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Chicanos in Oregon: An historical overview

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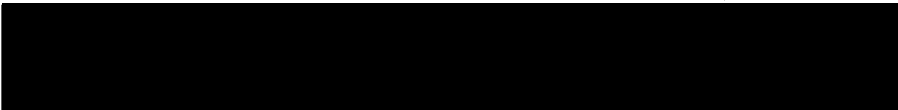
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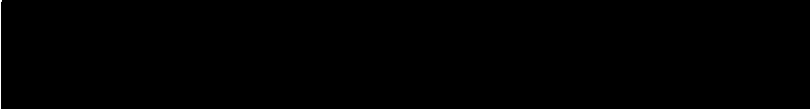
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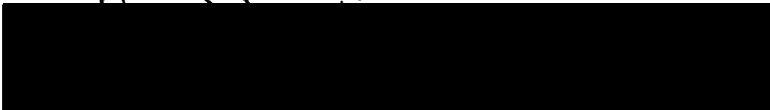
AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Richard Wayne Slatta for the
Master of Arts in History presented July 25, 1974.

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APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:


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Spaniards were the first Europeans to explore the Pacific Northwest coastline, but the only evidence of these early visits is a sprinkling of Spanish place names commemorating the intrepid voyagers. The more than four centuries of recorded history since that time are nearly devoid of references to Spanish-speaking people, especially Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent (Chicanos). Even the heavy influx of Chicano migrant farm workers in the 1950's and 1960's failed to attract the attention of historians or social science researchers. By 1970, the Spanish-language population had become Oregon's largest ethnic minority and was exerting influence in most areas of state life. This study documents the depth and diversity of Oregon's Chicano

community and provides an historical context for the movement of Spanish-speaking people into the state.

Even in the strongly Anglo-American milieu of the Northwest, Chicanos have retained their unique blend of Mexican and American cultural and linguistic characteristics. Through social clubs, cultural centers, economic and political organizations and an independent college, Chicanos in Oregon are preserving and proclaiming their heritage. Hopefully, this study will aid Anglo Americans in understanding and accepting cultural differences without prejudice or animosity, and help Chicanos to better appreciate their position in the state.

The dominantly oral tradition of the Chicano coupled with the dearth of standard documentation, primary and secondary, required reliance upon interviews and conversations and generalization upon limited data. Research revealed that the migrant farm worker image of the Chicano has become obsolete as the Oregon population has become settled and primarily urban. If this study provides a frame of reference for and generates interest in further investigation of the migration of Chicanos into Oregon, it will have served its purpose.

CHICANOS IN OREGON:
AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

by

RICHARD WAYNE SLATTA

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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in

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: WHO IS THE CHICANO?

The presence of Spanish-speaking people in the Pacific Northwest is not a recent phenomenon. Spanish explorers and traders based in Mexico made numerous voyages along the Pacific coast from the mid-sixteenth century through the nineteenth, journeys commemorated by a sprinkling of Spanish place names on the Oregon coast: Cape Blanco, Manzanita, Tierra del Mar, Yaquina Bay, Heceta Head and Cape Ortego.¹ As early as the nineteenth century Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans (no differentiation was made by Anglo Americans who termed all Latin Americans "Mexicans") began to work in Oregon's pastoral and agricultural industries. Although early numbers were few, migrant farmworkers became more plentiful in the twentieth century, and, by World War II, a migratory flow pattern from the Southwest to the Northwest was well established.

From the mid-nineteen fifties on, the farmworker pattern altered as many began settling out of the migrant stream to reside permanently in Oregon. The small incipient communities, mostly in the Willamette Valley and Malheur County,

¹See Warren L. Cook, Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

quickly grew to become a major ethnic factor in the state, and, by 1970, the Spanish-surnamed were Oregon's largest minority group.

This transition from a rural-migrant lifestyle to permanent, usually urban, residency has been largely unnoticed or ignored by the majority Anglo population. There is a lack of awareness and concern on the part of Anglo Oregonians that a sizeable, culturally distinctive group has elected to live in the state thereby presenting new demands and challenges as well as new contributions and benefits. This paper seeks to delineate the extent and diversity of the Chicano population in Oregon and how it came to be a significant factor.

Since the bulk of the Mexican-American migration to the Pacific Northwest has taken place within the last two decades, special emphasis will be placed upon that period. Earlier presences will be noted in a chronological background, but the focus of attention will be upon the contemporary community which is treated topically. Failure to understand cultural differences can only breed mistrust while knowledge backed by mutual respect and cooperation fosters understanding. It is hoped that this study will contribute to an appreciation of the Chicano segment of Oregon's multicultural society.

In discussing United States citizens of Mexican descent, problems of definition and nomenclature immediately arise, largely because the criteria have been varied and

contradictory so that much data is per force ambiguous and inaccurate. The United States Bureau of the Census only recently recognized the sub-grouping "Mexican origin" within the category "Spanish origin;" hence, before 1970 no strictly appropriate information for the group existed for most of the nation. More detailed data has been available for five Southwestern states (Arizona, California, Colorado, Texas and New Mexico) since 1930, but categorization elsewhere has been unclear. Prior to 1930 persons of Mexican origin were simply classified as white or foreign-born white of Mexican birth. The Bureau of the Census used the terms "Mexican" in 1930, "Spanish mother tongue" in 1940 and "Spanish surname" in 1950 and 1960 to attempt to identify later generations of immigrants and the Spanish Colonial residents of the Southwest.²

Each criterion has its limitations; for example, the term "Mexican" is inapplicable to the Hispanos of New Mexico or the Californios who are descendants of Spanish land grant estate holders and not racially mixed with Indians (mestizo) as the term denotes.³ "Spanish surname" applies to a much greater segment of society by including Spaniards and all Latin Americans while excluding those with non-Spanish names.

²Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2)-1B, 1963, p.ix.

³For more information see Leonard M. Pitt, The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

Equally nebulous is "Spanish-speaking," especially if used as a term of self-identification, for those who no longer utilize the language to an appreciable degree or prefer not to be designated as "foreign" are excluded while many nationalities other than Mexican are included. Consequently, externally-imposed labels such as the above will be employed only when used by sources consulted.

To compound the difficulty, little consensus exists within the Chicano community as to terms of self-identification. "Mexican American" offends those who "have completely assimilated into American culture" and wish to be simply "Americans" as well as those who object to being classified as "hyphenated," therefore second-class citizens.⁴ "Chicano" is not self-employed by Spanish Americans in New Mexico or Latin Americans in Texas who reject the term as degrading.⁵

In Oregon, the term "Chicano" emerged in the late sixties carrying a connotation of ethnically-oriented political activism and sometimes militancy. Many older people favored "Mexican American" or "Mexican" while others identified themselves as "la raza" which carries a sense of cultural and ethnic pride but not militancy. A more activist

⁴David J. Weber, ed., Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), pp. 8-9. Standard grammatical usage will be followed in this text; thus, "Mexican American" will be hyphenated when used as an adjective and not hyphenated when used as a noun.

⁵Ibid.

term, "la causa," refers to the overall Chicano struggle for equality and justice in American society.⁶

The genesis of the term "Chicano" is uncertain, but several theories have been advanced. According to linguist Philip D. Ortego, it originated in the ancient Nahuatl tongue whose self-referent term was "mexicano" much later shortened to "Chicano." Modern usage emerged from the barrio dialects, calo or pocho, in the 1940's and gave the term a lower class connotation.⁷ A second theory traces the origin to "chico" (boy) plus the suffix "-ano;" hence, one who acts like a young boy. A similarity also exists with "chicazo," an uneducated youthful vagabond. Edward Simmen quotes a contemporary definition in The Chicano: From Caricature to Self-Portrait:

A dissatisfied American of Mexican descent whose ideas regarding his position in the social and economic order are, in general, considered to be liberal or radical and whose statements and actions are often extreme and sometimes violent.

This definition is overstated to a considerable degree, for many Chicanos are only radical to the extent of desiring those freedoms and opportunities guaranteed to any citizen of the United States.

The vast majority of Oregonians of Mexican descent

⁶Sunday Oregonian (Portland), Jan. 24, 1971, p. 1.

⁷See George R. Alvarez, "Calo: The 'Other' Spanish," ETC.: A Review of General Semantics, XXIV (March, 1967), 7-13.

⁸(New York: New American Library, 1971), pp. vii-viii.

interviewed for this study referred to themselves as "Chicanos," a usage that will be emulated in this paper. In contradistinction, Chicanos speak of the majority white population as "Anglo," a term which encompasses those traits and values usually denoted as WASP or American middle class and is in no sense pejorative.

The growing body of social science and historical writing pertaining to Chicanos has raised more questions than it has answered. In surveying the literature, two major characteristics stand out: 1) much Anglo research is premised upon ethnocentric assumptions valid for the dominant culture but inapplicable to the Chicano; and, 2) the diversity of the Chicano population raises the dangers of stereotyping and overgeneralizing when observers depend upon often inapplicable models of Mexican cultural behavior.

Chicano scholars have pointed out "the distortion of Mexican-American history" by Anglos and the need to review all facets of Chicano life from a proper perspective.

Octavio I. Romano-V has pointed out the misrepresentations of the Chicano in the writings of Anglo historians and social scientists such as William Madsen, Ruth Tuck, Celia S.

Heller and Lyle Saunders.⁹ Anglos have often portrayed the Chicano as someone he is not or tried to make him someone he

⁹See Octavio I. Romano-V, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican-Americans," "Social Science, Objectivity, and the Chicanos," and Miguel Montiel, "The Social Science Myth of the Mexican-Americans," in Voices: Readings from El Grito, ed. by Romano-V (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, Inc., 1973), pp. 30-64.

did not wish to be.

The proper examination of any culture requires utilization of both the "-etic" approach of objective scientific research and the "-emic" or subjective point of view "in which a way of life is described according to the categories that have significance for the people themselves."¹⁰ To this end, sources range from census data, interviews with government officials and Anglos in Chicano-related positions and newspaper reports (major press and bilingual) to the very subjective comments made by Chicanos during interviews and conversations. When applicable, research based upon population samples in the Southwest will be referred to for theoretical and conceptual frameworks.

The landmark study of the Mexican American appeared in 1949 when Carey McWilliams, "journalist, attorney, and civil libertarian," published his still relevant work.¹¹ North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States depicts the Chicano as the victim of historical happenstance, notably the Mexican-American War of 1846, and Anglo discrimination. This interpretation has been refined and reformulated into the concept of "internal colonialism" discussed by Marta Sotomayor, Joan W. Moore and Rodolfo Acuña among

¹⁰Michael D. Olien, Latin Americans: Contemporary Peoples and Their Cultural Traditions (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973), p. 319.

¹¹Weber, p. 2.

others.

The inferior status of the colonized peoples results in damage to self-esteem, destruction of native cultural traits and adaptation of foreign cultural traits, disintegration of the family unit with particular loss of social cohesion among so-called inferior groups because of their inability to retain their own culture.¹²

In the Southwest "colonialism" took the form of racial discrimination while in the North, including Oregon, the effect has been one of neglect and indifference due to ignorance of Chicano cultural values.

The need for an historical survey of Oregon's Chicano population extends far beyond mere antiquarian or academic interest. Published Oregon history is lily-white as most ethnic minorities, except perhaps Native Americans, has been ignored by Northwest scholars. This reflects both the logical perspective of a society which is 95 per cent Anglo as well as the dearth of conventional recorded source materials. Considering the major role played by the Chicano farm worker in the state's second largest economic sector and the potential cultural enrichment of a Latin American input, it behooves scholars to examine that group. Hopefully, this study will prompt Anglo and minority scholars to probe the multicultural heritage of the state and aid Chicanos in viewing their presence in Oregon with a fuller historical perspective.

¹²Marta Sotomayor, "Mexican American Interaction with Social Systems," in La Causa Chicana: The Movement for Justice, ed. by Margaret M. Mangold (New York: Family Services Association of America, 1971), p. 152. See also Rodolfo Acuña, Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation (San Francisco: Cornfield Press, 1972).

CHAPTER II

THE CHICANO COMES TO OREGON

The first large group of Mexicans to become citizens of the United States did so involuntarily as a result of Mexico's military defeat in 1846. Article VIII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) which formally concluded the conflict permitted residents of the disputed territory to become citizens of either nation, but guaranteed that property rights would be respected and no penalties imposed upon either Mexicans or new Mexican Americans.¹

Many Latin Americans joined in the gold rush to California, but no other major migration from Mexican occurred until the twentieth century. The economic and political chaos of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and following set off the first wave of immigration which was welcomed by labor-short America during the First World War. A second wave pushed north during the twenties as the peace and prosperity of the United States offered a welcome alternative to continued Mexican instability. The Great Depression reversed the flow as some 65,000 Mexicans were repatriated forcibly in the battle against rampant American

¹Wayne Moquin and Charles VanDoren, eds., A Documentary History of the Mexican Americans (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1971), p. 246.

unemployment. The last large migration followed World War II when America's burgeoning agricultural areas required great numbers of farm laborers.²

Immigration restrictions such as the Quota Act of 1924 specifically exempted Mexico and other Western Hemisphere nations, but exclusion attempts were made. A 1926 bill to place a quota on Mexicans failed, but three years later a policy of "administrative restriction" largely halted legal immigration. Subsequent agreements reopened the border, and restrictions were not reimposed upon Mexicans until the passage of Public Law 86-236 in 1965 (effective July 1, 1968).³

Sporadic reports of Mexicans in Oregon may be found throughout the nineteenth century although numbers were few and documentation is scanty. As early as 1856 Mexican muleteers (arrieros) drove their charges into the mining camps of northern California and southern Oregon.

The Mexican muleteer had elevated packing and driving to a science. Their knowledge of mule nature and their skill in the nice balancing of packs, learned through long association and practice, gave their lowly occupation a luster and dignity that never failed to bring forth comment from those who saw them at their work.

Most Anglos conceded Mexican superiority in mule skinning

²Luis F. Hernández, A Forgotten American: A Resource Unit for Teachers on the Mexican American (New York: Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1969), pp. 8,12. Migrant Education Service Center, A Chronological Synopsis of Historical Events of La Raza (Chicanos). (Salem, 1971), p.10.

³Synopsis, pp. 9-10. Julian Samora, Los Mojados: The Wetback Story (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971), p. 196. See also Appendix, Table I.

and left the task to the arrieros.⁴ The exact number of Mexicans (and likely Mexican Americans) who passed through Oregon in this fashion is unknown, but probably their itinerant work led them back to California and other areas of the Southwest.

Sheep raisers who drove great herds eastward from Oregon during the late nineteenth century also recognized Mexican pastoral talents. One such entrepreneur was a Major Shepherd who led drives in the 1880's. "Mexicans were extremely anxious to join Shepherd's service, but would not join a drive that took them from the temperate parts of California." Mexicans along with Basques, French, Scottish and Portuguese labored at the thankless task of tending and shearing the three million sheep that once grazed in eastern Oregon.⁵

The Mexican mule skimmers and sheep herders left no written records and attracted little notice. The vaquero (cowboy), on the other hand, generated wider comment and made a greater impression, even as the cowboy in general is shrouded with an enduring mystique and legacy. Inquiries to the historical societies of Lane, Marion, Jackson

⁴Quoted in Oscar Osburn Winther, The Old Oregon Country: A History of Frontier Trade, Transportation and Travel (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1950), p. 178.

⁵Edward N. Wentworth, "Eastward Sheep Drives from California and Oregon," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXVII (March, 1942), 521, 528. Winther, The Great Northwest: A History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 295.

and Harney counties yielded but one positive response of Spanish-speaking people in those areas of the state. A letter from John Scharff of Burns, Oregon, carries the insight of a long-time resident of southeast Oregon range lands.

When John Devine settled the first ranch in Harney County in 1869, his right hand man and boss was a mexican Jaun[sic, Juan?] Redon. Jaun was perhaps one of the most able cattleman and horseman that was ever in this country. When Devine went broke during the dry summer of 1888 with the severe winter following, Redon become the Cattle Superintendent for Miller and Lux and was employed by them the balance of his active years. He homesteaded on Wildhorse Creek and died and was buried in that area. During the time Redon managed the Devine and Miller and Lux cattle most of his crews were mexican. Likewise Pete French employed quite a number of mexican folks, a number of which were his formen and had quite a bit of responsibility. Tebo was a mexican who come north with Pete French in 1872 and never left the P-Ranch employment until he died in 1938. Chappo, Chino and Burdugo were other formen serving under Pete French. These large ranches employed quite a large number of men and from what old timers I have known have said, quite a percentage were mexican. In 1921 I rode with the Agency Wagon of the Pacific Livestock Company (Miller and Lux) and over half of the bucaroos were mexican. When the large outfits were split up the mexican cowboy disappeared presumably to the south.⁶

Peter French arrived in Blitzen Valley, Harney County, from California with about half a dozen vaqueros who "stayed on year after year, liking the location and their boss more and more." The ranch hands included Vincenti Ortego, Juan Charris, Jesus Charris, Joquim "Chino" Berdugo and Prim "Tebo" Ortego. The latter was "French's chief buckaroo, and he gained special favor, being permitted to have a small

⁶John Scharff, Letter to the author, Burns, Oregon, July 1, 1974.

herd of his own." Juan Ortego had homesteaded a section of land which was included in the P-Ranch when French purchased it in 1882 and took Ortego on as a hand. It is likely that many vaqueros rode the Oregon plains as their talents were recognized and admired throughout the West.⁷

Whereas the first Mexicans coming to Oregon possessed special expertise, their countrymen who followed usually worked as low-paid agricultural laborers lacking technical skills for other forms of employment. In general, the push of farmworkers into the Northwest paralleled the three surges of immigration from Mexico which created labor surpluses along the border.

To escape the decrepit housing and poor health conditions caused by the presence of a huge labor supply, the cotton fields of California, the hop and bean fields of Oregon and the crops of the Yakima Valley offered an escape to the north.

In spite of broken verbal contracts by unscrupulous labor contractors and bad conditions in migrant camps, many Chicanos found the Northwest to be at least a slight improvement over the racist exploitation of the Southwest.⁸

Exploitation of low-wage labor was not unique to the Southwest by any means. In 1946 Horace R. Cayton attacked

⁷Giles French, Cattle Country of Peter French (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1964), pp. 41, 49. George F. Brimlow, Harney County, Oregon and Its Range Land (Portland: Binford and Mort, 1951), p. 79. See also Arnold R. Rojas, The Vaquero (Charlotte, N.C., 1964).

⁸Erasmus Gamboa, Chicanos in the Northwest: A Historical Perspective (unpublished paper, University of Washington, 1971, mimeographed May, 1973).

the exploitation then discriminatory exclusion of Chinese, Filipino and Mexican labor at the Writers' Conference on the Northwest in Portland.⁹ The farmworker population continued to be mobile through the 1950's as most resided in the Southwest, "seldom disputed the terms of employment and seldom remained as burdens to northern communities after the harvests. . . ." This contributed to the low visibility of the Chicano in the Northwest as the migrants quietly and efficiently harvested the crops season after season.¹⁰

⁹Horace R. Cayton, "The Bitter Crop," in Northwest Harvest: A Regional Stock-taking, ed. by V. L. O. Chittick (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948), 180.

¹⁰Winther, The Great Northwest, p. 420. Earl Pomeroy, The Pacific Slope: A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 281.

CHAPTER III

THE FARM WORKER: MIGRANT TO RESIDENT

Although Spanish-speaking laborers aided in the harvest of Northwest crops as early as the 1920's, the vast majority of pre-World War II farm workers were Anglo. Dust Bowl refugees spilled over from California in the thirties and presented housing and welfare problems to local authorities until the war effort absorbed the excess labor. During the war when food production became especially vital, migrant labor camps housed thousands of workers. The largest such camp in the nation was located near Stayton and sheltered two thousand persons. The large numbers of migrants aroused mixed local reactions, farmers and some businessmen welcoming the laborers and consumers and other residents voicing fears of negative influences upon the communities.¹

In 1942 the War Food Administration contracted with the Mexican government for seasonal farm workers. Traditional animosities dating from the 1846 war, the American occupation of Vera Cruz in 1914 and the expropriation of oil properties in Mexico in 1938 were set aside in an act of hemispheric solidarity. In the second year of the program, four

¹

Oregon Journal (Portland), August 25, 1941, p. 6; September 18, 1941, p. 14.

thousand Mexicans labored in Oregon's harvest and were commended by the Portland Oregonian for their "exemplary deportment and efficient work." Even reports of the "Zoot-Suit Riots" in Los Angeles failed to dampen the welcome as the Freewater Times published a Spanish-language greeting and termed the farm workers "well-behaved" and "industrious." The workers resided in government camps during the harvest season and returned to Mexico in September.²

Hood River Valley residents were very sensitive to the importation of foreign labor as previously imported Japanese farm workers had depressed wages and aroused the ire of Anglos. Furthermore, many had settled and become landowners thereby offering unwelcome competition to native growers. Sentiment against the Mexican nationals remaining in the valley was high, but the likelihood was slight for most were homesick for their families and culture and eagerly returned to Mexico in the fall.³

Separate government housing did not totally isolate the Mexicans from Oregon communities. Numerous fiestas were held jointly with permanent residents of Mexican descent. In September, 1944 and 1945, celebrations commemorated "El Grito de Dolores" of Father Miguel Hidalgo which fired Mexican

²(Portland) Oregonian, July 31, 1943, p. 6. See Carey McWilliams, "Pachucos and the Zoot-Suit Riots," in Introduction to Chicano Studies: A Reader, ed. by Livie I. Duran and H. Russell Bernard (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1973).

³Oregonian, September 29, 1943, p. 10.

rebellion against the Spanish in 1810. The Portland programs featured dances and the coronation of a queen by the Prime Minister of Rosaria. The Oregonian noted that the 1945 fiesta would likely be the last, as peacetime would mean an end to the labor program, and concluded that the Mexicans had "done a splendid job of helping save Oregon's crops during wartime."⁴

Peacetime did not end the relationship between American growers and Mexican laborers as expected for Congress extended the original accords in some areas of the nation until 1948 with the Department of Agriculture responsible for recruiting and contracting. For the next three years individual growers contracted directly with the Mexican government until, under heavy pressure from powerful agribusiness interests in the Southwest, Congress enacted Public Law 78 creating the Bracero Program. The original law of 1951 was extended six times until concentrated opposition concerned for the plight of the domestic farm workers effected its demise in 1964.

From its inception, Public Law 78 charged the secretary of labor with the incompatible functions of recruiting Mexican labor while simultaneously protecting domestic farmworkers from any ill effects stemming from bracero contracting.⁵

⁴Oregonian, September 14, 1944, p. 10.; September 15, 1944, sec. 2, p. 1; September 15, 1945, p. 4.

⁵Richard B. Craig, The Bracero Program: Interest Groups and Foreign Policy (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971), pp. 198-9. See Table II, Appendix for numbers of braceros imported into the United States.

Chronic fears of a labor shortage led growers in Oregon and across the nation to insist upon the continued importation of braceros. In 1952 three to four hundred Mexicans harvested Umatilla County green peas, Jackson County pears and Hood River County apples. All were repatriated by November 1 except for a few who remained in Jackson County for winter pruning. The successful employment of nationals prompted a request for an equal number of workers for the following summer.⁶ Most braceros worked in the Southwest where their under-cutting competition forced many Chicano farm workers to migrate northward where more Anglo laborers meant better wages and conditions.⁷

Although civil rights advocates and humanitarians early decried the pitiful living conditions of migrants, little was done except for local efforts by churches and community service organizations. The farm labor camp near Hillsboro, established in the 1940's, housed seasonal tenants who paid nominal rents and received donations of clothes and books. Agriculturalists realized the importance of the migrant to the harvest, but remedial legislation governing recruitment, education and health conditions was slow in coming.⁸ The early Chicano migrants worked harder to prove themselves, and, although often ill-treated and cheated by labor

⁶Sunday Oregonian, May 17, 1953, p. 42.

⁷Oregon Bureau of Labor, "We talked to the migrants. . ." (Preliminary Report, July, 1958), pp. 39-40.

⁸Oregon Journal, May 2, 1957, sec. 4, p.1; May 4, 1957, p.8.

contractors, as a group they were "more dependable and productive" than other laborers.⁹

The Oregon Council of Churches mounted the first statewide campaign on behalf of the farm worker by organizing a Research Committee on Migrant Labor in 1955. Governmental action followed two years later with the creation of a Legislative Interim Committee on Migratory Labor. Governor Robert Holmes also appointed an Inter-Agency Committee on Migratory Labor to supplement the data gathered by the Interim Committee. Support for regulations pertaining to migrants also came from the Oregonian.¹⁰

The Interim Committee report in 1959 recommended legislation covering migrant education, housing, health, sanitation, transportation, crew leader registration and the establishment of a state migratory labor committee. As a result, Oregon passed "the most comprehensive and balanced and studied legislative program for the welfare of migrants ever enacted by any state at one time." The report also revealed that the early patterns of migration persisted as sixty per cent of Chicanos came from Texas, four per cent from California and only two per cent were residents of Oregon.¹¹

⁹"We talked to the migrants. . . ," pp. 39-40.

¹⁰Department of Labor, Farm Labor Fact Book, 1959, p. 225; Oregonian, August 11, 1956, sec. 3, p. 3.

¹¹Oregon Bureau of Labor, The Final Report of the 1958-1959 Migrant Farm Labor Studies in Oregon, pp. 162, 169.

Survey teams of the Migrant Farm Labor Division of the State Bureau of Labor (established in 1958) uncovered many abuses of migrant workers. An early investigation revealed a large "syndicate of migrant labor contractors dealing in narcotics, prostitution and shakedowns." Illegal aliens were held in virtual bondage while Chicanos complained of being brought north before the harvest season which forced them to run up bills and accept going wages.¹²

The 1959 legislation was a humane gesture but lacked "teeth" to prosecute violations. Weak laws compounded by lax enforcement and the Chicano's lack of economic and political power permitted abuses to continue. Only one license to operate a migrant labor camp was revoked in 1960 and 1961, and a camp closed the following year for illegal sale of alcohol, inadequate health and safety standards and incomplete records was permitted to be re-licensed without penalty.¹³

Some growers, realizing that "the quality of the worker is commensurate with the quality of housing available," did make honest efforts at upgrading camp conditions. Improvements were made at Vale and Independence and at the county camp in Hillsboro where educational, health and entertainment projects added small amenities to an otherwise bleak existence.¹⁴

¹²Oregon Journal, Jan. 29, 1958, p. 13; Sunday Oregonian, July 20, 1958, p. 31; Oregonian, July 21, 1958, p. 9.

¹³Oregon Journal, July 21, 1962, p. 1.

¹⁴Oregon Journal, July 31, 1963, sec. 2, p. 1.

Yet conditions in most camps remained crowded, unhealthful and degrading as growers contended that slim profit margins did not permit improvements. Eola Village near Dayton in Yamhill County was particularly bad as 4500 persons were crammed into facilities designed for 1500. Migrant workers existed in a nomadic world "rife with a pitiful poverty, filthy human indignities and little or no hope of achieving self-betterment."¹⁵

The "Poor People's March on Salem" in May, 1968 graphically expressed the discontent of many over the continued lack of progress in ameliorating farm worker conditions. Marchers demanded better housing, health code enforcement, licensing of labor crew leaders, elimination of lengthy, over-crowded bus rides to work sites and efforts to include farm workers under the National Labor Relations Act.¹⁶

One of the greatest perils of migrant life has been false promises or breach of contract by labor contractors. Bonding was not required until 1971, but the law was ill-considered and created a panic among growers as the number of contractors dropped from sixty-eight to eight. Stricter federal standards went into effect in February, 1972 and provide for fines of up to \$1,000.¹⁷ In general, the many

¹⁵Oregon Journal, Aug. 9, 1965, p. 2; Aug. 11, 1965, p. 7.

¹⁶Oregonian, Sept. 2, 1968, p. 27.

¹⁷Oregonian, Feb. 27, 1972, p. 32.

problems of growers and workers are leading both to reconsider the efficacy of the migrant system.

Through the sixties and seventies the average monthly number of interstate migrants and their percentage of the total seasonal labor force has declined steadily from a peak of 9,475 (25.8 per cent) in 1962 to 3,073 (12.9 per cent) a decade later. This decline reflects the interplay of several influences within the agricultural sector. Although many growers prefer hard-working migrants, they balk at increasing governmental regulations demanding changes they are unable or unwilling to undertake. Mechanization has broken the once continuous chain of crops so that many migrants are reluctant to journey northward without the assurance of steady employment. The farm worker is already losing part of his previous income to mechanical harvesters for bush beans and raspberries. Growers also fear "the possibility of what they feel are unreasonable demands by organized farm labor" and, consequently, try to hire local workers and children. Government-sponsored programs are successfully freeing many from the migrant cycle so that many Chicanos are settling permanently in Oregon where the head of the house finds regular employment and the family members become part of the local seasonal work force.¹⁸

¹⁸ Oregon State Employment Service, Annual Rural Manpower Report, 1970, pp. 7-8; 1971, p. 12; Department of Employment, Technological Change and Its Impact on the Oregon Labor Force, 1966, p. 9.

The diminishing supply of and demand for migrant labor creates grave difficulties for those who continue harvesting as neither growers nor governmental agencies are willing to spend large sums for migrant services and facilities which may not be needed in the near future. For example, the large camp near Dayton, Eola Village, is being closed to year-round occupancy because, according to Jim Zupo, Executive Director of the Yamhill County Housing Authority, "it is no longer financially feasible. . ." and many cabins "do not meet State Board of Health standards." With county pole bean acreage drastically reduced from 855 in 1970 to 107 in 1973, the season is greatly shortened, and growers are relying upon local pickers. Year-round residents of the camp face the dilemma of high-cost housing elsewhere or moving away from the Dayton area.¹⁹

In spite of the overall reduction in the number of seasonal interstate migrants, major crops such as strawberries and hops continue to require manual harvesting. As resident workers perform an ever-increasing proportion of the harvest activities, it is likely that work conditions and wages will improve as stable communities of laborers organize as migrants have not been able to do.

Due to geographic proximity, the struggle to organize farm workers in California has affected Oregonians in several

¹⁹Oregonian, May 5, 1974. See Appendix, Tables III, IV, V and VI detailed data on the seasonal farm labor force and acreage reductions.

ways. Support for the United Farm Workers Union and César Chávez has been widespread, especially on college campuses. In Portland, Reed College stopped serving the boycotted western iceberg lettuce, and a similar drive was launched at the University of Oregon in Eugene where students picketed the cafeteria, distributed leaflets and circulated petitions in an unsuccessful effort to alter the administration's position of refusing to "politicize" the campus. At Portland State University a student support committee for the UFWU labored to ban the advertising of boycotted Gallo wines from the student newspaper, the Vanguard.²⁰

Interest in the farm worker movement has not been limited to the colleges and universities. In the summer of 1969 fifty representatives of the Mexican-American Federation (Washington, D.C.), the Cultural Institute for Mexican Americans (California), the United Farm Workers of Oregon and local Chicano social clubs met at Mt. Angel Abbey to formulate plans for supporting the cause. César Chávez has visited Oregon on at least two occasions (1968 and 1974) to seek backing for the lettuce and grape boycotts.²¹

The prospect of farm worker unions in Oregon in the immediate future is slight, although the growing number of

²⁰Vanguard, Portland State University, May 14, 1974. See Peter Mattiessen, Sal si Puedes: Escape if You Can; César Chávez and the New American Revolution (New York: Random House, 1970).

²¹Oregonian, June 2, 1969, p. 19; Oregon Journal, May 25, 1968, p. 6; Sunday Oregonian, May 19, 1974, p. 8F.

resident agricultural laborers may facilitate organizing efforts. Oregon's anti-agricultural picketing legislation has been criticized by Chávez and others as inimical to the betterment of farm labor conditions. The statute in question, ORS 662.815, prohibits picketing where perishable crops are raised unless a person has been employed at the farm for a minimum of six calendar working days before the picketing commences. Attacked by some as an abridgement of the freedoms of speech and assembly, the law has been an effective deterrent to farm worker organizers.²⁶ It may be that Chicano organizations and the Valley Migrant League will be able to exert enough positive influence for the improvement of farm worker conditions and wages that Oregon can avoid the regrettable violence and conflict suffered by the organizers in California.

²⁶Oregon Journal, May 25, 1968, p. 6; Marshall Lichtenstein, "The Silent Majority," Oregon American Civil Liberties Union Newsletter, XIII (January, 1970), 3-4.

CHAPTER IV

CHICANOS IN OREGON: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

In the 1970 census 9.2 million persons, 4.5 per cent of the total population, were listed as Spanish origin, and of that group, 5.3 million were of Mexican descent. The median age of the Chicano population was only 18.6 years compared to the national average of 28.0 years.

The Chicano is disadvantaged relative to the Anglo population in the areas of education, income, health and employment. The Chicano family is larger (4.4 persons versus 3.5) but must survive on a lower income (\$7,486 versus \$10,285). Educationally, more Chicano adults have completed fewer than five years of school (26.7% versus 4.6%) and fewer have completed four years of high school or more (25.8% versus 58.2%) than the total population. Nearly 26 per cent of Chicano families live below the poverty level, whereas the national average is 11 per cent. The Chicano is no longer the rural agricultural worker usually depicted as the group is now 88 per cent urban. Urbanization has not alleviated the hardships of poverty, however, as one-fourth of la raza lives in overcrowded quarters averaging more than one person per room. In the Southwest, where 85 per cent of Chicanos reside, they are the most disadvantaged minority group, a circumstance bitterly resented by

those who refer to the area as "Aztlán," the mythical homeland of the Chicanos' forefathers.¹

Statistically, Chicanos in Oregon are ahead of their counterparts in the Southwest in education and income, but still lag behind the Anglo population. The Spanish language sector is Oregon's largest ethnic minority totalling 34,577 persons (1.65 per cent) in 1970. National trends are approximated in median age (19.4) and urban residency (66 per cent). Income distribution is weighted toward the lower brackets, but not as severely as for the black population.²

TABLE VII

FAMILY INCOME (PER CENT)

<u>Income</u>	<u>Caucasian</u>	<u>Spanish Language</u>	<u>Black</u>
\$0-3,999	13.86	18.70	25.84
\$4,000-5,999	10.47	13.80	16.50
\$6,000-11,999	43.26	44.39	38.66
\$12,000 and over	32.41	23.11	19.00

¹Bureau of the Census, Selected Characteristics for Persons and Families of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Other Spanish Origin; March 1972, pp. 1-9; Nosotros, los Americanos. We the Americans (1973), pp. 10, 14. See Armando B. Rendon, "The People of Aztlán," in Chicano Manifesto (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971).

²Oregon State University Cooperative Extension Service, Income and Poverty Data for Racial Groups: A Compilation for Oregon Census County Divisions (Corvallis, 1972), pp. ii-iii. For detailed demographic characteristics for nine Oregon Counties, see Tables VIII through XVI in the Appendix that provide data for residency, education, age and income for the Spanish Language population.

CHAPTER V

VALLEY MIGRANT LEAGUE

The first widespread recognition of the state's Chicano population, permanent and transitory, came in January, 1964 when a group of concerned Oregonians organized the Valley Migrant League to apply for and administer a federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) grant. Early planners included members of the state legislature, clergymen of various denominations, labor contractors and others interested in improving the lot of the migrant farm worker, seventy to eighty per cent of whom were Chicano. The following year the VML received a \$681,000 "demo grant" for programs in adult education, summer school and day care. The pilot project was to serve as a model as the federal government would "look to Oregon to determine how to combat poverty among migrants." Sponsoring organizations such as the Department of Migrant Ministry of the Oregon Council of Churches and Stella Maris House, a Catholic center for inter-racial aid, gave valuable support to the League's personnel which included a large number of VISTA volunteers.¹

Anglos controlled the organization and emphasized the need for migrants to learn to function competently within

¹Oregonian, March 20, 1965, p. 1.

the framework of Anglo institutions. Basic to the approach were English classes administered in intensive two week sessions, but the brief exposure to the language due to migrant mobility precluded meaningful progress. Summer school programs intended to teach Chicanitos that "school is really a good place to be" provided a much more positive educational experience than most had received in regular classes, and day care services freed parents and older children to work. Five Opportunity Centers in Woodburn, Independence, West Stayton, Dayton and Hillsboro concentrated their energies upon the heavy migrant populations in Marion, Yamhill and Washington counties. A bilingual weekly, Opportunity News, gave migrants information about VML services and sought to make them feel more comfortable in their temporary surroundings.²

To many Chicanos, the early VML was patronizing and paternalistic in its approach and outlook as Anglo attitudes strongly colored the orientation of programs that seemed condescending and ill-suited to migrant needs. A statement by an early Anglo administrator is illustrative of the viewpoint in question:

They [migrants] naturally mistreat facilities. . . They haven't any idea of respect for their own, much less someone else's property. . . that's why the VML was created. . . We're trying to educate the migrants.³

²Oregon Journal, Aug. 10, 1965, p. 4; Aug. 12, 1965, p. 6.

³Oregon Journal, Aug. 11, 1965, p. 7.

Factions developed during the first year, and in 1966, a splinter group, Volunteers in Vanguard Action (VIVA), emerged in Washington County. The schism erupted when Mrs. Ruby Ely was fired as Hillsboro area director, but it reflected deep disenchantment with the overall orientation of the VML. Dissidents subsequently met in Salem to form a "united front," to discuss the formation of a credit cooperative and to consider hiring a lobbyist to the state legislature. The group complained that VML budget cuts reduced services but left high administrative salaries intact, but the overriding antagonism was the divergent approach to migrant problems advocated by VIVA.⁴

Gradually, Chicanos assumed policy-making positions in the VML, but discord continued nevertheless. In 1967 José Bustos, a VML area teacher, was suspended then fired after criticizing policy as not truly representative of those the organization purported to serve. He subsequently became director of a six-month OEO pilot project, El Hogar del Campesino (The Farm Workers' Home), which offered aid to migrants settling into Oregon communities. The board of directors for the Home continued calling for a larger voice in VML policy (the project was funded through VML but administered separately), but operation of the League remained in the hands of persons from non-agricultural backgrounds.⁵

⁴Oregonian, Jan. 30, 1967, p. 17.

⁵Oregonian, Aug. 19, 1968, p. 17; José Bustos (Interview).

Despite the instances of dissension, most Chicano organizations have cooperated with the VML; indeed, it has been instrumental in the growth of some. The League has supported many other Chicano efforts including the Council of the Poor, the Centro Chicano Cultural, the Chicano Indian Study Center of Oregon (CISCO) and Colegio César Chávez. In 1971 the VML hosted volunteers of the American Jewish Society for Service who worked in the Woodburn-Mt. Angel area, a further indication of its diverse activities. For the most part, Chicano leaders realize the necessity for mutual cooperation and keep conflicts en la familia.⁶

The VML has grown to include components for vocational training, health and day care, self-help housing and other services for resident farm workers (the target group) and migrants. Coordination is accomplished through the central office in Salem with Opportunity Centers in Woodburn, Forest Grove, Dayton, Jefferson and Independence serving as contact points with the communities. Each center also provides helpful publications in Spanish on civil rights, nutrition, consumer protection, the Selective Service and the like. A self-help philosophy prevails with the VML acting as a vehicle for the experiential training of farm workers making the transition to other spheres of economic activity.⁷

⁶Oregonian, Aug. 15, 1971, p. 26.

⁷Augustin F. Rojas, VML Housing Coordinator, Salem (Interview).

Adequate housing is a perennial concern, and the VML has been administering programs to meet the need since 1970. A self-help housing program permits groups of six to ten families to obtain low-interest Farmers Home Administration loans and to construct their homes cooperatively under the supervision of a VML instructor. In addition to fulfilling a housing need, the program gives VML housing organizers experience in real estate management that will enable them to enter the field in private enterprise. Since the inception of the project, forty-three homes have been completed, eleven are under construction and seven more proposed.⁸

Another vital service is child care which enriches the children and frees other family members to work. Two permanent centers in Newberg and Mt. Angel plus special facilities in the summer furnish transportation, hot meals and snacks, bilingual-bicultural education and nursery, kindergarten and health services. The centers attempt to prepare the children for school in "an environment of acceptance and love" and "to awaken pride in the Mexican and Northamerican heritages."⁹

Comprehensive health care for the entire family is available at the Farm Workers' Clinic in Woodburn. This facility is especially vital because it offers year-round

⁸Ibid.; VML, "Table of Self-Help Housing Projects."

⁹VML, "Centro de Cuidados de Niños Para Migrantes y Campesinos" (Brochure, n.d.)

medical care to low-income families who would otherwise lack necessary treatment. Since 1973 members of the United States Army Reserve 45th Hospital Station in Vancouver, Washington have administered physicals and blood, urine and tuberculosis screenings to migrant children. These summer training exercises help to determine the overall physical condition of the children as well as to identify special problems requiring further attention.¹⁰

Not all programs have been glowing successes. In 1971 the VML Department of Economic Development began aiding Chicanos in the establishment of business enterprises in the Willamette Valley. Trainees received instruction in accounting, bookkeeping and marketing skills and loans funded by the Small Business Administration. Although some businesses were established, the Small Business Administration tended to encourage all Chicanos to become restaurateurs to the exclusion of other more viable and lucrative pursuits. Consequently, the department was dropped in favor of adult education (GED) and vocational training with which ex-migrants can more readily enter into non-agricultural employment.¹¹

Another valuable service to the farm worker which developed out of the VML is El Aquila Federal Credit Union

¹⁰Oregonian, July 4, 1974.

¹¹Oregon Journal, May 7, 1971, p. 4; Rojas (Interview).

organized in 1969. The union (housed in the same building as the head VML office) has tripled in size from its original one hundred members and offers payroll deduction and insurance plans in addition to low-interest loans.¹² The membership, 80 per cent of whom are Chicano, can receive loans which they would be unable to get from commercial banks and pay less interest than that charged by finance companies.

Cooperation between the VML and governmental agencies and other organizations has not always been optimum. Juan Martínez, area supervisor in Forest Grove, complained of the county administrator's unresponsiveness to requests for civil service job listing, a request for revenue-sharing funds and other VML-related matters.¹³ A jurisdictional dispute has troubled the League and another service group for low-income people, the Migrant Indian Coalition (MIC). In 1972 both groups sought control of state health funds which have been administered through county offices of the State Board of Health since 1959. According to Rita Swyers, Executive Director of MIC, the VML's concentration upon the Willamette Valley neglected needy persons elsewhere in the state, and the MIC, with its state-wide day care program, could better and more equitably distribute services. In a compromise decision, the Department of Health, Education and

¹²El Aquila Federal Credit Union, Information Sheet, (Salem, n.d.).

¹³The Rural Tribune (Hillsboro), Feb., 1974, pp. 6-7.

Welfare (HEW) ruled that counties would continue administering the funds as in the past, although the VML was allocated \$49,000 for planning.¹⁴

A similar conflict of interest arose in 1974 when both organizations sought funding for summer child care programs. The State Children's Services Division agreed to fund one VML center through the summer if the other year-round facility (Newberg and Mt. Angel) were closed. The MIC was likewise ordered to close one of its two permanent centers at Barlow and McMinnville.¹⁵ Such duplication of services and subdivision of funds is counterproductive and will hopefully be rectified through better coordination.

In its decade of service to Oregon's agricultural laborers, the VML has proved itself to be a capable tool for self-betterment and an essential catalyst in the formation of new organizations. Many Chicano leaders, after serving an apprenticeship with the League, have become active in other manifestations of the "Chicano movement" in Oregon.

¹⁴Oregon Journal, Apr. 12, 1972, p. 29; June 29, 1972, p. 12.

¹⁵Oregonian, June 26, 1974.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Most Chicano organizations fulfill multiple functions and cannot be easily classified according to orientation. Attempts to "pigeon hole" such groups are fruitless for Chicano activists generally have catholic interests and avoid narrowly limiting themselves; hence, the organizations which they represent are equally diverse and multi-faceted.

While the VML is not technically a Chicano program, its constituency and personnel have given it that complexion. The same holds true for the Washington County Community Action Organization (WCCAO), although to a lesser extent. The OEO project was initiated in 1967 at the request of the Tri-County Community Council and is the only one of twelve Community Action Programs in the state to deal extensively with Chicanos.

The objective of the WCCAO is to serve the community in developing systems which bring about requisite social services or which work to improve the quality and accessibility of existing social services for the entire community with focus on low income, minorities and other low visibility groups.¹

The Hillsboro-based organization expanded services to the Chicano community in 1970 when it became evident that the

¹WCCAO, "Policy Statement" (Hillsboro, n.d.).

VML alone could not meet both migrant and resident Chicano needs. Since then the two groups have cooperated fully to maximize services to the community.² The WCCAO publication, The Rural Tribune, has also become bilingual in recognition of its Spanish-speaking constituency.

Services are rendered in housing, welfare, employment discrimination, consumer protection and health. The office also houses Head Start and Legal Services programs and acts as liaison with other agencies to meet the needs of the county's low-income residents.³

Whereas the WCCAO coordinates its activities with the VML, the Campesinos' Forum grew out of discontent with the League. In 1967 several persons who felt that the farm workers' needs were not being met by the VML founded the voluntary, unfunded Forum. The lack of funding avoids obligations and special interests and permits the membership to act selflessly on behalf of the farm workers.

The members of the Campesinos' Forum act as representatives of migrant workers in public agencies and work toward improvement of labor camps and workers' rights. The Forum also sponsors a Spanish language radio program.⁴

²Carla Johnson, Executive Director, WCCAO (Interview).

³Ibid.

⁴José Bustos, President, Campesinos' Forum (Interview); Lois B. Jordan, Mexican Americans: Resources to Build Cultural Understanding (Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, Inc., 1973), p. 190.

The most important undertaking of the group thus far was the support of eight migrants in a 1969 suit against a North Plains grower who allegedly had made false promises and defrauded them of wages. José Bustos, President of the Forum, acted as interpreter for the plaintiffs who were represented by the Portland firm, Marmaduke, Aschenbrenner and Saltveit. The court awarded the plaintiffs \$8,000 plus \$2,000 for counsel costs, a great moral victory even though the remuneration was inadequate. The fact that Spanish-speaking migrant workers attained legal redress of grievances in a court of law spoke well for their courage and determination and for the support given them by the Forum.⁵

A large-scale inter-ethnic self-help effort is being waged by the Chicano Indian Study Center of Oregon (CISCO) at Camp Adair, a deactivated United States Air Force installation north of Corvallis. In 1972 CISCO acquired ten camp buildings and began coordinating vocational programs with the Oregon-Southwest Washington Carpenters-Employers Apprenticeship and Training Trust Fund which occupies seventeen adjacent structures. The Campaign for Human Development granted \$15,000 to refurbish the buildings, and subsequent funding has come from private, federal and state sources.

Areas of concentration for 1974 were in planning, improving camp structures, educational and vocational

⁵Bustos; Oregonian, Aug. 26, 1969, p. 13; Dec. 14, 1971, sec. 3, p. 6.

development, health care and an oral history and library project. These diverse and ambitious plans will require the assistance of many trained technicians to bring each component program to fruition.⁶ A profit corporation, Jacalito, was also formed to generate income by sub-contracting student trainees and is projected to make CISCO self-supporting. Assuming that the necessary expertise and funds are forthcoming, CISCO may prove to be a model of inter-ethnic cooperation.⁷

Another example of Chicano-Indian collaboration, although under very different circumstances, is the Chicano Cultural Club at the Oregon State Penitentiary in Salem. "The purpose of the club is to unite all Chicanos and Indian Brothers so that they won't lose their identity." Since 1970 the group has sponsored celebrations, work projects and activities with the Centro Chicano Cultural, CISCO and other organizations and attempted to remind people that they are still human beings with thoughts and emotions.⁸

While many associations are oriented toward the recently settled migrant of rural background, El Aquila has a decidedly urban viewpoint. Chicano activists in the greater Portland area founded the organization in late 1972 to advise

⁶Oregonian, Nov. 22, 1972, p. 11; "CISCO Perspective" (Camp Adair, n.d., xeroxed).

⁷"CISCO Perspective."

⁸Centro Chicano Cultural (Woodburn) May, 1974.

Chicanos of legal rights and suit procedures, help resolve housing and education problems and assist in cases of employment discrimination. Enrique Méndez Flores edited the monthly newspaper, La Voz Unida, until moving to the staff of The Rural Tribune in July, 1974. Through the paper, El Aquila served to enlighten Chicanos in the tri-county metropolitan area with assessments of local and national issues and educational as well as entertaining articles.⁹

The rapid proliferation of Chicano social clubs, cultural centers and other organizations made the need for state-wide communication and coordination obvious to Chicano leaders. Beginning in 1974 that need has been met by regular meetings of the Oregon State Consilio Chicano. Inspiration for the concept stemmed from contact with "Consilio, Inc." which serves as the umbrella agency for twenty-four Chicano groups in Sacramento, California. The Oregon Consilio meets about twice a month at 6 A.M. (campesino time) to discuss all aspects of Chicano life, health, education, legislation and politics with Anglos from the appropriate businesses or agencies. The group serves as a united, representative voice for Chicano interests in making legislative recommendations and endorsing political candidates.¹⁰

⁹The Rural Tribune, July, 1973; Enrique Méndez Flores, ex-editor, La Voz Unida (Conversations),

¹⁰Oregonian, Apr. 1, 1973, p. 29; Centro Chicano Cultural, May, June, 1974.

Mexican Americans have seldom wielded partisan political power as many were disenfranchised by unrealistic residency requirements, literacy tests or shrewd gerrymandering. The political activism of the Chicano movement of the 1960's forced the major political parties to recognize the importance of the Spanish-speaking vote in the Southwest.¹¹

In the Northwest, however, numbers are too few to exert pressure beyond the local level. Candidates for political office have chosen to remain within the two-party system and avoid the label of "Chicano candidate" in appealing to a broader constituency. In the May, 1974 primary, Carlos Rivera, Jr. sought the Democratic Congressional nomination in District Three and Rafael Pablo Ciddio y Abeyta the Republican endorsement in District One. Although both were well-known in state Chicano and legislative circle, they were overshadowed by opponents with better name familiarity and greater financial resources.

Higher probabilities of success exist for Chicanos in county, city or school board elections where their influence can promote cultural tolerance and cooperation. In 1973 Chicanos were elected to the Dayton and Independence city councils, and the Consilio and state affiliate of the National Education Task Force of La Raza will provide broader structures for promoting political goals.¹²

¹¹See F. Chris Garcia, ed., Chicano Politics: Readings (New York: MSS Information Corp., 1973).

¹²Oregonian, Dec. 31, 1973, p. 11.

CHAPTER VII

CULTURE

The Chicano's tenacious ability to maintain his cultural and linguistic heritage has been damned as a barrier to socio-economic mobility and praised as evidence of its worth and strength. The traditional Anglo answer to Chicano poverty has been "Learn English, learn a trade," a solution that has fostered mobility but oftentimes at the sacrifice of Chicano identity. The desire to retain his culture is seen in the Chicano's celebration of Mexican national holidays, Catholic feast days and the formation of social clubs. Most communities in Oregon with even a few Chicano residents boast a Latin American or Mexican-American club which serves as the focus of social activities for the Spanish-speaking families. A more public manifestation of ethnic pride is the organization of cultural centers where "Chicanismo" is perpetuated for the benefit of both Chicanos and Anglos.

ORGANIZATIONS

The earliest successful movement to preserve and proclaim Chicano culture in Oregon began in August, 1969 when the Centro Chicano Cultural between Woodburn and Gervais was incorporated "as a non-profit intercultural communications center." With the aid of the Social Action Commission of

of the Portland Archdiocese of the Catholic Church, sixty-three acres of land were purchased "in the name of the Spanish-speaking people of the Northern Willamette Valley."¹ Local residents opposed the Centro, objecting to "strip zoning" and opening the agricultural/residential lands to commercial use. At a Marion County Board of Commissioners hearing, a local farmer voiced fears of a "massive welfare ghetto" straining school and community resources. Two years of opposition and legal barriers passed before a conditional use permit permitted occupation of the Centro building in December, 1971. The Centro initiated services of arts and crafts, seminars and in-service training, an intercultural library and a monthly newspaper, Centro Chicano Cultural, funded by a three-year grant from the Campaign for Human Development (CHD). Activities came to an abrupt but temporary halt on July 20, 1973, when the building was largely destroyed by fire, probably arson. CHD funds paid for a mobile trailer to house the Centro until approximately \$30,000 is raised and permission obtained to construct another structure.²

Although the Centro focuses on the Chicano community, its philosophy is neither separatist nor isolationist; on

¹"Centro Chicano Cultural" (Woodburn, Oct., 1973, Information pamphlet), p. 1.

²Ibid.; Teresa Gollon, Centro Secretary (Interview); Oregonian, Apr. 23, 1970, p. 12; May 7, 1970, p. 28; Woodburn Independent, "Entre Vecinos," Dec. 12, 1973 (reprint).

the contrary, the intent is clearly toward community dialogue and "bridging social and economic problems stemming from intercultural misunderstanding and institutional stereotyping and discrimination."³ The largest-scale effort in this area to date was the first annual Celebración Chicana del Sol, a three-day event enjoyed by more than three thousand people in July, 1973. The celebration opened with a benediction by Archbishop Robert Dwyer and continued with a mass, dinner, piñatas and games for the children and music and dancing for the adults.⁴

Insofar as community interaction, the most significant project has been a police-community relations class co-sponsored with Chemeketa Community College in Salem. For nearly three months, twenty Woodburn and Salem policemen met weekly with Centro personnel and community leaders in round-table discussions, lectures and film presentations designed to illustrate the destructive effects of racist stereotyping and derogatory phrases. Many Chicano leaders attended as did Patrick Dion Melendy (Hupa Tribe, CISCO), John Hudanish (Russian community, Woodburn) and members of the Chicano Cultural Club at the Oregon State Penitentiary. According to Mario Cordova, who coordinated the sessions for the Centro, the goal was for participants to view themselves

³Centro Chicano Cultural, Information pamphlet, p. 1.

⁴Centro Chicano Cultural, July, 1973; Teresa Gollon (Interview).

as community members rather than as only "police," "Chicano," and so forth and to realize that the problems of each group affect the other.⁵

In addition to serving as a resource and referral center, the Centro reaches out to a wider audience via the media. The monthly newspaper, a bi-monthly commentary (Entre Vecinos) in the Woodburn Independent, radio programs on KWRC- Woodburn and a half-hour weekly presentation, Cultura Chicana '74, on KVDO-TV, Salem, seek to create cultural awareness throughout the Willamette Valley.⁶

The orientation of the Centro has been strongly influenced by the forceful personality of its Executive Director David Aguilar (who dislikes titles and refers to himself as "jack of all trades"). Long years of experience have taught Mr. Aguilar to be wary and somewhat "paranoid" in dealing with Anglos. He views mutual hostility and ignorance as the roots of mistrust and impediments to communication, and the Centro as the vehicle to foment attitudinal and institutional change toward cultural pluralism.⁷

Oregon's second Chicano cultural center was conceived in 1972 by twenty-five Washington County families. Guiding principles are similar to those of the Woodburn Centro as the Centro Cultural of Washington County seeks to "build a

⁵Centro Chicano Cultural, May, 1974; "Entre Vecinos," May 1, 1974.

⁶Teresa Gollon; Centro Chicano Cultural, June, 1973.

⁷David Aguilar (Interview).

bridge between the Chicano and the Anglo." Father Arnold Beezer of Cornelius where the Centro is located and volunteers of the Society of Jesus have actively supported the project from its inception. Their philosophy is one of encouraging mutual sharing and the development of human talents, goals common to the Church and the Centro.⁸

Classes offered have been varied and relevant to community needs. Instruction in Mexican art, sewing, typing, canning, Adult Basic Education, English as a Second Language, Spanish as a Second Language and personal care and development has been given. Instructors and equipment from Portland Community College have been vital to the Centro so cooperation has been excellent. In a lighter vein, the Centro sponsors a troupe of folklore dancers and singers, "Los Tapatios," who perform for appreciative audiences throughout the Northwest.⁹

Another major component is ORMETEX, a vocational training project administered with the cooperation of Tektronix of Beaverton and other local companies. ORMETEX provides job training for low-income persons, especially ex-farm workers, who desire to enter the field of industrial employment.¹⁰

⁸"Centro Cultural of Washington County" (Cornelius, n.d., Information pamphlet).

⁹Ibid.; Joan Triplett, Education Coordinator, Centro Cultural (Interview).

¹⁰Ibid.

Since June, 1972 Centro supporters have hosted monthly Mexican dinners each earning from \$300 to \$500. The dinners plus private donations supplement the basic source of income, county revenue-sharing funds. Four acres have been purchased near Gaston for the construction of a permanent Centro when funds permit. As in the case of the Woodburn Centro, many other organizations have aided the movement; the Jesuits, the Campesinos' Forum, Los Amigos, Cursillo, the Pan-American Youth Club, Chicano Youth Club, Guadalupanas and La Raza Unida.¹¹

Chicanos are also involved with Blacks and Native Americans in striving to develop learning materials relevant to minority students. The Northwest Multicultural Development Laboratory in Portland has already published an internationally successful Native American coloring book and is planning a similar project for Chicanos. The group sponsored a Multicultural Fair in January, 1974 featuring exhibits of Chicano, Native American, Black and Asian culture, and a bilingual-bicultural education workshop at Reed College in Portland in February, 1974. Another major project is the production of a motion picture depicting the transition of a Chicano family from rural, migrant life to an urban setting. The film, directed by David González and funded by the Oregon Endowment for the Humanities, will be shown in Northwest communities where discussion panels will permit

¹¹Ibid.; Oregon Journal, Apr. 17, 1973, p. 13.

interaction and dialogue with the audience.¹²

One of the most important civic holidays to Mexicans and many Chicanos is Cinco de Mayo, which commemorates the Mexican victory over French forces at Puebla on May 5, 1862. The 1973 celebration at the University of Oregon and Lane Community College in Eugene featured mariachi music, folkloric dances, a fashion show, authentic food and a coronation of a queen. Oregon State University (Corvallis) hosted a conference and fiesta, "Ayer, Hoy Y Mañana," which treated the topics of Chicano awareness, identity, politics and education. Los Hijos de Aztlán at Mt. Angel College also sponsored a fiesta with mariachis, a dinner and dance and a play, "Nosotros Somos Dios," featuring students from the college.¹³

In the spring of 1974 Nosotros, the Chicano student organization at Oregon College of Education, Monmouth, presented a week-long program on Chicano culture. Participants enjoyed an historical display, films, an open forum, lectures, a bilingual education workshop and a fiesta and dance, additional aid for the program being rendered by the Chicano Mobile Institute of the University of Utah.¹⁴

Cultural events are not limited to colleges and universities, as evidenced by the first festival of the

¹²Irma Flores Fischman, Member, Multicultural Laboratory (Interview).

¹³Centro Chicano Cultural, May, 1973.

¹⁴Centro Chicano Cultural, May, 1974; Nosotros (Program).

Bilingual Program at Nellie Muir School in Woodburn. The 175 children enrolled in the program exhibited their talents before 400 beaming parents in "Así Les Canto A Mis Padres." Thus at many levels and in various ways, Chicanos are preserving and celebrating a linguistic and cultural heritage that has endured for generations.¹⁵

THE MEDIA

All three sectors of the major media, radio, television and newspapers, have recognized the Spanish-speaking market in Oregon. In 1970 the Oregon Statesman (Salem) realized that the large Chicano resident and migrant population of Marion County offered a substantial readership and began publishing a Spanish-language column. The Oregon Journal was not whole-heartedly behind the idea, and, after reviewing the internal strife created by a history of cultural and linguistic diversity in Belgium, Canada and India, remarked:

It would be crippling to their own cause in the long run, we think, if the Chicanos, in their efforts to develop pride in their Mexican-American heritage, should reject this history and refuse to learn and use English.¹⁶

Few Chicanos propose the exclusive use of Spanish, only the right to use the language without fear of formal or informal sanction. In this light, the gesture by the Statesman was a

¹⁵Centro Chicano Cultural, May, 1974.

¹⁶Oregon Journal, Jan. 14, 1970, p. 10.

step toward cultural understanding and not internal dissension.

✓ Robert Olmos, a Chicano who grew up in East Los Angeles, has been a reporter for the Oregonian since 1962 and has given that paper an excellent perspective on minority affairs in the state. Having experienced the alienation and discrimination of a Chicano attempting to preserve his cultural identity while functioning within Anglo institutions, Mr. Olmos is a sensitive commentator on contemporary Chicano life. His interests extend to fictional writing as well, and he has authored novels and poems which may be among the first major literary contributions by an Oregon Chicano if they are published.¹⁷

Small bilingual newspapers give more intimate, empathic coverage of local events than is possible by the major press. La Voz Unida has offered Portland-area Chicanos pertinent news stories as well as advertisements for businesses offering goods and services of special interest. The variety of the paper's advertisers is one indication of the depth of the Chicano community in Oregon as restaurants, record shops, a dancing school, printing and automobile repair services and entertainment promoters are included.¹⁸

The Rural Tribune concentrates upon local happenings

¹⁷Robert Olmos (Interview).

¹⁸La Voz Unida (Portland), Feb., May, 1974. See also page 40.

and public service announcements but has also criticized indifference to Chicano needs by the schools and the police. The Centro Cultural of Washington County has a regular column publicizing its classes and activities. The Centro Chicano Cultural also focuses on local issues relating to the Centro, the Valley Migrant League and Colegio César Chávez. In keeping with the Centro's goal of serving as a community information resource, employment, educational and public service announcements are listed.

Spanish-language radio broadcasts have been heard on at least two stations, KWRC (Woodburn) and KSLM (Salem), for several years. Mexican music and talk shows are the most plentiful, but formats vary widely. Chicano organizations such as CISCO, Campesinos' Forum and Centro Chicano Cultural take advantage of the medium to reach larger audiences.

Weekly television programming as of July, 1974 included three bilingual programs, Alma Chicana (KOIN-TV, KOAP-TV, Portland), Cultura Chicana '74 (KVDO-TV, Salem) and the Modesto Rios Show (KPTV, Portland). During the summer of 1973 Mr. Rios also hosted Cine Mexicano which aired Latin American movies on the Public Broadcast System, KOAP-TV, Portland.

A major step toward recognition of bilingual viewers was made by KOIN-TV, Channel 6, Portland, during the primary elections in May, 1974. Gil Beanes of the news staff announced the election results in Spanish, a gesture much appreciated by the Spanish-speaking community. A second

Portland station, KGW-TV, Channel 8, hired a Chicana in the summer of 1974, and although programming changes are not guaranteed, the presence of two Spanish-speakers in major television outlets can only auger well for la raza.¹⁹

The Chicano viewpoint is represented in all media areas, albeit not to the extent many would like. The importance of the numerous demonstrations of cultural awareness is that it provides evidence that Chicanos possess the interest and capacity to retain their venerable linguistic and ethnic heritage even in a strongly Anglo environment. Evidences of Chicano culture are not surprising in the Southwest where Spanish-speakers are often in the majority; however, in Oregon, where they comprise less than two per cent of the population, the Chicano cultural activities bespeak the pride and determination of la raza in maintaining its identity.

¹⁹Gil Beanes, KOIN-TV Newsman, Portland, (Interview).

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION

Educationally, Chicanos lag far behind the Anglo population in years completed and in achievement on standardized tests. Only 60 per cent of Chicanos finish high school, 16 per cent repeat first grade (Anglos: 6 per cent), and 9 per cent of eighth graders are overage (Anglos: 1 per cent).¹ Lack of attainment has long been accepted as the norm for Chicanos who were viewed as "unmotivated" or "natural manual laborers," but more sophisticated and less culturally-biased examinations of the American educational system show the failing to be on the part of the schools, not the students. "Mexican kids do poorly in school" not out of inherent racial inferiority (long a convenient excuse), but because "the school and society have served to keep the Mexican American in his place. . . ." ²

At least forty variables in the areas of culture, language, poverty, mobility and societal perceptions interact to militate against the minority child's probability of

¹U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, The Unfinished Education: Outcomes for Minorities in the Five Southwestern States, Oct., 1971, pp. 41-3.

²Thomas P. Carter, "Mexican Americans: How the Schools Have Failed Them," in Introduction to Chicano Studies: A Reader, ed. by Livie I. Duran and H. Russell Bernard (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1973), pp. 447-8.

success in school.

The Cárdenas-Cárdenas Theory of Incompatibilities states that this lack of success can be attributed to the incompatibility between the typical program of American schools and the characteristics of the deprived, minority-group population.

Further, "research has shown that teachers' low expectations for disadvantaged minority-group children tend to become self-fulfilling prophecies."³

It has been commonplace to attribute the Chicano's difficulties in school to lack of ability or desire to assimilate into Anglo culture; however,

the data seem to refute the common assumption that children from families that are "most Mexican" in their behavior and⁴ outlook will have the most difficulty in school.

If the degree of assimilation and acceptance of Anglos values is not an accurate measure of educational potential, then the reason for under-achievement likely lies in the "Anglo-oriented, monolingual, monocultural educational system" that cannot accommodate deviation from preconceived behavioral norms.⁵

³Blandina Cárdenas and José A. Cárdenas, "Chicano-- Bright-Eyed, Bilingual, Brown, and Beautiful," Today's Education, LXII (February, 1973), 49-50.

⁴Ronald W. Henderson and C. B. Merritt, "Environmental Backgrounds for Mexican-American Children with Different Potentials for School Success," Journal of Social Psychology, LXXXV (June, 1968), 105.

⁵Henry Souix Johnson and William J. Hernández-M, eds., Educating the Mexican American (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1970), p. 6.

Substandard, under-staffed facilities segregated from better Anglo schools in the Southwest have also hindered Chicano educational progress. Not until 1970 in the case of *Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School District* were Chicanos held to be an "identifiable ethnic minority group for the purpose of public school desegregation."⁶ Segregation of the Chicano is not unique to the Southwest; however, as Lindberg and May Roberts Elementary Schools in the Ontario district of eastern Oregon were found to be "identifiable segregated schools as of January, 1972."⁷

Spanish-surname students accounted for only 1.4 per cent of Oregon's public school enrollment in the fall of 1972, 6,541 of 468,698 students, but concentrations in a few districts gave their presence a much greater impact than the small total would indicate. Six districts had at least a 10 per cent Spanish-surname enrollment, but the state-wide percentage of Spanish-surname teachers was only 0.3 per cent (66 of 22,129).⁸ Thus school faculties were even whiter than the society at large, a circumstance which further isolated the Chicano in the educational system.

⁶Guadalupe Salinas, "Mexican-Americans and the Desegregation of Schools in the Southwest," in Voices: Readings from El Grito, ed. by Octavio Romano-V (Berkeley: Quinto Sol Publications, 1973), p. 366.

⁷Department of Education, Racial and Ethnic Survey (Salem, 1972), p. 7.

⁸HEW, Office for Civil Rights, Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts: Enrollment and Staff by Racial/Ethnic Group, Fall, 1972, p. 1157.

A racial and ethnic survey by the State Intergroup Human Relations Commission in 1972 pinpointed the problems of Chicanos in education. In spite of the fact that Spanish-surname and Russian students showed the fastest increase in enrollment, there was still "an alarmingly low number of minority educators" and Spanish-surname students suffered from linguistic, racial and cultural isolation. Minority students were seen as "victims of cultural barriers, discrimination, and restrictive residential patterns" which kept them from the "integrated experiences" basic to the learning process.⁹ Migrant and bilingual education programs are two means of attempting to remedy racial and cultural isolation of Chicano students.

MIGRANT AND BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL PROGRAMS

Those concerned for the welfare of the migrant early realized that children were the most hapless, tragic and defenseless victims of the cycle. Because of high mobility, discrimination, incomplete records, poverty and lack of adequate district services, migrant children had the lowest educational level in the nation.¹⁰

⁹Department of Education, Racial and Ethnic Survey (Salem, 1972), p. 9. See Table XVII, Appendix for Oregon school districts with more than one hundred Spanish-speaking students in 1972.

¹⁰Anne Brunton, "The Chicano Migrants," in Introduction to Chicano Studies: A Reader, ed. by L. I. Duran and H. R. Bernard (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1973), pp. 495-6.

In 1961 the Oregon State Legislature appropriated \$142,000 to be used for special migratory education programs administered by individual school districts in migrant-intensive counties. The first fifteen programs in Ontario, Independence, St. Paul and North Plains (the earliest in the state) served 1,185 children. The curriculum concentrated upon basic educational skills with field trips and recreational outings to acquaint the Chicanitos with the "outer world." Migrant children were often two to three years behind their age level because of irregular attendance so compensatory and remedial instruction was stressed.¹¹

The state's programs received federal support with the passage of Title 1 of Public Law 89-10, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965. The law's purpose was to aid educationally-disadvantaged children including migrants, but initial state plans failed to encompass migrant needs. As a result, the law was amended with PL 89-750, Title 1-M, which funded programs specifically for migrant, American Indian and institutionalized children and eased eligibility requirements for districts to participate. PL 90-247 (January, 1968) and PL 91-230 (April, 1970) provided special grants and bonus payments to migrant teachers and rounded out the corpus of federal migrant education legislation.¹²

¹¹Oregonian, July 23, 1962, p. 9.

¹²HEW, Office of Education (No title) DHEW Publication No. (OE) 72-75, Feb., 1972, pp. 18-19.

Eligibility for Title 1-M programs was open to "the children of any worker who moves from one school district to another while seeking or acquiring employment in agriculture including food processing activities." The original time period was one year, later extended to five years, a change which confused state planners. The Oregon Board of Education elected to give priority to one-year children with five-year students being eligible if the needs of more recent migrants had been met and no alternative services were available. A further stipulation was that Title 1-M funds could not supplant services already offered by the district, they could only supplement them.¹³

Programs for migrant children have concentrated on basic compensatory education in reading and language development and bilingual-bicultural experiences to promote the formation of a favorable self-image; however, attempts are also made to bring parents into active participation with the educational institutions. Planners realized that an unhealthy child cannot learn as readily so attention has also been given "to health, optical, dental, nutritional, social, and psychological needs of the child."¹⁴

¹³Board of Education, "The Origin and Requirements of Title 1, ESEA, Migrant Amendment," (Salem, Jan. 17, 1969, mimeographed), p. 2; Migrant Education Service Center, Project Directors' Management Manual, Migrant Education Programs (Salem, Dec., 1972), p. 30.

¹⁴Board of Education, "Progress Report, Title 1, ESEA, Migrant Amendment, Oregon State Program," (Salem, Jan. 17, 1969, mimeographed), p. 1; JoAnn Lee, Resource Teacher, Title 1-M, Washington County (Interview).

The first federally-funded programs in Oregon in 1967 expended \$183,000 on seven migrant summer school sessions for 1,019 children and a Teaching Practicum and Summer School for teachers. A larger outlay the following year served more children and included training for fifteen migrant education teachers through Eastern Oregon State College in LaGrande. Total funding by the federal government with no requirements for matching plus favorable reports on initial programs generated enthusiasm, and more districts applied for Title 1-M monies each year.¹⁵

Program planners eschewed a narrowly academic outlook and sought to integrate both the children and the parents into the community. To implement a project, a district was required to form an advisory committee composed of at least 50 per cent migrant parents. Federal guidelines further required that supportive services to insure the youngsters' overall well-being by eliminating physical and psychological barriers to attendance be present before a community received funds. Finally, a home-school consultant worked to establish lines of communication to prevent the isolation of migrant families from society and the school.¹⁶

Although teachers trained in cultural sensitivity are

¹⁵Board of Education, "Summary of the Development of The Oregon State Migrant Education Program Funded by Title 1, ESEA, Migrant Amendment," (Salem, January 17, 1969, mimeographed), p. 1.

¹⁶Management Manual, Migrant Education Programs, pp. 12-13, 17-19.

basic to migrant education, advanced multi-media tools are also useful for individualizing instruction. Mobile "migrab-labs" visit districts with too few eligible children to warrant a full-time program and feature video tapes to reinforce learning experiences and tape recorders for personal language development. Students in the Ontario district have benefited from devices such as the Language Master, the Hoffman, the Audio-Flash System and the EDL Controlled Reader at a Special Training Center at Treasure Valley Community College.¹⁷ Thus programs blend old-fashioned loving care with modern technology to aid children in their intellectual and emotional development.

Annual evaluations of state projects have judged most to be successful and well worth the expenditures of money and energy. Objective standards of pupil performance indicate general improvement in reading vocabulary and comprehension and basic learning skills as well as enhanced student self-image. Continuing problems have been in the development and distribution of materials and in programming for junior and senior high levels.¹⁸ Although precise statistics are lacking, all indications are that the Chicano drop-out rate is extremely high, and this failure to complete high school greatly militates against advancement in a

¹⁷Elton D. Minkler, To Teach a Migrant Child: Programs and Concepts in Migrant Education (Salem: Oregon Board of Education, 1969), pp. 18-20, 23-26.

¹⁸See Board of Education, Evaluation: Oregon State Migrant Program (Salem, 1968-69, 1969-70, 1970-71).

degree-conscious society.

The drop-out problem in Oregon may even be more acute than in the Southwest where studies have revealed shocking rates.¹⁹ Oregon's smaller numbers of Chicanos lack the group solidarity and mutual support of large Southwest populations where "strength in numbers" helps Chicanos remain in school.²⁰ Anglo administrators often make no special effort to keep Chicanos in school and tacitly accept the drop-out pattern as something they cannot alter. In Washington County, many drop-outs feel that "people in school didn't try to understand Chicano students or relate to their feelings." Complaints of the irrelevance of mandatory, Anglo-oriented classes brought indifferent responses from school personnel.²¹ A Chicana drop-out in Forest Grove stated that she had been suspended from grammar school for wearing earrings, a cultural tradition universal in Latin America where babies' ears are pierced. Migrant and bilingual-bicultural education strives to eliminate the Anglo cultural blindness of such incidents and provide Chicanos with incentive for remaining in school.

The primary vehicle for fomenting cultural awareness among public school teachers is the Migrant Education Service Center in Salem which began functioning as the umbrella

¹⁹See Thomas P. Carter, Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect (Princeton: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970).

²⁰Joe Garcia, Title I-M Director, Hillsboro, (Interview).

²¹The Rural Tribune, May, 1974, p. 5.

organization for Oregon's twelve Title 1-M projects in 1973. The Center (MESC) purchases and prepares materials for in-service presentations and houses a multi-media component with equipment available for district use. As in the case of general public school curricula, early bilingual-bicultural material was Anglo-oriented, thus Center personnel are replacing culturally-irrelevant learning packages with more suitable ones produced with input from Chicano scholars.²²

It is difficult to induce even the slightest degree of cultural sensitivity among teachers, as many do not see the relatively small Chicano student population as meriting special attention; consequently, the MESC must employ a "soft approach" to create a favorable climate of opinion for the innovations in thought and methodology required by the bilingual-bicultural system. Many express impatience with the theories and concepts presented and desire a concise "recipe" for solving the "Chicano problem."²³ Basic to the success of teaching minority students is an alteration of viewpoint, a consciousness of the positive aspects of cultural and linguistic diversity that can only be attained through honest effort and introspection.

While migrant education can upgrade the learning experience for eligible children, those Chicano students who

²²"Migrant Education Service Center," (Salem, n.d., brochure); Francisco Loera, Director, MESC (Interview).

²³Loera (Interview).

are permanent residents and not eligible for Compensatory Education continue to languish under pedagogical theories and practices ill-suited to their needs. The bilingual-bicultural approach permits the mastery of subject material in two languages which contributes to the students' self-esteem, formation of identity and pride in both cultures.²⁴

The greatest advantage of such instruction is in the heightened learning ability and improved self-image of the youngster, but wider social benefits also accrue. The foremost is the utilization of native language skills which can mean substantial savings in time and money over the current practice of training English-speakers in second languages. America's extensive international commitments demand a reservoir of polyglot or at least bilingual technicians, diplomats and business people. Bilingual-bicultural studies immerse students in the subtle nuances of their native tongue, a decided improvement over crash courses in "tourist Spanish." At the local level, the technique "holds the promise of helping to harmonize various ethnic elements in a community into a mutually respectful and creative pluralistic society" as exemplified in Woodburn where the Nellie Muir Elementary School program instructs in Spanish, Russian and English.²⁵

²⁴ MESC, Learning Package: Bilingual-Bicultural Education: An Overview (Salem, 1974), p. 4.

²⁵ MESC, Learning Package, pp. 13, 16.

The earliest degree-granting program to recognize the special needs of Spanish-speakers was the Master of Arts in Teaching Migrant Education component at Eastern Oregon State College in LaGrande. That program, dating from the mid-1960's, was superseded by a four year Bilingual Education Component following the recommendation of ex-program director Theodore C. Brown in 1970. Students achieve mastery of Spanish and bilingual instruction skills, of concepts and subject matter pertinent to the lower elementary level and of techniques for reinforcing favorable student self-image. Federal stipends are available to students from farm worker backgrounds so the total program benefits both the prospective Spanish-speaking teachers and students.²⁶

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Except for the Eastern Oregon programs there have been few Chicanos in Oregon's system of higher education. One reason for their absence has been that efforts to encourage curricula revisions to meet Chicano needs have met with disappointment, as in 1971, when a group of Chicanos lobbied unsuccessfully for Mexican-American studies and special aid at Portland State University.²⁷ Awareness of the need for

²⁶ Eastern Oregon State College (LaGrande), Bulletin, 1972-73, p. 55; "The Bilingual Education Program at Eastern Oregon State College," (n.d., mimeographed); "Proposal for Undergraduate Bilingual Education Component," (1970, mimeographed).

²⁷ Oregonian, Aug. 3, 1971, sec. 3, p. 5.

unity prompted the formation of The Oregon Association of Chicano Students in 1973. Oregon Chairperson for the National Educational Task Force of La Raza, Teresa Moreno of the University of Oregon, became the first president. Initial plans centered on publicity and communication via a newsletter and state directory of students.²⁸ Chicano student organizations at most colleges and universities form a focal point for Chicano activities and seek "to promote sensitivity and awareness of the Chicano experience" to non-Chicanos.²⁹ Most sponsor festivities and workshops to publicize Chicano viewpoints and provide entertainment and information for the Spanish-speaking and Anglo alike.

Chicanos have not been the only persons to recognize the shortcomings of monocultural education. Four students of the School of Social Work at Portland State University concluded that there existed a serious "lack of commitment" to bring minority students into the program or to give Anglos proper preparation for dealing with minority group clients. Curricula additions of more relevant course work and more extensive and meaningful field work were strongly recommended to enable the social worker to relate successfully to black and Chicano clients. Since opening in 1962, the School of Social Work has hired only two Spanish-speakers,

²⁸Oregon Journal, Nov. 7, 1973, p. 7.

²⁹Chicano Student Union, Portland State University (Statement of Purpose, n.d.).

both Puerto Rican, and only one Spanish-speaker has completed the course of study.³⁰

The Chicano answer to the problem of higher education came in December, 1973 with the founding of Colegio César Chávez on the campus of the former Mt. Angel College which had been administered by Benedictine Sisters since 1888. Financial insolvency forced Mt. Angel to close and has continued to plague the new administrators of "the first independent Chicano educational institution in the nation." The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) refused to consider Colegio proposals for refinancing and advised the U. S. National Bank to initiate foreclosure proceedings in June, 1974, so a civil rights suit was filed against HUD charging discrimination against the Colegio. In spite of the monumental legal and financial obstacles, supporters of the college have vowed to sustain their efforts at all costs.³¹

The principal goal of the Colegio "is to prepare young Chicanos through higher education to serve the needs of the Chicano community." At the Colegio, students can learn in

³⁰Robert M. Hight, et al., "Communication Barriers Between White Social Work Students and Black and Chicano Clients," (Portland State University School of Social Work, 1973, unpublished paper), pp. 52-5, 64.

³¹Colegio César Chávez, Mt. Angel, "Philosophy, Goals, History, Faculty, Admissions, Financial, Academic and General Information" (Jan., 1974); "Save Colegio César Chávez Trust Fund" Pledge Agreement, p. 1. (n.d.)

familiar surroundings and participate in non-traditional approaches to higher education. The first courses of study included Chicano studies, bilingual-bicultural education, early childhood development, adult education and the unique College-without-walls (Colegio sin Parades) program which discards traditional classroom methods to permit the student freedom to explore any aspect of life: employment, social problems, family patterns and the like.³²

According to José Romero, Academic Dean, Chicanos from a rural, communal background characterized by close personal relationships feel lost and alien in the face of the impersonal procedures and structures of a typical Anglo university. The usual result is dropping out of school, or more tragically, out of society into an introverted and sometimes drug-ridden existence. The Colegio's familia framework allows Chicanos to acquire basic educational skills within familiar behavioral patterns so that they can readily make the transition to an Anglo milieu without loss of cultural identity.³³

Colegio figures indicate that of 375 Chicanos in Oregon colleges in early 1974, 105 were at the Colegio, one demonstration of the need it has filled. The vast majority of

³²Colegio César Chávez, "The Birth of a Chicano Institution of Higher Education," (n.d., mimeographed), p. 3; "Philosophy, History, Goals."

³³José Romero, Colegio (Interview). The problem of the cultural irrelevance of the schools is common to all levels of education: the goals of the Colegio for higher education are similar to those of migrant and bilingual-bicultural education programs.

Colegio students and faculty for the first year were Chicanos from farm worker backgrounds, and, although Anglo students are welcome to share in the ambiente chicano, the intent is to keep the Colegio an institution run by Chicanos for Chicanos.

Funding for the first six months was from a federal "Strengthening Basic Institutions" grant, but the nearly one million dollar debt inherited from Mt. Angel College presents a large burden to a fledgling institution. In addition to applying for grants from major philanthropical and educational foundations, Colegio supporters also mounted a "Save Colegio César Chávez Trust Fund" drive to raise funds and show generative power indicative of local support. The Portland City Council adopted a supportive resolution, and operational aid has been rendered by the Valley Migrant League, the Migrant Education Service Center, the Chicano Mobile Institute (University of Utah) and Chicano educators and volunteers.³⁴

Enthusiasm for the institution has not been universal, especially within the immediate Mt. Angel area, as many older residents of the strongly German-Catholic community do not look upon a large Chicano influx with relish. In its last year, Mt. Angel College became a counter-culture mecca,

³⁴Antonio Fernández, Colegio Staff (Interview); "Philosophy, Goals, History"; Oregonian, Apr. 18, 1974, p. 13.

a transformation welcomed by neither the Benedictine Sisters nor the townspeople, and that reputation has lingered. The inability of the old college to meet tax and loan obligations also left a residue of bad credit that haunts the present administration.³⁵

Even if the efforts to retain the buildings at Mt. Angel fail, it is likely that the philosophies of the Colegio will be implemented elsewhere. Most Oregon Chicanos are proud of the institution and consider its survival necessary to the welfare of la raza in the Northwest. The college bears the name of a man renowned for his "dedication and steadfast resistance," and the same determination and faith that characterizes the farm labor movement is evident in the drive to save the colegio.³⁶ Chicanos see both efforts as part of la causa and voice the same belief in both cases that si se puede.

³⁵ José Gallegos, Colegio staff, (Speech in Portland, Portland State University, May 15, 1974).

³⁶ Colegio, "Mt. Angel College Renamed Colegio César Chávez" (Press release, Dec. 17, 1973).

CHAPTER IX

DISCRIMINATION

Discrimination is an elusive and subjective phenomenon unmeasurable by scientific means but very real to the victim. In overt form, discrimination becomes segregation or hostility while covertly it is subtly attitudinal or even unconscious. All Chicanos interviewed for this study felt that discrimination, overt and/or attitudinal, existed in Oregon in one or more of the following areas: housing, employment, education and by the police. To some, Oregon's racial climate was one of unenunciated racism perhaps more insidious than that of the Southwest. The fact that most Anglo Oregonians don't realize their latent racism and that it isn't expressed in formal structural terms does not lessen the impact upon Chicanos sensitized by decades of prejudice.

Incidents of discrimination recorded in the press in the Nyssa-Ontario region of eastern Oregon go back at least to 1962. At that time, complaints flowed from Spanish-speaking residents of "No Mexicans Allowed" signs in taverns so that Chicanos had nowhere to meet socially.¹

A decade later Anglo-Chicano friction persisted and flared when four Chicano activists were fired from federal

¹ Oregon Journal, July 19, 1962, p. 2.

anti-poverty programs by the board of Treasure Valley Community College in Ontario. The four lost their positions for allegedly spending more time laboring on behalf of the Chicano movement, "Viva La Raza," than on their educational responsibilities. The Migrant Advisory Board filed two suits and sought an injunction against interference by the TVCC board in migrant program activities. In an out-of-court settlement, the four were returned to the payroll, TVCC was given control of adult education classes and the Migrant Advisory Board placed in charge of migrant education. A broader aspect of the dispute was growers' resentment that "good Mexican workers" were being "taken off the farm and put into school." Tony Solis, one of the four activists, stated the matter succinctly: "There is a great deal of discrimination in the area."²

A 1971 Oregonian article by Robert Olmos quoted many discontented Chicanos in western Oregon.

Frank Martínez, ex-Director of the VML: ". . . we are tired of cookies and old clothes."

Carlos Rivera, Jr., political figure: "What do we want? Equal opportunity, equal justice. We want to be able to provide adequate housing for our families. In short, we want first class citizenship."

Rafael Pablo Ciddio y Abeyta, educator: "The troubles we've had with the cultural center and what is happening in Ontario show that racism is still at work--that we are still considered second class citizens."

²Sunday Oregonian, Jan. 10, 1971, p. 1; Oregonian, Jan. 23, p. 8; Feb. 11, p. 15; Mar. 9, 1971, sec. 2, p. 4.

Ironically, most of Oregon's Chicano population migrated from Texas, many to escape the bitter racism experienced in the borderlands.³

In Washington County, Chicanos have complained of being "ignored and disregarded, harassed, insulted and generally made to feel like a second-class citizen." A Forest Grove tavern owner allegedly ordered three Chicanos from the premise for conversing in Spanish. Others have cited cases of police harassment and the lack of Spanish-speaking police personnel. Chicanos have also been greatly under-represented in all areas of stable employment; for example, only five of six hundred county employes were Chicanos in 1972.⁴

Employment discrimination was also charged against the Bonneville Power Administration in 1973 by Frank Martínez, representing several Chicano groups, who contended that two and one-half years after President Nixon's "equal opportunity mandate for Chicanos" in October, 1970, the BPA still employed only fifteen Chicanos out of a total of 3,400 workers. Marie Parra, hired by the BPA to seek qualified Chicanos, noted that she had received no support for her efforts from the administration.⁵

³Sunday Oregonian, Jan. 24, 1971, p. 1.

⁴Sunday Oregonian, Feb. 18, 1973, "Forum," p. 1.

⁵Oregonian, Apr. 17, 1973, p. 11. Julian Samora and Richard A. Lamanna point out problems of discrimination against Chicanos in the north in Mexican-Americans in a Midwest Metropolis: A Study of East Chicago (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

In the area of education, the Dayton district attracted attention when an investigation by the Office for Civil Rights revealed discrimination in disciplinary procedures. In violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Title VI), the district had "officially disciplined," expelled or suspended proportionately more minority than Anglo students. For one period, suspensions equaled 20 per cent of the minority enrollment and only 2 per cent of Anglo students. Furthermore, the Chicano drop-out rate was considerably higher.⁶

State government has not been totally blind to the need for cultural understanding. A three-day Affirmative Action Workshop, sponsored by Governor Tom McCall and the Bureau of Labor, was held at Salishan in December, 1973 to "sensitize" state personnel. The occasion was nearly marred by a Chicano walk-out when some participants objected to a display erected by Chicanos supporting the United Farm Workers' boycott. The Chicanos remained as did the display, but the incident highlighted the gulf between Anglos who view the UFW movement as purely political and Chicanos who see it as a struggle for survival.⁷

Commercial advertising has drawn criticism for racist campaigns such as the "Frito Bandito" and the ubiquitous caricature of the fat, sombreroed Mexican taking a siesta

⁶The Rural Tribune, May, 1974, p. 4; Oregonian, Apr. 23, 1974; Apr. 25, 1974. p. 28.

⁷Sunday Oregonian, Dec. 2, 1973, p. 37.

under a cactus.⁸ The effect of negative stereotypes, especially upon impressionable children, is to create preconceptions which lead to feelings of racism for the Anglo youngster or self-deprecation for the Chicanito. The pervasive messages of the mass media can foster a process of unconscious racist conditioning through which children form negative images before they have any contact with the realities involved.⁹

A 1971 complaint by the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund induced Georgia-Pacific Corporation to cease offensive advertising depicting the familiar sleeping Mexican. A corporation advertising manager opined that "only the most sensitive person would have found the vignette offensive," and that Georgia-Pacific failed to find the commercial objectionable.¹⁰

The attitude expressed by the advertising executive is the epitome of cultural opacity and obtuseness. The fact that corporation officials failed to understand the Chicanos' reaction to the depiction lies at the heart of Chicano bitterness toward Anglo racism, for the WASP, lacking repeated experiences of discrimination and negative

⁸See Thomas M. Martínez, "Advertising and Racism: The Case of the Mexican-American," in Voices, ed. by Romano-V.

⁹Mario Cordova, ex-Cultural Coordinator, Centro Chicano Cultural (Woodburn, Interview).

¹⁰Oregonian, May 7, 1971, p. 13.

stereotyping, cannot empathize with what he considers as Chicano "hypersensitivity."

David Aguilar, Executive Director of the Centro Chicano Cultural, is a master at "putting the shoe on the other foot" to jolt Anglos into recognizing their cultural ignorance and inadvertent racism. He uses statements such as, "He's an Anglo, but he's still O.K.," or "Some of my best friends are Anglos, I even invited one to coffee," or to hostile queries of why he doesn't go back to Mexico if he dislikes it here, he replies in all honesty, "I've never been there." Discriminatory attitudes are learned; they can be changed, if Anglos and Chicanos look closely at themselves and see the common humanity beneath different colored skins.¹¹

Chicanos resent the implication that they are "culturally-disadvantaged" if they do not acknowledge and accept Anglo values. Not only do most consider their culture equal to that of the Anglo, many find the gabacho world singularly unappealing:

The North American culture is not worth copying: it is destructive of personal dignity; it is callous, vindictive, arrogant, militaristic, self-deceiving, and greedy; it is a gold-plated ball-point pen; it is James Eastland and Richard Nixon; it is Strom Thurmond and Lyndon Johnson; it is a Mustang and old-folks' homes; it is Medicare and OEO; it is an \$80 billion defense budget and \$75 a month welfare; it is a cultural cesspool and a social and spiritual vacuum for the Chicano.¹²

¹¹David Aguilar (Interview).

¹²Armando B. Rendon, "Chicano Culture in a Gabacho World," in Chicano Studies, ed. by Duran and Bernard, p.354.

Few Chicanos in Oregon hold such an extremely negative view of Anglo culture, but none are willing to forsake a proud heritage and become "brown Anglos" (Agringados or Agabachados) simply for social acceptance or economic expediency. It can only be hoped that Anglos will accept cultural differences as positive counterweights to social conformity and bland homogeneity and see the Chicano as a refreshingly unique individual rather than as a threat.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS AND A NOTE ON FUTURE RESEARCH

Few will agree that the role and influence of the Chicano in American history has not been distorted and ignored. Chicano and culturally-aware Anglo scholars are reappraising past misconceptions to form a clearer interpretation of the nation's multi-ethnic heritage. While angry polemics such as Chicano Manifesto by Armando B. Rendon add little of a constructive nature to the study of history, work by others such as Ernesto Galarza and Julian Samora is exhibiting a successful blend of cultural pride and honest, critical scholarship.¹

In fictional literature Mexicans and Chicanos have been caricatured by Anglo writers who seldom treated them as realistic, believable characters. Until recently, the Chicano, imbued with an oral tradition, did not write about himself; hence, Anglo-drawn portraits of defeated, mistreated, vicious or tragi-comic figures were widely accepted.²

¹Rendon, Chicano Manifesto (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971); See Ernesto Galarza, Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story (Santa Barbara: McNally and Loftin, 1966) and Julian Samora, La Raza: Forgotten Americans (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971).

²Edward Simmen, The Chicano: From Caricature to Self-Portrait (New York: New American Library, 1971), pp. 16-7.

Anglo vision of the Mexican has been filtered through prejudices against Catholicism, darker peoples and cultural differences. A negative stereotype similar to the leyenda negra image of the Spanish in Latin America depicted the Mexican as cruel, unclean, sensuous, cowardly, technologically-backward, morbid and mongrel.³ Not until Chicano authors created characters out of their own experiences were believable Mexican Americans portrayed in fictional works. The first "Chicano novel," Pocho by José Antonio Villarreal, was published in 1959, an indication of the newness of Chicano literature. A decade passed before a second major novel emerged, Richard Vasquez' angry Chicano. Currently, Chicanos are contributing to all types of literature and greatly aiding in the correction of erroneous interpretations of Chicano behavior.⁴

In the Pacific Northwest, the Chicano has thus far not figured in historical or fictional writing. Standard treatments of Northwest history by Hubert Howe Bancroft, Robert Cantwell, George Fuller, Stewart Holbrook, Dorothy Johansen and Charles Gates, David Lavender, Fred Lockley, Earl

³Cecil Robinson, ed., With the Ears of Strangers: The Mexican in American Literature (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1963), p. vii.

⁴Pocho (New York: Anchor Books, 1970); Chicano (New York: Avon Books, 1970); See Philip D. Ortego, "The Chicano Renaissance," in Chicano Studies, ed. by Duran and Bernard, and Gerald Haslam, "Por la Causa: Mexican-American Literature," College English, XXXI (April, 1970), 695-709.

Pomeroy and Sidney Warren together contain less than one page total pertaining to Spanish-speaking peoples other than the early voyagers.⁵ The journal literature is equally barren of references to Mexicans or Chicanos, although far more arcane and esoteric subjects are treated.

Admittedly, the role of Spanish-speakers between the early explorations of the sixteenth century and the influx of migratory workers after World War II was slight; however, they were not totally absent from Oregon as most commentators would seem to imply. The point is not to deny the very dominant role of the Anglo-American in settling the Northwest, but rather to recognize the diverse cultural history of the area: Spanish, Russian, French, English, Oriental, Native American, Black and Chicano to name a few influences.

European ethnic groups have continued to proclaim and celebrate their cultural heritages: the Germans at Verboort and Mt. Angel, the Finns at Astoria, Russians at Woodburn and Scandinavians at Junction City. Chicanos, although

⁵H. H. Bancroft, History of Oregon, Vol. II (1888); Cantwell, The Hidden Northwest (1972); Fuller, A History of the Pacific Northwest (1958); Holbrook, Far Corner (1952); Johansen and Gates, Empire of the Columbia (1957); Lavender, Land of Giants (1958); Lockley, History of the Columbia River Valley (1928); Pomeroy, The Pacific Slope (1965); Warren, Farthest Frontier (1949). See Bibliography-Books for full citations. These works are cited as better known examples of Northwest historical writing, but many more were examined and could be equally well offered as negative evidence. As far as unpublished material, Erasmo Gamboa's study of the Yakima Valley ("Chicanos in the Northwest: A Historical Perspective," University of Washington, 1971) seems to be the only work of even marginal relevance.

migrants from within the United States, should be viewed within the multi-ethnic mosaic of Northwest history. They are the most recent of a long line of immigrants desiring acceptance as equals and the right to retain values and practices appropriate to their culture. The economic contribution of the Chicano to the state has been great, and the potential cultural input should broaden and enrich the lives of all Oregonians. All facets of a full community life are present in Oregon's Chicano population, economic, social, educational, political, religious and cultural. It only remains for Anglos to put aside ethnocentrism, and for both Chicanos and Anglos to extend the hand of brotherhood and cooperation.

The dearth of standard historical source material relative to Spanish-speaking people in Oregon required heavy reliance upon oral research, interviews, conversations and speeches. Bilinguality was not an absolute prerequisite, but it helped in establishing credibility as one with an understanding and appreciation of Chicano values.

The original research plan included a bilingual questionnaire to measure attitudes in such areas as discrimination and education, but it proved to be a greater hindrance than an aid as respondents were uniformly negative toward filling them out. As one man put it, "People are tired of questionnaires." The reluctance to complete the brief form may reflect a number of factors: a preference for oral

communication, distrust or suspicion of the manner in which the data would be utilized or dislike of standardized, anonymous forms that seem to typify Anglo bureaucracies. If questionnaires are used in future research (as they undoubtedly will be), it is advisable that they be administered by Chicanos preferably on behalf of Chicano organizations.

Chicanos were generally receptive to interviews, although initial suspicion was sometimes evident until rapport had been achieved. For the most part, cooperation was enthusiastic and complete once assurances were made that the study would in no way harm la raza and might conceivably be of benefit. Cultural sensitivity is vital to the Anglo scholar, but unquestionably Chicano researchers could conduct interviews in greater depth because of the confianza between carnales.

Further research into all aspects of Chicano life in the Northwest is necessary to attain a more complete understanding of the motives and processes involved in the migration northward. The role of the Catholic Church, not treated in this study, should be examined as that institution continues to exert a strong influence upon most Chicanos. Local newspaper, county and city records and oral sources should yield further data for examination and consideration. The depth and diversity of Oregon's Chicano community holds a wealth of material for analysis, by the Anglo for cultural broadening, and by the Chicano for the enhanced understanding of self made possible by an historical perspective.

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The most perceptive and thought-provoking journal literature is being written by Chicano scholars. While activist writing often violates the principles of objectivity and scholarship, it does prompt the Anglo to reexamine his own viewpoint more critically. The readings edited by Duran and Bernard and Romano-V are the best published to date.

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The title of the Gamboa article is misleading for he treats only the Yakima Valley in Washington; however, his conclusions are likely valid for the Hood River Valley of Oregon as well. The paper by the Portland State University students makes a strong case for the need for cultural sensitivity.

The only newspapers indexed for research are the Oregonian and Oregon Journal. Researchers willing to spend the time would likely find material in local papers in many Oregon communities. The bilingual press contains the most complete coverage of Chicano events and viewpoints.

APPENDIX
TABLE I

97

MEXICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES, 1820-1973

<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>IMMIGRANTS</u>
1820-30	4,817
1830-40	6,599
1840-50	3,271
1850-60	3,078
1860-70	2,191
1870-80	5,162
1880-90	1,913
1890-1900	971
1900-10	49,642
1910-20	219,004
1920-30	459,287
1930-40	22,319
1940-50	60,589
1950-60	299,811
1961-65	228,401
1966	47,217
1967	43,034
1968	44,716
1969	45,748
1970	44,821
1971	50,324
1972	64,209
1973	70,411
<u>TOTAL</u>	1,777,536

SOURCE: Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report, 1973, pp. 53-55.

APPENDIX

TABLE II

98

NUMBER OF BRACEROS ADMITTED FOR TEMPORARY
WORK IN U. S. AGRICULTURE,
1942-1967

<u>CALENDAR YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER ADMITTED</u>
1942	4,203
1943	52,098
1944	62,170
1945	49,454
1946	32,043
1947	19,632
1948	35,345
1949	107,000
1950	67,500
1951	192,000
1952	197,100
1953	201,380
1954	309,033
1955	398,650
1956	445,197
1957	436,049
1958	432,857
1959	437,643
1960	315,846
1961	291,420
1962	194,978
1963	186,865
1964	177,736
1965	20,284
1966	8,647
1967	6,125

SOURCE: Leo Grebler, et al., "The Ebb and Flow of Immigration," in Introduction to Chicano Studies: A Reader ed. by L. I. Duran and H. R. Bernard (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1973), p. 216.

APPENDIX
TABLE III

99

RANKING OF STATES USING MIGRANT FARMWORKERS

NATIONAL RANKING BY STATE

<u>RANK</u>	<u>STATE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1	California	133,386
2	Texas	96,304
3	Michigan	83,696
4	Florida	77,159
5	Oregon	43,233
6	Ohio	32,583
7	Washington	31,257
8	New York	29,280
9	Wisconsin	19,687
10	Arizona	19,292

NATIONAL RANKING BY COUNTIES

<u>RANK</u>	<u>COUNTY, STATE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1	Monterey, California	61,128
2	Fresno, California	44,582
3	Kern, California	25,528
4	Dade, Florida	12,580
5	Sandusky, Ohio	11,900
6	Berrien, Michigan	11,717
7	San Joaquin, California	11,028
8	Marion, Oregon	10,700
9	Palm Beach, Florida	10,000

RANKING BY OREGON COUNTIES

<u>RANK</u>	<u>COUNTY</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1	Marion	10,700
2	Wasco	6,000
3	Yamhill	4,673
4	Clackamas	3,000
5	Polk	2,850
6	Malheur	2,705
7	Hood River	2,500
8	Washington	2,500
9	Linn	1,838
10	Jackson	1,645

SOURCE: U. S. Senate Sub-Committee Report on Migratory Labor, 1969.

APPENDIX
TABLE IV

100

AVERAGE SEASONAL FARM EMPLOYMENT REPORTED MID-MONTH,
MAY THROUGH OCTOBER

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Intrastate Migratory</u>	<u>Interstate Migratory</u>
1972	23,725	19,564 (82.5%)	1,088	3,073 (12.9%)
1971	26,934	20,941 (77.7%)	1,304	4,689 (17.4%)
1970	32,179	25,544 (79.4%)	1,097	5,538 (17.2%)
1969	35,896	28,128 (78.3%)	1,457	6,311 (17.6%)
1968	33,203	25,425 (76.6%)	1,399	6,379 (19.2%)
1967	36,353	26,990 (74.2%)	1,458	7,905 (21.7%)
1966	37,820	27,549 (72.8%)	1,546	8,725 (23.1%)
1965	31,880	23,285 (73.7%)	1,415	7,180 (22.5%)
1964	*31,846	23,108 (72.6%)	1,297	7,410 (23.3%)
1963	*34,920	24,610 (70.5%)	1,565	8,734 (25.0%)
1962	*36,650	25,572 (69.8%)	1,527	9,475 (25.8%)
1961	*34,160	24,453 (71.6%)	1,587	8,064 (23.6%)

*Includes foreign workers.

SOURCE: Department of Human Resources, Oregon State
Employment Service. Annual Rural Manpower
Report, 1971, p. 11, 1972, p. 78.

WILLAMETTE VALLEY STRAWBERRY HARVEST
SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT AND ACRES
REPORTED JUNE 15, 1967-1972

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>WORKERS</u>		<u>ACRES</u>
	<u>LOCAL</u>	<u>MIGRATORY</u>	
1967	55,000	11,000	12,300
1968	51,000	8,000	11,900
1969	63,000	7,000	11,500
1970	46,000	7,000	10,600
1971	28,000	5,000	9,900
1972	39,000	4,000	7,000
1973 est.			7,000

TABLE VI

WILLAMETTE VALLEY POLE BEAN HARVEST
SEASONAL EMPLOYMENT AND ACRES
REPORTED AUGUST 15, 1967-1972

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>WORKERS</u>		<u>ACRES</u>
	<u>LOCAL</u>	<u>MIGRATORY</u>	
1967	47,000	9,500	10,100
1968	51,000	9,000	11,200
1969	39,000	6,500	8,900
1970	40,000	5,500	7,600
1971	31,000	5,000	5,200
1972	12,500	2,000	3,200
1973 est.			2,000

SOURCE: Department of Human Resources, Oregon State
Employment Service, Annual Rural Manpower
Report, 1972, pp. 7-8.

APPENDIX
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA BY COUNTY

TABLE VIII
CLACKAMAS
POPULATION

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
166,088	2,084	1.25
	<u>PLACE OF BIRTH</u>	
	<u>OREGON</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
656	1,018	102
	<u>RESIDENCE IN 1965</u>	
	<u>OREGON</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
1,186	304	40
	<u>MEDIAN AGE</u>	
<u>MALE</u>		<u>FEMALE</u>
20.1		20.7

EDUCATION: MALES AGE 25 AND OVER

<u>MEDIAN YEARS COMPLETED</u>	<u>PER CENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES</u>
12.3	61

MEDIAN INCOME (\$)

<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
11,995	10,508

FAMILY INCOME (%)

<u>INCOME (\$)</u>	<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
0-3,999	9.79	15.50
4,000-5,999	7.95	5.08
6,000-11,999	42.27	46.00
12,000 AND OVER	39.99	33.42

FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
2,841	62	2.19

PER CENT OF ALL SPANISH LANGUAGE FAMILIES BPL

14.1

APPENDIX

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA BY COUNTYTABLE IX
JACKSON
POPULATION

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
94,533	1,571	1.66

PLACE OF BIRTH

<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
443	867	167

RESIDENCE IN 1965

<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
721	418	24

MEDIAN AGE

<u>MALE</u>		<u>FEMALE</u>
21.6		18.8

EDUCATION: MALES AGE 25 AND OVER

<u>MEDIAN YEARS COMPLETED</u>	<u>PER CENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES</u>
11.2	39

MEDIAN INCOME (\$)

<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
9648	8937

FAMILY INCOME (%)

<u>INCOME (\$)</u>	<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
0-3,999	16.88	20.58
4,000-5,999	12.84	14.20
6,000-11,999	45.43	34.78
12,000 AND OVER	24.85	30.44

FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
2,528	42	1.66

PER CENT OF ALL SPANISH LANGUAGE FAMILIES BPL

12.2

APPENDIX
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA BY COUNTY

TABLE X
KLAMATH
POPULATION

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
50,021	1,281	2.56
	<u>PLACE OF BIRTH</u>	
<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
485	623	133
	<u>RESIDENCE IN 1965</u>	
<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
681	313	105
<u>MALE</u>	<u>MEDIAN AGE</u>	
21.0		21.3

EDUCATION: MALES AGE 25 AND OVER

<u>MEDIAN YEARS COMPLETED</u>	<u>PER CENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES</u>
12.3	67

MEDIAN INCOME (\$)

<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
9,746	8,946

FAMILY INCOME (%)

<u>INCOME (\$)</u>	<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
0-3,999	14.40	17.67
4,000-5,999	12.68	4.95
6,000-11,999	46.61	56.89
12,000 AND OVER	26.31	20.49

FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
1,328	31	2.33

PER CENT OF ALL SPANISH LANGUAGE FAMILIES BPL

11.0

APPENDIX
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA BY COUNTY
 TABLE XI
LANE

POPULATION

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
213,358	2,662	1.25

PLACE OF BIRTH

<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
925	1,280	208

RESIDENCE IN 1965

<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
1,400	654	91

MEDIAN AGE

<u>MALE</u>		<u>FEMALE</u>
21.0		19.9

EDUCATION: MALES AGE 25 AND OVER

<u>MEDIAN YEARS COMPLETED</u>	<u>PER CENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES</u>
12.5	70

MEDIAN INCOME (\$)

<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
10,528	9,700

FAMILY INCOME (%)

<u>INCOME (\$)</u>	<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
0-3,999	13.41	14.05
4,000-5,999	10.43	12.21
6,000-11,999	46.06	45.82
12,000 AND OVER	30.10	27.92

FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
4,350	56	1.29

PER CENT OF ALL SPANISH LANGUAGE FAMILIES BPL

9.2

APPENDIX

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA BY COUNTY

TABLE XII

MALHEURPOPULATION

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
23,169	2,546	10.99
	<u>PLACE OF BIRTH</u>	
<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
604	1,450	277
	<u>RESIDENCE IN 1965</u>	
<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
1,230	579	34
<u>MALE</u>	<u>MEDIAN AGE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>
16.5		14.5

EDUCATION: MALES AGE 25 AND OVER

<u>MEDIAN YEARS COMPLETED</u>	<u>PER CENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES</u>
6.1	21

MEDIAN INCOME (\$)

<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
8,736	5,871

FAMILY INCOME (%)

<u>INCOME (\$)</u>	<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
0-3,999	19.90	40.08
4,000-5,999	15.99	31.82
6,000-11,999	42.58	18.60
12,000 AND OVER	21.53	9.50

FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
919	212	23.1

PER CENT OF ALL SPANISH LANGUAGE FAMILIES BPL

43.8

APPENDIX
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA BY COUNTY

TABLE XIII
MARION

POPULATION

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
151,309	4,215	2.79

PLACE OF BIRTH

<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
1,027	2,307	546

RESIDENCE IN 1965

<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
2,262	959	38

MEDIAN AGE

<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>
16.8	16.0

EDUCATION: MALES AGE 25 AND OVER

<u>MEDIAN YEARS COMPLETED</u>	<u>PER CENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES</u>
8.4	35

MEDIAN INCOME (\$)

<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
9,986	6,909

FAMILY INCOME (%)

<u>INCOME (\$)</u>	<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
0-3,999	16.12	27.67
4,000-5,999	11.32	18.85
6,000-11,999	42.66	42.78
12,000 AND OVER	29.90	10.70

FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
3,708	197	5.31

PER CENT OF ALL SPANISH LANGUAGE FAMILIES BPL

26.3

APPENDIX
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA BY COUNTY

TABLE XIV
MULTNOMAH
POPULATION

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
556,667	8,356	1.50

<u>PLACE OF BIRTH</u>		
<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
2,900	3,697	1,220

<u>RESIDENCE IN 1965</u>		
<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
4,747	1,693	389

<u>MALE</u>	<u>MEDIAN AGE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>
23.0		22.1

EDUCATION: MALES AGE 25 AND OVER

<u>MEDIAN YEARS COMPLETED</u>	<u>PER CENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES</u>
12.3	62

MEDIAN INCOME (\$)

<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
11,747	10,435

FAMILY INCOME (%)

<u>INCOME (\$)</u>	<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
0-3,999	11.88	12.55
4,000-5,999	9.36	10.85
6,000-11,999	41.22	47.87
12,000 AND OVER	37.54	28.73

FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
10,773	233	2.16

PER CENT OF ALL SPANISH LANGUAGE FAMILIES BPL

12.3

APPENDIX
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA BY COUNTY

TABLE XV
WASHINGTON
POPULATION

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
157,920	2,457	1.56
	<u>PLACE OF BIRTH</u>	
<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
695	1,302	256
	<u>RESIDENCE IN 1965</u>	
<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
1,227	675	81
<u>MALE</u>	<u>MEDIAN AGE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>
19.5		17.4

EDUCATION: MALES AGE 25 AND OVER

<u>MEDIAN YEARS COMPLETED</u>	<u>PER CENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES</u>
11.8	49

MEDIAN INCOME (\$)

<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
12,983	10,009

FAMILY INCOME (%)

<u>INCOME (\$)</u>	<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
0-3,999	7.74	14.11
4,000-5,999	6.97	10.89
6,000-11,999	39.13	42.94
12,000 AND OVER	46.16	32.06

FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
1,909	48	2.52

PER CENT OF ALL SPANISH LANGUAGE FAMILIES BPL

10.4

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA BY COUNTYTABLE XVI
YAMHILLPOPULATION

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
40,213	1,193	2.97

PLACE OF BIRTH

<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
242	708	86

RESIDENCE IN 1965

<u>OREGON</u>	<u>OTHER STATE</u>	<u>ABROAD</u>
534	363	28

MEDIAN AGE

<u>MALE</u>		<u>FEMALE</u>
18.4		16.3

EDUCATION: MALES AGE 25 AND OVER

<u>MEDIAN YEARS COMPLETED</u>	<u>PER CENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES</u>
10.1	38

MEDIAN INCOME (\$)

<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
9,873	8,127

FAMILY INCOME (%)

<u>INCOME (\$)</u>	<u>CAUCASIAN</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>
0-3,999	16.91	21.25
4,000-5,999	13.26	20.29
6,000-11,999	42.36	40.10
12,000 AND OVER	27.47	18.36

FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SPANISH LANGUAGE</u>	<u>PER CENT S L</u>
1,038	58	5.59

PER CENT OF ALL SPANISH LANGUAGE FAMILIES BPL

26.2

TABLE XVII

PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITH MORE THAN ONE
HUNDRED SPANISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS
FALL, 1972

<u>COUNTY/DISTRICT</u>	<u>STUDENTS</u>	<u>SPANISH-SPEAKING PER CENT</u>	<u>TEACHERS</u>
Jackson Medford 549C	125	1.2	0
Klamath Klamath County	104	1.5	0
Lane Eugene 04J	108	0.5	2
Malheur Ontario 8C	363	13.1	1
Marion Jefferson 14J	109	12.1	0
North Marion 15	171	13.6	1
Salem	462	2.1	1
Woodburn	294	14.9	6
Multnomah Portland	786	1.1	8
Polk Central 13J	268	10.8	1
Washington Forest Grove	198	4.9	1
Hillsboro	105	2.6	0
Beaverton	101	0.5	5
STATE TOTALS:	6,541	1.4	66 (0.3%)

SOURCE: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office for Civil Rights, Directory of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Selected Districts: Enrollment and Staff by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1972, pp. 1137-57.