A STUDY OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP STYLES IN A

MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

THESIS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Formulating the Research

The study of the Mexican American in the Southwest
and particularly in South Texas has long been a neglected
field for the social scientist. Scholars have too often
viewed this ethnic group in terms of stereotypes. With
these two problems in mind, this student has attempted to
explore further the political attitudes of one particular
segment of the Mexican-American community. It was hoped that
this study would overcome some of the previous distortions
that have so long existed in the Anglo community's approach
to the Mexican American. Moreover, some of the specific
complaints about these various misunderstandings have been
examined and are reviewed later.[1]

The study focused on a group of identifiable Mexican-
American leaders found within one of the numerous semi-
urban communities that are located in South Texas. It was

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[1]Carlos Muñoz, "Toward a Chicano Perspective of
Political Analysis" (paper presented to the 66th meeting
of the American Political Science Association, Los Angeles,
Calif., September 8-12, 1970), pp. 1-10.

the purpose of this research to describe the political
attitudes of the community's leadership, particularly in
relation to the emergence of the militant and separatist
Chicano movements throughout the Southwest. Specifically,
the hypothesis was put forth that despite the growing
militancy of the Chicano or Mexican American, most of
the leaders would still support traditional and conser-
vative approaches when dealing with the Anglo political
system. Moreover, was there any evidence that the new
image of the Chicano was changing the leadership's approach
to politics? Basically, just what effect did such national
events as the seizure of Federal lands in New Mexico,
school boycotts, and the riots in East Los Angeles have
on the leadership of the community in question?

Is there an explicit need for research in the field
of Mexican-American political development? In the area of
Mexican-American studies, one can simply turn to the nearest
university complex to discover that various social science
disciplines are relatively empty of contemporary material
and research in this field. With the exception of the
Mexican-American Study Project conducted at the University
of California, at Los Angeles, few scholars have explored
the attitudes and political styles of this country's second
largest minority group. For example, Julian Samora outlined

a list of potential research projects over five years ago.
More specifically, in relation to Mexican-American leader-
ship he observed:

> There has been little research on the question of
> leadership. How does it come into being? How can
> leaders function effectively given the condition that
> a subordinate group has to resolve its problems
> within the structure of a dominant society? A further
> problem exists in that the dominant society tends to
> siphon off those persons who have the characteristics
> for potential leadership. There is the problem of
> the alienation between the subordinate group and its
> would-be leaders. Related to this is the social
> mobility and "cultural passing" and their effect on
> the development of effective organizations for the
> group.[2]

A more detailed analysis of the research and literature
that has been completed up to this point will be discussed
in Chapter Two.

Methodology

The procedures and research methodology used were
relatively simple in terms of behavioral sophistication.
The initial step, once the need for this type of research
was realized, was to ascertain how a constructed hypothesis
might be tested. First, various dependent and independent
variables that might have intervened in the attitudes of

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[2]Julian Samora, ed., <u>La Raza: Forgotten Americans</u>
(London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), p. 208.

the subjects under study were explored. The selection of variables was a decision entrusted in a large degree to the student. However, the concepts governing the selection of these variables were taken from other research sources.[3] A set of specific socioeconomic and political variables was then established. These variables were based on the research done by Fernando Peñalosa in Pomona, California.[4] For example, questions were asked of the respondents in relation to religion, language, occupation, and political situations. The selected variables gave the study certain essential socioeconomic background data on each of the selected respondents.

Once the variables were selected, a set of questions was written that, hopefully, would measure the variables and would reflect some of the evidence needed to determine the validity of the established hypothesis. The questions used in the study had four basic sources: (1) questions taken from a similar questionnaire distributed to selected households in Los Angeles and San Antonio in 1965 under the

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[3]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.

[4]Fernando Peñalosa, "A Socioeconomic Class Typology of Mexican-Americans," Sociological Inquiry, XXXVI (Winter, 1966), 28-29.

direction of the U.C.L.A. Mexican-American Study Project,[5]
(2) questions dealing with democratic principles selected
from cross-cultural studies conducted by Almond and Verba,[6]
(3) some questions originated by the student for specific
application in the community being examined, and (4) a single
question selected from a previous study conducted by John
Aberbach and Jack Walker to determine the meaning of
political ideological slogans.[7]

Critics of the previously outlined approach might
observe that the questions selected for this particular
study could lead to some invalid responses simply because
they were originally selected for different geographic
and social climates. First, one may defend the use of the
questions selected from the U.C.L.A. Mexican-American Study
Project on the premise that while they were not originally

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[5]Leo Grebler, Joan Moore, and Ralph Guzman, The
Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority
(New York: The Free Press, 1970), pp. 648-65.

[6]Almond and Verba, The Civic Culture, pp. 526-49.

[7]Joel D. Aberbach and Jack L. Walker, "The Meanings
of Black Power: A Comparison of White and Black Interpre-
tations of a Political Slogan," American Political Science
Review, LXIV (June, 1970), 367-88.

oriented for leadership respondents, they did measure some
general social and political attitudes of Mexican Americans
living in another south Texas city, San Antonio. Secondly,
these questions selected from the interview schedule as
established by Almond and Verba, have become largely accept-
ed as standards of measuring political alienation. Several
other studies have successfully incorporated the schedule
into their own work.[8] This is certainly not an absolute
value to protect the study against error. However, the
schedule's frequent use in varied applications does indi-
cate a marked degree of flexibility. Finally, the selection
of a definition of a political slogan taken from the
Aberbach and Walker study may be defended because it re-
quired little alteration from the question's original con-
text. In this case, the respondent was asked to define the
meaning of Chicano or Brown Power rather than Black Power.
While the ideological term may be different, the meaning
of the respondent's interpretation in both studies hinged
on the interviewer's analysis of the definition.

The selection of the respondents (Mexican-American
leaders) to be interviewed was achieved by the use of the

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[8]Ada W. Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alien-
ation," American Political Science Review, LXIV (June, 1970),
389-410.

rather simplistic and traditional reputational approach
first employed by Floyd Hunter.[9] This method of selecting
leadership was employed in the study for five reasons.
First, two recent studies of Mexican-American community
leadership, Doris Stanislawski's in central California,[10]
and William D.'Antonio's and William Form's in El Paso,
Texas,[11] both approached the problem using the same
method of leadership selection. Thus, a certain amount
of comparability was afforded. Secondly, evidence gathered
from the U.C.L.A. Study Project in East Los Angeles suggest-
ed that the same individuals served in leadership roles
in various organizations.[12] Thirdly, a six-month review
of a local Mexican-American newspaper showed that it
repeatedly featured articles on or by many of the same
people. Fourth, two observable issues, a voting partici-
pation drive and the boycotting of a local restaurant,

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[9]Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure: A Study
of Decision Makers (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co.,
Inc., 1963), pp. 255-63.

[10]Doris B. Stanislawski, "A Study of Leadership in
a Spanish-Speaking Community" (unpublished M.A. thesis,
University of Texas, 1961), p. 13.

[11]William V. D'Antonio and William H. Form,
Influentials in Two Border Cities: A Study of Community
Decision-Making (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre
Dame Press, 1965), p. 10.

[12]Grebler, Moore, and Guzman, The Mexican-American
People, p. 548.

were led by basically the same group. Finally, a similar
sociological study conducted by Charles Bonjean and Robert
Buck found that, of the city's entire leadership, only
seven percent were Mexican American.[13] An original list
of between twelve and fifteen names was supplied by a
former political science instructor who was involved both
politically and socially in the Mexican-American community.
Each person on the original list was then contacted and
asked to fill out a questionnaire similar to the one re-
produced in the Appendix of this work. Furthermore, each
respondent was asked to list on a separate paper the names
of those individuals who he felt were the recognized leaders or
key figures in the Mexican-American community. Upon com-
pletion of this list, the respondents were then shown
the original list and asked to comment on it or make any
corrections of errors they felt were on the list. The
final list of Mexican-American leaders produced the names
of fifteen individuals. Two of these persons were later
classified as marginal leaders but were included in the
final tabulation. One individual refused to cooperate with

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[13]Robert Buck, "Power, Ideology, and Decision-
making: An Investigation in the Social Psychology of
Community Politics" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation,
University of Texas, 1970), pp. 76-78.

the study and two of the original names had to be dropped
from the interview schedule because they had moved from
the community.

At the time of the interview, each respondent was
assured that any of the data or names acquired from the
study would be used with discretion. Furthermore, they
were informed that no names or locations would be specifi-
cally stated in the final paper. It was hoped that by
stressing the privacy of the responses, their remarks
would be more candid and, therefore, reflect a more valid
opinion of the community. Furthermore, protecting the
rights of each individual should be useful in eliminating
a common problem of many minority group researchers who
do not use informants from within the community. That is
the elimination of faulty or misleading answers that have
been purposely given to the interviewer in order to tell
the interviewer only what the respondent thinks the inter-
viewer wants to hear, or mislead the interviewer because
the respondent is hostile toward outsiders, whom he does
not know personally, coming into the community. Finally,
in order to assure further research in the field, the
academic nature of the project and the confidential nature of
the research would be maintained.[14]

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[14]Lee Rainwater and David Pittman, "Ethnical Prob-
lems in Studying a Politically Sensitive and Deviant
Community," Social Problems, XIV (Spring, 1967), 363-64.

Before concluding this section on methodology, a comment must be made in describing the statistical significance of the group of respondents selected. Did the number of respondents represent a statistical percentage of the entire group large enough to produce any kind of valid data? Based on Spanish-surname identification, the Mexican-American community where the field research was conducted recorded a population of 5,424 in 1960.[15] Although this figure may not be accurate because census coders are not always familiar with Spanish surnames, it will be assumed for our purposes to be correct.[16]

It might be assumed that a community the size of the one under study would support a larger leadership segment than the fifteen persons who were judged to be the key influentials. Many respondents even remarked that the community should have well over one hundred leaders. However, the fifteen persons contacted each produced a list of leaders almost identical to the original

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[15]U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 183.

[16]Robert W. Buechley, "A Reproducible Method of Counting Persons of Spanish Surname," Journal of the American Statistical Association, LVI (March, 1961), 96.

list. In general, the reasons for this absence of identi-
fiable leadership are beyond the scope of this project but
should not be neglected in future research. Hunter was
criticized for limiting his top leadership to only forty
individuals in a large southern city when at least another
sixty-four names were selected on various reputational
lists.[17] Other community power structure studies have
also produced rather small leadership groups in comparison
to the community population. For example, Delbert Miller,
in his study of a large northwestern city, discovered only
twelve key influentials.[18]

Defining the Terminology

In the study of any sociological entity that is not
completely acculturated with the norms and language of the
dominant society, certain phrases and terms have to be
translated into the context of the majority culture in
order to avoid the misuse or misunderstanding of these terms
or phrases. This is especially true when viewing the

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[17]Nelson W. Polsby, Community Power and Political
Theory (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 53.

[18]Delbert C. Miller, "Industry and Community Power
Structure," American Sociological Review, XXIII (February,
1958), 9-15.

Mexican American through the cultural and political perspective of the Anglo-American social scientists.

Before reviewing the meaning of a few Spanish idioms used in this study, one must delimit the ethnic group that is the subject of this research. In this study the respondents will be classified as Mexican Americans. This term appears to be the accepted label for describing Americans of Mexican or Spanish descent among both Anglo-American and Mexican-American social scientists.[19] Peñalosa's definition of the Mexican American seemed to be the most workable and the one accepted for the purposes of this study. He has defined the group as follows:

> Any person permanently residing in the United States who is descended from Spanish-speaking persons permanently residing in Mexico, and who in childhood and youth was enculturated into Mexican-American culture.[20]

Furthermore, it must be noted that the term Mexican American will be hyphenated in some instances (titles, quotations, etc.). While many Mexican Americans look upon the usage of a hyphen as an insult because they believe the words should be construed as separate nouns, when Mexican American is

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[19]Fernando Peñalosa, "Towards an Operational Definition of the Mexican American," Aztlan, I (Spring, 1970), 1-10.

[20]Fernando Peñalosa, "The Changing Mexican-American in Southern California," Sociology and Social Research, LI (July, 1967), 416.

used as a noun it will not be hyphenated. However, tradition-
al grammatical practices cannot be ignored in the usage of
the hyphen. The consensus of grammarians is that when two
or more words are used as a single modifier before a noun,
these expressions must be hyphenated.[21] It is not the
intent of this paper to insult any segment of the Mexican-
American community by retaining the usage of the hyphenated
word in particular cases.

Another common ethnic term that will be used through-
out the paper is the word Anglo or Anglo American. Essen-
tially, Anglo Americans are those white members of our
dominant culture who have non-Spanish surnames.[22] The term
Anglo must not be confused or restricted to mean simply
those of Anglo-Saxon stock, but rather it must be construed
to have a much broader connotation.

Three terms that are closely associated with par-
ticular parts of the research are curandero, jefe, and
palomilla. The following definitions derived from Arthur

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[21]Floyd C. Watkins; Edwin T. Martin; and William
B. Dillingham, Practical English Handbook (2nd ed.;
Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), p. 154.

[22]Grebler, Moore, and Guzman, The Mexican-American
People, p. 16.

Rubel's work in South Texas will suffice for now. A
curandero was defined as a lay healer who practices by
virtue of a gift from God.[23] The _jefe_ is the head of a
particular group, family (_jefe_ _de_ _la_ _Familia_), political
organization, or community.[24] The third term, _palomilla_,
means a covey of doves but by extension implies a group of
young men with whom one regularly associates.[25]

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Definition and Typology

of Mexican-American Leadership

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A general description of leadership in a democratic
state would focus on those in the state or community who
could maintain a relatively direct and important influence
over most of the paramount choices bearing on the life of
the citizenry. That leadership could be motivated by
several diverse goals. Robert Dahl indicates that some
of these goals could include greater income, wealth, econo-
mic security, power, social standing, fame, respect,

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[23]Arthur J. Rubel, Across the Tracks: Mexican-
Americans in a Texas City (Austin, Texas: University of
Texas Press, 1966), p. 256.

[24]Ibid., p. 257.

[25]Ibid., p. 258.

affection, love, knowledge, curiosity, fun, the pleasure of exercising skill, delight in winning, esthetic satisfaction, morality, salvation, heroism, self-sacrifice, envy, jealousy, revenge, and even hatred.[26]

Mexican-American leadership seems also to be characterized by the individual's ability to deal successfully with the Anglo society. The role of intermediary appears to be a key function in the minority community. Economic achievers and social leaders are usually the first individuals to be selected by the Anglos seeking indigenous leaders within the Mexican-American community. In many instances, these selected leaders are not comfortable when asked to advise the Anglo on conditions within the Mexican-American community. Another effective intermediary sometimes can be the Mexican-American labor leader. This type of leadership allows a labor personality to move in circles both within and outside of the Mexican-American neighborhoods. For example, labor intermediaries have played an important role in the California National Farm Workers Association strike by bringing in AFL-CIO assistance.[27]

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[26]Robert Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 95.

[27]Grebler, Moore, and Guzman, The Mexican-American People, pp. 548-549.

Mexican-American members of the professions are sometimes placed in unwilling roles as intermediaries. For example, law enforcement officers, teachers, and social workers approved by the Anglo face the risk of becoming alienated from the Spanish-speaking community. The reverse process is also true. If one of professional status is accepted in the community, he may lose favor with the Anglo society. The effectiveness of this dual role is especially hard for those employed as social workers or policemen. Their relationships both within the barrio (lower socioeconomic urban community) and outside of it are strained because they deal more with the social deviant.[28]

Another key group of leaders in the ethnic community are those classified as informal social workers. These people are respected by a majority of the community and are often asked for advice by others on political and social matters. Usually, these people hold no formal positions of elected leadership and maintain their residency within the neighborhood. Informal social workers may consist of priests, small businessmen and notaries public.

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[28]Ibid., p. 550.

The notary public's position of importance stems from the
fact that the notario in Mexico is an attorney and in a
community void of Spanish-speaking lawyers, the citizenry
often turns to him for legal advice. Furthermore, some
studies indicate a large number of the informal leadership
consists of women who are not members of any formal
organization.[29]

A second category of leadership is those individ-
uals who may or may not be members of La Raza (The Race)
but who do return to the community to provide services as
government workers or to seek ethnic validation. External
leadership may be supplied by independent individuals.
For example, young university professors or teachers
may fill this role. Many times, this independent element
injects into the community new ideas. Moreover,they are
not as encumbered as the older leadership by the past
memories of previous struggles with the dominant society.
Finally, some external leaders return to the community in
order to enhance their own prestige for some personal or
political gain. They may make themselves "seen" in the
community through the mass media and statements about

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[29]Ibid.

local and national ethnic issues (for a typological outline

of Mexican-American leadership see Table One).[30]

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[30]_Ibid._, p. 551.

TABLE 1

TYPOLOGY OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP*

I. Internal Leaders

a. Social

1. Heads of ethnic clubs and societies

2. The economically secure

b. Economic

1. Merchants whose economic base rests in the <u>barrio</u>

2. Professionals (lawyers, doctors, etc.) who depend upon the <u>barrio</u> for income

3. Labor

c. Religious

1. Priests or ministers

2. Laymen

d. Political

1. Party committeemen

2. Professional politicians

3. Field representatives of professional politicians

e. Professional

1. Teachers

2. Social workers

3. Police officers

4. Other civil servants

f. Informal social workers

1. A man or woman who has a reputation for solving social problems

II. External Leaders

a. Anglos

1. Social organizers from labor, community, and church groups.

2. Experts from government, universities, and political groups.

b. Mexican Americans

1. "Subsidized leaders" employed by local, state, or Federal agencies

2. Independent individuals

*Leo Grebler, Joan Moore, and Ralph Guzman, <u>The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority</u> (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 549.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON MEXICAN AMERICANS

IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Introduction

The study and analysis of the Mexican American has only

recently acquired the significance to make this minority

the subject of any major research.[1] The previous neglect

of this country's second largest minority was caused, in

general, by an Anglo society unable or unwilling to compre-

hend the Mexican American's political and social systems.

However, this does not mean that the area has been com-

pletely neglected. It will be the purpose of this section

to review the scattering of Mexican-American material

that has appeared infrequently in the social sciences.

Not all the research and literature pertaining to the

Mexican American is pertinent to the study conducted by

this student. This is especially apparent in the field of

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[1]Raymond A. Rocco, "The Chicano in the Social Sciences:
Traditional Concepts, Myths, and Images" (paper presented
to the 66th meeting of the American Political Science Associa-
tion, Los Angeles, Calif., September 8-12, 1970), p. 1.

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education,where a wealth of material has grown out of the study of the Spanish-speaking child's adaptation to the Anglo educational system. To a large degree, this literature has ignored the child's bilingual development for the sake of assimilation.[2] In general, the following synopsis will pertain to the fields of history, political science, sociology, and anthropology. It is in these disciplines that most of the work that has any significant relationship to the present study has been conducted. Finally, the previous literature is being re-examined to determine how the study of leadership attitudinal research might be improved by focusing on some of the major criticisms made by Mexican Americans of the conclusions of Anglo social scientists.

Review of Historical Literature

The Mesoamerican origins of those people now living in the United States are rich in historical data. The southwestern states have been deeply influenced by the process of Hispanization that occurred before the Mexican independence drive in 1821. Unfortunately, few historians have focused on this concept of bicultural contributions

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[2]Ibid., p. 3.

made by those people of Indian and Spanish ancestry. A few works have come forth that stress the foundations laid by the early settlers of the Southwest. Nancie González's Spanish-Americans in New Mexico examines the history of Hispanization in New Mexico. She also discusses such topics as La Raza, social class status, and the legend of Spanish-American cultural traditions.[3] Outlining the plight of the first white settlers in the Southwest (Hispanos) is George Sanchez's Forgotton People.[4] Marc Simmons' Spanish Government in New Mexico is a monograph based on archival research concerning Spanish government institutions and practices in New Mexico in the eighteenth century.[5] A classic account of the exploration and settlement of Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Louisiana, and California can be found in Herbert Bolton's The Spanish Borderlands. The author pictured Spanish life in California as a stereotype of gay caballeros and the land of mañana. Though this

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[3]Nancie L. González, Spanish-Americans in New Mexico: A Heritage of Pride (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1970).

[4]George Sanchez, Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico, 1940).

[5]Marc Simmons, Spanish Government in New Mexico (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1968).

image is now disputed, the bulk of his research is still
considered valid.[6] A survey history of the Californios,
stressing the first Spanish settlers and their descendants'
contacts with Anglos, was constructed by Leonard Pitt in
The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the
Spanish-Speaking Californios.[7] Paul Horgan's Pulitzer
Prize-winning narrative, Great River: The Rio Grande in
North American History, is a chronicle of the lands along
the Rio Grande.[8]

The period between the 1850's and early 1900's was
characterized by a series of borderland struggles and
violence perpetrated most often by Anglo Americans against
Mexicans.[9] Only a few historians applied any form of dual
interpretation to these various conflicts that occurred
from the time of the Mexican-American War of 1846 to the

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[6]Herbert E. Bolton, The Spanish Borderlands (New Haven,
Conn.: Yale University Press, 1921).

[7]Leonard Pitt, The Decline of the Californios: A Social
History of the Spanish-Speaking Californios (Berkeley,
Calif.: University of California Press, 1966).

[8]Paul Horgan, Great River: The Rio Grande in North
American History (New York: Rinehart, 1954).

[9]The term Mexican has been used here to distinguish
those early citizens of Mexico, living in territory that
remained part of Mexico until the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
and the Gadsden Purchase, from those later immigrants who
came from Mexico and settled in American territory after
the 1850's.

raids of Pancho Villa in 1916. Even the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which guaranteed certain cultural and property rights to the Mexicans of the Southwest, has been distorted.[10] However, few historians have attempted to explore and record the activities of the Mexican American. Carlos Castañeda's writings have been an outstanding exception to this trend. One of his finer works is The Mexican Side of the Texas Revolution.[11] This is a collection of diaries and depositions of Mexican leaders prominent in the Texas revolution. Castañeda believes these early records provide evidence that Mexican dissension and personal envy contributed heavily to Mexico's defeat. Other examples of the literature on this period include two studies concerning the Mexican-American War: Ramon Ruiz's The Mexican War: Was it Manifest Destiny? and Otis Singletary's The Mexican War.

The historical neglect of the Mexican American as he entered the twentieth century has continued. In general, the period since 1900 has been characterized by three major trends: the massive immigration to the United States

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[10]W. M. Mallory, Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocol, and Agreements Between the United States, 1776-1909, Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), p. 11113.

[11]Carlos E. Castañeda, The Mexican Side of the Texas Revolution (Dallas: P. L. Turner Company, 1928).

increasing after the Mexican Revolution; the urbanization

of the immigrants into the colonias and barrios; and the

appearance of a middle class within the minority.[12] The

progress of the immigrant as he attempted to enter into

or sometimes isolate himself from the mainstream of

American life has had little recorded history. Related

to this area are two of Manuel Gamio's volumes, The Mexican

Immigrant: His Life Story, and Mexican Immigration to the

United States. His Mexican Immigration to the United

States is a study of the various economic and social forces

which generated immigration from Mexico and of the reception

given these new arrivals in this country.[13] The Mexican

Immigrant, a far less significant contribution, is a

collection of statements from Mexican immigrants to the

United States, giving their reasons for leaving their home-

land and reviewing their new life in this country.[14] Raúl

Morín's accounts of Mexican-American military heroes are

compiled in his work, Among the Valiant: Mexican Americans

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[12]Jesús Chavarría, "A Precis and a Tentative Bibliog-
raphy on Chicano History," Aztlan, I (Spring, 1970), 134-37.

[13]Manuel Gamio, Mexican Immigration to the United
States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

[14]Manuel Gamio, The Mexican Immigrant (Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1931).

in World War II and Korea.[15] Latin Americans in Texas, by
Pauline Kibbe, is a sympathetic review of Mexican history,
written to stir the consciences of Texans over the inequi-
ties borne by the Mexican American in that state.[16]

Mexican-American activities in the twentieth century
have also been characterized by a series of labor disputes
due to an effort to break out of the migrant labor cycles
that have accompanied the immigrant. Although Paul
Taylor's six-volume work, Mexican Labor in the United
States,[17] first appeared in 1928, only recently have more
books and articles in this area become available. Two of
these more recent publications are John Dunne's Delano:
The Story of a Grape Strike and Ernesto Galarza's Merchants
of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story. Dunne's book is a
journalistic account of César Chavez and the labor struggle
in the vineyards of California.[18] Galarza's study, tracing
the bracero movement in California from 1880 to 1942, is an
outstanding contribution.[19]

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[15]Raul Morín, Among the Valiant: Mexican Americans in
World War II and Korea (Alhambra, Calif.: Borden Publishing
Company, 1966).

[16]Pauline R. Kibbe, Latin Americans in Texas (Albuquerque,
N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1946).

[17]Paul Taylor, Mexican Labor in the United States (Berkeley,
Calif.: University of California, 1931).

[18]John G. Dunne, Delano: The Story of a Grape Strike
(New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1967).

[19]Ernesto Galarza, Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bra-
cero Story (San Jose, Calif.: The Resicrucian Press, 1964).

Although the myth persists that the Mexican American is void of any cohesive political history, a few scholars have attempted to correct this misconception. One of these scholars, Ralph Guzman, has investigated the political socialization process and reviewed the movements that were involved.[20] Other works have appeared in connection with more recent Chicano political activities. An exceptional capsule history of cultural group relations in northern New Mexico may be found in Michael Jenkinson's Tijerina: Land Grant Conflict in New Mexico.[21] This book deals with the land grant struggle between the native Hispanos and the Anglo settlers. Closely related to Jenkinson's work is Peter Nobokov's Tijerina and the Courthouse Raid. A popular journalistic account concerning past and present Chicano achievements is Stan Steiner's La Raza: The Mexican Americans.[22]

The entire field of Mexican-American history has been overshadowed by the work of Carey McWilliams. In any

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[20]Ralph Guzman, "The Political Socialization of the Mexican American People" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1970).

[21]Michael Jenkinson, Tijerina: Land Grant Conflict in New Mexico (Albuquerque, N.M.: Paisano Press, 1968).

[22]Stan Steiner, La Raza: The Mexican Americans (New York: Harper and Row, 1969).

historical perspective, McWilliams is still the single most
recommended scholar for those seeking a better understand-
ing of Mexican-American history.[23] His in-depth analysis
of the migrant problem in America led to the publication of
three books in the 1930's and early 1940's. These works
were Brothers Under the Skin,[24] Ill Fares the Land,[25] and
Factories in the Fields.[26] However, all of this previous
work was somewhat overshadowed by his publication in 1948
of North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the
United States.[27] This treatment of the minority begins
with an account of the Spanish migration into the south-
western United States. The early Spanish settlers'
contributions to and impact on the Southwest were under-
scored in the beginning sections of the work. Anglo
history of the Southwest focused on the "successful"

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[23]Rocco, "The Chicano in the Social Sciences," p. 4.

[24]Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin (Boston:
Little, Brown, and Company, 1944).

[25]Carey McWilliams, Ill Fares the Land: Migrants and
Migratory Labor in the United States (Boston: Little,
Brown, and Company, 1942).

[26]Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Fields (Boston:
Little, Brown, and Company, 1934).

[27]Carey McWilliams, North From Mexico: The Spanish-
Speaking People of the United States (New York: Greenwood
Press, 1968).

Spanish achievements while purposely neglecting the heri-
tage of the "unsuccessful" Indian and Mexican. McWilliams
described the fantasy heritage of these early Spanish
settlements. The Anglo created an image of early Spanish
culture that pictured life in terms of colorful fiestas
and tranquil mission settlements. These distortions con-
tinued into the nineteenth century along with the image
of the boisterous Mexican bandidos. Even in the twentieth
century, the Mexican American has continuously been
misrepresented through images of the lazy Mexican taking a
siesta under his sombrero, the impoverished peon, and
shiftless wetback.

Perhaps North From Mexico's real significance was in
the fact that it attempted to dispel some of these myths
and stereotypes that the Anglo had formed about the Mexican
American. McWilliams accomplished this by careful histori-
cal research and by reporting the truth as he saw it
concerning several important incidents involving Mexican
Americans in Los Angeles prior to World War II. If the
author tried to tear down the misconceptions of the Anglos
toward the minority, he also tried to show proof of the
Mexican Americans' loyalty by describing various acts of
heroism performed by them in World War II.

While his work is somewhat general in its treatment of a vast area of history, he does develop a theme of discrimination by Anglos toward Mexican Americans. This theme runs throughout his writing and is reflected in the patterns of exploitation and prejudice found in the history of the Southwest.[28]

Although North From Mexico has to be accepted as the classic work in Mexican-American historical literature, it was written over twenty years ago. With few exceptions, nothing of equal quality has been published since that time. However, perhaps with the emergence of more young Mexican-American historians the field will be updated.

In conclusion, the prevailing theme throughout the historiographical literature of the Mexican American is that he has no history. A substantial number of historians as well as other social scientists believed the Mexican American had become trapped in an isolated traditional Spanish culture, a process that has been characterized as ahistorical. Octavio Romano summarized this concept:

> In the United States, all social science studies
> of Mexican-Americans have blindly relied upon this
> totally passive concept of Traditional Culture in

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[28]Rocco, "The Chicano in the Social Sciences," p. 4.

order to, (1) describe the foundations of Mexican-American culture, (2) to "explain" the existence of Mexican-Americans over time, and (3) to use the idea of Traditional Culture as a final cause of empirical life. For these reasons, social science studies have dealt with Mexican-Americans as an ahistoric people - with a place in history reserved for them only when they undergo some metamorphosis usually called acculturation. As a consequence, Mexican-Americans are never seen as participants in history, much less as generators of the historical process.[29]

As some historians are now discovering, this was a faulty

premise,and it is expected that the discipline will become

overwhelmed with numerous volumes with content rivalling

the scholarship that is occurring in Black history.

Unfortunately, not all of this future work may be of

value,and the need for well trained and discriminating

Mexican-American historians will be great.

Review of Anthropological and

Sociological Literature

The disciplines of sociology and anthropology have

contributed more to the literature than any other areas

within the social sciences. Until the more recent emer-

gence of valid Mexican-American critics, much of the work

done in this area had tended to stereotype the minority in

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[29]Octavio Ignacio Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican-Americans: The Distortion of Mexican-American History," El Grito (Fall 1968), 13-14.

an ahistorical cultural trap similar to the one developed
by the historians. In order to gain a fuller understanding
of these stereotypes and the more recent criticisms, one
must review some of the more prominent books in the field.

Due partly to the embryonic status of the social
sciences, little research was conducted on Mexican Americans
from 1900 to 1912. However, the ground work for future
studies of Mexican Americans had been laid as far back as
the annexation of Texas.[30] By 1935, much of the earlier
work had been started by social scientists, particularly
psychologists, to determine the characteristics that dis-
tinguished the minority from the general American population.
In addition to this research, studies were conducted in
order to explain the seemingly high crime rates, poor
health standards, and high degree of dependence on public
relief. Moreover, the sociologists and anthropologists at
this time were also interested in the Mexican as an immigrant,
his role in American society, and the problems he faced in
attempting to assimilate into the American way of life.
Furthermore, by the end of 1935, two groups of thought had
developed, both attempting to explain the cultural deviancies

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[30]Nick C. Vaca, "The Mexican-American in the Social
Sciences: 1912-1970," El Grito, III (Spring, 1970), 6.

of these people. One group believed that the source of
the problem stemmed from the nature of Mexican society
itself. For example, one sociologist characterized the
Mexican immigrant as being clannish, politically apathetic,
and slow to adopt the English language. However, the other
group felt the phenomena of deviancy were related to the
deplorable economic conditions of the immigrant.[31]

Prior to 1935, one of the first works to appear on the
Mexican immigrant was an article in Survey magazine in 1912.
The author, Samuel Bryan, entitled his work "Mexican
Immigrants in the United States". In general, he was most
concerned with the need and desirability of the immigrant
in America. He stated:

> In conclusion, it would be recognized that although
> the Mexicans have proved to be efficient laborers
> in certain industries, and have afforded a cheap and
> elastic labor supply for the southwestern United
> States, the evils to the community at large with
> their presence in large numbers almost invariably
> brings many more than overbalance their desirable
> qualities.[32]

Moreover, this period was characterized by other writings
arising out of the concern for the growing number of Mexican
immigrants. Included in this span are the articles of

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[31]Ibid., p. 16.

[32]Ibid., p. 17.

R. E. Dickerson written in 1919[33] and Edwin Bamford's
article, "The Mexican Casual Problem in the Southwest,"
in the Journal of Applied Sociology (1924).[34]

The school of sociologists who conceived the problems
of the Mexican American in terms of a defective Mexican
culture expressed themselves in several articles and books.
Included in this selection were Earl Sullenberger's article
in the Journal of Applied Sociology, "The Mexican Population
of Omaha,"[35] and Helen Walker's work, "Mexican Immigrants
as Laborers," in Sociology and Social Research.[36] Further-
more, the divisions among sociologists and anthropologists
that were established after 1912 persisted in both dis-
ciplines' outlook toward the Mexican American well into
the 1960's.

Ruth Tuck reopened the door of controversy among
sociologists in 1946 with her analysis of the Mexican

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[33]R. E. Dickerson, "Some Suggestive Problems in the
Americanization of Mexicans," Pedagogical Seminary,
September, 1919, pp. 288-97.

[34]Edwin F. Bamford, "Mexican Casual Labor Problem in
the Southwest," Journal of Applied Sociology, VIII (July,
1924), 363-71.

[35]Earl Sullenberger, "The Mexican Population of Omaha,"
Journal of Applied Sociology, VIII, (March and April, 1924),
289-293.

[36]Helen W. Walker, "Mexican Immigrants as Laborers,"
Sociology and Social Research, XIII (September, 1928), 55-62.

immigrants in San Bernadino, California.[37] Her work, Not
With the Fist, presented the Mexican American as one who
was aware of the discrimination practiced by the Anglo but
who was by nature a passive individual, and any resentment
toward the dominant society was displayed privately. More-
over, Tuck set the stage for a continuing series of works
presenting similar themes. Included in these studies were
Lyle Saunders' writings, The Spanish-speaking Population
of Texas,[38] Cultural Differences and Medical Care,[39] and
Anglos and Spanish-speaking: Contrasts and Similarities.[40]
George Baker presented his work on the social deviant
referred to as the pachuco in Pachuco: An American-Spanish
Argot and Its Social Functions in Tucson, Arizona.[41] Broom
and Shevky contributed to the literature with the results

[37]Ruth Tuck, Not With the Fist (New York: Harcourt,
Brace, and Company, 1946).

[38]Lyle Saunders, The Spanish-speaking Population of
Texas (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1957).

[39]Lyle Saunders, Cultural Differences and Medical
Care: The Case of the Spanish-speaking People of the
Southwest (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954).

[40]Lyle Saunders, Anglos and Spanish-speaking:
Contrasts and Similarities (Denver, Colorado: University
of Colorado School of Medicine, 1959).

[41]George C. Baker, Pachuco: An American-Spanish Argot
and Its Social Functions in Tucson, Arizona (Tucson,
Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1950).

of their study on Mexican-American attempts at assimilation.[42]
Also, Munro Edmonson's Los Manitos: A Study of Institutional
Values[43] and the Kluckhohn and Strodbeck study, Variations
in Value Orientations, helped to contribute to the original
Tuck premise of the unmotivated Mexican American.[44]

Tuck, Saunders, Edmonson, and Kluckhohn-Strodbeck have
been accepted as authoritative sources by most scholars of
the Mexican American until recently. However, with the
emergence of younger Mexican-American social scientists
in the field, their work has come under increasing attack
because it allegedly gives a distorted and misleading image
of the group's culture. This newer school of critics has
been led by Octavio Romano,[45] Nick Vaca,[46] and Raymond
Rocco.[47] For example, the anthropologist, Romano,

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[42]Leonard Broom and E. Shevky, "Mexicans in the United
States: A Problem in Social Differentiation," Sociology and
Social Research, XXXVI (January-February, 1952), 150-58.

[43]Munro S. Edmonson, Los Manitos: A Study of Institution-
al Values (New Orleans: Tulane University Press, 1957).

[44]Florence R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodbeck,
Variations in Value Orientations (New York: Row, Peterson,
and Company, 1961).

[45]Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican
Americans," pp. 13-26.

[46]Vaca, "The Mexican-American in the Social Sciences:
1912-1970," pp. 3-24.

[47]Rocco, "The Chicano in the Social Sciences," pp. 1-17.

suggests that earlier studies have pictured the Mexican

American as the following:

> First, they are masochistic, for according to Tuck,
> they make no effort to free themselves from the
> social conditions in which they find themselves.
> Therefore, they are passive. This is primarily due
> to their religion, according to Saunders. He then
> draws a picture of a world populated by vegetables
> which he chooses to call the Spanish-speaking people -
> people who are born, resign themselves to suffering,
> and then lay down and quietly die when the time comes.
> The same blobs are molded from the same semantic clay
> by Munro Edmonson. To him, these people behave as
> they do according to their religion, are somewhat
> irrational as well as irresponsible, live in mañana
> land, are politically apathetic and characteristic-
> ally fatalistic. In addition, they are un-American.[48]

The 1960's produced several contributions to these

disciplines. Some of these more recent works have also

come under criticism while others have been acclaimed as

positive contributions to the study of the Mexican-American.

Perhaps the most notable book to appear in the early 1960's

was William Madsen's Mexican-Americans of South Texas.[49]

The author's writings grew out of his research on case

studies conducted in Hidalgo County, Texas. In general,

the work is an anthropological description of life in the

Mexican-American communities of South Texas. However,

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[48]Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the
Mexican American," p. 23.

[49]William Madsen, Mexican-Americans of South Texas
(New York: Holt and Company, 1964).

Madsen has been attacked for falling back into the old

ahistoric context. Romano defines this criticism by saying:

> But apparently faith in progress and progress are two
> different things, for Madsen's volume reveals no
> significant change from the views of its predecessors.
> It,too deals with Mexican-Americans as an ahistoric
> people. It, too deals with this population as if it
> were composed of passive, anxiety-ridden receptors
> who must undergo a complete psychological, cultural,
> and personality metamorphosis before they can be
> considered fullfledged members of society.[50]

In effect, Romano charges that Madsen suggests that the

Mexican Americans are responsible for their own cultural

problems. Therefore, they are impeding their own material

advancement.

Two more works of this period that have been both

praised and attacked are Celia Heller's <u>Mexican American</u>

<u>Youth</u>,[51] and Julian Samora and Richard Lamanna's

<u>Mexican-Americans in a Midwest Metropolis</u>.[52] Heller's

book deals with the problems of deviancy and delinquency

among Mexican-American boys. She uses as the basis of

her results two studies conducted in Los Angeles. Romano

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[50]Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the
Mexican American," p. 18.

[51]Celia S. Heller, <u>Mexican American Youth: Forgotten
Youth at the Crossroads</u> (New York: Random House, 1966).

[52]Julian Samora and Richard A. Lamanna, <u>Mexican-
Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago</u>
(Los Angeles: Mexican-American Study Project, Division of
Research, Graduate School of Business, University of
California at Los Angeles, 1967).

and Rocco have objected to her work because they felt it

dealt with the Mexican American as a homogenous group in

which all the members exhibit rather negative characteris-

tics.[53] Moreover, the study conducted by Samora and Lamanna

on the Mexican Americans who have moved north to Chicago

has been criticized for focusing on the same standard

variables to explain the group deficiencies. For example,

Romano says:

> Thus, Samora and Lamanna, like Heller, Madsen, and
> the others before them, place the final cause of
> social conditions upon the Mexican-Americans them-
> selves. In doing so, they also commit the fallacy
> of equating economic determinism with cultural
> determinism. This is the modern version of the
> Protestant Ethic as described by Max Weber many
> years ago.[54]

Romano and other contemporary critics seem to believe

that the conclusions pertaining to the status of the Mexican

American reached by earlier social scientists were deeply

influenced by the free-will doctrine. Essentially,

supporters of the free-will concept assert that a knowledge

of prior conditions will not facilitate predictions of

future behavior because at some time in the formation of

an act man will enjoy a moment of individual choice, a

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[53]Rocco, "The Chicano in the Social Sciences," p. 8.

[54]Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican American," p. 23.

momentary release from all causation, during which he may take control over his future action independent of prior events or conditions. However, the difficulty of applying the free-will doctrine to human behavior models can lead to the creation of a number of fallacies.[55] For example, one could allege that people live in slums simply because it is their own decision to live this way. The younger critics of Heller, Madsen, and other contemporaries seem to feel that a misinterpretation or fallacy of the free-will doctrine was used as a rationale to explain why Mexican-American social and economic status were lower than other segments of American society.

The 1960's have produced some outstanding scholarship that apparently has escaped the criticism of the younger social scientists. Fernando Peñalosa and Paul Lin both have made important contributions to the literature.[56] Furthermore, Arthur Rubel's book, Across the Tracks, describing one specific Mexican-American community in South Texas, can be considered as one of the directions in which future research on the minority could be oriented.[57]

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[55]Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), p. 298.

[56]Paul Ming-Chang Lin, "Voluntary Kinship and Voluntary Association in a Mexican-American Community" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Kansas, 1963).

[57]Arthur J. Rubel, Across the Tracks: Mexican-Americans in a Texas City (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1966).

Review of Literature in Political Science

The political behavior of the Mexican American has been stereotyped by the political scientists as badly as the cultural and historical processes have been by the other disciplines. In general, the literature has tended to picture the group as both passive and apathetic towards politics. Moreover, the existence of any number of politically active organizations is not perceived by many authors.[58] The basis for much of this misunderstanding has been the assumption that the only "significant" political activity was that which could be defined or understood by the dominant political system in America.[59] Therefore, much of the work in this area has been focused on the degree to which political assimilation has occurred within the minority.

One of the first political scholars to investigate and analyze the Mexican American in Texas was O. Douglas Weeks. Writing in the American Political Science Review, he focused most of his research on the assimilation process and the Mexican American in relation to the Anglo political systems

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[58]Rocco, "The Chicano in the Social Sciences," p. 12.

[59]Ibid., p. 13.

of South Texas.[60] In the <u>Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly</u>, Weeks made one of the first studies of a Mexican-American political organization, the League of United Latin-American Citizens.[61] Moreover, the insignificance of the ethnic group's political activity in the 1940's according to most scholars can best be emphasized by the following remarks made by V. O. Key in <u>Southern Politics</u>:

> The Mexican-American voters have been managed in the same way as national minority groups in major urban centers. For the most part they remain unassimilated into the cultural pattern of Texas. Many of them do not speak English, have meager schooling, and have only the most remote conception of Anglo-Saxon governmental institutions.[62]

One of the earliest studies of Mexican-American community leadership was published in 1949 by Frances Woods.[63] Sister Woods spent a number of years in San Antonio, Texas, compiling data from within the community about its political

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[60]O. Douglas Weeks, "The Texas-Mexican and the Politics of South Texas," <u>American Political Science Review</u>, XXIV (August, 1930), 606-27.

[61]O. Douglas Weeks, "The League of United Latin-American Citizens: A Texas-Mexican Civil Organization," <u>Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly</u>, X (December, 1929), 257-79.

[62]V. O. Key, <u>Southern Politics in State and Nation</u> (New York: Random House, Inc., 1949), pp. 271-72.

[63]Frances J. Woods, <u>Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas</u> (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949).

leadership structure. Although she used basically empirical evidence, the work was still a major contribution to the literature because it was one of the first studies to deal exclusively with ethnic leadership.

The 1960's produced several volumes containing research and data on the Mexican American and his political activity. Two of the more notable works in the field of state politics were produced by Jack Holmes and James Soukup. In 1965, Soukup, McCleskey, and Holloway published Party and Factional Divisions in Texas.[64] In 1967, Holmes devoted a considerable amount of space to the Spanish Americans in his Politics in New Mexico.[65] While both of these books focused on some aspect of the Mexican American (referred to as Spanish American in New Mexico) as a political entity, they were not complete scholarly works devoted solely to the race's politics. Later, William D'Antonio and William Form released the results of their comparative community study in Mexican-American leadership entitled Influentials in Two Border Cities.[66] Their work has come under recent

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[64]James Soukup, Clifton McCleskey, and H. Holloway, Party and Factional Divisions in Texas (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1964).

[65]Jack E. Holmes, Politics in New Mexico (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1967).

[66]D'Antonio and Form, Influentials in Two Border Cities.

criticism by Miguel Tirado for not perceiving the exis-
tence of any form of politically active organizations in
the communities they studied.[67]

In the late 1960's, the publications of three scholars
devoted primarily to the study of Mexican Americans and
their political sociology began appearing as a result of
the U.C.L.A. Mexican American Study Project. Joan Moore
outlined the problems of the minority in Gideon Sjoberg's
edition of Ethics, Politics and Social Research.[68] More-
over, under the direction of the U.C.L.A. Study Project,
Moore assisted in the writing of Residential Segregation
in the Urban Southwest.[69] Another scholar involved in the
U.C.L.A. project was Leo Grebler. He also published some
outstanding research under the direction of the project.
Two of these contributions were Mexican Immigration to

[67]Miguel D. Tirado, "Mexican American Community
Political Organizations," Aztlan: Chicano Journal of the
Social Sciences, I (Spring, 1970), 53.

[68]Joan W. Moore, "Politics and Ethnical Problems in
a Large-Scale Study of a Minority," Ethics, Politics and
Social Research, ed. by Gideon Sjoberg (Cambridge, Mass.:
Schenckman Publishing Company, Inc., 1967).

[69]Joan W. Moore, and Frank G. Mittelback, Residential
Segregation in the Urban Southwest, Advance Report 4,
Mexican-American Study Project (Los Angeles, University
of California at Los Angeles, 1966).

the United States: The Record and Its Implications[70] and

The Schooling Gap: Signs of Progress.[71] The son of a

migrant worker, Ralph Guzman also made a notable contribu-

tion with his writings in California Politics and Policies[72]

and his book Rights Without Roots.[73] Finally, parts of

the U.C.L.A. Mexican-American Study Project terminated

after five years with the publication of The Mexican-

American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority.

This book is the accumulation of a vast amount of data on

the race with special emphasis having been placed on the

sociology and politics of the Mexican American. More-

over, it is undoubtedly the most authoritative work yet

produced in the field.

A special note must be made concerning the emerging

young Chicano political scientists who have begun to

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[70]Leo Grebler, Mexican Immigration to the United States:
The Record and Its Implications, Advance Report 2, Mexican-
American Study Project (Los Angeles: University of California
at Los Angeles, 1966).

[71]Leo Grebler, The Schooling Gap: Signs of Progress,
Advance Report 7, Mexican-American Study Project (Los
Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, 1967).

[72]Ralph Guzman, "Politics and Policies of the Mexican-
American Community," in California Politics and Policies, ed.
by Eugene P. Dvorin and Arthur Misner (Palo Alto, Calif.:
Addison-Wesley, 1966).

[73]Ralph Guzman, Rights Without Roots (Los Angeles:
Fund for the Republic, Inc. and Southern California
Chapter, American Civil Liberties Union, 1955).

criticize the work of their older colleagues' appraisals
of the Mexican American. The papers and publications of
Carlos Muñoz and Miguel Tirado stand out at this time as
examples of this new school of thought within the discipline.

This chapter on the literature has tried to focus on the
developmental trends that have occurred in the past and that
are now taking place within the social sciences. In the
historical literature, writers often stressed only that
particular area of development in the Southwest that was
related to Spanish advancement. They generally ignored
the contributions of the Indian and later Mexican peoples.
Some historians stereotyped early colonial life as being
tranquil and carefree. In the nineteenth century, there
was a lack of any dual interpretations into the struggles
and conflicts between the Anglos and Mexicans. Moreover,
there was an absence of recorded Mexican-American history
because historians asserted that the minority was ahistorical -
it had no history.

The anthropologists and sociologists devoted more
attention to the Mexican-American people although many
scholars in these disciplines considered the race to be
the victim of an ahistorical and cultural trap similar to
the one described by historians. Social scientists were
preoccupied with examining the minority's attempt to

assimilate into Anglo society rather than studying their separate social and cultural development. Many scholars concluded that the basic problems of the Mexican American stemmed from a defective Mexican culture.

The political scientists also pictured the minority in terms of overly simplified stereotypes. For example, they assumed that the race was politically apathetic and lacked any kind of political organization. Along with other social scientists, students of government were focusing their attention on the political assimilation process of the Mexican American. However, a significant reversal in the direction of previous scholarship may be forecast for the future because of the accomplishments of the recently completed U.C.L.A. Mexican-American Study Project.

In conclusion, it has been the purpose of this brief synopsis to reacquaint the reader with some of the problems and distortions that have occurred in previous research. In general, the experiences of social scientists in the study of the Mexican American have been reviewed in this chapter in order to give this student a better understanding and background into some of the problems he would face in his own research.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS OF A STUDY ON CHANGING POLITICAL STYLES
IN MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

Introduction

In the previous chapter, a systematic review of the
literature was conducted in order to locate some of the
problems encountered in the past. In this section, some
of the analyses of that literature will be applied to
this particular study conducted on ethnic community leader-
ship. Also, the results of the responses, as outlined in
Chapter One, will be measured according to two groups of
variables. In a later chapter, the results derived from
these variables will be correlated with a dependent varia-
ble, militancy, in order to prove or disprove the general
hypothesis of this study, and locate any predictable trends
in Mexican-American leadership styles.

The City and Community Environment

The location for this study was selected on the basis
of the student's familiarity with the area and its relative-
ly small urban population of 12,713. The city itself is

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continuing to grow, with a 27.4 percent increase shown

from the years 1950 to 1960.[1] More specifically, the

Mexican-American community within the city has a population

of 5,424 (36.2 percent of the total population). In the

Mexican-American community, 659 people were known to have

been born in Mexico, though the figure may actually have

been much higher because of inadequate data.[2] Furthermore,

the population of Negroes living in the city was only 5.5

percent of the total composition.[3]

A population division based on sex indicated that

2,635 of the Mexican Americans were males and 2,789 of

them were females.[4] It is of interest to note that while

the division according to sex was relatively even, only

one of the selected respondents was a woman. The social

and psychological implications for this apparent absence

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[1]U.S. Bureau of Census. U.S. Census of Population:
1960. Vol. I. Characteristics of the Population, Part
45, Texas (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office,
1963), p. 23.

[2]U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of
Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish
Surname. Final Report PC (2) - 1B (Washington, D.C.:
Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 183.

[3]Buck, "Power, Ideology, and Decision-making," p. 76.

[4]U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population:
1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname, p. 183.

of female leadership may have been related to several variables including the concept of <u>machismo</u> (the ideal male role in Mexican-American society).

The city has been described as a quiet, college-oriented, and predominantly Democratic town.[5] The local college, while playing an important role because students contribute to the area's economy, had only limited social function. This was especially true in reference to the Mexican-American community. Approximately five percent of the student body had Spanish surnames. A few Mexican-American students had been active in local political movements but most of their activity was restricted to the campus.

Social Variables

One of the first areas that was measured and correlated was that of parental, cultural, primary group, and residential background (see <u>infra</u>, pp.167-171). Basically, the objective was to determine what impact these variables might have on the respondent's behavior as a political leader. In addition to the above-mentioned indices, each respondent was asked what he felt the Mexican way of life

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[5]Buck, "Power, Ideology, and Decision-making," p. 79.

could contribute to those people of Mexican ancestry now living in the United States. The reason for the selection of questions relating to parents, family, culture, and residence was simply to determine if any familiar assimilation patterns could be established and, if so, what relation they had to the respondent's political beliefs and norms.

A majority of the respondents were at least one generation removed from Mexico. When they were asked whether their grandparents (either grandfather, grandmother, or both) were born in Mexico, nine of them answered in the affirmative. One respondent listed only his grandfather as being born in Mexico. Yet another individual, a prosperous restaurant owner, answered that both his grandparents had been born in Spain. The restaurant owner's response obviously began to throw doubt on his classification as a Mexican American according to Peñalosa's definition.[6] However, because he had established himself as a key economic figure in the Mexican-American community, along with having resided in the neighborhood for some time, it was decided that his responses would not be so different as to misrepresent what Mexican-American leaders might believe.

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[6]Peñalosa, "The Changing Mexican-American in Southern California," p. 416.

Having achieved a leadership position within the community, this individual could be expected to respond to the same "constituent pressures" to which the unquestionably "Mexican" leaders would also respond.

The number of respondents with one or both of their parents born in Mexico was lower than the number of those whose grandparents were born in Mexico. Six of the respondents stated that both their parents had come from Mexico and three others listed only their fathers as having been born there.

Despite the larger number of Mexicans that moved to this country after the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920 and that have also immigrated here within the last thirty years, the overwhelming number of leaders in the community were born in the United States. Only one respondent was born in Mexico. Furthermore, a majority of the respondents had also resided in the community most of their lives. The length of residence ranged from three years to nearly fifty years. The mean length was 27.4 years. Because of the length of residence in the community, most of the leadership gave the appearance of displaying a high degree of knowledge in regard to the problems of the local Mexican American. They felt their knowledge of discrimination displayed by Anglo Americans gave them the experience needed

to run their community at its most efficient level while retaining harmonious relations with the Anglo establishment. In effect, some resentment was expressed by those leaders that had resided in the area the longest. There appeared to be an observable but unstated requirement that acceptance into the inner circles of leadership was based on length of residence in the community.

A large number of respondents listed their spouses as being of the same ethnic background as they. Only one of them answered that his wife was not a Mexican American. Another, a young high school teacher, was not married. These results reflected the traditional pattern of non-intermarriage. The patterns of exogamy in the group under analysis seemed to oppose the findings of the U.C.L.A. Study Project's research.[7] Furthermore, Joan Moore and Frank Mittelback's three-generation study in Los Angeles also showed a higher rate of exogamy than previous studies. They discovered exogamy was higher for women and increased with the removal of immigrant status.[8]

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[7]Grebler, Moore, and Guzman, The Mexican-American People, p. 416.

[8]Joan W. Moore and Frank G. Mittelback, "Ethnic Endogamy - the Case of Mexican-Americans," American Journal of Sociology, LXXIV (July, 1968), 405-17.

A second area to be examined was that of cultural and
language identity. One assimilation index that was patterned
after the Mexican-American Study Project focused on a question
asking the respondents to describe what they thought were
some of the attributes of Mexican culture that should be
followed by Mexican Americans. The answers to this ques-
tion ranged from no response from some to a feeling by
others that more respect for elders as practiced in Mexico
should also be observed by Mexican Americans. Four of
the leaders either thought there was nothing of value in
the Mexican way of life that should be practiced in this
country or felt that they were already doing all that
could be done to emulate the Mexican life style. One
individual felt he was doing all that was within his abili-
ty to imitate the positive characteristics of Mexican
culture, though he was not specific as to just what these
characteristics were. One can assume that some of these
things would be reflected in such observable actions as
displaying the Mexican flag, respecting Mexican national
holidays (May 5 and September 16), and participating in
such social functions as parades and fiestas. Four of
the respondents felt that some form of respect and courtesy
both within social groups and in the family (especially in
the father-child roles) should be observed in the United

States. Others answered with an assortment of open-ended
comments. Some interpreted the question to mean whether
or not they were proud of the fact that they were Mexican
Americans. One respondent felt nothing needed to be copied
here in this country except the idea of equal opportunity.
Also, one individual felt that such traditional institutions
as music and language usage should be observed by Mexican
Americans.

In general, it was difficult to describe and analyze
attitudes of Mexican Americans toward Mexico. While it is
a fact that a large number of immigrants have left Mexico,
the reasons for this departure to the United States could
have a variety of sources. Past research in the sociology
of the Mexican American displayed an extraordinary degree
of attachment to the motherland. While many of the respon-
dents in this research did <u>not</u> directly indicate a high
degree of attachment to Mexico, certainly the country's
relatively close geographic boundary to the community
must play an important part in motherland attachment.

One index of how one retained his cultural identity
was measured by the language used in the home. In the
questionnaire, each respondent was asked to name the
language used when talking at home. Eight persons answered
that both Spanish and English were spoken in the home.

Three said that either all or most of the conversation in the home was conducted in English. Finally, one individual listed Spanish as the only language used in his house.

The correlations between retention of the native tongue and acculturation have been studied by Joshua Fishman in his research on nativity in America.[9] He has suggested that in the first stage of acculturation English is used only in areas that cross the boundaries of the mother culture: at work or in dealing with the general public. In the second stage, English is used in increasing frequency and begins to enter into the immigrant's casual conversations. By the third stage, the immigrant has almost completely adopted English in place of his mother tongue. In the final stage, Spanish has been entirely displaced by English.

Taking into account Fishman's work, it can be noted that the leaders in the community felt fairly comfortable in either English or Spanish and, with the exception of one respondent, all could be classified as bilingual. Most of the people interviewed would have to fit into Fishman's

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[9] Joshua Fishman and John Hofman, "Mother Tongue and Nativity in the American Population," in Language Loyalty in the United States, ed. by Joshua Fishman (The Hague, London, and Paris: Mouton and Co., 1966), p. 37.

third stage of language development. One person appeared
to have gone completely into the fourth stage by using
English as his exclusive form of conversation both in the
home and with secondary groups.

Self-perception, the third area to be researched, is
an important key to the understanding of the individual's
social and political personality. One aspect of self-
perception is ethnic identification. Each person in this
study was given a list of names, including Spanish American,
Latin American, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano, and the
alternative of allowing the respondent to fill in his own
term. The results reflected a diversity of opinion. Five
persons used the term <u>Mexican American</u> to identify them-
selves. Within this group, one person remarked that he
thought the term should not be hyphenated. One individual
listed himself simply as a Mexican and two others wished
to be identified as Chicanos. Moreover, four felt no need
to be associated with any of the suggested labels. They
listed such options as "American" or "unimportant" or "no
preference" or "by my own name."

In general, collective self-designation reflects a
variety of political and social origins. Many times the
term with which one wishes to be identified is related to

socioeconomic status.[10] For example, it appears to be the trend among some younger Mexican Americans to call themselves Chicanos (diminutive of Mexicano) even though the term is considered by others to be derogative and offensive because its origin stems from the lower social classes. Other labels, such as Latin American, are the creation of sympathetic Anglos who no longer wished to use the term Mexican when addressing Mexican Americans. Also, the phrase Spanish American still has special significance for certain status-sensitive areas of rural New Mexico. The various governmental agencies, including the U.S. Census Bureau, have used the terms Spanish-speaking or Spanish surname in order to distinguish the ethnic group from its racial classification which had been included within the statistics of Anglo Americans. Finally, as explained in Chapter One, the phrase Mexican American has become the accepted term among most people in the Southwest and especially among the social scientists.

From the data gathered in this study, it appeared that a significant number of the respondents related to the label Mexican American, though others felt labels were offensive and useless. It is apparent that this reflected

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[10]Grebler, Moore, and Guzman, The Mexican-American People, p. 387.

the latter group's more conservative belief. They tended

to feel that rather than being given an ethnic label, they

would prefer to subscribe to the melting pot theory of

American immigration by wanting to be called simply

Americans.[11] It can be noted that two of the younger re-

spondents appeared to follow the contemporary trend by wishing

to be identified as Chicanos.

Religious beliefs and practices were another area to

be considered. The religion of Mexican Americans and

Catholicism have been traditionally interpreted as being

synonymous. While the Roman Catholic church has in the

past taken an active role in the pastoral context, its

relation with the Mexican American is changing. Today,

more priests and nuns on individual levels are working

in the areas of both migrant labor disputes and political

activism. However, significant numbers of Spanish-speaking

people are also leaving the Catholic church in favor of

Protestantism.[12] Furthermore, recent research has indi-

cated that a large percentage of the ethnic group does not

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[11]An excellent analysis of the distortion of the melt-
ing pot theory in relation to Negroes and Spanish-speaking
minorities is presented by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan
in Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press,
1964), pp. 299-315.

[12]John A. Wagner, "The Role of the Christian Church,"
in La Raza: Forgotten Americans, ed. by Julian Samora (Notre
Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), p. 35.

conform to all the religious norms established by the Catholic church (church weddings and attending Mass).[13]

Before more penetrating questions could be asked, the religious preference of those in the study had to be determined. It appeared that the majority of this group still felt they belonged to the Catholic church, because eight of them listed it as their religious identification. However, three indicated that they belonged to some Protestant denomination, and one individual listed no religious preference at all.

The use of the Catholic church as an index of low acculturation has not been substantially established by social scientists. However, the fact that some Mexican Americans join a Protestant congregation after leaving the Catholic church appears to indicate they may have partially accepted the doctrine of the Protestant Ethic.[14] Furthermore, Margaret Summer has concluded that Mexican Americans joining a Protestant church do withdraw from the life of the colonia (residential area having more than 43.8 percent Mexican-American population.)[15]

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[13]Grebler, Moore, and Guzman, The Mexican-American People, p. 473.

[14]Ibid., p. 486.

[15]Margaret L. Summer, "Mexican-American Minority Churches,U.S.A.," Practical Anthropology, X (May-June, 1963), 121.

A majority of the respondents attended churches with predominantly Spanish-speaking parishioners. Nine persons commented that most of those in their churches were Mexican American. Furthermore, one individual did not know the ethnic composition of his church and another person attended a variety of congregations with different classifications of parishioners.

The religious practices of the leadership group were measured to some degree by determining how often they attended church. Five of those answering the question stated that they attended church services at least once a week. Another four individuals said that they went to church two or more times a month. Finally, two of the leaders indicated attendance was restricted to no more than once a month.

Survey evidence indicated a strong correlation between education and church attendance. Higher education was directly related to regular religious attendance.[16] In this study, most of the respondents' educational backgrounds were relatively high. This could have explained the high rate of monthly church attendance. Secondly, as

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[16]Grebler, Moore, and Guzman, The Mexican-American People, pp. 473-74.

community leaders they might have been expected to conform
to the norms of leadership by taking on a variety of particu-
lar leadership roles. Religious attendance would probably
have been considered one of these roles.

Some of the religious attitudes of the leaders were
measured by asking each of them what role religion played
in their lives. Eight respondents indicated religion was
an important factor in their lives. Another three individ-
uals stated that religion was relatively important to them.
Only one respondent said that religion played no major role
in his life.

However, it must be noted that it was difficult to
distinguish between true religious beliefs and peer group
conformity. For example, one might simply have indicated
that religion was very important in his life because this
was what he anticipated or knew the community expected of
him, rather than how he actually felt about his religious
outlook on life.

The next section of questions were focused on a number
of cross-cultural variables in order to determine the
leaders' status within the entire city and their attitudes
toward the Anglo community. In response to the question
relating to equality in the United States, only four of
the respondents indicated they thought that fifty years

from now Mexican Americans would be treated as equals.
Seven marked that equality would not be achieved in this
length of time.

To determine the leadership's relationship with the
Anglo population, each respondent was asked how much
contact he had with Anglos. Ten said they were in daily
contact with the Anglo community and indicated they had a
high degree of communication. Another two persons had
experienced only limited contact with the Anglo-American
community. In connection with the above-mentioned
question, nine of the leaders indicated they maintained
both social and business relations with Anglos. The other
three said that their only contact with the Anglo populace
came on the business level.

It can be supposed from the information just reviewed
that there were bridges of communication open between
Anglos and the Mexican-American leadership. However, the
leaders still felt that few Anglos in the city really understood
the needs of the Mexican-American community. This statement
was demonstrated by the fact that nine of the respondents
answered in the negative when asked, "Do many, if any, of
the Anglos in the city really understand the Mexican-
American community and its needs?" Although no one replied
that he thought the needs of the community were understood,

two persons felt that some members of the Anglo population could have related to and understood the Mexican-American needs.

A partial explanation for these responses could be understood in terms of the city's entire leadership. Robert Buck's research in the same city indicated that only seven percent of its leadership structure consisted of Mexican Americans. The figure was discouraging in comparison to the fact that at least thirty-six percent of the entire population had Spanish surnames. However, Buck also observed that forty-one percent of the Anglo leadership in the city did favor improving their relations with the Mexican-American community.[17]

Economic and occupational data was acquired through another area of the questionnaire. Occupational status within the group studied was high when compared with other Spanish-speaking residents in the community. Many of the respondents owned or managed small business agencies,and one individual was employed by the local school system as a teacher. However, it is of interest to note that not one of the leaders listed his occupational status as religious in nature. The traditional role of the parish priest in Mexican-American community life has usually been

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[17]Buck, "Power, Ideology, and Decision-making," pp. 76-78.

more significant. In this community, it appeared not to
be the case. A smaller town north of the city did, however,
contain among its leadership a Roman Catholic priest.

The U.S. Bureau of Census reported in 1960 that the
median income for a Mexican-American family in the city was
only $2,328. Further data indicated only nine of these
Mexican-American families with annual incomes of over
$10,000. It was also shown that four other families had
incomes ranging from $9,000 to $9,999 and another eight
between $8,000 and $8,999.[18] In relation to these statis-
tics, the respondents were asked to place themselves in
one of three economic categories: upper class, middle
class, or working class. No exact guidelines were given as
to the division of the three economic classes because it
was felt that this would afford a better picture of econom-
ic identification by each of the respondents. Seven of
the leaders placed themselves in the middle income class.
Three others listed their incomes as falling within the
working class. Two respondents failed to select an
economic category.

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[18]U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population:
1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname, p. 183.

Another concept that was used in this research as an
index of acculturation was the individual's reaction to
spiritual or religious symbolism that was prevalent in the
sub-culture and substituted for the more sophisticated
medical practices of the Anglo society. An example in
the current research was the faith healer of the Mexican-
American community as opposed to the medical doctor of
the Anglo society. More specifically, the respondents
were asked their opinions of a particular kind of faith
healer, the curandero. The curanderos differed from other
types of faith healers in traditionsl Mexican society
because they practiced their art as a gift (don) received
from God (Dios). Furthermore, to be effective, each
curandero had to be closely associated with the spirit
of a deceased healer.[19]

The curandero's role has been larger in those
socioeconomic classes that are ignorant of modern medi-
cine and the practices of Anglo doctors. Rubel emphasized
the fact that the lack of cultural understanding on the
part of Anglo doctors in South Texas, especially when
treating Mexican-American women, helped to maintain the
curandero's position in the ethnic community.[20] However,

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[19] Rubel, Across the Tracks, p. 180.

[20] Ibid., pp. 139-99.

some psychiatrists have noted lower rates of mental health problems among those that frequent curanderos. This fact may re-enforce the faith healer's usefulness in Mexican-American communities, although he is in direct competition with medical doctors.

When the leaders were asked if they thought the curanderos served any useful functions, eight of the respondents replied with a negative answer. However, many of these answers contained qualifications. Some believed that the faith healers did serve useful functions in the treatment of minor health problems. Others responded   by saying curanderos served no useful purpose in the community and were consulted only by those too ignorant to follow modern medical advice. It is interesting to note that of the number who believed curanderos served useful roles in the Mexican-American community, two had college degrees.

Peer group association was used to determine the degree of acculturation among the respondents. One of these groups was palomilla, a network of informal dyadic relationships between peers (see supra. p.14). The term is used to indicate a group of boys and young men.[21]

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[21]Ibid., pp. 101-2.

Within Mexican-American youth culture, the palomilla plays
an important role in adolescent development. If the individ-
ual's ties with the community carried over into his adult
life, he would probably be in contact with his palomilla.
In an attempt to disassociate themselves from the Mexican
culture, some men have severed all former ties with the
palomilla. Measurement of this concept was attempted by
asking the respondents with how many of their palomilla
they were still associated. Eight of those that answered
the question said that they still were in contact with all
or most of the members of their palomilla. Another two
individuals said they did not have any communication with
the group and one person stated he had never heard of the
term.

The validity of this question could not be determined
for those men that mentioned they had no communication with
the palomilla because of a potential number of intervening
factors that could have distorted the results. The data
did demonstrate that a majority of the leadership did not
try to disassociate themselves from this significant
secondary group (palomilla).

The research was continued through questions on educa-
tional background. The educational background of the
leadership was quite varied. The levels of schooling

attained ranged from the fifth grade to university graduate study. Four of the respondents did not finish high school; the same number obtained a high school diploma; and the remaining four in the group had at least fifteen hours of undergraduate college credit. Among those who attended college, three held college degrees and one had a graduate degree. In general, the levels of education for the leadership group were atypical when compared with the educational levels of both the Mexican-American community and the rest of the city. The median for the leadership in terms of years of schooling attained was twelve. However, the median for those residents of the city with Spanish surnames was only 2.5.[22] Even the positional measure (median) for the entire city did not reach above the figure computed for the leadership group. The city's median figure for educational attainment was 8.8 as compared with the leadership's figure of twelve.[23]

Adolescent peers and children's peer groups were the last social variables investigated. First, the respondents were asked the following question:

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[22]U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname, p. 183.

[23]Buck, "Power, Ideology, and Decision-Making," p. 76.

> When you were thirteen or fourteen years old, how
> many of your schoolmates at the time were of Mexican
> background?

Ten of the leaders answered that most of their adolescent

schoolmates had been of Mexican heritage. Only two said

that the number of Mexican-American schoolmates had been

very low. None of the group, it appeared, attended an

educational institution where there was not at least some

contact with Spanish-speaking children.

The same question was asked in relation to the leaders'

own children. The results were similar. Again, ten replied

that most of their children's classmates were Mexican

American. Only one individual stated that the percentage

of Mexican-American classmates was very small. In general,

the data is not surprising in a community of this size.

With only a limited number of secondary schools, de facto

ethnic segregation was not apparent. Therefore, any

individual family, even if their vertical social mobility

placed them in an Anglo residential area, would still be

unable to escape the tri-racial (ethnic) school system.

Political Variables

A number of questions were asked of the respondents

in order to reveal their political beliefs and to explore their

support for certain essential democratic norms or institutions.

This student was trying to determine the degree of militancy that existed among the leadership. Did the leaders view the democratic system as open or closed? How did they feel about their chances of assimilating into the major political party system? Moreover, the student was trying to locate indices of change in the thinking of the respondents which might lead to more militant actions. Again, it must be cautioned that the gap between projected behavior and actual behavior can be large. While the respondents may have answered according to their beliefs, they might not react according to their responses were the situation requiring action to arise.

The occurrence of violence at various recent Mexican-American political functions raised two questions. First, what did the respondents think of the use of a riotous incident as a means of bringing the problems of the Mexican American to the attention of the general public? Secondly, did they think the recent riots in East Los Angeles had helped or hurt the image of the Mexican American throughout the Southwest?[24] For example, many whites were

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[24]Paul Houston and Ted Thackrey, "Man Slain as Violence Erupts in East L.A. After Chicano Ralley," Los Angeles Times, February 1, 1971, part 1, p. 1.

unaware of the problems that existed in the Watts area of
Los Angeles prior to the 1965 riot. The experiences of
Black mass violence have served as an instrument to display
ghetto frustrations and hostilities toward the white society.
Is the same pattern recurring in the Mexican-American
barrios? A partial answer to this question may lie in
the respondents' replies, although the diversity of the
membership of La Raza (The Race) does not easily lend
itself to the making of general comparisons throughout
the Southwest.

In response to the first question, only three of
those answering stated that they agreed with the statement,
"Mexican Americans will not be heard until there are more
riots." A much larger majority felt that this was not the
case. Another three persons had no opinion concerning
the statement. In answer to the second question, only
one respondent felt that the riots in East Los Angeles
had definitely hurt the image of La Raza. Nine of the
leaders felt that the riots had not hurt Spanish-speaking
people in general. Furthermore, one person was uncertain
of the outcome and another stated, "Only time will tell."

Also pertaining to violence and riot-related material,
the respondents were asked two questions, one open ended
and the other closed. First, the following question was
asked:

> Do you feel that if one has a legitimate complaint
> he or she should participate in peaceful and non-
> violent forms of protest like marches or school
> boycotts?

An overwhelming majority of those replying to the question

said they thought legitimate complaints should be channeled

through peaceful and nonviolent forms of protest. Only

one person answered the above question in the negative.

In order to pursue this response, another question was given

to each of the participants. They were asked if protest

of any kind ever led to any constructive good or whether

this type of activity only made things worse, especially

for those who took part in the activity. Again, nine of

them replied in some positive manner. Moreover, almost

all the respondents stressed the fact that constructive

protest must be channeled through peaceful or nonviolent

instruments. Three of the respondents answered the question

in some qualified manner.

The slogans Brown Power or Chicano Power are terms

that are being heard more frequently both in Texas and

the rest of the Southwest. The uncertainty and confusion

over the meaning of the slogan is similar to the situation

found in the use and application of the term Black Power.[25]

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[25]Aberbach and Walker, "The Meanings of Black Power,"
p. 369.

In effect, Chicano Power (El Poder Chicano) could be understood to mean the tactics of the Brown Berets in East Los Angeles;[26] bringing new housing to Calexico, California (a Mexican-American community, located on the California-Mexico border);[27] or the establishment of a new city government in Crystal City, Texas. To get a better understanding of the slogan's implications to the community's leadership each respondent was asked, "What do the words Chicano power or Brown power mean to you?" The purpose was to discover whether the group recognized the term and, if so, what types of responses they had to it. The formation of the question closely followed the research done by Aberbach and Walker on Black Power.[28]

The results were somewhat unsettling. First, eight of the respondents either refused to answer the question in a serious manner or said that it simply meant nothing to them. One could suspect from this reaction that many of the individuals interpreted the slogan as indicating something radical or as relating to a political concept

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[26]Steiner, La Raza, pp. 113-14.

[27]Richard Vasquez, "Chicano Power Brings Calexico New Housing," Los Angeles Times, December 14, 1970, p. 28.

[28]Aberbach and Walker, "The Meanings of Black Power," p. 367-388.

with which they were not familiar. Moreover, labels of any description, whether they be Chicano, Mexican American, or Brown Power were not part of their life-style nor were they part of their philosophy of a democratic society.

Despite the reaction to the question, it is interesting to review some of the responses that attached some interpretation to the slogan. Of those that did answer, the words <u>strength</u> and <u>unity</u> prevailed. For example, one younger male respondent with a graduate degree said:

> It's a movement and a philosophy in which the Chicano has found his identity and as a united effort attempts to better not only himself but also his community.

Another person said the slogan meant "togetherness for the advancement of the Mexican American." Finally, one younger male teacher said:

> They both mean just about the same thing, which is the power or the right to run the institutions that are supposed to be serving us, especially where we are in the majority - where we are not, it means having a voice in the running of these institutions - proportionate representation on all decision-making agencies.

Further questions were designed to determine general opinions of the respondents in relation to protest and some of its more violent manifestations. The questionnaire included a set of hypothetical situations. In effect, each person was asked which one of a number of situations or events would have to occur before he would actively

take part in a march or demonstration protesting that particular action. Varying degrees of gravity were included in the seven options. For example, the first option merely stated that the Mexican-American students had boycotted the local high school until their demands for Chicano studies had been met. From this least offensive situation, the other options ranged through the final or most offensive event, the unnecessary killing of a Mexican American by the police. The hypothetical situations in the ascending order of intensity were local student boycotts, segregation of local restaurant or entertainment facilities, discriminatory practices in the hiring of city employees, voting discrimination, embarrassing or unfair treatment of local Mexican Americans, and the unnecessary shooting of a Mexican American by local law enforcement officers.[29]

In general, a larger percentage of respondents indicated that it would take an occurrence such as overt voter discrimination before they would have joined in a protest. However, the distribution was well balanced. For example,

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[29]Because each respondent could have indicated more than one event which would have had to occur before he would have marched, there was an overlapping in the number of responses.

five of the group indicated they would have participated
in a march if only in order to help local students with
their demands. Seven said they would have marched in
response to a segregation issue at a local restaurant or
entertainment facility. The same number also agreed they
would have become active if discriminatory practices were
displayed by the city. Beyond this level, the commitment
to protest began to rise. For example, nine respondents
said they would have joined in protest efforts if voting
discrimination practices were enforced by local or state
officials. The same number of individuals also agreed
that they would have willfully joined in a demonstration
if the Mexican-American community continuously received
embarrassing and unfair treatment at the hands of the local
or state police. Finally, a smaller number agreed that
protest marches would be appropriate if a member of La
Raza were killed by the wanton act of a police officer.
It is also interesting to review some of the other respon-
ses. While only one individual said he would not have
participated in a protest march for any of the various
options, three did give qualified answers. One respondent
also wanted to include the striking or boycotting of
certain industries as an additional option. Another person
said that although he would not participate in protest

marches, he had noticed an absence of decent employment in the city for people with Spanish surnames. However, the recent dismissals of certain Mexican-American employees by a local motel may in the near future provide an empirical test for the question of unity.[30]

Political and racial coalitions have been one means by which various minority factions could increase their influence in a particular power structure or political system. This issue was presented to the respondents in the form of two questions. First, they were asked if they thought all Spanish-speaking people should be politically united. Nine of them stated that the minority should be united politically. This is an interesting response in light of the fact that Mexican-American political unification in the Southwest has in its past history been hampered by severe cleavages stemming from regionalism. An example of this is the formation of two regional groups, the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (PASSO) in Texas,and the Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) in California, which, though they have similar goals, have not banded together to work on a national level.

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[30]"G.I. Forum Joins Boycott," La Otra Voz, February 19, 1971, p. 1.

Within the context of political coalitions, the re-
spondentswere asked if they agreed or disagreed with the
idea of uniting politically with the Negroes. There was
no general agreement on this issue. While six of the
respondents agreed that a coalition with Blacks would be
beneficial, another six disagreed. Furthermore, one
person thought this type of coalition should be restricted
to functioning as a pressure or interest group. The
results of this research are interesting when compared
with similar data taken from the U.C.L.A. Study Project.
In their research, three-fourths of the respondents in both
Los Angeles and San Antonio rejected political alignment
with Negroes.[31] A variety of reasons were given in both
surveys for this lack of interest in bi-racial unity.
Some of the elements behind this trend appear to be
separatism or self-pride, prejudice against Negroes,
differences in the types of problems faced by the two
minorities, and fear of more militant action on the part
of some Negroes. In general, there has appeared to be a
marked degree of dissatisfaction among Mexican Americans
with Negroes.[32] This dissatisfaction may be partially

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[31]Grebler, Moore, and Guzman, The Mexican-American
People, p. 569.

[32]Helen Rowan, "A Minority Nobody Knows," The
Atlantic Magazine, June, 1967, p. 52.

motivated by the fact that in areas of the Southwest where the two minorities are equally distributed (urban areas like Los Angeles or Houston), the Blacks have drawn most of the attention to their needs by violent and more militant tactics. In the minds of many Chicanos (Mexican Americans), the Negroes have undeservingly been getting most of the attention and financial assistance from the dominant white society. However, this interpretation may not be valid in South Texas, where Mexican Americans are the predominant minority group and are better organized politically than the Negroes.[33]

Supports for the political system are reflected in various norms and institutions. One of these institutions is the political party. One measure of overt support by a particular ethnic group or race is the number of that group which belong to a political party.[34] In order to prevent cleavages in the system, representation within the political party must be broad enough to take into consideration the demands of the various factions. Furthermore,

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[33]James Soukup, Clifton McCleskey, and H. Holloway, Party and Factional Divisions in Texas (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1964), p. 127.

[34]David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 163.

these factions must see some results from their demands or inputs in the form of positive actions or outputs.

The results of the research in the community under observation apparently reflect a loss of support for the local parties (Democrats and Republicans), but not necessarily a loss of faith in the two-party system. A series of questions was asked of the respondents to determine their views in regard to party identification, party support, and third party usefulness. First, each person was asked if it were necessary to participate in the political party system in order to get one's demands presented to the government. This question, in effect, attempted to establish the legitimacy of the party system before further analysis could be conducted into just what parties influenced the group. Ten of the respondents said that the party system was an institution that should be used in order to make demands heard in the government. Only two persons suggested that it was not an effective method for presenting demands.

Party identification among the respondents was somewhat confused by what appeared to be a series of evasive answers. Only two individuals stated the Democratic party as the one with which they most closely identified. Moreover, most of the respondents stated such things as

"The one willing to help Mexican Americans" or "that which more closely represents the Chicano philosophy" or "anyone who cares about the needs of the people." The issue of a party identification in the community was confused by the existence of a third party coalition consisting of Negroes, Mexican Americans, and disenchanted liberal white Democrats. Three of the respondents placed their party identification with this third party coalition rather than one of the major parties. Furthermore, one person placed his identification with the Mexican-American third party, La Raza Unida, developing in South Texas. While party identification was confused by the entrance into the picture of third party factions, this phenomenon is not new in Texas politics. Rivalries within the predominantly Democratic party between the established conservative wing and the liberal faction had existed for some time.[35] However, it must be noted that the leadership in the community had sided with the liberal Democrats, while according to Soukup and McCleskey, the Mexican-American minority in the state as a whole has preferred the conservative wing.[36]

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[35]Clifton McCleskey, The Government and Politics of Texas (3rd ed.; Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1969), pp. 93-114.

[36]Soukup, McCleskey, and Holloway, Party and Factional Divisions in Texas, p. 131.

It was apparent that the group was generally dissatis-
fied with the established Democrats (conservative wing) and
the Republicans. However, to substantiate this each respon-
dent was asked:

> Some people say that both major parties in this
> country have failed to represent the Mexican Ameri-
> can. What would you say?

The group was in unanimous agreement that both major parties
had failed to represent the Mexican American. While some
individuals felt the parties were beginning to change, the
leaders still responded in general with an affirmative
reply to the question. In relation to this question, they
were also asked if either the Democrats or Republicans
represented the Mexican American fairly. Again, the
answers were consistent with the previous responses. The
majority of the individuals answering the questions believed
that neither the Democrats nor Republicans had given the
minority fair political representation.

As had been mentioned earlier, a third party element
played an important role in community politics. In an
effort to follow up on the importance of third party
politics, the respondents were asked if they thought
Mexican-American third parties served any useful functions
in the political system (local, state, and Federal). Al-
though only one member of the group actually identified

with a Mexican-American third party, ten of the respondents said ethnic third parties did serve useful functions. In order to pursue this line of thought, the leaders were asked to list some of the functions of third parties. In general, the answers given reflected the idea that third party development would demonstrate to the Democrats and Republicans the importance of the Mexican American. For example, one person said:

> To show the other two parties that there is a need to recognize and promote the alleviation of many problems that confront the almost 48% of (this city's) population, the Mexican American.

Another person replied:

> Mexican-American third parties will in time be a large party in Texas, where possibly it will have and elect candidates.

Finally, one leader said rather candidly:

> It shows that the Mexican American is sick of being served seconds or left overs.

Support of the norms and beliefs in the dominant political system are major indicators of support for the system. Easton concluded that if the system were to maintain the degree of stability necessary for its preservation, the support for both values (goals and principles) and norms would have to play paramount roles in its success.[37] In an

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[37]Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, p. 194.

effort to determine to what extent the sample thought some

desirable norms were being approximated by the United

States they were asked, "What are some of the things one

can be proud of in this country?" Their answers were

broken down into the following categories: (1) basic

American freedoms found in the Constitution, the Bill of

Rights, and the Declaration of Independence; (2) the oppor-

tunity one has for advancement in this country; (3) the

American standard of living; (4) America's industrial

wealth; (5) being an American; (6) America's foreign

policy; (7) being a Mexican American; (8) America's

military strength; and (9) the educational system. Only

three responded to the question negatively. An example

of this type of remark was:

> I am proud of everything except the educational,
> political, and social injustices that have been
> perpetrated against the minority groups, by the
> Anglo society.

In theory, an important function of the political

system is its ability to meet or regulate the various kinds

of demands made upon the input apparatus. In effect,

Easton said that it must prevent "demand overload."[38]

However, the system should maintain open channels that

can cope with the various types of legitimate demands made

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[38]Ibid., pp. 112-13.

especially by divergent cultures. One method of preventing cleavages and alienation by a sub-group or divergent element is to place some of its membership in responsible government positions. In relation to this concept, the group in the study was asked the following question:

> Are Mexican Americans who are placed in important government positions ever listened to either in the community or on the state and national levels?

In response to this question, six said they were listened to. However, almost as many stated that they were not listened to.

Along with the ability of a minority group's members to assist in the system's decision-making process is the concept of having a dominant leadership group within the system responsive to and respectful of the divergent group. This idea of respectfulness was measured to some extent by asking the leaders what they thought of the way local government officials treated the Mexican American in the area. Five respondents said that either they did find respect being offered by the government or that at least some of the officials demonstrated this kind of treatment. However, six replied they did not believe the Mexican American was being treated with respect in the city.

These responses were followed by an attempt to determine how much of an opportunity the group thought the minority had to enter various local government positions. Specifically, they were asked:

> Are Mexican Americans given an equal opportunity to
> enter the various local government positions (running
> for public office, employment selection, etc.) as any
> other single group in the community?

Of those answering the question, only four said that there

was no lack of equal opportunity within the city. However,

seven of the group replied negatively. In order to locate

some of the more specific reasons why such a large number

of the group felt equal opportunity was not apparent, they

were each asked to express their opinions on the subject.

Again, five of those that answered the open-ended question

said that the problem was related in some manner to dis-

crimination or racism. For example, one person stated:

> Most Anglos feel we are not qualified only as an
> excuse for they are afraid to let us have political
> power.

Another comment was:

> Ignorance, fear of losing the dominant position.

One college graduate remarked:

> They always give or find excuses for not employing
> Mexican Americans. Equal opportunity in theory is
> different from the one practiced.

Finally, a more extreme position was expressed:

> Most Anglos are racists - they cannot trust Chicanos
> to run the government and they don't want to give them
> a chance because if they are successful, it will make
> Chicanos equal and they can't tolerate this.

It is clear from the preceding statements that a large

segment of the leadership felt dissatisfied with the chances

of gaining equal access into the local government. In a
democratic society, those that profess to believe in the
norms and objectives of systemic legitimacy (for example,
the U.S. Constitution) will look for alternative but legally
accepted avenues of power to counteract unresponsive ele-
ments in the system. One accepted method to produce political
change is through the voting process. However, Guzman has
pointed out that,before 1950, few Mexican Americans tried
to vote. He said voting for these people was an Anglo
rite that was not completely understood by most members of
the minority. This reaction produced generations of Mexican
Americans who, taking on the role of bystanders and spec-
tators on voting day, existed in a political limbo. Guzman
believed that to many Spanish-speaking people, the concept
and use of the vote was elusive and intangible because it
could not be related to the culture in terms of food,
shelter, or a better life.[39]

The leaders in this study were asked how they felt
about the voting process. Was it somewhat of an Anglo
institution? Did it have any real effectiveness in terms

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[39]Ralph Guzman, "Politics and Policies of the Mexican-
American Community," in California Politics and Policies,
ed. by Eugene Dvorin and Arthur Misner (Palo Alto, Calif.:
Addison-Wesley, 1966), p. 367.

of changing the system? The overwhelming majority of
respondents said that voting was an effective method of
voicing one's opinion and not merely a waste of time.
However, as members of an elite peer group (community
leaders), they might be expected ·to support or profess
to support the political norms of the dominant system.
It would be interesting to compare these results with
data acquired from future research in order to determine
how the leadership's position on voting coincided with
the views of the entire Mexican-American community.

One variable measuring a minority member's assimila-
tion into the dominant Anglo political system might be his
choice of political advisors. For example, higher assimi-
lation and a greater amount of access to the dominant
political structure might lead one to choose as political
confidants those other than members of his own ethnic
group. On the other hand, the reverse process could be
observed if the individual were totally committed to his
ethnic membership and reserved the right to discuss pri-
vate political feelings with only those of his own minority.
Questions were presented to each of the respondents in
order to find to whom such persons would turn when discuss-
ing matters related to politics. Despite the hesitancy
on the part of some members of the group, most of them

mentioned specific individuals from whom they would seek political advice. In effect, the pattern was for these names to consist of four men who had already been observed to be the most important or key figures in the community. Included in this group was one individual who was acknowledged to be the _jefe_ (leader). Only one person mentioned the name of an Anglo to whom he said he might turn for political advice. Some people listed the names of various groups and organizations rather than individuals. For example, the local liberal faction of the Democratic party and the G.I. Forum were both included in the listings. Another person stated in a somewhat evasive manner that he would seek advice from "anyone that I feel knows more than me." One economically successful respondent stated that he did not seek advice from any single individual but rather received all his political information from television and radio. Finally, two people either refused to list any single person or group from whom they sought advice or stated that there was no one to whom they would go. In conclusion, it must be mentioned that all those from whom they sought advice lived in the city or county.

A question was also asked of the group concerning the discussion of politics and its effect on employment or business relationships between Anglos and themselves. The question was:

Talking about politics in the city with Anglo Americans
will hurt your business or employment. True or False?

An attempt was made to determine how much interchange of
political thought was conducted between the minority and
Anglos. One means of describing the "openness" of a
political system is by determining the amount of free dis-
cussion that occurs in relation to fear of political or
economic retaliation. In regard to this issue, only three
of the respondents said that talking about politics with
Anglos in the city would hurt their employment or businesses.
However, a much larger number disagreed and said that dis-
cussing politics with Anglos would not hurt them economi-
cally. In summary, it should be observed that a large
number of the respondents returned to their own ethnic peers
or the _jefe_ when they wanted to discuss politics candidly.
However, as a whole, most of the group did not exclude
communication with the town's small segment of liberal
Anglos.

The avenue which people take to express their displeasure
in a democratic system can be an important measure of how
well the system is functioning. An earlier analysis of
voting behavior indicated that a large number of the
Mexican-American leadership firmly believed in the useful-
ness of the voting process. In conjunction with the data,
each respondent was asked how he would change a law.

that seemed to be unjust. The results reflected a variety of opinions on the issue. In effect, there appeared to be no single pattern or political institution that could be agreed upon. For example, some of the methods suggested to change the law were the use of the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund, the American G.I. Forum, voting in public elections, introducing a more just bill, and using civil disobedience. However, it was apparent that at least a quarter of the respondents indicated they would take some approach which allowed for the use of "normal" political processes combined with strong political pressures to change the law. Two people stated they would talk with their state representatives, and another two indicated that the unjust law should be changed through the courts and by the signing of petitions. It must be noted that there were no real expressions of disappointment with or failure of the structure of the political system. Although one individual did say he would use civil disobedience as a method of changing the injustice, he did state that prior to this approach he would try the established channels.

One's understanding of whether the decisions in a political or social system are the result of widespread participation or are being made by an elite group is important in investigating how the citizenry feels about its

government. Many exceptional studies both in sociology and political science have been devoted to this question. Some of the more outstanding works have been done by Robert Dahl,[40] Floyd Hunter,[41] Robert Agger,[42] and C. Wright Mills.[43] A general underlying premise in all of these works is that the populace in the community must have a high sense of political efficacy before the government can function smoothly. In relation to this premise the respondents in this study were asked:

> Some people say the major decisions in (the city) are made by a small circle of important people. Do you strongly agree, agree mildly, disagree mildly, or disagree strongly?

If the responses were to be viewed as any kind of measurement index as to the openness of the society, the results were not encouraging. Nine of the group agreed that there was a specific group of individuals that made the paramount decisions in the city. Only two people said they disagreed with the idea that an elite group was making the important decisions.

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[40]Dahl, Who Governs?

[41]Hunter, Community Power Structure.

[42]Robert E. Agger, Daniel Goldrich, and Bert E. Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled: Political Power and Importance in American Communities (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.)

[43]C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

A closer analysis of this group consensus disclosed that of those agreeing with the idea that an elite decision-making body existed, eight said that the body consisted entirely of Anglo Americans. One respondent listed the decision-makers as Anglos along with some Mexican Americans. Finally, one individual said the group was of a tri-racial composition (Anglo Americans, Mexican Americans, and Negroes).

Perhaps the most difficult task in the questionnaire was the designing and usage of a method to determine the political orientation of each respondent. It was important to perform this task with some degree of accuracy for it had to be determined where each person was located on a political scale in order to classify them in terms of militants and non-militants. Rather than selecting an arbitrary scale of militancy, it was decided to have each person to attempt to identify with well-known Mexican-American political leaders. Some of the names to be found on the list were known locally while others were national figures. This list consisted of the following persons: Albert Peña,[44] Joseph Montoya,[45] Eligio de la Garza,[46] César Chavez,[47]

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[44]A Bexar County (San Antonio, Texas) Commissioner.

[45]The United States Senator from New Mexico.

[46]A United States Representative from South Texas.

[47]A California farm workers' union leader and organizer.

Henry B. Gonzales,[48] Reies Tijerina,[49] Rodolfo Gonzales,[50]
and José Angel Gutierrez.[51] The political ideologies of
each member on the list were generally recognized,and by
relating what each of them represented to the respondent's
position it could be estimated where the respondent stood
in terms of political attitudes and militancy. This com-
parison was achieved by asking each of the leaders to list
those individuals he had been able to recognize in order,
beginning with those closest to his personal beliefs.
Taking the names from the relationship list, each respond-
ent was then placed somewhere on a general political
scale. Placing them on the scale was accomplished by
either the respondent himself or by the researcher who was
able to infer placement from data given by the respondents.
Furthermore, the student placed the established Mexican-
American political personalities on the same scale in
order to gain a better perspective of the respondents'

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[48]A United States Representative from San Antonio,
Texas.

[49]The prophet and spokesman of the land grant movement
(Federal Alliance of Free-City States) in northern New
Mexico.

[50]A young political activist in Denver, Colorado.

[51]The organizer of MAYO and a political activist
in south Texas.

political positions. This scale is shown in more detail in Table Two along with each of the respondent's positions.

The ability to recognize established Mexican-American political personalities was quite high among the leadership. The names of Albert Peña, Eligio de la Garza, César Chavez, Henry B. Gonzales, and José Angel Gutierrez were known by all the members in the study. Furthermore, there was only one name, Rodolfo Gonzales, that was recognized by only ten persons.

The scale showed that six of the respondents' positions related closely with the ideology of the U. S. Representative from San Antonio, Henry B. Gonzales. Generally, this was a position of moderate assimilation. It represented the traditional approach used by many of the older and more well established elements in Mexican-American political circles. In effect, this approach in dealing with the dominant political system is to approach the Anglo in terms of a melting pot philosophy or an American Dream (Protestant Ethic) concept. At the same time, the supporters of this ideology realize the problems and needs of the Mexican American. Realistically, the individual deals with the Anglo society both in terms of ethnic group voting blocs and compromise. This method allows one to advance the well being of the minority without

TABLE 2

POLITICAL MILITANCY SCALE OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN

LEADERSHIP IN A TEXAS COMMUNITY

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                                              Extreme
Assimilation                                  Militancy

                      x*
                      x
                      x                   x       x
 ——————x—————————————x———————————————————x———————x———————x————————
  -3        -2        x        -1      0        +1      +2        +3
                      x

Montoya   H. Gonzales                  Peña    Chavez
                                                 Gutierrez
                                                 R. Gonzales
                                                 Tijerina
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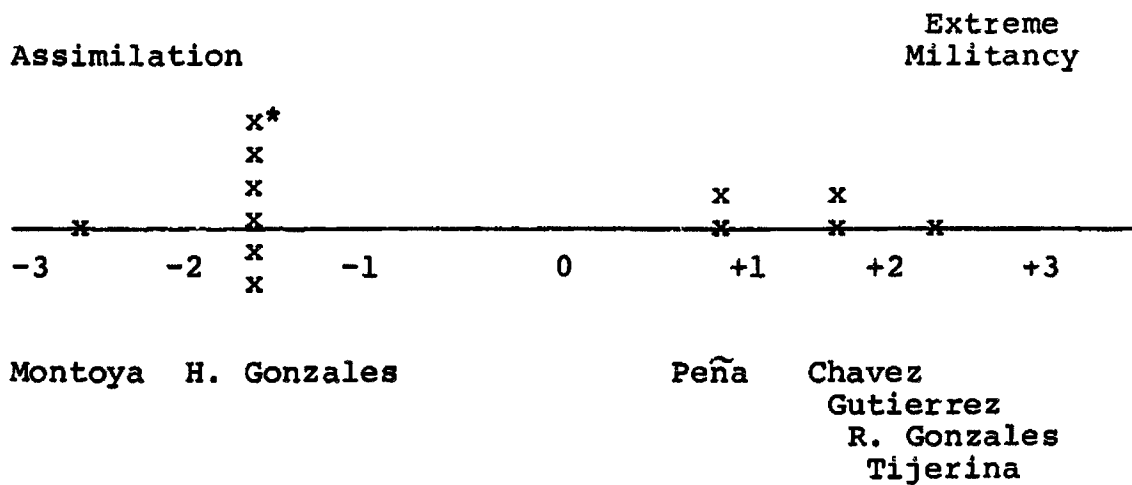
*Represents one respondent's position on the scale.

offending any groups or individuals that could block or set back the slow progress that has already been achieved. It has sometimes been called the tradition of "quiet fighting."[52]

Four of the group's positions were placed within the ideological boundaries of the Bexar County (San Antonio) Commissioner, Albert Peña, and the California labor leader, César Chavez. This philosophy focuses on civil disobedience through the use of nonviolence to achieve goals for the Mexican American that otherwise might be ignored or allowed to deteriorate.[53] While there was some semblance of polarization within the group between the assimilation elements and the more militant segment, most of the individuals were located between minus two and plus two on a scale that ranged from minus three (assimilation) to plus three (extreme militant).

Ethnic organizational membership was one of the more difficult areas to explore and analyze because of its multi-functional nature. In general, the character of Mexican-American organizations has been diversified to

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[52]Grebler, Moore, and Guzman, The Mexican-American People, p. 584.

[53]"San Antonio Mayor, Chicanos OK Parley." Houston Chronicle, September 13, 1970, sec. 1, p. 22.

serve such varied areas.as primary group involvement
(Community Service Organization), single issue crisis
(American G.I. Forum), and ethnic symbolism (League of
Latin-American Citizens).[54] Along with its community and
primary group services, the Mexican-American organization
has taken on an increasingly political orientation. After
World War II, such groups as the G.I. Forum, the Mexican-
American Political Association (MAPA) in California, and
the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organiza-
tions (PASSO) in Texas, preferred to direct their primary
goals toward political objectives. The historical
development of Spanish-speaking organizations has entered
a new era with the formation of youth-directed, more
militant groups like La Raza Unida political party,[55]
the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), and the
Brown Berets.[56] While some of the older membership has
attempted to bridge the cleavage between these newer
organizations and the "establishment" groups, a feeling
of racial power and separatism still prevails. Such

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[54]Tirado, "Mexican American Community Political
Organization," pp. 73-5.

[55]Frank del Olmo, "Chicano Group Seeks Control of
South Texas," Los Angeles Times, August 30, 1970, p. 3.

[56]Steiner, La Raza, pp. 113-22.

slogans as Brown Power or <u>El</u> <u>Poder</u> <u>Chicano</u> (Chicano Power)
have begun appearing frequently among younger Mexican
Americans throughout the Southwest.

The concluding sections of this study attempted to
discover the types of organizations to which each respon-
dent belonged and his ability to recognize various regional
and national Mexican-American organizations. As might be
expected, every one of the respondents was a member of an
organization that had a regular meeting schedule. There-
fore, the members were asked to list the organizations to
which they belonged. The membership in these various
groups were categorized according to their basic functions.
As has already been mentioned, many Mexican-American
organizations are multi-functional in appearance. How-
ever, in order to simplify the research, the organiza-
tions in this study were listed under the following
headings: religious, social, governmental, political, and
educational. The results of the data are presented in
Table Three.

More respondents belonged to the American G.I. Forum
than to any other single organization. This parent
organization's origins centered around an incident of
discrimination against a Mexican-American war veteran who
was refused burial by a funeral home in Three Rivers, Texas,

TABLE 3

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP IN A

MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Organizational Categories	Number of Leadership Listed as Members (N=12)
Political Organizations:	
American G.I. Forum	11
Local Third Party (Liberal Democrats)	3
League of Women Voters	1
Religious Organizations:	
Roman Catholic Knights of Columbus	2
Protestant Church Fraternity	1
Campus Christian Community Covenant	1
Educational Organizations:	
Texas Educational Agency	2
Texas State Teachers Association	1
Governmental Organizations:	
City Council	1
Community Action Program Board	1
South Side Community Center Board	1
Gary Job Corp Center Advisory Committee	1
Social Organizations:	
City Lions Club	1
Local Country Club	1

at the end of the second World War. Under the leadership
of Dr. Hector Garcia, the organization has spread to
twenty-three different states.[57] The Forum's influence
in the Mexican-American community under study was highly
significant. Only one individual in the leadership group
was not listed as a member of the G.I. Forum. In many
respects, it appeared to be the focal point of the community's
ethnic leadership. It was the one organization that had
weathered the cleavages of the community and had produced
the city's top Mexican-American leaders. The inner core
of the organization was, in effect, the same group of men
who ran the community. Perhaps the two most outstanding
reasons for the G.I. Forum's longevity were the fact that
the number of leaders in the community has remained small
and that no other comparable ethnic organization had
appeared to compete for the town's ethnic leadership.

A fundamental problem, even among community leaders,
was the relative lack of knowledge about various national
or regional Mexican-American organizations. In effect, both
the heterogeneous nature of the Mexican-American population
and regional jealousies may have accounted partially for

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[57]Tirado, "Mexican American Community Political
Organization," p. 65.

this situation. In <u>Mexican-American People</u>, the authors discovered that in both the cities of Los Angeles and San Antonio, few national ethnic organizations had been able to penetrate the minority population with any great success.[58]

The same basic list of organizations as compiled in the Mexican-American Studies Project was distributed among the members of this study. Each respondent was asked if he had either heard of or was familiar with any of the groups. However, modifications had to be made on the Study Project's original list. For example, the term <u>Democratic Clubs</u> was substituted for the name <u>Viva</u> Johnson Clubs. Secondly, two regional organizations, <u>La Raza Unida</u> and MAYO, were included. Finally, the respondents in this study were asked to list other organizations they knew of but could not find on the prepared list. The final list consisted of the following organizations: American G.I. Forum, <u>Alianza Hispano Americana</u>, Republican Clubs, Democratic Clubs, MAPA, PASSO, the League of United Latin-American Citizens (LULAC), <u>La Raza Unida</u>, MAYO, and others.

The data compiled from this question revealed that five listed organizations were groups well established in the

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[58]Grebler, Moore, and Guzman, <u>The Mexican-American People</u>, pp. 547-48.

minds of the respondents. These five organizations were
the G.I. Forum, PASSO, LULAC, La Raza Unida, and MAYO.
Moreover, two of them, the G.I. Forum and La Raza Unida,
were recognized by all the leaders. Organizations with
the highest percentage of recognition or familiarity appeared
to be either those that existed in the community (American
G.I. Forum) or those that had state and regional signifi-
cance (PASSO, LULAC, MAYO, and La Raza Unida.) Other
organizations that were listed but not included in the
established section were the Brown Berets (a para-military
radical organization located in California), Texans for
the Educational Advancement of Mexican Americans (TEAM),
Involvement of Mexican Americans in Gainful Endeavors
(IMAGE), and two local county political organizations.
The complete data in this area is presented in Table Four.

This chapter has reviewed the data collected from the
questionnaires. Essentially, the material has been examined
from three aspects: the city and community environment,
social variables, and political variables. In order to
give one a more precise understanding of this leadership
study, it was necessary to acquaint one with the demo-
graphic and physical environment of the respondents'
community. A second area in this chapter focused on the
leaders' societal and economic backgrounds in order to gain

a better understanding of some of the basic factors that might have contributed to the development of their political attitudes. Finally, a number of selected political concepts and institutions were reviewed from the leadership's viewpoint. Chapter Four will continue with an analysis of the correlation between the independent variables discussed in this chapter and the dependent variable, militancy.

TABLE 4

AWARENESS OF POLITICAL AND ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS:

LEADERSHIP SURVEY IN A MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Organization	Number Having Heard of the Group or Familiar With it	Number Not Familiar With the Group	N
American G.I. Forum	12	0	12
La Raza Unida	12	0	12
PASSO	11	1	12
LULAC	11	1	12
MAYO	11	1	12
Democratic Clubs	7	5	12
Alianza Hispano Americana	6	6	12
MAPA	6	6	12
Republican Clubs	5	7	12
Others:			
Local Third Party	3	9	12
TEAM	2	10	12
IMAGE	1	11	12
Neighboring County Mexican American Org.	1	11	12
Brown Berets	1	11	12

CHAPTER IV

CORRELATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Introduction

This chapter will take the material gathered from the questionnaires and analyze it by relating it to the dependent variable, militancy. In effect, an attempt is made to correlate militancy with general political attitudes of the respondents about democratic institutions and with certain socioeconomic facts about the respondents. Hence, this section will attempt to distinguish between those areas of data that were related to militancy and those that were not. In the final analysis, it will be shown that the degree of militancy in this community does not produce a loss of support for democracy. However, there may be (obviously, there are in some communities) individuals more militant than any observed in this study, and it might be that such individuals would lose support for democracy. Also, it will be shown that the Mexican-American leadership styles in this community do not appear to be changing with the advent of more militant beliefs in other areas of the Southwest.

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Correlation Techniques

In order to prove or disprove the major hypothesis of
this study, it was necessary to interpret the concept
of militancy. The respondents have been classified into
two groups based on responses made to questions related to
established Mexican-American political personalities (see
Table Two, p. 97). These two groups will be classified
as either more militant or less militant. This final
classification for each of the respondents was achieved
by first asking each person to construct a list based on
the names of political personalities he was able to iden-
tify. This list was to be arranged in the order in which
each respondent felt a particular name most closely repre-
sented his own political beliefs. The political personalities
whose ideologies were closely in line with the respondent's
philosophy were placed at the top of the list. For example,
if respondent A placed Reies Tijerina at the top of a
constructed list, this would be one indicator that the
respondent felt Tijerina's more militant tactics were in
accordance with said respondent's own political attitudes.
For the second classification, each respondent was asked to
place names he was able to identify on the political Mili-
tancy Scale (See Table Two, p. 97). The spectrum on this
scale ranged from "Extreme Militant" (+3) to "Assimilationist"

(-3). In addition to the placement of these identifiable names on the scale, each person was asked to place himself somewhere on the same scale. For example, it could be surmised that if respondent A placed the name Albert Peña at plus two and he also placed himself at plus two, then he would be categorized as more militant. As had been previously indicated, each member of the leadership group was assigned either to the less militant or more militant category. It must be noted that these two labels are relative only to the group under analysis. They do not necessarily indicate that because a respondent was classified in this study as more militant, his political beliefs were closely aligned with Mexican-American militancy in other parts of the country.

The Basic Social Correlations

In the following section, the relationship between social background variables and militancy will be examined. Included in this discussion will be language, parental birth place, length of residence in the community, ethnic name identification, cross-racial identification, and peer group relationships.

In terms of language usage in the home, some rather surprising facts were discovered. Some thought of

militancy in terms of separatism and close cultural identifi-
cation with one's own race or ethnic group. Black militants
have expressed this kind of racial pride, not in the context
of language so much as through the wearing and displaying
of African or natural styles (natural hairdos and African
clothing). It must be suspected that one outlet for
Mexican-American militancy would be in the retention and
wide usage of the Spanish language. This would indicate
a closer alliance with the minority's cultural roots.
Especially among younger militant Chicanos, Spanish is
frequently used even in bi-racial groups.[1]

In the community under analysis, few of its leaders
spoke exclusively in either English or Spanish. Moreover,
the more militant group indicated that a higher number of its
respondents spoke both languages in their homes more often
than did the less militant segment (see Table Five).
Surprisingly, not one member of this more militant class
indicated that Spanish was the only language used in the
home. However, one member of the less militant individuals
indicated that Spanish was his primary language at home.

[1]Dixie Shipp, "Gringo Rule Calls Raza Unida Chief,"
Austin American Statesman, November 13, 1970, p. 6

TABLE 5

LANGUAGE USAGE IN THE HOME CORRELATED WITH
MILITANCY: SURVEY OF LEADERSHIP IN A
MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

	Spanish	English	Both*	N
More Militant	0	2	5	7
Less Militant	1	1	3	5
N	1	3	8	12

*Both English and Spanish were spoken in the home.

The results showed that more militant members of the
leadership did not restrict themselves to separatist con-
cepts in terms of language usage. The reasons for this
outcome may be rooted in both the social and political
factors of the community. First, the ages of the more
militant group did not vary to a great degree. For example,
only one of the respondents in this category was under thirty.
Militancy, especially in language, would seem not to occur
in this sample. One might expect to find linguistic separa-
tism among younger militants in other areas of Texas and
the Southwest. Secondly, the nature of leadership in the
community under analysis stresses bi-racial communication.
To be successful as a leader in the community, one must be
able to communicate with the Anglo's political system, and
this requires a command of both English and Spanish. But
is this necessarily carried into the home life of the more
militant respondents? Apparently, it is. Despite the term
more militant, there was still a strong feeling of assimi-
lation especially among the more educated leadership.
Follow-up interviews revealed that some members of the
group felt that they had been restricted in their ability
to adjust to the dominant society by having had a foreign
language (Spanish) home environment. Therefore, rather
than placing their children in a similar language situation,

both English and Spanish were spoken in the home in order to give the children some degree of Anglo acculturation.

What effect did having parents born in Mexico have on militancy? Five of the seven more militant respondents listed both parents as having been born in Mexico. Moreover, another two individuals in this group said that at least one of their parents had been born in Mexico. In comparison, only one of the less militant individuals stated that both his parents had been born in Mexico (see Table Six).

Prior to this study, it was suspected that the longer a respondent lived in the community the less militant he became. This hypothesis was not substantiated by the research. In fact, it appeared that length of residency was <u>not</u> a factor in lessening of militancy. Table Seven shows that the number of respondents who had resided in the community for at least twenty years were divided evenly as to their political classifications. Five individuals were classified as more militant and four were listed as less militant.

Only three respondents had resided in the community for less than ten years, and two of them were categorized as more militant. However, this figure is relatively low in comparison to the entire group. As stated earlier, these findings do not indicate that length of residency was directly related to militancy.

TABLE 6

THE EFFECT OF MEXICAN BORN PARENTS COMPARED TO
MILITANCY: LEADERSHIP SURVEY

	Both Parents	Father Only	Mother Only	Neither Parent	N
More Militant	5	2	0	0	7
Less Militant	1	1	0	3	5
N	6	3	0	3	12

TABLE 7

LENGTH OF RESIDENCY IN THE COMMUNITY IN
RELATION TO MILITANCY: LEADERSHIP SURVEY
IN A MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

	Over 20 Years	10 to 19 Years	Less than 10 Years	N
More Militant	5	0	2	7
Less Militant	4	0	1	5
N	9	0	3	12

Some of the most surprising results in this study arose from the issue of ethnic name identification. One might assume that militancy and name identification could be correlated. For example, a young Mexican-American militant would probably be quick to point out that he was not a Mexican but a Chicano. Older, more conservative individuals (sometimes referred to as Tio Tacos by their younger Chicano counterparts) would probably prefer the name Mexican or Mexican American (perhaps even Latin American). Was this the case in the study? The results seemed to indicate name identification was extremely inconsistent (see Table Eight). For example, from the various name options supplied to each respondent only one of the more militant group chose to be called a Chicano. Moreover, within the more militant class, three persons wished to be known as Mexican Americans. In the less militant group, only one person identified himself as a Mexican while two others said they were Mexican Americans.

It was determined from this data that both the name Mexican American and terms listed in the free-option category such as "American" or "by my own name" were popular with many of the leaders. The popularity of these two options clearly transcended ideological lines. Furthermore, it must be stated that the question of name

TABLE 8

ETHNIC NAME IDENTIFICATION CORRELATED WITH MILITANCY:
LEADERSHIP SURVEY IN A MEXICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

	Mexican	Mexican-American	Chicano	Other	N
More Militant	0	3	1	3	7
Less Militant	1	2	0	2	5
N	1	5	1	5	12

identification was not subjected to age group diversity.
It was interesting to observe that only the one more
militant respondent under the age of thirty listed Chicano
as his primary name identification option.

An important characteristic of an open social or
political system is the concept of cross-cultural communi-
cation. This idea was explored in terms of militancy in
order to discover whether more militant respondents
communicated less with the Anglos in the city than did
their less militant counterparts. Surprisingly, the
results, pictured in Table Nine, demonstrated a good deal
of communication by all respondents. In fact, only two
people in the entire leadership group indicated that they
had less than a significant amount of communication with
the Anglo society.

While the data suggested a bond with the Anglo popula-
tion, further evidence indicated that communication did not
necessarily signify understanding (see Table Ten). Nine
respondents declared that the Anglos in the area did not
really understand the Mexican American's problems and needs.
What seemed most significant was the fact that all the more
militant group agreed with this statement while the less
militant respondents were divided in their opinions. In
this area, it appeared that the more militant people

TABLE 9

MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNICATION WITH ANGLO AMERICANS
IN RELATION TO MILITANCY: LEADERSHIP SURVEY
IN A MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

	Number With Frequent Communication	Number With Some Communication	N
More Militant	6	1	7
Less Militant	4	1	5
N	10	2	12

TABLE 10

ANGLO-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN NEEDS
CORRELATED WITH MILITANCY: LEADERSHIP SURVEY
IN A MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

	Yes[a]	No[b]	N
More Militant	0	6	6[c]
Less Militant	2	3	5
N	2	9	11

[a]The number of respondents who thought Anglos understood
the needs of the Mexican American.

[b]The number of respondents who did not think Anglos
understood the needs of the Mexican Americans.

[c]One more militant respondent failed to answer the
question.

sustained a predicted pattern by expressing this criticism of the Anglo community.

In conclusion, it must be noted that the distribution of communication patterns should be perceived as being related to the city's size. This student felt that in a semi-urban city of twelve thousand residents, some contact among the various ethnic and racial quarters must surface. This study showed that the communication between Anglos and Mexican Americans was largely restricted to economic matters (see *supra*, p. 43), and that there were few established social or political linkages. Moreover, in a city of this size, one factor in the relative absence of extreme militancy might have been this economic contact between the Mexican-American community and the Anglos.

In terms of social assimilation, it was suspected that militancy and non-assimilation might be related. If this were true, then the evidence from the study did not fully support the hypothesis. One method to try to determine this relationship was to take an established cultural institution (*palomilla*) and ask how many respondents in the two categories still retained some identification or contact with it. When asked, "How many, if any, of the members of your *palomilla* do you see any more?" the more militant respondents stated that they still saw almost all

of their former peers. However, a majority of the less
militant group also indicated they were still in contact
with members of a former palomilla.

What did these correlations indicate? The more mili-
tant people retained a slightly greater degree of contact
with the selected institution (palomilla) than did the less
militant respondents. However, the selection of only one
variable to measure the hypothesis could lead to inconclu-
sive evidence. A more elaborate series of social institu-
tions would have to be selected and then investigated in
order to prove or disprove this hypothesis.

The Religious Correlations

An unknown factor affecting militancy was religious
preference. What, if any, effect did religion have on the
political attitudes of the respondents? Several hypotheses
might be advanced in support of specific religious data
and militancy. For example, one might suggest that
Catholicism would act as a conservative influence upon
militancy, thus leaving most more militant individuals with
Protestant or no religious preferences. The case of Reies
Tijerina, the former Protestant preacher turned militant,
might lend support to this hypothesis. However, evidence

contradictory to that hypothesis might be implied by the changing status and fluctuating militancy of individual Catholic clergymen.

In the group under analysis, there appeared to be no established correlation between specific religious sects and militant beliefs. The number of Catholics and Protestants were almost equally divided between the more militant and less militant factions (see Table Eleven). Though the Roman Catholic church may have been an important factor in relation to militancy, it played no visible role in this research. One element in this lack of a strong correlation was that not one of the respondents was a religious leader. However, further analysis and investigation in the specific area of religious leadership would have to be conducted before any valid conclusions could be achieved.

Closely related to religious preference is the frequency of religious attendance (See Table Twelve). Investigation showed that all the respondents appeared to have had a high rate of church attendance. Among more militant individuals, two attended services two or three times per month. Another three persons in this same category attended church once a week. The figures for the less militant group were similar. Two people in this group attended church at least twice a month and another two went to church every week.

TABLE 11

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE IN RELATION TO MILITANCY:
LEADERSHIP SURVEY IN A MEXICAN-AMERICAN
COMMUNITY

	Catholic Preference	Protestant Preference	No Preference	N
More Militant	4	2	1	7
Less Militant	4	1	0	5
N	8	3	1	12

TABLE 12

RELIGIOUS ATTENDANCE RELATED TO MILITANCY:
LEADERSHIP SURVEY IN A MEXICAN-
AMERICAN COMMUNITY

	Attended Once A Week	Attended 2 Or 3 Times A Month	Attended Once A Month	N
More Militant	3	2	1	6
Less Militant	2	2	1	5
N	5	4	2	11*

*One more militant respondent failed to answer the question.

No pattern appeared while trying to correlate religious attendance with the respondent's degree of militancy. It could be surmised from the research that in this community neither religious preference nor religious attendance played any significant role in the formation of militant attitudes. In conclusion, it might be stated that more militant individuals attended church as often, if not more often, than did their less militant counterparts.

The Correlation of Social and Political Equality

One might suspect that militancy and perceptions of social and political equality for the Mexican American would be related. The research appeared to indicate that this was true. First, for every three more militant persons that said Mexican Americans would not achieve equality within the next fifty years, only two of the less militant respondents concurred. However, three others of this same less militant group felt that the Mexican American would reach equal status with other groups in the United States within this same period (see Table Thirteen).

A visible pattern developed between militancy and a desire for equality. For many of the less militant people, the question of Mexican-American status was not an issue. They felt that equality in terms of a democratic society had

TABLE 13

WILL THE MEXICAN AMERICAN ACHIEVE EQUALITY WITHIN
THE NEXT FIFTY YEARS? EQUALITY
CORRELATED WITH MILITANCY

	Yes	No	N
More Militant	3	3	6
Less Militant	3	2	5
N	6	5	11*

*One more militant respondent failed to answer the question.

already been achieved. It is not quite clear how they interpreted equality, but according to the statistics developed by Buck in his comparative research in this city, it certainly could not have been defined in terms of economic or social status.[2] Though the less militant leaders expressed faith in the Protestant Ethic, the more militant felt that the Mexican Americans were not included in this ideal. The less militant individuals appeared not to question the idea that the melting pot concept as described by various sociologists to explain the migration and assimilation of Europeans into American society would work equally well for them. However, whether they saw themselves as immigrants entering American society or viewed Anglos as migrating into the Southwest was not known. In conclusion, both the statistics gathered by Buck and the U.S. Census on the surface seemed to dispel any notion of social or economic equality in the city.[3]

Was the issue of political equality for the leadership in the community also connected to political beliefs? A clearly defined split between the two groups appeared over

[2]Buck, "Power, Ideology, and Decision-making," p. 104.

[3]U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports. Persons of Spanish Surname, p. 183.

this issue at the local level. When asked, "Do most local government officials treat Mexican Americans with respect?" almost the entire more militant segment replied negatively. However, the exact opposite appeared in the less militant group. Only one member of this group disagreed with the idea that local government officials treated Mexican Americans with respect (see Table Fourteen). The question might arise as to whether respect and equality were synonymous in the minds of the respondents. This student felt they were. Moreover, respect was substituted for equality in order to try to clarify the question rather than having each respondent's frame of reference connected with more nebulous and idealistic phrases like "freedom for all" or "equal rights."

The area of political equality was further explored by examining the issues of opportunity to enter local government and the influences of Mexican-American leadership. In reference to opinions about recruitment for local governmental positions, the original pattern established by correlating the question of political equality with the development of militancy was not as apparent as in the previous findings. In the more militant group, there seemed to be a concurring opinion that members of the minority were not given an equal opportunity to enter city government (see Table Fifteen). However, the less

TABLE 14

DO LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS TREAT MEXICAN AMERICANS

WITH RESPECT? EQUALITY CORRELATED WITH MILITANCY

IN A MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

	Yes	Undecided	No	N
More Militant	1	0	6	7
Less Militant	4	1	0	5
N	5	1	6	12

TABLE 15

ARE MEXICAN AMERICANS GIVEN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY
TO ENTER LOCAL GOVERNMENT? GOVERNMENT
ENTRANCE CORRELATED WITH MILITANCY

	Yes	No	N
More Militant	2	4	6
Less Militant	2	3	5
N	4	7	11*

*One more militant respondent failed to answer the question.

militant were almost evenly divided over this issue. Two members of this group thought Mexican Americans were given an equal chance at recruitment into city service while another three dissented.

This undefined pattern among less militant persons may have stemmed more from the issue of equal opportunity than from any basic political ideology. For example, as long as one met the requirements established by the city charter (age, citizenship, and residency) and provided local laws were not overtly discriminatory, equal opportunity might have existed. Lack of social and economic opportunity may have prevented the achievement of political equality. The relatively low educational, economic, and social status of the Mexican-American population did not allow for easy access into the government by any significant number of this minority.

The second issue in this area of political equality dealt with the influence of Mexican Americans in important governmental positions. In regard to this question, the more militant individuals' opinions were divided. Four persons agreed that Mexican Americans who were placed in important governmental positions at the community, state, and national levels were listened to. The remaining three persons could not concur with this idea of Mexican-American

influence. Although two of the less militant were undecided about leadership influences in government, the remaining segment felt that their ethnic leadership was listened to (see Table Sixteen).

When militancy was correlated with various perceptions of the different dimensions of political equality, the results did not demonstrate conclusively that there was any consistent relationship between militancy and belief in accessibility of and fair treatment within the dominant political structure. Belief in some aspects of the system was apparent to some extent even among the more militant segment. While most of these individuals felt that the local political system did not fulfill all the expectations of a democratic state, they did not question the basic concepts of democracy but rather certain individual politicians operating within it.

The Correlation of Political Deviancy

One series of determinants dealt with political protest. It was suspected that the more militant respondents would have been quicker to adopt political actions that were not within the norms of the Anglo society (protest marches, boycotts, and demonstrations).

The Negro in America has received some recognition, although by no means always affirmative, through urban

TABLE 16

ARE MEXICAN AMERICANS PLACED IN GOVERNMENT
POSITIONS EVER LISTENED TO? ETHNIC
GOVERNMENTAL INFLUENCE IN RELATION
TO MILITANCY

	Yes	Undecided	No	N
More Militant	4	0	3	7
Less Militant	3	2	0	5
N	7	2	3	12

rioting.[4] Some extremists, within both the Black and

Chicano movements, feel that the minorities will not be

heard until they create more violent confrontations. With

this background in mind, the two groups were compared

according to their reactions to the idea that riots

might help to produce some systematic response to Mexican-

American grievances. A low level of agreement as shown

in Table Seventeen prevailed in both the less militant

and more militant groups. Only two members from the

entire leadership felt that rioting would serve to get

injustices toward Mexican Americans before the American

public. Both groups seemed to concur that rioting was

not the correct approach. In this particular case,

militancy, in a more extremist form, did not appear. A

cross section of respondents in both groups tended to

dislike the connotations that had so often in the past

been connected with the term rioting (killings, police

brutality, arrests, and arson).

While it had been demonstrated that riots were not a

popular concept among even the more militant respondents,

the following data revealed a slight inconsistency in group

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[4]The term rioting is defined to mean a spontaneous and
unplanned act or acts of violence originating from a single
incident compounded by previous injustices and frustrations.

TABLE 17

SHOULD RIOTS BE USED TO GAIN ATTENTION? POLITICAL
DEVIANCY CORRELATED WITH MILITANCY
IN A MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

	Yes	Undecided	No	N
More Militant	1	1	4	6
Less Militant	1	1	3	5
N	2	2	7	11*

*One more militant respondent failed to answer the question.

reaction to recorded riots. The groups were asked if they considered the riots that occurred in East Los Angeles to have had a harmful effect on the image of the Mexican American.[5] Displayed in Table Eighteen is the formation of a pattern relating to this issue. The more militant individuals registered a strongly negative response to the idea that the East Los Angeles rioting had hurt the image of the Mexican American. The less militant were somewhat more divided in their opinions.

In the area of deviant behavior, it was clear that the more militant group felt that rioting did not damage the Mexican-American image, although many were personally opposed to it. It must be stated that because each individual respondent may have had a specific concept of just what the Mexican-American image was, his interpretation of the question might differ slightly from the others. Moreover, at the time of this study events in another South Texas town had not as yet resulted in the death of a young Mexican American. Because of the timing of the event, it could not be determined whether this disturbance closer to the community under analysis would have altered any of the respondents' feelings.

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[5]Richard Vasquez, "Barrio Residents Describe Riot Reactions," Los Angeles Times, September 9, 1971, sec. A, p. 3.

TABLE 18

HAVE RIOTS DAMAGED THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN IMAGE?
LEADERSHIP SURVEY IN A MEXICAN-
AMERICAN COMMUNITY

	Yes	Undecided	No	N
More Militant	0	1	6	7
Less Militant	1	1	3	5
N	1	2	9	12

The degrees of deviancy from the political norm were measured by recording and classifying the responses of the two groups to a series of hypothetical events (see Table Nineteen). The number of more militant respondents willing to participate in protest marches was much higher than the number for the less militant. For example, five of the more militant individuals indicated they would have been willin g to support a high school student boycott over demands for a Chicano Studies program (the least offensive hypothetical event listed). None of the less militant found this situation serious enough to cause their participation in a march. The most offensive event, the unnecessary killing of a Mexican American by local police officers, was considered by all the more militant people as important enought to warrant a demonstration. However, only two of the less militant group indicated they would be willing to march.

The results showed that a continuously higher number of more militant respondents would be ready to take part in some form of organized nonviolent protest than those of the less militant group. In terms of militant ideology, these findings appeared logical. In general, the study showed that political deviancy was an accepted activity only when it was qualified and even then these qualified actions were

TABLE 19

HYPOTHETICAL SITUATIONS IN WHICH THE RESPONDENTS
WOULD JOIN IN A PROTEST MARCH

Hypothetical Situation	More Militant Individuals Willing to Protest (N=7)	Less Militant Individuals Willing to Protest (N=5)	N (N=12)
High School Boycott by the Students	5	0	5
Segregation of Entertainment Facilities	6	1	7
Discrimination by City Officials in Employment Practices	6	1	7
Voting Discrimination	7	2	9
Unjust Treatment by the Police	7	2	9
Death of a Mexican American Caused by the Police	7	2	9

somewhat restricted to the more militant group. Moreover, rioting was not very widely approved by either group as an acceptable approach to deviant participation. In theory, a majority of the more militant people would have been willing to actively participate in protest in a number of the hypothetical situations. However, it must be cautioned that if any one of the situations actually occurred, socio-economic influences,such as employer pressures, loss of community status, or perhaps threats of violence,might have a moderating effect on each individual's reaction.

The Correlation of Political Coalitions with Militancy

One source of strength for a minority group within the democratic system is through the formation of coalitions. The concept of political coalitions has been employed effectively by both major parties in this country in order to win elections and act as cohesive units to keep the system together. More specifically, in South Texas a solid coalition of Mexican Americans or Mexican Americans and Negroes could have an effective influence on the region's political climate. Taking this into consideration, the study attempted to determine how well a coalition of Mexican Americans or Mexican Americans and Negroes would be accepted by the two groups of respondents. In other words, how did militancy affect attitudes about the formation of political coalitions?

In terms of a single, ethnic coalition of the whole of the Mexican-American community, united in order to reach certain political goals, there was practically no diversity of opinion between the more militant and less militant factions. As Table Twenty illustrates, there was a consensus of both groups that ethnic unity was desirable.

A Mexican-American coalition appeared to be a popular idea among all the respondents. However, coalitions with other minorities, especially with Negroes, were not accepted with the same enthusiasm. The issue of a Negro and Mexican-American coalition was viewed differently by the two categories of leaders. As Table Twenty-one indicates, the more militant respondents favored this type of coalition. However, among the less militant there was a sharp division over such a coalition. For example, only two respondents stated that a Negro and Mexican-American coalition would be helpful, while the remainder disagreed completely.

Because some of the respondents had joined in a local third party coalition, the issue had a pragmatic signifi-cance. This third party coalition consisted of Negroes, Mexican Americans, and liberal white Democrats disenchanted with the local Democratic party. It is surprising that although a majority of the respondents concurred that a

TABLE 20

ARE MEXICAN-AMERICAN POLITICAL COALITIONS EFFECTIVE?
THE DESIRABILITY OF COALITIONS CORRELATED
WITH MILITANCY

	Yes	No	N
More Militant	7	0	7
Less Militant	4	1	5
N	11	1	12

TABLE 21

ARE MEXICAN-AMERICAN AND NEGRO POLITICAL COALITIONS
EFFECTIVE? THE POPULARITY OF COALITIONS
CORRELATED WITH MILITANCY

	Yes	No	N
More Militant	5	2	7
Less Militant	2	3	5
N	7	5	12

Mexican American coalition would be beneficial, fewer of
of the less militant respondents agreed that being united
with another minority (Negroes) would be helpful. A
demographic explanation might be established to explain
this inconsistency among the leadership. According to
other research sources, the Negro population in the city as
of 1960 was only 5.5 percent of the total population.[6] The
small number of Negroes might account for the fact that
although the less militant element saw nothing to be gained
by a Negro coalition, they did not disapprove of it in
their own county because the Negro was relatively meaning-
less in terms of political strength.

It was difficult to understand from the data on politi-
cal coalitions whether or not militancy had intervened as
a negative factor in what is considered a basic democratic
method of increasing support within the system. The less
militant group's results lent support to the idea of the
Mexican-American community working together to achieve
common goals. However, a rather complex phenomenon appeared
in connection with a bi-racial coalition. The more militant
group appeared willing to join forces with the Negro

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[6]Buck, "Power, Ideology, and Decision-making," p. 52.

political movement in what has been termed the Third World

Philosophy. The Third World Philosophy is simply the

unification of all so-called oppressed minorities against

a common foe, white racism. While this student does not

contend that the data revealed such a philosophy, they did

reveal that at least some of the respondents in the study

maintained a few of the essential beliefs required of this

philosophy. In comparison, the less militant faction seemed

to reflect more deeply the socioeconomic prejudices which

have stood as barriers between the two minorities.[7]

Economic status, physiological resemblances to the Anglo,

and other factors have contributed to these prejudices

between the Negro and Mexican American. Negro resentment

of Mexican-American displeasure over Negro successes in

gaining Federal funds for poverty programs has highlighted

this distrust between the two minorities. Furthermore,

some of the less militant group may have upheld their

disapproval of uniting with the Negro politically because

they felt many Black political movements had in the past

used violence rather than legal channels expected by the

democratic system in order to have their grievances aired

in public.

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[7]Helen Rowan, "A Minority Nobody Knows," The Atlantic,
June, 1967, p. 52.

The Correlation of Methods of Political Expression

A basic underlying principle of the democratic system
is in being allowed to participate in demonstrations and
expressing one's opinion openly and without governmental
interference as long as these actions do not take the form
of overt revolution. This principle was one of the areas
selected to test the respondents' support of the system.
More specifically, it was to be determined whether or
not militancy had any tangible effect on how the respon-
dent viewed his ability to express opinions or voice
opposition within the system. The data taken from replies
to a question asking all of the respondents if they would
join in a peaceful and nonviolent protest (marches, school
boycotts, and demonstrations) in order to have a legitimate
complaint brought to the public's attention was analyzed
on the basis of militancy.

Table Twenty-two shows some interesting results.
Although one might suspect that the more militant group
would concur with organized and nonviolent protest, it
could not be assumed that the less militant individuals
would likewise agree. In effect, both groups responded
by saying that they would have participated in nonviolent
protest if in their minds a legitimate complaint had been
established.

TABLE 22

SHOULD LEGITIMATE COMPLAINTS BE EXPRESSED IN
NONVIOLENT PROTEST? POLITICAL EXPRESSION
RELATED TO MILITANCY

	Yes	No	N
More Militant	5	1	6
Less Militant	5	0	5
N	10	1	11*

*One more militant respondent failed to answer the question.

Related to active political expression is the concept
of being able to talk about politics within the community.
Democratic idealism would lead one to believe that politics
could be talked about openly within all segments of society
without fear of reprisal. Was this the case in the
community under analysis? In order to test this theory,
each of the leaders was asked if talking about politics
in the city with Anglos would hurt their own business or
employment. The more militant members were divided over
this issue. For example, many of the leadership felt that
talking with the liberal element in the city's Anglo
community would not be detrimental. Therefore, in general,
while talking with Anglos about politics might seem harm-
ful to some, this was not always the case.

The less militant group was clearly in agreement with
the idea that talking with the Anglo community about poli-
tics would not produce any negative reaction (see Table
Twenty-three). It might be assumed from these findings
that the more militant were affected by a higher degree
of suspicion of Anglos than those who were classified as
less militant. How many of the responses were based on
empirical knowledge rather than general observation was
hard to determine. However, both negative and positive
experiences with various Anglos in political matters would

TABLE 23

POLITICAL CONVERSATION WITH ANGLO AMERICANS CAN
BE DETRIMENTAL: POLITICAL EXPRESSION
RELATED TO MILITANCY

	True	False	N
More Militant	4	3	7
Less Militant	0	5	5
N	4	8	12

certainly have been important intervening variables in the
formation of final opinions. Freedom of expression as
related to militancy in this study offered evidence that
the more militant respondents felt their ability to openly
express themselves to be hindered to some degree.

Decision-making in Relation to Militancy

An important measure of support for the democratic
system is the belief in the idea that a number of individ-
uals can be effective in making decisions that are realized
in the output of the system. Was this true among the
respondents? Did either group feel that decisions were
being made by a small number of citizens in the city? One
might suspect that the more militant membership would feel
that an elite decision-making body was a reality more so
than did the less militant group. However, as Table Twenty-four
shows, agreement was close to unanimous that the major decis-
ions were made by a small group of individuals. Previous
findings also indicated that these same respondents felt
that this decision-making body was composed largely of
Anglos.

If the respondents actually believed that the decision
process was restricted to a small number of Anglo individ-
uals, the effects on the openness of the system might be
impaired. David Easton and Robert Hess have indicated

TABLE 24

MAJOR DECISIONS IN THE CITY ARE MADE BY
A SMALL GROUP OF PEOPLE

	Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Do Not Know	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	N
More Militant	3	2	1	1	0	7
Less Militant	3	1	0	0	1	5
N	6	3	1	1	1	12

that trust in the decision makers is related to the idea
that these decisions are made in a democratic manner.[8] The
fact that a substantial number of individuals in the system
felt that they could not contribute to the decision-making
process is the first real evidence in this research that
complete support for the democratic system did not exist,
especially on the local level.

The Correlation of Formal Participation in Democratic Institutions with Militancy

Two areas of formal participation were selected to
relate to the leadership's militancy. The first area was
that of participation in the election process. When asked,
"Should a person vote at every election whenever it is
possible?" there was no dissention within either category
(see Table Twenty-five). While some of the respondents may
have had their doubts concerning the effectiveness of the
voting process, especially in light of Texas' restrictive
voting registration laws, they did not question the actual
institution itself.[9] This respect is important because it

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[8]David Easton and Robert Hess, "The Child's Political
World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, VI (August,
1962), 231.

[9]Clifton McCleskey, The Government and Politics of
Texas (3rd ed.; Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, (1960),
p. 36.

TABLE 25

SHOULD ONE PARTICIPATE IN THE VOTING PROCESS?
THE VOTING INSTITUTION CORRELATED
WITH MILITANCY

	Yes	No	N
More Militant	7	0	7
Less Militant	5	0	5
N	12	0	12

demonstrated the fact that even the more militant respond-
ents still supported the institution of voting.

The second major area of consideration in formal
democratic participation was the respondent's support of
or belief in the party system. An important avenue of
support for the democratic state is the principle that the
citizenry maintains some degree of trust in the political
party apparatus. Easton considers this the support for
the political regime's structure. He believes a political
system must have a significant amount of support for its
structured regime to survive.[10] Furthermore, he also
states that political parties are a paramount means of
regulating cleavage within the system.[11] Therefore, any
findings demonstrating a lack of support or trust in the
party system on the part of the Mexican-American leader-
ship could be highly significant.

The results of the correlations between militancy and
political party support showed that a large number of both
elements (more militant and less militant) found that party
participation was an effective method of expressing their
needs and demands (see Table Twenty-six). However, earlier

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[10]Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, p. 204.

[11]Ibid., p. 258.

TABLE 26

CAN POLITICAL PARTY PARTICIPATION BE AN
EFFECTIVE METHOD OF PRESENTING ONE'S
DEMANDS? POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORT
RELATED TO MILITANCY

	Yes	Undecided	No	N
More Militant	5	1	1	7
Less Militant	5	0	0	5
N	10	1	1	12

findings reported in this research brought out the fact that upholding the party system did not necessarily mean backing either of the two major parties.

Further information on specific party support was elicited when the two factions were asked whether ethnic third parties served any useful role in the system. All of the more militant respondents concurred that third parties were useful. The less militant group was divided as to their agreement upon its effectiveness (see Table Twenty-seven).

Does militancy have any effect on third party support? From the data in Table Twenty-six, militancy apparently did not contribute to the lessening of support for the party system in general. However, the more militant individuals did appear to be ready to leave the traditional two-party system in favor of a coalition or ethnic third party. Based on Easton's generalizations and the findings of this research, one might conclude that the major parties have failed to integrate into the two-party system the ideas of the more militant Mexican-American leadership. Perhaps the best direct evidence to support this finding was the fact that a third-party coalition had already been established in the county.

TABLE 27

DO MEXICAN-AMERICAN THIRD PARTIES SERVE ANY
USEFUL FUNCTION? THIRD PARTY SUPPORT
CORRELATED WITH MILITANCY

	Yes	No	N
More Militant	7	0	7
Less Militant	3	2	5
N	10	2	12

In this chapter, the student has tried to approach the basic data acquired by the questionnaire from the viewpoint of militancy in order to determine the effects this variable has had on the leadership's political and social attitudes. The findings of this section will be reviewed and examined in relation to the thesis' central hypothesis in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters have investigated the leadership
status of the Mexican-American community in a South Texas
city. In effect, this student had set out to determine
if other political scientists' findings of conservatism
among South Texas minority leaders were valid. For
example, Soukup wrote:

> A sizable number of the "old-line" Latin American
> leaders - probably more than in the case of the
> Negro community - are engaged in running business
> enterprises. Such individuals often share the Anglo
> businessman's skepticism of government economic
> controls and welfare spending. At the very least they
> are likely to behave so as not to antagonize predomi-
> nantly conservative civic leaders who oppose the
> welfare state.[1]

However, cases of Mexican-American or Chicano militancy
began appearing in various towns and,with this, the legiti-
mate take-over of local school boards and city councils.[2]
Were these events only incidental to the Democratic con-
servatism of South Texas or was this a distinctive trend

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[1]Soukup, McCleskey, and Holloway, *Party and Factional
Divisions in Texas*, pp. 135-36.

[2]Del Olmo, "Chicano Group Seeks Control of South
Texas," p. 3.

for the future? From these examples, the central hypothesis
for this paper was established. Generally, it was hypo-
thesized that despite the emergence of a Chicano militant
movement, the Mexican-American leadership still supported
the democratic system.

A study to investigate the validity of this hypothesis
was undertaken in one of the South Texas communities.
Because of the time limitations and an absence of financial
funding, the data had to be restricted to just one city.

Is the Mexican American's emerging militancy creating
a loss of support for the democratic system among the
minority's leadership? The evidence gathered in this
research tended to substantiate the position that a loss
of support for the system did not exist within the community
leadership examined. Based on the findings, it appeared
that militant or more actively deviant political participation
had no role in the leadership's approach to the Anglo
political structure. There was very little evidence that
any of the leaders favored deviant behavior when more
standard alternative forms of political behavior were also
available. In general, the conclusions were based on the
following criteria: (1) trust in the government, (2) support
for the values and specific procedures whereby political
conflict is resolved, and (3) the limited range of alternative

solutions one has in considering any dispute over political policy.[3] Whether or not the community would support more militant leaders was a question beyond the scope of this research. There are, of course, two possible alternatives to this question: the community would support more militant leaders, but as of this time there has been some factor preventing the emergence of more militant leaders; or the community would not support more militant leaders.

First, the trust in the American political system itself was relatively high even among the more militant respondents. Moreover, as was stated earlier, it was not the fundamental institutions of government that were questioned but rather the individuals who ran them. In effect, the most noticeable lack of support in this area was over the present leadership in both the Democratic and Republican parties. Secondly, the data on voting, party participation, and organizational membership indicated that the Mexican-American leadership as a whole viewed working within the system as the principal method by which equal status for the minority could be achieved.

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[3]Sheilah R. Koeppen, "The Radical Right and the Politics of Consensus," in The American Right Wing: Readings in Political Behavior, ed. by Robert A. Schoenberger (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 63.

Finally, the options that were preferred by the leadership in a time of political stress were rather limited. While both the more militant and less militant individuals agreed that nonviolent protest could be used, there was a certain amount of hesitancy on the part of most respondents when it came time to overtly break the law in order to support a political position.

Some previous leadership studies of the Mexican American have tended to characterize their effectiveness as relatively weak when dealing with the Anglo because the leaders in the community were usually diffused, lacked organization, lacked one principal spokesman for the group, retained a low educational level, and finally, were generally politically apathetic.[4] While some of these problems plagued this community's leadership, there were some exceptions. For example, almost all of the respondents belonged to the predominant organization in the community, the American G.I. Forum. However, some of the marginal leaders were not members of this organization. The leadership lacked a single spokesman. Although a *jefe* (classified as less militant by this study) had been established in the community, he was not recognized as such by *all* of the leadership. The inner core of leaders consisted of one more militant and two less militant

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[4]Stanislawski, "A Study of Leadership in a Spanish-Speaking Community", p. 84.

individuals, who acted as the primary spokesmen for the
minority (see Table Twenty-eight). They were especially
effective when dealing with the Anglo population. Because
of the small size of the leadership, there were only a
limited number of cleavages. However, if major differences
did exist, they were not apparent.

An important factor that should be singled out for
special emphasis is political apathy among the respondents.
Although it is doubtful that this observer could have
accused many of the community's leaders of being absolutely
apathetic, they did follow a rather accommodative approach
to the political system. In general, most of the respond-
ents believed in a philosophy of "individualistic
liberalism." In effect, they had patterned their partici-
pation in the system after the liberalism of a prominent
regional Congressman, Henry B. Gonzales. His approach to
the Anglo society had served as a model for many of the
respondents. Gonzales' type of liberalism stresses the
individualistic rather than the collective side of the
liberal philosophy. Furthermore, he frowns on liberals
who consistently turn to the government for economic aid.
The Congressman also aligns himself with some branches
of Texas conservatism because he does not believe in

TABLE 28

A CONCENTRIC DIAGRAM OF THE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE
IN A MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

American G.I. Forum
Membership

Primary
Spokesmen

Jefe

Marginal
Leaders
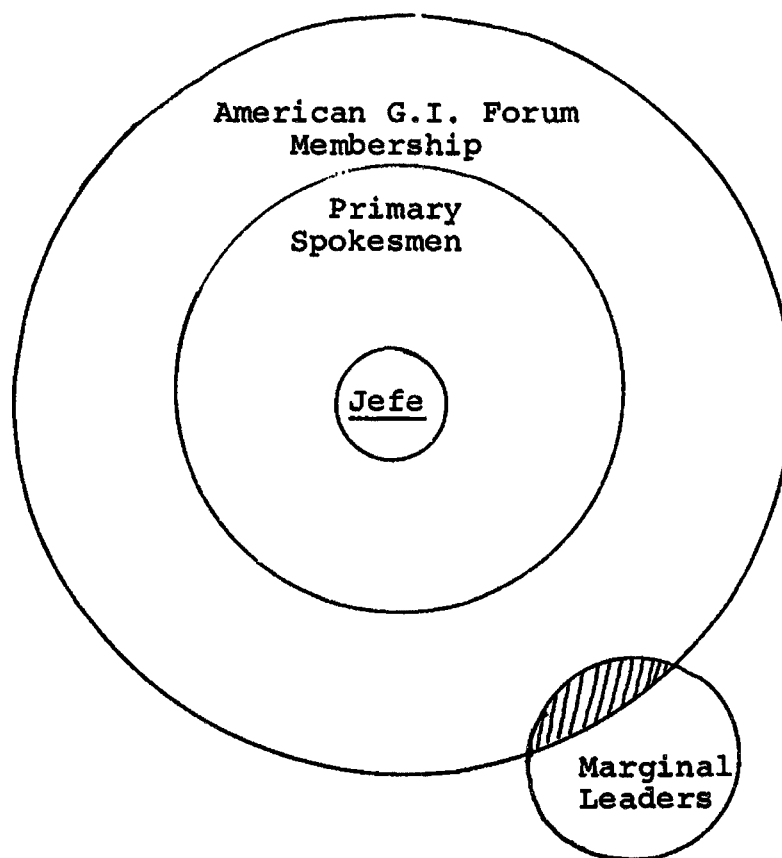
extended governmental control.[5] This individualistic approach to the Anglo system is in opposition to the ideas of some of the more militant young Chicanos in the Southwest. If major challenges or divisions do appear in the community in the future, they will probably be related to this issue of how to approach or deal with the Anglo society.

A final observation on the community's leadership that may be characteristic of other areas should be noted. The leaders themselves have had to survive in a society dominated by Anglo prejudice. A philosophy of accommodation was stressed with the hope that both time and the Mexican American's own acculturation into the mainstream of American life would allow them to gain the political recognition they deserved. However, the challenge of the young militants demanding changes now, not later, has placed the present leadership in a position not unlike that of their Black counterparts of ten years ago. It will be up to these leaders to decide whether the time has come for them to take more active steps in demanding Mexican-American equality or whether they should continue the traditional role of co-existence.

_____

[5]Soukup, McCleskey, and Holloway, <u>Party and Factional Divisions in Texas</u>, p. 136.

APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LEADERSHIP SURVEY IN A

MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

1. Were your grandparents, parents, or wife (husband) born in Mexico?

    a. Grandparents:

        1. Grandmother _____
        2. Grandfather _____
        3. Both _____
        4. Neither _____
        5. Do Not Know _____

    b. Parents:

        1. Mother _____
        2. Father _____
        3. Neither _____
        4. Both _____
        5. Do Not Know _____

    c. Wife (Husband) _____

2. How long have you lived in the United States?

    a. Born here _____
    b. Since before I was 16 _____
    c. Moved as an adult _____
    d. Do not know _____

3. How long have you been living in the city? _____

4. Is there anything about the Mexican way of life that you would particularly like to see practiced by yourself or other Mexican Americans?

_____

_____

_____

5. Is your wife (husband) Mexican American?

a. Yes _____   b. No _____

6. What language do you use when talking in your home?

a. Spanish only   _____
b. Mostly Spanish   _____
c. English only   _____
d. Both languages   _____

7. As we talk with people in _____, we find that some people prefer to call themselves one of the following. How do you prefer to be identified?

a. Spanish American _____
b. Latin American   _____
c. Mexican   _____
d. Mexican American _____
e. Chicano   _____
f. Other term   _____

8. Do you have a religious preference? That is,are you

a. Catholic   _____
b. Protestant   _____
c. Something else (specify) _____
d. No preference   _____

9. How often, if ever, have you attended religious services in the last year?

a. Once a week or more   _____
b. Two or three times a month _____
c. Once a month   _____
d. A few times a year or less _____
e. A special day only, example Easter _____

10. How important is religion to you? Would you say it is

    a. Very important _____
    b. Somewhat important _____
    c. Not very important _____
    d. Not at all important _____
    e. Do not know _____

11. About how many of the members of your parish are of Mexican background?

    a. All _____
    b. Most _____
    c. Few _____
    d. None _____
    e. Do not know _____

12. Some people feel that fifty years from now Mexican Americans will be exactly the same as everybody else in the United States. Do you

    a. Agree _____
    b. Disagree _____

13. How much contact or communication do you have with Anglos?

    a. A lot _____
    b. Some _____
    c. Not much _____
    d. None _____

14. Do most of your relations with Anglos come on the

    a. Business level _____
    b. Social level _____
    c. Both _____

15. Do many, if any, of the Anglos in _____ really understand the Mexican-American community and its needs?

    a. Yes, they do _____
    b. No, they do not _____

16. What is your present occupation? _____

17. About how many of the people with whom you work close-
ly on the job are of Mexican-American background?

    a. All   _____
    b. Most   _____
    c. Few   _____
    d. None   _____

18. Place yourself in one of the income levels listed below:

    a. Working class   _____
    b. Middle class   _____
    c. Upper class   _____

19. Do curanderos serve any useful functions in the Mexican-
American community? Explain your answer.

_____

_____

_____

20. How many, if any, of the members of your palomilla do
you see anymore?

    a. All of them   _____
    b. Most of them   _____
    c. A few of them   _____
    d. None of them   _____

21. How much schooling have you had - what was the last
grade that you completed?

_____

22. When you were 13 or 14 years old, how many of your
schoolmates at the time were of Mexican background?

    a. All of them   _____
    b. Most of them   _____
    c. A few of them   _____
    d. None of them   _____

23. How many of your children's friends are (or when they were young were) of Mexican background?

   a. All of them   _____
   b. Most of them   _____
   c. A few of them   _____
   d. None of them   _____
   e. Do not know   _____

24. Some people feel that Mexican Americans will not be heard until there are more riots. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

   a. Agree   _____
   b. Disagree   _____
   c. Do not know _____

25. Do you feel that if one has a legitimate complaint he or she should participate in peaceful and nonviolent forms of protest like marches or school boycotts?

   a. Yes   _____
   b. No   _____
   c. Do not know _____

26. Does protest of any kind ever lead to any constructive good or does it only make things worse for those who participate? Explain your answer.

   _____

   _____

   _____

27. The riots in east Los Angeles that occurred in September hurt the image of the Mexican American. True or False?

   a. True   _____
   b. False _____

28. What do the words Chicano Power or Brown Power mean to you? Explain your answer

   _____

   _____

   _____

29. Which of the following situations or events would have to occur in _____ before you joined in a protest march for Mexican Americans?

    a. High school boycotts over student demands for Mexican-American studies in the school _____

    b. Segregation of a restaurant or entertainment facility in town _____

    c. Discrimination in the hiring practices of employees for the city _____

    d. Voting discrimination (not allowing Mexican Americans to vote) _____

    e. Embarrassing and unfair treatment of Mexican Americans in the community by the local or state law enforcement officers _____

    f. Unnecessary killing of a Mexican American by the police _____

    g. Other _____

30. Some people say that all people of Mexican background should get together politically and other people disagree. Which would you say?

    a. Agree _____
    b. Disagree _____
    c. Other _____

31. Why do you say that? _____

_____

_____

32. Some people say that all people of Mexican background should get together with Negroes politically, but others do not agree. Which would you say?

    a. Agree _____
    b. Disagree _____
    c. Other _____

33. Should one participate in party affairs in order to get his needs and demands presented to the government?

    a. Yes _____
    b. No _____
    c. Do not know _____

34. Which party? _____

35. Some people say that both major parties in this country have failed to represent the Mexican Americans. What would you say?

    _____

    _____

    _____

36. Only Democrats have represented the Mexican American fairly.

    a. True _____
    b. False _____

37. Only Republicans have represented the Mexican American fairly.

    a. True _____
    b. False _____

38. Do Mexican-American third parties serve any useful function in this country?

    a. Yes, they do _____
    b. They do not _____

If the answer to number 38 was a positive response, answer number 39.

39. Name some of these functions. _____

    _____

    _____

40. What are some of the things which one can be proud of in this country?

_____

_____

_____

41. Are Mexican Americans who are placed in important government positions ever listened to either in the community or on the state and national levels?

    a. Yes   _____
    b. No
    c. Do not know _____

42. Do most local government officials treat Mexican Americans with respect?

    a. Yes   _____
    b. No
    c. Do not know _____

43. Are Mexican Americans given an equal opportunity to enter the various local government positions (running for public office, employment selection, etc.) as any other single group in the city?

    a. Yes   _____
    b. No
    c. Do not know _____

If you answered number 43 with option b, please answer the following question.

44. If they are not, why do you think this is the case?

_____

_____

45. Should a person vote at every election whenever it is possible?

    a. Yes   _____
    b. No
    c. Do not know _____

46. Are you a registered voter?

    a. Yes _____
    b. No   _____

47. Is voting an effective means of voicing your opinion or is it merely a waste of time?

    a. Yes, it is an effective method _____
    b. No, it is merely a waste of time _____
    c. Neither one. Explain your answer _____

    _____

    _____

48. At some time or other, almost everybody feels the need for somebody to talk things over with. If you needed advice or information about politics who might you go to?

    _____

    _____

49. Is he a Mexican American?

    a. Yes _____
    b. No   _____

50. Is this person or group of persons living in the community?

    a. Lives in the city or the county _____
    b. Lives outside the city or county _____

51. Talking about politics in _____ with Anglos will hurt your business or employment?

    a. True _____
    b. False _____

52. How would you go about changing a law you felt to be unjust?

    _____

    _____

    _____

53. Some people say the major decisions in _____ are made by a small circle of important people. Do you

   a. Strongly agree   _____
   b. Agree mildly   _____
   c. Disagree mildly   _____
   d. Disagree strongly   _____

If you agreed with the statement in question 53, answer the following question.

54. Is this group of decision-makers composed of

   a. Anglos _____
   b. Mexican Americans _____
   c. Negroes _____
   d. All of the above mentioned groups _____
   e. Other combinations (for example, Mexican Americans and Anglos; Negroes and Anglos, etc.), if so specify which combination _____

   _____

   _____

55. Check each of the following names that you have heard of or recognize:

   a. Albert Peña (AP)
   b. Joseph Montoya (JM)
   c. Eligio de la Garza (EG)
   d. César Chavez (CC)
   e. Henry B. Gonzales (HG)
   f. Reies Tijerina (RT)
   g. Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales (RG)
   h. José Angel Gutierrez (JG)

56. Of the names you were able to recognize place them in order of those that most closely represented your ideology, with those that are the closest to you at the top of the list.

   a. List of names

      1. _____

      2. _____

      3. _____

      4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. _____

8. _____

57. Rate these individuals (place them) on a scale of militancy, placing them on the scale provided below. Place yourself on this scale also.

Assimilationist   Extreme Militant

-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3

58. Are you a member of any organization that meets more or less regularly such as societies, fraternal organizations, educational groups, recreational organizations, or unions?

    a. Yes   _____
    b. No   _____
    c. Do not know _____

59. If yes, list the names of these groups of organizations and give the percentage of Mexican Americans in each of them.

Name of Group	Percentage Mexican American
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

60. Here is a list of organizations involved with Mexican
    Americans. Tell me if you have heard of any of them,
    if you are familiar with any of them, or if you belong
    to any of them.

    a. American G.I. Forum   _____
    b. Alianza Hispano-Americana   _____
    c. Republican Clubs   _____
    d. Democratic Clubs   _____
    e. MAPA   _____
    f. PASSO   _____
    g. LULAC   _____
    h. La Raza Unida   _____
    i. MAYO   _____
    j. Others   _____

        List them _____

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