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Oscar J. Martinez

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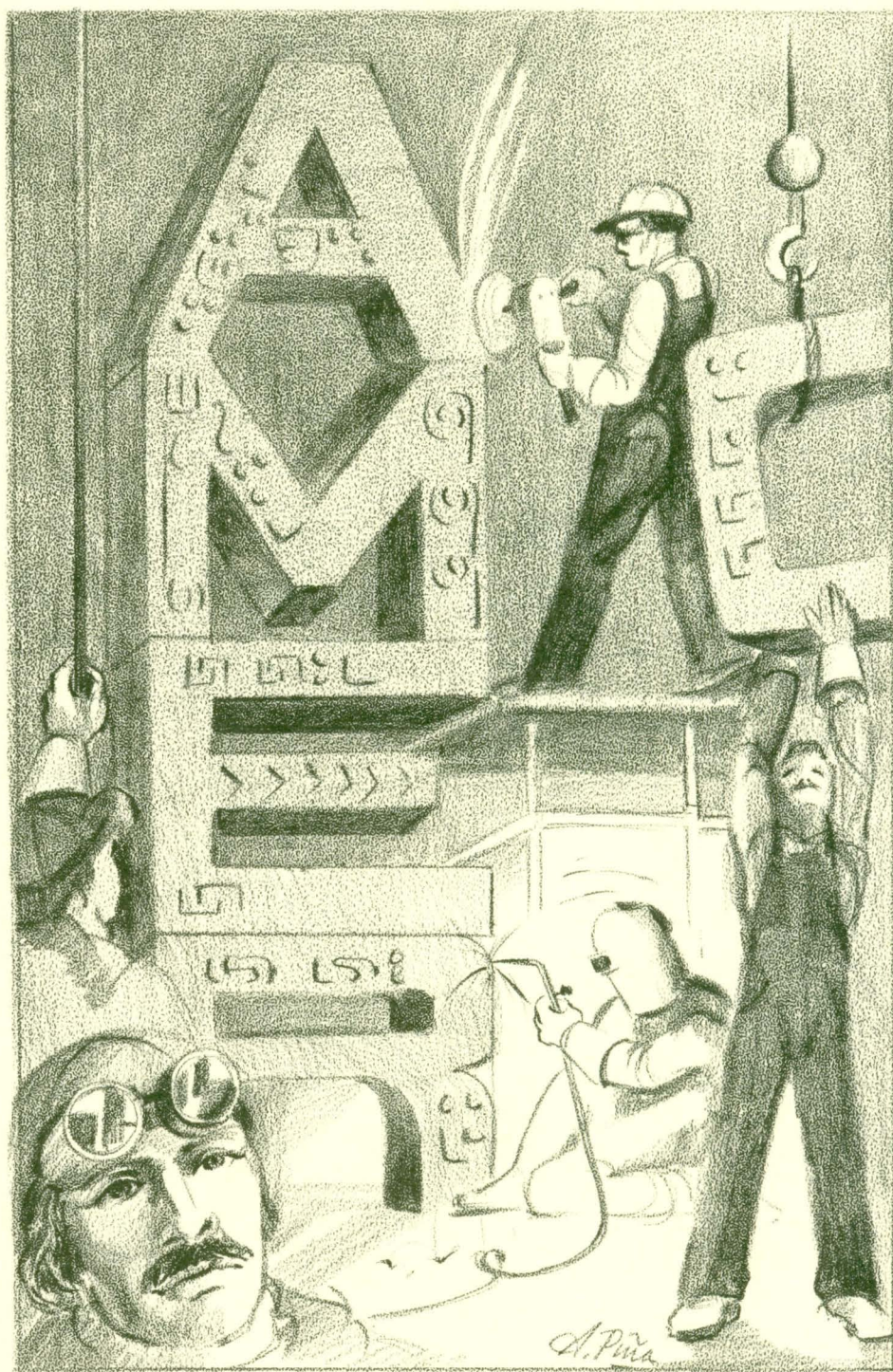
An Assessment of Progress

by

OSCAR J. MARTINEZ



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OSCAR J. MARTINEZ grew up in Ciudad Juárez-El Paso, graduated from El Paso High School, received the B.A. in Latin American Studies at California State University at Los Angeles and the M.A. in Latin American Studies from Stanford University. After some graduate work at the University of California at Berkeley, he decided to specialize in Latin American History, particularly the history of the U.S.-Mexico border, receiving the Ph.D. in 1975 from the University of California at Los Angeles. Dr. Martínez is Associate Professor of History at The University of Texas at El Paso. He previously taught at Foothill College in Los Altos Hills, California and at California State University at Hayward. His publications include *Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juárez since 1848* and articles in the *Pacific Historical Review*, *Aztlán*, and *The El Paso Business Review*. Dr. Martínez is active in the Latin American Studies Association and El Paso County Historical Society.



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THE CHICANOS OF EL PASO

An Assessment of Progress¹

By OSCAR J. MARTINEZ

AMONG THE MAJOR CITIES of the United States, El Paso, Texas is
★ unique because of its border location and because of the
makeup of its population: Mexican Americans or Chicanos² have
constituted the majority of this city's population throughout the twenty-
th century, and currently this group constitutes approximately 62
percent of El Paso's residents (Table 1). Thus, El Paso affords the stu-
dent of ethnic relations an excellent setting for analyzing social change
in a Chicano urban community. Utilizing quantitative and other
materials, this study measures social, economic, and political progress
recorded by this group; it also attempts to interpret the degree and rate
of change revealed by the data.³ These interpretations apply only to El
Paso, but other communities have undergone similar experiences and
hopefully fellow scholars will undertake research elsewhere to provide
comparisons with the trends observable here. The overall result of such
an effort would be a greater illumination of the dynamics of ethnic in-
teraction in the urban Southwest.

This study is divided into four sections: Part I presents background
information on the evolution of the Chicano community in El Paso;
Part II analyzes statistical data related to group achievement; Part III
discusses propositions that help to explain the experience of local
Chicanos; and Part IV contains a summary and conclusion of findings.

I. Historical Background

El Paso (once known also as Smithville and/or Franklin) dates back
to 1827 when *ranchos* north of the Rio Grande were suburbs of Paso del
Norte (today's Ciudad Juárez, Mexico), the then dominant community
in the local valley.⁴ Between 1850 and 1880, El Paso's population,
made up mostly of Mexican Americans, grew from about 300 to 736
persons (Table 1).

TABLE 1

*Chicanos as a Percent of El Paso's Population, 1836-1978**

Year	City Total	Chicanos	Chicano Percent of Total	Chicano Percent Native-born	Chicano Percent Foreign-born
1836	15	15	100.0	—	—
1850	200	150	75.0	—	—
1860	428	321	75.0	—	—
1870	764	—	**over 50.0	—	—
1880	736	—	**over 50.0	—	—
1890	10,388	2,115	20.4	—	—
1900	15,906	8,748	54.5	—	—
1910	39,279	—	—	—	—
1920	77,560	39,571	51.0	22.7	77.3
1930	102,421	68,476	66.9	35.6	64.4
1940	96,810	55,000	56.8	63.4	36.6
1950	130,485	63,976 +	† OVER 50.0	72.1	27.9
1960	276,687	125,745 +	† OVER 50.0	71.5	28.5
1970	322,269	184,627	57.3	80.3	19.7
1978	400,000	248,000	62.0	—	—

*As with all population statistics, these figures contain inaccuracies. Calculations between 1836 and 1900, and between 1930 and 1940, come from unofficial sources. The 1978 estimate comes from the El Paso City Planning Department. All other figures are derived from U.S. Census returns, which suffer from serious flaws. For example, because of misleading and inexact definitions, undercount is present in the official estimates for 1920 and 1950-1970. The 1920 figure for Chicanos was calculated in 1930, based on a designation worked out for the 1930 census which excluded U.S.-born Chicanos of U.S.-born parents and all persons who did not manifest "Mexican" features. Because of the availability of alternative data (based on a school census) the federal census count for 1930 (58,291 "Mexicans") is not listed above. The 1950 and 1960 U.S. census enumerations of Chicanos were based on Spanish-surnames, and the 1970 approximation on Spanish language characteristics. Generally, U.S. census underenumeration is substantial for the early years but less for recent times.

**My estimate.

†Because of the serious weaknesses inherent in the U.S. census counts of Mexican Americans in 1950 and 1960, I am convinced that Chicanos comprised over 50 percent of El Paso's population during those years, although I have no alternative data. The official returns indicated that Spanish surname persons comprised 49.0% and 45.4% of El Paso's population in 1950 and 1960 respectively.

—not available.

Source: Oscar J. Martínez, *Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juárez Since 1848* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), Appendix Tables 2 and 3.

The smallness and isolation that characterized this locality were altered when the railroads arrived in 1881. Because of its location as a strategic crossroads for north-south and east-west patterns of traffic, El Paso evolved within a few years into an important transportation center. The economy of El Paso and other centers in the Southwest received a strong stimulus as the demand for raw materials increased in the eastern United States. By 1900, El Paso had become a leading supply, processing, smelting, and refining site for the rich mining districts in the surrounding territory. Commerce, industry, and agriculture also prospered from the infusion of new capital and the growing trade with Mexico. By 1910, El Paso's population had increased to almost 40,000 persons, and the city had achieved a prominent position among urban centers situated in the United States-Mexico borderlands.⁵

These developments brought some important changes to the lives of Chicanos native to the El Paso area. These people had become subjects of a new country, and soon the Anglo minority that moved in relegated them to a position of relative powerlessness. Uneasy relations resulted from this state of affairs. The first shock came immediately after the War of 1846-1848, when residents of Ysleta, San Elizario, and Socorro lost their fight to remain in Mexico rather than become a part of the United States. These communities were located a few miles from El Paso on an island that had been formed in the 1830s by the shifting Rio Grande, and the United States unilaterally declared jurisdiction over the area on the grounds that the deepest channel of the river ran south of the three towns. To make matters worse, the newcomers often disregarded local rules and traditions in their drive to acquire property, inflicting native Mexicans with heavy losses in communally-held farm land, timber, and salt.⁶ Frequently, lawless elements raised havoc in the Mexican American settlements, with little interference from the established Anglo authority.⁷ The foremost example of ethnic tensions and conflict during the period is the Salt War of 1877-1878, in which native residents of San Elizario violently resisted the takeover by Anglo entrepreneurs of the nearby salt beds which had been public property since Spanish days.⁸ As larger numbers of the dominant society moved into the area after 1880, the subordination of the Chicanos became more accentuated. The decline of their political influence in El Paso County is exemplified by the successful, but highly questionable election of 1883, which shifted the county seat from Ysleta, then the area's largest town with a preponderant Mexican American population, to El Paso, where Anglos had become more solidly entrenched.⁹

In the twentieth century, El Paso has grown at an impressive rate, and Mexican Americans have played an important role in that process.

By 1900, persons of Mexican descent regained the majority status they had temporarily lost during the late nineteenth century when Anglos arrived in large numbers (Table 1). During the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) this ethnic group experienced unusually rapid growth. At this time the influx of middle and upper class refugees from Mexico altered the character of the Chicano community, although many of the newcomers returned to Mexico when the political climate stabilized. An incident that reveals attitudes then current toward Mexican immigrants occurred in 1916. Following the Villista massacre of fifteen American engineers at Santa Ysabel, Chihuahua, on January 13, an estimated 1,000 revenge-seeking Anglos marched on the Chicano community in El Paso, vowing to drive out its residents. Street fighting broke out, resulting in injuries to twenty-five Mexicans and an undertermined number of Anglos. Military authorities averted a major riot by establishing a dividing line between the two groups and ordering a curfew.¹⁰

As have other areas throughout the Southwest, El Paso has welcomed Mexican migrants into the city in time of economic progress, but has rejected them during hard times. As a result of this pattern, El Paso's Mexican Americans decreased numerically during the Great Depression of the 1930s, when thousands were pressured into returning to Mexico "voluntarily" or forcibly.¹¹ After 1940, the local Mexican American population entered a period of steady growth, and by 1978, Chicanos constituted about 62 percent of the 400,000 residents of El Paso (Table 1).

Since 1900, Mexicans from south of the border, as well as Anglos from all over the United States, have been attracted to El Paso by the economic development which the area has experienced. The often cited four C's (cattle, copper, cotton, and climate) provided an early and continuing impetus for growth. Seldom mentioned is a fifth C (Chicanos) whose low cost labor has been a strong factor in luring employers to the region. Major local industries that have evolved over the decades include ore smelting, oil refining, and leather and clothing manufacturing. Production and distribution of natural gas, cement, and lumber have also been important. Wholesale and retail trade have flourished due to the city's large hinterland, which extends far into Mexico. Large financial institutions have developed to meet local as well as regional needs. El Paso continues to be a major railway and trucking terminal, and related secondary industries have evolved from them. Heavy federal investments in the form of military installations and border related agencies (e.g., Customs, Immigration Service) have also spurred local growth. Finally, both the Old West frontier heritage

and Juárez across the Rio Grande have made El Paso a major tourist attraction.¹²

El Pasoans are proud of their achievements, and they often speak of their town as "the best-kept secret in America." Politicians and other civic leaders seldom miss an opportunity to extol the Indian, Spanish, and Mexican heritage, frequently using Spanish phrases to stress the point. Invariably, comments are made concerning the local "bicultural" and "bilingual" tradition, and the "amiable" relations between Anglos and Mexican Americans. Many local residents feel that persons of Mexican extraction have lived a happy existence in this desert oasis, and that, unlike other cities, El Paso has provided equal opportunity for all its citizens. The section that follows provides empirical data which should shed light on the degree and rate of local Chicano progress historically. Following that presentation, several factors will be examined to help explain the statistical record.

II. *Measuring Chicano Progress*

Various approaches can be used in studying the social position of any segment within a community. For El Paso's Chicanos, a variety of statistical, documentary, and oral data reflecting economic, political, educational, and social characteristics is presented here to assess the standing of this ethnic group in relation to the Anglo population. As the record of the Chicanos' place and participation in local institutions is reviewed, one should note to what extent Chicano representation corresponds to the group's long-standing numerical supremacy in the city.

The assessment begins with a look at the Chicanos' economic status. Table 2 summarizes the employment structure of the Chicano and Anglo communities of El Paso between 1910 and 1970. The data indicate a protracted concentration of Chicano workers in low skill (and low paying) jobs throughout the period, while the opposite is true for the non-Spanish surnamed labor force. Mobility among Chicanos has been limited and slow, with most gains coming after 1940, principally at the low white-collar, semi-skilled, and service levels. Entry of Spanish surnamed individuals into high white-collar positions has been extremely restricted, with only 3.4 percent falling under this designation as late as 1960, and a slightly improved 6.3 percent by 1970. By contrast, the Anglo labor force has experienced considerably greater expansion at the top since 1910.

The recent modest increase of Spanish surnames in high white-collar jobs indicates that there are more Chicano bureaucrats, managers,

TABLE 2

Occupational Distribution of the El Paso Labor Forces, by Surname, 1910-1970 (percent)

	1910		1920		1930		1940		1950		1960		1970	
	S.S.*	Non†	S.S.	Non	S.S.	Non	S.S.	Non	S.S.	Non	S.S.	Non	S.S.	Non
High White-Collar	1.6	17.0	3.8	29.0	1.8	25.9	1.8	18.4	1.8	17.8	3.4	21.7	6.3	27.4
Low White-Collar	11.2	47.2	18.5	41.5	17.6	44.9	18.4	47.2	26.4	49.4	28.6	50.4	29.2	50.6
Skilled Blue-Collar	12.8	15.6	10.5	12.5	13.1	11.2	12.6	9.6	11.2	12.4	12.2	8.1	7.4	3.6
Semi-skilled and Service Workers	17.0	16.0	21.0	16.9	19.7	16.3	25.8	22.0	33.2	15.6	27.6	13.2	33.7	17.3
Unskilled Laborers and Menial Service Workers	57.4	4.2	46.2	3.1	47.9	1.8	41.4	2.8	27.4	4.8	28.2	6.5	23.5	1.2

*Spanish Surname.

†Non-Spanish Surname.

Source: Random samples of 500 Spanish Surname and 500 non-Spanish Surname persons for each year covered, taken from the *El Paso City Directories*, 1910-1970. Occupational categories are patterned after Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), Appendix B, 290-292. Reprinted from Oscar J. Martínez, *Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juárez since 1848* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), Appendix Table 6.

businessmen, and professionals in the 1970s. Nevertheless, proportionally these individuals still lag far behind their Anglo counterparts, and Chicanos are largely absent from influential and policy-making positions in El Paso. Several examples can be given to illustrate this observation. In a fascinating and revealing series of articles on the local power structure published in December, 1978, Paul Sweeney and Carey Gelernter of *The El Paso Times* found that not a single Mexican American made the top twenty-five economic "elites" that ran the city.¹³ Among 51 executives of six large corporations in El Paso in 1976, only one had a Spanish surname; no other Mexican American had served in such a capacity previously (Table 3). Spanish surnamed lawyers have been totally absent from six important law firms in the city (Table 4). Only one Mexican American appears in the long list of presidents of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce, and he assumed office in 1979. Moreover, few Mexican Americans have served in leadership positions in the organization (Table 5). In the Southwest Sun Carnival Association (an organization which plans and directs the annual Sun Carnival Parade and the nationally televised Sun Bowl Game), run largely by prominent merchants, no Mexican American has ever been president, nor did a single Spanish surnamed individual serve on the executive committee of that body between 1934 and 1978 (Table 6).¹⁴ The absence of Mexican Americans from the economic elite of El Paso is also reflected in the residential patterns in the city's affluent neighborhoods. In 1975, an average of just 3 percent of the heads of households of four selected exclusive neighborhoods had Spanish surnames, while in areas classified as having "high incomes," only slightly over twelve percent of the heads of households had Spanish surnames (Table 7).

Since economic standing figures so prominently in a group's general status and participation in community affairs, it follows that the unfavorable employment and residential patterns among Chicanos have negatively affected their political position. The extremely low level of Chicano participation in local politics prior to the 1960s is readily seen in Tables 8-10. The fact that various Mexican Americans served as County Judges for El Paso County before the 1880s, but none since, illustrates the transfer of political power to the Anglo newcomers, whose numbers swelled after the railroads reached the area (Table 8). Chicanos were able to retain some influence at the county level, however, as Spanish surnamed individuals continued to represent precincts with heavy Chicano populations in the County Commissioners Court into the twentieth century.¹⁵ Even so, in El Paso, the seat of power in the area, Chicanos were effectively excluded from the

TABLE 3

Officials of six Large Corporations,
by Surname, El Paso, 1935-1976*

Year	Total†	Spanish Surname
1935	22	0
1940	30	0
1945	27	0
1950	30	0
1955	38	0
1960	49	0
1965	47	0
1970	45	0
1976	51	1

*Darbeyshire Steel, El Paso Electric Co., El Paso Natural Gas Co., Mountain Bell Telephone Co., Standard Oil Co. of Texas, Peyton Packing Co.

†Total management personnel listed in the source. Not all names of all officials are listed for all years, which accounts for differences in the totals over the years.

Source: *El Paso City Directories* for the years indicated. Data collected by Jeri Martínez.

TABLE 4

*Lawyers, Partners, and Associates of Six Large Law Firms,
by Surname, El Paso, 1950-1976*

Year	All Lawyers			Partners and Associates of Six Large Law Firms*		
	Total	Spanish Surname	% Spanish Surname	Total	Spanish Surname	% Spanish Surname
1950	110	7	6.4	28	0	0
1955	111	11	9.9	31	0	0
1960	128	11	8.6	42	0	0
1965	184	19	10.3	46	0	0
1970	206	22	10.7	51	0	0
1976	266	34	12.8	74	0	0

*Grambling, Mounce, Deffebach, Sims, Hardie and Galatzan; Kemp, Smith, White, Duncan and Hammond; Scott, Hulse, Marshall and Feuille; Edwards, Belk, Hunter and Kerr; Peticolas, Luscombe, Stephens and Windle; Potash and Bernat, Inc.

Source: *El Paso City Directories* for years indicated. Data collected by Jeri Martínez.

TABLE 5

*Mexican American Participation in Leadership Roles,
El Paso Chamber of Commerce, 1965-1979*

Year	Officers		Directors		Committee Chairpersons	
	Number	Spanish Surname	Number	Spanish Surname	Number	Spanish Surname
1965	6	1	19	1	15	0
1966	7	1	16	1	16	0
1967-68	8	0	16	2	42	3
1968-69	8	0	16	2	18	1
1969-70	8	1	15	2	28	1
1970-71	8	0	18	0	28	2
1971-72	8	0	20	1	27	2
1972-73	9	0	19	1	—	—
1973-74	9	0	32	2	25	1
1974-75	9	0	30	3	26	0
1975-76	10	1	29	2	23	1
1976-77	8	1	31	4	21	1
1977-78	9	1	32	3	26	1
1978-79	9	1*	32	5	29	2

*Arnold B. Peinado Jr. became President in 1979, the first time the Chamber of Commerce has had a Mexican American heading the organization.

— not available.

Source: El Paso Chamber of Commerce, Membership Directory and Buyers' Guide, 1965-1979.

TABLE 6

*Mexican American Participation in Leadership and
Support Roles in the Sun Carnival Association, 1934-1978*

Year	Executive Committee*		Directors	
	Total	Spanish Surname	Total	Spanish Surname
1934	—	—	—	—
1935	—	—	—	—
1936	26	0	—	—
1937	37	0	—	—
1938	37	1†	—	—
1939	39	1†	—	—
1940	36	0	—	—
1941	40	0	—	—
1942	—	—	—	—
1943	—	—	—	—
1944	—	—	—	—
1945	32	0	—	—
1946	7	0	28	0
1947	5	0	36	0
1948	11	0	39	0
1949	11	0	52	0
1950	15	0	56	1
1951	15	0	54	1
1952	13	0	59	0
1953	13	0	16	0
1954	13	0	64	0
1955	13	0	63	0
1956	14	0	61	1
1957	14	0	62	1
1958	13	0	62	1
1959	13	0	62	1
1960	14	0	62	0
1961	15	0	70	0
1962	18	0	74	0
1963	17	0	34	0
1964	18	0	41	1
1965	17	0	35	3
1966	16	0	31	2
1967	17	0	40	3
1968	16	0	36	3
1969	17	0	48	4
1970	4	0	40	0
1971	5	0	42	3
1972	4	0	46	1
1973	4	0	—	—
1974	3	0	46	3
1975	5	0	—	—
1976	5	0	32	0
1977	5	0	—	—
1978	5	0	—	—

*No Mexican American has ever served as President. 1936-1945: Officers and Directors listed together.

†Held minor post.

— not available

Source: Southwestern Sun Carnival (annual program), 1935-1978; data from Rhonda Hartman, "Mexican American Participation in the Southwestern Sun Carnival" (Term Paper, 1975), p. 9.

TABLE 7

*Residential Patterns in the Best Neighborhoods,
by Surname, El Paso, 1965-1975*

		1965		1975	
		Heads of Households*		Heads of Households	
		% Non S.S.	% S.S.	% Non S.S.	% S.S.
Selected Exclusive Neighborhoods					
Stonehedge Estates		—	—	96.2	3.8
El Paso Country Club Area		—	—	94.6	5.4
Coronado Country Club Estates		—	—	97.2	2.8
Rim Road		—	—	100.0	0.0
				Mean 97.0	Mean 3.0
High Income Neighborhoods†					
Census Tract	Area				
1.01	Northeast	#	#	94.1	5.9
4.00	Northeast	94.5	5.5	Divided	
4.01	Northeast	#	#	94.6	5.4
11.00	Northwest	93.1	6.9	Divided	
11.01	Northwest	#	#	88.7	11.3
11.02	Northwest	#	#	92.1	7.9
13.00	Northwest	92.7	7.3	85.9	14.1
15.00	Central	91.9	8.1	86.9	13.1
25.00	Central	62.9	27.1	Drop in Status	
33.00	Central	76.5	23.5	Drop in Status	
34.00	Central	87.0	13.0	Divided	
34.02	Southeast	#	#	86.0	14.0
43.00	Southeast	92.1	6.9	Divided	
43.01	Southeast	#	#	82.4	17.6
43.02	Southeast	#	#	83.9	16.1
43.03	Southeast	#	#	84.8	15.3
		Mean 86.3	Mean 12.3	Mean 87.9	Mean 12.1
Medium High Income Neighborhoods					
Census Tract	Area				
1.00	Northeast	94.0	6.0	Divided	
1.02	Northeast	#	#	85.7	14.3
1.03	Northeast	#	#	86.7	13.3
2.00	Northeast	94.8	5.2	Divided	
2.01	Northeast	#	#	84.5	15.5
2.02	Northeast	#	#	88.9	11.1
7.00	Central	—	—	89.6	10.4
9.00	Central	79.8	21.2	63.8	36.3
10.00	Central	87.9	22.1	Drop in Status	
24.00	Central	77.1	22.9	Drop in Status	
31.00	Central	76.1	23.9	32.5	67.5
33.00	Central	See above		63.2	36.8
34.01	Central	#	#	61.8	38.2
41.00	Southeast	33.0	67.0	Divided	
41.01	Southeast	#	#	45.8	54.2
41.02	Southeast	#	#	48.5	51.5
		Mean 77.5	Mean 24.0	Mean 68.3	Mean 31.7
*S S - Spanish Surname					

*S.S. - Spanish Surname.

†Includes the "selected exclusive neighborhoods."

#Included with "mother tract" before division. For example, tract 1.01 was part of tract 1.00 in 1965.

— Not available.

Source: *Cole's Directory of El Paso*, 1965, 1975. Data collected by José P. Arce.

system for decades. Until the election of Ray Salazar in 1977, only one other Spanish surnamed person (Raymond Telles) had served as mayor since the incorporation of El Paso as a city in 1873 (Table 8). Between 1881 and 1951, Chicanos had no representation on the El Paso City Council; it has been only since 1971 that two persons of Mexican descent have had seats on the council during every administration (Table 9). With respect to the Board of Trustees of the El Paso Independent School District, no Mexican Americans were members between 1922-1945, and that body has not had more than two Spanish surnamed representatives, except for a brief period in 1977-1978, when there were three (Table 8-10).

In recent years, El Paso's Chicanos have achieved greater political representation, as revealed in Tables 11-13. At the county level, Mexican American officials have increased significantly since the early 1960s, holding slightly over 40 percent of the elected offices by 1976, including two positions in the Commissioners Court (Table 11). A similar trend can be seen in the officialdom of the city of El Paso (Table 12). In the lower house of the Texas Legislature, with the exception of the 58th and 63rd legislatures, at least one Spanish surnamed person has represented El Paso regularly since 1959. Significantly, between 1967 and 1970, three of the five state representatives were Mexican Americans and, since 1973, a Mexican American has served as the state senator from El Paso (Table 13). It is important to add that in the future at least some Chicano representation in Austin is assured because of the creation of single member state representative districts in El Paso, following the passage of a redistricting bill by the Texas Legislature in May, 1975.

As with politics, in the field of education, data reveal long-standing Chicano underrepresentation, although recently some gains have been recorded. Before 1960, not a single director or head of a division in the El Paso public schools had been a Mexican American; as late as 1973, only fifteen percent of such personnel had Spanish surnames (Table 14). For decades the schools had few Mexican American teachers. As recently as 1963-1964, only 15 percent of all the teachers had Spanish surnames, although by 1977-1978 this figure had increased to almost 34 percent (Table 15). The University of Texas at El Paso continues to have an extremely low representation of Chicanos in faculty and administrative positions. As of the 1977-1978 academic year, only 8.4 percent of those occupying such posts had Spanish surnames (Table 16).¹⁶

Data on intermarriage provide other indications of the position of Chicanos in El Paso's society. According to the authors of the most

comprehensive national study to date on Mexican Americans, "the pattern of ingroup and outgroup marriages is perhaps the most crucial indicator of the degree of social distance between an ethnic minority and the majority population."¹⁷ The statistics presented in Table 17 show that El Paso's level of Chicano intermarriage with Anglos historically has been low, although in recent decades a significant increase in exogamous marriages has been recorded. The data for El Paso is in line with general patterns observable in other Southwestern cities.¹⁸ Thus, although a growing number of El Paso's contemporary Chicano youth associates more closely with the Anglo community, the effects of exogamy beyond the realm of social relations is difficult to determine.

Further evidence of the great distance that separates the Mexican American and Anglo communities in El Paso County is provided by the 1970 U.S. Census, which reveals that the median income for non-Spanish surnamed families at that time was \$9,000, while for Spanish surnamed families it was \$6,500; the median years of schooling for non-Spanish surnamed adults was 13, while for Spanish surnamed it was 9; the percentage of non-Spanish surnamed adults graduating from high school was 73 percent, while for those of Spanish surnames it was 32 percent.¹⁹

III. *Explaining Underachievement*

Any explanation of the extremely slow progress of El Paso's Chicanos must begin with the border location of this city. El Paso has always been a principal port of entry for millions of Mexican immigrants. Over the decades, tens of thousands of these migrants have settled here either temporarily or permanently, thus providing a constant infusion into the city's population of predominantly under-educated, low skill, non-English speaking people with "culture of poverty" characteristics. These immigrants naturally have acted as a constant depressant with regard to the working and living conditions of the total Chicano community. Even so, it is important to note that since the late 1930s, United States born persons have predominated in the total El Paso Chicano population, and the native group has grown from 63 percent in 1940 to 80 percent in 1970 (Table 1). Thus, placing blame on the constant stream of immigrants may be justified to a significant degree in the first two generations (1870s to 1930s), but that argument begins to lose force for recent decades.

A second effect of the border location has been the pressure emanating from the reservoirs of cheap labor immediately across the

TABLE 8

*Mayors and County Judges,
City of El Paso and El Paso County, since 1850*

Mayors, City of El Paso		County Judges, El Paso County	
Ben L. Dowell	1873-75	C. A. Hoppins	1850
Melton A. Jones	1875-80	A. C. Hyde	1850-52
Solomon Schultz	1880-81	Simeon Hart	1852-54
Joseph Magoffin	1881-85	A. C. Hyde	1854-56
R. C. Lightbody	1885-89	Henry L. Dexter	1856-58
Richard Caples	1889-93	John L. McCarty	1858-60
W. H. Austin	1893-94	Henry Gillett	1860-66
Adolph Solomon	1894	Albert H. French	1866-70
A. K. Albers	1894	Máximo Aranda	1870-72
Robert F. Johnson	1894-95	Telesforo Montes	1872-74
Robert Campbell	1895-97	José M. Gonzáles	1874-76
Joseph Magoffin	1897-1901	Joseph Magoffin	1876-77
Ben F. Hammett	1901-03	G. M. García	1877-78
C. R. Morehead	1903-05	J. B. Leahy	1878-79
Charles Davis, Sr.	1905-07	José M. Gonzáles	1879-80
J. U. Sweeney	1907-10	Baptiste Mariany	1880
W. F. Robinson	1910	H. C. Cook	1880
C. E. Kelly	1910-15	José Baca	1880-82
Tom Lea	1915-17	E. J. Orn	1882
Charles Davis	1917-23	Marsh Rogers	1882-86
R. M. Dudley	1923-25	W. M. Chandler	1886-88
H. P. Jackson	1925-27	J. E. Townsend	1888-90
R. E. Thomason	1927-31	Allen I. Blacker	1890-92
A. B. Poe	1931	F. E. Hunter	1892-96
R. E. Sherman	1931-37	James R. Harper	1896-1902
M. A. Harlan	1937-39	Joseph Sweeney	1902-08
J. E. Anderson	1939-47	A. S. J. Eylar	1908-14
Dan R. Ponder	1947-49	Adrian Pool	1914-16
C. L. P. Duke	1949-51	E. B. McClintock	1916-32
Fred Hervey	1951-55	Joseph McGill	1932-42
W. T. Misenheimer	1955	M. Scarborough	1942-46
Tom E. Rogers	1955-57	Victor M. Gilbert	1946-52
R. L. Telles, Jr.	1957-61	H. McGovern, Jr.	1952-58
Ralph Seitsinger	1961-63	W. W. Bean	1958-62
J. F. Williams	1963-69	C. R. Schulte	1962
Peter De Wetter	1969-71	Glenn Woodard	1962-65
Bert Williams	1971-73	Travis Johnson	1965-66
Fred Hervey	1973-75	Colbert Coldwell	1966-70
Don Henderson	1975-77	Udell Moore	1971-
Ray Salazar	1977-79		
Tom Westfall	1979-		

Source: El Paso City and El Paso County government offices; Conrey Bryson, *The Land Where We Live* (El Paso: 1973), 62-63.

TABLE 9

*Spanish Surname Members of the El Paso City Council
since 1873**

Years	Total Members	Spanish Surname Members	Years	Total Members	Spanish Surname Members
1873-1875	6	0	1927-1929	†6	0
1875-1880	6	3	1929-1931	†6	0
1880-1881	6	1	1931-1933	4	0
1881-1883	6	0	1933-1935	4	0
1883-1885	6	0	1935-1937	4	0
1885-1887	6	0	1937-1939	4	0
1887-1889	8	0	1939-1941	4	0
1891-1893	†5	0	1941-1943	†6	0
1893-1894	†5	0	1943-1945	†5	0
1894-1895	4	0	1945-1947	4	0
1895-1897	†5	0	1947-1949	4	0
1897-1899	4	0	1949-1952	4	0
1899-1901	4	0	1951-1953	4	1
1901-1903	8	0	1953-1955	4	1
1903-1905	8	0	1955-1957	4	1
1905-1907	8	0	1957-1961	4	0
1907-1909	4	0	1961-1963	4	0
1909-1911	†5	0	1963-1965	4	1
1911-1913	4	0	1965-1967	4	1
1913-1915	4	0	1967-1969	4	1
1915-1917	4	0	1969-1971	4	1
1917-1919	†5	0	1971-1973	4	2
1919-1921	4	0	1973-1975	4	2
1921-1923	†5	0	1975-1977	4	2
1923-1925	4	0	1977-1979	6	1
1925-1927	†5	0	1979-	6	2

*Figures do not include mayors. †Includes individuals selected to fill out unexpired terms of members who left office.

Source: El Paso city government offices.

TABLE 10

*Spanish Surname Members of the Board of Trustees,
El Paso Independent School District, 1900-1978**

Year	Total Members	Spanish Surname Members	Year	Total Members	Spanish Surname Members
1900	7	1	1940	7	0
1901	7	0	1940	7	0
1902	7	0	1941	7	0
1903	7	0	1942	7	0
1904	7	0	1943	7	0
1905	7	0	1944	7	0
1906	7	0	1945	7	0
1907	7	0	1946	7	1
1908	7	0	1947	7	1
1909	7	0	1948	7	1
1910	7	0	1949	7	1
1911	7	0	1950	7	1
1912	7	1	1951	7	1
1913	7	0	1952	7	1
1914	7	1	1953	7	1
1915	7	0	1954	7	1
1916	7	0	1955	7	1
1917	7	0	1956	7	1
1918	7	0	1957	7	1
1919	7	1	1958	7	1
1920	7	1	1959	7	1
1921	7	1	1960	7	1
1922	7	0	1961	7	1
1923	7	0	1962	7	1
1924	7	0	1963	7	1
1925	7	0	1964	7	1
1926	7	0	1965	7	1
1927	7	0	1966	7	1
1928	7	0	1967	7	1
1929	7	0	1968	7	2
1930	7	0	1969	7	2
1931	7	0	1970	7	2
1932	7	0	1971	7	2
1933	7	0	1972	7	2
1934	7	0	1973	7	2
1935	7	0	1974	7	2
1936	7	0	1975	7	2
1937	7	0	1976	8	2
1938	7	0	1977	9	3
1939	7	0	1978	8	2

*Figures for 1976-1978 include individuals who were selected to fill out unexpired terms of members who left office.

Source: El Paso City School Reports. Most of the data compiled by Samuel Torres.

TABLE 11

*Government Officials, by Surname,
County of El Paso, 1950-1976*

Year	Elected Officials			Appointed Officials		
	Total	Spanish Surname	% Spanish Surname	Total	Spanish Surname	% Spanish Surname
1950	21	1	4.8	7	0	0.0
1955	19	1	5.3	7	2	28.6
1960	22	0	0.0	7	2	28.6
1965	22	4	18.2	7	1	14.3
1970	28	9	32.1	7	2	28.6
1975	26	9	34.6	7	1	14.3
1976	37	15	40.5	11	3	27.3

Note: Source does not list names of all office holders for all years which accounts for differences in the "total" columns over the years.

Source: *El Paso City Directories*, 1950-1976. Data collected by Jeri Martínez.

TABLE 12

*Government Officials, by Surname
City of El Paso, 1945-1976*

Year	Elected Officials			Appointed Officials			Civil Service		
	Total	S.S.	% S.S.	Total	S.S.	% S.S.	Total	S.S.	% S.S.
1945	7	0	0.0	3	0	0.0	12	0	0.0
1950	7	0	0.0	3	0	0.0	16	0	0.0
1955	7	1	14.3	3	0	0.0	12	0	0.0
1960	8	1	12.5	3	0	0.0	16	1	6.3
1965	8	1	12.5	4	0	0.0	16	1	6.3
1970	9	2	22.2	4	0	0.0	16	1	6.3
1975	8	4	50.0	5	1	20.0	12	1	8.3
1976	9	3	33.3	5	1	20.0	17	4	23.5

Source: *El Paso City Directories*, 1945-1976. Data collected by Jeri Martínez.

TABLE 13

*Representatives from El Paso by Surname,
Texas State Legislature, since 1945*

Legislature	House		Senate	
	Total	Spanish Surname	Total	Spanish Surname
49th (1945-1946)	2	0	1	0
50th (1947-1948)	2	0	1	0
51st (1949-1950)	2	0	1	0
52nd (1951-1952)	2	0	1	0
53rd (1953-1954)	4	0	1	0
54th (1955-1956)	4	0	1	0
55th (1957-1958)	4	0	1	0
56th (1959-1960)	4	1	1	0
57th (1961-1962)	4	1	1	0
58th (1963-1964)	5	0	1	0
59th (1965-1966)	5	1	1	0
60th (1967-1968)	5	3	1	0
61st (1969-1970)	5	3	1	0
62nd (1971-1972)	5	2	1	0
63rd (1973-1974)	5	0	1	1
64th (1975-1976)	5	1	1	1
65th (1977-1978)	5	2	1	1
66th (1978-1979)	5	2	1	1

Source: *Texas Almanacs*, 1945-1979.

TABLE 14

*Directors and Heads of Divisions and Departments,
Total and Mexican Americans, El Paso Public Schools,
1947-1978**

Year	Total	Mexican Americans	% Mexican Americans
1947	9	0	0
1948	11	0	0
1949	12	0	0
1950	13	0	0
1951	17	0	0
1952	16	0	0
1953	12	0	0
1954	18	0	0
1955	20	0	0
1956	21	0	0
1957	21	0	0
1958	19	0	0
1959	18	0	0
1960	24	2	8.3
1961	—	—	—
1962	25	2	8.0
1963	—	—	—
1964	29	2	6.9
1965	33	2	6.1
1966	39	3	7.7
1967	39	3	7.7
1968	38	4	10.5
1969	—	—	—
1970	40	3	7.5
1971	41	4	9.8
1972	49	4	8.2
1973	52	8	15.4
1974-1977	—	—	—
1978	44	13	29.5

*Data for 1947-1973 based on job classifications; figures for 1978 based on pay grades 15 to 17.

— Not available.

Source: 1947-1973: Directory of El Paso Public Schools; David Alvarado, et. al., Plaintiffs, vs. El Paso Independent School Districts, et. al., Defendants, School Desegregation Suit, EP-70-CA-279, U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas, El Paso Division (1975). Plaintiffs' Exhibit 151F. 1978: Personnel Office, El Paso Public Schools.

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the
United States of America and to the
Republic it stands. One nation
under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice
for all.



A. Piña

TABLE 15

*Elementary and High School Teachers,
Total and Mexican Americans, El Paso Public Schools,
1921-1978*

Year	Total	Mexican Americans	% Mexican Americans
1921-1922	514	3	.6
1925-1926	501	1	.2
1930-1931	769	12	1.6
1935-1936	585	7	1.2
1941-1942	603	17	2.8
1945-1946	592	18	3.0
1949-1950	777	38	4.9
1950-1951	892	57	6.4
1952-1953	876	71	8.1
1954-1955	1,054	116	11.0
1955-1956	1,351	135	10.0
1957-1958	1,413	168	11.9
1958-1959	1,487	215	14.5
1959-1960	1,722	228	13.2
1960-1961	1,842	255	13.8
1961-1962	2,012	302	15.0
1962-1963	2,128	318	14.9
1963-1964	2,258	338	15.0
1964-1965	2,360	399	16.9
1970-1971	2,545	507	19.9
1974-1975	2,640	734	27.8
1977-1978	3,037	1,026	33.8

Source: 1921-1975: David Alvarado, et. al., Plaintiffs, vs. El Paso Independent School District, et. al., Defendants, School Desegregation Suit, EP-70-CA-279, U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas, El Paso Division (1975). Plaintiffs' Exhibits 3, 151J, 151R. 1977-1978: Personnel Office, El Paso Public Schools.

TABLE 16

*Faculty and Administrators, by Surname,
The University of Texas at El Paso, 1914-1978*

	Total	Spanish Surname	% Spanish Surname
1914-1915	12	0	0.0
1919-1920	25	0	0.0
1924-1925	20	0	0.0
1929-1930	54	1	1.9
1934-1935	67	0	0.0
1939-1940	86	1	1.2
1944-1945	108	3	2.8
1949-1950	209	3	1.4
1954-1955	199	6	3.0
1959-1960	190	4	2.1
1964-1965	294	15	5.1
1965-1966	351	12	3.4
1966-1967	351	14	4.0
1968-1969	390	16	4.1
1969-1970	414	16	3.9
1970-1971	419	20	4.8
1971-1972	467	23	4.9
1972-1973	491	36	7.3
1973-1974	473	38	8.0
1975-1976	448	38	8.5
1977-1978	467	39	8.4

Source: The University of Texas at El Paso *Catalogues*. Most of the data was collected by Daniel Mendoza.

TABLE 17

*Spanish Surnamed Individuals Involved in Exogamous
Marriages, El Paso County, 1880-1970 (%)*

Year	All Individuals (%)	Females (%)	Males (%)
1880-1881	12	6	1
1890	13	11	3
1910	9	6	3
1920	8	6	2
1930	9	7	3
1940	16	11	6
1950	14	9	6
1960	19	13	8
1970	24	18	8

Source: El Paso County Marriage Records. Data supplied by María E. Ruiz and Rudolph O. de la Garza.

Rio Grande in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. Historically, El Paso employers have hired great numbers of "Green Card" commuters (legally admitted aliens who prefer to live on Mexican soil because of the cheaper cost of living there), and undocumented aliens who have been willing to accept substandard wages and working conditions. This competition has hurt Chicano efforts to improve their employment and living status. One result of the unfavorable labor conditions across the river has been Chicano migration from El Paso to the interior of the United States.²⁰ Migration patterns suggest a constant drain of lower-class and even some middle-class elements whose expectations spur them to search for better opportunities elsewhere.

Another explanation for the local Chicanos' lack of progress still given by many persons, and once shared by some social scientists, is the notion that "group deficiencies" account for the marginality of Mexican Americans. This interpretation holds that certain traits in the Mexican culture or makeup have made Chicanos responsible for their own situation. Value orientations such as traditionalism, conservatism, non-ambitiousness, personalism, fatalism, individualism, factionalism, complacency, emotionalism, docility, and *machismo* are said to form part of the Mexican world view, and their effect has been to impede progress. Recent research has found that such behavior is indeed present to varying degrees among *some* elements of the Mexican American community, just as it exists among *some* elements of many other racial, ethnic, or national groups. The problem, however, is not racial or cultural in nature, but rather emanates from social class standing. Other groups living under socio-economic circumstances similar to those of Chicanos have been found to exhibit values like the above.²¹ Traditional or pre-modern attitudes have no doubt existed among some Mexican Americans in El Paso, but their extent and impact on the group are impossible to determine. What is clear, however, is that in the past, too much emphasis have been placed on internal "handicaps," and little attention has been given to external forces that have contributed to Chicano underdevelopment. Further, it is seldom recognized that barriers constructed by the dominant society have in themselves aided in the shaping and reinforcing of "negative" cultural values among the lower sectors of the Chicano community.

In his study of Boston, Stephan Thernstrom assigns the least importance to cultural values in explaining historical differences in occupational achievement between blacks and whites. Rather, "active" and "structural" discrimination head his list of factors that help explain the traditional low position of blacks in relation to whites.²² To Thernstrom, "active discrimination" means the practice of denying equal op-

portunity to individuals simply on the basis of race, ethnicity, sex, or religion, while "structural discrimination" denotes "features of the labor market that, without deliberate prejudicial intent on the part of the employers, serve nonetheless to restrict the opportunities open to members of certain groups."²³ Thernstrom concludes that the lack of progress among Boston's blacks is primarily due to external barriers and "peculiarities in white culture," rather than internal weaknesses in black culture.²⁴ As in the case of Boston's blacks, El Paso's Chicanos have faced serious external barriers to social and economic mobility. In his study of Chicano workers in El Paso between 1900 and 1920, historian Mario T. García documents the racial dualism that existed in the city at that time. He concludes that occupational and wage discrimination, housing and school segregation, limited educational opportunities, and labor union policies which created divisions between Chicano and Anglo workers were important factors in the isolation of Mexican Americans as a source of inexpensive labor.²⁵

García relates how the local business and industrial establishment used all-too-familiar techniques and rationalizations to keep Chicanos "in their place." For example, many employers justified wage differentials between female Anglo and Chicana workers on the contention that Chicanas, who received less pay for the same work, were less efficient and their cost of living was cheaper.²⁶ In 1919, F. B. Fletcher, representing several local laundries, testified before the Texas Industrial Welfare Commission that employers were "confronted with the deep seated differences in temperament existing between the Anglo-Saxon and mixed Latin races, the differences between the progressiveness, initiativeness, and energy of the former and the backwardness of the Mexican."²⁷ Another witness, R. C. Taylor, professor of economics at the School of Mines (today The University of Texas at El Paso), stated his belief that Mexicans had the capacity for improvement, "but to attain the general efficiency of the Americans they might develop it in 300 or 400 years."²⁸ Lee Newman, an "expert" on the conditions of Mexicans in El Paso, remarked that lower wages were justified because members of this group "can live 75 percent cheaper than Americans and their staple food, even among the highest class and the rich, is beans and tortillas. They seem happy and picture shows are their delight. I think as they never had any better conditions they are content."²⁹

Oral history interviews with Chicanos who were active in the El Paso labor force in the first half of the twentieth century indicate that discrimination in employment remained a part of the local setting for decades. Charles V. Porras, a timekeeper for the city during the 1920s,

recalls that few Mexicans held jobs comparable to his in the municipality. "They just didn't make them available to us. Policemen were few and far between, too. And they were all just buck privates—patrolmen. We had, of course, truck drivers and we had laborers, but the white-collar jobs, no."³⁰ Ramona González remembers that Mexicans customarily received less pay than Anglos for doing the same (and often, more) work in clerical and sales jobs. She recalled one instance during the 1920s when she was paid \$5 a week less than an Anglo female employee whom she had trained as a bookkeeper, and whose work, according to Mrs. González, was less satisfactory than hers. What made it worse was that the Anglo woman had no formal training in the field, while she did, added Mrs. González.³¹

The late Cleofas Calleros, a veteran social worker, local historian, and community activist, recalled the general absence of Mexicans in skilled and clerical positions in the railroads in the late 1910s and 1920s. Referring to more recent years, Calleros' impression was that many employers continued to treat Mexican Americans differently from Anglos, while certain firms excluded the former altogether.

What was the use of a Mexican going to high school when he couldn't get a decent job? Take a girl who graduated. She went to work for _____ for \$15 a week, and she could speak English and Spanish and wait on customers in two languages. Then you have on the same counter an Anglo girl, also a high school graduate. She would be placed in charge of that Mexican girl at the counter, and her pay would be \$20 or \$25 per week. And she could not wait on Mexican customers because she didn't know Spanish. There were no Mexican men or women working in the banks, none in the Electric Company, the Gas Company, the Water Company.... Insurance offices never hired Mexicans.... [These practices] ended when President John F. Kennedy put in the Civil Rights Act.³²

In addition to disparate opportunities in employment, El Paso's Mexican Americans have endured the effects of separation and inequality in the all-important field of education since the establishment of local public schools. In a historic decision, U.S. District Judge William S. Sessions ruled on December 23, 1976, that the El Paso Independent School District was guilty of maintaining and fostering a dual school system, and ordered the creation of a desegregation plan and implementation of other remedies to eliminate long-standing discrimination against Mexican Americans.³³ Data from the files of this case follow to illustrate the experience of Chicanos in the local schools. When the first public school opened in 1885, only 4 percent of those attending had Spanish surnames, yet Mexican American youth con-

stituted 35 percent of the school-age children between the ages of 6 and 18 years. Moved by the need to provide educational facilities for Mexican American children, Olivis V. Aoy, in 1887, founded a private school at his own expense. Five years transpired before the school district incorporated this new institution under the designation "The Mexican Preparatory School." By 1899, school officials had organized another "Mexican School," Alamo Elementary, to relieve the overcrowding at Aoy. At the turn of the century, El Paso had separate schools not only for Mexican Americans and Anglos, but also for Blacks (a small minority in the city's population).³⁴ Qualitatively, the schools attended by Blacks and Chicanos lagged far behind those of the Anglos. García documents the isolation of Mexican American students, their overcrowded classrooms, extremely high drop-out rates, and the emphasis on manual and domestic training instead of academic instruction in the Chicano schools. García notes that out of 834 students who graduated from the sole local high school between 1898 and 1920, only twenty-two, or less than 3 percent, had Spanish surnames.³⁵

Dr. Paul S. Taylor, a retired professor of economics at the University of California at Berkeley, well known for his extensive works on Mexican Americans during the 1920s, recalls that segregation in the schools in El Paso County at that time was comparable to that found in the Texas Lower Rio Grande Valley, a region noted for its anti-Mexican sentiment. Racial prejudice in El Paso constituted "a substantial part of the reasoning given me for the segregation," remarks Dr. Taylor. "[There was] lower attendance among the different racial [minorities], less adequate provision of the school building facilities, transportation of children to and from school, teaching staff, etc."³⁶ Several educators interviewed by Dr. Taylor in the 1920s elaborated on prevailing attitudes toward Mexican American students. "Most of the Mexican children seem to want to study for white-collar jobs when they are not well fitted for them," stated the principal of El Paso's Bell School. "They are all right at learning by rote but not at reasoning."³⁷ The superintendent of schools at nearby Clint, Texas commented:

It would be more economical for the Mexicans to be admitted to the American school building, but the Americans don't want the Mexican children and prefer to maintain a Mexican school. They enter after finishing the third grade. The Americans let them in because they have to. From an educator's standpoint we should educate the Mexicans as citizens. From the farmer's point of view education may spoil labor. We need somebody to do the labor. The reason for wanting the Mexicans separate is race prejudice. Mexicans are regarded as a servant class. We have sixteen in the Mexican primary, fourteen in the second

grade, and ten in the third. The compulsory attendance law is not enforced. No one is interested in enforcing it. If they did it would cost a lot of money to provide schools and equipment. Three years ago the Americans took pride in saying that no Mexicans in the American school had amounted to anything, that is, represented the school. Since then some of them have been on teams, etc.³⁸

The Superintendent of Schools in El Paso, who felt Mexicans "were not intellectually inferior" because he had "seen too many intelligent ones to believe that," told Dr. Taylor that El Pasoans wanted "to separate the Mexicans." "They [Anglos] want the \$15 per capita tax and then don't want the Mexicans to go to school. With seventy-seven Mexican children in one of our districts about \$185 a month is paid for teachers' salaries,[while] \$1,100 a month goes to the teachers at the American School with about fifty-three pupils."³⁹

In later decades, fixed attendance boundaries and the construction of schools in selected sites assured predominantly Anglo or Mexican schools. The creation of Bowie High School (for Chicanos) in 1927 in the southern most part of El Paso, and Austin High School (for Anglos) in 1930 in the northeast, illustrates the point. Students from the two groups were further segregated by feeder patterns which fostered ethnic isolation. In succeeding years, the noncentral location of new high schools and the development of "open zones," where students had the choice of attending one of two schools, served to channel Anglo students to Anglo schools and Chicanos to Chicano schools. The impact of these and other factors is reflected in the ethnic composition of the schools, where in the late 1970s many elementary schools and several high schools had Chicano enrollments of 70 percent or more.⁴⁰ In addition to segregation, Chicano students have endured inferior facilities, underfunding, poor counseling, emphasis on vocational training, irrelevant curriculum, absence of Chicano teachers and administrators, suppression of the Spanish language, a sense of cultural inferiority, biased testing instruments and other practices which explain Chicano underachievement in education.⁴¹

Aside from the obstacles encountered in education and employment, Chicanos have also faced formidable civil barriers that have forestalled their integration into the political system. While lack of research makes it impossible at this time to present a comprehensive list of the mechanisms which historically have been used to thwart Chicano political participation in El Paso, some important points can be raised.⁴² In Texas and other southern states the use of the poll tax as a

other minority voters for decades, until the U.S. Supreme Court declared the practice unconstitutional in 1966. Yet even without a poll tax, contemporary voting registration methods are not simple, convenient, or easy enough to enlist greater participation in poor neighborhoods, where a voting tradition has not been established at the level seen in the middle-class and upper-class sections of the city. Holding registration at only one location (such as the county courthouse) requires Chicanos to make an extra effort, since they often have transportation problems, and frequently feel ill-at-ease in government offices. Further, complex ballots and voting procedures serve to intimidate persons with limited education and other societal skills.

Political scientist Howard D. Neighbor has shown conclusively that at-large elections have diluted the Chicano vote by making it extremely difficult for candidates backed by South El Paso residents to receive support from the dominant Anglo society.⁴³ Prevailing nonpartisan elections prevent Chicanos from organizing effectively since the mobilization forces of the Democratic party, to which most Mexican Americans belong, are not allowed to function. It is significant that nonpartisan elections were introduced in El Paso during the administration of Raymond Telles (1957-1961), the first Mexican American mayor in the city's history. The practice of holding elections on week days also reduces Chicano political participation, since many laborers and blue-collar employees simply cannot leave their jobs to vote during working hours.

While the preceding devices are easily identifiable, other mechanisms operate in more subtle ways, but their impact is equally deleterious. Preconceived biases regarding the preparation and abilities of Mexican Americans have led political elites to exclude Chicanos from consideration for elective offices or for appointment to governmental bodies. A reason often given is that "qualified" individuals from this ethnic group are unavailable. Examples of this mechanism at work are provided by William V. D'Antonio and William H. Form in their study of the role of influentials in decision making in El Paso-Ciudad Juárez. In 1955 the influentials of El Paso "all agreed that the election of a Spanish-name person as mayor was acceptable in principle, and that it should and would happen, but they were not prepared to have it happen in their lifetime."⁴⁴ When a Chicano mayor *was* elected in 1957, a prevailing attitude among Anglo influentials was expressed by the question, "How can we hold our heads up in the state of Texas when we have a Mexican mayor?"⁴⁵ Such notions produce a defensive posture among Mexican American office holders, who feel they must "prove"

themselves to the dominant society. Consequently, they tend to discharge their duties in an excessively cautious and impartial manner, frequently to the detriment of the interests of their own people.

Another important political technique often used against Chicanos is the practice of divide and conquer. Pauline Kibbe has commented upon the use of this device in the Southwest: "When an ambitious and capable Latin American announces for office in opposition to an Anglo incumbent or candidate..., Anglos immediately sponsor the candidacy of another Latin American, preferably a personal enemy of the man who has previously announced and thereby split the Latin American vote and assure the election of the Anglo candidate."⁴⁶ When outright political exclusion has not been possible, tokenism (the practice of selecting a limited number of carefully screened Chicanos for political positions to conform with public opinion) has often been used. Closely related to tokenism is co-optation, which involves the granting of limited status and material benefits to those Mexican Americans deemed "acceptable" to Anglo elites. The chosen individuals, acting as "show-pieces," accommodate themselves to the desires of the dominant society and neglect the needs of their own communities. Writing about an instance where Anglos in El Paso included a Mexican American in a political slate in the 1950s, D'Antonio and Form concluded that "the decision... to nominate José Jimenez [fictitious name] for one of the city council posts was only a token step toward recognizing the potential power of the Spanish-name masses, but it also represented an attempt to co-opt ethnic leadership."⁴⁷

The election of numerous Mexican Americans to local office in recent years (Tables 10-14) indicates that some major barriers in the political system are not as difficult to overcome now as they once were. Yet it should not be assumed that because a Mexican American is elected to office he necessarily represents the interests of Chicanos. In order to get elected to city-wide offices that necessarily involve Anglo support, Spanish surnamed politicians often go out of their way to play down their ethnicity, while emphasizing their identification with the "entire community," which in practical terms means Anglo interests. Political scientist Rudolph O. de la Garza comments that "such candidates serve to legitimize the Chamber of Commerce platitudes about El Paso's bicultural heritage but they contribute little to solving the problems facing the Mexican American community."⁴⁸ Thus, with membership in major bodies like the city council and the school board long based on at-large elections, it has been extremely difficult to elect Chicano leaders who could effectively represent Mexican American interests.⁴⁹

The future does look somewhat brighter, however, as recent pressure for reform has achieved some results. Despite opposition from the Chamber of Commerce and other dominant elites, in 1977 El Pasoans voted to institute single member district representation in city council elections. In 1978, the City Council approved one of three plans submitted by an advisory committee to create six aldermanic districts. From the viewpoint of the Mexican American community, the event itself represents a giant step in the right direction, but the chosen plan (devised by an Anglo and approved by the Anglo-dominated City Council) is unsatisfactory because it fails to guarantee the election of at least three Chicano representatives. Arguing that another plan more favorable to Chicano interests needed to be formulated, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the Mexican American Democrats (MAD), and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) forwarded protests to the U.S. Department of Justice, but the proposal became law and the first election under the new system was held in April, 1979. As expected, Mexican Americans managed to capture only two of the six council seats.

The awareness created by these events has prompted other political bodies to consider making similar changes. In the area of education, following a poll taken in conjunction with the election of April, 1977, where a majority of voters expressed their desire to also have single member district representation on the Board of Trustees of the El Paso Independent School District, the Trustees voted in May, 1977, to put the machinery in motion to carry out this mandate. Reports indicate that the Trustees for the Ysleta Independent School District also are considering undertaking the same reform. However, lacking necessary statutory authority from the Texas State Legislature, as of 1979 these educational bodies were unable to make concrete plans to change the election system.

The issue of single-member district representation illustrates the trend toward reform and the growing activism of the Chicano community. At the same time, other developments have shown clearly that Anglos are still very much in control and that considerable opposition towards greater Chicano assertiveness remains in the political system. **The election of April, 1979, is a case in point. Ray Salazar, only the second Mexican American mayor in the city's history, was defeated by Tom Westfall, a retired FBI agent and relative newcomer to El Paso. Salazar, a life-long resident of the city, served only one term (two years) and lost without a runoff his bid for a second term. The biggest factor in Salazar's loss was the overwhelming Anglo vote against him, coupled with a low voter turnout in the Chicano community, his**

source of strength. Salazar had managed to win in 1977 because of a heavier than usual turnout of Chicano voters which overcame deficits in the Anglo precincts. In 1979, with the total vote no larger than two years previously, Anglos cast anti-Salazar votes in greater numbers, showing clearly the precarious position of a Mexican American politician vis-a-vis the dominant society.⁵⁰

Among the issues that hurt the incumbent, perhaps the most significant was Salazar's criticism of U.S. immigration officials during demonstrations at the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez international bridges a few weeks before the election. Reacting to a U.S. crack-down on bridge-crossers suspected of holding jobs in El Paso illegally, Mexican protestors stopped traffic on the bridges for two days, cut down an American flag, and threw it in the Rio Grande. The media widely publicized this incident along with Salazar's rebuke of immigration authorities, causing many El Pasoans to interpret the mayor's statements as unpatriotic. This incident appears to have been the "last straw" for conservative voters who were already suspicious of the motives and loyalties of a Mexican American mayor.⁵¹ Salazar's ascension to political power had been highly surprising to begin with; he managed to become mayor largely because of his association with some Anglo leaders, his promise to combat utility rates (a local "hot" issue feebly pursued by his Anglo opponent), and the general disillusionment that prevailed nationally against incumbents at the time of the 1977 election.

A disturbing thought for Chicanos suggested by the results of the 1979 election is the seeming impossibility of competing with the Anglo electorate. As more retired military personnel and snow-belt "refugees" move to El Paso, the ranks of the mainstream conservative electorate are growing, but the growth of the Chicano vote is much slower. One important factor is that, at the same time that affluent Anglos are settling in El Paso, many upwardly mobile Chicanos who lack good "connections" continue to move out as a result of limited opportunities in the local economy. Consequently, politicians who depend on the Chicano vote to gain city-wide office encounter the perennial frustration of mobilizing large numbers of people who, due to their socio-economic circumstances, at best participate only marginally in the political process. Consistent with patterns seen elsewhere in poverty areas, only extraordinary conditions or extraordinary efforts bring out the Chicano vote, while Anglos tend to vote more consistently.

To a significant degree, problems Mexican Americans encounter in the political arena stem from the limited progress that has taken place regarding the perception that the dominant society has of this ethnic

group. An indication of attitudes held by a sizable segment of the community toward Chicanos is provided by recent "letters to the editor" published in *The El Paso Times*. Spurred by an open invitation for views regarding bilingual education from then-Editor William Latham, the public responded with an outpouring of opinion. Many letters which expressed opposition to the teaching of Spanish in the schools carried overtones of ethnic prejudice.⁵² Subsequently, Latham's successor, Robert Bentley, admitted that "sometimes our editorial page stinks," explaining that "too damned often it reeks with the stench of bigotry spewing from the pens and minds of our 'letters to the editor' writers."⁵³ One example of an anti-Chicano editorial appeared in *The Journal*, a local weekly newspaper, on March 24, 1976. Criticizing the implementation of affirmative action and other "objectionable" administrative procedures at the El Paso Community College (EPCC) by then-President Alfredo de los Santos, the editorial affirmed that Chicanos are naturally prone to authoritarianism and corruption because "this is the political heritage handed down from generation to generation over almost five centuries of Spanish influence below our border." Referring to efforts to further bilingual education at the EPCC, the editorial concluded: "Will we allow these monsters to institute their so-called 'culture' for ours, especially when all theirs is, is thinly disguised slavery and opportuned exploitation of the masses?"⁵⁴ The problems at the EPCC climaxed on April 3, 1976, when voters split along Chicano-Anglo lines in an election which saw three challengers who were pledged to De los Santos and supported by Mexican Americans, defeated by the three anti-De los Santos incumbents, who drew the larger and better organized Anglo vote.⁵⁵ The hostility toward the Spanish language goes beyond the schools, as illustrated by the current policy of the State National Bank of prohibiting employees in at least one department from speaking Spanish on the job. After a federal judge upheld the practice, a coalition of Chicano organizations organized a boycott against the bank and simultaneously worked to reverse the decision in the courts.⁵⁶

Two other examples of distorted perceptions on the part of prominent El Pasoans toward Mexican Americans will suffice to illustrate the deep-rooted presence of negative attitudes. When asked in an interview sometime in the middle of January, 1977, what he considered the strengths of the local labor force to be, the president of the El Paso National Bank cited familiar notions about the unique "suitability" of Chicano workers for manual labor. "The manual dexterity of labor is high in El Paso," he was quoted as saying. "The Mexican American female has a high resistance to tedium and this is definitely a plus."

Pressed by the local district of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) to apologize for his stereotypical comment, the banker refused, stating that he considered his remarks "complimentary" rather than denigrating.⁵⁷ He apparently did not understand how his statement served to reinforce long held (but of course now discredited) beliefs that Mexicans are best suited for physical work rather than employment involving the use of the mind. In March, 1977, one of the mayoral candidates reportedly told a group of Republicans that Anglos "have to take the lead" in solving unemployment problems among Mexican Americans. "Can we expect the Mexican Americans to employ themselves?" he asked. This politician emphasized the need to obtain more federal grants since most Mexican Americans who desire to start a small business "have no money... and no intelligence about it... and Caucasians should take the leadership to give it to them."⁵⁸

IV. *Summary and Conclusion*

This study does not pretend to explain definitively Chicano underachievement in El Paso. Additional research remains to be done to understand other external as well as internal causes which have had a bearing on the local situation. Nevertheless, a pattern of protracted slow progress has conclusively been demonstrated, and some propositions have been set forth to interpret the record. The data indicate a historical division between the Anglo and Chicano communities along economic, political, and social lines. This separation is partially explained by the perpetual presence of poor immigrants and continuing job competition from cheap labor in neighboring Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. Such factors have affected local wages, working and living conditions, and have caused some migration to the interior of the United States. Yet, structural discriminatory barriers such as job exclusion and wage differentials, segregation, lack of educational opportunities, and political domination constitute the major causes of Mexican American underdevelopment. Institutional obstacles have reinforced existing disadvantages and have created many others, thus contributing until recently to a marked absence of progress among local Chicanos.

The evolution of the Chicano community in El Paso fits in with general patterns identified throughout the Southwest. Some students of this region have characterized the experience of Mexican Americans as one of "internal colonialism."⁵⁹ Briefly stated, Chicanos are seen as colonial subjects because they were incorporated into this country as a result of war, were quickly relegated to second class status and kept

there by oppressive, rigid institutions, and were forced to endure the effects of racism. Viewed from this perspective, El Paso's Chicanos may indeed be classified as a colonized group, especially when one considers that they have formed the subordinate native *majority* throughout the history of this border city.

All the same, it is important to underline the changes that have occurred in recent times that have modified the traditional master-servant relationship. The data indicate modest but significant advances recorded by El Paso's Chicanos between the mid-1940s and the mid-1960s, and somewhat faster progress in the 1970s. For example, whereas 20 percent of the Chicano labor force had white collar jobs in 1940, 32 percent had such employment by 1960, and nearly 36 percent by 1970 (Table 2). Furthermore, although Chicanos are still almost totally absent from El Paso's elite inner circles, today they have greater representation in the local political system. These developments are largely due to increased opportunities arising from growth in the U.S. economy and the civil rights movements which have prompted the public and private sectors to become more responsive to the needs of ethnic minorities.

Contemporary conditions thus indicate that while a substantial portion of El Paso's Chicanos might still be considered as colonized, some from this group have integrated into the system. Numerous barriers and obstacles once used with great efficiency by the local dominant society to keep Chicanos "in their place" have been eliminated or have lost thier effectiveness. This has allowed the Chicano community to achieve unprecedented—albeit still limited—social, economic, and political heterogeneity, leading to varying degrees and shades of integration, acculturation, and assimilation into the mainstream by middle and upper elements within the group. Be that as it may, it is nonetheless clear from the data that, as a community, El Paso's Chicanos have traveled only a short distance in their quest to achieve parity with the Anglo population. Economically and socially, a gulf still separates the two groups.

It is difficult to predict when Chicanos will achieve proportional representation at all levels of the local society, but historical evidence and the law of geometric progression suggest that progress will occur more rapidly than it has in the past, although the movement will still be a slow one. One complicating factor whose impact remains to be seen is the accelerating arrival in El Paso of politically-conservative elements from other parts of the United States, coupled with the continuing migration of politically-aware or at least potentially politically-aware Mexican Americans who find it difficult to realize

their aspirations locally partly because of the economic competition the newcomers provide and the inflation they help stimulate.⁶⁰ More serious efforts on the part of local institutions to expand opportunities and to eliminate structural barriers in the economic and the political systems must be forthcoming if Chicanos are to make further progress. In addition, the Chicanos themselves will have to strive for greater unity and action than ever before to effect their own advancement at an accelerated rate. Communication and meaningful interaction continue to be important keys to effective handling of relationships in the border city of El Paso.

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1 Many persons aided me in the collection of the data presented in this study, and their contributions are gratefully acknowledged. I thank Z. Anthony Kruszewski (Director of the Cross Cultural Southwest Ethnic Studies Center at UT El Paso) and the Texas Bicentennial College Program for sponsoring the participation of research assistants in the project. Special thanks go to my wife Jeri, who participated in all phases of the study, and to José P. Arce, who spent many hours researching residential patterns in El Paso. I am also appreciative of the data contributed by the following former students in my Chicano History classes: Rhonda Hartman, Samuel Torres, Daniel Mendoza, and María Ruiz. Professors Rudolph O. de la Garza, Howard D. Neighbor, and Mario T. García read earlier versions of the manuscript and offered helpful suggestions. Much of my own research and writing was made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation awarded to Julius Rivera, Robert Schmidt, and myself to investigate aspects of tension along the U.S.-Mexico border.

2 A Mexican American or Chicano is defined here as a U.S. or Mexico-born person of Mexican extraction permanently and legally residing in the United States. These terms are used synonymously with "person of Mexican extraction," "person of Spanish surname," and other labels often used to refer to members of this ethnic group. In some instances the term "Mexican" is used generically to include Chicanos. Following the practice at the border, the term "Anglo" refers to white persons of European origin who reside in the United States. No pejorative connotations are intended in the use of any of these ethnic appellations. The description of attitudes and actions on the part of Anglos described in this study does not mean that I subscribe to the view that all Anglos think and behave the same. There are many from this group who are sympathetic to Chicano needs and aspirations. However, certain prevailing attitudes which are often unfavorable seem to exist among members of the dominant society toward the Chicano community, and apparently the majority of local Anglos consciously or unconsciously endorse those views.

3 The use of quantitative data in reconstructing the social history of ordinary persons, especially the poor and ethnic minorities, has been favored recently by U.S. historians who adhere to the "new" urban history movement. Two examples of this school are Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), and Peter R. Knight, *The Plain People of Boston, 1830-1860: A Study in City Growth* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). Among the students of the Southwest who have applied quantitative techniques to their analyses of Chicano social mobility are: Richard Griswold del Castillo, "Myth and Reality: Chicano Economic Mobility in Los Angeles, 1850-1880," *Aztlán*, VI:2 (Summer, 1975), 151-172; Mario T. García, "Racial Dualism in the El Paso Labor Market, 1880-1920," *Aztlán*, VI:2 (Summer, 1975), 197-220; and Ricardo Romo, "Work and Restlessness: Occupational and Spatial Mobility among Mexicanos in Los Angeles, 1918-1928," *Pacific Historical Review*, May 1977, XLVI:2 (May, 1977), 157-180.

4 The most comprehensive surveys of general El Paso-Ciudad Juárez history are: C. L. Sonnichsen, *Pass of the North; Four Centuries on the Rio Grande* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1968); Conrey Bryson, *The Land Where We Live: El Paso del Norte* (El Paso: Aniversario de El Paso, 1973); Armando B. Chávez M., *Historia de Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua* (Mexico: n.p., 1970); and Oscar J. Martínez, *Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juárez since 1848* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978).

5 Martínez, *Border Boom Town*, 31-34; Mario T. García, "Obreros: The Mexican Workers of El Paso, 1900-1920" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, U.C. San Diego, 1975), Chapter 1.

6 *El Republicano de Santa Fe* reported on April 21, 1849, that native residents in the El Paso area were very upset with the manner in which newcomers were taking possession of local land. "Authorities in Paso del Norte have had sour and repeated arguments over the limits of the border and *ejidos* [communal lands] with neighboring North-American officials, who have not only taken over Ysleta, Socorro, and San Elizario..., but also *ejidos* from Paso del Norte itself and from other towns on the Rio Bravo. General disgust exists in those settlements due to the manner in which Americans are being given [land] as though it was theirs." Reprinted in *El Faro, Periódico del Gobierno del Estado Libre de Chihuahua*, May 22, 1849, 4. Translation mine. See also W. H. Timmons, "Revolution on the Rio Grande: The El Paso Area in the 1840s," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (forthcoming).

7 See, for example, Sonnichsen, *Pass of the North*, 136-137.

8 See C. L. Sonnichsen, *The El Paso Salt War of 1877*, (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1961).

9 Sonnichsen summarizes the results of the election: "When the score was in, El Paso had 2,252 votes, Ysleta had 476. Since every Mexican who could be rounded up on either side of the river had been induced to vote at least once, the total number of ballots was far in excess of the number of qualified voters in the county. Ysleta protested vigorously, but nobody listened." Sonnichsen, *Pass of the North*, 347. See also Todd Daugherty, "The County Seat Battle: El Paso County, Texas, 1883," History Term Paper, May 1979, The University of Texas at El Paso.

10 Throughout 1916 other incidents kept relations strained between Anglos and Mexicans on both sides of the river at the Pass of the North. These incidents included a fire that broke out at the El Paso jail in which a dozen Mexicans were killed or injured, the raid on Columbus, New Mexico, by Villista troops, and General John J. Pershing's punitive expedition into Mexico. Martínez, *Border Boom Town*, 38-40.

11 Martínez, *Border Boom Town*, 89-90.

12 For discussion on recent economic growth in El Paso, see Patricia Reschenthaler, *Postwar Readjustment in El Paso, 1945-1950* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1968), and John M. Richards, *Economic Growth in El Paso, Texas, 1950-1962* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1964).

13 *The El Paso Times*, December 17-28, 1978. (The absence of Chicanos among the top influentials of El Paso is discussed in the December 24, 1978 issue of the *Times*.)

14 It is significant that prior to 1971, not one Mexican American girl served as queen of the Sun Carnival. Before that year, the queen was selected from girls of prominent families who were willing to spend about \$15,000 in Sun Carnival activities after the daughter received the honor. This effectively shut out many families from participating in the competition since few people could afford such sums. Community groups such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) believed that this system was maintained to prevent Mexican American girls from becoming queens. Responding to pressure, Sun Carnival officials changed the selection method in 1970, eliminating the required family contribution, shifting the selection of candidates to women's civic and service organizations (each organization pays a few hundred dollars for the privilege of sponsoring a candidate), and leaving the final decision up to a panel of judges from out-of-town. Under the new system, two Spanish surname girls have been chosen as queens during the period 1971-1979.

15 Minutes, El Paso County Commissioners Court, 1876-1929.

16 A survey taken around 1972 revealed that among the 246 tenured professors at The University of Texas at El Paso, only 3 had Spanish surnames. Ellwyn R. Stoddard, *Mexican Americans* (New York: Random House, 1973), 211.

17 Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzmán, *The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority* (New York: The Free Press, 1970), 405. Since Chicanos outnumber Anglos in El Paso, the word "dominant" should be substituted for "majority" to reflect local conditions.

18 *Ibid.*, 406-408.

19 *El Paso Economic Review* (December, 1972), 2.

20 Oscar J. Martínez, "Chicanos and the Border Cities: An Interpretive Essay," *Pacific Historical Review*, XLVI: 1 (February 1977), 105.

21 Stoddard, *Mexican Americans*, 41-43, 158-170.

22 These are the variables discussed by Thernstrom, in the order of their importance: (1) active and structural discrimination, (2) background handicaps, (3) the ghetto as a mobility factor (segregation), (4) differential fertility, (5) institutional completeness (community insulation), and (6) cultural values. Thernstrom, 160-175.

23 *Ibid.*, 160-161.

24 *Ibid.*, 218.

25 García, "Obreros," Chapters 5-6.

26 *Ibid.*, 161, 163, 165, 168-169.

27 *Ibid.*, 165.

28 *Ibid.*, 168-169.

29 *Ibid.*, 168.

30 Oral history interview with Charles V. Porras; El Paso, November 18, 1975, by Oscar J. Martínez. Deposited at the Institute of Oral History, The University of Texas at El Paso.

31 Oral history interview with Ramona González, El Paso, May 16, 1976, by Oscar J. Martínez. Deposited at the Institute of Oral History, The University of Texas at El Paso.

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33 David Alvarado, et. al., Plaintiffs, vs. El Paso Independent School District, et. al., Defendants, School Desegregation Suit, EP-70-CA-279, U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas, El Paso Division (1975). See Judge William S. Sessions' "Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law" (December 23, 1976), and "Memorandum, Opinion and Order" (December 23, 1976). The case is hereafter cited as Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District.

34 Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District, "Summation for Plaintiffs" (December 31, 1975), 2-6.

35 García, "Obreros," 173-187. Statistics appear on p. 185.

36 Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District, deposition of Paul S. Taylor, June 12, 1975, Plaintiffs Exhibit 2A, 10-11, 17.

37 Statement made in the 1920s; precise date not given. Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District, field notes by Taylor, undated. Plaintiffs' Exhibit 2A-3.

38 Statement made in the 1920s; precise date not given. Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District, field notes by Taylor, undated. Plaintiffs' Exhibit 2A-5.

39 Statement made in the 1920s; precise date not given. Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District, field notes by Taylor, undated. Plaintiffs' Exhibit 2A-2.

40 Alvarado vs. El Paso Independent School District, "Summation for Plaintiffs," 7-12, 15-19.

41 *Ibid.*, passim.

42 Most of the "mechanisms" of political domination listed in the discussion that follows are summarized in Mario Barrera, Carlos Muñoz, and Charles Ornelas, "The Bar-

rio as Internal Colony," in Harlan Hahn, ed., *Urban Affairs Annual Review*. VI (1972): 488-490.

43 Howard D. Neighbor, "Dilution of the Chicano Vote in El Paso," paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Western Social Science Association, Tempe, April 29-30, 1976. See also Rudolph O. de la Garza, "Mexican American Voters: A Responsible Electorate," in Frank Baird, ed., *Mexican Americans: Political Power, Influence or Resource* (Lubbock: Texas Tech Press, 1976), and Charles L. Cotrell, "The Effects of At-Large Elections on the Political Access and Voting Strength of Mexican Americans and Blacks in Texas," paper presented at the Rocky Mountain Social Science Association Meeting, El Paso, April 1974.

44 William V. D'Antonio and William H. Form, *Influentials in Two Border Cities* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1965), 138.

45 *Ibid*, 142.

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47 D'Antonio and Form, *Influentials in Two Border Cities*, 231.

48 Rudolph O. de la Garza, "Voting Patterns in Bicultural El Paso: A Contextual Analysis of Mexican American Voting Behavior," *Aztlán*, (1974), 256.

49 *Ibid*, 256-257; Neighbor, "Dilution of the Chicano Vote in El Paso."

50 It is noteworthy that if a moderate politician like Salazar failed to garner enough support in the Anglo community, then a liberal Chicano candidate would likely stand no chance among most Anglo voters. (For a comparison of precinct results in 1977 and 1979, see *The El Paso Times*, April 27, 1977, B4, and April 9, 1979, A6.)

51 Other factors which created problems for Salazar include his association with two unpopular city councilpersons, his support of a widely opposed referendum calling for urban renewal in South El Paso, and his role in a land transaction deal involving the construction of a new City Hall and a new downtown hotel. (See *The El Paso Times*, April 9, 1979, and April 15, 1979, A1, for analyses of the effect of these issues on the election.)

52 For example, see letters to the editor, *The El Paso Times* (editorial page): April 25, 1975; May 25, 1976; June 13, 1976; July 11, 1976.

53 Editorial, *The El Paso Times*, August 22, 1976.

54 *The Journal*, March 24, 1976, 4.

55 The El Paso Community College issue was thoroughly covered in the local media. Many articles appeared in *The El Paso Times*, *The El Paso Herald Post*, and *The Journal* between January and April, 1976.

56 As of May, 1979, the case was under appeal. (See *The El Paso Times*, November 29, 1978, B2; December 2, 1978, A1; December 9, 1978, B1; December 16, 1978, B1).

57 *The El Paso Times*, January 19, 1977, B1.

58 It should be noted that (according to newspaper accounts) this candidate was not perceived as a serious contender by the group he was addressing nor by other audiences, and his unorthodox style drew repeated laughter. Whether serious or not, his audacity to make such remarks in public are indicative of popularly held negative perceptions about Chicanos among many Anglos. At best, his statements were in extremely poor taste, and at worst, crassly racist, serving to perpetuate vicious stereotypes. (*The El Paso Times*, March 17, 1977, B2.)

59 The internal colonialism model as it applies to Chicanos is discussed in the following works: Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle for Liberation* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972); Tomás Almaguer, "Toward the Study of Chicano Colonialism," *Aztlán*, II: 1 (Spring, 1971), 7-20; Mario Barrera, Carlos Muñoz, and Charles Ornelas, "The Barrio as Internal Colony," in Harlan Hahn, ed., *Urban Affairs Annual*

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60 For example, the cost of housing locally has increased partly because of the demand from out-of-town people who are able to pay more than native Chicanos. Although data are lacking, it is likely that one side-effect of this situation is that many Chicanos wishing to move to better neighborhoods are now frozen where they live. If this is indeed the case, then segregation in El Paso will increase as long as high inflationary trends persist.

