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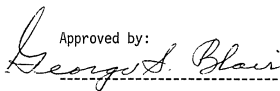Political Science, general

THE POLITICS OF CHICANO URBAN PROTEST:

A MODEL OF POLITICAL ANALYSIS

by

CARLOS MUÑOZ, JR.

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty
of Claremont Graduate School in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
Graduate Faculty of Government.

Claremont
1972

Approved by:

_George S. Blair_

We, the undersigned, certify that we have read this dissertation and approve it as adequate in scope and quality for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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There have been many persons responsible for the completion of this study.  First, I acknowledge the profound inspiration which I have received fr m those who struggle in the urban barrio.  Their daily sacrifices and commitment to "La Causa" have been a source of my strength.  Secondly, a debt of gratitude is owed to the members of the Claremont Graduate Faculty, especially to the members of my doctoral committee, who have generously given me the freedom to develop my Chicano perspective in intellectual terms.  Thirdly, I thank my typist, B. J. Sandhu, for her dedication to her task and her generous cooperation.  Finally, a debt of gratitude is owed to my wife Sarita and my three children, Carlitos, Marina, and Genaro, whom I have grossly neglected during the research and writing of this study.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

AND INTRODUCTION

Beginning with the decade of the sixties and into the 1970's various dramatic demonstrations of protest on the part of the nation's second largest oppressed minority have taken place largely throughout the Southwestern United States. Chicano protest has to date manifested itself in various forms, from non-violent marches and efforts to reform those political institutions that affect the lives of people in the barrios to urban riots and violent confrontations with representatives of those institutions entrusted with the maintenance of law and order.

To Chicanos, especially the young, protest activity in the urban barrios signaled the beginning of what is loosely termed "The Movement." Slogans of "Brown Power" and "Chicano Power" have become commonplace throughout Chicano America and indicate that protest has generated a cultural renaissance that, to many in the barrios, has rekindled a spirit deeply rooted in the revolutionary cultural tradition of the Mexican people. However, Cesar Chavez, the leader of the rural based farm labor movement has become a national hero and is compared by many Chicanos as well as the mass media to the late Dr. Martin Luther King. Others compare Chavez to Mexican revolutionary heroes. In the

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words of one of his early followers,

> We didn't know it until we met him, but he was the leader
> we had been waiting for. Although he sometimes reminds
> one of Benito Juárez, Cesar is our first real Mexican
> American leader.[1]

A proclamation written by farm workers to signal the beginning of

their boycotts against Agri-Business was entitled "The Plan of Delano",

and to some of those in the urban barrios who engaged in protest

activities it became the Chicano plan for liberation. It read in

part:

> This is the beginning of a social movement in fact and not
> in pronouncements. We seek our basic, God-given rights as
> human beings . . . we are ready to give up everything, even
> our lives, in our fight for social justice.[2]

To date, although urban Chicano militant leadership has emerged,

Cesar Chavez and his rural-based struggle has remained the focus of

analysis on the "Chicano Movement." Next to Chavez in terms of

prominence has been yet another leader of a rural-based movement, Reis

Tijerina, who made the national headlines when he and some of his

followers raided a courthouse in rural New Mexico. Scant attention,

in contrast, has been given to Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez, leader of

the urban-based Crusade for Justice and La Raza Unida Party in Denver,

Colorado.[3]

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[1]Luis Valdez, "The Tales of La Raza," in _Bronze_, I, No. 1 (1968).

[2]This proclamation is published in full in Luis Valdez and Stan
Steiner, eds., _Aztlan: An Anthology of Mexican American Literature_
(New York: Vintage Books, 1972), p. 198.

[3]Perhaps the best example to glorify Chavez and romanticize the
farm worker movement is Peter Matthiessen, _Sal Si Puedes: Cesar
Chavez and the New American Revolution_ (New York: Random House, 1969).
On Tijerina, see Peter Nabakov, _Tijerina and the Courthouse Raid_

For the most part, therefore, the politics of Chicano urban protest remains little understood by both non-Chicanos and Chicanos themselves. The national prominence of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Workers Movement has captured the imagination of the mass media, politicians, and social scientists. A direct consequence has been the perpetuation of the popular stereotype of the Chicanos as an ethnic minority group that remains confined to the rural sector of American society. The voluminous literature on Chavez and the movement he represents has greatly overshadowed the Chicano struggles in the urban centers where, in reality, over 80% of the Chicano population is to be found.

The literature that does touch on the urban Chicano struggle is mostly written from a non-academic perspective. There are basically two categories of this type of literature: that which is written by sympathetic Anglo journalists and free-lance writers, which is largely superficial at best and aimed at romanticizing the "movement" at worst; and that which is written by Chicanos who strongly identify with members of the "movement" and not only romanticize, but develop counter-stereotypes and myths of Chicanos as culturally superior to Anglos and other minorities.[4]

The paucity of scholarly literature on Chicano urban protest is in large part due to the fact that social scientists have not generally

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(Berkeley, Calif.: Ramparts Press, 1970), and Frances L. Swadesh, "The Alianza Movement in New Mexico: The Interplay of Social Change and Public Commentary," in Harry J. Tobias and Charles E. Woodhouse, eds., Minorities and Politics (Albuquerque, N.M.: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1969).

[4]For the first category, see Stan Steiner, La Raza: The Mexican Americans (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1969); for the latter category see Armando Rendon, Chicano Manifesto (N.Y.: Collier Books, 1972).

viewed the Chicano as important to the study of race and ethnic relations. The authors of the first major research project on Chicanos that was funded by a major private Foundation states this problem in the following words:

> Few investigations have related the experience of the Mexican American people to the richly documented experience of other minorities in the United States . . . There is no [Chicano] equivalent to Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma.[5]

The Chicano minority, therefore, has not been deemed worthy of separate analysis until very recently. For it has not been looked upon as a national minority nor as a crisis in American life. It is therefore logical that the urban riots of the 1960's would compel social scientists to continue to focus attention on the plight of Black America, the nation's number one "problem." Since then, the oppression of other racial and cultural minorities has been generally rationalized away on the premise that solutions to the problems of Black America will almost automatically contribute toward solutions to the problems facing other minorities. The logic behind this rationalization has been that Black people are "worse off" than others and, therefore, there should be a hierarchy of priorities. Introductions to many texts on race relations contain statements very similar to the following:

> In the interest of intensive analysis, we decided at the start to limit the book's scope to six critical aspects of the Negro's plight, thereby excluding from consideration the equally important

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[5]Leo Grebler, Joan Moore, Ralph Guzman, et al., The Mexican American People: The Nation's Second Minority (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 7.

and, to some extent, unique problems of other American ethnic minorities.[6]

One contributor to the above noted text begins his analysis by stating that "the full inclusion of Negroes into American society must certainly rank first on any agenda of domestic priorities."[7]

Another explanation for the general lack of concern and ignorance about the Chicano in the social sciences is that scholars have accepted the false premise that Chicanos are white and therefore do not suffer the same consequences that Black people do.

> . . . the Mexican American is a Caucasian, the lighter-skinned members of the population have found it much easier to escape from the ghetto and assimilate into the Anglo middle-class communities, attend Anglo schools and share in the dominant culture.[8]

Such a misconception about the actual racial background of Chicanos has, in fact, made it difficult to deal constructively with both the similarity the Chicano experience has with the Black experience in a racist society, and the unique historical experience the Chicano contributes to the landscape of the total society vis-à-vis the question of oppressed minorities in a modern "democracy." Social scientists have failed to recognize the rich Native American heritage and other non-white "blood mixtures" which have shaped the distinct

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[6]See preface to Irvin Katz and Patricia Gurin, eds., Race and the Social Sciences (New York: Basic Books, 1969).

[7]Thomas F. Pettigrew, "The Negro and Education: Problems and Prospects," in ibid.

[8]Anthony Gary Dworkin, "No Siesta Manana: The Mexican American in Los Angeles," in Raymond W. Mack, ed., Our Children's Burden (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 393.

cultural patterns of the Chicano.[9]

In short, social scientists have in general remained ignorant about the existence of an ethnic minority who, together with the Native Americans, populated the Southwestern United States long before the arrival of the first European immigrants to the shores of the "new world." It is not surprising, therefore, that the few studies available perpetuate the functionally rationalizing stereotypes and myths which the dominant society has held about Chicanos since the Anglo-colonizer arrived in the Southwest.[10]

Of all the social sciences, with the possible exception of economics, political science has totally ignored the Chicano. Political scientists have yet to produce a published study that provides a systematic analysis of Chicano politics vis-à-vis the study of politics in America. As a matter of fact, the discipline stands indicted by some of its own members for being "out of touch" with the nation's second largest racial and cultural oppressed minority. In a report

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[9]My reference here is to the intimate blood and cultural relationship that has existed between the Chicano and the Indian civilizations throughout the Americas. Not even Chicano scholars have adequately related to such a relationship.

[10]Most of the stereotypes and myths are much more damaging than the one about Chicanos being white. See Octavio Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican American," in El Grito, Vol. II (Fall 1968), 13-26. See also the monograph by Deluvina Hernandez, Mexican American Challenge to a Sacred Cow (Los Angeles: Chicano Cultural Center, University of Calif., 1970) and Raymond Rocco, "The Chicano in the Social Sciences: Traditional Concepts, Myths, and Images," in Aztlan: Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts, I, No. 2 (Fall 1970), 75-97.

issued by the Ad Hoc Committee on Mexican Americans in the political science profession, Grant McConnell and other political scientists concluded that:

> There is something basically wrong with political science when we (1) fail to adequately interpret the political presence of eight or more million people; and (2) when we fail to recruit and train more than a handful of their representatives [in political science]. This, of course, means a substantial loss to our body of knowledge, and beyond this, it may represent a serious insensitivity, on our part, to the contemporary problem of mankind.[11]

In contrast to the abundance of studies by social scientists on the politics of "Black Power," a critical and scholarly published study of the politics of Chicano urban protest is yet to emerge.[12]

Political scientists, in particular, have not produced an equivalent to Hamilton and Carmichael's study on Black Power.[13] And one of the most recent systematic studies, Ethnic Politics in America, makes no reference to Chicano politics.[14]

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[11]The report was published in the American Political Science Assn. newsletter, P.S., III, No. 3 (Summer 1970), 352. The Ad Hoc Committee has since been replaced by a permanent committee under the title, "Committee on the Status of Chicanos in the Profession."

[12]Two of the best known reports on urban protest, for example, completely ignore reference to the subject of Chicano protest. See Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, usually referred to as the "Kerner Report," with a special introduction by Tom Wicker (New York: Bantam Books, 1968). The other report by Jerome K. Skolnick, The Politics of Protest (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969), does mention "Mexican Americans" twice, pp. 111 and 213.

[13]Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1967).

[14]Edgar Litt, Ethnic Politics in America: Beyond Pluralism (Glenview: Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1970).

However, the fact that the literature on Chicano politics is virtually non-existent ought not be too shocking, for while social science in general has produced a vast amount of literature on race and ethnic relations, political science, in contrast, has given little attention to the study of ethnic politics. As Bailey and Katz have put it:

> . . . there has been a curious reluctance to give the politics of ethnic groups more than fleeting concern . . . we have conceived of political interest based upon ethnicity as "un-American."[15]

Another political scientist has pointed out that the discipline has virtually ignored the study of the economically deprived minorities. In his words:

> Particularly troublesome for me is the relative absence of lower-strata groups from most community power studies and the ease with which their absence is either ignored or explained away.[16]

It is therefore of no surprise that the study of Chicano politics in general has not been a central concern of the discipline. For although the discipline has produced some studies of ethnic political behavior, most have focused on how the white European ethnic immigrants have adapted to the urban politics of an alleged pluralist democracy. As Edgar Litt has put it,

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[15]Harry A. Bailey, Jr. and Ellis Katz, eds., _Ethnic Group Politics_ (Columbus: Charles E. Merril Co., 1969), p. vii.

[16]Michael Parenti, "Power and Pluralism: A View from the Bottom," in Marvin Surkin and Alan Wolfe, eds., _An End to Political Science: The Caucus Papers_ (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 113.

> Until recently, ethnic politics usually meant the study
> of the urban political machine and the ways in which group
> leaders were dealt with in the political party, machine,
> or legislature.[17]

The problem, however, is not simply that there is a paucity of studies on the subject of the politics of Chicano protest, but rather it is that, given the status of the social sciences in terms of ideology and methodology, is it possible that relevant research can be produced that can contribute toward the understanding of the nature and cause of Chicano protest? For social science has, as a whole, done less than an adequate job of interpreting the oppression of black people and other powerless minorities. The problem, as I define it, is in the final analysis one that can be termed a crisis of ideology and the lack of a paradigm of analysis that is conducive to the proper and critical interpretation of the Chicano experience in a dominant Anglo-capitalist, dehumanizing society. The assumption that undergirds this study is that existing paradigms of political analysis do not adequately interpret the political reality of Chicano America and that the student of protest politics must be compelled to contribute towards new modes of analysis that challenge the dominant ideological and methodological approaches to the study of power vis-à-vis the political powerlessness of those racial and cultural minorities that together comprise a "Third World Within" the internal boundaries of a world empire.

The dominant paradigm of political science, for example, in the

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[17]Litt, op. cit.

words of one of its most celebrated architects, has failed to "iden-
tify, understand, and anticipate the kinds of domestic needs and
wants that began to express themselves as political demands during
the 1960's."[18]  As we shall see in our review of the literature, what
has been written about Chicanos has been based on a dominant Anglo
perspective which has been predicated on the cultural values and
norms of the dominant society.  As a matter of fact, most of the
research on oppressed minorities has been done from "within a value
framework that accepts the ongoing practices as essentially satis-
factory and at most subject to the need for incremental improvement."
Easton goes on to say that political scientists in particular

> . . . continued to develop our discipline as though the
> subjects we select for research, the variables we choose
> to investigate, the data we collect, and the interpretations
> we generate, have all some extraordinary pristine purity
> unsullied by the kinds of value premises to which we
> subscribe, consciously or otherwise.[19]

The net result of all this has been that political scientists,
by attempting to hide from their biases behind the cloak of "objec-
tivity" have, in reality, been developing models of inquiry which are
ideological in nature and which conform to the myth of a pluralist
democracy.  Political scientist William T. Connelly has put it well:

> The problem of ideology has not been adequately faced in
> contemporary political science.  Some political scientists
> devote all their energies to the future promise of a science
> of politics; some analyze the ideologies of contemporary
> interest groups; others examine the defunct ideologies
> offered by such political programs as "Marxism" and "Fascism"
> . . . But few . . . have systematically attempted to confront

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[18]David Easton, "The New Revolution in Political Science," _The American Political Science Review_, LXIII (December, 1969), 1057.

[19]Easton, _op. cit._

the problem of ideology as is expressed in their own con-
temporary political interpretations.[20]

This study, in contrast to those in the "objective" tradition
of political science, is undertaken in the belief that the activities
and research of the Chicano political scientist carry potential im-
plications for the nation's second largest oppressed minority's self-
understanding of the origins and nature of their oppression and their
resultant patterns of political behavior. It posits that a signifi-
cant role to be performed by the Chicano scholar is that of critical
analysis aimed at the construction and eventual presentation of a
responsible ideology that can become a foundation for the development
of viable strategies for social change in the urban barrios and the
creation of alternative institutions conducive to the decolonization
of Chicano America. For in the final analysis, the contemporary
oppression of Chicanos is deeply rooted in the fact that Chicanos
remain today a colonized people.

The response to Chicano protest on the part of those who control
the dominant social, economic, and political institutions, has led to
the implementation of the same public policy that was designed to con-
tribute toward the resolution of the "black problem." Existing public
policy has failed to contribute toward the betterment of the masses
of Black Americans and is also destined to fail to meet the needs of
the Chicano. Namely, because it is based on a mistaken analysis of
the nature of the problems, insufficient funding as a result of

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[20]See his _Political Science and Ideology_ (New York: Atherton
Press, 1967), p. 55.

"benign neglect" attitudes that are shaped by an unwillingness to redistribute the wealth of the nation, liberal-reformist paternalism on the part of those that shape public policy, and the failure of social scientists to acknowledge that the oppression of oppressed minorities is rooted in the structure of the total society.

The significance of this study is that it represents a seminal effort to conceptualize the study of the politics of Chicano protest from a critical Chicano perspective of political analysis. It is my belief that what is needed at the present time is an analysis of the origins and nature of Chicano protest that avoids the more blatant distortions that have been perpetrated by an "objective" social science and other writers who have viewed the Chicano political experience through lenses colored by Anglo myths and stereotypes about ethnic and racial relations. Secondly, an analysis that while it aims to expose the sources of oppression nevertheless is not aimed at contributing toward the development of counter-myths and stereotypes of Chicanos that equally fail to place the Chicano experience in proper perspective. In other words, the Chicano scholar's contribution should be in concert with the struggle for liberation and self-determination of the oppressed Chicano masses. For as one political scientist has put it, "There is no quest for some middle ground of neutrality or objectivity. One must be squarely on the side of the oppressed and opposed to the oppressors."[21] However, a commitment to

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[21]William W. Ellis, <u>White Ethics and Black Power</u> (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969), p. 174.

We are still as a whole victimized "by those conventional standards of competency in the profession through which the academic status structure is molded."[25] Chicanos in the process of becoming certified as professional social scientists find it difficult to "develop their own standards of idea contribution" to put to test in the arena of "intellectual combat."[26] When Chicano Studies programs began to appear, many Chicano scholars perceived the opportunity to escape from the methodological constraints they had confronted in their respective traditional disciplines. For the first time, the traditional social science studies that focused on the various aspects of Chicano culture and which perpetuated the Anglo racist stereotypes and myths about Chicanos were openly challenged and critiqued from a Chicano perspective.[27] To date, however, the literature of Chicano Studies remains at the level of critique. Few efforts have been undertaken to develop a paradigm of Chicano Studies which, in fact, offers an alternative to the traditional methodologies.

Octavio Romano, considered by many to be the leading scholar in Chicano Studies, has stated that the priority of Chicano Studies is to introduce a "Chicano self-image into the arena of social science thought."[28]

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[25]The analysis by Benjamin Smith and Edward Malecki, "Radical Scholarship and the Problem of Commitment for the Future Caucusite," The Caucus Cable (Newsletter for the Caucus for a New Political Science), I, No. 3, 6, is equally valid to the situation of Chicano political scientists.

[26]Ibid.

[27]See, for example, Octavio Romano, op. cit.

[28]See "Social Science, Objectivity, and the Chicanos," El Grito, IV, No. 1, 12-13.

However, another leading Chicano scholar has implied that the mere effort to prove that Chicano intellectual thought has always existed, because, in fact, Chicanos have been protagonists in the human drama of man, ought not to be the sole priority of Chicano Studies. In his words, the "simple refutation of cultural determinism and the reaffirmation of structural-environmental determinism is not sufficient."[29] However, no concrete effort has been made to go beyond the level of criticism of the traditional social sciences.

This study, therefore, in addition to contributing toward the development of an alternative model of political analysis vis-à-vis the study of Chicano oppression, also relates indirectly to the total dilemma of Chicano Studies. For it is my belief that Chicano Studies, due to its interdisciplinary scope as opposed to any traditional discipline, has the potential to more adequately deal with the questions that are underscored in this study. Chicano Studies has not yet defined its paradigm, i.e., the "entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by members of" the community of scholars in the traditional disciplines.[30] And as opposed to the efforts on the part of some of us to develop a "new political science," Chicano Studies does not truly have the problem of rejecting "one paradigm without simultaneously substituting another," as is the case with any ongoing "scientific" effort to reform existing traditional

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[29]See Nick Vaca, "The Mexican-American in the Social Sciences," El Grito, IV, No. 1, 46.

[30]See Thomas Kuhn's study, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (2d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 175.

disciplines.[31]

Those Chicano scholars committed to the end result of a well-defined alternative to traditional disciplines, therefore, must recognize the need to develop a paradigm. Without a paradigm, "the structure of the group that practices the field" cannot be clearly defined.[32] Once a paradigm for Chicano Studies exists, Chicano scholarship can cease to be dependent on the traditional methodologies of the social sciences and gets away from the danger of simply becoming a mere duplication of those methodologies and, at worst, remaining in the perpetual state of becoming as opposed to arriving. To date, however, Chicano scholars, with few exceptions, have not examined the natural relationship between paradigm development and the Chicano struggle.

For example, as Chicano protest has emerged to expose the failure of political institutions to meet the needs of La Raza, so has Chicano Studies emerged to protest the failure of the dominant paradigms of the social sciences to adequately explore the political reality of Chicano America. If such a relationship is understood, the Chicano struggle and Chicano Studies are both movements that can be perceived as aiming at changing the nature of the status-quo. The former is challenging the political institutions within the context of the question of existing power relationships, and the latter, along with those advocating a radical scholarship within traditional disciplines, represent a challenge to the perspectives, models, and theories which have legitimized

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[31] Kuhn, _ibid._

[32] _Ibid._, p. 18.

those political institutions.  Thomas Kuhn has put it well:

> This genetic aspect of the parallel between political and
> scientific development should no longer be open to doubt
> . . . political revolutions aim to change political insti-
> tutions in ways those institutions themselves prohibit . . .
> Like the choice between competing institutions, that between
> competing paradigms proves to be a choice between incompatible
> modes of community life.[33]

The politics of Chicano urban protest, as this study seeks to
conceptualize, therefore goes beyond a definition of protest as a
phenomenon to be examined in isolation from the question of ideology
and methodology.  For the "very enterprise of social science, as it
determines fact, takes on political meaning.[34]  The Chicano scholar,
as all scholars, " . . . by the fact of their existence, are involved
in the struggle between enlightenment and obscurantism."[35]

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[33]Kuhn, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

[34]C. W. Mills, op. cit., p. 178.

[35]Ibid.

CHAPTER II

THE TRADITIONAL MODEL OF CHICANO POLITICS:

REVIEW AND CRITIQUE OF THE LITERATURE

Although in Chapter One we pointed out that the Chicano minority has not been considered important to the study of race and ethnic relations and, in particular, that political science has totally ignored the study of the Chicano political experience, there do exist a few studies that touch on the question of politics in the urban barrio. It is important to take cognizance of the fact that these studies were published prior to the emergence of "Chicano Power." Therefore, none deal with the question of Chicano protest. However, it is important to review them for the purpose of this study because they help us to understand how the traditional social science model that we term the assimilation/accommodation model, as applied to the study of Chicano politics, has contributed to the perpetuation of the stereotype and myth of the Chicano as a politically passive and inherently dis-organized minority.

The first post-war study to deal with an area of Chicano politics was published in 1946.[1] The city Tuck studied was San Bernardino,

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[1]Ruth Tuck, Not With the Fist: Mexican Americans in a Southwest City (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1946).

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California, which she labeled "Descanso," and her research appears to have been done during the war. The title of her book is taken from an observation of Charles Horton Cooley, whom she quotes:

> . . . wrongs that afflict society are seldom willed by anyone or any group, but are by-products of acts of will having other objects; they are done, as someone has said, with the elbows rather than the fists. There is surprisingly little ill-intent . . . [2]

In spite of this seeming absolution of "Descanso's" white majority, Tuck documents in considerable detail the pervasive racism of Anglos with regard to Mexican Americans, and the negative social consequences it produced. Among her observations: "Descanso believes with simple, naive fervor that North Europeans and their descendants represent a superior breed of people."[3] "To tell Descanso that it has created caste, or semi-caste, situations for some of its citizens -- permanent lower groupings in which they are supposed to stay and against which barriers have been erected to prevent their rise -- is to insult its picture of itself as a generous, friendly town . . ."[4] "Until very recently, the community agreement to keep the Mexican or person of Mexican extraction in his place, economically, was effective for all but occasional members of the group."[5] She also refers to the deliberate patterns of residential and educational segregation in San Bernardino.

Mexican Americans comprised 12% of the population of San Bernardino during the period in which Ruth Tuck wrote. Many had come in the late

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[2]Tuck, op. cit., p. xix

[3]Ibid., p. 10.

[4]Ibid., p. 44.

[5]Ibid., p. 174.

nineteenth and early twentieth century, in response to the need for labor, having been encouraged to do so by farmers and industrialists. Of course, Mexicans had lived in the area before Anglos had come to settle. In spite of their relatively long history in this city, Tuck was unable to find very much in the way of stable political organizations among Chicanos. According to her, there have existed Chicano organizations oriented towards particular political issues or which acted in a political manner, but they have been short-lived. One came into existence in 1943 to prosecute the city for refusing Mexican Americans the use of the swimming pool. But after winning that battle it disappeared. There was also a chapter of the LULACs (League of United Latin-American Citizens), but it, too, lasted only a short time.

In describing and explaining this observation, Tuck makes reference to Descanso's "repressive civic policy," but she also devotes considerable attention to discussing Mexican American leadership patterns. According to her, five or six persons are acknowledged as "leaders" by Chicanos because they have some knowledge of Anglo ways and are able to perform as intermediaries with the Anglo society.[6] This leadership is essentially conservative, working within the system to accommodate the desires of the dominant society, and they tend to be drawn from the more "respectable" elements of the barrio.

The barrio leaders in San Bernardino encounter considerable suspicion from barrio people. Some consider that the leaders are overly Anglicized and have turned their backs on their own culture.

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[6]Ibid., p. 137

Accusations of opportunism and feathering one's nest are also frequent-
ly heard, and Tuck notes some tendency for leaders to over-concentrate
power in their own hands.[7]  However, she puts the major responsibility
for the state of barrio politics on Anglo society:  "The great respon-
sibility of the dominant community lies in the fact that it is like a
moon, which pulls the tides of the [barrio's] society this way and
that.  The most enlightened leadership and the most arduous individual
efforts cannot prevail, except in individual and isolated instances,
against the forces that arise from without."[8]  And she points clearly
to the attempts by Anglo society to isolate and co-opt able Chicano
leadership:  "This effort to cut the Mexican-American of superior back-
ground or achievement off from the rest of his group is constant in
most Anglo-American circles."[9]

While Tuck's position is one sympathetic to the Mexican-American,
her perspective is basically assimilationist.  As she puts it, "It is
the writer's profound hope that this book will play a small part in
producing a community where it is no longer necessary to invent terms
for splitting up citizens into racial and national islands, where there
will be no linguistic devices for emphasizing social isolation and
difference, and where the term 'American' will serve for everyone."[10]

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[7]Tuck, _ibid._, p. 149.

[8]_Ibid._, pp. 141-142.

[9]_Ibid._, p. 142.

[10]_Ibid._, p. xx.

She thinks of the Chicano as analogous to the European immigrant, and she plays down cultural differences. She is concerned to demonstrate that Mexican-Americans can assimilate, as other groups have done.

Shortly after Tuck's work appeared, a second study of Mexican Americans in a Southwest city was published. This was Sister Frances Jerome Woods' Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas.[11] San Antonio, a good-sized city, was one-third Mexican American at that time in which the study was done (1949). While this work has less scope and depth than Tuck's book, it is more focused on political matters. Woods employs a rather simplistic, two-fold typology of leaders based on their methods. One type she calls "Radicals," distinguished by their use of protest and other "militant" tactics, and their emphasis is on combatting discrimination against Chicanos. The other type is labeled "Diplomats," and is characterized by more conservative tactics, such as the use of legal channels, and by their stress on Mexican American self-help efforts.[12] "Radicals" tend to have more popular support; "Diplomats" enjoy more Anglo support.[13]

The Mexican American leadership in San Antonio performs several functions. One is the representative function of expressing the group's values and interests. This is related to their function as intermediaries or mediators between the Anglo and Chicano groups, a role requiring a certain amount of acceptance of their legitimacy by Anglos. A third

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[11] (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1949).

[12] Ibid., pp. 74-75, 118.

[13] Ibid., p. 78.

function has to do with coordination of group efforts which, according to Woods, is particularly important given that "the Mexicans tend to be strongly individualistic."[14] In another section of her work, Woods refers to Mexican Americans who act as precinct or campaign managers for Anglos in Chicano areas, but she does not make clear whether she considers this to be a leadership function.

Woods is also concerned with describing the backgrounds and social characteristics of San Antonio's Mexican American leaders. According to her, they tend to be between 45 and 55 years old, and are generally of "respectable" backgrounds. Traditionally many have been lawyers, although businessmen have become more important in recent times. There are only a few younger leaders, and fewer still are from lower-class backgrounds.

Several times Woods alludes to the problem of Chicanos' suspicion of their leadership, and at one point she attributes this to the leaders' tendency to make promises which they do not intend to fulfill. This trait, in turn, is traced to the value which Mexican culture puts on courtesy.

In contrast to Tuck, Woods mentions several continuing Mexican American political organizations in San Antonio, and she seems to be aware that many ostensibly non-political organizations play a political role in the community.

Whereas Ruth Tuck was a straight-forward assimilationist, Woods speaks favorably of the attempt to merge desirable characteristics of

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[14]Ibid., p. 87.

Anglo and Chicano societies. She sees this type of "fusion" as the aim of most American leaders. She does not, however, truly challenge the assimilationist perspective and her conclusions imply that political accommodation is the answer to the lack of political power in the urban barrio.

After these two studies in the 1940's, there appeared no extensive published works on urban Chicano politics until D'Antonio and Form's in 1965.[15] Theirs is a comparative study of community decision-making and power structure in El Paso, Texas and Ciudad Juarez, Mexico. Although not focusing on Chicanos as such, there are numerous references to this group which constituted 45% of El Paso's population in 1960. Their main conclusion with respect to Chicanos is that they were largely excluded from participation in decision-making processes. They attribute this undemocratic state of affairs to various factors: "citizen apathy," "the neglect to socialize that part of the Spanish-name population of the nation and community," and the failure to develop viable political clubs on the part of Chicanos.[16] They also refer to political factionalism and to the Mexican Americans' "relatively low level of internal social integration."[17]

They do discuss the 1957 city elections in which a Mexican American, Rivera, won a contested Democratic primary and went on to become mayor, with the solid electoral support of the Chicano community. Yet there

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[15] William D'Antonio and William Form, _Influentials in Two Border Cities_ (Milwaukee, Wisc.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965).

[16] _Ibid._, pp. 245-246.

[17] _Ibid._, p. 30.

were circumstances which rendered this a hollow victory. In order to win, Rivera apparently felt it necessary to run with an all-Anglo slate of city councilmen. Once in office, he proceeded with a great deal of caution in his policies and appointments, to the extent that he had soon won the hearts of the city's business-oriented influentials. However, the influentials soon moved to eliminate primaries from the nominating process.

While D'Antonio and Form attribute the lack of aggressive, issue-oriented Chicano politics in El Paso to factors internal to the Chicano population and to Chicano leaders' basic identification . . . to American values,"[18] they provide sufficient data to support an alternative explanation. Such an explanation would stress intentional efforts by Anglo power holders in El Paso and in the Southwest to prevent a viable Chicano politics from appearing. D'Antonio and Form refer to the barrier represented by poll taxes, to the exclusion of Mexican Americans from positions in the dominant Democratic Party and from local government positions. But there are also many more subtle mechanisms that can be noted in their account: one of these is the practice, beginning in 1951 in El Paso, of including one token Chicano on the city council slate of an Anglo candidate for mayor. The mechanism of co-optation also appears to have been firmly entrenched. In one instance, they feel that "the decision . . . to nominate Jose Jimenez for one of the city council posts was only a token step toward recognizing the potential power of the Spanish-name masses, but it also represented an attempt to

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[18]Ibid., p. 228.

co-opt ethnic leadership."[19]

Perhaps the most insiduous mechanism, however, might be labeled the "racist mobilization of bias," adapting a term from Bachrach and Baratz.[20] This consists of putting Chicanos on the defensive by constantly suggesting that they are inferior to Anglos. In politics, a typical euphemism that is employed for this purpose is that there are no "qualified" Chicano candidates available. The prevailing attitudes of El Paso's elite can be summed up in the following statement: "How can we hold our heads up in the State of Texas when we have a Mexican mayor?"[21] The defensive attitude that this kind of racism produces may be noted in a quote attributed to a Mexican American: "If we didn't do a good job, it would not be just another John Smith who had not done a good job as mayor. Ah, no, it would be that Jose Ramirez, and people with names like Ramirez and Fuentes are just no good in politics. So we have a special duty to ourselves and to our nationality to perform well."[22] The path that this "special duty" took in El Paso was illustrated by the actions of the mayor,

> who did not want to deviate from traditional political paths
> but wanted to demonstrate that "Mexican-Americans" could do
> "as good a job as anyone else in public office." Operationally,
> this meant that he proceeded cautiously, made use of impartial

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[19] Ibid., p. 231.

[20] Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

[21] Ibid., p. 142.

[22] Ibid, p. 138 n.

fact-finding committees, and avoided purely partisan issues.[23]

That D'Antonio and Form could include so much evidence for the proposition that Chicano powerlessness was due to Anglo manipulation, and yet put the weight of explanation on Chicano cultural and social characteristics, does not speak particularly well for the ability of "impartial" social scientists to escape their society's dominant myths. Perhaps this is related to one of the book's outstanding weaknesses: the almost complete absence of any reference to the history of Chicano-Anglo relations in the Southwest. In our estimation, it is impossible to attribute causes to these complex political patterns, as D'Antonio and Form do, without taking into account that those patterns originated in conquest and have been maintained through force.[24] More recently, of course, those patterns have been reinforced through the more subtle kinds of political mechanisms that D'Antonio and Form document in their work.

More generally, the prevailing frame of reference which D'Antonio and Form apply to Mexican Americans is similar to Ruth Tuck's; that is, the analogy with European immigrants. At times they make the comparison explicit.

Another study of urban Chicanos appeared in 1966.[25] This was a study by Arthur Rubel of Weslaco ("New Lots" in the book), in the Lower

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[23]Ibid., p. 146.

[24]See, for example, Carey Williams, North From Mexico (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968).

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

Rio Grande Valley in Texas. During the late 1950's, when Rubel con-
ducted his research, Weslaco had a population of about 9,000 Mexican
Americans and 6,000 Anglos. Its relatively small size and agricul-
tural setting may make it less typically "urban" than the other cities
reported on here.

Echoing themes in other studies, Rubel comments on what he per-
ceives to be weak Mexican American leadership and an absence of instru-
mental, issue-oriented groups engaged in pressure politics. In seeking
explanations for this pattern, Rubel's remarks again have a familiar
ring. According to him, "some societies display a certain 'flair' for
organizing and proliferating instrumental groups. Clearly, the chicanos
do not." And again, "Organization of groups for the attainment of goals,
whether diffuse or particular, is not one of the instrumental techniques
made available to them by their culture."[26] He also refers to personal-
ism, which he sees as the converse of forming instrumental groups.
Quite apart from Rubel's tendency to generalize about Chicanos from one
study of one town, his interpretations can be challenged on internal
grounds. The existence of Chicano defensiveness and fear of consequen-
ces can be seen from Rubel's own account of one political "instrumental
group" in Weslaco:

> At a meeting of the League of United Latin American Citizens
> [LULAC] held during the campaign, several members urged the
> local council to support a drive to induce the chicano voters
> to purchase poll taxes in the following year. The move was
> voted down on the strength of Ray's argument that such a drive
> would be construed by Anglos as having political overtones.

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[26]Ibid., p. 135.

The LULAC council, he argued, would no longer be accorded the esteem of Anglos who conceived of the group as an educational and citizenship-oriented organization.27

Rubel's emphasis is even harder to explain than D'Antonio and Form's, since he does have an awareness of the historical setting. Rubel demonstrates in the historical section of his book that he is fully aware of the tactics used by Anglos to deprive Chicanos of the land which they owned, and of the violence used to maintain Anglo control. Even more interesting, however, is his account of the existence of a Democratic "machine" in that area in the early part of the century, based largely on Chicano support. For those scholars who make use of analogies with European immigrants in the United States, Rubel's description of the fate of this machine should be instructive. According to him, it was destroyed in the 1930's in the name of the "Good Government League," during a period of heightened anti-Mexican feeling. "By the end of 1930 the Anglo society was assured unassailable superiority in all spheres of activity over the subordinated Mexican-Americans."28

In 1967 Julian Samora and Richard Lamanna published a study based on research done around 1965.29 They focused their work on East Chicago (Ind.), an industrial city in the Chicago urban area with a population of about 58,000, of which 11% is Mexican American.

In contrast to some other writers, Samora and Lamanna noted several political organizations among Chicanos, e.g., the LULACs, the Mexican-

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27Ibid., p. 128.

28Ibid., p. 50.

29Mexican Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago (Los Angeles, Calif.: Mexican-American Project, U.C.L.A., 1967).

American Democratic Organization, the Latin Civic Political Club. They also comment on the strong sense of Mexican American nationalism, which they see as providing an important source of cohesion in the community. However, they also note that the various organizations do not as a rule work well together, nor do they have really extensive memberships. They do detect a trend towards broader involvement in politics, a more active leadership, and a greater political role for women.

At the time the study was done, Chicanos had not achieved a great deal of political representation in East Chicago, although there had been one Mexican American councilman elected. In the authors' estimation, the Kennedy campaigns had been important in politicizing the Chicano community. While they do not make a detailed study of public policy, they do comment on various policy areas as they affect Chicanos. In this connection, they cite the urban renewal program in the area as disruptive and severely criticized among Mexican Americans.

Samora and Lamanna attempt to give their study a more general perspective by relating it to ethnic assimilation theory. Although they do not commit themselves normatively, it appears safe to say that they consider assimilation (in the various senses in which they use the term) to be necessary for Mexican American improvement.[30]

In _Big City Politics_, Edward Banfield briefly covers two cities with large Chicano populations.[31] About Mexican Americans in Los Angeles he

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[30]_Ibid._, p. 125ff.

[31]New York: Random House, 1965.

has almost nothing to say. His comments about El Paso's Chicanos are either superficial or incredible. He states, "In El Paso [but nowhere else in Texas] there has never been 'racial' discrimination against them. The city has never had a 'Mexican' school; 'high-class Mexicans' belong to the best clubs and intermarry with the best Anglo families."[32] He offers the following explanation for the existence of Chicano oppression:

> One reason for the Latins' political incapacity is poverty. Another is lack of education . . . But perhaps the Latins' most serious handicap is their persistent attachment to Mexican, rather than North American cultural standards. Among other things, this leads them to be satisfied with things as they are.[33]

In his latest book on the nature of the urban crisis he concludes that the oppression of the Chicano and other oppressed minorities can be explained, in the final analysis, as attributable to a "lower class culture."

> Today, the Negro's main disadvantage is the same as the Puerto Rican's and Mexican's: namely, that he is the most recent unskilled, and hence, relatively low-income, migrant to reach the city from a backward rural area . . . Almost everything said about their problems . . . tends to exaggerate the purely racial aspects of the situation.[34]

It should be noted that Banfield introduces yet another myth to explain the oppression of the Chicano, i.e., the Chicano as latest-urban-immigrant. Apparently he has forgotten his own words that appear in Big City Politics: "El Pasoans think that most of the South Side

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[32]Ibid., p. 67.

[33]Ibid., p. 76.

[34]The Unheavenly City (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1970), p. 68.

[Mexican American] residents are recent arrivals, but census figures show that this is far from being the case."[35]  Indeed, in most of the urban centers of the Southwest the Chicano can trace the history of the barrio to the founding of those cities and can correctly say that it is the Anglos who are the newcomers.

But the important question in this study is that Banfield places the Chicano within the context of the European ethnic immigrant thesis of the melting pot theory.  He admits in his latest work that racism is a reality of life in America, but nevertheless de-emphasized that fact:  " . . . being subject to prejudice, however, it is clear in retrospect, was not the main disadvantage of the Irish, Jews, Italians, and others.  Nor is it the main one of the Negro . . . the Puerto Rican or the Mexican."[36]


## Summary

The authors reviewed here are on uniformly weak grounds both methodologically and in their explanation of oppression in the urban barrio.  Methodologically speaking there is an implicit comparison with Anglo political patterns, but the comparison is with an idealized "textbook" image of Anglo politics as rational, pragmatic, instrumental, and universalistic.  A systematic empirical study of Anglo politics in the cities studied may have revealed as much "factionalism" and "personalism" to cite but two possibilities.  In terms of the Chicano

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[35] Op. cit., p. 67.

[36] The Unheavenly City, p. 68.

political reality, all the authors ignore the available empirical data that substantiate that Chicanos have been victims of Anglo racism since the "manifest destiny" days of the 1800's.[37]

There are several themes and perspectives which recur in the studies which have just been summarized. In this section we shall indicate some of the most important ones and establish links among them in terms of what we will call the assimilation/accommodation model.

Lack of Representation

One observation on which all the authors seem agreed is that urban Chicanos are unrepresented or underrepresented politically. This non-representation is expressed throughout the range of local offices, from mayor to councilman to grand jury to relatively minor administrative positions, and extends to party offices; it is seen as being related to the Chicano's disadvantaged socioeconomic position, and often condemns him to the role of victim of such public policies as urban renewal.

Weak Political Leadership and Organizations: Low Participation

Another common theme in these studies is a perceived lack of strong political leadership, weak or nonexistent political organizations, and generally low rates of participation. Several of the authors refer to factionalism among Chicanos and to a generalized feeling of suspicion toward the leadership. In most cases, the authors argue that it is these various elements which explain the lack of representation. In

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[37]See, for example, Spanish Surnamed American Employment in the Southwest, a study prepared by Fred H. Schmidt for the Colorado Civil Rights Commission under the auspices of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Washington, D.C., 1970 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970).

turn, these elements are explained in terms of two sets of factors, cultural and social-economic.

Cultural factors are given considerable weight by Woods, who refers to the Chicano's "individualism" as a barrier to collective action. This theme is frequently echoed in other studies of Mexican Americans. Sheldon states that "Individualism is a major characteristic of Mexican culture," whereas "Anglo-Americans have accepted the British tradition of working together to achieve a common goal and rallying around a common cause." As a consequence, "It is not surprising that Mexican-Americans have been unable to put to effective use the tool of the mass voice to promote the common good of their group."[38] Rubel, as we have seen, puts a great deal of weight on the Chicano's "personalism," which he sees as the antithesis of organized, instrumental group action. Banfield believes that Mexican Americans are held back by their fatalism.

Social-economic factors such as low levels of education and income are referred to by such authors as Banfield and D'Antonio and Form to explain the Chicano's political situation. Sheldon feels that the Chicano's heterogeneity is an important causal element. D'Antonio and Form also perceive a "low level of social integration." But they don't ask, "Why?"

While the existence of past and present discrimination is acknowledged by the authors (e.g., Rubel), and some even feel that this may have something to do with the Chicano's present position, only Ruth Tuck makes a point of stressing Anglo machinations as a major cause of

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[38]Paul Sheldon, "Community Participation and the Emerging Middle Class," in Julian Samora, ed., La Raza: Forgotten Americans (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), p. 127.

the Mexican American's political nonrepresentation.

## The Chicano as the Latest Urban Migrant

In striving to conceptualize the situation and prospects of the Mexican American community, social scientists have usually resorted to an analogy with European migrants to eastern U.S. cities. The idea here seems to be that just as various European immigrant groups have come from foreign countries to American cities, Chicanos have recently come to the cities either directly from Mexico, or by a two-step process involving initial settlement in a U.S. rural area. Thus the situation of the Chicanos now is essentially similar to the situation of the Irish or Italians at an earlier period. If Chicanos would pattern themselves on these other groups and learn from their experience, the argument goes, they could look forward to enjoying the same success as those groups have gained.

## The Assimilation/Accommodation Model

It is possible to view the Chicano-as-latest-urban-migrant theme as part of a broader conceptual framework, here referred to as the assimilation/accommodation model. This framework has functioned as the traditional model for social scientists concerned with Chicanos and Chicano political patterns, affecting their perceptions and the way in which they have organized their observation. Consequently, it has also influenced their recommendations. The basic ingredients of this model are:

1. That the situation of Chicanos is similar in most essential ways to that of European immigrants.

2. That the Chicano's disadvantaged political, economic, and social position is the result of factors inherent in Chicano culture and social organization; discrimination is mentioned as a secondary factor.

3. That through assimilation, that is, taking on the culture and ways of behavior of Anglo society, Chicanos will be able to achieve equal status with other groups in the U.S.

4. That individual mobility through education is a central mechanism in this process.

5. That the process can be speeded up through organizing into pragmatic, instrumental political groups and engaging in bargaining behavior for marginal gains. This would involve working through accepted channels and seeking change through such mechanisms as governmental programs aimed at education, employment, housing, and health. Essentially a liberal reformist position, it is compatible with the activist role assigned to the state since the Depression and the Roosevelt administration. Although the authors who have worked in this area are generally not political scientists, their political prescription fits well with the dominant pluralist model of American politics, and with the views of the policy process that derive support from the theoretical works of David Easton.

A sub-category of this general model can also be identified, differing from the first slightly on point number five. This is Banfield's point of view. According to him, " . . . government cannot solve the problems of the cities and is likely to make them worse by trying . . . powerful accidental . . . forces are at work that tend to alleviate and even to eliminate the problems." The role of government

is seen as essentially staying out of the way and not arousing false
expectations by promising rapid change. Since Banfield shares the
other assumptions of the assimilation/accommodation model, we might
label his the "benign neglect" version, in order to differentiate it
from the more widely held "administrative activism" variety.

We conclude on the basis of our review of the authors cited that
the assimilation/accommodation model does not lend itself to a proper
analysis of the politics of Chicano urban protest. For the model in
general is predicated on Anglo assimilationist notions which do not
conform to the reality of the Chicano experience in a racist society.
Those who use such a model to study Chicano protest run the risk of
misinterpreting its nature and cause. Given the model's limitations
and teleological framework, Chicano protest would more than likely
be explained as simply an effort on the part of Chicanos to assimilate
into the dominant social order. Such a conclusion has already been
advanced by the huge research project about Chicanos that was funded by
the Ford Foundation. That study concluded, after a superficial analysis
of the "inside view" of Chicano militancy that

> On the whole, then, the "inside view" shows pressing claims
> for a place in American society and great frustrations at the
> slow pace at which the larger system is making room. The
> charges levelled against the system are broadly consistent with
> our own analysis of lags in institutional adaptation . . . [But]
> . . . Despite the institutional lags and the very real obstacles,
> however, Mexican-Americans have demonstrated considerable capa-
> city to enter the larger society.[39]

The nature of the politics of Chicano urban protest as it will be
shown in the following chapters, is not predicated on the question of

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[39]Grebler, Moore and Guzman, The Mexican American People, p. 593.

whether the Chicano has the capacity to assimilate.  For in the final analysis, it is a question of the incapacity of the society at large to provide for equality and social justice to its oppressed minorities.

The development of an alternative model of the political reality of the Chicano is essential for a better understanding of the nature and causes of Chicano protest.  In the next chapter we present an alternate model of analysis that views the barrio as internal colony.  It is my belief that such a model makes better sense of the Chicano experience and provides a useful conceptual framework for the study of contemporary Chicano protest.

CHAPTER III


THE NATURE AND CAUSE OF CHICANO URBAN PROTEST:

THE BARRIO AS INTERNAL COLONY


The assimilation/accommodation model as outlined in Chapter Two
and applied in past studies of barrio politics by the writers covered
basically holds that Chicanos are oppressed because they have weak
political leadership and lack viable political organization.  These
weaknesses in turn are attributed to the Chicano's "culture of poverty"
that, in the final analysis, we are lead to believe is the root cause
of Chicano oppression.  A weakness of the model is that it isolates
the Chicano situation from critical analysis of the structural insti-
tutional relationships that have in large part contributed to the
perpetuation of oppression in the barrio.  Its teleological conclusions
that cultural assimilation and the politics of accommodation are the
answer to political powerlessness in the urban barrio ignore the nature
of that powerlessness.  Lastly, the model fallaciously draws the
analogy of the Chicano experience with that of European white ethnic
immigrant groups, for it does not take into account the unique Chicano
historical experience.

The model of the barrio as internal colony developed in this
chapter rejects the basic tenets of the assimilation/accommodation
model and offers an alternative framework of analysis for the Chicano

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experience, specifically as it relates to protest and politics in the urban barrio.[1] Although the model does not purport to explain every facet of the Chicano's colonized situation, it does provide a new perspective and interpretation of the nature and cause of protest in the barrio and suggests new research directions for the study of the politics of Chicano urban protest.[2]

As opposed to viewing the Chicano as a recently arrived immigrant ethnic group in the process of rapid assimilation into Anglo society, the model postulates that in many cases Chicanos have existed in the urban areas prior to the arrival of the Anglo colonizer and that the

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[1]The model conforms to the perspective I outlined in "Toward A Chicano Perspective of Political Analysis," Aztlan, I, No. 2 (Fall 1970), 15-26.

[2]I first introduced the model as an alternative framework of analysis in a paper I wrote for a graduate seminar on Community Power Structures taught by Dr. George Blair, Claremont Graduate School, and which I delivered at the National research symposium on the subject of "Los Angeles: The Future Metropolis?", April 2, 1970, sponsored by the Institute on Government and Public Affairs (UCLA). Panelists who critiqued my paper were James Q. Wilson (Harvard), Richard Meir (U.C. Berkeley), Suzanne Keller (Princeton), and Martin Kilson (Harvard). Their comments were helpful in that they reinforced my commitment to actively participate in the Caucus for a New Political Science and to contribute to the development of alternate modes of analysis that radically depart from the traditional approaches they represented. A summary of that paper entitled "On the Nature and Cause of Tension in the Chicano Community: A Critical Analysis," was published in Aztlan: Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts, I, No. 2 (Fall 1970), 99-100. The model was then systematically developed in collaboration with my colleagues Mario Barrera and Charles Ornelas. Our joint effort resulted in the article "The Barrio As Internal Colony," published in Harlan Hahn, ed., People and Politics in Urban Society (Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage Publications, 1972). This chapter represents a further elaboration on my part of the model which would not have been possible without the support and intellectual stimulation provided by my two colleagues.

colonized situation of the Chicano has been actively maintained today through the institutional workings of a set of mechanisms of domination that were initially formed as a consequence of Anglo racism and the early dictates of an Anglo mercantilism which has evolved into the contemporary economic imperatives of a monopoly capitalism that today represents the political economy of the dominant social order.[3]

Secondly, it holds that the Chicano masses have actively resisted Anglo cultural imperialism, or assimilation, as it has been termed by the more traditional student of race relations, in the interest of maintaining their historic indigenous culture and social organization. The model interprets the oppression of Chicanos, therefore, not in terms inherent in Chicano culture and social organization, but rather as directly attributable to external causes.

Thirdly, the analysis of politics in the barrio on the basis of weak leadership and lack of organization is misleading for the following reasons: (1) There is evidence upon examination of the Mexican heritage that, on the contrary, there has been more strong leadership than desirable. The Mexican Revolution of 1910 has failed in some respects specifically due to such a reality. The "_jefe maximos_" and "_caciques_" have been a way of political life both in Mexico and, in modified forms, in the United States; (2) As Tirado has documented, there have, in fact, been many Chicano community organizations in the urban barrios that have played a political role notwithstanding their

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[3]See Chapter 9 of Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, _Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order_ (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1966).

commitment to the performance of non-political functions.[4] In addition, many such organizations have been forced to either adopt a low profile and conceal their political functions because of the threat of reprisal from the dominant society, as has been the case, for example, of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), an organization originally created by Chicanos to provide entrance into the "American way of life" but which, contrary to its "non-political" image, has always been engaged in barrio politics; and (3) the existence of overtly political organizations with a well-defined leadership varies considerably from barrio to barrio, as the studies reviewed in Chapter Two should make clear. In addition, organizations vary in terms of ideological stances. Some identify or are identified by others as militant, subversive, or radical. Others are committed to more reformist "working within the system" approaches. In the final analysis, the organizational variation that does exist to a large part is dependent on the level of cultural and political awareness of the leadership and on the specific historical development of the particular barrio in question. Finally, the Chicano perspective as defined by the model points to the need to develop Chicano alternative institutions conducive to the welfare of the Chicano masses and posits the need for a radical Chicano politics that can contribute to the restructuring of the State which, in the final analysis, is the long range solution to the colonized

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[4]See his excellent study, "Mexican American Minority's Participation in Voluntary Political Organizations" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1970). Part of that study was published under the title "Mexican American Community Political Organization: The Key to Chicano Political Power," _Aztlan_, I, No. 1 (Spring 1970), 53-78.

status of Chicanos and other oppressed peoples that comprise the
"Third World Within" American society.

## The Conceptual Framework: Definition of Terms

The colonized status of Chicanos is a generalized status, affec-
ting all aspects of life in the barrio. For as Fanon put it,

> Colonial domination, because it is total and tends to
> oversimplify, very soon manages to disrupt in spectacular
> fashion the cultural life of a conquered people. This
> cultural obliteration is made possible by the negation of
> national reality, by new legal relations introduced by the
> occupying power, by the banishment of the natives and their
> customs to outlying districts by colonial society, by
> expropriation . . .[5]

The concept of internal colonialism is relatively new. Until
recently, most students of the colonial phenomenon in the Third World
have studied its manifestations within the framework of classic
colonialism, i.e., a relationship of oppression between nations. The
concept of "internal" colonialism was first introduced by Latin
American scholars who pointed out that some form of colonialism "also
pertains to relationships within a nation, insofar as a nation is
ethnically heterogeneous and certain ethnic groups become the dominant
groups and classes and others become the dominated."[6] They have

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[5]Frantz Fanon, _The Wretched of the Earth_ (New York: Grove Press,
1968), p. 236.

[6]Pablo Gonzalez-Casanova, _Democracy in Mexico_ (New York: Oxford
University Press, 1970), pp. 71-72. See also Rodolfo Stavenhagen
"Classes, Colonialism, and Acculturation," and Julio Cotler, "The
Mechanics of Internal Domination and Social Change in Peru," in Irving
Louis Horowitz, ed., _Masses in Latin America_ (New York: Oxford Univer-
sity Press, 1970); Eugene Havens and William Flinn, eds., _Internal
Colonialism and Structural Change in Colombia_ (New York: Praeger, 1970);
Andre Gunder Frank, _Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America_
(New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967). The latest work to appear is

pointed out that it makes better sense of the nature and cause of a relationship in which one group dominates another.

The factor of race and culture is central to the model of internal colonialism for it points out the complexity of the nature of the relationship between colonized and colonizer.

> The colonial structure and internal colonialism are dis-
> tinguished from the class structure since colonialism is
> not only a relation of exploitation of the workers by the
> owners of raw materials or of production and their
> collaborators, but also a relation of domination and
> exploitation of a total population (with its distinct
> classes, proprietors, workers) by another population
> which also has distinct classes (proprietors and workers).[7]

In other words, it makes possible an interpretation not based on simplistic or orthodox Marxist terms of a class struggle between the worker and the bourgeois. In the case of the Chicano, he may be a worker that, like other workers, is exploited by those who own the modes of production. However, in general terms, he is also exploited by the non-Chicano worker due to the racist attitudes those workers have toward the total Chicano population. This results in the

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James D. Cockcroft, Andre Gunder Frank and Dale L Johnson, Dependence and Underdevelopment (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1972). In this work, Dale Johnson draws the linkage between the situation of oppressed classes in Latin America and oppressed minorities in the Third World Within the United States.

[7]Pablo Gonzalez-Casanova, "Internal Colonialism and National Development," Studies in Comparative International Development, I, No. 4 (1965), 33. The model has been applied to the Third World Within by Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, Black Power (New York: Vintage Books, 1967); Joan Moore, "Colonialism: The Case of the Mexican American," in Social Problems (Spring 1970), 463-472; and Robert L. Allen, Black Awakening in Capitalist America (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1970). The most recent work is Robert Blauner, Racial Oppression in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).

underrepresentation and underutilization of Chicanos in the labor
force.

> Spanish surnames are greatly underrepresented in on-the-job
> training programs for white-collar jobs while being over-
> represented in those for blue-collar jobs . . . There is
> evidence of a job caste that walls off white-collar jobs
> from minority workers, and this wall is stouter against
> [Chicanos] in areas where their numbers in the population
> are proportionately greater, as it is for Negroes in those
> areas where they are a more prominent part of the population.[8]

   Internal colonialism, therefore, is defined in terms of a

> . . . structure of social relations based on domination
> and exploitation among culturally heterogeneous distinct
> groups. If it has a specific difference with respect to
> other relations based on superordination it inheres in the
> cultural heterogeniety which the conquest of some peoples
> by others historically produces.[9]

   In political terms, the situation of internal colonialism is

manifested as a lack of control over the institutions of the barrio,

and as a lack of influence over those broader political and economic

institutions that affect the barrio. In essence, then, an internal

colony means existing in a condition of oppression as a consequence

of the political and economic dictates of the dominant social order

and being powerless to do much about it. One result is that public and

private institutions, in their historical and contemporary dealings

with Chicanos, are able to function in exploitative and oppressive ways.

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[8]Fred H. Schmidt, Spanish Surnamed American Employment in the
Southwest, a study prepared for the Colorado Civil Rights Commission
under the auspices of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission,
Washington, D.C., 1970 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office,
1970), p. 2.

[9]Pablo Gonzalez-Casanova, "Internal Colonialism and National
Development," ibid., p. 33.

Protest in the urban barrio, therefore, is a direct response to that reality. For as Skolnick has stated,

> Almost uniformly, the participants in mass protest today
> see their grievances as rooted in the existing arrangements
> of power and authority in contemporary society, and they
> view their own activity as political action  -- on a
> direct or symbolic level -- aimed at altering those
> arrangements.[10]

In the case of the Chicano those contemporary institutional relationships of power and authority have been shaped by the forces of imperialism and the subsequent Anglo colonization of the Southwest after the end of the Mexican-American War of 1846-48. The arrival of the Anglo colonizer in the Southwest has in general been interpreted by historians within the context of the Anglo racist ideology of "manifest destiny." Others have created the mythology of a westward movement as a quest for a new life that would become the cradle of a political democracy. But as one historian has put it in the case of California,

> In the final analysis the Californios were the victims of
> an imperial conquest . . . The United States, which had
> long coveted California for its trade potential and
> strategic location, finally provoked a war to bring about
> the desired ownership. At the conclusion of the fighting,
> it arranged to "purchase" the territory outright, and set
> about to colonize, by throwing open the gates to all comers.
> Yankee settlers then swept in by the tens of thousands, and
> in a matter of months and years overturned the old institu-
> tional framework, expropriated the land, imposed a new body
> of law, a new language, a new economy and a new culture,
> and in the process exploited the labor of the local popula-
> tion whenever necessary. To certain members of the old
> ruling class these settlers awarded a token and symbolic

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[10]Jerome H. Skolnick, _The Politics of Protest_ (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969), p. 7.

prestige, at least temporarily; yet with that status went very little genuine authority. In the long run Americans simply pushed aside the earlier ruling elite as being irrelevant.[11]

What happened in California took place throughout the territories lost by Mexico to the United States.

The United States conquest of the Southwest [was] a very real case of aggression and imperialism . . . it involved not only the military phase of immediate conquest, but the subsequent establishment of a colonial society, a rather complex colonial society because there was not one single colonial office to administer the Mexican American people. Instead, there were many institutions that were created to . . . enable the [colonizer] to acquire almost complete control of the soil and other forms of wealth . . .[12]

As Forbes and other critical historians have pointed out, students of Southwest history have generally ignored the imperialistic design of those who governed during the 1800's. They have rationalized away the factor of imperialism on the basis of a lack of sufficient population needed to legitimize such a "pejorative" term. Historians "consciously -- even ostentatiously -- side-step the use of terms that would even hint at aggression or imperial domination"; instead, they take "refuge in abstract formulas, stereotyped phrases, and idealistic cliches that really explain nothing."[13] Or, perhaps more accurately, they explain

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[11]Leonard Pitt, The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890 (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1970), p. 296.

[12]Jack Forbes, quoted in the report, Stranger in One's Land, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Clearinghouse Publication No. 19, May, 1970 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 25.

[13]Richard Van Alstyn, The Rising American Empire (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965), p. 7.

history from the perspective of the winning side.

The conquest and subsequent colonization of the Southwest was not unintentional, unplanned, or coincidental. The contours of a new empire had been outlined long before the Mexican-American War of 1846-48. Most historians ignore the fact that the American "Revolution" of 1776 was fought for the explicit purpose of creating a new empire that would, in George Washington's words, "expand in population and territory, and increase in strength and power."[14] Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, for example, envisioned that California and Texas were crucial to the Anglo-American imperial design.[15] Prior to the actual outbreak of war with Mexico, advocates of a Southern Slavocracy together with eastern merchant interests were the leading proponents of making Texas part of the Union. The forerunners of present day monopoly capitalists had determined that the Pacific Coast must be taken to make possible the commercial empire they envisioned would eventually extend to China.

In the case of California, plans were initially made in 1842 by Senator Daniel Webster, who identified with the eastern commercial interests. He worked out a strategy with the British aimed at supporting the demand that Mexico cede her portion of the Pacific Coast to the United States. The British, in turn, would get the Oregon Territory. Such a plan did not materialize due in large part to the

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[14]Ibid., p. 1.

[15]Ibid., p. 100. Chicano historian Rodolfo Acuña also documents the imperialist design. See his Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972).

implementation of the Monroe Doctrine which became the official
imperialist foreign policy of the United States toward all Latin Ame-
rica. The Doctrine, in essence, closed the door to the European
colonization of Oregon and other territories defined as being within
the political jurisdiction of the United States. In other words,
Anglo-American imperialism was therein justified.

To foster war with Mexico, various efforts were worked out. Agents
were sent, for example, to California"under orders to foster a local
insurrection . . . with annexation as the ultimate end in view."[16]
Simultaneously, U.S. troops successfully provoked Mexican troops into
a confrontation at the Rio Grande border that made possible an official
declaration of war against Mexico. As Van Alstyn has documented, on
the eve of that declaration much rejoicing took place among mercan-
tilist and military interests. George Bancroft, President Polk's
Secretary of the Navy, wrote to Samuel Hooper, a leading merchant
banker:

> I hope California is now in our possession, never to be
> given up . . . We shall open the far west to religious
> freedom, political rights, schools, commerce and industry.
> The time will come when you pass on railroads and steamers
> from Boston to San Francisco.[17]

And in the United States Senate a prominent Senator from New York
made public the country's imperialist design:

> The world contains no seat of empire so magnificent as this
> . . . [we] must command the empire of the seas . . . the
> Atlantic States . . . are steadily renovating the governments

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[16]Van Alstyn, _ibid._, p. 140. Another historian who has documented
these facts is Glenn W. Price, _Origins of the War with Mexico_ (Austin,
Texas: University of Texas Press, 1967).

[17]_Ibid._, p. 143.

and social institutions of Europe and Africa; the Pacific states must necessarily perform the same sublime and beneficent functions in Asia . . . a new and more perfect civilization will arise to bless the earth, under the earth, under the sway of our own cherished and beneficent democratic institutions.[18]

Before Asia could be "blessed" with Anglo-American democratic institutions, however, the Southwest had to be "civilized." The end of the Mexican War in 1848 therefore signaled the start of Anglo colonization of the Mexican in the United States.

A historical perspective, as has been outlined, that recognizes the factor of imperialism in the colonization process places a different focus on the nature of relationships between those who govern and those who are oppressed. Nevertheless, it must be underscored that colonialism is a complex phenomenon with many variations. It therefore becomes imperative to define internal colonialism as a variety of the more general concept, colonialism, of which classic or "external" colonialism is another variety. In the case of the Chicano, he was originally placed in a subjugated role as a consequence of a colonialism that conformed to the more classic case of relationships between nations predicated on military conquest. Since then, colonialism has evolved from the classic or external variety into various forms of neo-colonialism that have been to a large degree shaped by the technological advancements of a modern industrial social order, and the advent of the urban metropolis. It is therefore important to differentiate sub-categories of internal colonialism.

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[18]Ibid., p. 146.

The crucial distinguishing characteristic between internal and external colonialism does not appear to be so much the existence of separate territories corresponding to metropolis and colony, but the legal status of the colonized. A colony can be considered "internal" if the colonized population has the same formal legal status as any other group of citizens, and "external" if it is placed in a separate legal category. A group is thus "internal" if it is theoretically fully included in the legal-political system, and "external" if it is even partly excluded from equal participation in a formal sense. It may be that the term "de facto" colony better expresses this distinction, but the term "internal" or neo-colony is already in common use. At any rate, this definition would classify such groups as the native people of the Union of South Africa as an external colony, even though the dominant population does not have its center in an overseas metropolis. On the other hand, Chicanos constitute an internal colony since they as citizens occupy a status of formal equality, whatever the informal reality may be. The degree of formal inequality of the external colony may vary considerably, of course, so that some would resemble internal colonies more than others.

The other important distinction to be made is that between interethnic relations that represent internal colonialism and those that are internal but non-colonial. In other words, we consider Chicanos an internal colony, but not European immigrants. Robert Blauner [19] has specified four basic components that serve to distinguish the internal

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[19] _Racial Oppression in America_ (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 84.

colonization complex: (1) <u>Forced</u> <u>entry</u>. The colonized group enters
the dominant society through a forced, involuntary, process. (2) <u>Cul-</u>
<u>tural impact</u>. "The colonizing power carries out a policy which con-
strains, transforms, or destroys indigenous values, orientations, and
ways of life." (3) <u>External administration</u>. "Colonization involves
a relationship by which members of the colonized group tend to be
administered by representatives of the dominant power. There is an
experience of being managed and manipulated by outsiders in terms of
ethnic status." (4) <u>Racism</u>. "Racism is a principle of social domi-
nation by which a group seen as inferior or different in terms of
alleged biological characteristics is exploited, controlled, and
oppressed socially and physically by a superordinant group."

 While Blauner's categories are useful in making the distinction
we wish to make, it is important to realize that the experience of
each ethnic group in the United States has been unique in some respects.
Some of his categories need to be qualified in order to fit the
specific case of Chicanos.

 In the first case, that of forced entry, the basic Chicano-Anglo
relationship was formed in a context of conquest and subsequent take-
over of the land. While it is true that a large number of Chicanos
have come to the United States since that time, and may be said to have
come "voluntarily," once in the country they found themselves in a
situation that had been structured through violence. So while each
individual may not have found himself involuntarily included in the
system, the group as a whole did, and the structures and attitudes
formed in the earlier period have continued in one form or another into

the present.

Blauner has also stressed the role of unfree labor as a factor differentiating the experience of Chicanos and other Third World peoples within the United States from the experience of European immigrants.[20] This factor is closely related to the nature of entry into the society, i.e., the consequence of imperialism in the case of the Chicano situation.

Blauner's second point is also applicable, with qualification, to the Chicano experience. While it is not true that Mexican-derived culture and social organization were destroyed to the same extent as that of Blacks brought to this country in slavery, the dominant society has largely destroyed Chicano economic organization, severely limited political organization, and waged a constant attack on Chicano values and other cultural traits through a structure of dependence on Anglo schools and other institutions.

Blauner's remarks about external administration are perfectly applicable to Chicanos, and constitute a central aspect of the internal colonial situation. For those institutions affecting the barrio have fulfilled the same functions that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has for the Native American.

Racism, as Blauner uses it, is clearly intended to include what has come to be called institutional as well as individual racism, and holds for Chicanos to a large extent. However, it appears that in the

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[20]Ibid., p. 57.

case of Mexican Americans cultural factors are at least as important as biological ones as a basis for discrimination, and probably more so, particularly in the urban areas. Racism should thus be considered a mixed biological/cultural category.

Combining and extending these various comments, then, we can specify what the status of internal colony means for Chicanos at two different levels. At the institutional or inter-personal level, internal colonialism means that Chicanos as a cultural/racial group are an oppressed minority whose oppression has been maintained by a number of mechanisms (to be spelled out below). This relationship is most clearly experienced as a lack of control over those institutions which affect their lives. These institutions are as a rule administered by outsiders or, at best, those who serve the outsiders' interests. This condition of powerlessness is manifested specifically in outside ownership of barrio business, in Anglo domination of barrio schools, and in Chicano underrepresentation in every type of public institution. One result of this situation is that the general Chicano community finds itself in a general condition of exploitation: low incomes, poor housing, inadequate health care, low educational level, and so on. It also results in the community finding its culture and social organization under constant attack from a racist society.

At the individual level, the Chicano finds that because he identifies himself with a particular culture, he is confronted with barriers that prevent him from achieving the economic, social, and political position which would otherwise be accessible to him.[21]

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[21] For example, in competition for better jobs. See Schmidt, op.cit.

At the same time, he finds himself under psychological assault from those who are convinced of his inferiority and unworthiness.  As Fanon has put it,

> . . . the oppressor does not manage to convince himself
> of the objective non-existence of the oppressed nation
> and its culture.  Every effort is made to bring the colo-
> nized person to admit the inferiority of his culture . . .
> to recognize the unreality of his "nation" and . . . the confused
> and imperfect character of his own biological structure.[22]

For a Chicano, or at least for one sufficiently Caucasian in appearance, it would appear possible to escape his colonial status by completely taking on the culture of the Anglo majority, and renouncing his language, values, behavioral patterns, and self-identification. This would especially seem to be the case in the larger urban areas. While he would not achieve an equal status overnight, he would no longer be confronted with the same barriers.  However, this would not produce a non-colonized Chicano, but a non-colonized non-Chicano. Thus the apparent semi-permeability of the colonial barrier for Chicanos is illusory, since there is no escape from the colonial status for an individual as a Chicano.  If the overall Chicano community were to take this approach, the result would be cultural genocide.  The choice presented to Chicanos by Anglo society, then, has been very clear-cut: colonialism or genocide.

## The Political Dimensions of Internal Colonialism

Internal colonialism is manifested along many different dimensions:

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[22]Frantz Fanon, _ibid._, p. 236.

social, economic, political, psychological, cultural, and so on. All these dimensions, however, are not mutually exclusive. Among the political dimensions are the following:

Political Representation: Parties

It is clear to those familiar with the political system of the Southwestern states that Chicanos have not been accorded many positions of influence within the major political parties. Since Chicanos have been faithful to the Democratic Party in their voting, for example, one would expect that Anglo politicians would have by now rewarded Chicano politicians with high Democratic Party posts. Such is not the case. In California, out of a total of 15,650 elected and appointed government positions, "only 310 or 1.98 percent" are held by Chicanos.[23]

Political Representation: Governmental Bodies

Chicanos find themselves underrepresented at every level of government, from the national and state legislative bodies to county Boards of Supervisors, to city councils, Boards of Education, and grand juries.[24] A typical situation was pointed up in a Special Report of the 1970 San Bernardino Grand Jury, based on a state Fair Employment Practices Investigation. They refer to "gross inequities" in the hiring of Chicanos and other minorities in the various county administrative

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[23]*Political Participation of Mexican Americans in California*, report of the California State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Sacramento, Cal., 1971. (Mimeographed.)

[24]*Ibid.* See also Leo Grebler, *et. al.*, *The Mexican American People*, pp. 560-563.

offices, and document it office by office.  The investigators found that
"The vast majority of those interviewed voiced no concern or know-
ledge of affirmative action, no need to make a concerted effort to
increase the utilization of minorities, and no effort to disseminate
this policy to employees."[25]  They also found on the part of numerous
department heads attitudes that were either manifestly racist or very
good substitutes.[26]

   The problem of non-representation is even more acute than statis-
tics show, since in many cases the "representatives" of the barrio are
hand-picked by Anglos on the basis of acceptability to Anglos.  It is
also true that some Chicanos have collaborated with Anglos in every
historical period.  These Chicanos were often given some sort of
official position, and thus are often cited to prove that Chicanos have
"participated" in the system all along.  But a close look will usually
reveal that these "representatives" of the Chicano were, in fact,
powerless subordinates of the dominant power structure.  As Swadesh has
put it for the case of New Mexico,

> Handpicked Hispaños served the Legislature as junior partners
> to those who really held the reins.  Their official task was
> to represent the overwhelming majority of the population, but
> in practice they helped keep this majority under control.[27]

Thus Chicano interests are even less represented than Chicano bodies.
Again, this points to the centrality of the cultural factor.  For a
Chicano to self-consciously identify himself with the Chicano community,

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[25]Ibid., p. 59.

[26]Ibid., p. 11.

[27]Frances Swadesh, op.cit., p. 165.

and with its culture and interests, is to virtually ensure that he
will not be among even the token representatives chosen by outsiders.

## Contact With Public Agencies

Chicano contact with public agencies is universally described in
terms that can only be classified as colonial.  Easily the best-
documented situation is that of the schools' treatment of Mexican-
Americans.[28]  Among the many charges that have been listed and docu-
mented against the schools are suppression of the Spanish language,
channeling Chicano children into vocational training and discouraging
them from college-oriented courses, abuse of Anglo-biased testing
instruments, under-funding of barrio schools, neglect of Chicano
history and other academic areas, the instilling of a sense of cultural
inferiority, and, in general, creating a climate that produces pro-
gressively worse performance with each passing year and results in a
phenomenally high "pushout" rate.

While more scholarly attention has been given to education than
any other area, the public agency does not exist that has not been
subjected to harsh criticism by barrio representatives.  The police
have frequently been accused of brutality, harassment of political
organizations, and over-zealous policing; at times they have been
compared to an occupying army.  The courts have long been charged with
discriminatory treatment.[29]

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[28]Thomas P. Carter has authored what is perhaps the most compre-
hensive study, Mexican Americans in School:  A History of Educational
Neglect (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970).

[29]See the report Mexican Americans and the Administration of Justice
in the Southwest, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D.C.:

The various welfare, housing, health, and anti-poverty agencies operating in the cities are characterized as unable to communicate with their clients, as insensitive to concerns of Chicanos, and as patronizing and paternalistic in their attitudes and practices.[30]

While the list could go on and on, the view from the barrio, which is to say the view of those with direct experience with these agencies, is generally clear. The kind of treatment meted out to Chicanos can be traceable to the overall lack of representation of Chicanos in the political system. The situation is compounded in the American political system by the way in which that system parcels out public responsibilities to private interest groups, and allows such groups to strongly influence or control public policy-making.[31] This is so because Chicanos have also been largely excluded from such groups as private real estate boards, which are incorporated officially into the policy-making activities of urban planning commissions, urban renewal agencies, and so on. Unfortunately, Chicanos have only begun to document the often subtle workings of the policy process as it affects Chicanos. For the time being, however, our concern is with the crude fact of external administration and its detrimental consequences for the barrio.

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Government Printing Office, 1970). See also, Armando Morales, _Ando Sangrando_ (La Puente, Calif.: Perspective Press, 1972).

[30]See, for example, Charles Ornelas and Michael Gonzalez, "The Chicano and Health Services in Santa Barbara" (unpublished report, 1971).

[31]For a detailed description and critique of this system, see Theodore Lowi, _The End of Liberalism_ (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969).

### The Mechanisms of Political Domination

Central to an understanding of internal colonialism is a group of the mechanisms by which the colonial situation is maintained over time. While no definitive account is possible at this time, we can begin to list them and to advance some ideas as to their relative importance under various circumstances.

The most direct and obvious mechanisms are those involving force and outright repression. Instances range from the use of the Texas Rangers to repress Mexican American organizational efforts to the widespread Ku Klux Klan anti-Chicano terrorism of the 1920's, often with the complicity of the forces of law and order. Also included in this category would be the various forms of non-violent reprisals that are taken against Chicanos who dare to break with established political patterns.[32]

A second set of mechanisms has the effect of disenfranchising Chicanos. Devices include poll taxes and literacy tests.

Outright exclusion of Chicanos from political parties and governmental bodies has already been discussed. The practice is often justified on the grounds that there are no "qualified" Chicanos available to fill the positions.

Gerrymandering is another mechanism that has found favor with those seeking to minimize Chicano political influence. Generally this consists of splitting Chicano voters into many districts, so that they do not form a sufficiently large group in any one district to elect

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[32]In Chapter Four, our case study of Chicano protest identifies such forms.

their own representatives. The case of East Los Angeles is a prominent example.[33]

A fifth mechanism involves changing the rules of the game when it becomes apparent that existing rules might lead to greater Chicano political strength. In El Paso, Texas, for instance, the political elite successfully carried out a campaign to make city elections nonpartisan after a Mexican-American had won the Democratic primary election for mayor.

The mechanism of "divide and conquer" historically has been a favorite strategy on the part of those who govern.

> When an ambitious and capable Latin American announces for office in opposition to an Anglo incumbent or candidate . . . Anglo politicians follow the tried-and-true formula of "divide or conquer." They immediately sponsor the candidacy of another Latin American, preferably a personal enemy of the man who has previously announced, and thereby split the Latin American vote and assure the election of the Anglo candidate.[34]

When outright exclusion of Chicanos is not possible, the resort is likely to be tokenism. This involves minimal representation of Chicanos, with the representatives likely to be carefully selected so as to play the game. Tokenism includes not only "representative tokenism" but also "policy tokenism," in which minor but highly-publicized policy concessions are made.[35]

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[33]Leo Grebler, et al., op. cit., p. 562.

[34]See, for example, Pauline Kibbe, Guide to Mexican History (New York: International Publications, 1964), p. 227.

[35]See my paper on "The Politics of Educational Change in East Los Angeles," in Alfredo Castaneda, et al., eds., Mexican Americans and Educational Change (Riverside, Calif.: University of California, 1971), pp. 83-104.

The mechanism of co-optation has already been mentioned several times. By offering limited material and status benefits to those Mexican-American individuals who are deemed acceptable on cultural grounds and who are willing to act as information sources and token showpieces, the Anglo elite, in effect, co-opts them into the structure of domination. Watson and Samora have carefully described the workings of this mechanism in one Colorado community, and have pointed out its detrimental consequences for the development of more effective Chicano political action.[36]

Of all the mechanisms of domination, however, the racist mobilization of bias may be the most pervasive and the most subtle in its effects. Carlos Cortés[37] has documented the way in which symbols are manipulated in the media and in the schools to perpetuate the myths of biological and cultural inferiority. Any Chicano in public office who self-consciously serves the needs of the Chicano community leaves himself open to charges of "reverse racism" and divisive parochialism. That such charges come from Anglos who have systematically excluded Chicanos for decades and who continue to serve only non-Chicano interests does not render their charges ineffective. To the extent that Chicanos have been manipulated into internalizing the prevailing biases, they are driven into a defensive posture and into seeking Anglo approval for their actions. The institutional constraints

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[36]Julian Samora and James Watson, "Subordinate Leadership in a Bicultural Community: An Analysis," _American Sociological Review_ (August, 1954), 413-421.

[37]See his paper, "Revising the 'All-American Soul Course': A Bicultural Avenue to Educational Reform," in Alfredo Castaneda, _et al._, _op. cit._, pp. 314-340.

imposed upon Chicanos by those who control the institution make it difficult for Chicanos to relate to the specific needs of Chicanos. Thus in this instance, as in many others, the various mechanisms of domination reinforce each other and multiply their effects.

## Neo-Colonialism

The various mechanisms of domination that have been discussed vary considerably in their degree of subtlety or overtness. The mechanisms of force and repression are unmistakable and relatively uncomplicated; many of the others are more subtle, and thus more difficult to combat or document. There is a danger in focusing on the cruder measures and underrating the less direct, but often more effective, mechanisms. In most cases the cruder measures do not have to be used, because more sophisticated mechanisms have removed the threat, or, preferably, prevented a threat from arising.

What needs to be recognized is that the American political system has become increasingly sophisticated in its methods of exercising control, and that power-holders prefer to use indirect methods wherever possible. In the case of the Chicano, the last 120 years have seen a change from a relatively direct system of exploitation aimed at depriving him of his land and establishing him in a subordinate status, to a more subtle system functioning to maintain him in that position. At this point it may be well to characterize this change by referring to the earlier situation as "classic" internal colonialism and applying the term "internal neo-colonialism" to the present-day situation. The basic distinction here is in the nature of the mechanisms of domination that are "typical" in each case. We do not mean

to imply an either/or choice, of course.  Thus force and the threat of force continue to play an important role in internal neo-colonialism; but for the most part these direct measures tend to be held in reserve today, with the more indirect mechanisms being relied on for the day-to-day maintenance of the system.

Robert L. Allen has begun to sketch the outlines of such a model, which he calls "domestic neo-colonialism," for the case of Blacks in America.[38]  While he describes this as a shift towards "an indirect and subtle form of domination," he puts emphasis on the development of a Black bourgeoisie which would act on behalf of the Anglo elite and the status quo, in an American form of indirect rule.  This type of co-optation becomes more important to the workings of a neo-colonial form of domination.  Coupled with the mechanism of the mobilization of bias, it assures the continuation of the colonizer-colonized rela-tionship.  Most significantly, it makes it difficult for the colo-nized to launch an effective struggle for decolonization.

The shift toward neo-colonialism during the last century has made indirect methods of domination more efficient.  For the greater con-centration of population and the greater social complexities of the urban areas contribute to the destruction of the historical cultural patterns of social organization in the Chicano colonies.  The construc-tion of freeways and urban renewal projects has uprooted Chicano communities and consequently undermines viable political organization.

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[38]_Op. cit._

In addition, we could hypothesize that it is in the more highly indus-
trialized sectors of society that more sophisticated mechanisms of
social control are developed, as in work relations, and that these
carry over into the internal colonial relationship.

Furthermore, the shift over time can be explained in terms of
the degree of stability of the relations of domination.  In the early
stages, for example, military force is used to establish the initial
colonial relationship; once the situation is relatively stabilized,
more indirect mechanisms are usually sufficient to preserve it, with
force playing a secondary role.  Of course, if the colonized popula-
tion again begins to mount a strong movement for liberation, we can
expect the system to increasingly revert to the more openly repressive
tactics typical of classic internal colonialism.  For as Fanon bluntly
put it, "decolonization is always a violent phenomenon."[39]

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[39]Op. cit., p. 35.

CHAPTER IV


PROTEST, POWER, AND INTERNAL COLONIALISM


During the month of March, 1968, thousands of Chicano students
staged a dramatic walkout from five inner city schools in the general
eastside area of Los Angeles, California, to focus attention on their
grievances against the second largest school district in the nation.
The walkouts signaled a new era of Chicano militancy and the first
wave of massive urban demonstrations that were to take place in the
late sixties and early seventies throughout the urban barrios of the
Southwestern United States.  Although the objectives of the walkouts
were defined in specific terms of educational issues, they made a
profound impact on Chicano politics throughout the country.  The
walkouts became the _grito de guerra_, or battle cry, of an emerging
Chicano Power Movement which, until the advent of the walkouts, was a
relatively unnoticed phenomenon.  One reporter who witnessed the
protest activity described it in the following words:

> . . . a week-and-a-half of walkouts, speeches, sporadic
> lawbreaking, arrests, demands, picketing, sympathy demon-
> strations, sit-ins, police tactical alerts, and emergency
> sessions of the school board.[1]

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[1]Editorial by Dial Torgerson, _Los Angeles Times_, March 17, 1968,
Section C, p. 1.


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A Methodological Note

This chapter is a case study of the subject protest activity and
is based on the writer's intimate participation-observation in the
planning, execution, and consequences of that activity. Having been
raised in the barrios of East Los Angeles and being a product of one
of the protest target schools, the analysis is therefore presented
in terms of a Chicano perspective that has been shaped by the
existential experience of living in the urban barrio settings, result-
ing in a strong identification with the Chicano struggle. This is
to say that the data for this analysis was not obtained through the
usual survey research methods, but rather derived from direct parti-
cipation in the politics of the barrio and subject protest activity.

Prior to the student walkouts I was a graduate student of political
science at California State University, Los Angeles, and the leader of
the campus chapter of United Mexican American Students (UMAS) which
has since become the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MECHA).
As a community organizer and student leader I became involved in the
early planning stages of the protest activity and became familiar with
all those who participated in the activities prior to, during, and
after the initial protest. Since I was one of the thirteen Chicanos
indicted by the Los Angeles Grand Jury for their roles in the walkouts,
I have taken care not to include information in this case study which
could be used against the participants in the protest activity, not-
withstanding the fact that the "Thirteen" have since been acquitted by
the Court of Appeal of the State of California.

The purpose here is not to offer a definitive study of politics of

urban protest. That task I must leave for a future time. Rather, the central objective is a more modest one, i.e., a preliminary test of the model of the barrio as an internal colony. Specifically, the attempt is made to identify the mechanisms of political domination manifested during the protest activity.

The politics of protest has been defined as new tactics aimed at raising issues and creating "bargaining resources" which the "disad-vantaged" or "relatively powerless" groups need to effectively compete for power in an open political system. As one political scientist has defined it, protest is merely

> . . . a mode of political action oriented toward objections to one or more policies or conditions, charac-terized by showmanship or display of an unconventional nature, and undertaken to obtain rewards from political or economic systems while working within the systems.[2]

It is here acknowledged that protest has indeed become another factor in the study of power. More specifically, it has import to the study of the decision-making process. Nevertheless, if viewed simply in this light the study of protest does not present an insight into the nature and cause of protest on the part of oppressed minorities, for it perpetuates the assumption made by those of the pluralist-elitist school of thought that the ongoing political process is essen-tially satisfactory and, at most, subject to incremental change that can allow for input by those who protest. Such an assumption gives impetus to the thesis that protest can be a viable political resource for "relatively powerless" groups.

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[2]Michael Lipsky, _Protest in City Politics_ (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1970), p. 2.

This case study challenges that thesis by attempting to show that the conditions of internal colonialism vitiate against protest as a political power base for the oppressed. Initially, protest activity may generate bargaining resources for the oppressed. However, once the high intensity of the protest activity subsides, the implementation of the mechanisms of political domination make possible the continuance of the same public policies the protest activity aimed to change. In effect, then, the oppressed are not allowed to develop an organizational thrust that can help establish a bargaining position with the power structure. For the reality is that the colonized are not in a bargaining position vis-à-vis the nature of the structural relationship between oppressor and oppressed.

All this is not to say that those who participate do not perceive protest as a political resource. Most do. However, it must be understood that the initial step of protest activity is emotive. As we shall see, once the intensity of that activity subsides and a protest organization is created for the purpose of continuing the fight for the implementation of the demands, etc., the militant elements of such an organization become disillusioned or simply burn out. The consequence is that the more moderate elements who are willing to play the game of accommodation politics take the leadership and allow themselves to be co-opted by the protest target institution.

Central to this case study is the assumption that the school is indeed a political institution that ought to play an integral role in political analysis.[3] And secondly, that the schools are one of the

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[3]It is refreshing to note that more and more social scientists are

most important sources of Chicano oppression. Historically, they have

defined the powerless status of the Chicano since they have represented

the first real contact with the Anglo colonizer mentality.[4] Those who

govern the schools have internalized the value system of the dominant

social order and culture. Chicano student protest, therefore, may be

interpreted as perhaps the most profound manifestation of the decoloni-

zation struggle. For as Meemi has put it, the colonized

> . . . will prefer a long period of educational mistakes to the
> continuance of the colonizer's school organization. He will
> choose institutional disorder in order to destroy the institu-
> tions built by the colonizer as soon aspossible. There we see,
> indeed a reactive drive of profound protest. He will no longer
> owe anything to the colonizer and will have definitely broken
> with him.[5]

## East Los Angeles as an Internal Colony

The political dimensions of internal colonialism are a reality in

the barrios of East Los Angeles where political powerlessness has been

a historical fact of life. The lack of political representation is a

well documented fact.[6]

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acknowledging the interrelationships which exist between politics and
education. See, for example, Alan Rosenthal, ed., Governing Education:
A Reader on Politics, Power, and Public Policy. (New York: Doubleday
Press, 1969).

[4]See Thomas P. Carter, Mexican Americans in School: A History of
Educational Neglect (New York: College Entrance Examination Board,
1970).

[5]Albert Meemi, The Colonizer and The Colonized (Boston: Beacon Press,
1967), pp. 137-138.

[6]See the report on "Political Participation of Mexican Americans in
California," op. cit., for the facts in the case of Los Angeles.

Although East Los Angeles is under the jurisdiction of both the city and county governments, no Chicano sits on the Los Angeles city council or the County Board of Supervisors. No Chicano had ever been elected to the Los Angeles Board of Education until Dr. Julian Nava's election in 1967. Anglo politicians have carefully picked their Chicano apointees and they are perceived, in most cases accurately, as more loyal to the Anglo power structure than to the Chicano community. Although Chicanos have voted predominately in favor of the Democratic Party, the party has historically systematically excluded Chicanos from its power structure. The technique of divide and conquer has been a fact of life. For example, when Chicanos have attempted to compete for political office against Anglo incumbents, they have had to compete with other Chicano candidates, in many cases who have been encouraged to run for the same political office by supporters of the Anglo incumbent. The results have been split Chicano vote and the re-election of the Anglo incumbent.

Contact with public agencies has been historically a colonial relationship. Armando Morales has documented the role of the police as a repressive force in the Chicano barrios.[7] The role of the schools we have already touched upon.

## Mechanisms of Political Domination

The mechanisms of political domination used over time to maintain the colonial situation in East Los Angeles have been those used in most

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[7]See his _Ando Sangrando: A Study of Mexican American Police Conflict_, op. cit.

cases throughout Chicano America. Force and repression have been a reality.[8] Non-violent reprisals have replaced the more overt actions. The arrests of participants in protest activities is the best example, as we shall see in our case study analysis.

Gerrymandering has been another mechanism which has successfully kept the Chicano politically powerless in East Los Angeles. The east-side area mentioned is divided between city and county governments. In addition, state and national legislative districts are divided so that not one has a majority of Chicano voters, thereby making it difficult for Chicanos to be elected to office. The divide and conquer strategy has been mentioned. Tokenism, or "window dressing", has been mentioned, i.e., the careful selection of Chicanos for the staffs of Anglo politicians. As we shall see in our case study, policy tokenism has also been successfully used to exclude direct community input.

The mobilization of racial bias has been historically a successful mechanism in East Los Angeles. The "yellow press" of the 1940's encouraged anti-Mexican attitudes during the "zoot suit riots" when Anglo servicemen carried out a terrorist campaign against Chicanos in the barrios. Both the media and the schools have contributed greatly to the perception of Chicanos as a racially inferior people. A consequence has been that, until the student walkouts, the cultural heritage of Chicanos was ignored in the schools.

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[8]The most violent recent case is the example of the 1970 Chicano Moratorium which had been organized as a peaceful protest against the war in Vietnam. At this demonstration the noted journalist, Ruben Salazar, met his death. See Morales for complete listings of such cases in East Los Angeles, op. cit.

<u>The Case Study</u>

The protest target schools were all located in the general east-side area of Los Angeles.  Although the area is comprised of several Chicano barrios, the whole area is commonly referred to as "East L.A.," the largest Chicano urban barrio in the nation.[9]  According to a 1970 racial and ethnic survey conducted by the Los Angeles City School system, the target schools had the largest enrollments of Chicano students and, very significantly, a "dropout rate" of 59 percent, the highest in the city.[10]

Chicanos involved in the protest activity represented various ideological persuasions, but they all perceived the schools as primarily responsible for the sense of powerlessness and alienation in the urban barrios.  For it is in the school that Chicanos are stripped of their indigenous culture.  The poor physical conditions and pedagogical racism of Anglo-dominated schools defeat most Chicanos before they even engage

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[9]According to the 1970 census, there are 1,289,311 Spanish-Surnamed persons living in the County of Los Angeles.  The majority of this population is found in the east side; political jurisdiction is divided between the city and county governments.  See <u>The Los Angeles Times</u>, August 18, 1972, for an analysis of the census data and the report of the Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission.  The population figure breaks down as 18.3 percent of the total county population.  As such, the Chicano is the largest minority group in the county.

[10]The breakdown was as follows: Belmont, 64 percent; Wilson, 81 percent; Roosevelt, 85.7 percent; Lincoln, 88.7 percent; and Garfield High School, 93.6 percent.  See the Los Angeles Unified School District, Division of Planning and Research, Report No. 312, <u>Racial and Ethnic Survey</u> (Los Angeles, California, 1970).

in the fight for survival in a capitalistic-competitive, dehumanizing society. It is in the educational system that the racist mobilization of bias is most effectively utilized in the control of the Chicano interna. colony. Chicanos are primarily directed into vocational training programs that teach obsolete, blue-collar skills, guaranteeing the individual prime status in the ranks of the unemployed and underemployed (surplus labor).

The schools enable those who govern to stay in power in that they socialize the individual to conform to the norms and values which preserve what is in the best interests of the "public." The school, in preserving and maintaining stability, perpetuates that which made the United States a world empire, i.e., racism and a political economy which keeps Chicanos an oppressed minority.

The initial demands made by the student demonstrators were narrowly defined in terms of specific student concerns on the campus, e.g., from better food and more flexible standards of dress, to the more substantive issues of free speech and curriculum modifications which would make possible the teaching of Chicano history and culture. Upon the formation of a protest community and student organization, the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee (EICC), the list of demands grew to 36, including items from prior lists of requests for educational change which had been presented to the Los Angeles Board of Education by groups of concerned educators and professionals and which had been previously ignored through "normal channels" of communication.[11]

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[11]See Myron Puckett's study, "Protest Politics in Education: A Case Study in the Los Angeles Unified School District" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1971), pp. 47-51.

The EICC, in terms of its membership, represented a cross-section of Chicano professionals: clergy, lawyers, elementary and secondary school teachers, college professors, and members of various grass roots community organizations, both "militant" and "conservative." This umbrella committee was a unique political experience in the East Los Angeles barrios. For the first time diverse political elements of the Chicano community coalesced for political action against a political institution that had historically been a source of colonialism and oppression in the barrio. The coalition as manifested in the EICC placed the educational problems of Chicanos in public focus, awakened Chicanos to the need for political action against the Anglo educational power structure, and generated a drive for "community control" of the barrio schools.

Of all the demands, as modified and extended by the EICC, three had the most relevance to the issue of community control of the schools. These were:

1. The implementation of a citizens' review board.

2. Administrative takeover by Chicano personnel of those schools which had enrollments indicating the majority of the students were Chicano.

3. The placement of school facilities under the jurisdiction of Chicano Parents' Councils for the purpose of introducing school-community programs of bilingual and bicultural nature.

The Board of Education's response was to be expected. School officials stated that they agreed "with 99 percent of the student demands but that the district did not have the money to finance the

kind of massive changes proposed."[12] Furthermore, to their knowledge, Chicano personnel were not available to fill the administrative and teaching positions demanded. The Board did agree to hold public meetings at one of the target schools to allow the community to air their grievances. Some items listed on the proposals were referred to a committee. Others were simply explained away by making reference to ongoing school programs which in the Board's estimation were already meeting the needs of Chicano students and the community. The EICC felt that school officials did not take the proposals seriously and that the status quo would continue in the target schools. Protest activity subsided temporarily but was given further impetus when approximately two and a half months after the student walkouts the Los Angeles District Attorney, then running for the State Attorney General's Office (and later elected), issued warrants for the arrest of thirteen Chicano activists on "conspiracy" charges brought forward by the Los Angeles County Grand Jury.

The thirteen men had been identified by law enforcement and school district personnel as the militant ring leaders responsible for the massive student walkouts. The grand jury indicted them on several counts of conspiracy, which read in part, to "disturb the peace and quiet of the neighborhood encompassing" four of the five protest target schools "and persons in the proximity thereof, by loud and unusual noises and by tumultuous and offensive conduct, and in a loud and

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[12]*Los Angeles Times*, March 17, 1968, Section C, P. 5.

boisterous manner . . ."[13]

The arrests and imprisonment of the thirteen triggered off immediate and intense political organization in the Chicano barrios of East Los Angeles and in the barrios located in other areas of Los Angeles County. The membership of the EICC swelled to hundreds over-night. "Official" community and political leaders became visible for the first time and expressed public sympathy for the student walkouts and some demanded the release of the thirteen "political" prisoners. Even one of the most conservative influentials in the Chicano community expressed public outrage.[14] Some members of the non-Chicano community also reacted with indignation to the arrests. For example, members of the faculty at California State University at Los Angeles (located in the East Los Angeles area) passed a resolution sponsored by their Department of Political Science in support of those arrested. The

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[13]See pp. 4-5 of the writ proceeding of the Court of Appeal of the State of California, Second Appellate Dist., Div. 5, Case #A-232902, 2nd civil #34178. The case of the Thirteen became known as "Castro vs. the people of California." Of the thirteen, one was a teacher (Sal Castro) at one of the schools; four were members of the Brown Berets; two belonged to the college and university Chicano student group, United Mexican American Students (UMAS), now MECHA; one was a member of the Mexican American Political Assn. (MAPA); another was editor of La Raza, a Chicano militant community newspaper; three were young barrio acti-vists; and the thirteenth worked for a war on poverty program.

[14]A prominent member of the community and active supporter of Sam Yorty, the conservate maverick democrat Mayor of Los Angeles, who two years prior to the walkouts had supported Ronald Reagan for Governor, demanded from Yorty that he personally request the District Attorney to free the thirteen men and that if he did not do so, Yorty should not expect his continued support for re-election.

resolution read as follows:

> WHEREAS, the arrests on May 31 and June 1 of thirteen members
> of the Mexican American community of Los Angeles throws in
> question the community's view of the entire system of justice;
> and
>
> WHEREAS, these arrests were carried out in a manner violative
> of American concepts of fairness, equality, and justice in
> that they were made in the late evening and early morning of
> a weekend precluding early arraignment and resease on reason-
> able bail, were made upon secret indictments, and were followed
> by demands for clearly excessive bail; and
>
> WHEREAS, we support the constructive efforts of our UMAS chapter,
> its officers, and its members to improve the education and
> educational opportunities of Mexican American students, and
>
> WHEREAS, these arrests and the manner in which they were made
> reflects an apparent repression of the Mexican American
> community at a time when that community is just beginning to
> develop political self-consciousness and an awareness of its
> citizen responsibility to participate in the political process
> of democratic decision-making;
>
> THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Department of Government of
> the California State College, Los Angeles, that we condemn the
> pre-arrest procedures, the manner in which the arrests were
> carried out, and the damage that they will inflict upon those
> arrested and upon the relations between the majority community
> and the minority communities of Los Angeles County and
> elsewhere.

Civil Rights organizations and well-known leaders in the Leftist

movements also expressed sympathy and joined the Chicano demonstrations

held in support of the thirteen at Los Angeles city and county jails

where they had been taken when arrested.[15]  Stokely Carmichael sent a

wire of support and other written statements were issued by, for

example, the late Bishop Pike, Cesar Chavez, Senator Eugene McCarthy

(then campaigning for the Presidency), and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez led

a seven-hour sit-in at the office of the U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey

Clark, in protest of the indictments and imprisonment of the thirteen

(Gonzalez was present in Washington, D.C. since he was leading the

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[15]Not all of the thirteen were in jail since three had earlier

Chicano contingent of the Poor People's Campaign). During the arraign-
ment proceedings, members of the black nationalist organization, US,
as well as members of the Black Panther Party, joined the picket lines
that daily surrounded the Hall of Justice in downtown Los Angeles. The
usual source of support for radical causes was sought and fundraisers
were held by sympathetic white liberals in Beverly Hills and other
affluent areas in the Los Angeles metropolis to help finance the legal
defense of the thirteen. The legal defense was provided by attornies
from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the Mexican American
Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), the firm of Margolis and
Margolis, and Chicano lawyer Oscar Acosta.[16]

Significantly, however, there was outspoken opposition to the
walkouts and support of the indictments by some members of the Chicano
community. A committee to counter the EICC was organized and was named
the Education Committee of Greater East Los Angeles. Members of this
committee represented Chicano teachers, administrators, and parents who
perceived the thirteen as subversive or communists. Secondly, and

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joined the Poor People's March on Washington. Of the ten jailed, eight
were housed at the city jail and two at the county jail.

[16]The thirteen never came to trial. After the arraignment and
other procedures on the part of the legal defense, the case was brought
before the Court of Appeal of the State of California, which ruled two
years later that the indictments were unconstitutional on several
grounds, among them that the student walkouts were, in essence, demon-
strations "designed to publicize grievances" as guaranteed by the First
Amendment.

perhaps more importantly, the leadership of the committee epitomized the Chicano who has internalized the values of the dominant culture. This committee was supported by Chicano politicians who did not want to support the protest activity for fear of losing their legitimacy as community "leaders" in the Anglo power structure. Judge Leopoldo Sanchez, for example, publicly denounced those who participated as insane and "un-American."[17] The only two elected Chicano politicians in Los Angeles, Congressman Edward Roybal and Los Angeles School Board member, Dr. Julian Nava, expressed no public support of the protest activity for fear of alienating their sources of support within their constituencies and perhaps jeopardizing their re-election to office, since both their constituencies are predominately Anglo.[18] In all cases, the opposition to the protest activity largely came from the Chicano middle class sector or those of proletariat background who, economically speaking, had achieved some semblance of success and who strongly identified with and believed in the "American way of life."

Concern for the thirteen subsided when the school district decided to transfer one of the group and a teacher at one of the protest target schools, Sal Castro, out of the classroom and into a non-teaching position in the audio-visual section of the Central District Office.

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[17]The public denunciation was made during television coverage of a community and press conference held in the auditorium of Belvedere Junior High School. The "un-American" remarks were told to this writer during personal discussions after the walkouts.

[18]Roybal's Congressional District is only approximately 11 percent Chicano. Although Nava received ardent support for his election to the Board from the East Los Angeles barrios, he was elected because of his appeal to the Anglo voters and the finalcial support and backing of the Anglo power structure.

The protest activities of the EICC then became focused on the return of Castro to the classroom. Although the transfer of Castro was based on Board administrative policy that stipulates the transfer of a teacher to non-classroom duty when he is accused of a felony, the EICC interpreted his removal as a political move on the part of the Board. The EICC formally appealed the Castro decision, but during executive session of the Board on September 12, 1968, the vote was 6 to 1 not to reinstate Mr. Castro based on the facts presented by Castro's school superiors, that the majority of the faculty and staff at the school were opposed to his return. Also, testimony by parents who were either members of the Education Committee of Greater East Los Angeles, the EICC counter-group, or sympathetic to its opposition to Castro, was introduced as added evidence for the argument against Castro's reinstatement.

The EICC then staged a sit-in demonstration at the offices of the Los Angeles School District in protest of the ruling not to reinstate Castro. After six days and nights of occupying the Board conference room, 35 protesters were finally arrested and jailed at the request of the Superintendent's office. During the following days Board meetings were held concerning the matter of Castro's return to Lincoln High School, which remained at the center of controversy. Finally, the decision was made to return Castro to the classroom. The decision appeared to be a victory for the EICC. After a few days at Lincoln High School, however, Castro was transferred to a predominately Anglo high school (North Hollywood).[19]

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[19]Puckett appears to ignore this fact in his reference to Castro's reinstatement when he concludes that "Clearly, the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee had won a victory." Op. cit., p. 90. It would have been a victory had Castro been allowed to remain in the protest target school.

The decision was reached upon pressure by school administrators who organized into a group that called itself the Los Angeles Association of Secondary School Administrators (LAASSA), and political pressure from both the Education Committee of Greater East Los Angeles and from sources high in the Los Angeles power structure. By this time, the impact of the student protest activity and the demands made upon the school district for educational change in and control of barrio schools were practically forgotten.

By the time of the Board decision to have Castro transferred to another high school, most of the students and more militant grass roots community members of the EICC had become disillusioned about meeting the objectives outlined by the student demands and the issue of community control of the schools. Many dropped out of the EICC to spend their energies in the further development of those new community organizations that had emerged as a direct consequence of the student walkouts.[20] The Brown Berets ceased to attend EICC meetings due to the EICC's increasingly moderate and reformist political orientation. UMAS, the other source of strong militancy, kept only a nominal interest in the affairs of the EICC. Those who remained active attempted to broaden the scope of the EICC from one of specific educational change and reform to one that would include activity in the electoral process.

Those who remained succeeded in changing the direction of the EICC into areas other than education, since the EICC was, in fact, an

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[20]Both the Brown Berets and UMAS, though they had been formed approximately a year before the walkouts, were given organizational impetus as a result of the protest activity due to their role in the demonstrations and the indictment of their leadership.

umbrella committee comprised of representation from a number of diverse community organizations. Although the EICC had failed to achieve most of its educational objectives, its image became one of a viable community _political_ organization since it had succeeded in maintaining much of the political consciousness which the student walkouts had raised in the barrios. It became a forum for Chicanos representing moderate ideological political orientations and became an endorsing agency for Mexican American politicians and a source of manpower for political campaigns. More and more, however, the militant image gave way to a more accurate one of a liberal-reformist organization, since the majority of those who remained in the EICC perceived their participation as a means toward

> . . . fuller participation in the social order and the material benefits enjoyed by the majority of American citizens. Rather than rejecting the American system, they were anxious to obtain a place for themselves in it.[21]

Political scientist Michael Tirado conducted a study of the EICC at about the time the organization made its transition from a pronounced militant posture to one of political assimilation and accommodation.[22] His data document such a marked transition. According to Tirado, the overwhelming majority of EICC members he interviewed indicated a strong conformance to the values and norms of the dominant Anglo culture.[23] Their socio-economic status was markedly middle-class

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[21]_Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder_, _op. cit._, p. 71.

[22]_Op. cit._

[23]_Ibid._, p. 171.

in nature, although there were some of proletariat status.[24]  However, the majority interviewed did underscore the dominance of the EICC by those who held the assimilationist/accommodationist political perspective.

Although Tirado does not indicate a familiarity with the thesis that protest can be a political recourse for relatively powerless groups, he seems to agree with it in that he expresses the opinion that the initial protest activity, the EICC demonstrations in support of the thirteen indicted militants, and the EICC support of Castro "permitted it to expand its base of support and become the most effective pressure group for educational reform in East Los Angeles."[25]  He therefore concludes that the

> . . . analysis of the EICC has indicated that a vital Mexican
> American political organization more than any other kind of
> urban community organization requires a membership that is
> urbanized, relatively acculturated into American society,
> politically aware and well educated.  This fact also reinforces
> the elitist theory of social movements which suggests that
> mass political action is most often conceived and organized
> by members of the more educated and affluent segment of the
> community.[26]

The EICC is now a defunct organization.  Its major accomplishment, aside from having successfully contributed toward the raising of political consciousness, was the appointment of a Mexican American Education Commission which the EICC proposed to the Los Angeles Board of Education in the interest of developing a mechanism that would allow for community input into the decision-making process of the school

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[24]Ibid., p. 172.

[25]Ibid., p. 165.

[26]Ibid., p. 173.

district. The implementation of the Commission on February 20, 1969, for all practical reasons signaled the decline of the EICC as a potentially effective grass roots organization. The Commission, in effect, eventually replaced the EICC since it was largely comprised of original EICC members.

Although the Commission was told that it was free to define its scope of operations in dealing with the educational issues as outlined in the student protest demands, it soon became clear that, as opposed to becoming a viable tool for either educational change or community control of barrio schools, it would merely function as an advisory body to the Board of Education. To date it has not been an integral component of the school district's decision-making process. Viewed from a liberal-reformist perspective, it has contributed to the development of bilingual and bicultural programs, especially at the elementary school level. It has successfully pressured the school district to make more direct efforts at recruiting and hiring more Chicano administrators and teachers. In short, the Commission has made indirect contributions to reformist efforts on behalf of the Chicano community. However, the reforms which have taken place have not eliminated student or community discontent. Although large-scale demonstrations like those of 1968 have not reoccurred, there have been incidents of protest on a smaller scale. In March, 1970, for example, two years after the mass protest activity, police/student confrontations occurred on the campus of Roosevelt High School (one of the original protest target schools).

The Roosevelt confrontation underscored the lack of a viable

relationship between the Commission and the Board of Education. On February 18, 1971, two years after its creation, the Commission tendered its resignation because of a personnel appointment made by the Board without consulting the Commission. The Commission later decided to withdraw its resignation and remain in operation, but its existence remains tangential to the school decision-making process.

## Conclusion

The protest activity that took place in March, 1968, succeeded in placing focus on the educational problems in the barrio schools and in contributing to the politicization of the total Chicano community. The student walkouts came to symbolize the emergence of "Chicano Power" in the urban barrios of Chicano America and gave impetus to the further development of what has come to be loosely termed the "Movement." But the protest activity failed to meet its basic objectives as outlined in the contents of the 36 demands made by the student protesters. Of the 36 demands only four resulted in concrete responses by the Los Angeles Board of Education. These were:

1. The hiring of bi-lingual staff personnel.

2. The starting of classes on Chicano history and culture.

3. The agreement not to close restrooms for punitive purposes.

4. In-service teacher training programs were encouraged by the school district to provide teachers and staff with a better knowledge of Chicanos.[27]

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[27]Puckett has done an excellent job of analyzing the 36 demands vis-à-vis the specific responses by the Board in terms of public policy questions, op. cit., pp. 93-108.

Some demands were referred to a committee or the superintendent for further study. Most demands, especially those which, in nature, dealt with the question of community control of the schools, were not at all considered and emphatically turned down on both legal and political grounds. In short, only those demands which did not truly threaten the status-quo of the school district were acceptable to the Board.

The failure of the protest activity to change public policy or to give the Chicano community control of barrio schools is, in the final analysis, attributable to the mechanisms of colonial political domination. In this case study we have seen how the mechanisms of the racist mobilization of bias, repression, public tokenism, co-optation, and the Chicano middle class, interacted to make the protest activity ineffective.

The racist mobilization of bias became evident with the establishment of the EICC counter-group, the Education Committee of Greater East Los Angeles, which successfully undermined many of the early efforts of protesters to broaden the base of community support. The mass media's coverage of the protest activity had the effect of mobilizing anti-Chicano racist elements. This was manifested in terms of "un-American" charges and the identification of the protesters as "racists-in-reverse," subversives whose goal was the furtherance of communism at the expense of "American Democracy."

The indictment and arrests of the thirteen Chicano "ringleaders" of the protest activity on felony charges of conspiracy to disturb the peace and disrupt the educational process was an excellent example of the mechanism of repression. Although the protest activity manifested

itself as a non-violent demonstration, there were isolated cases of police force used on protesters.

Public tokenism was another effective mechanism used in quelling the protest activity. Symbolic expression and public sympathy about the poor conditions of the schools in East Los Angeles on the part of school officials, and their admission that most of the student demands were valid, projected an image of sympathetic concern. Simultaneously, of course, school officials pointed out the lack of existing funds needed to implement many of the demands, e.g., new school buildings and the hiring of Chicano teachers. On major items, the failure on the part of voters to respond favorably towards bond elections was cited as an excuse for inaction. The temporary return of Castro to Lincoln High School, one of the protest target schools, gave the impression that the demands were being seriously considered when, in essence, only individual "crisis" situations were being handled, and at that not in favor of the protest activity.

With the appointment of the Mexican American Education Commission proposed by the EICC, the co-optation mechanism came into play. As has been pointed out, the Commission signaled the beginning of the decline of the EICC as a potentially politically effective grass roots organization. The Commission also served the useful purpose of tokenism: the image that the Chicano community now had a voice in the decision-making process of the Los Angeles city school district. In reality, the Commission became an advisory body as opposed to an integral component of the school district right from the start. Nevertheless, the Commission as an appointed body and therefore part of a

political institution, became a vital instrument for the power structure since it now had a group of "community leaders" or "sub-elites" who, by their mere presence in the chambers of that institution served to acquiesce the general Chicano public. The school district had created a political form which, as Edelman has put it, came

> . . . to symbolize what large masses of men need to believe about the state to reassure themselves . . . political forms also convey goods, services, and power to specific groups of men . . .[28]

Finally, the more radical objectives of the protest activity were effectively dealt with since the EICC and later the Commission became largely groups of middle class individuals who successfully directed the protest activity in the direction of working within the system. Of all the mechanisms that came into play, the role of the Chicano bourgeoisie is central toward understanding how the colonized status of the urban barrio is perpetuated. Historically, they have acted as a buffer between colonizer and colonized and as a counter-revolutionary element in the Chicano community. In the case of the protest activity, both the advocates of educational reform and their opposition were at the end mostly representative of the Chicano middle class sector of the barrio. Both the EICC and the Educational Committee of Greater East Los Angeles engaged in the politics of accommodation which have historically systematically excluded Chicano masses. The Chicano middle class, as Allen has put it in the case of the Black experience, "acts as though it is driven to uphold that society's values and attitudes."[29]

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[28]Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1964), p. 2.

[29]Allen, op. cit., p. 13.

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