

# El Grito

A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN-AMERICAN THOUGHT

fall 1970

\$1.25

OCTAVIO ROMANO-V.

SOCIAL SCIENCE, OBJECTIVITY, AND THE CHICANOS

NICK C. VACA

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

ARMANDO MORALES

POLICE DEPLOYMENT THEORIES

SAMUEL R. ALVIDREZ

DRUG USE TRENDS IN CALIFORNIA

---

## QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS, INC.

is an unaffiliated, non-funded, self-supporting Mexican-American publishing house that also publishes books dealing with the contemporary nature of Mexican-Americans. Interested persons may write for a free catalogue to Quinto Sol Publications, Inc., P. O. Box 9275, Berkeley, California 94709.

---

*Publishing Schedule:* *EL GRITO* is published quarterly — November, February, May, August — by Quinto Sol Publications, Inc., 2168 Shattuck Ave., Room 208, Berkeley, California 94704.

---

*Subscriptions:* \$4.00 per year: foreign, \$5.00. All single and back issues — \$1.25 each, prepaid. When moving please give advance notice of four weeks, giving both the old and new address. *Important:* Enclose a recent magazine address label.

---

*Special Rates:* Groups, organizations, schools and other institutions interested in purchasing *EL GRITO* in large quantities, may write for our special bulk rates to Quinto Sol Publications, Inc., P. O. Box 9275, Berkeley, California 94709.

---

*Manuscripts:* If *EL GRITO* is truly to function as a forum for contemporary Mexican-American thought, it must have the active participation of its Mexican-American readers. We invite contributions in both written and graphic form — academic papers, book reviews, short stories, poetry, satire, drawings, photographs, and cartoons. Relevance of topic and quality of work are the only editorial standards. To insure return, manuscripts and materials must be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Address all contributions to *EL GRITO*, P. O. Box 9275, Berkeley, California 94709. Interested contributors may write to *EL GRITO* for Fee schedule: Payment to contributors to *EL GRITO*.

---

*Advertising:* Advertising rate cards are available by writing to Advertising, Quinto Sol Publications, Inc., P. O. Box 9275, Berkeley, California 94709.

---

# El Grito

A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN-AMERICAN THOUGHT

---

Volume IV, No. 1

Fall 1970

---

*Editors:* OCTAVIO I. ROMANO-V.  
*Behavioral Sciences*  
University of California, Berkeley

HERMINIO RÍOS  
*Comparative Literature*  
Chicano Studies  
University of California, Berkeley

*Associate Editors:* NICK C. VACA  
*Sociology*  
University of California, Berkeley

ANDRES YBARRA  
*Quinto Sol Publications*

*Contributing Editors:* GUSTAVO SEGADE  
*Spanish*  
San Diego State College

SALVADOR ALVAREZ  
*Social Welfare*  
University of California, Berkeley

ARMAND SÁNCHEZ  
*Social Welfare*  
University of California, Berkeley

ANTONIA CASTAÑEDA SHULAR  
*Quinto Sol Publications*

*Address all correspondence to:*

P. O. Box 9275, Berkeley, California 94709

---

Copyright © 1970 by QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS, INC. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced in any manner without permission in writing, except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews.

Second Class Postage Paid at Berkeley, California 94701

---

051  
G 871  
v. 4

# Contents

---

	EDITORIAL . . . . .	3
OCTAVIO I. ROMANO-V.	SOCIAL SCIENCE, OBJECTIVITY AND THE CHICANOS . . . . .	4
NICK C. VACA	THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES 1912-1970 PART II: 1936-1970 . . . . .	17
ARMANDO MORALES	POLICE DEPLOYMENT THEORIES AND THE MEXICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY . . . . .	52
SAMUEL R. ALVIDREZ	NARCOTICS AND DRUG USE TRENDS IN CALIFORNIA . . . . .	65

Detail of the mural that appeared in the last issue, Summer, 1970, is located at the Latin American Library in Oakland, California. Photography for the cover was by Guillermo Celaya.

# Editorial

One of the present manifest aspects of Anglo academics *vis-a-vis* the Mexican-American has been a renewed and vigorous analytical interest in their social problems and historical struggles. The reason for this impetus is, as has been in previous times, a sympathetic concern with his pitiously poor social and economic conditions. More recently, however, it has resulted mainly from the Mexican-American's own renewed vocalization of his problems. Moreover, in addition to this vocalization Mexican-Americans, moved by sympathetic interest and strong emotional feeling for the plight of his fellows, has begun to step into this historically all white arena of academic analysis. As he steps into this arena to partake of its explanatory fruits he must necessarily step into its many academic bogs as well. Of this there can be no avoidance. This is because being Mexican-American alone does not dispel the problematic characteristics of social science research in general.

In this light this issue of *El Grito* speaks directly to some of the problems that are to be encountered by Mexican-American social scientists in the production of objective and scholarly research on the Mexican-American.

# Social Science, Objectivity, and The Chicanos

OCTAVIO IGNACIO ROMANO-V., PH.D.

Western theology is based on the belief that within the human body is a separable entity, *ergo*, the concept of the soul. Like Western theology, Western science is also based on the idea that within the human body is a separable entity, hence the belief in the separability of the mind from the body.

Plato has often been credited with the origin of the belief in the separability of mind and body. This dualism, however, was not Platonic in origin. Instead, the ultimate origin of the distinction between mind and matter was in Greek Orphic mystery religion. A somewhat refined version of this Orphic dualism was developed by the philosopher Pythagoras who died early in the 5th century B.C. "The metaphysical dualism of the Pythagorean philosophy . . . was accepted by Plato, and conveyed by his teaching to the era in which we now live."<sup>1</sup> Thus, the belief in the dualistic nature of man, i.e., the separation of mind and body, is traceable to Greek Orphic mysticism.

It was not until the 17th and 18th centuries, during the Age of Reason, the Enlightenment, and the times of the Empiricists and Rationalists of Europe that this belief became a dominant theme of major developmental proportions and historical effects. As a part of this historical process, there followed a renewed exploration into the concept of objectivity. As generally defined in Western thought, the concept of objectivity is impossible without a corresponding belief in man's ability to separate his mind not only from his body, *but also from all of his ecological surroundings, whether or not*

*these ecological surroundings are human or physical.* It is in this manner that the mind, when believed to be in its objective state, has come to be viewed as separable in Western science just as the soul has been seen as separable in traditional Western theology.

From the standpoint of known history, the idea of a dualism between mind and matter appears to have served the physical sciences rather adequately, especially insofar as it has concerned the separation of the mind from pre-existent theological notions about objective reality, and particularly with respect to the evolution of that reality. Western man, then, in his quest for a pure objective reality (that is, to be objective) began to consider events, phenomena, and ideas as apart from personal self-consciousness, to be dealt with ideally in a detached, impersonal, and unprejudiced manner.

Within this climate of thought the social sciences themselves instituted major efforts to emulate the relatively successful postures and methods of the physical sciences. They followed this course of action for two major reasons. First, the social scientists joined in an effort to seek out a corresponding empirical reality in human behavior, the world out there, so to speak, which paralleled or equalled the findings of the physical sciences. Second, the effort simultaneously constituted a move toward the achievement of methodological and conceptual legitimacy in the eyes of the scientific community. Gravitating in this direction, the social sciences began to adopt the descriptive and methodological terminology of the physical sciences and to borrow heavily from their theoretical constructs for use in the study of human behavior. The sociologist Helmut Wagner has labeled this basic orientation in the social sciences as Natural Materialism.<sup>2</sup> It is from such efforts to parallel the physical sciences that today we have the basically biological notion of instinct translated into a bio-psychological theory of human behavior as manifested in Freudian psychology. In a similar vein, we have the biological-geographical ideas of the plant and animal ecologists translated into studies of human demography. From physiology and morphology we have the sociological version of societal structure and function with a borrowed vocabulary that includes such physiological terms as homeostasis, function, dysfunction, equilibrium, and other similar words that are used in what has been called the organic analogy in the social sciences. From studies of animal behavior we have inherited the stimulus-response orientation of social and psychological behaviorism. And the dominant model of mental illness has been borrowed from the medical

world. Studies in the physical evolution of man, as well as variants in social Darwinism and cultural evolution, also have their antecedents in the physical sciences. All of these approaches stress one major idea, that there is a unity between the laws governing the physical universe and those which govern man's behavior, for both, ostensibly, can be studied by *similar if not identical* methods.

At the same time, another approach (called Interpretive Sociology by Helmut Wagner) has evolved in the social sciences that stresses the uniqueness of human behavior in the physical universe. From this basic orientation of man's uniqueness have emerged national character studies, modal personality studies, cultural linguistics, cultural configurations, culturology, social phenomenology, symbolic interaction, and other similar approaches found today in anthropology, sociology, and psychology.

Both of these major orientations (Natural Materialism and Interpretive Sociology) still lay fundamental claim to the Platonic idea of an objective reality in human behavior as observed through a "value free" social science. As a product of historical antecedents, today the traditional concept of objectivity and the related belief in the detachability of the investigator from the universe studied forms the core of social research.

Yet, despite major efforts to emulate the physical sciences, despite more and more efforts to achieve an objective state of mind in the study of human behavior, from an international as well as an historical perspective certain inconsistencies appear concerning the notion of pure objectivity within the social sciences. It has become increasingly evident that some of the major postures of social science may vary from nation to nation and according to time and place. This being the case, differences between the social science of one nation and another have led some writers to suggest the term "national social science" rather than the more generic term "social science." In part, the reasons for this spring from differences such as those between the behaviorism of Russian psychology with its assumptions of rational/responsible man in contradistinction to the American notion of cultural and subconscious man. Similarly, the idea of acculturating man in American anthropology and sociology is considerably different from its corresponding category of *transculturating man* in Mexican anthropology. Other similar differences at the national social science level exist throughout the world.

In 1964, a Unesco sponsored meeting took place in Paris in which the questions concerning these problems were discussed at length. Papers were presented by Julian Hochfeld (Sociology, Poland); Pierre Auger (Physicist, France); K. O. Dike (History, Nigeria); Daya Krishna (Philosophy, India); Oskar Lange (Economics, Poland); Paul Lazarsfeld (Sociology, United States); Claude Lévi-Strauss (Anthropology, France); Jean Piaget (Psychology, Switzerland); José Luis Romero (Philosophy, Argentina); A. A. Zvorykin (Philosophy, Russia). In the papers presented there was a recurrent theme which questioned the existence of a culture-free, or even a tradition-free, social science. From this, it follows, that the objectivity of the social scientists tends largely to be influenced by time, place, and culture (nationality).<sup>3</sup>

In itself, this is not a new idea. For example, quite some time ago Karl Mannheim made a parallel assertion when he asserted that there was no such thing as a timeless objectivity, but rather that the findings of the social sciences were always colored by the time, place, and culture in which they appear.<sup>4</sup> More recently, for example, Pietro Rossi, a Sardinian philosopher, advanced the notion that social science needs to drop the idea of a "neutral" social science. He added that, ". . . exclusion of value judgments from the social sciences is not alone sufficient to free those sciences from value hypotheses."<sup>5</sup>

Karl Mannheim, the Unesco commentaries, the philosopher Rossi, as well as others, all have had their philosophical and methodological counterparts in recent American social science writings that have emanated from the fields of anthropology, psychology, and sociology. On occasion, American social scientists have been critical of certain sub-segments of their respective disciplines, and on other occasions they have been equally critical of the fundamental foundations upon which their discipline rests. But whatever their frame of reference, they have been critical of the notion of objectivity as utilized in social science today, pointing to certain inconsistencies that exist.

The anthropologist Gerald Berreman, for example, has asserted that many anthropologists have succumbed to an over-preoccupation with quantification, with abstract models and simulation which produce lifeless descriptions of human life that are grimly pretentious.<sup>6</sup> Such over-emphasis upon tools and method has been called "scientism" by the philosopher Abraham Kaplan who observed recently that scientific policy today must be formulated with the help

of charts, graphs, equations, and computers. Then he adds forcefully, "To acknowledge imponderables as the locus of important values comes to be seen as unscientific and even obscurantist. It is not only the law of the instrument which is at work here, but also a belief in the magic of symbols, and perhaps even a trace of the infantile delusion of omnipotence."<sup>7</sup>

Not only does the "law of the instrument" strongly color certain aspects of contemporary anthropology, the continuing use of obsolete terminology also tends to predetermine the results of present research as pointed out by the anthropologist Francis Hsu. "If there is one term that is consistently identified with anthropology," he writes, "it is 'primitive,'"<sup>8</sup> as in primitive science, primitive religion, primitive economics, primitive mentality, primitive peoples, societies, and cultures. "There is no doubt," Hsu concludes, "that the idea of being 'inferior' was what E. B. Taylor had in mind when he used the word in 1871."<sup>9</sup> Still, the word continues to be used in anthropology today despite the fact that it is ". . . ambiguous, inconsistent, and scientifically meaningless."<sup>10</sup>

The use of the word "culture" in a manner that rules out the individual also has come under fire by anthropologist Morris Opler. He has said that, "In this doctrine of a (cultural) order external to man, which nevertheless rules the affairs of man, we anthropologists meet two very old acquaintances, animism and animatism. It does not disguise them too much to give them sonorous scientific labels now."<sup>11</sup> And looking over the general state of the discipline, in 1964 Leslie White observed that ". . . we have reached the point in many quarters where we have little but trivialities to offer . . ."<sup>12</sup> Addressing himself to these problems, John L. Sorensen concluded that, "Our own experience in the field should warn us that we anthropologists may be the last to understand much about ourselves, at least from an anthropological view."<sup>13</sup> Then he added, "*If behavior is strongly shaped by societal or cultural forces as we maintain, how can we escape the realization that our activities as anthropologists also are so controlled?*"<sup>14</sup>

In the field of psychology similar statements have been made in recent years. J. F. T. Bugental, for example, criticized psychology for borrowing the Model of Science from physics, and the Model of a Practitioner from medicine. He added that, "Despite increasing elaboration of statistical methodologists, despite greater and greater refinement of laboratory procedure, the product of years of conscientious effort has not been such as to warrant con-

fidence that we will eventually arrive at a genuine understanding of human behavior by this route.”<sup>15</sup>

Kenneth B. Clark echoes this view when he says that, “Most social psychology is still primarily concerned with the investigation of isolated, trivial, and convenient problems . . .” adding that “. . . social scientists . . . are not more immune to social and intellectual inertia and resistance to change . . .” than are other members of society.<sup>16</sup> He sums up his views by saying that there exists in psychology a constricted concept of scientific objectivity which “. . . produces academic pedantry, qualified trivia and sterile objectivity.”<sup>17</sup>

Theodore Kahn, another psychologist himself, is of the belief that, “One of the reasons for the shallowness of present day psychological research literature stems from the fact that psychologists are attempting to untangle the behavioral aspects of reality without any grasp of reality’s philosophical implications.”<sup>18</sup> In Kahn’s opinion, every good psychologist must be a philosopher first. Without that quality, he is merely a technician.

Robert T. MacLeod has claimed that he is “. . . honestly in doubt as to whether much of what we teach as psychology is really worth teaching.”<sup>19</sup> He elaborates by saying that, “My own impression, based on my observation of a good many generations of students, is that the conventional undergraduate curriculum in psychology is about as culture-bound as any curriculum could be.”<sup>20</sup> He adds wryly that, “The favorite delusion of the experimental psychologist is that psychology is a science. . . .”<sup>21</sup>

Psychiatry does not escape from this onslaught against unquestioned scientism. Bert Kaplan, for one example, has asserted that psychiatry suffers from an over-reliance on the scientific and medical traditions from which it has borrowed heavily. He observes that psychiatry has taken for its own side science, medicine, understanding and care. On the other side, on the side of the patient, “What the patient experiences is tied to illness and unreality, to perverseness and distortion.”<sup>22</sup> In a similar vein, Thomas Szasz has stated that mental illness is a convenient myth which has become a familiar theory. Familiar theories, he goes on to say, have a habit of posing sooner or later as objective truths.<sup>23</sup>

The foregoing has concerned anthropology and psychology. In addition, sociology can be included in such introspective and critical efforts. One such example comes from the writings of Ralf Dahrendorf who has said that, “Much of the theoretical discussion

in contemporary sociology reminds me of a Platonic dialogue. Both share an atmosphere of unrealism, lack of controversy and irrelevance.”<sup>24</sup> Similarly, Harold Garfinkle has said that, “Social science theorists (social psychiatrists, social psychologists, anthropologists and sociologists) have used the fact of standardization to conceive the character of human actions.”<sup>25</sup> This, he adds, has largely contributed to making man out to be a “judgmental dope.” Alvin Gouldner enters the fray by calling “value-free” sociology a myth, and an absurd one at that.<sup>26</sup> Irving Horowitz points to a sister discipline when, in comparison to sociology, he believes that contemporary anthropology is still in a state of methodological underdevelopment. “The science of culture,” he has said, “makes only the vaguest distinction between objective facts and subjective opinions.”<sup>27</sup> Everett C. Hughes displays similar views concerning sociology. Sociology is falling into the sin it named, that of ethnocentrism because (1) we study only one society and (2) we use those methods which are suitable only for a homogenous mass society.<sup>28</sup> Then, taking an interdisciplinary overview, he comes to the conclusion that, “We (sociologists) have become methodologically ethnocentric, the anthropologists have become eccentric.”<sup>29</sup> And, finally, from the sociology of Dennis Wrong, “We must do better if we really wish to win credit outside of our ranks for a special understanding of man, that plausible creature whose wagging tongue so often hides the despair and the darkness that is in his heart.”<sup>30</sup>

From these statements by anthropologists, psychologists, and sociologists, it can be seen that indeed limitations are present which parallel the UNESCO conference, but in intra-national as well as international social science. This has a direct bearing on the concept of objectivity and the absence of emotion (i.e., the separation of mind and body), for it would appear that in the past many researchers have confused the absence of emotion with the achievement of truth and the precise identification of an empirical reality. But, merely because an individual researcher displays no *observable* emotion does not mean that in doing so his perceptive ability has been magically enhanced, nor does it mean that his cognitive and analytical power has become superior. All it means is that the researcher has displayed no observable emotion.

Evidently, in contemporary social science, two things appear to have happened that merit serious comment and very critical scrutiny by those who aspire to become researchers, as well as by those

in other disciplines who utilize social science literature for one reason or another. First, as strongly indicated in the foregoing, an apparent lack of emotion on the part of a researcher has been accepted commonly as, *per se*, constituting a state of objectivity, therefore the achievement of the objective mind, thus the successful separation of mind and body. For the reasons cited above, this is a fallacy. In addition, it is a fallacy because it presupposes a total separability of the mind *as such* from emotion *as such*, and as a consequence *the ultimate locus, source, and cause of emotion has come to be seen as residing somewhere outside of the mind*. Emotion in the lives of men is thus relegated to a generic kinship with such forces as instinct, hunger, and the like, somewhat animalistic in nature, somewhat sub-human, a throwback or a contemporary survival of the pre-*Homo Sapiens* state of existence in the evolution of man.

Second, and much more important with reference to research methodology, quite often what has passed for objectivity has not been objectivity at all, but merely the relatively simple process of *objectification*. Objectification, of course, is the externalization and the systematic articulation of a thought or theoretical construct the parts of which are *seemingly* interrelated and *seemingly* cohesive. However, there is no automatic and ineluctable corerrespondence between an exercise in objectification (articulation) and empirical reality. For, as we have seen, such constructs can be influenced, modified, and limited by forces that are extraneous to the theoretically pure process of objectification itself, forces which vary from person to person, from time to time, from place to place, and from nation to nation.

*This brings us to the question of precisely how one may go about conducting social science studies of the Chicanos.* Do the points of view advanced above doom us to an unending morass of relativism? Do we surrender to despair simply because of a realization that our objectifications are bound to enjoy but a limited temporal existence? Or must we, in turn, create yet another fiction, a counter-fiction if you will, to replace that of the separation of mind and body? True, some researchers may choose to select from the present array of sociological and anthropological theories, dress them up in up-to-date Space Age terminology, apply them to Chicanos and thus assume the mantle of contemporaneity before the uninitiated in social science theory. However, this avenue is but another way in which to *avoid the central issue* of objectivity and the question of the separation of the mind and body.

Elsewhere I have asserted that with reference to contemporary studies of Mexican-Americans such a theoretical separation (objectivity as such) does not exist.<sup>31</sup> This point of view has been further documented by Nick C. Vaca in his superb and comprehensive review of social science literature on Mexican-Americans,<sup>32</sup> by Miguel Montiel in his incisive critique of studies of the Mexican-American family and the concept of machismo,<sup>33</sup> by Samuel Alvidrez in his excellent and very revealing study of drug use in California,<sup>34</sup> and by Steve Moreno in his concise and critical review of psychological testing of bilinguals.<sup>35</sup> Currently these writers are addressing themselves to the question of objectivity. In fact, they have found the literature on the Mexican-Americans sadly and uniformly wanting, on occasion spurious, and in other instances out-and-out distorted for reasons unrevealed by the authors of such studies, but which are indicated by their Chicano critics.

This situation is unique in the annals of American social science. It is unique because a population heretofore studied is now studying the studiers. The final outcome of this venture is yet to be revealed. Nevertheless, it promises to introduce perspectives that are unique in social science, perspectives which have their origin within a previously studied population (Mexican-Americans) whose objectifications in the past have not been an accepted, explicit, and integral part of traditional social science thought. As such, these perspectives will introduce a *self-image* into the arena of rational thought. If this self-image is rejected by non-Chicano social scientists, then, in effect, they will have rejected summarily the rationality of the Chicano. In doing so, wittingly or unwittingly, it matters not, they will have opted to join the ranks of the traditionalists in social science who have passively accepted the traditional view of the totally non-rational Mexican-American as handed down from social science generation to social science generation since the early 1900's, and before, down to the present day. Should non-Chicano social scientists choose to follow this course, they will have become traditionalists rather than empiricists, and as such their writings will reflect traditional conservatism rather than open-ended inquiry.

### *Culture, History, and Self-Image*

To introduce *Chicano self-image* into the arena of social science thought, certain preliminary steps are necessary the first of which is to discard the classic (classic in the sense of old) concept of culture, or to modify it to such a degree that it no longer bears

a resemblance to the uses to which it has been put in studies of Mexican-Americans. This is necessary because, in its present usage, the concept of culture deals with Mexican-Americans *only as passive receptors and retainers* of whatever has transpired before them (unchanging traditional culture). Hence, the concept of culture has eliminated Chicanos as being generators of, and participants in, the historical process (a changing entity).<sup>36</sup> This is grossly naïve posture at best, and an ideological stance at its worst.

Having taken this first step, it follows secondly that the related concept of acculturation must similarly be dealt with, for basically it constitutes a simplistic, intellectually crude dichotomy the effect of which has been to distort Chicano history and therefore reality by placing all causes of change *outside* of Chicano existence.

For the present it is not necessary to replace the concepts of culture and acculturation with any other. It is sufficient merely to ignore them, for they serve no useful or necessary purpose toward the objectification of a self-image. All that is necessary at this point is an historical perspective and a paradigm by which to articulate that perspective. For the purposes outlined above, the eight point paradigm that follows seems most useful at present. Others are certain to follow.

*First*, from the standpoint of self-image, Chicanos do not view themselves as traditionally unchanging social vegetables (traditional culture), but rather as creators of systems in their own right, for they have created cooperatives, mutualist societies, political blocks, international networks of communications, and social networks, to name but a few examples.

*Second*, Chicanos view themselves as participants in the historical process, for they are inseparable from history.

*Third*, this population has been the creator and generator of social forms such as dialects, music, personal networks, creators of communities where none existed before, and they proclaim their Mestizaje and, as such, constitute a pluralistic people.

*Fourth*, Chicanos see in their historical existence a continuous engaging in social issues, the spurious concepts of "resignation" and "fatalism" notwithstanding. Two examples are the pioneering of the labor movement in the West, and the fifty-year or more struggle for bilingual education (not bilingual acculturation theory).

*Fifth*, the concept of the illiterate Mexican-American must go, for it is true that this population has published well over 500 newspapers in the Southwest from 1848 to 1950, to say nothing of countless posters, signs, newsletters, and the like.

*Sixth*, the Chicano must be viewed as capable of his own system of rationality, for without this faculty he could not have survived, establish philosophies of economics, politics, Chicano studies programs, and philosophies of human existence.

*Seventh*, intellectual activity has been part and parcel of Chicano existence as evidenced by speech patterns, bilingualism, and a highly sophisticated humor that relies heavily upon metaphors and satire. This activity requires of the participants a mastery of language in order to engage in this common practice.

And *eighth*, as a population whose antecedents are Mexican, the bulk of Chicano existence has been oriented to a symbiotic residence within ecosystems. For in Mexico, unlike the United States, no plant or animal has been rendered extinct in its five hundred year history. Thus Chicano history has for centuries practiced what only today is becoming a concern of modern science for the conservation of natural resources and a balance of nature. In other words, what in ignorance and crudeness has been called the Mexican *traditional subjugation to nature* by Saunders, Edmunson, Kluckhohn, Heller, Samora, and many other social scientists, in reality has been a conscious philosophy for the maintenance of ecological balance in an ecosystem.

This symbiotic relationship within the universe, that is the historical patrimony of Chicanos, revolves around a philosophical system about the nature of man and man, of man in nature, and man in the universe. In essence, this philosophy is non-Weberian, non-Hegelian, and it is very dissimilar to Greek ontology. The complexities of this philosophy remain to be adequately explored by contemporary Chicano social scientists and historians in their efforts toward the articulation of a self-image. But when this has been done, the cycle by which the studied become the studiers will have been completed, and still another new dimension to Chicano existence will have been added to a long, a complicated, and a very rewarding experience that is called Chicano history.

*Berkeley, Califas.*

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Doran, F. S. A., *Mind, A Social Phenomenon*, William Sloane Associates, Publishers. New York. 1952, p. 4.
2. Wagner, Helmut R., "Types of Sociological Theory, Toward a System of Classification," *American Sociological Review*, 1963, Vol. 28, Number 5, pp. 735-742.
3. "Problems of Surveying the Social Sciences and Humanities," *International Social Science Journal* (Unesco), Vol. XVI, Number 4, 1964 (special issue devoted to this subject matter).
4. Remmling, Gunter W., "Karl Mannheim: Revision of an Intellectual Portrait," *Social Forces*, 1961, Vol. 40, Number 1, p. 27.
5. Rossi, Pietro, "Scientific Objectivity and Value Hypotheses," *International Social Science Journal* (Unesco), 1965, Vol. XVII, Number 1, p. 68.
6. Berreman, Gerald D., "Anemic and Emetic Analysis in Social Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, 1966, Vol. 68, Number 2, p. 350.
7. Kaplan, Abraham, *The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science*, Chandler Publishing Co., San Francisco, California, 1964, p. 406.
8. Hsu, Francis L. K., "Rethinking the Concept 'Primitive,'" *Current Anthropology*, 1964, Vol. 5, Number 3, p. 169.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 169.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
11. Opler, Morris E., "The Human Being in Culture History," *American Anthropologist*, 1964, Vol. 66, Number 3, p. 524.
12. White, Leslie A., "Anthropology 1964: Retrospect and Prospect," *American Anthropologist*, 1965, Vol. 67, Number 3, p. 630.
13. Sorenson, John L., "Some Field Notes on the Power Structure of the American Anthropological Association," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 1964, Vol. VII, No. 6, p. 8.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 8 (Emphasis mine)
15. Bugental, J. F. T., "Humanistic Psychology: A New Breakthrough," *American Psychologist*, 1963, Vol. 18, Number 8, p. 565.
16. Clarke, Kenneth B., "Problems of Power and Social Change: Toward a Relevant Social Psychology," *Journal of Social Issues*, 1965, Vol. XXI, No. 3, p. 5-6.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
18. Kahn, Theodore C., "Evaluation of United States of America Psychology by the 'Four-years-Absent' Method," *American Psychologist*, 1962, Vol. 17, No. 10, p. 708.

19. MacLeod, Robert B., "The Teaching of Psychology and the Psychology We Teach," *American Psychologist*, 1965, Vol. 20, Number 5, p. 344.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 346.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 350.
22. Kaplan, Bert, "Introduction," in *The Inner World of Mental Illness*, Harper and Row, New York, 1964. (B. Kaplan, editor), p. vii.
23. Szasz, Thomas S., "The Myth of Mental Illness," *American Psychologist*, 1960, Vol. 15, Number 2, p. 113.
24. Dahrendorf, Ralf, "Out of Utopia: Toward a Reorientation of Sociological Analysis," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1958, Vol. LXIV, Number 2, p. 118.
25. Garfinkle, Harold, "Studies of the Routine Grounds of Everyday Activities," *Social Problems*, 1964, Vol. 11, Number 3, p. 244.
26. Gouldner, Alvin W., "Anti-Minotaur: The Myth of a Value-Free Sociology," *Social Problems*, 1962, Vol. 9, Number 3, p. 199.
27. Horowitz, Irving Lewis (Book Review), "Anthropology for Sociologists: Cross Disciplinary Research as Scientific Humanism," *Social Problems*, 1963, Vol. 11, Number 2, p. 202.
28. Hughes, Everett C., "Ethnocentric Sociology," *Social Forces*, 1961, Vol. 40, Number 1, p. 1 (see abstract).
29. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
30. Wrong, Dennis H., "The Oversocialized Conception of Man in Modern Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, 1961, Vol. 26, Number 2, p. 193.
31. Romano-V., Octavio Ignacio, "The Anthropology and Sociology of Mexican-Americans: the Distortion of History," *El Grito*, 1968, Vol. II, Number 1, pp. 13-26.
32. Vaca, Nick C., "The Mexican-American in the Social Sciences, 1912-1970. Part I: 1912-1935," *El Grito*, 1970, Volume III, Number 3, pp. 3-24. (See also Part II in this issue of *El Grito*.)
33. Montiel, Miguel, "The Social Science Myth of the Mexican American Family," *El Grito*, 1970, Vol. III, Number 4, pp. 56-63.
34. Alvidrez, Samuel (See "Drug Use Trends in California," this issue of *El Grito*).
35. Moreno, Steve, "Problems Related to Present Testing Instruments," *El Grito*, 1970, Volume III, Number 3, pp. 25-29.
36. (See note 31 above.)

This paper is Part Two of a major work that deals with Mexican-Americans. It was undertaken by Mr. Nick Vaca as a Fellow at The Center for Advanced Mexican-American Social Research in Berkeley, California. The complete study deals with THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: 1912-1970, and it is divided into four parts. Part One: 1912-1935. Part Two: 1936-1970. Part Three: *A Criticism of the Major Sociological Studies on the Mexican-Americans*. Part Four: *The Development of a New Theory of Mexican-American Culture*. Editors

# The Mexican-American in the Social Sciences

1912-1970

PART II: 1936-1970

NICK C. VACA

## PSYCHOLOGY AND THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN

The concern with the intelligence of the Mexican-American that so occupied psychologists from 1922 to 1935 was to continue to be their main area of attention after 1935. As before, the two basic questions being posed by the psychologists were (1) What were the reasons for the consistent low scores in intelligence tests by Mexican-American school children? (2) Why did Mexican-Americans have such poor academic achievement levels?

The two theoretical theses that were to be offered as etiological frameworks to these questions during the years following 1935, as alternatives to the previously dominant biological determinist theory, were of two *genre*. The first was structural-environmental determinism. This was a theoretical perspective whose main advocates were such people as George I. Sánchez and H. T. Manuel who sought the answer to these perennial questions by (1) calling for a re-examination of the nature of the intelligence tests administered to Mexican-American school children; (2) calling attention to the environmental influences on the Mexican-American child that could cause his educational retardation and influence his I.Q. test scores; (3) calling for a re-examination of the educational policies toward the education of the Mexican-American child. The second theory that was to gain popularity after 1935, was cultural determinism. This was a perspective whose thesis held that Mexican-American culture was composed of values that were detrimental to the Mexican-American child. As such, it was seen as the main causal force responsible for the low intelligence test scores and the poor educational level of Mexican-Americans. The struggle for ascendancy that occurred among these three theoretical views after 1935, ending with the triumph of cultural determinism in the later years as the dominant analytical perspective, paints a tragic portrait of the complicity that psychologists played in providing the scientific evidence for shifting the cause of the genocide of the intellect of generations of Mexican-American children from the shoulders of guilty educational institutions onto the Mexican-American himself.

In 1936, less than a year after H. T. Manuel's work appeared, Thomas Garth, in co-operation with Thomas H. Elson and Margaret M. Morton,<sup>1</sup> produced a study whose results contradicted his earlier findings<sup>2</sup> of the inherent mental inferiority of Mexican-Americans, by pointing to environmental factors that could possibly explain low I.Q. test scores. Garth's study focused on one of the variables — English impoverished background — that he had previously noted in his earlier study as a *possible* cause for the low scores on intelligence tests produced by Mexican-American and Indian children. Garth's objective was, in his own words, "to secure a satisfactory measure of the intelligence of Mexican children with a reliable non-language test in a city environment in the United States. At the same time we desired to ascertain what the same children would do when they were tested with a verbal test and with an educational achievement test."<sup>3</sup> Garth was attempting to discern the role that competence in the English language played

in intelligence test taking. The results of this experiment, though perhaps revealing for Garth, simply reinforced the posture that George I. Sánchez and H. T. Manuel had taken earlier in opposition to the hordes of biological determinists. The results of the experiment showed that in comparisons made by age or grade the Mexican-American children were invariably inferior to Anglo children in *verbal* test results. However, in the non-language test results the Mexican-American children's I.Q. scores were "about equal to the American White I.Q."<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Garth's study further acknowledged the great influence that educational background had upon test scores, an environmental factor he was less willing to acknowledge in his 1923 study.

Another contributor to the rise of structural-environmental determinism as a theoretical perspective for explaining the educational level of Mexican-American children was Guy A. West.<sup>5</sup> In 1936 he published a study that focused on the overt prejudice exhibited by Anglo teachers that instructed Mexican-American school children. The problem that concerned West was, "There is an extensive area in the Southwestern States in which a large per cent of the population is of Spanish extraction and, although some degree of assimilation and intermarriage has taken place, there still prevails throughout this region considerable racial prejudice. It was the purpose of this study to determine whether or not such attitudes existed among the teachers in the public schools and whether Spanish-American teachers displayed racial attitudes differing from those of Anglo-American teachers."<sup>6</sup> West did discover a difference between the two groups. The Anglo teachers, "were more strongly inclined than were the Spanish to claim superiority for pupils of their own race."<sup>7</sup> It is, of course, easy to see how these feelings of racial superiority by Anglo teachers in the classroom can translate themselves as an important causal factor in producing a low educational level for Mexican-American children.

In 1937 Thomas Garth in companionship with Ethel Candor<sup>8</sup> made one of his last appearances in the area of the psychological analysis of the intelligence of the Mexican-American child. This study represented one of the last purely biological determinist based studies to appear. Perhaps as an over reaction to his earlier 1923 work, Garth appeared as a man attempting to lay to rest any further considerations of biological determinism *vis-a-vis* the Mexican-American, by turning his attention to the hypothesis that Mexican-Americans had an inherent capacity for music — a variation of the sociological version of the omnipresent guitar in every

Mexican-American household. This study represented one of the last spasms in the dying belief of inherent racial characteristics. In Garth's own words, "The purpose of the present study is to answer the question: are some races more musical than others?"<sup>9</sup> The study itself revealed that there existed superficial differences between the Mexican population and the white population in pitch and in rhythm. So much for Mexican-American natural rhythm.

In the following year, 1938, Loaz Johnson<sup>10</sup> produced a study in which culture played a prominent role. Indeed, Johnson introduced Mexican-American culture as a possible cause for Mexican-American academic failure. Johnson's study is of particular significance because it appeared at a time when biological determinism was waning as the dominant etiological posture for explaining low intelligence test scores and low educational levels of Mexican-American students, and the lacuna was not being filled by an *acceptable* alternative theory. There, of course, existed the structural-environmental determinist theory advanced by Sánchez, Manuel and West who pointed to the need for a re-examination of the various aspects of the education of the Mexican-American child. However, such a theory was not being enthusiastically embraced, finding itself touched by only a select few. The reasons for the leper status of structural-environmental determinism were many and varied, but underlying all of these reasons was the fact that such a theoretical perspective would remove the cause for the dismal state of Mexican-American education from the Mexican-American child and place it quite squarely on the not to willing shoulders of those institutions that educated Mexican-American children. For such institutions to take such a stance would force a complete reversal of the position taken previously by school officials where the Mexican-American child was seen as the source of his own ills — it's in the blood — and thus place such institutions in a *mea culpa* posture. That was then, and is only to a lesser extent now, anathema.

What Johnson's work did was to begin the cultivation of the dying ground of biological determinism for the seeding of cultural determinism. Johnson's work marked among the first time that a sociological theory of Mexican-American culture had been advanced as a causal explanation for the poor test scores and academic weakness of Mexican-American children.

Interestingly enough, Johnson's study was characterized by a strong contradiction. For though she proved in her work that it was the English impoverished vocabularies of Mexican-Americans

that prevented them from succeeding academically, she nevertheless pressed forth an alternate theory that was not empirically pursued in her study, but which left the distinct impression that it had found validity elsewhere. Johnson turned to the cultural perspective as a possible alternate theory to explain the "educational problem" of the Mexican-American child. In her own words, "This is but natural (the educational problems) because the Spanish-American is of a different race. His motives, his tendencies, his philosophy of life, and his customs are very different from those of Anglo-Americans. And since he uses a different language early in life, his idioms of thought must necessarily be different. His desire to be among his own people, his care-free attitude, and his desire for unusual, dramatic, and even reckless action, sometimes at the expense of life, make the Spanish-American's problems different from those of Anglo-Americans."<sup>11</sup> The importance of cultural determinism as an alternative theory to structural-environmental determinism is momentous. For like biological determinism, cultural determinism again afforded the scientific evidence to place blame for poor academic achievement upon the shoulders of the Mexican-American. With biological determinism the source of the ill was seen as being "in the blood"; with cultural determinism it was seen as part of the *internalized* cultural heritage. In either case the generating source was seen as internal to the individual, and thus the individual's own fault.

George I. Sánchez remained unconvinced of the ostensible explanatory power of cultural-determinism, and in 1940 published his well known book *Forgotten People*<sup>12</sup> in which he again pointed to the inter-relationship between the Mexican-American child and the failure of educational institutions in meeting his special needs. Thus in commenting on the overall dismal educational condition of the Mexican-American child in New Mexico he wrote, "The *explanation* for these conditions is to be found in the nature and quality of the educational facilities available to these children. In the counties with the largest proportions of Spanish-speaking people, school terms are shorter, teachers are less well prepared and their salaries are lower, and materials of instruction and school buildings are inferior to those found elsewhere in the state."<sup>13</sup> (emphasis mine) He further noted that "The unresponsiveness of the school to the environment of New Mexican children tends to force them out of school."<sup>14</sup>

If we can take the liberty of claiming Johnson as one of the conceivers of cultural determinism, then William D. Altus could

qualify as one of its Godfathers. In a work that appeared in 1943 entitled "The American Mexican: The Survival of a Culture,"<sup>15</sup> Altus concerned himself with the reasons for the high percentage of Mexican-Americans in the special training center where newly-inducted soldiers in 1943 (during World War II) were sent when they were found to be functionally illiterate by Army standards. Altus' work testifies to the effect that cultural determinism was having even on such a frequently examined factor as language. Whereas previously Spanish was viewed as a factor that negatively influenced intelligence test scores and school achievement, Altus now viewed it more as part of the cultural baggage of a people. Because of the nature of his study, it was natural that Altus be concerned with language as a characteristic of Mexican-American culture. However, Altus so formulated his study that language appeared to be the sole aspect of Mexican-American culture. The reasons cited by Altus for the retention of Spanish (or for Altus Mexican-American "culture") as a primary language for Mexican-Americans are not of much relevance, since the overriding importance of his study was that it attested to the fact that cultural determinism began to take center stage as biological determinism exited right, with structural-environmental determinism left in the wings destined to make only occasional appearances. Yet, the departure was not without its melancholy glances. Thus Altus states, "The fact that a person can live all his life in his native country and never learn its language would appear to be *prima facie* evidence of low learning capacity . . ." <sup>16</sup> testimony to the fact that when the breast is comforting, weaning is difficult.

Unfortunately the breast of biological determinism found many faithfuls whose occasional appearances forced the struggle among the three theoretical perspectives into the 1950's. In a study conducted by Hilding Carlson and Norman Henderson<sup>17</sup> in 1950 one finds an ambivalence between biological determinism and structural-environmental determinism as etiological frameworks. In an attempt to trace the source of the disparity in the intelligence test scores and school performance between Anglo and Mexican-American children, one finds the presence of both biological and structural-environmental determinism. Carlson and Henderson sought to control for the structural and environmental factors that could account for these differences. These factors were (a) rural versus urban environment; (b) general socio-economic level; (c) total cultural complex; (d) amount and quality of formal education on both subjects and parents; (e) effects of an inadequate diet; (f)

prejudice on the part of the examiner; (g) motivation; and (h) bilingualism. That the results of this study were less than conclusive should have come as small surprise, for by their own admission, Carlson and Henderson did not control for bilingualism or motivation. The former, of course, was of major significance with numerous previous works pointing to its importance, and could almost qualify for discrediting Carlson and Henderson's work. Predictably their results showed that "The experimental group (Mexican-American) had a lower Mean I.Q. at every testing period than either the control group or the groups used in the standardization of the tests involved in this study."<sup>18</sup> However, they concluded their works with a statement that resolved little, "Serious attempts were made to control the environmental factors in this study. However, uncontrolled in this investigation have been the question of the rural-urban parental background, a possibly more limited vocabulary not only in English but also in Spanish for the American children of Mexican parentage, and the possibility of differences in motivation at the time of testing. These factors, alone or together, could account for the results. Until further investigation is made controlling these and perhaps other factors, no conclusive statement as to the relative native intellectual capacity of Mexican children as contrasted with white American children of non-Mexican parentage can be made."<sup>19</sup> Thus on the one hand we find Carlson and Henderson paying earnest attention to structural environmental variables as possible causes for the poor I.Q. test scores of Mexican-American children, yet they are reluctant to completely abandon biological determinism.

The struggle between biological and structural-environmental determinism was so clearly defined by 1951, that Benjamin Pasamanick, whose perspective was of the structural-environmental *genre*, stated, "They (Carlson and Henderson) state that these factors (those inumerated) might account for their findings of intellectual inferiority in the Mexican group as contrasted to their controls. The other possible explanation offered is that of hereditary factors . . ." <sup>20</sup> Because of his own leaning, Pasamanick was, however, quick to point to an additional defect in the Carlson-Henderson work. Though Carlson and Henderson had admitted that they had not controlled for two of the factors that they had listed — motivation and bilingualism — they neglected to mention that they had also not controlled for the effects of an inadequate diet. Thus, out of the original seven environmental factors that they originally

set out to control only four were actually controlled — further testimony to the dubious nature of their conclusions. Moreover, Pasa-manick strongly urged that further attention be paid to structural-environmental variables in the analysis of the intelligence of the Mexican-American child.

Because of the recurring attention that was given to the language difference exhibited by Mexican-American school children, and the role that it played in intelligence test taking and school performance, it was only a matter of time before a study was to be carried out using Spanish language intelligence tests. That task fell on to Morton Keston and Carmina Jiménez who attempted to, “determine whether the bilingual children of Albuquerque, New Mexico, should be given the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test in a translated Spanish version or in the original English form.”<sup>21</sup> The attempt, it should be made clear, of Keston and Jimenez was not to compare the I.Q. levels of these children with established standards. Rather, their’s was an attempt “to compare the intelligence scores of these children in the one language with their intelligence test scores in the other language and to discuss some reasonable explanations for any differences found.”<sup>22</sup> The results of the experiment were devastating to those advocates of testing Mexican-American school children in Spanish in order to establish their true I.Q. as opposed to the false I.Q. produced by intelligence tests in English. The subjects of the examination performed better on the English version of the test than they did on the Spanish version. However, Keston and Jimenez were quick to side-step the snares of biological determinism by noting that the disparity between the test scores was probably based on the fact that though the children were Mexican-American and were often heard to speak Spanish in the classroom or in the school yard, their formal training in Spanish was far inferior to their formal training in English. Several factors supported this interpretation of the resulting scores. In the first place Keston and Jiménez refer to a study conducted by C. Manakian<sup>23</sup> whose work showed that English becomes the dominant language of Mexican-American children from the fifth grade on, and since they receive no formal training in Spanish before the fifth grade English is their only formally learned language. Secondly, there existed a high correlation between English test scores and grade point average, as opposed to a low correlation between Spanish scores and grade point average.

The Keston and Jiménez experiment had the net effect of closing, for some time, the speculation that an appropriate test in Spanish could be devised to test the true intelligence of Mexican-American school children.

The growth of cultural determinism as the *dominant* analytical perspective of the intelligence of Mexican-Americans began in the early 1960's. The success of this perspective was, however, contingent upon accepting three notions of Mexican-American culture. First, that the basis of Mexican-American culture was "values," or "value orientations," or "value systems." Second, that the "values" of the Mexican-American were the opposites of those of Anglo values. Finally, that Mexican-American values were not only the opposite of Anglo values, but that these values programmed Mexican-Americans for failure in academic pursuits.

The specter of cultural determinism in the 1960's made among its first appearances in a 1962 study conducted by Lois Gill and Bernard Spilka,<sup>24</sup> in which they began their study not by referring to the past literature in psychology on the Mexican-American but by referring to the sociological literature on the Mexican-American. They thus state that the "Mexican-American group possess a culture steeped in custom and tradition with a strongly authoritarian family pattern of patriarchal form. Women are highly controlled but are the controlling agent within the home in regard to the children."<sup>25</sup> The basic hypotheses of their work was that the achieving student (1) came from homes in which the mother is dominating, possessive and is attentive to the child; (2) there existed a positive correlation to their self-motivation and tendency toward independent action; (3) achievement would be positively related to intellectual efficiency and social maturity; (4) would be less hostile and exhibit characteristics that would be more socially approved and have adaptive means of coping with anxiety.<sup>26</sup>

The results of the study were less than conclusive and served of little use in explaining the poor performance of Mexican-American school children. However, it did suggest further analysis of the *cultural* aspect of the Mexican-American, stating, "It is thus suggested that additional specification of group customs and milieu may similarly contribute to further understanding of non-intellectual factors associated with academic achievement."<sup>27</sup>

In the same year, 1962, George Demos<sup>28</sup> was so taken with the role that cultural characteristics played in the academic performance of Mexican-American school children that the introduction of his work was generously sprinkled with the findings of previous

sociological works. Demos reasoned that it was the cultural characteristics of the Mexican-American child that prevented him from achieving in school. His study concluded that "In every case where a difference is found between the random samples, the Anglo-American group has the more desirable attitude toward education,"<sup>29</sup> or, that Anglos *valued* education more than Mexican-Americans.

So convincing has the cultural determinist paradigm been that its explanatory features have succeeded in seducing the venerable H. T. Manuel. In his most recent work *Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest*,<sup>30</sup> Manuel, relying very heavily on the findings of sociologists Florence Kluckhohn<sup>31</sup> and Lyle Saunders,<sup>32</sup> indicts Mexican-American culture as possessed of values that are contradictory to success in the American way of life. We thus find Manuel repeating almost word for word Kluckhohn's definition of culture as she defined it in her work *Variations in Value Orientations*, and also mouthing Lyle Saunders' pronouncements on the Mexican-American culture. For this reason it is not surprising to find that, according to Manuel, Mexican-Americans are fatalistic; value the present over the past or the future; value "being" more than "doing"; are dependent instead of individualistic. One gets the sense that the failing of the school has not been so much to educate the Mexican-American, but in replacing his cultural values with those of Anglo-American values. For this reason Manuel concludes that the assimilation (thus success) of Mexican-Americans will come as a result of a movement "toward the Anglo-American values, both because of the weight of numbers in the dominant group and because of better adaptation to an urbanized industrial society."<sup>33</sup>

The insidiousness of cultural determinism is nowhere more evident than in one of the most recent studies on the education of the Mexican-American child. Thomas P. Carter's book *Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect*<sup>34</sup> is in fact more of an historical indictment of Mexican-American culture than of educational neglect. In his second chapter titled "Failure of the Culture," we find the same causal framework for Mexican-American educational failure that is found in the above mentioned work by Manuel. Mexican-American culture is conceived of as being constituted by values that are anathema to educational success. In a section of this chapter Carter states, "Social scientists and others who have investigated orientations usually concur that children of Mexican-American sociocultural background are prone to do the

following. . . . (1) Devalue formal education, especially for girls. (2) See success more in terms of interpersonal relationships than in terms of material acquisition. (3) See 'time as a gift of life to be enjoyed to the fullest – and to be enjoyed to the fullest it must not be postponed.' The Anglo concept of wasting time is not understood. (4) Be fatalistic, feeling they have little control over their natural or social environment . . . (5) See change as unappealing and not motivating. . . . (6) Be submissive to the status quo, patient, conformist, and perhaps apathetic. (7) See work only to satisfy present need. . . . (8) Attach little importance to time schedules and the Anglo concept of punctuality. . . . (9) Attach much importance to nonscientific explanation of natural phenomena (sickness and so forth)."<sup>35</sup>

This cultural determinist perspective continues to weave a pattern throughout the whole book whose final formulation best reads that the failure of the schools is its failure to inculcate Anglo values (or culture) into Mexican-American children. For this, it would seem, is the basis of success in education. In Carter's own words, "The 'folk' orientations described above are seen as being contrary to the Anglo's desire to master natural forces, be punctual, work hard for future success, postpone present gratification for a future reward, practice thrift, and so forth. Since these values are expected, if not demanded, by the school, different value orientations are seen to be detrimental to success."<sup>36</sup>

It would be fair to say that presently biological determinism is now not only a discarded theoretical perspective but also a scientifically defunct perspective in the analysis of Mexican-American intelligence and academic achievement. And though structural-environmental determinism has yet to be placed on its own flaming pyre, it is safe to say that cultural determinism is the reigning paradigm for the analysis of the Mexican-American in regards to intelligence tests and academic achievement. Such a paradigm is composed of three main characteristics. First, that Mexican-American culture is based on negative "values," or "value orientations," or "value systems." Second, that these cultural values are the main impediment to academic success in Anglo school systems because they conflict with the dominant value orientations. Finally, it is necessary that Mexican-Americans exchange their culture for that of Anglo culture as retribution for a successful, if not pleasurable, voyage on the seas of American existence.

The concern with explaining the *causes* of the social ills that plagued the Mexican-American that first brought him to the attention of sociologists in the early 1900's continued to be the main concern after 1935. As in the causal theories that arose around the intelligence of the Mexican-American, there also occurred a struggle among three *genre* of theoretical theses that served as the causal explanations for the social ills that plagued the Mexican-American. First, there was the previously examined structural-environmental determinist theory, whose perspective postulated that the causes of the social problems of the Mexican-American could be directly traced to the door of the economic and social structure of American society. The emphasis was on the structure of American society and its oppressive nature. The concern of the adherents to this theoretical perspective was two fold. On the one hand they were concerned with the deleterious effects that industry, and in particular agricultural industry, had upon the existence of the Mexican-American. The pejorative characteristics attributed to the Mexican-American, argued the structural-environmental determinists, were the natural result of the conditions imposed by the type of employment into which Mexican-Americans were forced. Secondly, other members of the structural-environmental determinist school were concerned with the more social aspects of American society as they related to the Mexican-American; focusing their attention on the need for restructuring community resources such as churches, schools, public service agencies, and health services in order to eliminate the negative effect they otherwise had on the Mexican-American.

The second theoretical perspective to gain popularity after 1935 was cultural determinism. Like its predecessor of the pre-1936 era, the adherents of this view postulated that it was the cultural baggage of the Mexican-American that was the main cause of the

---

\* The decision to combine anthropology and sociology was not arbitrary but rather called for not only because of the similarity of the disciplines but because of the continued cross-references that occur in sociological and anthropological studies on the Mexican-American, and because of the frequency with which sociologists appear in anthropological journals and anthropologists in sociological journals.

social ills that he everywhere encountered — this with little regard to the economic, political and social conditions that impinged upon him. The causal force that produced the social ills were seen as part and parcel of the Mexican-American's psychological "self" — something from within him, assiduously inculcated in him by Mexico's traditional folk culture and perpetrated by Mexican-Americans in their ethnic enclaves throughout the United States.

The third group of sociologists writing on the Mexican-American combined both structural-environmental and cultural determinist perspectives in formulating a causal framework. However, these two perspectives were not wed in a complimentary fashion. Rather, the two theoretical perspectives were used in a conflicting manner. It was common, in fact one of the distinguishing characteristics, for such sociologists to use both perspectives to contradict each other.

The portrait that was painted by the struggle for hegemony among the three theoretical perspectives, again ending with the triumph of cultural determinism as the dominant analytical perspective, was no less tragic than that painted in psychology. Complicity by academics was equally evident in both finished products.

The painting of the portrait in anthropology and sociology by the three theoretical perspectives had, however, an additional dimension that was lacking in psychology. For unlike psychology, that could draw from the finished theoretical products formulated in sociology and anthropology (as it did in its later years when it turned to cultural determinism), it was incumbent upon these two disciplines, because of their very nature, to develop a theory of Mexican-American culture. Thus, the history of the rise of cultural determinism was necessarily accompanied by the historical development of Mexican-American culture as composed of "values," or "value orientations," or "value systems." For indeed, though its description in the pre-1935 sociological works definitely smacked of a definition based on an incipient conception of cultural values, it was the task of the post-1935 sociological and anthropological studies to crystalize this definition of culture. The significance of this development is momentous, because it was on *this definition of culture* that sociologists and anthropologists rested their cases of internal cultural causality.

During the period after 1936 and the early 1950's structural-environmental determinism enjoyed a healthy theoretical edge over the two other existing schools, and a proliferation of studies focusing on the relationship of societal institutions to the Mexican-

American, and the deleterious effects often produced by this relationship were to appear in abundance.

Among the first of such studies to appear was one authored by Paul S. Taylor,<sup>37</sup> whose work on Mexican-American migrants was invariably concerned with the relationship between the economic system of American industry and the migratory patterns and conditions of Mexican-American migrant workers. This 1938 study was concerned with the various social problems encountered by migratory workers (both Mexican-American and non-Mexican-American) on the Pacific Coast. The implications of Taylor's work were a repetition of the indictments of the works of earlier sociologists of the structural-environmental school.<sup>38</sup> Taylor pointed to the agricultural industry as the very source of the problems that shrouded agricultural workers. He writes, "As Adams, Landis, and Tetreau have shown, the demand for seasonal labor in California is three times as great at the peak as at the slack point; in Arizona it is six times as great; in the Yakima Valley of Washington, it is more than sixteen times the slack. These fluctuations produce both unemployment and continual movement following the harvest in order to dovetail employment."<sup>39</sup> The net effect of this situation, Taylor noted, is that it produces, "chronic irregular employment, frequent movement from job to job, often extending many hundreds of miles in a single seasonal cycle, and low incomes."<sup>40</sup> This in turn produces a situation in which the "group is unstable, subject to irregular employment, low earning, and more importantly the social and political disabilities of non-residents."<sup>41</sup>

Paul Walter's article "The Spanish-Speaking Community in New Mexico,"<sup>42</sup> appearing in 1939, was a good example of the above mentioned third type of theoretical perspective. Walter's concern was with the destruction of the ostensible isolation of the many Spanish-speaking communities of New Mexico, and the difficulty that these rural oriented persons would have in adjusting to their new existence in an industrial environment. Walter argued that it was the cultural milieu which had been maintained in these remote villages (which he likened to those of the seventeenth century) that prevented the inhabitants from making the necessary adjustments to their new exposure. He writes, "They must make a sweeping cultural readjustment, it appears, with little or no outside aid, and they are *notably lacking in initiative and self-reliance*."<sup>43</sup> (Emphasis mine) And again, "this culture is very homogeneous and deeply rooted in the habits of thought of the people. It is highly

*resistant to change* and renders the people immobile, since their very thorough adjustment to local conditions makes speedy adaptation to any other conditions difficult.”<sup>44</sup> (Emphasis mine) If we can take the liberty of translating the cited cultural characteristics as representing the values of fatalism, dependency, and traditionalism, then such cultural values would certainly spell doom for these villagers in facing their new existence. Yet, we cannot accept the veracity of this description of the cultural values of the New Mexican villagers since Walter himself provides information contradicting this conceptualization. First, we learn that not everything that Walter has been extolling about the placid relationship between the villagers and their land is true, since Walter notes the fact that recent studies had shown that there developed over a twenty year period, without outside influence, a serious problem of overpopulation such that numerous villages had grown to such an extent that their land resources could not yield even a bare subsistence for the people. Second, we learn that the villagers are not as lacking in initiative and self-reliance as Walter would have us believe for he again cites the fact that numerous projects intended to improve irrigation were attempted by members of New Mexican communities. As for traditionalism, well, we learn that during the period when there was an expanding market for farm products, many villagers attempted to go into dry farming in order to increase their income — hardly a gesture of traditionalism and resistance to change. We also learn that the villagers, upon finding the existence of their villages threatened, moved in large numbers to suburban areas surrounding the urban areas of the state in search of employment. And if this move proved to be less than fruitful, it could not be blamed on the villager, because Walter notes that “In this competition, the Spanish-speaking worker invariably is maneuvered into a marginal position. He is the last to be employed, the first to be laid off, and his work is always that which commands the least pay.”<sup>45</sup> However, such contradictions of theory and empirical data do little to dishearten any further analysis by this theoretical school as we shall later witness.

In 1940 E. D. Tetreau<sup>46</sup> and Emory Bogardus<sup>47</sup> published studies that also touched upon the effects that the agricultural industry had upon the Mexican-American. Tetreau was concerned primarily with the social problems that Mexican-Americans encountered in Arizona’s farming areas, while Bogardus was concerned with the plight of Mexican-American agricultural workers in general. In his discussion of unemployment and relief, Bogardus is

quick to point to the fact that "Mexicans are the first to be fired even though they have proved reliable. Worthy Mexicans are left stranded without much possibility of getting employment."<sup>48</sup> And in speaking about the deleterious effects that the employment pattern imposed by the agricultural industry has upon Mexican-American migrant workers, Bogardus writes, "The Mexican has been a victim of the seasonal labor situation. In order to make a living he has piled his family into 'the old Ford' and almost become a transient in seeking out the widely separated seasonal labor fields. Still more serious have been the harmful housing conditions under which he has lived while doing seasonal work. Migratory labor conditions beget deplorable housing accommodations, and the Mexican and his family have suffered."<sup>49</sup>

Perhaps no other work to appear in the journals of the social sciences was more explicit in depicting the relationship between the Mexican-American to the social system in which he found himself, and how easily this system could use its many resources to control him, than was Norman D. Humphrey's work "Mexican Repatriation from Michigan."<sup>50</sup> Published in 1941, this work served as a reminder of the tenuous position that Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans held in the United States. The Mexican immigrants, as Humphrey makes abundantly clear, were shifted from one border to the other like so much chattel in America's attempt to maintain a balance between labor and industry in certain parts of the United States. Enticed to America to engage in industry and willing to labor for wages less than those which the indigenous population would accept, placed the Mexican immigrant, during the depression, in an unpopular relief. Humphrey writes that the rationale for expatriation as a solution to the problem in Michigan of the "Mexican problem" went something like this, "With steady increases in the county relief lists, the problem of adequate care is becoming ever harder to solve; and it is obvious that any reduction in the relief load effective through repatriation service will be a significant factor toward the solution."<sup>51</sup>

Norman D. Humphrey appeared in a different light in the same year in an article entitled "The Concept of Culture in Social Case Work."<sup>52</sup> It is notable that Humphrey should turn his attention to the culture of the Mexican-American in an attempt to explain his dismal position in American society, in view of his above examined study, but it seems that like so many of his colleagues Humphrey could not help but be struck by the obviously different cultural heritage that he must have everywhere encountered in his

work with Mexican-Americans, and thus forced him to give it due consideration. The concept of culture developed by Humphrey in this work (though later abandoned by Humphrey) is of great significance because it represented among one of the first times that the definition of Mexican-American culture as being composed of "values" was cast from a serious academic attempt to understand not only Mexican-American culture, but culture in general with reference to anthropological literature.

The purpose of Humphrey's work was the exposition of a theory of culture that would allow social workers working with Mexican-American families to better understand the objects of their aid. The basis of culture, according to Humphrey, are symbols. In Humphrey's own words, "Each ethnic group has created, or has utilized, specific symbols; it has assigned meanings to distinct objects in the environment. Such symbols have been articulated, each with the next, so as to fashion methods which satisfy needs arising out of existence. When such specific symbols are consistently articulated one with another in distinctive ways, they constitute 'cultural patterns,' and within each ethnic group cultural patterns have been constructed and are present as operative devices for defining and orienting ways of doing things."<sup>53</sup> However, a few sentences later Humphrey makes a qualitative change in the basis of his definition of culture and substitutes the term "norms" for that of symbols. Moreover, he further evolves his argument to such an extent that symbols are ultimately substituted by "values." He states, "But what is conceived to be normality in American life is culturally defined, and its form and content are conditioned by cultural values."<sup>54</sup> (Emphasis mine) The metamorphosis from symbols as the essence of culture to that of values was essential in order to establish causality as residing within the cultural milieu. Thus, according to Humphrey, the role of the social worker is to rehabilitate his objects of aid, "toward what is conceived to be the norm or standard . . ."<sup>55</sup> Which means that they must inculcate these deviants with "new and 'desired' cultural values."<sup>56</sup> Humphrey's thesis rests on the belief that there does indeed exist different values in the respective cultures and that the values of the Anglo culture are of a superior nature to those of the Mexican-American culture, two assumptions that have nowhere been empirically proved. Certainly, Humphrey could, as did his predecessors, point to casual observations to substantiate his thesis, but nowhere did empirical data exist to support either of these two postulates.

Charles P. Loomis' work "Wartime Migration From the Rural Spanish Speaking Villages of New Mexico,"<sup>57</sup> appearing in 1942 served, to a large extent, as a direct rebuttal to the previously discussed Paul Walter work on Mexican-Americans in New Mexico. Loomis writes in this regard, "Various literary and scientific writings have alluded to groups among the 1½ million people of Spanish mother tongue now living in the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas as 'mañana' people. However, the data presented in this report should cast doubt upon any assumptions concerning their slowness to respond to economic opportunities offered elsewhere."<sup>58</sup> The data offered by Loomis was indeed contradictory to the conclusions of Walter's work. Not only did it subject to great question the validity of Walter's analysis but it proved that the New Mexicans of which both Walter and Loomis spoke were in fact very upwardly mobile oriented. Thus, though previously many of the inhabitants of the New Mexican villages were in farming concerns, they soon adapted themselves to the opportunities offered in defense work. This trend developed in spite of the fact that the migrants from the New Mexican villages originally went in search of new farm work, but when given the opportunity to engage in the more lucrative defense work they promptly engaged in it rather than stay with their "traditional" method of employment.

Charles Loomis continued his rebuttal to the cultural determinists' analysis of the New Mexican villagers in a series of other articles appearing in 1942,<sup>59</sup> 1943,<sup>60</sup> 1944,<sup>61</sup> and 1945.<sup>62</sup> Each one aimed at displaying the alacrity with which these supposedly patrón-oriented peasants with their irreversible traditional culture succeeded in adapting to the changing times.

Emory S. Bogardus' work "Gangs of Mexican-American Youth,"<sup>63</sup> appearing in 1943 was both a contradiction of his earlier work based on a structural-environmental determinist perspective and a fine example of a work based on the structural-environmental-cultural determinist perspective. In attempting to explain the gang behavior of Mexican-American youth, Bogardus presented a *pot-pourri* of causal explanations. From him we learn that the gang behavior may be traced to the fact that Mexican-Americans are unemployed as a result of their indifferent and careless attitudes toward work; or it may be because he is a moron because, "Some (Mexican-Americans) have low intelligence quotients, due to inbreeding. They are born subnormal . . ." <sup>64</sup> And then again it may

be because boys grow up in neighborhoods that are culturally underprivileged where they don't receive the same type of recreation that do others. Or it may be because Mexican-Americans find themselves "discriminated against occupationally. Some of the work opportunities open to other youth are closed to him because he is 'Mexican.'"<sup>65</sup> This collection of explanatory theories was not only pitiously unconvincing but contradictory. Yet, Bogardus' work attested to the virility of this theoretical perspective.

Norman D. Humphrey's work "The Detroit Mexican Immigrant and Naturalization,"<sup>66</sup> appearing in 1943 constituted for Humphrey a change of stance on his definition of Mexican-American culture. His concern with the value orientation or differential value system of Mexican-American culture was replaced with a concern for Mexican-American life styles or behavioral patterns. For Humphrey these behavioral patterns contained indexes that could be used in measuring the degree of assimilation of Mexican families into the American main stream. This change of cultural definition was significant. By removing cultural values as the basis of Mexican-American culture, the process of assimilation was seen as a process of either exchanging or supplementing existing behavioral patterns, thus the pejorative picture generated by the value orientation definition of Mexican-American culture was eliminated. Moreover, such a view of culture was complimentary rather than contradictory to the analysis of the structural-environmental perspective. For this reason we find Humphrey pointing to discrimination as one of the major causes for the low level of naturalization among Detroit Mexicans. He writes "Discrimination against Mexicans in the southern and western states is neither favorable to assimilation nor to the acquisition of United States citizenship."<sup>67</sup>

In a subsequent work appearing in 1944,<sup>68</sup> Humphrey continued his interest in behavioral patterns as the basis of culture and as indices of assimilation. In his work Humphrey focused his attention on the Mexican family's structure. Humphrey argued that any change in the familial structure constituted a process of assimilation, and indeed his investigation produced evidence that assimilation was occurring.

In yet another work that appeared during that same year Humphrey<sup>69</sup> turned his attention to language as an index of assimilation. He writes, "If one views his language as more beautiful than another, he will acquire and use a second tongue only as necessity demands. The store of language symbols possessed by children is

fewer in number than are those of their parents. Thus, children undergo more a process of learning rather than a process of substitution in already acquired language symbols, as is the case with the older generation.”<sup>70</sup>

Supporting this view of culture as behavioral patterns was Donovan Senter whose work “Acculturation Among New Mexican Villagers in Comparison to Adjustment Patterns of Other Spanish-Speaking Americans,”<sup>71</sup> appeared the following year in 1945. Senter’s attention was divided among three Spanish-speaking groups — the Manitos of New Mexico, the Pochos of Southern California, and the border Mexicans. The manner in which Senter posed his question structured his definition of culture. Senter states, “Minority groups face three possibilities of adjustment: (1) They may attempt to maintain their original culture. (2) They may attempt quick acceptance of the new culture, the situation leading to eventual assimilation, although the path will be roughened by prejudice. (3) They may develop something foreign to both their ancestral culture and that of the present majority group.”<sup>72</sup> Such a position presupposes viewing culture as a life style or behavioral pattern rather than composed of values. For this reason it is not surprising to find Senter turning his attention to customs in the three groups rather than “values.” He thus pays special attention to changes in parental roles, customs pertaining to dating and patterns of behavioral instruction in the Spanish-speaking family. In this regard he writes, “To succeed in Anglo society they must become Anglo in everything but physical appearance and name, and even those two characteristics will be counted against them.”<sup>73</sup> Discrimination, according to Senter, is a paramount barrier to upward mobility, such that “Some students feel that their most practical solution is going to a middle western or eastern school, where, if they are at all attractive in appearance or blessed with funds, they are accepted as ‘romantic Latins.’”<sup>74</sup> And in reference to the Pochos of California and discrimination, he writes, “California offers less opportunity for the ‘Mexican,’ of whatever degree of acculturation but of lower or middle class status, to rise than New Mexico offers the Manito.”<sup>75</sup>

Humphrey continued this tradition of defining Mexican-American culture as behavior patterns in a work entitled “The Housing and Household Practices of Detroit Mexicans,”<sup>76</sup> that appeared in 1946. He writes, “Changes in housing give a tangible index of the stages in the process of acculturation.”<sup>77</sup> In this work Humphrey again exemplified how this view of culture was complimentary to the structural-environmental determinist perspective when he

writes, "Immigrant Mexicans are forced by *economic circumstances* to live in areas of cheap rental, and, for the same reason, frequently keep roomers."<sup>78</sup> (Emphasis mine)

The tempo of describing behavioral patterns as the basis of culture and the hegemony of structural-environmental determinism was maintained with the publication of Pauline R. Kibbe's work *Latin Americans in Texas*<sup>79</sup> and Ruth Tuck's book *Not With the Fist*.<sup>80</sup> Kibbe's work was strictly of the structural-environmental *genre* with her chapters entitled "The Child and the School," "Revolution in Education," "Housing, Sanitation and Health," and "Social and Civil Inequalities," supporting the many works of earlier structural-environmental determinists who looked to the flaws of society rather than to the cultural flaws of the Mexican-American.

Tuck's book was a lyrical look at the changing inhabitants of a town called Descanso. Her concern was with the changing patterns of behavior of the Mexican-American in Descanso, and she categorically dismissed any attempt at reducing these behavioral patterns into values. She thus states, in regard to the ostensible characteristics attributed to the Mexican-American, "The next charge is that Mexicans live 'only for the day,' that they lack the drive, energy, and foresight which distinguish the Anglo-Americans. . . . But this is hardly a cultural matter . . . Nor are the other allegations which Descanso makes regarding the Mexican — that he is childish, improvident, given to producing too many children and getting drunk too often — those of cultural difference. They are rather part and parcel of the stereotype which has been applied to all our immigrant groups even those with Anglo-Saxon, North European cultural patterns."<sup>81</sup> In speaking directly of what it was that did constitute culture in her eyes, she notes, "There are three areas in which culture seems to be strongest: language, food habits, and family life. Even here, nothing is static."<sup>82</sup>

Donovan Senter<sup>83</sup> reappeared again in 1946, this time in the company of Florence Hawley to reaffirm his stance of behavioral patterns as constituting the basis of Mexican-American culture. He writes, "In broad consideration of the school system in relation to minority groups within this country we usually place a third function foremost: the so-called process of 'Americanization,' a concept referring to acquisition of culture symbols characteristic of the majority group rather than to citizenship per se."<sup>84</sup>

Into the middle and late 1940's structural-environmental determinism was still holding a strong dominance in the analysis of the

Mexican-American *vis-a-vis* his social conditions. The amount of works produced using this framework was prodigious. In 1947, Roy Rice published a study entitled "Intergroup Relations in Arizona,"<sup>85</sup> which was an appraisal of the attitude that teachers in Arizona held toward the Mexican-American students that they taught. Roy's study concluded that indeed the Mexican-American child was discriminated against. There also appeared Walter Goldschmidt's work *As You Sow*<sup>86</sup> whose area of focus was on the relationship between Mexican workers and society. Robert Jones'<sup>87</sup> work touched upon discrimination and the housing problems of Mexican-Americans. Similarly, Beatrice Griffith's prosaic treatment of the Mexican-American in her book *American Me*<sup>88</sup> was a strong contributor to this tradition of examining the structure of American society rather than Mexican-American culture.

Yet, while the structural-environmentalist fiddled, the specter of cultural-determinism was looming in the not too distant horizon. Among the first harbingers of this theoretical formulation to appear in the late 1940's and early 1950's was Lyle Saunders, whose book *Cultural Difference and Medical Care*<sup>89</sup> went a long way in developing and promoting the notion of Mexican-American culture as based on cultural values. The purpose of Saunders' work was laudable enough, commenting, in the introductory passage, on the need to understand something of the Mexican-American, such as where he came from, what he did for a living and how he lived. However, when entering into a definite description of the cultural make-up of the Mexican-American, Mexican-American culture came out as a mirrored opposite of Anglo cultural values. Saunders' comments on Mexican-American cultural values were as follows: On time: "Unlike the Anglo, the Spanish-American or Mexican-American is likely to be strongly oriented toward the present or the immediate past. He is not a visionary, with his eyes on the golden promise of the future."<sup>90</sup> On change: "There is probably nothing the Anglo more completely accepts than the notion that change is good and progress inevitable. . . . The Spanish-speaking person, coming from another background, has a somewhat different orientation toward change and progress. . . . He may mistrust and fear the changing future into which the Anglo so buoyantly rushes."<sup>91</sup> On work and efficiency: "Anglos are doers. . . . Work for them is a value in itself, regardless of the return it may bring. . . . Associated with the emphasis on work is the Anglo's preoccupation with success. . . . In attitudes toward work, success, efficiency, and practicality the ideal viewpoint of the Spanish-speaking

person is far from that of the Anglos. The Spanish-speaking ideal is *to be* rather than *to do*.”<sup>92</sup> (Emphasis his) On acceptance and resignation: “A closely related trait of the Spanish-speaking people is their somewhat greater readiness toward acceptance and resignation than is characteristic of the Anglo. Where it is the belief of the latter that man has an obligation to struggle against and if possible to master the problems and difficulties that beset him, the Spanish-speaking person is more likely to accept and resign himself to whatever destiny brings him.”<sup>93</sup> On dependence: “Among the cherished values of the Anglo is a preference of independence and a corollary dislike and distrust of the dependent state. . . . In the culture of the Spanish-speaking people independence is not given nearly so high a value.”<sup>94</sup> On organizations: “One observation that is frequently made about the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest is that the group has been unable to develop effective leadership from among its members or to organize successfully for the purpose of improving its status with respect to the rest of the population. . . . Anglos, as many observers have noted, are great joiners, and their way of meeting a group problem is first to set up a committee to study and report on it and then to create an organization to deal with it.”<sup>95</sup>

Such a dichotomization of cultural values with those most detrimental to success resting on the Mexican-American cultural turf, presented an excellent etiological framework by which all social ills plaguing the Mexican-American could be explained without the type of societal indictment that normally accompanied structural-environmental determinist theories.

In the same year Sister Frances Jerome Woods, published her work *Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas*<sup>96</sup> in which she began her analysis for the failure of Mexican-American leadership in San Antonio by pointing to the differences in cultural characteristics that might account for this phenomena. To the cultural values already enumerated by Saunders, Woods added paternalism, courtesy and propriety and a general lack of value for money.

Cultural determinism found its expression in that same year in yet another context. Whereas Saunders was concerned with the attitudes towards health care held by Mexican-Americans and Sister Frances Woods with the development of political leadership, Louis Harvey<sup>97</sup> looked to the cultural values of the Mexican-American as a possible source for explaining the delinquency of the Mexican-American boy.

Not that cultural determinism was to have an easy time of it, for 1949 not only saw the publication of Carey McWilliams' work *North From Mexico*,<sup>98</sup> whose framework was anything but cultural deterministic, but also Lester Phillips'<sup>99</sup> study on segregation and the Mexican-American in education. Moreover, the early 1950's saw a renewed flurry of sociologists examining the economic relationship between Mexican-American workers and Southwest industry. There appeared Harold Shapiro's<sup>100</sup> excellent study of the pecan shelling industry of San Antonio and its deep reliance on the cheap labor supplied by Mexican-American workers with the resulting deleterious social effects on this labor pool. In 1951 there also appeared an excellent work by Howard E. Thomas and Florence Taylor<sup>101</sup> on migrant labor conditions in Colorado. Their concern was strictly with the social reverberations that such an income producing life style had upon the Mexican-American migrant, since by their own research "Practically all (migrant workers) were Spanish-Americans."<sup>102</sup> They found that "Within the migrant agricultural labor force in Colorado, all the social disorganization which is usually found with poverty, and which is greatly aggravated when resident status is lacking, was abundantly evident. The housing was for the most part badly overcrowded and modern improvements were few and far between. Health conditions were unfavorable. Medical care was inadequate where it was not completely lacking. School attendance was poor and rarely enforced. Relief was not available to most of those who were unemployed or in need. The social life of the migrant was walled by economic and racial restrictions. Numerous incidents of discrimination by law-enforcing agencies were observed and reported to the field staff."<sup>103</sup>

Yet, cultural determinism was a theory whose time had come and the early 1950's saw structural-environmental determinism begin to be carefully covered by the rising shadows of cultural determinism. And no person did more to promote cultural determinism in the early 50's than did Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn. In a series of articles appearing in 1950,<sup>104</sup> 1951<sup>105,106</sup> and 1953,<sup>107</sup> all of which were based on her doctoral dissertation completed at Radcliffe in 1937, Kluckhohn succeeded in formalizing the previously nebulous and dichotomous "value orientations" of Anglo Americans and Mexican-Americans. This dichotomy need not be specified since a look at the already discussed Saunders' work (which drew largely from Kluckhohn's dissertation) would reveal a close approximation to Kluckhohn's own dichotomous listing of values.

The pervasiveness of this definition of Mexican-American culture was great. In 1954 James Watson and Julian Samora<sup>108</sup> were forced to acknowledge it in their study of leadership in a Mexican-American community. In acknowledging both Kluckhohn and an earlier journalistic essay by Arthur Campa,<sup>109</sup> they write, "Nevertheless, it is possible to carry the emphasis of Spanish-Anglo cultural differences to the point where certain obvious and growing similarities of goal and value are overlooked or omitted. Generalizing, necessarily, the Spanish in Mountain Town are interested in better jobs, better pay, and more material things, such as automobiles, housing, and appliances. . . . It may be that the Mountain Town Spanish differ somewhat as to goals from those in some other parts of the Southwest. . . . However, we are not convinced that Mountain Town is markedly unrepresentative of Spanish elsewhere in the Southwest."<sup>110</sup> But if Watson and Samora were ambivalent about accepting cultural determinism there were others who were not so timid. In the same year, 1954, Lyle Saunders published a small monograph entitled *Cultural Differences and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-speaking People of the Southwest*<sup>111</sup> whose theoretical perspective was that of cultural determinism.

Moreover, Sister Mary John Murray's study *A Socio-Cultural Study of 118 Mexican Families Living in a Low-rent Public Housing Project in San Antonio, Texas*<sup>112</sup> published in 1954, focused strongly on the values of Mexican-American culture as a retarding element in assimilation. She thus asks, "Is there 'culture conflict' or a clash of *values* within the family group? . . . Finally, an attempt will be made to evaluate the social adjustment of the group, its problems and achievements, in terms of the solution to the dilemma of making a choice between two *different* and *conflicting* systems of *cultural values*."<sup>113</sup> (Emphasis mine) As in the later studies on the psychology of the Mexican-American child, sociology was now convinced that there existed two distinct cultural values systems and for the Mexican-American to succeed in America he must give up his deleterious cultural values and assimilate into the positive cultural values of the Anglo American. In short, he was being asked to give up what had been described as his culture.

By 1956 the concept of values as being the main basis of Mexican-American culture was so well instituted that Sister Frances Woods' book bore the title *Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups*.<sup>114</sup> She writes in her introduction, "Culture has been envisioned as the means devised by a group to meet its needs. . . . In

all these instances, however, values are involved. Values concern not only the needs themselves, or the ends of action, but also the selection of adequate means to achieve these ends. Among all cultural groups attitudes prevail toward the systems or institutions developed to regulate and standardize behavior in matters upon which group welfare and survival depend. . . . Values are so meaningful to those who hold them that they come to be accepted without question."<sup>115</sup> And what were the values of the Mexican-American? Well, we value religion, sons over daughters, today over tomorrow, and we do not value education.<sup>116</sup>

1958 saw the publication of Sister M. Francesca's work, "Variations of Selected Cultural Patterns Among Three Generations of Mexicans in San Antonio, Texas,"<sup>117</sup> the thrust of which called for an exchanging of cultural values for the Mexican-American before assimilation was possible.

Margaret Clark<sup>118</sup> produced her now famous work on Mexican-American health in San Jose, in 1959, displaying at the same time a pronounced affection for cultural determinism. She was accompanied that year by a work in the mental health of the Mexican-American by Gartyly Jaco<sup>119</sup> who also began his work by referring to the cultural values of the Mexican-American.

Cultural determinism went so far as to inculcate itself in the works of the Mexican-Americans writing on the Mexican-American. Thus Horacio Ulibarri's work, "Teacher Awareness of Sociocultural Differences in Multicultural Classrooms,"<sup>120</sup> began with a criticism of the public school system because the American educational system was based on "American culture, namely, the middle-class *values and orientations* . . ." <sup>121</sup> (Emphasis mine) He further notes, "The lack of sensitivity regarding values placed on education by minority groups points to the possibility that teachers may not know obstacles or aids that may thwart or enhance the motivation of children from different ethnic groups for maximum school achievement. Generally, teachers reflect middle-class *values*. These middle-class *values* are comprised, in part, of *achievement* and *success*, *competition*, and *aggressiveness*. The teachers, therefore, use praise, competitiveness, and pressure as some of their motivating practices. Children from different cultural backgrounds *may not have internalized* any of these *values* and may not respond to these types of motivation."<sup>122</sup> (Emphasis mine) From this description we can assume that Mexican-Americans are non-achievers, non-success oriented, uncompetitive and docile.

Similarly, though Julian Samora had previously had second thoughts about accepting this definition of Mexican-American culture, his work, "Conceptions of Health and Disease Among Spanish-Americans,"<sup>123</sup> appearing in 1961 pronounced quite clearly that Mexican-American culture had definite and distinct value orientations.

Again in 1961, Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn,<sup>124</sup> this time with Fred Strodbeck, reappeared to deliver a crushing blow to structural-environmental determinism and simultaneously help to greatly bolster cultural determinism as an uncontested analytical paradigm. Thus in the preface to *Variations in Value Orientations*, Kluckhohn and Strodbeck refer to their work as being "concerned with the exposition of a theory of variation in value orientations. . . ."<sup>125</sup> They further note, "Variations in the value orientations of whole societies, of subgroups within societies, and of the individual persons, who are, in the final analysis, the actual carriers of culture, are the subjects of central interest to this monograph. Our most basic assumption is that there is a *systematic variation* in the realm of cultural phenomena, which is both as definite and as essential as the demonstrated systematic variation in physical and biological phenomena."<sup>126</sup> (Emphasis theirs) Needless to say their findings in regard to the value orientations of the Mexican-American were a re-statement of the ones formulated in the short articles that appeared in the early '50's and regurgitated by Saunders in his work in the middle '50's.

In 1962 Clark Knowlton<sup>127</sup> began his account of the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico by stating, "These *values* strongly handicap the adjustment of large numbers of Spanish-Americans to the urbanized industrial society into which so many of them are now moving."<sup>128</sup> (Emphasis mine) By making such a statement Knowlton chose to completely ignore the earlier findings of the works of Loomis and Senter which had earlier produced evidence to the contrary. Moreover, Knowlton exemplified the growing belief that success in the United States for the Mexican-American was impossible until the values contained in the Mexican-American culture were exchanged for those positive ones contained in the Anglo culture. In effect this posture was calling for a denial of what had been designated as Mexican-American culture in retribution for success in the American mainstream.

William Madsen's work, *Mexican-Americans of South Texas*,<sup>129</sup> contributed considerably to the delineation of value orientations between Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans. It was suppor-

tive in providing new anthropological field research to substantiate the existent definition of Mexican-American culture. Madsen's chapter on focal values is again a direct reiteration of the findings of Florence Kluckhohn, noting in an almost parrot-like fashion, "Acceptance and appreciation of things as they are constitute primary values of *La Raza*. Because God, rather than man, is viewed as controlling events, the Latin lacks the future orientation of the Anglo and his passion for planning ahead."<sup>130</sup>

The puzzle solving power of cultural determinism was demonstrated in the middle sixties when Louis Zurcher, *et al.*, used it for their interpretation of Mexican-American alienation from work and role conflict,<sup>131</sup> Horacio Ulibarri used it to determine the value orientation of Mexican-American migrant workers,<sup>132</sup> and Fernando Peñalosa and Edward McDonagh used it to interpret social mobility in a Mexican-American community.<sup>133</sup>

Perhaps no other sociological or anthropological work on the Mexican-American has relied more on cultural determinism as an analytical paradigm than has Cecilia Heller's work *Mexican-American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads*.<sup>134</sup> And perhaps no other study has more vibrantly suggested the necessity to exchange one set of cultural values for another before success is possible. Thus Heller's characterization of the cultural values of the delinquent and lower-class Mexican-American is again a reflection of those enumerated by Kluckhohn, Saunders, and Madsen. When speaking about the ambitious Mexican-American youth, Heller is careful to note that, "Moreover, not only do these high school seniors resemble their Anglo American peers of the same social class in mobility goals but also in the endorsement of other values related to success. Among these are emphasis on hard work, 'toughness' in pursuit of success, willingness to give up something valuable to achieve it, and a readiness to try new ways and to defer gratification."<sup>135</sup> And this is a definite contrast to the negative upbringing they receive in their Mexican-American family as Heller notes, "This is especially noteworthy in light of the nature of their home socialization, which is largely devoid of these values. Consider, for example, their endorsement of deferred gratification. The home environment of Mexican-Americans is saturated with present-time orientation."<sup>136</sup>

To the present, cultural determinism is very much vibrant and dominant in its influence. Even such recent works as Joan W. Moore and Alfredo Cuellar's work, *Mexican-Americans*,<sup>137</sup> feel obligated to give cultural determinism considerable attention stating,

“Among many other features of the Mexican value system that are said to be different from Anglo American norms, it is said that Mexicans emphasize the present rather than the future, intangible gratifications rather than material rewards, and emphasize enjoyment rather than (from one Anglo interview) the ‘run-run-run’ of other Americans.”<sup>138</sup>

#### THE THEORETICAL PRESENT

It is fair to say that the reigning theoretical paradigm for the analysis of the Mexican-American is that of cultural determinism based on a definition of Mexican-American culture as composed of values detrimental to success in the American way of life. There is little doubt that one of the primary reasons for the success of this theoretical perspective has been its facility in explaining the social ills of the Mexican-American in the United States without indicting Anglo institutions. This becomes obvious when we list the values systems of the Mexican-American and Anglo as put forth by their major formulators.

<i>Mexican-American Value System</i>	<i>Anglo Value System</i>
Subjugation to nature	Mastery over nature
Present oriented	Future oriented
Immediate gratification	Deferred gratification
Complacent	Aggressive
Non-intellectual	Intellectual
Fatalistic	Non-fatalistic
Non-goal oriented	Goal oriented
Non-success oriented	Success oriented
Emotional	Rational
Dependent	Individualistic
<i>Machismo</i>	Effeminency*
Superstitious	Non-superstitious
Traditional	Progressive

---

\* Since all Mexican-American values described by sociologists and anthropologists have opposite counterparts in the Anglo culture, I have listed those given by the authors discussed in this paper. However, throughout the literature on the Mexican-American there is always reference to the Mexican-American value of *Machismo*, but there is never cited an Anglo counterpart. I have taken the liberty of formulating my own counterpart.

The construction of such completely distinctive value systems, with the Mexican-American value system displaying values that obviously prohibit social improvement, has proven to be just the type of over-arching paradigm that could explain most social phenomena in regards to the Mexican-American. For this reason, as we have seen, the paradigm has been applied to numerous social puzzles and it has succeeded in providing a sufficient causal explanation for each. Thus, it explained mental and public health rates, high delinquency rates, poor academic achievement, occupational levels, rates of income, high mortality rates, and a multitude of other social puzzles, and in each instance culture was found to be the causal force.

The question that arises, is why cultural determinism triumphed as the dominant analytical paradigm, in view of the proliferation of studies that were conducted supporting the structural-environmental determinist perspective. Certainly it was not because it explained the dismal position of the Mexican-American any better than structural-environmental determinism. Indeed, at times it was pathetic in its presentation. It seems certain that the major reason for the triumph of cultural determinism in the 1950's was ideological. For only by viewing the causality of the social ills of the Mexican-American as stemming from within him — his cultural baggage — all complicity was removed from American society; and thus not only were Southwestern and Midwestern industrial complexes absolved of creating any social ills, but other social institutions with which the Mexican-American came into contact were also absolved of any complicity. With such a theoretical view, social welfare agencies, the police, hospitals, schools, universities and the numerous other institutions with which Mexican-Americans were forced into contact were completely absolved of any oppressive policies, leaving the Mexican-American to stand in relief as the sole perpetrator of his economic, social, and his political plight.

#### WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Yet, the simple refutation of cultural determinism and the re-affirmation of structural-environmental determinism is not sufficient. For the definition of Mexican-American culture based on negative values still would hang heavy. Thus one is reduced to ask the question, "Is Mexican-American culture really composed of those negative values that have been attributed to it?" It is to this question that I shall turn my attention in the next portion of this paper.

## NOTES

1. Thomas R. Garth, Thomas H. Elson, and Margaret M. Morton, "The Administration of Non-Language Intelligence Tests to Mexicans," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, April-June, 1936.
2. Thomas R. Garth, "A Comparison of the Intelligence of Mexican and Mixed and Full-Blood Indian Children," *Psychological Review*, 1923, 30: 388-401.
3. ———, "The Administration," p. 53.
4. ———, p. 58.
5. Guy A. West, "Race Attitudes Among Teachers in the Southwest," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, Oct.-Dec., 1936.
6. ———, p. 331.
7. ———, p. 337.
8. Thomas R. Garth and Ethel Candor, "Musical Talent of Mexicans," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1937, 49: 298-301.
9. ———, p. 298.
10. Loaz W. Johnson, "A Comparison of the Vocabularies of Anglo-American and Spanish-American High-School Pupils," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Feb., 1938.
11. ———, p. 135.
12. George I. Sanchez, *Forgotten People* (Albuquerque, N.M.: The University of New Mexico Press, 1940).
13. ———, p. 31.
14. ———, p. 32.
15. William D. Altus, "The American Mexican: The Survival of a Culture," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1939, 29: 211-220.
16. ———, p. 212.
17. Hilding B. Carlson and Norman Henderson, "The Intelligence of American Children of Mexican Parentage," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, July, 1950.
18. ———, p. 550.
19. ———, p. 550.
20. Benjamin Pasamanick, "The Intelligence of American Children of Mexican Parentage: A Discussion of Uncontrolled Variables," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Oct., 1951, p. 598.
21. Morton J. Keston and Carmina Jimenez, "A Study of the Performance on English and Spanish Editions of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test by Spanish-American Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, Dec., 1954, p. 263.
22. ———, p. 263.
23. C. Manakian, "Measuring Intelligence on Reading Capacity of Spanish Speaking Children," *Elementary School Journal*, 1939, 39: 760-768.
24. Lois J. Gill and Bernard Spilka, "Some Nonintellectual Correlates of Academic Achievement Among Mexican-American Secondary School Students," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, June, 1962.
25. ———, pp. 144-145.
26. ———, p. 145.
27. ———, p. 148.

28. George D. Demos, "Attitudes of Mexican-American and Anglo-American Groups Toward Education," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Aug., 1962.
29. —, p. 255.
30. Herschel T. Manuel, *Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965).
31. Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred O. Strodbeck, *Variations in Value Orientations* (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson & Company, 1961).
32. Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954).
33. Manuel, *Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest*, p. 44.
34. Thomas P. Carter, *Mexicans in School: A History of Educational Neglect* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970).
35. —, p. 42.
36. —, pp. 42-43.
37. Paul S. Taylor, "Migratory Agricultural Workers on the Pacific Coast," *American Sociological Review*, April, 1938.
38. For example, see Edwin F. Bamford, "The Mexican Casual Problem in the Southwest," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, July-August, 1924.
39. Taylor, "Migratory Agricultural Workers," p. 226.
40. —, p. 226.
41. —, p. 227.
42. Paul Walter Jr., "The Spanish-Speaking Community in New Mexico," *Sociology and Social Research*, November, 1939.
43. —, p. 150.
44. —, p. 151.
45. —, p. 156.
46. E. D. Tetreau, "Social Aspects of Arizona's Farm Labor Problems," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1940, 24: 550-557.
47. Emory S. Bogardus, "Current Problems of Mexican Immigrants," *Sociology and Social Research*, November, 1940.
48. —, p. 169.
49. —, p. 170.
50. Norman D. Humphrey, "Mexican Repatriation from Michigan: Public Assistance in Historical Perspective," *Social Service Review*, Sept., 1941.
51. —, p. 498.
52. —, "The Concept of Culture in Social Case Work," *Sociology and Social Research*, Sept.-Oct., 1941.
53. —, p. 54.
54. —, p. 55.
55. —, p. 55.
56. —, p. 55.
57. Charles P. Loomis, "Wartime Migration From the Rural Spanish Speaking Villages of New Mexico," *Rural Sociology*, Dec., 1942.
58. —, pp. 385-386.

59. Charles P. Loomis and Nellie H. Loomis, "Skilled Spanish-American War-Industry from New Mexico," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1942.
60. ——— and Glen Grisham, "Spanish-Americans: The New Mexican Experiment in Village Rehabilitation," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. II, No. 3, 1943.
61. ——— and Jesse Taylor Reed, "The Cooperation Among Bureaus, Private Agencies and Rural People," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. III, No. 3, 1944.
62. ———, "A Cooperative Health Association in Spanish Speaking Villages," *American Sociological Review*, 1945, 10: 149-157.
63. Emory S. Bogardus, "Gangs of Mexican-American Youth," *Sociology and Social Research*, Sept., 1943.
64. ———, p. 60.
65. ———, p. 61.
66. Norman D. Humphrey, "The Detroit Mexican Immigrant and Naturalization," *Social Forces*, 1943, 22: 332-335.
67. ———, p. 333.
68. ———, "The Changing Structure of the Detroit Mexican Family: An Index of Acculturation," *American Sociological Review*, Dec., 1944.
69. ———, "The Education and Language of Detroit Mexicans," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, May, 1944.
70. ———, p. 538.
71. Donovan Senter, "Acculturation Among New Mexican Villagers in Comparison to Adjustment Patterns of Other Spanish-Speaking Americans," *Rural Sociology*, March, 1945.
72. ———, p. 31.
73. ———, p. 39.
74. ———, p. 39.
75. ———, p. 42.
76. Norman D. Humphrey, "The Housing and Household Practices of Detroit Mexicans," *Social Forces*, May, 1946.
77. ———, p. 433.
78. ———, p. 433.
79. Pauline R. Kibbe, *Latin Americans in Texas* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1946).
80. Ruth Tuck, *Not With the Fist* (New York: Hartcourt, Brace & Co., 1946).
81. ———, pp. 99-100.
82. ———, p. 118.
83. Donovan Senter and Florence Hawley, "The Grammar School as the Basic Acculturating Influence for Native New Mexicans," *Social Forces*, May, 1946.
84. ———, p. 398.
85. Roy C. Rice, "Intergroup Relations in Arizona," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Dec., 1947.
86. Walter Goldschmidt, *As Your Sow* (New York: Hartcourt, Brace and Co., 1947).

87. Robert C. Jones, "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Mexican Family in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, 1948, 53: 450-53.
88. Beatrice Griffith, *American Me* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947).
89. Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Differences and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954).
90. —, p. 119.
91. —, pp. 123-124.
92. —, pp. 125-127.
93. —, p. 128.
94. —, pp. 133-134.
95. —, pp. 135-136.
96. Sister Frances J. Woods, *Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, Inc., 1949).
97. Louis F. Harvey, "The Delinquent Mexican Boy," *Journal of Educational Research*, April, 1949.
98. Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1949).
99. Lester Phillips, "Segregation in Education: A California Case Study," *Phylon*, Winter, 1949.
100. Harold A. Shapiro, "Pecan Shellers of San Antonio, Texas," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, March, 1952.
101. Howard E. Thomas and Florence Taylor, *Migrant Farm Labor in Colorado: A Study of Migratory Families* (New York: National Child Labor Committee, 1951).
102. —, p. 3.
103. —, p. 35.
104. Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientations: Their Significance for the Analysis of Social Stratification," *Social Forces*, Vol. 28, 1950.
105. —, "Dominant and Variant Cultural Value Orientations," *Social Welfare Forum*, March, 1951.
106. —, "Cultural Factors in Social Work: Practice and Education," *The Social Service Review*, March, 1951.
107. —, "Dominant and Variant Value Orientations," in Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953).
108. James B. Watson and Julian Samora, "Subordinate Leadership in a Bicultural Community: An Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, Aug., 1954.
109. Arthur Campa, "Mañana Is Today," *New Mexico Quarterly*, IX, February, 1939.
110. Watson and Samora, "Subordinate Leadership," p. 15.
111. Lyle Saunders, *Cultural Differences and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954).

112. Sister Mary John Murray, *A Socio-Cultural Study of 118 Mexican Families Living in a Low-Rent Public Housing Project in San Antonio, Texas* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1954).
113. ———, p. 7.
114. Sister Frances Jerome Woods, *Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1956).
115. ———, p. 347.
116. ———, pp. 347-348.
117. Sister Mary Francesca, "Variations of Selected Cultural Patterns Among Three Generations of Mexicans in San Antonio, Texas," *The American Catholic Sociological Review*, March, 1958.
118. Margaret Clark, *Health in the Mexican-American Culture* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1959).
119. Gantly, Jaco, "Mental Health of the Spanish-Americans in Texas," in Marvin K. Opler, *Culture and Mental Health* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1959).
120. Horacio Ulibarri, "Teacher Awareness of Sociocultural Differences in Multicultural Classrooms," *Sociology and Social Research*, Oct., 1960.
121. ———, p. 49.
122. ———, p. 53.
123. Julian Samora, "Conceptions of Health and Disease Among Spanish-Americans," *The American Catholic Sociological Review*, 1961, 22: 314-323.
124. Florence Rockwood Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, *Variations in Value Orientations* (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961).
125. ———, viii.
126. ———, p. 3.
127. Clark Knowlton, "Patron-Peon Pattern Among the Spanish Americans of New Mexico," *Social Forces*, Oct., 1962.
128. ———, p. 15.
129. William Madsen, *Mexican-Americans of South Texas* (San Francisco: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1964).
130. ———, p. 17.
131. Louis A. Zurcher, Jr., Susan Lee Surcher and Arnold Meadow, "Value Orientation, Role Conflict, and Alienation from Work: A Cross-Cultural Study," *American Sociological Review*, Aug., 1965.
132. Horacio Ulibarri, "Social and Attitudinal Characteristics of Spanish-Speaking Migrant and Ex-Migrant Workers in the Southwest," *Sociology and Social Research*, April, 1966.
133. Fernando Peñalosa and Edward C. McDonagh, "Social Mobility in the Mexican-American Community," *Social Forces*, June, 1966.
134. Celia Heller, *Mexican-American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads* (New York: Random House, 1966).
135. ———, p. 83.
136. ———, pp. 83-84.
137. Joan W. Moore and Alfredo Cuellar, *Mexican Americans* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).
138. ———, p. 130.

NOTE: *This article has been copyrighted in its entirety by the author. No portion of it may be reproduced without the author's written consent except for small excerpts embodied in reviews.* — EDITOR

# Police Deployment Theories and The Mexican-American Community

ARMANDO MORALES

*August 1970*

The heart of the police law enforcement effort is patrol, that is, the movement around an assigned area on foot, vehicle, or helicopter by police personnel. Patrol is the largest of police divisions, and it was once referred to by Orlando W. Wilson as the “backbone of police service.”<sup>1</sup> Although police experts agree that patrol is an essential activity, the issue of how many policemen under what orders and using what techniques to patrol what activity is a highly complex question. A review of the literature regarding theories of police patrol deployment with some emphasis on ethnic minority communities therefore is in order, as a beginning. Thereafter, a specific community case will be analyzed in light of the theories presented, followed by a discussion, recommendations, and the raising of questions for future research.

All police departments have the problem of patrol force deployment, how many men to assign to each shift and to each precinct. Most departments assign men equally to all shifts, which reduces scheduling problems but is an inefficient use of manpower.<sup>2</sup> Some police departments use a formula such as the proportional need theory\* that weights the previous year's reported crimes, radio calls, population, etc., for each patrol area or precinct and then assign the patrol force proportionately to the precinct's weighted score.<sup>3</sup> A question arises, however, regarding what specific weights to assign to what specific crimes. The literature regarding police patrol deployment theory is rather modest — one possible explanation being that a small fraction of one per cent of the criminal justice system's total budget in the United States is spent on research.<sup>4</sup>

A law enforcement professional in recent years who began discussing factors underlying police patrol deployment was the late William H. Parker, Chief of the Los Angeles Police Department (1950 to 1966). In his 1957 book he said:

“Every department worth its salt deploys field forces on the basis of crime experience. Deployment is often heaviest in so-called minority sections of the city. The reason is statistical — it is a fact that certain racial groups, at the present time, commit a disproportionate share of the total crime. Let me make one point clear in that regard — a competent police administrator is fully aware of the multiple conditions which create this problem. There is no inherent physical or mental weakness in any racial stock which tends it toward crime. But, and this is a ‘but’ which must be borne constantly in mind — police field deployment is not social agency activity. In deploying to suppress crime, we are not interested in why a certain group tends toward crime, we are interested in maintaining order.”<sup>5</sup>

---

\* Proportional distribution was conceived as early as 1909 when Chief August Vollmer assigned the Berkeley, California, patrol force (which then was bicycle-mounted) to two twelve hour shifts in accordance with the number of calls anticipated in each part of the city. The Proportional Need Theory is defined by Robert Benedict Gaunt as a system which studied police problems in the immediate past in order to project what might be anticipated in the near future and thus deploy police manpower to areas and at the times when these problems were anticipated. For further information, see Robert Benedict Gaunt, *Field Deployment of Police Patrol Forces and the Use of Electronic Data Processing Equipment*, unpublished Master's Thesis, School of Public Administration, University of Southern California, June, 1965, p. 34.

According to Parker, therefore, police deployment is heaviest in minority sections of the city because, based on statistical reasons, he *believes* it to be a *fact* that racial minority groups commit more crime. Parker made these statements in an address delivered at the National Conference of Christians and Jews Institute on Police-Community Relations, Michigan State University, in May, 1955.<sup>6</sup>

*However, in comparing the 1955 crime statistics in the low-socioeconomic, predominantly Mexican-American community (LAPD Hollenbeck Division) with the middle class predominantly Anglo-Saxon community (LAPD Hollywood Division), there does not appear to be a statistically significant difference in the crime rates\* per ratio of population in these two communities.* In the Mexican-American police division there was a crime rate of 3,682.9 per 100,000 population compared to the Anglo-Saxon area which revealed a rate of 3,681.1 per 100,000 population.<sup>7</sup> This means that there were 1.8 more crimes per 100,000 population in the Mexican-American community. *Would this minute statistical difference warrant heavier police deployment in the ethnic minority community?* Parker further stated:

“At the present time, race, color, and creed are useful statistical and tactical devices. So are age groupings, sex and employment. If persons of one occupation, for some reason commit more theft than the average, then increased police attention is given to persons of that occupation. Discrimination is not a factor there. If persons of Mexican, Negro, or Anglo-Saxon ancestry, for some reason, contribute heavily to other forms of crime, police deployment must take that into account. From an ethnological point of view, Negro, Mexican and Anglo-Saxon are unscientific breakdowns; they are fiction. From a police point of view, they are a useful fiction and should be used as long as they remain useful. The demand that the police cease to consider race, color, and creed is an unrealistic demand. Identification is a police tool, not a police attitude.”<sup>8</sup>

Parker does not elaborate as to how ethnicity and creed may be a “useful fiction” from a police point of view, or how the police administrator determines when this ceases to be a useful criteria in police deployment. He feels that race, color and creed for identification purposes are a police tool and not the result of a police attitude. Might not these criteria be based on *attitudinal percep-*

---

\* The Los Angeles Police Department reported these crime rates on the basis of Part I Offenses (Homicide, Rape, Robbery, Aggravated Assault, Burglary, Larceny and Auto Theft).

tions that may or may not be based on fact? How is *fact* determined? Would it not be possible to heavily deploy police in an ethnic minority community as a response to a *perceived* fact or assumption which in turn has the result of making it appear as if indeed it is a fact? As Gilbert Geis has said:

“A belief, based on real or imagined information that a particular minority group commits more crimes than other groups will often lead to a greater saturation of this group’s neighborhoods by police patrol. Such saturation will likely turn up more crime and produce a larger number of arrests of persons belonging to the group, though it will often inhibit some kind of criminal activity as well because of the increased likelihood of apprehension. But it is the police activity and not the behavior of the group itself which is conditioning the crime rates for the group as these eventually appear in the printed statistics.”<sup>9</sup>

The phenomenon described by Geis leads to what Robert K. Merton called a “self fulfilling prophecy.” Within this conceptual framework, it would be possible for law enforcement to unknowingly generate its own need for more services thereby utilizing more critical manpower that could have been used for some other activity.

Orlando O. Wilson advocates the use of “police hazards” as a theoretical basis for the deployment of police patrols in communities. He states:

“The need for patrol service derives from police hazards. The total hazard in a community resulting in need for police service is the sum of a multitude of varied and complex conditions and situations, many of them intangible and difficult to isolate for purposes of analysis and measurement. However, hazards result in crimes, offenses, accidents, complaints, and arrests whose frequency may be taken as a measure of the hazards. The measure is made, not in terms of the hours and minutes spent in handling cases or in neutralizing or minimizing the hazards, but in terms of the proportional distribution of the incidents that result from these hazards among the various patrol areas and time periods.”<sup>10</sup>

The purpose of patrol, according to Wilson, is to achieve police objectives through the action of officers moving about within prescribed areas. Their tasks are divided into three classes, *viz.*, services called for (incidents requiring police action reported by a victim or witness, or they may be discovered by a patrolman), inspectional services (routine examination of business premises, etc.), and routine preventive patrol (directed primarily at diminishing less tangible hazards that are not readily isolated and identified).<sup>11</sup>

While a formula has not yet been developed to determine the needed strength of a police department, states Wilson, the minimum number of men needed for the special divisions can be estimated on the basis of essential duties that must be performed; and the number needed for patrol may be estimated by ascertaining the number required to provide an amount of patrol service in terms of called-for service and routine patrol. The relative need for routine preventive patrol and called-for services, according to Wilson, may be measured in terms of the relative frequency of occurrence of Part I offenses (seven major crimes), Part II offenses (all other crimes), accidents, reports, and arrests, because these are the incidents that routine patrol is intended to prevent, and their frequency establishes the extent of called-for services.<sup>12</sup> Wilson suggests that the procedure for working out the patrol deployment is simplified if those factors which determine the relative need for called-for services and routine patrol are consolidated into a single factor, or index.<sup>13</sup> The factors then are assigned weights. In describing this procedure, he states:

“A weight of one should be assigned to all incidents in each of the categories of arrests, accidents, and miscellaneous reports, since it is assumed that they are of approximately equal importance and that approximately equal time is required to deal with them. A weight of two should be assigned to Part II offenses, and a weight of four to Part I crimes. In applying the weights, Part I crimes should be multiplied by four and Part II incidents by two, since it is assumed that they are, respectively, four and two times more serious than incidents in the other three categories and that a similar increase in time is required to deal with them.”<sup>14</sup>

Thereafter, the weighted number of incidents in each type are added, and the proportion of the total on each shift to the total for the 24 hours of the day are computed. This percentage is then used to apportion the man-hours to be devoted to called-for services and preventive patrol among the shifts.<sup>15</sup> This approach would meet the requirements of the “proportional need theory.”

Within recent years, the Los Angeles Police Department Patrol Bureau has instituted its own theoretical rationale for the distribution of personnel within a geographic patrol division.<sup>16</sup> The policy states that “by evaluating past experiences, the police administrator can anticipate the distribution of the need for his patrol force on the basis of the past distribution of the problem.”<sup>17</sup> This policy is also consistent with the proportional need theory. There is, how-

ever, no way of *measuring the validity of the original theoretical base upon which later personnel deployment policies may evolve*. The LAPD distributes its manpower on the basis of criminal activity and called-for services. The manpower distribution is made on the basis of four factors: selected crimes, called-for services, felony arrests, and misdemeanor arrests. The following crimes are selected, tallied and combined for machine tabulation: "Burglary," "Robbery," "Theft from Person," "Auto Theft," "Burglary and Theft from Auto," "Bicycle Theft," "Murder, Rape and Felonious Assault," and "Other Thefts." The policy states that:

"These crimes were chosen as they are more susceptible to prevention by the presence of uniformed patrol officers, or because they are indicators of the need for police services, or both. Bicycle thefts were included because of their correlation to those "less serious" juvenile crimes not covered by the other selected crimes. A question arises as to the inclusion of murder and rape with felonious assaults. Murder and rape are crimes of passion and are not responsive to the mere knowledge that the police are in the area. However, simply because a crime falls into a group of crimes which we think cannot be prevented does not preclude its value as an indicator of a police problem area. Aggravated or felonious assault are to a certain extent susceptible to prevention, especially when those assaults might occur in a public place. Additionally, the general geographic location of such assaults is usually predictable when considered in volume of number and time. Murders, rapes, and felonious assaults tend to indicate the need for the presence of uniformed officers in those areas which, because of socio-economic or ethnic conditions, seem to present a much higher proportion of crimes of violence."<sup>18</sup>

Again, as was the case with the late Chief Parker, the deployment policy is based upon a *belief* that socioeconomic and ethnic conditions lead to a much higher proportion of crimes of violence. There is no further clarification or elaboration of these ethnic, socioeconomic variables to demonstrate how this is true (or not true). The local police administrator in effect has to accept this premise as a "given" and thereafter, plan accordingly. A weight factor is assigned to called-for services, felony arrests, and misdemeanor arrests. These three factors are combined and form *work units* and are used as a *single factor*. The percentage of work units, and the percentages of crimes are then averaged to determine the workload by reporting district. The workload then is determined separately for each watch.<sup>19</sup>

The operationalization of the LAPD patrol deployment policy *should* reveal that more police are assigned to those areas that reflect the most need based on LAPD criteria. To accomplish this, two police divisions were selected for contrasting purposes because one area was a low, socioeconomic, predominantly ethnic minority community, and the other a middle class, predominantly Anglo-Saxon community. The LAPD Hollenbeck Division is comprised of 73.4% Spanish-Surname persons with a median family income of \$4820.<sup>20</sup> The LAPD Wilshire Division is comprised of 68.6% White, non Spanish-Surname persons with a median family income of \$6517.<sup>21</sup> The basic crime profiles and the number of police in the two communities are compared as follows:

TABLE A  
LAPD SELECTED CRIMES USED FOR DISTRIBUTION  
OF PERSONNEL WITHIN A GEOGRAPHIC  
PATROL DIVISION

Division	Population	Burglary	Robbery	Larceny and Theft From Person	Auto Theft	Bike Theft, Burglary and Theft From Auto, and Other Theft	Murder, Rape and Felonious Assault	Total
Hollenbeck								
1965	110246	1517	245	2206	1150	303*	576	5997
1966	109749	1574	279	1998	1030	392	606	5822
Wilshire								
1965	259178	5335	936	7752	1903	659	851	17436
1966	214750	4487	707	6584	1520	325	778	14701

\* The 1965 and 1966 LAPD Statistical Digests do not reveal a specific crime category for Bicycle Theft, Burglary and Theft From Auto, and Other Thefts. However, the digests reveal a category both in juvenile and adult arrests labeled "Other," and it is these figures that were used for this column.

TABLE B  
AREA CRIME RATES AND POLICE PER POPULATION

Division	Total Selected Crimes	Crime Rate Per Population	No. of Police Per Population (in thousands)
Hollenbeck			
1965	5997	5.4%	1/1070
1966	5822	5.3%	1/1086
1969	7932	7.3%	1/1016
Wilshire			
1965	17436	6.7%	1/1200
1966	14701	6.7%	1/1256
1969	18453	8.2%	1/1118

Contrary to common belief, Table A and Table B reveal that *even though there is a higher incidence of crime in the middle class Anglo-Saxon community, there is a greater amount of police deployment in the poorer, Mexican-American community.* One possible explanation might be that police administrators, by placing a greater emphasis on a historical policy *belief* – that lower socio-economic ethnic minorities commit a much higher proportion of crime, accordingly assign more police to those areas even though statistical analysis do not warrant this deployment. Does this therefore suggest that there is an element of *subjectivity* in police patrol deployment? N. F. Iannone in his 1970 book expresses this viewpoint when he states:

“The determination of proportionate need for the distribution of the patrol force depends upon the selection and use of factors which indicate the extent of the police problem in a given city. Herein lies the element of subjectivity since the selection of factors which reflect the nature of the police problem is, in large part, a matter of opinion. Each administrator should select those factors which he believes most accurately reflect the police problem in his community.”<sup>22</sup>

The police administrator is very much alone in making those subjective decisions and perhaps even more important, when functioning under the proportional need theory, the greatest shortcoming of this theory is that there is no provision for feedback and control. In other words, not only is there no direct relationship between the deployment scheme and the activities of the officers

in the field, there is also no method by which the activities of the officers in the field can be related to the achievement of the objectives of the deployment scheme.<sup>23</sup> How does one measure the police deployment *outcome*? Is crime actually prevented?

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice found that policemen spend half of their time on "preventive patrol" but that no police chief can obtain even a rough estimate of how much crime is thereby "prevented."<sup>24</sup> The Commission also discovered that the ratios of policemen per 1000 residents in cities of over 500,000 ranging from 1.07 to 4.04, showed no differences in the incidence of reported crime in those cities.<sup>25</sup> Although it might be difficult to measure the crime preventive outcomes of police patrol, it would be possible to measure what James Q. Wilson calls "Police-Invoked Order Maintenance." The most common *police initiated intervention* (Police-Invoked Order Maintenance) occurs in situations dealing with drinking related offenses.<sup>26</sup>

Drunkness arrests vary from place to place — some police departments strictly enforce drunkness statutes, while other departments are known to be more tolerant. The President's Commission concluded that the number of arrests in a city may be related less to the amount of drunkness than to *police policy*. To prove its point, the Commission compared drunkness arrests in three cities and found that the Washington, D.C. (51.8% drunk arrests) and Atlanta, Georgia (52.5% drunk arrests), police departments were guided by stricter enforcement policies to arrests than was the more tolerant St. Louis, Missouri police department (5.5% drunk arrests).<sup>27</sup> Undoubtedly there are many complex variables to consider when different cities in different states are compared as to drinking arrests. It would be possible, however, to consider these arrest patterns as they affect a specific Mexican-American ethnic minority community in East Los Angeles as data are available for careful analysis. Drunk and drunk driving arrests account for a little over 50% of all offenses in East Los Angeles — a significantly higher ratio than other communities. Table C compares the East Los Angeles and West Valley populations with regards to numbers of police and frequency of drunk and drunk driving arrests.

TABLE C  
 DRUNK AND DRUNK DRIVING ARRESTS  
 PER AREA AND POPULATION

1968	LAPD Hollenbeck Area & ELA Sheriff's Station *	LAPD West Valley Area †
Total Population	259,275	260,832
Square Miles	26.44	54.81
Ethnicity	50-60% White, Spanish-Surname	95% White, Non- Spanish Surname
Median Family Income	\$5680	\$8440
Number of Alcoholics per 100,000 population	8143	8143
Drunk and Drunk Driving Arrests	Per Month: 800 Per Year: 9676 Per Sq. Mi: 372	125 1552 28.5
Police Agencies	CHP, LAPD, Sheriff	LAPD ‡
Total No. of Officers	375	151
Number of Officers per Square Mile	13.5	3.5
Major Crime per Ratio of Population	4.9%	4.8%

\* "Total Population" and "Square Miles" includes Bell Gardens, 29,491 people, 2.40 square miles; and City of Commerce, 10,763 people, 6.56 square miles. Bell Gardens and Commerce accounted for 1,168 of the drunk and drunk driving arrests.

† As defined by LAPD.

‡ CHP statistics in the West Valley area were not available but even when CHP arrests are subtracted from the East Los Angeles Area (approximately 3000 arrests), there still is a significantly higher ratio of arrests for those offenses in the ELA area as compared to the West Valley area. The LAPD made 2954 ELA arrests and the Sheriff's office produced 3722 ELA arrests.

LAPD – Los Angeles Police Department (city)

CHP – California Highway Patrol (state)

Sheriff – Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office (county)

The ethnicity and income factors appear in Mental Health Catchment Areas of Los Angeles County, Population and Health Care Resources, UCLA School of Public Health, Division of Behavioral Sciences, April, 1968.

Table C reflects dramatic differences in arrests related to drinking. From its information, one must conclude that more police are present to observe drinking infractions of the law in the East Los Angeles area, and that drunk and drunk driving arrests increase as the number of police per population and square mile increase. *It is not that Mexican-Americans are drinking more than their affluent neighbors. The Division of Alcoholic Rehabilitation of the California Department of Public Health reports an identical ratio of alcoholism per population.*<sup>28</sup> *The situation described in Table C may not be unusual as the affluent users of alcohol seem to be very much underrepresented in criminal statistics.* Jack W. Bishop, Director of the USC Research Project on the Drinking Driver and Traffic Safety, found that most convicted drunk drivers are between 31 and 40 years of age, and that most of those convicted are laborers or unskilled workers. He remarked:

“If we say that drunken drivers are only from lower economic groups or minorities, we are fooling ourselves. Drunk drivers come from every social stratum and occupation.”<sup>29</sup>

The head administrator of the Los Angeles County Jail, Chief Kramer, informed the writer on August 2, 1968, that they did not keep racial or ethnic statistical data on prisoners. There are 12,000 prisoners in the county jail. During 1967, 153,221 persons were booked into the county jail, with a third of these being arrested for offenses related to drinking.<sup>30</sup> Since Mexican-Americans comprise 20% of state adult inmates and parolees, and 25% of California Youth Authority wards, there would be reason to believe that Mexican-Americans represent 20% (2,400) to 25% (3,000) of the county jail inmates in Los Angeles. This is not difficult to conclude when one considers the large numbers of people in East Los Angeles being arrested for drunk and drunk driving offenses. Better statistics regarding ethnic arrest patterns are needed in this area for exact documentation.

How should the police administrator deal with the “police invoked order maintenance” phenomenon such as was presented in Table C? Patrol deployment policies and theories do not seem to take this kind of self-generated outcome into consideration in patrol deployment planning. Might there not be too much emphasis placed on “police hazards” and the “police problem” which may lead to many intangibles, assumptions and variables that, in the end result, require arbitrary, subjective decisions? In 1965, one of every three arrests in America were for the offense of drunken-

ness (two million arrests).<sup>31</sup> The great volume of these arrests places an extremely heavy load on the operations of the entire criminal justice system. Not only does it burden police, but it clogs lower criminal courts and crowds penal institutions throughout the country.

Perhaps police administrators should deliberate beyond the *traditional* criminal justice system (courts, police and corrections) in comprehensive planning. Other systems that should be part of the criminal justice system — particularly as it pertains to drinking related offenses, are mental health and public health agencies. While over 50% of all arrests for law enforcement agencies in East Los Angeles are for offenses related to drinking, only 2% of all the patients seen at the County East Los Angeles Mental Health Regional Service were for drinking problems.<sup>32</sup> With the exception of three or four Alcoholic Anonymous groups in East Los Angeles, and a very modest, recently established out-patient public health satellite service, there are no detoxification or professional services available to Mexican-Americans with drinking problems. In other words, it is not just a police problem, it is a bio-psycho-social problem — it is a community problem. Involving the criminal justice system with these agencies and the community system in comprehensive planning, could result in a more totally efficient system for processing drinking behavior — thereby reducing law enforcement's most time consuming burden. Law enforcement cannot afford not to be concerned with the outcome of the patrol deployment scheme if it wishes to keep pace with the growing crime problem in America.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Orlando W. Wilson. *Police Administration* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963), p. 231.
2. The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. A Report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 257.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. x.
5. William H. Parker. *Parker on Police*, ed. by O. W. Wilson (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1957), p. 161.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
7. Los Angeles Police Department 1955 Annual Report, City of Los Angeles, p. 28.

8. Parker, p. 162.
9. Gilbert Geis. "Statistics Concerning Race and Crime," unpublished paper submitted to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, September 13, 1962, p. 6.
10. Wilson, p. 257.
11. Wilson, p. 238.
12. Wilson, p. 251-252.
13. Wilson, p. 263.
14. Wilson, p. 264.
15. Wilson, p. 264.
16. "Distribution of Personnel Within a Geographic Patrol Division," Patrol Bureau, H/8, 8.43.2, Los Angeles Police Department, February 11, 1965, p. 1.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. Mental Health Catchment Areas of Los Angeles County. Population and Health Care Resources, UCLA School of Public Health, Division of Behavioral Sciences, April 1968, p. 123.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
22. N. F. Iannone. *Supervision of Police Personnel* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 29.
23. Robert Benedict Gaunt, Field Deployment of Police Patrol Forces and the Use of Electronic Data Processing Equipment, unpublished Master's Thesis, School of Public Administration, University of Southern California, June 1965, p. 34.
24. The President's Commission, p. 247.
25. The President's Commission, p. 96.
26. James Q. Wilson. *Varieties of Police Behavior* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 118.
27. The President's Commission, p. 234.
28. California State Plan for Community Mental Health Centers, State of California, Department of Public Health, Bureau of Health Facilities Planning and Construction, June 1968, p. 301.
29. *Los Angeles Times*, Section C, p. 1, June 1, 1969.
30. Los Angeles County Sheriff's *Biennial Report*, 1965-1967.
31. The President's Commission, p. 233.
32. "Patient and Service Statistics," Los Angeles County Department of Mental Health, Evaluation and Research Division, January 1969, p. 52.

# Drug Use Trends In California

SAMUEL R. ALVIDREZ

## ABSTRACT

Years of intense attention to narcotic and drug use has produced a long series of theories that have been used to "explain" narcotic and drug use. As a result of what the social investigators have postulated, the public as well as the legal authorities have come to believe that it is people who live in sub-standard housing, suffer from inadequate medical care, and are the most numerous in unemployment roles, who are the biggest users of narcotics and drugs.

*The following study demonstrates that these types of assumptions are incorrect and have been misapplied. The study shows, for example, that it is not the Mexican-American who is the biggest user of marijuana, but that the "White" youth are in fact the worst violators.*

*Another major contributor to the commonly held misconceptions is the belief that there are few crime census studies conducted that can be used for comparative purposes on a year-to-year basis. The California Youth Authority in 1964 started a uniform census of narcotic and drug users to run on a year-to-year basis. The following study is primarily based on the results of that census covering the last four years. Comparisons are made on a year-to-year basis with dramatic results. These comparisons show the Mexican-Ameri-*

*can dropping out of the drug scene and his "White" counterpart entering that scene in ever increasing numbers.*

*It is quite obvious from the graphs provided with this article that the generalizations which are widely held by lawmakers, police, judicial authorities, and the general public concerning the use of drugs and narcotics by Mexican-Americans are in need of qualification and revision.*

---

The reportedly widespread use of narcotics or drugs by present day youth has given rise to extensive research in many areas. To a significant extent, the interpretation of much sociological and clinical data is predicated on various assumptions which generally fall into one of three categories:

1. The etiology is genetic or physical.
2. The etiology is environmental or social.
3. The etiology is psychological.

The genetic or physical theories<sup>1</sup> have little empirical evidence to support them. They fail to explain why the majority of people who begin using narcotics or drugs, or experimenting with them, do not get more involved with them; unless, of course, we are to assume that those who do go on are the genetically determined ones. This category of theories also fails to explain why some narcotic or drug users stop using narcotics or drugs.

The social or environmental theories<sup>2</sup> are based upon a number of assumptions, including (1) narcotic or drug use is socially communicable, and (2) certain social environments are more conducive to narcotic or drug use than other environments.

The learning theories that are posited to explain narcotic or drug use are generally of the conditioning variety.<sup>3</sup> They suggest that the person becomes conditioned to internal and external stimuli. These theories likewise suggest that the stimuli may be similar for a variety of narcotics or drugs, as well as for initiation to narcotic or drug use. The lack of sufficient empirical evidence to understand the process of narcotic or drug use, the types of narcotic or drug users, and the factors involved in narcotic and drug addiction raises many questions about the feasibility of conditioning theory in explaining narcotic and drug use.

The changing patterns of narcotic or drug use pose questions and demand decisions based on realistic assessments of the role

and extent of drug use, the impact and effect of narcotic or drug use on users, and the etiology and development of narcotic and drug use patterns. Although recent research emphases have tended to explore and develop a number of new and promising explanations, the literature in the field remains heavily weighted with poorly based conjecture, dubious generalizations and the perpetuation of subjective opinion as foundations for social action.

### *Methodology*

The data upon which this paper is based was compiled in order to explore the validity of some of the basic assumptions and conjectures concerning narcotic and drug use, its etiology and trends *with respect to the ethnic characteristics of drug and narcotic users.*

The core of the data presented in this paper has been made possible by the on-going census of California Youth Authority Wards instituted on January 1, 1964, by the Youth Authority. The sources of information for the census are: (1) the Youth Authority Referral Document, which is completed by the county of referral and which contains an item on the past history of the use of any narcotic or drugs, as well as an item on the ethnic background of the individual concerned; (2) the Youth Authority Case Summary, which has similar items and is completed by the Youth Authority Clinic staff; (3) the Youth Authority Board Report, which provides information on the narcotic or drug use history of the wards on parole. Any history of the use of narcotic or drugs from any of the above sources is sufficient to place a ward in the user category.

### *Population Trends*

During the time period (December 31, 1964/June 30, 1969) covered by this study, California's youth population in the 15 to 24 year age range increased from 2,575,000 to 3,328,900, an increase of slightly more than 29 per cent.<sup>4</sup>

According to the United States Bureau of the Census, California's Spanish surname population made up 7.2 per cent of the total state population in 1950. In 1960, the Spanish surname population had increased to 9.1 per cent of the total state population which indicates a growth rate of 88.1 per cent. By comparison, the State's total population grew by 48.5 per cent.<sup>5</sup> California's Spanish surname population in 1960 was concentrated in the younger age brackets — 70.4 per cent were under age 35. This compares with 64.7 per cent of nonwhites and 56.5 per cent of the total white population.<sup>6</sup>

Provisional estimates of the ethnic composition of California's population as issued by the State Department of Finance indicates that the Spanish surname population had by July 1, 1967, increased to 11.1 per cent of the state population, which was estimated at 19,478,000.<sup>7</sup>

### *Arrest Trends*

On a year to year basis arrest data indicates an upward bound trend in all areas of crime which includes drug or narcotic use.<sup>8</sup>

The total number of juveniles arrested (as reported to the State Department of Justice), by law enforcement agencies throughout the state rose from approximately 269,584 in 1964, to 366,451 in 1969.<sup>9</sup> As a percentage of the total arrest (adult and juveniles combined) the figure shown for 1964 represents 27.6 per cent and nearly 31 per cent in 1968. This is, of course, accounted for to some extent by the much larger proportion of the population that falls into the general juvenile age group.

According to the State Department of Justice approximately 19.8 per cent of the total juvenile arrests for major law violations are disposed of within the arresting agency, and 3.6 per cent are referred to other agencies. The remaining 76.6 per cent are referred to probation. In the area of minor law violations, 52.4 per cent are disposed of within the arresting agency. Of the remaining balance 1.4 per cent are referred to other agencies and 46.1 per cent are referred to probation.<sup>10</sup>

About 43,000 more juvenile arrests were reported in 1968 than were reported in the previous year, resulting in a 12 per cent increase in the rate per 100,000 population. The biggest rate increase were for the series in the felony level (major), offense group. Drug law violations in 1968 show a 113 per cent increase over 1967.<sup>11</sup>

Examination of arrest data indicates that juveniles arrested on a felony charge tend to be treated more seriously than those arrested on a misdemeanor charge.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, the police tend to refer the felony arrestee to the probation department much more frequently than the other less serious category level of arrests. On a state wide basis, 77 per cent of the juveniles arrested for felony level offenses were referred to the probation department for further handling. In contrast, the misdemeanor and delinquency tendency levels had less than 50 per cent referred to the probation department.<sup>13</sup>

### *Youth Authority Wards*

Since 1941, the California Youth Authority (Y.A.), has been the state agency responsible for the training and treatment of young persons found guilty of public offenses and placed under the jurisdiction of the Y.A. for correctional and rehabilitation purposes. Persons under 21 years of age at the time of commission of their offense may be referred to the Y.A. by juvenile and criminal courts. If accepted, the courts then commit the individual to the custody of the Youth Authority. Jurisdiction over juveniles first entering the Y.A. can be maintained until the age of 21; or those committed as misdemeanants until the age of 23 and, for those committed after conviction of a felony charge until after they reach age 25.

At the end of June, 1969, the total number of youths under Y.A. jurisdiction was 20,314, which represents a small percentage increase over the population figure of December, 1964, which was 19,808.

Exact figures for the Y.A. population during the study period are:

December 31, 1964	19,808
June 30, 1965	20,701
December 31, 1965	20,970
June 30, 1966	21,377
December 31, 1966	21,355
June 30, 1967	21,090
June 30, 1968	20,729
June 30, 1969	20,314

As the figures indicate a peak was reached on June 30, 1966, and from that date to June 30, 1969, there was a 5.1 per cent decrease. However, in the overall picture the Y.A. population has remained rather stable during the study period.<sup>14</sup> This situation can be attributed in part to the probation subsidy program administered by the Y.A.; wherein the Y.A. pays a county not to send youthful offenders to the Y.A. and instead place them under special supervision. As stated above, the subsidy program offers a possible (probable) reason for the lack of growth in the area of youths being placed under the jurisdiction of the Y.A. for any public offense.

By exploring the Y.A. population census for data relevant to sex and ethnic background, the data for Graphs 1A and 1B was ascertained and portrayed graphically.<sup>15</sup>

As Graph 1A indicates, those individuals classified as "White" males decreased in numbers from December 31, 1964 to June 30, 1969. Those classified as Negro males increased from 26.3 per cent to 28.9 per cent, an increase of 2.6 per cent. The Mexican-American males decreased from 19.9 per cent to 18.6 per cent, a decrease of 1.3 per cent. Those individuals classified as "Other" males increased by one tenth of a per cent.

In contrast, those females depicted in Graph 1B and classified as "White" did not change from December 31, 1964 to June 30, 1969. The Negro female increased by .6 per cent over the same time period. The Mexican-American female, like her male counterpart, decreased in numbers, but by .7 per cent only. As is indicated the decrease was not as significant. There was no increase nor decrease in the "Other" category.

This graph depicts the stability of the Y.A. population with respect to sex and ethnic background of the Y.A. wards.

#### *Narcotic or Drug Law Violations*

Graph 2A depicts the commitment rate for both males and females to the Y.A. for narcotic or drug law violations.

As the data indicates, those males committed during the six month period ending December 31, 1964, comprised 4.0 per cent of the total Y.A. male population. One year later, the commitment rate had increased to 4.7 per cent, which indicates a slight increase. By the end of the study period (June 30, 1969), the rate had jumped to 12.3 per cent, an increase of 8.3 per cent.

The overall increase for the females committed to the Y.A. for narcotic or drug law violations increased from 4.6 per cent to 8.8 per cent, which is an increase of 4.2 per cent.

Graph 2B graphically portrays the incidence use of drugs or narcotics by both males and females committed to the Youth Authority. As the graph indicates, females, on a percentage basis, are more inclined to use narcotics or drugs than their male counterparts.

It should be noted that the data shown on this graph pertains to all persons committed to the Y.A., inclusive of those individuals committed for narcotic or drug law violations.

*All of the following graphs (Nos. 3A, 3B, 4A, 4B, 5A, 5B, 6A, and 6B) are an expansion of the data presented in Graph 2B. The data is displayed in categorical order as follows: specific narcotic or drug; sex and ethnic background.*

*In each of the eight graphs (3A through 6B), the dominant features are both the dramatic increase of narcotic or drug use by those individuals classified as "White," and the equally dramatic decline in the user population of the Mexican-American Y.A. wards.*

As stated, the data plotted in Graphs 3A and 3B depict the incidence use of narcotic or drugs. Both of the distinctive curves for the "White" and Mexican-American youth population are present. The data for the Negro male and female populaiton indicates a slight increase for the male and a very slight decrease for the female. At first glance the curve for the Negro could be interpreted as a stabilized situation, however, when the population trends (State-wide) are taken into account, they are in reality decreasing. The same situation affects the Mexican-American, which in effect indicates a greater decrease than is shown by the graph.

The "White" male is by far the bigger offender of narcotic or drug laws. His female counterpart follows closely behind.

### *Dangerous Drugs*

Graphs 4A and 4B continue to demonstrate the decrease of Mexican-Americans in the user population. The "White" male continues to dominate the field, with his female counterpart following closely behind. The Negro male shows a slight increase, while the Negro female is over-represented in this category. Those females classified as "Other" show an increase of 1.5 per cent.

Both of the graphs pertain to dangerous drugs only. The term "dangerous drugs" refers to amphetamines and barbituate type drugs. The data for the Mexican-American conforms to the data presented in Graphs 3A and 3B.

### *Marijuana*

In the area of marijuana use, Graph 5A shows an almost equal amount of increase/decrease for the "White" and Mexican-American males. The Mexican-American females in Graph 5B continue their dramatic decline as is the case with the Mexican-American males. The "White" females in this area of narcotic use lead their male counterparts by 6.3 per cent. The Negro male shows a slight increase, while the Negro female shows a .4 percent decrease.

This set of Graphs (5A and 5B), are in keeping with the data shown in Graphs 3A and 3B with respect to the close proximity of the starting points for the "White" and Mexican-American males. The obvious difference is, of course, in the ending points of the respective curves which indicate a difference of 33.7 per cent.

## *Opiates*

The incidence use of opiates as displayed on Graphs 6A and 6B indicates a dominance of users by those individuals classified as "White" regardless of sex. "White" females continue to lead their male counterparts as in the area of marijuana use.

Mexican-American males and females continue on their downward trend, as they have in all areas of narcotic or drug use. *A highly significant point in Graph 6A is the high starting point for the Mexican-American males and the 20.2 per cent decrease.* In contrast to this situation, the "White" male started at a relatively lower point than his Mexican-American counterpart, yet, the trend for the "White" male is on an upward-bound track.

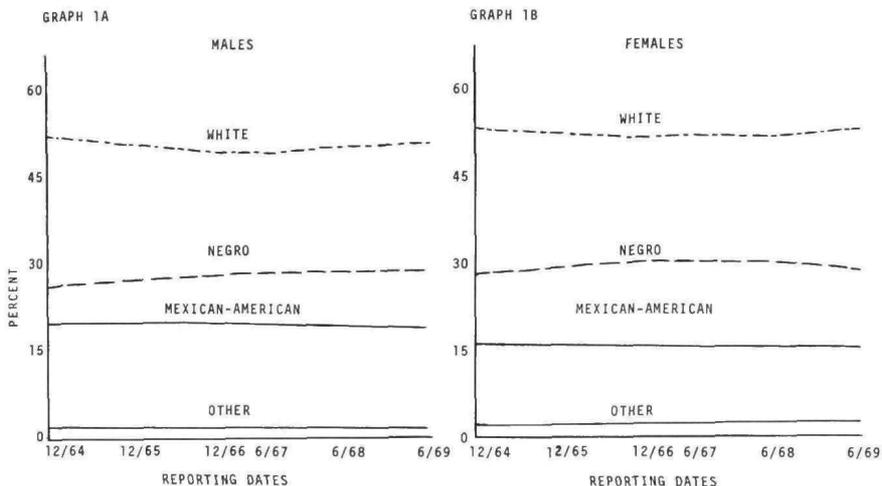
The Negro female shows an increase of 2.2 per cent, however, as of the period ending June 30, 1967, a downward trend is indicated. The Negro male shows an increase of 2.0 per cent, which is consistent with the data shown for him in Graphs 4A and 5A.

## *Conclusion*

There appears to be a glaring misconception prevailing in the field of narcotic or drug use. The misconception arises from a failure of the social science investigators to view this social problem from the perspective of history or in its relation to other problems. The causes and effects as described by various scholars change from discipline to discipline. Forty-two years ago, Terry and Pellens (1928), in their book "The Opium Problem," wrote as follows:

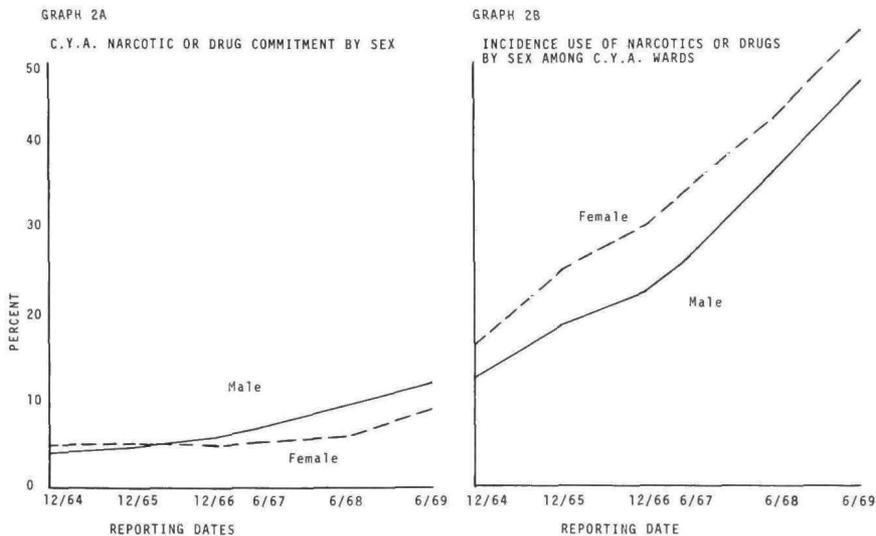
"Among the western nations, the United States seems to have acquired the reputation — whether deservedly or not, need not be considered here — of being more widely and harmfully affected than any other. Certainly, in this country there has been much more interest evinced in control measures both of an international and national character than elsewhere. Whether the problem is really greater in the United States than in other countries or whether, perhaps, the question simply has been more agitated here by virtue of a better appreciation of its extent are matters for speculation. Certainly, our news agencies have not minimized the importance of the problem or lessened the public's interest in it and today, on almost every hand, individuals, local organizations, scientific bodies, and legislative groups have become aroused to what is considered generally a health and social peril of magnitude.

C.Y.A. POPULATION BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND



By Reporting Dates: n=	12/64 16,847	12/65 17,756	12/66 18,057	12/64 2,961	12/65 3,214	12/66 3,298
	6/67 17,832	6/68 17,505	6/69 17,172	6/67 3,258	6/68 3,224	6/69 3,142

Source: California Youth Authority, Division of research, Narcotic Research Section, Statistical Fact Sheets # 13,15, 17, 18, 19,23, 25 and 27

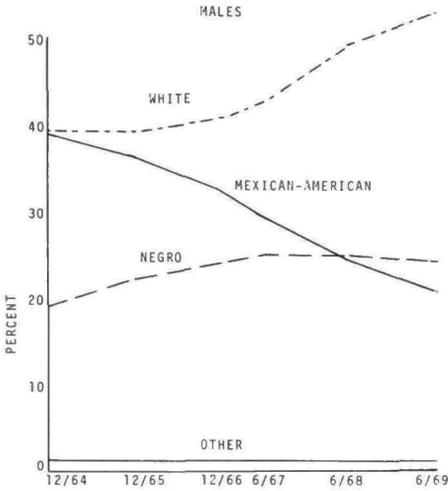


By Reporting Dates: n=	12/64 16,847	12/65 17,756	12/66 18,057
Male:	6/67 17,832	6/68 17,505	6/69 17,172
Female:	12/64 2,961	12/65 3,214	12/66 3,298
	6/67 3,258	6/68 3,224	6/69 3,142

Source: Ibid. Graph 1A

NARCOTIC OR DRUG INVOLVEMENT OF C.Y.A. WARDS

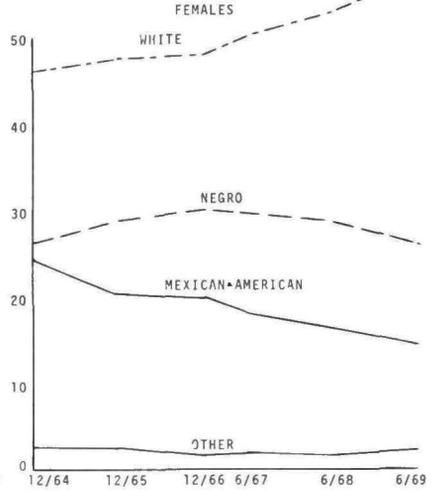
GRAPH 3A



REPORTING DATES  
 By Reporting Dates: n=  
 12/64 2,232 12/65 3,066 12/66 4,254  
 6/67 4,869 6/68 6,511 6/69 8,202

Source: Ibid. Graph 1A

GRAPH 3B

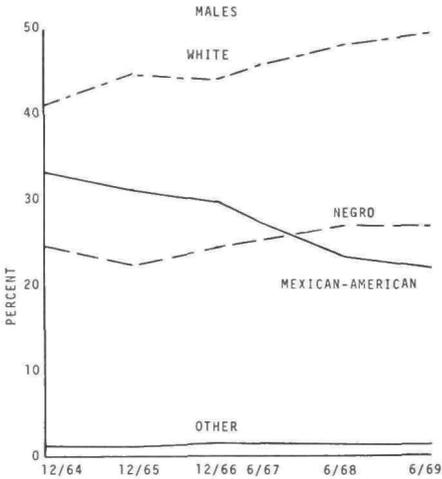


REPORTING DATES  
 By Reporting Dates: n=  
 12/64 491 12/65 822 12/66 1,014  
 6/67 1,145 6/68 1,390 6/69 1,683

Source: Ibid. Graph 1A

INCIDENCE USE OF DANGEROUS DRUGS BY C.Y.A. WARDS

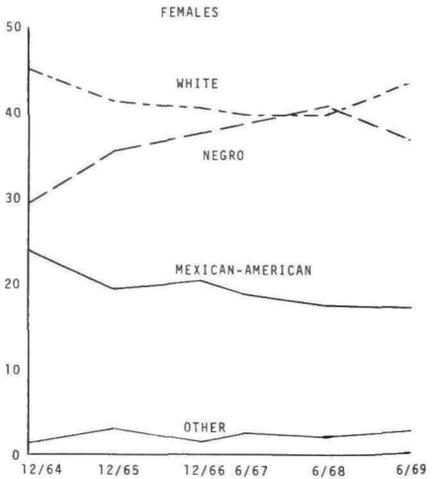
GRAPH 4A



REPORTING DATES  
 By Reporting Dates: n=  
 12/64 604 12/65 932 12/66 897  
 6/67 885 6/68 986 6/69 1,285

Source: Ibid. Graph 1A

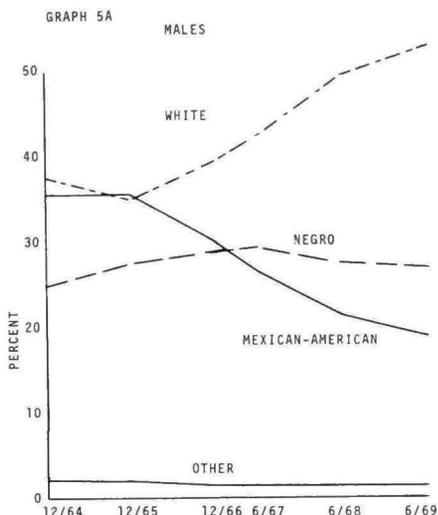
GRAPH 4B



REPORTING DATES  
 By Reporting Dates: n=  
 12/64 217 12/65 328 12/66 337  
 6/67 336 6/68 357 6/69 381

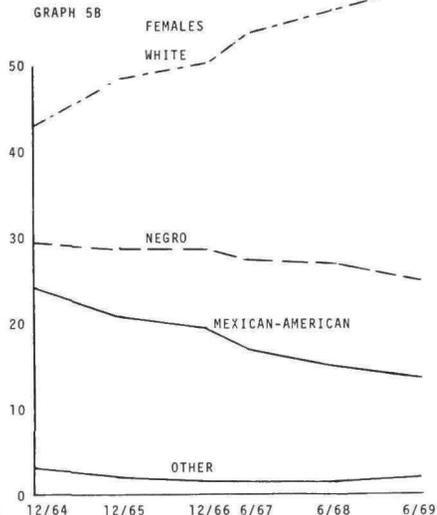
Source: Ibid. Graph 1A

INCIDENCE USE OF MARIJUANA BY C.Y.A. WARDS



REPORTING DATES  
By Reporting Dates: n=  
12/64 1,034 12/65 1,508 12/66 2,676  
6/67 3,279 6/68 4,644 6/69 5,721

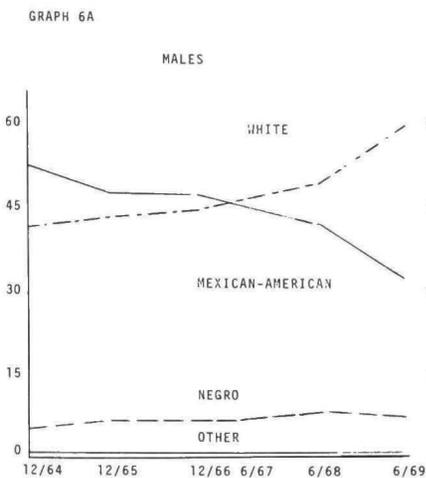
Source: Ibid, Graph 1A



REPORTING DATES  
By Reporting Dates: n=  
12/64 186 12/65 354 12/66 527  
6/67 639 6/68 822 6/69 1,017

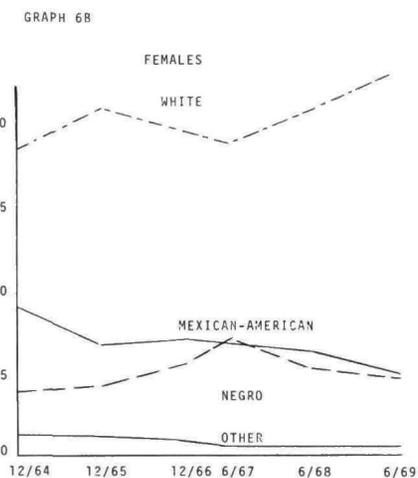
Source: Ibid, Graph 1A

INCIDENCE USE OF OPIATES BY C.Y.A. WARDS



REPORTING DATES  
By Reporting Dates: n=  
12/64 594 12/65 645 12/66 681  
6/67 705 6/68 881 6/69 1,196

Source: Ibid, Graph 1A



REPORTING DATES  
By Reporting Dates: n=  
12/64 88 12/65 140 12/66 150  
6/67 170 6/68 211 6/69 285

Source: Ibid, Graph 1A

Unfortunately, among those who have become interested from a professional, legislative, administrative, sociological, commercial, or other point of view, there has been an almost continuous controversy as to practically every phase of the narcotic situation, with the result that all the way from the cause on through the development, course, and treatment of the condition, to say nothing of its underlying nature and methods of control, there has been a lack of unanimity of opinion. . . . In general, students and writers appear to have approached the subject from only a limited experience – with too meager a basis of fact – and to have emphasized unduly one or another feature to the total exclusion of related data. This tendency quite naturally may have led the more or less casual reader as well as legislators, administrators, and others officially or professionally connected with the individuals involved to prejudicial attitudes and unwarranted generalizations.”<sup>16</sup>

This statement of 42 years ago implies that there is a great deal of concern over the problem of drug addiction; there is continuous controversy on the factors of causation or etiology; there has been a development of prejudicial and biased attitudes. This situation, as described by Terry and Pellens, is still valid and current in the United States today.

During the past several decades there have been numerous reports by legislative bodies, both on the federal and state levels, on this subject. As a general rule, they all start out with a historical review which notes with alarm the sharp rise in the number of addicts in the youth population of the post-World War II era, as compared with the previous two or three decades. These reports are either verbatim, or summary, and outline the effects of drug addiction on individuals. The reports either inadvertently or advertently also point out which minority groups are involved. This last statement is usually followed by a hypothesis on the factors of causation, which is governed by the peculiar bias of the majority members of the reporting group.

Almost the same thing can be said of the numerous papers and reports generated by investigators representative of their respective disciplines.

Apart from the polarities of limitless imputations to narcotic or drug use, there have been numerous attempts to attach the role of key causes to particular principles, activities, or conjunctures, as outlined in the introductory portion of this paper.

Keeping in mind the population trends for the “White,” Mexican-American, Negro, and “Other” minority groups in the State of California, and also keeping in mind the arrest, narcotic and drug

use trends in the state, can any one of the three general categories of theories explain the factors of causation and cessation of narcotic and drug use?

Of the three categories, the second category (of theories), the etiology of narcotic or drug use is environmental or social – fails to explain the factors of causation and cessation. There is meager evidence to indicate the narcotic or drug use is socially communicable, or that one environment is more conducive than another. According to one investigator (Clausen), the use of narcotics and drugs is to be found in slum districts, which are characterized by poverty, high population mobility, high crime and disease rates and, in general, a variety of social problems.<sup>17</sup> It is a well documented fact that in California the Mexican-American and Negro suffer from all of the conditions imputed by Clausen and the others cited, yet it is not the Mexican-American or Negro that are the most flagrant narcotic or drug users. It appears then, that most, if not all, of the theories in this general category were developed only because minorities were studied for involvement. It is also clear, in view of the trends, that *if* those theories are correct, the “White” juvenile is the one suffering from all of the social ills described by the social investigators cited, and not the Mexican-American or Negro.

The third and last category of theories – the psychological – offer even less plausible explanations than the preceding set of theories. Narcotic or drug use<sup>18</sup> has been described as a “retreatist” reaction of youngsters who are “double-failures” in relation to both legitimate and illegitimate opportunities.<sup>19</sup> It has been attributed to deep personality disturbances, including weak ego structure, inadequately functioning superego, and inadequate sex identity.<sup>20</sup> If we can believe these theories which were posited long before the data for this paper became available, we can conclude that those individuals classed as “White” and which come from the dominant faction of American society are suffering from each of those psychological ailments. On the other hand, we can conclude that while the Mexican-American and Negro may have suffered from those same ailments in the past, they are now well on the road to total recovery.

The President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice put forth three points which are still very applicable today:

- (1) “If a serious effort to control crime is to be made, a serious effort must be made to obtain the facts about crime.”<sup>21</sup>

- (2) "Find out who commits crimes, by age, sex, family status, income, ethnic and residential background, and other social attributes, in order to find the proper focus of crime prevention programs."<sup>21</sup>
- (3) "Project expected crime rates and their consequences into the future for more enlightened government planning."<sup>23</sup>

As was stated in the early stages of this paper, the main effort of this paper was not to offer an explanation of the etiology of narcotic or drug use, but rather to ascertain who, by ethnic background, uses drugs, and what the trends might be.

In conclusion, it must be remembered that when a particular social phenomenon such as narcotic or drug use is defined by law, social convention, or any institutional procedure, it must not be assumed that it can be referred to any one set of causes lying outside of the institutional system itself. Therefore, one must look to the discrepancies that exist within the system for an etiological explanation.

In the historical context, one possible explanation for the cessation of narcotic or drug use may be in the upsurgent human rights movement that encompasses the Mexican-American and Negro movements. Cultural Nationalism may, in the final analysis, be a main solution to narcotic and drug use as a major problem.

#### NOTES

1. D. R. Taft, *Criminology*, 3rd. ed., Macmillan, New York, 1956; G. B. Vold, *Theoretical Criminology*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1958.
2. Y. J. Kron and E. M. Brown, *Mainline to Nowhere*, Pantheon, New York, 1956; R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, The Free Press, New York, 1957; R. A. Cloward and L. C. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity*, The Free Press, New York, 1960.
3. D. M. Wilner and G. G. Kassebaum (eds.), *Conditioning Factors in Opiate Addiction and Relapse*, in *Narcotics*, McGraw-Hill, 1965; I. Chein et al, *The Road to H*, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1964.
4. Estimated and Projected Population of California 1960-2000, Table 10, California Civilian Population by Age and Sex, State of California, Department of Finance, Sacramento, California, 1968, pp. 30-33.
5. United States Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname, Final Report PC (2)-1B.
6. *Ibid.*

7. Financial and Population Research Section, California State Department of Finance, Sacramento, California, August 27, 1968.
8. Crime and Delinquency in California, 1968, State of California, Department of Justice, Bureau of Criminal Statistics, Table I-3, p. 22.
9. *Ibid.*, Table VIII-1, p. 124.
10. *Ibid.*, Table VIII-3, p. 125.
11. *Ibid.*, Table VIII-1, p. 124.
12. Crime and Delinquency in California, 1968, p. 128.
13. *Ibid.*
14. California Youth Authority, Div. of Research, Narcotic Research Section, Sacramento, California; Statistical Fact Sheets Numbered 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25, and 27.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Charles E. Terry, M.D., and Mildred Pellens, *The Opium Problem*, Bureau of Social Hygiene, Inc., New York, 1928, pp. xiii-xiv.
17. J. A. Clausen, *Drug Addiction in Contemporary Social Problems*, Harcourt, Brace and World, New York, 1961, pp. 181-221; J. Dumpson, *Gang and Narcotic Problems of Teenage Youth*, J. of Psychotherapy, April 1952, pp. 312-46; J. Fort, *Heroin Addiction Among Young Men*, Psychiatry, August 1954, 1964, pp. 251-59; J. Toolan, et al, *Adolescent Drug Addiction*, New York State J. of Medicine, January 1, 1952, pp. 72-74; P. Zimmering, et al, *Drug Addiction in Relation to Problems of Adolescents*, American J. of Psychiatry, October, 1952, pp. 272-278.
18. A. D. O'Donnell and J. C. Bell, *Narcotic Addiction*, Harper and Roe, New York, 1966.
19. Cloward and Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity*, Free Press, New York, 1960.
20. Chein and Rosenfeld, *Juvenile Narcotic Use in Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 22, 1957, pp. 52-68.
21. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Crime and Its Impact — An Assessment*, U.S. Printing Office, Washington, D.C., p. 123.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Becker, H. S., *Narcotic Addicts*. Free Press of Glencoe, New York, 1963.
- Clausen, J. A., *Drug Addition*. In *Contemporary Social Problems*, Merton, R. K. and R. A. Nisbet (eds.), Harcourt, Brace and World, New York, 1961.
- Chein, I., D. L. Gerard, R. S. Lee and E. Rosenfeld, *The Road to H*, Basic Books, Inc., New York, 1964.
- , and E. Rosenfeld, *Juvenile Narcotic Use*. Law and Contemporary Problems, Vol. 22, 1957.

- Clinard, M. B. (ed.), *Anomie and Deviant Behavior*. Free Press, New York, 1964.
- Cloward, R. A. and L. C. Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity*. The Free Press, New York, 1960.
- Cohen, S., *The Drug Dilemma*. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1969.
- Dumpson, J., *Gang and Narcotic Problems of Teenage Youth*. J. of Psychotherapy, April 1952.
- Fort, J., *Heroin Addiction Among Young Men*. Psychiatry, August 1954, 1964
- Freedman, A. and E. Wilson, *Childhood and Adolescent Addictive Disorders*. Pediatrics, August 1964.
- Gitchoff, G. T., *Kids, Cops and Kilos*. Malter – Westerfield Pub., San Diego, California, 1969.
- Gould, L. C., *Who Defines Delinquency*. Social Problems, Winter, 1969.
- Hirschi, T. and H. C. Selvin, *Delinquency Research*. The Free Press, New York, 1967.
- Horman, R. E. and A. M. Fox (eds.), *Drug Awareness*. Avon, New York, 1970.
- Kron, Y. J. and E. M. Brown, *Mainline to Nowhere*. Pantheon, New York, 1956.
- Lembert, E. M., *Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control*. Prentice Hall, Inc., New York, 1967.
- Lingeman, R. R., *Drugs from A to Z: A Dictionary*. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1969.
- Louria, D. B., *The Drug Scene*. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1968.
- Merton, R. K., *Social Theory and Social Structure*. The Free Press, New York, 1957.
- O'Donnell, A. D. and J. C. Bell, *Narcotic Addiction*, Harper and Rowe, New York, 1966.
- , *A Follow-up of Narcotic Addicts – Mortality, Relapse and Abstinence*. Am. J. Orthopsychiat., Vol. 34, 1964.
- Palmore, E. and P. E. Hammond, *Interacting Factors in Juvenile Delinquency*. Am. Social Rev., Vol. 29, 1964.
- Russo, J. R. (ed.), *Amphetamine Abuse*. C. C. Thomas Pub., Springfield, Ill., 1968.
- Schur, E. M., *Crimes Without Victims*. Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1965.
- , *Narcotic Addicts*. Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1965.
- Taft, D. R., *Criminology*, 3rd ed. Macmillan, New York, 1956.
- Toolan, J. et al, *Adolescent Drug Addiction*. New York State J. of Medicine, January 1952.
- Vold, G. B., *Theoretical Criminology*. Oxford Univ. Press, New York, 1958.
- Williams, J. B. (ed.), *Narcotics and Hallucinogenics*. Glencoe, Beverly Hills, California, 1969.

- Wilner, D. M. and Kassebaum, G. G. (eds.), *Conditioning Factors in Opiate Addiction and Relapse*. McGraw-Hill, New York, 1965.
- Wootton, B., *Social Science and Social Pathology*. Macmillan, New York, 1959.
- Zimmering, P. et al, *Drug Addiction in Relation to Problems of Adolescents*. Am. J. of Psychiatry, October, 1952.
- State of California, Department of Finance, *Estimated and Projected Population of California 1960-2000*. Sacramento, California, 1968.
- , *Provisional Estimates of the Racial and Ethnic Composition of California, July 1, 1966 and July 1, 1967*. Sacramento, California, August 1968.
- , Department of Justice, *Crime and Delinquency in California, 1968*. Sacramento, California, 1968.
- , California Youth Authority, *Statistical Fact Sheets Numbered 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25, and 27*. Sacramento, California.
- United States Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960*. Washington, D.C.
- President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Crime and Its Impact — An Assessment*. Washington, D.C., 1967.
- , *Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime*. Washington, D.C., 1967.

SAMUEL R. ALVIDREZ was born in Las Cruces, New Mexico and raised in San Jose, California. He is presently completing his B.A. in Social Criminology at Fresno State College.

# El Grito

A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN-AMERICAN THOUGHT

## SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

COMING IN THE NEXT ISSUE (Volume IV, Number 2, Winter, 1971) OF EL GRITO:

TOMÁS RIVERA: “. . . y no se lo tragó la tierra” — *A Short Story.*

Tomás Rivera recreates the speech patterns of the rural Mexican-American and brings them to a high literary plane. In this regard, he reminds us so much of Juan Rulfo and his artistic treatment of Mexican campesino syntax. But the quality of Rivera's work does not rest solely on form; it is equally evident in the content. In his short story “. . . y no se lo tragó la tierra,” the young protagonist questions not only the why of his station in life, but also the nature and even the very existence of a Supreme being. When he finds his answer, he feels that he has become a man.

REYMUNDO MARÍN: “*Tento*” — *A Short Story*

In “*Tento*” Reymundo Marín takes the town idiot stereotype from the comic situation, as the target of jokes and pranks and develops him into a multidimensional tragic figure.

RUBÉN DARÍO SÁLAZ: “*The Race*” — *A Short Story*

A story of “the frontier” in which Sálaz breaks away from the structural conventions of Anglo American “stories of the frontier,” probing deeply into the psyche of the Indian protagonist, Ulzana, and also the psyche of the gabacho antagonist, corporal White of the U.S. Cavalry. The villain becomes the hero and the hero develops into the villain.

IRENE CASTAÑEDA: "*Crónica de Cristal*" – A Chronicle

The migrant experience of the Mexican-American is deeply felt in this chronicle. Cristal, Tejas; Utah; North Dakota; Minnesota; Cristal, Tejas; the seasonal cycle of many families, punctuated by moments of tragedy made bearable by an indomitable spirit that realizes moments of laughter.

RUDY ESPINOSA: "*Mono*" – A Short Story

In Rudy Espinosa's short stories we find a richness in imagery that few writers achieve. His short stories are particularly suitable for use in children's classes. We present a bilingual edition of "Mono" that we highly recommend for use in elementary school bilingual classes.

RICK SALINAS: "*La tortilla*" – Essay

Rick Salinas' "La tortilla" is a perfect complement to Jesús Maldonado's "Loa al frijol" and other poems. Salinas gives the tortilla a significant historical role.

JESÚS MALDONADO: "*Poemas selectos*" – Poetry

Jesús Maldonado's versatility in language use can be fully appreciated in "Capirocita roja" in which he reveals a mastery of pachuco linguistic innovations as well as the artistic sensibility to give them literary quality. Maldonado now gives poetic treatment to Mexican-American food in "Loa al frijol," "El trío mexicano," and "No nomás tú eres."

ERNIE PADILLA: "*Ohming Instick*" – Poetry

In "Ohming Instick" the prosaic "fact dispensing world" of an insensitive teacher and the poetic, creative world of a Chicanito are presented in a strong antithetical clash that brings about that "placer estético."

ALBERTO GALLEGOS: "*Poemas selectos*" – Poetry

The quality of Chicano lyric poetry is enhanced with the work of Alberto Gallegos. There can be no doubt about Gallegos' understanding of the mission of the poet. In his poems he turns his attention to nature and to the poet's world of dreams.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT  
SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT  
SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT  
SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

a  
**Quinto Sol**  
book

TO BE PUBLISHED — FALL 1970  
TO BE PUBLISHED — FALL 1970  
TO BE PUBLISHED — FALL 1970  
TO BE PUBLISHED — FALL 1970

*The Second in a Series of Books*

# VOICES

Selected readings from EL GRITO

*Edited by:* OCTAVIO I. ROMANO—V.

*With Preface by:* HERMINIO RÍOS

## Table of Contents

Part I — STEREOTYPES AND THE DISTORTION OF  
CHICANO HISTORY

- OCTAVIO I. ROMANO-V.    The Anthropology & Sociology of  
Mexican Americans
- MIGUEL MONTIEL        The Myth of the Mexican American  
Family
- TOMÁS MARTÍNEZ        Advertising and Racism: The Case  
of the Mexican American
- FRANCISCO RÍOS         The Mexican in Fact, Fiction and  
Folklore

Part II — THE CHICANO STRUGGLE

- OCTAVIO I. ROMANO-V.    The Historical & Intellectual Presence  
of the Mexican American
- CÉSAR CHÁVEZ            The Mexican American and the Church
- ARMANDO VALDEZ         Insurrection in New Mexico: Land  
of Enchantment
- PHILIP D. ORTEGO         The Mexican-Dixon Line
- ARMANDO MORALES        Police Deployment Theories and the  
Mexican American Community

Part III — EDUCATION AND THE CHICANO

- PHILIP D. ORTEGO         Moctezuma's Children
- STEVE MORENO            Problems Related to Present  
Testing Instruments
- ROBERT P. HARO          Library Service to Mexican Americans

Part IV — SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SOCIAL WELFARE

- ARMAND SÁNCHEZ         Affluence Amid Poverty
- NICK C. VACA             The Mexican-American in the Social  
Sciences: 1912-1970    Part I: 1912-1935

*Paperback*

INQUIRIES INVITED

*Approximate Pages: 235*

# VOICES

Selected readings from EL GRITO

---

## From the INTRODUCTION

The articles contained in this book have been gleaned from the pages of *EL GRITO: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought*. They are, in effect, statements which themselves have become historical documents outlining the major concerns of Mexican-American writers during the period from the founding of *EL GRITO* in 1967 to the present Fall of 1970. They also represent, judging from the commentaries and communications received in the editorial offices of Quinto Sol Publications, those works from *EL GRITO* which have had the largest impact upon readers of the journal, both among individuals as well as in Chicano Studies Programs, sociology and history classes, and extension courses in universities, colleges, and junior colleges. Thus, not only do the articles in this volume depict some of Chicano history, they are themselves historical documents. For many people, no doubt, they will constitute baselines and provide leads for research and writings which take a Chicano perspective. In this manner, they become not only a key to the past, but indicators of the future as well.

by: OCTAVIO I. ROMANO-V.

## From the PREFACE

We are in the belly of the shark, and the question of whether or not to gut the shark is academic. It is clearly a question of method. For the time being, the shark is being effectively gutted by militant non-violence waged at an untouchable moral plane, and by the surgically precise mental scalpels of Chicanos who are peeling away the thin veils of the cultural mystique; by Chicanos who, with penetrating probes and incisive cuts, are expertly dissecting the sacred cows of Anglo-American social science; and by Chicanos who are brilliantly rewriting the sociology of the Mexican-Americans.

The struggle is formidable, but the Mexican-Americans are a formidable people.

by: HERMINIO RÍOS

-----

Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ copy (copies) of VOICES at \$3.45 Paperback (plus  
50 cents for sales tax, postage and handling)

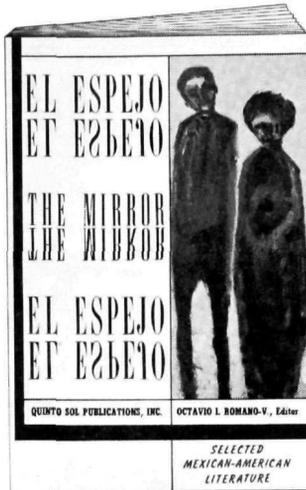
Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_. (Check or money order must accompany each order.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

From **QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS, INC.**, publishers of *El Gato*

the first in a series of books  
**NOW IN ITS THIRD PRINTING!**



**CORAJE** — Tucson, Arizona (Member of the Chicano Press Association)

**"This anthology is highly recommended for all Chicanos who will readily appreciate its hard hitting social message as well as feel and understand the artistry of many of the authors whose works are included in this collection."**

**CESAR E. CHAVEZ**

**"I really admire the fact that you published EL ESPEJO, and continue to publish, without any outside support. I see that mode of operation as the basis for achieving real independence. This kind of independence is of vital importance in all of the arts, but, I think, of the utmost importance in literature."**

**THE NATION**

**Several of the stories in EL ESPEJO display "... binary phenomenon at its best, that is, where the linguistic symbols of two languages are mixed in utterances using either language's syntactic structure."**

**A partial listing of the Colleges and Universities presently using EL ESPEJO**

California State College at: San Fernando	Hayward	Whittier College	University of California at: Berkeley	Davis	University of New Mexico
Sonoma	San Francisco	Scripps College	Santa Barbara	San Francisco	University of Texas
Sacramento	San Jose	Claremont College	Riverside	Irvine	University of Colorado
Fresno	Chico	Stanford University	Los Angeles	Davis	Arizona State University
San Diego	Long Beach	University of San Francisco	State University of New York at Buffalo	Utah College	University of Wisconsin
San Bernardino		University of Southern California			University of Oregon
		California State Polytechnic College			Pomona College

EL ESPEJO is also used extensively in numerous junior colleges and public school systems.

241 pages — Paperback \$2.95 — Hardbound \$5.95

(Plus 50 cents for sales tax, postage and handling)

Octavio I. Romano-V., Ph.D., Editor

SOLE DISTRIBUTION BY

Quinto Sol Publications, Inc.

P.O. Box 9275 Berkeley, California 94709

Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ copy (copies) of EL ESPEJO at \$2.95 Paperback; \$5.95 Hardbound.....  
 (plus 50 cents for sales tax, postage and handling)

Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ . (Check or money order must accompany each order).

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to: **QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS, INC.**  
 P.O. Box 9275 Berkeley, California 94709

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT  
SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT  
SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT  
SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

a  
Quinto Sol  
book

To Be Published, Winter 1970-71  
To Be Published, Winter 1970-71  
To Be Published, Winter 1970-71  
To Be Published, Winter 1970-71

The third in a series of books

J L NAVARRO  
J L NAVARRO

## BLUE DAY ON MAIN STREET

*And Other Short Stories*

*by*

J. L. NAVARRO

J L NAVARRO  
J L NAVARRO  
J L NAVARRO  
J L NAVARRO  
J L NAVARRO  
J L NAVARRO  
J L NAVARRO  
J L NAVARRO  
J L NAVARRO  
J L NAVARRO

Eighty-five to ninety per cent of the people of Mexican descent in the United States are urban dwellers. This has been true for quite some time now, from Califas to Texas.

Yet, the Chicano creative literature that reflects the urban scene of the Chicano today is meagre indeed. For this reason, QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS is proud to introduce a prolific urban Chicano writer, Los Angeles, California, to a national reading public.

J. L. NAVARRO has published in *Con Safos*, a barrio publication in Los Angeles. His short story, "Tamale Leopard," appears in this issue of EL GRITO. A volume of J. L. NAVARRO's short stories will be published by QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS during the Winter of 1970-71.

Your inquiries are invited.

Please begin my subscription to EL GRITO with the next issue, Vol. IV, No. 2

1 year \$4.00

Payment enclosed

Bill me later

Back issues available — \$1.25 each

Vol. I, Nos. 1\_\_ 2\_\_ 3\_\_ 4\_\_ Vol. II, Nos. 1\_\_ 2\_\_ 3\_\_ 4\_\_

Vol. III, Nos. 1\_\_ 2\_\_ 3\_\_ 4\_\_ Vol. IV, No. 1\_\_

(A check or money order must accompany each order for back issues)

Print Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street & No. \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable  
to and send to:

**Quinto Sol Publications, Inc.**  
**P. O. Box 9275**  
**Berkeley, California 94709**

CHECK ONE  
 Renewal Sub  
 New Sub

Please cut along dotted line.

**THE PLUM PLUM PICKERS** - novel  
by Raymond Barrio - 1969  
paperback, 201 p. - \$2.75

### UP AND DOWN the length of California, scores of instructors at more than 50 colleges, across several academic disciplines, have been assigning PLUM as course reading during this past year and a half, since its initial release in June of 1969.

### PLUM also moves steadily in many trade book stores.

"PLUM is more than an account of a migrant family; it is a reflection of the Chicano's tortured soul."

-- Mario T. Garcia, Professor of Mexican American History, San Jose State College, Calif.

"PLUM may be the most disturbing of all types of novels.... In short, it depicts reality." -- Ed Ludwig, San Jose State College

"Barrio transmutes the affluence and progress of Santa Clara County into a powerful statement of universal scope, the struggle for self-dignity and human understanding." -- La Causa, Santa Barbara, Calif.

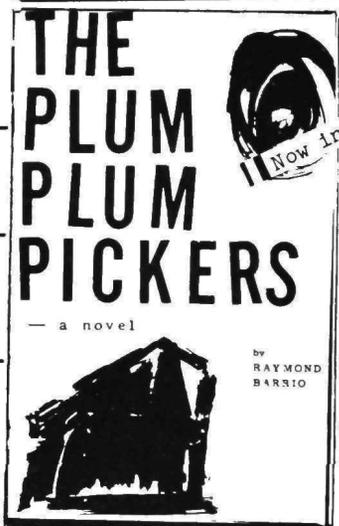
"I admire your concern to inform the public about the plight of the migrant workers. It is one that continues to eat away at the lives of some 3½ million people in the U.S. decade after decade." -- Dorothy Goble, Director PREP

"You'll bankrupt growers if you persist." -- A friend.

"Terrific description of the Flea Market." -- (Mrs.) Rose Hand, Palo Alto

"A Must." -- El Malcriado, Delano, Calif.

"There are some dramatically effective scenes.... immense talent, beauty in expression, and compelling dynamics, as in the train collision, not a word too much, fast action..." -- Grace McDonald, Editor California Farmer Consumer Reports



VENTURA PRESS  
POST OFFICE BOX 2268  
SUNNYVALE, CALIFORNIA 94087

Please send **THE PLUM PLUM PICKERS**. \$2.75 enclosed.  
 Please send PLUM for free examination.



