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ABSTRACT

Five papers and an introduction are included in the report of the proceedings of the second invitational conference on school needs of Mexican American youth. Titles of the papers are "Meeting Guidance Needs of Mexican American Youth -- An Introduction," "The Role of the Principal in Establishing a Guidance Program in a Mexican American Community," "Poverty and Mental Retardation -- Implications for Mexican Americans," "Rural-Urban Migration of Mexican Families," "Remarks to Mexican American High School Students," and "The Role of the School-Community Agent in Establishing Parent Advisory Groups." (IS)

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community responsibilities

and school guidance
programs for
mexican american youth

proceedings of the second
invitational conference

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owen l. caskey, editor

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FOREWORD

The Second Invitational Conference on Guidance Needs of Mexican American Youth, conducted by the School of Education at Texas Technological College in cooperation with the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory of Austin, Texas, was held in February 1969, on the Texas Tech campus. At the First Conference held two years previously, the groundwork was laid for the inauguration of the Mexican American Counselor Education Program, which was started in the Summer of 1968. Since that time, the Program has developed to the point where interest and planning, which were the concerns of the First Conference, are being augmented by action and contribution. Graduate students now are enrolled in the Program, many of them supported by training stipends and grants. The counselor education faculty has been enlarged to serve school districts on a more direct basis. Several of the research projects are being brought to a successful conclusion, offering promise of influencing school programs and personnel. The founding of the Texas Tech Mexican American Counselor Education EPDA Project by the U. S. Office of Education has allowed experimental programs to be initiated in eight public school districts located in the three Southwest states of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas.

We are looking forward to the extension of these projects and programs, as well as anticipating the inauguration of others. Currently, plans are under way to extend the EPDA pilot project to include additional school districts and to involve more persons in the counselor education program. While funding of research is becoming more difficult to obtain, we hope to secure sufficient funds to enable us to carry out the next phase of several long-range projects.

Planned, too, is the next invitational conference on the guidance needs of Mexican American youth. While the exact emphasis is as yet undecided, a specific focus will be selected and provisions will be made for obtaining outstanding speakers as well as for discussion and exchange of ideas.

We would like to acknowledge our gratitude to the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory for their encouragement and support of our research and training programs for counselors and pupil personnel workers who serve Mexican American children. We thank them, too, for the publication of these proceedings.

Owen L. Caskey
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Texas Tech University

MEETING GUIDANCE NEEDS OF MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTH -
AN INTRODUCTION

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MEETING GUIDANCE NEEDS OF MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTH -
AN INTRODUCTION

When one is lost, the survival manual tells us, the reasonable thing to do is to remain in one place and allow others to find us. This advice may be wise for those who are physically lost; but the professional counselor education staff at Texas Tech University rejects such posture as inappropriate for guidance and counseling programs seeking to help "lost" youth.

Two years ago, when the general approach in preparing counselors for the schools was to offer a common core of courses and experiences for all, our position was that counselors serving special groups required special programs. A planning conference, involving more than a score of educators and community leaders, was instrumental in reinforcing this conclusion and endorsing a proposal to the U. S. Office of Education under the new Educational Professions Development Act. The proposal sought support for an experimental project in preparing professional counselors for schools with high percentages of Mexican American children. This project was subsequently approved, and currently is in the first year of what is hoped will be an innovative and productive program of training counselors to work with Mexican American youth.

A little over a year ago, an invitational workshop was conducted on "Guidance Needs of Mexican American Children." Here again, the common conclusion was that the guidance needs of all children were more or less uniform, while our speculation was that children of varying culture and language backgrounds presented unique guidance needs. The two tangible results of that workshop were publications of the proceedings, which have

been much in demand as unique contributions to the literature, and the funding of specific research projects by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory. This research sought to survey and explore guidance needs of Mexican American children, noting their similarity to or difference from other cultural and ethnic groups. Results of this research are currently being completed and readied for publication.

This year again there is an emphasis somewhat apart from the typical or traditional approach to establishing guidance programs in the schools. The focus of the current invitational workshop is on the community and the culture, rather than on the counselor or the guidance program. In past years, two ideas were rejected: first, that counselors for Mexican American youth can be prepared in the same way and utilizing the same programs as counselors for other groups; and second, that the guidance needs of Mexican American children are the same as for other pupils in the public school system. This year, the purpose of the workshop is to reject another notion: that planning guidance programs for Mexican American youth is solely a function of the schools. On the contrary, we see deep community involvement, stressing relationships of the life and culture of its citizens, as being of paramount importance in such planning.

Lest we be accused of a negative approach, it should be pointed out that the emphasis is on finding ways to establish communication with persons in the community who understand the needs of Mexican American children, and who are most closely related to and concerned with them as individuals. Principally, we are speaking of parents and of the viable agencies which serve these segments of our population. The presentations and discussions, which are a part of the "Invitational Workshop on Community Responsibilities

and School Guidance Programs for Mexican American Youth," deal with some of the problems and solutions which were presented.

The introductory paper, "The Role of the Principal in Establishing a Guidance Program in a Mexican American Community," presented by Mr. Robert Montoya, principal of Navajo Elementary School, Albuquerque, New Mexico, focuses attention on the school and its relationship to the community in providing guidance services. Mr. Montoya's experience, spanning 15 years of work in state and federal agencies and the public school program, has provided unique background for his present position. Navajo Elementary School is a flexible, experimental school utilizing five modular classroom units and stressing team teaching and multi-media approaches. The school is a student-teacher training center that serves as a model elementary school program for student teachers from the University of New Mexico. Over two-thirds of the student population at Navajo come from Spanish-speaking homes, with the remainder composed of Anglo Americans, Afro Americans, and Indian Americans. Classified as disadvantaged are a sufficiently large percentage of students to qualify the school for a Title I designation. Mr. Montoya's presentation is both an expression of his personal involvement as an elementary school administrator in a Mexican American community, and an expression of specific elements which must be included if a guidance program is to serve the students in such a community.

Dr. Lewis Bransford, of the Department of Guidance and Special Education at the University of New Mexico, shares with us his concern regarding a common difficulty in the public school program, "Poverty and Retardation -- Implications for Mexican Americans." Dr. Bransford outlines the current research on the evaluation and curricular placement of Mexican American children, and also the elements needed to help these children to achieve

as individuals. Imperative here is the concept of parent and community involvement, for the relationship of these problems to the guidance program is as vital as it is obvious. Dr. Bransford brings to this discussion a diversified background of teaching, consulting, and publishing, both in the United States and Mexico.

Dr. Jack Rollwagen, on leave from his position as Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Portland State College, is serving as a post-doctoral fellow at the University of California at Berkeley. His background of teaching in the public schools and extensive field experience in Mexico makes him well qualified to discuss the problems of rural-urban migration of Mexican families. Dr. Rollwagen's anthropological research in Mexico provides the basis for his example of the social and economic problems of migrating families. His observations and conclusions in this area offer insight into the background of one group of migrant workers.

We asked Mr. Juan Rodriguez to organize the comments he would like to make to Mexican American youth who have reached the secondary level in our educational system. Considerable effort is being directed toward enrolling Mexican American children in the elementary schools and retaining them in the educational system beyond the junior high school level. We must have something to say to these children, as well as programs to offer those who persevere to the upper grades of high school. Mr. Rodriguez speaks to these students. A teacher in the Levelland Independent School District, Mr. Rodriguez is one of that city's most active community members. He recently has been awarded a grant to complete his doctoral degree at the State University of Iowa.

Mr. Juan Lujan, Director of the San Antonio Urban Educational Development Center, and Mr. Lee Venzor, the Center's Community Involvement Coor-

dinator, discuss "The Role of the School-Community Agent in Establishing Parent-Advisory Groups." Their statement provides a framework for the role and scope of the school community agent, and it provided the Workshop with the background for a case study presentation of the San Antonio Urban Educational Development Center project which followed. The San Antonio project is supported by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, with which both Mr. Lujan and Mr. Venzor are connected.

In presenting the proceedings of "The Invitational Workshop on Community Responsibilities and School Guidance Programs for Mexican American Youth," we realize that only a few selected elements have been included. The purpose, however, has not been to exhaust the topic but to pave the way for workshop participants to review the responsibilities which their own communities have in meeting the guidance needs of Mexican American youth. The immediate response of the participants to the presentations and discussions was overwhelmingly favorable. It is hoped that their interest has been maintained and continued into their schools and home communities, and that new and more comprehensive school-community programs will result. In this regard, every school-community program which seeks to serve a child, his family, or the Mexican American community is an exemplary one. We have not attempted to display a model program or to evaluate those represented by the participants, which are in their formative stages. If the workshop has stimulated the formation of a school-community project for Mexican American groups where none existed, or if it has added further dimensions to those which currently are a part of a community, it can be considered a success.

THE ROLE OF THE PRINCIPAL IN ESTABLISHING A
GUIDANCE PROGRAM IN A MEXICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Robert Montoya
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THE ROLE OF THE PRINCIPAL IN ESTABLISHING A
GUIDANCE PROGRAM IN A MEXICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

If you were an artist, how would you portray the Mexican American? Would you paint him leaning against a saguaro cactus, his face covered with his sombrero, taking a midday siesta? Would you paint braceros picking potatoes on a Colorado farm? Would you paint a tattered, dirty, dark-haired boy working his way through a crowd to enter a church in time for the last Sunday mass? Or would you paint guitar-playing charros, graceful flamenco dancers, boisterous throngs at a fiesta, or a cripple seeking a handout? These are all common portraits, all stereotypes, and yet they do point out some truths about some Mexican Americans. But the Mexican American is really no different than the members of any other American subculture. There are the dirty, the tattered, the lazy, the music loving, and the beggars, just as there are in any other ethnic group. There also are the educated, the concerned, the patriots, and the elite. The true picture would be of a people in various stages of transition, struggling to make a place for themselves in a culture different from their own, yet trying to retain values and traditions of their own culture which can blend in with the newly acquired, more acceptable ones of the dominant society.

Mexican Americans come to the schools reflecting these various stages of acculturation. They bring with them the conflicts, the frustrations, and the disadvantages of their poor home environment, the gaps in experience and knowledge, the language barrier, and the resulting inferiority complexes.

Dr. Miles Zintz, in Education Across Cultures, has called Mexican Americans "exceptional" children. If the children are exceptional, the

educational approach must also be exceptional. It must be based on a definite set of educational objectives planned to produce the specific behavioral changes desired. However, in defining our objectives, we must be careful that our goal is not to impose upon them the values of the middle class culture. Rather, the goal should be to bring about an understanding of their own cultural heritage, a feeling of pride in the contributions of their people, and a knowledge that, in the melting pot that is America, all peoples contribute and all should be willing to accept the wishes and contributions of others. In other words, our objectives should be to help students find their own identity and to see their relationship to the total society. How can we do this? Do we know enough about the field of guidance to be able to move ahead with guidance services in the schools? We have no choice! Guidance is a way of life in the school!

The guidance program in a school cannot be separated from the total program. It must be continuous and inseparable; it must be a program in which every staff member is involved. To accomplish this, the principal must recognize the changes taking place in American education. He must be willing to play many roles: program innovator, expeditor, facilitator of learning, organizer, curriculum coordinator, and morale builder. Every principal concerned with providing quality education to his students must assume these various roles, but the principal who deals with bicultural students must go a step farther. He must understand the values, the standards, the language structure, and the goals of the cultural groups with whom he works. To be of real help, he must be able to empathize. By knowing how it feels to be a Mexican American, by seeing how it looks from his vantage point, by understanding his conflicts, the educator can judge how best to proceed in introducing new ideas and new methods. Foreign or dif-

ferent cultural values should not be summarily imposed on others, but should be presented in a gradual and understanding manner that will encourage their acceptance.

The principal must be aware of the objectives and services of the guidance program so that he can provide the administrative and psychological environment most conducive to its success. Objectives established for the program must be designed specifically for the community and the groups being served. The Arizona State Department of Public Instruction has outlined some guidelines for elementary school counseling that might be followed.

The Principal:

- . secures staff professionally prepared for counseling.
- . sees that the roles of various staff members in the guidance program are defined, and that members are able to function in these roles.
- . delegates authority of actual program operation to well trained guidance specialists.
- . provides adequate facilities, materials, and clerical assistance.
- . clarifies the guidance program to the staff and provides active encouragement and support.
- . allows time for group guidance as well as individual counseling.
- . promotes inservice education in guidance for the entire school staff.
- . encourages constant evaluation and improvement of the school's guidance programs.
- . coordinates guidance planning with other phases of educational planning.
- . provides for interpretation of the guidance services to the community.
- . consults with teachers and counselors regarding specific pupil needs or problems.

One of the most important of these objectives is promoting inservice education in guidance for the entire staff. Staff involvement in the planning of inservice meetings promotes better cooperation; conducting at least part of the meetings during school time attaches more importance to the program, resulting in teachers being more willing to share their own time for other meetings. In addition to the principal and the counselor or guidance specialist, resource personnel in cultural anthropology, sociology, psychology, linguistics, and psycholinguistics, as well as in other fields related to school curricula, should be called upon to help teachers understand the cultural or social inheritance of Mexican Americans. Teachers must realize the importance of their guidance role in relation to the instructional program. Teachers too must have a positive image of themselves and feel competent in their ability to guide youth, for teachers are the key guidance personnel in a school. They are directly and intimately involved in all guidance activities, since these are inseparable from their teaching and working relationships with students. This is not to imply that the counselor or professional psychologist is less important. There are limits to the ability and training of any teacher and it is at these points of limitation and knowledge that a teacher should refer a student to the counselor, the school psychologist, or other specialist from whom help is necessary. The guidance program is most effective when all staff members - administrator, teachers, counselors, nurse, and parents - work together as a team.

Educators involved in providing educational services to Mexican Americans should be effective, sensitive, and knowledgeable. Through their warmth, friendliness, and encouragement, they can help Mexican American children improve their feelings about themselves. These educators should realize that their responsibilities are, in a sense, greater than those of

other teachers. In implementing the instructional program, for example, they must include experiences designed to help bridge the gap between the student's limited experiential background and the standardized school curriculum which is oriented toward the middle-class Anglo American. Too often, the Mexican American child has not traveled far from home nor visited many public places; he has not owned books or educational toys, nor tasted a variety of foods, nor manipulated things which are common to other children. This lack of experiences makes him much less verbal and less ready for formal instruction than the more advantaged child. When one adds to these disadvantages the lack of experience with the English language in speaking, listening, reacting, and making judgments expressed orally, it is little wonder that Mexican American children often do poorly in school and make low scores on tests.

To help bridge the gap, many vicarious and real experiences must be provided. Educational media and a variety of methods and techniques can be utilized to open new vistas to disadvantaged children. To aid in language development, experiences for oral expression are necessary. The social studies program is an area of the curriculum which lends itself to guidance activities. It is a natural theater for role playing, dramatizing, interacting, and evaluating. Through study and related activities, understanding and pride in the Mexican American heritage can be promoted.

With every success they experience, children grow in confidence and competence. When a guidance program is woven throughout the curriculum, the entire school program becomes oriented to the success of its students, a philosophy that in itself contributes to their success. It is the job of the principal to develop in his staff an awareness of this dual purpose of the instructional program. It is he who must provide a psychological atmosphere conducive to pleasant learning and living experiences.

Another important objective is that of interpreting the guidance services to the community. In a Mexican American community, this is a particularly difficult task for the principal. Many parents are bitter about their impoverished backgrounds and limited opportunities, and their poor self concept and indifference to the value of education is projected to their children. These attitudes result in poor attendance, low achievement, and early school dropouts.

To strengthen the guidance program, there is great need to involve members of the Mexican American community in the school itself. For too long, Mexican Americans have felt that the school belongs to the professional teaching staff, that they have no part in it and should maintain a "hands off" attitude. Many parents or school patrons suffer from inferiority complexes due to cultural and language barriers, fears, and low economic status. Finding ways to involve parents in sharing the educational responsibilities of their children is of utmost importance. These could include: (1) inviting parents for inservice type sessions to explain the school programs, (2) involving parents in school beautification or other improvement projects, and (3) involving parents in school functions, parent-teacher groups, and as resource personnel. Many parents are willing to share knowledge of skills in which they excel, such as adobe making and carpentry. Others may share knowledge about the history of the state, folklore, or information about their employment. It is considered a real honor to be asked to share information with a class, and it serves additionally as an opportunity for the parent to observe the activities of the classroom.

There are various techniques that can be employed in working with Mexican Americans, but it is recommended that certain basic elements be included:

1. There should be a sincere interest in the child and in the parents.
2. Parents should be given the opportunity to contact the school staff regarding problems that affect the child's learning.
3. The school staff needs to be understanding and considerate, serving as good listeners as well as providing concrete suggestions.
4. It is helpful to have a staff member that understands and speaks Spanish.
5. The efforts of parents should be recognized and encouraged.
6. Home visitations lead to an understanding of the home environment and the behavior of the child, and also indicate to the parents that the teachers or counselors have a sincere interest in the child.
7. The staff should visit and study the community.

The leadership of the school principal in establishing a guidance program cannot be over-emphasized. He can set the climate for the type of program best tailored to meet the needs of the Mexican American community and its youth." Dr. Boyd K. Packer has summarized some of my own philosophy: "We might hide our attitude from grownups, from the employers, from business associates and even from professional counselors, but with reference to children the answer is a certain, definite, pointed yes, our attitude is showing at all times. For all our ability to fool adults, we can never quite fool children."

POVERTY AND MENTAL RETARDATION --
IMPLICATIONS FOR MEXICAN AMERICANS

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POVERTY AND MENTAL RETARDATION --
IMPLICATIONS FOR MEXICAN AMERICANS

More than a century ago, when Mexico relinquished its claim to Texas and also ceded New Mexico and California to the United States, the government honorably declared all of the inhabitants citizens with the same rights as any other citizen of the United States. However, no mention was made of the many barriers that existed between the two cultures of English-speaking people. Erna Fergusson described the problem pertaining to the people of New Mexico: "No provision was made to teach English to the new citizens and English was the basic need - the tool for building a new life, the weapon and shield against dishonorable government."¹

After 100 years as citizens of the United States, many Texans and New Mexicans still do not speak enough English to function effectively in the public schools and ultimately in an English-speaking society. There are estimates that one-half of the population of New Mexico is handicapped by the lack of a working knowledge of English.²

The origin of the Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest goes back to the fifteenth century, when the Spanish explored the southern part of what is now the United States and Mexico. Some Spaniards remained, which resulted in the mixing of two races and cultures, Spanish and Indian. The Spanish-speaking people who settled in the United States were primarily a mixture of the two cultures.³ Others who originally settled in Mexico migrated to the United States for various reasons. Some migrated because of the revolutionary periods in Mexico; some because of a desire for adventure. The majority, however, came because of poor economic conditions in their homeland.⁴

To this day, many of the Spanish-speaking people are still subsisting at a very low socioeconomic level. Functioning at such a level has also effected them educationally, since low socioeconomic conditions have a direct bearing on the amount and type of education a person is likely to receive.

Genetically, there is no reason why the rate of incidence of mental retardation or any other handicapping conditions among the Mexican American population should be any greater than among the population as a whole. What we do know is that:

1. Most mentally retarded children in public schools are mildly retarded, with IQ scores ranging approximately from 50 to 75. Considering mental retardates as a population; about 80 percent will be mildly retarded.
2. A larger proportion of the mildly retarded come from lower socioeconomic environments; hence lower socioeconomic communities contribute a greater share of mentally retarded children to public schools' special education programs than do higher socioeconomic communities. Nationwide, over 60 percent of the students in special classes for the retarded come from poor homes. This figure is even higher in Texas and New Mexico.
3. Certain ethnic groups tend to have a large proportion of their population in lower socioeconomic communities, and these minority groups produce a greater than proportionate share of mental retardates.
4. Some of these ethnic groups include numbers of families in which two languages are spoken and the children are raised in a bilingual home environment.⁵

In Texas, twice as many Mexican American children are enrolled in Special Education than are children from other ethnic groups. This disproportionate ratio is even higher in New Mexico. Another illustration of disproportionate ratios is reflected in institutional populations. Texas has a 15 percent Mexican American population; however, figures reveal that 26 percent of the institutional population is Mexican American. New Mexico,

with a 30 percent Mexican American population, has a disproportionate 48 percent in institutions for the mentally retarded.⁶

Some concomitants of poverty that have been suggested as possible causes for the series of problems mentioned above are:

1. Neglect
2. Language differences
3. Lack of health care
4. Nutritional defects
5. Lack of social and educational support

Many children in the Spanish-speaking group have no greater difficulties in the educative process than do English-speaking children. In large proportions, however, Spanish-speaking children are seriously handicapped by difficulties not shared equally by English-speaking children.

Language inadequacies make learning more difficult and tend toward further isolation. Typically, the Spanish-speaking child has to learn English as a second language and then use this second language in his school work, while his out-of-school language is mainly Spanish. The result for a large number of such children is lack of sufficient mastery of either language.⁷

Different studies have been conducted to try to determine what is responsible for the sub-average performance of many Spanish-speaking children on tests of intelligence. A common conclusion revealed in many of the studies was that the present intelligence tests, because of their high concentration on middle class experiences and language forms, penalize lower class children, especially those with a language handicap. Another factor is the type of testing instrument used in the evaluation of the child.

Several studies have shown that when Spanish-speaking bilinguals were tested

with both verbal and performance test instruments, the subjects received significantly lower scores on verbal tests of intelligence.^{8,9}

A variety of intelligence tests, both verbal and non-verbal, generally classify the majority of these Spanish-speaking children considerably below the average of the predominant Anglo American normative groups on which the tests were standardized. In a number of studies, the average IQ of the Spanish-speaking population clustered around 80.^{10,11} It is noteworthy that the use of Spanish translations of intelligence tests with bilingual Spanish-speaking children did not change the picture essentially.^{12,13} A translation by Holland of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children resulted in a full scale bilingual IQ score higher than the WISC Full Scale IQ score by means of supplementing the testing situation with the use of the Spanish translation of the WISC. The differences, however, were not significant.¹⁴


What are the implications of this casual relationship between poverty and mental retardation, concomitant conditions too often associated with the Mexican American in Texas and New Mexico? In considering such a relationship, we must first interpret mental retardation and poverty in their true perspective. Although there is a definite connection, should poverty necessarily dictate or determine mental retardation? Does it not stereotype many poor Mexican Americans by making such generalized blanket statements relative to poverty and mental retardation?

First of all, poverty is not just a lack of money; it is an invisible self-perpetuating social and economic force which, in essence, determines the life style of the poor.

For illustration, consider the term, "equality of opportunity". We pay lip service to such a term when we use it in reference to the Mexican American because in reality it doesn't exist. Compare, if you will, the schools in a "WASP" neighborhood with those in lower socioeconomic neighborhoods. They may claim to stress similar curricular goals, but how do they differ in degree, in quality, or in quantity? Add to this the communication, social, and psychological problems of the Mexican American and the condition is magnified. We can also look at the teachers themselves. Who teaches the Mexican American? The majority of the time, the teacher is not Mexican American. Hopefully, the Bilingual Education Act (Title VIII of ESEA) will encourage more Mexican Americans to enter the field of education. It is postulated that trained Mexican American teachers will be able to communicate more effectively with Mexican American children because of ethnic identification, better understanding of the cultural implications relating to the home and, most important of all, a common language.

Furthermore, it is unrealistic to make a blanket statement about sub-average intellectual functioning and mental retardation when assessing achievement or intellectual abilities of Mexican Americans. Some ramifications of such a misdiagnosis, which too often has led to placement in a special class for retarded children, include:

1. Imposing a label of retardation on youngsters who function educationally at a sub-average intellectual level but theoretically do not meet the criteria for mental retardation as reflected in a medical or psychological sense.
2. Causing a loss of identity in a setting that is difficult for children and their families to accept. Adjustment problems must be alleviated before educational therapy can be effective.
3. Furthering regression, as has been demonstrated in a recent research project. The study revealed that bilingual Spanish-speaking children in special classes for the mentally retarded, when compared with non-bilingual English-speaking children from similar socioeconomic backgrounds in special classes



for the mentally retarded, scored significantly higher on the average on the Performance Scale than on the Verbal Scale of the WISC. It was also found that the difference between the verbal and performance scores of bilingual retardates in special classes tends to increase as age increases, thus causing a greater disparity between the verbal and performance scores. This increase in disparity was the result of the verbal scores decreasing as age increased.¹⁵

As would be expected, this difference between verbal and performance scores is greater at older age levels than at younger age levels. One possible explanation for this significant increase in performance scores could be directly related to the greater emphasis placed on non-verbal skills in the curriculum for the mentally retarded.

Another possibility is that bilingual children may reach a certain plateau of learning in regard to verbal skills on tests of intelligence much sooner than non-bilingual children. The construct validity of the tests themselves serves as an explanation for the disparity increasing with age. If the increase required to maintain a consistent score at the older age level had ceased, the result would be a decrease in the mean verbal scores from the first to the second administration of the WISC. In other words, Special Education can epitomize failure to the Mexican American and thus perpetuate failure-avoiding behavior rather than goal-seeking behavior, which should be one of the major goals of any education program.

This argument is not intended to imply that a Mexican American child functioning at a sub-average intellectual level would not benefit from a special education program, but rather to stress the need for cautious utilization of diagnostic instruments, which determine placement in a school setting. Placement in a class for retarded children where the program is not necessarily one of intervention or remediation may penalize the Mexican

American child. We have been able to demonstrate that programs of intervention and remediation have been responsible for significant gains in intellectual achievement, but we must assume that the youngster has the capacity to be remediated. Can we therefore state, with any degree of confidence, that educational programs for retarded children are synonymous with educational programs for poor, slow learning, Mexican American children? The existence, misunderstanding, and clarification of the relationships among poverty, mental retardation, and the Mexican American is serving as a framework for this and many other conferences.

What can we do? What has been accomplished?

Briefly let us mention some of the existing programs and some of the proposed programs that concern themselves with poverty, mental retardation, and the Mexican American.

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 will provide funds for the development of programs in schools with a high concentration of children for whom English is not the dominant language. Families with incomes under \$3,000 per year will receive high priority.

Project Headstart, of which most people are aware, is a program of early intervention offering educational, medical, institutional, social, and psychological services to the preschool child and his family. The need to provide preschool experiences to Mexican American children should be obvious.

Public school curricula stressing language development as the total program the first year or two should be considered. However, before such a program can be effective, we must first discard certain traditional educational philosophies that dictate curriculum; for example, assuming that reading should be taught in the first grade or that multiplication tables should be learned in the third. This suggested language program for the first year.

of school would be of greater importance in states like Texas and New Mexico where no kindergarten programs are provided by the state.

Parental involvement is another area of crucial concern. Historically our educational programs have deemphasized parental involvement. This may be of little concern to the majority of youngsters, but what about the Mexican American child whose home situation is not conducive to typical public school middle-class oriented educational programs? The importance of parental reinforcement is made evident in cases where the home situation is undoing what we are striving to accomplish in the classroom. Keep in mind that school supervision does not usually exceed four or five hours daily. What happens the other twenty hours a day? Direct, structured parental involvement in our school programs will be of paramount importance if we are to enhance the chances for success of Mexican American children in our schools.

A lack of sustaining family relationships appears to be common in poverty areas. Although some studies have treated adult role perception and others have dealt with children's functions in the family, there is general agreement that delayed ego development is a common problem.

One correlate of poverty is a general lack of long term aspiration. This is particularly true in relation to schools and education, since many of the parents have had few satisfactory relationships with educational institutions. Weiner and Murray interpret parent attitudes toward education in a slightly different light. They conclude that while lower-class parents have high levels of aspiration for their children, they lack the conviction that these educational goals can be attained.¹⁶

A program now under way in New Mexico potentially will demonstrate the efficacy of parental involvement. It is attempting to reinforce certain behaviors of parents of Mexican American children in special classes for the mentally retarded. The reinforcer to be used will be money, and it will be provided to the parents for specific skills their children are able to master. Weekly seminars will provide selected parents with guidelines for the reinforcement of certain exhibited behaviors, primarily skills and competencies that are communicative in nature. It is hoped that the youngsters will develop such prescribed skills, but just as important will be the communication skills that the parents will have to master before they will be able to reinforce their children's behavior.

We should not expect special education to be the answer to the educational problems of the Mexican American. We cannot justify, first of all, special classes for all the youngsters that require it. We must also consider that many of these youngsters would benefit more from a regular class placement, assuming that the regular class teacher could provide for these children's needs. We are presently working with regular class teachers who each has in her class a student who is a potential candidate for special education. It is hoped that by providing training to these teachers, they will be better able to cope with the problem of exceptional children in their regular classroom.

Success in such programs is expected to reduce the number of Mexican American children who have been diagnosed as retarded with assessment instruments not designed for them, and then placed in classes for retarded children that also are not designed for them. To continue this practice of penalizing Mexican American children is to perpetuate the wasting of the greatest natural resource in our country - namely, man.

Erna Fergusson's description of the future of Spanish-speaking people sums up the problem:

"We are not out of the woods yet, the darkling forest, where good people have been held back by lack of chance to learn. But, quietly and often unnoticed, we are developing leaders, who, while holding to the best Spanish tradition, are going ahead under their own power using every advantage that a free land has to offer."

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RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION OF MEXICAN FAMILIES

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RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION OF MEXICAN FAMILIES

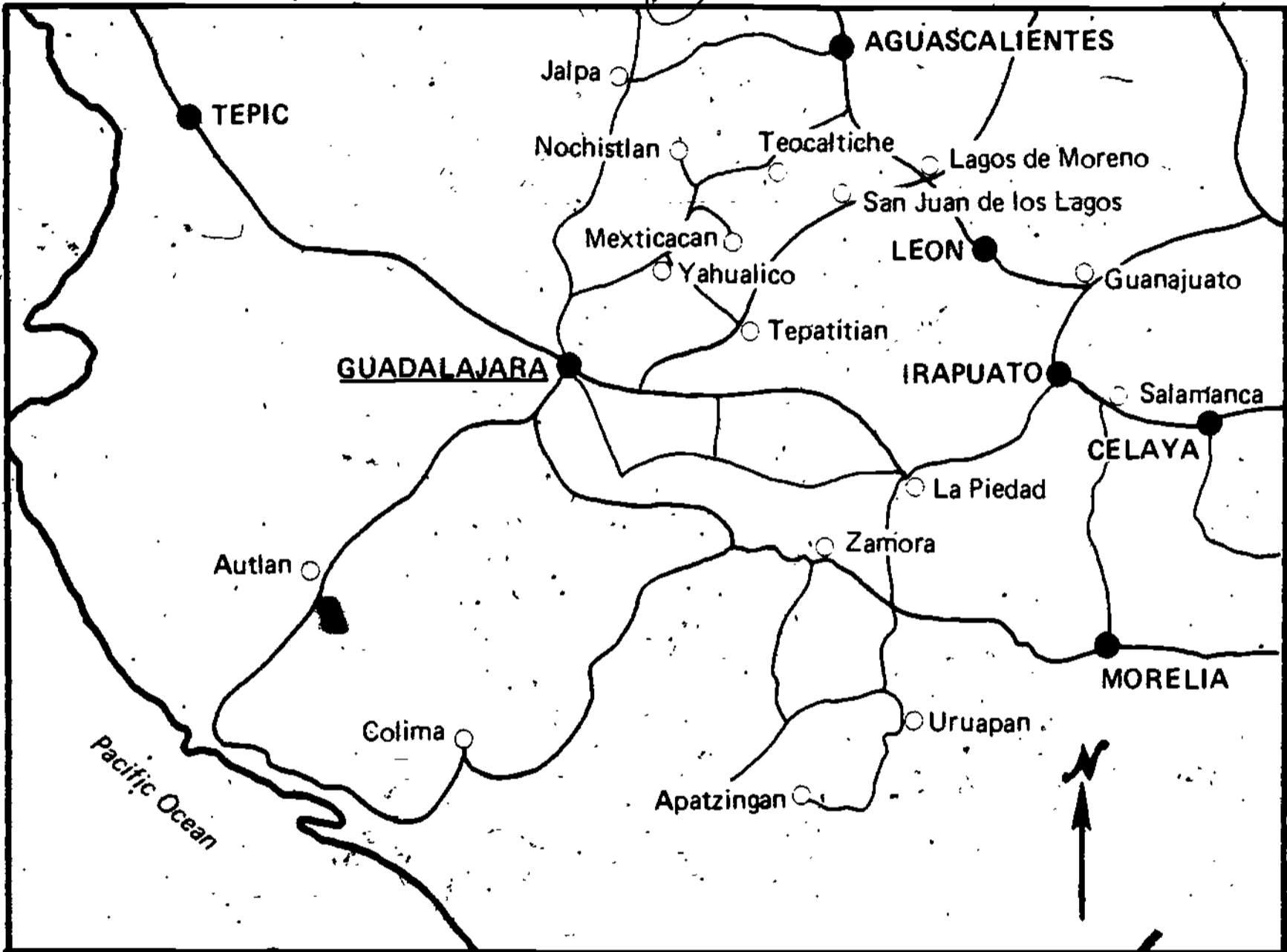
In this study, an investigation has been made of the mechanisms for the continuance of interaction (a) between migrants from a rural community and the members of the community who have not migrated, and (b) between the various migrants from that rural community. The data used as illustrative material is drawn from a study of migrants from the village of Mexticacan, Jalisco, Mexico.

The Village of Mexticacan and a Brief Historical Background of the Paleteros of Mexticacan

Mexticacan is a rural village of approximately 3,000 inhabitants, located on the western extension of the Central Plateau of Mexico. It is approximately 100 miles (by road) northeast of Guadalajara (see Map). Although Mexticacan itself is not on any major road, it is located in such a position that it has ready access to many of the larger towns in Los Altos, the highland area of Jalisco north of Guadalajara. Mexticacan is also only a few hours drive from the urban centers of Guadalajara and Aguascalientes.

Although agriculture is one of the major supports of the economy of the municipio (county) of Mexticacan (see Note 1), the economy of the village of Mexticacan has a more diverse base. Historically, the inhabitants of the village have entered a series of non-agricultural enterprises to supplement or supplant their dependence on agriculture. These enterprises have included: tailoring, candy-making, match-making, and pottery-making in the village, with the products for sale in the municipio and elsewhere; drayage with burros (and the sale of burros) throughout Mexico during the period of 1850-1930, and with trucks in the region around Mexticacan since 1930; the

MAP: The Mexicacan - Guadalajara Area



development of a route for the showing of motion pictures from the bed of a flatbed truck in the 1940's and 1950's; and most recently, the entrance of many of the inhabitants of the village and the municipio into the paleta (ice cream and popsicle manufacturing) business in various cities throughout Mexico.

With the development of this last enterprise, the character of the involvement of the Mexticaqueños in these businesses has changed. Prior to their involvement in the paleta business, the center of operations of the persons involved in non-agricultural enterprises was Mexticacán. One reason was that the goods were produced in Mexticacán or the services were offered from a home base there. The other was that the Mexticaqueños regarded Mexticacán as their permanent home, absenting themselves only long enough to earn a sum of money, then returning home to continue the interrupted routine of life. In this latter type of involvement, the families of the migrant Mexticaqueños did not accompany them. They might be gone many years, as were the men who migrated to work in agriculture in California, Arizona, and Texas during the period 1914-1929 and 1940-1963.

The involvement of the Mexticaqueños in the paleta business has had quite different results. Although many of the Mexticaqueños initially treated the paleta business as if it were in the same category as their bracero labor in the United States (i.e., as a type of employment that temporarily draws one away from Mexticacán), the majority who have stayed in the paleta business have moved their families to the city in which their business is located and have established their major residence away from Mexticacán. Although Mexticacán remains an object of extreme interest for them, it will probably never again be a place of permanent residence for the majority of the migrants (see Note 2).

The Paleteros of Mexticacan

Approximately 300 Mexticaqueños became owners of paleterias (businesses where ice cream and popsicle products are made) in various parts of the Republic of Mexico during the period from 1944, when they first were established by Mexticaqueños, to 1966, when data collection for this study was completed (see Note 3). Many other Mexticaqueños left home to work in paleterias but only those who owned them are properly termed paleteros; the others are simply termed "workers" (Sp., "trabajadores").

The first paeteria owned by a Mexticaqueño was established in Aguascalientes in 1944. According to its owner, Juan Fulano, it was established to provide a location at which to receive shipments of motion picture film from Mexico City. Juan was at this time involved in the projection of movies in the hinterlands of Los Altos. His paeteria apparently met with such success, however, that he soon established a second and finally a third location in Aguascalientes. As his investments and profits in the paleta industry grew, the possibilities for continuance of profitable returns from the ambulant movie industry began to wane due to competition from newly established permanent movie theaters in the smaller towns. The other Mexticaqueños who operated ambulant movie projectors also began to feel the competition of the permanent theaters and began to look around for a new business in which to invest. Seeing the profits that Juan was making, other Mexticaqueños also began to establish their own paleterias in various cities throughout the Republic of Mexico.

This expansion of the Mexticaqueños into the paleta industry began in earnest in 1950 and reached its zenith in the years 1958-1959, when there were 42 instances of initial establishment of paleterias by the Mexticaqueños in the sample of 150 percent (see Table 1). During the period from 1958-

1963, 110 (or 74 percent) of the instances of initial establishment of paleterias occurred. This, however, is only one aspect of the total picture. During this time, many of the Mexticaqueños who had already established one paleteria were expanding their operations. At the time of this study, two paleteros were reputed to own more than 30 paleterias scattered throughout Mexico. When one considers that the cash expense in establishing a small-to-medium sized paleteria using new equipment was probably around U. S. \$12,500 including operating expenses for one month, the amount of investment involved would be considerable. Many of the Mexticaqueños were able to buy the major equipment on contract, thus reducing the initial cash outlay. The average length of time required for the amortization of the loan on the major equipment was only about four years, indicating that the returns on the paleta business were good for locations that were well chosen. Indeed, many who entered the paleta business became well-off and even wealthy by the standards of Mexticacan. Two Mexticaqueños became millionaires by U. S. standards, as well.

As the paleta businesses of the Mexticaqueños grew in number and expanded to cities throughout Mexico, the requirement for workers for those establishments grew. Initially, the owners hired fellow Mexticaqueños as "inside workers" to manufacture ice cream. To sell the paletas in the city streets and the surrounding countryside, vendors (Sp., vendedores) were hired who were not Mexticaqueños. However, as more and more Mexticaqueños entered the paleta business as workers or began to establish paleterias themselves, the number of qualified Mexticaqueños who wished to work away from home diminished rapidly. The result was that, even if they had wanted to, paleteros were unable to hire sufficient fellow Mexticaqueños to fully care for all of the inside work of the business. Therefore, they began to

TABLE 1

Date of Establishment of the Initial Paeteria by Mexicanaqueños Entering
the Paetero Business

Date of Establishment	No.	Percent
1944-1945	1	1
1946-1947	1	1
1948-1949	0	0
1950-1951	8	5
1952-1953	6	4
1954-1955	5	3
1956-1957	13	9
1958-1959	42	28
1960-1961	40	27
1962-1963	28	19
1964-1965	6	4
TOTAL	150	101

hire inside workers from other towns. The paletería was in nearly every case managed by the owner himself, a member of his family, or by an agent (Sp., encargado) from Mexhican who was hired by the owner.

Another feature of the paleta industry that is important for the study of migration in Mexico and the maintenance of contact with the rural areas is the matter of the sex, age, and marital status of the migrants. Almost all of the paleterías were owned by males. In the two known instances of female ownership, one resulted when the owner died and his wife continued to operate the business, while in the other case a man turned his business over to the joint ownership of his mother and his sister while he established a second paletería elsewhere. At the outset, the majority of the owners were over 30 years of age and married. As the economic stability of the paleteros from Mexhican became more widely known to manufacturers and suppliers, however, younger men were able to enter the industry because of the increased availability of credit. Thus the proportion of younger unmarried men increased during the 1960's. The effect of the migration on the family life of the migrants was manifested in two major ways:

1. Many of the younger men who were not married when they first entered the paleta business married girls from the area in which their paleterías were located. Since the emotional attachments of the wife and children were more closely tied to their city of residence than to Mexhican, these men began to have ties other than economic in the city to which they had migrated.
2. Many of the married paleteros who initially left their families at home, later moved their families to the city where they had established their paleterías. Often they kept their land and/or house in Mexhican and visited there for vacations. It is important to note that although their major residence was in another location than Mexhican, they often had an ambivalent attitude concerning their absence from their native town. Paraphrased, this attitude could be stated as, "I know that it would be a better life socially and morally for my family in Mexhican, but if I want to have health, care, and schooling beyond the sixth

grade for my children, I must stay in the city to get it." Ties to the city of migration were primarily in the areas of economics and services available in the city of migration. Although they were not seen as permanent by the majority of migrants, they were stronger than the ties that bound them to a residence in Mexxicacan.

Whether or not the family of the paletero was located in Mexxicacan, many of the paleteros returned home to visit periodically. There were several reasons or occasions for return visits:

1. at times of regular formal occasions, such as religious festivals or the annual village fair;
2. at times of special formal occasions such as weddings and horse races;
3. at times of no formal occasion but for informal visits, vacations, or visits to ailing relatives;
4. to supervise the administration of the paletero's lands or businesses in Mexxicacan; and
5. to recruit workers for the paleterias.

Visiting by the migrants was not confined to visiting fellow townspeople in Mexxicacan, however. Paleteros frequently visited other paleteros from Mexxicacan in the city in which both operated their businesses and in other cities throughout the Republic of Mexico. Sometimes the visits were social; at other times the social aspect was only a secondary adjunct to a business trip. In either case, because Mexxicaqueños were frequently traveling from one city to another to buy equipment and supplies or returning to Mexxicacan for one reason or another, their trips allowed them to visit other Mexxicaqueños along the route. These visits were almost the only social contacts that the paleteros had other than the brief contacts with their customers during working hours or with salesmen from the manufacturers of the equipment they needed. The paleteros were quite explicit in their statements that they had little contact with residents of the city in which

they lived, giving the reason that they had no time. Whether this analysis is true or not is questionable; that they had little contact with people other than Mexticaqueños is quite true.

The visiting patterns of the paleteros were facilitated in many cases by the fact that the paleteros in adjacent towns were often close relatives. Frequently, members of one family, or those related by marriage, would establish businesses in cities linked by a major highway. Thus, the attraction of visiting fellow Mexticaqueños for social purposes was enhanced not only by the fact that they were geographically close but also because they were close relatives.

One role that marriage played in the migration of the Mexticaqueños has already been mentioned. The relative frequency of visiting among paleteros from Mexticaacan and the relative infrequency of visiting with non-Mexticaqueños kept the ratio of intermarriage higher than it would have been had there been no such visiting patterns.

Contact between Mexticaqueños scattered throughout the Republic of Mexico occurred through other means than face-to-face contact. Because the paleteros bought supplies from a variety of companies, the suppliers and their agents became channels for passing information from one person to another. For example, salesmen who represented manufacturers frequently spent a considerable amount of the contact hours with the paleteros talking about topics other than the product they were selling. As the majority of these conversations centered around topics of most interest to the paleteros -- the paleta business and fellow Mexticaqueños in the business -- the salesmen both received and distributed news over wide geographical areas. In this manner, information about paleteros and about events in Mexticaacan came

to Mexticaqueños constantly by means of overlapping and extensive non-Mexticaqueño channels of communication.

The offices of the manufacturers of equipment for paleteros also served as centers for the accumulation and dissemination of information. Thus, when the paletero left his own city to buy equipment, he could receive news about Mexticacan and fellow paleteros without ever having visited his home town or talked to fellow Mexticaqueños.

Within ten years after the initial establishment of a paletería by a Mexticaqueño, three brothers from the town opened their own factory in Monterrey for the production of equipment related to the paleta industry. This establishment formed another center of contact for distributing news about Mexticacan to interested individuals.

Sometimes, instead of the Mexticaqueños coming to the manufacturers, owners of various equipment manufacturing firms travelled throughout the country to emphasize their personal interests in the paleteros (and incidentally to sell equipment). Many manufacturers or their representatives also came personally to Mexticacan at the time of the annual fair in December. During this time many of the paleteros returned home for a vacation because business generally was not as good during the cold months of the year and the paleteria could be left in the hands of one of the employees.

The annual fair itself provided a focus for the paleteros from Mexticacan who lived in other regions of Mexico. The formal name for the event was "The Grand Winter Fair of Mexticacan," but the name by which it was generally known was simply "The Paletero's Fair." The paletero's fair became, in time, an attraction itself. Because the fair occurred immediately prior to the Christmas festivities, when many of the paleteros returned home

anyway, the attendance was undoubtedly much higher than it would have been at any other time. In addition, the presence of the manufacturers, and their participation in the activities as honoraries due to their contribution of money to the operation of the fair, kept the focus of attention on the paleteros and not on the average townsman.

The festival of the patron saint of Mexticacan, San Nicolas, also occurs during the month of December. While the cathedral is named for San Nicolas, it is also the repository for relics related to a legend concerning "the Sacred Heart of Jesus" (El Sagrado Corazon de Jesús), and it is the latter emblem that represents Mexticacan to the people. It is this emblem that appears in the paleterias of the Mexticaqueños as a matter of course. The picture serves two functions: (1) it provides an emblem for the paleteros themselves, reminding them that they are Mexticaqueños, and (2) it provides the anthropologist with the information on his first visit to a paletería that he is indeed in the right place -- a paletería owned by a Mexticaqueño.

One other emblem that identifies paleterias is their name. When Juan Fulano established his first paletería in Aguascalientes, he adopted a practice used by many businessmen in Mexticacan -- he copied as many of the successful practices of others as he could. In this case, Juan used the name of the paletería of the people from whom he learned the business -- the name "La Regia." When Juan did well with his paletería business, many Mexticaqueños followed his leadership and copied the name of his paletería when they opened their own business. Thus, although there are exceptions, a large majority of the paleterias in the Republic of Mexico owned by Mexticaqueños are called La Regia or one of its variants: Regia, El Regios,

La Reyna, El Reyno, etc. This is not as unfailing as the presence of the picture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, but it occurs in a large percentage of cases.

Finally, the corporate identity of these migrants is maintained by the continued reference of the people to themselves as Mexticaqueños, even after many years in the urban setting. It is interesting to note that the children of the paleteros do not call themselves Mexticaqueños. The process of urbanization has cut the bonds of the children with Mexticacan.

Summary and Implications for Further Research

In summary, the principal conditions that led the paleteros from Mexticacan to maintain their sense of a corporate identity in their migration were:

1. the hiring of fellow Mexticaqueños as the inside workers and managers in their paleterias;
2. the practice of leaving their families in Mexticacan while they operated their business elsewhere;
3. the retention of farms and businesses in Mexticacan;
4. the feelings of the migrants that Mexticacan was a better environment, socially and morally, than the city in which their paleteria was located;
5. the visiting patterns of the Mexticaqueños in their new urban environments;
6. the patterns of returning to Mexticacan several times each year to attend religious and secular activities, to visit, to care for properties and businesses, and to hire townspeople for work in the paleteria;
7. the settlement pattern in which proximate Mexticaqueños were often close relatives;
8. the movement of several Mexticaqueños into a "broker" position to mediate contacts between the non-Mexticaqueño and the paletero from Mexticacan;

9. the business practices of the salesmen and manufacturers of oleteria products who facilitated the contact between Mexticaqueños;
10. the use of elements that served as emblems for the Mexticaqueños, defining and uniting them; and
11. the continuance of the use of the name "Mexticaqueño" in referring to themselves.

The incidence of the majority of these conditions can be measured on some kind of a continuum both for the individual and for the group. For example, one can measure the number of times that every individual returned to Mexticaqueño each year and how this pattern differed from one year to the next. This would give the anthropologist some measure of the change in contacts with Mexticaqueño over the years measured.

From data collected in Mexticaqueño, it would appear there are two groups of Mexticaqueños who would be differentiated by such information: (1) a majority group that would become less and less attached to Mexticaqueño over a period of years, as measured by a decreased incidence of these conditions, and (2) a minority group that would maintain close contact with Mexticaqueño, in many cases returning there to live (see Note 4). By examining and comparing the conditions under which some persons choose to retain their contact with Mexticaqueño and others gradually relinquish theirs, perhaps we can come closer to an understanding of the principles of assimilation into urban life.

NOTES

1. Mexticacan is both the name of the cabecera (county seat) and the municipio (county). This report has followed the practice of the people of the area in using the term "Mexticacan" to refer only to the village unless otherwise specified.
2. The paleteros of Mexticacan have not been the only townspeople who have established their major residence away from home. A sizeable group of Mexticaqueños also live in Guadalajara, a city of great historical importance to Mexticacan and of personal importance to many. The majority live in one sector of the city called Colonia Retiro, a colony which came into existence during the late 1920's when the Cristeros were terrorizing much of Western Mexico. Many Mexticaqueños fled from Mexticacan during this period and did not come back when peace again returned.

One other category of migrant Mexticaqueño must be mentioned, although it is a less uniform group than the paleteros or the residents of Colonia Retiro. This group cannot be categorized by trade or by location of residence; it is simply composed of a number of persons who have left Mexticacan to establish a residence elsewhere for various reasons and for various lengths of time.

3. In the study upon which this paper was based, the author gathered interview data of a descriptive nature about many aspects of the total migration. In addition, a formal interview schedule was used to gather data on the conditions of the initial entry of a sample of 150 of the Mexticaqueños who became paleteros. Information in this paper is based primarily on the descriptive material collected.
4. Two factors that seem to be correlated with those who returned to Mexticacan to live are the wealth of the paletero before he established his initial business and his wealth at the time of the 1966 period of fieldwork. Those who returned tended to have been relatively wealthy before they left Mexticacan to set up their initial paleteria and tended to have been wealthy at the time of the 1966 period of fieldwork. (See Tables 2, 3, and 4.)

TABLE 2

Domicile of the Paletero
at the Time of the 1966 Period of Fieldwork

Location of Domicile	No.	Percent
<u>Ranchero</u> - agriculturalist and merchant or worker	1	1
Townsmen - merchant or worker	5	3
Townsmen - agriculturalist and merchant or worker	6	4
Mexticaqueño living outside of Mexticacan: merchant or worker	136	91
Mexticaqueño living outside of Mexticacan: agriculturalist and merchant or worker	2	2
TOTAL	150	101

TABLE 3

Wealth of the Paletero
Prior to His Initial Business

Location of Domicile, 1966	Wealth Category					Total
	A. Millionaire	B. Rich but was not a millionaire	C. Had money but was not rich	C. Had little money	E. Had no money	
Ranchero - agriculturalist and merchant or worker	0	1	0	0	0	1
Townsmen - merchant or worker	0	3	0	2	0	5
Townsmen - agriculturalist and merchant or worker	0	3	2	1	0	6
Mexicano living outside of Mexico - merchant or worker	0	0	43	71	22	136
Mexicano living outside of Mexico - agriculturalist and merchant or worker	0	0	0	1	1	2
TOTAL	0	7	45	75	23	150

TABLE 4

Wealth of the Paletero
at the Time of the 1966 Period of Fieldwork

Location of Domicile, 1966	Wealth Category, 1966					Total
	A Millionaire	B Rich but is not a Millionaire	C Has money but is not rich	D Has little money	E Has no money	
Ranchero - agriculturalist and merchant or worker	0	1	0	0	0	1
Townsmen - merchant or worker	1	1	0	1	0	5
Townsmen - agriculturalist and merchant or worker	0	4	1	1	0	6
Mexicano living outside of Mexico - merchant or worker	1	10	15	28	2	136
Mexicano living outside of Mexico - agriculturalist and merchant or worker	0	0	2	0	0	2
TOTAL	4	16	18	10	2	150

-5-

REMARKS TO MEXICAN-AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

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REMARKS TO MEXICAN AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

The increasing numbers of Mexican Americans attending secondary schools is indicative of the fact that the secret, sleeping giant of the United States, the Mexican American, is finally awakening after more than a century of despondent sleep, filled with lofty, yet oppressed, dreams. If I were chosen to address the Mexican American students attending our high schools, there are certain things I would like to say. Having been allotted no specific topic, I would lay before the students some of the major internal problems that, I believe, demand solutions before this segment of the "Bronze Race" ascends to its rightful place in the American society. This in no way is meant to deny or ignore the external problems that most assuredly hinder that ascension. The recent sit-ins, walk-outs, and other protest demonstrations by Mexican American students in Texas, Colorado, and California make the existence of these problems quite evident. Further, I believe that if some changes, especially in the subject matter and mode of instruction, are not brought about to meet the realistic need of the Mexican American student, what seems serious and burdensome now may very well become deadly in the future.

But despite my wish for some changes from without, I cannot see how any change can be meaningful and fruitful without an equal change from within; for unilateral change is a meaningless rearrangement of the old that can not be compared in productiveness to true, bilateral change. With this firmly in mind, and cognizant of the fact that not much has been said to this effect, I offer the following observations.

I am certainly honored and inspired to be chosen to direct these comments to you, the elite of the Mexican American society. Elite you certainly are; for whether you realize it or not, you are far above the average Mexican American in both educational and acculturational attainments, the two basic prerequisites for any advancement in this Anglo American society in which we live. You have taken a giant step out of the ranks of los de abajo (the underdogs), to borrow a phrase from Mariano Azuela, the outstanding Mexican novelist. You have reached the 11th or 12th grade. Compared to the national average of the 4th grade level reached by the average Mexican American, you have already become exceptional. For these accomplishments, we congratulate you. For the interest and desire to continue your education, vividly demonstrated by your continued presence in school, we thank you. Our own gran deseo for you to fully exploit your potential, we hope to convey to you.

Your educational accomplishments have not come easily; this we know by experience. In your own personal way you have had to come to some happy median in that tremendous conflict between those two great molding forces, home and school. Home told you to cooperate; school taught you to compete. Home wanted you to accept things as they were; school demanded that you question and change. Home impressed upon you to be modest; school showed you to be proud. At home, the family always came first; at school, the individual was second to none in importance. School wanted you to forget your hispanic culture; home vehemently demanded that you were not to forget. "Live for today," said home; "plan for tomorrow," taught school. What was fate at home, was misfortune at school; for at school man was seen dominating the world, while at home everything was la voluntad de Dios (the will of God). And finally, perhaps the greatest conflict of all was that school drilled these things in English, while home drilled them in Spanish.

The result of this unfortunate, but very real, dichotomy is tragically alarming; for, as you have realized by now, not all members of la Raza are able to cope with these conflicts. Thus, though 18 to 19 percent of the total student population in Texas have Spanish surnames, 80 percent of these drop out sometime between the first and twelfth grade. Of the 20 percent who do graduate, some do so only because of social promotions, and therefore, for all practical purposes, are non-functional graduates. Further, over one-half of all Mexican American students have great difficulties functioning in our Anglo American middle-class oriented school programs.

But in spite of these problems and statistics, you are here on the edge of a vast and majestic intellectual field that is just waiting for you to explore it. Some firm personal commitment coupled with a ton of persistence has brought you this far. And yet, while I personally am very proud and elated for you, what I see today in the educated Mexican American is somewhat discouraging. I see a great lack of purpose in the Raza high school student and even in the college student. He is lost and disoriented. He has no specific goals. He is positive he wants an education; but unfortunately, he does not know what he wants out of an education. He knows for sure that he wants a college degree; but a degree in what? Amigos, too often I see the result of this irony. Those graduated seniors who decided against going on to college secure the same jobs they would have had anyway, whether they had graduated or not. They are still doing the manual labor, whether it is in an office, a restaurant, a store, an oilfield, or on a farm. Even some of those who do manage to graduate from college sometimes do not go into a profession or a well-paying occupation. These college students are just as lost after graduating from college as they were after graduating from high school.

As disheartening as this is, it is very true. What causes this cursed lack of purpose that turns bitter the sweetness of accomplishment? I believe there are several causes but due to lack of time I will only mention the two I believe to be the most important. First of all, there have been so few Mexican Americans who have actually become highly prominent in any profession that we have no models, no idols, no leaders that we can look up to. Have you ever wondered why we can not name one true leader of the Raza? The Negro has his Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, and Malcolm X. The Anglos' books are running over with heroes and leaders. But the Mexican American knows no one individual with whom he can identify.

Why do we have this lack of leaders? It is because those few Mexicanos who do become highly successful and become potential leaders of the Raza either become so agringados that they even change their names from Martínez to Martins; or their enthusiasm and genuine interest in helping the Raza are quickly crushed and smothered by that greatest of obstacles to our progress, our envy. Somos muy envidiosos (we are so envious). Strangely enough, we are not envious of the prominent Anglo; we respect and admire him. No, all of our envy is directed toward the Raza that is a little better than we are. When we see these Mexicanos trying to better our lot, what do we do? We ostracize them with our envious tongues: agringados, lambiaches, entreméntidos, tontos, ¿Quiénes creen que son ellos? Se creen las divinas garzas. And so many other derogatory and insulting remarks that it is little wonder that most give up the thought with a shrug of the shoulders and a muttered, "Vayan al diablo." (Go to . . .)

Further, I believe psychological poverty to be the second cause for our undermining lack of purpose. The Mexican American experiences two types of poverty: financial and psychological. Even though we have more than our

share of financial poverty, como Dios sabe, it is psychological poverty that really keeps the Raza at a stand-still. You know, we have one, and only one great enemy that keeps us from exploiting our potential. And although much can be said about the unenlightened Anglo notion of Anglo cultural superiority, that enemy is not the Anglo, as some organizations taken over by hard-headed opportunists would have us blindly believe. That great enemy is you and I. As paradoxical as it may sound, we are our greatest enemy. We do not wait for someone to degrade us, we degrade ourselves. We do not wait for someone to defeat us, we defeat ourselves. In short, we give up long before we even try. This is psychological poverty.

We are so accustomed to looking at the ground, at everybody's feet, that we have firmly convinced ourselves and the Anglo society that we cannot do any better. What is the typical reaction of a Mexican American upon seeing a distinguished member of La Raza? ¿El? ¿Cómo puede ser tan distinguido si es pura Raza, puro indio pata rajado. No lo creo. (He? How can it be? He is just a Mexican like me. I don't believe it!) The typical Anglo reaction is mild shock. Recently, when I introduced myself as a teacher to an Anglo businessman whom I had met in the grocery store while I was dressed in a stained T-shirt and faded slacks, I noticed him looking rather puzzled so I jokingly remarked, "Don't be shocked, we don't all pick cotton."

Our erroneous philosophy of being second rate has been so convincing that many Mexican Americans deny their membership in La Raza. Many Anglicize their names; but some go to the ridiculous extreme of telling everyone that they are American Indians. To these few, and luckily they are few, I don't really know what to say except: How!

But I do know what to say to you. I say be proud and very proud of what you are. Remember that through your veins flows a trickle of the blood of the great Roman Empire, the blood of an even greater, at least territorially, Spanish Empire, and the blood of a formidable Aztec Empire. Within you is sealed a little of Ceasar, a little of Cristóbal Colón, Hernán Cortés, Moctezuma, Benito Juárez, Lope de Vega, Miguel Cervantes, and on and on through countless other outstanding figures who are revered the world over. You owe it to them and to yourself to be not only proud of your nationality, but to continue this long tradition of accomplishments by adding to it your own achievements.

We need a revolution. But not an armed revolution as those hard-headed opportunists want; instead we need a psychological revolution. We need to stop looking down and start looking up at the sky, meeting people proudly eye to eye. We need to put aside our petty jealousies and bitter envies.

We need to join together and put out as much effort in helping those few educated Mexicanos lift us up to their level as we have been putting out in trying to bring them down to our level. We need to beat a path to opportunities door; for contrary to the English saying that opportunity knocks only once, opportunity does not knock at all. You have to go out and find it; and then, you have to knock at its door until it answers. Which means we are going to have to start losing some of that verguenza (meekness) and seeing the faces of a lot of people in order to find those cherished opportunities.

Toda Raza al grito de guerra (to arms); for the psychological revolution has already begun. Whether it succeeds or fails; whether we overcome our problems or not; whether we progress or continue in the same less-than-mediocre rut we have been experiencing since we became Raza; whether we gain the respect of every man or continue to be shamed by his spite and pity; in

short, whether we as a people succeed or fail depends totally on how well we educate ourselves. It is only through education that we shall be able to synthesize the best of both Latin and Anglo cultures, thereby keeping those cultural elements we cherish so much, such as our beautiful language, while gaining the rewards of American technology. Only as educated and responsible citizens shall we truly enjoy our basic right and freedom of being different without being oppressed.

Finally, may I emphasize that the future is yours to mold. Will you explore it or will you ignore it? Will you create it or will you destroy it? Will you develop it or will you waste it? What will it be for you? Will you have a meaningful future at all? Only that diablito (little devil) in you called desire can tell you what will be for you. You have the intelligence. You have the fortitude. You have the opportunity to continue. But, will you continue? Will you fulfill this obligation to yourself, the Raza, and to society in general by exploiting your maximum potential? I wish I could say that you had a choice, but you really do not. The fact that you have made it this far has committed you to continue your education. Not only does your own future depend on your continuing, but so does the future of every Mexicano that is living or will ever live. Indeed, whether all Mexicanos, now and forever, are treated with respect by society or treated with disdain as second-rate citizens as we are today, depends solely on how much education we obtain. Therefore, it is obvious that you must personally, firmly commit yourselves to continue your education so that not only you but your children will be proud, not ashamed, to say:

WE ARE MEXICAN AMERICANS!

¡VIVA LA RAZA!

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL-COMMUNITY AGENT
IN ESTABLISHING PARENT ADVISORY GROUPS

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THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL-COMMUNITY AGENT IN ESTABLISHING PARENT ADVISORY GROUPS

The key person in establishing a parent-community advisory group is the Community Agent. It is the agent's task to bridge the positions representing school administrators, teachers, service agencies, community leaders, and parents. He represents the school when he is working with parents in their environment; he represents the parents during the formative stages of the advisory group. This is not to say that the Community Agent makes decisions on matters of organizational significance to the parents, nor is he merely a carrier of messages between the school and the community. He is aggressive in terms of locating and stimulating resources and leaders, but he remains in the background while in the presence of emerging embryonic leadership.

The Community Agent must be able to adapt to many situations, as well as serve in a variety of roles. His major roles will deal with:

1. The school - On one hand, he will advise the administration and teachers on the best ways to involve parents in a program. On the other, he will interpret the school and its policies to the parents and the community, using whatever methods seem appropriate.
2. The community - He will work at developing a social consciousness and trust in institutions. Although he may become involved in community-wide activities, he should not do so at the expense of his primary functions.
3. The parents - He will try to gain their trust and confidence by discovering ways to alleviate their problems. Since he might find himself addressing considerable energy to the communities' entire spectrum of problems, he will constantly have to remind himself that his main obligations are to home-school concerns.
4. The service agencies - He will coordinate with them to reach the parents, to increase their knowledge of the world about

them, to improve their living conditions, and to upgrade their aspirations. A truly concerted effort between service agencies and the Community Agent should do much toward improving life in the community.

There are other roles, including working with volunteers, church groups, civic organizations, government officials, and individual citizens. It will be up to the Community Agent to find and investigate resources, then utilize them in solving problems. He will have to interact with parents and organizations, serving as a catalyst between individuals and between agencies. The most effective Community Agent will be involved continually in a process of discovery, analysis, application, and solutions. The disinterested Agent will help neither the school nor the community, the parents nor himself.

The Community Agent must coordinate his activities with the school staff to insure effective communication. He must have imagination, sensitivity, and a commitment to the problems of disadvantaged groups. Additionally, he should be sincere, reliable, helpful, and enthusiastic. An effective agent should first familiarize himself with the community and the interaction of apparent influences. This can best be accomplished by becoming acquainted with the physical conditions within the community, the various business establishments and industries, the churches, the private and public organizations, and other main elements of the community.

With this knowledge the agent can best fulfill his role as a stimulator in the community and an aid to the parents. His work will include:

1. explaining the purpose of parental involvement,
2. seeking the parents' view of community-school relationships,
3. encouraging parents to visit the school,

4. arranging for meetings at the school between parents and teachers,
5. identifying leaders and potential leaders.

The agent should begin working with parents who show the most interest and who are willing to participate. These parents will become the nucleus which will expand and attract other parents, as well as the group that will be trained to function as community coordinators or leaders. This group can also serve as an advisory committee which can approach realistically an analysis of common problems, and which can maximize the contributions each member can make toward quality education in the community. In organizing a parent advisory group, each school-community unit must take into consideration its unique problems. With this ground work completed, the group can then proceed to the task of establishing priorities for consideration and then for action.

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The Community Agent program is operated in San Antonio, Texas, in cooperation with the ~~Southwestern Educational Development Laboratory~~. Following this introduction, the program was reviewed, and workshop participants discussed possible applications of similar programs in their communities.