

MEXICAN-AMERICAN POLITICAL
LEADERSHIP IN HOUSTON, TEXAS

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Political Science
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
John Armando Garcia
August 1968

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In appreciation for their devotion and understanding, this thesis is dedicated to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ramon Garcia.

J.A.G.

June, 1968

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ABSTRACT

The realization that politics is an important means of achieving the goals of the Mexican-American in this country has led to the rapid and dramatic emergence of political organizations and political leadership since World War II. The major focus of this study is the analysis of Mexican-American group activity and its political leadership within our political system.

Ethnic politics does not exist unless the ethnic group is conscious of itself competing for certain scarce values in the political system. The major role of leadership becomes the advancement of group interests. Within a general framework of majority-minority relations, three variables were presented as relevant to inter-group power relations--social actions, group beliefs, and the power relations between the majority and minority groups. Utilizing this model of ethnic politics, the researcher sought to find patterns of Mexican-American political leadership in Houston, Texas.

The approach to leadership centered on the power and policy context of leadership behavior. The data was collected by a questionnaire constructed by utilizing previous social science research with emphasis on possible indicators of ethnic leadership. The respondents were selected on the basis of their leadership positions in Mexican-American organizations and/or their reputational status in the Mexican-American community. The choice of respondents is not a complete list of all the Mexican-American leaders in this community, as this study attempted to attain a representative sample of reported Mexican-American leaders and activists.

This study examined five aspects of Mexican-American leadership and its politics: (1) Mexican-American goals or interests, and strategy; (2) functions of Mexican-American leadership; (3) the mobilization of the Mexican-American for group action; (4) leaders' perceptions of community ethnic relations; and (5) the perceptions and attitudes of Mexican-American leaders with regard to political organizational activity, ideological positions, and attitude toward change. Essentially an exploratory study, the primary emphasis was to examine the meaning and scope of Mexican-American political leadership in the hope of gaining some understanding of Mexican-American politics.

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CHAPTER I

ETHNIC POLITICS AND ITS LEADERSHIP:

A STUDY OF POWER RELATIONS

The powerful assimilatory influences of American society operate on all who come into it, making the children of immigrants, and even the immigrants themselves a very different people.¹

The American dream of a melting pot society has not become a complete reality. Ethnic groups in America have not become a survival form of mass immigration, but they have become a new social form. Focus on ethnic group activity and its political leadership within our political system serves as the major interest of this study. In order to examine this area thoroughly, certain basic features of our political system should be discussed.

For our purposes, a political system is any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves to a significant extent power, rule or authority.² The scope of political activity extends beyond formally established governmental institutions, and the interplay of groups sharing and competing for power portrays an integral aspect of the American political system. Various members of the society engage each other within the political system to seek certain goals and rewards.

Within the American political system, the competition for and the distribution of power are largely a function of the pluralistic nature of

the society. Power is shared among a large number of private groups, interest organizations and individuals, and other organized groups. In viewing power relationships, political scientists should examine the extent to which the power contestants can be categorized as groups. One categorization serves as the primary focus of this study—ethnic minorities.

The power relations of the political system serve as a common dimension among the members of the society, and the resultant relationships of legitimacy, authority, rules, and influence define the patterns and distribution of power within the system. In our political system the dispersion of power among various competing groups does not allow any one power center complete control of the universe of politics. One dominating aspect of our American political system is the idea that the pluralistic nature of our society plays a significant role in the policy-making process.

Pluralist America: A Multiplicity of Groups

When one studies the American political system, recognizing the pluralistic character of our society facilitates discussion of American political patterns. Pluralists content that in our American society, a multiplicity of independent groups exists, each of which contributes to the formation of individual values and social policy. Therefore, the state becomes only one group among several semi-autonomous groups which affects politics. As individuals of similar interests combine to achieve their ends, such combinations of interplacred values and interests form sub-systems of power.³ A society designated as pluralistic is marked by

the existence and social acceptance of many autonomous centers of decision-making authority and reflects a diversity of desires that promote varied interests and social conflicts.⁴ In this sense, America can be considered as pluralistic.

With a society of diverse power centers, no one institutional or social group can command the power to control all segments of mass society life. Individuals form coalitions with those of similar social and economic character that constitute the backbone of a socially diverse America and this gives rise to both complimentary and incompatible interests. As power is broadly shared among the congeries of competing public and private groups, these groups must compete for individuals' loyalty, as well as try to influence the governmental process.

Similarly, as the social system entails varied centers of decision-making, the American governmental pattern divides conflict regulation among multiple and often conflicting centers of policy-making.⁵ The presence of semi-independent policy centers allows the competing groups to seek a wide variety of alternatives in their attempt to influence policy. Many groups are mobilized for specialized purposes, and their influence is limited to certain areas of policy-making or to dealing with certain policy-making influentials. The American pluralistic society is equipped with a pluralistic constitutional character to match.⁶

This duality of pluralistic arrangements, both social and political, means that individuals are seldom totally dependent upon particular social groups or political officials for the advancement of interest.⁷ Subsequently, single-issue politics, single-issue campaigns, and

single-issue parties are ephemeral in pluralistic communities; rather broad policies emerge from the process of bargaining and compromise between diverse interests characterizing the system.

As individuals form coalitions with those of similar interests, the power of any given leader is a function of the extent to which he is integrated into these coalitions. The group leaders derive their legitimacy and power as well as their personal resources from their role as representatives of large numbers of like-minded individuals.⁸ As these competing groups and their leaders make certain demands and seek certain goals from the political system, the function of the state assumes an important position. Today the state is often seen as the only viable means of ensuring economic and civil liberty. The state alone possesses both the ability to recognize and to utilize its resources to meet the growing demands for security in industrial societies.⁹

As the conditions for pluralism have been discussed, one central element pervades. The power of the state is shared with a large number of competing groups. Viewing politics as the allocation of power, values, and desires, we can now investigate a special case of the ethnic group politics.

Ethnic Politics

Ethnic groups are interested in politics for the same reasons as the rest of the population. These ethnic groups engage in political activity to advance the interests of their group and individual members via the political system. In many such cases, what the ethnic group wants are

jobs, recognition and prestige.

In order to discuss ethnic politics, the concept of ethnicity must be examined to determine its distinctiveness in a pluralistic society. Ethnic identity, in some cases can not be changed (racial groups may assimilate, but they maintain their skin color as an identifiable trait), but people in minority groups can improve their lot through economic advancement. An ethnic group consists of people who conceive of themselves as being of a kind. They are united by emotional bonds concerned with the preservation of their type.¹⁰ For the most part, the ethnic group converses through a common language or familiarity with a native language and has a common cultural heritage and physical similarities. A belief pervades that they are part of a common descent.

Consciousness of kind usually involves sympathetic identification with others in the same ethnic group. A low social distance or a relatively homogeneous group socially aids the minority¹¹ to become a more cohesive group. Ethnic identity not only involves individuals perceiving themselves as being of a kind, but ethnic identity is reinforced with an awareness that outsiders are different from themselves. For a person who identifies with an ethnic category, its history provides a backdrop before which to review his own conduct.¹² Thus an ethnic group consists of those who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of a common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others.¹³ A person may be categorized within an ethnic group though he may not consciously identify with "his" ethnic group. Being reminded of his background may create a self-consciousness about the patterns formed by his

background, and perhaps, he will become self-conscious about patterns formed by his family, his friends, his job and his interests.

Though ethnic groups are usually associated by nationality, culture and/or race, the melting pot influence has altered many of these groups' original attributes. But as these groups were transformed by the influences of the dominant American society and stripped of their original attributes, they were recreated as something new, but still as identifiable groups.¹⁴ The mere existence of a name itself can be sufficient to form group character in new situations, for the name associates the individual with a certain past, country, or race. Yet the ethnic person has other traits that associates him with other people attached to the group. Such attachments can take the form of a group and family ties, cultural values and mores, and ties of ethnic interests. It is in the realization of interests or desires as an ethnic group that ethnic politics becomes a reality.

The seat of ethnic politics is the local community. The relationship between political strength and distribution of rewards becomes even more important if the ethnic group lives in physically segregated areas. For example, the group's service problems such as paving streets, sanitation service, etc. become ethnic related matters.¹⁵ Ethnic politics breeds a kind of group patronage in awarding jobs, contracts, etc. The individual assumes a secondary role in terms of the group's advancement. Having a member who can intercede on one's behalf and achieving the symbolic recognition of the group with implied estimation of its worth and dignity serve as more important functions than individual advancement

and prestige.

Organizations for nationality groups serve important political functions, and they serve as vehicles for political action. Through ethnic organizations, means of communicating political messages are developed and the group's sense of importance and power are increased. In addition, ethnic group activity supplies first hand experience with the ways of democracy and power relationships. For ethnic groups with quite different cultural patterns and/or belief systems than the Anglo-Saxon center, such nationality organizations serve as an introduction into the rules of the game of the political system.

The central element of ethnic politics is the perception of a common bond or identity with a certain group. Generally, cultural background, nationality, or race serves as the identifying factor(s) of an ethnic group. The apathetic mass, not conscious of the fact of ethnic identity, can under special circumstances become aware of the matter of identity. Ethnicity is more than the influence of events, but it is commonly the source of events. Social and political institutions do not merely respond to ethnic interests; a great number of institutions exist for the specific purpose of serving ethnic interests.¹⁶ Such institutions tend to perpetuate ethnic interests. The political environment recognizes them, rewards them, and to some extent encourages them. In essence, the conditions for pluralism provide an atmosphere for ethnic politics to be a part of the power relations of our pluralistic society.

A General Model of Ethnic Politics

The power relationships among competing groups often define the persistence of majority-minority problems. Self-interest usually serves as the backbone of power group relationships.¹⁷ In most instances, ethnic groups are sub-forms of cultural subordinates, deviating from the Anglo-Saxon center. They are usually set apart by cultural differences. Forms of change within the society such as conquest, migration, or emergence of ideological variation may give rise to separation of groups.¹⁸

As we investigate power group relations, the prior inter-group relations must be introduced before variables in the inter-group arena can be discussed. Prior diffuse conditions can illustrate the congruence or incongruence of indigeneous values in each group. Both the ethnic group and the dominant group(s) maintain value systems; the distribution and allocation of values are largely dependent upon the power relations. As political resources and influence are unevenly distributed, the dominant group commands the various sources of power.

The reasons why political influence are usually distributed unevenly seem to center around three fundamental facts. Skewed distribution exists because of inequalities in the distribution of leadership, variations of skill in utilizing political resources and variations in the extent to which different individuals use their resources for political purposes.¹⁹ As the ethnic group becomes familiar with the "rules of the game," it refines its political resources and techniques in order to obtain influence in the political system. Prior conditions can be altered by several awakening factors. Economic and social circumstances

have served as the motivation for political activity for ethnic groups.

Independent Variable: Power Relations

The independent variable of majority-minority relations is the power relations between these groups. A configuration of power relations results from the encounter of these competing groups²⁰ in the political system. Incongruent indigeneous values can create greater conflict in majority-minority relations. A typology of control forms, expulsion, colonialism, or incorporation can outline the power relations defining majority-minority relations. Incorporation of the ethnic groups may be admitted on some criterion for entrance into the dominant society. On the other hand, incorporation may involve a completely competitive atmosphere when each group may increase and improve their political resources and influence. This presents a more dynamic situation as power-relations are continually undergoing change.

The stratification pattern of the different groups within the society in connection with power also affects majority-minority power relations. As the system becomes more stabilized, four hierarchical forms materialize. (1) Inter-group cleavage becomes the major stratification hierarchy of the entire society. (2) Cultural subordinates may be accorded special status which is supplementary to wider stratification. (3) Inter-group distinction becomes completely integrated into a wide social hierarchy social hierarchy. Or finally, (4) an open class society exists where inter-group lines are blurred and erased.²¹ Power relations become related to the various hierarchical stratifications that may exist in the society. Competition among groups and the development of

political resources will vary with the different hierarchical patterns.

With the examination of the power relations as the independent variable, some postulates can be formed to predict encounters between groups' power relations: (1) The relations between groups with different cultural or life histories and unequal power will display conflict, and conflict will tend to be greater to the extent that the values of the two groups are inconsistent. (2) Power ascendancy depends on the access to power resources in a wider society.²² As power relations are examined, one can not overlook the importance of cultural values affecting majority-minority relations.

Intervening Variable: Belief Systems

The intervening variable in this minority group model is the system of beliefs and values of the competing groups. Orientations toward legitimacy of power relations crystallize into belief systems or ideologies arising from majority-minority relations. Various social institutions dominant in the ethnic culture can retard or accelerate ethnic political development. Exemplary of the influence of the system of cultural values are the historical patterns that various immigrant groups in American society have experienced. If the ethnic group is very religious, its ethnic churches may have no occasion to create strong political connections, and no need to protest against governmental favoritism or official discrimination against church schools.²³ In some instances, the puritanical codes of religious groups may participate more in political activity. Such organized relationships tend to increase a sense of mutual interests and raise the salience of group membership.

Certain changes in perspectives of the ethnic group itself also has brought the ethnic group more into politics. The doctrine of equality did not exactly coincide with the ethnic's entrenched ideas of status, with his own acceptance of difference of rank. The ethnic person could not relate anything in his life in the Old or New World that would confirm the democratic hypothesis that he would participate meaningfully in the exercise of power. As the children of ethnics learned that everyone was equal and democracy symbolized "one man, one vote," then the doctrine of equality became a politicizing influence. Not only were they equal in electoral rights, but they could use these weapons to achieve status and equality in other areas of life.

As we discuss majority-minority power relations, the point should be made that the crystallization of belief systems affects the configuration of power relations and social action of the ethnic group. Its role in American society is that of a cultural subordinate possessing indigenous values which may or may not be congruent with the dominant group's values. As a result of majority-minority relations, belief systems are affected by alteration or dissolution of certain values.

Dependent Variable: Social Actions

The dependent variable in the model of majority-minority relationships is social actions. This involves various modes of interaction of the competing groups as their orientation toward legitimacy channels various ideological themes in accordance with the interest of each party.²⁴ The ethnic group, sensing its subordinate status, may not choose to

withdraw from contact with the dominant society, and not seek to change circumstances. As contact with the larger society increases for groups, and as they lose their language and custom differences, the ethnic group looks outward and becomes an embattled social group, enormously sensitive to reflections on group status and quite anxious to advance the group's desires. The ethnic group and its leadership weigh their political resources with the gravity of its demands in order to determine what mode of action it will take in the political system. If the system is viewed as tyrannical, illegitimate, and totally removed from the ethnic's world, then revolutionary and "illegitimate" methods may be adopted by the ethnic group. Stakes and the amount of vested interests in the political system and society can influence the range of methods available to the ethnic group.

Social change affects the power balance. When it is rapid, it will loosen the social structure and make new resources available to each group to employ in order to alter the balance of power.²⁵ As the ethnic conflict in the community increases, the rate of participation of the conflicting groups will also increase. Social action will also generate greater activity as the ethnic group becomes more self-conscious and status conscious and as more of its members become sensitive to the politics of recognition.

In an attempt to examine and analyze ethnic politics, a general framework was developed to orient the nature of this study. Ethnic politics is a special case of power group theory and several variables are distinguishable. The independent variable defines the configuration of

power relations resulting from majority-minority power encounters. The dependent variable deals with the modes of action vis-a-vis each group as channeled by orientations toward legitimacy. Finally, in describing these power relations, an intervening variable, beliefs or group values, interjects orientations toward the legitimacy of power relations which crystallize into belief systems or ideologies arising from encounters. These three variables help describe and explain much of the phenomenon we label ethnic politics.

Role of Leadership in Ethnic Politics

Ethnic leadership serves as an outlet for potential leadership and it becomes symbolic of the group. An ethnic leader must serve the dual function of fulfilling himself and reflecting his group's aspirations.²⁶ Ethnic group leadership exists because the ethnic group recognizes itself as competing with various other ethnic groups and its leadership seeks to achieve its group's interests. Leadership involves individuals whose behavior affects the patterning of behavior within the community at a given time.²⁷ Leadership also includes the activity of influencing people to co-operate toward the achievement of certain goals.

The leader occupies the highest position of the hierarchy in assisting his group to its goals. The role he achieves is not determined by his personal qualities alone, but by his standing in relation to his fellow members in the special qualities required by the particular group, goal or situation.²⁸ Leadership is a function of acceptance by followers and it is a representative role. Additionally, it is a function of personality. Thus selection of leadership becomes related to the tensions

and values of a particular situation. A working relationship exists among the group members in which the leader acquires status through active participation and demonstration of his capacity for coordinating tasks through to completion.²⁹

Ethnic leaders are dependent upon the group they lead and the group maintains an awareness of its demands for leadership qualities. Continuous interaction between the leader(s) and his followers must exist in order to transfer desires, alternatives, information, strategy, etc. Essentially, the leader is dependent on the goals of the group and the standards that arise. The leader undertakes to relate specific proposals to a framework meaningful to his followers.³⁰ This framework varies with the degree of group homogeneity and the prevalence of cultural values.

Within the general concern of minority-majority relations, what are the specific goals or interests of the ethnic leaders? James Q. Wilson has described two categories of goals pursued by Negro leaders in northern communities: welfare goals, which include tangible "bread and butter" benefits for the group, such as better streets, jobs, school facilities; and status goals which include symbolic benefits, primarily in terms of the integration of Negroes into community life, with rewards on the basis of individual merit rather than race.³¹ As the past majority-minority relations indicate obstacles for minority group participation in all phases of community life, the active pursuit of status goals by ethnic groups can be expected to require great militancy.

The selection of these two categories of ethnic goals may depend on

the immediacy of the group's circumstances and problems. Ethnic leaders may weigh the attainment of welfare goals as more pressing than the symbolic benefits of intangible goals. Ethnic leaders often pursue status goals via specific welfare goals. An impressive record of welfare goal achievements and limited status goal victories permits the ethnic leader to think of fulfilling total equality so that his ethnic group members can become full citizens.³² Usually ethnic leaders will seek the attainment of both status and welfare goals, though the amount of emphasis on either category of goals will vary among ethnic leaders.

The ethnic leader can not divorce himself from the community and culture which produced him, and the ethnic group acts as an identifiable unit involved in a common set of circumstances. These circumstances raise problems, create opportunities, and pose threats that command interesting and informative reactions.³³ Thus ethnic leaders are part of the group and they identify themselves with their ethnic group. The availability of an individual for a leadership role depends upon his possessing certain attributes deemed necessary both by himself and by those selecting the leader for the successful performance of leadership functions.³⁴ Ethnic groups which place great value in political activity, demonstrate certain leader-follower relations. Fluidity potential deals with the involvement and agreement between the leader and his followers.³⁵ Ethnic leaders promote the interests of their group, depend on their followers as a base of support and seek acceptance by their followers of the way they pursue the realization of objectives highly valued by the followers. Ethnic leadership involves intra-group selection and constant interaction between the leaders and their group in order to determine

and clarify group interests and attain group approval of the leadership's role.

Ethnic leadership must choose among alternative behaviors and these choices have important impact on the ethnic group's interests and public policy. Leaders are involved in distinguishing a multiplicity of perceptions relevant to the attainment of a specified goal from those they consider irrelevant. Ideally the leader sorts out the relevant perceptions and seeks to maximize those perceptions which are both sensitive and relevant to his group's needs. In order to select relevant alternatives, issues, etc., the leader needs to maintain open communication lines with his followers.

Selection of methods and goals largely affect ethnic leadership styles. First, the leader perceives and describes the nature of the issues confronting him and the values he brings to bear. Second, the leader also perceives and describes the ends or goals he deems appropriate to seek from the realm of civic action. Third, political styles include the selection of the means one employs in seeking these ends. Fourth, political styles also include the motives, goals and attributes of other participants he sees in the political system.³⁶ From this standpoint leadership might be characterized in terms of the leader's activities and in terms of the techniques he employs. Ethnic political leadership, as any type of political leadership, serves as an intervening mechanism by means of which political influences are mobilized and transmitted.

Ladd's Setting for Political Leadership

The ethnic leader's role is largely a function of the related tensions and values of a particular situation or setting affecting his group. Utilizing Everette Ladd's setting for political leadership, socio-demographic variables are investigated in the case study that follows, in order to relate the ethnic groups to the total area of majority-minority relations. Population, concentration factors, group expectations from the political and social system, voter registration, cultural values, etc., do serve as possible indicators of political participation and the political climate of majority-minority relations. Research will focus on those forces which together are creating the revolution in race and ethnic relations.

Certain socio-demographic variables seem to be amenable for greater political participation. If a group lacks sufficient leadership talent, has low socio-economic status, and suffers the absence of meaningful inter-group competition, then the ethnic group will usually exhibit a low degree of ethnic electoral participation. The preponderance of ethnic oriented organizations, particularly politically oriented ones can be examined in order to understand the political setting. The functions of ethnic organizations such as voter registration, manipulating votes, or protesting can describe the political climate that ethnic leadership must contend with. These situational factors shape a given leadership structure and hence must be understood if leadership is to be understood. The demands and alternatives available to ethnic leadership will be largely dependent on the political setting.

Future of Ethnic Politics

Ethnic politics has been described as a special case of power group theory. A distinguishable group of individuals are united by a common bond of being of a kind and seeks to obtain certain goals in the system. Ethnic group leadership must constantly prove itself with its followers and by utilizing its leadership functions as the agent of its group, engage in power group relations to obtain ethnic interests. When elements of ethnicity and identity begin to weaken, membership doubts about self and the group can alter the realm of ethnic politics. Although the ethnic group lives in ethnic colonies, the borders are often vague, and outside contact frequent, still, ethnic identity continues to be important and leads to high participation in more ethnically related issues in local politics. But the loss of ethnic group identification may create personal restlessness and the ethnic drives for personal achievement which find political expression.

Ethnic politics has many non-ethnic considerations involved and ethnics are seldom totally dependent either upon particular social groups or political officials for the advancement of their interests. Ethnic groups may lose themselves in the expanding Anglo-Saxon center. Nevertheless, when ethnicity is invested with meaning and importance, ethnic politics continues to be a realistic force in American politics. As the national aspect of ethnicity declines, participation on a new front may materialize around socio-economic interests, or assimilated ethnics may accept the dominant citizen duty norms of a middle-class society and participate for the conventional reasons.³⁸

Politically speaking, assimilation means new motives for old ones. This usually means a shift in psychological bases of participation, but not necessarily an increase or decrease in political salience. The loss of ethnic identification may create personal restfulness and drives for personal achievement which find political expression.³⁹ The assimilated ethnic group may develop stronger socio-economic interests and may place its political loyalties with these new interests.

There is some tendency, particularly in urban centers, to substitute ethnic issues in politics for class issues. In this sense the reinforcement of the role of ethnic groups has added a new dimension besides the large movement of history and people. The development of genuine ethnic-class combinations is possible only because of the splintering of traditional economic classes along ethnic lines, which tend to create class-ethnic combinations that have considerable significance at the present time.⁴⁰ The most significant issues of class relations assume ethnic form. For example, reform movements in New York City politics have been invariably class movements by the various ethnic groups.

Though the pattern of ethnic politics is deeply impressed in our political system, the future of ethnic politics seems to follow two directions. The assimilated ethnic groups tend to develop new bases of political participation, while other ethnic groups such as the Negro and the Mexican-American tend to pursue ethnic-class combinations as substitutes for ethnic issues in politics. These two groups have a high degree of homogeneity, particularly in matters of education, skills, and religion. This homogeneity invests ethnicity with meaning and importance

that it would not otherwise have.⁴¹

Mexican-American Leadership: An Application of the Model

In the following pages a study of Mexican-American leadership is undertaken to gain an understanding of the characteristics of Mexican-American political life, since it is at the level of leadership that policies are determined, resources committed, and decisions made. It is at that level that tensions and trends become evident.⁴² Previous studies of ethnic political leadership have focused mainly upon Negro political leadership. The Mexican-American minority, though a numerically significant group, has not been the subject of systematic research in regard to its political activity and leadership. Perhaps this is due to the relative inactivity of the Mexican-American; an inactivity often attributed to the ambiguity of roles Mexican-American leaders and organizations must accept, adjust to, and perhaps overcome to increase political activity.

With the recent activity of the civil rights movement and the War on Poverty, the Mexican-American group has become more conscious of itself in competition with other ethnic groups, particularly the Negro. With such a rise of activity among the Mexican-Americans, systematic studies, may serve to indicate patterns of Mexican-American leadership and its direction within the leadership class. The study of leadership, then, is a bridge to a consideration of the central features of⁴³ Mexican-American political leadership in the Southwest.

The area of Mexican-American political leadership serves as the critical focus of this study. Though a series of systematic hypotheses

is not presented, certain assumptions have been made regarding ethnic leadership which are applicable to Mexican-American leadership. (1) The leader of a minority group is a member of the group, and uses the group as a base of operations. (2) Ethnic political leadership is largely a function of acceptance by followers. And, (3) leadership selection is related to the tensions and values of a particular situation.

(4) In political activity, the Mexican-American group not only expresses its wants and needs, but also provides the outlet for its potential leadership. And finally, (5) in the ethnic community leadership achievements are viewed as group achievements. Basically, ethnic politics involves issue politics as ethnic leadership formulates and determines ethnic goals within the consensual framework of group norms, and then selects the most effective strategy to affect majority-minority power relations.

Scope of the Study: Dimensions of Leadership

This is essentially an exploratory study. The primary emphasis will be on examining the meaning and scope of Mexican-American leadership in light of increased group activity, and in the hope of gaining some understanding of Mexican-American politics. The approach of political leadership will center on the power and policy context of leadership behavior. This study will examine five aspects of Mexican-American leadership and politics. (1) Since Mexican-American leaders involve themselves with the advancement of ethnic interests, survey material was directed toward determining Mexican-American goals and desires. Once Mexican-American interests have been identified, political resources and

strategy become a major concern of Mexican-American leadership. What are the most effective methods to realize ethnic interests in the political system? Within a framework of group values and consensus, the leader must determine what alternatives prove most successful for the achievement of his group's goals.

(2) Leadership, when viewed as an intervening mechanism in power relations, serves several functions and roles in relation to the group's interaction in the political system. Various roles of leadership were examined to determine who the selected respondents perceived in the primary roles of ethnic leadership. (3) As ethnic groups mobilize for political action the area of ethnic identity and unity play a vital aspect of ethnic leadership. Group consciousness and mobilization are largely the tasks of ethnic leadership. (4) Another aspect of leadership examined is community majority-minority relations. Such inter-group relations extend beyond the power relations, since socio-economic variables, status, attitudes, etc., are also involved. As the group and its leadership perceive various standards for majority-minority relations, such perceptions can influence the group's power relations. That is, leadership perceives certain conditions as ideal for majority-minority relations, and using set standards, the leadership evaluates its group's demands and social actions within this perceptual scheme.

(5) A final area of leadership explored by the researcher is the perceptions and attitudes of Mexican-American leadership with regard to organizational activity and orientation, ideological positions, and change. The role of ethnic organizations not only serves as the social

mechanism in which ethnic interests and demands are projected into the political system, but also as a source for potential leadership. Within these five broad categories, Mexican-American leadership was explored and analyzed.

Methodology

The approach to the dimensions of ethnic politics and its leadership was intended to extend beyond the sociological and social anthropological studies of the Mexican-American, and see how this group relates itself to the political system, particularly through its leadership. This researcher has attempted to explore the various dimensions of ethnic leadership in terms of ethnic interests. Utilizing previous social science research, a questionnaire was constructed to focus on leadership functions within the ethnic group and the goals and desires that its leadership attempt to attain from society.⁴⁴ A list of reported Mexican-American leaders in Houston, Texas was compiled. The core group of leaders were interviewed during the period of March to May, 1968. The background information on Mexican-Americans was extracted from previous sociological studies and the general socio-economic and political circumstances of this group. This was necessary because previous studies have not focused primarily on the power relations of the Mexican-American relative to the dominant power structure, but more on his "state of being" in American society.

Through the use of replicable, operational techniques in testing theoretically derived hypothesis and postulates, a more systematic approach of ethnic leadership can be undertaken. Though the researcher

does not presume to have investigated all the variable of ethnic leadership, he sought to distinguish patterns of leadership and possibly discover other relevant variables as a result of this study.

In an attempt to explore possible patterns of leadership, selection had to be adopted. Though a combination of a positional and reputational approach, respondents were selected on the basis of their leadership positions with ethnic socio-political organizations, as precinct judges in concentrated Mexican-American precincts, as ad hoc leaders, and as community activists. The choice of respondents is by far not an exhaustive list of Mexican-American political leadership, but this study is an attempt to attain a representative sample of reported Mexican-American leaders and activists. The focus of this study is to explore the perceptual knowledge and attitudes of these activists regarding the various dimensions of Mexican-American leadership.

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CHAPTER II

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN IN THE UNITED STATES:
THEIR HISTORY AND STATUS

Four million Mexican-Americans, beset by important grievances and problems, reside in the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas. It suffices to say here that "Mexican-American" is used as a generic term to include people of Mexican, Spanish, or mixed Indian descent. This group is thus somewhat narrower than the United States Census Bureau's category of Spanish-speaking people which also includes Puerto Ricans, Cuban immigrants, and other groups from Central and South America, in addition to the Southwestern population of Mexican-Americans.

Recent political events regarding this minority group may lead the Mexican-American to a greater awareness of himself as a cohesive minority group. Contemporary events such as the Crystal City election and the Delano farm workers strike have created new interest and activity among the Mexican-American minority group in the United States. In Crystal City, Texas, where eighty-five percent of the population is Spanish-speaking, a new awareness among Mexican-Americans of what could be done has resulted in the election of an all Spanish-speaking city council.

At Delano, California, on September 16, 1965, eleven hundred Mexican-American farm workers met and voted to join the strike with Filipino workers against the Delano grape growers. With the formulation of the

National Farm Workers Association, the Mexican-American farm workers sought to make the growers accept the NFWA as their bargaining agent over matters such as wages, working conditions, and contracts. Initial success has been accomplished, as several large growers have agreed to accept the NFWA as the farm workers bargaining agent. In addition, the Mexican-American has increasingly learned to live with the full range of modern institutions in large cities.² This ethnic group has more and more been able to unite as a community because most of its members face common problems. The Mexican-Americans has stirred new winds of activity and interest in America's Southwest.³

The Mexican-American is the largest ethnic group in the Southwest and among the largest minorities in the United States. The heterogeneity of this population is related to certain historical circumstances. Spain began early exploration and colonization in North and South America. Following Coronado's expedition, Juan de Ornate in 1598 established a colony, San Juan, in present day New Mexico. In these New Mexican villages and their extension into Southern Colorado, the heritage of seventeenth century Spain was established and has existed to the present time.⁴ Shortly after colonization in New Mexico, the Spaniards colonized Texas (1640) and at a later date settlements were established in California and Arizona. These establishments were removed from the mainstream of European historical developments between the 1600's and 1800's; hence they were not involved in great political revolutionary movements of the early 1800's.⁵

Despite the westward movement of Americans, the Spanish-speaking

people remained relatively unaffected because of their geographic isolation. The Spanish-speaking people in this country were by nationality, first Spaniards (1598-1833), then Mexicans (1823-1849), and then Americans following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In spite of these changes of nationality and the encroachment of Americans, the Spanish settlements in the United States remained essentially Spanish folk societies, with a variety of admixtures from the indigenous populations. Between 1910 and 1930, there was a large immigration from Mexico. The immigrants were primarily laborers who came to work in the agricultural expansion of the Southwest.⁶ Some came to work on the railroads in both the South and Midwest. Others attracted by industrial expansion in the Great Lakes region traveled as far north and east as Chicago and Detroit. Since 1920, there has been a continuing yearly immigration of Mexicans to the United States.

TABLE 2.1 MEXICAN-AMERICAN POPULATION
IN THE SOUTHWEST⁷

	<u>Southwest</u>	<u>Texas</u>	<u>Houston(SHSA)</u>
Mexican-American population (1960)	3,464,999	1,417,810	75,000
Projected population	(not available)	1,917,263 (1970)	106,000 (1965)

Various sociological and social anthropological studies have been made describing the Mexican-American and his cultural values. His relatively slow rate of acculturation has been attributed to the dominance of certain cultural values. The Mexican-American's strong attachment to the extended

family, the comradrazzo system, and the place of origin account for both continued contact with Mexico and the Southwest, and things Mexican.⁸

These factors have contributed to the persistence of the Mexican-American community and the maintenance of several of its cultural traits.

Pride in "La Raza" stems from the concept that all Mexican-Americans are united by spiritual and cultural bonds derived from God. "La Raza" described the Mexican-American's intra-group orientation as it entails the "common destiny of our souls."⁹ Also the Mexican-American seeks a balance of opposites where no extremes exists without a counterbalance. For example, suffering is made acceptable by a strong sense of fatalism.

The most important role of the Mexican-American is familial. Primary loyalty is always owed to his family. Usually the demands of loyalty involved in affiliation with formal organizations are regarded as threats to his self-reliance as an individual and the self-sufficiency of his family.¹⁰ Such strong kinship ties and male self-reliance have acted as value orientations that inhibit Mexican-American activity in formal organizations and individualistic striving for material gains.

The retention of the ethnic tongue is a symbol of "La Raza" and the foreignness of the Mexican-American. In the Anglo dominated society, the push to learn English and the prohibition of speaking Spanish in school have created some bitterness among the Mexican-Americans.¹¹ The use of the vernacular language, Spanish in this case, of the minority group living among people of another tongue has usually sped up the process of acculturation and made easier the learning of a second language of communication with the majority group.¹²

As a whole, the Spanish-speaking resist being categorized as a minority. This is due to the heritage and cultural influence in the Southwest. The obvious Spanish-Mexican motifs in architecture, religion, law, food and language make it difficult to refer to them as a minority.¹³ The fact is that in an area discovered and colonized by their forefathers, the Mexican-Americans are discriminated against and relegated to the lowest economic and social position.¹⁴ In part this is probably due to a past history of inactivity in politics. Recently, however, increasing awareness of their subordinate status in American society has resulted in a heightened political awareness and activity among Mexican-Americans.

Socio-economic Conditions

The status of the Spanish-speaking has not been rigidly fixed by statutes and ordinances as was that of Negroes in many states of the South. However many communities, with the silent approval of local government, enforced the segregation of the Mexican-American group in schools and housing, restricted their level of employment, and prohibited their participation in public affairs such as service on juries and police forces.¹⁵

In education, the Mexican-American has encountered various difficulties in attaining an equitable educational status with the Anglo majority. The primary factors related to the Mexican-American's low educational status are cultural, linguistic, and legal. For example, in Independent School District vs. Salatierra Tex. Civ. App 33 SW 2nd 790 (1930),

it was alleged that Mexican-Americans were denied equal protection of the laws because a separate school was maintained for Spanish-speaking, mostly migrant children.¹⁶ The court held this practice to be unlawful to the extent it applied only to Mexican-Americans without consideration of each child's abilities. Similar court cases have arisen regarding the segregation of Spanish-speaking children in the schools.

Other factors related to the Mexican-American's educational status are cultural and linguistic differences. These three factors serve as the basic inequality of educational opportunities. The influence of these factors are reflected by the low median educational level of the Mexican-American (Table 2.2) in comparison with the Anglo and the Negro.

TABLE 2.2 MEDIAN EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN (25 YEARS AND OLDER) 1960¹⁷

	<u>Southwest</u>	<u>Texas</u>	<u>Houston</u>
Anglo	12.1	11.5	12.1
Non-white	9.0	8.1	8.8
Mexican-Americans	7.1	6.1	6.4

Facing legal, cultural, and linguistic problems in education, the Mexican-American has attained a relatively low educational level in comparison with the Anglo and the Negro. Present demands for alteration in the school system includes the adoption of bi-lingual instruction, community influence on the educational programs, and dissolution of de-facto residential segregation.

In proportion to their population, four times as many Anglos are

found in professional and technical occupations as the Mexican-Americans. The Mexican-Americans are primarily employed as operative, unskilled laborers and farm workers. In table 2.3 occupation categories of the Anglo, non-white and the Mexican-American are cited. In addition to disproportionate position in blue collar occupation, the Mexican-American also has a low median income in relation to the Anglo-American.

TABLE 2.3 OCCUPATIONAL PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
VARIOUS GROUPS IN THE SOUTHWEST (1960)¹⁸

<u>Occupational category</u>	<u>Urban</u>		
	<u>Anglo</u>	<u>Non-white</u>	<u>Mexican-American</u>
Professional	15.1%	6.1%	4.6%
Managers, Proprietors	14.7	3.6	4.9
Clerical	7.8	6.1	5.5
Sales	9.2	2.3	4.0
Crafts	21.5	10.8	18.2
Operatives	15.8	20.0	25.4
Domestics	5.4	18.6	8.3
Laborer	4.4	18.3	15.8
Farm laborers	0.6	2.1	7.3
Farm managers	0.7	1.9	0.6

TABLE 2.4. MEDIAN INCOME - MALES
IN THE SOUTHWEST (1960)¹⁹

	<u>Southwest</u>	<u>Texas</u>
Anglo	\$4,815	\$5,239
Mexican-American	2,768	2,914
Negro	2,435	2,591

The income of disadvantage population has been obtained primarily from employment in low-skilled manual occupations requiring little education. Through assimilation into the society and increased labor market information a rapid rise in income can occur for the ethnic group. Educational attainment is likely to lag behind, however, as a rise in education levels takes at least a generation.²⁰ Occupational upgrading to more skilled jobs within the manual sector of employment can come through assimilation into the society (through labor unions, for example) and through increased labor market information, even without significant improvements in the educational attainment of low status groups. Also a rise in educational levels will enable the Mexican-American to penetrate non-manual employment.

For some groups the major reason for the gap between their incomes and those of the total population, as educational attainment parity is achieved, will be discrimination in employment. The extent and intensity of discrimination will affect both the initial income gap and the length of time required to achieve majority income level. As the Mexican-American makes greater advances in educational attainment, he will be

able to lessen the disparity with the dominant group, and discriminatory positions, particularly the technical and professional, can no longer be attributed to the lack of educational training, as the Mexican-American improves his educational status. Operating in an open, competitive market, employment disparities become related to factor of discrimination.

TABLE 2.5 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND INCOME OF
MEXICAN-AMERICAN MALES IN SOUTHWEST²¹

<u>Residence</u>	<u>Median Schooling</u>	<u>Median Income</u>
All	6.6	2804
Urban	8.4	3197
Rural non-farm	6.9	1871
Rural farm	4.6	1531

In housing, as in education and employment, the Mexican-American has had a different experience from that of the majority of the community. In many parts of the Southwest, housing for this minority has traditionally been restricted to well defined sections of city or town.²² The Mexican-American has become highly urbanized (78.0%) and large urban centers of the Southwest show a marked concentration of Mexican-Americans in specific areas. The ghettos of the Mexican-Americans, called barrios, are found both in the core center and fringe areas of urban areas. Such areas are usually agricultural laborers' communities or old railroad camps. Although poor housing is a natural consequence of their low income status, in many areas residential restrictions has also been a direct cause of poor housing.

In the table below residential segregation is measured by an "index

of residential dissimilarity." The index ranges in value from 0 to 100. Crudely, a score of 0 means that there is no segregation of a sub-population from the other--that members of both populations are randomly distributed throughout the city. A score of 100 means that the two populations are totally segregated-- that all of the members of each population are concentrated in separate areas.²³ The larger the city, the more prevalent are all types of segregation. Confinement to a specific residential zone results in an ever increasing demand on a limited housing supply. In 1960, in some major Texas metropolitan areas, six times as many dwellings of Mexican-Americans as Anglos were overcrowded, and from 19 to 39% were deteriorating. Neither choice nor economic inadequacy is solely responsible for the inability of this group to find adequate housing. In the past, restrictive covenants were used to bar the Mexican-American from Anglo neighborhoods.

TABLE 2.6 INDICES OF RESIDENTIAL DISSIMILARITY
IN SOUTHWEST CITIES²⁴

<u>City</u>	<u>Anglo vs. other</u>	<u>* WPSS vs. Anglo</u>	<u>Non-white vs. Anglo</u>	<u>* WPSS vs. non-white</u>
Albuquerque	53.0	57.6	85.1	55.7
Austin	62.9	63.3	72.1	66.1
Denver	64.9	60.0	86.8	68.0
Houston	73.2	65.2	81.2	70.9
Laredo	39.3	39.4	60.1	43.9
Los Angeles	68.7	57.4	87.6	75.7
San Antonio	63.7	63.6	84.5	77.4
0=segregation of sub group 100=totally segregated *White person of Spanish-speaking surname				

This brief examination of the various socio-economic status of the Mexican-American has illustrated some of the problems and concerns of of this group. Other areas of concern include the relationship between police and this minority, exclusion of Mexican-Americans from jury service. Later in a Colorado case, Montoya vs. People, 345, P. 2d 1062 (1959), the Supreme Court of Colorado held that these people had been systematically excluded from the juries of Logan County, Colorado. It was shown that although there were persons with Spanish surnames on the tax rolls of the county who were qualified to serve, no Spanish surname person had appeared on the jury list in eight years.²⁵

Relatively little is known about the political behavior of the Mexican-American. Some researchers have felt that personalism dominates the Mexican-American attitude toward politics.²⁶ According to them, the Mexican-American reacts to political demands by attempting to exert influence on those to whom he is related by kinship or by acting in concert with friends and acquaintances.²⁷ Grievances are consistently expressed as complaints, not demands. Among the Mexican-American group, there is an absence of instrumental groups moving toward specific goals via political activities. From limited past research information on Mexican-American political activity, the Mexican-American ties or commitment to politics appear to be personal ones. The above examination of the Mexican-American in the United States illustrates participation of this group. Hopefully, this brief examination of his historical experiences and social status establishes a better perspective to study Mexican-American politics and its leadership.

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CHAPTER III

MEXICAN-AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP:

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The concept of political leadership has usually portrayed the political leader as a decision-maker, affecting the structure of political activity and policy choice in the area in which he operates.¹ Though an ethnic leader's role is largely a function of the related tensions and values of a particular situation or setting affecting his group, leadership also involves certain personal characteristics. That is, persons who occupy leadership roles possess varied socio-economic status, educational levels, and length of residency in the community. Briefly, the researcher will examine some socio-demographic characteristics of the selected Mexican-American activists in Houston, Texas.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Selected
Mexican-American Activists

The selection of the sample originally included twenty-three community leaders and activists. At the end of the interviewing period, nineteen members of the sample had been interviewed, while the remaining four were omitted due to various difficulties in contacting and scheduling an interview. The age of these community leaders and activists ranged from 36 to 64 years old. The median age of the sample was 40.4 years old. The educational background of this group illustrated a slightly skewed distribution from that of the Southwest as 47.3% of the sample had attained a college degree and/or had done advanced study. The

respondents by occupation primarily professionals and proprietors of small businesses. Sixty-three percent of the activists were in the professional and technical group category.

TABLE 1.1 GROUP AGE AND EDUCATION
CHARACTERISTICS

<u>Age distribution of sample (n=19)</u>		40.4 (median age)	
23-29	(1) - 5.2%	44-50	(1) - 5.2%
30-35	(2) - 10.5	51-57	(2) - 10.5
36-43	(12) - 63.2	58-64	(1) - 5.2
<u>Educational background</u>			
0-8 years	(1) - 5%	College degree	(3) - 16%
9-11 years	(3) - 16	Professional degree	(3) - 16
High school	(3) - 16	Graduate work	(2) - 10
Some college	(3) - 16	Graduate degree	(1) - 5

TABLE 1.2 OCCUPATIONAL AND INCOME
CHARACTERISTICS

<u>Occupational characteristics</u>			
Professional, technical	(12) - 63%	Craftsman, foreman	(1) - 5.35%
Managers, proprietors	(4) - 26	Housewife	(1) - 5.3
Clerical, sales	(2) - 10.5		
<u>Income categories: Median income - \$10,175.00</u>			
Under \$3,000	(1) - 5%	\$8,001-\$10,500	(4) - 21%
\$3,000-\$5,500	(3) - 16	\$10,501-\$13,000	(3) - 16
\$5,501-\$8,000	(2) - 10	\$13,000	(6) - 32

Further examination of the socio-demographic characteristics indicates the income of the respondents tends to be weighted to the upper-middle income category. The median income of the sample was \$10,175. The evaluation of the occupation and income levels of the respondents indicating disproportionate percentages in higher salaried occupational positions explains partly the relatively high median income of the sample.

Finally another variable of the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample reveals a predominantly Roman Catholic grouping which reflects the prevalent religious affiliation of the Mexican-American. Approximately 80% of the respondents gave Roman Catholicism as their religious preference.

Ethnic politics is primarily orientated toward the local political community, though ethnic interests usually coincide throughout the political system. Restricting the study of Mexican-American leadership to Houston, the longevity of local residency may indicate native or highly mobile leadership and also one's familiarity of the local community power relations. In our sample of reported Mexican-American leaders and activists, 84% of the respondents have lived in Houston thirteen or more years. Similarly, 83% of the respondents are native Texans, indicates that there is a fairly stable and parochial group of local leaders who are long time residents of Houston.

TABLE 3.3 LENGTH OF RESIDENCY IN HOUSTON
AND BIRTHPLACE OF THE RESPONDENTS

<u>Residency in Houston</u>			
1-3 years	(1) - 5.3%	13 years	(4) - 21%
4-7 years	(1) - 5.3	Life	(12) - 63
8-12 years	(1) - 5.3		
<u>Birthplace</u>			
Houston	(10) - 52.6%	Midwest, USA	(2) - 10.5%
San Antonio	(3) - 15.8	Foreign born	(1) - 5.3
Texas (other)	(3) - 15.8		

This examination of the social background of Mexican-American leaders and activists suggest several generalizations about the recruitment of Mexican-American leadership. This leadership class displays a relatively high social status and primarily occupies white-collar positions. Such socio-economic factors tend to increase one's proclivity to political activity. Like many other groups, the Mexican-American has looked to those with relatively high prestige and status for leadership. As the group becomes more mobilized and all its membership participates more, the structure and recruitment of leadership could undergo significant change. That is, as ethnic leadership becomes closer related to group acceptance and dependent in the political setting, Mexican-American followers may select individuals as leaders who occupy lower socio-economic status or who serve to confront and remedy a specific ethnic issue. Mexican-American leadership may be composed of more "grass-root,"

community leaders, and temporary leaders who deal with the pressing issue at a particular instance.

Community Influentials

In addition to the selection of a representative sample of Mexican-American leaders and activists, an attempt was made to identify and rank leaders within the Mexican-American community. A core list of various reported positional leaders, ad hoc leaders, and activists was presented to the respondents, and they were asked whether they recognized these individuals as Mexican-American leaders. The following table indicates the number of acknowledgements each reported leader received by being recognized as a leader.

TABLE 3.4 IDENTIFYING MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERS
IN HOUSTON

Number of respondents (n=19)	
State representative from Houston	- 18
Attorney, ex-president national LULAC	- 16
Precinct judge--community activist	- 15
State PASO chairman	- 14
Harris County PASO chairman	- 12
National LULAC president	- 9
Editor of El Sol--community activist	- 9
Community activist, Valley March leader	- 4
PASO activist	- 4
PASO--community activist	- 4
Community activist	- 2

The most frequently mentioned leader was State representative Lauro Cruz, first Mexican-American elected to the State House from Houston. Organizational leaders and a precinct judge followed closely behind in leader identification. No one individual dominated the leadership recognition list.

From the same list of reported Mexican-American leaders, the respondents were asked to rate the leaders as to their effectiveness within the community. The choice of responses ranged from most influential to uninfluential. Degrees of effectiveness were weighted, and the influential point total represents the sum of all the individual's weighted influential ratings. Also the respondents rankings were correlated as multiple ranks to determine the degree of congruence among the respondents. A relatively high correlation, .95 in this case, illustrates a high degree of congruence among the respondents as to who are the community influentials.

TABLE 3.5 RANKING OF EFFECTIVENESS OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN
LEADERS AND MULTIPLE RANK CORRELATION

(n=18)		Influential point total
State representative from Houston	-	41
Attorney, ex-president national LULAC	-	37
State PASO chairman	-	26
Precinct judge--community activist	-	23
Editor of El Sol--community activist	-	22
Harris County PASO chairman	-	22
National LULAC president	-	16
PASO--community activist	-	11
Community activist, Valley March leader	-	8
PASO activist	-	6
Community activist	-	3
Kendall multiple rank correlation ²	W=	$\frac{12S}{m^2(n^3-n)-\sum(t^3-t)}$

The influential point total shows no drastic change of order from the previous listing of top leadership. State representative Lauro Cruz was perceived as having the greatest influence in this community. Ex-president national LULAC, Judge Alfred Hernandez closely followed Representative Cruz and then a seconding grouping of organizational leaders and a precinct judge received the next highest influential total.

By weighting the degrees of effectiveness, it was possible to place the reported list (7 names) of influential Mexican-American leaders into

some system of rank order. The selection of Mexican-American leaders and activists included those persons reported as community leaders and all seven of them were included in the sample interviewed. By correlating the respondents' ranking of these leaders, it was possible to discover a significantly high degree of congruence of rating among the sample members. Such a high correlation indicates a high degree of agreement on their perceptions of these reported leaders' effectiveness within the community.

A high degree of acquaintance and communication was found to exist among this leadership class. Members of this leadership class may operate in different areas, but they display a knowledge of the activities of each of the other leaders. The leaders rated derived their support base from primarily ethnic organizations, political positions or association with particular issues relevant to Mexican-American interests. With such a relatively divided distribution of influentials among the leadership class, no singular person or organization dominates the political activity of the Mexican-American in Houston.

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¹Everette Ladd, Negro Political Leadership in the South (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 113.

²Maurice Kendall, Rank Correlation Methods (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1955), pp. 96-97.

CHAPTER IV

MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP:

GOALS AND STRATEGY

The social actions of an ethnic group engaged in majority-minority relations usually entails the imposition of certain demands or goals on the political system and the selection of various means to promote these goals. The upsurge of Mexican-American political activity has stirred new cries and demands of ethnic concerns. As Mexican-American leadership voices cries of unity and works to increase political participation, what appear to be the specific goals or ends of the Mexican-American and his leadership?

One of the most important constraints on effective leadership in the Mexican-American community has been the lack of agreement among the leadership as to what they want. [The difficulty of overall cooperation has been the common denominator of Mexican-American political activities throughout the Southwest.¹] This may only be a temporary problem, but it may persist because of the absence of powerful personalities or issues to unite the Mexican-American.

Recognizing itself as a disadvantaged minority, the Mexican-American group has focused on problems and issues that are relevant to its socio-economic and political condition. With this general concern in mind, various levels of Mexican-American goals were explored in this study, in an attempt to find patterns among the various leaders' goals.

A wide range of issues were mentioned by the respondents when they

were asked to designate the most important issue facing the Mexican-American community. No one goal or area of Mexican-American interest dominated the responses. The most frequently stated issue dealt with [the problem of education.] (See Table 4.1). The primary emphasis on education was directed toward the language difficulty many Mexican-American children encounter when they begin school. Generally the respondents emphasized a general upgrading of the educational programs affecting the Mexican-American, particularly schools that have a pre-dominant Mexican-American enrollment. The concern for education reflected a feeling of disparity between the education the Mexican-American receives and that of his Anglo counterpart.

TABLE 4.1 A FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES
CONCERNING THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES
FACING THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN

(1) Education	(13)	28.2%	(4) Unity and Mobiliza-	(4)	8.7%
(2) Employment Opportunities	(8)	17.4	tion of Mexican-Americans		
(3) Equality and Mutual respect	(5)	10.0	(5) Adoption of a State Minimum Wage	(3)	6.5
			(6) Other responses	(12)	28.4
*Number of responses = 46					
Average per respondents 2.4					

The need to consider cultural peculiarities, such as the maintenance of their mother tongue, when educational programs are being formulated and adopted were often mentioned. One respondent illustrated the problem of the Mexican-American children when he first enters school.

Our kids will automatically be behind the Anglo after the first three years, because it is these primary years that a child receives the basic tools that are further developed as he goes through school. When the Mexican-American child is confronted with a new language, and he can't relate it to his own, positively then he starts with a distinct disadvantage.

Not only is education recognized as a salient issue for the Mexican-American, but these activists also regard the area of [equal employment opportunities] as quite important for their group. As the Mexican-American becomes more urbanized, Mexican-American leadership realizes the greater demands for retraining and relocation of their group members in order to increase their economic gains. Several instances of mention of a State minimum wage bill illustrated the leadership's attempt to raise the standards of the Mexican-American farm workers in South and Southwest Texas. Every respondent that cited employment as a highly salient issue for the Mexican-American also indicated education as equally important or even more so. For example one respondent remarked:

By dealing with the economic problems of the general masses, you can improve housing, education, sub-standard wages

If we would concentrate on raising the educational level of our people, then we can get at the problem of employment opportunities.

Table 4.2 attempts to establish the degree of association between the issues of education and employment. Using the Chi-square test of contingency, the results indicate that these variables are not completely independent, but some degree of significance exists between the responses of education and employment.

TABLE 4.2 χ^2 CONTINGENCY TEST OF THE DEGREE OF
SIGNIFICANCE BETWEEN EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION
AS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE FACING THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN

Ho (Hypothesis): *The variables are independent

	Mentioned Employment	Not Employment
Mentioned education	7	6
Not education	0	6

$$\chi^2 = \frac{ad-bc}{(a+b)(c+d)(a+c)(b+d)}$$

$$= 4.10$$

Level of significance = .05 χ^2 with 1 df = 3.84

If $\chi^2 > \chi^2_{.05}$ then Ho rejected $4.10 > 3.84$

*A contingency test was constructed between the respondents who cited employment and/or education as the most important issues facing the Mexican-American with the rest of the sample.

The only other area which was frequently mentioned (10.8%) was the area of civil liberties. Concern for equal status as a citizen was typified by one respondent's comments:

The majority needs to recognize the Mexican-Americans and deal with them on the basis of their qualifications, and abilities; not stereotype our group as dirty, lazy Mexicans.

The Mexican-American faces more subtle discrimination than the Negroes. Overt discrimination against Mexican-Americans in public conveyances, restaurants, and so on is said to be near the vanishing point. The more subtle discrimination experienced by the urban Mexican-American is typified by a Los Angeles youth's remarks:

"There is discrimination, but it is more subtle

and hard to pin down . . . Anglos tend to more out of a neighborhood if Mexicans move in, though more slowly than they do if Negroes move in. And Mexicans are discriminated in jobs."²

No particular areas of discrimination were emphasized by the respondents, as they indicated a necessity for equal access and opportunity in all areas of socio-economic and political life. Issues that were designated as important usually took the form of current socio-economic needs. The Mexican-American occupies a relatively low strata in our society, and its leadership is primarily concerned with the progress of this group to share in the American dream of prosperity and a good life.

The other issues mentioned indicated an awareness of the utility of political participation in order to advance their ethnic interests. The issue of leadership development was perceived as being essential if the Mexican-American is ever to gain political influence. The development of effective leadership can accelerate movements of Mexican-American unity and mobilization. Concomitant with mobilization, some interest was directed toward the type of strategies and methods the Mexican-American should use in order to attain his goals. Selection of strategies can become an issue if leadership is conscious of competing ethnic or racial groups and the results of their activity and methods.

Relevancy of Specific Issues

The major issues perceived by the selected sample of Houston Mexican-American leadership and activists tend to emphasize the socio-economic areas. A series of specific issues was presented to the respondents so they could evaluate their saliency with respect to

Mexican-American interests. The issues selected dealt with specific socio-economic issues, civil liberties, and local politics.

TABLE 4.3 RESPONSES OF SAMPLE CONCERNING SPECIFIC ISSUES
IN TERMS OF IMPORTANCE TO THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN

	<u>Total Points</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Adoption of State minimum wage	57	3.0
Establishing more Junior Colleges	48	2.5
Re-emphasis of minority rights in State constitution	44	2.3
Assuring full employment	43	2.25
Enactment of bi-lingual instruction	42	2.2
Urban renewal	32	1.7
Revision of State criminal code	31	1.6
Expanding welfare services	26	1.4
City-county consolidations	23	1.2
$\bar{x} = 2.03$ (Mean weighted response of the entire series of issues)		
*Responses weighed by degrees of importance; very important was assigned the value of 3, slightly important as 2 and relatively important as 1, and unimportant as 0.		

Again the specific issues regarded as very important to the Mexican-American can be categorized as education and employment. Specifically the issue of adopting a State minimum wage received a perfect score of agreement. Not only would the adoption of a State minimum wage attempt to deal with problems of the Mexican-American farm worker, but passage of the bill would signify an ethnic victory and a show of influence

of the Mexican-American. In Texas politics, the Mexican-American has made such concerted efforts to adopt a State minimum wage that it has become an ethnic issue.

A comparison of the open-ended responses and the specific issues indicates that similarity exists between education and employment as the major goals of these leaders and activists. The Mexican-American is slowly becoming more involved in political activity and as a result, he seeks to maximize his rights and opportunities to play the game of politics. In this sense, the respondents view the increasing of political resources as maximizing their rights which will positively influence the development of their political resources. Table 4.4 illustrates the correlation of specific issues that fall under three general categories of education, employment, and civil liberties. The scores of the statements dealing with education show a 1.0 correlation between bi-lingual instruction and establishing more Junior Colleges. Similarly a high correlation exists with the statements regarding civil liberties. Surprisingly, no correlation (positive) exists with the statements regarding adoption of a State minimum wage and assuring full employment. Possibly, the phrase, assuring full employment, was too broad and nebulous and the respondents did not associate this issue with the specific one on minimum wage.

TABLE 4.4 COEFFICIENT OF LINEAR CORRELATION OF
THE FOLLOWING PAIRS OF SCORES IN AREAS OF
EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

Correlation of the scores of bi-lingual instruction--more Junior Colleges	$r = 1.00$
Revision of State criminal code-- Reemphasis of minority rights in Texas constitution	$r = 0.88$
Minimum wage--full employment	$r = 0.00$

This exploration of various relevant issues shows various goals of Mexican-American leadership. The Mexican-American views politics as a social instrument for improvement which not only serves as a means to achieve certain ends,³ but also as a means to increase the group's political influence and resources in a dominant society that has been reluctant to relinquish such political resources. In an attempt to better understand the gamut of Mexican-American concerns, the respondents were asked to evaluate a series of statements of various areas of concern of the Mexican-American.

TABLE 4.5 DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH SEVERAL STATEMENTS
REGARDING RELEVANT MEXICAN-AMERICAN CONCERNS

	<u>Total points</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Revise Texas history textbooks to include more of Mexican-American influence	76	4.0
Mexican-American should see that the federal government help create better jobs and training programs	74	3.9
Mexican-American should advance himself to be part of "American way of life"	74	3.9
Mexican-American should work toward greater unity	72	3.8
Mexican-American should involve himself more in direct protests	71	3.7
Greater enforcement against green card workers (Imported Mexican laborers who gain temporary entry to work in U.S.,	70	3.7
City councilmen elected by a district system	69	3.6
Mass march organization to demonstrate Mexican-American's political strength and awareness	64	3.4
Answers weighted in terms of agree strongly (4) to disagree strongly(0)		

The increased sensitivity by the Mexican-American is reflected by the responses of their community leaders and activists. The most positive response referred to the revision of State history books. Aware of their cultural influence in the Southwest and Texas, the Mexican-Americans seek to place their status and contributions in proper perspective. Although they have been commonly categorized "the sleeping giant," Mexican-Americans have awoken and now pose demands upon the society and the political system. Again the higher scores were associated with the

improvement of the educational system and increasing their employment opportunities. Secondly, through the realization that politics can serve as an important means of achieving their interests, the Mexican-American group has become increasingly aware of itself as a collective group. Mexican-American leadership desires a larger share of the allocation of values and the power to influence the policy-making process.

Through welfare goals appear to be the prevalent goals among the Mexican-American leadership and activist class, there still remains great disparity over the range and importance of the various goals. Seemingly, intermediate and tangible goals may arouse a certain level of agreement, but when more substantial goals are considered, congruence on general goals among the leadership and activist class begin to dissipate. In an attempt to determine the amount of congruence on general goals among the respondents, five goals were presented and each respondent ranked them in order of their importance as a goal for the Mexican-American.

TABLE 4.6 RANK ORDER CORRELATION OF SPECIFIED
GOALS IN RELATION TO THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN

	Rank order				
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Assimilation into American mainstream	(4) 22.2%	(3) 17.7%	(3) 16.7%	(3) 17.7%	(5) 27.5%
Better jobs and educational opportunities	(10) 55.6	(4) 23.6	(2) 11.1	(1) 5.8	- - - -
Establishing a bi-cultural society	(3) 16.7	(2) 11.7	(3) 16.7	(3) 17.7	(5) 44.8
Better housing and social conditions	-- 0.0	(6) 35.3	(4) 22.2	(4) 23.5	(3) 16.7
City offices elected on district basis	(1) 5.5 100.0	(2) 11.7 100.0	(6) 33.3 100.0	(6) 35.3 100.0	(2) 11.1 100.0
⁴ Kendall rank correlation - w = $\frac{12S}{n^2(n^3-n)}$ (multiple rankings) = .24					

A relatively low rank correlation among the respondents indicates a low level of congruence concerning these goals for Mexican-American leaders. Although the goal of better jobs and educational opportunities received a higher ranking, no discernible pattern of preference materialized.

TABLE 4.7 A SUMMATION OF THE RANKS OF THE
SPECIFIED GOALS THAT THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN
CAN SEEK FROM THE SOCIETY

<u>Rank Order</u>	<u>Ranks</u>	<u>*Ideal Summation</u>
1. Better jobs and educational opportunities	28	(18)
2. Better housing and social conditions	55	(36)
3. Assimilation into American life	56	(54)
4. City councilmen elected on a district system	57	(72)
5. Establish a bi-cultural society	67	(90)
*Ideal summation assumes each issue received distinct rankings such that the top rank sums by the respondents would be one times the number of respondents, and so on.		

It appears that the leadership and activist class are more concerned with the resolution of immediate problems than any long term goals or overriding goals that serve as a focal point affecting the evaluation of issues and power relations. Once the Mexican-American can overcome the disparity of economic and educational levels, the immediacy of present goals will probably lose its importance and create a period of revaluation of Mexican-American goals and direction. Yet one of the respondents viewed his group's struggle as a continual cycle.

If you want to help the Mexican-American, then you have a lifetime job. Once we can get our people where they can share the benefits of America as the Anglos, there will always be another group to help advance into the American mainstream. We're right next to Mexico, and there will always be a steady immigration of "raza" to help.

The goals of assimilation and a bi-cultural society did not receive any marked ranking, in either extreme, though over-all, establishing a bi-cultural society did receive the lower ranking. This may also indicate a lack of congruence within the leadership and activist class since the apparent dichotomy of these two goals was not evident in the responses. Apparently, the respondents interpreted assimilation as receiving the socio-economic benefits of the American mainstream and not necessarily the loss of distinct cultural values or traits. Nevertheless the process of assimilation tends to depoliticize groups when it breaks the homogeneity of ethnic associational life, and leads to the lack of direction and "anomie", or creates cross pressures which weaken partial political attachments.⁵ In viewing Mexican-American goals, the present analysis only reveals the concern of Mexican-American leaders to focus on socio-economic issues relevant to their group's social status and developing the power resources to achieve these goals. No discernible patterns of an overriding ethnic interest in more substantial terms were distinguishable.

Mexican-American Strategy

As Mexican-American group leadership is involved with the promotion of the interests of its group, leaders must select the means to employ in seeking these goals and interests. As Mexican-American leaders interpret various issues as ethnically related interests, they will attempt to maximize their group's influence in altering the present power configuration and the authoritative allocation of values. In many cases,

the means available to the leadership class will affect the prevailing majority-minority relations which will vary with time and location. Strategy is also dependent upon the group's values which formulate a framework in which the leader may choose various alternative methods. As ethnic groups compete with other ethnic groups, their leadership becomes quite cognizant of their competitor's tactics and their successes or failures.

In an attempt to determine any pattern of strategy among this leadership class, five specific types of methods were presented and the respondents ranked them in order of their effectiveness.

TABLE 4.8 RANK ORDER CORRELATION OF SPECIFIC STRATEGIES
AS VIEWED BY MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERS AND ACTIVISTS

Strategy	Rank order				
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Litigation	(1) 5.55%	(6) 35.3%	(4) 23.5%	(2) 11.1%	(5) 27.8%
Direct action: protest	(4) 22.2	(4) 23.5	(2) 11.8	(5) 27.8	(2) 11.1
Increased Mexican- American voter registration	(12) 66.7	(4) 23.5	(1) 5.9	- - -	(1) 5.5
Bargaining and mediation	(1) 5.55	- - -	(9) 53.9	(5) 27.8	(3) 16.7
Economic boycotts	- - - - (18) 100.0	(3) 17.7 (17) 100.0	(1) 5.9 (17) 100.0	(6) 33.3 (18) 100.0	(7) 38.9 (18) 100.0
⁶ Kendall rank correlation $w = \frac{12S}{m^2(n^3-n)}$ (multiple rankings) = .26 Strategy ranked in terms of most effective to least effective.					

TABLE 4.9 RANK SUMMATION OF THE STRATEGIES
FOR POLITICAL INFLUENCE

<u>Strategy</u>	<u>Summation of ranks</u>	<u>Ideal Rank Summation</u>
(1) Increased Mexican-American voter registration	28	(18)
(2) Direct action protest	48	(36)
(3) Litigation	58	(54)
(4) Bargaining and mediation	63	(72)
(5) Economic boycotts	68	(90)

Using Kendall's rank correlation coefficient, a relatively small correlation exists between the ranks of the various methods and the level of congruence among the respondents. The strategy of enlarging the ethnic voting populace appears to be the most effective method perceived by this leadership class, though subsequent methods do not follow any discernible pattern of relative importance.

Politics provides the arena and the rules of the game in which this ethnic group can match wits against those of the dominant group.⁷ Apparently, it is the intention of this leadership class to play the Anglo's game and by sophisticating and developing the various political resources for power relations, to successfully challenge and beat the Anglo at his own game. The Mexican-American leadership assesses its relative strength as high in potential. With a young population and relatively high growth rate, the leadership views new expansion of voter registrants as an effective measure in local and state politics. Such activity in increasing the voter registration will show significant gain

from an ethnic group that has a low registration record in the past, partly due to the poll tax and political apathy.

In the last decade Negroes have used overt action as well as legal recourse. Subsequently all minorities have benefited from their activities. But the rewards were primarily oriented to Negroes, the Mexican-Americans were left relatively unrewarded and their passivity underscored.⁸ The new leadership saw the necessity for political activity and the effect of direct action protest. Though no significant level of congruence or agreement is evident among this leadership class, respondents were aware of the power of direct action protest and 58.8% of them ranked direct protest within the top three rankings. By the comparison of the scores of the respondents to certain statements concerning various types of direct protest and direct political activity, a high degree of correlation exists between specific issues involving direct action.

TABLE 4.10 CORRELATION OF RESPONDENTS' SCORES
ON MEXICAN-AMERICAN CONCERNS RELATION
TO DIRECT ACTION OR PROTEST

	1) Increasing direct protest activities	2) Mass march to Austin
1) Organizing a mass march to Austin	$r = .97$	
2) Seeking direct represen- tation in city council	$r = .64$	$r = .85$

A significantly high correlation is indicated from the respondents' scores on a mass march to show their group's political strength and awareness and a general increase in direct protest activities to focus on their problems

and serve as a method of influence. As one respondent indicated, the evaluation of strategy is a primary concern of Mexican-American leadership.

I think that the most important issue facing the Mexican-American is the matter of militancy. That is, to what degree of militancy will we use in order to achieve our demands and goals from this society.

The Mexican-Americans no longer want to stand on the periphery of political activity, and their leadership has become increasingly sensitized toward political activity as the chief means of expressing the group's desires and needs. Apparently, no level of significant congruence has been achieved by this leadership class, as a relatively low level of agreements exists on the techniques and strategy most effective to promote their group's goals. Initially, the leaders are attempting to transform their increased sensitivity into political action by trying to stimulate their group members to unite via the strength of the ballot box. The Mexican-American leadership has jumped into the political arena and now seeks to play the game and use the rules to the best of its advantage. As other ethnic groups, particularly the Negroes, accelerate their overt and direct action in the political system, the Mexican-American will carefully evaluate the results and rewards of these strategies and relate them to the achievement of his goals. Presently, it seems that the Mexican-American accepts the challenge to beat the Anglo at his own game.

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- ⁴ Maurice Kendall, Rank Correlation Methods (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1955), p. 95.
- ⁵ Robert Lane, Political Life (New York: Free Press, 1959), p. 255.
- ⁶ Kendall, op. cit., p. 95.
- ⁷ Samora, op. cit., p. 48.
- ⁸ Samora, op. cit., p. 49.

CHAPTER V

FUNCTIONS OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

Although the concept of leadership has been analyzed into many various dimensions, there is some agreement that the political leader is a decision-maker affecting the structure of political activity and policy choices in the area in which he operates.¹ Nevertheless, the study of leadership would not be complete unless the conditions of a given setting are also considered as affecting the roles and demands of leadership. Since ethnic political leadership is primarily concerned with the promotion of ethnic interests, the demands on leadership are largely defined by the relationship with its members or those affected by the leader's decisions.² It is the consideration that constitutes extent to which the followers determine who their leaders shall be, the content of leadership, and also the source of the leader's authority. The new leadership of the Mexican-American, for the most part, belongs to a variety of older organizations that were interested mainly in educational, fraternal, social and recreational activities.³

As the Mexican-American becomes more self-conscious of himself as competing for certain scarce values with other ethnic groups, this new leadership increasingly becomes identified as ethnic leaders. The sharper the competition, and the greater the estrangement, rejection, and isolation of the ethnic group in the political system, the more firmly will ethnic leadership be identified with the interests of the ethnic group as an ethnic group.⁴ As issues are defined as ethnic

issues, Mexican-American leadership will become more of a matter of issue leadership. Viewing Mexican-American politics, several queries arise as to what are the major problems the Mexican-American contends with in order to be politically influential. How can an organism capable of clarifying and articulating the aspirations of all Mexican-Americans be created? How can a national leadership structure be built that can speak for the group and stimulate and guide it in a common direction? How can resources necessary to improve the social, economic, educational and political status of the group be mobilized and plans implemented to bring about improvement?

These queries illustrate various functions that Mexican-American leaders can incorporate in the promotion and achievement of their group's interests. For example, in order to articulate and clarify the aspirations of the Mexican-American, extensive communication must exist between those selected as leaders and their followers. Mexican-American leadership must serve the function of inter- and intra-communication with its followers and other actors in the political system, in order to gather information, determine goals, implement policy, etc.

The respondents were asked to cite the major functions of Mexican-American leadership. Various leadership functions were mentioned, and the responses focused on intra-group relations, rather than emphasizing inter-group power relations and encounters. That is, this leadership and activist class was primarily concerned with the mobilization of its group and intra-group communication. Table 5.1 illustrates the range of specific responses outlining the various functions of Mexican-American

leadership.

TABLE 5.1 RESPONSES REGARDING THE MAJOR
FUNCTIONS OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

Mobilize for political action	(8) 16.7%	Education for his group	(4) 8.3%
Communication role	(7) 14.6	Spokesman for his group	(3) 6.2
Developing group's identification	(6) 12.5	Contact with dominant power structure	(2) 4.2
Articulating and projecting group's problems	(5) 10.4	Unification of group	(2) 4.2
Seeking group's approval	(4) 8.3	Development of leadership	(1) 2.1
Implementing group's goals via political system	(4) 8.3	Increasing monetary resources	(1) 2.1
		Leader independent from organizational ties	(1) 2.1
Number of responses = 42			

The categories presented indicate some degree of overlap of leadership functions. For example, the idea of unification and mobilization of the Mexican-American are closely inter-related and almost interchangeable. By categorizing these functions in relatively specific terms, one can view the gamut and particular perceptions of the respondents. Examining these responses the primary leadership roles appear to be that of mobilizing his group as a collective, cohesive unit, and then transmitting group interests via the political system.

By further analysis of the respondents' categories, five general functions of ethnic leadership are evident. That is, the thirteen

various roles of leadership as described by the respondents can be classified into five broader categories which outline the major perceived functions of leadership. (See Table 5.2).

TABLE 5.2 FUNCTIONS OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

Mobilization for political action	(10)	20.9%
Communication function (intra)	(11)	22.9
Leadership as intervening agent of political influence	(14)	29.1
Development of political resources	(6)	12.5
Developing group identification	(6)	12.5
Other	(1)	<u>2.1</u>
		100.0%

The function of leadership as an intervening dimension through which political influences are mobilized and transmitted⁶ can take many forms. Mexican-American leadership in this sample views the transmission and mobilization of political influence as involving the articulation of the problems, interests, and demands of its group in confronting majority-minority power relations. A leader must establish and maintain contact with the dominant power structure so that group demands and influence can be utilized to attain the group's goals.

Certain skills, socio-economic positions and institutional positions are necessary for leadership.⁷ One respondent pointed out that a leader must weigh, evaluate and interpret the circumstances, alternatives, etc.,

after consultation with his followers, and then decide what recourse of action will be most effective. Another commented:

Sometimes you have to do some things that your people would not do. If you forget your personal pride, and completely identify with your people, you can use all your skills.

The function of leadership, as an intervening agent, involves the idea of representing its group by constantly communicating with its followers and then interacting with the other actors in the political arena to promote its group's interest.

The idea of leadership serving as an intervening agent precludes the existence of an identifiable, cohesive group. If leadership is to function and maintain its effectiveness, group cohesion and mobilization for action become important concerns for Mexican-American leadership. Thus leadership becomes involved in developing strong ties of unity and identification among its group members. The respondents, conscious of the Mexican-American's relative inexperience in political activity, realize the need to mobilize their group as a collective force, in order to exert political influence in the system. "La Raza" has become a rallying point as it has never been in earlier times in this country for the Mexican-American.⁸ Once the Mexican-Americans perceive themselves as an identifiable group, Mexican-American leadership attempts to stimulate the group to act as a collective unit. These respondents view part of their function of leadership as to involving their group in politics and projecting their group's predicament and demands in the political arena.

In addition to the respondents' answers to an open ended question regarding the functions of Mexican-American leadership, a series of specific functions of minority leadership were presented and the respondents rated the importance of each function in relation to Mexican-American leadership.

TABLE 5.3 RESPONSE REGARDING SEVERAL FUNCTIONS
OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

	<u>Total wtd. points</u>	<u>Mean</u>
Leader should try to mobilize as many votes as possible to reap the political benefits	73	3.8
Leader serves as group spokesman and constantly communicates with his group	70	3.7
Leader needs to maintain close contact with influence in dominant group	61	3.2
Leader maintains independence from existing power structure	59	3.1
Once selected leader, he determines the needs of his people	25	1.3
*Responses weighted on very important (4) to very unimportant (0) continuum.		

The highest rating of the respondents re-emphasize this leadership class' perceptions of a leader's role to mobilize his group and participate in the political process. This group of activist is primarily concerned with the group's increased involvement in the political sphere so that its goals and interests can be fulfilled.

Leaders mobilize and transmit political influence into the system. Though they act as the spokesmen and intervening agent of their group, Mexican-American leaders are also involved with the mobilization and

cohesiveness of their followers. Indicative of these respondents' concern for unity is the high degree of importance given to group mobilization to increase voting strength. Fragmentation of the group weakens the collective strength of the Mexican-Americans.

As Mexican-American leadership attempts to articulate and clarify the concerns of its group, the communication function becomes more salient to the respondents' perceptions of a leader's proper role. An overriding concern is the relationship between the leader and his followers. One respondent commented:

I think a leader of "Los Mexicanos" must take an attitude of willingness and selflessness when he accepts the role of a leader. Actually he becomes more of a servant of his people.

The communication function involves a continual interaction between the leader and his followers in order to "understand the needs of his group" and their desires. Ethnic leadership is largely dependent on the leader's relations with those who are affected by his decisions. Several respondents indicated as part of the communication function that approval by one's followers is a vital part of the leader's relations with his group members. One respondent stated:

The Mexican-American leader's basis should be love for his people and he should always seek approval of his action from them.

The tendency of the responses emphasized intra-group communication as necessary for leaders to become effective and accepted as leaders of their group. This point is also reinforced by the low rating given to the statement regarding a leaders determining the needs of his people. The patron

system of deciding the wants and desires of the group is no longer prevalent among the Mexican-American leadership.

Another category of Mexican-American leadership functions is the development of political resources. These political resources can include social standing, money, votes, threat of force, etc. In political activity, a minority group not only expresses its wants and needs but also provides the outlet for potential leadership.⁹ This outlet for leadership allows individuals to assert and develop the leadership abilities as the group's demands and the setting lends itself. One's period of leadership may last for only a few minutes, or for a specific issue. As Mexican-American politics becomes more clearly defined, outlets of leadership increase as group demands, circumstances, and group approval play a more important role as to who or how long one will be recognized as a Mexican-American leader.

Some of the respondents (8.3%) indicated that political influence could be expanded if the Mexican-American leader would educate his group. This type of educational process involves the upgrading of the group socially, economically, politically, and educationally. The leadership class viewed much of the education of its group as a socialization process. In order to play the game of politics, his group should be equipped as much as possible to deal with dominant group.

The fragmentation in this ethnic group manifests itself in the lack of sufficient funds to support candidates or engage in other political activities. The lack of support for political activities among the Mexican-Americans is not due to the group's lack of money, but to the

business and professional class apathy toward political activities.¹⁰ Though the problem of sufficient funds exists among Mexican-Americans, only slight mention of it was made. Perhaps present concerns with group mobilization and intra-group communication are given greater primacy, and the development of political resources develops after the initial concern is achieved.

One final aspect of the respondents' perceived functions of Mexican-American leadership is the matter of self-identification and commitment to the followers. Leadership is symbolic of the whole group. The leader's achievements are the group's achievements.¹¹ The leaders cannot be divorced from the community and culture which produced them. To the respondents, identification involved not losing sight of his group and demonstrating a willingness to serve. Though the claims of a preponderance of factional leaders is often made about Mexican-American leadership, one respondent welcomed greater activity by numerous leaders.

I don't feel that we have too many leaders within our group. If they worked for the advancement of our group, then there is plenty of work for any number of leaders. You must remember the cause is greater than yourself.

Concomitant with the aspect of group identification, specific questions of leader identification with his group and personal group attachment were examined. Of the sample, 73.7% of the respondents agreed strongly that a leader should identify with his group and use it as a base of support.

TABLE 5.4 RESPONSES REGARDING LEADER-GROUP
IDENTIFICATION AND PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION
WITH HIS GROUP

People have said that in order to be an effective leader of a minority group, one must identify with his followers and utilize them as a base of support.

Agree strongly (14) 73.7%

Agree slightly (3) 16.3

Disagree (2) $\frac{10.0}{100.0}$

n = (19)

Correlation of Mexican-American leader-group identification and personal identification with other Mexican-Americans.

$$r = \frac{n \frac{(xy)}{x^2 - (x)^2} - xy}{n \frac{y^2 - (y)^2}$$

$$r = .97$$

A very high degree of correlation exists between the respondents' perception of leader-group identification and their personal identification with other Mexican-Americans. Mexican-American political leaders show a high degree of association with their followers. The Mexican-American, as an ethnic group, has just recently engaged in political activity as a united, cohesive group. Subsequently, his leadership sees as his major function the mobilization of the group into an influential unit in addition to serving as the articulator, mediator and decision-maker for the Mexican-American in the policy making process.

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¹Everette Ladd, Negro Political Leadership in the South (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 113.

²Ibid., p. 114.

³Julian Samora, La Raza: Forgotten Americans (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), p. 51.

⁴Ladd, op. cit., p. 115.

⁵Samora, op. cit., p. 205.

⁶Heinz Eulau, Samuel Eldersveld and Morris Janowitz, Political Behavior (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956), p. 180.

⁷Ladd, op. cit., p. 114.

⁸Samora, op. cit., p. 50.

⁹Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 51.

¹¹Ibid., p. 48.

CHAPTER VI

MOBILIZATION OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN:

A PROBLEM OF UNITY

Robert Lane contends that the seat of ethnic politics is the local community, not the national or state capitol. Lacking strong organizations and the ability to finance broad programs, the Mexican-American leadership has been unable to attack its problems on a regional or national basis.¹ The fact that there is a growing awareness of common problems and some degree of agreement on goals within the activist and leadership class leads one to believe that in the future it will not be as difficult to implement action programs for Mexican-Americans.² Despite this growing activity within the group, its leaders must deal with a large, heterogeneous group that has been given many labels, such as Mexican-Americans, Latin-Americans, Spanish-surnamed people, Spanish-speaking, etc. There is no consensus among the Mexican-Americans in the United States as to their self-image. Within this heterogeneous group, loosely defined as the Mexican-American, the leadership must contend with the problem of group unification and cohesion.

An activated Mexican-American populace must significantly identify itself and be conscious of its group as competing for certain scarce values with other ethnic groups. Past experiences have created disunity in terms of a lack of common action and limited cohesion. To some degree this situation has been altered slightly by the civil rights movement and the War on Poverty.³ Initial areas of interest toward common action

have been stimulated and limited cohesion developed. Now Mexican-American leadership is beginning to examine possible items of unity for the group. Julian Samora suggests several possible items of unity: Anglo exclusiveness; an undifferentiated Mexican-American group; common ethnic tongue; Mexican-American group concepts; recognition of group-wide grievances; majority voting patterns; and Anglo attempts to unify Mexican-American votes.⁴

Like all Mexican-American leaders throughout the Southwest, the Houston activist and leadership class is concerned with the issue of unity and what catalysts can serve as cohesive bonds for Mexican-American politics in order for its group to impose its demands and interests. Several statements regarding Mexican-American unity were selected in order to determine the range of agreement of the respondents.

TABLE 6.1 STATEMENTS REGARDING POSSIBLE ITEMS FOR
MEXICAN-AMERICAN UNITY (RANGE OF AGREEMENT)

	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree Slightly</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Concept of "La Raza" as a realistic unifying force	(11) 57.9%	(5) 26.3%	(3) 15.8%
A common ethnic tongue	(14) 73.7	(2) 10.5	(3) 15.8
Common economic and social predicaments	(15) 79.0	(2) 10.5	(2) 10.5
A rising importance of Latin America to aid cultural identification and pride	(11) 57.9	(3) 15.8	(5) 26.3

Though these four statements only illustrate some possibilities for unifying factors, a relatively moderate degree of agreement of both

intensities (agree strongly and agree slightly), exists for all the statements. The general economic and social predicaments, economic particularly, of the Mexican-American are perceived as aiding unification. This common predicament seems to reinforce the growing concern within the group about the disadvantage position of the Mexican-American. Dealing with such a heterogeneous group, Mexican-American leadership may have to focus some of its attention on the assimilated, successful Mexican-Americans who do not experience such general economic and/or social disparity. In any national effort, Mexican-American leadership must concern itself with the differing views of its subgroup. Mexican-American leadership must reconcile and give expression to its subgroups, but still develop a cohesive ethnic group. Similarly, local Mexican-American leadership may contend with differing views within its group as efforts to expand its resources and strengthen group identification are attempted. The respondents seem to realize that a general low socioeconomic status still remains a general characteristic of the Mexican-American and can possibly serve as a unifying factor.

Culturally, one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Mexican-American is the retention of his ethnic tongue. The educational process and acculturation of the Mexican-American has diminished the predominance of his language, but it is still evident among most Mexican-Americans due to social contacts, familial ties, etc. Subsequently Mexican-American leadership seeks to utilize this pride of bi-lingualism as an identifying factor. "We all love to be addressed, even if brokenly, en la lengua que mamamos (in the language we suckled, in our mother's tongue)."⁵

"La Raza" has become a rallying point though not highly significantly

perceived by the respondents as a realistic force in uniting the Mexican-Americans. As one respondent described:

You can always get some gritos (outbursts) when some one shouts "Viva, la raza," but it's a rallying point and not something to center a movement.

The problem of creating and maintaining unity among the Mexican-American remains an imminent concern of the leadership. Perhaps a better understanding of Mexican-American unity could be achieved if we examine the possible obstacles confronting the Mexican-American in his attempts to organize and unify. Certain cultural traits and group values have been attributed as factors affecting the Mexican-American's inability to organize and unite. A series of statements relating to various alleged factors regarding the lack of Mexican-American mobilization was evaluated by the respondents.

TABLE 6.2 RESPONSES REGARDING STATEMENTS CONCERNING THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN'S INABILITY TO ORGANIZE AND UNITE

	<u>Agree Strongly</u>	<u>Agree Slightly</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
The Mexican-American displays a highly individualistic spirit	(7) 36.9%	(8) 42.1%	(4) 21.0%
Mexican-American not concerned with political activity	(5) 26.3	(6) 31.6	(8) 42.1
Cultural values hinder formal group participation	(7) 36.9	(3) 15.7	(9) 47.4
Mexican-American does not identify significantly with his ethnic group	(4) 21.0	(7) 36.7	(8) 42.1

Mexican-American leadership has been examined in terms of close leader-follower relations. The Mexican-American leader's responsibilities are to fulfill himself, and at the same time, to reflect his group's aspirations.⁶ "For the Mexican-American, this is difficult because of the individualistic nature of Hispanic people which vitiates against group actions."⁷ Though commonly stated as a hindrance for group action, Mexican-American individualism, does not prevail as a major obstacle among the respondents. Some degree of agreement is assigned to the cultural traits of individualism and close family ties, but such factors are not overwhelmingly perceived as dominant variables which distract from group unity and action. In many respects, the mobilization of the Mexican-American is not totally related to cultural or group values, but to the problems of activating any group of people. For example, one respondent repudiated such factors as hindering Mexican-American unity.

The Anglo has tried to convince the Mexican-American that he can not be organized. Now he has generated the myth so that he has some of our leaders believing it.

Obstacles toward unity may be partly due to the dominant group's effort to divide the Mexican-American populace, ethnic cultural values, group apathy and the alleged general ambivalence toward politics by the Mexican-American.

In an effort to examine unity among the Mexican-Americans, the respondents were asked to cite the major obstacles confronting their group in their efforts to organize and unite all Mexican-Americans. Even

though certain cultural traits have been cited as possible unifying factors, further examination of Mexican-American unity was necessary to find any other factors relating to unity and also verify the attributed factors. It is assumed that the responses regarding obstacles of unity indicate that alleviation of recorded obstacles will aid Mexican-American unity. A wide range of responses was recorded from the very lack of unity itself to the dominant power structure trying to divide the Mexican-American.

TABLE 6.3 RESPONSES CONCERNING THE MAJOR OBSTACLES
CONFRONTING THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN'S ATTEMPTS TO
ORGANIZE AND UNITE

Group leadership (intra-group jealousy, mistrust)	(7)	22%
Lack of unity	(4)	12
Lack of effective communication	(4)	12
Lack of common concern or interest	(4)	12
No sense of co-operation	(2)	6
Dominant power group tries to divide the Mexican-American	(2)	6
Lack of education	(2)	6
Others	(4)	12

Though a variety of responses was mentioned, certain facets of group mobilization, cohesion, and leadership prevailed. The average Mexican-American person has been uninvolved, lied to, and exploited so that he is not responsive to appeals. His suspiciousness has been attributed to the

Mexican-American leadership, past and present. The respondents cited the lack of any regional or national leader with whom the Mexican-American can identify his plight and interests. Generally, the lack of effective leadership within the group has reflected the group's uninvolvedness in political activity. Much of the concern for leadership failure was the presence of intra-leadership jealousy and mistrust. Personalities become a deterrent to group advancement, as Mexican-American leaders spend their time disclaiming other leaders within the group. Jealousy and mistrust are cited as the major failure of the leadership class in Houston. Concomitant with the failure of leadership is the mention of group jealousy of success. If a leader advances socially and economically, his group members may no longer consider him as part of the group. The leader is perceived to think of himself as better than his people. Whether Mexican-American leadership becomes highly fluid, in the sense, that a leader or group of leaders of the "common" people may emerge, rather than successful, middle-class individuals, could not be determined.

The other area perceived as an obstacle to Mexican-American unity was the lack of group identification. Those respondents who mentioned a lack of unity cited as reasons the lack of interest or common concern, no strong sense of cooperation, group cultural values, and the lack of attractive goals. This activist and leadership class perceive that a lack of group past experience with political mobilization and participation and the failure to develop meaningful ties of ethnic identification serve as one of the major causes of Mexican-American non-cohesiveness.

As unity has been examined, Mexican-American leadership has

attributed certain cultural values, Anglo exclusiveness, general difficulties of mobilizing any group and the disunity among its leadership as major factors affecting the unity of the group. Though cultural values have been accorded as major influences distracting Mexican-American group action, such variables are not perceived as significantly hindering mobilization. This may be a result of the effects of urbanization on the Mexican-American, though significant research in this area has not been done. Present intra-leadership disharmony based on personalities and the relative lack of communication with the grass roots by the present leadership has also led to the gradual mobilization of the Mexican-American. An increased sensitivity occurs among the Mexican-American, beyond the cries of "Viva la raza," leadership seeks to develop more cohesive and durable ties of group action.

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- ¹Julian Samora, La Raza: Forgotten Americans (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1966), p. 201.
- ²Ibid., p. 201.
- ³Ibid., p. 49.
- ⁴James Watson and Julian Samora, "Subordinate Leadership in a Bi-Cultural Community: An Analysis," American Sociological Review, XIX (August, 1954), p. 415.
- ⁵Samora, op. cit., p. 13.
- ⁶Ibid., p. 48.
- ⁷Ibid., p. 58.
- ⁸Ibid., p. 52.

CHAPTER VII

MAJORITY-MINORITY RELATIONS: INTER-GROUP

RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY RATING

By various standards the vast majority of the Mexican-Americans are deprived. Experiencing a low socio-economic status and having a low level of educational attainment, the Mexican-American is unprepared for existence in a technological age. If one assumes that all men need to be treated with fairness and dignity and that all men desire to be judged on the basis of individual merit,¹ then the Mexican-American is again deprived in our society. Yet this sense of deprivation does not coincide with the objective facts. Though people may subsist at low levels of deprivation, by other persons' standards, the "deprived" group may not be aware of this state of deprivation or it may use other standards as a reference. Therefore, this sense of deprivation depends on one's standards and with whom one compares oneself.² In most cases, it is a relative matter and bears little relation to the facts.

Some have said that the Mexican-American has been aroused because of the Negro's activity in the area of civil rights and programs to combat socio-economic conditions. Some Mexican-Americans have felt that if the Mexican-American would not be so much of a "Mexican" he would be able to share the rewards of American prosperity. On the other hand, others have felt that the Anglo power structure has endeavored to maintain the Mexican-American in his subordinate status so that the Anglo will not have to share the material and the equitable benefits of American society.

As these positions are readily conceivable, no one really knows whether such conditions are valid. The Mexican-American is an unknown quantity in American society and only limited research has focused on the Mexican-American, his modes of behavior, family structure, group organizational life, geographical immigration, patterns, etc.

The perceptions of Mexican-American leadership concerning majority-minority relations may reflect its group's sense of deprivation and attitude toward future inter-group relations. Each of the respondents were asked to rate the majority-minority relations in this community. Based on a rating scale of one to ten (ten as the best possible relations), present majority-minority relations were also compared with ratings of past and future inter-group relations.

TABLE 7.1 HOUSTON LATIN-ANGLO COMMUNITY RELATIONS
RATING BY MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP AND
ACTIVISTS (PRESENT)

Poor (1-3)	(1) 6%
Average (4-6)	(6) 31.7
Good (7-8)	(10) 52.7
Excellent (9-10)	(2) 10.6
Mean of community relation rating = 6.6 Standard deviation = 2.1	

Table 7.1 indicates a relative degree of satisfaction with community relations among the activists and leaders. In evaluating these findings, we must keep in mind that we are dealing with the way individuals rank

their community's majority-minority relations in terms of their own personal view of the worst and best relations that any community might have.³ The evaluation of community relations may reflect the objective characteristics of that community as much as subjective evaluations and feelings of individuals. As one respondent commented on Latin-Anglo relations:

As far as I'm concerned, I have not experienced any discrimination or abuse with Anglos, though some of my friends have told me of their experiences. But, I have found relations to be very good in Houston.

Activists and leaders of the various Mexican-American organized groups have greater contact and interaction with the Anglo community than their followers. This could broaden their experiences of Anglo attitudes toward the Mexican-American, but the effect of successful and equitable relations may cause them to weigh inter-group relations solely on personal experience.

Though community relations have been perceived as satisfactory, comparison with past and expected majority-minority relations may serve as an indicator of change or progress toward better or worse community relations.

TABLE 7.2 MEAN COMMUNITY MAJORITY-MINORITY RELATIONS
RATING BY MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERS AND ACTIVISTS

Five years ago	5.1
Today	6.6
Five years hence	7.9
*Long run improvement 2.8 (Includes the total change of past and future from the community's present rating)	

Though these evaluations are highly subjective and tell more about the leaders of the community than they do about the actual state of majority-minority relations, it is these patterns of perceptions that Mexican-American leaders use to view power group relations on which they base their group's demands and social actions. Perception of a gradual improvement of community relations is evident among the leadership class. The Mexican-American leadership class and activists seem to feel that relations have reached a plateau and further advancement of inter-group relations will be more gradual. As evidence of this feeling, the standard deviation of the respondents' ratings was the smallest (1.9) on future community relations than the other periods of community relations. In citing the mean of future community relations, the reliability of this mean will depend on the degree of variation among the individual variates that make up the sample. A small standard deviation represents a low degree of variation among the respondents and the mean value becomes more descriptive of the whole group. As one respondent commented:

I have lived in Houston all my life and I have seen a lot of improvement, but further advances in Latin-Anglo relations will take greater efforts and the rate of change will be less drastic.

Though local Mexican-American leadership relates to its community relations patterns, cognizance of Latin-Anglo relations elsewhere can serve as a reference of its community relations as compared to its group's circumstances in other regions of the country. A relatively similar circumstance throughout the Southwest may influence a nation-wide attempt to confront the problems of the Mexican-American. Although a wide disparity

of community relations may obstruct such a large scale activity due to lack of common interests in community relations as related to ethnic politics.

TABLE 7.3 MEAN COMMUNITY RELATIONS RATING OF VARIOUS COMMUNITIES BY MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERS AND ACTIVISTS

Los Angeles	6.2
Albuquerque	6.1
Laredo	6.7
Edinburg	4.9
Chicago	5.4
medium size town in Michigan	5.6
Denver	6.7
Houston	6.6

Community relations in other communities in the Southwest are perceived on having similar ratings of community relations, other than the Rio Grande Valley area in South Texas. New areas of Mexican-American immigration, the Midwest, are perceived as having poor relations, perhaps reflecting attitudes of expected Anglo resistance to Mexican-American influx into new areas.

Evaluation of community relations has been examined via the tool of rating relations in a numerical scale. Respondents designate a certain numerical rating in respect to their conceptions of ideal majority-minority relations. In an attempt to determine the standards by which leadership evaluates community relations, the respondents were asked to

describe the best and worst possible Latin-Anglo relations in their community.

TABLE 7.4 RESPONSES ON THE BEST POSSIBLE INTER-GROUP RELATIONS BY MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERS AND ACTIVISTS

Mutual understanding, respect	(8)	30.8%
Equal opportunities	(5)	19.2
Full participation and mutual self-help	(5)	19.2
Equal educational and economic standing	(5)	19.2
Open communication between groups	(2)	7.8
Mutual cultural exchange	(1)	3.8
		100.0

TABLE 7.5 RESPONSES ON THE WORST POSSIBLE INTER-GROUP RELATIONS BY MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERS AND ACTIVISTS

Discrimination in all areas of human relations	(7)	28.8%
Misunderstanding, lack of respect	(5)	20.
No communication	(4)	16
Separation of the ethnic group	(4)	16
Isolation by either/or both groups	(3)	12
Unequal opportunities and rights	(1)	4
Wide differentials of economic and educational standing	(1)	4

The mutual concern of a significant number of the respondents is equal human rights. Rights, in this sense, refers to the understanding

and respect for an individual based on his individual merits and qualities. The prevalent standards for good community relations are focused on equitable opportunities and open communication, so that Anglo and/or Mexican-American stereotypes do not define the type of perceptions each group adheres to whether they are valid or invalid. When the group goals are examined, the major emphasis is related to welfare goals, whereas, the respondents deal in broader, more status-oriented goals or terms when they describe ideal majority-minority relations. Matter of individual worth and mutual respect prevail as dominant standards in evaluating majority-minority relations.

The evaluation of community relations by Mexican-American leaders and activists may not coincide with the objective facts, but the leadership operates on the basis of the perceptions of community relations. The majority of this activist and leadership class evaluates inter-group relations in Houston as satisfactory, with a gradual progression toward better inter-group relations.

REFERENCES

¹ Donald Mathews and James Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1966), p. 287.

²Ibid., p. 288.

³Ibid., p. 289.

⁴Ibid., p. 191.

CHAPTER VIII

MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP-- ORGANIZATIONAL
ORIENTATION, AND ATTITUDES

For the most part the systematic study of Mexican-American leadership has been concerned with the collective patterns of a specific group of Mexican-American leaders and activists. The Mexican-American leadership class is not solely determined by its socio-economic characteristics and the nature of the community in which it resides. A researcher should also consider the perceptions and attitudes of Mexican leadership toward organizational activity and political orientation, ideological positions, and attitude toward social change. The function of ethnic organization not only serves as a social mechanism in which ethnic interests and demands are projected into the political system, but also as a source for potential leadership.

Political activity requires, at the very least, time. The extent to which a Mexican-American leader involves himself in Mexican-American political activity usually takes the form of activity in ethnic organizations and/or some political party. Those who occupy a leadership position, formal or ad hoc, usually exhibit a higher level of political participation than their followers. This group of activists displays a high frequency of ethnic organizational membership.

TABLE 8.1 MEMBERSHIP IN VARIOUS
MEXICAN-AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

LULAC (League of United Latin-American Citizen)	(14)	23%
PASO (Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations)	(13)	21
American G I Forum	(5)	8
Mexican-American organizations concerned with voter registration	(16)	26
Any other group concerned with minority relations	(11)	17
Others (such as Chicano Press Association, Neighborhood Mexican-American civic groups, etc.)	(3)	5

TABLE 8.2 TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERSHIPS IN THE
VARIOUS MEXICAN-AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

<u>Number of organizations</u>		
None	(1)	5.2%
One	(2)	10.5
Two	(2)	10.5
Three	(4)	21.1
Four	(6)	31.6
Five	(4)	21.1
Membership total mean= 3.3		

Political participations, at the highest level, according to Mathews and Prothro, entails holding office or membership in a political group. The sample group studied occupies the highest level as demonstrated by

the high frequency of ethnic group membership (3.3). This not only correlates with their high degree of organizational activity in other areas, but also with the extent of their activity and identification with their groups.

Neither the Democratic or Republican Party has subsidized Mexican-American political activity due to the uncertainty of Mexican-American leadership.¹ Even though the Democratic Party would enlarge its membership by encouraging the Mexican-American in politics, it has been slow in this activity for the fear of having to share positions and the policy-making process.² Though not totally allying with any one party, there are many instances in which Mexican-American leadership has worked closely with the Democratic Party. Informally, the Democratic Party is the major political organ by which the Mexican-American projects his political influence and participation. For example, all of the respondents identified themselves with the Democratic Party except for one Independent.

Non-partisanship has been prevalent among Mexican-American organizations, as such non-partisan organizations cast too much of a net for political activity.³ Their work is hampered by the fact their objectives are too comprehensive. Most of these organizations propose a need for improvement of the social, economic and educational welfare of all Mexican-Americans. By adhering to non or bi-partisan standards, the ethnic organizations take members of all parties with the idea of advancing the Mexican-American regardless of party affiliation.⁴ Yet when specific issues arise, they often call for partisan response and the result is

internal struggle.

Exemplary of this non-partisan orientation is the response of the selected activists to the following question: As these Mexican-American organizations try to influence the political power centers . . should these organizations be non-partisan, bi-partisan, or partisan? A significant percentage of the respondents favored a non- or bi-partisan organization. This attitude is also reflected by a comparison of respondents' memberships in the various ethnic organizations and their organizational orientation for political influence.

TABLE 8.3 RESPONSES REGARDING THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE FOR POLITICAL INFLUENCE

<u>Organizational type</u>			
Non-partisan	(10)	52.6%	
Bi-partisan	(3)	15.8	
Partisan	(6)	31.6	

TABLE 8.4 COMPARISON OF MEMBERSHIP IN VARIOUS MEXICAN-AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS AND THE DESIRED ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

<u>Number of organizations</u>	<u>Non-partisan</u>	<u>Bi-partisan</u>	<u>Partisan</u>
0 - 1	(1) 33.3%	(1) 33.3%	(1) 33.3%
2 - 3	(3) 33.3	(1) 16.7	(3) 50.0
4	(6) 100.0	- - -	- - -
5	(1) 25	(1) 25	(2) 50

Those who advocate partisan measures are confronted by arguments that Mexican-American organizations were not created to solve the problems of the Democratic Party. Also the loss of a leverage position is feared if partisan measures are adopted. The Mexican-American leaders and activists follow this same pattern structure to advance their group's interests.

This dilemma persists when partisan issues and candidates are considered.⁵ Generally the respondents contend that a non-partisan position gains their organization some flexibility to endorse candidates in the primaries. Whether Mexican-American leaders will alter their organizational structure to a partisan approach may depend on the Democratic or Republican Party's attention to the group. In Houston, one party dominance (the Democratic Party) may also tend to retard partisan alignment for the Mexican-American. Active recruitment by either party may stimulate the Mexican-American to concentrate his energies within one specific party.

Another aspect related to political partisanship and activity is one's political ideology. When asked to identify themselves ideologically, the respondents predominantly (60%) classified themselves as strong liberals. In an effort to gauge the degree of liberalism, a measure of domestic socio-economic liberalism and conservatism was obtained by applying Guttman scaling procedures to agree-disagree responses.⁶ The questions dealt with the issues of a guaranteed minimum income, business regulation, civil liberty, and federal intervention in school programs.⁷

The selected activists gave agree-disagree responses to the following set of statements:

1. Business enterprise can continue to give us a high standard of living only if government regulation is kept at a minimum.
2. The government in Washington ought to see that everyone is guaranteed a set income.
3. A person whose loyalty has been questioned, but swears under oath that he has never been a Communist, should be allowed to teach in public schools.
4. If cities and towns around the country need to build more schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.

TABLE 8.5 GUTTMAN SCALOGRAM OF
LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE CONTINUUM

Case number	Statement numbers			
	2	4	3	2
(08)	x	x	x	x
(23)	x	x	x	x
(03)	x	x	x	x
(06)	x	x	x	x
(12)	-	x	x	x
(15)	-	x	x	x
(16)	-	x	x	x
(01)	-	x	x	x
(02)	-	x	x	x
(05)	-	x	x	x
(18)	-	x	x	x
(17)	x	-	x	-
(21)	-	-	x	x
(22)	-	-	x	x
(10)	-	-	x	x
(19)	-	-	x	-
(20)	-	-	-	-
(13)	-	-	-	-
(04)	-	-	-	-

$\bar{x} = 2.3$ (mean of sample)
 $S_x = .84$ (standard deviation)

*x denotes liberal responses

The use of Guttman scalogram indicates that some disparity exists between the self-perceived ideological positions and the activists' responses on domestic socio-economic issues. Close identification with the Democratic party may be attributed partly to the respondents' identification with liberalism. That is, the respondents' close identification with the Democratic Party may be synonymous with their perceptions of liberalism. Nevertheless the composition of the activist and leadership class appears to be moderately liberal.

TABLE 8.6 COMPARISON OF THE GROUPS DETERMINED
ON A GUTTMAN SCALOGRAM WITH RESPONDENT'S
SELF-IDENTIFICATION

<u>Liberal continuum</u>	<u>% in group</u>	<u>% Self-rating</u>
Group I (most liberal)	(2) 10.5%	60%
Group II	(2) 10.5	6
Group III	(7) 37	28
Group IV	(5) 26	6
Group V	(3) $\frac{16}{100.0}$	$\frac{0}{100.0}$

The Mexican-American's relatively slow acculturation into Anglo-Saxon society has been attributed to numerous factors conflicting cultural values, retention of their ethnic tongue, nuclear family ties, etc., but resistance to change may also prevail which may help explain the low rate of participation in American politics.⁸ A measure of the tendency toward resistance of change among this Mexican-American leadership and activist class may reflect any fear of change. A high resistance may limit the

degree of participation a leader can pursue in advancing his group's interests.

The respondents were asked to indicate agreement or disagreement with the following statements:

1. If you start trying to change things very much
you usually make them worse.
2. If some thing grows up over a long time there
will always be much wisdom in it.
3. It's better to stick by what you have than to
be trying new things you don't really know about.
4. We must respect the work of our forefathers and
not think that we know better than they did.
5. A man doesn't really get to have much wisdom
until he's well along in years.

TABLE 8.7 GUTTMAN SCALOGRAM ON RESPONDENT'S
ANSWER CONCERNING SOCIAL CHANGE

<u>Case number</u>	<u>Statement numbers</u>				
	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
(04)	x	x	x	x	x
(05)	x	x	x	x	x
(15)	x	x	x	x	x
(16)	x	x	x	x	x
(21)	x	x	x	x	x
(23)	x	x	x	x	x
(03)	x	x	x	x	x
(12)	x	x	x	x	x
(17)	x	x	x	x	x
(22)	x	x	x	x	x
(01)	x	x	x	x	x
(08)	x	x	x	-	x
(02)	x	x	-	x	-
(10)	x	x	x	-	-
(20)	x	x	x	-	-
(18)	x	x	-	x	-
(19)	x	x	-	x	-
(06)	x	-	-	-	-
(13)	x	-	-	-	-

*x denotes positive attitude toward change

$\bar{x} = 3.7$ $S\bar{x} = 1.2$

The results of the Guttman scalogram indicates a high degree of receptiveness for change. Sixty-two percent of the respondents were grouped in the upper two levels of least resistance to social change. Such a high rating for social change demonstrates an eagerness and receptiveness for change among the Mexican-American leadership.

TABLE 8.8 LINEAR CORRELATION COEFFICIENT OF
LIBERAL-CONSERVATIVE SCALE AND ATTITUDE
TOWARD CHANGE AND PERCENTAGES IN EACH GROUP

<u>Liberal continuum</u>	<u>Attitude toward change</u>			
	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV
Group I	(1) 50%	(1) 50%	- -	- -
Groups II-III	(3) 33.3	(3) 33.3	(2) 22.2	(1) 11.2%
Group IV	(1) 20	(2) 40	(2) 40	- -
Group V	(1) 33.3	- -	(1) 33.3	(1) 33.3
Rank correlation coefficient		r = .88		

The correlation between these two variables demonstrates a high degree of association. Those respondents who ranked as more liberal appeared with greater frequency at the upper levels of least resistance toward change. Though one's attitude toward change does not completely correspond with liberalism, significant correlation exists within this leadership class. If Mexican-American leadership aligns with a more liberal outlook, it is possible that increasing eagerness for change will affect its leadership's political activity.

The study of Mexican-American leadership has discovered certain

organizational patterns that its leadership adopts and utilizes to influence the determination of issues and selection of candidates. Caught in the dilemma of the flexibility of non- or bi-partisan organization or the leverage of partisan ties, this leadership class tends to favor the retention of non-politically affiliative organizations so that group resources can be applied to the advancement of their group's interests regardless of the party. Though these activists identify themselves with strong liberal orientations, some disparity exists between their self-perceptions of personal ideology and scaled responses on domestic socio-economic issues. Despite the disparity, a positive correlation occurs between liberalism and attitude toward change. A relatively positive attitude toward change among the respondents indicates an eagerness for change which may effect political participation.

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- ²Ibid., p. 52.
- ³Ibid., p. 53.
- ⁴Ibid., p. 53.
- ⁵Ibid., p. 55.
- ⁶ Donald Mathews and James Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1966), p. 528.
- ⁷ Extracted from questionnaire on Mexican-American Political Leadership (Appendix A)
- ⁸ Mathews and Prothro, op. cit., p. 298.

CHAPTER IX

MEXICAN-AMERICAN LEADERSHIP: AN
OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSION

Political participation of the Mexican-American ranges from complete control of the power structure in certain counties and cities in northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado, to complete disinterest in registration and voting in other regions.¹ A number of related factors affect Mexican-American political activity such as the history of the Mexican-American in that particular area, recency of immigration, the political party system in that area, effectiveness of voluntary organizations, and the general status of the Mexican-American. The realization that politics is an important means of achieving the goals of the Mexican-American has led to rapid and dramatic emergence of political organizations and political leadership.² Within this context, the activity and direction of Mexican-American politics was examined. Ethnic politics does not exist unless the ethnic group is conscious of itself competing for certain scarce values in the political system with other ethnic groups. The major role of leadership becomes the advancement of group interests.

By focusing on leadership among Mexican-Americans in Houston, research was oriented to the questions of direction and demands of this group and its leadership in politics. Within the general framework of majority-minority power relations, three variables are relevant to these inter-group power relations--social actions, group beliefs, or value systems, and the power relations between the dominant and subordinate group. As

the Mexican-American occupies a relatively low socio-economic, educational, and political status, he has attempted to alter his circumstances via the political system. The Mexican-American leadership class and activists in Houston were assumed to be exemplary of their group's growing awareness of the utility of political activity. The primary focus of investigation was on this group in order to discover the formulation of ethnic interests and goals, the strategy selected to achieve ethnic goals, and the major functions that Mexican-American leadership must perform to increase their group's effectiveness and their political resources.

Though no significant pattern of goal agreement exists among these activists, primary concern is directed toward the alleviation of socio-economic disparities prevalent among the Mexican-Americans. Since the Mexican-American occupies low status in employment, has limited access to a wider range of jobs, and has a low educational attainment, its leadership has focused its demands in these stated areas. Thus the consideration of status-oriented goals assumes a secondary consideration. Generally a varied range of goals exists within this Mexican-American leadership group, demonstrating a lack of leadership congruence on group goals.

As the Mexican-American seeks to influence the political system, his leadership class has initially decided to enter the political arena by playing the rules of the game, and matching wits with those of the dominant group.³ Though a low level of agreement also exists among its leadership concerning strategy, the fragmented pattern suggests orientations toward increased voting power and an undecided commitment to direct protest

activities. Cognizant of the Negro's activities in the political arena, Mexican-American leadership views Negro gains in terms of the methods employed. Though the present leadership demonstrates a reluctance to engage in increased direct action methods, the list of Negro successes has caused them to re-evaluate the area of direct protest action in terms as a possible strategy tool for future political activity.

Leadership has been described as the intervening mechanism, the means by which political influence is mobilized and transmitted. The examination of the primary roles of Mexican-American leadership shows that the demands on it are closely aligned to those associated with any political leader. Two major functions of leadership vital to Mexican-American leaders are the mobilization and transmission of group interests in the political system. As Mexican-American awareness increases, present leadership concerns itself with the degree of group identification and cohesiveness existing within the group. Aware that a united group will strengthen their political influence, Mexican-American leaders not only attempt to activate the Mexican-American populace, but also to develop durable ties of group identification. This allows the leaders to base Mexican-American interests on an identifiable, cohesive group actively participating in the influence of the authoritative allocation of values. Though rallying cries such as "Viva La Raza!" and the highlighting of certain cultural traits have served to activate the people, no singular idea or set of issues has become the focal point of Mexican-American politics.

Secondly, the transmission of group interests and articulation of

its goals serve as the other major role of Mexican-American leadership. Close leader-follower relations must exist so that the leader is able to interact with his followers and find out their desires. Similarly, as group interests serve as the major concern of leadership, approval by followers becomes increasingly important. The functions of Mexican-American leadership involve the development of collective group action in ethnically relevant terms and the transmission of those concerns in the political system.

As mobilization and unity play an integral part of rising Mexican-American political activity, its leadership does not cite any significant cultural traits as serving as obstacles for unity. The acknowledged positive cultural traits include the maintenance of a common ethnic tongue and the social and economic predicament of Mexican-Americans. The obstacles indicated as obstructing Mexican-American unity deal with the intra-group problem of leadership and the actual lack of unity within the group. The clashes among Mexican-American leaders, based primarily on personality differences, jealousy and mistrust, result in factionalism among the Mexican-American as these leaders recruit followers by personal loyalty rather than group interests. The dissolution of personality differences may aid the development of group-oriented leadership. Similarly, the increased involvement of the Mexican-American in pursuit of goals and interests may stimulate greater group cohesiveness.

The orientation of Mexican-American to the dominant group is also affected by the inter-group relations in a given community. The Mexican-American leadership perceives that good majority-minority relations exist

with a steady progression toward improved relations. When evaluating the conditions for proper inter-group relations, this leadership group's responses were largely in status-oriented terms of mutual respect and equality of rights and opportunities. Rather than emphasizing socio-economic status, the respondents referred to status symbols of open communication and understanding between groups which would also open access for a better socio-economic position in American society.

Present Mexican-American leadership seems content to structure its organization along non or bi-partisan lines in an effort to place emphasis on group demands rather than party affiliation. Though the Mexican-Americans have primarily associated this activity with the Democratic party, they have maintained adherence to a non-partisan outlook. The receptiveness of the leaders toward social change may demonstrate an accelerated pattern of activity as the Mexican places greater demands on the political system.

The discussion of the observed characteristics of present Mexican-American political leadership in Houston is comparable with more general characteristics of ethnic leadership. Though a series of hypotheses were not formulated regarding Mexican-American political leadership, several assumptions were made about ethnic leadership. (1) Ethnic leadership is largely a function of intra-group selection and the selected leaders demonstrate a high degree of group identification. This study of Mexican-American leadership indicates that the Mexican-American is becoming aware of the need for intra-group selection of his leaders. The respondents showed a relatively high degree of identification with their ethnic group.

The Mexican-American activists in Houston place great emphasis on group mobilization so that the Mexican-American group can be utilized as a viable base of support. (2) Ethnic leadership is also a function of acceptance by followers. Present leader-follower relations among Mexican-Americans are not clearly defined. The close ties of intra-group communication are not fully developed. It appears that Mexican-American leaders are concerned with activating their group. As a result of their group's awareness, leader-follower relations will be defined. As more issues become ethnically defined, acceptance by the followers regarding the selection of leaders and group approval of the leaders' activity will become a realistic force in Mexican-American politics.

(3) Ethnic political leadership is related to the social tensions and values its group projects into the political arena. Mexican-American leadership is presently not so closely associated with community tensions and group values. The tensions and issues have been defined in terms of socio-economic issues. Group values have not been clearly defined. As Mexican-American leaders become dependent upon the popular approval of their handling of issues of Mexican-American interests, then Mexican-American leadership will become issue leadership. This situation is comparable to the development of Negro political leadership as it has become issue leadership. Presently, the tensions and values of the Mexican-American are not significantly related to their leaders' responsibility for actions on group interests. (4) An ethnic leader promotes ethnic interests. There is an effort of Mexican-American leaders to promote their group's goals by defining various issues in terms of their relevance to the group circumstances and conditions. Mexican-American leaders

perceive themselves as the intervening mechanism in intra-group power relations and mobilize and transmit political influence in the system.

(5) The ethnic leader's achievements are the group's achievements. Little agreement exists among the Mexican-American activists as to their group's goals and strategy. The existence of multi-centered independent leadership groups allows individual personalities and desires to prevail in Mexican-American politics more than the advancement of group interest(s). As the consensual framework of norms is formulated and goals are designated, then the structure of Mexican-American political leadership may be more closely associated with advancement of group interests.

In addition to the general characteristics of ethnic political leadership, as discussed in Chapter I, the role of the community setting for ethnic relations also affects the political leadership structure. The concept of "leadership setting" is based on a number of assumptions. Central among them is the assumption that situational variables shape a given leadership structure and thus the setting must be understood if leadership is to be understood.⁴ The setting of Mexican-American political leadership includes demographic characteristics of the Mexican-American population, status of the Mexican-American in society, patterns of discrimination, the level and structure of Mexican-American participation in ethnic organizations, and the selection of ethnic issues.

Houston has experienced since 1950 a rising influx of Mexican-Americans. During these years, the Mexican-American segment of the Houston population has grown faster than the general population.⁵ Only recently

has the Mexican-American leadership attempted to increase its group's political activity. Mexican-American leaders in Houston have been recruited for business and civic functions, rather than for direct political activity. Though no extreme conditions of discrimination exist in this community, the Mexican-American leaders must contend with the subtleties of ethnic group subordination and discrimination, particularly in the areas of employment and education.

The change of climate, that is, increased awareness of the Mexican-Americans of their need for political action, has stimulated Mexican-Americans to strengthen and expand their voting capacity. Previously, Anglo political leaders had not made any significant effort to mobilize the Mexican-American for electoral support. Mexican-American leaders operate in a setting of permissive majority-minority relations,⁶ and ethnic group mobilization is in a highly malleable condition. No one ethnic organization exists to advance ethnic interests, and though group interest organizations are quite numerous, very few are politically oriented. Though an ethnic organization seeks to promote ethnic interests through political action, many splinter groups are arising as a result of factional differences. The Mexican-American political leadership in Houston is undergoing a transformation from civic-oriented activity to political activity.

The systematic analysis of Mexican-American political leadership in Houston has resulted in some preliminary conclusions regarding ethnic leadership and its group's political activity. (1) Mexican-American leadership in this community is undergoing a period of re-orientation and

transformation. (2) This leadership group does not possess a high degree of intra-group vulnerability because of the lack of intense commitment for ethnic interest advancement. Negro leadership, on the other hand, is defined as issue leadership. With the absence of strong institutional bases, and given the intensity with which the goal of race advancement is held, Negro leaders are particularly dependent upon the popular handling of issues of race advancement.

(3) Mexican-American leadership has not clearly formulated and defined ethnic group interests. In comparison with Negro leadership, the most pressing needs and concerns of Negroes are racially defined. No issue or problem can match the importance of racial problems.

(4) Mobilization of the group and the formulation of ethnic interests appear to be the primary concern of Mexican-American leaders in Houston. Thus the comparison of Negro leadership and Mexican-American leadership illustrates the greater development of Negro politics due to the group's stronger internal cohesion and sense of identity as compared to the Mexican-American's lack of substantial group identification. Mexican-American political leaders have recently begun to follow the pattern of general ethnic political leadership and ethnic political activity.

As Mexican-American political leadership follows the stated characteristics of ethnic leadership, certain future patterns can be expected to develop. The pool of leadership talent will increase as the Mexican-American advances socially and economically. The incentives for active participation in politics will become greater. Mexican-American leadership will operate in a defined framework of ethnic norms of interest

which will serve to unite its group and place greater demands on leadership activities and accomplishments. Operating from still weak institutional and status positions, possessing few sanctions with which to serve the compliance of their followers, and dealing with issues which involve intense and vital political interests of Mexican-Americans, ethnic leaders will be exceedingly vulnerable.⁷ Hence the leader-follower relations will be highly fluid.

This study of Mexican-American leadership has only initially examined some of the variables of Mexican-American politics, attempting to investigate certain aspects of leadership and Mexican-American interests. Primary concern was not oriented toward determining who are the Mexican-American leaders in Houston or their effectiveness in inter-group relations or leader-followers relations, but rather with a selected group of recognized Mexican-American leaders' perceptions on various dimensions of Mexican-American politics and leadership. By such exploratory study, some indication of the direction and scope of Mexican-American leadership could be identifiable. Further study is certainly necessary to gain a better understanding of Mexican-American politics as this study only deals with a limited area of that subject.

As a result of this study, several queries for future research can be suggested. Further investigation of leader-follower relations needs to be examined to find the degree of communication within the group and the leaders. That is, as Mexican-American politics becomes more defined, the extent of intra-group communication should increase. Secondly, the element of "grass-roots" leadership, appearing in Mexican-American politics

should be examined to determine the affect on the political leadership structure. Thirdly, systematic research should be directed toward the role of Mexican-American organization oriented to political activity, particularly the newly organized Mexican-American student organizations.

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APPENDIX A

Questionnaire: Mexican-American Political Leadership

My name is _____. I am a graduate student at the University of Houston, and as part of my Master's program I am conducting a study of Mexican-American leadership. We are interested in determining general patterns of leadership within the Mexican-American community. As one of the leaders in this community, we are interested in your feelings about Mexican-American political activity and its leadership. The results of our interview will be combined in a statistical analysis and no respondent will be identified. All interviews will be held in strict confidence.

C1: (Non-coded item) Interviewer's name _____

C2-3: Case numbers 19

C4: Selection for leadership

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. <u>2</u> LULAC | 4. <u>7</u> Precinct Judge |
| 2. <u>1</u> G I Forum | 5. <u>1</u> Public Office Holder |
| 3. <u>3</u> IASO | 6. <u>5</u> Community Activist |

I. Let's start with some information concerning your personal background.

C5: What is your job, that is, what is your occupation?

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. <u>11</u> Professional, technical | 6. <u>-</u> Service workers |
| 2. <u>4</u> Manager, Proprietor | 7. <u>1</u> Housewives |
| 3. <u>2</u> Clerical, sales | 8. <u>-</u> Public servant |
| 4. <u>-</u> Craftsman, Foreman | 9. <u>-</u> Unemployed |
| 5. <u>1</u> Operatives, kindred worker | |

C6: What is your age?

1. 1 23-29 2. 2 30-35 3. 12 36-43

4. 1 44-50 5. 2 51-57 6. 1 58-64 7. 65 +

C7: How many grades of school have you finished?

1. 1 0-4 years 5. 3 Completed college
 2. 3 9-11 years 6. 3 Professional degree
 3. 3 High school graduate 7. 2 Graduate work
 4. 3 Some college (1-3 yr .) 8. 1 Graduate degree

C8: Nationality

1. 15 Natural born citizen 3. Foreign citizen
 2. 1 Naturalized citizen

Sex:

6. 17 Male
 7. 2 Female

C9: What is your religious preference?

1. 15 Catholic 3. - Jewish 5. 1 No response
 2. 3 Protestant 4. - Other

C10: And now would you tell me how much income your family made altogether during the last year? I mean before taxes, including the income of everyone in the family? (Hand R a card) Just call out the letter on this card in front of the current amount.

1. 1 under \$3000 4. 1 \$8000 - \$10,549
 2. 3 \$3001 - \$5499 5. 3 \$10,500 - \$12,999
 3. 2 \$5500 - \$7999 6. 6 \$13,000 +

II. Now we would like to ask you some questions concerning the North American goal and strategy.

C11-12: In your opinion, what are the most important issues facing the

Mexican-American today? (That is, the top 3 to 5 most important issues.)

Education -12 Unity -4 Minimum Wage -3 Other -2
Employment -5 Leadership -2 Green card workers -2
Equality -6 Strategy -1 General economic issues -2

Q13-16: There are several problems that face Texas, and the Mexican-American. I will read out a few, and will you indicate whether these issues are important to the Mexican-American. (Answer in terms of Very important; Slightly important; Relatively important; and Unimportant.)

- VI SI RI Un
1. 12 - - - Adoption of a State Minimum Wage Law.
 2. 12 3 2 - enactment of bi-lingual instruction on the elementary school level.
 3. 12 3 4 - increasing full employment in this State.
 4. 6 5 7 1 Uniformity of ownership of land.
 5. 6 7 2 3 Revision of the State criminal code.
 6. 12 2 2 - Establishing one Jr. College throughout the State.
 7. 11 2 5 - A re-emphasis of the Bill of Rights (Texas) to include.
 8. 5 1 2 4 Improving the state and local welfare.
 9. 3 3 6 5 Adoption of city-county government consolidation in large urban areas.

Q17-20: I would like to get a firm stance to people have made about Mexican-American issues. I would like for you to state whether you agree strongly, agree slightly, disagree slightly, or disagree strongly.

- | | Ast | Accl | Del | Dst | |
|----|-----------|----------|----------|----------|--|
| 1. | <u>17</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>-</u> | The government should place greater enforcement against green card workers. |
| 2. | <u>19</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>-</u> | Texas history textbooks used in our public schools should include more information about the Mexican cultural influence in this state. |
| 3. | <u>13</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>2</u> | A mass march to Austin should be organized to demonstrate the political awareness and strength of the Mexican-American. |
| 4. | <u>17</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>-</u> | The Mexican-American should deal with the problem of unemployment and see that the government creates better jobs and training programs. |
| 5. | <u>15</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | The Mexican-American should participate more in direct protests to resolve matters of discrimination and economic disadvantages. |
| 6. | <u>15</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>1</u> | In order for this group to be influential, more programs should be adopted to unite the Mexican-American community and promote working together. |
| 7. | <u>17</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>-</u> | The Mexican-American should advance himself so that he can be a part of the American way of life. |
| 8. | <u>16</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>-</u> | Since local politics are important to the minority groups, city councilman positions should be placed on a district system so that the Mexican-American can be properly represented. |
- C21-23: The Mexican-American seeks certain goals in this society, thus, would you rate the following statements in regard to the importance

of each as a goal for the Mexican-American. (Rating the most important as 1 and so on down to 5).

(1)(2)(3)(4)(5)

4 3 3 3 5 Assimilation into American life so that we all can enjoy equal opportunities and access.

10 4 2 1 - Better jobs and educational opportunities for all Mexican-Americans.

3 2 2 4 7 Establish a bi-cultural society so that the Mexican-American maintains his cultural identity (ie. language, traditions, compadrazgo, etc.) and still incorporate other American values.

- 6 6 4 3 Better housing and social conditions (ie. health facilities, recreational areas, sanitation, etc.) for all Mexican-Americans.

1 2 6 6 2 Better representation of minority groups by allowing city offices to be elected on a district basis.

C24-C: In dealing with the various methods to influence decision-makers and power centers, would you rank the following methods as to how well they work as a means of influence and change. (Rate from 5, least effective to 1 as most effective.)

(1)(2)(3)(4)(5)

1 6 4 2 5 Litigation (ie. court cases, suits, etc.)

4 4 3 5 2 Direct action protest

12 4 1 - 1 Increase Mexican-American voter registration

1 - 2 4 3 Bargaining or mediation

- 2 7 7 - Economic boycotts

III. Now I would like to ask you some questions concerning the role of leadership in the Mexican-American community.

C27-8: What would you say is (or are) the function(s) of Mexican-American leadership. (Limit to 3)

Mobilize for political action - 8 Group identification - 6

Communication role - 7 Education of group - 4

Act as intervening agent - 4 Sec' approval of followers - 4

Action program (transmit, interact, etc) - 5 Unification - 2

Spokesman - 3 Others - 5

C29-33: It has been said that minority leadership serves several functions in relation to majority-minority relations. Would you give me your reply to the following statements in regard to minority leadership. (Rank in terms of very important, somewhat important, important, relatively unimportant, or very unimportant.)

VI SI In Pan Vun

1. 10 5 3 - 1 The leader should maintain close contact with the influentials in the dominant power structure.
2. 16 2 - - - The leader serves as the voice of his group and constantly interacts with them to find out their desires.
3. 12 2 2 2 1 The leader needs to maintain complete independence from the existing power structure.
4. 17 1 1 - - Ideally the leader should try to mobilize as

many votes as possible so that his minority group can reap the political benefits.

5. 2 2 4 1 2 Since the Mexican-American selects one of his members as a leader, he (the leader) should be allowed to determine the needs of his people.

C34-35: People have said that unity among the Mexican-Americans is the key issue in order for them to become an influential group in politics. Would you indicate whether you agree or disagree to the following statements regarding Mexican-American unity.

(Agree strongly, agree moderately, agree slightly, disagree moderately, and disagree strongly.)

- | | Ast | Am | Asl | Da | Dst | |
|----|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|--|
| 1. | <u>8</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>5</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>1</u> | The concept of "La Raza" can play a significant and realistic force in uniting the Mexican-American. |
| 2. | <u>11</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>-</u> | The common language serves as a unifying element. |
| 3. | <u>11</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>1</u> | Common economic and social predicaments can unite the Mexican-American. |
| 4. | <u>7</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>-</u> | <u>3</u> | A rising importance of Latin America can aid the Mexican-American in developing a strong sense of identification with his cultural heritage. |

C39: People have said that in order to be an effective leader of a minority group, one must identify completely with his followers and utilize them as a base of support. (Agree strongly, agree slightly, or disagree)

1. 14 Agree strongly 2. 3 Agree slightly 3. 2 Disagree

IV. Now I would like to ask some questions concerning organizational activity and the role of Mexican-American political organizations.

C40-42: As an active individual in the community, would you tell me if you belong to different clubs and organizations that I shall list.

	Member	Attend	Officer
1. Labor Unions	_____	_____	_____
2. Church	_____	_____	_____
3. Fraternal Organization, Lodge	_____	_____	_____
4. Business or civic group	_____	_____	_____
5. Neighborhood or Community Center	_____	_____	_____
6. Professional Association	_____	_____	_____
7. Political Clubs	_____	_____	_____
8. Charitable and Welfare Organizations	_____	_____	_____
9. Mexican-American Social Organizations	_____	_____	_____

(Check in C40 if member)

Would you say you attend a majority of the meetings of each of these groups of which you are a member or less than that?

(if majority, check in C41)

Taking each of these groups of which you are a member, are you on a committee or do you hold any office in the organization?

(If Yes, check in C4?)

C43: In viewing Mexican-American organizations, would you tell me if you are a member of any of the following organizations?

1. 14 LULAC (League of United Latin-American Citizens)
2. 13 PAAO (Political Association for Spanish-Speaking Organizations)
3. 5 American G I Forum
4. 16 Any Mexican-American organization concerned with voter registration
5. 11 Any other group concerned with minority relations (specify)
6. 3 Other

C44: Speaking of the organizations, do you agree or disagree with the goals and activity of LULAC (League of Latin-American Citizens)?

1. Agree 16 2. Disagree 2 3. 1 NR/DK

Also, would you say this organization is very effective, quite effective, or relatively ineffective?

5. 4 Very effective 6. 11 Quite effective 7. 4 Relatively ineffective

C45: Now let us consider PAAO (Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations). Do you agree or disagree with goals and activity of PAAO?

1. 15 Agree 2. 2 Disagree 3. 2 NR/DK

Also would you say that this organization is very effective, quite effective or relatively ineffective?

5. 2 Very effective 7. 5 Relatively ineffective
6. 10 Quite effective 8. 2 DK/IR

C46: Also let us consider the American G I Forum. Do you agree or

disagree with the goals and activity of this organization?

1. 13 Agree 2. - Disagree 3. 6 NR/DK

Also would you say that this organization is very effective, quite effective or relatively ineffective?

5. 1 Very effective 7. 2 Relatively ineffective

6. 10 Quite effective 8. 6 NR/DK

C47: As these Mexican-American organizations try to influence the political power centers in the community and the state, should these organizations be:

1. 10 Non-Partisan 2. 3 Bi-Partisan 3. 6 Partisan

C48-49: What do you consider as the greatest obstacle(s) confronting the Mexican-American in his attempt to organize all Mexican-Americans?

Lack of unity - 4 Leadership - 7 No strong group ties - 2

Lack of funds - 2 Lack of Interest - 4 Lack of Education - 2

Lack of effective communication - 4 Deficient structure tried to divide - 2 Others - 4 Hard to mobilize - 2

C50-52: It has been said that the Mexican-American faces some difficulty in organizing for effective political action. Would you tell me if you agree or disagree with the following reasons for their inability to organize? (Indicate whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, or disagree.)

As Ago Dis
1. 7 5 4 The Mexican-American displays a highly individualistic spirit.

2. 5 6 8 The Mexican-American is not concerned with

political activity.

3. 7 3 0 Cultural values such as store family size, machismo, machismo, etc., rates the Mexican-American not very likely to join formal organizations.

4. 4 7 1 The Mexican-American does not identify himself significantly with his ethnic group.

V. Now I would like to ask you some questions about your political partisanship and political outlook.

Q53: Generally speaking, how would you classify yourself ideologically as far as politics is concerned, that is, would you call yourself a liberal, conservative or what?

1. — Conservative 3. 6 Moderate
2. 12 Liberal 4. — Other

If Liberal: Would you call yourself a strong liberal or not very strong liberal?

6. 11 Strong liberal 7. 1 Not very strong liberal

If Conservative: Would you call yourself a strong conservative or a not very strong conservative?

9. — Strong conservative 10. — Not very strong conservative

If Moderate:

7. 5 Closer to liberal 8. 1 Closer to conservative

Q54: In politics do you consider yourself a Democrat or a Republican, an Independent or what?

1. 13 Democrat 3. — Independent
2. — Republican 4. 1 Other

052-10: Now I would like to read to you some people's views about our political system, and I would like for you to state whether you agree or disagree.

- Ag Dis
1. 6 12 Business enterprise can continue to give us a high standard of living only if government regulation is kept at a minimum.
 2. 5 12 The government in Washington ought to see that everyone is guaranteed a job income.
 3. 12 6 A person whose loyalty has been questioned, but swears under oath that he has never been a Communist, should be allowed to teach in public schools.
 4. 15 4 If cities and towns around the country need to build more schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.

VI. As we are primarily concerned with Mexican-American leadership, let us focus our attention on identifying and ranking these leaders.

057-50: In studying the Mexican-Americans in Houston, I have been told that these men are leaders within this group, and I would like for you to designate whether you recognize these people as Mexican-American leaders? Answer yes, no or unknown. (For those respondents whose name appear, state who are the leaders including themselves)

- | Yes | No | | Yes | No | |
|--------------|----------|------------------------|--------------|----------|---------------|
| 1. <u>0</u> | <u>5</u> | Roberto Cruz | 3. <u>15</u> | <u>2</u> | Frank Lartida |
| 2. <u>16</u> | <u>2</u> | Judge Alfred Hernandez | 4. <u>10</u> | <u>1</u> | Isuro Cruz |

- | Yes | No | | Yes | No | | | |
|-----|-----------|----------|--------------------|-----|----------|------------|-----------------|
| 5. | <u>14</u> | <u>5</u> | Roy Elizondo | 8. | <u>4</u> | <u> </u> | Father Gonzales |
| 6. | <u>9</u> | <u>8</u> | Rev. James Navarro | 9. | <u>4</u> | <u> </u> | Alfonso Vasquez |
| 7. | <u>12</u> | <u>4</u> | David Ortiz | 10. | <u>4</u> | <u> </u> | Tony Alvarez |

059-62: Again using this list of reported Mexican-American leaders, I would like you to rate these leaders as to their effectiveness in this community. Answer in terms of most influential, quite influential, slightly influential, unimportant.

- 12a. QIn SII Ur
1. 1 3 3 1 Roberto Sanchez
 2. 8 5 3 1 Judge Alfred Gonzalez
 3. 2 7 3 3 Frank Cardona
 4. 2 5 4 Laura Cruz
 5. 3 5 7 1 Roy Elizondo
 6. 2 4 8 3 Rev. James Navarro
 7. 3 4 5 3 David Ortiz
 8. Father Gonzales
 9. Alfonso Vasquez
 10. Tony Alvarez

063: Some Mexican-Americans feel they have a lot in common with other Mexican-Americans, but others I have talked to don't feel this way so much. How do you feel? Would you say you feel pretty close to Mexican-Americans in general or that you don't feel much closer to them than any other people?

1. 18 Pretty close
2. 1 Not much closer

How much closer? Would you say you have in how many Mexican-Americans

are getting along in this country? Do you have a good deal of
 1. 1 15 some interest, or not much interest at all?

4. 17 good deal of interest 5. 1 not much interest

5. 2 some interest

The idea of "La Tercera" may be difficult to define, and this
 concept could easily be applied to the life of many of us. Do you
 think "La Tercera" is very important, slightly important, or relatively
 unimportant for Mexican Americans?

6. 15 Very important 7. 1 Relatively important

8. 2 Slightly important

064: How would you like to read some statements and I would like for you
 to tell me what you agree or disagree with them.

Agree Disagree

1. 14 15 If you start trying to change things very much, you
 usually make them worse.

2. 11 7 If something grows up over a long period of time,
 there will always be much wisdom in it.

3. 9 10 It's better to stick by what you have than by try-
 ing new things you don't really know about.

4. 6 12 We must respect our forefathers and not think that
 we know better than they did.

5. 6 13 A man who is really going to have much wisdom until
 he is well along in years.

III. How would you describe Latin-Anglo relations in this country?

065: In your opinion, how would you describe the current state of various ac-
 tivities, such as the Mexican American, and their relationship?

of the people in the two communities. Now I would like for you to think about the relationship between the two communities and the people who live in order to live together.

Communication = 2 Political situation = 2 Political situation and economic opportunities = 2 Political situation = 2
Mutual understanding and respect = 8 Others = 2

066: If in taking the opposite situation into consideration, what would be the worst Latin-Anglo relations you could imagine.

No communication = 2 Political situation = 2 Discrimination = 2
Unequal opportunities = 1 Misunderstanding = 2 Isolation by schools = 2 Others = 1

067: Suppose that we use a numerical rating system to describe the Latin-Anglo relations in this city so that 10 would be the best condition and 1 the very worst, where would you put Houston? (For example in baseball, a home-run would be the best -- a 10, and a strike-out the worst -- a 1.) 6.6

068: How would you rate Latin-Anglo relations in Houston five years ago. Where would you rate Latin-Anglo relations in Houston five years ago on a 1 to 10 scale? 5.1

069: Thinking now of future Latin-Anglo relations in Houston, where on the numerical rating scale do you expect the Latin-Anglo relations in Houston to be in five years? 7.2

070-76: Now let's consider Latin-Anglo relations in some other places. Where on the number scale would you put the Latin-Anglo relations of:

1. 6.2 Los Angeles
2. 6.1 Albuquerque
3. 6.7 Larch
4. 4.9 Winburg
5. 5.4 Chicago
6. 5.6 a native place town in Michigan
7. 6.7 Denver

VIII. Now I would like to finish this interview with some questions regarding your life history.

C77: How long have you lived in Houston?

1. 1 1-3 years
2. 1 4-7 years
3. 1 8-12 years
4. 5 13 +
5. 11 Life

If not entire life: Where did you live most of your life before you came here? Also where were you born?

Houston - 10 San Antonio - 3 Midwest - 2 Foreign born - 1
Other - 3

C78: What was your father's occupation while you were growing up?

Professionals, technical - 3 Clerical, sales - 1 Craftsman, laborer - 3
Operator, kindred workers - 5 Service workers - 6
Farmer - 1

C79: What was his political preference, that is, did he consider himself a Republican, a Democrat or what?

1. - Republican
2. 2 Democrat
3. 2 Other
4. 3 NR/DK
5. 3 None

C80: Would you say that your father was very active in politics, quite active or not active?

1. 4 Very active
2. 2 Quite active
3. 12 Not active
4. 1 NR/DK

Cuestionario: Liderismo Político del Mexicano-Americano

Me llamo _____. Soy un estudiante post-graduado de la Universidad de Houston y para hacer mi tesis, estoy llevando a cabo un estudio de liderismo Mexicano-Americano. Estamos interesados en determinar muchos aspectos generales de liderismo dentro de la comunidad Mexicana-Americana. Siendo usted uno de los líderes en esta comunidad, estamos interesados en su parecer acerca de la actividad política Mexicana-Americana y su liderismo. El resultado de nuestra entrevista será juzgado en un análisis estadístico y ninguna persona que da respuesta a estas preguntas será identificada. Todas las entrevistas serán confidenciales.

C1: (no-confidential): Nombre del entrevistado _____

C2-3: Case number _____

C4: Selección de Liderismo

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. _____ LULAC | 4. _____ Juez de "Precinct" |
| 2. _____ G I Forum | 5. _____ Oficial Público |
| 3. _____ PASO | 6. _____ Accionar en la Comunidad |

I. Ahora, respondámonos con algún información personal.

C5: ¿Cuál es su ocupación:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. _____ Profesional, técnico | 6. _____ Trabajadores de servicio |
| 2. _____ Gerente, Propietario | 7. _____ Amas de casa |
| 3. _____ Oficinista, Vendedor | 8. _____ Empleado Público |
| 4. _____ Artesano, Mayorista | 9. _____ Sin trabajo |
| 5. _____ Obrero industrial, Asociado | |

C6: ¿Qué edad tiene?

mas importantes.)

1. _____ 3. _____
2. _____ 4. _____
5. _____

C13-16: Hay varios problemas que confrontan a Texas y los Mexicanos-Americanos. Yo leere algunos y usted indicara si usted cree que estos asuntos son de importancia a los Mexicanos-Americanos. (Conteste: Importantísimo, importante, relativamente importante y sin importancia.)

1. _____ El tener una ley del estado con Sueldo Mínimo.
2. _____ El tener una ley de educación bi-lingual para todas las escuelas primarias.
3. _____ El asegurar empleo para todos en este estado.
4. _____ La renovación en la ciudad de los barrios mas pobres.
5. _____ La revisión del código criminal.
6. _____ Establecimiento mas preparatorias por todo el estado (Jr. Colleges).
7. _____ Re-enfatizar los Derechos Humanos para asegurar los derechos de la minoria.
8. _____ Aumentar los beneficios de las agencias de bienestar del estado y la ciudad para que ayuden a combatir la pobreza.
9. _____ Juntar el gobierno de la ciudad y del condado en las areas metropolitanas.

CL7-20: Le voy a leer algunos comentarios que personas han dicho sobre el Mexicano-Americano y sus necesidades y yo quisiera que usted me dijera si usted esta de acuerdo completamente, de acuerdo un poco, no esta de acuerdo en todo, o definitivamente no puede estar de acuerdo.

1. _____ El gobierno de este pais deberia ejecutar la ley
contra los trabajadores de las tarjetas verdes.
2. _____ Los libros de historia del estado de Texas que se
usan en las escuelas publicas deberian tener mas
informacion sobre la influencia de la cultura
mexicana en la historia de Texas.
3. _____ Una marcha a Austin con un gran numero de gente
deberia ser organizada para demostrar el interes
y fuerza politica del Mexicano-Americano.
4. _____ El Mexicano-Americano en relacion con el problema
de la escasez de trabajo debe ver que el gobierno
crie mejores trabajos y programas de entrenamiento.
5. _____ El Mexicano-Americano deberia participar en mas
protestas directas para resolver asuntos de dis-
criminacion y desventajas economicas.
6. _____ Para que este grupo tenga mas influencia deberian
desarrollarse mas programas para unir la comunidad
Mexicana-Americana y promover la unidad.
7. _____ El Mexicano-Americano debe de mejorar para que sea
parte del modo de vivir del Norte-Americano.

8. _____ Puesto que la politica municipal es importante para las minorias, los oficiales deberian ser electos por distritos para que el Mexicano-Americano pueda ser representado mejor.

C21-23: Los Mexicanos-Americanos desean obtener ciertas metas en la sociedad. Como clasificaria las siguientes declaraciones en relacion a la importancia de cada una como meta para el Mexicano-Americano. (Poniendo el numero 1 como el mas importante y cada numero hasta 5, el menos importante.)

1. _____ Entrando completamente en la vida Norte-Americana para que todos gocen de oportunidades iguales.
2. _____ Mejores trabajos y oportunidades educacionales para todos los Mexicanos-Americanos.
3. _____ Establecer una cultura dual para que el Mexicano-Americano mantenga su identificacion cultural, por ejemplo, su lengua, tradiciones, etc., y juntar otros valores Anglos.
4. _____ Mejores casas y condiciones sociales, areas recreativas, etc., para todos.
5. _____ Mejor representacion de grupos de minorias por medio de la eleccion de oficiales a bases de distritos.

C24-26: Hay varios modos para influenciar a los que hacen las decisiones y centros de poder. Como clasificaria los siguientes metodos en relacion a la influencia y cambio que traerian. (Usando los numeros 1 al 5, siendo el numero 1- el de mayor efecto y el numero 5, el de menos efecto.)

- 1.____Actos legales en las cortes. 4.____Negociar o Interceder.
- 2.____Protesta de accion directa. 5.____Boicot economico.
- 3.____Aumentar el registro de los Mexicanos-Americanos para poder votar.

III. Ahora, quisiera hacerle unas preguntas acerca del papel del lider en la comunidad Mexicana-Americana.

C27-28: Que piensa usted que es (o son) el mayor trabajo (o trabajos) del liderismo Mexicano-Americano. (Limite a tres.)

- 1._____
- 2._____
- 3._____

C29-33: Se ha dicho que el liderismo en las minorias sirve varios objetivos en relacion a las relaciones de las minorias y mayorias. Hagame el favor de darme su respuesta a las siguientes declaraciones a cerca del liderismo en las minorias. (Clasifique su respuesta como: importantisimo, algo importante, importante, relativamente sin importancia, o sin ninguna importancia.)

- 1._____ El lider debería estar en contacto inmediato con los de influencia en el poder actual dominante.
- 2._____ El lider sirve como la voz de su grupo y constantemente actua con el grupo para conocer sus deseos.
- 3._____ El lider necesita estar completamente

independiente de los que estan en el poder actual.

4. _____ El líder, actualmente debería de tratar de obtener tantos votos posibles para que su grupo de minoria pueda cosechar los beneficios políticos.

5. _____ Como el Mexicano-Americano selecciona uno de sus miembros como lider, el lider debería tener el privilegio de determinar las necesidades de su gente.

C34-38: Se ha dicho que la unidad entre los Mexicanos-Americanos es la llave para que sean un grupo de influencia en la politica.

Indique si esta de acuerdo o no esta de acuerdo a las siguientes declaraciones en relacion a la unidad Mexicana-Americana.

(Conteste--de acuerdo completamente, de acuerdo un poco, no esta de acuerdo, o esta completamente en contrariedad.)

1. _____ El concepto de "La Raza" puede ser una fuerza real y significativa para unir a los Mexicanos-Americanos.

2. _____ El lenguaje comun sirve como un elemento unificador.

3. _____ Problemas sociales y economicos generales pueden unir a los Mexicanos-Americanos.

4. _____ La importancia creciente de la America Latina puede ayudar a los Mexicanos-Americanos

a desarrollar un sentido fuerte de identificación con su herencia cultural.

C39: Personas han dicho que para que un líder de una minoría sea eficaz, debe de identificarse completamente con los que le siguen y usarlos como base de apoyo. (Esta de acuerdo completamente, de acuerdo un poco o contrario.)

1. _____ De acuerdo completamente. 3. _____ Contrario.

2. _____ De acuerdo un poco.

IV. Ahora quisiera hacerle unas preguntas a cerca de su actividad en las organizaciones y el papel de las organizaciones políticas Mexicanas-Americanas.

C40-42: Como un individuo activo en la comunidad, me puede usted decir si pertenece a los diferentes clubs y organizaciones políticas Mexicanas-Americanas?

	Miembro	Asiste	Oficial
1. Sindicatos de trabajo	_____	_____	_____
2. Iglesia	_____	_____	_____
3. Organización fraternal o logia	_____	_____	_____
4. Grupo cívico o de negocios	_____	_____	_____
5. Centro de comunidad	_____	_____	_____
6. Asociación profesional	_____	_____	_____
7. Club político	_____	_____	_____
8. Organización de caridad	_____	_____	_____
9. Organización social Mex-Americana _____	_____	_____	_____

(Indique si es miembro, si asiste a la mayoría de reuniones)

Diria usted que asiste a la mayoría de las reuniones de cada grupo del cual es miembro, o mucho menos de la mitad? _____

En los grupos que usted pertenece, ¿está en algún comité o es oficial? _____

Si no responden a organización política Mexicana-Americana . . .

C43: Al mirar a las organizaciones Mexicana-Americanas, no puede decir si usted es miembro de alguna de las siguientes organizaciones?

1. _____ LULAC (Liga de Ciudadanos Latinos-Americanos Unidos).
2. _____ PASO (Asociación Política de Organizaciones de Habla Española)
3. _____ American G. J. Forum.
4. _____ Cualquier organización Mexicana-Americana que se interesa con el registro del votante.
5. _____ Cualquier otro grupo que se interesa en las relaciones de minorías. (especifique)
6. _____ Otros.

C44: Hablando de estas organizaciones, está de acuerdo o en oposición con las metas y actividades de LULAC (Liga de Ciudadanos Latinos-Americanos Unidos)?

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| 1. _____ de acuerdo | 3. _____ IN/DI |
| 2. _____ en oposición | |

También, diría usted que esta organización es muy eficaz, eficaz, o relativamente ineficaz?

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| 5. _____ muy eficaz | 7. _____ relativamente ineficaz |
| 6. _____ eficaz | |

C45: Ahora, consideremos a PASO (Asociación Política de Organizaciones de Habla Española). Está de acuerdo o en oposición con las metas y actividades de PASO?

1. _____ de acuerdo 3. _____ NR/DK

2. _____ en oposicion

Tambien diria usted que esta organizacion es muy eficaz, eficaz, o relativamente ineficaz?

5. _____ muy eficaz

7. _____ relativamente ineficaz

6. _____ eficaz

C46: Tambien, vamos a considerar al American G. I. Forum. Esta de acuerdo o en oposicion con las metas y actividades de esta organizacion.

1. _____ de acuerdo

3. _____ NR/DK

2. _____ en oposicion

Diria usted que esta organizacion es muy eficaz, eficaz o relativamente ineficaz?

5. _____ muy eficaz

7. _____ relativamente ineficaz

6. _____ eficaz

C47: A la vez que estas organizaciones Mexicanas-Americanas tratan de influenciar los centros de poder politico en esta comunidad y en el estado, deberian estas organizaciones ser:

1. _____ no partidarias

3. _____ partidarias

2. _____ de dos partidos politicos

C48-49: Que considera el obstaculo mayor que confronta al Mexicano-Americano al tratar de organizar a todos los Mexicanos-Americanos?

C50-52: Se ha dicho que el Mexicano-Americano encuentra alguna dificultad en organizandose para accion politica que sea eficaz. Me

puede decir si usted esta de acuerdo o contrario con las razones siguientes que hace difícil el organizar e. (Indique si esta de acuerdo completamente, de acuerdo un poco o en oposición.)

1. _____ El Mexicano-Americano muestra un animo muy individual.
2. _____ El Mexicano-Americano no se interesa por la actividad politica.
3. _____ Valores culturales como lazos fuertes en las familias, palomillas, machismo, etc., evita al Mexicano-Americano pertenecer a grupos grandes.
4. _____ El Mexicano-Americano no se identifica con mucho significado a su grupo de minoria.

V. Quisiera hacerle una preguntas a cerca de su partido politico y su filosofia politica.

053: Hablando en general, como se clasifica a si mismo en relacion a la politica, quiero decir, es usted un liberal, un conservativo, o que?

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. _____ conservativo | 3. _____ moderado |
| 2. _____ liberal | 4. _____ otro |

Si es liberal: Se considera un liberal fuerte o un liberal debil.

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 6. _____ fuerte | 7. _____ debil |
|-----------------|----------------|

Si es conservativo: Se considera un conservativo fuerte o un conservativo debil?

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 9. _____ fuerte | 10. _____ debil |
|-----------------|-----------------|

Si es moderado:

7. _____ mas cerca a liberal o. _____ mas cerca a conservativo

C54: En la politica, se considera usted un Democrata o un Republicano, un independiente o un miembro de otro partido?

1. _____ Democrata

3. _____ Independiente

2. _____ Republicano

4. _____ otro

C55-56: Quisiera leerle unas declaraciones que personas han hecho de nuestro sistema politico, y quisiera que usted me dijera si esta de acuerdo o no. Favor de responder: muy de acuerdo, poco de acuerdo, o contrario.

1. _____ Empresas de negocios pueden continuar dandonos un nivel alto de vida solamente que el reglamento del gobierno sea mantenido a un minimo.

2. _____ El gobierno en Washington debe de vigilar por que cada uno tenga una entrada garantizada.

3. _____ Una persona, cuya lealtad se duda, pero que jura bajo juramento que nunca ha sido un comunista, debe de tener el privilegio de enseñar en las escuela publicas.

4. _____ Si ciudades y pueblos alrededor del pais necesitan ayuda para edificar mas escuelas, el gobierno en Washington debe darles el dinero que necesitan.

VI. Como estamos interesados principalmente con el liderazgo Mexicano-Americano, vamos a poner nuestra atencion en identificar y clasificar estos lideres.

C57-58: Al estudiar al Mexicano-Americano en Houston, se me ha dicho que

estos hombres son líderes dentro del grupo, y quisiera que usted indicara si usted los reconoce como líderes de los Mexicanos-Americanos. Conteste si, no, o desconocido. (Si su nombre aparece, indique los líderes, excluyéndose usted.)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1._____Roberto Ornelas | 5._____Roy Elizondo |
| 2._____Juez Alfredo Hernandez | 6._____Rev. James Navarro |
| 3._____Frank Partida | 7._____David Ortiz |
| 4._____Lauro Cruz | 8._____Otros |

C59-62: Otra vez usando la misma lista de líderes Mexicanos-Americanos, quisiera que usted los clasificara según su eficacia en la comunidad. Conteste si los cree de muchísima influencia, de mucha influencia, de algo de influencia, o sin ninguna influencia.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1._____Roberto Ornelas | 5._____Roy Elizondo |
| 2._____Juez Alfredo Hernandez | 6._____Rev. James Navarro |
| 3._____Frank Partida | 7._____David Ortiz |
| 4._____Lauro Cruz | 8._____Otros |

C63: Algunos Mexicanos-Americanos piensan que tienen mucho en común con otros Mexicanos-Americanos, pero otros con quien yo he hablado no se sienten así tanto. Como se siente usted? Cree usted que se siente más cerca a los Mexicanos-Americanos en general o que no se siente más cerca a ellos que cualquier otra gente.

- | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| 1._____muy cerca | 2._____no se sienten cerca |
|------------------|----------------------------|

Que tanto interés diría usted que tiene de como los Mexicanos-Americanos lo están parando en este país? Tiene usted mucho interés, algún interés, o poco interés?

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 4._____mucho interes | 5._____algún interes | 6._____poco interes |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|

Aunque la idea de "La Raza" sea difícil para definir, puede este concepto ser aplicado realísticamente al Mexicano-Americano? Cree usted que "La Raza" es muy importante, poco importante, o relativamente sin importancia para el Mexicano-Americano.

8. _____ muy importante x. _____ relativamente sin importancia

9. _____ poco importante

C64: Le voy a leer unas declaraciones y quiero que me diga si usted esta de acuerdo o no.

1. _____ Si se comienza a cambiar mucho las cosas, se empeoran.

2. _____ Si algo crece por un periodo largo, siempre habra mucha sabiduria en ello.

3. _____ Es mejor quedarse con lo que tiene uno que tratar nuevas cosas que realmente no conoce.

4. _____ Deberiamos respetar nuestros antecedentes y no pensar que sabemos mas que ellos.

5. _____ Un hombre realmente no alcanza mucha sabiduria hasta que ya tiene sus anos.

VII. Ahora vamos a examinar las relaciones Latinas-Anglos en esta comunidad.

C65: En Houston, como por todo el Sur Oeste, personas de varias minorías, como los Mexicanos-Americanos tienen que vivir con otras personas en las mismas comunidades. Yo quisiera que usted me dijera que piensa usted que sea la mejor relacion que el Mexicano-Americano y el Anglo puedan tener para poder vivir en la misma comunidad.

C66: Tomando la situación opuesta, cual sería la mas peor relación entre el Mexicano-Americano y el Anglo que usted se pueda imaginar.

C67: Suponiendo que usamos un sistema de numeros para describir las relaciones de los Mexicanos-Americanos y Anglos en esta ciudad y poniendo el numero 10 como la mejor condición y el numero 1 como el peor, en que numero pondria usted a Houston? (Por ejemplo en baseball, un home-run (10) sería la mejor situación y un strike-out (1) sería el peor.)

C68: Usando el ejemplo anterior, en que numero piensa usted que Houston debería haber estado hace cinco años, para describir las relaciones entre los Mexicanos-Americanos y los Anglos? _____

C69: Pensando en el futuro a cerca de las relaciones entre los Mexicanos-Americanos y los Anglos, en que numero cree usted que Houston debería estar dentro de cinco años? _____

C70-76: Ahora, consideremos las relaciones de las minorías y mayorías en otros lugares. En que numero, usando el sistema de 1 a 10, (de peor al mejor) donde pondria las relaciones de estos dos grupos en:

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| 1.____Los Angeles | 4.____Edinburg | 7.____Denver |
| 2.____Albuquerque | 5.____Chicago | |
| 3.____Laredo | 6.____Una ciudad en Michigan | |

VIII. Quisiera terminar esta entrevista con algunas preguntas acerca de datos de su vida.

C77: Cuanto tiempo ha vivido en Houston?

- 1._____ 1 - 3 años 3._____ 8 - 12 años 5._____ Toda su vida
 2._____ 4 - 7 años 4._____ 13 + años

Si no indicó toda su vida: Donde vivió la mayor parte de su vida
 antes que vino aquí? También, donde nació?

_____ Pueblo o ciudad _____ Estado

b) Lugar de nacimiento _____

C78: Que era la ocupación de su padre cuando usted estaba creciendo?

C79: Que era la preferencia política de él, esto es, se consideraba un
 Demócrata, un Republicano, o que?

- 1._____ Republicano 4._____ Otro
 2._____ Demócrata 5._____ NR/DK
 3._____ Independiente

C80: Diría usted que su padre fue muy activo en la política, poco ac-
 tivo, o no?

- 1._____ Muy activo 3._____ No era activo
 2._____ Activo 4._____ NR/DK

APPENDIX C

SCALES AND INDEXES

A number of statistical measure of social, psychological, and political phenomena have been used in this study. In this appendix we shall discuss the construction of these measures in the order they appear in this questionnaire.

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

Essentially an exploratory study, the research included several open-ended questions to augment the limited knowledge regarding the Mexican-American in the United States. Open-ended questions can be useful when a limited amount of knowledge exists as to the kind of answer a particular question is likely to invoke. The questions were arranged so that they would precede a series of specific questions related to the open-ended question. In this way, the respondents, hopefully, will volunteer information on a subject before any specific prompting. Also by placing the open-ended questions before the series of the related specific issues the respondents may not be biased by the interview.

The researcher encountered a wide range of responses, and it was necessary to devise category schemes. The data was organized so as to reduce the broad range of responses by clustering them on the basis of a logical relationship, and yet be certain that each cluster included enough respondents to carry some weight in the analysis. The unstructured were: (C.11-12), (C.27-28), (C.48-49), and (C.65-66).

KENDALL RANK CORRELATION METHOD

In an attempt to determine the degree of agreement among the respondents on the issues of goals, strategies, and leader effectiveness, the Kendall rank correlation method was used. The questions for which the Kendall method was used were (C.21-23), (C.24-26), and (C.59-62). Since multiple rankings were involved, and adjustment from the normal method of rank correlation had to be implemented. The formula used was $W = \frac{12S}{m^2(n^3-n)}$. The coefficient of concordance (W) measures the communality of judgments for the m observers. If they all agree $W=1$. As W increases from 0 to 1, there is a greater measure agreement in the rankings.

Some alteration of this method had to be adopted in order to contend with the problem of tied rankings. The respondents listed several of the community leaders as having equal effectiveness. In this case, the Kendall method was adjusted so that the formula became:

$$W = \frac{12S}{m^2(n^3-n) - m \sum T^2}$$

CONSERVATISM-LIBERALISM SCALE

This measure of domestic socio-economic liberalism was obtained by applying Guttman scaling procedures to agree-disagree responses. The series of questions from the questionnaire were (C.55-56).

MEXICAN AMERICAN LEADER IDENTIFICATION WITH OTHER MEXICAN-AMERICANS

The respondents were asked about their identification with other Mexican-Americans (question C.63). Their responses were combined into index scores in the following fashion

INDEX SCORE

- | | |
|---|---|
| 3 | feel pretty close
very much interest
very significant |
| 2 | feel fairly close
some interest
of some significance |
| 1 | not much closer than to others
not much interest at all
not significant |

ATTITUDE TOWARD CHANGE SCALE

A Guttman-type scale was constructed from agree--disagree responses to a set of statements on classical conservatism, or resistance to change, originally prepared by Herbert McClosky (question C.64).

COMMUNITY ETHNIC RELATIONS RATINGS

The respondents' ratings of ethnic relations in Houston and in other communities are based on a "self-anchoring" scale based on the respondents' perceptions using a numerical rating scale of best and worst community relations. Questions from which the scales were constructed are: (C. 67-68); and (C.69-76). The ratings range from 10, the very best ethnic relations the respondents can imagine, to 1, the very worst possible relations between the groups.