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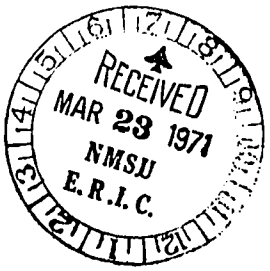
ABSTRACT

Examining change in terms of rate, type, source, and scope, this study explores these dimensions as they relate to the struggle of Mexican Americans in realizing the benefits and detriments of an open society. A morphology of educational change, implications for the Mexican American, and research notes are developed. It is concluded that education is the most important area of action for the Mexican American. The main issues in relation to the school are curriculum content, distribution of educational services, and control through school-community interest and participation. Demands to be made of the public school are (1) establishment of an open enrollment policy with transportation to make it a reality; (2) insisting that all teachers in predominantly or de facto segregated Mexican American schools be bilingual in Spanish-English; (3) establishment of an adequate bilingual counseling service; (4) elimination of tracking; (5) improved libraries, facilities, and curriculum; (6) recruitment and promotion of Mexican American personnel on merit basis; (7) adequate programs of English as a second language; (8) meaningful adult educational, vocational, and recreational programs; (9) adequate placement services for graduates; and (10) development of Mexican American studies. Eight demands to be made to higher education are also listed. It is through such demands and implementations that the Mexican American may change his position in society or change the society itself. (MJB)



AN ANALYSIS OF HOW CHANGE HAS TAKEN PLACE IN CHANGED INSTITUTIONS AND ITS EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS FOR MEXICAN-AMERICANS

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INTRODUCTION

The topic as stated in the title gives license to explore the entire spectrum of the social system. Such an attempt would be encyclopedic in scope and size, and much would be irrelevant for the purpose of the paper as I perceive it.

No institution escapes change if it survives as a viable institution. Evidence the tremendous changes that have occurred in such a tradition-laden, highly resistant and powerful institution as the Catholic Church. There is, quite bluntly, no such thing as a static institution. This is not to deny, however, that change occurs at varying rates accompanied by varying degrees of resistance from institution to institution. To begin a paper of this nature with a set of truisms serves no purpose except as a point of departure.

The purpose of this paper as I see it is to present a "state of the art" analysis of institutional change as it relates to efforts by an oppressed and deprived minority group to more effectively bring about desired changes and assure the responsiveness of distributive institutions in general and educational institutions in particular.

This paper is then an exploratory analysis with prescriptive objectives and has the goal of generating both research and action in accord with the purposes cited. The analysis begins with a section devoted to the morphology of change and various theories of change. This is a general treatment of change in society at

large. The second section analyzes in depth the nature, sources, and rate of change in educational institutions. The third section explores the implications for the Mexican-American. This of course requires the development of a profile of the Mexican-American population and its power potential. The concluding section offers suggestions for further research and a prescription for action in light of the foregoing.

A MORPHOLOGY OF CHANGE

A review of the scholarly literature on change reveals that while much has been written, little is known.[1] More specifically, the literature reveals a penchant for description, analysis and theory almost totally explanatory in nature with little grist for the mills of those interested in producing change. What follows is the result of considerable research and study of the body of writing on change with thought directed to the necessity of bringing about change. I have isolated what I believe to be the main elements of change and rather than become involved in elaborate theoretical exposition, have relied on hypothetical and/or historical examples for illustrative purposes.

Change has many dimensions. This section of the paper attempts a cataloguing of these dimensions as they are relevant to the struggle of the Mexican-American in realizing the benefits and detriments of an open society. Four broad categories will be used to assure some tidiness of exposition. These are rate,

type, source, and scope. Despite the comprehensiveness and seeming insularity of each category there remain difficulties of clarity. For example, while revolutionary change will be used to refer to rate of change, it certainly includes connotations of scope, type, and source as well.

Part of the problem is of course semantical and the heavy emotional content that has been attached to words dealing with change. (Revolutionary is a prime example.) Most of the difficulty, however, lies in the nature of change itself. It is quite clear that change can seldom be treated in an isolated manner. A modified systems approach is particularly appropriate for the analysis of change because it stresses the interdependence of the units in the totality and is a macro-approach. (This may be interpreted as a charge to systems theorists because this writer is relatively limited in his facility with the systems approach.) Political and economic changes are rarely, if ever, only political or economic changes.

The four general categories themselves cannot be trusted even for analytical purposes in isolation as neatly as I would prefer because they are not independent. The type of change can determine the rate, source, and scope of change; just as source can determine the rate and scope. And, of course, this is not to ignore that sometimes change develops a logic of its own and confounds its perpetrators. (As Robespierre gives so elegant, if mute, testimony.)

These cautionary remarks should be sufficient to alert the reader to some of the difficulties encountered in developing a morphology of change.

RATE OF CHANGE

The first dimension to be treated is the rate of change. The question is the speed with which change takes place. Three rates appear to be useful: evolutionary, incremental, and revolutionary. Evolutionary change is a gradual, steady, developmental rate of change. It is change which I associate with the theory of change as differentiation. It is change almost imperceptible to the contemporary observer and is only clear from an historical perspective. This rate of change would be most analogous to biological processes: growth and decay. The development of the body of common law is the best example in the social sphere. It is an unconscious and unplanned change.

The incremental rate of change is also a gradual process, but where evolutionary change can be likened to a smooth flow, incremental change is best understood as a spurt. It involves relatively significant changes separated by relatively long time spans. Biologically, the grafting and transplant processes are illustrations of incremental change. Reform movements are typical illustrations of incremental change in the social sphere. The adoption of the objectives of the progressive and civil rights movements are examples of incremental change. The history of inventions and technology are also good examples of the rate of change. Incre-

mental change, in contrast to evolutionary change, is conscious and planned.

Revolutionary change, on the other hand, is not a gradual rate of change, but rather it is rapid and turbulent. It is a process in which significant changes occur in rapid succession with a short time span, if any, between changes. It is, in a sense, change out of control or nearly so. Because of the speed of revolutionary change it has a wider and more profound (in the sense that it is more conscious) import than evolutionary or incremental change which, because they are more controlled, are more limited. Because change occurs so rapidly in a revolutionary situation and because the time span between change is so short, there is a significant danger of loss of control. Therefore, revolutionary change threatens its base of departure more directly than evolutionary or incremental change and is more potentially destructive than evolutionary or incremental change, which are more controlled, hence more limited. The biological analogy for revolutionary change is the process of cancer. The political and social examples are the great revolutions of France, Russia, China, and Cuba. The American experience which might be parallel is Reconstruction, despite the fact that it was aborted. Here was planned social change designed to totally destroy one form of social organization and replace it with another more in keeping with the dominant cultural values in a very short period of time. And, of course,

it reaped the whirlwind which still blows bitterly. (Lamar, South Carolina is a case in point.)

TYPE OF CHANGE

From the perspective of type of change the focus will be on institutional change. An extended catalogue of categories less broad than those defined in the discussion of rate of change will be presented. Before treating institutional change, however, some discussion of personal or individual change is necessary. Since the success or failure of institutional change so often depends on the attitudes of the personnel of the institution, the question of personality structure and attitude change must be considered.

I am not referring here to the "green revolution," i. e., the theory popularized by Ammon Hennessy, Peter Maurin, and Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker Movement that holds if institutions are to change it is necessary to first change individuals. While ultimately this may be true such an approach is definitely a long-range program and not very useful for realizing present demands. In addition, there is a noticeable impatience on the part of Blacks and Mexican-Americans to have their demands met now. Perhaps the best attitude in this regard can be stated as follows: "We don't necessarily want you to love us, we just want to make you stop beatin' on us."

Despite pessimism concerning character redevelopment, certain factors concerning personality are relevant to a discussion of

change. It is clear that authoritarian, rigid, and those personality types that realize ego identification by internalizing institutional patterns and values would be most reluctant and therefore most resistant to change unless it is imposed through legitimate hierarchical channels.

Studies seem to indicate that the personnel most likely to innovate or accept innovation are those who are client-oriented rather than task-oriented. Obversely those most resistant to change or innovation are those who are task-oriented rather than client-oriented. Personality and attitude structure are important then in that they can impede or speed the adoption and implementation of a desired change.[2]

Institutional change takes place in three broad areas: political, social, and economic. As a society becomes more complex and interdependent the value of these categories diminishes. No change is purely political or economic or social. For example, changes in the method by which U. S. Senators are chosen altered the policy outputs of the Senate which resulted in significant economic and social change. The economic changes of the great depression resulted in a political change which altered the political, economic, and social fabric of the nation. Similarly, the shut-down of a factory brings about political and social changes even though it is primarily an economic change. The limitations of such broad categories are now apparent. Hopefully, the concepts

of organizational, ideological, technological, and legal change will be more useful categories.

Organizational change can be further divided into structural and functional change. Certainly the manner in which an institution is reorganized and the development of new units to meet additional functions are the most obvious of institutional change. The development of the corporate structure in industry resulted in profound changes in economic institutions. In the political realm, the 1947 reorganization of the executive branch of the national government, particularly the establishment of the Department of Defense, is also an example of structural change. Functional change can be illustrated by the recent role of the Department of Defense in the civil rights movement.

Beginning with President Truman's executive order integrating the armed services, and accelerated and expanded under Robert McNamara's tenure as Secretary of Defense, the armed services played a significant role in furthering integration. Certainly social leadership has not been the normal role of military institutions, and this marks a dramatic functional change for the U. S. armed services.

Ideological change can of course change the operation and personnel of an institution as well as the value structure. The development and adoption of Black Power ideology worked radical changes in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). What was previously an organization of white and black young activists committed to integration and the tactics of nonviolence

became a black-only organization which abandoned both the tactic of nonviolence and the goals of integration.

It should also be noted that ideological change can be simply that, as the twists and turns of the CPUSA in following the gyrations of the Comintern illustrate. These ideological changes did not affect the organizational structure nor to any measurable degree the nature of the membership.

Technological change is another obvious type of institutional change. Invention and technology alter the relationships within institutions and in turn the procedures and operations, indeed often bringing about structural and functional changes. The development of electronic information storage and retrieval systems has left virtually no institution unchanged. It has affected the occupational structure as well as the decision-making process of most institutions. Simply by increasing the speed by which tedious tasks can be done it affects the rate of efficiency of the institutions procedures, sometimes altering and increasing the number of functions the institution can perform. It is important to remember that technological change is not limited to mechanical or electronic gadgetry but is also process. The development of scientific decision-making procedures and techniques, marketing research, and the application of behavioral science are also part of technological change.

Legal changes in the structure or operations of institutions are usually, but not always, imposed from outside. Such changes often have the most conscious, and, therefore, the deepest import.

This arises from the fact that they are imposed and are statements of some moral value. The Constitutional amendments providing for the direct election of Senators and limiting the President to two terms have certainly affected the operations of these two institutions. The Wagner Act, recognizing the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively, certainly aided the development of the CIO. And the organizing of the mass production industries brought about many changed relationships in these industries. It should be noted that legal change can be internal also. Changes in institutional by-laws, membership policy, and procedures are examples.

Virtually all existing institutions have undergone these types of change. The type that seems to be most significant, however, is technological change. Technology and the personnel who operate it, the experts, have emerged as a new element in the policy-making procedures at all levels of society. They are most visible in industry but their presence is also felt in politics, education, law, and the rest of society. Their power lies in their ability to modify, if not predetermine, the options taken by formal decision-makers.[3]

As evidence of this power the following passage from Galbraith is illuminating.

> In Los Alamos, during the development of the atomic bomb, Enrico Fermi rode a bicycle up the hill to work; Major General Leslie R. Groves presided in grandeur over

> the entire Manhattan District. Fermi had the final word on numerous questions of feasibility and design.[3] In association with a handful of others he could, at various early stages, have brought the entire enterprise to an end. No such power resided with Groves. At any moment he could have been replaced without loss and with possible benefit.[4]

Possibly more to the point but less dramatic is Galbraith's analysis of the development of Ford Motor Company and Montgomery Ward.[5] The growth and proliferation of consulting and research organizations confirms the point. Indeed this paper itself is evidence of the existence, if not importance, of the techno-structure.

SOURCE OF CHANGE

The origin of change is another dimension that has to be discussed. Broadly speaking, the source of change can be external or internal, elitist or popular, or impersonal. Change is often the result of external environmental changes, such as cultural, ideological, technological, legal or demographic change.

Developments occurring in the general cultural environment can bring about far-reaching changes in institutions. The changes in the Catholic Church from the Counter-Reformation down to Vatican II are primarily in response to cultural change. Another example, but one less easily localized, is the generalized impact the hippie culture has had on the totality of American institutions, (e. g., Chicago '68 and '70, the difficulty in recruitment experienced by business, the drug cult, the relaxation of repressive codes in many institutions, the changes in the university, etc.)

Ideological changes outside an institution should also be considered as a source of change. The changes brought about by the rise of the great political and economic ideologies, i. e., democracy, socialism, fascism, communism, and capitalism, are too obvious to belabor here.

Technological change which has already been discussed in detail will only be mentioned as a type of change that can be external, and possibly fundamental, as well as internal. Inventions can not only alter existing institutions but also bring new ones into existence. Here the obvious examples are the automobile, aircraft, and weapons industries.

Demographic changes are another external source of change for institutions. The migration of rural poor whites and blacks to the urban centers has affected changes in the welfare institutions in the metropolitan areas. These demographic changes have been accompanied by an outmigration to the suburbs, resulting in new institutions and changes within existing ones. The changes have affected most of our urban institutions not only by the demands being made but also by the effect on the tax base of the central city.

These external sources of change, i. e., cultural, ideological, technological, and demographic, can be characterized as impersonal in nature. We will now discuss external change that is elitist or popular in nature.

An elitist external source of change would include that type characterized earlier as legal. It is the result of actions by

recognized decision-makers, e. g., a statute or judicial ruling. Elitist-originated change is more authoritative and has greater legitimacy than popular or mass-based change.

Popular or mass-based changes are those not originated by recognized decision-makers. Examples of these are the 1964 March on Washington, the housewives revolt against food costs which took place a few years ago, and the change in the Supreme Court's decisions on civil rights matters following the 1966 elections. Popular or mass changes are often very temporary or symbolic in nature.

Internal changes in this context refer to the initiation of the change. Once again the categories of elite or popular are useful but it is necessary to take into account change initiated by experts. Internal elitist change refers to change made by the formal leadership of the institution. Vatican II is an illustration of elite-based change. Popular or mass-originated change can be seen in grassroots attempts to change the direction, policy; or personnel of the political parties. The effect of the McCarthy movement on the Democratic party is a case in point. Changes initiated by experts can be seen in industry in the effect quality control, time study, or marketing research personnel have on the operations of a firm. These are specialized technicians and not formal decision-makers, but they nevertheless are the cause of changes in the institution.[6]

SCOPE OF CHANGE

Change can also be analyzed from the perspective of the range of impact. Change can be system-wide, inter-institutional or intra-institutional in consequence. Social and political revolutions, for example, have a system-wide impact affecting virtually every institution. The period of Reconstruction is an illustration of wide-ranging planned and self-conscious change which had for its goal the thorough restructuring of the major institutions of Southern life.

Inter-institutional change refers to change less broad in scope. For example, technological changes in industry often result in changes in the institutions of higher education as they respond to the need for different types of training for industrial personnel. The development of the computer is a case in point.

Intra-institutional change can be of two types: that which affects the entire institution or that which involves only a limited number of units. An example of the former would be the adoption of Black Power ideology by SNCC. This resulted in an almost total change of the institution. An illustration of the latter is a change in requirements for an academic major. This would affect only the department involved and its majors, and not the entire university.

A MORPHOLOGY OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

The analysis of change developed in a general manner in the first section of the paper will be applied now to a specific institution, the educational institution. However, some prefatory remarks are necessary before proceeding.

American society has changed radically in the last century. From a predominantly rural agrarian society blessed with a frontier, which served both as an area for expansion and exploitation and as a mechanism for diffusing social conflict, the nation has become an urban industrial society. One of the consequences of this change is the alteration of the patterns of mobility.

In modern America, while the opportunities for upward mobility are greater than ever in our history as a direct consequence of the technological complexity and bureaucratization of the society, the avenues of upward mobility have been decreased drastically. The most important avenue of upward mobility in the United States today is education. The individual who desires a professional occupation today must possess certain credentials obtained only by education to even be considered for such employment. For those who cannot or do not avail themselves of this education, middle or upper-class status is practically an impossibility. Consequently, the educational system is the most important vehicle for the maintenance of the open society.

Changes in the control structure and policy-making procedures of the school system, then, can have far-reaching implications for the society in general. Such implications are especially true if these changes occur in the large urban centers, for it is in the large urban centers where the greatest pressures are brought to bear on the educational institution. The problems of integration, dropouts, slum schools, teacher recruitment and financial support involve the schools in the social struggle between the various pressure groups. This results in a high conflict political style, which typifies the urban style of politics, developing in educational policy-making.

The educational system of the United States, if such a multivaried structure can be called a system, has recently experienced a change of life style, especially in the large urban centers. What was previously a sedate and, for the most part, tranquil preserve of boards of education and the school administrators has become a volatile and unpredictable battleground for various pressure groups in the community, ranging from the John Birch Society and taxpayer organizations on the right to militant civil rights activists on the left. These increased external pressures on the schools are an indication of the increased expenditures being allocated for education and the importance assigned to education and its role in modern society. The pressures do not limit themselves to quarrels over expenditures and frills and progressive and basic education but also include conflict over the political and social content of the educational experience.

Keeping this in mind it is necessary to point out that educational institutions are seldom in the vanguard of change and are often highly resistant to change. Part of this can be explained by some of the functions of education, i. e., the socialization of the clientele and preserving and passing on the social and political myths and traditions of the society. It does not act as, nor does it see its role as, radical innovator or reappraiser. Part can be explained by the control structure which generally reflects the conservative business interests of the community. Part can be attributed to the mythology surrounding education. The popular notion that education is not political serves to insulate it against external attempts at change. These remarks should serve as a point of departure for the discussion of change in educational institutions.

RATE OF CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

The rate of change common to educational institutions is incremental. We should be advised against anticipating any revolutionary or rapid change. At the same time a high degree of resistance should be expected. This resistance to change inhibits evolutionary change so that change is not a smooth unfolding or development but rather a series of starts and stops. Change in education is responsive rather than innovative.

Technological and other types of external changes eventually insert themselves into the schools but only after considerable delay.

If we look at U. S. education historically we can see the incremental nature of the rate of change. For example, the McGuffey reader, phonics, Deweyism, scientific management, audio-visual aids, new math, the speaking language, black studies: all have the flavor of fadism. They are incremental changes rather than evolutionary; they do not represent the unfolding and development of a cohesive system or approach nor do they represent revolutionary breakthrough. Change in education has to be characterized as reform which is best understood as an incremental rate of change.

TYPES OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

Organizational change in education is both structural and functional. Structural here relates to the manner in which the institution is organized to perform its functions. Such structural arrangements as the organization of the administrative hierarchy; district boundaries; dimensions of instructions, both in curriculum and school division (i. e., 6-3-3; 6-2-4 etc); transfer policy; building and classroom design; acquisition procedures; personnel policies and standards have all been changed at some time or another. The unionization of teachers and the adoption of collective bargaining or the establishment

of experimental schools or districts such as Oceanside-Brownsville are further examples of structural change.

The functional aspect of organization refers to the operations and objectives of the institution. The socialization of children with idealized middle class attitudes and conventional political and moral values, tracking, compulsory attendance laws which serve to restrict the labor market are examples of functions performed by the schools. The shift in emphasis from general education to college preparation, the adoption of black studies and bilingual education, the establishment of adult education and vocational programs are examples of functional change in the educational institutions.

Ideological change can be reflected in the structure and function of the institution. The adoption of Deweyism, Max Rafferty, black studies, bilingualism, scientific management, and teacher unionism are just a few examples of ideological change in education that effect the operations and structure of the institution.

Technological change refers to technique, and in education the adoption of the computer has had widespread impact. Changes in personnel, scheduling, and acquisition procedures are only a few examples. This type of change affects the functions as well. Audio-visual aids and teaching machines have brought about considerable change in the teaching function and the role of the teacher. It should also be noted that technology and its

use has considerable impact on the product of the educational institutions. It has certainly brought about curriculum change in both scope and content. It has certainly had an impact on the teaching personnel. The new math is a case in point.

Legal change refers to those modifications brought about chiefly by external authoritative institutions, legislatures, courts, and state departments of education. Legislative requirements concerning matters ranging from financing through curriculum, court rulings concerning procedures and operations, and state education department rules on certification and personnel standards are a few examples of legal change. Of course legal change can be internal as well; rules established by the Board of Education or the central administration governing operations and procedures and collective bargaining agreements are internal legal changes.

SOURCE OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

As with other institutions the source of change in educational institutions can be categorized external or internal, elitist or popular. Elitist external change can be viewed as those changes resulting from the action of external authority structures. The best examples are external legal changes just discussed. Popular or mass-based external change can originate from the actions of such diverse groups as tax-payers associations, civil rights organizations, or the John Birch Society.

Internal change that is elite-based would be the action originating with the Board of Education, the superintendent, or the central administration. Internal change originating from a popular or mass-base would be that initiated by the action of a teacher organization. Such change is more likely when the organization is militant or union-oriented. The best examples would be the filing and contesting of grievances.

Change can also originate from a combination of external and internal or elite or mass-based sources. The New York City Oceanside-Brownsville experiment is an example of change brought about by the actions of external clientele and civil rights groups in combination with an internal elite, the Board of Education and the Superintendent. Collective bargaining agreements reflect change brought about by the combination of internal elite and popular action: the Board of Education and Administration and the teachers' organization. The controversy or conflict over the Oceanside-Brownsville experiment is a manifestation of the interaction of all these factors in combination.

SCOPE OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

The scope of educational change is somewhat peculiar due to its somewhat peculiar control structure. The structure of local control under state hegemony means the change can be system-wide in scope or affecting the whole or part of the local unit. System-wide change occurs through the actions of state legislatures,

the courts, or state education departments. Actions by the Board of Education, the Superintendent, the central administration, or the provisions of a collective bargaining agreement can effect system-wide change. Similarly, such instruments can effect partial change with a simple unit or series of units in the district. For example, English as a second language may not be necessary in all schools of the district.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN

The Mexican-American image is frought with stereotype and myth. The regional isolation of the Mexican-American contributes to the perpetuation of these stereotypes and myths. Outside the Southwest, if the Mexican-American is thought of (and this is seldom) the image is of a rural-based migrant worker. The publicity of such leaders as Cesar Chavez and Reis Tijerina and their causes is the basis of the non-Southwesterner's information about the Mexican-American. A glance at the New York Times Index as it categorizes minority groups is sufficient evidence. Prior to 1967 the Index listed Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking Groups. The existence of the Mexican-American as a particular and self-conscious group did not reach the national consciousness until 1967.

The Mexican-American is the nation's second largest minority group. Some 5.5 million* plus are concentrated in the five southwestern states of California, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico and

*A disputed figure; census data for 1960 give 3.5 million Spanish-Surname individuals. Secondary sources on the Mexican-American are fond of the 5.5 million figure.

Texas. Eight out of ten live in Texas and California.[7] The Mexican-American is predominantly urban in residence; 79.1% are urban and only 5.3% are rural.[8]

The Mexican-American differs from other immigrant groups in the United States. The concentration in the Southwest and the proximity of the pseudo border with Mexico make for strong cultural, linguistic and relational ties with the motherland. Where other immigrant groups have discarded their native language in the first or second generation, the Mexican-American often retains Spanish through the third, fourth, and fifth generations.[9]

The result is that Mexican-Americans are set apart from the dominant culture by historical, cultural, and linguistic characteristics as dramatically as the Black man's skin pigmentation sets him apart from the dominant society.[10] We should not, however, overlook the fact that this setting apart is not wholely the wish or act of the Mexican-American. Rather, it can be seen as another manifestation of the racism infecting the dominant society that has been so well pointed out by the Kerner Report and countless other prophets crying in the wilderness.

The S. E. S. characteristics of the Mexican-American testify to his deprived, exploited and oppressed condition. Low income, high unemployment or underemployment, poor housing, shorter life expectancy, higher infant mortality, higher disease rate (particularly tuberculosis, the disease of the poor), little education,

and high drop out rates are vivid testimony of exploitation, oppression, and deprivation.

The evidence concerning education is particularly appalling. In Texas 80% of the Mexican-Americans do not complete high school; in California 73.5% do not complete high school.[11] In California the Mexican-American lags four years behind Anglos, and two years behind Blacks in scholastic advancement, and the schools with the highest dropout rate are de facto segregated Mexican-American schools.[12] Median school years completed by the Mexican-American in Texas is less than seven.[13] In contrasting Mexican-Americans with Blacks on educational achievement in Texas the figures for years of school completed show the Mexican-American considerably behind the Blacks. For example, 22.9% of Mexican-Americans over 25 years of age have no education; only 5.4% of the Blacks over 25 have no education; 16.1% of Mexican-Americans have completed high school; 31.4% of the Blacks have completed high school; 4.2% of Mexican-Americans have completed college; 8.4% of Blacks have completed college.[14]

Now while the statistics relating to Texas might not surprise us, the California statistics certainly should. California, after-all, is looked on as a model of educational progress by the rest of the nation and few of us think of California and Texas in the same thought. But it is important to note that California and Texas are the high and low boundaries of S. E. S. characteristics for Mexican-Americans. The other three southwestern states fall

between the upper boundary of California and the lower boundary of Texas. For example, income distribution statistics show 17% of the urban Mexican-American families and 30% of the rural Mexican-American families in California have incomes of less than $3,000.00; in Texas comparable statistics have 47% of the urban Mexican-American families and 69% of the rural families earning less than $3,000.00.[15] It is not necessary to go into the gloomy picture of inadequate and inhuman living conditions and the unemployment and underemployment which the Mexican-American suffers.

The retention of the Spanish language tends to compound the problems posed by the S. E. S. characteristics of the Mexican-American. Given the cultural context of America at present, the language of success is English and on this count the Black population has an advantage. (This is not to minimize the problems faced by Blacks and the fact that they too have language barriers.) Studies of Mexican-American mobility indicate that adoption of English is a significant factor in upward mobility.

> Language usage is one of the most sensitive indicators of degree of acculturation, and use of the English rather than Spanish language in the interview was found to be significantly associated with upward mobility.[16]

It is quite clear that the Mexican-American is an oppressed, exploited and discriminated against group that is struggling to insert itself into the American opportunity structure. It does not necessarily want to acculturate, as the increased ethnocentrism of Mexican-American activists indicates, and given the fact that the upwardly mobile Mexican-Americans retain ethnic identity and

pride.[17] But there is the desire to assimilate, i. e., to participate in the benefits of the society and to end the present state of exploitation.

It is also obvious given the prior general comments on education, the role of the technostructure in today's society, and the educational statistics for the Mexican-American, that a major obstacle to the fulfillment of Mexican-American ambitions lies in the educational institutions. It is the schools, therefore, that must be the major target of the movement. It is a question of control, content, and distribution of educational services that must be probed and answered to the satisfaction of the Mexican-American.

Before these questions can be asked, however, it is necessary to make an honest appraisal of the Mexican-American's political potential and the elements of power he possesses. To begin, the fact that he is on the deprived end of the distribution spectrum tells us that he lacks power. This is not to say he is powerless; indeed, he may possess power but not realize its potential.

The most easily recognized and measurable elements of power are wealth, numbers, organization, leadership, and status. At first glance the Mexican-American is weak on all five points. (Just as at first glance the Blacks are weak on all five points.) But this is to overlook some more subtle power factors that can overcome weakness in these five.

While the Mexican-American is a minority, he is a concentrated minority, concentrated in urban centers of the five southwestern states. This concentration gives him a strategic position, which obviates some of the weaknesses of being a minority. Politically, concentration in urban centers can be exploited even if the percentage of Mexican-Americans in the population is slight. In electoral activities, if the group is properly organized and disciplined, the role of spoiler can be developed to extract concessions from the decision-makers. If this role is coupled with a coherent set of objectives the possibility of satisfying the group symbolically will diminish and the result will be responsive political decision-makers and real improvement for the group.[18]

In order to realize the potential power of concentration it is necessary to have effective organization and leadership. Weakness in those power factors has been a persistent barrier to effective Mexican-American political action. And this has enabled the Anglo to maintain his position and satisfy Mexican-American demands symbolically without changing the distributive patterns in the system. Tokenism is very effective when the beneficiary group is poorly organized and weakly led.

There are indications that the leadership and organizational weakness of the Mexican-American is being overcome. The G. I. Forum, P.A.S.O. (P.A.S.S.O.) and MA.P.A., coupled with such movements as the N.F.W.O.C., the Alianza, and the Crusade for Justice, and youth organizations like M.A.Y.O. and student groups

like A.M.A.S. and M.E.C.H.A. underscore this awakening to the need for organization on the part of Mexican-Americans. This has been accompanied by new style leadership, radically different from the political jefes and patrons of the past. Leaders such as Cesar Chavez, Reis Tijerina, "Corky" Gonzalez, Julian Nava, Abe Tapia, Ralph Guzman, etc. are only a few of this new breed. The college and barrio youth organizations are probably the most promising sign in this regard. Despite their initial naivete and recklessness, their political and social battles will produce more tough and sophisticated leadership.

Another element of power often overlooked, which when added to urban concentration offsets weakness of wealth and numbers, is violence or the threat of violence. However, this is a sensitive and dangerous tool which requires tremendous discipline. The ability to disrupt, harass and embarrass are tied in with this technique. It is an element of power which has a long tradition in American life and should not be dismissed lightly. It was part of the power of the Founding Fathers, of farmers in the 19th century, of workmen in the 20th century, and of minority groups today. However, to be effective it must be firmly welded to a moral claim.

Here is another element of power possessed but not developed adequately by the Mexican-American. The injustices suffered by Mexican-Americans are a moral outrage. The Mexican-American can legitimately press a moral claim on this society. (The Blacks have successfully utilized this element of power.) The conscience of the nation must be made aware of it. In essence this is part of

the strategy of Cesar Chavez and Reis Tijerina. But Chavez and Tijerina are speaking for the rural Mexican-American; the same case must be made for the urban dweller. The United States is a moralistic nation and such a claim can have effect. (I am not so naive an idealist to believe that it will change the hearts and minds of men but coupled with other elements of power in the proper strategy it can offset other weaknesses.)

When violence is cloaked with a moral claim it cannot only achieve legitimacy but can produce startling changes. Indeed, this is the story of successful revolutions. The different perceptions of the Black Panthers (who have more public empathy and support) and the Weatherman faction of the S.D.S. (who are by and large looked upon as snotty-nosed kids) can possibly be explained by the factor of moral claim.

Akin to moral claim is ideology. This is a power factor that can add unity and cohesiveness to a group through its exploratory and goal-defining functions. Here again we can see the beginnings of ideological awareness through the vehicle of self-identity on the part of Mexican-Americans. The development of myths, heroes, and martyrs is useful as a support mechanism for sustaining the struggle.

The point of this divergence being that if the Mexican-American possessed the major elements of power he would not be an oppressed minority. Therefore, the other elements of power which can compensate for the lack of the major power factors and offset this deficit must be developed. In addition alliances with external

groups with similar or complementary goals should not be avoided. Such alliances can also offset the lack of power if entered from a base of strength or equality.

Now to return to the focal point of discussion: the educational institutions and their relationships to the Mexican-American. With these power factors in mind why should the schools be the major targets? First, upward mobility in our society is controlled by the educational institutions. While there are more positions of middle and upper class status today due to the complexity and bureaucratization of the society, the channels of upward mobility have been drastically narrowed. It is education that provides the individual with the credentials necessary to even be considered for middle or upper class employment. Without these credentials a person can forget about upward mobility. (The Eric Hoffers and the Prince and the showgirl are too few to contradict this fact.)

Second, control structure and the personality of the control personnel of the educational institutions are such as to offer a very real possibility of success. Success is possible because of the political ideology of the educational system and because school decision-makers tend to be low conflict in orientation. Part of the ideology of public education is local control. While this is largely a myth it is a myth believed by school people.[19] Mexican-Americans are concentrated in urban centers. Where they may not be a majority, the Anglo flight to the suburbs or private schools often sees the Mexican-American as having a greater student population percentage than do the Anglos. Hence there is a legitimate

and real clientele demand which cannot long be ignored, especially with the increasing militancy not only of the general Mexican-American population but on the part of Mexican-American students as well. (The school walkouts and boycotts in East Los Angeles, Sierra Blanca, San Antonio, Crystal City, etc. are indications of this militancy.) The tactics of confrontation, the tools of weak power groups, are especially effective when directed against low conflict, low profile institutions and decision-makers. The schools and the educational hierarchy are such. Success is an extremely important component of any social movement. Success improves morale and commitment and attracts more members to the cause. Success is necessary before the more difficult, if not more important, areas can be attacked.

The third and most important reason for directing attention to the schools was hinted at in the discussion of technological change. If Galbraith and Chomsky are correct, and I believe they are, the real power is possessed, and the real decisions in this society are made, by what can broadly be called experts,[20] what Galbraith calls the technostructure.

Given the educational statistics of the Mexican-American, it is clear that their share and participation in this power is drastically limited. So to alter the "colonial" status the Mexican-American must be trained in the hard and soft sciences and the technology of modern society. Expertise and information have displaced land, capital, and labor as the major power elements, and until the Mexican-Americans in large numbers possess expertise

and specialized information they will not have a voice in their destiny. In this light the emphasis on chicanismo education is misplaced and indeed plays into the hands of the dominant Anglo society. Emphasizing chicano studies can result in a narrow elite of limited professionals working with a limited clientele without any change occurring in the power situation of the Mexican-American, another illustration of symbolic satisfaction of demands. I do not mean that cultural and historical courses on the Mexican-American should be abandoned. Rather, they should not have priority. They are icing on the cake of hard and sound training to achieve power.

CONCLUSION

Research Notes

To borrow from Patrick Moynihan--there's damn little data on any of the topics covered in this paper. Part of the lack of data can be attributed to the orientation of research scholars in the United States. Few scholars are action-oriented. They do not view their scholarly enterprise as having direct political and social consequence. Therefore the topics they choose and the methodology they use result in material of little use to the purpose of the type of research attempted in this paper. This applies particularly to the question of change and how to achieve it.

The research that has been done on the Mexican-American is also of little use, not because it is of the wrong type but rather because there is so little of it. Only in the very recent past

have scholars and researchers in any significant number become aware that the Mexican-American exists. Scholars are not the only ones at fault here, however, for only recently have politicians, educators, and clergymen become aware of his existence. Be this as it may, ethnic studies are now in and we can expect a considerable outpouring of material on the Mexican-American in the near future. It was not so long ago that there was very little available on the Black American too.

Most of the scholarly material on change is theoretical, descriptive, or analytical. The question that seems to have been asked is why, not how. The main feeling a researcher gets going through this material is that we still know very little about change despite the *many* pages written on it.

There is very little material on the how or how to of change. This is an area where much research has yet to be done. It would be most useful if community organizers, labor organizers, practical politicians, and other activists involved in bringing about change would keep diaries and submit them to a central clearing house. If this can not be accomplished then perhaps universities and other interested organizations (other than the F.B.I.) might institute modified oral history programs. The purpose of which would be to gather the information from activists operating in their area in the form of interviews. In this way cooperative depositories of very valuable data and insights could be established, and the scholars could weave it into some kind of coherent body of knowledge. This in turn would be at the disposal of operatives in

the field who are attempting to bring about change.

The most important task in this area of research is to change the questions being asked. What we want to know is how change is brought about. The importance of the question being asked cannot be overstressed. For example, when investigating distribution patterns in a community or society, if the question asked is why does such a sector get more of the values than another, the answers will be traditional, legitimate, and plausible. They are better organized, have more power, more status, are better skilled, etc. However, if looking at the same distribution patterns the question is why does such a sector get less of the values than other sectors, then a totally different order of answers appear. Here we enter this nether world of politics, and the answers are fear, hatred, prejudice, incompetence, illegitimacy (in the political sense), oppression, etc.[21]

On the question of the research done on the Mexican-American there are two major problems. The most important is that there has been so little. The Mexican-American is probably the least known of the ethnic groups in the United States. The other problem is that much of the material available is either badly dated or tear-in-the-eye or special pleading type of research. At present, due to the search for self-identity, there is a real danger that scholarship may become myth-building rather than truth-searching. The temptation is great, and there certainly is a need for the myths, but scholars should avoid the enterprise.

Research on the Mexican-American is virtually virgin territory. There is tremendous work to be done by historians, anthropologists,

sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, economists, and educators. It is a very exciting field from a scholar's point of view. Here is the opportunity to study the cultural, political and social awakening of a people. What the Black-American experienced and developed over an extended period of time and which can be studied only in retrospect is now occurring in a short time span in the Mexican-American community. We can observe in the Mexican-American community at present rough equivalents of developments and movements that have occurred in the Black community. There are, for example, self-improvement, gradualist, integrationists, and separatist organizations and impulses. There are the Brown Bourgeoisie and the Chicano Renaissance. There are the religious and mystical civil disobedience of Cesar Chavez and the Brown Power of the Brown Berets. This alone should inspire the scholar.

The process of acculturation and assimilation can be studied first hand in such communities as El Paso and San Antonio. The questions of just what is a Mexican-American, what is a Chicano have not yet been answered. What distinctions exist, if any, between the three main groups of Mexican-Americans: the descendants of the conquistadors, the political refugees from the Mexican Revolution and the economically motivated immigrants? What is the incidence of upward mobility? How many generations does it take to leave the barrio? These questions have not been answered. Why, when given the S.E.S. characteristics of the Mexican-American in Texas, does he only make up 17% of the state's prison population when he is 14.8% of the state population? The Black prison population

is over 40% and only 12.5% of the state population, with higher S.E.S. characteristics.

Research on the political life of the Mexican-American has finally begun. What is his degree of political alienation or efficacy? What type of political participation and at what rate does the Mexican-American participate in politics? What is the strength of ethnicity in his political activity? Who are the political leaders? Why? How effective are they? These are on' a few questions that have to be asked.

The research area of education poses a different order of problem. Until only recently the educational philosophy of the nation was "educate the best, forget the rest." And there are many who yearn to go back to the good old days when the exceptional child was the bright kid and not a euphemism for an educational problem. Despite attempts at compensatory education the culturally deprived child is still not being reached by the school system. Drop out rates remain intolerably high for minority group youngsters. The problem of motivation has not been solved. Bilingual education and English as a second language are other areas where extended research and experimentation must take place. Until these questions are answered the educational system as a vehicle for upward mobility will contrive to fail in regard to Mexican-American children.

Action Notes

I believe it is clear that from my viewpoint the most important area of action for the Mexican-American is education. It is

essential that Mexican-Americans be trained in sufficient members to enter the technostructure. It is only then that he will begin to acquire some control over his destiny, have a hand in shaping the destiny, and perhaps, changing the direction of the society. Another reason is that the school is an institution which can most easily be influenced. The schools have obviously failed the Mexican-American (no pun intended) and they have no excuse. Indeed, in a sense the educational system (elementary and secondary) has become the scapegoat for industry, the professions, and the institutions of higher learning. All these institutions pass the buck and point a finger at the schools when asked why their practices seem to discriminate against the Mexican-American.

Here the experience of the Black population can serve as a guide to the efforts of the Mexican-American in making the school more responsive.[22] The main issues in relation to the school are control, content, and distribution. Control is the most important. One reason that the schools can ignore the educational needs of a minority group is that the group does not exert sufficient pressure. The vital need is to develop community interest and participation in the schools. The school must be made a center of community life. One of the major educational problems of the Mexican-American is a high drop out rate. The reasons for this are a lack of motivation and an unawareness of the importance of education. By making the school the center of community life some of this problem would disappear. Alliances should be formed between parent and teachers and with outside groups, such as labor unions, that

place a high value on public education. Alliances and cooperation on educational matters, in addition to bringing about educational change, can often be useful in other areas of concern, e. g., minimum wage legislation, housing, etc.

An example of effective use of outside aid occurred in El Paso over the use of Spanish detention at Bowie High School. (Spanish detention is the practice of keeping students after school as punishment for speaking Spanish on the school grounds. Bowie High School is the high school which serves El Paso's southside.) Local activists and students demanded an end to Spanish detention. The school system chose to ignore the situation despite picketing and leafleting by the activists. A call was made to the N.E.A. headquarters in Washington by an activist who had served with the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. This resulted in a telegram from the N.E.A. condemning the practice of Spanish detention. The telegram was released to the press, and the school system publicly stated that detention was no longer to be used as a punishment for speaking Spanish. Further development saw the removal of the school principal the following year.[23]

Demands that should be put to the schools and which must be met are: 1) the establishment of a genuine open enrollment policy with transportation provided to make it a reality; 2) insisting that all teachers in predominantly or de facto segregated Mexican-American schools be bilingual in Spanish-English; 3) the establishment of an adequate and more thorough counseling service also to be bilingual; 4) the elimination of tracking; 5) improved libraries

and facilities, and enriched curriculum; 6) the recruitment and promotion of Mexican-American personnel on the basis of merit; 7) the establishment of adequate programs for English as a second language; 8) the establishment of meaningful adult educational, vocational, and recreation programs; 9) the establishment of adequate placement services for graduates; and 10) the development of courses dealing with Mexican-American heritage and contributions to American society.

At the college and university level the demands to be made that must be met are: 1) an open enrollment policy; 2) an adequate financial aid program to make open enrollment a reality; 3) the establishment of compensatory programs to correct deficiencies in the students' background; 4) an adequate and specialized counseling and guidance service; 5) a tutorial program to aid students having difficulty in particular courses; 6) the recruitment and promotion of Mexican-American personnel on the basis of merit; 7) the establishment of Mexican-American student centers; 8) the establishment of courses dealing with the Mexican-American in history, literature, politics, and sociology.

If the schools meet these demands, indeed, if they meet half of them, there would be a radical change in the educational achievement of the Mexican-American. This change should, in turn, bring about a drastic change in his general position in society.

I do not mean to say that education is a panacea. But it is a necessary tool of change given the technological nature of the society. If the Mexican-American wishes to change his position

in the society or to change the society, the only way to get to the levers of power is through education. This order of change requires that the Mexican-American understand the way the system works, the elements of power he possesses, and how to use them to realize his objectives. This paper is meant to be a beginning in this endeavor.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Cf., E. E. Hagen On the Theory of Social Change; Crane Brinton Anatomy of Revolution; Alexis de Tocqueville The Old Regime and the French Revolution; Reinhard Bendix Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait, Work and Authority in Industry; Gerhard Lenski Power and Privilege; David Truman The Governmental Process; David Easton A Systems Analysis of Political Life; V. O. Key Jr. Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, Amitai Etzioni Analysis of Complex Organizations, "The Epigenesis of Political Communities at the International Level," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 68; W. W. Rostow The Stages of Economic Growth; Lucien Pye Politics, Personality, and Nation-Building; John Kautsky Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries; Chalmers Johnson Revolutionary Change.

[2]Leonard I. Pearlin, "Sources of Resistance to Change in a Mental Hospital," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 68, pp. 325-334.

[3]My evaluation of the importance of technological change and its implications are drawn and extrapolated from what I consider to be the two most important books of the 1960's: John Kenneth Galbraith's New Industrial State, and Noam Chomsky's American Power and the New Mandarins.

[4]John Kenneth Galbraith, The New Industrial State (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), p. 66.

[5]Ibid., pp. 90-91.

[6]Cf., Galbraith and Chomsky, Op. cit.

[7]Armando M. Rodriquez, "Speak Up Chicano," American Education, Vol. 4, May 1968, p. 26.

[8]U. S. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population 1960, Persons of Spanish Surname (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 2.

[9]Joe J. Bernal, "Anita Insists: I Am Mexican-American," Today's Education, Vol. 58, May 1969, p. 51.

[10]Armando M. Rodriguez, Op. cit., p. 26.

[11]Joe J. Bernal, Op. cit., p. 51.

[12]Charles A. Ericksen, "Uprising in the Barrios," American Education, Vol. 4, November 1968, p. 29.

[13]U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Low Income Families in the Spanish Surname Population of the Southwest (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 21.

[14]Clifton McCleskey, The Government and Politics of Texas (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, Third Edition, 1968), p. 7.

[15]U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Op. cit., p. 11.

[16]Fernando Penalosa and Edward C. McDonagh, "Social Mobility in a Mexican-American Community," Social Forces, Vol. 44, June 1966, p. 503.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Cf., Murray Edelman, "Symbols and Political Quiescence," American Political Science Review, Sept. 1960.

[19]Cf., Paul E. Grosser, Competitive Interest Group Politics: The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers and The Philadelphia Teachers Association, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University, 1968.

[20]Cf., John Kenneth Galbraith and Noam Chomsky, Op. cit.

[21]The importance of the question is very well analyzed by Bachrach and Baratz in "Two Faces of Power," American Political Science Review, Vol. 56 and "Decisions and Nondecisions: An Analytical Framework," American Political Science Review, Vol. 57.

[22]Cf., Charles V. Hamilton, "Race and Education: A Search for Legitimacy," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, Fall, 1964.

Robert H. Salisbury, "Schools and Politics in the Big City," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 37, Summer 1967.

Fred W. Newmann and Donald W. Oliver, "Education and Community," Harvard Educational Review Vol. 37, Winter 1967.

Thomas Q. Green, "Schools and Community: A Forward Look," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 39, Spring, 1969.

Florence Howe, "Mississippi's Freedom Schools: The Politics of Education," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 35, Spring, 1968.

[23]Interview, Mr. Homer H. Galicia, January 17, 1970.