

32. *Record*, February 2, 6 and 9, 1914.
33. *Record*, February 7, 1914.
34. *Ibid.* An incident which occurred three weeks after the sentencing is of some interest. On February 25 the *Record* revealed that the convicted men had been taken to a work camp run by the County Sheriff's Department and tortured when they refused to work. According to the *Record's* story, which was not denied by the Sheriff's office, the men's ankles were tied by wire to a Sycamore tree and their handcuffed wrists were draped back around the tree and secured by a rope. The longer the men refused to work, the higher their arms were slung over the branch. The length of time the men stayed in this position ranged from six hours to three and a half days, depending on when they agreed to join the work gang. According to Judge White, who had presided over trial and now ordered the torture stopped, the men "were standing squarely on their legal rights when they refused to work" because their case was then on appeal.

## THE REDISCOVERY OF THE "FORGOTTEN PEOPLE"

*Rubén Martínez*

### ABSTRACT

This paper assesses the socio-economic situation of *taoseños* in the light of the passage of nearly one-half a century since the publication of George I. Sanchez' study, *The Forgotten People*, in 1940. Emphasis is placed on demographic and labor market changes which occurred during this period.

Nearly five decades ago, George Isidoro Sanchez undertook the first major study of the economic, social, and political conditions of Chicanos in New Mexico (*manitos*) in general, and Taos County in particular. The results of the study were published in 1940, appearing in the widely acclaimed book, *The Forgotten People*, where Sanchez presented the problems faced by *taoseños* as typical of those faced by *manitos* in general. The problems identified by Sanchez are still evident today, and it is the purpose of this paper to assess the current situation of *taoseños*.

According to Sanchez, the general problem of the *manitos* "is one of cultural contacts and conflict—one wherein traditional cultural and geographic isolation accentuate the normal problems presented by incorporation and aggravate the deficiencies of an underdeveloped economy and of a frontier social structure" (1940:38). From this perspective the normal problems that accompany incorporation are *conflict* and *accommodation*. Sanchez argues that these problems are aggravated by the cultural and geographic isolation of the *manitos*. Referring to the *manito*, Sanchez states:

Living in isolation, he is not only removed from the normal social contacts which would tend to improve his condition, but he is highly inaccessible, physically and culturally, to the public agencies of incorporation (1940:38).<sup>1</sup>

But, Sanchez is also quick to note that American society is also part of the problem:

. . . [T]he generally inferior status held by the native New Mexican today is, in large measure, a result of the failure of the United States to recognize the special character of the social responsibility it assumed when it brought these people forcibly into the American society (1940:40).

The usual problem of adjustment that accompanies cultural contacts and conflict has in the case of *manitos* been compounded by their own weaknesses and by a neglectful host society.

The solution of the problem, according to Sanchez, lay in the United States government recognizing its social responsibility and taking measures which "will fit the New Mexican to live successfully in his present environment" (1940:97).<sup>2</sup> Integration, then, is presented as the solution to the problems facing the *manitos*. According to Sanchez, integration could be achieved through a systematic effort by the United States government to "socially rehabilitate" the *manitos*, equipping them with the skills to participate effectively in a modern capitalist social formation. But, it is the very nature of this modern capitalist social formation that Sanchez did not fully understand.

Implicit in Sanchez' argument is the relative openness of American society. That is, that there exist opportunities for *manitos* to move upwardly in society. Sanchez believed that if the *manito* were to rid himself of his traditional culture and learn capitalist values and skills, he would be able to compete in this society. Sanchez, however, underestimated the intensity and pervasiveness of racism in this country. Although he recognized that castes were becoming evident in Taos during the late thirties, he did not perceive the strong resistance on the part of whites to social changes guided by ideals of racial equality. The inflexibility of the principle of "white supremacy" has become quite evident in the four decades following Sanchez' study. Today, this inflexibility takes the form of the continuing "white backlash" to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

Sanchez also exaggerated the "backwardness" of the *manitos*. While it is true that modernity had not shown much of its face in northern New Mexico during the first half of this century, the people of the northern villages did not live in the cultural vacuum that so many writers in the forties believed, unless, of course, one wishes to interpret the *taoseño* lifestyle through the lens of American ethnocentrism.

Decades before the arrival of the first Anglos, Taos had become one of the major trading centers in the region (Ortiz, 1980). *Españoles*, Utes, Apaches, and Comanches traded with the Taos Indians and each other throughout the second half of the 18th Century. By the time the first Anglos arrived just after the turn of the century, Taos had a "cosmopolitan" flavor which reflected the varied influence of the many ethnic groups in the region (Bodine, 1968).

Anglos, too, became a part of this "cosmopolitan" town in the early part of the nineteenth century. Arriving in very small numbers, Anglo traders and trappers enjoyed the hospitality of the locals. Indeed, with Taos located at the southern gateway to the Rocky Mountains, the Anglos frequented the town not only to trade and obtain supplies, but to enjoy a "season in civilization." A few of them married into prominent *taoseño* families and settled in the Taos Valley.

Years later, after the Americans had militarily occupied the northern half of Mexico, such famous men (or infamous, depending on one's perspective) as Christopher Carson and Charles Bent did not fare well there. However, it is somewhat significant that the first Anglo governor of the Territory resided in Taos.

Near the turn of the century, Anglo artists began to take up residence in Taos, drawn there by the mystique of the Pueblo (Reeve, 1982). Others, less scrupulous, also began to take an interest in Taos. One of these was Arthur Rochford Manby, a well-to-do Englishman who acquired several tracts of land in Taos, many through payment of delinquent taxes. Manby's notoriety, however, stems from the devious tactics he employed to obtain the Antonio Martinez Land Grant, and his instrumental

role in the founding of a secret society that collected money for himself from the locals (Waters, 1973).

Other Anglos also moved into the region over time but, to this day, they have remained a numeric minority in the region. Still, it is difficult to accept the apparently widespread view that the *taoseños* have been "culturally backward and isolated." For many years there has been a steady stream of Anglo visitors to the area. This is only significant, however, if one submits to the assumption that people who are not in regular contact with whites and their way of life are isolated and backward. This assumption was quite prevalent at the time of Sanchez' study. In addition, some children of well-to-do families were educated out of the area, especially in Bernalillo and Trinidad.<sup>3</sup> A few went to the major universities in the country, including Yale and Harvard.<sup>4</sup> Finally, men, and sometimes families, joined the migrant labor streams shortly after the turn of the century in search of seasonal employment, travelling throughout the West, the Midwest, and even the South, then returning to their mountain villages when the work was done. One can hardly call this isolation, especially since *taoseños* and other Chicanos from the upper Rio Grande area served as a pool of cheap labor for various Anglo industries.

There was and has been continuous contact between *taoseños* and the rest of society at least since the middle of the Nineteenth Century. In the context of the relationships that evolved between Chicanos and *Americanos* northern New Mexico has served as a refuge from the hostile and exploitative environment that has surrounded these people. In Taos, workers could enjoy the comforts and security provided by their kin and their own culture. They may have returned to lifestyles that have been perceived as "primitive" from the Anglo perspective, but these people enjoyed working their small plots of land in the absence of an intense racial situation. From the *taoseños*' perspective, then, this so-called isolation can be perceived as positive, for in Taos the institutionalization of American domination had not permeated the everyday lives of the people.

Today, we recognize that the United States ranks among the most racist nations in the world (Bagley, 1972; Kinloch, 1981). The accommodative situation of being "forgotten" was perhaps better than being "discovered" and invaded by hundreds of Anglos seeking to escape the problems of modern urban areas. These Anglos express a fascination for the Chicano culture and lifestyle found in northern New Mexico, but at the same time they assume an air of superiority toward Chicanos. Thus the two groups evolve slowly as distinct societies bound together by force and domination.

For numerous reasons the area consisting of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado was not a region that experienced large waves of in-migration by Anglos.<sup>5</sup> Of course, the people were militarily conquered, as the U.S. Military occupied the town of Taos early in 1847, a few months following a revolt by Chicanos and Indians. The socio-economic structure however was not greatly disrupted by the in-migration of huge numbers of *Americanos* as was the case in other parts of the Southwest. Chicanos constituted and continue to be the majority of the population in this region. This fact influenced the nature and frequency of contact between Chicanos and Anglos. This limited contact was accompanied by a lower degree of political, economic, and cultural domination was less as well. There was the typical landgrabbing that marked the institutionalization of a different mode of production, but even so *taoseños* and other *manitos* were proletarianized at a much slower rate than were Chicanos in other parts of the country.

Together with the effects of the Great Depression, a continual decline in

landholdings among *manitos* finally brought about the collapse of the relatively self-sufficient village economy of the region (Ortiz, 1980). Coupled with high rates of natural population increase, the depressed local economy forced thousands of Chicanos to emigrate. The remaining population was forced to turn to the State for relief, thereby transforming the ruins of the village economy into a dependent regional economy marked by welfare subsidization and subsistence livestock raising and farming.

It was in the midst of the social disorganization of the thirties that Sanchez conducted the first major study of the life conditions of the *taoseños*. His study, which was sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, clearly demonstrated the marginal and subordinate position that Chicanos in the region occupied relative to the *Americanos*. Sanchez made repeated appeals to the Federal Government to assume its responsibility of preparing the Chicano for effective participation in American society. The entire nation, however, was in the throes of the Great Depression during the early part of the thirties, and by the time that Sanchez had completed the study, the New Deal programs had brought some relief from a severely stricken economy. *Taoseños* participated in such New Deal programs as the Works Projects Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, but their specific needs were not programmatically addressed by the Federal Government.

The Carnegie Corporation, on the other hand, did attempt to assist the Chicanos in northern New Mexico in a more programmatic manner. In April of 1940, the Corporation committed \$43,000 to be used for community and adult education in the social rehabilitation of the *manitos* in northern New Mexico. Taos County was selected as the political unit within which the project would be carried out, and the doors were opened in June, 1940, under the leadership of Dr. J. T. Reid.

Guided by the philosophy of the Sanchez study, the Taos County Project respected the perspective of the *taoseños* by placing emphasis on self-help. If anything, the project served as a catalyst for organizing the members of the various villages in the county. The project continued for approximately two years, with WWII increasingly affecting the lives of Americans including *taoseños*, and eventually bringing a halt to it. In the end, the project left no enduring achievements that can be said to have significantly altered the lives of the *taoseños*. Perhaps its most important contribution was the establishment of a health clinic that provided services to the people. A description of the project written by J. T. Reid in 1946, had, as its major contribution, a list of problems identified by the members of the different villages. Overall, the influence of this and other projects in the region was minor, with the life conditions of the *taoseños* showing little if any improvement.<sup>7</sup>

According to Professor Clark Knowlton (1964), efforts to improve the social and economic conditions of the region failed because they tended to adopt purely economic approaches and to disregard local social and cultural conditions, apparently on the assumption that the programs would work because they had worked in other parts of the country. Knowlton further argues that the programs failed because they were not developed on a regional basis and because local leaders were not included in the planning and implementation of them. The Taos project was an exception in this regard, but its influence, too, was minor due to it being a temporary rather than a protracted effort.<sup>8</sup> Whether because of a singular approach that ignored social and cultural differences or because of a lack of sustained effort, attempts to integrate the *taoseños* as effective participants in a mature capitalist social formation have failed miserably. There has been, however, no problem in integrating them as a reserve army of labor and as part of a racial system of labor.

Since the 1940's, the situation of the *taoseños* has continued to decline, with the problem becoming more acute in the past decade. A review of demographic and labor market changes in Taos County should provide us with some sense of the seriousness of the situation.<sup>9</sup>

### Demographic Changes

Sanchez reported that in the late thirties there were seven counties in the state where Chicanos constituted more than 80 percent of the population. These counties were Taos, Rio Arriba, Mora, San Miguel, Valencia, Sandoval, and Socorro. Presently, only Mora and San Miguel have populations where Chicanos constitute more than 80 percent. The counties of Valencia, Sandoval, and Socorro have populations where Chicanos are in the minority; Taos and Rio Arriba have populations where Chicanos constitute nearly two-thirds and three-quarters, respectively. The county of Guadalupe did not have a large proportion of Chicanos in the thirties, but today they comprise nearly 83 percent of its population. The counties where Chicanos today comprise more than 65 percent of the population are Mora (86.7%), Guadalupe (82.7%), San Miguel (81.4%), Rio Arriba (74.4%), and Taos (69.1%).

Over time, the population of Taos County has changed significantly without any growth of the overall population taking place. In 1940, the population of the county was 18,528. In 1980, it was 19,456, showing an increase of only one thousand persons in a period of forty years. This small increase reflects the extensive out-migration of Chicanos, especially young adults. Throughout those four decades, however, population size has fluctuated, decreasing between 1940 and 1960, then changing direction and increasing between 1960 and 1980. Though the overall size of the population has not changed much, its composition has changed considerably.

For instance, in 1940, Chicanos comprised over 80 percent of the population; but by 1960, this proportion had decreased to 69.1 percent. During the sixties the direction changed and in 1970, Chicanos made up 86.3 percent of the county's population. Change in the composition of the population switched direction again in the seventies, however, and in 1980, Chicanos again made up approximately 69.1 percent of the population.

The erratic changes in the size and the composition of the population parallel each other during those years between 1940 and 1970, after which the pattern changed and the proportion of Chicanos began to decrease at the same time that the population seems to be increasing. These fluctuations in the population signal a dramatic change in the lives of the *taoseños* in that they represent a continual proportional decline relative to members of the dominant group, the Anglos. This shift in the composition of the population increases the frequency of contact between the members of the two groups, bringing sharply into focus the racial dimension of the situation. While the Anglos have controlled the economy of the region for decades, they have not dominated local politics nor intruded much into the everyday lives of the majority of *taoseños*. In other words, the process of *inferiorization* has evolved to a lower level here than in other regions, especially urban areas. The racial roles, while crystallized, are not well-defined, with interaction between members of the different groups occurring on a more or less equal status, with the Anglos, of course, seeking to institutionalize their dominance. As the Anglos concentrate ownership of land and exercise greater control over local commerce, qualitative changes will occur in the everyday relations between the members of the two groups.

## Labor Market Changes

*Taoseños* and other Chicanos in the Upper Rio Grande Valley did not engage in wage work until around the late 1870's. Prior to that, they made their livelihood through subsistence farming and livestock raising. Money played a minor role in the distribution of goods and services, with economic exchanges occurring primarily by means of barter, or the direct exchange of goods and services without the medium of money.<sup>10</sup> Labor was exchanged between the villagers, and they all were expected to contribute to the building of village projects, such as dams and irrigation ditches (Knowlton, 1964).

Following incorporation by an expanding capitalist social formation, the internal development of this societal group was altered by the influence of forces external to it. After the military occupation, economic dominance was institutionalized through the imposition of a new land policy and a commercial economy. Exploitation of the natural resources of the area, especially the overgrazing of land by livestock and timber cutting by the Anglos, seriously affected the relationship between humans and resources in the area (Harper, et al, 1943). The increased concentration of land in the hands of Anglos and the continued breakup of lands through inheritance further created problems for Chicanos. With the arrival of the railroads in the 1880's, many *taoseños* entered and participated in the wage system of the enveloping social formation. The expansion of mining and lumbering in the region further incorporated Chicanos within the dynamics of capitalism.

By the turn of the century, the land and the local market no longer could meet the increased needs of the local population. Men began to leave the state in search of seasonal employment. Dependence upon wage work increased for the *taoseños*, but the "quality of life" did not improve, for they were incorporated within a wage system that was characterized by a racial division of labor, thereby restricting the range of occupational roles that Chicanos could perform.

By the time that Sanchez conducted his study, the land had either been overgrazed or placed in the control of the federal government. The railroads had been built, requiring only maintenance crews; the mining booms had ended, as had the timber cycle. Many *taoseños* had left the area permanently, and those who remained were squeezed onto small plots of land that could not possibly provide a livelihood for them. Only by receiving governmental relief could the families that stayed maintain a minimum level of subsistence. In 1937, a study of the native population in the Upper Rio Grande Area by the U.S. Department of Agriculture concluded that their situation was comparable to that of tenant and cropper families in the Old South (USDA, 1937b).

Sanchez perceived the emergence of "caste lines and barriers" in Taos in the thirties, but they were already evident by the turn of the century. An important industry that emerged in Taos following the settling of the artists at the turn of the century is that of tourism. The artist colony established in Taos around that period flourished quickly and acquired for the town a reputation both in this country and abroad, especially in Europe. The result was the emergence of a tourist industry that was to shape considerably the economy of the town and county. For some of the indigenes, the emergence of a tourist industry within the local economy meant a new opportunity for employment. The Anglo-owned businesses that were established hired the local Chicanos as service station attendants, waiters, waitresses, busboys, dishwashers, janitors, and store clerks. Anglo residents also hired them as domestics.

The indigenes, then, provided both the commodities that were marketed (cultures) and cheap labor.

Sanchez criticizes the Anglo artists for failing to become involved in the social and economic life of the common people and to provide leadership in the solution of their problems. He seems to forget that the artists themselves had a stake in the economic exploitation of the locals. In other words, they benefited by marketing the very misery that they perpetuated (i.e., the faces of misery painted and sold by the artists stimulated the tourist industry). They may have found the culture of *taoseños* (Chicanos and Indians) quaint, mysterious, and physically satisfying, but they seldom doubted the superiority of their own culture. They deplored the isolation of the individual in modern society, but they understood or believed that it was inevitable that modern Anglo society would sweep into the dustheap of history the culture of the *taoseños*. Nevertheless, the artists sought to preserve the culture of the region and at times acted as benefactors of the people (Reeve, 1982). Such episodes of benevolence, however, did not substantially improve the economic situation of the *taoseños*, as the major determinant of their lives was the imposition of a mature capitalist economy.

During the early part of the 1930s, few workers from northern New Mexico set out from the state in search of seasonal employment. By the second half of that decade, however, economic recovery increased the number of workers who found seasonal work outside of the area. U.S. involvement in World War II affected *taoseños* in two major ways: young men left to serve in all theaters of war, and workers left the county to obtain jobs created by wartime production. As the county did not appear to experience an increase in population following the conclusion of the war, those persons who left during the war apparently did not return to the county. At the same time, out-migration of young adults from the county continued to occur. Today, many kinship ties are maintained by *taoseños* and relatives in Colorado, Utah, California, Wyoming, etc.

Since the collapse of the village economy one of the major problems of the county and the region has been unemployment. Both the county and the region have had the highest unemployment rates in the state. The data available are haphazardly collected but by using them one can develop a sense for the employment conditions in the county. Unemployment rates for the county were double digit throughout the decade of the fifties, hovering at about 12 percent. At the beginning of that decade approximately 40.6 percent of the employed labor force was concentrated in agriculture. By 1960, those employed in agriculture constituted only 14.6 percent of the employed labor force, which itself had decreased by 26.7 percent.

In 1960, the unemployment rate for Taos County was 10.2 percent, and that for the State was 5.5 percent. Eight years later, in 1968, the unemployment rate for the county was 10.0 percent, and that for the state was 5.1 percent.

To emphasize the exceptionally high rate of unemployment among the *taoseños*, it may be useful to compare it with that for Lea County, which is located at the southeastern corner of the state in an area which, for obvious reasons, is called "Little Texas." Lea County is a "white county," where Chicanos constituted only 4.8 percent of the population in 1960, and 27 percent in 1980. The unemployment rate for Lea County was only 2.8 percent in 1968, though its labor force was five times the size of Taos County.

By 1970, the unemployment rate for Taos County had decreased to 8.4 percent, but it remained much higher than those for the state (5.7) and Lea County (4.0). By 1976 the employment situation in Taos County worsened. The unemployment rate

reached 17.0 percent, while the state (9.2) and Lea County (4.3) exhibited moderate and even minor increases. That year the unemployment statistic was provided for the Spanish-surnamed category by county. In Taos County, the unemployment rate for this category was 17.8 percent; at the state level it was 11.7; and in Lea County the rate was 9.6 percent. These rates clearly reveal that in both the poorest and the wealthiest of counties, and the state, Chicanos have a higher unemployment rate than the political units of which they are a part. This is nothing new, as one expects such to be the case with a conquered people, who are relegated to the bottom of society and forced to stay there. By 1982, the situation had changed very little, with Taos County having an unemployment rate of 16.9 percent, the state one of 9.2 percent, and Lea County one of 4.6 percent.

Presently, mining is the major industry in Taos County. While in 1960, only 52 persons were employed in mining, by 1977, there were 576 persons (10.4 percent of the employed labor force). By 1983, this figure had increased to approximately 1,000 persons. Should this industry collapse, and there are fears amongst the miners of plant shutdowns occurring, a large number of *taoseños* will be forced to leave their "homeland" to become part of the racial system of labor that characterizes the rest of society.

## Conclusion

At present, the *taoseños* are experiencing a second major influx of Anglos into the region, the first one having occurred in those decades just before and after the turn of the century. This second influx consists of at least two major categories: hippies, who came in the late sixties seeking an escape from the nightmare of modern America, and businesspeople, who seek to commercialize the region by marketing the indigenous cultures and the natural beauty of the Sangre de Cristo mountains. Both of these groups are transforming the lives of the *taoseños* by buying up their lands and hiring them as unskilled and semiskilled workers.

The appeals made by Sanchez during the forties to the Federal Government were obviously to no avail. Throughout those decades following his efforts, *taoseños* have served as a source of cheap labor at the same time that they continued to experience a decline in landholdings. Rather than being assisted by the Federal Government, *taoseños* have been left to fend for themselves in the face of a hostile and alien capitalist social formation. In this context they have not fared well.

The *taoseños*, one of the oldest Chicano cultural groupings in Aztlán, are in the 1980's being transformed into a true proletarian group, joining the rest of the Chicanos as part of the American working class. The process of proletarianization is occurring throughout the region, and the last Chicano land stronghold is rapidly eroding, giving way to the forces of a capitalist social formation that is finally intensely transforming the regional economies of its hinterland. When the process is complete, or rather should it come to pass, the Chicanos as a racial minority in this country will become a fully proletarianized group. Their ties to the land, which are so central to their culture and world-view, will have been torn asunder.

## FOOTNOTES

1. This emphasis on cultural conflict and isolation was echoed by Johansen (1942) and Burma (1949), and tended to characterize many studies of that period.
2. Such a perspective was essentially the same as that of E. Franklin Frazier, a student of Robert E. Park. Frazier argued that the only hope for Blacks in this country was integration, even though isolation had seriously impaired their ability to compete effectively with Anglos.
3. The education of *manitos* in northern New Mexico is a neglected chapter in their history.
4. One must remember that some wealthy *manito* families welcomed the *Americanos* with open arms.
5. Such reasons included the imperative of developing the coastal areas for military defense and expansion of trade. In addition, there were the many discoveries of gold, silver, and other ores in other parts of the Southwest that attracted the immigrants.
6. The concerns of the members of the village of Arroyo Seco, for example, were reported by Mr. Toribio Martinez, this author's grandfather, as follows:

. . . (1) to protest the sale of the Antonio Martinez Grant to the Indians; (2) want reservoirs; (3) need better irrigation system; (4) want a hot lunch project [at the school]; (5) want a community library; (6) want a community center; and (7) want an investigation of water rights (Reid, 1946:30).

7. The study of El Cerrito, a *pueblito* located some thirty miles southwest of Las Vegas, New Mexico, done by Olen E. Leonard and Charles P. Loomis in 1939 and 1940, was made partly to assist in the planning of rehabilitation projects, such as El Pueblo Experiment (Loomis and Grisham, 1943). Today, El Cerrito is experiencing the takeover by Anglos.
8. One could argue that this project simply was not wide enough in scope to deal with the problems of a conquered people.
9. The statistical information provided in the sections that follow were taken from a variety of sources, all of which are listed in the bibliography.
10. There are several works that discuss the nature of the economy in northern New Mexico during the 19th Century. Perhaps the most general is that by Ortiz (1980).

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IN TIMES OF CHALLENGE:  
CHICANOS AND CHICANAS  
IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

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## INTRODUCTION

The articles and essays in this anthology were selected from papers presented at the 13th Annual Conference of the National Association for Chicano Studies, which convened in Sacramento, California, in March of 1985. Although the theme of the conference centered on Chicana/o political concerns in the 1980s and beyond, the papers included in this volume demonstrate that participants engaged a wide-ranging discussion of other topics and issues. Because of the diverse nature of the papers selected for inclusion in this volume, they have been grouped into three sections, each of which encompasses an overarching theme.

Politics in its various and sundry forms constitutes the theme of the articles written by Christine Sierra, Sylvia Lizarraga, and Richard Griswold del Castillo in Part I. In "Chicano Politics-After 1984", Professor Sierra provides an overview of politics in the Mexican American community during the 1980s. In the process she assesses recent gains in representation at the local, state and national level, and how Chicanas/os and other Hispanic groups have fared under the Reagan administration. The essay addresses a number of questions, such as: Has Chicano political power increased? Has an "Hispanic strategy" for organization benefitted Chicanas/os? And what forms will Chicano politics assume after 1984? She concludes her study by advancing some of her own ideas for a Chicano political agenda for the remainder of this decade.

While Sierra is interested in examining the plight of Chicanas/os within the political system of the United States, Sylvia Lizarraga is concerned with the application and formulation of theoretical precepts to analyze the experience of Chicanas. Her paper, "Toward a Theory of Women's Liberation," examines the complex interconnection of women's economic exploitation, and their patriarchal and racial oppression. Lizarraga explains the fundamental differences between the feminism of Third World women and that of middle class white women in the United States. A major difference she points to is that the struggle for emancipation by Third World women has been defined historically not only as one against patriarchal ideology, but also as a simultaneous struggle against economic exploitation and political oppression. She notes that even though the theoretical formulations posited by socialist feminists in the United States provide the foundations for the analysis of the oppression of women of color in this country based upon class, race and sex. After discussing Zillah Eisenstein's model, Lizarraga examines some of the causes and