific content of comprehensive immigration legislation and the possibility of the government declaring Hispanics to be a separate race. This latter possibility has been proposed by some in order to facilitate identifying Hispanics on the U.S. census. For decades this has been an ongoing problem which has resulted in several changes. In the 2010 census over half of Hispanics identified themselves as “white” while 37 percent indicated some other race. Congress is not expected to decide this until 2018 when the wording for the 2020 census is approved. Many Hispanics have already criticized the idea of making it a separate race (Ayala, 2013)..

At the beginning of this century there were twenty-one states where Hispanics were the largest ethnic minority. More importantly, between 2000 and 2010 the Hispanic population in the United States grew by 43 percent which was four times faster than the total U.S. population (U.S. Census Bureau News, 2011). The continuing growth of the minority population has made the issue of immigration even more relevant for the future of the United States. So far Congress has shown an unwillingness to deal with immigration in a comprehensive manner. This has led to frustration for Mexican Americans as well as many other Americans, including President Obama. In the wake of the 2012 Presidential election there appeared to have been bipartisan interest in passing a comprehensive immigration bill. Both political parties recognized the need to attract the Hispanic vote in order to win. However, there are issues that, in general, still separate Democrats and Republicans. The most serious sticking point is what to do with the estimated eleven million undocumented aliens already in the country, particularly those brought here as children.

The lack of comprehensive legislation has resulted in a number of piecemeal actions taken by different levels of government in an effort to solve specific problems. Sometimes actions taken in haste which are meant to solve a problem actually cause a new and, sometimes, greater one. Apparently such was the case with the erection of the border fence. One study of illegal Mexican immigration, entitled “The Wall that Keeps Illegal Workers In,” has found that U.S. government’s actions to control the problem of people entering the country illegally by erecting a wall along the border has actually aggravated the problem of illegal aliens in the country by making it harder for those, who would normally return to Mexico after earning money, from doing so. Between 1980 and 2004 the rate of undocumented migration, adjusted for population growth, has not grown. What has grown is the percentage of those who stay fearing that it will be more difficult to return to the United States in the future if the need arises (Massey, 2006).

While some illegal aliens are less likely to leave the country to visit their homeland, the number of illegal immigrants from Mexico entering the United States has actually been declining. There are several reasons for this, starting with changes in Mexico which makes it more attractive to stay at home. These changes include expanding economic and educational opportunities, and a declining birth rate. Added to this is the fact that it is now more expensive and more dangerous to attempt to enter the United States. There are bandits, drug traffickers and a deadly desert to deal with. Deportations have also increased. Thus, the push factors have much less urgency and the pull factors are less attractive (Cave,

2011). The net result appears to be that an equal number of Mexicans are returning to Mexico as are those entering the United States.

Since the end of the *Bracero* Program, control of illegal immigration from Mexico has been of particular concern for both countries. The United States is concerned with controlling the borders, especially with the threat of terrorists and drug traffickers, and enforcing the laws. Mexico's concerns are somewhat different. It has relied on its workers, legal and illegal, in the United States to send money to their families that were left behind. In 2007, for example, remittances were 23 billion dollars, which is more than the money generated by the sale of oil exports (Kerr, 2008).

Immigration to the United States also serves as a safety valve for unemployed Mexicans who may otherwise cause unrest in their country. Since undocumented aliens tend to be less educated, they are not a major threat to compete for the more desirable jobs in the United States which advocates **credentialism**. Unfortunately, this same requirement for academic credentials will continue to work against many Mexican Americans, who tend to have less education than other ethnic groups. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 1998 27 percent of non-Hispanics compared to only 8 percent of Mexican Americans had earned a college degree. This was even less than Puerto Ricans (11 percent) or Cuban Americans (20 percent) (Davis et al, 2002: 41).

In the spring of 2012 a report from the PEW Hispanic Center stated that for the first time in decades more *Mexicanos* were leaving the United States to go to Mexico than were leaving Mexico to enter the United States. Although some of these were deported, the majority left voluntarily (Buch, 2012: A1-A17). The issue of immigration, especially illegal, again came to the fore in the 2016 Presidential election campaign when Republican candidate Donald Trump vowed to stop the flow of Mexicans who he said were mostly criminals and rapists. This would be accomplished by erecting a large wall all along the U.S.- Mexico border, and Mexico would have to pay for it. In addition to keeping them out, he would round up the estimated 11 million undocumented residents who have been living in the United States and deport them. Such comments led to the widespread belief that Trump would be lucky to receive any more than a bare minimum of Hispanic votes. Much to the surprise of most pundits, and contrary to the predictions of pollsters, Trump not only won the Presidential election but received 29 percent of the Hispanic vote. However, Janet Murguia, president of the National Council of La Raza, rejected that statistic and stated that the actual percent of the Hispanic pro-Trump vote was 18 percent according to the Latino Decisions polling (Gamboa, 2016). Following the election, thousands of people of all ethnic groups protested the results in cities across the nation for several weeks. Demonstrators chanted and carried signs which declared "not my President." Meanwhile, many undocumented Hispanics currently protected by DACA or DAPA were anxiously trying to determine whether or not President-elect Trump was actually going to carry out his campaign promises/threats to deport them.

Within months of his inauguration, President Trump took action against Cuba by rescinding many of the actions initiated by his predecessor which began in 2014 to end the Cold War between the two countries. As president, Trump imposed tighter restrictions on travel to Cuba, especially tourism, and he banned U.S. citizens from doing business with entities which have links to Cuba's military, intelligence and security agencies. These entities include certain hotels, stores, tourist agencies, and other types of businesses. These actions by the President received mixed reactions from the Cuban American community.

In Puerto Rico actions not taken by President Trump caused criticism and accusations of racism by many Hispanics. In September 2017 hurricane Maria caused widespread destruction to the island, including the loss of electricity and clean drinking water. Similar hurricane damage to the mainland, while not as extensive, was quickly restored while 30 – 50 percent of the island remained without electricity and/or clean water for over four months. As a result of the delay in the restoration of services 200,000 Puerto Ricans moved to Florida, while thousands more moved to other parts of the mainland and many of those who stayed suffered serious health problems because they drank polluted water and/or lacked electricity for health-care needs. The official death toll was 64 as a direct result of the storm, but subsequent studies placed the number of direct and indirect deaths at over 4,600 (Fink, 2018). Consequently, a study of those who moved to the mainland because of the situation on the island found that over 18 percent planned to stay where they were, 29 percent said they would return home when things improved, and 52 percent indicated they were undecided what they would do (Santos-Lozada, 2018).

Entering the second year of the Trump presidency, one important concern which divides not only Democrats and Republicans but also the country is immigration. Two aspects of this divisive concern are the wall which the President said he would build along the U.S.-Mexico border and DACA. One thing is clear, if a wall is built, the Mexican President said that Mexico will not pay for it. Meanwhile, the American Congress has shown little interest in paying for such a wall. As a consequence, President Trump, who had been vacillating on the issue of DACA has linked the wall and DACA together. No wall, no DACA relief. In addition, in the Spring of 2018 the Whitehouse initiated a policy of separating children, some less than two years old, from their parents if they showed up at the border without legal papers, even those legally seeking asylum. A spokesperson for the Whitehouse said that this practice may act as a deterrent for families attempting to enter this country. However, there was such a backlash from the general public, who complained the practice was inhumane and un-American, that the President was forced to rescind the order. There were lawsuits against the government by parents who wanted to be reunited with their children. In response, a federal judge ruled that the children, estimated to be over 2000, must be reunited within the month. The government was unable to comply with the court's orders and requested an extension. Even this extension did not result in the reunification of all the families. This led to the realization that the government had no plans for reunification and were not even aware of where all the parents and children were. There is some doubt as to whether all the children will ever be returned to their parents since some had been deported and are unable to know where their children are. As a result of

this practice of separating children from their parents there has been a call from some groups, including politicians, to eliminate ICE.

Since the beginning of his presidency, President Trump blamed immigrants for an increase in crime, loss of jobs and lower wages. Therefore, he not only promised to restrict illegal immigration, but is also said to have been considering limiting or placing new restrictions on legal immigration. It is somewhat ironic that this was such a concern during a time when illegal immigration had been declining and many jobs, such as agricultural and construction, were having trouble hiring enough workers.

In the end, physical barriers, social sentiment and immigration laws will have less to do with the flow of immigrants from Mexico, both legal and illegal, than will the economies of Mexico and the United States. As has always been the case, when the U.S. economy is good and jobs are readily available, immigration increases for those who cannot earn a decent living in Mexico, and when the economy in the United States is bad and jobs for immigrants are scarce, immigration decreases and some people who had previously migrated will return home on their own, what has been termed “self-deportation.” *Asi es la vida* (that’s life).

Sociological Glossary

Amalgamation - intermarriage or exogamous marriage outside of one's own group

Anchor babies - babies born in the United States to immigrant, especially illegal, parents.

Basic social institutions - family, religion, education, government and economy

Birth tourism - the business of assisting pregnant foreign women to come to the United States in order for their child to be born in the country and receive birthright citizenship

Credentialism - hiring based on credentials, especially college degrees, documenting knowledge and experience

Endogamous - marriage within one's own group, e.g. two Mexican Americans marry

Exogamous - marriage outside of one's own group, e.g. a Mexican American marries an Anglo

Migradollars - remittances/money which immigrants earn in the United States and send to their home country

Social distance - refers to the degree to which a group is accepted and social relations are carried on in an ordinary manner

Symbolic ethnicity - describes an emphasis on ethnic food and ethnically associated political issues rather than deeper ties to one's heritage

Third generation principle - "what the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember." An interest in ethnic heritage which was discarded by an earlier generation in order to assimilate.

.5 generation - children, of U.S. citizens, born and raised outside the United States

1.5 generation - young children brought to the United States by their illegal immigrant parents

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Related Reading

There have been many serious problems which Mexican Americans have faced over the years as can be seen in the preceding pages, but many of them have either been largely resolved or greatly diminished. Perhaps the most serious on-going problem which is likely to continue into the foreseeable future is one of immigration. The problem of immigration has moral, legal, political and social implications for individuals, families and society. This problem affects both the United States and Mexico. What each country does, or does not do, will have consequences for the other.

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Developing the U. S. – Mexico Border Region for a Prosperous and Secure Relationship: Managing Migration Flows

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Abstract

Migration flows from Mexico to the United States annually exceed the number of visas approved by the U.S. Department of State. Nearly all of the migrants that arrive without documentation leave Mexico due to economic necessity. Accordingly, the first step toward resolving this problem would involve substantial reform of the national labor code in Mexico. Additionally, until policy adjustments are made in the United States to formally allow for workers from Mexico to legally cross the border, existing laws should be better enforced. That will entail greater border patrol deployments plus continued adoption of newer technologies. So-called "guest worker" and "blue card" proposals merit additional attention from the U.S. Congress. Steps to support economic development along the border can also help reduce pressures to migrate out of Mexico as more jobs are created within maquiladora and other business segments. Consular offices of Mexico can also potentially serve clearinghouse functions in order to better coordinate job matching between firms seeking workers and potential migrants seeking work.

Introduction

Concerns regarding migrant labor flows out of Mexico date, in large measure, to the termination of the Bracero Program in 1964 (Bickerton 2001). When that program ended, the Mexican government launched the Border Industrialization Program to provide employment alternatives on the south side of the border. The program expanded very rapidly, and empirical evidence has shown that growth in maquiladora payrolls reduces undocumented migration from Mexico (Davila and Sanz 1990). Although the in-bond manufacturing segments of the Mexican economy have performed well, the same cannot always be said of the rest of the economy (Edwards 1995). When economic conditions worsen, outflows of undocumented workers to the border, and other regions of the United States, intensify (Fullerton and Barraza de Anda 2008). Issues relating to migration between Mexico and the United States are contentious, in part because the number of undocumented migrants is estimated at greater than 6.6 million. That number represents approximately 57 percent of total undocumented workers in the country (Van Hook, Bean, and Passel 2005).

So-called "push factors" related to chronic, and periodically intense, subpar economic conditions in Mexico are primary sources behind out-migration from Mexico northward (Massey 1995; Durand, Massey, and Zenteno 2001). "Pull factors" such as widely available jobs and noticeably large cross-border income differentials also induce workers to relocate (Borjas 1994). Despite the positive roles played by migrant labor in the national economy, public concerns about undocumented immigration grew after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (Fullerton and Sprinkle 2004). Consequently, security measures along the border have been significantly heightened. The result is a greater number of undocumented immigrants who are choosing to stay for longer periods rather than risk getting caught while crossing back and forth under the historically observed seasonal patterns.

Undocumented immigrants are generally productive members of society, potentially causing political pressure to relax enforcement of the laws that punish businesses that employ them (Hanson 2006). However, the burden of meeting their needs for education, health care, and other public services is borne disproportionately by local governments, many of which note increased opposition towards undocumented workers (Dodson 2001). Congress periodically debates potential changes in immigration policy, but efforts to enact comprehensive immigration reform seem to always face heavy opposition (Gramm 2001; Neuman 2007). In spite of evidence that undocumented migrant flows can quickly adapt to, and thwart, new control measures, federal policy tends to lean toward prevention and interception rather than systematic management (Davila, Pagan, and Soydemir 2002).

Mexico has a different perspective on northward migration. It is well known that the United States serves as a "social shock absorber" for the Mexican economy (Karaim 2001). Migration accelerates when south-of-the-border business conditions worsen, easing pressures on the Mexican government. Furthermore, structural economic problems prevent the national economy from creating enough jobs to accommodate all new labor market entrants every year. Consequently, outward migration never really stops and those who

leave are often portrayed as national heroes by politicians. In fact, migrant remittances, \$23 billion in 2007, are an important source of foreign exchange in Mexico, exceeding even oil exports in dollar terms (Kerr 2008). Tacit acknowledgement of structural economic problems led the 2000-2006 presidential administration of Vicente Fox to implement an aggressive policy to defend Mexican migrants from labor and other abuses through an extensive network of 47 consulates in the United States, including nine in Texas.

Studies of the causes and consequences of Mexican emigration document numerous social strains that can result from large-scale migration. Families are often fractured as one, or both, parents migrate to find work in the United States. Wage and security gaps between the two countries are such that many trained professionals are willing to remain in the United States even when that implies downgraded employment trajectories (Akresh 2006). Questions have also been raised about the long-term impact of Mexico's reliance on remittances as a critical component of its economic and social development policy (Taylor et al. 1996; Quinn 2006). Polling evidence documents a pronounced willingness of Mexican adults to leave the country in search of employment (Suro 2005).

Against this backdrop, concerns about undocumented migration have grown dramatically in the United States. The current immigration system is widely perceived to be obsolete as well as dysfunctional. Polls show that Americans want fundamental changes in the way the system operates. During the 1970s and 1980s, the concern was about migrants taking American jobs. In recent years, the debate has centered more on the burdens they are thought to place on public services (Citrin et al. 1997). In the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the debate has broadened to include national security concerns (Rodriguez 2008). According to the annual Houston Area Survey, positive attitudes towards immigrants declined significantly in 2006 and 2007, with many respondents in favor of denying health and welfare services to undocumented migrants (Klineberg 2007). In large measure, those attitude shifts reflect mounting uncertainty over a politically charged issue.

Many agree that policy changes are necessary to remedy the situation. The exact components of such legislation, however, remain the subject of bitter debate. The June 2008 rejection of a comprehensive immigration reform bill in the U.S. Congress illustrates the difficulties of addressing this issue (Dimirjian 2008). While migration issues have significant importance for both countries, the impact of migration on border communities is usually overlooked. The arrival of large numbers of people to the Mexican side of the border prior to crossing it creates social, economic, and political burdens that require attention. On the U.S. side, illegal migration leads to labor market pressures, increased demands on social services, trespasses on private property, and is sometimes associated with higher levels of crime (Orrenius and Zavodny 2007; Coronado and Orrenius 2007).

The task of discussing migration within a border context also requires discussion of the connections between regional concerns and national policies. In both countries, there are a variety of issues where national policy impacts on their respective border are viewed as

less than beneficial. The material below examines several of the more prominent topics that generate discussion on both sides of the international boundary.

U.S. Border Perspective

Similar to other regions of the country, border residents in the United States express concerns over crime and public security risks that increase as a consequence of undocumented immigration. In rural Arizona and New Mexico, complaints are often voiced by landowners whose properties are damaged by migrants seeking to elude the border patrol (Madsen 2007). Fears over crime have also surfaced in many border cities (Gaouette 2008). Many of the concerns along these lines are not very new (Stoddard 1976, 1979). As in prior decades, identification of practical solutions remains elusive.

Because the number of undocumented migrants has increased, municipal governments complain that budgetary pressures are intensifying (Rector 2007). Requests from local government agencies for increased federal aid are often voiced, especially since migrant flows may fluctuate, but do not seem to go away (Karaim 2001). Congressional response in 2008 has focused on reducing illegal migration by building border walls in many places between the countries. A variety of concerns over environmental degradation, effective territorial land loss, and potential futility of the "wall" have made this policy largely unpopular in Texas border areas (McEver 2007). Among Latino voters in Texas, 63 percent reported opposition to the wall as a means of addressing illegal migration (Barreto and Manzano 2008). Federal financial support to county and municipal agencies facing excess expenditures due to nonresident social service provision would be useful.

The perennial gridlock over what actions to take in Congress raise the question of potential alternative steps. Increased border patrol presences in El Paso ("Operation Hold the Line"), San Diego ("Operation Gatekeeper"), and other cities helped reduce the number of unauthorized border crossings in these metropolitan settings. The response by would-be migrants has been to move to rural areas with a smaller border patrol presence, but greater survival risks (Hinkes 2008; Karaim 2008). Larger numbers of border patrol agents would offer one way to avoid a cold war-style "tortilla curtain" between the countries. With approximately 16,000 agents already on payroll, it is not known how many additional employees would be required to achieve this objective. Additional equipment such as cameras and other surveillance tools have been installed to help augment the personnel already in place. Although there are numerous concerns regarding the partially built border wall, it also enjoys substantial support among many groups that live near the international boundary (Karaim 2008). Polling results fluctuate, but also point to fairly broad-based support at or in excess of 50 percent of respondents for physical border barriers among voters in border and non-border regions of the United States (Rasmussen Reports 2008). Given that, some forms of ongoing interception procedures are likely to remain in place or be expanded.

Prior to September 11, 2001, efforts were in place to one day create "seamless borders" to improve regional economic performance from Brownsville-Matamoros all the way to

San Diego-Tijuana. Subsequently implemented security measures have largely silenced those proposals (Sinha and Condon 2002). However, infrastructure investment, new technologies, and cross-border cooperative efforts between government agencies have helped make port-of-entry time losses somewhat more manageable. This is another area where additional staffing would also be helpful as it would permit more inspection lanes to remain open for more hours, and allow more efficient commercial and industrial integration.

It has often been said that there is nothing more permanent than a guest worker (Martin and Teitelbaum 2001). This is understandable. Travelling back and forth between large countries is expensive. Perhaps even more importantly, the last thing a business manager wants to lose is an experienced, productive worker. For border labor markets, however, a guest worker program can potentially be more effective due to geographic proximity. Widespread agreement exists along the border that some type of formal worker registration program is necessary. The current state of affairs forces hardworking persons to face the uncertainties of a north-of-the-border "informal underground labor market," which is at best, an inefficient arrangement. Such a program would have to be designed, and enforced, such that it avoids creating artificial labor cost differentials that reduce the demand for legal resident employees (Martin and Teitelbaum 2001; Carter 2005). One possibility that merits additional attention is the "Blue Card" proposal that would allow undocumented workers to stay employed but not accelerate the citizenship procedure for them (Anonymous 2008). Because none of the aforementioned options attack the root problem, they should possibly be made contingent upon market-oriented labor market deregulation in Mexico. It is only after that step is taken, that any steps taken in the United States will amount to more than just treatment of the symptoms rather than the problem itself.

As noted, illegal immigration from Mexico is associated with numerous costs to federal, state, and local public agencies. One obvious way to help finance these expenditures is to change the manner in which work visas are allocated. At present, market signals are largely being ignored by U.S. immigration policies. Historically, a very large percentage of undocumented migrants from Mexico pay expensive "coyote" smuggling fees (Orrenius 2001). Internationally, payment arrangements for these services can be relatively fluid and even allow for "money-back guarantees" (Koser 2008). A good option to consider would be a graduated State Department fee schedule for visas and other legal documents. Proceeds from those charges could potentially be utilized to offset costs that undocumented migration engenders. Those fees are already being paid in the informal underground market. Experimentation with policies that take into account labor market conditions would potentially improve public revenues while reducing government expenditure burdens associated with the current system (Cornelius and Salehyan 2007).

Mexico Border Perspective

While many persons migrate to the United States because of cultural admiration and affinity, the fundamental factor leading most people to relocate is economic necessity

(Durand, Massey, and Zenteno 2001; Hanson 2006). A key factor causing working age adults to leave is a chronic shortage of "formal sector" jobs, i.e., those with benefits coverage from the Mexican Social Security Institute or a similar organization. Estimates of the severity of this problem vary, but generally indicate that new entrants to the national labor market annually exceed the numbers of net jobs created by 250,000 to 700,000 (Fullerton and Sprinkle 2004; Ornelas 2008a).

Similar to other developing nations, a wide range of structural economic problems hamper economic performance in Mexico (Fullerton, De Leon, and Kelley 2007). Labor code rigidities are potentially the most critical. As most business analysts will affirm, the current code dates from the 1934-1940 presidential administration of Lazaro Cardenas and is nominally designed to protect worker rights. Effectively, it makes layoffs and contract terminations so expensive and judicially time consuming that it leads companies to avoid payroll expansion whenever practical, in spite of the ample labor resources across the nation.

The first step required to truly manage labor migration flows from Mexico is national labor code reform that allows employment, and dismissals, to become much more flexible. It will not be easy. The 1994-2000 Ernesto Zedillo and Fox administrations both attempted this and made virtually no progress at all due to congressional intransigence. In spite of widespread underemployment, legislative branch opposition to labor reform enjoys strong support among labor groups throughout Mexico (Kohout 2008). Another proposal is being prepared by the 2006-2012 Felipe Calderon presidential administration and its eventual contents, and fate, remain to be seen.

Uncertainties surrounding the prospects for labor code reform do not mean that migration out of Mexico will always remain at current levels. The populations of the United States and Mexico are both aging as well as growing more slowly (Newport 2008; Amiel 2008). That combination has interesting long-range implications. Eventually, there will probably be fewer potential migrants from Mexico, reducing the degree of controversy surrounding this topic between both countries. From 2010 forward, the rate of population increase in Mexico is projected to permanently decline to less than 1 percent per year and eventually turn negative by 2045 (United Nations 2007). As labor force expansion in Mexico continues to decline, it may also lead to migrant recruitment efforts north of the border.

For now, however, state and local governments in northern Mexico face numerous challenges related to the ongoing exodus. "Floating" migrant populations—groups of people who arrive in northern border areas and stay for indefinite periods of time as they await opportunities to cross into the United States—create budgetary pressures in several key areas. Among them are public school overcrowding, public health system overloads, infrastructure strain, and housing expenses for both deported migrants and would-be migrants abandoned by "coyotes" (Anderson and Gerber 2008).

Greater federal support is also required for dealing with "in-transit" illegal migrants from lower income countries in Central America, principally Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, and from China (United Nations 2006). Government estimates from the United States indicate that approximately 57 percent of all undocumented migrants come from Mexico. Approximately 11 percent are collectively from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. Roughly 2 percent are from China (Hoefer, Rytina and Campbell 2007). While the "third country" transit flows are relatively small in comparison to total migration out of Mexico, to the extent that they use Mexico as their launch platform, they cause budgetary problems for municipal and state government agencies in the northern region of the country.

Border residents on the south side of the international boundary also express frustrations with the lack of distinction between frequent crossers and infrequent nonregional resident visitors. Expansion and enhancement of current "laser visa" and "port pass" programs may eventually help in this regard. Those programs both allow for repeated visits into the border zone of the United States. The port passes permit holders to cross the border at specially designated "express lanes" that frequent commuters can utilize to minimize border wait times. The laser visa program will soon be replaced by a "border crossing card" that will include an electronic chip designed to allow workers to commute more rapidly (Ornelas 2008b). Administrative procedures could probably benefit from streamlining and standardization along these lines (Ward et al. 2008). Infrastructure upgrades and additions would also prove helpful. (Villegas et al. 2006). Similar issues also arise in the somewhat less controversial context of cargo vehicles and merchandise trade (Ojah et al. 2002).

For migrants whose objective is to work in the United States, more support is also sought from the government in Mexico City. This would include more extensive consular support throughout the United States. It would also include more formal programs that explicitly acknowledge the presence of workers from Mexico (Anderson and Gerber 2008). One proposal is a clearinghouse program to better coordinate communications between employers and potential migrant workers before, and after, they enter the United States. Another proposal is for improved consular office support for deceased worker family attempts to repatriate insurance and other benefit payments. Streamlined administrative processes could also be implemented to make migrant visits and repatriation less difficult and costly. Development of the latter type of program probably cannot move forward politically until some type of formal work visa program is introduced by the United States.

Conclusion

Subpar economic performance in Mexico is expected to persist due to structural policy factors that have been in place for many years. Among the latter, labor market rigidities cause an Aztec strain of "Eurosclerosis" to artificially inhibit jobs creation south of the border. That causes pressures to migrate to be much more intense than the cross-border income and wage differentials would otherwise dictate. National labor code reform in Mexico would go a long way toward defusing this issue and making the flow of migrants

more manageable. Because legislative prospects for this type of change are uncertain, different steps will likely have to be taken until deregulation efforts are approved in Mexico City.

More effective boundary containment will be necessary. That will require greater numbers of border patrol units to intercept would-be migrants attempting to enter without legal documentation. Stricter enforcement of domestic labor laws in the United States will be required to insure a level playing field for resident workers. Although guest workers are generally not temporary, a better registry of international workers is needed. Effective visa pricing should also be implemented by the State Department.

Regionally, better infrastructure and administrative procedures are needed to help streamline border wait times and allow border economies to operate more efficiently. Efforts to do so will permit the rate of business formation to accelerate on both sides of the international boundary and increase job opportunities. As employment goes up, it helps reduce pressures to migrate. Federal fiscal support is required by local governments on both sides of the border to deal with the problems caused by migration flows through these areas. In the long run, demographic changes may ease some of these pressures. At present, more assistance is necessary to effectively deal with the unintended consequences of the current state of affairs.

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Discussion Questions

1. What is your opinion of immigration? How should it be regulated? Should Mexican immigration be treated differently than that from other countries? If so, why? If not, why not?
2. Is immigration functional or dysfunctional for the country? How? Should immigrants be allowed on a permanent or temporary basis? Why? Are you for or against the DREAM Act? Why?
3. If limits or restrictions are placed on immigration, what should the criteria be? Should nationality, religion, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation or SES be a consideration? Why?
4. What do you think will be the future status of Mexican Americans? Why? Do you think they are too closely tied to Mexico? How will their increasing numbers affect the United States? Explain.
5. What issues of social justice regarding Mexican Americans have not yet been addressed? Why have they not been dealt with? What do you think are obstacles to resolving these issues? Explain.
6. Is racial profiling justified? Is it a matter of concern for social justice and/or civil rights? Why? Should states be allowed to make their own immigration laws? Why?
7. What myth exists in this period? What are some of its consequences?

Useful Spanish Terms

Amigo/a - friend

Anglo - white non-Hispanic person

Barrio - a Hispanic ghetto or enclave

Bolillo - literally a hard crust bun, but also refers to an Anglo

Bracero - a laborer or farm worker

Brujo/a - a warlock or witch

Calo - street slang

Campesino - rural peasant, farmer

Carnales - fellow members of la raza

Carnalismo - fellowship among members of la raza

Cholo - half breed, or gangster

Chuco - a barrio argot, a mixture of Spanish, English and invented words and phrases

Coconut - brown on the outside but white on the inside; too Anglo. Hispanic version of "oreo." referring to African Americans

Compadre - a godparent, a close friend

Corridos - a ballad commemorating an event

Coyote - a smuggler of illegal aliens

Criollo - Spaniards who were born in New Spain, a caste in the caste system

Cuate - literally twin, but also used for a close friend

Curandero/a - a folk healer who uses a combination of religion and folk medicine

Cursillo - a short course, also a Catholic movement from Spain

El norte - north of Mexico, or the United States

Ese - friend

Gachupines - another name for *Peninsulares* in New Spain

Gabacho - an Anglo, white person

Gringo - a foreigner, Yankee or white North American

Grito - a yell or shout, “*El Grito*” refers to the shout for independence

Guero/a - literally light complexion, or an Anglo

Hermano /a – literally sibling; but also used for a fellow member of la raza, similar to African Americans’ use of “brother.”

Huelga - a worker’s strike

Indios - indigenous people, a caste in the caste system in New Spain

Indocumentados - undocumented or illegal immigrants

Jefe ---chief or boss

La migra - the border patrol

La Malinche - Cortez’s Indian mistress

La Morenita - The Virgin of Guadalupe

Los rinches - the Texas Rangers

Macho - literally male, virile, or “tough guy”

Machismo - a concern for being manly, manliness or male chauvinism

Malinchista - traitor, from *La Malinche*

Mano - literally hand; but also used for a close friend, short for hermano, similar to the English use of “bro.”

Mestizaje - mixing or blending of races and/or cultures

Mestizo - mixed race (Spanish and Indian), a caste in the caste system in New Spain

Mordida - literally a bite, commonly used for a bribe

Moreno/a - brown, a person with brown skin

Movimiento - a social movement, such as *El Movimiento*, the Chicano Movement

Muertos - the dead, Dia de los Muertos (All Souls Day)

Mulato - mixed race (Spanish and African), a caste in the caste system in New Spain

Narcotraficante - a drug dealer

Negro/a - black, a person with very dark skin, a negro

Novio/a - boyfriend or girlfriend; groom or bride

Pachuco/a - rebel; or gang member

Padrino/a - a sponsor or godparent

Pandilla - gang

Partido - a game, or a party (La Raza Unida)

Peninsulares - Spaniards born in Spain, the top caste in the caste system in New Spain

Peregrinaciones - pilgrimages

Pocho/a - Mexican insult for Mexican American; or Mexican who is considered too Anglo

Pochismo - making English words sound Spanish

Posada - lodging, inn, or celebrations at Christmas reenacting the birth of Jesus

Prieto/a - dark, a person with dark skin

Pueblo - town; or “el pueblo” the people

Quinceanera - a fifteen year old girl, or a public celebration of her coming of age

Raza - race, or Mexican people as “*la raza*”

Sinarchista - a member of a fascist movement during the 1930s and 1940s

Susto - a fright, scare

TexMex - mixing English and Spanish in the same sentence

Tio Taco - also *Tio Tomas*, accepting low racial or ethnic status and acting subservient; Hispanic equivalent of “uncle Tom” which is used for African Americans

Tejano - a Texan

Vale - literally worth or cost; but may also refer to a friend

Vato - friend; or dude, as “vato loco” (crazy dude)

Vecindad - a neighborhood

Viejo/a - literally old person, but also used as a term of endearment between spouses

Zambo - mixed race (Indian and African), a caste in the caste system in New Spain

Recommended Documentaries/movies

A Class Apart: A Mexican American Civil Rights Story (60 minutes) This focuses on the Civil Rights case of Hernandez v State of Texas which was decided by the U.S. Supreme Court. It speaks of the discriminatory practices in Texas and why this case was selected to appeal to the nation's highest court. This occurred during the period covered in chapter four.

American Me (126 minutes) This movie was inspired by a true story of how the Mexican Mafia was formed. It is a violent film which deals with the life and death of Santana, a principal founder of the eMe (Mexican Mafia) while he was in prison. This pertains to a person and event covered in chapter six.

Border War: The Battle Over Illegal Immigration - (95 minutes) This documentary presents a first-hand account of how illegal immigration along the border affects the lives of five individuals. This may be most appropriate for chapter seven.

Bracero Stories (56 minutes) This is a documentary which looks at the personal experiences of five Mexicans who worked as "guest workers" under the Bracero Program which lasted from 1942 until 1964. Most of the interviews are in Spanish with English subtitles. All the narration is in English. This pertains to the situation of workers during the periods covered in chapters three and four.

Chicano! - (228 minutes) This four part series is a documentary which deals with the history of the Mexican American civil rights movement of the 1960s and early 1970s. It explores some of the cultural and political conflicts between Mexican Americans and Anglos. Leading figures of the movement are presented and important events are shown as they occurred. Part one is "The Quest for a Homeland". Part two is "Struggle in the Fields." Part three is "Taking Back the Schools." Part four is "Fighting for Political Power." This is a "must see" for chapter five.

Crimes at the Border - (60 minutes) This is a documentary which investigates the lucrative business of smuggling illegal immigrants across the border and the corruption of U.S. border officials. This is appropriate for chapters six or seven.

El Norte (141 minutes) This movie tells the story of a brother and sister from Guatemala who enter the United States illegally in search of a better life. It shows what can happen to such illegal aliens. May be used for chapters six or seven.

Harvest of Shame (54 minutes) This Edward R. Murrow documentary deals with the degradation and exploitation of migrant workers in the United States. It does not deal specifically with Mexican Americans but applies to all such workers. It includes interviews with workers and employers each presenting their views of the situation. This documentary was made for television and appeared for Thanksgiving in 1960.

Lemon Grove Incident (60 minutes) Deals with one of the earliest school segregation cases in U.S. history. Includes interviews with some of the members of the class involved in the case. This occurred during the period covered in chapter three.

Los Mineros (58 minutes) Presents the troubles of *Mexicanos* working in the copper mines in Arizona. It includes the discriminatory treatment they suffered in the company town as well as in the mines. Violence occurred when the workers tried to unionize. Available in English and Spanish.

Oregon Experience: The Braceros (30 minutes) This is a short documentary on the Mexican workers who came to the United States during and after WW II to replace the American workers who were in the military and those who moved to the cities for better jobs. This is appropriate for chapters three or four when the program was active.

Salt of the Earth (94 minutes) A semi-documentary which presents the attempt of *Mexicanos* working in the zinc mines in New Mexico to receive the same safety controls provided for Anglo miners. The male workers were not allowed to picket under threat of arrest and the conflict was not resolved until the wives got involved over the protests of the men. Women did what the men could not do.

The Border Wall (72 minutes) This documentary deals with the arguments for and against the construction of a barrier along the border to deter illegal immigration. The film is openly opposed to the project. There is also a 19 minute supplement called **The Levee/Wall**. This can be used with chapters six or seven.

The Mission (125 minutes) This is a well-made movie which deals with the brutal eighteenth century treatment of indigenous people in South America by colonial powers. This can be used with chapter one to illustrate the conditions of indigenous people during and after the conquest.

Zoot Suit Riots (60 minutes) This documentary looks into the 1943 trial of the seventeen young *Mexicanos* who were tried for the Sleepy Lagoon murder in California. It also covers the infamous Zoot Suit Riots which occurred in which Mexicans and Mexican Americans were attacked by Anglo servicemen in Los Angeles. This is appropriate for chapter three when the events occurred.

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